

The Horn Tribune

Vol V/ Issue 1582 Sunday 12 January 2025

Rajab 12/ 1446 AH

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

President Abdirahman Irro graces official launching of mandated National Political Parties

"Our election process reflects our political maturity, the resilience of our democracy, and our confidence in the continued progress of our political institutions," the President stated



In a most significant event held at the Ambassador Hotel on Tuesday, the President of the Republic of #Somaliland, H.E. Abdirahman Mohamed Abdillahi (Irro), presented the official certificates licensing the country's three national political parties WADDANI, KAAH, and KULMIYE to become the only political organizations to operate for a tenure

Continue on Page 2



Somaliland Won't Trade Sovereignty for Recognition- Somaliland Foreign Minister



The Minister of Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation of Somaliland, H.E. Abdirahman Dahir Adan, has made a strong statement regarding the Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) signed between the former

Continue on Page 2

'I am working to unite the people of Hargeisa, that is a better legacy than the mayoral seat', says Mayor Moge



The local government of Hargeisa presented over the week the achievements they have made in the city and in the various districts of Hargeisa for the past three years that they were in office. The highly organized presentation that was unveiled at an

Continue on Page 2

Somaliland and the UK discuss cooperation between the two countries



The Minister of Finance and Economic Development Hon. Abdilahi Hassan Adan, received the Head of the British Government Office in Hargeisa, Mr. Ilyas Malek, in his office. The meeting was both introductory as well as discussion strengthening

Continue on Page 3

President names new regional governors and their deputies



By M.A. Egge
The President H.E. Abdirahman Mohamed Abdillahi Irro has named 23 new regional governors and their deputies. In a press release from the Presidency, the Head of State

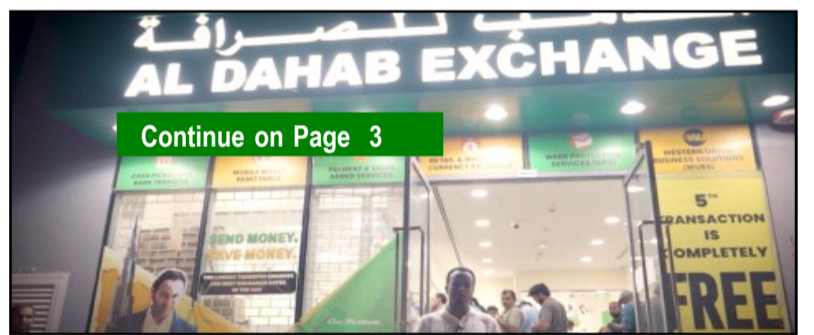
Continue on Page 4

Sagal Jet - A successful company worthy of emulation



Continue on Page 3

Dahabshiil is a global financial institution familiar in Africa and the World



Continue on Page 3

Seven Inaccuracies about US Support for Somaliland -Joshua Meservey



Continue on Page 4

The Government's Policy Is Flexible, Tolerant and Compassionate, says Information Minister

We are working with the media to obtain their rights, and the government has the right to play its honorable role, he underpins



Continue on Page 3

Unmasking Diplomatic Propaganda: Somaliland's Quest for Recognition Amid Regional Power Plays- Prof Nassir



Continue on Page 5

Inside

State steadfast in achieving 100-days action plan



Continue on page 4

President Abdirahman Irro graces official launching of mandated National Political Parties



of ten years as per the national constitution.

This is after they emerged triumphant in the just concluded national elections. The ceremony marks the beginning of a new ten-year period for these parties, starting from January 1, 2025, to January 1, 2034.

The event, organized by the Committee for the Registration and Approval of Political Associations and Parties was attended by prominent political figures, including former Vice Presidents Ahmed Yusuf Yasin and Abdirahman Abdillahi Ismail (Sayli'i), as well as the chairmen of the three national parties: Hirsi Ali Haji Hassan (WADDANI), Mohamoud Hashi Abdi (KAAH), and Mohamed Kahin Ahmed (KULMIYE).

In his keynote speech, the President praised the committee for its diligent efforts in facilitating a transparent and lawful process for selecting political associations eligible to participate in elections. He also commended the National Electoral Commission and key stakeholders in Somaliland's democratic system for their contributions to advancing the country's political stability and electoral integrity.

"Our election process reflects our political maturity, the resilience of

our democracy, and our confidence in the continued progress of our political institutions," the President stated.

He further highlighted the broader principles of democracy, saying, "Democracy goes beyond elections. It includes justice, respect for civil liberties, good governance, combating corruption, the rule of law, political stability, and strengthening national unity and security. These are priorities that this administration is fully committed to." Committee's Mandate and Achievements

The ceremony began with an address by the Chairman of the Committee for the Registration of Political Associations and Approval of National Parties, Mr. Saeed Mohamed Elmi (Siraadle) who outlined the committee's responsibilities, including the registration of political associations, approval of national parties, resolving disputes, ensuring women's representation, and promoting internal democracy within political organizations.

He also highlighted the committee's strategic plans, which include reforms in its structure, the development of a strategic roadmap for 2023–2027, and leveraging technology for data management

and transparency.

"The committee has played a pivotal role in advancing democracy and ensuring a multi-party system that fosters competition and accountability," Mr. Siraadle remarked.

Voices from the Event
Senior political advisor to the President, Mr. Abdiqadir Haji Ismail Jirde, emphasized the importance of adherence to democratic principles, stating: "True independence means abiding by the rules we establish and respecting the outcomes they yield." Chairman of the Non-Governmental Organizations Network (SONSAF), Mr. Anwar Abdirahman Warsame, termed the event a historic milestone: "Today, we officially inaugurate the three national parties that will shape Somaliland's political future for the next decade. Political parties are platforms for shaping national policies and grooming future leaders."

A Decade of Political Stability
The ceremony concluded with the Head of State presenting official licenses to the chairmen of WADDANI, KAAH, and KULMIYE, symbolizing their official recognition as national parties. This development underscores Somaliland's commitment to political stability and democratic governance as the nation prepares for the next decade of political and social progress.

As Somaliland continues to strengthen its democratic institutions, this moment marks a significant step forward in the country's political evolution, providing a solid foundation for free, fair, and inclusive governance in the years to come.

Source: Somaliland News Agency (SOLNA)

Somaliland Won't Trade Sovereignty for Recognition- Somaliland Foreign Minister



government and Ethiopia. Addressing the Foreign Affairs Committee of the Somaliland Parliament, he expressed his concerns over the lack of transparency surrounding the agreement, which pertains to Ethiopia's access to the sea through Somaliland and Ethiopia's potential recognition of Somaliland's sovereignty.

The Minister underscored that Somaliland's sovereignty and pursuit of international recognition should never be compromised or traded. He stated, "**Somaliland will not be abused for getting recognized. We will not enter into agreements that lack the approval of the relevant committees and institutions.**"

The Foreign Minister pointed out that neither he nor his political party has seen the MoU document. He asked the committee, "**As parliamentarians, have you seen this document? As a party, we have not. The only information we have is based on what former President and Ethiopian officials have said, which often contradict each other.**"

Ethiopia's Role and Unfulfilled Promises

The MoU, signed in January 2024 by former President Muse Bihi and Ethiopian Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed in Addis Ababa, promised Ethiopia access to the sea through Somaliland. In return, Somaliland was supposedly assured of Ethiopia's recognition. However, Minister Adan emphasized that there is no concrete evidence of Ethiopia

making such a commitment. "**We are only aware of discussions and speculation. Ethiopia has not officially committed to recognizing Somaliland,**" he remarked.

