

A NOTE ON MY TEACHERS' GROUP
News Report of an Injustice

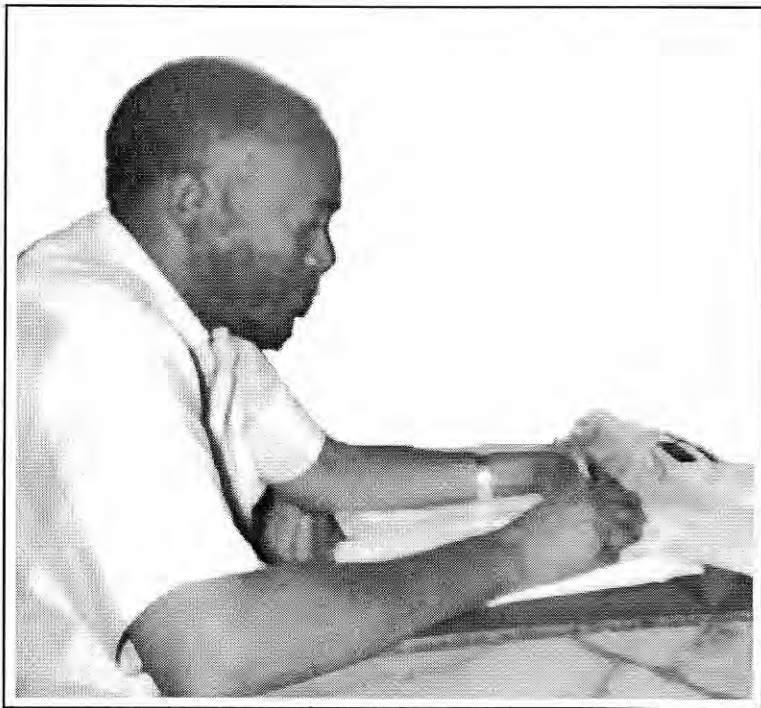


JAMA MUSSE JAMA



PONTE INVISIBILE

Mankind continues to become gradually less cruel because a few people in every generation keep saying, "This isn't right. It hurts me to see it." - Joan Gilbert (1931-)



Mohamed Barood Ali, Hargeisa (1992)

The then president of SORRA (Somali Relief and Rehabilitation Association), while chairing a meeting of the SORRA Executive Committee

JAMA MUSSE JAMA

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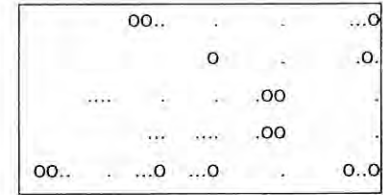
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*For those who transmitted a message like this one
through the cell walls every morning
for six and half long years.*

Cover photograph: Omer Isse Awale and Mohamed Barood Ali while playing a basket ball game with other prisoners in Hargeisa Central Prison, 1982. Source of photograph: Amnesty International Archives.

Backcover photograph: memorial Statue in front of Hargeisa Security Court Building for the memorial of the people killed during the *Dhagax Tuur* (stone throwing) protest in February 1982. Photo by Jama Musse Jama.

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It is customary to thank one's editor or anyone who helped to produce a book physically. In my case there is nothing pro forma about the feeling of affection and gratitude I have for my friends Umberto Parrini and Mirko Delcaldo. Without their help this book would not have been printed.

This book was written entirely since I was member of the Somaliland Forum. I am deeply thankful to all members of this association who gave me support to collect information regarding the case. In particular I would like to commemorate a lost of two special friends, Amina Omer Jama "Amina-Malko" and Abdurahman A. Ismail "Nero" (may Allah rest their soul in peace), who encouraged me to write this book and who provided me with important documents and suggestions. I would like to thank Ibrahim Hashi Jama, who provided me with a comprehensive technical analysis of the decision of Hargeisa National Security Court which tried the members of "*My Teachers' Group*"; Dr. Ahmed Hussein Esa, who gave me the permission to print his translation to English of the Court decision; Mohamed Hassan Nur who read through various drafts. Without Mohamed's tireless effort and critical observations this book would have different shape. Among the others, I would like to thank Ahmed Hussein Ismail, Farah Ahmed Hersi, Hassan Haji Yaaxeen, Kaysar Abdillahi Mohamed, Khadar Hassan Ali "Gas", Dr. Mohamed Abdillahi Dirie and Yussuf Mohamed Esa who helped in one way or other.

I would also like to thank Amnesty International, Africa Watch, Institute for Practical Research and Training and Somalia Watch. I referred to publications from these associations, and sometimes reprinted with permission materials from their archives. I thank also Eid Ali Ahmed and Sayid Ali Hussein Hassan who helped me to find specific documents or photos that I needed.

I gratefully dedicate this book to all members of "*My Teachers' Group*" and all others who suffered the cruel actions of the dictatorial regime of former Republic of Somalia and their families. Much of them are not with us today because of the inhumane suffering caused by the regime.

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Preface

This book brings together two related essays on different aspects of a case of a group of young professionals, including my schoolteachers in Hargeisa, who have been prisoners of conscience for almost 8 years under the late Somali dictator's rule. They were held in solitary confinements in the maximum-security prison of "Labaatan Jirow", which was located in the south of the former Republic of Somalia. They were kept in prison from early 1982 to 1989. These people were arrested because they volunteered to assist the Hargeisa Group Hospital in 1981 and because they wanted to apply themselves in other humanitarian activities. During their imprisonment, their case received a wide international support and campaigns for their release by many human rights organizations. They were internationally known as "The Hargeisa Self-Help Group" and locally as "The UFFO Group" (This Somali term "UFFO" and why the group was named as such are discussed later).

The first part of the book, entitled "*A note on my Teachers' Group: News Report of an Injustice*", is the story of how and why the members of this group were arrested. The core of the second part is a technical analysis of the Court decision by professional lawyer, Mr. Ibrahim Hashi Jama. The book includes the original transcript of the verdict of the Court in Somali language and its translation in to English by Dr. Ahmed Hussein Esa. A comprehensive list of notes is included in the interest of the readers who are not familiar with the recent history of Somaliland. The book also includes an updated list of profiles of the group members who were imprisoned.

The choice of the title has a particular significance. I was student when the members of this group were arrested, and some of them, as a matter of fact, were my teachers. I chose, however, to call them "*My*

Teachers' Group" instead of "The Hargeisa Self-Help Group" or "UFFO", because of their fierce determination to serve the needs of our nation as most of my teachers. Their dedication to the people and the country was a wakeup call to any individual in our society. Although, because of their highly publicized case in the international arena, they could have obtained asylum in any nation around the world after their release, they opted to go back to work with displaced Somaliland people in Ethiopia and fight the dictatorial Mohamed Siad Barre regime. After Somaliland re-asserted its independence in 1991, they continued to fully participate in the rebuilding of the country. Now that the situation in Somaliland is in the post-conflict stage, some of them are working hard to promote the observance of human rights in Somaliland. This is a lofty and enviable attitude from which anyone of us, and in particular the new generations, should learn from.

Mohamed Barood Ali, member of this group, was not a teacher by profession and, thus, I had not had the opportunity to know him personally before his arrest while I was a student. However, during the short period in which I worked with him at the SORRA office in Hargeisa in 1992, I learned a lot from him. He gave me invaluable lessons on many aspects of life, and he became a role model to me, and a hero to admire and respect. It is for this reason that I will always call him and his friends in the "UFFO" group "*My Teachers' Group*".

While I am deeply conscious of the suffering "*My Teachers' Group*" members and their families have undergone, in all the cases reported in this book, I have tried to cleanly draw the line between factual reporting of the case and my personal viewpoint.

While these pages may be viewed as historical pieces of evidence, they certainly contain the sequence of events that were happening at the time and of which I was an eyewitness, and, some of them, of which I learnt afterwards. They may contain some emotional feelings of a student who suddenly realised that these events had left him an orphan from his teachers.

For sure these few pages are not sufficient to give a full account of all that happened and why it all happened and, thus, I hope members of "*My Teachers' Group*", one-day, will be able to tell us the whole story behind this tragedy. This piece of our history must be written for our future, as I am sure the dedication and the love for their nation of the members of this group will become a source of inspiration to the younger generations.

As to the history of our people, what followed this accident — which occurred in February 1982 — requires a separate book and I hope our historians will document the devastation and destruction that the dictatorial regime of Mohamed Siad Barre has caused the Somali inhabited territories in general and Somaliland in particular. Nothing good comes without sacrifices, and sacrifices we have given to freedom and prosperity. Let us not forget the ills of yesterday for history can repeat itself.

Jama Musse Jama
Hargeisa, Somaliland
Tuesday, February 20, 2001

Note to the reader

Somalis use three names: their first name followed by the first name of their father and the first name of their grandfather. They also use a nickname. In this book, whenever possible, the full name is used, followed by a nickname for each person. The nicknames appear in quotation marks throughout the text. Individual personal names and places are written in their anglicised form instead of the use of the Somali written orthography.

In the former Republic of Somalia, the registry office used to record only the year for the births. Somali passports and other legal documents, thus, report only the year of the birth. In this book, the same system is used unless the author verified the birthday of the person.

Abbreviations and acronyms

BCA	British Colonial Administration
CID	Criminal Investigation Department
CTC	Clerical Training Center
CPC	Criminal Procedure Code
GED	German Emergency Doctors
HANGASH	<i>Hay'adda Nabadsugidda Gaashaandhigga</i> (Military Security Agency)
HRC	Human Rights Committee
ICCPR	International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights
IOM-CHHR	Institute of Medicine – Committee on Health and Human Rights
KGB	<i>Komitet Gosudarstvennoi Bezopasnosti</i> (Soviet Government's Committee of State Security)
MCC	Military Mobile Court
MCH	Mother and Child Health
NAS-HRG	National Academy of Sciences – Human Rights Group
NGO	Non Governmental Organisation
NSC	National Security Court
NSS	National Security Service
OHCHR	Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights
RSC	Regional Security Council
RUDM	<i>Ragga U dhashay Magaalada</i> (Men born for the City)
SLF	Somaliland Forum
SNM	Somali National Movement
SORRA	Somali Relief and Rehabilitation Association
SRC	Supreme Revolutionary Court
XHQ	<i>Xeerka Habka Cigaabta Somaliyeed</i> (Somali Criminal Procedure Code)

NEWS REPORT OF AN INJUSTICE

The wife of a freedom fighter is often like a widow, even when her husband is not in prison.

Long walk to Freedom, 1994
Nelson Mandella.



Members of "My Teacher's Group"
soon after their arrest in Hargeisa in 1981

Why this note?

The aim of my writing this book is to reflect, after 20 years, on a particular incident of a political and criminal nature which took place on the streets of Hargeisa, Somaliland's current capital city¹. In doing so, I will attempt to search for definitive answers to the following questions: why the incident occurred and what were some of the forces that caused the problem.

The historical date was February 20th, 1982, and the place was Hargeisa, then the main city in the Northwest Region of Somalia. Although many other atrocious actions against the people of Hargeisa had happened, perpetrated by the Somali dictatorial regime of the day, this infamous night of long knives against my school teachers and some other professionals is a night that needs to be remembered. Admittedly, other terrible events of larger magnitude, on a human scale, both preceded and succeeded this particular action and, ever since, have gripped the lives of the people in Hargeisa. For the residents of the city, it became natural to expect the unexpected everyday throughout the 1980s, and believe the unbelievable. The Hargeisa aerial bombardment, which was carried out by the Somali government forces in 1988, for example, was the most painful one in a string of unabated evil actions that the Somali government used as coercive tools to punish its own people.

¹ Somaliland, a former British protectorate which gained its full independence from the United Kingdom on the 26th June 1960, merged with the Italian-Administered UN Trusteeship on 1st July 1960, to form the Republic of Somalia. Thirty years later, after the total collapse of the Somali Republic, Somaliland restored its independence on 18th May 1991. This decision was made by the congress of the council of clan elders in Burao from 27th April to 15th May 1991. From 1991 to 2002, three heads of state succeeded each other peacefully. The Supreme Court has endorsed the outcome of the 31st May 2001 Constitutional Referendum in which 97% of the estimated 1.2 million voters have supported Somaliland's provisional constitution and its sovereignty.

The primary purpose of writing this book is, therefore, to preserve a few pages of history for Somaliland's younger generations, who may demand answers to the causes behind the political turmoil that took place in their country in the 1980s and question why these atrocities occurred in Hargeisa in 1982.

Jama Musse Jama

How it all began?

On the 19th of November two National Security Service (NSS) officers and several paramilitary police came to my house and woke me up at 1:00 a.m. I went with them under the impression that this was a case of mistaken identity. It was not. It was the beginning of the madness that brought about the catastrophes affecting the country up to this day. The suffering and the destruction we, the Somali people, experienced under the hands of the dictator, [Mohamed] Siad Barre, are beyond the range of human imagination. This was how it all began.

"Why we were arrested?"

Dr. Aden Yussuf Abokor

Ahmed Mohamed Yusuf "Jabane" was arrested on 2nd November 1981. That same day I went to Mogadishu. While I was in Mogadishu, I learnt about the arrest of Mohamed Barood Ali and I was warned that I am in the list of those who were to be arrested. At that time it sounded like a joke and I refused all those who advised me to travel abroad. My reason for the refusal was that I did not do anything wrong to become a "Run-away". I returned to Hargeisa after a week. Then on the 19th of November at about 2:00 a.m. we were woken up by a knock on the door. [...] My wife got up to see who it was and when she came back I knew from the terror in her eyes that some thing was wrong. [...] The first person who entered my home produced a NSS identity card, and when I asked him the reason for disturbance at this time of the night, several others came in without my permission. When they finished searching all the rooms they asked me to go along with them. My wife brought me a blanket and pillow and uttered some words of encouragement and endearment. As I was whisked away, I noticed that the whole neighbourhood was encircled, by army vehicles. That was how it all begun.

Mohamed Hagi Mohamoud Omer-Hashi

The knock came just after 2:00 a.m. Although I had expected them to come any day, I was terrified and very frightened when it finally happened. My heart started beating faster and harder. I put on a pair of jeans, a shirt and shoes while they continued knocking harder and harder on the door. A friend of mine had been arrested two days before on 2nd November and we heard there was a list of people to be detained. [...] The most haunting image I remember about the whole episode is the terror I saw in my wife's eyes. We had only been married for 4 months. Somehow she seemed to sense that something terrible was going to happen to me. Her eyes were pools of love but overwhelmed by fright and helplessness. I could not bear looking at her. She suggested repeatedly that she opens the door by herself alone but in the end we went together. There were four men in civilian clothes with AK47 assault rifles and a vehicle at the ready. A fifth man, obviously their leader, with a pistol in his hand, instructed me to go with them to the NSS headquarters. [...] They reassured my wife, with disarming civility that I was going to be back within the "hour". It turned out to be a long "hour". It lasted for seven years and six months in prison, mostly in solitary confinement during which I did not see my wife or my beloved relatives.

A Personal Account.
Mohamed Barood Ali

Hargeisa 1980

In the early 1980s there was a group of young professionals who had returned to Hargeisa, the main city of the then Northwest Region of Somalia, and current capital of the Republic of Somaliland. Many of them had just completed their education abroad and returned to work in the country; others had been transferred from other regions of the country; and others have already been working in the region.

I prefer to call them “*My Teachers' Group*” instead of “Hargeisa Self-help Group” as they were known by the international organisations or “UFFO”² as many people used to call them.

Some of them, as a matter of fact, were my teachers; others were medical doctors, engineers, economists, civil servants, and other professionals. They were keen to undertake on a voluntary basis anything to improve the living conditions of their people and the city. They were of the same age, in their early 30s, and they shared the enthusiasm with which they wanted to improve the quality of the life in the city.

They were probably influenced by the Western idea of self-made progress and community-based activities. They were not willing to accept the deficiencies of neglected schools and hospitals. They believed that they should, and could, do something for the community. At that time, I was 15 and in my second year of high school at Farah Omaar secondary school in Hargeisa.

In Hargeisa there were no sufficient supplies of electricity or water. No roads or other infrastructure were being built anywhere in

² The Somali word “UFFO” literally means “whirlwind” that usually precedes the rains in the tropical climate. The reason why “*My Teachers' Group*” was named as such will be discussed later.

the region. Public facilities of the city remained as they had been in the late nineteen fifties under the British Colonial Administration (BCA).

The whole economy in the region was taken under control by the Government, whose forces used political repression, torture, extortion and random imprisonment of the citizens.

Like other Government workers, the under-paid teachers deserted their profession. Many of our schoolteachers left for Yemen and for the United Arab Emirates to teach where they could be paid better. School maintenance was neglected as public finance for education fell drastically. Our schools were therefore facing crises and they were losing their identity.

Several times the region's educational authority reported the shortage of schoolteachers in Hargeisa and other cities in the north. My biology teacher, Ahmed Muhumed Madar, member of “*My Teachers' Group*”, gave the following reason for his transfer from Mogadishu in 1980. “*I was teaching at Benadir Secondary School in Mogadishu. While in my school in the capital, there was an overloading of teachers in each subject, in all other regions of the country, including Hargeisa, there was a shortage of schoolteachers in every subject.*”

For the first time, students, soon after finishing their secondary education, went back to their own schools in order to teach their schoolmates, of course without any professional and teaching skills. This was due to what was called “*Shaqo Qaran*” (national service).

The 1977-78 Somali-Ethiopian war heavily damaged – both economically and socially – the Northern Regions of the then Republic of Somalia and, in particular, the people of Hargeisa, as the city was air-bombarded several times by the Ethiopian forces³. Many

³ The former Republic of Somalia went into war with Ethiopia two times since its birth in July 1960. The first war occurred in 1964 and the second in 1977-78. One of the regions mostly affected by the Somali army's defeat of the 1977-78 war was the then Northern West Region. Hargeisa, the main city, was repeatedly air-bombarded by the Ethiopian Air Forces. As

other public facilities, however, were facing deep crises, with sanitation the most critical of all.

Dr. Aden Yusuf Abokor, the then director of the Hargeisa Group Hospital and a member of "My Teachers' Group" wrote: "*When I was posted there in 1980 as the Hospital Director, the laboratory was hardly functioning due to lack of chemicals and equipment; the blood bank and the Emergency and Out-patient departments were closed. The X-ray machine had been out of order for two years, partly due to lack of film and partly due to malfunctioning of some [of] its parts. The drainage system was completely blocked and patients usually went out at night to relieve themselves.*" [2:1]

According to "My Teachers' Group" members, patients in order to be admitted, had to bring their own mattresses, bed-sheets and pillows. One had to buy ones own drugs as well as meals. The only "service" the Hospital offered was frustrated and demoralized doctors and paramedics. Whenever possible, people used to avoid the hospital and instead utilized the pharmacies which lacked doctors and qualified pharmacists. The amount of drugs sold to these pharmacies by the Government agency were so meager that the owners were compelled to go to certain regions in the South to buy more drugs. In fact, the amount of drugs officially allocated by the Government to the North-

a result of this defeat, Hargeisa and the surrounding areas became host to huge refugee influx of the best part of million Ogadenis and Oromos (ethnic Somalis and Oromo neighbours), creating immense problems for the region which became increasingly dependent on humanitarian aid from the Western world.

Lewis wrote: "[...] the Ogadeen factor in Somali politics acquired new impetus now inside Somalia. The army started illegally recruiting Ogaadeens and Oromos from the refugee camps as well as employing the Westren Somali Liberation Front as a subsidiary militia to maintain control of the Northern Somalia".

"[...] Relations between the refugees and the local (mainly Isaaq) residents were understandably complicated, particularly in view of the long history of confrontation and conflict over grazing and water in the Northren Ogaadeen between pastoralists of these rival clans. Housed initially in huge camps containing up to 60,000 people, the refugees were totally dependent on international relief delivered through the United Nations High Commission for Refugees whose operations became an important economic resource for the Somali regime and an other strand in the multi-sector national economy" [8:179].

West Region (which is one of the most populated regions in the republic) was almost equal to the amount provided to the smallest region (population wise) in the country. This was not due to bad administration but was done intentionally. The issue used to be raised with the authorities whenever possible but always in vain.

Members of "My Teachers' Group" used to hold meetings at night as any group of the same age usually does. They were all acquainted with each other from childhood and they all went to schools in the region. At that age, when one feels all the power and beauty of youth, they turned out to be willing to do something positive. They had to act. It was during one of these meetings that they decided to gather in the evenings to clean the hospital drainage system and the compound. They discussed how to restore the value of education in our schools and how to improve the way we learn.

Immediate actions followed these discussions, as members of the group campaigned for and cleaned the Hospital in Hargeisa with the help of students, their colleagues—Somali and non-Somali volunteers. They used the government owned and the only radio station in Hargeisa to raise the public awareness about health matters.

They attracted the attention of the public, who gave support to their activities. Their movements also were blessed by some international organisations that offered assistance to their initiatives. Among these organizations was the German Emergency Doctors (GED)⁴. The link between GED and "My Teachers' Group" was Abdul Karim A. Gouled, a Somali-Ethiopian graduate from a

⁴ The German Emergency Doctors (GED) is a non-profit, non-political, humanitarian organisation founded in mid 1970s in Germany by Dr. R. Nuedeck, a prominent journalist and political analyst at Radio Koln, Germany. In 1980, Dr. Nuedeck met a Somali-Ethiopian graduate from a University in Stuttgart, Abdul Karim A. Guelid, who briefed him about the situation in the refugee camps around Hargeisa that were hosting Ethiopians of Somali ethnicity, who fled from Ogaden war between Ethiopia and Somalia. The GED provided medical equipment and drugs to the refugees, and established themselves in two refugee camps.

university in Stuttgart who became familiar with the initiative of "My Teachers' Group". Abdil Karim invited Dr. Nuedeck (head of the mission and the founder of GED) and other members of his team to Hargeisa hospital to meet the Director of the hospital, Dr. Aden and members of the local community.

Dr. Nuedeck needed justifications to assist the Hargeisa hospital since his organisation, the GED, was meant for emergency interventions like refugee camps or other victims of disaster. The justification that Dr. Aden gave at that time was that to help the refugees in the camp, one needs to support the regional hospital, which is the referral hospital that can assist the refugees in need of hospital admission and treatment. The founder of the GED and his team discussed the matter and reached the conclusion that it is justifiable to support the Hargeisa hospital in order to assist the refugees in the camps around the city. The GED raised funds of approximately 2 million German Marks for the support of the Hargeisa hospital. GED provided beds and mattresses to replace those from the time of the BCA, inventory, hospital equipment, surgical equipment, kitchenware, drugs and the completion of the hospital repairs, which included new electric generator, roofing, and reconstructing the drainage system, which has been blocked for a long time. The GED also provided a doctor and a nurse during the initial phase but in 1981, the number of the team of GED health personnel increased. Few months later, the organisation was able to find doctors and nurses who volunteered for 6-12 months to work at the Hargeisa hospital. The community participation with the support of the GED, the Hargeisa hospital became the envy of all health facilities in the Democratic Republic of Somalia.

the Dam near Hargeisa and Adhi Addais camp, half way on the road to Berbera, the main Somaliland port on the Arabian Sea. GED since that time worked in the Hargeisa Group Hospital on permanent basis for varying lengths of time.

"My Teachers' Group" also encouraged several sporting activities among youngsters and organised football championships in Hargeisa; they also reconstructed on a voluntary basis some of Hargeisa basketball playing camps. Among the other institutions helped by "My Teachers' Group" were MCH (Mother and Child Health) centres, Hargeisa Nursing School, the Ambulance Services and Clerical Training Centre (CTC).

My biology teacher told me, after almost 18 years, that he really could not give a specific explanation for the reason as to why they so firmly organised themselves for the benefit of the rest. *We just did it*, he said, *because we felt that we had to do something for the benefit of the nation.*

"My Teachers' Group" contacted some established businessmen to participate in this self-help program. The community leaders and businessmen offered financial support by forming a committee⁵ of six very respected men who were supposed to study the needs of "My Teachers' Group" and then collect the necessary funds for financing the proposed projects. The committee of the businessmen built a laboratory for the out-patients beyond the Hospital compound; laid the foundation for a new maternity ward and allocated funds for the construction of a second pediatric ward.

The GED members had promised that they would supply maintenance items and they would continue the drug supply support. The teachers among "My Teachers' Group" had decided to offer free lessons in the evenings to the students. The idea of community-based projects was to be extended to the other malfunctioning public services. The bus-owners were ready to collect money for contribution and fund-raising⁶. The failing spirits and the hope of the city were revived.

⁵ The Committee members were Mohamed Abu Site, Ali Farah "Ali Baaniyaal", Barre Warsame Shire, Da'ud Hersi Ali, Mohamoud (Wadaadyare) and Hagi Mohamed Yaaxiin.

⁶ This category of businessmen (Bus owners) seem to be one of the few social groups that were well organized in Hargeisa. It would be interesting to investigate where this organization

It was not a secret that civil and politics rights in Somalia were tightly circumscribed, and that public criticism of the Government was not allowed. It was for this reason that *"My Teachers' Group"* always avoided confrontation with the regime. It was first instituted that the Committee of the Businessmen should operate under the administration of the Governor's office and that they should operate with the local authorities. Whenever they finished a project, according to Dr. Aden, *"they used to invite the Governor or his representative to give his 'blessings' on behalf of the President"*. [2]

No one even dreamed about the possibility of seeing these noble acts by both nationals and foreigners who assisted *"My teachers' Group"* as an act against the State and as an act of subversion and high treason.

Nevertheless, the dictatorial regime of the day did not have the same ideals. While the members of *"My Teachers' Group"* were conducting meetings with the community leaders and businessmen to obtain financial support for their self-help activities, the military authority of the region and the NSS⁷ commanders were busy in other meetings to sabotage these activities.

came from. However, the importance of this business in the whole economy of the region was noted by the Military Authority. The Authority decided to weigh down on this source of economy. In fact, in a top secret letter written by General Mohamed Saeed Hersi "Morgan", son-in-law of Dictator Mohamed Siad Barre and the Commander of the 26th division of the Somali Armed Forces who substituted Brigadier General Mohamed Hashi "Gani", it is cited *"337 buses were used as public services, and this number should be reduced to not more than 80"*. It was also suggested that *there should be "just" and "balanced" distribution of the licenses regulating bus owners in a way to give the preferences to the persons supporting the Revolution, and to deny those politically opposed to it"*. The letter was acquired and published by New African Journal in London. [17:15].

⁷ National Security Service was the country's principal secret service organization. In one of Siad Barre's first decrees, Law No.1 of January 1970, the Dictator gave the NSS as well as Regional and District Revolutionary Councils the right to detain, without any time constraints, anyone *"whenever it is proved ... to the satisfaction of such organs that such person (a) is conducting himself so as to endanger peace, order and good government in Somalia; (b) is intriguing against the Supreme Revolutionary Council and by word or by action, acts against the objectives and spirit of the revolution."* There is [was] no opportunity to challenge the NSS powers of arrest and detention. Torture and abusive methods of interrogation became the standard operating of the NSS. African Watch Report [3:16]

Ahmed Omer Askar, in his collection of fictionalised short stories book *"Sharks and Soldiers"*, gives two scenes of two different parallel meetings: one being held in the office of the Director of Hargeisa Group Hospital, and the other being held in Birjeex Military camp headquarters. Dr. Aden Yussuf Abokor, the hospital director chaired the first meeting, and General Mohamed Hashi Gani⁸, the chief commander of the 26th division of the national army, chaired the other meeting.

Dr. Aden opens the discussion by saying, *"We have completed the first phase of renovation, we have supplied new beds to all wards, but now we need to maintain this standard we have achieved. We can maintain this standard if we get enough financial support. We do not have money to replace one broken light bulb or a water tap."* [11:92]

The other meeting, where almost all commanders of the armed forces were present, was opened by General Gani who said: *"Comrades, we have a very serious matter to discuss. The commander of the NSS has brought a list of the people whom we have spotted as the most dangerous group in this country. The NSS has completed their investigations and we have found that these people are connected to some rebellious groups. They have relations with other people from the imperialist countries. We cannot tolerate them any more. I order their immediate arrest. It is the job of the NSS and red berets⁹ to detain the people concerned. Now the governor will prepare the document for their arrest. You have to sign before you leave this room."* [11:96]

These scenes, as the author indicates, are fictionalised stories, but at the same time, they interpret the reality of the situation. The fact

⁸ Mohamed Hashi Gani, Major General, Chief Commander of the 26th division of the national army based in Hargeisa, and close relative of the dictator Siad Barre is considered one of the minds that manufactured the destruction of Hargeisa and Somaliland cities in early 1980s.

⁹ The "red berets" (*Koofiyad Cas* in Somali) were new body in the military sections that was born first as body guard for governmental personalities, but soon it became a military security service with unlimited power to arrest people.

is that the beneficial attempts of "My Teachers' Group" were seen as dangerous attacks on the government's existence.

With the help of the NSS agents, the military rule of the province conducted a detailed report on the activities of "My Teachers' Group", and communicated it directly to Mogadishu's Villa Somalia, the dictator's residence and office. The prompt response from the central government was, I presume, STOP THEIR ACTIVITIES. In fact, an emergency Task Force, consisting of Security Services Agents and police officers were immediately dispatched from Mogadishu. This Task Force was lead by Colonel Ali Hussein Dinle. The regional NSS agents indicated more than thirty people as the organisers of these 'illegal activities.' Twenty-nine of them officially became the accused in the 'case' against "My Teachers' Group". They were arrested, interrogated, tortured, sentenced and jailed for eight long years, for an offence to which all of them pleaded not guilty. Two of them were my teachers.

Among the people arrested were the brightest, most-dedicated and best-trained Somalis of the period, precisely the kind of individuals our country needed for its development. These actions regrettably discouraged many other university level students from returning home, and many others, who were already in the country, have fled since then. The international scientific community commented on the arrest of "My Teachers' Group" as follows:

"The scientists in Hargeisa were arrested in late 1981, along with several dozen other young professionals, by National Security Service officers. [...] It is believed that these arrests resulted from suspicions that the efforts at the Hargeisa Group Hospital were politically motivated against the government. It is ironic that President [Mohamed] Siad Barre has been a strong promoter of individual participation in self-help efforts toward community development as a part of his "scientific socialism" program." [5:27]

These arrested people deserved our gratitude for what they were doing for our society. They should have been called patriots, and

patriots they certainly were. On the contrary, there has been a total lack of sense of justice on their account. They were branded as traitors, and they were arrested and tortured. These pages are, therefore, a kind of News Report on this injustice that matured in front of our eyes.

THE ARREST

It was always at night — the arrests invariably happened at night. The sudden jerk out of sleep, the rough hand shaking your shoulder, the lights glaring in your eyes, the ring of hard faces round the bed. In the vast majority of cases there was no trial, no report of the arrest. People simply disappeared, always during the night. Your name was removed from the registers, every record of everything you had ever done was wiped out, and your one-time existence was denied and then forgotten. You were abolished, annihilated: vaporized was the usual word.

In his novel "Nineteen Eighty-four", 1949
George Orwell.



Mohamed Hagi Mohamoud Omer-Hashi, (before his arrest)
Photo source: Amnesty International Documents

Before the beginning of the arrests, which occurred at the end of November 1981, persistent but unspecified rumours had been circulating among the citizens of Hargeisa, especially among the students. People had a feeling that something unusual was going to happen. Then "My Teachers' Group" members were arrested.

These arrests were not the first for the dictatorial regime in its fight against its own people¹⁰. However, it was the beginning of the tragedy that caused the massacre of more than 100,000 civilians and the destruction of the main cities of Somaliland. The then military authority in Hargeisa, by order from the Mogadishu regime, declared from that day its hostility toward the citizens of the then Northern Somalia.

The telltale of that massacre, which the outside world did not know much about or chose to ignore, was later unearthed by the heavy rains that the city of Hargeisa experienced during May 1997. The ensuing floods exposed 600-700 human skeletons in a mass grave situated about 300 meters from the headquarters of the 26th division of the Somali National Army, which was the base of the commander of all armed forces in the region. In November 1997, the Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights (OHCHR)¹¹

¹⁰ Before atrocities were committed in the then Northern Somalia, citizens of the central area of Somalia suffered the inhumane political repression of the Somali dictator, Siad Barre. Because of their close tribal lineage to the man who led the failed *coup* attempt, Colonel Mohamoud Sheikh Osman "Iirro", the people of Mudug and Hiran regions became the first target of repression. The pattern of abuses against these civilians, according to Africa Watch, was a bitter foretaste for what was in store for the civilians of the other regions: extra-judicial executions, rape, the killings of livestock, and the destruction of reservoirs [13:29]

¹¹ OHCHR is a United Nations' Commission that met for the first time in 1947 with the sole function of drafting the Universal Declaration Of Human Rights. After the Declaration was adopted by the General Assembly on 10 December 1948, this day – 10 December – is celebrated annually as "Human Rights Day". Using the Universal Declaration of Human Rights as the basis, the Commission set about drafting an impressive body of international human rights law, culminating in the adoption by the General Assembly in 1966 of the two human rights covenants, the International Covenant on Civil and Politics Rights and the

authorised an independent expert to visit the area where the skeletons were uncovered, as well as the dispatch, in December 1997, of two international forensic experts from the Boston-based organisation, Physicians for Human Rights (PHR)¹². [See appendix V].

Despite the fact that several international Human Rights Groups, such as Amnesty International (AI)¹³, expressed their worry of the increase of Human rights violations in Somalia from the end of the 1970s, the international community continued to help the regime of Siad Barre to maintain power. Amnesty International wrote, "*A state of emergency was in force throughout the country from October 1980 until March 1982. Since then the northern regions have been under virtual military rule by the northern sector army commander.*" [13:1]

When the members of "My Teachers' Group" were arrested, the city was shocked by this cruel action. The students in Hargeisa could not believe the motivation of the Government for the arrest of their teachers. For many, it was the end of a good dream that was vanishing into nothing. For others, it was a pain in the bottom of their hearts. No one, however, remained indifferent in front of this unjustified inhumane wrongdoing.

