



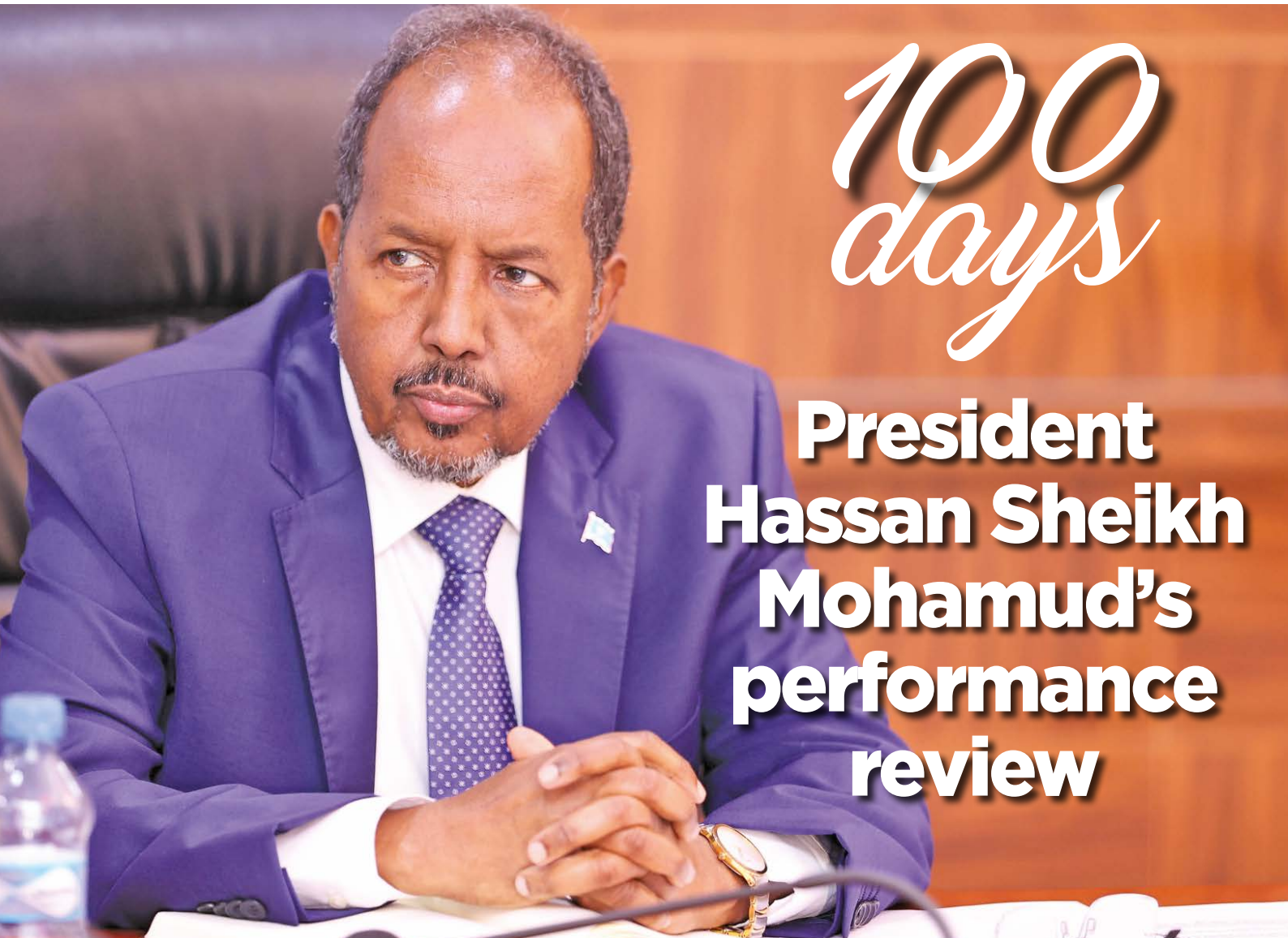
Magazine

Authentic regional coverage

ISSUE 011 SEPTEMBER 2022

*100
days*

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President Hassan Sheikh Mohamud's 100-day performance review



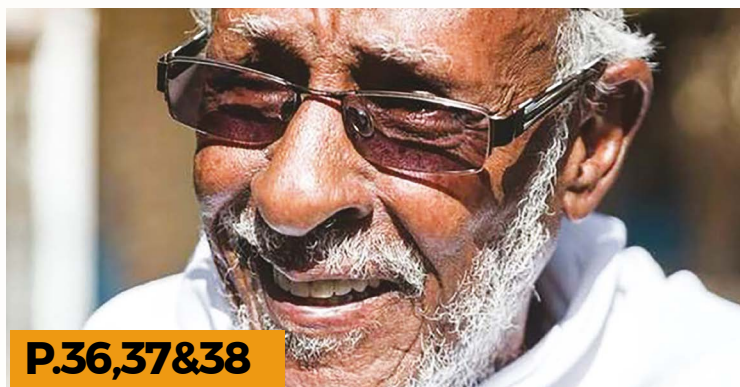
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Goodbye Genius Hadrawi: The Scholar of Philosophers, and the Philosopher of Scholars



President Hassan Sheikh Mohamud's 100-day performance review

BY FU'AD HAJI ABDI WELI, 5 magazine

The election of President Hassan Sheikh Mohamud was a great relief to millions of Somalis who yearned for a change and for the nation to succeed. Upon taking office, President Mohamud identified the core problems he will address within the first 100 days in office. In an interview with Voice of America's Somali Service, Presidnet Hassan detailed the steps his government would take to restore optimism for Somalis in the nation and throughout the country.

The President said in the interview that he plans to concentrate on security, political stability, and economic recovery within his first 100 days in office, and following the passage of those first 100 days, the following is a summary of some of the successes that have been accomplished.

SECURITY

The plan to combat and eradicate Alshabab, a terror group that has been responsible for a great deal of anguish and suffering inflicted

upon the Somali people, is divided into three stages, according to the president, which include:

1. **Military force to confront the adversary.**
2. **Financial sanctions.**
3. **Widespread public education on erroneous beliefs and misunderstandings of our faith.**

The Somali national army, with the assistance of the Somali people, have initiated terrorist operations in the regional states of South West, Hirshabelle, and Galmudug. 248 terrorists were eliminated throughout 46 separate operations, and territories formerly occupied by the enemy were liberated.

In order to combat the terrorists who are responsible for the bloodshed among the Somali Muslim community, a social awareness campaign that is being directed by the clerics has been initiated.

President Hassan Sheikh visited the country's armed forces in Turkey and Eritrea, where they are receiving training. In fulfillment of his campaign pledge, the President visited the Somali Army's training camp in Eritrea. Noting that the Somali

people are pleased with their appearance, whilst enemies are frightened.

The actions taken by the President of the Republic to witness the Somali military training in Eritrea, as well as his visit to the troops in Isparta, the inspection of the Ministry of Defense, and his support of those pursuing peace on the front lines are strong indications of the government's readiness to execute the National Security Plan.

ECONOMY

The president's first act was to save the HIPC Debt Forgiveness Process, which had begun in 2013 but was in risk of crashing owing to the condition of uncertainty during the election. On May 24, the Council of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) granted the president's request, therefore rescuing the process of reducing or canceling a country's debt that was in jeopardy.

BUDGET

Following a period of six months in which government agencies operated without a

1000

Maalmood



The trip to South West and Galmudug State was used to illustrate the policies that he will work on, which is built on agreements, collaboration, and cooperation.

Affairs and Defense, presided over the Trade and Investment Conference between Somalia and Uganda, where important agreements were made.

Soomaali heshiis ah

The campaign pledge of the President was that Somali people must find peace within themselves in order to conquer the challenges that stand in the way of the realization of our nationhood.

Before being inaugurated as president, the President traveled to South West and Galmudug State. The trip was used to illustrate the policies that he will work on, which is built on agreements, collaboration, and cooperation. In addition to this, he promoted to politicians, traditional leaders, young people, and women the idea of a Somali nation at peace with itself.

National Consultative Council

Mogadishu played host to a gathering of the National Consultative Council recently, with the goal of fostering an atmosphere that is conducive to productive collaboration between FMS and FGS.

The summit, which lasted for two days, resulted in agreements that were previously impossible to achieve, and they include,

1. The system of national security that plays a vital part in the liberation and fight against terrorism in a coordinated manner.
2. The implementation of an adequate voting process and the holding of democratic elections in the nation.
3. Making the political and social reconciliation of the whole nation a top priority.
4. An Independent judicial system.

There was a shift in the level of skepticism and resistance among the leaders and instead there was a show of unity and trust. The President of the Republic also flew to Garowe, which is the capital of Puntland, for a five-day visit that was focused on the implementation of the Somalis' vision of an agreement with itself. While there, he had constructive meetings with the top leaders of the regional administration and the Puntland community.

Dunida heshiis la ah

For Somalia to have a sound relations with neighboring countries, President Hassan has been conducting foreign policy that is friendly, while simultaneously pursuing Somalia's best interests in terms of collaboration and ensuring that each

continued on page 8>>

budget, on May 26 the Cabinet approved the highest yearly budget which was 918.7 million dollars. On the 30th of June, after a contentious discussion, the two Houses of the Somali Parliament adopted the budget, so establishing a formal budget for the nation.

BUDGETARY SUPPORT

Due to the fact that donor governments and international organizations that normally support the country's budget have ceased their contributions for more than a year, there was a possibility that soldiers and other Government employee may not get their salaries.

There was also a deficiency in the amount of money that had been borrowed from the International Monetary Fund (IMF) in the form of "SDR" loans by the Ministry of Finance in order to manage the salary of government workers. Major actions required to reopen the financial subsidy were undertaken by President Hassan Sheikh.

On June 27, 2022, the World Bank approved \$100 million for the acceleration of the government's efforts in response to a request from the president. A budgetary assistance program from the European Union has also been made available to Somalia.

COMMERCE AND INVESTMENTS

The Central Bank of Somalia has granted licenses to Misr Banque and Ziraat BANK in Egypt and Turkey, respectively, in an effort to promote increased levels of direct foreign investment.

In order to connect Somalia's business with African countries, the President of Somalia, Hassan Sheikh, together with the leaders of major firms in the nation, the Ministry of Commerce, Planning, Foreign



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nation respects the political and geographical autonomy of each other.

The president has visited a number of nations with whom ties have become more strained in the past years. These excursions were productive and resulted in agreements about collaboration, security, and commercial matters, they include;

The United Arab Emirates

Relations between UAE and Somalia has been amended, and the two nations have come to an agreement to strengthen their ties and increase their level of cooperation. This will make it easier for commerce, the movement of persons, and the provision of drought assistance.

Turkey:

There will be increase in terms of cooperation in terms of both economic and social integration.

Eritrea:

Increasing the level of political and diplomatic cooperation in order to safeguard and advance the interests of both countries, also, deepening our defense collaboration in order to preserve peace, stability, and security

Kenya:

Security, economic, and political cooperation between the two nations, as well as an agreement to reduce the

hurdles to migration that have arisen as a direct consequence of the ambiguity in the relationship between the two countries.

Also, economic collaboration by opening the border between Somalia and Kenya, which is part of the process of making it easier for people to transfer their products and services back and forth between the two nations.

Djibouti:

Restoring the brotherly connection between the two republics, which has been deteriorating.

Tanzania.

EAC membership applications

The East African Community umbrella market is comprised of seven nations, and Somalia's President Hassan Sheikh Mohamud has reintroduced the country's proposal to become a member of the EAC.

It is anticipated that Somalia will become a member of the umbrella once it is finished, and this was communicated to our president by the other leaders of the umbrella who were present at the meeting in Arusha, Tanzania, on July 21 and 22. The president received the support of all of the umbrella leaders.

Egypt:

Support for the growth of education; support for the creation of the military; support for the fight against terrorism; and strengthening of the historical tie between the two nations

Uganda:

Agreements on regional security cooperation, defense strengthening of the two governments, investment facilitation, trade exchanges, and increased levels of production.

Drought

When President Hassan Sheikh assumed office, the nation was in the midst of a terrible drought, which was a problem for both the population and the rest of the globe. The drought that has been going on for months, the president concentrated on the drought during his first days in office by examining its breadth and the places it impacted.

On May 25, he appointed a Special Envoy for Drought and asked the Somali people to rescue themselves and bring the attention of the world to the deteriorating drought. The people of Somalia who were afflicted by the drought were visited by President Hassan Sheikh, who listened to their grievances and observed their day-to-day need for survival.