The agreement sparked significant tensions with Somalia, which claimed sovereignty over the disputed maritime territory. These tensions culminated in December 2024 when Turkish President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan mediated discussions in Ankara, reportedly resulting in Ethiopia retracting its commitment to the MoU. Somalia hailed the outcome, but Ethiopia has yet to officially confirm or deny this development.

A New Administration, A New Approach

Minister Adan reaffirmed Somaliland's steadfast dedication to its independence, stating, "**We will not enter hell for the sake of recognition. Somaliland cannot be abused by false promises or traded for political gains.**"

Since reclaiming its independence in 1991 following the collapse of Somalia's central government, Somaliland has maintained relative peace and developed functioning state institutions. Despite this progress, no country has officially recognized its sovereignty, leaving Somaliland in diplomatic limbo.

The Foreign Minister's statement highlights the delicate balance Somaliland must maintain as it seeks recognition while protecting its sovereignty and ensuring that agreements are made transparently and in the best interests of its people.

accountability and the tangible progress in terms of infrastructure and services rendered to the populaces and residents of the city during their tenure.

Mayor Abdikarin Ahmed Moge, who spoke at the length underlined that they are the only officials who annually go public and present and share with the community of Hargeisa the way in which they managed the taxes collected and on how it has been spent.

"This exhibition vividly clarifies to you what we have already been presenting to you as to how we have been doing for the people."

He continued, "It is both our pride

and the nation's pride that we are the first institution that has shared our undertakings with its people for three consecutive years".

The mayor of the capital, Hargeisa, urged the mayors of the regional cities of the country to follow suit.

The mayor also underlined that the National Treasury has already conducted an annual audit of the Hargeisa local government.

The mayor of Hargeisa said that he is ready to be held by the people of Hargeisa accountable and is free to be met at any time.

"I am working to unite the people of Hargeisa, that is a better legacy than the mayoral seat", he said.

'I am working to unite the people of Hargeisa, that is a better legacy than the mayoral seat', says Mayor Moge

ultra-modern with customized projections saw the unveiling of a milestone of developmental achievements and progress realized by the leadership of the incumbent Hargeisa Mayor Cllr Abdikarin Ahmed Moge.

The event was graced by the Deputy President H.E. Mohamed Ali aw Abdi, the Mayor himself, the Governor of the Maroodi-jeeh region, Mr. Mohamed Ahmed Aalin Tinbaro, the Police Chief, Major General Mohamed Aden Saqadi, some members of the cabinet, senior state officials and other distinguished guests.

The Executive Secretary of the Hargeisa Local Government, Mr. Saeed Nour, welcomed the officials who attended the presentation that depicted transparency and accountability per se for the years



2020 to 2024, which was implemented in the nine districts that make up the capital of

Somaliland, Hargeisa.

He laid bare for the members of the public the significance of

Somaliland and the UK discuss cooperation between the two countries



and accelerating cooperation between the Ministry of Finance and the British Government Office in Somaliland. The Minister of Finance praised the British Government Office for the great role they have played in

building and growing the economy and improving the development projects they support in the Republic of Somaliland. The Minister also said that they will enhance the close cooperation they have with the British Government Office in the field

of economy as a Ministry. Finally, the Minister shared with diplomat that he would always give great importance to the implementation of development projects supported by the British Government in the Somaliland Republic.

The Government's Policy Is Flexible, Tolerant and Compassionate, says Information Minister



By M.A. Egge

The Minister of Information, Culture and National Guidance Hon. Ahmed Yasin Sheikh Ali Ayanle has once again stated that the policy of the WADDANI administration government "which he is a part of, is one based on working towards flexibility, tolerance, unity and inclusiveness".

He pointed out that inclusiveness and humane compassion is an indicated policy of the Head of State H.E. Abdirahman Mohamed Abdillahi Iirro.

The minister expressed the sentiments as he addressed a group of private media scribes, correspondents, journalists, and their representatives who met him on Tuesday.

While addressing the media, he said, "We, the political government led by the President, is a gentle, tolerant, inclusive, compassionate and welcoming persons of all segments of society".

The meeting discussed how to establish good cooperation between the Ministry of Information and the independent media fraternity and how to focus on building the country and guiding society.

He undersigned on the need to find a way for the media to work freely in society and how to respect the government in its role and responsibility.

He pointed out, "Here we have had a valuable meeting today, we have had good rapport with each other, we have exchanged information, we have discussed everything that needs telling including advice and suggestions on the way forward".

He noted that amongst the journalists were respectable people with a lot of experience and knowledge.

He continued pragmatically, "In fact, as a government, we are working with independent media, we are responsible for them, they have the right to access information, to be independent, and to have rules; they have the right, and the government has the right to play its honorable role, to allow its role to be respected, its responsibility to earn respect, cooperation, to discern what undermines security and be a role model in the society in a positive way."

The minister further underscored the important role of the independent media in the country

and how it needs to be protected from being used in the wrong way so that it does not harm the country and the people.

The presidential advisor on media affairs, Hamse Ali Bulbul, who attended the meeting, said that the President of Somaliland is keen on promoting democracy in Somaliland, and that the media should work with him in this regard. In conclusion, members of the independent media who spoke at the meeting noted that it was important to have good cooperation between the ministry and the independent media. They thanked the Minister of Information for the informative meeting.

The chairman of MM TV, who was present at the meeting, pointed out that there is a need to find a policy for the media to work with and said, "The government needs a good policy that the media can work with, and we will not be part of instituting hate but we will be working with the government on that policy."

Journalist Sagal Beeldeeq, who represented the Independent Media Women, pledged, "We promise to work with the new government."

Sagal Jet - A successful company worthy of emulation



Sagal Jet, which celebrated its 18th anniversary yesterday, hosted a grand event attended by the company's employees, officials, and many guests.

The event, held at the Damal Hotel in Hargeisa, featured a grand presentation on the company's history and the development it has achieved in all aspects, where private companies and government agencies can learn lessons in terms of the managerial and development process and building a workforce that is key to development.

At the event attended by government and national party officials, Waddani Chairman Hirsi Ali and Presidency Minister Khadar highly praised the

performance of Sagal Jet and its employees.

The event, which annually awards the best performing staffers, the employee of the year was recognized as Mohamed Ahmed Abraar.

"We have known each other (Abdi Yusuf) for a long time, I admire him for being a hardworking individual. A leader is chosen for leadership", said Waddani Chairman Hon. Hersi Ali.

"Sagal Jet is reaching a mature stage, it has created a platform for youth employment endeavors." Abdi Yusuf Aar, Chairman of Sagal Jet.

The event concluded with a high level of honor, with the winning employees awarded.