Heavily armed and sometimes masked men entered the house of each member. They usually conducted these intrusions at night. They

International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights. Together, the Universal Declaration and the two Covenants are commonly referred to as the International Bill of Human Rights.

¹² Physicians for Human Rights (PHR) is a Boston based Human Rights Association, which was founded in the late 1986. With the motto "AN ALLIANCE OF SCIENCE AND CONSCIENCE", PHR mobilizes the health professions and enlists support from the general public to protect and promote the human rights of all people. Using medical and scientific methods, they investigate and expose violations of human rights worldwide.

¹³ Amnesty International is a worldwide campaign movement that works to promote all the human rights enshrined in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and other international standards. In particular, the Amnesty International campaigns to free all prisoners of conscience; ensure fair and prompt trials for political prisoners; abolish the death penalty, torture and other cruel treatment of prisoners; end political killings and "disappearances"; and oppose human rights abuses by opposition groups.

whisked off each member out of his home while the rest of the family were sleeping. Each member of "My Teachers' Group" was interrogated, tortured and his physical and psychological integrity damaged.

Some of the arrested were reportedly blindfolded at night and taken to unidentified place and severely beaten. They were threatened with immediate execution, and water was poured on the floor of the cells so they could not lie down or sleep. One of my teachers suffered from back problems and loss of hearing in one ear for which he required heavy medical treatment after his release.

Every relative of a member of this group felt the event in a particular way. Every citizen of Hargeisa was touched by these unexpected and unacceptable arrests. Students of "My Teachers' Group" felt this event, which was suddenly depriving them of their teachers.

Soon after the arrest of this group, paintings and writings on the city walls, showing the great disappointment of the citizens for these arrests, were seen in many streets of Hargeisa. The students distributed posters and leaflets in the schools.

According to Africa Watch¹⁴ "*The arrest in December 1981 and the trial in February 1982 ... (of the Hargeisa Group) ... was one of the most important events that triggered the politically explosive situation in the northern region. The government accused them of belonging to an illegal organisation called 'Ragga u Dhashay Magaalada (RUDM)' ('Men Born for the City'). The defendants denied the charges.*" [3:37]

¹⁴ Under the Direction of Rakia Omaar, the Africa Watch Committee was established in May 1988 to monitor and promote observance of internationally recognised human rights in Africa. Human Rights Watch (HRW), which is comprised of Africa Watch, Americas Watch, Asia Watch, Helsinki Watch and Middle-east Watch, is dedicated to protect the human rights of people around the world. They stand with victims and activists to prevent discrimination, to uphold political freedom, to protect people from inhumane conduct in wartime, and to bring offenders to justice. They investigate and expose human rights violations and hold abusers accountable.

Someone argued that the group was behind an underground newsletter called "UFFO" meaning 'whirlwind' in Somali. No copy of that newsletter was presented as evidence during their interrogation and trial. Five pages roughly typed and fastened with a paperclip were presented as a copy of the "UFFO" newsletter, but the prosecuting team failed to demonstrate the existence of such a newsletter.

According to Amnesty International, the arrested "*had also held meetings, to discuss local grievances against the government, including issues relating to the development of the northern region. Representatives of the group are believed to have held private meetings with senior government officials to discuss these questions. Information available to AI indicate that the criticism expressed by the group did not entail advocacy or use of violence.*" [14].

Ahmed Omer Askar wrote, "*The detention of the Self-help Group was a turning point in history. It marked the re-awakening of a people who had given up hope long ago; the people who had accepted humiliation and silence when soldiers looted their properties. This incident gave them the courage and the will to fight. It was their properties before, but now it is their lives and their sons. They cannot desert them.*" [11:97]

Many people considered the arrests of this group as one of the main events that reinforced the motivation and activities of the then newly born Somali National Movement (SNM)¹⁵ at the end of 1981.

Four months of Interrogation

Before "My Teachers' Group" members were brought to the trail, four months passed away. They were interrogated in a harsh mode,

¹⁵ Formed in London on April 6, 1981, by 400 to 500 Somaliland *emigrés*, the Somali National Movement (SNM) became the organization dedicated to ridding the country of Mohamed Siad Barre. The SNM launched a military campaign in 1988, capturing Burao on May 27 and part of Hargeisa on May 31. Somali Government forces bombarded the towns heavily in June, causing more than 500,000 people to flee to Ethiopia.

without presence of legal representatives and relatives. The following is how they recall the interrogation sessions. Mohamed Barood Ali recalls his interrogation sessions:

“During the following four months I was transferred from one NSS center, maximum security safe houses, and torture chamber to military police centers which were all equally equipped for the torture of political prisoners. The torture methods were brutal. There were indiscriminate beatings of the whole body; dipping in water; torture through particularly sensitive or painful body parts. The torturers were military police officers, specially trained for the purpose and supervised by one of the NSS officers leading the investigation of our cases. There was nothing to prevent the NSS officers from taking part in our torture. They usually took part and enjoyed it.

After being held for about a week in the main NSS center without charges or interrogation and without contact with my family or friends, I was suddenly called to the NSS chief's office. There were five other officers with him. I learned immediately that they were especially sent from Mogadishu, the Somali capital city, for the “investigation” of the cases of 29 people arrested between the beginning on November and the end of December 1981.

They were obviously an elite band of interrogators and torturers. They were led by the chief investigating officer of the NSS, an organization modeled on the KGB which also trained many of its officers in the Soviet Union. They were notorious and brutal torturers of detainees. They possessed unlimited powers of search, detention without trial, torture and confiscation of property. That first meeting was short. The leader of the group threatened me and bragged about his exploits in the realm of extracting confessions from detainees. He described in graphic detail how he succeeded, where others had failed, in extracting a Confession from Col. IRRO (Colonel Mohamoud Shiekh Osman - Irro), the leader of the failed coup attempt of 1978. Walking to and fro in the interrogation rooms with a heels-first-step and always stopping behind me putting his

hands on my shoulders. He finally made a proposition that he would make me a witness and in return I would be released if I cooperated. I told him that I did not know anything about his allegations which were not even specific enough. Eventually, he said that my friends and I were members of an illegal organization with intent of overthrowing the Government. I denied his accusations. He immediately asked the military police guard waiting outside to take me back to my cell. They took away my mattress and blankets. I was hand-cuffed with my hands behind my back. I had no food or water for the following day and was not allowed out of the room even to go to the toilet. Next evening at 7:00 p.m. the lights were extinguished throughout the building. I heard footsteps approaching my cell door. The door was opened; two military police officers and one of the interrogation team entered; they told me to stand up and searched me for the tenth time that week. Then they blind-folded me and put me on the back of a Land Rover.

I did not know which direction we were going. About 45 minutes later the car stopped. I was made to come down still blind-folded and hand-cuffed from behind. They tied my feet together. I was made to kneel down. They put a heavy weight on my back while four soldiers held me down. The weight was held on either side of me by two other soldiers who let it descend gradually while the leader kept asking me if I was ready to confess. I kept silent for a while and then I could not hold it back any more. I cried out with excruciating pain. But there was no let up and finally I fainted. When I regained my consciousness, I was wet throughout. Apparently they had thrown a bucket of water over me to bring me back. As soon as I opened my eyes the leader asked me to sign a prepared statement. I declined. He ordered that I should be given the water treatment. They forced my mouth open and poured large amounts of water till I almost got suffocated. I vomited. They repeated this several times.

By now I was so weakened that they decided to take me back. At the office they took off the blind-fold. There was a new officer with the original team. He asked me in a sweet voice what had happened to me. I explained everything to him and he started cursing the others telling them that it was no way to treat a human being. They lowered their heads

as if in repentance. He told me that it would never happen again. He ordered a sandwich, a cup of tea and a cigarette for me. Before the order arrived, however, he asked me the same questions which were raised by the others. I told him what I had already told my answers to the others. Suddenly he was transformed into an animal. He started screaming at me and threatening that he would shoot me on the spot if I did not sign the prepared statement. When the sandwich and tea arrived, he threw them out of the window and assured me that I would follow them if I did not cooperate. He ordered me back to my cell.

I lay on the floor for the rest of that night without having eaten or drunk water for more than 30 hours. But I did not feel hungry or thirsty. I could not sleep either. I kept thinking about my situation knowing I was innocent of all alleged charges. I was helpless against these people who did not listen to reason and who were motivated by the single notion of breaking a prisoner and making him confess to having committed some imaginary crime. They seemed to be engaged in a cruel game in which they made the rules and were allowed to use all kinds of weapons and techniques. By contrast, the prisoners were stripped of everything. The prisoners could not even use their reason.

Having been through their physical torture, I was not at all worried by the pain or by the hunger and thirst but rather by the psychological effects of detention and solitary confinement. I was overwhelmed by the sense of loneliness and being abandoned and forgotten by my family and relatives. I knew this was unreasonable and that they themselves were helpless. But all the same, this persisted for most of the day or whenever the interrogators did not come to see us. In a sense it was a relief when they came to beat and torture me. This physical pain was easier to cope with than the doubts and fears during the day and night.

At exactly 7:00 p.m. the second night they came with their blind-fold, and took me away and I went through the same routine with the addition of kicks on my shin, cigarette burns on the inner sides of my legs and on my ankles. There were short periods of rest during which they exhorted me to sign their prepared statements.

This routine torture continued for about a week when they stopped coming one night. I found later on from one of the military police guards that there were many other prisoners to be interrogated. Two weeks later I was again called to the interrogation room. The chief told me that they had uncovered new incriminating evidence against me. He continued to say that some of my friends were prepared to testify against me and that he did not need my cooperation anymore. He mentioned the names of some familiar people and asked whether I knew them. I admitted that I knew them but no more.

The most incredible accusation came when he asked me why we called ourselves Barood (gunpowder), Olad (struggle), Abby (defense), Dagal (war) if we were not involved in a conspiracy. These names were the traditional names of the fathers and grandfathers of my fellow detainees. I countered that some of my other fellow detainees were called Warsame (good news), Dualeh (blessing), Madar (rain) to which he made no comment. During the trial I found out that some of my fellow detainees went through the same torture. Some of them went through even harsher methods including one whose testicles had to be removed because "clinically" they were destroyed.

Mohamed Hagi Mohamoud had similar experience and recalls his interrogation sessions with the security men as follows:

"My first session with the NSS started at 8:00 on the 19th. The interrogators were: Colonel Ali Hussein, Capt. Ali Ghani, Lieutenant Kasim, Abdirashid and Omer. They appeared formidable in their seats and they tried to be casual, but their tension was palpable. The session started with the Colonel asking me my name, family members, schooling etc. He asked me what my clan was and I refused to answer that question. Then our discourse started.

"What right do I have as a citizen?" they laughed sarcastically and replied that I was not in the western World. "I am not talking about the West but my rights under the constitution of 1979?" I retorted.

"You will know your rights later" the Colonel angrily replied as though I was wasting their time with trivialities. They asked me questions and began with the journal UFFO. From a list, he read out names and asked me if I knew them. Most were known by me and I answered in the affirmative. They asked me if we had meetings. Then I said that we had talked about many things but there was never an official meeting. They let me go after more than three hours.

After two days of interrogation, I was left alone for another three days. On the sixth day, I was called back to the interrogation room. The Colonel was fuming with anger and held a revolver in his hand. As soon as I sat down, I was bombarded with words such as: "Liar", "filthy bastard", "dirty spy" from all sides probably to scare me and get whatever answers they demanded from me.

The colonel brandished his pistol at my face bragging that he got rid of so many SSDF men with this a same pistol. Far from being scared, I somehow detected fear and guiltiness in their eyes and related to them a story about an interrogator who mistakenly shot himself on the foot instead of shooting his victim's foot. The colonel got mad at my anecdote and started to get up from his chair and put his revolver on call. It was Lieutenant Abdirashid, acting as the nice guy, who came to my rescue and while handcuffing me and accompanying me to my cell, he tried to lull me to confess crimes that I did not commit. For a couple of days I lived on water as the food brought by my family was consumed by the soldiers. I was taken out twice a day to the toilet and, apart from those two times, I remained handcuffed all the time. Hunger, sleeplessness, loneliness and fear nearly drove me to shout to them and confess to whatever they wanted me to confess to. However, those nights they started to put out the lights usually from 8-9p.m. and take out one or two of the accused. I came to learn that those who were taken out usually came back while groaning and shouting with pain. I perceived these times as "Torture" times and resolved that I would not be forced to admit to a crime that I had not committed.

Somehow, the harsh methods employed by the security people strengthened my resolve. When I was called back after two days, the

interrogators were neither furious nor called me names but started the session with questions that I had already replied to in my first session. I was taken back to my room after three hours of interrogation but dinner was brought to me at about 1:00 p.m. All the following night, I did not sleep as I was thinking about where I went wrong.

Finally I decided that it was one of their tricks. I was taken back the next day and their trouble-shooter informed me that my friends confessed to the crimes we had committed and related some of the conversations that I had with my friends. I got confused but as they attempted to get false confessions from me, I started to shoot back questions which pertained to their naivety and false nationalism. The session was stopped abruptly and the "Nice-Guy" accompanied me to my cell advising me to change my attitude. This playing of games went on for several more days, and they finally left me alone. I was transferred to another place owned by the government on the thirteenth day, where I remained for another thirteen weeks."

Students protest at the trial

On the scheduled day of the trial, February 20th, 1982, student protest erupted in the city. Disorder and civil disobedience prevailed. Soldiers reacted by firing on unarmed demonstrators led by school children. People, mostly students, were beaten, arrested and imprisoned. The Government responded with excessive and indiscriminate use of live ammunition. About 400 students were jailed in Hargeisa central prison, and then were transferred to Mandera and Berbera prisons. Death beset innocent citizens by the guns fired by the government soldiers and the so-called "victory pioneers (*Guul wadayaal*)¹⁶", a paramilitary force that had the same powers as the security services.

¹⁶ *Guul wadayaal* (Victory Pioneers): From an Africa Watch Report: "Victory Pioneers were a uniformed para-military group, estimated in 10,000. They report directly to President Barre. From the early seventies, the head of the agency was Abdirahman "Guulwade", another son-

Africa Watch states *"the arrest of the Hargeisa Group and their trial in February 1982 radicalised the student community and virtually turned schools into war zones between the Government and students."* These students were secondary school children. *"Outraged by the detention of men, including their own teachers, who they looked on as role models, students in school uniforms took to the streets of Hargeisa to express their anger."* The Africa Watch report. [3:97]

John Drysdale wrote: *"The students were mown down for their pains by tanks and armoured personnel carriers, with high mortality. The day, 24 February 1982, was a turning point in the Somalilander's calendar of struggle against Barre"* [4:136].

I regrettably recall the death of Barre Hagi Elmi¹⁷, the student at the Ga'an Libah secondary school in Hargeisa who died on the first

in-law of the president. Their task was to encourage a "revolutionary spirit" among the population, by enforcing regular attendance at "orientation" centers for political indoctrination classes. [...] They kept a close watch on people's activities at the neighborhood level. They had the powers of arrest and detention independent of the NSS, though the legal basis for their authority was not clear. There was no legal appeal against a detention ordered by the Guulwadaayaal. Their behaviour was reminiscent of the Tonton Macoutes in Haiti, and they came to be associated with terror."

¹⁷Barre Hagi Elmi Ahmed, nicknamed Badho, was the son of known merchant in Hargeisa who owned a shop in downtown Hargeisa. Barre lost his mother when he was a child. He attended the Biyodhacay Elementary and Intermediate School in Hargeisa, although, from time to time, he took some classes at the Qalax Boarding School in Gabiley. He then started his secondary school education at Halane (Hargeisa). After he completed the first school year, he transferred to the 26th June secondary school in Hargeisa, and six months later he again transferred to Ga'an Libah secondary school in Hargeisa. Barre was slim and tall, and a handsome man. He had long black and straight hair. A young man with bright future, Barre was cheerful and lively. He was seventeen when on the first day of the "Dhagaxtuur" protest against the arrest of *"My Teachers' Group"*, on the 20th February 1982, around 12:45 a.m., he was hit by a deadly bullet on his chest from the Dictator Mohamed Siad Barre's army. His short and promising life ended under the Jirde Hussein Building in front of *Hindgii Jaantilaal's* corner-shop, while his classmates and friends were rushing him to the hospital. Barre was buried at Xawaaddeh cemetery in Hargeisa around 6:00 p.m. the same day.

People who knew Barre told me that he was lovable and a very brave man and he had a wonderful sense of humour. He was a good role model for the young and possessed a leadership spirit. His friend, Yussuf Mohamed Isse "Yuuyo", who was jailed by the Somali regime after that eventful day, and who was later sentenced by death, said *"we missed Barre for his sense of friendship, his sense of fearlessness and bravery, and for his sense of laughter"*. Barre died for a cause

day of the protest, after the Government soldiers opened fire in the main streets of Hargeisa. He was a teenager, like all of us (students), and we remember him with great love and admiration.

Disturbance had been going on for no more than two days, when the students in the other main cities, like Burao, joined the protest. Government vehicles and buildings were assaulted, and when the police fired their guns, the students reacted by throwing stones. That was the beginning of what became to be known as the *"Dhagax Tuur"* (stone-throwing) protest.

"We just gathered in front of the Regional Court in the early morning because we knew that our teachers were being held there." Hassan Bile, a former student of Farah Omar Secondary School in Hargeisa, said. *"We planned nothing in the way of demonstration, but the student uprising broke out when soldiers badly treated two female students. Only after that did we protest."*

"We want to see our teachers, we want to see them now!" the students begun shouting in front of the stone building that hosted the Security Court. The security guards initially tried to disperse the students by firing up in the air. Other people joined the students to protest, and the crowd proceeded towards the city. At the town centre the demonstrators, which gradually increased in number, gained the

that he believed was right. He left this world as he lived in it, conscious of the danger, fearless of death, and sure that the students' struggle against the military regime could carry us a long way. People like him never expected repayment for their deeds, for no one can repay what Barre offered to us; his young life. Their reward is acknowledging that they did the right thing, and to let the younger generation know of the sacrifices they made.

I and Barre did not know each other, even though our paths may have crossed during the school years and during the *"Dhagaxtuur"* protest on that dreadful day. I pay this tribute to him as a young hero who has given so much to us in his short lifetime and who continues to do so even after his passing, as he will be remembered as a symbol of my generation - a generation that paid much for freedom and had survived the cruel treatment of the military dictatorship of Somalia. I extend to his family members, who I do not know personally, my deepest sympathy and condolence, after almost twenty years from his untimely departure from this world. May Allah rest his soul in peace. Aamiin.

upper hand over the Government forces. Any vehicle with the GD-plate number, which means Government owned, was blocked in the main crossroads, and the windows destroyed.

What started on that day, February 20, 1982, by school children and teenagers, was an expected volcano to erupt. For the first time, people publicly reacted to the Government's physical and psychological violations. An escalation of regional conflict in the North has been expected. The Government's response to this popular mass movement in Hargeisa was with bullets, prison, curfew and, worse of all, creating new security apparatus to terrorise more citizens. The situation was described by the Federal Research Division, Library of Congress (USA) as follows: "*In 1982, [...], the government declared a state of emergency in northern Somalia and took steps to suppress local populations. Additionally, laws were adopted that placed civilians under the jurisdiction of military tribunals and military police. Several institutions comprised this new security apparatus, including the Mobile Military Court (MMC)¹⁸, the Regional Security Council (RSC)¹⁹, the HANGASH²⁰*"

¹⁸ From Africa Watch Report [3:44] The Military Mobile Court, is [was] a special court known in Somali as "*Maxkamada Wareegta*," literally the mobile court. [...] Although the MMC was created in 1982 after the trail of the Hargeisa group [*My teachers' Group*], it established jurisdiction over civilians in 1984, after the SNM launched military attacks in the mountainous region of Sheikh and Buroa.

¹⁹ From Africa Watch Report [3:46]. The Regional Security Council, known in Somali as *Guddiga Nabadgalyada Gobolka*, consisted of the governor, the military commander, the director of the NSS, a military officer, a police commander, the head of the Party, the commander of the Victory Pioneers and the director of the Somali Custodial Corps, who was a military officer. [...] After 182, given the state of emergency that was in effect, the chairman was a military commander. [...] a quorum of the six, could impose lengthy sentences, up to life imprisonment. [...] It had the power to impose a death sentence, but could not order the execution be carried out [...] The authority of the RSC derived directly from the President.

²⁰ From Africa Watch Report [3:47]. *HANGASH*, is the Somali acronym of *Hay'adda Nabadgalyada GASHaandbigga*. [...] *HANGASH* is Secret Intelligence for the military police, as distinct from the regular secret service, the NSS. Established in the aftermath of the attempted coup in 1978, the *HANGASH*'s purpose was to keep an eye on the military and the NSS. But as the government's clampdown on political activity became more sweeping, the *HANGASH* acquired formidable powers over the civilians and became even more feared than the NSS.

(*Somali acronym for military police and popularly know as "Dhabar Jabinta" or the "back breakers"*), the NSS, and the Victory Pioneers." [16:HUMAN RIGHTS]

The great poet, Mohamed Ibrahim Warsame "Hadraawi", composed his famous poem: *Hargeysi ma toostey!* (O Hargeisa! you finally woke up) in which he described the new situation of the country, and specifically the Hargeisa students' uprising:

[...]
Hambaaber dhowaanta
Dareen ma hurdaana
Dagaal wata heeso
Hidday u lahayde
Hargeysi ma toostay
Hogaanka ma diiday
Harqoodka ma tuurtay
Inaanay hummaaga
Hadoodilan yeelin
Sidii hebel geel ah
Heshii Nebi Saalax
Horaadada dhiibin
Hankeedu ma siiyey.

Hagaag ma u sheegtay
Hadday sama weydo
Inay hantideeda
Nafteeda hurayso
Hubaal ma caddaysay
 [...]
Haddaanan haddaanan
Haddaanan dhawaaqa
Hireyda wireyda
Hayaay ka kacayda
Jahaadka Hargaysa
Barbaartu hagayso
Haweenka godoodey
Ka qayb gelin hawsha
 [...]

Waxay hibanayso
Ninkay la hadlayso

THE TRAIL

In a totalitarian State an innovator whose ideas disliked by the government is not merely put to death, which is a matter to which a brave man may remain indifferent, but is totally prevented from causing his doctrine to be known.

Authority and individual, 1949

Bertrand Russell.



Dr. Aden Yussuf Abokor, (before his arrest)

Photo source: Amnesty International Documents

Four months passed since the arrest of "My Teachers' Group" and finally the day arrived. On 19th February 1982, they were all served with official indictment papers and they were officially charged with high treason. The articles with which they were charged carried mandatory death sentences by hanging (*Daldalaad* in Somali). Mohamed Barood Ali explains his mood on that day:

"I was charged with two articles; Article No. 54 section 1 which carried mandatory death sentence, for allegedly belonging to an illegal organization and Article 17 section 1 for publishing seditious material. I was not familiar with these laws. I sent a note through one of the guards to my wife to find out what these articles meant. Her brother contacted a secretary in the security court. He sent back a note explaining that each article carried a mandatory death sentence by 'hanging' on its own. When I read the note I was floored. I could not think, sleep or eat. That was definitely the worst week of my life. I was forced to look at the ugly face of death. [...] Somehow my distress; the confinement of the cell; the loneliness and my inability to get hold of any consolatory points in the grim picture all added up to make me unable to think clearly. I just concentrated on the horrors of dying by hanging.

I spent all my time thinking about the stories I heard or books I read on this most terrible of all manners of execution. I was not able to talk to anyone about this and this exacerbated my fears. I was so sure that I was going to be hanged that I even imagined that I smelt death. I read Hemingway's "For whom the Bell Tolls" only a few months before my arrest. I was reminded of one of the central characters "Pilar" talking about the smell of death. I never understood this before or tried to visualise it, but now I thought sure I smelt death or maybe fear of death."

The 29 detainees stood in front of the National Security Court on February 28th, 1982. The case against them as presented by the prosecution team was that they belonged to an illegal organisation with intentions against the unity of the state. According to the Government, their organisation was called RUDM, *Ragga u Dhashay*

Magaalada, which literally means *Men born for the city*. Two of them, Mohamed Barood Ali and Ahmed Mohamed Yussuf "Jabane" were also accused of printing, reading and distributing anti-revolutionary pamphlets against the Government.

Inside the court, most of the seats were taken up by uniformed commandos. Only the last two rows were reserved for the relatives of the detainees - one relative for each prisoner. There was a dragnet of commandos around the court and beyond.

Lieutenant Colonel Shariif Sheekhuna Maye, with the consultants Judge Hagi Yussuf Abdi Ali and Colonel Ahmed Abdi Awale, chaired the court. The prosecutor was Captain Abdulle Ali assisted by Mohamed Ali Abdi. The defence lawyers were Attorney Ismail Jumcale Osoble, Attorney Faysal Hagi, Attorney Hassan Sheikh, Attorney Osman Abdi, Attorney Bashiir Artan and Attorney Hussein Bile.

The defence lawyers, according to Mohamed Barood Ali, had only met the detainees the night before the trial in the presence of the interrogation team and had only 10 minutes interview with each to learn their names, ages, professions, etc. The defense lawyers had no time to prepare their cases.

Being veterans of many previous political trials, the defense lawyers knew well that it was immaterial whether they presented a case or not, because the final judgement lay not with the court, but with the government and more specifically with Mohamed Siad Barre, the president, himself. The case against them as presented by the prosecution was that they belonged to an illegal organization with intent to over-throw the government and that they published a pamphlet in which they spread pernicious propaganda against the regime. The evidence presented to the court was a list of names in which not all of those accused were included while others on the list were not present at the trial.

Mohamed Barood Ali and Ahmed Mohamed Yussuf "Jabane" were particularly accused of the publication and distribution of a

Journal called “UFFO”, meaning, the whirlwind that usually precedes the rains. They were alleged to have intended the RUDM organisation and the journal as an introduction to anti-revolutionary politics organised by the Diaspora. The Court stated “*inaad soo saarteen ka dibna qaybiseen Joornaal aad u bixiseen “UFFO” oo aad macnaheeda ula jeedeen Dabaysha ka horreysa roobka, idinkoo ula jeeda in ururka RUDM iyo joornaalku hordhac u yihiin siyaasado kacaanka lagu manjaxaabinayo oo ay ka danbeeyaan dad ku nool debedda oo ka soo horjeeda Qaranimada Somaaliyeed.*” [12:2]

At the trial, none of the defendants was allowed to say a word other than brief answer to preliminary questions like “How do you plead to the charges”? All 29 defendants pleaded not guilty.

At a high point of the trial, the public prosecutor argued that:

“Ragga xidhan marka aan qiimeeyo waa inta u dhaxaysa 28 jir ilaa 38 jir ugu yaraan uu ninka ugu aqoon gaabani haysato shabadadda Dugsiga Sare, waa aywanaagsanaan lahayd haddii ay ujeedadoodu tahay sidii ay SAMAFAL & wax qabasho daacad ah dadkooda u gaysan lahaayeen, hase yeeshee taas ma hayno, waxaanuse haynaa inay ahaayeen rag doonaya inay dhistaan Dowlad toleed una guntadey sidii ay Dowladda iyo dadwaynaha isaga hor keeni lahaayeen.” [12:45]

“I look at these men in custody, their ages ranging from 28 to 38 years, with the least educated among them holding a secondary school diploma. It would have been a good thing if their objective was to create a CHARITABLE organisation so they could help their people in a loyal and pro-active way; but that is not the case; we know that on the contrary they were men who wanted to create a clan government, and who made themselves busy with how to pit the Government against the public.” [12:45]

And he asked the court:

“Sidaa awgeed eedaysanaha 1aad (Mohamed Barood Ali),

2aad (Ahmed Mohamed Yussuf) iyo 3aad (Mohamed Hagi Mohamoud Omer-Hashi) waxaan ku adkeysanyaa in eedda naloo raaco. Eed. 4aad ilaa Eed. 20aad waxaan u waydiisanayaa ina MIN 30 SANADOOD OO XARIG LAGU XUKUMO. Eed 21, 22 iyo 23aad waxaan u daynayaa go'aanka maxkamadda, isla mar ahaantaas waxaan kaloo godobka eedda u daynayaa eed. 24aad iyo 25aad.” [12:45]

“Therefore, as regards to accused number one (Mohamed Barood Ali), number two (Ahmed Mohamed Yussuf) and number three (Mohamed Hagi Mohamoud Omer-Hashi), we insist that we be accorded the sentence we seek (meaning the death sentence). As for accused number three up to accused number 20, we seek for each a SENTENCE OF 30 YEARS OF IMPRISONMENT. As for accused number 21, number 22 and number 23, we leave the decision to the Court; at the same time, we leave the point of punishment to the court as regards the accused numbers 24 and 25.” [12:45]

In response to the prosecution team, one of the defence lawyers, Ismail Jima'ale Osoble argued

“... Marka la leeyahay eedaysanayaashu waxay ka hadleen biyo la'aan, nal la'aan iyo dhalliilo kale oo jira oo xagga dowladda ku lug leh, ma waxaa la odhan karaa waa urur Qaranka ku lid ah, taasi ma bannaana waayo waa wax xaqiiq ah inay jiraan dhibaatooyinka ay ka hadleen. Xalay maxkamaddu miyaanay nagu madubaan [madoobaan] Miyaanay nasiib darro ahay [ahayn] in Tuulada Wanla-wayn si joogto ah u hesho xoog koronto oo ku filan, Magaalo-madaxdii 2aad ee Hargeysana aanay maalintii galinka danbe wax koronto ah lahayn, saacadaha uu doonana uu bakhtiyo sidii xalayba nagu qabsatey maxkamadda dhaxdeeda?” [12:46]

“...It is being stated that the accused spoke about lack of water, electricity and other existing shortages that the government has

to deal with, but that cannot be construed as their being an organisation against the government; that is not acceptable, because it is true that the difficulties they spoke about exist. Did the lights not go out on us in the Court last night? Is it not unfortunate that the village of Wanla-wayn gets sufficient electricity, while the second capital, Hargeisa, gets no electricity during the later part of the day, and outages can occur at any time such as the one which beset us last night in the Court itself?" [12:46]

Attorney Ismail concluded with

"Maxkamadda waxaan ka codsanayaa in 6da nin een difaacayo oo aan midna lagu hayn eedaynta RUDM laga sii daayo xabsiga si ay danahooda u qabsadaan" [12:46]

"Since none of the six men I am defending have been proven guilty of the RUDM accusation, I request from the court that they be released so that they can tend to their normal daily business." [12:46]

Mohamed Barood Ali wrote: *"Looking back at the trial proceedings there is no doubt in my mind that the presence of the lawyers did not make the slightest impression on the court and did not make any difference in the final sentence. [...] This is, in no way, to question the ability or integrity of the lawyers. On the contrary, I have only respect for them and we all appreciate the effort they made in an impossible situation to help the innocent victims of a cruel system" [1].*

Someone argued that the first verdict of the court, which was not delivered in public, was more harmful than the last decision of the court. The first verdict was not delivered because, according to I. M. Lewis, *"rioting broke out in the town when rumours spread that three of the accused were to be sentenced to death" [8:205].*

A furious diplomatic shuttle between Mogadishu and Hargeisa altered the decision of the court. The impossibility of giving so many

people a fair trial within such a short span of time does not need, according to the detainees, any explanation. Mohamed Barood Ali wrote, *"The trial, when it finally came, took only 10 hours, from 9.00 a.m. to 19.00 p.m. including a break of one hour for lunch" [1].*

It is too difficult to imagine the kind of trial these innocent prisoners had been given. They had not had a chance to defend themselves against the accusation. Their lawyers could do nothing to help them. The accused described the scene of their trial as follows: *"As a matter of fact, no one expected any fairness from such a court. It seemed that everyone including the judges, the prosecution, the defence lawyers, the audience (which comprised 400 uniformed elite commandos and a relative for each of the accused) and, in a sense, even we, the accused, were in collusion to let the charade take its course. We all knew that once one was accused of a crime against the state, one was automatically considered guilty of that crime and the only worry for the accused and his relatives was to find out if the accused was going to be sentenced to death or not!" [1].*

The defence lawyers tried to bring to light the brutal way in which the accused people were treated during the interrogation and detention. The following is a discussion between one of the defence lawyers, Xasan Sheekh Ibraahim, the Public Prosecution, Captain Abdulle Ali and the Court Chairman, Shariif Sheekhuna Maye²¹.

QAREEN HASAN: *Waxaan Maxkamadda ka codsanayaa inay aragto oogada eed. 10aad (Mohamed Dagaal Hersi), si caddaaladda loo daryeelo, waayo waxaanu haynaa "CAD HILIB AH" oo jirkiisa ka go'ay. [12:27]*

DEFENCE LAWYER HASSAN: *We ask the Court to see the body of accused number 10 (Mohammed Dagaal Hersi), so justice is done, because we have "A PIECE OF FLESH" which was torn from his body.*

²¹ See [12] page 27. This Somali text is taken as it was in the original court document. The author translated it into English.