Conclusion

During President Hassan Sheikh Mohamud's first 100 days in office, the administration has created the framework for the four-year plan to realize the goals of a peaceful, just, and wealthy nation. And the cornerstone for an agreement that will win the war against the enemy of terrorism is the strategy to be successful.

BY LAILA MOHAMED

The new Council of Ministers of the Somalia Federal Government convened in Mogadishu for a meeting which was regarded as an induction session for the new cabinet. At the meeting, Hamse Abdi Barre, the Prime Minister of the Federal Government of Somalia, has preside over the induction meeting which was aimed at an examination of the actions of the government and the national priorities for the new cabinet.

During the course of the Dan-Qaran cabinet meeting's two days, the many ministries and agencies that make up the government discussed ways to improve their collaboration with one another. Mr. Hamse Abdi Barre, on his part urged the Ministers to work honestly for the Somali people and bring about substantial improvements in the nation.

The Prime Minister emphasized that his office will offer full assistance to all government ministries in their efforts to perform their national responsibilities, asking them to endeavor to increase the Somali people's trust in their government by guaranteeing security and delivering basic services. -fundamental and infrastructural growth.

"The Somali people are waiting for you to deliver their mission and ensure their trust, which I hope we will succeed. The Prime Minister's office is working to coordinate, align and strengthen government agencies, we must draft any drafts of government agencies, we must complete what has been started and work day and night with them."

During the induction, there were a variety of specialists, academics, and senior advisers present who shared their knowledge and provided advice on topics like the finalizing of the Constitution, the security and stability of the country, justice and the judiciary, economic growth, and social concerns.

Also, during the two days that the Council of ministers conveyed, an analysis was conducted on the cooperation process of the government agencies, the strengthening of the application of the laws of the nation and the knowledge of the Sub-Regulations of the Council of Ministers, the protection and execution of the processes



Cabinet retreat and the monumental task before of them

of the agreements, government agencies with other agencies, and enhancing the process of information sharing between agencies.

Mr. Hassan Sheikh Mohamud, President of the Federal Republic of Somalia, spoke at the ceremony marking the end of the Council of Ministers of the Federal Government of Somalia. In his remarks, he emphasized the enormous tasks that the Somali people are expecting from the Government and their hope that it will lead to stability, security, and development in the country. He also mentioned that he had participated in the ceremony.

The President exhorted the Council of Ministers to serve their nation with integrity and to place a high emphasis on addressing the problem that the Somali government faces in the form of terrorism and the maintenance of a secure environment.

"The responsibility you have taken is historic and can lead to the rescue of the people and the Somali government, and we can achieve this by uniting our strength and wisdom, and stand together to rid the country of drought, conflicts and insecurity".

The President of the Republic heaped

praise on the Prime Minister of the Federal Government of Somalia, Mr. Hamse Abdi Barre, as well as on his deputy, Mr. Salah Ahmed Jama, for their efforts in implementing the government plan in both Somalia and the rest of the world. The President noted that the plan's execution will serve as a beacon of hope for the Somali people.

In other news, on the 15th of August, Prime Minister Hamza convened the first extraordinary cabinet meeting of the new government. During this meeting, the Reactivation of the National Disaster Management Agency and the appointment of a National Committee comprised of members of the Council of Ministers, scholars, businessmen, and civil society organizations were decided.

The committee has been given clear directives and duties, and all government and non-government organizations should be instructed to assist the Somali people afflicted by the drought. The Cabinet of Ministers meeting urged foreign organizations to collaborate closely with government agencies concerned in these important concerns.



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2022



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للتنمية في إفريقيا



Tokyo International Conference
on African Development



تونس
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PM Hamza's attendance at TICAD8 is a positive indication for investors

BY FU'AD HAJI ABDI WELI, 5 Magazine

Hamza Abdi Barre, the Prime Minister of Somalia, traveled to Tunis in order to take part in the eighth edition of the Tokyo International Conference on African Development (TICAD 8), which took place on August 27 and 28. During his time in Tunis, he also met with other African leaders.

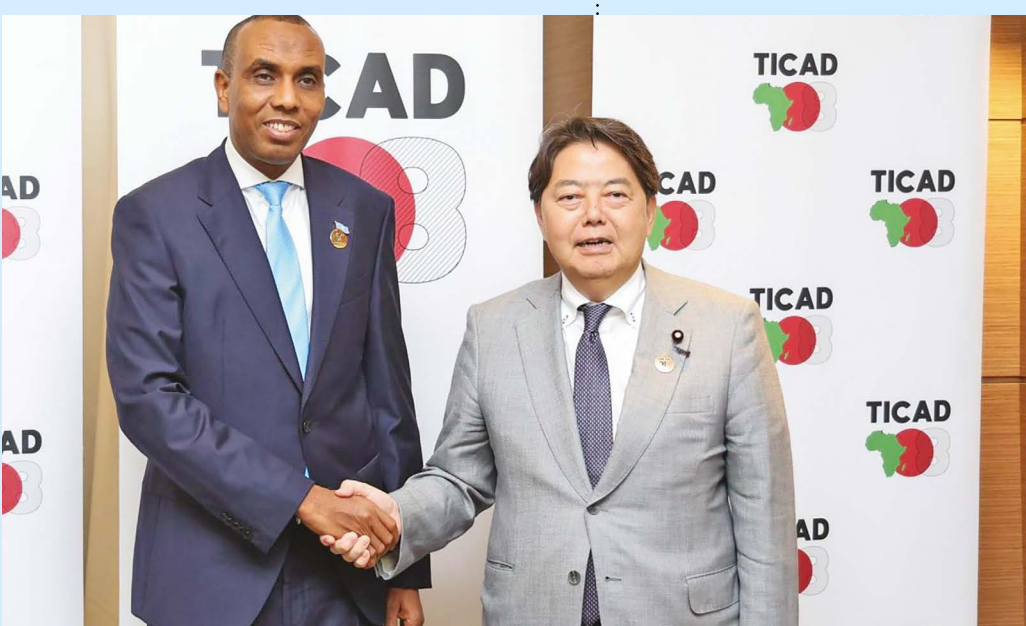
Tokyo International Conference on African Development is a significant meeting and was held since 1993, the Japanese government has served as the conference's main organizer, while the United Nations, the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), the World Bank, and the African Union

"I would like to acknowledge the importance of Japan's assistance, in particular, efforts to improve the quality of the police and security agencies, the provision of communication systems for the Somali Police and the support of important domestic industries, to promote and improve work lifestyles"

Commission have all participated as co-hosts (AUC). The Government of Japan made the announcement in July 2020 that the Republic of Tunisia will be the host country for TICAD8, which was scheduled to take place in 2022.

During his trip to Tunisia, the Prime Minister of the Federal Government of Somalia, Mr. Hamse Abdi Barre, gave a speech at the TICAD8 international conference in Tunis, Tunisia. In his speech, he highlighted the significance of the support provided by the Japanese government in the process of establishing a more secure environment and constructing new governmental institutions.

The Prime Minister stated that security and stability are non-negotiable in order to



achieve social development and economic self-sufficiency for his country. He made this statement while pointing out that the changes in the climate and the conflicts in the world have had a significant impact on the day-to-day lives of the people living in the country. Droughts may have a negative impact on both humans and animals.

"I would like to acknowledge the importance of Japan's assistance, in particular, efforts to improve the quality of the police and security agencies, the provision of communication systems for the Somali Police and the support of important domestic industries, to promote and improve work lifestyles". He said Prime Minister Hamse.

Mr. Hamse emphasized the significance of having the backing of the Japanese government at this time in order to accomplish the primary objectives of achieving security, resolving disputes, mitigating the effects of drought, and adapting to the effects of climate change.

During the eighth session of the International Conference on African Development (TICAD), the Prime Minister of the Federal Government of Somalia, Mr. Hamse Abdi Barre, held discussions with the other leaders who were present at the conference. The topics of these discussions included the enhancement of relations and cooperation between the leaders.

During the eighth annual Tunis International Conference on African Development (TICAD8), the Prime Minister of the Federal Republic of Somalia, Mr. Hamza Abdi Barre, met with the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Japan, Mr. Yoshimasa Hayashi.

The meeting took place in the city of Tunis. The two government representatives spoke about ways to improve the nations of Somalia and Japan's historical links as well as their current level of collaboration with one another. The Prime Minister of Somalia, Hassan Ali Hamse, extended his gratitude to the Japanese government for their support of Somalia.



PM Hamza visits to the troubled Hiraan area

The story of Hiraan region is one of the most unfortunate one in Somalia, one may conclude that the area has been completely ignored by successive regional and federal governments. Donors also overlooked the area by sending only groups who are known to be unscrupulous and have been accused of plundering humanitarian cash; more than 85 percent of the monies are always misappropriated, the region is now the most affected in terms of the draughts.

This unfortunate condition has resulted in inadequate or nonexistent public amenities in the Hiran area. The sole referral hospital covering Hiran and numerous other districts is inoperable due to a lack of maintenance, medication, and medical personnel; as a result, the suffering of the people has increased.

The former federal government's imposition of an alliance between the Hiran and upper Shabelle districts to establish the Hirshabelle state exacerbated the situation in the region. Beledweyn airport is a notable example; its impending construction has been delayed since the age of the warlords.

It is thus the beginning of a new era as Prime Minister of the Federal Government Mr. Hamza Abdi Barre made his maiden trip to Hiraan alongside members of his cabinet and parliament. He was welcomed by President of HirShabelle Ali Abdullahi Hussein (Gudlawe).

The goal of the Prime Minister's visit for now is to assess the drought situation and urge the military troops against the terrorist organization, but much more is surely needed.

The delegation of the Prime Minister, listened to reports from various segments of the public regarding the social situation in Beledweyne and the effects of the drought. Also, the Minister of Defence, the Commander of the Armed Forces, members of parliament, and other authorities informed the Prime Minister on the status of the campaign against the terrorist organization Al-Shabaab.

The Prime Minister thanked the people of Beledweyne for their warm reception of him and the delegation he led, and he praised the army's activities in battling terrorist organizations, which freed numerous places from terrorist control. Mr. Hamza Abdi Barre, P r i m e

Minister of the Federal Government, and Mr. Ali Abdullah Guudlawe, President of the Hir Shabelle regional government, visited the Somali Armed Forces combatting terrorism. He hailed the X.D.S soldiers as heroes who protect the Somali people, their faith, and their nation.

Mr. Hamse has pledged that the government would back the Somali National Army and the locals who have assumed responsibility for eradicating the enemy from the area.

The Minister of Defence, the Commander of the Armed Forces, MPs, and other authorities informed the Prime Minister on the status of the battle against the Al-Shabaab terrorist organization. We arrived back in Mogadishu this afternoon. Mr. Hamza Abdi Barre, Prime Minister of the Federal Government, and Mr. Ali Abdullahi Guudlawe, President of the Hir Shabelle regional government, visited the military troops battling terrorist organizations.

Prime Minister Hamse congratulated the army for their accomplishments in the Hiran region recaptured from the rebel organization, praising them as heroes who protect the Somali people, their faith, and their nation. Mr. Hamse said that the government would help the troops and the locals who have volunteered to battle the enemy.





Direct and blatant meddling on the part of Ethiopia in the internal affairs of Somalia

BY ABDIAHMED, 5Magazine

The term of office for the president of Jubaland was extended from four to five years as a consequence of an unlawful amendment to the state constitution by the Jubaland Parliament. The Jubaland state election, slated for August 2023, is matched by events in South West State, which are happening as a result of identical actions done by the state's legislature in the past. On top of this, regional leaders are also inviting foreign countries in to the country.

Puntland's President Said Abdullahi Deni and Puntland's Vice President Ahmed Ilmi Osman Karash met on Sunday, August 21, in the Presidential Palace in Garowe with high-ranking officials from the Ethiopian National Defense Forces (ENDF) and officials from the Ethiopian Consulate in Puntland. Also present at the meeting were high-ranking officials from the Ethiopian National Defense Forces (ENDF). The gathering took place at the Presidential Palace.

"The meeting discussed the cooperation between the two sides in terms of security,

dealing with terrorist groups such as Al-Shabaab, and how to have a unified plan on how to deal with any factor working against stability and security," the report said. "The meeting also discussed how to have a unified plan on how to deal with any factor working against stability and security."

Pundits interpreted this action as an attempt to undermine the authority of Somalia's regional government, and many characterized it as a challenge by regional leaders to the authority of the

"The meeting discussed the cooperation between the two sides in terms of security, dealing with terrorist groups such as Al-Shabaab, and how to have a unified plan on how to deal with any factor working against stability and security"

federal government as well as an unlawful move that goes against the principles of federalism. Moreover, many characterized it as an attempt to undermine the authority of Somalia's regional government.