Dahabshiil is a global financial institution familiar in Africa and the World



Journalist Hassan Galayd recently visited one of the Dahabshiil service centers in the United Arab Emirates (UAE). He met with Dahabshiil customers, including Somalis and people from all over the world.

Clients sent and received money from Al-Dahab centers, benefiting from the services provided by the international company Dahabshiil, which is available in almost all countries around the globe.

"Dahabshiil is a successful company. During the struggles period when people were

displaced, the people lived on the Dahabshiil remittance economy services. Now it has become a bank that operates in all countries around the World," said Jamac Kara'in, a Dahabshiil client and businessman. Dahabshiil is a Somali funds transfer company and is the largest money-transfer business in Africa. It's headquartered in Burao Somaliland. Formed in 2004, the firm operates from over 24,000 outlets and employs more than 2,000 people across 126 countries.

Seven Inaccuracies about US Support for Somaliland -Joshua Meservey



Amid reports that President-elect Donald Trump's administration may consider recognizing the self-governing coastal region of Somaliland as independent from Somalia, Somali Ambassador to the United States Dahir Hassan Abdi wrote an op-ed arguing that the US should support a unified Somali state.

But the ambassador's argument relies on numerous inaccuracies. Those are detailed below.

1. Somalia currently has territorial integrity, and recognizing Somaliland would break that integrity. The Somali government does not currently have territorial integrity. Islamist terror group al-Shabaab still controls parts of the country. Somaliland has not been functionally a part of Somalia for decades. And Puntland and Jubaland frequently defy Mogadishu. Arguments premised on fictions are irretrievably broken.
2. The US-Somalia partnership has "bolstered regional stability." The region is as unstable as it has been for decades.
3. "Clan-based ambitions threaten to fracture Somalia's national cohesion." There is no national cohesion to fracture, in part because clans remain the

fundamental ordering principle of Somalia's society. Rather than denying that reality, Somalis should build a highly decentralized order that accounts for their preeminent loyalty to clan. The US and its partners should stop pretending that a strong centralized government can work in Somalia.

4. "The United States must remain committed to Somalia's sovereignty within its recognized 1960 borders—an enduring policy that has helped stabilize one of the world's most strategically vital regions." This is one of Abdi's strangest claims. Somalia has consistently been among the least stable countries in the world since 1969, and it has in turn caused massive regional unrest. US policy built on the fiction that Somalia is a unified nation with territorial integrity has demonstrably failed.

5. "A divided Somalia would distract the central government from counterterrorism operations and disrupt the successes already achieved." Again, Somalia is already divided. Also, Mogadishu already allows all sorts of things, usually petty political squabbles, to distract it from fighting al-Shabaab. The Somali government's easily distracted nature has proven time and again that it is not a competent

counterterrorism partner for the US. 6. "A unified Somalia . . . can foster transparency, attract responsible investment, and ensure its people benefit from [the country's] resources—all while reinforcing the stable environment in which US interests can flourish." The Somali government cannot achieve these lofty goals because Somalia is not unified. Decades of experience demonstrate the country will continue to be divided for the foreseeable future. And it is not clear that unity in Somalia would lead to transparency or competent governance. Mogadishu currently demonstrates neither of those things. There is no reason to believe it will magically improve, even if Somalia somehow, for the first time in its people's history, becomes unified.

7. "By helping Somalia strengthen its institutions, enhance security forces, and foster inclusive political dialogue, the United States ensures that clan affiliations enrich national identity rather than fracture it into competing states." The US and others have formed policy based on this belief for over a decade. It has not worked. Why should it suddenly begin working now? What has changed?

Fundamentally, the ambassador's arguments—and Washington's current policy toward Somalia—rest on fictions: (a) that Somalia is united, politically or societally, (b) that the government in its current form contributes to regional stability, and (c) that Mogadishu's actions are a net positive for the US. Washington cannot achieve its goals in the Horn of Africa without first acknowledging reality and building policies that reflect that reality, rather than comforting fictions.

State steadfast in achieving 100-days action plan

All cabinet members have solemnly sworn into office



By M.A. Egge
The 5th cabinet members meeting on Thursday saw the ministers briefed on the ongoing process of achieving its envisaged 100 day action plan, underscoring its steadfastness.

This week similarly saw the President of the Republic of Somaliland, H.E. Abdirahman Mohamed Abdillahi Iro chairing a cabinet meeting whose members have just been approved by the parliament. They were all administered with the oath of office on Thursday at the Presidency.

While flanked by the Vice President H.E. Mohamed Ali Aw Abdi, the Head of State listened to the briefs on the progress of the said action plan; with the Minister of Presidency requesting the members of the cabinet to submit their respective reports as they had been earlier instructed by the President such that the political policy they may be synchronized to the national economic plan. The Minister of Planning and National Development also

provided further details on the ministry's role and responsibilities to the Nation and how to align the 3rd National Development Plan with the Political Program of the ruling Waddani Party. Other points discussed in the session included: The general situation of the country's security, the economy, education and the latest affairs in livestock exports, with adequate reports provided by the line ministers.

The council of ministers also dwelt on the systemic issues of business licensing which the Minister of Trade and Tourism provided the Council with further details on their guidelines.

The Minister of Transport and Road Development on his part briefed the Council with information regarding the commencement of the registration of Government Vehicles and the issuance of Government Vehicle Books.

The Council was also distributed the Cabinet By-laws (1st Reading) and a general brief given to the Council by the Attorney General of the Nation.

President names new regional governors and their deputies

exercised his executive powers through Presidential Decree Ref. No. JSL/XM/WM/222-027/012025 dated Saturday 11th January 2025 named the new officials in the dawn of the WADDANI political party administration, to take over.

It is worth noting that the Sanaag and Marood-jeeh regions still retain their regional governors just as Sahiil deputy governor.

The officials have been instructed to hand over the offices within three days, according to the Presidential Spokesman Hussein Adam Igeh, (Hussein-deyr).

1. Prof Ahmed Mohamed Adaad – Maroodijeeh RG
2. Wali Abdi Jama Kheyre – Maroodi-jeeh Deputy RG
3. Muhummed Hasan Jama (Hoday) -Awdal RG.
4. Daahir Axmed Jaama Buraale – Awdal deputy RG.
5. Mohamed Daahir Abdalla Gaafane -Saahil RG



6. Mohamoud Ali Suleiman (Ramaah) -Togdeer RG.
- 7 Saeed Ahmed Mohamed Raage – Togdeer deputy RG.
- 8 Ahmed Faarah Osmaan Abdi – Sool RG.
- 9 Naaleeye Ahmed Jaama Liibaan – Sool deputy RG.
- 10 Saalah Yuusuf Diiriye Guuleed - deputy RG Sanaag.
- 11 Mohamed Abdillaahi Jaama (Bookh) -Gebilay RG.
- 12 Abdirisaaq Ahmed Muxummad (Huuno) – deputy RG Gebilay.
- 13 Prof. Ahmed Abdillaahi Mohamed (Degayare) – Saraar RG.
- 14 Mohamuud Warsame Geeddi (Hilbayare)- deputy RG Saraar.