DADWAYNE U DOODE: *Ma ogolin arrintan haddii aannu caddeynin eedayanuhu cid u gaysatey dhibaataada. Asaga ayaa xor u ah jirkiisa, arrintan oo sideedaba XASAAASHAYD ama BEER LA-XAWSI AH, yaanan Maxkamadda ogolaanin. [12:27]*

PUBLIC PROSECUTOR: *We do not accept this request, if the accused does not provide proof of who inflicted an injury on him. He has liberty over his body; the Court should not grant this request, which is, anyway, SENSITIVE or SEEKING SYMPATHY.*

QAREEN HASSAN: *Sida qod. 150 XHCS uu sheegayo Qiraal lagu bixiyey TAHDIID iyo wax la mid ah, ballan qaad iyo lacag waa waxba kama jiraan. Jaale Guddoomiye, caddeymta ka wayn inaan keenno JIRKIISA CADIHII KA GO'AY IYO NABARADII WAA MAXAY? Maxkamaddu ha noo ogolaato. [12:27]*

DEFENSE LAWYER HASSAN: *As article 150 of XHCS (Somali Criminal Procedure Code) states a confession given under DURESS and similar situations, offers of promises and money, is null and void. Comrade Chairman, what is greater proof than the PIECES OF FLESH DETACHED FROM HIS BODY and the injuries inflicted. The Court should allow us... [12:27]*

MAXKAMADDU: *Iyadoo dhagaysatey dooddii dhinacyada, waxay garatey in aan Maxkamadda gudeheeda lagu qaawinin eedasanaha, lagana ogolaanin codsiga Qareenka, balse ay Maxkamaddu meel gooni ah ay ku eegto haddii ay u aragto in lagama maarmaan tahay caddaaladda darteed. [12:27]*

COURT [CHAIRMAN]: *The Court, having listened to the arguments of both sides, has decided that the body of the accused will not be exposed in Court and that the request of the Defence Lawyer will not be accepted; however, the Court, if it sees that this serves justice, will look into the matter in a secluded place. [12:27]*

Many other people commented on the senselessness of the court and the inhumane torture and maltreatment of the detainees. I. M. Lewis, for example, wrote: *"After being brutally interrogated, the thirty-eight detainees were prepared for trial and sentencing by the national security court, a judicial court in name only, guaranteed to travesty justice by delivering whatever verdict President Siad ordered"* [8:205].

The official trial lasted for two days, and then they waited another four days for the verdict. It was Wednesday, March 3rd, 1982. (See Annex I for more details on the trial.)

Two of them were sentenced to life imprisonment, another two to thirty years, one to twenty-five years, nine of them were given twenty years imprisonment, another three were sentenced to eight years each and another three to three years each. Nine of them were released for "lack of evidence."

After the trial, they remained in Hargeisa prison for eight months. On the 24th October 1982 they were transferred from Hargeisa to *Labaatan Jirow*, a maximum-security prison, near Baidoa and south of Mogadishu. This remote and dark hole was to become where they waited for their fate as the sentences meant nothing and Siad Barre could change his mind any day.. They spent about six and half years of solitary confinement at *Labaatan Jirow*.

Remembering their journey to *Labaatan Jirow* and the first impact with the new environment of the prison, Mohamed Barood Ali, gives the following description:

"There were heavy rains, and the track between Baidoa and Labaatan Jirow Maximum Security prison was all but impassable. We were blindfolded as we left Baidoa to prevent us from knowing where Labaatan Jirow was. Inside, each of us was taken to a cell. The cell was completely empty, 7x7 feet with a hole in the right-hand corner. This was the toilet since no one would be allowed to go out at all. The walls were not plastered and were made of reinforced concrete. There were two doors

in succession for each cell. The inner door remained locked at all times and consisted of heavy steel bars. The outer door, which was opened from 7:00 A.M to 4:00 P.M. each day, was one heavy sheet of iron without even a small hole in it. This door was normally closed during punishment periods that were quite frequent because the slightest sound constituted 'misbehaviour' in the eyes of the soldiers.

There were about 150 soldiers outside, equipped with heavy artillery and anti-aircraft guns. All the soldiers, both inside and outside the prison, were members of the military police. The soldiers outside were to protect the prison from attack. There was no custodial corps in Labaatan Jirow.

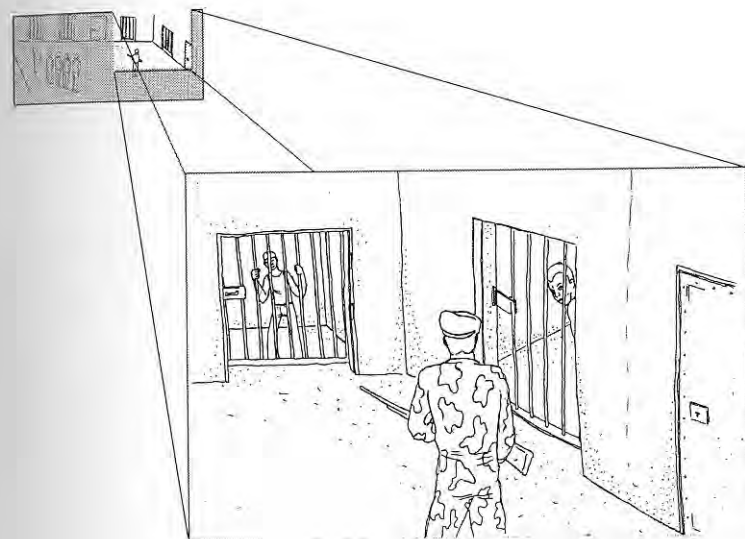
Administratively, the special prison was run directly from the president's office in Mogadishu."

SOLITARY CONFINEMENT

These things he said in words; But much in his heart remained unsaid; For he himself could not speak his deeper secret.

In his book "The Prophet", 1923

Kahlil Kibran.



Labaatan Jirow maximum security prison
As I imagine it

Many years passed by, but the situation remained unchanged. International organisations for human rights, such as Amnesty International, Africa Watch, the National Academy of Science²² (Human Rights Group) NAS-HRG USA and the Institute of Medicine's Committee on Health and Human Rights (IOM-CHHR)²³ were involved in the campaign for the release of "My Teachers' Group". In an Amnesty International report, it is stated:

*"A.I ritiene che molte persone che stanno scontando condanne inflitte dal Tribunale per la sicurezza nazionale per reati politici siano dei prigionieri d'opinione. Fra questi vi sono Aden Yussuf Abokor (vedi foto pag.), medico ed ex direttore dell'ospedale di Hargeisa, condannato nel 1982 a 20 anni di carcere per costituzione di organizzazione sovversiva insieme ad altri 19 medici, insegnanti, commercianti e studenti, anche essi condannati a lunghe pene detentive..."*²⁴,

Which translates to in English as

"[A.I believes that many persons jailed by the National Security Court for political crimes are prisoners of conscience. Among them, there is Adan Yussuf Abokor, medical doctor and former director of the Hargeisa Group Hospital, sentenced in 1982 for 20 years of imprisonment for constitution of subversive organization with other 19 medical doctors, teachers, businessmen and students who are also condemned to long jail sentences..]"

²² The Committee on Human Rights of the National Academy of Science (USA) was created in 1976, and it assists scientists, engineers and health professionals who are in prisons or internally exiled or who have disappeared, and who are considered to be prisoners of conscience.

²³ The Committee on Health and Human Rights of the Institute of Medicine (USA), which was established in 1987, focuses on health related aspects of Human Rights.

²⁴ See [5] page 26. The original and English version of this document is entitled; *Somalia: A Long-Term Human Rights Crisis*. AI Reports, 1988. The author translated from Italian to English for unavailability of the original text.

In 1987, the U.S. National Academy of Science's (NAS) Committee on Human Rights and the Institute of Medicine's (IOM) Committee on Health and Human Rights in the USA co-sponsored a mission to gather reliable information and to express the concerns of the two Committees regarding the case of "My Teachers' Group." The mission also gave support to other scientists and engineers arrested in Somalia at that time.

These two Committees co-sponsored a delegation consisting of four people that visited Somalia from October 25th to November 1st, 1987. The major obstacle for the delegates was the lack of cooperation from the part of the then Somali authority. The delegates submitted formal request of meetings with several government officials, including Siad Barre, as well as paying visit to some prisoners, including "My Teachers' Group" members.

Although inquiries were made several times, visits to "My Teachers' Group" were absolutely denied, and the delegates were given an appointment with only one of the government officials with whom a meeting had been formally requested, and that appointment was scheduled for the last day of the delegation's visit.

This appointment was with the then Minister of Justice and Religious Affairs, Sheikh Hassan Abdillahi Farah, who told the delegates that Somalia, as member of the United Nations, has ratified, adhered to – and in 1966, published – the United Nations Human Rights Charter. The Minister told also the delegation that his ministry has jurisdiction over all prisoners, but that the cases of "My Teachers' Group" and other individuals are direct responsibility of the NSC²⁵, which is independent and has its own special laws. [6:6]

²⁵ From African Watch Report [3:22]. The National Security Court (NSC), a special judicial system, was established in 1970. The judges of the NSC were appointed by President Barre. He has been closely involved in the major trials; the NCS President discusses cases with him, both before and during hearings. The NSC has jurisdiction over all security matters, which have included political cases, as well as cases relevant to public order. The Special Prosecutor of the NSC and his deputies have always been members of the armed forces and are appointed

When the delegates asked the Minister about allegations of torture, he said that there had never been any cases of torture, because torture is against the law in Somalia. When the delegates asked permission to visit the prisoners to ascertain that they have not been ill treated or tortured, the Minister responded by giving the delegates a copy of the constitution of Somalia, saying that Article 27 forbids torture²⁶.

After the visit, in a report compiled by the delegation, the Committees concluded:

That the government of Somalia has not been responsive to requests for information on political prisoners;

That there are serious questions about the commitment of the government of Somalia concerning respect of Human Rights

That the Somalia government does not live up to its human rights obligations to the prisoners;

That the torture and maltreatment of political prisoners occur frequently.

Consequently, the Committees asked President Siad Barre to immediately and unconditionally release "My Teachers' Group" and other scientists.

At a later date, the members of the same delegation wrote an appeal letter directly to Siad Barre as follows: "*It is the view of the scientific community that these colleagues deserve the opportunity to resume their good works in science, engineering, medicine and education. This opportunity, moreover, will be of great benefit to your country.*" The

directly by President Barre, in his capacity as Commander-in-Chief of the armed forces. Since 1971, the Special Prosecutor has been Mohamed Ghelle Yusuf, who has become renowned for his cruelty. In general, there is no opportunity for lawyers to cross-examine witnesses at length. [...] No appeal may be taken against a decision of the NSC though the President has the power to exercise the prerogative of mercy and pardon convicted.

²⁶ Article 27 of the Constitution of the Somali Republic: 1. A detained person shall not be subject to physical or mental torture; 2. Corporal punishment shall be prohibited.

delegates appealed to Siad Barre by asking him "*to show clemency for these men. We make this request on humanitarian grounds and for the international community of Scientists and Scholars. We hope that you will heed this appeal and grant them release.*" [4:62]

Like the above-mentioned two Committees, the Amnesty International and other International Human Rights Associations gave their support to the jailed men because they were prisoners of conscience, and these organisations repeatedly asked Siad Barre to release the prisoners unconditionally. The Somali Diaspora also condemned this prolonged jailing of "My Teachers' Group" in a maximum-security prison. In many parts of the world, the newspapers covered the case of "My Teachers' Group". The following is an excerpt from an Arabic Newsletter in the Gulf area²⁷.

²⁷ Entitled "the true story of what happened in Hargeisa, the capital of the North Somalia", the article lists 32 individuals (including teachers, medical doctors, economists, civil servants and businessmen), and narrates that 71 intellectuals were arrested in the past two months in Hargeisa. The article reports that some of these men were tortured and are being kept in the military camps of the region.

The article also mentions the students' protest against these arrests during which government arms shot and killed people; the article narrates that workers in major cities of the north decided to strike against these arrests and that, for example the main port of the country in Berbera is closed as the workers stopped to work for protest; and that many people are escaping to Ethiopia to join the Somali National Movements forces who are fighting against the somali regime. Among the people who are leaving the country, to join the SNM forces, included the retired military officers.

To counter-balance these riots, and to calm the mood of the country down, according to this article, dictator Mohamed Siad Barre released from the jail Mohamed Ibrahim Egal, who was the leader for independence of the country in 1960. The article concludes, citing an amnesty international report, that 32 of these men were arrested just because they helped the hospitals and schools in a self-help schemes.

The author is thankful to Abdirahman A. Ismail "Nero" and Ahmed Hussein Ismail, both former Vice chairman of the Somaliland Forum in 1999, 2003. Abdirahman provided this document and Ahmed translated it into Somali.

ومن الصوماليين العاملين في الخارج . الأوضاع العالية تنذر بحرب دموية وشيكة خاصة وان القوة الوطنية تستعد لحرب فاصلة مع نظام (سيينا بري) .

ولقد أورد تقرير منظمة العفو الدولية بتاريخ ١٩٨٢/١/٢٧ قائمًا بأسماء وظائف (٣٢) شخصًا اعتقلوا بعد مشاركتهم في مشروع جماعي للإعانة الذاتية يهدف الى تحسين أوضاع المدارس والمستشفيات (هارجيسيا) ، ومن المعتقد أن الحكومة قد اعتبرت هذا المشروع نوعًا من الاشارة السياسية ضدها ، ومنذ اعتقال هذه المجموعة انفجر قلبلتان في (هارجيسيا) لايعرف مدى علاقتها بالأحداث .

أسماء المعتقلين الذين ورد ذكرهم في تقرير منظمة العفو الدولية:

- ١ - أحمد حسين أبي (مستخدم في بنك الصومال الوطني في هارجيسيا)
- ٢ - عبد الرحمن أحمد .
- ٣ - د. أمين (لايعرف ما اذا كان طبيب) .
- ٤ - محمد علي أرالي .
- ٥ - عمر عين أوالي (رئيس قسم الأمن الاجتماعي) - علي بييد
- ٦ - محمد علي بوتان .
- ٧ - حسين بربراي .
- ٨ - حسين أحمد دويب (مدرس) .
- ٩ - دايب دجال .
- ١٠ - محمد حجي عبدي دويل (تاجر)
- ١١ - علي فرح (مدير وكالة العباني الوطنية في هارجيسيا) .
- ١٢ - يوسف عبدي حايد
- ١٣ - حسان ايل حاي
- ١٤ - محمد دجال هرسى .
- ١٥ - محمد علي ابراهيم .
- ١٦ - د. عثمان أكادير (طبيب) .
- ١٧ - يوسف عبد الله كاهن .
- ١٨ - أحمد محمد مدار .
- ١٩ - عبد الرحمن ماسيل (موظف مدني)
- ٢٠ - د. عدن حسين رويله .
- ٢١ - عدن ورسيم سيد (تاجر) .
- ٢٢ - باشي عبدي ياري .
- ٢٣ - جيلاد علي ياسين .
- ٢٤ - د. عبد الله علي يوسف (طبيب) - أحمد محمد يوسف (مدرس) .
- ٢٥ - محمد سولاب علي (طبيب)
- ٢٦ - عدن يوسف (طبيب) .
- ٢٧ - محمد شيخ حسان ناني (طبيب)
- ٢٨ - محمد حجي محمود (خريج اقتص)
- ٢٩ - أولاد تلي آدر (مدرس زراعي)
- ٣٠ - محمد بارود علي (مدير مدني)
- ٣١ - السيد، كه لا فر، هارجيسيا)

القصة الحقيقية للحادث الأخير في (هارجيسيا) عاصمة المنطقة الشمالية للصومال

قبل أكثر من شهرين تم اعتقال (٧١) من المثقفين (أطباء ، مدرسين رجال أعمال) في المناطق الشمالية ، وتدل المعلومات التي جمعها أبناء (هارجيسيا) أن المعتقلين في معسكرات الجيش خضعوا لتعذيب شديد . وقد واجه بعضهم أحكاما بالاعدام وواجه آخرون أحكاما بالسجن المؤبد ، مما أثار حفيظة الشعب الصومالي في الشمال ضد النظام القمعي الاجرامسي .

وقد عثرت الجموع عن رفضها للاجراءات الأخيرة عن طريق مظاهرات سلمية تجمهرت أمام المحكمة ، وبدلا من تفريق التظاهره بالسلم فقد عمد جنود النظام الى اطلاق النار على المواطنين، وصرح شاهد عيان ان مالا يقل عن (٤٠) شخصا قد قتلوا وجرح آخرون في هذه الحادثة . ان طفيان النظام هذا وتعميمه على الحقائق أدى بالشعب الى اشارة الاضطرابات في مرافق النظام ودوايره الارهابية في (هارجيسيا) . وقد اتسع نطاق الرفض الجماهيري لىصل الى (دوروا) وميناء (بريرا) الذي أغلق في وجه الملاحة بعد اضراب عماله عن العمل . أما على نطاق الجيش فقد تركت الكثير من الوحدات المتعاطفة مع الشعب قطعاتها لتنضم الى (جبهة التحرير) التي تكونت أصلا لحماية الحدود مع (أثيوبيا) ثم انضمت الى (الحركة الوطنية الصومالية) التي تهدف الى اقامة حكومة ديمقراطية غير منحازة .

ويؤكد شاهد عيان أن المتطوعين من الداخل والخارج يتقاطرون للانضمام الى قواعد الجبهة . وبسبب هذه التغيرات المفاجئة عمد النظام في (مقديشو) الى اطلاق سراح رئيس الوزراء السابق (محمد ابراهيم ايكال) قائد حركة استقلال الشمال قبل عام ١٩٦٠ . كما انضم الى الحركة الوطنية كل ضباط الجيش السابقين والموظفين المدنيين الذين أبعدهوا عن وظائفهم بعد أن تعرضوا لمضايقة النظام . وفي محاولة لتهدئة الأوضاع أرسل النظام وفودا الى (هارجيسيا) ولكن محاولاته باءت بالفشل وبدا واضحا أن السلام لا يمكن أن يعبره الا بتفهم مطالب الحركة الوطنية .

تتعمد قوات الحركة الوطنية على التمويل الذاتي من المصادر المحلية

Every year, from February 20-24th, protests took place in the form of student uprisings, and riots and violence broke out across the country; the students fought with sticks and stones. These protests by school children, and the pleadings and petitions of parents of the prisoners, as well as the entreaty of international organisations for the release of "My Teachers' Group" fell on deaf ears.

During all these years, each member of "My Teachers' Group" remained isolated in a 2 by 2-squaremeter cell. They were not allowed to talk to each other. They did not have permission to read or write. They could neither hear news from the radio, nor receive letters from the outside world. They could not tell each other anything. As a result, they developed a way of communicating through the walls of adjacent cells. Mohamed Barood Ali wrote, "*The most important and useful means of communication between us was through the cell walls. [...] The invention of an alphabet similar to the Morse code permitted this mode of communication. There were two sounds one could make on the walls. A higher frequency rap made with the knuckles of the middle fingers and a low drumming note produced by the side of the closed fist.*" [1].

In the following table, the dot (.) represents the high rap and the low drumming is represented by the letter (o), thus, the whole alphabet could be represented as follows.

A	B	C	D	E	F	G
.	o	..	.o	o.	oo	o.o
H	I	J	K	L	M	N
o..o	.oo	.o.	ooo	o.o
O	P	Q	R	S	T	U
o.oo	oo.	..oo	...oooo	..o.
V	W	X	Y	Z		
.oo.	oo..	ooo.	oooo	.o.o		

So if one wants to tell his friend in the adjacent cell that he is feeling sad, he may send the following 'transmission' by tapping on the wall. [...(I) .ooo (am) oo o. o. .o. ... o..o.o.o (feeling)o (sad)]. Through this mode of communication, they were able to know who had a cold, who was fine or simply about what they dreamt during the night. Mohamed Barood Ali wrote: "*We were also able to amuse each other through the walls. [...]. As a matter of fact, I was eventually able to learn some German and Italian from my two neighbours on either side with the help of the 'code'.*" [1]

In Labaatan Jirow prison, there was no medication facility at all. An old male nurse used to have the responsibility of all medical needs of the prisoners. He was called "dr. No" for his prompt negative response to any request for medication by the prisoners. An example of typical *dr. No's* maltreatment was the case of Abdirahman Abdillahi Hagi Aden. Abdirahman had problems with his big toe on a leg. The problem started in 1982 while he was still in Hargeisa during torture sessions. He was denied to have a visit by *dr. No* for long time, and as a result, the toe got badly infected until the infection finally reached the bone. In 1984 Abdirahman was immediately transferred to Martini hospital in Mogadishu (a military hospital), in an isolated apartment of the ophthalmology department. No one could see his face, and the only person who could visit him was an Indian catholic nun who served the hospital as a nurse. Abdirahman recalls her name as Nirmala, and she was nice with him. He was kept almost a month in very tightly guarded apartment in the military hospital, when finally his toe had to be amputated without anesthetic with six soldiers holding him.

In this maximum-security prison, the physical abuse gave away to strain of solitary confinement. After their release, members of "My Teachers' Group" described how their guards seemed to be like giants while in they were in the jail. In their darkest hours, they realised how the world abandoned them. The nights were the worst time in the dark cells.

Mohamed Barood Ali summarises his daily activities in *Labaatan Jirow* prison as follows:

"Looking back now at those six and half years, they seem to have passed in a blur because every one of the 2375 days was exactly the same. I woke up at 6:00 a.m. The outer door was opened at 7:00, millet gruel was served at 7:30, lunch at 11:00 and the outer door was closed again at 4:00 p.m. Nothing else happened in between except the guard going back and forth between the cells. Boredom, Boredom! and bone-crushing boredom! some times it used to occur to me that I was in some kind of an Orwellian zoo in which the humans were inside cages with the beasts looking in from the outside." [1]

And his psychological state of mind as follows:

"As I said earlier nights were of course the worst times.

The nights were when your fears, real or imagined were heightened. As soon as the outside door was closed at 4 p.m. in the afternoon, the cell would be in total darkness and the fears would come. At the beginning of the solitary confinement, every sound that I heard, I interpreted as a sign that may be we were going to be released. But as time went by, even this defense mechanism of hope was worn out. The sounds seemed to be more ominous.

Every door that was opened or closed during the night would increase the rate of my heart-beat. Even the usual anti-dote to this fear, getting in touch with my next-door neighbour through the wall didn't seem to work. The only anti-dote to this kind of mental state was the flash of dawn. But by this time I would have woken up several times sweating and with my heart beating so fast that it seemed to be in my mouth. The first time I woke up in that way was in the beginning of 1984. I had been having nightmares for few months.

I would dream of the death of a loved one, a close relative or a friend and I would immediately wake up, or may be being offered an appetizing meal, then getting instead the prison fare. Or I would dream of being

released and then denied this at the last moment and I would get up panting as if I had run a marathon. Finally it reached the stage where I would not fall asleep.

The fear, tension and anxiety reached such a state that my subconscious mind was always on guard. It refused to let me go to sleep even when I had been very tired and badly in need of sleep. As soon as I was about to fall asleep my heart beat, instead of falling as is normal, would be raised and make it impossible for me to go to sleep. Sometimes I would fall asleep but I would wake up more tired than I had been when I went to sleep. I had to sleep in the morning when the outside door had been opened.

Later by discussing the condition with Dr. Aden Yusuf Abokor, who was my next door neighbour, I slept better. But even now I have nightmares occasionally but at a very much reduced rate. Many friends wondered aloud to us how we were able to survive and keep our sanity in those horrendous conditions. The only answer I was able to give them was that people are capable of adjusting to almost any environment, however difficult. Furthermore we are much stronger and more resourceful than we ever think. Only in very trying circumstances are we forced to tap these potentially limitless resources. I feel if we could find a way of tapping these resources in normal times we would solve many seemingly unsolvable problems." [1]

FREE AT LAST!

Members of "*My Teachers' Group*" in Mogadishu soon after their release.



Yussuf Abdillahi Kahin, Dr. Aden Yussuf Abokor and Abdirahman Abdillahi



Mohamed H. Mohamoud Omer Hashi



Abdirahman Abdillahi's amputated big toe, that was injured during torture sessions in Hargeisa and was neglected any cure in Labaatan Jirow prison.

In 1990, about a year after their release, "My Teachers' Group" founded Somali Relief and Rehabilitation Association (SORRA), a non-governmental organization, in Ethiopia to help the displaced people. As mentioned in its Fact Sheet 1992, the objectives of SORRA include:

- to participate fully in the rehabilitation and reconstruction of the country;
- to implement community development programs and projects, particularly in the fields of sanitation, public health, water, skill development, education and the environment;
- to co-ordinate and facilitate development activities of other NGOs working in the country. [5]



Photo in 1999: Members of SORRA engaged in cleaning Hargeisa's garbage. A sanitation project realised by SORRA in co-operation with UNESCO and CARE International. (Photo by Jama Musse Jama)

As Ahmed A. Da'ar describes, the birth of SORRA was a creature of necessity: "*With personal and family problems paramount in most people's minds, someone had to fill the gap, to attend to the needs which were not limited to the individual, the family or the clan. Someone had to step in and do what was possible: to collect the heaps of garbage and war remains, to clear the stench of death and desolation, to render the streets of Hargeisa passable and to demonstrate a sense of community among the people.*" [15].

Members of "My Teachers' Group" were arrested for cleaning the drainage system of the Hargeisa Main Hospital, and when they came back to Hargeisa after 8 years of incarceration one of the first things they did was to clean the city of garbage again! It was an interrupted process and a struggle in which they lost the "battle" but not the "war". Subsequently they attracted many like-minded members who were joining SORRA in flocks.

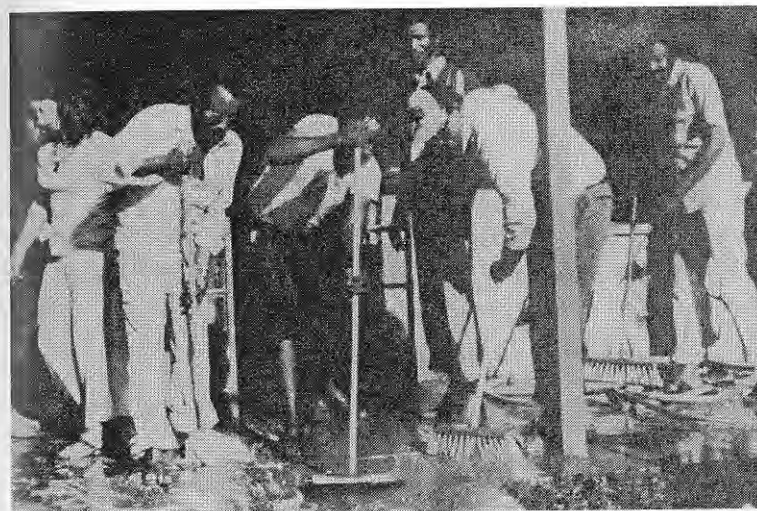


Photo in 1980: Members of the jailed group engaged in cleaning the Hargeisa Group Hospital, one of the self-help projects initiated by the group in Hargeisa before their arrest. (Photo from Amnesty International)

I read a memoir by Mohamed Barood Ali entitled "*A Personal Account*", which he wrote after his release from prison in 1989. What impressed me is how he could recall from memory all the events that occurred during those eight long years — from his arrest, torture, and sentence of life imprisonment in *Labaatan Jirow* Maximum Security Prison. It reminded me of the following piece quoted from one of Kibran's books: "*These things he said in words; But much in his heart remained unsaid; For he himself could not speak his deeper secret.*" (*Kahlil Kibran, 1923*).

There are no words sufficient to express the terror and fear that the newly married couple, Mohamed Barood and his wife, experienced when five men armed with AK47 assault rifles and pistols knocked on their door around 2:00 am. Words cannot convey the feelings of the members of "*My Teachers' Group*" in *Labaatan Jirow* prison at the moment of their release. We will never know what really happened in Barood's mind when he was able to embrace again his beloved wife and his parents, brothers and friends after more than eight years of isolation.

In *Labaatan Jirow* they made new kinds of friendship. Their solitary confinement enlarged their life and vision of the environment. Birds, ants and termites became their most dear ones. They felt sad when they saw birds dying. They used to speak to the walls and give names to the trees in front of their cells. They invented new and personal methods to kill time, kinds of solitaire games, which they will probably never reveal to us. Mohamed Barood Ali wrote "*Another, very important entertainment that kept me busy was bird-watching. There were many of them in the neighbourhood. The area was dry and the birds came to drink from a reserve tank. They usually came to sit on the trees planted in front of the cells to block the view opposite. There is a whole world to learn and behold when you have time to observe these beautiful animals. I had a favorite Small birds which usually travelled in numbers. I had called it "Ruby" for its red under-belly, this being a translation of its Somali name "Uur Cas". I liked its antics during play*

while singing. The birds did not sing on one note only. Rather they seemed to be a whole orchestra with its winds, pipes, brass, strings etc. Frequently, they were in session during the afternoons after they had eaten the leftovers of the prisoners. This "concert", I imagined, was a sign of gratitude for our generosity." [1]

In his memoir, Mohamed Barood Ali continues, "*Apart from these tiny birds, there are other types of animals who came to visit us at certain times of the day*". Unfortunately, we were not among these 'animals' that had the bravery to visit when Barood and his friends were isolated from the rest of the world. The only 'animals' of our kind who visited them were the most hateful faces of all, the prison guards.

In another passage, Mohamed Baarood Ali recalls: "*There was the hawk, which despite its irregular visits was always a welcome sight. I remember one particular occasion when out of the blue a hawk suddenly dropped right in front of my cell door. I heard the whistling sound of a mouse crying for help. Suddenly the hawk released it because the mouse fought back. The mouse ran for a short distance and halted. The hawk looked everywhere but could not see the mouse whose colour blended with that of the earth. The proverbial vision of the hawk apparently failed him. But at the same time, the cowardice of the mouse took over. It could not remain standing still while the hawk was so close. It darted towards a small shrub but the movement alerted the hawk and it was on top of the mouse within no time. This time there was no escaping the claws of the hawk. It flew away with its prey and with a few powerful strokes of its huge wings, it was away, chased by a gaggle of playful crows, away from my restricted view of the cell, Away, away, majestic, soaring, Powerful and FREE.*" [1]

“MAY ALLAH HELP OUR TEACHER!”

*Macallinkeenna Allow kaal; Macallinkii Allow kaal;
Nin kaashaba Allow kaal,
(God, help our teacher; God, help his teacher;
Help, my God, everyone who helps our teacher).*

Koranic School Children's Song
Anonymous

*A teacher affects eternity;
he can never tell where his influence stops.*

Henry Adams



Ahmed Muhumed Madar, “Johnny”. (*My biology teacher*)

As a student of "My Teachers' Group", it has been a little consolation to me to know that, although they were isolated from the rest of the world, the members of "My Teachers' Group" were, somehow, aware of our protest against the regime for their release. In fact, Mohamed Barood Ali wrote: *"I believe though that we were reprieved from the death sentences, not because of the presence of the lawyers or because of the magnanimity of Siad Barre, the President, as the judge read in his summary, or because of the leniency of the court, but simply because the regime was terrified of the possible consequences of such a course. On Feb. 20th, 21st, 22nd, Hargeisa, Burao and other major towns in the North experienced heavy riots in which 47 people, mostly students, were killed by the security forces and Hargeisa was still in turmoil and only the slightest excuse was needed to spark off further riots. Testimony to this is the way the final sentences were wrapped up and packaged."*



UFFO Team members in Hargeisa Football Stadium

After about twenty years or so, many then students like me remember this event as if it just happened only few days ago. In my recent visit to

Somaliland, in August 1999, I stood in front of Hargeisa Court building. There is a memorial statue with the inscription *"In memory of those who died on February 20th"* in English, Somali and Arabic. I thought of Barre Hagi Elmi Ahmed, one of the students who were killed by the soldiers during the protest. I thought of his family.

History will remember each member of my "My Teachers' Group" as a hero who had paid much for being nice to his own people. In Hargeisa, there is a football team named UFFO, after the name popularly known as "My Teachers' Group". The following photo shows the members of the UFFO team after they won the Ramadan Cup in Hargeisa in 1998. The emblem of the team, as shown in the picture, is a lion.

Jamal Ali Hussein, a former student of Farah Omar secondary school in Hargeisa, who lives in the Caribbean country of Trinidad and Tobago, recalls what happened in those days and specifically on February 20th.

"As a 16-year-old Form III student attending Farah Oomar Secondary school, I had a feeling it was not going to be a normal day. I knew how the people felt about the court hearing of that day. I personally knew some of the group members that had been arrested. My uncle, Omer Esse Awale, was one of them.

My physics teacher, Said,, was also one of them, even though he was later released. A lot of students, including myself, took the action of the government personally. I remember discussing this with some classmates. In fact, we had decided to take the matters into our own hands. In no time, I found a bunch of other students who also felt very strongly that we had to do something about it. We decided to go to the Court to listen to the hearing. Hargeisa Court was very close to Farah Oomar secondary school. I did not have the remotest idea that this was how my day would unfold over the following 7 hours. I have been wondering over the years how it had all happened so fast. The situation of the people was just like a fire waiting for more fuel. To me, it was a real revelation to discover the people's commitment to the struggle.

Students were fully determined to voice their distaste of the government's oppression of the citizens of Hargeisa. Every one of us had had enough of the government. We all knew of a brother, sister, cousin, neighbour or uncle arrested by the government illegally.

At the Court, there were many soldiers and tanks all of a sudden. Things went out of control and we ran back to the school. While sitting in class, two soldiers with machine guns came in and harassed the students. They started beating two classmates in the classroom while the other fifty students watched. Suddenly, a female student, who was not one of those students who was receiving the beating, shouted "you dummies are watching while our brothers are getting a beating from Faqash".

Within seconds, the whole fifty students disarmed the soldiers. We took control. For the majority of students, this was the first time that they had ever touched a gun. The two soldiers were our prisoners for about 20 minutes. We then decided to take part in a large demonstration on the main road in the Shacab/Hospital area. Oh! Hargeisa was like Beirut that day.

I was one of the lucky ones that had not been arrested that day. Many of my friends, schoolmates and others from schools in Hargeisa had been arrested. It was really painful to watch my family members and many of my friends and their families suffer at the hands of the Siad Barre's soldiers. I remember that day as if it was yesterday. I salute the members of the Hargeisa Group.