In Somalia, incidents of this kind have happened in the past, thus this is not a new occurrence; furthermore, regional leaders have always been involved. In several instances, the heads of state or government of a region have gotten together and declared that they had severed all connections with the federal government. Although things have not yet reached that stage, it is quite possible that there will be a crisis between the government of the regional area and the government of the United States.

Ethiopia is interfering not just in the state of Puntaland but also in Jubaland and South West State as well. On August 4, an Ethiopian military delegation headed by Major General Tesfaye Ayalew, Head of the ENDF Deployment and Somali area's Temporary Security Command Post Coordinator, met with top regional authorities in Baidoa, the

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south west state of Somalia. The meeting focused on discussing peace and security concerns in the region with state officials and security forces of the South West state of Somalia, in particular on the on coordinated activities to eradicate Al-Shabaab terrorists.

On the same day, top officials from the ENDF and regional authorities of the Jubaland state of Somalia got together in the state of Jubaland to talk about the peace and security situation in the territories that border Jubaland and Ethiopia. The current security issues were discussed during a meeting that was chaired by the Deputy President of Jubaland state, Mohammed Seid, and attended by the Chief of Jubaland State Security, Brigadier General Lucas Kuto, Commander of Sector 6, Lieutenant colonel Sintayehu Leta, the 5th Motorized Battalion Deputy Commander for Operations, and the Chief of Jubaland State Security.

Earlier, on August 2, members of a military delegation headed by Lieutenant General Birhanu Bekele, chief of the ENDF military intelligence, and representing the Ministry of Defense traveled to Somaliland to address concerns of regional peace and security.

The delegation was received by the chief



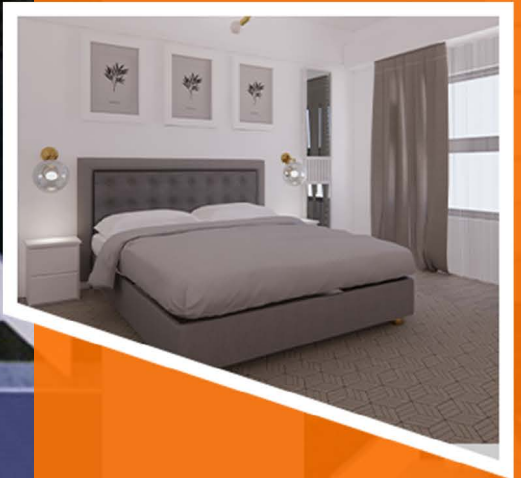
of staff of Somaliland armed forces and other senior army officials at the Hargeisa International Airport, according to the ENDF. The two sides “discussed in detail with the Somaliland President, the Chief of Staff of the armed forces and the Director of the National Security regarding the cooperation between Ethiopia and Somaliland as well as the cooperation on common security and safety issues in the region.”

These meetings follow an earlier visit led by Maj. Gen. Tesfaye Ayalew, in Beledweyne, in the central Somalia. Accompanied by the Somali Regional State Special Forces Commissioner General Mohamed Ahmed and other members of the Defense Forces and Somali Region Special Forces, the visit was aimed at holding military discussions and coordination on stopping the harassment and invasion of the Al-Shabaab militants operating in neighboring Somalia. The delegation also met and consulted with the Somali Defense Army and the security leadership of the Hirshabelle State of Somalia, in south-central Somalia, which is located on the border with Ethiopia to the west, on conditions in which military measures against the militant group can be “strengthened” and “destroyed.”

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Next generation of Somali women journalists

Internship programme starts at Bilan, Somalia's first all-women media team

BY UNDP Somalia

Bilan's internship programme kicked off this week, welcoming two interns from Mogadishu University and Somalia National University. Chosen from among the best students and recent graduates at the journalism faculties of both institutions, Aamino Nor Hussein and Fatima Adam Rage, will have the chance to work part time for six months at the Bilan offices, producing stories with Bilan's team of journalists and joining masterclasses and other training opportunities.

Launched in April 2022, Bilan is Somalia's first all-women media team. Staffed and run entirely by women with full editorial independence, the unit covers hard news and in-depth features, holding leaders to account and making sure women's stories and voices are heard. Bilan is funded and supported by UNDP and hosted by Dalsan Media Group at offices in Mogadishu.

In its first four months of operation, Bilan has taken the Somali media scene by storm. Bilan's stories are broadcast on Dalsan TV and Dalsan Radio twice a week and have been seen by more than 3m people online via Dalsan, UNDP and Bilan's own websites and social media channels. Some of the biggest names in international media have provided masterclasses, including the BBC's Mishal Husain, ITV's Rageh Omar,

Channel 4's Lindsey Hilsum and Abdi Latif Dahir of the New York Times. Bilan has also established content partnerships with the Guardian, BBC, El Pais and Missing Perspectives, bringing Somali women's journalism to the world.

Bilan's coverage has helped shine a light on issues that have long been ignored, from the growing problem of drug use among women in Mogadishu, to child marriage and the resilience of women farmers finding a way to pay their way through university. Story by story, Bilan is making sure that issues of importance to women are put before decision makers and the wider public. We look forward to seeing what new stories Aamino and Fatima bring to the screens as they take their first steps into professional journalism.

FATIMA ADAM RAGE



Fatima Adam Rage has just completed a four-year journalism degree at Mogadishu University. She was born and raised in the city and has always wanted to communicate what she describes as "the real stories" of Somalia to the wider world.

Fatima wants to change the narrative on Somalia, challenging negative stereotypes and showing

"the other side of life" in the country. She is especially interested in telling the stories of young Somalis.

"I decided to study journalism at university because Somalia needs more professional media workers," says Fatima. "I am excited that I can start putting theory into practice during my internship at Bilan."

Her close family has always supported her choice to become a journalist but she has faced criticism from others who believe women should stay at home, cleaning, cooking and looking after the children.

Fatima's dream is to be a senior manager or to own her own media house, where she will encourage and train young women to become good

AAMINO NOR HUSSEIN



Aamino Nor Hussein began her journalism degree at Somali National University in 2020. She comes from Dhusamareb, the capital of central Somalia's Galmudug state, and moved to Mogadishu to pursue her studies.

"Journalism has been in my heart since I was a small child," says Aamino. "I had a lot of pressure from my family and wider community not to become a journalist because it is dangerous and not considered an appropriate career for a woman."

Aamino was pressurised into studying health but later switched to journalism with the support of her mother and sisters who told her to follow her dreams and ignore what others said.

"Unlike many Somalis who start working in the media without ever having studied journalism, I decided to learn the theory and practice of the profession before starting my career," says Aamino.

Being chosen as a Bilan intern is a "dream come true" for Aamino. She is especially keen on becoming "self-sufficient" like the Bilan team, who have learned the skills to do their own work from start to finish, from choosing the stories, to filming, recording and editing, to writing scripts and broadcasting the final product.



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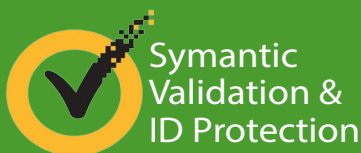
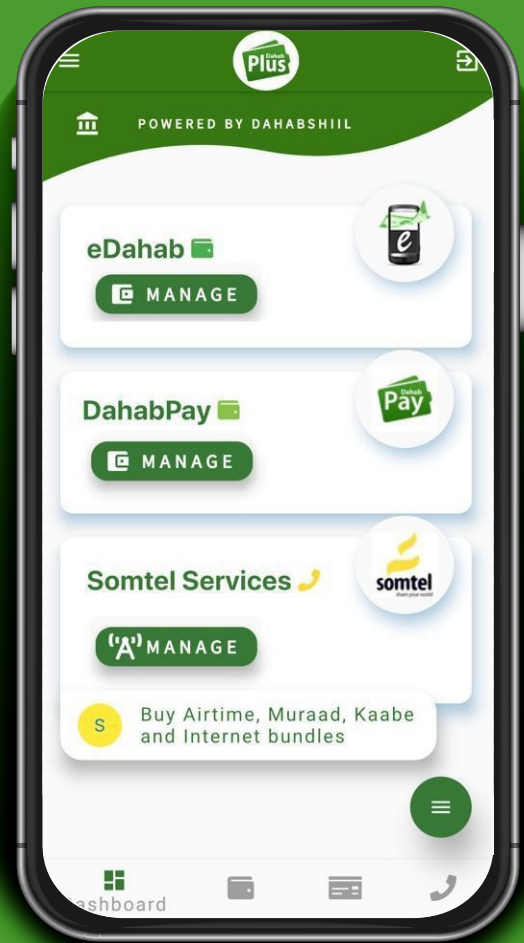
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Priorities for the New Somali Government: 10 Policy Recommendations to Improve Security



foreign policy, looming famine, economy, and the fight against al-Shabaab.

It is not a surprise that Somalia's No. 1 challenge will continue to be security. Somalia suffers from multiple broad categories of security challenges, ranging from tensions between Somali authorities (federal and regional states) and extremist terrorist organizations, notably al-Shabaab, the Islamic State in Somalia, and more recently, paramilitary groups and militias such as Ahlu Suna Waljamaaca.

Despite failures and setbacks Somalia has come a long way and has made some incredible progress both in political and security sectors since the collapse of the Somali government in 1991; however, the work is not finished, Somalia still faces

Despite failures and setbacks Somalia has come a long way and has made some incredible progress both in political and security sectors since the collapse of the Somali government in 1991

The Somali government needs to invest in intelligence more than ever before. They need to be well-trained, well-equipped, well-funded, and removed from all political agendas.

Somalia has a newly elected government after its long-delayed presidential election, ending the convoluted electoral process that heightened tensions across the fragile East African nation for the past couple of years. The electoral process was complicated by a set of delays, an ongoing struggle between the central government and primarily two key member states in the Somali Republic, and an ongoing struggle for power between the president and his prime minister. Nevertheless, Somalia has finally held its presidential election where Hassan Sheikh Mohamud (HSM) became Somalia's President for the second time. President Hassan Sheikh Mohamud has also appointed lawmaker Hamza Abdi Barre as the country's next Prime Minister. This new leadership in Somalia will be determining the path the country will take on several crucial policy issues including, but not limited to,

mounting challenges and threats from terrorist groups, and these threats have become more complex, more intertwined, and more deadly for Somalia. As the threats of al-Shabaab evolve, the government must also evolve as well. In this article, I provide 10 policy recommendations for Hassan Sheikh Mohamud and the newly elected Somali government to sustainably combat the threat of al-Shabaab.

Recommendations:

Somali Solutions for Somali Problems:

Somalia for the past couple of decades has relied on national security frameworks and security architectures designed or influenced by international partners, and the result has been disastrous and ineffective. The Somali people must come together to take responsibility for their national security. The Somali government needs to host a series of national conventions to design, develop, and inspire a national security strategic plan developed, implemented, and sustained by Somalia. This gives the government

a sense of ownership, responsibility, and accountability for its national security strategies and priorities.

2 Empowering and investing in the National Intelligence and Security Agency (NISA):

One of the most important elements of a government's counterterrorism efforts is to gather intelligence regarding those who are plotting and perpetrating terrorist acts against it. A nation's intelligence agencies are usually the first line of defense when it comes to the national security threats both from domestic enemies and foreign enemies, and the stronger a nation's intelligence agencies are the more secure its citizens will be. The Somali government needs to invest in NISA more than ever before. They need to be well-trained, well-equipped, well-funded, and most importantly removed from all political agendas and disputes so they can focus on protecting the nation from its foreign and internal adversaries.

3 Strengthening Interagency Coordination:

The Somali government needs to establish a national security interagency coordination workgroup or committee within its security sector. The many security agencies and their structures, planning processes, funding sources, and intelligence can hinder interagency collaboration. We have seen al-Shabaab take advantage of disorganized information-sharing and awareness between security departments in Somalia. This interagency coordination working group should be sharing national security information, intelligence, best practices, and resources for a better and more effective counterterrorism strategy.

4 Countering Financial Sources for al-Shabaab:

The Somali government needs to cut off the financial sources that al-Shabaab has been operating for the past decade. They have built up an extensive racketeering operation, with checkpoint taxation on illicitly traded charcoal, import and export taxation at Somali ports, and large and small business taxation. These sources and much more have brought tens of millions of dollars for the group to help their recruitment and sustainability to carry out their operations. It's the government's responsibility to cut off those financial sources to ensure national security.