- 15 Abdi Saeed Faahiye Allaale – Salal RG.
- 16 Osmaan Omar Nuur Aare - deputy RG Salal.
- 17 Abdisalaan Maohmed Hasan Mohamed – Badan RG.
- 18 Ali Mohamed Ahmed Adami - deputy RG Badan.
- 19 Mohamoud Hasan Suleiman (Doob) -Hawd RG.
- 20 Ayaanle Mohamuud Raage Qaalib -deputy RG Hawd.
- 21 Fuad Abdi Diiriye Mohamed – Haysimo RG.
- 22 Mohamed Dayib Yuusuf Aadan - deputy RG Daad-madeed.
- 23 Mustafe Ibrahim Axmed Faarah- Buuhoodle RG.

Unmasking Diplomatic Propaganda: Somaliland's Quest for Recognition Amid Regional Power Plays- Prof Nassir

By Prof. Nassir Hussein Kahin
The Horn of Africa's geopolitical landscape is complex, with various narratives shaping perceptions of stability and sovereignty. In the intricate geopolitical theater of the Horn of Africa, a recent article "Stability in the Horn of Africa is Vital to Global Trade" by the Egyptian Ambassador to the United States, Mr. Motas Zahran (December 10, 2024) in Newsweek magazine, seeks to undermine Somaliland's legitimate aspirations for international recognition. This narrative not only distorts the reality on the ground but also serves as a smokescreen for Egypt's strategic maneuvers in the region.

Egypt's Involvement
While Egypt positions itself as a stabilizing force, its actions, such as deploying troops to Somalia under the African Union mission, can be perceived as attempts to exert influence rather than genuine stabilization efforts. Egypt's opposition to Somaliland's recognition aligns with its strategic interests, particularly concerning Nile River geopolitics, rather than the promotion of regional stability.

Contrary to the diplomat's argument that Egypt has a good record of peacekeeping missions in Africa, Egypt's involvement in regional conflicts, particularly in Libya, has been marked by support for specific factions rather than successful peacekeeping. For instance, Egypt has backed General Khalifa Haftar's forces in Libya, contributing to prolonged instability.

In the context of Somalia, Egypt's interest appears to be strategically motivated, aiming to counter Ethiopia's influence in the region. By supporting Somalia, Egypt seeks to exert pressure on Ethiopia regarding Nile water resource negotiations, reflecting a continuation of its longstanding colonial policy to dominate Nile resources rather than engaging in equitable sharing with all Nile geography sharing states.

Arms Proliferation and External Influences

The influx of arms into Somalia, often facilitated by external actors, exacerbates instability and empowers extremist groups. Reports indicate that both Egypt and China have been involved in supplying arms to destabilize eastern regions of Somaliland, undermining the region's security and stability. The clandestine nature of these arms shipments further complicates the security landscape, with fears that they may empower extremist factions rather than bolster national defense.

Egypt's recent military aid to Somalia has raised alarms about the potential exacerbation of regional conflicts. Somaliland and Ethiopia, in particular, have expressed concerns that these weapons could fall into the hands of terrorist groups, thereby intensifying instability.

The One Somalia Policy and U.S. Engagement

The Ambassador seems unaware that the notion of One Somalia policy is increasingly untenable, given that Somaliland has functioned independently for over three

decades. Other regions within Somalia's federal structure, such as Jubaland and Puntland, exhibit significant autonomy and tendencies toward secession, further challenging the feasibility of a unified Somalia.

Houthi's Disruptions and Al-Shabab's Threats

The diplomat suggests that Somaliland's pursuit of recognition exacerbates regional instability by enabling groups like Al-Shabab. Contrarily, Somaliland has maintained a stable and secure environment since declaring independence in 1991, effectively countering extremist influences within its borders. Its commitment to peace and security in the Horn of Africa is evident through its internal stability and efforts to combat terrorism.

Ethiopia's Role and Somaliland

The article criticizes Ethiopia's agreements with Somaliland, implying they undermine Somalia's territorial integrity. However, Somaliland's borders are well-defined, established during the colonial era, and reaffirmed through a 2001 constitutional referendum where 97% voted in favor of independence. Engagements between Ethiopia and Somaliland are based on mutual interests and respect for sovereignty, aiming to enhance regional cooperation and development.

Somalia's Sovereignty and Regional Diplomacy

The Ambassador advocates for U.S. mediation to maintain Somalia's unity, disregarding Somaliland's distinct historical and legal status. Somaliland was a British protectorate and gained independence in 1960 before voluntarily entering a union with Somalia—a union that failed, leading to Somaliland's withdrawal and restoration of its independence in 1991. Its democratic governance and repeated calls for recognition reflect a legitimate aspiration for self-determination, distinct from Somalia's internal dynamics.

The U.S. is no longer interested in its "One Somalia" policy which has not yielded the desired outcomes, as evidenced by persistent instability and lack of effective governance in Somalia. Recognizing this reality, U.S. policymakers are reconsidering their stance. Notably, Congressman Scott Perry introduced H.R. 10402, a bill advocating for the recognition of Somaliland as an independent country. The world recently witnessed the presidential and parliamentary elections in Somaliland which resulted in peaceful transfer of power, underscoring its status as a stable and democratic entity in a tumultuous region, thus deserving recognition.

U.S.-Egypt Strategic Partnership

The Egyptian diplomat emphasizes a U.S.-Egypt partnership in promoting regional stability. However, this partnership often overlooks the democratic progress and stability that Somaliland represents.

Recognizing Somaliland could serve U.S. interests in promoting democracy and countering extremism in the region. Furthermore, China's

growing influence, including investments in regional infrastructure, poses challenges to U.S. strategic interests—challenges that a recognized and allied Somaliland could help mitigate.

Addressing the 'Pandora's Box' Argument

A common outdated argument raised by the Ambassador against Somaliland's recognition is the fear that it would set a precedent for other separatist movements in Africa, potentially destabilizing the continent. However, this concern is unfounded in Somaliland's case. The African Union (AU) Charter emphasizes the inviolability of colonial borders to prevent arbitrary secessions.

Somaliland's situation is unique because it seeks a return to its internationally recognized borders at the time of independence in 1960, prior to its voluntary union with Somalia. This historical context distinguishes Somaliland's case from other separatist movements.

Moreover, the AU's own fact-finding mission in 2005 concluded that Somaliland's pursuit of recognition is historically unique and self-justified in African political history. The mission recommended that Somaliland's case should not be linked to the notion of 'opening a Pandora's box' and urged the AU to find a special method of dealing with this yet outstanding case.

The Kosovo Parallel: U.S. Strategic Interests

The comparison between Somaliland and Kosovo is gaining traction among U.S. policymakers. Recognizing Somaliland could serve U.S. strategic interests by ensuring stability along the Red Sea, a vital artery for global trade. Such a move would counterbalance the influence of regional actors like Egypt, Turkey, and China, who have vested interests in maintaining the status quo.

Furthermore, there are indications that the U.S. is considering recognizing Somaliland soon, especially given the strategic military cooperation already in place. The port of Berbera offers significant strategic value for safeguarding maritime security and trade routes, countering Chinese influence, and addressing threats from Houthi and Iranian activities in the Red Sea.