I salute the brave young students who expressed their feelings. I salute the strong mothers who were trying very hard to keep their families together when the husbands, sons and brothers got arrested. I salute the brave sisters who fought side by side with their brothers. I salute the citizens of Hargeisa and other cities for standing up for their rights at any price.

Some of the detainees were released after they completed their sentences, and the remaining (fourteen in total) were released between March and April of 1989. Their case constituted part of a great international campaign.



... at their release.



... in Ethiopia with SNM.



... welcomed by the diaspora.

Three different historical moments of the story of "My Teachers' Group"

After their release, when members of "My Teachers' Group" reached in Ethiopia, they wrote thank you letters to many individuals and associations who made an effort in their release. Among them, there is Mr. Eid Ali Ahmed, who received the following thank you note, signed by some of the members of the group, when they arrived in Djibouti.

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ

P.O. Box 1895
DJIBOUTI
13/8/1989

Dear Idd,

This is a thanks letter from our group and will write you a personal letter later. We thank you for all your efforts in our release from jail and ^{the} role that you and your organisation played in the material support that we got from Amnesty International. Thank Allah that your efforts were not in vain. Our release and that of other political prisoners signifies how your efforts finally forced Faqash to grant us our freedom. True, the road to freedom is a long way off and we still need patience and re-organisation to achieve our objective. We don't have to go deeper into the political and socio-economic factors that govern our situation for this letter is meant to be just a thanks letter.

Anyway, we hope to contact you later on. Thanks very much and keep up the good work. Enclosed is a recent photo of ours.

Yours friends,

Mohamed H. Mohamed Omar

Dr. Osman Abdi Mezigag

Ahmed Hussein Abby

Adan Warsama Said

Dr. Adan Yusuf

Abdillahi Ali Yusuf (Olad)

Mohamed Barood Ali

Ahmed Mohd Yusuf (Jakane)

Mohd Ali Ibrahim

Abdirahman Abdillahi H. Adan

Eid Ali Ahmed was himself very close to be a prisoner, escaping this by chance when he left Hargeisa just before "My Teachers' Group"'s arrests started in 1981. He then campaigned for the release of "My Teachers' Group" by being channel for assisting human rights associations, like Amnesty International, in providing information and advice on the case of "My Teachers' Group".

As I said in the preface of this story, what followed February 20th 1982 requires a separate book and I hope our historians will document the devastation and destruction that the dictatorial regime of Mohamed Siad Barre has caused the Somali Nation in general and Somaliland in particular. Nothing good comes without sacrifices, and sacrifices we have given to freedom and prosperity. Let us not forget the ills of yesterday for history can repeat itself.

We should extend our thanks to the international organisations whose perseverance compelled the deafness of Mohamed Siad Barre to hear the "weak voices" coming from the hearts of the wives, children, mothers and sisters of these innocent prisoners. The voices of students who kept a promise of gathering together every February 20th to remember their teachers in spite of the risk of being arrested or killed by the soldiers. Finally, we should say "Thank you" hundreds of thousands of times to the hundreds of thousands who paid dearly with their lives for the struggle against the cruel regime of the late Mohamed Siad Barre.

Addendum: Sad news from the Internet

It is with heavy sadness that I am reading today the messages coming from the Somaliland Forum (SLF)²⁸ mailing list and website. Somalis use to say “*War xumi geed ma fadbiyo*”, meaning bad news never lingers around. The messages coming from the Internet are not conveying good news. One such message is reprinted as is. This is the first time we loose one of “*My teachers' Group*”, and this time forever, and it is a sad day.

From: <http://www.somalilandforum.com>

From The Republican.

The Republican, a weekly English language publication based in Hargeisa, Somaliland. Chief Editor: Yusuf Abdi Gabobe. Issue 144, Jan. 13, 2001. Telephone: 253-22-3326, Fax: 252-213-4501, Email: jamhuuriya@yahoo.com

Somaliland Minister of Agriculture dies

Abdillahi Ali Yusuf (Olad) Somaliland's minister of agriculture died last Monday Night at the age of 54 following a long ailment.

The deceased was given a state funeral on Tuesday. Dignitaries included Somaliland Vice-president Riyale, Cabinet ministers, community leaders and friends. Olad was among the Uffo group members who were arrested in Nov. 1981 by the security forces of dictator Siyad Barre.

He spent as a prisoner of conscience 8 years in solitary confinement in the maximum security prison of “Labaatan Jirow” in ex-Italian Somalia from early 1982 to 1989. Olad is survived by his wife and four children.

May Allah have mercy and compassion upon his soul. Aamiin

²⁸The Somaliland Forum (SLF) is an international organization that brings together Somalilanders from all parts of the world mainly, through the medium of the Internet. The primary objective of the Forum is to work with the Somaliland communities around the world in order to provide some lasting solutions to the needs of the Republic of Somaliland and its people.

APPENDIX I

The core of the second part of the book is an analysis of the written Decision of the Hargeisa National Security Court that tried “*My Teachers' Group*” in February 1982, which was done by Ibrahim Hashi Jama, LL.B, LL.M. The author is deeply grateful to Ibrahim for this very important contribution to the book. Ibrahim, a U.K. national of Somaliland origin, has written extensively about Somaliland laws.

THE TRIAL OF THE HARGEISA GROUP – LEST WE FORGET! by Ibrahim Hashi Jama

Introduction

I was sent a copy of the decision of Mohamed Siad Barre's Hargeisa National Security Court which tried 28 Somalilanders in February 1982 by Jama Musse Jama, former Chairman of the Somaliland Forum, who researched into this infamous trial and has written a moving piece/book titled “*My Teacher's Group*”. Jama has asked me for my views about the court decision. Like Jama, I have known some of the accused as friends, and others as contemporaries in the early 1960s Somaliland. In particular, Mohamad Haji Mohamoud Omer was a former classmate of mine at Wallasey College, near Liverpool, UK in 1970/72 before he proceeded to read Economics at the London School of Economics, and I, Law at Liverpool University, and Mohamad Barood also came to study in the UK a year after us. For me,

therefore, the title of my commentary ought to be "My colleague's Group", but as it will be rather presumptuous of me to do so, I shall refer to them, impersonal as it is, the "Hargeisa Group". I am deeply conscious of the suffering they have undergone, the bravery they have shown and the lasting effect their trials and tribulations had on all Somalilanders. Indeed, the persecution and imprisonment of the Hargeisa Group was one of the incidents which strengthened the resolve of Somalilanders to fight Mohamed Siad Barre's odious regime, and we all owe them and those who followed them in the long struggle for freedom a debt of gratitude, which must never be forgotten. This book by Jama is one vehicle for sustaining that memory.

As set out in this book, The Hargeisa Group consisted of a number of doctors, engineers, teachers, economists, government employees and others who were arrested at various times in late November, December 1981 and January 1982. After a period of detention and torture, 28 of them were brought to trial at the infamous National Security Court on 28 February 1982. The trial was previously scheduled to start on 20 February, but was postponed by the uprising of the Hargeisa students, which broke out when rumours spread in town that some of the defendants were to be sentenced to death. The uprising lasted for three days. Soldiers fired on unarmed students and five people were killed. The trial finally began on 28th February 1982 and lasted for only two days. The verdict was issued a few days later.

The decision of the Security Court (ref: BX10/82, BG 18/82) which is dated 4 March 1982 consists of over 50 pages. The defendants did not give evidence on their behalf and so the judgment of the court is entirely dependant on the prosecution case. The fact that the trial lasted only two days and the speed in which it was concluded speaks volumes about the way the Security Court operated. Mohamed Siad Barre's Security Courts had all the hallmarks of "kangaroo courts" and often sentenced people to death or long imprisonment with little ceremony.

The Defendants

Whilst I am conscious of the fact that men who suffered so much should not be referred to as numbers, the Hargeisa Group's names as listed (and numbered) in the Security Court decision were as follows:

Court Number	Name	Date of Arrest
1.	Mohamed Barood Ali	04/11/81
2.	Ahmed Mohamed Yussuf (Jabane)	02/11/81
3.	Mohamed H Mohamoud Omer Hashi	19/11/81
4.	Aden Yussuf Abokor	19/11/81
5.	Abdirahman Abdillahi H. Aden	19/11/81
6.	Ahmed Hussein Abby	05/12/81
7.	Hussein Mohamad Duale (Berberawi)	19/11/81
8.	Mohamoud Sh. Hassan Tani	19/11/81
9.	Abdillahi Ali Yussuf (Olad)	19/11/81
10.	Mohamed Dagaal Hersi	11/11/81
11.	Ali Egeh Farah (Ali Beed)	11/12/81
12.	Yussuf Abdillahi Kahin	11/12/81
13.	Osman Abdi Maygag	04/12/81
14.	Mohamed Abdi Dualeh (Ayub)	11/12/81
15.	Aden Warsame Said	11/12/81
16.	Mohamed Ali Ibrahim	11/12/81
17.	Ahmed Mohamed Madar	14/12/81
18.	Omer Issa Awale	04/12/81
19.	Mohamoud Ali Sulub	11/11/81
20.	Bashe Abdi Yussuf	29/12/81
21.	Ismail Abdi Hurreh	09/01/82
22.	Hassan Abdisalan Sheikh Ali	09/01/82
23.	Ahmed Hassan Madar	10/01/82
24.	Mohamoud Abdi Jeer	30/12/81
25.	Mohamed Malin Osman Ahmed	30/12/81
26.	Said Mohamed Ibrahim	06/02/82
27.	Lt. Col. Ismail Hashi Madar	Not detained
28.	Hassan Abdillahi Ali (Aelgeyeh)	04/12/81

The Advocates

In an interview with Africa Watch²⁹, some of the Hargeisa Group were quoted as saying that "two days before the trial, four lawyers were flown in

²⁹ Africa Watch (1990) *A Government at War with its own People* January 1990, page 39.

from Mogadishu by the government. They spoke to each of us for 5-10 minutes. They told us that they could do nothing for us. They were just going through the motions". Nonetheless, the trial transcript records that the accused were "represented" by the following Advocates³⁰:

1. Ismail Jumale Osobleh, acting for seven defendants: 1, 3, 7, 8, 15, 23 & 28
2. Feisal Haji Jama, acting for 4 defendants: 2, 4, 5 & 20.
3. Hussain Bileh, acting for seven defendants: 14, 16, 17, 24, 25, 26 & 27.
4. Hassan Sheikh Ibrahim, acting for three defendants: 9, 10 & 11.
5. Osman Abdi, acting for two defendants: 13 & 18.
6. Bashir Artan, acting for 4 defendant: 12, 19, 21 & 22.

There was no recorded advocate for defendant 6 – Ahmed Hussain Abby.

The Court

The National Security Court was created by Mohamed Siad Barre in 1970. The Court and its prosecutors were appointed by Barre and were mostly army officers. It was separate from other courts of the land and the President of the Court discussed cases with Mohamed Siad Barre, who also had the final say in its judgments. There was no appeal against its decision, and only Mohamed Siad Barre retained the power to exercise the prerogative of pardon or mercy, which he has used capriciously to reinforce his will. In general, there was little opportunity to cross-examine witnesses, and on the rare occasions when this happened, the court re-examined the witnesses in the absence of defence counsel (Africa Watch 1990).

The Hargeisa Group trial was presided by Lt. Colonel Sharif Shaikhuna Maye, who sat with two assessors³¹ (or more accurately advisers, as described in the Somali word "la taliye") - Major Ahmed Abdi Awale, and Judge Yusuf Haji Abdi Ali. The Security Court Prosecutor was Captain Abdullahi Ali. The Clerk of the Court was Mohamad Ali Abdi.

³⁰ I shall be using the term "Advocate" to denote the lawyers acting for the defendants. The Trial transcript refers to them as "Avocate" the Italian term which has been used in Somalia, in preference to the Somali term "Garyaqaan", which means "Lawyer".

³¹ In the normal "civilian" courts in Somalia, judges sat with two assessors.

The Charges

As set out in the decision, the Group members were charged with the following offences which were said to have taken place in the city of Hargeisa during the last six months of 1981:

1. *Defendants 1 (Mohamoud Barud Ali), 2 (Ahmed Mohamad Yusuf "Jabane") and 3 (Mohamed Haji Mohamoud Omer)* were charged with jointly organising an illegal association under article 3(1) of Law No: 54 of 10/9/1970 (Law for Safeguarding National Security, hereinafter referred to as the Security Law), in conjunction with article 71 of the Somali Penal Code³². This was said to be based on their formation of an association which was contrary to the unity of the Somali nation and which was known as the *Ragga U Dhashay Magaalada* (Men who were born in the City, and, in short, RUDM). Article 3 of the Security Law stated that "Any person who forms an organisation whose intentions or activities are against the unity of the people or that is intended to cripple or weaken the authority of the Government shall be punished with death and expropriation of his wealth". Article 71 of the Penal Code is a general provision for offences which are committed by more than one person, and states that "where more than one person participates in the same offence, each of them is liable" to incur the prescribed punishment.
2. *Defendants 1 and 2* were additionally charged with authoring a publication which is opposed to the nationhood contrary to article 18(1) of the Security Law and article 71 of the Penal Code (joint liability) in that, as leaders of the RUDM, they prepared, printed and published a journal which contained propaganda against the unity (of the nation) and which maligned the objectives and programmes of the Revolution. The journal called "UFFO" (the breeze before the rain storm) and the association, RUDM was to be aimed at heralding the policy of uprooting the Revolution; and was supported by persons living abroad who were opposed to the nationhood (*qarannimda*) of Somalia.
3. *Defendant 3* was also additionally charged with possession of a publication which opposed the policies of the nation contrary to article 19 of the Security Law as a copy of the journal "UFFO" was found in his house.

³² The Somali Penal Code, which is a replica of the Italian Penal Code of 1930, was enacted in the Somali Republic in December 1962, but did not come into force until 2nd April 1964. Prior to the latter date, the Indian Penal Code was used in Hargeisa and the rest of Somaliland.

4. *Defendants numbered 4 to 23 (totalling 20 in all)* were all charged with being members of an unlawful association which is opposed to the unity of the Somali nation contrary to article 3(2) of the Security Law and article 71 of the Penal Code in that they were active members of RUDM Association, the objectives of which was to weaken the policies of the Revolution. The defendants were said to have participated in various meetings and assemblies of the association and have expressed their opinions and have been fully involved in its resolutions. Article 3(2) stated that any person who took part in or assisted the formation of an organisation (proscribed under the article) shall be punished with life imprisonment.
5. *Defendant 5* was additionally charged with the possession of a publication which was against the policies of the nation contrary to article 19 of the Security Law in that a copy of a poem which he composed himself and which criticised the policies and principles of the Revolution was found in his house.
6. *Defendant 16* was additionally charged with possession of an illegal weapon contrary to article 1 of Law no: 65 of 3/11/1977 in that a Makarov pistol and 6 bullets were found in his house.
7. *Defendants 17 and 20* were additionally charged with the following offences under the Penal Code:
 - i) Associating for the purposes of committing a crime under article 322(1): This states that "where three or more persons associate for the purpose of committing more than one crime, those who promote, constitute or organise the association shall be punished, for that act alone, with imprisonment from one to five years".
 - ii) Intimidation of the public by means of explosive materials under article 325: This articles states that "Whoever, with the sole object of causing public fear or arousing tumult or public disorder, causes the explosion of bombs, firecrackers, or other explosive machines or materials, shall be punished, where the act does not constitute a more serious offence, with imprisonment from six months to three years."
 - iii) Endangering public safety under article 332 (and article 71 – see above): Article 332 sates that whoever "... commits any act so as to endanger public safety shall be imprisoned with imprisonment from one to five years".

The above three charges were based on the allegations that these defendants have formed an organisation whose aim was to undertake

various criminal acts. The two defendants, in conjunction with *defendants 24, 25, 26 and 27*, were also said to have exploded "hand grenades" in houses occupied by government heads and civilians, and have therefore endangered public safety as they lobbed the grenades into places without ensuring whether or not these places were occupied.

8. *Defendants 24, 25, 26 and 27*, together with *Defendants 17 and 20*, were also charged with:
 - i) Participating in an association for the purposes of committing crimes under article 322(2), which is punishable with imprisonment from one to five years.
 - ii) Intimidation of the public by means of explosive materials under article 325 (see above).
 - iii) Endangering public safety under article 332 (and article 71 – see above). These charges were based on the allegation that these defendants were members of a criminal organisation and have participated in and aided the explosion of hand grenades in houses occupied by government heads and civilians, and have therefore endangered the safety of the public.
9. *Defendant 28* was charged with the offence of spreading rumours³³ contrary to article 21 of the Security Law in that when the other defendants were detained for the offences they committed, he spread propaganda against the governmental officials in charge of the North West Region and the investigating agencies by asserting that the detained defendants have not committed any offences and have thereby been unjustly accused; and by stating that journal UFFO was instigated by the government heads of the region.

Whilst all the offences were alleged to have been committed in Hargeisa during the last six months of 1981, no specific dates were given for each offence. This vagueness about the time the alleged offences were committed is immediately noticeable as Article 71(d) of the Criminal Procedure Code³⁴ required that a charge must include "the offence charged, together with a

³³ This offence was called, in Somali, "Afmiinshaarnimo" which literally means "saw-mouthed", but has been used by the Barre regime to denote the spreading of any verbal information which is considered to be a rumour against the state or its policies. The punishment for such an offence was imprisonment for two to three years.

³⁴ The Somali Criminal Procedure Code was enacted in the Somali Republic on 1st June 1963, but did not come into force until 31 March 1965. This Code is largely based on the English/Indian criminal procedure rules applicable in Somaliland prior to 1965.

plain, concise statement of acts constituting the offence, *including the time and place of the commission of the offence*, and the person against whom, or the thing in respect of which, the offence was committed”.

The charges levelled against the Group members include a number of offences under the Somali Penal Code. The more serious charges were, however, levelled under the notorious Security legislation brought in by the military legislation in 1970 and refined by the addition of more and more draconian measures over the years. Law No 54 of 10/9/1970 (the Security Law) with which most of the accused were charged has been, according to Africa Watch, “the main legislation used by the regime to eliminate real or potential opposition. In every major political trial, the prosecution has relied almost entirely on the provisions of this law to seek the death penalty or to impose lengthy sentences”³⁵.

All the defendants entered “not guilty” pleas to all the charges, except defendant 16 who pleaded guilty to the charge of illegal possession of a weapon only, and not to the main charge which was levelled against him and the other 19 defendants numbered 4 to 23. The pleas were taken under Articles 103 and 104 of the Somali Criminal Procedure Code which set out that the Presiding judge, having noted the presence of the accused and the prosecution, and having appointed a defence counsel when so required by law (in serious cases³⁶), shall read the charges to each of the accused and ask for his plea on each count. Except when a plea of guilty is entered, defence counsel may enter a plea on behalf of the accused.

The Criminal Procedure Code

In its decision, the Court refers occasionally to the Criminal Procedure Code (CPC), but the provisions of the Code had been emasculated by the draconian security decrees issued by the military regime early in its rule. The Criminal Procedure Code (Law No:1 of June 1963)³⁷ (the CPC) was

³⁵ Africa Watch at p.19.

³⁶ This is under Article 14 of the Law of on the Organisation of the Judiciary, when an accused in serious cases has no counsel.

³⁷ See footnote 6 above. The Criminal Procedure Code is still applied in the independent Republic of Somaliland, but without all the amendments made by the Dictator's draconian security legislation.

adopted in 1963 and, unlike the Penal Code, which was based on Italian Law, it was influenced by the Indian Penal Code that was applied in (British) Somaliland until 1963. One of the first acts of the Mohamed Siad Barre's regime was to suspend Articles 66 and 67 of the CPC which enshrined the writ of *Habeas Corpus* guaranteeing that the Supreme Court or the Court of Appeal may order “that any person held in arbitrary detention or in cases other than those provided by law shall be set at liberty at once”; and that a lower court (the Regional and District Courts) may order that any person within their jurisdiction “shall be brought before it to be dealt with according to law”. This effective oversight of incidents of unlawful detention was abolished by Mohamed Siad Barre's Law No: 64 of 10 October 1970. Also the earlier Power to Detain Law (Law No: 1 of 10 January 1970) allowed persons to be detained without charge or trial for an unlimited period. The detention could not be questioned, and relatives did not even know where the persons were held and what the charges were. Furthermore, Chapter III, Section I of the CPC which regulated search and seizure of property was largely set aside by The Establishment of the National Security Service Law (Law No: 14 of 15 February 1970) which gave the secret police - the National Security Service (NSS)³⁸ personnel unlimited powers to search any person, or property and to confiscate any property owned by a person suspected of “anti-revolutionary activities”.

Again Article 15(5) of the CPC stated that “an accused who has been arrested shall have a right to confer freely with his defence counsel at all stages of the proceedings”. But under another Security Decree (Law No: 17 of 7 April 1970), detainees under the security laws had neither the right to be informed of the charges against them, nor the right to have access to counsel until all investigations have been completed. Even when some access to counsel is given, there was no right to private conference with counsel, as the prosecution must be present (Africa Watch 1989³⁹).

By far the most pernicious overturning of the Criminal Procedure Code (CPC) provisions was the way the articles relating to confessions were swept

³⁸ NSS – National Security Service or in Somali, Nabad Suggida Somaliyeed, which was the regime's secret police trained by East Germans and headed, for a long time by the Mohamed Siad Barre's son-in-law.

³⁹ For a summary of this array of security laws, see Africa Watch (1989) at pages 18 – 22.

aside by the Dictator's Decree Law No:8 of 26 January 1970. For example, Article 151 of the CPC laid down that no confession is admissible in evidence unless it is made before a judge, and Article 68 laid down strict procedures for recording such confessions. These procedures were that a judge might receive a confession when he is convinced that it was made voluntarily after he has examined the person making the confession. The confession shall be recorded in writing in full by the judge who shall read it over to the person making it and it shall be signed by the person and the judge who shall certify that he has recorded it strictly in accordance with these arrangements. Furthermore, under Article 150, a confession was considered irrelevant if it appeared to a Court that it had been "caused by inducement, threat or promise". The revocation of these provisions meant that the security apparatus of the Mohamed Siad Barre could detain people at will and for very long periods to ensure that detainees could be tortured and made to sign outrageous confessions.

These changes to the Criminal Procedure Code, and the regime's huge internal security apparatus meant that dice was loaded against the Hargeisa Group defendants right from the start and they and the populace in Somaliland (then known as the Northern regions of the Somali Democratic Republic – the later name modelled after the "democratic" governments of East Germany, N.Korea, N. Vietnam etc) knew that they were going to be subjected to a political show trial, the outcome of which was already decided. The Trial was conducted at a time when the regime was dependent on aid from the US, having done a volte face after its defeat by Ethiopia in 1977, when its former supporters, the USSR and East Germany, changed horses and moved over to support Mengistu's Ethiopia. There are many complicated reasons why dictators who detain and kill people at their whim choose to hold show trials, but high among them is the desire to hoodwink their aid donors and the international media⁴⁰.

⁴⁰As a lawyer in the Ministry of Justice in the mid-1970s for a few years, I can attest to seeing letters sent by external organisations about the detention under the security laws to the Minister of Justice (who despite having no say at all about the special security apparatus and courts which dealt with these detentions and trials) was ordered by the regime to respond to these letters. This, in my view shows the importance of letter writing campaigns by the public and NGOs abroad.

Constitutional Rights in a Dictatorship

The other relevance of the changes made to the CPC by the military dictatorship (and more importantly, its total disregard of any semblance of rule of law) is that even before I look at the international standards relating to human rights and criminal justice, the way the Hargeisa Group was treated and their trial also fell far short of the standards set by the democratic government of the Somali Republic. Also, underlying the CPC was supposed to be the fundamental rights of individuals which are mentioned in the 1960 Somali Republic Constitution (which was annulled by the Army on its military coup on 21 October 1969) and, of course, also those rights mentioned, but never followed in the Dictator's 1979 Constitution and were, in any case, overridden by the Security legislation. The 1979 Constitution which was still current at the time of the Hargeisa Trial contained no less than 19 Articles in Chapter 2, which was headed "Fundamental Rights, Freedoms and Duties of the Citizen and Individual". These included:

- Article 24: Freedom of processions, publication and opinion, the exercise of which was said to be subject the laws of morality and public order.
- Article 25: Right to life and personal security.
- Article 26: Personal liberty, which included the following statements:
 1. Every person shall have the right to personal integrity.
 2. No person shall be liable to any form of detention or other restrictions of personal liberty, except when apprehended in flagtante delicto or pursuant to an act of the competent judicial authority in the cases and in the manner prescribed by the law.
 3. Any person who shall be detained on grounds of security shall without delay be brought before the judicial authority which has competence over the offence for which he is detained within the time limit prescribed by law.
 4. Every person who shall be deprived of his personal liberty shall forthwith be informed of the offence of which he is accused.
 5. No person shall be searched except in the conditions mentioned in paragraph 2 of this article, or under laws relating to judicial, sanitary, fiscal and security matters, and in the manner prescribed by the law, giving due respect to the honour and integrity of the person."

Article 27: Security of the person under detention which stated that “a detained person shall not be subjected to physical or mental torture.”

But these rights did not include many internationally accepted fundamental freedoms, such as freedom of movement and freedom of association, and were, in any case limited by their subservience to security and other restrictive laws (see, for example Article 26, above). Africa Watch⁴¹ concluded that, in practice, “the adoption of the Constitution did not improve the human rights situation in the country and has had no effect on improving the behaviour of the army or the security agencies”. In any case, by 1980, even these limited rights in the 1979 Constitution, and specially, those relating to freedom of assembly, which were never properly exercised by the public because of the pernicious internal security apparatus, were blatantly swept aside in a series of Presidential Decrees from 23 October 1980. The instrument used was Article 83 of the 1979 Constitution which simply reinforced Mohamed Siad Barre’s unbridled powers by giving him the right to “proclaim emergency rule throughout the country or a part of it, and take all appropriate measures when faced with grave matters endangering the sovereignty, internal or external security of the country, or in circumstances of absolute necessity.” The state of emergency was declared by Barre who re-instated the military junta⁴² (the so called Supreme Revolutionary Council which was disbanded⁴³ in July 1976) and installed, among other security measures, security “revolutionary committees” in every district and region.

International Standards

The standards against which a trial is to be assessed in terms of fairness are numerous and include the laws of the country in which the trial is being held; the human rights treaties to which that country is a party, and the norms of customary international law⁴⁴ which are not only found in human

⁴¹ Africa Watch, page 30.

⁴² Presidential Decrees 3 and 4 of 23/10/1980.

⁴³ Mohamed Siad Barre disbanded the SRC again in March 1982.

⁴⁴ The provisions of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, (UN General Assembly resolution 217A (III), December 10, 1948, are for the most part considered declarative of customary international law and may be of paramount importance if a state has not ratified or

rights treaties, but may also be found in documents which, though not formally binding⁴⁵, can be taken to express the direction in which the law is evolving. As a country which was a member of the United Nations, Somalia, was at the time of the trial of the Hargeisa Group still bound by international standards, such as the Universal Declaration of Human Rights 1948. Also Article 19 of the Mohamed Siad Barre’s 1979 Constitution affirmed that that the “Somali Democratic Republic shall recognise the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and generally accepted rules of international law”. The following articles of the Declaration are relevant to the way the Hargeisa Group was dealt with:

- Art. 3: Everyone has the right to life, liberty and security of the person.
- Art. 5: No one shall be subjected to torture or cruel, inhuman or degrading a treatment or punishment.
- Art. 9: No one shall be subjected to arbitrary arrest, detention or exile.

acceded to the ICCPR, the Convention against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment, (UN General Assembly resolution 39/46, December 10, 1984, entered into force June 26, 1987 or any regional human rights instrument. As mentioned above, the most directly relevant articles of the Declaration are 5, 9, 10 and 11.

⁴⁵ Non-binding documents of relevance to the conduct of criminal proceedings and to ascertaining fair trial standards are nowadays numerous and include, for example: the Basic Principles for the Treatment of Prisoners, UN General Assembly resolution 45/111, December 14, 1990; Standard Minimum Rules for the Treatment of Prisoners, UN Economic and Social Council resolution 663 C (XXIV), July 31, 1957 and resolution 2076 (LXII), May 13, 1977; Body of Principles for the Protection of All Persons under Any Form of Detention or Imprisonment, UN General Assembly resolution 43/173, December 9, 1988; Basic Principles on the Role of Lawyers, adopted by the Eighth United Nations Congress on the Prevention of Crime and the Treatment of Offenders, Havana, Cuba, August 27-September 7, 1990; Basic Principles on the Independence of the Judiciary, UN General Assembly resolution 40/32, November 29, 1985 and resolution 40/146, December 13, 1985; UN Standard Minimum Rules for the Administration of Juvenile Justice, UN General Assembly resolution 40/33, November 29, 1985; Code of Conduct for Law Enforcement Officials, UN General Assembly resolution 34/169, December 17, 1979; Guidelines on the Role of Prosecutors, adopted by the Eighth United Nations Congress on the Prevention of Crime and the Treatment of Offenders, Havana, Cuba, August 27-September 7, 1990; Principles on the Effective Prevention and Investigation of Extrajudicial, Arbitrary and Summary Executions, UN Economic and Social Council recommended resolution 1989/65, May 24, 1989; Basic Principles on the Use of Force and Firearms by Law Enforcement Officials, adopted by the Eighth United Nations Congress on the Prevention of Crime and the Treatment of Offenders, Havana, Cuba, August 27-September 7, 1990; UN Rules for the Protection of Juveniles Deprived of Their Liberty, UN General Assembly resolution 45/113, December 14, 1990; etc.

- Art 10: Everyone is entitled in full equality to a fair and public hearing by an independent and impartial tribunal, in determination of his rights and obligations and of any criminal charge against him.
- Art 11(1): Everyone charged with a penal offence has the right to be presumed innocent until proved guilty according to law in a public trial at which he has had all the guarantees necessary for his defence.
- Art 19: Everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression; this right includes freedom to hold opinions without interference and to seek, receive and impart information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers.
- Art. 20(1): Everyone has the right to freedom of peaceful assembly and association.

The Declaration is not a legally binding instrument, but “its provisions either constitute general principles of law ... or represent elementary considerations of humanity. More important is its status as an authoritative guide, produced by the General assembly and by some jurists as part of the “law of the United Nations” (Brownlie, 1992)⁴⁶.

There were of course many other relevant international conventions (such as the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights 1966 (ICCPR) and the Declaration on Protection from Torture 1975) which were in force at the time of the Hargeisa Trial in 1982, but Somalia did not accede to any of them⁴⁷. Nonetheless these set the international norms, and the ICCPR is particularly relevant and was in force at the time of the trial. The pertinent articles of the ICCPR are:

- Article 9(1) of the ICCPR (10) provides that “everyone has the right to liberty and security of person.” The liberty of a person has been interpreted narrowly, to mean freedom of bodily movement, which is interfered with when an individual is confined to a specific space such as

⁴⁶ Brownlie, I (1992) *Basic Documents on Human Rights*, 3rd edition, Clarendon Press, Oxford.

⁴⁷ Interestingly as the military dictatorship was losing the horrific civil war in the beginning of the nineties, it belatedly acceded in one go (on 24 January 1990) to the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights 1966, the International Covenant on Economic and Social and Cultural Rights 1966, The International Covenant on the Elimination of all Forms of Racial Discrimination 1966, and the Convention against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment 1984.

a prison or a detention facility. Security has been taken to mean the right to be free from interference with personal integrity by private persons. Under Article 9(1) “No one shall be subjected to arbitrary arrest or detention” and “No one shall be deprived of his liberty except on such grounds and in accordance with such procedure as are established by law.” the law itself is not arbitrary, i.e. that the deprivation of liberty permitted by law is not “manifestly unproportional, unjust or unpredictable, and [that] the specific manner in which an arrest is made must not be discriminatory and must be able to be deemed appropriate and proportional in view of the circumstances of the case.”⁴⁸

Article 9(2) of the ICCPR provides that “Anyone who is arrested shall be informed, at the time of arrest, of the reasons for his arrest and shall be promptly informed of any charges against him.”

Article 9(3) refers specifically to the rights of a person arrested or detained on a criminal charge, who “shall be brought promptly before a judge or other officer authorized by law to exercise judicial power and shall be entitled to trial within a reasonable time or to release.” Promptness has been interpreted by the Human Rights Committee (HRC) to mean that the period of custody, before an individual is brought before a judge or other officer, may not exceed “a few days.”⁴⁹

Article 7 of the ICCPR prohibits torture—or cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment—and is a norm of customary international law that also belongs to the category of *jus cogens*. The definition of and protection against torture was elaborated in the 1984 Convention against Torture:

Art 1(1): ... the term “torture” means any act by which severe pain or suffering, whether physical or mental, is intentionally inflicted on a person for such purposes as obtaining from him or a third person information or a confession, punishing him for an act he or a third person has committed or is suspected of having committed, or intimidating or coercing him or a third person, or for any reason based on discrimination of any kind, when such pain or suffering is inflicted by or at the instigation of or with the consent or acquiescence of a public

⁴⁸ Manfred Nowak, *U.N. Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, CCPR Commentary* (N.P. Engel, Arlington: 1993), at 173

⁴⁹ Human Rights Committee, General Comment No. 8, July 27, 1982, para 2.

official or other person acting in an official capacity. It does not include pain or suffering arising only from, inherent in or incidental to lawful sanctions.

Article 14 of the ICCPR specifically provides for equality before the courts and for the right to a fair and public hearing by a competent, independent and impartial tribunal established by law.