5 Using Education as a Tool to Combat Extremism:

The Somali government must understand that what's far more strategic than fighting al-Shabaab on the battlefield is educating the young minds that are vulnerable to recruitment by these extremist organizations. The focus should be on combating the narrative and winning hearts and minds through education. Can you imagine a nation that faces terrorism as its most significant threat while its schools and universities do not provide education that is focused on national security? The Somali ministry of education needs to prioritize the teaching and embedding of a curriculum focused on combating extremism and help develop the next generation of Somali national security leaders.

6 Take Politics Out of The Security Sector:

To effectively reform the security sector in Somalia, the government needs to remove politics and especially the destructive 4.5 clan system from its security sectors. The security sector should rely on merits and competent leadership that has experience and understanding of national security; they should not be recruited based on clan representation. Additionally, the Somali armed forces should only be utilized to secure the national security of the nation and not to intimidate rivals, federal member states, or political figures, or be used for personal reasons.

7 Be Consistent in National Security Leadership:

The Somali government is notorious for constantly changing leadership in its security sector especially after a new administration comes to power. There are institutional consequences of having too much change. Consequences of change saturation for the institution include higher turnover, a decline in productivity, increased absenteeism, loss of focus on strategy, and negative morale. Constantly changing security sector leadership believing it will improve national security is misguided and disastrous. Those who are qualified and experienced in national security should be kept serving in every administration because their job should not be political but rather national security.

8 Strong Vetting System for Security Sector and Parliament:

The Somali government needs to create an accurate system or process for vetting and identifying al-Shabaab members and informants both within the security sector and other branches of the

government including parliament. For the past decade, al-Shabaab has been strategic in placing individuals within these institutional structures to carry out their missions and government infiltration.

9 Developing Equitable and Sustainable Judicial System:

When governments embrace international human rights norms and standards, promote good governance, uphold the rule of law, and eliminate corruption, they create an enabling environment for civil society and reduce the appeal of violent extremism. Al-Shabaab thrives on recruiting members of society who have been denied justice and public resources or whose decency and rights have been violated. The Somali government needs to develop a judicial system that is fair and equitable to all its citizens in order to combat al-Shabaab. The Somali people require a governance system in which all members of society, institutions, and entities, public or private, are accountable to laws that are publicly promulgated, equally enforced, independently adjudicated, and consistent with international human rights norms and standards.

10 Strategic Communications and Counternarratives:

The manipulative messages of al-Shabaab on social media have achieved considerable success in luring Somali youth into their ranks. While violent extremists have demonstrated some sophistication in their use of old and new media tools, it is equally true that the government and civil society who reject their message have largely failed to communicate and develop effective counternarratives to the online recruitment of al-Shabaab. The Somali government needs to improve its partnerships between civil society organizations and government agencies to empower communities to develop a counternarrative to al-Shabaab narratives and amplify the alternative message through all forms of media and Somali arts and culture.

By Mohamed Ahmed

Mohamed Ahmed, Ph.D. is the Chief Diversity Officer at Alliant International University and a Professor of Counterterrorism in The San Diego State University Homeland Security Graduate Program. Dr. Ahmed is also the Director of Strategic Initiatives & Community Programming at the American Counterterrorism Targeting and Resilience Institute (ACTRI).

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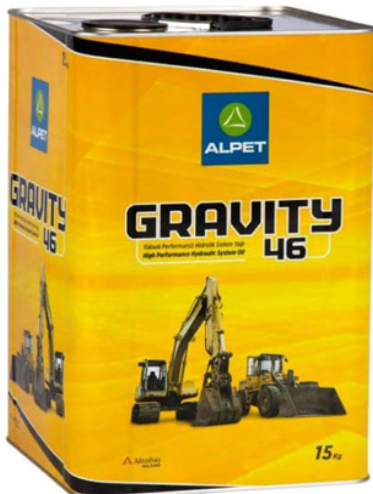


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Oil And Gas Opportunities In Somalia

Background.

Somalia is a coastal nation in East Africa. The official language is Somali and the second language is Arabic. The country was formerly known as the “Somali Democratic Republic” before the country collapse in 1991.

Somalia occupies a strategic location on Horn of Africa along southern approaches to Bab el Mandeb and sea route through the Red Sea and the Suez Canal. Somalia’s long (which is the longest of any country in Africa) coastline has been of strategic and tactical importance chiefly in permitting trade with the Middle East and the rest of East Africa. The exploitation of the shore and the continental shelf for fishing and other purposes had barely begun by the long time. Control of maritime economic activity (EEZ) is claimed over territorial waters up to 200 nautical miles, which is in accordance with international convention

Somalia is ready and has opportunity to extract its resources especially huge potential deposits of Oil and Gas, considerable investment has already been

Somalia has potentially considerable Oil and Gas deposits (both onshore and offshore) and opportunities that needs to be taken advantage.

made towards identifying the offshore location and the country is equipped with almost all administrative processes, conditions & regulations for development and investment.

Somalia has potentially considerable Oil and Gas deposits (both onshore and offshore) and opportunities that needs to be taken advantage. Despite the world’s consumption of oil and gas is trending currently reduced due to climate change mitigations, pandemics and the move from fuel consuming automobile, industries to use of electrical and alternative energies, the government of Somalia is determined to move with this trend and extract and commercialize its vast deposits of oil and gas. In this document, the author wishes to expound here this opportunity in

Somalia and why it is for the right time for all to develop and invest this sector.

Exploration and extraction of Petroleum.

International Oil companies (IOCs) have shown interest in Somalia oil and gas since the 1950s and exploration properly started from 1950s, culminating in a serious rush to explore in the 1980s.

Extensive surveys had been done especially on onshore gas and oil prospects, and plans for exploration were drafted. However, no economic extraction of such deposits found was done due to major concerns about onshore security situation at the time.

Past on-shore concessions to Oil Companies.

The government made drilling Concessions and licenses of several onshore wells along the entire length of the eastern basin (a very large area, almost half of Somalia land area) to international companies in 1980s. Exploration was halted due the civil strife that lasted for over two decades The IOCs with these previous heritage concessions continue to be in a state of “force majeure” that was declared prior to the onset of the civil



war whilst still paying surface rentals to resume work soon and as the situations in the respective localities allows. There is probably no realistic prospect of conceding or auctioning additional onshore wells in the immediate future unless the security situation improves.

Offshore Potential.

When in 2012 the transitional institutions and government transitioned into the modern-day recognized Federal Government of Somalia (FGS) The GDS then started to renew again oil exploration and processes for legislation and regulation of petroleum and mineral resources.

The Ministry of Petroleum and Mineral Resources signed a contract with a seismic brokerage to gather and evaluate geology of 20,500 km offshore of two-dimensional (2D) Data in 2013 that was then successfully delivered in 2014. A similar 2D seismic evaluation agreement in major offshore areas was agreed with other companies in 2015 and 2016, and delivered the data in 2018. The new data and related modelling work have also improved the understanding of the gas and petroleum potential offshore Somalia, increasing the appetite for

investment.

This has culminated in seven (7) offshore blocks being offered for the inaugural Oil and Gas Licensing round which is currently open for receiving bids.

Operators interested in this opportunity have already licensed or are licensing the multi-client data from TGS.

Regulatory Regimes.

Prior to civil strife and collapse of the central government in 1991, Somalia used to have a functioning Ministry of Mineral resources (and Mining Act/Law) but did not have a separate petroleum Ministry nor Laws specific for Petroleum.

The current Ministry of Petroleum & Mineral Resource (MOMPR) was established during the transitional/interim government in 2005, and is tasked with developing processes and Legislative policies, regulations. A modern Petroleum Law for the oil and gas sector was developed during that period which was enacted in 2008 and controlled by the centralized.

Since the initial Petroleum Act of 2008 has been superseded and modernized to the current the Petroleum Law of 2020. Another major achievement in recent times is that a legal petroleum sharing framework agreement between Federal and regional (states) authorities that constitute the Federal Republic of Somalia had been agreed with respect of ownership and regulations natural and environmental resource as well as regulatory institutions including independent licensing bodies. The purpose of this is to define wealth derived from all oil and gas activities gets distributed equitably across all stakeholders at district and state level as well as Federal.

All these regulatory processes of petroleum sector as well as mineral sector was achieved with the expertise and assistance of international development bodies such as The Africa Development Bank, Oil for Development, The World Bank, and Africa Natural Resource Development.

Summary of Achievements

Petroleum Law 2020, has a passed through the Parliament of the Federal Government of Somalia both Upper and Lower house and signed by the president of

Federal Republic of Somalia.

Petroleum Policy established.

The petroleum management and revenue sharing agreements are signed the Somali Prime Minister, all the Federal Member State President, signed in Baydhabo South West State, Somalia June 2018, also by passed through the Somalia Federal Parliaments Upper and Lower house and Signed by Somali Federal President.

Draft petroleum regulations have been completed.

Somalia Petroleum Authority (SPA); an independent regulatory body of which all constituent member states (regions) are represented, was established in 2020.

Production sharing agreement (PSA) and Tender protocol formulated in line with the Somali Procurement act, and also the draft Extractives Industries Income Tax Act (EIIT), Currently awaiting parliament to pass the EIIT act.

First Somalia offshore Licensing Round was being currently open over seven highly prospective blocks.

The purpose of the Legislation

The defined purpose of the Government of Somalia in passing all the above time & costly processes and regulations over the past few years protect the current and future wellbeing of the citizens, social amenities and build necessary infrastructure. Somalia is per capita one of the poorest nations in the world and that fact the nation is attempting to recover from 3 decades of civil strife which has destroyed or regressed the human and national capital, assets and infrastructure. The nation needs to catch up this globalized world and to fulfil citizen's aspiration and globally set goals to eradicate poverty and human development. This obviously necessitates the realization of the capital wealth contained of its natural resources, of which chiefly refers to petroleum.

The Somali people have been hoping for the development of the potential wealth of petroleum and gas since 1950s. The nation is more needful for the contribution of its petro-gas than any time in the past or perhaps in the future.

continued on page 26>>

continued from page 25>>

The Government's Role

The Constitution of Somalia and the Petroleum Law mandates the federal government to negotiate directly and indirectly with willing investors and those who wish to develop the Somali Petroleum Sectors. Without such ventures the country can't achieve self-sufficiency and quick recovery and development of oil and gas can underpin and fund other economic sectors such as agriculture, livestock, fisheries, processing industries & other industries, and support infrastructure development.

Investment opportunity for All

Somalia offshore high hydrocarbon offshore prospectively has been well documented with the interpretation work and petroleum modelling carried on the extensive geoscience datasets available for the region. Offshore Somalia is characterized by three major basins: Obbia, Coriole and Juba-Lamu. Each basin has unique structural features and a different petroleum system, with source rocks spanning in age from Paleozoic to Tertiary. The diversity of source rocks is matched by a high diversity of reservoirs ranging between pure carbonate deposits (e.g. carbonate build ups in the Jurassic of the Obbia Basin) to pure siliciclastic bodies (e.g. Tertiary siliciclastic mass transport fold and thrust belt in the Coriole Basin). This diverse petroleum system guarantees a unique heterogeneity and variety of prospects.

The high prospectivity of this frontier region, together with Somalia's strategic global location, is an ideal place for international oil companies' investment and ever-improving technology. The ongoing licensing round represents an opportunity both for the Government and the IOCs to capitalize on the current market environment.

The extraction and trade of petroleum is conducted with transparency and accountability and emphasis of sustainable development and safe environment whereby fair-share and ownership is monitored and regulated as per the existing laws and agreements. The process of exploration

and development to reach the point of commercial extraction and sale of oil and gas, will be lengthy, taking years, beyond current party & governmental terms and the Federal government and legislative bodies with help of international development community, will set the bar all necessary mechanism including production sharing agreements with clearly defined benefits to the Somali nation. Somalia included in the process such as Royalty levels, Signature Bonuses, surface rent fees, Corporate taxation and Profit Sharing levels that will cover our current and future needs. Such aims and goals are needed and are achievable for the offshore license round blocks and maybe so in the future for onshore blocks as well.

We are very grateful to development agencies and countries that willingly helped Somalia for development and through these processes and achievement of such milestones.

Security.

This is an ongoing and obvious problem in the country because still Islamist-terrorist Al-Shabaab have an active presence in many regions. The security situation of the country is also in part compromised because of poverty, hunger and unemployment (more than 65% of the Somali population are young and unemployed).

However, a provisional Somalia Constitution has been adopted since 2012 for 825 members from the community, elders, clan leaders, women and youth. The Parliamentary is still working on reviews of this Constitution. The political system of the Country is Federalism and Parliamentary system since has held three elections 2012, 2017 and 2022 which completed

with smooth transition. Safety and Stability has improved in Somalia since then.