The narrative presented by the Egyptian diplomat reflect a biased perspective that overlooks the complexities on the ground and Somaliland's legitimate aspirations for recognition. Somaliland's stability, democratic governance, and strategic significance make it a valuable partner for the international community.

As the Horn of Africa stands at a crossroads, the international community must critically assess the motivations behind such Egyptian propaganda narratives. Recognizing Somaliland not only acknowledges the democratic will of its people but also contributes to regional stability, aligning with broader strategic interests in the Red Sea corridor. It is long overdue for America to act and recognize Somaliland as the new Kosovo in the Horn of Africa.

Ramifications of the US recognising Somaliland as a state



I would hate to see the Red Sea bottled up on both ends by people who might not necessarily be or remain our friends."

This statement was made by former US president Dwight Eisenhower in 1959, three years before Emperor Haile Selassie of Ethiopia abrogated a federal treaty and amalgamated Eritrea with Ethiopia.

Eisenhower's statement seemed to be a preemptive endorsement of Ethiopia's annexation of Eritrea because of the latter's value at the time in the US's global strategy. The president also appreciated Ethiopia's role in the Korean War. Incoming US president Donald Trump's rationale for recognising Somaliland, if he does, would not be vastly different from the one Eisenhower, in effect, used for Eritrea. China might also be tempted to use the same logic in the Horn of Africa.

Should Trump recognise Somaliland, as has been reported in the US and United Kingdom, it would be because, among other things, he wanted a military base in one of the best natural harbours Africa has, the port of Berbera.

Trump is not alone in seeking to recognise Somaliland. US congressman Scott Perry introduced a Bill last month calling for recognition of the territory. If the US recognises Somaliland, other countries will probably follow suit. China has a military base in neighbouring Djibouti.

Apart from adding an extra layer of complexity to the geopolitics of the Horn of Africa, Trump's recognition of Somaliland would fuel Sino-American rivalry in that region.

Colonial roots

In 1991, the Somali Republic (Somalia), which was created in 1960, split into Somaliland (a former British colony) and Somalia (a former Italian colony). Somalia does not recognise the secession of Somaliland.

Also in 1991, Eritrea, which was created and so named by Italy in

1890, seceded from Ethiopia.

Somaliland seceded from a union with greater Somalia, to which it had originally consented, but Eritrea seceded from a union with Ethiopia that had been imposed upon it. In the case of the Somali Republic, the union of the former British and former Italian territories was an attempt to reject European colonial boundaries.

In the case of Eritrea, its annexation into Ethiopia was an attempt to substitute European colonial boundaries with indigenous imperial control. Given this, what would Trump's recognition of Somaliland mean for the key stakeholders?

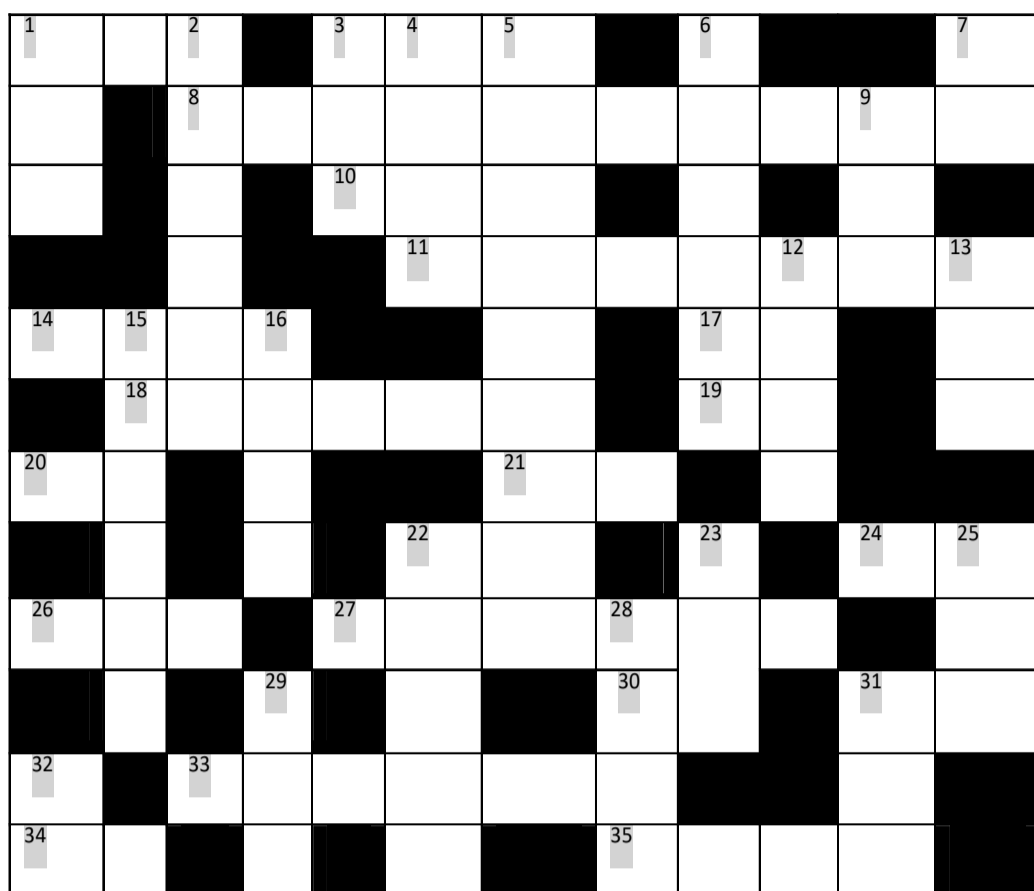
US and Somaliland
Since 2002, the US has operated Camp Lemonnier, a naval base in what was French Somaliland; Djibouti, as it is known today, is a tiny country sandwiched between Somaliland, Eritrea and Ethiopia. This means the US will get a strategic prize (vis-à-vis China) in return, should Trump recognise Somaliland.

It would also mean that, if all goes well, Somaliland could be on the verge of regaining statehood. For more than two decades, the Republic of Somaliland has maintained relative peace (unlike its conflict-ridden neighbour Somalia), has formed governments and has held periodic democratic elections. In most places in Africa, less than a decade after independence, the basic principles of democracy have been ignored. Unfortunately for Somaliland, the international community has been reluctant to recognise it as a legitimate state.