Although, according to the Human Rights Committee (HRC), the establishment of certain types of special courts with jurisdiction over all persons belonging to the same category, such as military personnel is not prohibited under Article 14(1) of the ICCPR as long as the procedural guarantees set forth in it are observed, and the HRC has not ruled across the board that military courts may never try civilians, there is an increasingly widespread view that the trials of civilians by military courts lack legitimacy. This is endorsed by many human rights NGOs and is also supported by the provisions of the Basic Principles on the Independence of the Judiciary which provide (in para 5) that "Everyone shall have the right to be tried by *ordinary courts or tribunals* using established legal procedures."⁵⁰ The establishment and work of the Security Court which tried the Hargeisa Group is described above, and it is clear that it was a military court with no appeal process and whose decisions were only reviewable by the military dictator, General Mohamed Siad Barre, himself.

According to Article 14(2) of the ICCPR "Everyone charged with a criminal offence shall have the right to be presumed innocent until proved guilty according to law."

The right to a fair hearing as provided for in Article 14(1) of the ICCPR encompasses the procedural and other guarantees laid down in paragraphs 2 to 7 of Article 14 and Article 15. The single most important criterion in evaluating the fairness of a trial is the observance of the principle of "equality of arms between the defence and the prosecution". Equality of arms, which must be observed throughout the trial, means that both parties are treated in a manner ensuring their procedurally equal position during the course of a trial.

⁵⁰ Basic Principles on the Independence of the Judiciary, UN General Assembly resolution 40/32, November 29, 1985 and resolution 40/146, December 13, 1985

Article 14(3)(b) of the ICCPR provides that in the determination of any criminal charge against him or her everyone is entitled "To have adequate time and facilities for the preparation of his defence and to communicate with counsel of his own choosing."

In the determination of any criminal charge against him/her, everyone is entitled "Not to be compelled to testify against himself or to confess guilt" [Article 14(3)(g)].

"Everyone convicted of a crime shall have the right to his conviction and sentence being reviewed by a higher tribunal according to law" [Article 14(5)]. The right to appeal is aimed at ensuring at least two levels of judicial scrutiny of a case, the second of which must take place before a higher tribunal.

The African Charter on Human and People's Rights was adopted in June 1981 (before the Hargeisa Trial), but did not come into force until 21 October 1986. Nonetheless, the Charter includes a number of Articles which guarantee personal integrity, freedom of association, and the right not to be tortured⁵¹. As for trials, Article 7(1) of the Charter states that:

"Every individual shall have the right to have his cause heard. This comprises: (a) the right to an appeal to competent national organs against acts of violating his fundamental rights as recognized and guaranteed by conventions, laws, regulations and customs in force; (b) the right to be presumed innocent until proved guilty by a competent court or tribunal; (c) the right to defence, including the right to be defended by counsel of his choice; (d) the right to be tried within a reasonable time by an impartial court or tribunal."

The Hargeisa Trial, therefore, took place at a time when all these international standards were current, but as can be seen below, their existence accounted for very little in a special court of a military dictatorship.

The Trial Procedure

Turning now to the actual trial, under the Article 108(b) of the Criminal Procedure Code (the CPC), a trial will still proceed even on issues where they may be a guilty plea if that plea relates to an offence that may attract

⁵¹ See Part 1, Chapter 1 of the Charter.

punishment of 10 years imprisonment or more. The decision of the Court shows that the trial started with the Court telling the prosecutor "that in accordance with Articles 110 and 163 of the CPC, he must prove that the crimes were committed and that the accused persons committed them". Thus the onus of proving the case was on the prosecution, but, more importantly, under Article 163 of the CPC, "... the prosecution shall prove beyond reasonable doubt that:

- a) the alleged offence was in fact committed; and
- b) the accused committed it."

It is up to the prosecution to prove that the alleged offences took place, and that each Defendant actually committed the offences he was charged with. This standard relating to the onus and burden of proof is an international one and is very much grounded on the English Law on which the CPC was based.

In a nutshell, the trial procedure in any criminal case as laid down by the CPC is as follows:

1. The prosecution opens the case by stating briefly the nature and details of the charges and the evidence against each of the accused (opening statement). The court then hears the case for the prosecution (Article 114)
2. If after the conclusion of the prosecution case, the court considers that the evidence was insufficient to prove the guilt of the accused, it may, at the request of the defence or, on its own motion, order that the proceedings be terminated (Article 115).
3. If the court does not terminate the proceedings, the defence shall make its opening statement and then produce its evidence. Where there are a number of defendants, the court shall establish the order in which each of them shall proceed (Article 116).
4. After all the evidence has been produced, the prosecution sums up its case. The summing up of the defence follows this. Where, as in this case, there are numerous defence lawyers, "each counsel shall confine his summation to particular arguments, objections or requests which have not been raised by other counsels for the defence." (Article 116)
5. The hearing shall close when the summations are finished, and the court shall then deliberate and later give its judgment in open court in the presence of the accused and the prosecution. (Article 120).

For a trial of 28 defendants, the recorded opening statement of the prosecution amounts to a few lines. It simply states that in 1981, some Somalis who were against the state returned from abroad and met the accused who consisted of university graduates and other intellectuals, and who formed an association and wrote "anti-revolutionary" journals. Their arrests, it adds, led to other crimes. Opening statements are supposed to be brief, but this in no way set out the "the nature and details of the charges and the evidence against the accused" as expected in accordance with Article 114 of the CPC.

The Prosecution Witnesses

The prosecution called eleven witnesses. These were, in order of their testimony:

1. Captain Dahir Eed Elmi, Head of Special Security Office of the Army.
2. Colonel Hassan Mohamad Nur, Commandant of the National Security Service (NSS) in the North West Region.
3. Lieutenant Kassim Yusuf Ali, NSS, Mogadishu.
4. Mohamoud Ahmed Wiliq.
5. Abdirashid Yasin Mohamad.
6. Captain Ali Gani Ahmed.
7. Khadra Ismail Nur
8. Muhumad Sh. Abdullahi Jibril.
9. Fadumo Mohamad Hersi.
10. Lieutenant Mohamad Ahmed Doole.
11. Ahmed Ali Jama.

The sections of the court decision, which relate to the evidence-in-chief given by the prosecution witnesses are very short, and so are the cross-examinations. I shall now turn to the testimony given by the main prosecution witnesses.

The first prosecution witness was *Captain Dahir Eed Elmi*, Head of Special Security Office of the Army. In October 1981, it was brought to the attention of the security office that there was "Journal" printed in Hargeisa. A man named "Abdi Laangadhe" brought to the Security Office a Journal known as "UFFO" which was published by an organisation called RUDM (an acronym for Men born in the City - Ragga U Dhashay Magaaladda).

Captain Dahir⁵² passed the Journal to General Gani, 26th Sector Commandant of the Army, and, in turn, this was passed to the Head of the NSS, the second witness. In cross examination, Captain Elmi confirmed that there was nothing in the Journal to indicate the publishers, but that Mr Laangadhe who was paid for handing in the Journal, said that it was written by Defendants one (Mohamed Barood Ali), two (Ahmed Mohamed Yussuf) and eight (Mohamoud S. Hassan Tani) and that they printed it at the Pepsi Cola factory (where Defendant one worked). As this latter point was both hearsay and evidence not given in examination-in-chief, but elicited by questions from the Court, Advocate Ismail⁵³ objected to it and asked that this evidence be verified by another witness. Advocate Ismail also pointed out a clear contradiction between a previous reply given by this witness to the effect that he did not investigate further the source of the Journal and his new statement that he was told about who was responsible for the publication of the Journal. The Advocate's plea for perjury charges⁵⁴ against this witness was expectedly dismissed summarily by the Court. Not for the last time, Advocate Ismail pointed out that the seriousness of the charges made and the fact that the "world was watching the trial". Another advocate's (Feysal) question to the witness as to whether there was anything untruthful about the contents of the Journal was objected to by the Court itself. This put paid to any attempts by the Defence to examine the contents of the Journal, which formed the very basis of the charges against many Defendants that they have authored, printed or possessed materials which "contained propaganda against the unity (of the nation) or which maligned the objectives of the Revolution".

The second witness was *Colonel Hassan Mohamad Nur*, Head of NSS in the North West Region. In late October 1981, they came to know that a Journal printed in Hargeisa and a "Journal called SNM⁵⁵ published in

⁵² In line with Somali culture, I shall be using the first names of the witnesses and, where applicable, their military rank.

⁵³ In accordance with Somali custom and for brevity, I shall be referring to the advocates by their first names.

⁵⁴ Article 291 of the Somali Penal Code outlaws perjury, which carries a penalty of imprisonment of 6 months to 3 years, but the Advocates must have been aware that no Security Court would ever accuse a Security Officer of such a charge.

⁵⁵ Somali National Movement

London", as well as leaflets supporting SNM were distributed in Hargeisa town. When the Journal called UFFO was forwarded to him by the Commandant of the Armed Forces Sector 26, Mr Omer Jees of the Supreme Revolutionary Council⁵⁶ was informed, and Mogadishu Head Office of the NSS ordered him to investigate the matter. An informant (one Abdi Laangadhe, whose whereabouts were unknown) said that UFFO Journal was found in Defendant Two's house. Defendant Two was then arrested and he admitted that he and Defendant One only wrote the Journal. On some unspecified date, the Colonel received at his office a letter written by Defendant Two in which he retracted his initial statement and stated that the matter (i.e the Journal) was known to 20 persons, the names of some of whom he has identified, and others whose faces he can recognise. This led then to the arrest of defendant One. Mogadishu then sent an investigation team (headed by Colonel Ali Hussein) to whom he then passed all the documents. The short letter was read to the Court. In cross-examination, the Colonel denied that Defendant Two was tortured or beaten and insisted that both the Defendants letters/statements were given voluntarily. Of course no explanation was given as to why the Defendant Two would want to change his initial statement and replace it with this letter which was addressed to none other than the Colonel himself. The judgment is of course selective and is based on what the judge and court recorded, but it is telling that when one of the advocates asked the witness whether the two statement of Defendant Two were in line with Article 201 of the CPC which deals with corroboration in respect of former statements made by a witness, the answer recorded in the judgment is that Prosecutor has both statements. Questions as to whether any checks have been made about the handwriting and signatures of the two statements also elicited the response that no checks were made as the statements were passed on to the investigation committee.

The Colonel was also asked twice whether Defendant Two was threatened, abused or tortured. He denied that this was the case and added that when he took the statement from Defendant Two, the latter did not tell him that he had suffered any harm! The Colonel, however, later stated that the statement was brought to him. He added, though, that he asked the

⁵⁶ The Supreme Revolutionary Council was headed by General Mohamed Siad Barre and consisted of the Junta who carried out the military coup of 1969.

Defendant only one question, which was to confirm his admission that "UFFO" was the efforts of 20 of the defendants, even though his first admission was that only he and Defendant One were the authors. Another contradiction in the Colonel's testimony was his hearsay testimony about where Mr Laangadhe found the Journal – on one occasion the Colonel said it was found "under the bed", but on later, he said it was found "under the pillow".

The Evidence-in-chief of the Main Prosecution Witness

The third and the "star" prosecution witness was *Lt Kasim Yusuf Ali*, NSS, Mogadishu. In November 1981 he and a team of Security Officers and Police headed by *Colonel Ali Hassan Dinle* were sent to investigate this matter. On 11th November 1981, they received documents showing the existence of a secret group whose aim was to divide the country on tribal and regional basis. An organisation based in Europe, the Gulf and Ethiopia was behind this group. Only Defendants One and Two were transferred to their custody by that time. He and his team received the hand written statements made by Defendant Two. Defendant Two told them that the "intellectuals' movement" started in 1977 when the Russians were kicked out but there was no change in ideology, when a Governor known as "four pockets" was appointed and he proceeded to use the region's resources to build factories for himself in Mogadishu, and when, later, a Colonel Abdirahaman spent the much needed money of the town on a project at a hill known as "qoor Jar" (the neck-breaker). When the SNM organisation was created abroad, they decided to support it. They agreed, on the occasion of the wedding of Defendant One, to form a welfare organisation which will attract support. They met in the houses of Defendants Four, Five and Six. Defendant One brought him (i.e Defendant Two) the first copy of the Journal which was typed at the Pepsi Factory where he worked. The third copy was also typed there and a copy was given to Defendant Three. Defendant Two also told him (the witness) that he met someone who brought messages from SNM and gave them to Defendants Five, Eleven, Ten and Seven.

On the whole, this witness managed to mention all the defendants simply by relying on the alleged statement made by Defendant Two and various discussions attributed to the Defendants who were said to have been

discussing the future of the country with the members of a group called "Waxdad" (the Union), which was headed by Defendant 21. An interesting quote attributed to one of the Defendants who, when asked what he found when he returned from a long sojourn abroad was "I found the daughter is secretly out in the streets; the son is sniffing glue, the mother is selling qat, and the father is in exile" (*Waxaan arakay INANTII oo Qarsota ah; INANKII oo Xabagle ah; ISLAANTII oo Qadalay ah; ODAYGII oo Qurbaawi ah*).

Extracts of the Journal UFFO were read in court, and the witness said that Defendant One admitted that he organised its first publication and that the Pepsi Cola factory equipment was used. The witness asserted that they found at Defendant One's office a notebook containing items prohibited in the second and third issues of UFFO. A short extract of UFFO was recorded in the judgment as stating that Berbera was captured, and listed the numerous Marehan (Barre's Clan) heads of offices, NSS and "Victory Pioneers". The witness continued asserting all kinds of alleged confessions made by the Defendants to the effect that they met each other or had copies of UFFO or copies of the SNM papers. He said that they found a copy of UFFO in Defendant Three's house. Now and again, however, the witness stated critical comments about the regime's neglect of Hargeisa and the Northern region, which he attributed to the defendants. An example of that was when, according to him, Defendant Three, who he described as being an English trained economist who worked in the Islamic Bank questioned him about the what happened to the grants approved by that Bank for the electrification of six Somali towns, and why none of it was spent on Hargeisa.

The witness continued to list evidence in "confessions" (qiraal) against practically all the defendants. Some of the evidence he alleged was as follows:

- 1) 18 defendants (not named) confessed that they met at the home of Defendant 4 and that SNM journals were read there.
- 2) Defendant 5 met representatives of SMN at his house where the security officers found a poem criticising the President. The poem was said to have been composed by a former teacher who was sentenced by the Hargeisa Security Court to 10 years imprisonment. The poem was part of a series of poems titled, in Somali, "Deelay"⁵⁷.

⁵⁷ Somalis have a long tradition of conducting what are called "poetic duels" or "poetic chains" as a form of public debate. Somali poetry is based on the alliteration of a letter or sound

- 3) Defendant 6 met some of the other defendants in his house, and when Defendant 4 was arrested, he said "we should do something" for the detainees (i.e the defendants who were arrested before the others).
- 4) Defendant 7 met some of the others.
- 5) Defendant 8 was a member of the association (RUDM) and spoke about health issues, and that he wrote a petition for Defendant 28 who said he wanted the release of those of the Defendants who are in custody, at that time. The petition was allegedly to be given to a Deputy Minister.
- 6) Defendant 9 visited the other detainees, and held discussions with some of the others and was a member of a committee set up to help the detainees.
- 7) Defendant 10 was a member of the association and attended meetings discussing the detainees.
- 8) Defendants 11, 12 (a farmer) and 13 (described as having studied in Japan) attended some meetings, and read the UFFO and SNM Journals. Defendant 13 is alleged to have described as "criminals" elders who refused to support the detainees.
- 9) Defendant 14 was a member of the association and consulted Defendant 13 (a doctor) about his heart ailment.
- 10) Defendant 15 attended some of the meetings and read UFFO Journal.
- 11) Defendant 16 attended some of the meetings and a search of his house revealed a Makarov pistol. There was no information about his opinions at the meetings.
- 12) Defendant 17 was a member of the association, but as there was no information about his involvement, his arrest was delayed. Bombs (grenades) were lobbed at various Government and Party official's homes and leaflets were distributed stating "Victory for the SMN and Death to *Afweyne*" (*Afweyne* – big mouth was the nick name of the dictator, Mohamed Siad Barre). Defendant 17 admitted he was responsible for the planning and distribution of these events and was assisted by Defendants 20, 24 & 25. Some of the explosives were supplied by Defendant 27.

in a poem, rather than rhyming, and other poets will then answer, addressing the same theme and using the same alliteration. The "Deelay" chain was composed of poems beginning with the letter D and were started by the famous Somaliland poet Abwaan Hadraawi. A number of different poets joined in the Deelay chain, contributing to an estimated total of about 120 poems.

- 13) Defendant 18 had a meeting held in his house where it was decided that the Government should be challenged by the (northern) "region". He also once read an SNM journal.
- 14) Defendant 19 shared a house with Defendant 4 and attended a meeting.
- 15) Defendant 20 was a member of the association and read the Journal and was involved in the discussions about the early detainees (see also paragraph 12 above).
- 16) Defendants 21, 22 & 23 were members of the welfare association and attended some of the meetings.
- 17) Defendant 24 & 25 were involved (together with Defendant 17 & 20) in the bombing. Defendant 25 is recorded as having denied any such involvement.
- 18) Defendant 26 was said to have accompanied Defendant 17 in one of the confessions, but that was confirmed by neither him nor Defendant 17.
- 19) Defendant 27 was alleged to have supplied Defendant 17 the explosives, but this information is recorded in the judgment as having been given by another Defendant who said Defendant 17 told him so.
- 20) Defendant 28 was not a member of any association. He was alleged to have written a petition about the early detainees.

The Cross Examination of the Main Prosecution Witness

Clearly this witness was the main prosecution witness, but other than the pistol, all his evidence was entirely based on the alleged confessions made by the Defendants. The main points highlighted in the cross-examination by the defendants's advocates were as follows:

1. The only evidence of the existence of an association was, according to the witness, the statement made by Defendant 2 and the copy of the UFFO Journal. There was no other evidence from any other witness on this point and accordingly under Article 199 of the CPC which says "a Court shall not convict an accused person on the basis of the testimony of an accomplice unless such testimony is corroborated by other evidence" was applicable in this case. The witness was recorded in the decision as having confirmed that there was no such other (corroborative) evidence.
2. On the typewriter which Defendant 1 was supposed to have used, the witness confirmed that no expert was used (under Article 161 of the CPC) to confirm its use.

3. The "informer", Abdi Laangadhe, cannot come to the court as a witness because his whereabouts were unknown.
4. The witness confirmed that other than the contents of the statements made by the defendants, there was no direct evidence against them, and accepted an advocate's submission that such statements by "accomplices" are not, by themselves, sufficient to prove guilt⁵⁸. The witness repeatedly accepted that there was no evidence against the defendants other than what was alleged in the statements made by the co-defendants.
5. The witness had no search warrant for removing documents from Defendant 3's house.
6. It was put to the witness that the petition written by Defendant 28 was in the nature of a complaint about the treatment of the first detainees, but not a criticism of the Government.
7. On defendant 19's attendance of a meeting, the witness gave the date of his attendance and time of the attendance as 4.00 o'clock on 19th December 1981, and then confirmed that Defendant 19's detention actually began two weeks earlier on 4th December 1981.
8. The witness admitted that they took five different statements from one of the defendants⁵⁹, and confirmed that they used the first statement. He also confirmed that they have not detained everyone who may have been mentioned in the statement. When asked why the selective choice of detentions, the witness replied the detentions were not ordered by him.
9. The witness said that he was told by Defendant 2 that the association was formed in 1977, but he was not told who formed it. Yet the witness repeatedly asserted that it was the defendants who formed it - "*Ragaanu sheegnay ayaa abaabulay*": *the men we named have formed it*.
10. The charges relating to the association took place in the last six months of 1981, but, when asked the witness confirmed that he could not say how many meetings of the association took place during that period.
11. The witness stated that they were told that the defendants formed a "welfare association" (*urur samofal ah*) which will collect medicines, funds, and materials for the Hargeisa Hospital, and said that the local government was not aware of this until a later date.

⁵⁸ This is referring to referring to Article 199 of the CPC which makes it clear that a Court shall not convict an accused person on the basis of the testimony of an accomplice or a co-accused unless such testimony is corroborated by other evidence.

⁵⁹ Defendant two.

12. The witness confirmed that the SNM Journal produced by the prosecution was not found in the possession of any of the defendants, but was used by him and the security forces as an example when they were interrogating the defendants. The witness did not know where the Journal came from, but said Colonel Ali Hussain might do so.

The advocates explored with the witness the way the defendants were treated in detention. His responses were as follows:

1. He denied that the Defendant 2 was detained without food for 5 consecutive days and had a pistol held against his forehead. He confirmed that he was present at all the times when the defendant's statements were taken.
2. He confirmed that Defendant 17 was not limping when he was arrested, and it was put to him that he was so limping at the trial. It was repeatedly put to the witness that various defendants were injured during the detention, but he denied that they were.
3. The witness confirmed that he was aware that harming detainees was against the Constitution. When asked whether Defendant 10 told him about the injuries he suffered, the witness said he could not remember that, but he did order that the defendant be handcuffed.

Advocate Hassan then asked the court to view the flesh which has been gauged out of the Defendant 10's body and the scars. The advocate prayed in aid Article 150 of the CPC which makes irrelevant confessions appearing to the court to "have been caused by inducement, threat or promise". The prosecutor objected immediately on the basis that there was no evidence to indicate who inflicted the injuries, and added that defendant was free to do what he wished with his body (*Assaga aya u xor o ah jirkiisa*). The Court decided that Defendant 10 will not be examined in court, but if it is thought necessary, the court will check his body. There is no further mention of this issue in the judgment, and it can only be assumed that the court did not think it necessary to do any examination of the Defendant's body, which, in any case, if it was to be done properly ought to have been undertaken by an independent doctor. The issue of torture was also raised by Advocate Faysal in connection with Defendant 20. Ominously, the prosecutor warned that "if the Defendants and their lawyers do not prove this harm, they will be prosecuted". The prosecutor added again that these torture allegations were irresponsible and might lead to more disturbances in the town and to

conflict between the people and the government. There is no record of the Court making any ruling in respect of this Defendant. Other recorded assertions of ill treatment were made by the advocates acting for Defendant 2, who it was said was, among other things, starved for 5 days and threatened with a pistol, and Defendant 24. But although not recorded in the judgment almost all the Defendants who spoke to Africa Watch confirmed that they have been tortured or ill treated in detention.

Testimony of the Remaining Prosecution Witnesses

The testimony of the remaining witnesses and their cross examinations are recorded very briefly in the judgment. The only issues worth noting were as follows:

1. Witness⁶⁰ no: 4 was called to confirm the typewriter relating to Defendant 1, but he said that it was used by secretaries and he has never seen the Defendant returning to the office in the evenings or late afternoons after the end of the working day.
2. Witness no: 5 said he collected the "inflammatory" Deelay poem from Defendant 5's house and the pistol from Defendant 16's house. The poem was hand-written and the witness typed it. Defendant 5 said that the poem was written by, in the words of the judgment, "a former teacher who had been sentenced by the court". The witness admitted that they had no warrants to conduct the searches. The witness denied that he was told by Defendant 16 that he (the Defendant) often travelled near the borders whilst conveying public funds and that he bought the pistol for protection.
3. Witness no: 6 said he collected a copy of the UFFO Journal from the house of Defendant 3 when he went there to search it at 1.30 a.m in the morning. He also confirmed that he had no search warrant, but argued that Article 58⁶¹ of the CPC allowed it.

⁶⁰ The names of the witnesses are listed above under the paragraph headed "prosecution witnesses".

⁶¹ Article 58 allows a police officer in charge of an investigation to undertake a search or seizure without a warrant in case of urgent necessity, where there are grounds to believe that during the time required to obtain such a warrant, material evidence may be destroyed or altered. But, in such a case, the officer shall inform immediately a judge and the Office of the Attorney General and state the reasons necessitating the search and the results and if the judge does not confirm this within 8 days, the search and seizure shall be considered as null and void.

4. Witness no: 7 said Defendant 2 used to borrow a typewriter belonging to her husband.
5. Witness no: 8 was the watchman of the empty house of the regional assistant and said that he was alone when an explosion took place just outside garage of the house. There was no damage other than a crack on the cement floor.
6. Witness no: 9 said she heard an explosion at the veranda outside her house. She saw no one, and there was no damage to the house, and no one was hurt.
7. Witness no: 10 said two unexploded RBGs (rocket propelled grenades) were brought to him by military officers who found it at Brigadier Gaani's house, and after showing it to the police CID, they exploded it.
8. Witness no: 11 stated that as cashier of the Ministry of Education he handed one months salary of Defendant 17, who was in detention, to Defendants 24 and 25. He added that it was routine for employees to collect salaries for others.

Statements and other Evidence

The prosecution then asked that a statement made by Mr Abdi Laangadhe, who they could not produce in person, be admitted in evidence under Article 155 of the CPC. Showing again the political nature of the case, the prosecution stated that Laangadhe was reported to have defected to Ethiopia and that the "some residents of Hargeisa were behind" his defection. The Defendants' advocates objected to the production of the statement and argued that Article 155 did not apply to this statement. Briefly, the only remotely pertinent part of Article 155 states that written statements made by persons who are dead or cannot be found may be relevant "when the statement is against the pecuniary or proprietary interest of the person making it, or when it is true, it would expose him or would have exposed him to criminal prosecution". There was a bizarre admission on the part of the main prosecution witness that Mr Laangadhe would not have been arrested had he not left the country because, he said, he (Laangadhe) did not do anything illegal and was always undertaking a job that he was told to do. If that was the case, then it can, by no stretch of imagination, be said that his statement "would have exposed him to criminal prosecution", within the meaning of Article 155 of the CPC, so as to pass the test of admission as

evidence. Also Advocate Osman pointed out that the statement was 12 pages and only the last one was signed, and that there were no stamps to verify indicate who wrote it. Furthermore, in another exchange between the main prosecution witness and Advocate Hussain about Laangadhe's statement, the witness confirmed that he wrote the statement for Laangadhe. Yet the Court ruled that the statement would be admitted in evidence without addressing properly Article 155 of the CPC. In its decision on this issue, the Court relied on various other Articles of the CPC which were not, at all, relevant to the admission of an absent witness statement, like that of Mr Laangadhe's, such as Article 184, relating to the admission of opinions of experts who can be called as witnesses; Article 188, relating to the order of examination-in-chief and cross examination in a trial; and Article 197 relating to the credibility of witnesses.

In underlying the importance of Laangadhe's statement to the whole case, the prosecutor, in his closing speech, said that Laangadhe was "previously charged with spying for the enemy and the National Security Court ... sentenced him to death, but later the same court released him". According to the prosecutor, Laangadhe's statement should therefore have been valued as it was made by a man who had his death sentence commuted, but did not even get a life or lengthy imprisonment! Any ordinary court of law hearing this would have ruled out this statement, but even if it admits it would have questioned the weight it should be given.

Other than this statement, the list of court exhibits noted in the decision is remarkably similar in respect of all the defendants numbered 6 to 25 and states in each case "a Confession and a Statement". But the exhibits against Defendants 1 and 2 were 5 statements and 2 court confessions; Defendants 3 and 4, 1 confession and 2 statements and Defendant 5 had, in addition to a confession and a statement, a poem. No exhibits were submitted in connection with Defendants 26, 27 and 28. The advocates asked that they be given 30 minutes to examine the exhibits, and the court, in an uncharacteristic fit of generosity, allowed them a one hour adjournment! Despite the shortness of the period, the advocates raised the following objections:

1. Any evidence seized in searches not approved by a judge should be disregarded.

2. Under Article 151 of the CPC, confessions must be recorded in front of judge (court).
3. The listed exhibits were not produced in some case (e.g. in respect of Defendant 10). In any case, some of the so-called confessions were statements, which should not be categorised as confessions.
4. In respect of Defendants 9 and 11, their exhibits and the charges did not correspond.
5. The exhibits also included a letter from the NSS and an SNM Journal. Advocates objected to these because they were not relevant to any of the defendants or to the offences⁶².
6. The statement of Laangadhe consisted of 12 pages and only the last page was signed. He also stated in there that he was asked to seek copies of UFFO and having produced them, no one else can be accused of their possession.

All the Defence Advocates' rehearsed arguments on the basis of the provisions of the CPC in respect of confessions and statements were simply side stepped by the prosecution's argument that Article 10 of Security Law No: 8 of 26 January 1970 allows security forces to take confessions without the presence of a judge. The prosecutor also added that all the exhibits relating to UFFO and SNM should be allowed in evidence because he was proving that the former is based on the latter. Showing again the real reasons for the case against the Defendants, the prosecutor stated that he "wanted the court and the public to understand fully that the organisation RUDM is tied to SNM" and the samples of SNM Journal were produced for that purpose in mind. The Court accepted the prosecution's submission in respect of all the statements and the confessions, which it said were obtained properly and legally. It rejected, however, the admission of the sample SNM Journal which, it ruled, was not linked to the charges against the Defendants.

Article 112 of the CPC allows the prosecution to withdraw charges, in whole or in part, at any time of the proceedings. At the end of its case, the prosecution informed the Court that the following charges were withdrawn and asked that the Defendants be released:

⁶² Article 172 of the CPC lists the material objects that may be produced in court as being the means of the offence, records of confessions and any other things material to the offence.

- 1) Defendant 28: charges to membership of RUDM and those relating to the explosives.
- 2) Defendant 27: charges relating to membership of an unlawful association and to the explosives.
- 3) Defendant 28: charge relating to spreading rumours.

The Court accepted the prosecution's request.

The Closing Speeches

Surprisingly, the court decision does not record at all that the Defendants did not call any witnesses and did not give evidence⁶³, and so the written decision proceeded to the closing speeches. In his summation, the prosecutor emphasised the role of the first three defendants who, he said, were the architects of the RUDM and who produced UFFO and contacted the London based SNM. They met Mr Mohamad Nur Handulle (Arab) who, in turn, met two leaders of SNM in Saudi Arabia. A telling point about the political nature of the allegations was the prosecutor's statement that when the leaders of SNM met the Saudi based Somalis, those who were assisted by the "Revolutionary Government" after the long famine and then migrated to Saudi Arabia refused to support the SNM leaders. He continued to repeat that the Defendants were working to sever the region from the state and that religion was to be used as vehicle for achieving change. He quoted again Defendant 3's statement that he found, on his return to the country that the daughter was secretly out in the streets; the son was sniffing glue, the mother was selling qat, and the father was in exile, as indicating an intention to create mistrust between the government and the public and discord. He argued that this had already succeeded as evidenced by the reaction of the public to the detention of the defendants. In a bizarre speech which did not appear to have been interrupted by the court, the prosecutor set about blaming the Defendants for the public unrest which followed their own detention and for the fact that rumours were circulating in the town to the effect that half of them were sentenced to death and the other half to life imprisonment. The prosecutor continued that the case against Defendants 4 to 20 rested on their

⁶³ Article 116 sets out the action of the Defence at this stage of the trial, which is that they may produce evidence in their defence or make statements in answer to the charges.

membership of RUDM, and that of Defendants 21 to 23 on their agreement with RUDM's goals. Defendant 16 admitted he possessed an unlawful weapon and Defendants 17 and 20 planned the explosions and were assisted by Defendants 24 and 25. He argued that the three persons whose houses were targeted for the explosions were mentioned in the UFFO Journal. He concluded by asking the court to accept the charges (which carried the death sentence) made against the first three Defendants; to sentence Defendants 4 to 20 to 30 years imprisonment; to decide appropriate sentence for Defendants 21 to 23 and to decide on appropriate charges of Defendants 24 and 25.

In their summation, the Defence advocates raised the following points:

1. There is no evidence of the existence of any unlawful organisation.
2. The confession statement should be disregarded because they were obtained by threats, fear and physical injuries.
3. There were unlawful searches, such as that of the house of Defendant 3.
4. No expert evidence was used produced in connection with the typewriter.
5. When it was said that the defendants have spoken about the fact that Hargeisa had no proper water or electricity supplies, how could this amount to the existence of an unlawful association which is against the state? This could not be, because the scarcity of water and electricity was a fact. In one of the few clear critical statements attributed to the advocates in the written judgment, Mr Ismail Jumale is quoted as asking "was it not only last night that the Court itself was sitting in the dark? Is not greatly unfortunate that the village Wanla Weyn (in the south) enjoys sufficient electric power, whilst Hargeisa as the second city of the country has no electricity during the afternoons, and is often going off any other hour as we experienced in this court last night.." (*Xaley miyaanay maxkamaddunao madoobaan, miyaanay nasiib darro weyn ahayn in Tuulada Wanla-Weyn ay si joofia ah u hesho xoog koranto oo ku filan, magaala-madaxdii labaadee Hargeysana ayan maallintii galinkiisa dambe wax koronto ah lahayn, saacadaha uu doonana uu bakhtiyo siddii xaleyba Maxkamadda dhexdeeda nagu qabstay*)
6. Witness No: 3 accepted that the Defendants were a welfare group which was recognised and accepted by the regional administration.
7. The statements of Defendant 2 must be disregarded. Despite references to other persons in these statements, the authorities were selective in who they arrested.

8. Some of the Defendants were not born in Hargeisa and so RUDM (Men born in the City) ought not to be used in the charge.
9. Almost all the confessions were not recorded in front of judges, and in any case no supporting corroboration was produced against Defendants mentioned in the statements of others as required by Article 199 of the CPC.

The Verdict

Under Article 121 of the CPC, any court judgment must be prepared in full, and must contain the details of the accused; a statement of the facts and circumstances which form the subject of the charge; a concise statement of the factual and legal grounds on which the judgment is based; reference to the articles of law in which the judgment is based; the acquittal or conviction on each charge; the punishment for each offence and formal matters such as preamble in the name of the people, date and signature of the President and the members. Also if there are no grounds for judgment given or they are contradictory or if “the question of guilt and the sentence, if any, is lacking or incomplete in any of its essential elements”, then the judgment shall be “null and void”.