Although, where the Somalia want to develop on this time is offshore blocks and that does not have these times any terrorist group or pirates so the Somali government believe the IOC can develop on the offshore block without any hesitate.

Lack of Modern infrastructure:

The Somali economy suffers from lack of modern infrastructure and has to initiate the construction of several modern projects such as airports, road-surfacing, etc. In order to stimulate investment and efficient transport networks that will lead to increased, exports and imports.

Capacity problems

The workforce is not well trained and need an uplift in their skills. People do not have enough knowledge to work in this sector and there is a significant shortage of those with knowledge and experience of the Oil and Gas industry.

The Ministry has Geologists, Economist, Management and Legal advisers. We believe that the Somali Diaspora contributed to Somali professionals gaining experience in the Oil and Gas Sector; these professionals are invited to return to their country with their knowledge to work and implement further this sector.

Summary and Conclusion.

The intent of this letter is hopefully very clear to the reader, that statement that Somalia has a large potential for of many natural resources and its people are ready and willing to develop and extract them.

So, we call on all the international oil companies and the international community to work together to extract the natural resources of the nation of Somalia because this is one of the main avenues of economic activity can set us free from hunger, war, drought, and many of the current problems that best our country.

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MA International Relations and is currently studying an MBA in Oil and Gas at Aberdeen University.

The Somali economy suffers from lack of modern infrastructure and has to initiate the construction of several modern projects such as airports, road-surfacing, etc.



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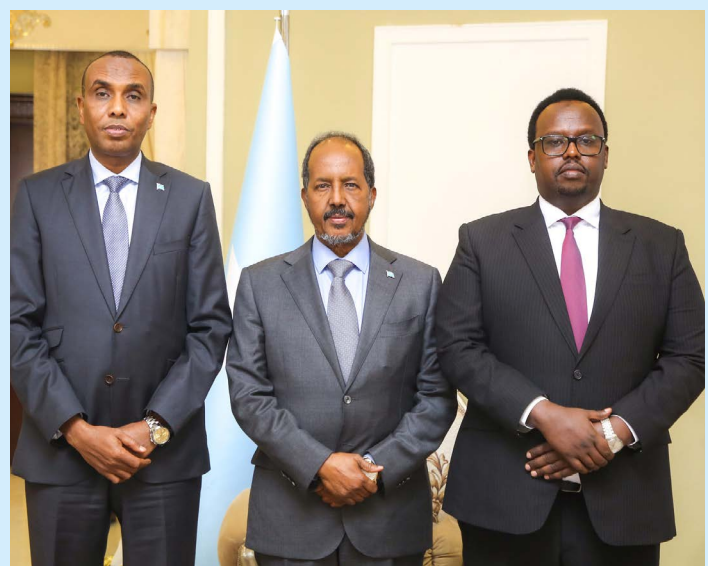
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Beenbeene: The Model Opposition and Hopefully The Model Minister

BY ABDISAMAD NUR BIDAR

Today, I am breaking a cardinal rule of mine: Never to discuss publicly, showcase or flaunt my relationships with politicians. I keep that private. Perhaps, some would show up in future formal publications. Of course, rigidity may sometimes defeat a good purpose, so one should leave room for an exception. The new Minister of Planning, my good friend, The Hon Mohamud Abdirahman Beenebeene, is the first politician I will discuss publicly. He also happens to be the only Somali politician with whom I attended an event held in his honor during all my years in Minneapolis, reflecting my regard for him.

Before I talk about the estimable Beenebeene, let me preface that I abhor

the premature Somali celebrations of new political officeholders before a record to judge and celebrate. Let us hold off the applause, waving of the flags, and the cringy songs until there is enough evidence and a cause for celebration.

The new government's slogan is "Soomaali heshiis ah\Somalis at peace with one another." I thought whoever coined that term must have had Mr. Beenebeene in mind when conjuring the memorable phrase. Mr. Beenebeene is a true personification of the concept. A quick sample of his friends in Minnesota and their view of him would validate that in a hurry. Somalis from East and West, North and South, universally like him and respect him. I have yet to meet anyone with substantial interactions with him speaking

negatively of him. He is a gentleman of the highest order.

He and I met eight years ago when he moved to Minnesota from Tennessee. We instantly connected, much like many with whom he crossed paths in Minnesota. I found him to be polite, respectful, and generous to the core. A good listener, aware, comfortable, and confident, he constantly searched for new knowledge and challenges. He respects you for who you are, your expertise and experience, an admirable character trait missing from many Somali politicians. Never "I know everything type," he understands what to improve on and seeks advice and directions from the right resources. He and I would meet for extended discussions. A voracious reader, he was always on the



lookout for a good read—a learned man in the truest sense of the word. Away and removed from Somalia for so many years, my view of the struggle, especially in the redevelopment of the education sector during the civil war, was primarily negative or incomplete at best. Through Mr. Beenebeene, I learned and developed a healthy outlook and appreciation of the substantial progress in the education sector in the most trying times for Somalia and the leading lights of the movements.

My view of him as a gracious gentleman with a calm demeanor but stern beliefs and principles was cemented even more during his last five years as a well-known political opposition member of the parliament. Never a bomb thrower, unnecessarily flaming an already fragile and divided environment, and never bringing non-germane topics to the debate, he was all about the issues based on the existing rules, procedures, and the constitution. In other words, he often made his case without raising his voice or diluting his messages with careless language and unwarranted hyperbole – a sign of a mature, seasoned politician.

During his returns to Minnesota, he and I would meet for dinners. He would give me an unfiltered analysis of the situation in Somalia. Never would he ever utter an insult or a derogatory tone or speak ill-will on anyone; it was all about policy, its ramifications, or structural deficiencies, with options and opposing ideas presented in a balanced method. In other words, he was the “model opposition” for a country recovering from years of civil war and mayhem.

My view of him as a gracious gentleman with a calm demeanor but stern beliefs and principles was cemented even more during his last five years as a well-known political opposition member of the parliament.

Hon. Abdirahman Beenebeene is the type of person you are glad they are in your orbit. He would return your phone calls regardless of his location, in Mogadishu, Turkey, Kenya, or anywhere else.

In general, Somalis are not solicitous of feedback and are never receptive to negative or constructive feedback intended for improvements. Mr. Beenebeene is open to feedback and suggestions, a rare quality in today’s politicians. I implore my good friend never to lose sight of that excellent quality now that he has been entrusted with the solemn responsibility of leading a significant and influential ministry.

Being an amiable gentleman is not a prerequisite for being a competent, effective, and influential minister. Still, it is a helpful quality that paves the way to effectively govern and achieve one’s goals and objectives. I hope and pray that my good friend becomes a wildly successful minister. And who knows, he might one day become another President from Hiiraan, much like our first President!

And now, let me conclude by sharing my private message to Xildhibaan Mohamud Abdirahman Beenebeene upon learning his appointment as a Minister of Planning.



Somaliland Can Help the U.S. Win the New Cold War

By recognizing Somaliland, America can reduce its reliance on Djibouti and strengthen its position in the critical East Africa region.

by Alexander Jelloian

China is making too many friends. Xi Jinping and the Chinese Communist Party have shown that they are willing to spend hundreds of billions of dollars in developing countries, causing many nations to deepen their relations with China—a worrying development for those who support democracy and human rights.

Fortunately, some resist the Chinese attempts to buy political allies. One such group is the government of Somaliland, an autonomous region within Somalia that has been attempting to establish itself as an independent country for decades. While no country recognizes Somaliland as an independent state, America should be the first to do so. If the Biden Administration recognized Somaliland, America would gain an ally in a critical geostrategic region.

Somaliland's willingness to spurn China's predatory aid is fairly unique in Africa. After a recent fire destroyed the largest market in Somaliland's capital city, Hargeisa, China's ambassador to Somalia, Fei Shengchao, offered to look for a way for China to provide relief to the suffering Somalilanders. Mr. Fei

was supposed to visit Hargeisa, but the trip was suddenly canceled, and no emergency aid ever came.

This is because Somaliland's government found out that there were strings attached to the proposed visit. Mr. Fei was not making the trip just to talk about emergency aid. Fei wanted to meet with opposition leaders and university students to find allies in Somaliland who would undermine the Taiwan-Somaliland relationship. Somaliland is one of two regions on the entire African continent where Taiwan holds diplomatic outposts, and Fei wanted to get that number down to one.

While they have rebuffed China's advances, Somaliland has actively sought to ally with the United States. The president of



Somaliland has also been one of the most stable regions in East Africa for decades, at times even showing promising aspects of a functioning democracy. By recognizing its independence, America would be supporting a feeble democracy with the hopes of strengthening it in the near future.

Somaliland, Muse Bihi Abdi, took a recent trip to Washington D.C. where he met with Biden administration officials in an attempt to gain recognition for Somaliland. With the hope of deepening U.S.-Somaliland relations, the government of Somaliland has offered to allow the American military access to the geostrategically positioned Berbera port and airfield. Berbera port lies on the Gulf of Aden and overlooks crucial maritime trade routes.

Although America already has a permanent military base in Djibouti, which also abuts the Gulf of Aden, it would be prudent for them to set up a base at Berbera port as well. Djibouti has become increasingly influenced by Chinese financing, impeding America's ability to conduct operations. Additionally, the Chinese were recently allowed to set up

a military base in Djibouti, just miles away from the United States' base. By recognizing Somaliland, America can reduce its reliance on Djibouti and strengthen its position in the critical East Africa region.

It is also important to note that by recognizing Somaliland, America would enjoy more benefits than just military security. Somaliland established informal diplomatic relations with Taiwan in 2020, indicating that a sovereign Somaliland would give Taiwan another global ally. This development would undoubtedly help the United States in its attempt to bolster Taiwan.

Somaliland has also been one of the most stable regions in East Africa for decades, at times even showing promising aspects of a functioning democracy. By recognizing its independence, America would be supporting a feeble democracy with the hopes of

strengthening it in the near future.

Finally, formally recognizing Somaliland would strengthen America's economic ties to the region. Unfortunately, Somaliland gets lumped in with their conflict-prone southern neighbor, which keeps them from receiving private sector investment. Suppose the United States formally recognized Somaliland as an independent state. In that case, the new nation could enjoy the benefits of foreign investment to a scale that was not previously available. This will bring economic growth to Somalilanders and deepen America's economic ties with East Africa.

Recognizing Somaliland would not be without potential costs—America would undoubtedly damage its relationship with Somalia. However, the United States derives minimal benefit from that relationship as it is. There is also the possibility that Somaliland will fall apart and become a failed state, but that seems unlikely given the fact that they have successfully governed themselves for the past 30 years. Other threats exist, but none of them outweighs the potential benefit of gaining a democratic ally in a region where China is making inroads.

Like it or not, the United States and China have entered a tentative Cold War, and the recognition of Somaliland by the American government would help the United States position itself to win this ideological battle. President Abdi has presented America with a golden opportunity, and America should take it. Alexander Jelloian is a Young Voices Contributor and a Master's Student at the London School of Economics and Political Science. His commentary has been published in International Policy Digest, InsideSources,

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Goodbye Genius Hadrawi: The Scholar of Philosophers, and the Philosopher of Scholars



by Abdiaziz Arab

The great Somali poet, philosopher and scholar Mohamed Ibrahim Warsame (Hadrawi) passed away on the 18th of August 2022, in Hargeisa, Somaliland. A national funeral was held in Hargeisa, and many Somalis from all parts of Somalia attended to pay their respects for the last time to the great man. The news of his death had brought tears to the eyes of every Somali, whether they met him or not. When you look around and see people of different walks of life commiserating about his death, you would think their own father had passed away. He did not give these people materials for them to love him that much, but he acquired their hearts and minds by being sincere and

trustworthy with his beliefs. Somalis and non-Somalis compared him to the great poets, philosophers, and scholars of the world, past and present. However, I think he transcends all, he was an ‘ummah’ in his own right.

Allah SWT when he was describing the personality of prophet Ibrahim said “Indeed, Ibrahim was a comprehensive [ummah] devoutly obedient to Allah, inclining toward truth, and he was not of those who associate others with Allah (Quran, 120:16)”. Allah described prophet Ibrahim as “ummah”, and the word ‘ummah’ in the Quran is used either to describe a nation (more than one person), or someone (like prophet Ibrahim) who is so great that his personality and beliefs

are different from the society he lives in, and comprehensive that he can stand independently and single-handedly change the society from bad to good. In other words, someone who is not a follower of the majority of people that agrees on wrong decisions.