States need international recognition just as humans need oxygen to survive. That Somaliland has not only survived without international recognition for more than 30 years, but thrived in the international system, is fascinating. One more thing that makes the experience of Somaliland

Continue on page 6

THT Puzzle



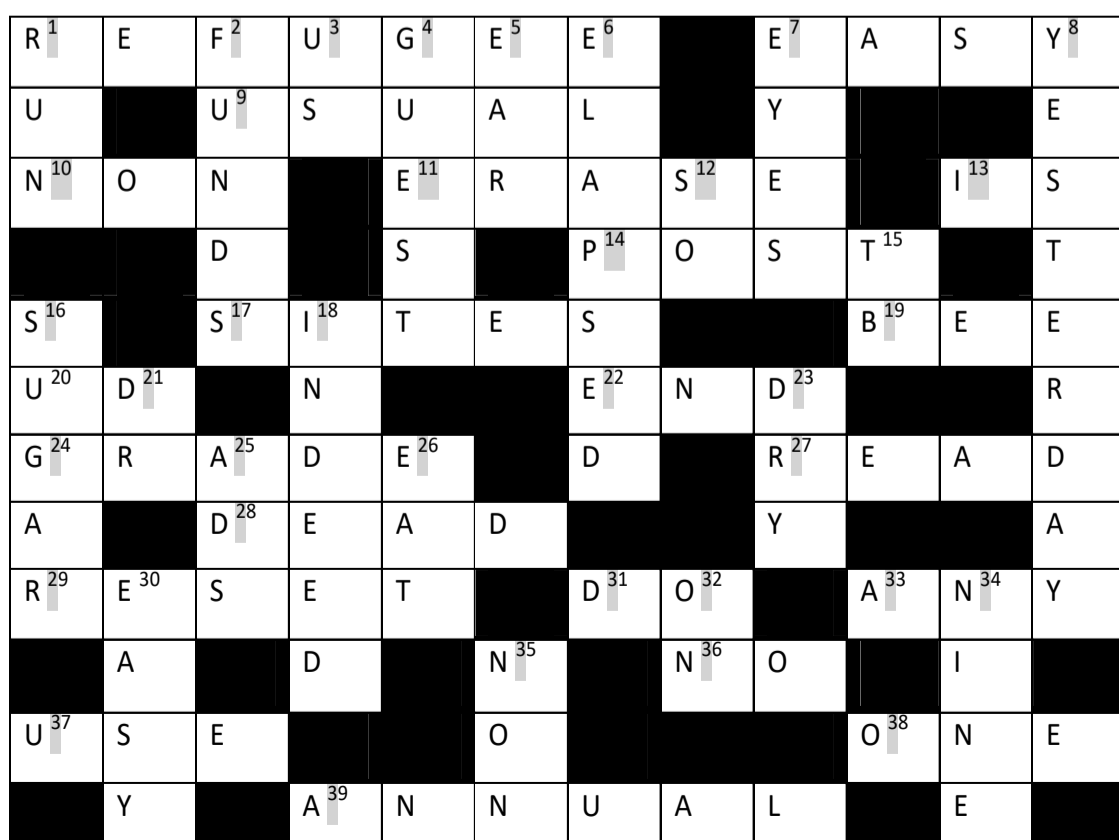
DOWN

- 1 question.
- 2 confirm.
- 3 shed tears
- 4 vicinity
- 5 travelers
- 6 increasing
- 7 U'S
- 9 Have a meal
- 12 Almost immediately
- 13 Sun shine
- 15 Nearby
- 16 Simple
- 22 brain power
- 23 individual
- 25 Perceive or look
- 28 possessive pronoun
- 29 Carpet
- 31 double or single bed
- 32 Negative or nope

ACROSS

- 1be present.
- 3 crowns head wear
- 8 storylines.
- 10 Yeah
- 11 Support
- 14 Concern assist
- 17 Negative
- 18 Cause
- 19 Travel
- 22 be present
- 24 Remains
- 26 Furthermore
- 27 Symbols
- 30 United Nations in short forms
- 31 Be there
- 34 Atop
- 35 Stated

Previous Answer



Ramifications of the US recognising Somaliland as a state

perplexing has to do with the neighbourhood in which it strove to consolidate its democratic institutions. According to the rating by Freedom House (2024), Somalia, Djibouti and Ethiopia score lower (meaning they are less democratic) than Somaliland.

China, Eritrea and Taiwan Should Trump recognise Somaliland, China might seek to counter by looking for an alternative option for a military or naval base in another relatively new Red Sea-bordering state. Eritrea is an ideal candidate.

China-Eritrea relations are already cordial. In fact, Eritrea's leader, Isaias Afwerki, received military training in China in the early 1960s at the start of Eritrea's 30-year war of liberation with Ethiopia.

If China gets a military or naval base in Eritrea, in response to the US's base in Somaliland, it would in some ways be reminiscent of the time from 1952 to 1974 when the US, at the height of the Cold War, operated defence installations in Eritrea.

In 1952, Eritrea had federal status in Ethiopia but the territory was "re-unified" with Ethiopia in 1962 — with tacit US support. In other words, should China decide to pursue an alternative base in Eritrea, the logic used by the US vis-à-vis Eritrea could retain some validity for China, too.

The US abandoned its military communications base in Eritrea when it became less useful because of the advent of satellite technology. Although Somaliland already has excellent relations with Taiwan, extra complications could arise for China's diplomacy in the Horn of Africa regarding Taiwan if Trump should recognise Somaliland. This is a result of the possibility that the recognition will prompt the newest state in the Horn of Africa to upgrade and formalise its diplomatic relationship with Taiwan.

Taiwan's deputy foreign minister, Francois Wu, visited Somaliland on 12 December. The newly formalised ties between independent Somaliland and Ethiopia could, in turn, elevate the profile of the bilateral relations between Somaliland and Taiwan, at least in Africa. This fear perhaps explains China's strong opposition to any such diplomatic manoeuvres by both Taiwan and Somaliland.

As Mai Ning, the spokesperson for China's foreign ministry, put it last month: "China firmly opposes mutual establishment of official institutions or any form of official exchanges between Taiwan authorities and Somaliland."

Ethiopia and Somalia Should Trump recognise Somaliland, it would be a win for Ethiopia because it, too, could quickly follow suit and gain access to the sea through the port of Berbera. Over the past 30 years, Ethiopia's leaders have aimed to

achieve that in return for diplomatic recognition of Somaliland but could not do so for fear of backlash, particularly from the African Union and the United Nations.

The recently signed memorandum of understanding between Ethiopia and Somaliland was also designed to set the stage for this goal. Ethiopia and Somalia are at loggerheads over this memorandum.

But China-Ethiopia relations are strong enough to withstand Ethiopia's recognition of Somaliland.

UAE, Turkey and Egypt The United Arab Emirates will be on the winning side, should Trump recognise Somaliland. It is already supportive of Somaliland's independence and its recognition by other countries.

Turkey would incur diplomatic cost, as would Egypt, to a larger extent. The bilateral relations between Ethiopia and Turkey will be tested, if Ethiopia recognises Somaliland. Indeed, Turkey has been engaged in an exercise of what could be called diplomatic miscegenation in the region. In December, it brought together the leaders of Somalia and Ethiopia, in Ankara, with a view to helping them resolve their differences. It favours the unity of Somalia and Somaliland and sees itself as a friend of both countries.

Egypt's historical machinations to undermine Ethiopia are well known. But they have intensified in recent times as the country seeks to leverage closeness to pressure Ethiopia over the issue of the Grand Ethiopian Renaissance Dam. Egypt had initially attempted to do this through Sudan, which has descended into a seemingly endless civil war. Its diplomatic infatuation with Somalia in the last few months is a direct consequence of this broad strategy.

There is an element of irony in Egypt's misfortune, should Trump recognise Somaliland, because it was Trump himself who openly suggested in October 2020, during his first term as president, that Egypt might blow up the dam.