The section⁶⁴ of the Court decision relating to the conclusions and ruling of the court is very short and the Court’s analysis of the evidence would not, in my view, meet the requirements of Article 21 of the CPC. In particular, the ruling lacks the reasoning of how the essential elements of each charge have been proven beyond shadow of doubt, and as can be seen below, relied entirely on circumstantial evidence and the confessions.

The Court said that between 1977 and 1978 some of the defendants held meetings at “Qat-chewing” sessions and talked about the government, as well as the local regional administration. Using the language of the Prosecution, the Court added that the defendants took advantage of the existing dissent amongst the populace in the region and “started to educate

⁶⁴ I am indebted to the excellent English Language translation of the court decision by Dr Ahmed Hussain Esa, which I received shortly after I finished this article. The original Somali Court transcript I had did not include the final few pages, and I have therefore relied on Esa’s comprehensive translation for this part of my commentary.

the public about the problems present in the region”. Although this could be seen as an interesting admission that not everything is rosy in the Dictatorship, the Court reaffirmed its allegiance by adding that, of course, the defendants were at all times painting the government in a bad light.

The Court then narrates that in June of 1981, the defendants held “several consecutive meetings” and contacted members of the illegal organization SNM (Somali National Movement) based in London. Again, for a Court finding, this is too general and does not meet the requirements of the CPC. The Court later says that the SNM held meetings with only some of the defendants, but the ruling simply lumps everyone together. The Court adds that members of SNM who came from Saudi Arabia (Adan Ali Farah (Adan Waali) and Mohamed Nur Handulle (ARAB)) and who fled after the NSS began investigating this case, had informed the Defendants about how the “Isaaq” clan in the Gulf States were members of SNM, and how all of the “Isaaq” clan (except one sub clan) have joined the illegal SNM. In a telling remark about what the trial was really all about, the Court goes on to describe that SNM members were going to start in Hargeisa “an illegal organization opposed to the government and to start matters that are against the peace and security of the region and at the same time opposed to the unity of the nation”. The Court goes on to assert that the SNM members have indicated to the defendants that every Somali clan has started its own force⁶⁵ and that it was necessary for them to strengthen SNM and to stop serving the Marehan⁶⁶.

In a conclusion, which, but for its impact and effect on the defendants, would have been viewed at any reputable court of law as perverse, if not absurd, the Court then simply states that two SNM delegates “were successful in their efforts” and that the defendants started an illegal organization which they named RUDM which means “men born in the city”. The Court already heard evidence that the Defendants formed whatever organisation they did as far back as 1977, yet it simply linked the formation of RUDM to the visits of the SNM delegates and declared that following defendants joined RUDM:

⁶⁵ This is an oblique reference to the fact that by then the Mijertain in former Italian Somalia have started their own movement.

⁶⁶ This is General Mohamed Siad Barre’s clan.

Defendant 1	Mohamed Barud Ali
Defendant 2	Ahmed Mohamed Yusuf
Defendant 3	Mohamed Haji Mohamud
Defendant 4	Adan Yusuf Abokor
Defendant 5	Abdirahman Abdillahi Haji Adan
Defendant 6	Ahmed Hussein Aabi
Defendant 7	Hussein Mohamed Duale
Defendant 8	Mohamoud Sheikh Hassan Tani
Defendant 9	Abdillahi Ali Yusuf
Defendant 12	Yusuf Abdillahi Kahin
Defendant 13	Osman Abdi Megag
Defendant 20	Bashe Abdi Yusuf
Defendant 16	Mohmed Ali Ibrahim
Defendant 15	Adan Warsama Said

Having linked the founding of RUDM to the SNM delegates (Adan Waali and Handulle), the Court then said that, at the meetings, the defendants reminded each other of

“the injustice of the regional government and its lack of concern for the region, and they resolved at the same time to solely rely on the public and not to wait for government action, and also to secede from the rest of the Republic. They then began a committee called “SAMAFAL” [Welfare] that collected money, material, medicine for the Hargeisa Hospital. Their objective was to make the citizens and the government confront each other so that they could gain the support of the public who would then join their illegal organization.”

So, although the Court seems to accept that there was actually a welfare committee to deal with the real problems of the Hargeisa hospital, the solution of which was to rely on the public for the welfare project, there is again a finding (with no explanation as to how that was proven) that the defendants resolved to “secede from the rest of the Republic”. At a time (1982), when even the official literature of the fairly new SNM did not mention or advocate “secession” or the “independence of Somaliland”, this could not have been based on any evidence presented to the Court.

The Court decision goes on to conclude that when *some* of the defendants (yet again not identified individually) met on the occasion of the wedding of Defendant 1 (Mohamed Barud Ali) at the house owned by Defendant 28, they gave inflammatory speeches. The speeches related, according to the

Court, to injustices and the problems in the region and the fact that boys were now becoming drug addicts; girls, prostitutes; mothers, qat sellers and the old men emigres. The Court adds that it was mentioned there at the same time that “soldiers are shooting people in the streets for no reason, schools have all decayed and that nobody cares about the roads and the hospitals”.

Having taken note of the confessions, the Court then decided that “these defendants, without doubt, are guilty of wilfully committing these ugly actions that are anti-unity of the Somali nation, and that they violated article 3 (2) of Law No: 54 of 10.9.1970 (the Security Law)”.

The Court continued to state that Defendant 1 (Mohamed Barrud Ali) and Defendant 2 (Mohamed Ahmed Yusuf) were active members of the illegal organisation RUDM that they started in Hargeisa. In September 1981, they printed and distributed a journal called UFFO, which contained “propaganda and lies against the leaders of the region, intended to inflame the people. They wanted the people to realize that the leaders were not honestly concerned about the problems of the region. These actions were meant to create anti-revolutionary sentiment”. Again, taking note of the confessions, the Court found the two defendants guilty “without doubt” of violating article 19 of the Security Law.

The judgment continues to state that “it is also clear to the Court” that Defendant 3 (Mohamed Haji Mohamud Omer) and Defendant 5 (Abdirahman Abdillahi Haji Adan) were active members of RUDM. A copy of UFFO and an “anti-revolutionary poem” were found in their houses, and therefore they were guilty of the charges of possession of articles criticizing the government contrary to Article 19 of the security Law.

As for the other Defendants, the judgment states the following:

1. Defendant 16 (Mohamed Ali Ibrahim) was also a member of the RUDM and a Makarov Pistol and six rounds of ammunition were found in his house, for which he had no licence. Considering the confession, he was therefore guilty of possession of an illegal weapon contrary to article 1 of Law No: 65 of 3/11/1977.
2. It was “clear to the court” that after Defendants 1 and 2 were arrested⁶⁷, Defendants 17 (Ahmed Mohamed Madar), 24 (Mohamed Abdi Jeer)

⁶⁷ On the 4th and 2nd November 1981 respectively.

- and 25 (Mohamed Malin Osman) started "a campaign of terrorism" to focus the attention of the public on this case. They decided to target the people they thought were behind the detentions, and they threw three bombs at the houses of the First Assistant of the Party of the Northwest Region, the house of a businessman and the house of the Commander of the 26th Division of the Army. Having considered the confessions, the Court concluded that "without doubt", the defendants were guilty under articles 322, 325 and 332 of the Somali Penal Code.
3. Defendant 18 (Omer Issa Awale), 19 (Mohamed Ali Sulub), and 11 (Ali Egeh Farah) were not guilty of the charge of belonging to an illegal organisation. However, as they read the illegal journal several times and did not inform the National Security Service of its existence, they were guilty of the crime of not reporting a crime as set out in article 22 of the Security Law.
 4. Finally, Defendant 10 (Mohamed Dagal Hirsi), 14 (Mohamed Abdi Duale), 21 (Ismail Abdi Huree), 22 (Hassan Abdisalan Sh. Ali), and 23 (Ahmed Hassan Madar) were found not guilty of the charge of membership of an illegal organisation.

The sentence

Stating that it has "observed the rules that allow leniency", the Court passed the following sentences:

1. *Life imprisonment: Defendant 1* (Mohamed Barud Ali) and *Defendant 2* (Ahmed Mohamed Yusuf) for "membership in an illegal organization and the writing of anti-nation propaganda"
2. *30 years imprisonment: Defendant 3* (Mohamed Haji Mohamoud) and *Defendant 5* (Abdirahman Abdillahi H. Adan) - 20 years imprisonment each for membership of an illegal organisation, and 10 years each for possession of written material antagonistic to the policies of the revolution.
3. *25 years of imprisonment: Defendant 16* (Mohamed Ali Ibrahim) - 20 years of imprisonment for membership of an illegal organisation, and 5 years in prison and 10,000 shillings for possession of a weapon without a license.

4. *20 years imprisonment* for the following defendants:
Defendant 4: Adan Yusuf Aboker.
Defendant 6: Ahmed Hussein Abby.
Defendant 7: Hussein Mohamed Dualeh, "Berbarawi".
Defendant 8: Dr. Mohamed Sh. Hassan Tani.
Defendant 9: Abdillahi Ali Yusuf, "Olad".
Defendant 13: Osman Abdi Meygag.
Defendant 15: Adan Warsame Saeed.
Defendant 12: Yusuf Abdillahi Kahin.
Defendant 20: Bashe Abdi Yusuf.
 (Although not stated in this part of the decision, this sentence was primarily for membership of an illegal organisation.)
5. *Eight Years Imprisonment* for the following defendants:
Defendant 17: Ahmed Mohamed Madar.
Defendant 24: Mohamoud Abdi Jiir.
Defendant 25: Mohamed Ma'alin Osman
 The sentence was 3 years imprisonment each for participation in a criminal organisation, and 2 years of imprisonment each for terrorism by throwing hand grenades, and 3 years of imprisonment each for endangering the general security.
7. *Three Years Imprisonment* for the following defendants:
Defendant 11: Ali Egeh Farah (Ali Biid).
Defendant 18: Omer Issa Awaleh.
Defendant 19: Mohamoud Ali Sulub.
 The Court found these Defendants not guilty of membership of an illegal organisation for which they were charged, but decided to substitute the original charges with a new one which was not informing the Security Service about a crime under Article 22 of the Security Law (Law 54 of 10/9/1970). This, the Court said, was on the basis that they did not report the existence of the illegal Journal which Defendants 1 and 2 published and which they themselves read several times. Yet again the Court did not explain fully how the evidential and legal basis of this conclusion. Although under Article 124 of the CPC, a Court may find an accused person guilty of an offence different from that contained in the original charge, this is can only be done when the charge and the offence both arise from *the same set of facts* (Article 124(1)). Also, unless

the offence a defendant is not charged with, but is proven in a court is one which is a lesser offence or an attempt to commit the offence which was subject of the charge, the court is obliged to order the Prosecutor to amend the charge or order a fresh hearing to the extent necessary to prevent prejudice to the rights of the defendant (see Article 124(2) and 124(3) of the CPC). The allegations made against these three defendants by the prosecution amounted to their attendance of some meetings and were the same as all the five defendants (numbered 10, 14, 21, 22 & 23) who were found not guilty of all offences. Other than an allegation that Defendant 10 read UFFO, there was hardly any difference in the recorded evidence against the remaining above two defendants and the five who were found not guilty. Also, the substituted offence of not reporting a crime presupposes proof that the defendant was aware of the crime and the prosecution must therefore prove the knowledge of the crime, and the decision is woefully inadequate in recording that any such knowledge was proved.

As the Prosecutor withdrew the charges against the following Defendants, in line with Article 112 of CPC⁶⁸, the Court ordered the release of:

Defendant 26: Said Mohamed Ibrahim,

Defendant 27: Lt. Col. Ismail Hashi Madar

Defendant 28: Hassan Abdillahi Ali (Aelgeych)

Finally, the Court authorised the release⁶⁹ from imprisonment of the following defendants who were found not guilty of all the charges levelled against them:

Defendant 10: Mohamed Dagaal Hersi

Defendant 14: Mohamed Abdi Dualeh (Ayub)

Defendant 21: Ismail Abdi Hurreh

Defendant 22: Hassan Abdisalan Sheikh Ali

Defendant 23: Ahmed Hassan Madar

⁶⁸ This Article allows the prosecution, to withdraw charges, with the consent of the court, at any time before judgment is made, and the court shall then order that the proceedings be terminated in respect of the withdrawn charge.

⁶⁹ Under Article 122 of the CPC, when a court finds a defendant not guilty of the charge, it shall pronounce the judgment and order his immediate release, if he is in custody and has no other pending charges (Article 76 CPC).

No right of appeal

There was, of course, no right of appeal or review against the decision of the security court. The right to appeal against a conviction or a sentence to a higher court is a fundamental right enshrined in Article 14(5) of the ICCPR and in Article 7(a) of the African Charter. Mohamed Siad Barre, as President, of course, retained the power to “grant pardon and commute sentences” under Article 82(10) of his 1979 Constitution, and has used that power capriciously and selectively. As narrated elsewhere in this book, the Hargeisa Group served their sentence in solitary confinement in the notorious Labaatan Jirow military prison until 1989, when, as described by one of them, Mohammad Barud⁷⁰, their release eventually came and “... was as dramatic as the manner of our arrest”. They were unexpectedly taken from the prison one day and driven straight to Mohamed Siad Barre’s presidential palace. Mohammad, who has seen his colleagues that day for the first time in six and half years, described the manner of their release as follows:

“Mohamed Siad (Barre) inquired of each of us whether or not we had been guilty of the offences for which we had been sentenced in 1982, more than seven years previously. But he did not listen or await any response. He started railing away at us, saying that we were traitors (Dr. Mohamoud Tani later revealed to us that Mohamed Siad had predictably, asked him why he had involved himself with such a group of anti-government subversives as ourselves.) After delivering this monologue, Mohamed Siad announced that we were pardoned but that we must refrain from getting involved in anti-government activities in the future. He dismissed us by standing up and we were ushered out of his quarters by a group of bodyguards who left us in the middle of the street. We had no money and we did not know where to go. It was about 3 o’clock in the morning.”

The manner of their imprisonment clearly fell far short of any minimum standards and is not covered here, save to emphasise that, as confirmed by all of them, on their release, the conditions in the special Mohamed Siad Barre prison where they were kept were extremely harsh and grim and the prisoners spent all their time in solitary confinement.

⁷⁰ Excerpts of Mr Baroud’s reminiscences which were published in www.hargeisa.com.

Conclusion

Assessing the conduct and fairness or otherwise of any criminal trial is predicated on an examination of the laws of the country in which the trial takes place, the human rights treaties to which that country is a party, and, lastly, but by no means less important the norms of international law, and the minimum standards⁷¹ expected of any criminal justice system. Some may argue that it is pointless to measure the actions of brutal, oppressive military regime, like Mohamed Siad Barre's, against international standards, but it is not fair to the victims of such regimes to simply write off their suffering as another callous act of an odious regime, as this would simply allow such regimes to continue acting they way they did with impunity. Also such regimes are often dependent on other countries for support and aid and it is important their actions are brought into the international arena. Furthermore, even, as in the case of Mohamed Siad Barre's, where the regime has finally been brought down, attempts to examine their show trials and human rights infringements help document what has happened and record the suffering of victims, who deserve justice, like everyone else. These accounts also serve as a salutary lesson for those who are engaged in re-asserting and maintaining the rule of law. Finally, It is axiomatic to say, and more so in our African continent recently, that those who do not learn from the past are condemned to repeat it⁷². These reasons, therefore, underline this contribution and book.

At the outset, it should pointed out, as explained above that whilst the provision of the CPC, if followed, come up to international standards, this Security Laws passed by the regime and used by this Court fall way below any acceptable international standards. The structure of the security court itself and the laws it implemented do not respect any human rights, and it was clear to anyone who was unfortunate to appear there that their chances of getting any semblance of justice were very slim indeed. Having already listed the international norms, and compared to the security apparatus set

⁷¹ See, for example, Amnesty International's Fair Trials Manual or the various standards compiled by the US Lawyers Committee on Human Rights, or the various UN codes for judges, prosecuting authorities etc. for a summary of some of these standards.

⁷² George Santayana in *The life of Reason* – "Progress, far from consisting in change, depends on retentiveness. Those who cannot remember the past are condemned to repeat it."

up by the dictatorship, I shall spend no more time in highlighting the evident gulf between the two systems.

An assessment of the trial made by some of the Defendants, after their release, summarises succinctly what happened.

"The trial lasted for two days and then we waited four days for the verdict. At the trial no one asked any questions. Although they accused us of political crimes, we were not asked anything about the political activities they accused us of or about our association. The prosecutor, who demanded the death sentence, just stated that we were guilty of many illegal activities. The only "evidence" cited by the prosecution was information provided by an NSS informer who had already fled the country and our "confessions" under torture. All the witnesses were our interrogators. The judge was the man before whom we were forced to sign our "confessions" - confessing, among other things, to having known each other." (Africa Watch 1990:39)

The dice was loaded against the defendants, right from their initial arrest to their sentence. The security legislation introduced by the Dictatorship wiped out all the provisions in the Somali Criminal Procedure Code (CPC) which gave minimum guarantees for a fair trial. Consequently, the way the Hargeisa Group members were detained, tortured, charged and, in the end, tried was, almost at every stage a denial of their basic rights. Confessions were secured under torture, and the Security legislation was used to justify their admission as evidence. The fact that the Defendants were tortured was put repeatedly to the Court, but this fell on deaf ears. The prosecutor rubbed salt on the wounds by claiming that the detained defendants were responsible for their physical well being, and proceeded to warn the Advocates for daring raise their clients' assertions of torture. It was widely known, even prior to the trial, that the dreaded Security Service of the Dictatorship tortured its detainees, and the defendants have repeatedly confirmed that they have been subjected to torture, for example, in their interviews with Africa Watch⁷³, in Djibouti, on August 5, 1989, when ten of the Defendants stated that they "were tortured and forced to confess that we were involved in a subversive organisation".

The confessions formed the core evidence against almost all the convicted defendants. The main confession was that allegedly made by the Defendant

⁷³ Africa Watch (1989) at page 39.

2. This judgment records this Defendant's assertion that he was starved for 5 days, threatened with a pistol and tortured. There exhibits submitted against this defendant amounted to no less than five statements, one of which it was said was hand written by him and two confessions. The witnesses confirmed that the first statement of Defendant 2, which was written for him, was used for the investigation and the second was used for the arrests. In one place he is supposed to have admitted that he and Defendant 1 wrote UFFO and, in other, that UFFO was efforts of 20 of the defendants. There was of course no corroboration of any these statements, and yet they and the other "confessions", some of which were not produced in Court, but were listed in the exhibits noted in the judgment formed the basis of the Court's decision.

The other main plank of the prosecution case was the written statement of Mr Laangadhe who was never called at the trial, because he was no longer in the country. It is clear that this statement should never have been accepted, if the rules of the CPC were followed properly. The hearsay evidence in that statement relating to who spoke to whom and who was present at what meeting was the mainstay of the prosecution's evidence in relation to the charges relating to the defendants' membership of illegal organisations.

As to the decision itself, the Courts findings and ruling were full of generalisations and fail to give clear explanation of how the essential elements of each offence has been proved against each defendant. I have already pointed out how, for example the Court simply linked the RUDM to SNM, when indeed none of the Defendants were charged with any offences relating to the latter. Evidence relating to the RUDM's role as a welfare organisation was given by the prosecution witnesses, but the Court was determined to conclude that the welfare and self help motives were illegal. When Attorney Feisal asked the main prosecution witness how the meetings of a self help organisation can diminish the power of a government, the latter confirmed that the defendants formed a self help committee, collected money and material; cleaned and organised the Hargeisa Hospital, and opined that this showed their independence from the regional authorities. Taking the cue from this statement, the Court concluded that the defendants did form a welfare organisation, but they resolved to rely on the public and not wait for government action. Then, in a gigantic leap, the Court said that

the objective was to create confrontation between the people and the government and to secede from the rest of the Republic. There was no evidence to justify such a conclusion, but there was clear and unequivocal criticisms of the government in the copies of UFFO, which the Court was willing to quote selectively, but refused the advocate's attempts to examine the actual contents of the Journal on which the serious charges were based.

The charges relating to the publication, possession or even the reading of UFFO were extremely serious and were based on the publication being one which is opposed to the nationhood and contained propaganda against the unity of the nation and which maligned "the Revolution". This obviously meant that, in any trial, the examination of the contents of such a publication was crucial. Yet when Attorney Feisal asked the first witness whether anything contained in UFFO was false, the Court immediately intervened and told the witness not answer. The Court then simply accepted the assertion from the witness that "the words UFFO and RUDM prove their anti-government stances, because they are unknown to the government".

The severity of the punishments meted out attests to the draconian nature of the security laws passed by Mohamed Siad Barre. Many people expected that some of the Defendants were going to be sentenced to death, and there was considerable civil unrest in Hargeisa during the trial, and it might well be that this stopped the regime from passing death sentences. Nonetheless, it still remains the case that the Defendants were tried, tortured and imprisoned more for what they stood for and, not necessarily, for what the prosecution has shown them to have been done. The regime was basically concerned about suppressing any semblance of independent thought or action, let alone any overt opposition. The Hargeisa Group were of course interested in the welfare and well being of their city and people and undertook self help schemes to improve the local general hospital and other infrastructure. They were also clearly distressed by the plight of their own people, as evidenced in the quote ascribed to Defendant three, which rather than being seen as an expression of the shocking sad state of the society in Hargeisa, the Court immediately took it as being an anti-government statement. Africa Watch⁷⁴ says that one of the reasons for the regime's

⁷⁴ Africa Watch, page 38.

nervous reaction to the self-help activities of was as follows:

“... since independence, an overwhelming majority of educated Isaaks, including businessmen and professionals, had migrated to Mogadishu in response to greater professional opportunities in the capital. Anyone who could leave left, either to remain in Mogadishu, to go to the Middle East to seek employment or to the West for advanced education. Now, for the first time, some of Hargeisa's most educated and promising residents had chosen to return, had openly challenged the government's policies with regard to the region and, in an effort to encourage the local population towards self-reliance, had launched new programs, including initiatives to repair public utilities.”

Africa Watch's⁷⁵ recorded testimony of the ten of the Defendants continues to explain their motives about the self help schemes as follows:

“As a group, some of us had known each other in the past and had become friends. We all came back to Hargeisa, our home town in 1981, after studying and working in Mogadishu and abroad. We were shocked at the state of Hargeisa. Everything was in such bad shape and dependent on Mogadishu, which had done nothing to maintain standards at public facilities, let alone to improve them. We decided that we had to help our community and to see if the community could become self-reliant, instead of relying on Mogadishu for everything.

We began to have open discussions with government officials, including visiting delegations from Mogadishu, and also to raise money from local businessmen so as to improve local facilities -especially at the General Hospital which lacked everything. [This is the only public hospital in Hargeisa] Dr Osman Abdi Meygag and Dr. Aden Yusuf Aboker explained that there was no anesthetic, no bandages, and no medicine, not even an aspirin. The generator broke down in the middle of an operation and there would be no light. With the money we raised from the community, we ordered some equipment and, as a priority, decided to build a maternity clinic. We also sought the help of a foreign expatriate group of German doctors who had initially come to assist the Ethiopian refugees. They were impressed by the spirit of self-help which our activities generated in the town and they began to give w material support, as well as participating in the renovation of the hospital.

The government found all this very subversive. Officials resented our criticism of the government's policy of neglect, as well as the independence

⁷⁵ Africa Watch, Page 39.

of our initiative. Everything must depend on the government and this is what we were challenging. That for them was unacceptable and dangerous.”

The activities of the Hargeisa Group also coincided with the formation of the Somali National Movement (SNM) abroad and whilst no credible evidence has been produced by the prosecution to link the Group members to the SNM, the convictions relating to membership of RUDM (and UFFO) were, no doubt, underscored by the regime's desire to try to nib in the bud the emerging opposition movement. The main prosecution witness who headed the security team assigned to the case spent a considerable time of his testimony in making links between RUDM and SNM. Far from weakening the anti-Barre opposition in the then Northern region of Somalia, the trial of the Hargeisa Group has indeed done the opposite. As set out in this book, the trial politicised many young people and others who saw it as another manifestation of the regime's policy to suppress the northern (Somaliland) people. These quotes in Africa Watch's book⁷⁶ by two teenagers attests to this:

“When they imprisoned our teachers, doctors, engineers and our intellectuals, it became clear to us that the government did not want the North to develop educationally or economically”.

“We saw the arrest of the Hargeisa Group as a proof of the government's determination to suppress the North, because these men only wanted to improve local facilities”.

Overall, the trial and imprisonment of the Hargeisa Group was a pivotal moment in the struggle of the Somaliland people against the Mohamed Siad Barre's dictatorship. To paraphrase Winston Churchill's quote, the Hargeisa Group trial marked perhaps “the end of the beginning” of the Somaliland people's struggle to rid themselves of the tyranny of dictatorship, which, was later successfully ended, with the involvement of some of the members of the Group, in the 1991 re-birth of the independent Republic of Somaliland. The best testimony to their courage, is, in my view, the expression of our deepest gratitude for the suffering they have undergone for all of us; our promise that they will never be forgotten; and above all, our pledge that no Somalilander will forget the lesson that never, never, again, will we be subjugated!.

⁷⁶ At page 98.

APPENDIX II

Translation to English of the Verdict of the Hargeisa National Security Court that tried "*My Teachers' Group*" in February 1982.

by Dr. Ahmed Hussein Esa, 1987.

(Reprinted with permission)

The document was translated by Dr. Ahmed Hussein Esa in 1987 to publicize the case of "*My Teachers' Group*". It was intended to be used by Human Rights Organizations, particularly the US National Academy of Sciences who, in collaboration with the Institute of Medicine's Committee on Health and Human Rights (USA), co-sponsored a mission to gather reliable information and to express concerns of the two institutions regarding the case of "*My Teachers' Group*" and the cases of other scientists and engineers arrested in Somalia at that time. The Academy delegation included Nobel Prize laureate Lawrence Klein; Francisco Ayala, Distinguished Professor of Biological Sciences at the University of California; M. Alfred Hayes, former president and dean; Charles Drew, Postgraduate Medical School and Carol Corillion, director of the two committees.

The author is thankful to Dr. Ahmed Hussein Esa for the permission to reprint this document and to the Institute for Practical Research and Training in Hargeisa to have kept this document in its archives.

Bx 10/82

SEAL OF THE COURT

Somali Democratic Republic

Security Court

Northwest Region

Hargeisa

**Sentence of Mohamed Baruud Ali
and 27 Other Defendants**

Hargeisa

4-3-1982

Security Court - Hargeisa Region

Nineteen Eighty-Two, 4th March, Hargeisa

Security Court of the Northwest Region

1. Colonel Shariif Sheekhuna Maye – President
2. Attorney Yusuf Haji Abdi Ali – Advisor
3. Major Ahmed Abdi Arrale - Advisor

in which Public Prosecutor Captain Abdulle Ali participated and was assisted by Mohamed Ali Abdi (Arab),

announced the following Judgement concerning the case against the accused:

1. Engineer Mohamed Baruud Ali, 31 years, Mother: Udbi Ali, Employed at the Pepsi Cola Factory, Hargeisa Defended by Attorney Ismail Jumaale
2. Ahmed Mohamed Yusuf "Jabane", 33 years, Mother: Awo Elmi, Teacher, university graduate Defended by Attorney Faysal Haji
3. Dr. Mohamed H. Mahamoud Omer, 33 years, Mother: Basra Ismail, Businessman Defended by attorney Faysal Haji
4. Dr. Aadan Yusuf Aboker, 34 years, Mother: Haali Yuusuf, Director, Hargeisa General Hospital Defended by attorney Faysal Haji
5. Abdirahman Abdilahi H. Aadan, 26 years, Mother: Dahabo Mahamoud, Employed at the Transportation Office of the Northwest Regional

- Government Defended by attorney Faysal Haji
6. Ahmed Hussein Aabi, 33 years, Mother: Faadumo Mee'aad, Employed at the Hargeisa Branch of the Commercial and Savings Bank Defended by attorney [not indicated]
7. Hussein Mohamed Duale "Berberaawi", 33 years, Mother: Mako Ibrahim, Teacher, university graduate Defended by attorney Ismail Jumale
8. Dr. Mohamoud Sheikh Hassan Tani, 32 years, Doctor at Hargeisa General Hospital Defended by attorney Ismail Jumaale
9. Dr. Abdillahi Ali Yusuf (Olad), 34 years, Mother Asha Abdillahi Employed at the National Rangeland Management Defended by attorney Hassan Sheikh Ibrahim
10. Mohamed Dagal Hirsi, 32 years, Mother: Muumina Mohamed, Former teacher, university graduate, unemployed Defended by attorney Hassan Sheikh Ibrahim
11. Ali Egeh Farah "Ali Biid", 29 years, Mother: Ardo Kaba Director of Hargeisa Building Agency Defended by attorney Hassan Sheikh Ibrahim
12. Yusuf Abdillahi Ibrahim, 29 years, Mother: Ibado Warsame, Farmer Defended by attorney Bashir Artan
13. Dr. Osman Abdi Megag, Mother: Kaha Farah, Unemployed medical doctor Defended by attorney Osman Abdi
14. Mohamed Abdi Duale "Ayuub", 35 years, Mother: Khadija Haji, Works in Saudi Arabia Defended by attorney Hussein Bille
15. Aadan Warsama Saeed, 33 years, Mother: Awa Ismail, Businessman Defended by attorney Ismail Jumale
16. Mohamed Ali Ibrahim, 35 years, Mother: Idumo Duale, Employed at Communications Office of the Northwest Region Defended by attorney Hussein Bille
17. Ahmed Mohamed Madar, 28 years, Mother: Asha Ali, Teacher, university graduate Defended by attorney Hussein Bille
18. Omar Isse Awale, 33 years, Mother: Amina Nur, Accountant, Agency for Labor Affairs, Defended by attorney Osman Abdi
19. Dr. Mohamoud Ali Sulub, 30 years, Mother: Fadumo Mohamud, Doctor at the Hargeisa General Hospital Defended by attorney Bashir Artan
20. Bashe Abdi Yusuf, 29 years, Mother: Amina Ibrahim, Businessman Defended by attorney Faysal Haji
21. Ismail Abdi Hurre, 26 years, Mother: Habiba Moge, Employed at the Haji Ali Business Establishment Defended by attorney Bashir Artan

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22. Hassan Abdillahi Sh. Ali, 23 years, Mother: Ibado Haji Employed at the Pepsi Cola Factory, Hargeisa Defended by attorney Bashir Artan
23. Ahmed Hassan Madar, 29 years, Mother: Fadumo Aabi, Unemployed Defended by attorney Ismail Jumale
24. Mohamed Abdi Je'er, 34 years, Mother; Khadija Barud, Teacher, university graduate Defended by attorney Hussein Bille
25. Mohamed Ma'allin Osman, 32 years, Mother: Shukri Jama Teacher, university graduate Defended by attorney Hussein Bille
26. Saeed Mohamed Ibrahim, 33 years, Mother: Mako Khaiyre, Teacher, university graduate Defended by attorney Hussein Bille
27. Major Ismail Hashi Madar, age---, Chief, technical Department of the 26th Army of the Somali Armed Forces, Defended by attorney Hussein Bille
28. Hassan Abdillahi Ali "Eelgeeye", 36 years, Mother: Fadumo Mohamoud Unemployed Defended by attorney Ismail Jumale

Dates of arrest:

Accused No. 1: 4.11.81; No. 2: 2.11.81; Nos. 10 & 19: 11.11.81; Nos 3, 4, 5, 7, 8, & 9: 19.11.81; Nos. 11, 12, 14, 15, 16 & 18: 11.12.81; No. 28: 4.12.81; No. 6: 5.12.81; No. 17: 14.12.81, No. 20: 29.12.81; Nos. 24 & 25: 30.12.81; Nos 21 & 22: 9.1.82; No: 20: 29.12.81; No. 26: 6.2.82; No. 27 not in detention.

Indictment

A. Accused No. 1 (Engineer Mohamed Barud Ali) No. 2 (Ahmed Mohamed Yusuf "Jabane") No. 3 (Dr. Mohamed H. Mohamoud Omer)

You stand collectively accused of the crime of forming an illegal association incompatible with the Somali National unity as referred to in article 3, section 1 of Law No. 54 of 10.9.1970, and article 71 of the Somali Criminal Code (SCC), the reason being that you have organized in Hargeisa an organization injurious to the unity of the Somali Nation, which you named RUDM, which means "Ragga U Dhashay Magalada"-Native Sons of the City.

B. Accused Nos. 1 and 2, you are also separately charged with the crime of writing anti-state propaganda as referred to Article 18 section one of Law No. 54 of 10.9.1970 as related to article 71 of SCC, the reason being that you, as leaders of RUDM further caused, printed, produced and distributed

a journal "UFFO", meaning the storm that precedes rainfall. You intended the RUDM organization and its journal as a prelude to undermining the policies of the Revolution and its overthrow with the backing of external forces opposed to the integrity of the Somali Nation.

C. Accused No. 3, you are also separately accused of the crime of possessing counterrevolutionary written material, as referred to in article 19 of the same law No. 54 of 10.9.1970, the reason being that one copy of the journal UFFO was found in your house, a journal published by accused Nos. 1 and 2, with whom you form the leadership of the illegal association RUDM.