Instead, ‘ummah’ is a follower of truth even if the majority of people disagree with them. We can safely describe Hadrawi as being an ‘ummah’ in his own right. Because anyone who observes his life and his literary works, soon understands that Hadrawi was not your everyday person. He was an ‘ummah’ because he prided himself on liberty by refusing to be bought. In the early 1970s, when almost every Somali was clapping in agreement

with the communist regime that ruled Somalia from 1969 to 1991, Hadrawi stood up on his own and refused to bow down to oppression. He was an 'ummah' when he freely opted to go to prison and suffer or worse, rather than clap for a tyranny. In his latest book 'Hawaale Warran' he narrates what happened between him and the military regime, and how after he refused to bow down was arrested and put away in jail without justification whatsoever.

In 1973, Hadrawi wrote a play called 'Aqoon iyo Afgarad' 'Knowledge and Consensus' which he and his fellow poets Mohamed Gariye and Professor Muse Abdi Elmi presented in Lafoole Institution, located outskirts of Mogadishu. The objective of the play was to advise the Somali people not to seek education outside the country, rather education was available on home soil, and there is no need to waste the nation's wealth to send students abroad. It is worth mentioning, that at the time, the regime was sending its cadres and the children of revolution leaders to the Soviet Union, Europe and the United States for education and training, in the process, wasting the taxpayers' hard-earned money. Hadrawi did not like that, hence his play knowledge and consensus' addressed that. The 1969 revolution leaders, in particular, the country's president Mohamed Siyad Barre, did not like the play, and he thought it was anti-revolution and embarrasses his decision to spend a huge amount of the nation's wealth on sending cadres outside the country.

He summoned Hadrawi to Afisyoni, his air force headquarters. Hadrawi said, men from the national guards took him there, and he met the president sitting under a tree. The president opened the conversation with the remarks "Hadrawi, I know you are anti-revolution, but why every poetry you compose are used against us?". Hadrawi said, "I tried to convince him, and said, we (poets) compose poetry, and then people take it and interpret it to whatever makes sense to them". Then the president concluded the meeting by saying "ask me whatever you want, but after today, I don't want to hear any poetry

of yours that people are using against us". Hadrawi replied by saying "whatever Allah decrees is gonna happen". Hadrawi continued his work and created another play called 'Tawaawac'. The play naked the misery and the disappointments Somalis inherited from the 1960 independence, and how a handful of military officers have hijacked the nation's hopes after getting rid of colonisers. He likened this to a scenario where people are fighting over the meat of a slaughtered she-camel that was supposed to be spared for daily milking to feed the kids and the elderly. One of the song's lyrics that Hadrawi created for this play says:

**Weligay cad quudheed
Anna qaadan maayoo
Qalanjadan faraha dheer
Wax la qaybsan maayee
This translated into something like:
I will never accept
An offer with contempt
And I will never share anything
With this long-fingers beauty**

Hadrawi said, the president, especially hated these four lines above, because he thought that I was taunting him and making fun of his earlier offer of 'ask me what you want, but stop composing poetry'. The next thing Hadrawi knew he was snatched from his home in the middle of the night by men from the security services under direct orders from the president. He was arrested without going before a court and thrown in jail at Qansax Dheere, in the Bay region far away from his residence. When asked why they took you all the way to Qansax Dheere, while there are many jails near your residence? He replied they wanted to brainwash me and break me into submission. They said to me you will be released immediately if you ask forgiveness from the father of the revolution (meaning the president). Hadrawi was an 'ummah' when replying to this demand. He said to them "know there will be three scenarios with me, I die and go to my grave, I stay in prison, or I acquire my full freedom [without fearing anyone]". He stayed in prison for five years,

and again, as usual, he was an ummah in prison by continuing his struggle against tyranny. By this time, many Somalis woke up to the cries of Hadrawi from their deep asleep and started to see the tyrannical regime for it really was.

Hadrawi was an 'ummah' when the civil war happened in 1988-1991 by manifestly telling the struggle leaders 'do not replace tyranny with another. He was an 'ummah' after the civil war in his 'Peace Spring' in 2003, when he travelled on the ground from Hargeisa to Kismayo, stopping in every town between them, literally hundreds of villages.

He was an 'ummah' by his devoted love of literature and writing. He comprised a whole poem about the importance of writing, he said:

**Qalinkaa wax suureeya
Kugu sima halkaad doonto
Saaxiib kal furan weeye
Sunto fara ku hayntiisa
Weligaa ha si deynin.
Sisin iyo ku beer muufo
Iyo laanta saytuunka
Ku gotomi sungaan waarta
Iyo nabadda seeskeeda
Samo iyo ku doon heedhe
Dunidiyo sinnaanteeda
The pen that can imagine for you
And can take you where you want
It is a friend with open heart
Regularly, keep it in your hands
And never let it go
Plant it among sesame and bread
And the branches of olive
And use it to spread in the world
peace, equality and justice**

In these short lines, he was an 'ummah', the material of philosophy 'abstraction' he uses here to emphasise how important is to use writing to seek peace, prosperity, justice and equality, which is nothing short of genius. He was trying to kill one stone with the two old enemies of the human race: poverty and ignorance.

Equally important, he was an 'ummah' when he praised the Somali women for

continued on page 38>>



continued from page 37>>

their beauty and bravery. He was a great admirer of the Somali women, although depicting their true nature without exaggeration or embellishments. In his poem 'Horn of Africa Girls', he said about the Somali women:

**Hablo weerar geli kara,
Hablo geela dhicin kara,
Hablo geesi dili kara,
Gobannimona hanan kara,
Hablo talada goyn kara,
Garta madal ka niqi kara,
Garashana iskaga mida,
Quruxdana ka wada goba;
Geesteenna mooyee
Geyi kale ma joogaan.**

**Girls that can go to war
Girls that can defend the camel
Girls that can acquire honour
Girls that can make decisions,**

**And publicly express their opinion,
And equally have high intellects
Girls that all blessed with beauty
Except, in our region**

Can they be found in anywhere else?

The examples of the great man are many, and it is impossible to mention them all in this short article. I would advise any admire to go to his works, and they will find an encyclopedia of knowledge, that will take them a lifetime to study.

Lastly, but not least, he was an 'ummah' by leaving instructions on

**Finally, you lived as an
'ummah' and died as an
'ummah', there is nothing
left to say but goodbye
to our beloved teacher,
philosopher, poet and
role model.**

how he wished to be treated after his death. He wrote a poem called 'will', in which he advised people to treat his death like any other, he said.

**Qofka ii duceeyoow
Rabbigay ku darajee
Qofka iga ducaystoow
Dummaddaada weeyaan.**

After many passages of the poem, he pleaded with people that they should not make a fuss about his death and funeral. His grave should not be built but should be left like other graves. People should not make a shrine of his grave, nor should they over-grieve or celebrate his life. In the last few lines, he prays for those who pray for him.

Finally, you lived as an 'ummah' and died as an 'ummah', there is nothing left to say but goodbye to our beloved teacher, philosopher, poet and role model. Your body might have departed this world, but your ideas and the knowledge you left for us and humanity, are eternal. I am sure people of the other side and angels are welcoming you with roses and open arms—they are congratulating you as you have accomplished your mission here on earth, advised your people and fought bravery in the way of Allah seeking justice, and freedom and equality for all. May Allah shower you with His Forgiveness and Mercy, light up your grave, and may He elevate your status and grant you Jannatul-Firdaus. May Allah resurrect you with the prophets, the steadfast affirmers of truth and the martyrs.

"And whoever obeys Allah and the Messenger - those will be with the ones upon whom Allah has bestowed favour of the prophets, the steadfast affirmers of truth, the martyrs and the righteous. And excellent are those as companions (Quran 69:4)".

"Verily we belong to Allah and verily to him do we return".

**Abdiaziz Arab
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Remembering Hadrawi: My Teacher, Mentor and Friend

BY HUSSEIN ALI HUSSEIN

“Call him a thinker, a philosopher, an intellectual, a revolutionary, a critic, a teacher, at every turn in the checkered history of his homeland, Hadrawi has delighted his people with his striking poetry, and his clarity of vision, speaking truth to power when the occasion demanded, joining the guerrilla movement to fight in the trenches By KHAINGA O'OKWEMBA (published in Somaliland Sun 08/01/2006)”

I was fortunate to have met Mohamed Ibrahim Warsame (Hadrawi) in the early years of my schooling. It was in Aden, now Yemen, which was a British colony at the time. He was the first teacher to teach me the ABC of the English language. Exactly a decade later, this time in Somalia, I was fortunate again to learn from him the poetry and prose of the Somali language. He was our beloved teacher of Somali literature during some awesome seasons at the College of Education (Lafoole).

Blessed to have had him, Hadrawi did his level best to share his talent with us students. In the early days of his prominence, listening to his narration of “Hooyo” and “Beledweyn” and his descriptions of the episodes that led him compose those two masterpieces, proved to us not only his impeccable choice of words, but also his command in storytelling. We sat in class motionless, gazing with wide-open eyes and pondering. The forty five minute period with Hadrawi was a break from the other arduous subjects. Explaining to us the ins and outs of the ‘Siinley’ collections that created many controversies was an enlightenment we gained from the School of Hadrawi. Sessions with him, in and out of class, ended with stanzas, rhymes and verses ringing in our ears.

Dubbed the Shakespeare of Somalia, some even went further to name him the Shakespeare of Africa, Hadrawi showed to be a legendary Somali poet, playwright and songwriter. His

superbly memorable plays “Aqoon iyo Afgarad” and “Tawaawac” are unquestionably superior to Hamlet, Odyssey, the Iliad and the many other highly acclaimed epics of the world. No doubt, he could have surpassed many notable literary figures if given the opportunity of exposure in the international circles and he could have easily won the noble peace prize in literature if his works were closely studied and accorded the platform it deserved.

Apart from a unique talent, some opportunities that made Hadrawi different from his peers in the field of literature were his travels and knowledge of different languages. Educated in a prestigious high school in Aden, he excelled in the Arabic and English languages and closely read the works of many foreign literary giants. Al Mutanby, Umru Alqais, Ahmed Showqi, Abul Qasim Al-Shaabbi, Shakespeare, Milton, Shelly and Keats were some of his favourites that he at times referred to.

His poetry brilliantly encompassed many themes. It covered love, peace, revolt, nature, beauty, wisdom, nationalism and many other fields. Enriched with powerful and descriptive words and expressions, his poetry was translated to many languages. Be it metaphor, hyperbole, simile, paradox or irony and the many other parts of the figurative language, not only did he extensively employ them but perfected them all with style. The poetry of Hadrawi was admired throughout the Somali speaking regions and beyond. Intellectuals, academics, traditional poets and students

Apart from a unique talent, some opportunities that made Hadrawi different from his peers in the field of literature were his travels and knowledge of different languages.

of literature, all agree that Hadrawi was an icon of Somali poetry and shall be remembered as such forever.

Known for his good character, Hadrawi was far from being arrogant. He was not full of himself. Humble and humane he was, that at times you saw him listening for hours long to destitute fellows that needed his help. He provided whatever assistance was at his disposal to alleviate the suffering of anyone he crossed path with. In particular, he was more sensitive and responsive to the needs of children, respected women and advocated for the marginalized sectors of the society. Hadrawi abhorred condescending attitudes and in an era of tyranny and ruthless rulers, he was the unwavering voice that rejected and exposed the ills of dictatorship and the repugnant acts of repression that were perpetuated by the brutal oppressors. He was modestly self-effacing but assertive when a challenge is due. He was peaceful but vigorous. When others were in melancholy and sadness, Hadrawi was always the uplifting one.

The Hadrawi Peace March (Socdaalkii Nabadda) in 2003 from Hargeisa to Kismayo was an example of the peace loving person that Hadrawi was. He rose to the occasion when stability was out of hands in Somalia. The regions he covered and the people who received him in every settlement, village and town illustrated how the Somali people, from all walks of life, admired and respected him.

Abu-Hadra, which was his correct nickname, will always be in our hearts and minds. In this time of sorrow, my deepest sympathy goes to his immediate and extended family and the millions out there who admired him for the person he was. We ask Allah to forgive him and rest his soul in peace- Amiin.