In the final analysis, Somaliland must be seen in the broader context of the contiguities of geography and the continuities of history that have shaped and re-shaped the alignment of forces among the unequal regional players in the Horn of Africa.

Should Trump recognise Somaliland, it will also be a catalyst for great power competition in the region. After all, Somaliland has enormous strategic value, including proximity to the world's major shipping routes and oil reserves. Dr Seifudein Adem is a research fellow at JICA Ogata Research Institute for Peace and Development in Tokyo, Japan.

The Wars That Could Define The Donald Trump Presidency- Michael Rubin

No president gets to choose the major crises that shape their legacies. Here are a few that may shape Donald Trump's. Almost every president since the end of the Cold War had his foreign policy legacy defined by a war no one could have foreseen. For George H.W. Bush, it was Iraq's invasion of Kuwait. Bill Clinton sought to deflect Bush's 90 percent popularity after the successful 100-hour ground war by focusing on bread-and-butter issues. In 1992, Clinton campaign consultant James Carville summarized the strategy with the famous quip, "It's the economy, stupid." Clinton genuinely hoped to focus on the economy. He extricated U.S. forces from Somalia following the "Black Hawk Down" incident but found himself drawn first into Bosnia and then more reluctantly into Kosovo. George W. Bush, too, sought to be a domestic president but, after the 9/11 attacks, ordered U.S. forces into Afghanistan and, more controversially, into Iraq. Barack Obama pledged to end "dumb war[s]," but not only remained in Afghanistan and returned to Iraq but then involved the United States in Syria and Libya.

Russia's invasion of Ukraine dominated the Biden administration's foreign policy. Joe Biden did not send U.S. forces into the theater, but he did provide Ukraine with weaponry and other forms of support for their war effort. For all his talk about his genuine interest in Africa, Biden has paid little attention to the world's deadliest conflict, the civil war in Sudan. He staked out the middle ground in the Israel-Hamas conflict, meddling diplomatically and virtue signaling with humanitarian schemes while otherwise standing largely aloof. Biden also claimed to be "the first president in this century to report to the American people that the United States is not at war anywhere in the world." However, he omitted U.S. involvement off the coast of Yemen.

While the COVID-19 Pandemic overshadowed Donald Trump's first term (thanks to a Chinese lab leak), he is correct in saying that he did not involve the United States in new wars. His second term will likely not be so placid.

Several wars loom, all of which could impact Trump's legacy, whether he chooses to involve himself or not.

Turkey And Syria Vs. The Kurds

After *Hayat Tahrir al-Sham* (HTS), a Turkish-sponsored Sunni Islamist group that previously aligned with Al Qaeda rampaged through Syria and ended Bashar al-Assad's dynasty after nearly a quarter-century. Trump celebrated. "I think Turkey is very smart...Turkey did an unfriendly takeover, without a lot of lives being lost," he said.

Trump's assessment of Turkey's wisdom may be premature. While *Hayat Tahrir al-Sham* leader Ahmed al-Sharaa (Abu Bakr al-Jolani) seeks to win international recognition, he does so less because he has yet to consolidate control and more because recognition will bring access and control over the nearly \$400 billion that Syrians will need to reconstruct their country.

The broader issue that could impact the Trump administration is what the new Syrian regime will mean for the Syrian Kurds. Trump may not care about the Kurds personally—he certainly did not hesitate to betray them during his first term—but the stakes are arguably higher. Both Al-Sharaa and Iraqi Kurdish leader Masoud Barzani are pawns of Turkey; both trade sovereignty and nationalist causes for cash and power. Both will turn on Syrian Kurds to remain in the good graces of Turkish president Recep Tayyip Erdogan.

In the past, Syrian president Bashar al-Assad was a brake on Turkish ambitions. With him gone, Turkey and its proxies may seek to overrun Syria's Kurdish regions. The short-term impact of this could be the release of thousands of Islamic State prisoners. They will tip the balance inside Syria toward militancy. They could spread throughout not only the Middle East—

destabilizing Jordan, Egypt, and Saudi Arabia—but also become another tool by which Erdogan could blackmail Europe, as he did with Syrian refugees. It will only be a matter of time until some cross the southern border. What happens in Syria does not stay in Syria.

Azerbaijan Vs. Armenia

Azerbaijani president Ilham Aliyev took advantage of U.S. distraction during the 2020 election to launch an attack on Nagorno-Karabakh, a self-governing and democratic ethnic Armenian territory that Azerbaijan demanded to subordinate itself to Azerbaijan's direct rule. On November 9, 2020, Russian President Vladimir Putin imposed a ceasefire sparing about half the region's territory and enabling 120,000 indigenous Armenians to remain in the rump region. With Putin preoccupied with the Ukraine War and with Secretary of State Antony Blinken signaling moral equivalency and weakness, Aliyev finished the job in September 2023, driving the entire 1,700-year-old Armenian Christian community into exile. Blinken's refusal to describe that episode as "ethnic cleansing," preferring instead to describe events in the passive voice as "depopulation," leads Aliyev to believe he can continue his anti-Armenian jihad. In recent weeks, Aliyev has demanded the European border observation team evacuate and Armenia stop arming itself. His rhetoric about Armenia as "Western Azerbaijan" mirrors the late Iraqi President Saddam Hussein's quip about Kuwait being Iraq's "nineteenth province."

The Caucasus could become even bloodier if Ukraine falls. Since 2018, Armenia has pivoted toward the West. Putin has a long memory. If given the opportunity, he will exact his revenge on Armenia. The same holds true for Moldova, which has also oriented itself increasingly toward Europe and NATO. Russia has already tightened its grip on Georgia. Trump must consider whether he is fine with the reconstitution of the Soviet Union.

China's Proxy Wars In Africa

Trump would not be the first president to ignore African conflicts, but he may be the first for whom doing so would put the United States at untenable risk. China is no stranger to the continent. In 2017, it opened its first overseas naval base in tiny Djibouti in the Horn of Africa, just a few miles from Camp Lemonnier, where the Pentagon still stations its Combined Joint Task Force-Horn of Africa.

During the Biden administration, China consolidated its strategic position without any serious U.S. pushback. Rather than counter China's economic and military inroads, the State Department often facilitated them.

The Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) may be one of the world's most dysfunctional states. Still, it nevertheless will be indispensable for the twenty-first-century economy. The lithium-ion batteries (upon which so many technologies depend) require cobalt, tantalum, germanium, and other rare earth elements that the DRC possesses in abundance. Some geologists estimate that Congo's mineral wealth is worth up to \$24 trillion. China has taken a two-pronged approach to the DRC. It has bribed successive presidents for lucrative and exclusive mining concessions and simultaneously sold high-tech weaponry to support its investment in President Félix Tshisekedi, who now seeks an unconstitutional third term. Meanwhile, U.S. officials still celebrate Tshisekedi as a democrat. Under Michael Hammer, the U.S. Embassy in Kinshasa recommended lifting UN reporting requirements on Congolese military purchases, thus injecting an opacity that only benefits Beijing.