D. Accused

- Nos. 4. Dr. Adan Yusuf Abokor
5. Abdirahman Abdillahi H. Adan
6. Ahmed Hussein Aabi
7. Hussein Mohamed Duale "Berberawi"
8. Dr. Mohamoud Sheikh Hassan Tani
9. Dr. Abdillahi Ali Yusuf "Olad"
10. Mohamed Dagal Hirsi
11. Ali Egeh Farah
12. Yusuf Abdillahi Ibrahim
13. Dr. osman Abdi Megag
14. Mohamed Abdi Duale "Ayub"
15. Adan Warsama Saeed
16. Mohamed Ali Ibrahim
17. Ahmed Mohamed Madar
18. Omer Issa Awale
19. Dr. Mohamed Ali Sulub
20. Bashe Abdi Yusuf
21. Ismail Abdi Hurre
22. Hassan Abdisalam Sh. Ali
23. Ahmed Hassan Madar
24. Mohamoud Abdi Je'er
25. Mohamed Ma'aalin Osman
26. Said Mohamed Ibrahim
27. Major Ismail Hashi Madar

(Page 4 of the record containing the charges against Nos. 4 through 27 is missing, but they can be derived from the verdict [pp. 56-60]. The charges are:

- membership in an illegal organization; and
- setting explosives in the homes of government officials and members of the community [accused Nos. 17, 20, 24, 25, 26, and 27]).

?(sh) (i) Accused No. 28, you are charged with the crime of rumor-mongering as specified in Article 21 of Law No. 54 of 10.9.1970, the reason being when the above accused were arrested for some of the crimes they committed, you started and spread propaganda against the leadership of the government of the Northwest Region and the investigating agencies, in which you stated that the accused were innocent and had been framed and that the journal UFFO was in fact published by the government officials of the Northwest Region. These crimes were committed in the city of Hargeisa in the last six months of 1981.

Pleading to the charges

The presiding judge upon their appearance read to the accused the charges against them and asked them in accordance with articles 103 and 104 of the SCC how they pleaded to the charges. All of the accused pleaded innocent. Accused No. 16, Mohamed Ali Ibrahim, who was charged with membership in an illegal organization and possession of weapons without a legal permit, admitted to the possession of a weapon, but pleaded innocent to the charge of membership in an illegal organization.

Following this, the court ordered the Public Prosecutor to prove that crimes have occurred and if so, to prove in accordance with articles 110 and 163, that the crimes were committed by the accused.

Introduction

The Public Prosecutor proposed to the court, pursuant to Article 114 of the SCC, and stated that some Somalis opposed to the integrity of the nation returned in 1981 to the country from overseas areas and met with the accused, consisting of university graduates and their acquaintances, who formed an illegal organization and published counterrevolutionary publications. More crimes occurred after their detention. "I shall present the witnesses for the prosecution":

First witness:

Captain Dahir Id Elmi stated under oath: "I am the head of the Security Office of the 26th Division of the Somali Army. At the end of October, 1981, we were informed that a publication was produced by some Somalis. We assigned credible informers. A man by the name of Abdi Langare brought to me a copy of the journal UFFO published by an organization called RUDM. I read the journal and took it to General Gani, the Commander of the 26th Division. We decided to refer the matter for further investigation to the Regional Commander of the National Security Services."

Public Prosecutor and the First Witness:

- A. It consisted of five typed pages. I do not remember the format of the journal, but I will recognize it if I see it.
- A. (Witness shown a journal): Yes, it is the same journal.
- A. That Adan visited me at the office once before in the company of Abdi Langare. He told me that he came from Mogadisho and that he had met with General Mohamed Samater, Commander of the Mogadishu National Security Services. He [Aadan] expressed a desire to work with me.
- A. I asked Abdi Langare to find and bring me a copy of that journal. He informed me that Adan was able to secure the journal.
- A. I did not ask Adan whether he gave the journal to Abdi Langare. I took the journal to the Commander of the 26th Division, but he [the Commander], Abdi Langare and Aadan met separately without me.

Attorney Faysal Cross-Examining the First Witness:

- A. A journal is a printed statement with an objective.
- A. The title UFFO and the organization producing it are written in the journal.
- A. I did not see anyone producing it or where it was produced.
- Q. Is any false statement contained in the journal? The court ordered the witness not to answer that questions.
- Q. Is there anything attesting to the names of individual authors?
- A. The words UFFO and RUDM prove its anti-government stances, because it is an association unknown to the government.
- A. I gave money to Aadan and Abdi Langare after they delivered the journal to me.

Information reached us in October, 1981 that a journal was being published at Hargeisa, and that copies of the SNM (Somali National Movement) journal were in circulation in the town, and that SNM propaganda leaflets were placed in various parts of the city. We did not get these publications at the Office, but the Commander of the 26th Division of the Army forwarded to us a copy of a journal entitled *UFFO* and one issue of the SNM journal. Jaalle (Comrade) Omer Jees of the Supreme Revolutionary Council (SRC) was advised of these developments and we sent copies of the publications to NSS Headquarters in Mogadisho. After that we received directives from Mogadishu to investigate. The informant told us that a copy of the *UFFO* was brought from the house of accused No. 2. We arrested accused No. 2, who confessed that he and accused No. 1 alone wrote the journal. When I returned to the office in the same afternoon a statement written by accused No. 2 was brought to me by the officer on duty. In this statement he, accused No. 2, wrote that his earlier statement was false, but that work of the journal was based on the "efforts of twenty of us". He listed some of the names, but while he knew some of the people by sight, he did not know their names. We then arrested accused No. 1. Following this an *Investigative Committee* was sent from Mogadishu, to which we transferred custody of accused Nos. 1 and 2, and all the documents related to the case.

DIRECT EXAMINATION OF THE SECOND WITNESS BY THE PUBLIC PROSECUTOR:

The witness read the text of the material on top of the journal.

- A. I don't recall the date accused No. 2 was arrested.
 A. There was a 2-day gap between the arrest of the first and second accused.
 A. Accused No. 2 stated in his written confession that twenty people were involved.
 A. Accused No. 1 was arrested on the basis of Accused No. 2's account.
 A. Accused No. 2 wrote a handwritten statement addressed to me.
 A. (exhibit) Yes, this letter is the one he sent me.
 A. On it was written:

To: Colonel Hassan Mohamed. I remember (and I cannot readily recollect all of the names) that the names were as follows:

Adan Ali Farah

Adan Aw Warsama Saeed

Mohamed Baruud Ali

Dr. Sulub

Dr. Bashiir

Dr. Haddi

Dahir Farah Jireh

accused No. 2 himself, and many others.

It (the letter) also said that the readers of the journal are many, although the printed copies are very few. It is circulated among the readers. The defendant [accused No. 2] wrote that [the statement] in his own hand and he signed it.

- A. I asked the accused only one question to which he replied that he was certain that these were his associates.
 A. I do not know anything about accused No. 2.
 A. I transferred the testimony of the accused, and the custody of accused Nos. 1 and 2, to the Committee headed by Colonel Ali Hussein.

Cross-Examination of the Second Witness by Attorney Faysal.

- Q. Who sent you the SNM publication?
 A. General Gani sent it to me.
 Q. Do you know who brought the journals to General Gani?
 A. No, I do not know who brought the journals to General Gani.
 Q. Did Abdi Langare tell you that it was Aadan who obtained the journals?
 A. No, Abdi Langare told me that he removed the journal from the home of accused No. 2.
 Q. Was accused No. 2 threatened or tortured?
 A. As far as I know nobody tortured him.
 Q. (Exhibition). In this letter is the writing of the name SULUB different from the others?
 A. The answer is no, it is simply written with a different pen.
 Q. In this letter written by accused No. 2 [above statement], is Abdi Langare included?
 A. Yes.
 Q. Do you know from whose possession the SNM journal was removed?
 A. No, I do not.

- Q. Did you arrest all of the people on this list [list contained in the above mentioned statement written by accused No. 2]?
- A. Some are in detention, but others are not.

Cross-Examination of the Second Witness by Attorney Ismail

- Q. Was this journal formally sent to you or was it informally passed on to you?
- A. It was hand-carried to me.
- A. Two different statements were taken from accused No. 2; which one did he give freely?
- A. He made both statements freely.
- Q. Were the methods in which the two statements were taken in conformity with conditions specified in article 201 of the SCC?
- A. Both statements are with the Public Prosecutor.
- Q. When was accused No. 1 arrested?
- A. Towards the end of October and after the confession of accused No. 2.
- Q. Did accused No. 1 make a written statement?
- A. No.

Cross-Examination of the Second Witness by Attorney Hassan Sheikh

- Q. Was the statement of accused No. 2 written in your presence or was the signed statement brought to you?
- A. This signed statement was brought to me.
- Q. Is the pen used to sign the statement different from the one used to write the statement?
- A. I cannot tell whether it is the same pen or a different one.
- Q. Did you investigate?
- A. No, I did not.
- Q. Wasn't it your responsibility to verify?
- A. I did not investigate because I transferred responsibility for the matter to the Committee.

Cross-Examination of the Second Witness by Attorney Osman

- Q. Was the report on the publication submitted to you by the individuals who provided the journal?
- A. No, but I was aware of who provided the journal.

- Q. Did you call for the individuals who provided the journal?
- A. Abdi Langare told me that he provided the journal.
- Q. Did the association RUDM exist? and do you know of it?
- A. I did not testify about the existence of the association. My testimony concerns the journal and the arrest of accused Nos.1 and 2.

Cross-Examination of the Second Witness by Attorney Bashir

- Q. Did you take a statement from Abdi Langare?
- A. Yes, he informed me that he brought the journal UFFO from the home of accused No. 2 after he found it under his bed.
- Q. Do you know the present whereabouts of Abdi Langare?
- A. No.
- Q. Do you know anything about his background and character?
- A. I do not know anything about his background.
- Q. How many of the accused were in detention at the time you transferred the investigation to the Committee?
- A. Accused Nos. 1 and 2.

Cross-Examination of the Second Witness by Attorney Bille

- Q. Did you see any other copies of this journal UFFO?
- A. Only the copy referred to before and another shown to me by the Committee.
- Q. Did you investigate and did you find where the journal originated from?
- A. We had information about the existence of the journals and copies were later submitted to us.
- Q. Did you investigate where UFFO was actually printed?
- A. No, but I arrested the reported publisher.
- Q. Was accused No. 2 physically abused during the interrogation and statement?
- A. Another officer was present when I was taking the statement from him [accused No. 2]. He was not harmed then, and he did not report to me any harm to him. Furthermore, he was being held just outside the offices of the NSS for two days.
- Q. Were you told who provided the journal?
- A. Many were reported to have provided it, but I only met Abdi Langare.
- Q. Do you know the whereabouts of Abdi Langare?
- A. I don't know his whereabouts.

Cross-Examination of the Second Witness by the Court

Q. Did you ask the accused whether he wrote the Second Statement?

A. Yes, and he told me he wrote the Second Statement.

Attorney Osman: Would the court ask the witness:

Q. From where did Abdi Langare obtain the journal?

A. Abdi Langare told me that he had qat with accused No. 2 in his home, and that he found the journal under his pillow. [translator's note: qat is a mild stimulant that in Somalia is consumed with close friends, it serves as a form of entertainment]

Attorney Bille: Would the court ask the witness:

Q. Were there other statements made by the accused?

A. There were no other statements apart from the two.

Third Witness, Lt. Qaasim Yuusuf Cali, after taking the oath stated:

I am from the National Security Office in Mogadishu. On 8.11.81, a combined Committee of the Police and the NSS - of which I was a member - went to Hargeisa in order to investigate an incident. The Committee was headed by General Ali Hussein Dinle. On 11.11.81, we were given documents reporting the existence of a secret association in Hargeisa with the objective of promoting regional and tribal division. The documents further stated that the secret association was a front for associations in Western Europe, the Gulf States and Ethiopia. The two detainees transferred to us were accused No. 2 (Jabane), a former teacher, and No. 1 (Eng. Baruud), an employee at the Pepsi-Cola factory. We were told that these two were the only ones in detention among the organizers of the association. We interviewed accused No. 2 and also received his two previous statements. The accused told us that he and accused No. 1 wrote the journal UFFO. He also listed the names of his associates for us. We asked him about the two previous statements, to which he replied in the following way:

Some Ida-Geli clansmen and I jointly undertook these activities. They abandoned me when I was exposed. When I found out that I alone was trapped, and two of our associates from the Ida-Geli clan had betrayed us for money, I told about our other secret activities.

He further stated that:

The activities of the group started in 1977, after the Soviet influence was eliminated, an influence which kept Somalia isolated from the world. But we were disappointed by the failure to repudiate Soviet ideology and the appointment of a Governor to Hargeisa who was nicknamed "Afar Jeeble", "The one with four pockets." This Governor introduced pervasive corruption which crippled the local economy. He was replaced as Governor by General Abdirahman, locally known as "the one that beheads", who wanted local taxes on the construction of a monument. The wasted revenue was needed for improving local services. The administration kept on worsening.

Accused No. 2 also said in his statement to us:

The Group became aware of the formation of SNM headed by DUQSI, an organization which advocated the restoration of democratic government; we worked to support the new organization. At the wedding of accused No. 1, held at his brother's home, we agreed to undertake community improvement activities without waiting for government help. In the second day, we adopted a resolution to form a community development and welfare association - URUR SAMAFAL. Our activities demonstrated our intentions to the public in order to gain their support. We held our meeting at a house rented to accused No. 5, and used the home of accused No. 4 as our operational base. In a meeting at the home of accused No. 4, accused No. 1 proposed that we start a publication. We asked him to prepare the material for the first issue. Accused No. 1 gave me two copies of the first issue.

Accused No. 2 further stated:

I contributed to the writing of the second issue. A typewriter at the Pepsi-Cola factory was used to type the first issue. We typed the second issue on a typewriter belonging to Mahamud Qalib. It was brought from his home. The third issue of the journal was prepared by accused No. 1, who typed it at the Pepsi-Cola factory. I gave a copy to accused No. 3 and another copy to a man by the name of Aadan Walli. I also distributed all other copies. Accused No. 2, in his statement to us, also said that he had a meeting with a man by the name of Mahamed Nur Handulle, together with accused Nos. 5, 11, 10, and 7. He related a message to us from DUQSI and ina-Wadaad Diid, who held a meeting with the members of the Isaaq clan working in

Saudi Arabia. He told us that the informed and educated members pledged their support to SNM. He referred to those who refused to oppose their country [join SNM] as "Reer Sablaale". Accused No. 2 told the Committee that:

Mahamed Nur Handulle urged us during the meetings not to be like "Reer Sablaale" and told us that Aadan Walli had direct communication with DUQSI, leader of the SNM. Mahamed Nur Handulle (Arab) told the group that every Somali clan formed a movement, and we should work to consolidate the support of the Isaaq clan to SNM, and especially work on unifying the Ida-Geli members to the rest of the Isaaq clan. The Ida-Geli clan should disarm the leadership of collaborators like Abdi Warraabe. That was the message that Handulle related to us. We decided to affiliate our group with the WUHDADDA - the Brotherhood - to give a religious mass appeal. We held a meeting to exchange information on the WUHDADDA. We wondered why their members wear their watches on the right hand and refrain from meat in their diet. The WUHDADDA were three in our group, of which accused Nos. 22 and 23, former primary school teachers in Burao, were the leaders.

Accused No. 2 stated that the WUHDADDA leaders told them they were an association opposed to the Government, and:

They asked us who we were. We told them that we were a network of schoolmates who graduated at about the same time. They asked us what our objectives were. We gave ambiguous answers. In the end we agreed to cooperate, and we advised them to refrain from any display of open personal rebellion.

Direct Examination of the Third Witness by the Assistant to the Legal Counselor

- A. Accused No. 2 met with Mr. Arab (Handulle) together with accused Nos. 5, 7, 9, 10, and 11.
- A. As far as I can remember, accused Nos. 1, 2, 3, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 14, 15, 22, 17, and 20 met with the Brotherhood group.
- A. I don't recall who asked him the specific questions.
- A. The meeting was at the home of accused No. 22. He was also among the conveners of the meeting. The meeting was chaired by accused No. 21, who was the leader of the Brotherhood group. Two others took part in another meeting at the home of accused No. 1.

- A. Accused Nos. 21 and 23 represented the Brotherhood at the meeting.
- A. Accused No. 22 stated that the Brotherhood group was informed of the meeting, following which he [No. 22] decided to take part in the meetings with the group.
- A. Accused No. 23 (sic) asked the Brotherhood group what form of government they desired, to which they replied "an Islamic government". Accused No. 3 asked them whether it was of the Khomeini type. They replied "no", but of the Caliphate Islamic form. Accused No. 3 asked whether that was compatible with conditions of the modern world. They replied that Islamic scholars in Pakistan and Egypt had analyzed the issue and concluded that it was possible to establish and run modern governments on Islamic principles.
- A. The Brotherhood group asked accused No. 3 about his impression of the country after his return from overseas studies. He [No. 3] said, "The girls have been reduced to prostitution, boys to drug addiction, older women to qat merchants, and old men to exile". Accused No. 1 told the Committee that he initiated the first issue of the newsletter UFFO. He used a typewriter at the Pepsi-Cola factory and gave three copies to Jabane (accused No. 2). He said:
Myself and [accused No. 2] wrote the second issue at my home. We planned its distribution for 21.10.1981. I produced the third issue using the typewriter at the Pepsi-Cola factory.
- Accused No. 1 also stated that copies of the newsletter were often taken to the homes of accused Nos. 4 and 2, and a copy was given to accused No. 7. He [No. 7] organized the meetings with the Brotherhood group by contacting accused Nos. 21 and 22, who worked with him. Accused No. 1 told the Committee that he and accused No. 4 proposed that they should send credible anti-government propaganda to the editor of SNM journal and suggest to him the use of the Somali language instead of English in writing the journal.
- A. (Exhibition)-Yes, it is the SNM journal which used to be read at the meetings of the group. Accused No. 1 proposed the use of the Somali language and the inclusion of credible propaganda information.

Reading from the Journal UFFO

Item 1. "Tension increases in Berbera". "Colonel Abdilaziz Bilad qualified as a hero after he shipped the Marehan merchants livestock". Item 2:

"Nationalization of the government--the Marehan head all government offices: list of offices headed by members of the Marehan clan (NMS, the local militia, and so forth).

Q/A. Accused No. 1 stated that he alone wrote the newsletter UFFO. We found at his office at the Pepsi-Cola Factory a notebook containing items published in the second and third issue of UFFO. I only recall: "General Gani transfers the husband of....". Accused No. 1 said that those were predictions. We found the typewriter at the home of Mohamud Qalib. Accused Nos. 1 and 2 identified the typewriter. The wife of Mohamud Qalib confirmed that accused No.2, a former teacher of hers, borrowed the typewriter. We did not find other copies of UFFO.

Accused No. 3

According to the statement of No. 2, accused No. 3 played a prominent role at the meeting held at the home of accused No. 1. We found at the home of the accused [No. 3] a copy of UFFO. He told us that he acquired the copy from accused No. 2, after it had been read by accused Nos. 8, 15 and 6, and after accused No. 6 took it to the home of No. 2. The accused spent a long time in England, where he studied development economics. He joined the staff of the Islamic Development Bank in Saudi Arabia. He later returned to Somalia. He told the group in one of their meetings that while he was at the Islamic Bank

the bank agreed to finance a scheme for replacing and expanding Hargeisa electric power supply, following a request by the government. But the city remains without electricity, causing hardship to the people. This is indicative of government mismanagement.

He claimed not to have seen or met any political activists in the trips he made to the United States, United Kingdom and Saudi Arabia. [Translators note: this defendant studied economics in the U.K; he briefly worked for the Islamic Bank in Jeddah. He visited the United States once, in 1980, for his sister's wedding in California].

Accused No. 4

About 18 of the accused confirmed in their confessions that the home of accused No. 4 was the regular venue of their meetings. The accused is a government employee and lives in government-provided residence. Second,

the meetings and activities in his residence were of organizational nature. The accused stated to us that meetings were held in his residence and concerns discussed. He told us that he had heard of the journal UFFO, but did not recall anyone who had the journal. He also said that he read the SNM journal, as did the other accused: Nos. 1, 2, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 11, 13, 15, and 17.

Accused No. 5

His arrest was prompted by the statement of accused No. 2, to the effect that the accused [No.5] was a member of RUDM. He and accused No. 2 live in two houses directly opposite each other. He was a regular visitor at the home of accused No. 4. He also frequently attended the sessions with the Brotherhood, but did not take part in the discussions. We found in his residence a text of a poem, copied in his own handwriting, which was offensive to the President of the Somali Democratic Republic. Accused No. 5 met in his residence with Mohamed Nur Handulle and Adan Ali Farah (Adan Waali), who were carrying a message from DUQSI (then the Secretary General of the SNM). He stated that some of the group liked the message, but others did not get involved. He stated that accused No. 2 brought two copies of UFFO to his residence, where it was read, as was the SNM journal. (The witness read the text of the handwritten poem found at the residence).

The accused told the Committee that the poem was composed by a former teacher, whom the Hargeisa National Security Court sentenced to 10 years in prison on account of this poem. The witness said that he did not recall who dictated the poem. [Translator's note: in Somalia, poems are first recited by the composer, then memorized by the listeners, who often recite the entire poem at gatherings].

Public Prosecutor and Witness No. 3

Q. What interpretation did you give to the poem?

A. An anti-government propaganda which was a sequel to the "Deelay" [a series of poems with the "D" alliteration that were critical of the government. In Somali poetry every major word of the poem must start with the same letter]. Accused No. 5 stated that he was not a member of any organization, but that he often sat in group discussions.

Accused No. 6

Some members of the organization were regular visitors to his house. One day accused No. 3 brought a copy of UFFO to the home of accused No. 6. Accused No. 6 was with [having qat with] accused Nos. 8 and 15, and together they read the journal there. When accused No. 4 was arrested, he [accused No. 6] urged that they help him [accused no. 4].

Accused No. 7

- Q. On what grounds did you arrest the accused? and what prompted it in the first place?
- A. Accused No. 2 told us that he gave a copy of UFFO to accused No. 1 and No. 7. Accused No. 1 stated that he did not recall. The accused [No.7] took part in the meetings, particularly the meeting at the wedding of Mohamed Baruud Ali and that with the Brotherhood. According to accused No. 5, the accused also attended the meeting with Mohamed Nur Handulle. Accused No. 7 denied this, but he told us that he had qat at the home of accused No. 4, with accused Nos. 4 and 5. Accused No. 2 did not tell us anything in particular about accused No. 7 except his presence at the meetings.

Accused No. 8

According to the statement of accused No. 2, accused No. 8 was a member of the organization. He [No. 8] confessed to all the information we had on him. He admitted attending the meetings at the homes of accused Nos. 4, 5, and 6, and the meeting with the Brotherhood, and having privately met with Mohamed Nur Handulle, the visitor from overseas. He took part in the discussion of group activities relating to community health problems at the home of accused No. 1. He copied a letter directed to the Regional Government, dictated to him by others who had other objectives, that was prepared by accused Nos. 7, 15, and 17. The letter was prepared for accused No. 28 who had said that he wanted to release his friends from prison by any means. Previously, they met with accused No. 28 at Bar Hargeisa, and accused No. 28 told them [7,15,&17] that he had met with the Assistant Minister for Marine Transportation, Comrade Jama Gas Ma'aawiya, who asked them to prepare a letter about their concerns and grievances. Accused No 8 said the reason accused No. 28 wanted to take the letter was that the Assistant Minister was his cousin. I am not sure but I think accused No. 28

worked at the Commerce Agency. Dr. Tani [accused 8] told us that his father used to be a judge in this region and that he himself went to schools here and that he has many friends in the region, although he is only related to some people through his mother. Accused No. 8 confessed to the above and his confession is in agreement with that of accused No. 2.

Accused No. 9

We followed the confession of No. 2. According to the confession of No. 2, before the NSS committee arrived, accused No. 9, accompanied by Nos. 7, 8, and 9 (sic), came to where he [accused No. 2] was detained. They asked him the reason for his detention. Accused No. 2 told them that they were responsible for his detention, that when he was caught, they abandoned him—"nobody did anything for me". Accused No. 2 further stated that No. 7 and 9 came back after few days, and told him that the rest of the youth said and wanted them to convey to him, that everything will be done for him. They told him to increase the number of the people on the list that he had submitted so that investigations would become difficult, and to make sure that every clan was affected. Accused No. 9 gave this [similar account] in his confession. He also stated that he [No. 9], accused No. 28, Abdi Langare and Adan Ali Guhad talked about how to make sure that Ida-Geli clan stops supporting the Marehan and to make them ally with the SNM. He was also among the men who met with ARAB at the home of No. 5, and after most of the accused were detained he [accused No. 9] was among the men appointed to talk with the elders.

Accused No. 10

Accused No. 10 confessed to most of the crimes of which he is being accused: that he was a member of the organization. He used to have "qat" with [with whom?], but he also told us that he took part in writing the letter of accused No. 28 [translator's note: this is the letter of grievances No. 28 is said to have delivered to the Assistant Minister of Marine Transportation]. He was also among the men who decided that Jabane [accused No. 2] should increase the names on his statement to the NSS.

Accused No. 11

As accused No. 2 confessed, No. 11 took part in the meetings but did not tell us that he [accused No. 11] was a member of the organization. He

[accused No. 11] confessed that he took part in some meetings and that he read the journals UFFO and SNM.

Accused No. 12

First, accused No. 2 in his confession told us that he [accused No. 12] read the journal UFFO and that he took part in some meetings, but did not know what the real purpose of these meetings was. The other men did not tell us anything more relating to him. This man [accused No. 12] is a farmer and he said he did not have any extra time, and that the discussions did not alarm him. After the detentions of these men [the other defendants], he was among the people who were appointed to see the authorities about their case.

Accused No. 13

He was educated overseas. Accused No. 2 told us this in his confession. It is mentioned in the confessions of the accused that he took part in the meetings at the house of accused No. 4, his housemate. He confessed that he read UFFO and SNM. According to the statement of Bashe Abdi Yusuf (accused No. 20), he [accused No. 13] inquired about the response of the elders at one of the meetings. He was told that they said "we will not get involved in the affairs of youngsters who would not keep their mouths' shut". To which he replied "they are criminals we should kill the authorities". The accused told us that he did not participate in the meetings, but that he read a copy of the journal brought to his house.

Accused No. 14

Jabane (accused No. 2) said in his confession, and several of the other defendants confirmed, that he was a member of the organization [RUDM]. He [accused No. 14] told us that he used to visit the house of accused No. 13, who was his physician, because he [accused no. 14] has a heart ailment. Accused No. 14 did not attend the meeting with the Brotherhood.

Accused No. 15

Accused No. 2 told us in his confession that accused No. 15 participated in the meeting with the Brotherhood and the meeting at Guraysamo [a section of the city] and that he read the journal at the houses of accused Nos. 6 and 8. He [accused No. 15] also confessed to that.

Accused No. 16

In his confession, accused No. 2 made it clear that accused No. 16 took part in the meetings at the house of accused No. 5, but that he [accused No. 16] did not speak at these meetings. When we searched his house, we found a Makarof pistol. None of the others told us that he participated or spoke at the meetings.

Accused No. 17

Jabane (accused No. 2) confirmed that he [No. 17] took part in all the meetings. We did not find any clear evidence so we delayed his arrest. He did not give opinions at the meetings. He had met with accused No. 20. About 13 others confessed that he [No. 17] was a member of the organization. While we were waiting to arrest him, an explosion occurred at the house of the 1st Assistant of the Somali Socialist Revolutionary Party of the Northwest Region. A second time, another bomb was thrown at the house of Tindeere, a private businessman. At about the same time, 2 bombs were thrown at the house of the Commander of the 26th Army Division, but they did not explode. Leaflets were dropped at the Immigrations Office, the office of the "Guulwadaayaal" victory pioneers, and other places. In these leaflets were written "victory to SNM, death to Afweyne" (Translators note: "Afweyne" is a pejorative name for Siyad Barre that literally means "big mouthed"). The rumors circulating in the town indicated to us that members of the organization that had not been arrested yet were behind these explosions. The accused fled between Hargeisa/Berbera/Hargeisa between 9.12.81 and 14.12.81. After that we arrested him. After we arrested him, we immediately asked him about the explosions, and he confessed to the fact that he was behind their distribution and planning, and that he and accused Nos. 20, 24 and 25 met together about it and reached agreement. Those meetings took place at Bar Hargeisa [translators note: Bar Hargeisa, a small cafe in the middle of town, belongs to the father of accused No. 17], the house of accused No. 4 and near the Regional Headquarters. Their aim was not to kill anybody but to terrorize those responsible for arresting their friends, after mediations were fruitless. Accused No. 17 told us that he met with accused No. 27, who is his cousin, and the Chief of the Technical Unit of the 26th Army Division, and asked for 10 explosive devices, to scare away wild animals that were destroying a friend's farm. Accused No. 27 refused

[according to the statement of accused No. 17], saying that it did not make any sense and that it was not something one can ask a person like him.

I then asked him a second time. This time he became angry. After I pleaded with him a third time, he [accused No. 27] brought the explosives to my house and told me not to add to my troubles if I was not going to use them on the farm. I left the explosives at the house of No. 24, I also met him there. He [accused No. 24] took them to the house of accused Nos. 25, 20 and 26. I caused the explosion at the house of the 1st Assistant of the Party on 9th December, 1981. I made accused No. 20 responsible for the house of the commander of the 26th division of XDS and accused No. 24 to bomb the house of Tindeere.

He [accused No. 17] did not tell us who went with him, but he himself confessed. He said they all fulfilled their objectives.

Accused No. 18

Jabane (accused No. 2) first mentioned him. According to accused No. 20, at one meeting at the house of accused No. 18, it was decided that they should organize as a region to struggle against the government. He took part in the meeting at the wedding [the wedding of accused No. 1]. He told us that he read a copy of the SNM journal brought in by a man from Jeddah. He denied that there was a meeting at his house or the house of Dr. Aaden (accused No. 4).

Accused No. 19

At first Jabane (accused No. 2) mentioned him [No. 19] in his confession. He [No. 19] took part in the meeting at Guraysamo at the wedding of accused No. 1. He [No. 19] had been a housemate of accused No. 4 except for the last two months. He [No. 19] did not take part in the meeting with the Brotherhood. He took part in the self-help project meeting. He [No. 19] confessed to that.

Accused No. 20

We have followed the confession of accused No. 2. At first we could not find him [No. 20], and we issued "Baadi Goob" [All Points Bulletin?]. After we caught him, he confessed that he was a member of the organization and took part in the discussions and read all the journals. He told us that during the

detention of the defendants, he met with accused Nos. 24 and 25, and had good contacts with accused No. 17, who was his friend. They used to meet at the house of accused No. 4. He told us that one day he was given a lift in a car driven by accused No. 17, accompanied by accused No. 24, to the construction site of his new house. He said that accused No. 17 asked him whether they should do something for the youth that were in detention, since "we are the ones on the outside [free]". I told him that I was not part of that. He [accused No. 20] said that he did not want to take part in the earlier decision proposed by accused No. 13 to kill the leaders of the regional government. He [accused No. 20] said that accused No. 24 agreed with him on that point.

Accused Nos. 21, 22, and 23

They were members of the Brotherhood who took part in the meeting with RUDM. Accused No. 1 organized that meeting, and accused Nos. 21 and 23 first took part and later contacted accused No. 22, who organized the other meeting. All three confessed and made statements that their meetings were concerned with "learning about each other, collaboration and exchange of ideas".

Accused No. 24

Jabane (accused No. 2) at first confirmed that he [accused No. 24] was a member of the organization. He [accused No. 24] did not discuss matters with him [accused No. 2] or carry functions. After accused No. 17 told us that he made them [accused Nos. 24 and 25] responsible for the attack on the house of Tindeere, we asked him [No. 24] about accused Nos. 17, 20, and 25, and he said he did not know them. After we brought them to his face, he said "I know these as Johnny, Bashe-yere [young Bashe] and Ma'allin Osman" [all of these are nicknames]. He said:

We met near the headquarters of the region, myself, accused Nos. 20 and 17, in the car of No. 17, and he [No. 17] asked us whether we should do something for those that had been arrested and explode bombs. Bashe Abdi, accused No. 20, said he is not part of it. After a few days, having refused it the first day, I agreed. Accused No. 17 distributed among us explosive devices and I was given the responsibility for the house of Tindeere at Guraysamo, and accused No. 25 helped me and threw the bomb with his

own hand. At the same time accused No. 17, accompanied by accused No. 26, caused the explosion at the house of the 1st Assistant. Accused No. 20 was responsible for the house of the commander of the 26th Division, but at the specified night no news of explosion reached the city. In the morning we found out that an extra device, different from the ones we had, was found at the house. Then we confronted accused No. 20 who was responsible for that house. He said that the extra bomb was given to him by accused No. 17, and that once he threw the bomb it was not his responsibility. The wall of Tindeere's house was 1.8m tall and Mohamed Ma'aalin Osman threw the bomb. Mohamed then walked to his house and I took the bus.

Accused No. 25

He [accused No. 25] said that he is acquainted with these [probably Nos. 17, 20, and 24] and that they used to meet, but that he did not know anything about explosives, but he told us that he and accused No. 24 took the pay check of accused No. 17 to No. 17's wife who works at the Tax Office in Hargeisa. He told us that No. 17's wife told them that he [No. 17] was in prison for the explosives. When we were looking for accused No. 17, we used the name Ahmed Mohamed Madar, but we found out that he uses another name, which I do not remember now, that he used in drawing a salary from the government.

Accused No. 26

In his confession, accused No. 24 said that he was accompanied by accused No. 26. Accused No. 17 did not say who was with him. This accused [accused No. 26] also denied he knows anything about it [explosives].

Accused No. 27

Accused No. 24 told us that accused No. 17 told him that he would get explosives from Ina Hashi Madar, and accused No. 24 said that he found out that that man was Major Ismail Hashi Madar, who is the cousin of accused No. 17. This defendant [accused No. 27] denied any knowledge about the explosives and said that he is not responsible for explosives. He also said that he only gave accused No. 17 a ride home after work one day.