“ Surely we belong to Allah and to Him shall we return”

**Hussein Ali Hussein
Email: xuseenc@hotmail.com
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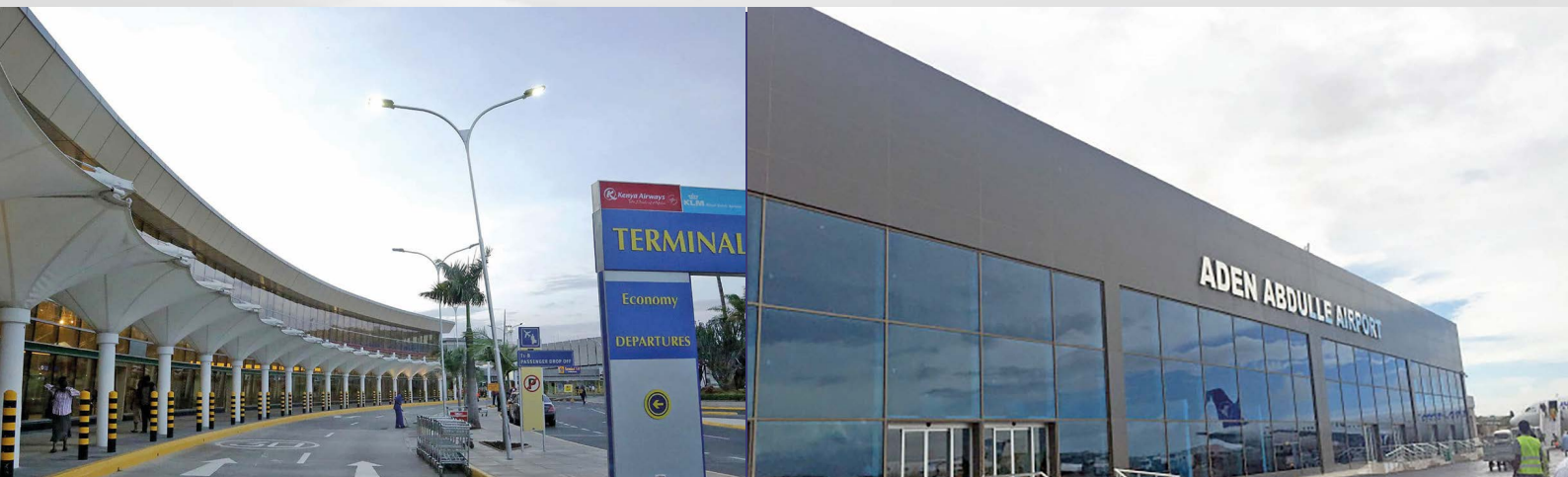


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The White House should invite Somalia's President

BY AMAN OBSIYE

Somalia's president, Hassan Sheikh Mohamud, should be afforded an official invitation to the White House. In an era of contemporary ideological competition, the United States should court African nations that advance democracy. The Horn of Africa (HOA) is one of the main theaters of modern great power competition, and Somalia is the only democratic country in the HOA; albeit its democracy is fragile yet has produced peaceful transfers of power for the past decade. The other three countries that make up the HOA are: Djibouti, an autocratic city-state that hosts American and Chinese naval bases within eight miles of each other; Eritrea, a totalitarian dictatorship nicknamed Africa's North Korea; and Ethiopia, an autocratic country engulfed in a brutal ethnic civil war. Somalia is democracy's only hope in the HOA, it is a democratic island in a sea of autocrats.

To be precise, Somalia is the only democratic country to have ever existed in the HOA region. In 1960, Somalia gained

independence and chose democracy as its political system. Somalia was considered a highly strategic nation during the Cold War because it is situated at the nexus between the Red Sea and the Indian Ocean. In November 1962, President John F. Kennedy invited Somalia's Prime Minister to the White House and said: "we are glad to have you here Prime Minister, because your country occupies a most important strategic area on the Horn of Africa." In 1967, Somalia's founding father, Aden Adde, lost the

The importance of the HOA region cannot be understated. It is where the United States set up its first military base in Africa, and is the only region where China has a foreign military base in the world.

presidential election and handed over power peacefully to his successor. This act gave Somalia the title of Africa's First Democrats. Somalia's democratic experiment abruptly ended in 1969 when General Siad Barre executed a coup. He declared Somalia a Marxist-Leninist state and aligned it with the Soviet bloc. Barre was eventually overthrown, and Somalia's civil war ensued.

Electoral democracy was reintroduced to Somalia in 2012 when the parliamentarians elected Hassan Sheikh Mohamud president.

This was the first election in the country's capital, Mogadishu, since the fall of the state. Mohamud's first term was marked by institutionalization; the Upper House of Somalia's Parliament was established, and four federal-member-states emerged. Mohamud lost the 2017 presidential election and handed over power peacefully to his successor. He was reelected as Somalia's president on May 15, 2022, becoming the first person to hold the presidency twice. This speaks volumes about the confidence Somalis have afforded Mohamud, and he has promised to organize Somalia's first one-person-one-vote election

since 1967. Somalia is no longer a failed state but rather a fragile state that is reemerging as the Horn of Africa's only democratic country, once again.

The importance of the HOA region cannot be understated. It is where the United States set up its first military base in Africa, and is the only region where China has a foreign military base in the world. China is not only a near-peer competitor; it is an official Superpower. There are three elements a nation-state must possess for it to be a Superpower: industrial power, military power, and ideological power. During the Cold War, the United States and USSR were the two-global industrial and military powers, but their real great power competition was ideological.

China is an industrial power with a modern military and navy to match, it too now possesses ideological power. While Communism is China's official state ideology, the ideological power it projects to the world is broader. China's ideological power is authoritarianism, and its closest allies are not communists but are all autocratic (i.e. Russia and Iran). China furtively propagates authoritarianism as an alternative system for nation-states, with its own success story being China's greatest marketing tool. The current rules-based international system has not seen such a challenge since the fall of the USSR.

In addition to China's military base in Djibouti, Russia is building a naval base in Port Sudan on the Red Sea and has recently signed a military cooperation agreement with Ethiopia. If the South China Sea is the modern Berlin Wall, then the Horn of Africa is the new 38th parallel. The thirty-year democratic honeymoon the international community enjoyed is over. There is an ideological competitor in the global market for ideas, and the HOA is one of the main theaters of modern great power competition.

It would be wise for the United States to build strategic relations with the only democratic country in the Horn of Africa.

It is a natural alliance, the world's oldest democracy and Africa's first democrats. An official invitation to the White House for Somalia's President will significantly assist in this pertinent endeavor.



Lessons from Irish history on the consequences of ignoring the famine in Somalia

By JUDE WEBBER

Bob Geldof's recent speech highlights the parallels between the 'Forgotten Ones' then and now. People fleeing drought arrive at an aid camp in Mogadishu. Somalians are facing food shortages as drought has killed 3mn animals and caused crops to fail © Farah Abdi Warsameh/AP

It has been nearly 40 years since Band Aid and Live Aid, but Sir Bob Geldof is back with another wake-up call to the world.

The activist musician, who once called himself a "loudmouth twat with hair", wants us all to stop worrying for a moment about how the Ukraine war-fuelled cost of living crisis will impact us and start focusing on the famine that is devastating Africa again.

The 70-year-old Boomtown Rats frontman made his appeal after a visit to a village in County Cork in his native Ireland, whose plight alerted the world in 1846 to the scale of devastation in the country's potato famine.

Just like Band Aid's infamous Yuletide appeal to "feed the world", a letter published in *The Times* on Christmas Eve 1846, written by Nicolas Cummins, a local justice of the peace, urged London for help. It described the "famished and ghastly skeletons", frozen corpses devoured by rats and "demonic yells" of those "delirious, either from famine or fever" that he witnessed on a visit to South Reen.

Such "absolute horror... is happening this second in countless thousands of devastated farmlands all over this fragile world", Geldof said in a statement after appearing

at a history festival in West Cork via a video filmed in Reen, where he read Cummins' letter.

The UN has warned that parts of Somalia, facing food shortages as drought has killed 3mn animals and caused crops to fail, could see full-blown famine by next month. The situation is also grave in the Horn of Africa and Yemen, according to aid groups.

Though the west dug deep to help its populations through Covid or to support Ukraine, a cash drought has compounded the misery: relief efforts have so far secured less than half the funding needed for Somalia, the Food and Agriculture Organization says.

Besides famine, Russia's Black Sea blockade paralysed grain shipments from Ukraine for months, putting 47mn people globally at risk of acute hunger, according to the World Food Programme. Only recently have the first vital cargoes since the invasion been able to depart.

In the video, wearing a bright blue shirt, white jeans and shades, Geldof looked a far cry from the scruffy rocker of his youth – but his message had not lost his songwriting punch.

"It is understandable that people live their own lives full of their immediate concerns. And today we are all fearful of [Russian president Vladimir] Putin's filthy illegal murder and its consequences, the price of everything, and... the uncertain world outlook," he said.

But he insisted: "Development isn't some feel-good function of virtue-signalling liberal democracy, it is a critical necessity of humanity and politics. Otherwise the

spores of poverty find fertile ground in the poisonous fields of ethnicity, populism and nationalism. Ask Putin."

UN sustainable development goals – which seek to end poverty and ensure peace and prosperity for all by 2030 – "sound boring, but the mind-deadening bureaucratic title belies the vital necessity of their aims, and we need to maintain our commitment to them", he added.

Ireland understands what happens if you look away. Rural communities in the south and west were the most devastated after blight in 1845 struck the potato crop on which thousands relied – at that time, men would typically eat a staggering 6.35kg of potatoes a day. When early reports were deemed exaggerated, people like Cummins went to see for themselves.

An Gorta Mór – the Great Hunger – killed more than a million people and forced some 1.2mn more to emigrate. Irish language and culture was lost and the country's population only last year rose above 5mn for the first time since 1851.

With a 21st-century double whammy of war and climate change, Geldof fears the world is turning away from the "newly Forgotten Ones of our time".

Ireland knows all about that. Many blame laissez-faire officials in London at the time for abandoning the starving Irish to their fate.

Statistics in an exhibition on the famine in Dublin spell it out in chilling detail: Irish famine relief from 1845 to 1852: £7mn. The cost of sending troops to keep the peace in Ireland during the famine years: £10mn.



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The fall of Gedo: 26th Anniversary of Ethiopia's Invasion on Gedo region

Ibrahim Aden Shire

On this day 26 years ago Ethiopia carried out an air and land invasion on the Gedo region, Somalia. Its air force bombarded Luq and Boholgaras indiscriminately while its ground troops attacked Balad-Hawo, and Dolow in addition to the above-mentioned towns. Ethiopia claimed that it targeted the Islamist bases and that it killed over 200 Al-Itihad militants and wounded many more. However, it did not spare anywhere it could reach, be residential houses, mosques or busy markets. Its troops, tanks and helicopters swept through those towns firing indiscriminately. Scores of civilians and Al-Itihad fighters were killed. Among the civilians killed in a mosque was the Luq district commissioner Aadan sheekh Hassan Gaas. Nevertheless, the invasion had far more disastrous consequences than the initial death and destruction it caused. Almost all the troubles that our country has seen since then go back to that very day in one way or the other.

Firstly this invasion has defined the future relationship between the Somali people and Ethiopian government. After this incursion Ethiopia's attitude towards Somalia and its dealing with Somali people had dramatically changed. As the weaknesses and fissures of Somali leaders had been severely exposed, Ethiopian rulers cleverly capitalized it. Since then Ethiopia has been dealing with Somali people as fragmented unruly tribes which had no state. Immediately after the invasion, it developed a divide and rule policy which allowed her to bring border regions under its administration. It established a permanent presence in Gedo, Baay and Bakool. It had been expanding its influence on other



regions, gradually bringing one after one under its rule. By 2005 the whole country came under its rule either directly or indirectly exempt two Jubbas, two Shabeelles and Banadir. And finally December 28th 2006 the whole country fell and the Ethiopian flag was raised over Villa Somalia.

Secondly on this day 26 years ago was when Al-shabaab was conceived which would be born 10 years later. This organization, which is the greatest danger the whole region is facing, started to evolve from that incident. After this aggression, Al-ithad fighters began gorilla war and adopted the same brutal and savage tactics that Al-shabaab use today including mining roads, beheading and assassinating civilians on mere suspicion. Al-Itihad leaders were divided on this issue and most of the top leaders opposed those actions and condemned them as unreligious. They demanded the war in Gedo to be stopped altogether several times. But others including Hasan Dahir Aweys, Ibrahim Afghan and Mohammed Haji Yusuf, the head of the so-called Gedo Emirate, insisted it was a rightful Jihad thus supporting its continuation. The annual general meeting of Al-Ictisaam (former Al-Itihad) was held

in Mogadishu between 31/07/1999 and 5/08/1999. One of the outcomes of this conference was to stop the fighting in Gedo and lay down the guns. What would be Al-shabaab leaders refused to accept that declaration. Although they began their own separate conference and political and military movement, they remained under the Al-Ictisam banner until 2006 when they named themselves Al-Shabaab.