Tshisekedi is not an intellectual. He appears to believe that a top-shelf, multibillion-dollar military can buy victory, regardless of his regime's corruption and general incompetence. Such a dynamic can lead rulers like Tshisekedi to pull the trigger. He

has grown increasingly bellicose toward Rwanda, a pro-Western neighbor that has previously fought to protect itself from genocide-era terrorists who now call the DRC home. Anti-Rwanda rhetoric can both distract Congolese from Tshisekedi's own mismanagement and also serve China's interests as Rwanda's President Paul Kagame has taken a balanced approach that has effectively blocked Beijing's ambitions. If a third Congo War erupts—and odds are it will—Trump will be forced to deal with a conflict that could disrupt the twenty-first-century economy just as much as the Arab oil embargo disrupted the twentieth-century economy. Chinese interference in the Horn of Africa is an even greater threat. Somaliland, an unrecognized country that is nonetheless the region's only democracy, also possesses rare earth deposits. It hosts an airfield that, prior to Somalia's collapse into chaos, was an emergency landing strip for NASA's space shuttle program, a deep water port that today is one of Africa's top-ranked facilities, and several hundred miles of strategic coast along the Gulf of Aden. While countries like Pakistan and the United Arab Emirates take a transactional approach between the United States and China, Somaliland stands on principle and openly sides with Taiwan.

China, alongside the Somali government in Mogadishu, has responded by sponsoring an insurgency in Somaliland's Sool region. The Biden team bizarrely sided not with democratic, pro-Western, pro-Taiwan, and reasonably transparent Somaliland but rather with Mogadishu and Beijing. If Trump does not side unequivocally with Somaliland and recognize it, expect China to increase its efforts to destabilize the country. Simply put, it is impossible for Trump to stand up to China without working to checkmate its projects in Africa.

China Vs. Taiwan

The one possible conflict for which Trump's team recognizes the need for preparation is a Chinese invasion of Taiwan. Make no mistake: Taiwan is not China. Historically, it has been distinct for most of the last 500 years. Even Mao Zedong recognized that Taiwan was as distinct from China as Korea.

Taiwan, however, is not simply the single island that many Americans picture. It also includes several outlying islands—some in the Taiwan Strait and some further afield. Trump's advisors must not assume, as Undersecretary of Defense for Policy-designate Elbridge Colby does, that China would "go big" with an immediate effort to conquer Taiwan's main island. After all, the Taiwan Relations Act does not cover the islands Matsu or Quemoy, the epicenter of the Eisenhower-era Taiwan crises, let alone those further afield like Taiping or Dongsha.

For Beijing, Chinese "salami slicing" tactics in the South China Sea have been a success. Why should they change them now? Rather than simply address a theoretical invasion of Taiwan proper, Trump needs to determine in advance whether he will stand down should that invasion come in slow motion. After all, if China occupies Dongsha or Matsu absent American pushback, it is conditioning the American public for inaction.

Every president enters office with an agenda, but reality quickly intrudes. Biden allowed problems to fester, and the weakness and vacillation of aides like Blinken only encouraged irredentists and adversaries.

The foreign policy crises Trump does not expect and that his aides hope to ignore will likely define Trump's legacy in ways he does not now imagine. Trump side-stepped wars in his first administration. He may not be so lucky in his next one.

Michael Rubin is a Senior Fellow at the American Enterprise Institute and director of policy analysis at the Middle East Forum.

SOMALILAND TRADE MARK - CAUTIONARY NOTICE



NOTICE IS HEREBY GIVEN that the above trade mark is the trade mark of Dubai Aviation Corporation (trading as flydubai) of flydubai Headquarters, Terminal 2, P.O. Box 353, Dubai, United Arab Emirates

and is used in connection with:

Class 39: Airline services, air transportation services, aircraft chartering services; travel services; courier services; cargo handling services; cargo storage services; cargo transport services; delivery of goods by air; escorting of travellers; freight brokerage and freight forwarding services; airport ground handling services; packing and storage of goods; booking and reservation agencies for travel; travel agency services; flight reservations; arranging flights; arranging holidays; package holiday services; tourist information services; provision of assistance in flight check-in and travel arrangements; information and advisory services relating to all the aforesaid services being services in Class 39.

NOTICE IS ALSO GIVEN that legal proceedings will be taken against any person or company who uses the said trade mark or any imitations thereof or who otherwise infringes the rights of the said company.

CAUTIONARY NOTICE TRADE MARK – SOMALILAND



NOTICE IS HEREBY GIVEN that the above trade mark is the trade mark of: Red Bull GmbH, an Austrian company of Am Brunnen 1, 5330, Fuschl am See, Austria and is used in connection with: Photographic and cinematographic equipment; teaching apparatus; electricity accumulation instruments; sound recording, transmission, and reproduction devices; image recording, transmission, and reproduction devices; magnetic data carriers; recording discs; compact discs; DVDs; digital recording media; computer software; recorded content; IT and audiovisual equipment; safety, security, protection, and signaling devices; navigation and tracking devices; simulators; mobile phones and SIM cards; mobile phone software; interactive multimedia games; machine-readable data carriers; recorded computer programs and games; protective clothing and gear (body armor, spectacles, masks, helmets); spectacles and sunglasses; sports goggles; headphones; smartphone covers and cases; smartglasses and smartwatches; luminous signs; loudspeakers; virtual reality software.

NOTICE IS ALSO GIVEN that legal proceedings will be taken against any person or company who uses the said trade mark or any imitations thereof or who otherwise infringes the rights of the said company.

CAUTIONARY NOTICE TRADE MARK – SOMALILAND

STARLET CROSS

NOTICE IS HEREBY GIVEN that the above trade mark is the trade mark of: TOYOTA JIDOSHA KABUSHIKI KAISHA (also trading as TOYOTA MOTOR CORPORATION), a corporation organized under the laws of Japan of 1, Toyota-cho, Toyota-shi, Aichi-ken, Japan and is used in connection with: Automobiles and structural parts thereof.

NOTICE IS ALSO GIVEN that legal proceedings will be taken against any person or company who uses the said trade mark or any imitations thereof or who otherwise infringes the rights of the said company.

CAUTIONARY NOTICE TRADE MARK – SOMALILAND

SUNCOLA SUNTOP

NOTICE IS HEREBY GIVEN that the above trade mark is the trade mark of: CO-RO A/S, a Danish company of Holmensvej 11, 3600 Frederikssund, Denmark and are used in connection with: Coffee, tea, cocoa and artificial coffee; beverages based on coffee, tea or cocoa; flavorings, other than essential oils for beverages; rice; tapioca and sago; flour and preparations made from cereals; bread, pastry and confectionery; ices; sugar, honey, treacle; yeast, baking-powder; salt; mustard; vinegar, sauces (condiments); spices; confectionery; edible ices, home freeze ices, ice lollies; non-alcoholic drinks, mineral and aerated waters and other non-alcoholic beverages, fruit drinks, fruit juices, fruit drinks concentrates, syrups and other preparations for making beverages.

NOTICE IS ALSO GIVEN that legal proceedings will be taken against any person or company who uses the said trade mark or any imitations thereof or who otherwise infringes the rights of the said company.