Therefore August the 9th invasion was central to what happened in our country in the years that followed to date. Yet no one asked why and how it happened nor did it attract the attention of scholars and researchers. Indeed it was forgotten all together. A forthcoming book written in Somali will try to fill this gap. The book will explore how we came to that day; who was responsible for the actions that provoked this attack and finally whether it could be avoided.

But for now let's remember those who perished in that savage attack by making dua for all of them and sharing the names of those lucky ones whose names were recorded. I have taken the below list from the book Cadowkeennu Waa Kuma by Abdullahi Farah Ali. The list is not conclusive



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Eritrea: Who is who in President Isaias Afwerki's inner circle?

Eritrea's President Isaias Afwerki is a key player in Ethiopia's civil war and the geopolitics of the Horn of Africa. His authoritarian rule keeps the country isolated internationally, as he removes threats to his rule, using a permanent state of emergency and military mobilisation to tighten his grip on the people and the army. **By Hagos Gebreamlak**

Isaias, 76, came to power in 1993 and has since ruled with an iron grip on the country. His People's Front for Democracy and Justice (PFDJ) regime does not hold elections and drafts young men for compulsory military training. Many people have fled conscription, with nearly 10% of the population having left the country as refugees.

The government was previously under United Nations sanctions for providing support to the Al-Shabaab rebels in Somalia, and the US imposed sanctions on the ruling party and military for involvement in the war in the neighbouring Tigray region of Ethiopia.

Eritrea fought for its independence from Ethiopia, winning the battle in 1993. Relations between the two neighbours were poor, with a dispute over their borders still unsettled today. Ethiopia's Prime Minister Ahmed Abiy and Eritrea's Isaias signed a peace deal shortly after Abiy came to power in 2018, ushering in an era of closer cooperation.

The Eritrean Defence Forces and Ethiopian troops fought against a rebellion in Tigray, which started in November 2022. The Tigrayan People's Liberation Front (TPLF) challenged the authority of Abiy.

With peace talks now underway in Tigray, The Africa Report takes a look at the allies critical to the regime in Asmara as it prepares for its next chapter.



Yemane Gebreab is the second-most influential Eritrean leader after President Isaias. He is the de facto foreign affairs minister and as such has played an important role in Eritrea's participation in the Tigray conflict. Yemane is Isaias' chief diplomat and implements the regime's foreign policy. His official position is a special adviser to the President and head of political affairs of the PFDJ.

He has been in the ministry of foreign affairs for more

than three decades. Foreign ministers come and go, but Yemane remains there. He goes wherever the foreign affairs minister goes.

Yemane is originally from Aksum, Tigray. He came from a poor family, and his father was an activist for the Eritrean unification with Ethiopia.

Yemane is deeply involved in cooperation with Ethiopia, mainly because of the Tigray war. Yemane had lobbied various countries and talked to diplomats – particularly Africans and Israelis – in a bid to reduce the international pressure on the Ethiopian government due to the Tigray war. He had been organising support for Ethiopia in various international institutions and had organised anti-Western intervention campaigns like the #NoMore campaign.



Hagos Gebrehiwet is the head of economic affairs of the PFDJ. He oversees state-owned enterprises and the regime's income. He oversees the finance ministry. Only Hagos and Isaias are in control of important financial information and resources.

Hagos is from Tembien, Tigray.

Regarding Hagos oversees the companies that operate under the army and potash and gold mining and exports. The Bisha Mining Project is a key source of income for the regime. He reports on income and

expenditures to Isaias. He also manages the 2% tax levied on Eritreans in the diaspora.

Yemane is a chief bureaucrat and coordinates all ministerial offices and government institutions. He is a technocrat and the most competent manager in the inner circle.

Yemane has been minister of information since 2015. He was chief of staff of the office of the president and is a de facto deputy president.

He is from Agame, Tigray. His father was a union-with-Ethiopia activist.



Abraha Kassa is the regime's chief spy. He is the head of the Eritrean National Security Agency. He manages and coordinates the country's intelligence units.

Abraha is from Eritrea's southern border region.

He organises and leads intelligence units throughout the regime, including within the army. There are other figures, such as Colonel Simon Gebredingil within the intelligence agency, but they do not have power. They do not have access to the decision-making and policy-making inner circle and to Isaias. They only execute commands.

Regarding the army, the main task of the intelligence agency is to spy on the army generals and officers. There is at least one

intelligence agent in each armed forces leader's office.

The army, since its establishment in 1970, has been somewhat independent of political leadership. Gradually, Isaias controlled the army.

However, there are no politically affiliated players in the army. They evolved from the battlefield during the armed struggle for independence and have little affiliation with the political circle.

Army leaders who were involved in the political inner circle were imprisoned (Petros Solomon, Berhane Gerezgher, Oqube Abraha) or exiled (Mesfin Hagos). The army and its leaders respect and execute the decision-making of the political leadership. But the generals and senior officers are never allowed to take military training in other countries and never permitted to make contact with outside professional networks.



Zemhret Yohannes is the regime's ideological wiz. He manages and the government's propaganda machine as head of research and documentation at the PFDJ.

He has less power in the inner circle and less access to Isaias.

His messaging focuses on Marxism, anti-imperialism and anti-Zionism. Zemhret is an expert in conspiracy theory.

He is a Catholic and is from the Segheneyti area in southern Eritrea.

Somali refugees in Dadaab receive aid after years waiting for registration

(ERGO) – Fadumo Isaq Mohamed, 41, and her family of 11 have recently been re-registered in Hagadera refugee camp in Dadaab, northern Kenya, after a three and a half year wait for recognition and support.

They got their first food aid on 25 July, after returning to the camp on 9 January 2019.

“It’s god’s grace, we now have food, and that burden has been lifted off of us. We also have got refugee cards although we still haven’t got the cash stipends which other refugees get, the only thing that we have to buy now is sugar since it’s not included in the food aid package,” said Fadumo.

They have received 259 kilos of rice, 30 litres of oil, 42 kilos of corn and 48 bars of laundry soap to last her and large family until September.

Fadumo’s family gave up their pastoralist livelihood following harsh weather patterns and large scale deaths of livestock in 2010 and left Somalia to seek assistance in Dadaab. After five years as refugees, they returned home to Buale in Middle Juba region in 2015 among a total of 40,000 families who went back to Somalia under a voluntary repatriation programme.

The hopes of rebuilding their lives back in Buale were dashed as they quickly faced constraints including food and water shortage, as well as insecurity, forcing them to consider returning to the refugee camp.

“When I returned [to Somalia], life become instantly hard, there were water and electricity bills to be paid, school fees, and we had to buy food, that was already enough hardship. I quickly thought the refugee camp was a better option. And that is what fuelled my return,” said Fadumo.

However, for a long period of time the refugee registration process in Kenya was



stalled and those arriving from Somalia had no access to services of any kind.

“We didn’t get food regularly, I washed clothes to earn a living getting around \$5 and all that would go to food. The next day I would go out again without eating breakfast and come back around midday, sometimes at night the children would ask me ‘What do we eat, we are hungry’. I would just entertain them till they slept as I didn’t have food for them,” Fadumo said.

Maryan Hassan Hussein, 30, arrived for the first time in the camp in March 2021 with 13 children including eight belonging to her two sisters who were both killed in Mogadishu in February 2021. She finally got her registration card in July this year.

“Since we got the card, food is no longer an issue, we are better.

“Since we got the card, food is no longer an issue, we are better. Last month we got rice and beans, and that is how I feed the kids, we are leading a happy life now,”

Last month we got rice and beans, and that is how I feed the kids, we are leading a happy life now,” she said.

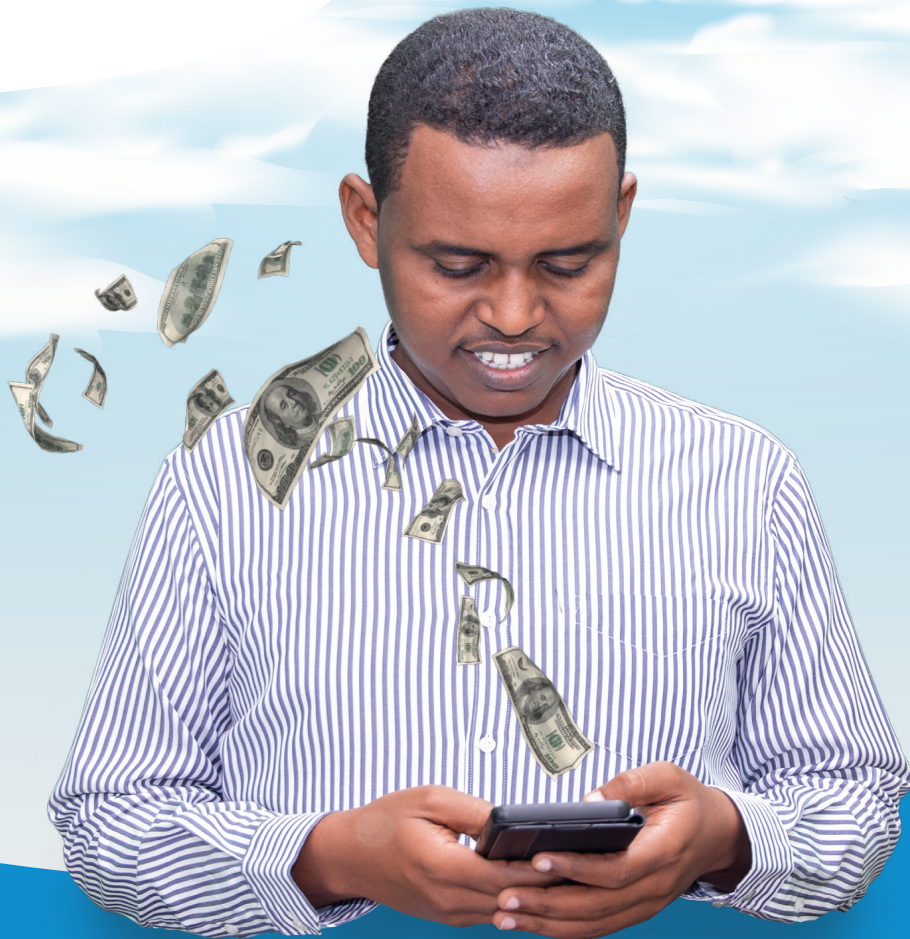
But for more than a year in the refugee camp, Maryan and her children depended on handouts from the other refugees who shared their meagre food rations with them.

Maryan said that she sought asylum after facing constant threats from Al-Shabab, who killed her two sisters. They both worked for the Banadir regional administrations as street cleaners.

Mohamed Abdi Samatar, a section leader in Hagadera camp, said the aid organisations needed to treat all the Somali refugees the same.

“When the new refugees were suffering in front of us, it was unbearable. We thank UNHCR and the [Kenyan] government for the registration of these new people and the delivery of food aid. These people have been through very difficult times and as the section leaders we try to advocate for them,” he said.

Mohamed said there is to be a verification exercise of newly registered families in October, when these families should be able to access the cash aid which is known in the camp as ‘Bamba Chakula.’



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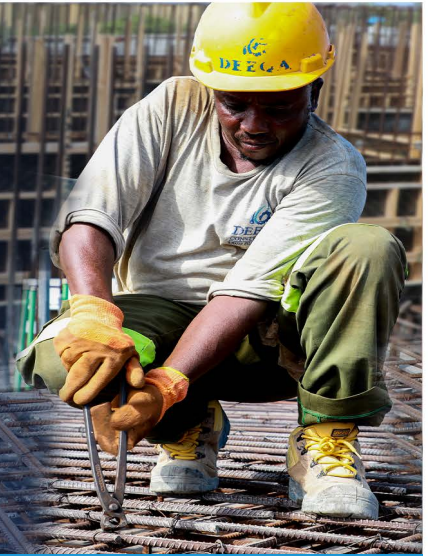
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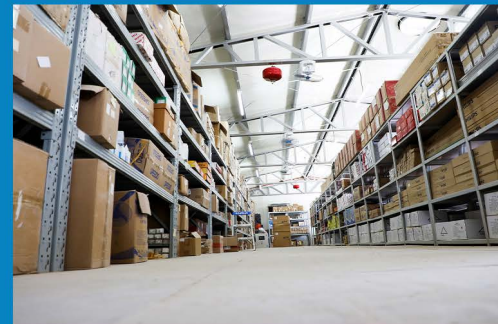
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