Accused No. 28

He [accused No. 28] is not a member of an organization. His cousin (accused No. 1) was in prison. This accused contacted Jama Gaas [Assistant Minister

for Marine Transportation], who was on his way to Mogadishu, and gave him a letter written by his friends and typed by him. In the letter were lies about the leaders of the region and the on-going investigation. In the letter they said that the authorities of the region were behind the publication of UFFO and Qurmis (Translator's note: Qurmis is a pejorative name for the SSDF, an external opposition movement).

Defense Lawyer Ismail and Prosecution Witness No. 3

- Q. What evidence did you have for the existence of the organization that No. 1 is accused of?
- A. In the beginning of our investigation, our conversation with accused No. 2 pointed to the existence of RUDM and indicated that accused No. 1 was a member.
- Q. Did you find physical evidence and an office of the organization?
- A. We did not find an office or material used by the organization.
- Q. Is there any evidence, besides the information of accused No. 2 that proves the existence of the organization?
- A. We based it on two things: 1) the information of accused No. 2, and 2) the journal UFFO.
- Q. Under article 199 of the Somali Criminal Code (SCC), incriminating statements by one defendant against another can only be used if corroborating evidence is found. Do you have other evidence?
- A. [Translator's note: the answer to this question is missing from the original Somali, but the same question is repeated several more times and the answer seems to be "no"].
- Q. What brought in the typewriter?
- A. Accused No. 1 told us that he wrote the journal using a typewriter in his office. We took him to the office, and he said it is the same typewriter. When we checked the journal against the typewriter, there was no difference between the letters.
- Q. Per article 161 of SCC, did you use an expert's opinion to check whether the typewriter was the one used to write the journal?
- A. No.
- Q. Is this paper (a paper is shown to the witness) typed with the typewriter at Pepsi-Cola or another?
- A. If I do not compare it with the other typewriter I cannot tell.
- Q. Was Abdi Langare brought before a court previously?

- A. I heard that during the war with the enemy, he aided the enemy and was prosecuted.
- Q. Do you know where he, Abdi Langare, is now?
- A. No, I did not know where he was before either.
- Q. Did you tell Abdi Langare that his testimony was necessary and that he should not leave the country?
- A. No, I did not order him.
- Q. Did you ask the court to order Abdi Langare to stay because his testimony was needed?
- A. No, I did not ask.
- Q. Did you meet with Aaden Ali Guhad, and did you know that he was involved in bringing the journal?
- A. I did not meet with Aaden, but Abdi Langare told me that he sat with (had Qat with) a man called Sare Geye, accused No. 2, and another man, and that he found the journal at the house of accused No. 2.
- Q. Did you ask Abdi Langare whether he was told to find the journal?
- A. No, I am not sure whether he was told to find the journal, but he told me that a man called Faysal Ali Waraabe advised him [Aadan Ali Guhad] to help the government.
- Q. If there is no evidence that a crime is committed, was a crime committed?
- A. We did not find proof.
- Q. Was there a crime?
- A. Yes, there is.
- Q. But did you find any witness outside the accused?
- A. We have the confessions only.
- Q. Do you know that the confessions of the accused alone are not enough to show crime?
- A. Yes, I know that.
- Q. How is accused No. 3 different from No. 1 and 2?
- A. No difference.
- Q. The journal found in his home, what about it, and did you have a warrant for the search?
- A. No, I did not see a warrant. I was not a member of the search team and I do not know whether he [No. 3] permitted it or not.
- Q. Accused No. 23, how is he different from the others?
- A. No difference, No. 8 is also the same, and also Aadan Warsama Nur.
- Q. Did not accused No. 28 ask to speak with the Assistant Minister?

- A. I do not remember.
- Q. Did you ask him that the Assistant Minister told him to put it in writing? (translator's note: the meaning of this question is not clear from the Somali text)
- A. As the accused told me.
- Q. Did you ascertain whether the Assistant Minister said that?
- A. I did not ascertain whether that was the case.
- Q. Did it appear to you that it was a grievance submitted to leadership, and how did it [the letter accused No. 28 is alleged to have carried to the Assistant Minister] appear to you?
- A. No, I did not see it as a grievance, it appeared to me as slander, criticism and false libel of the leaders.
- Q. Why did you refuse to believe that the journal UFFO was put out by Kulmis (translator's note: Kulmis is the name of the external opposition movement), since Abdi Langare, the enemy-helper, is now with them.
- A. That is a reasonable point.
- Q. Did that not warrant further investigation?
- A. Yes, but I did not see how he [Abdi Langare] was different from the rest of the public.
- Q. Did accused No. 28 tell you that others wrote the letter?
- A. Yes, he told me so.
- Q. Why is he then accused of propaganda?
- A. The reason was that he had specific motives.
- Q. Do you know whether he is literate or not?
- A. No.
- Q. Do you have the letter?
- A. As far as I know, no.
- Q. Did he have physical contact with the letter?
- A. No, we found about it from the men who wrote it and him; there was no other evidence.

Defense Lawyer Hassan Sheikh and Prosecution Witness No. 3

- Q. Tell the court where accused No. 9 works, since you have been investigating him for a long time.
- A. He works for the Livestock Development Agency. He came to Hargeisa on leave, so that he could marry, and he did marry.
- Q. Did you ask him anything about the writing of UFFO and SNM?

- A. He took part in the reading of the two journals.
- Q. Is the accusation based only on the statement of accused No. 2?
- A. Yes, that is so.
- Q. Is it because he was among the group that proposed talks with the government that he has been imprisoned?
- A. Being a member of the committee is not a crime. All the members of the committee were not arrested.
- Q. Did you harm him while he was in prison, and do you know that torture is against the law?
- A. Yes, torture is forbidden, and I do not know that he was tortured.
- Q. What was accused No. 10 doing when you arrested him, and where was he working?
- A. He had been a teacher but he had resigned and he was not doing anything in Hargeisa.
- Q. Where was he when you arrested him?
- A. He broke into the camp of the "guulwadaayaal" [victory pioneers militia] where accused No. 1 was jailed, and they were caught while they were with him.
- Q. Do you have any evidence?
- A. He has confessed and given a statement.
- Q. It says in my notes that he has not confessed.
- A. That is possible.
- Q. Is it true that accused No. 10 has complained of injuries?
- A. I do not remember, but on 20.11.81, I ordered him tied with cuffs.

DEFENSE LAWYER HASSAN: I wish to ask the court to examine the body of accused No. 10, so that justice can be served, because we have *FLESH* that broke off of his skin.

PUBLIC PROSECUTOR: We object to this matter, since the accused did not show who inflicted these injuries, he is responsible for his body, this matter creates disturbances.... and the court should not allow it.

DEFENSE LAWYER HASSAN: Per article 150 of the SCC, confessions extracted by threats and the like, promises, money are invalid. Jaalle (Comrade) Chairman, what stronger proof is there than to show the flesh

that broke from his back and the wounds, is there? The court should allow us. I was appointed by the government to represent him.

THE COURT: After listening to both sides of the argument, the court decides not to undress the accused in the court room, and not to allow the request of the defense lawyer, but for the court to check that in a private place if it is necessary for the justice.

DEFENSE LAWYER HASSAN AND PROSECUTION WITNESS No. 3

- Q. Did you come across any written document naming the divisions, the leadership and posts for this organization, either secret or regular?
- A. No, we did not find it.

DEFENSE LAWYER OSMAN AND PROSECUTION WITNESS No. 3

- Q. Show me where the name of accused No. 13 appears on this document.
- A. We did not mention accused No. 13 in this document; it is the confession of accused No. 2 that says something about him.
- Q. What did you mean by "accused No. 13 entered the country recently"?
- A. That he returned from overseas not long ago, but when he came back I do not remember.
- Q. What evidence do you have against him?
- A. Confession and a statement he gave in the presence of a lawyer, that he read the journals UFFO and SNM.
- Q. Can you tell where, besides his house, he went?
- A. The house of accused No. 4, who was his housemate.
- Q. Was that a regular meeting or an occasion for qat?
- A. He did not mention a regular meeting, but it was a qat occasion, where the journal was read, gossip exchanged, and news told.
- Q. What date was the meeting where accused No. 13 is supposed to have proposed the killings?
- A. It was between 4.12.1981 and 19.12.81.
- Q. When was accused No. 13 arrested?
- A. He was arrested on 4.12.81.
- Q. Did he say that [propose the killings] while he was in prison?
- A. No, I mixed that date with the other. The man who told us about that meeting was being sought during that period.
- Q. Were any injuries inflicted on accused No. 13?

- A. No, he was not harmed.
- Q. Accused No. 18, how did you find him, and did any witness tell you that he was a member of the organization?
- A. Accused No. 2 alone told us. We did not base it on any other evidence.
- Q. How did you prove, (when you say) that a man from overseas showed him the SNM journal and he read it?
- A. Whether that is even so, I do not know, though he himself told us.
- Q. Why did not you conclude or ascertain that Abdi Langare could be an indispensable witness.

PUBLIC PROSECUTOR: I have an objection about this point. He was asked this question before

- Q. Is there any evidence, besides the confession of accused No. 2, that implicates accused Nos. 13 and 18?
- A. No.

DEFENSE LAWYER BASHIR ARTAN AND PROSECUTION WITNESS No. 3

- Q. Since evidence could not be found about the existence of the organization, material and the like, what implicates the defendants that I am representing (12, 19, 21 and 22)?
- A. We did not find material.
- Q. Do you have evidence against the defendants that I am representing, that is proof, besides the confession of accused No. 2?
- A. No, we do not.
- Q. The brotherhood that I heard about several times, why did you.... [the rest of the question is missing from this copy]
- A. Since they are not accused, why ask me about them?

DEFENSE LAWYER FAYSAL HAJI AND PROSECUTION WITNESS NO. 3

- Q. How many statements did you obtain from accused No. 2?
- A. Up to 5 reports were obtained.
- Q. On which of those 5 statements did you base your investigation?
- A. The first one that we wrote from him was used as a base. Q. Were all the men named on that statement arrested?

- A. No.
- Q. Did you tell us anything other than the statement of accused No. 2 that was used to arrest them?
- A. The statement of No. 2 was used as a base.
- Q. Why did you not arrest the rest of the men on that list?

Public Prosecutor: I have an objection about this question. He said it was a base for the detention of the accused. The witness told us that they found all the events that each person participated in and for which they were arrested. The witness had been on the stand for a long time. Jaalle [comrade] chairman, I object to that question.

Defense Lawyer Faysal Haji: Rebuttal: Honorable court, the witness had repeatedly stated that the confession of accused No. 2 was used as a basis for the accusation, especially to the question that attorney Ismail asked him. The witness should not evade the question. He should tell the court.

The Court:

After listening to the question that had been asked of the witness, the argument of the Public Prosecutor and the rebuttal of attorney Faysal, the court orders the witness to answer the question of the lawyer, that is: If you followed the confession of accused No. 2, why were only some of the men he mentioned arrested?.

The Witness:

- A. The detentions were not my decision. Any man against whom there was no evidence besides the news of Jabane was not arrested.
- Q. That an organization was formed at accused No. 1's wedding, if I say is not reasonable, how would you respond?
- A. I did not say that the organization was formed there, I previously said there issues relating to the organization were started.
- Q. When was the organization that you mentioned formed?
- A. Jabane accused No. 2 told us that the organization was formed in 1977.
- Q. Did he tell you who started it?
- A. No, accused No. 2 did not tell us who started the organization.
- Q. Accused Nos. 1, 2 and 3 are accused of starting the organization. Why did you accuse them if he [accused No. 2] did not mention anybody?

- A. The organization was started in 1977, who started it he did not tell.
- Q. In the accusation it says that it took place in the last six months of 1981, can you tell us the number of meetings it [the organization] had?
- A. Nobody told us the number of meetings.
- Q. How many times were meetings held at the house of accused No. 5?
- A. 3 times.
- Q. How many times were meetings held at the house of No. 3?
- A. I do not remember.
- Q. During your investigation did you find out that accused No. 2 was a member of the "self-help project"?
- A. I did not find out that he was a member.
- Q. The meetings that these defendants allegedly had, can you tell the court how they diminish the power of the government?
- A. Yes, at the meeting at the house of accused No. 18, they discussed whether the organization should be based on clan, region or nation.
- Q. Can you tell us anything they did that will diminish the power of the government?
- A. At a house in Guraysamo [section of the city], they resolved to start a self-help committee, but the government did not know that.
- Q. Who told you they did that?
- A. The statement of accused No. 2.
- Q. Did they take steps to usurp the power of the government?
- A. That they formed a self-help committee, collected money, material, cleaned, organized the Hargeisa Hospital, and secured it. The authorities of the region did not know about that self help scheme.
- Q. Are you sure that the authorities did not know that?
- A. It became known later.
- Q. That accused No. 2 was starved for 5 days and at the same time threatened with a pistol?
- A. I do not know that. He was not asked to write a statement at a time when I was not there.
- Q. Was it creating a gulf in the relationship between the government and the people?
- A. That shows their independence, since the authorities of the region did not know about that [the self-help project].
- Q. From whom [defendant] did you get the SNM journal?
- A. We did not get it from anybody. We showed it [this copy of the SNM journal] to the accused and asked if it was among the ones they read.

- Q. As you told us, accused No. 4 did not take part in the meeting.....?
- A. He told us that he took part in the meeting held at his house. Mohamed Sh. Hassan Tani [accused No. 8] told us that he gave an opinion at one point.
- Q. Is there anybody besides the ones arrested with him who could attest to his guilt?
- A. No.
- Q. Were you there when the house of accused No. 5 was searched?
- A. No, a man called Abdirashid represented us in that task.
- Q. That accused No. 20 is a member of the organization, is it the statement of accused No.2 alone that you base that on?
- A. Yes, but he [accused No. 20] also confessed to it.
- Q. You said before that the Brotherhood and the self-help committee could not name the objectives of the organization, and now you say it is an established organization, are those two statements in conflict?
- A. Yes, they conflict.
- Q. the....[original missing]..
- A. No, we do not have other evidence.

DEFENSE LAWYER HUSSEIN BILLE:

Accused Nos. 26, 27 and 28 asked that I defend them, I ask the court to allow me.

THE COURT allowed the request of the lawyer.

DEFENSE LAWYER HUSSEIN BILE AND PROSECUTION WITNESS NO. 3

- Q. Did accused No. 2 tell you the time of the day they used to hold meetings?
- A. I do not know the times, but accused No. 2 suggested that it was after lunch.
- Q. Can you tell us anything about the divisions of the organization, how functions were divided, who the leaders were and how many people were in the organization?
- A. No, I do not know any of that, and he did not tell me.
- Q. Did Abdi Langare and Adan Waali (Translator's note: Aadan Waali is also referred to as "Adan Ali Guhad" elsewhere in this transcript) take part in the meetings?

- A. Abdi Langare went to (had qat at) a meeting held at the house of accused No. 2.
- Q. Did Adan Ali Guhad ever sit with them?
- A. One day he had qat with accused No. 9.
- Q. Are you aware that Aadan has now escaped; and what is his status?
- A. We were outside of Hargeisa when he escaped, we would have arrested him, he is accused in absentia.
- Q. Would you have arrested Abdi Langare?
- A. No, he did not do anything illegal.
- Q. Why did not you arrest him for the meeting in which he took part?
- A. That is because he was always doing a job that he was told to do.
- Q. Did Abdi Langare tell you that he had obtained the Journal UFFO?
- A. Yes, he said he removed it.
- Q. If I were to tell you that he [Abdi Langare] had in fact said he did not obtain the journal for you, what would you say?
- A. I have a statement that I wrote from him.
- Q. Is there any evidence besides the statements of the accused that prove the existence of this crime?
- A. No.
- Q. Why could you not find something in your investigation?
- A. That they wrote the journal was told by them (accused Nos. 1 and 2).
- Q. Accused No. 6, do you know how many times they used his house?
- A. No, I do not know.
- Q. The two meetings with the authorities, which one did he take part in?
- A. The second one.
- Q. Accused No. 14, does he have a heart problem as he told you?
- A. Yes, we saw that several times during his imprisonment.
- Q. Did he give speeches or opinions?
- A. No.
- Q. Did accused No. 16 tell you that he bought the pistol for a specific reason?
- A. There is nothing to prove that money was brought from the border, and he did not tell us that.
- Q. The illegality of the organization, what proves it?
- A. Their confession only, we do not have anything else.
- Q. Do you know that accused No. 17 was tortured?
- A. Not as far as I know.
- Q. Was accused No. 17 limping when you arrested him?

- A. No, he was not limping.
- Q. Is he limping now?
- A. I do not know.
- Q. Is there any evidence implicating them in the explosions?
- A. Their verbal statements only, nothing else.
- Q. Accused No. 24, is there anything against him except his statement?
- A. No.
- Q. Did you torture him too?
- A. I do not know.
- Q. Accused No. 25, do you have anything on him besides his statement?
- A. No, his confession only, but we have nothing else.
- Q. Accused No. 27, who told you something about him?
- A. Nobody told us anything about him; he did not confess to anything, except the story of accused No. 17.
- Q. Does accused No. 17 have two names?
- A. We used the name of Ahmed Mohamed Madar when were searching for him. [translator's note: I have known accused No. 17 for at least 25 years, including preschool, and that is his real name.]
- Q. When did you find accused No. 17?
- A. When he came back from Berbera, where he was bidding farewell to his brother, who was leaving for overseas.

REQUEST BY DEFENSE LAWYER FAYSAL HAJI:

I request that the body of accused No. 20 be examined in front of the court.

PUBLIC PROSECUTOR: If he cannot tell who inflicted harm on him, he is responsible for his body. If the defendants and their lawyers do not prove this harm, they will be prosecuted. This story was there before. Some irresponsible people have spread it through the town so that the government and people confront each other. The riots that took place in the city were part of this issue. Because of that, the body of the accused should not be checked in front of the court. The request should be denied. The proceedings should go on as they were.

-----and Witness NO. 3

- Q. Accused No. 26, you did not tell us anything about him, and the Prosecution did not ask you anything about him. Tell us why he was arrested?

- A. Accused No. 24 said that he [accused 26] was with accused No. 17 the night the explosives were distributed.
- Q. What statements do you have from him?
- A. He told us that he did not know anything about that, and accused No. 17 did not tell us anything about him [accused 26] either.
- Q. This SNM journal, is it the one that you said was read at the houses of accused 4, 5, 6 and 7?
- A. The SNM journal that we have, we did not find it on anybody, it is only an example.
- Q. Who told you about the names RUDM and UFFO?
- A. Accused Nos. 1 and 2.
- Q. Did you find out whether other members knew of its publication?
- A. No, we did not find that out, they told us they read it.
- Q. Where did you find the SNM journal?
- A. I do not know. It was brought by General Ali Hussein who can be contacted about it.

WITNESS NO. 4 MOHAMED AHMED WELI: After taking oath he said:

I know accused No. 1 (Mohamed Baruud) he used to work at the Pepsi-Cola factory. One day some NSS officers came to me for a typewriter that belongs to the factory. They said it was needed in connection with an investigation involving accused No. 1. I gave them a typewriter that belonged to the factory.

DEFENSE LAWYER ISMAIL AND WITNESS No. 4:

- Q. Who used to work with that typewriter?
- A. A girl and a young man are employed to use it. They use it to type for the management.
- Q. Have you ever seen Mohamed Baruud come back to the office in the evenings or at night?
- A. No, I have never seen him do that.

WITNESS NO. 5 ABDIRASHID YASIN MOHAMED:

After taking oath he said: This poem of the DEELAY TYPE was among papers we took from the house of accused No. 5 when we searched it. I found the poem and realized it was a poem critical of the nation, written in the handwriting of accused No. 5. After I read it and concluded it [the poem]

was illegal, I typed it so this one is the one I typed. When we asked him about this matter, accused No. 5 told us that he wrote it down in his handwriting, but that another person dictated it. He said it was composed by a former teacher who had been sentenced by the court. While going on with our search we found a Makarof pistol of the Russian type. The way we found the pistol was: we asked him whether he had any weapons and he [accused No. 5] answered that he has this pistol that he bought a long time ago, but had not yet obtained a permit for it. That is how we took the pistol from him.

DEFENSE LAWYER FAYSAL AND THE 5TH WITNESS:

- Q. Who gave you the order to search the house, and did you have a court warrant?
- A. Only our officers told us to arrest him, and to search the house.
- Q. Was accused No. 5 with you while you were searching the house?
- A. Yes, he was with us.
- Q. How did you know that this poem was anti-nation?
- A. The name AFWEYENE, that is meant to be the President, and its type, that is the "D" alliteration.

DEFENSE LAWYER HUSSEIN BILLE AND THE 5TH WITNESS:

Q. Did the accused [No. 5] tell you that he takes government money to an area near the so-called border [between Somalia and Ethiopia], and that he alone guards that money?

A. No, he did not tell me that.

WITNESS NO 6 CAPTAIN ALI GANI AHMED: After taking oath he said:

I was a member of the Committee appointed to investigate the accused. We forwarded two copies of UFFO to the Prosecutor. They were a copy submitted to us by the Hargeisa NSS after we arrived, and the other we found during our investigation, and we took it from the house of accused No. 3 the night we arrested him.

DEFENSE LAWYER ISMAIL AND THE 6TH PROSECUTION WITNESS:

- Q. What hour did you go to the house [of accused No. 3]?
- A. 1:30 a.m.
- Q. Did you have a warrant for the search?

A. Although we did not have a warrant, it was permitted under article 58 of the SCC.

SEVENTH WITNESS KHADRA ISMAIL NUR: After taking oath she said: We live in the 26th June section. Late one night, accused No. 2, accompanied by soldiers, came to my house, where a typewriter belonging to my husband was removed. Accused No. 2 and my husband used to work together and whether my husband was there or not he [accused No. 2] used to borrow the typewriter whenever he wished. Although I do not know anything about typing, its cover is the one that is in front of the court.

WITNESS No. 8 MOHAMOUD SHEIKH ABDILLAHI JIBRIL: After taking oath he said: I am the security guard at the hosue of the 1st Assistant of the Somali Socialist Revolutionary Party of the Northwest Region. One night, while I was sitting under the verenda, about evening time, an explosion occured at the cement driveway leading to the garage. Both inside or outside the house nobody besides me was there. I stood up and I looked towards the area I thought the explosive was thrown from. I did not see anybody. After that I was afraid to check around to see if anybody was about, I went inside and turned the lights off both inside and outside. I then went to the house of Saido who lives nearby and is the niece of the 1st Assistant. She telephoned the NSS. They came and investigated it and took photographs. There was not much damage except a crack in the cement. There was no loss from the explosion.

WITNESS No. 9 FADUMO MOHAMED HIRSI: After taking oath she said: I live in the Guraysamo section. At a time when I just went to bed, I heard an explosion, I stood up to check it. I was met by dust coming from the veranda of the house. I opened the outside door, but I did not see anybody and I did not hear anybody. There was no damage from the explosion. The people in the house were sleeping in their rooms.

WITNESS No.10 SUB/LEUT. MOHAMED AHMED DHOORE: After taking oath he said: I am the leader of the 18th Technical Unit of the 26th Division of the Armed Forces of which accused No. 27 is the Chief. While I was in my office, L/X Abdillahi Sharub accompanied by M/le came to me and told me that they brought a grenade found in the house of General Gani. The grenade's safety was almost out. This grenade was the "C.Q. Sida" attack type. It has two safeties, one over the other. We showed the explosives to the Criminal Investigation Division, who photographed it, and then for

safety reasons, I detonated it in a safe area. Later, I went to Gen. Gani and Major Ismail Hashi Madar, accused No. 27, and while we were with the commander of the 26th Division [Gen. Gani] another grenade was brought to us and that one was found outside the house of General Gani where it did not detonate. The two bombs were the same kind, RBG from Russia. It was like the other one. If it had fallen on a hard surface it would have exploded, where it fell the ground was soft. It was placed outside, and as the other was given to the Criminal Investigation Division officers, and when they were finished with it, I and accused No. 27 took it and detonated it.

WITNESS NO 11 AHMED ALI JAMA: After taking oath he said: I am the accountant of the Ministry of Education of the Northwest Region, I know accused No. 17, he is a teacher who draws salary as Abdirahman Abdillahi Madar. He teaches at Farah Omar School. While he was in jail, I gave his pay check to accused No. 24 and 25. We allow the practice of teachers picking up each other's salary.

DEFENSE LAWYER HUSSEIN BILLE AND WITNESS NO.11

- Q. When do you let teachers pick each other's salaries, and do you know that he has another name?
- A. The name he used in his employment for the government is that one. It is on the top of his file. We do that when we cannot reach the teachers.

PUBLIC PROSECUTOR: The prosecution's case is complete. We request under article 155 of the SCC to submit to the court the statement obtained from Abdi Langare, who is absent now; the reason is that it is impossible to find this witness, and we could not serve him the summons.

OBJECTION: DEFENSE LAWYER ISMAIL:

This does not follow article 155 of the SCC. We request the court not to accept the request of the Public Prosecutor so that justice can be observed.

OBJECTION: DEFENSE LAWYER HASSAN SHEIKH:

"Bi-maslax caddala" To serve Justice- I object to the prosecution's request. It breaks articles 184 and 188 of the SCC that deal with the procedure for witnesses. Article 155 of the SCC provides for the proper procedure for

obtaining statements from an absent witness.....[the rest of the statements cannot be translated; meaning is not clear]

OBJECTION: DEFENSE LAWYER OSMAN:

The statement that Abdi Langare wrote, as per article 197, because of his bad character, cannot be accepted as evidence. If that statement is related to someone who had been promised favors or given money, he cannot be a witness. The Public Prosecutor's request must be denied.

OBJECTION: DEFENSE LAWYER HUSSEIN BILLE:

Section A/B of Article 155 of the SCC invalidates the statements of the witness that dies. The article does not address a witness who is alive who refuses to testify. Because of that, the request of the Public Prosecutor should be denied.

REBUTTAL BY THE PUBLIC PROSECUTOR:

As indicated by article 155 of the SCC that I referred to before, the witness cannot be found. The issue that the defense lawyers are objecting, it has been told that he escaped to Ethiopia, people in the city were behind that. The reward that he was given was before these defendants were arrested. He [Abdi Laangare, in his statement] does not talk about the accused in detention. Because of that we should be allowed to submit his statement, and the objections of the defense lawyers should be overruled.

DEFENSE LAWYER ISMAIL:

Since the investigators and the prosecutors did not see the importance of Abdi Laangare's testimony before, I do not see why Abdi Langare's statement is being forced on us now. Therefore, I request the Court not to allow the introduction of Abdi Langare's statement as evidence.

THE COURT:

After listening to the request of the Prosecutor relating to the introduction of Abdi Langare's statement and to the objections of the defense, and having seen Articles 155, 184, 188, and 197 of the SCC, the Court has agreed to accept the statements of Abdi Langare.

PUBLIC PROSECUTOR:

I submit to the Court exhibits and statements as follows: 2 (two) typewriters, a Makarof pistol and 6 rounds of ammunition, the letter from the Pepsi-Cola Co. indicating that they own that typewriter, one SNM journal, one block note "Victor" on which is written the titles of the articles that were printed in UFFO, the letter that the NSS Director wrote about the explosions that took place in the city, a leaflet on which is written "Victory to SNM, Death to Afweyne", a telegram, and the statement of Abdi Langare. I also submit to the Court:

- 1 (one) envelope specific to accused No. 1, containing 5 (five) statements,
- 2 (two) Court confessions, his fingerprints and his picture;
- Accused No. 2's file, containing 5 (five) statements, one of which he wrote with his own hand, and 2 (two) Court confessions;
- Accused No. 3's file, containing a confession and two statements;
- Accused No. 4's file, containing a confession and two statements;
- Accused No. 5's file, containing a confession, a statement, and a poem written in his own hand;
- Accused No. 6's file, containing a confession and a statement;
- Accused No. 7's file, containing a confession and a statement;
- Accused No. 8's file, containing a confession and a statement;
- Accused No. 9's file, containing a confession and a statement;
- Accused No. 10's file, containing a confession and a statement;
- Accused No. 11's file, containing a confession and a statement;
- Accused No. 12's file, containing a confession and a statement;
- Accused No. 13's file, containing a confession and a statement;
- Accused No. 14's file, containing a confession and a statement;
- Accused No. 15's file, containing a confession and a statement;
- Accused No. 16's file, containing a confession and a statement;
- Accused No. 17's file, containing a confession and a statement;
- Accused No. 18's file, containing a confession and a statement;
- Accused No. 19's file, containing a confession and a statement;

Accused No. 20's file, containing a confession and a statement;
 Accused No. 21's file, containing a confession and a statement;
 Accused No. 22's file, containing a confession and a statement;
 Accused No. 23's file, containing a confession and a statement;
 Accused No. 24's file, containing a confession and a statement;
 Accused No. 25's file, containing a confession and a statement;
 and two copies of UFFO, one of which was taken from the house of accused No. 3 when it was searched, and the other which was transmitted to the Prosecutor by the NSS.

REQUEST BY DEFENSE LAWYER ISMAIL:

So that we can study the documents introduced to the Court, I request that the Court recess for 30 minutes.

THE COURT:

After listening to the request of Attorney Ismail, the Court agrees to recess for 1 hour to allow them to study the matter.

ARGUMENT: ATTORNEY ISMAIL:

For Six of the seven accused that I represent, 1, 3, 7, 8, 15 and 23, the exhibits in their files do not indicate their involvement in UFFO or RUDM, and at the same time, accused No. 3 is accused of having a copy of UFFO. His house was searched illegally, since there was no warrant for the search of his house and there was no other reason for the search.

ARGUMENT: ATTORNEY HASSAN SHEIKH:

The prosecution is governed by article 114 of the SCC and the defense is governed by article 116 of SCC. Article 115 of SCC is between us. The court should observe the relevant articles. Also as related to the three defendants that I represent: There was no statement in the File of accused No. 10, Mohamed Dagal Hirsi, and there is nothing he had confessed to. Therefore, I do not think its proper to forward his file to the court. Accused Nos. 9 and 11, their statements and their accusations are not related. Another point, when we speak of a confession, it must be one written in front of an attorney, we do not have anything indicating that this is so, even if it was one stamp

alone or a signature of an attorney showing that these were obtained in his presence. The prosecution also introduced a letter from the director of the NSS, a leaflet, a copy of the SNM journal and various other papers. Under article 172, an exhibit submitted to the court must be specific to an individual's case. I want to know WHETHER THESE RELATE TO MY DEFENDANTS OR NOT. If they do not relate to them specifically or generally, all of the accused, I request that they should be returned to the Prosecutor.

ARGUMENT: ATTORNEY OSMAN:

The prosecution has submitted exhibits that do not relate to the accusation. The statement of Abdi Langare is 12 pages and only the last page is signed. There is not even a stamp to indicate who wrote it. That shows that only the last page of Abdi Langare's statement can be accepted. In his statement, on page 5, Abdi Langare says "after I was told to search for it, I said that I knew of two copies of UFFO that were with Adan". We can understand from that he [Abdi Langare] was responsible for the journal UFFO and he should have been accused of its writing.

ARGUMENT: ATTORNEY HUSSEIN BILLE:

As we all know, article 149 of SCC indicates what constitutes a confession. It appears that 3 confessions and 3 statements were introduced relating to my defendants. But it is clear that the first three are not confessions at all, and the three statements are not even statements, and neither of them fulfill article 172 of the SCC, but are only verbal statements. I therefore request that the court return these exhibits to the prosecution, and I am sure that even these were obtained by coercion.

REBUTTAL: PUBLIC PROSECUTOR:

Jaalle (comrade) chairman, as is clear from article 10 of XLY 8 that was issued on 26.1.70, if the accusation is related to national security, it is not necessary that confessions be taken in front of an attorney. I am surprised that attorney Hussein Bille is not willing to believe the signatures on these statements, and why he talks about coercion. If I come back to article 172 of the SCC, it is possible to introduce to the court any exhibit that relates to the accusation. I mean by that and I want the court and the public to fully

understand that the organization RUDM is tied to SNM, and I want to show true examples that are the SNM journal and the leaflet. Therefore, I request the court to allow me to submit these and to present my concluding remarks.

THE COURT:

After listening to the arguments of the attorneys and the rebuttal by the public prosecutor of the National Security Court of the Northwest Region that related to the submission of exhibits, and after studying article 10 of XLY 8 of 26.1.70 and article 151 of SCC, the court decides to accept the exhibits and to use them.

As for the presence of an attorney when confessions are obtained, as argued by attorney Hussein Bille, the court after reading article 68 of SCC, believes that these [confessions and statements] were obtained properly and legally.

The third point that related to the SNM journal, the letter of the Director of the NSS of the Northwest Region, the court, after reading article 172 of the SCC, decides to return them to the prosecution as these are not directly tied with the accusation that these defendants were arrested for.

REQUEST BY PUBLIC PROSECUTOR:

As per article 112 of SCC, I wish to tell the court that I dropped the charges against accused No. 26, Mohamed Said Nur, as his membership in RUDM organization or involvement in the explosions could not be proven. I also wish to drop the charges against No. 27, Major Ismail Hashi Madar; it could not be proven that he was a member of an illegal organization and charges specific to the explosions could not be substantiated. And also accused No. 28, Hassan Ali "Ceelgeeye", the charges of rumor-mongering could not be proven against him. These should be released.

THE COURT:

The court after listening to the prosecutor about the charges against accused Nos. 26, 27, and 28, and after seeing article 112 (2) of the SCC, accepts the request of the prosecutor and allows that charges be dropped.

CONCLUDING REMARKS OF THE PUBLIC PROSECUTOR:

Jaalle (comrade) chairman, attorneys and the honorable court, accused Nos. 1, 2 and 3, together established the illegal organization so-called RUDM,

and took steps to publish the journal UFFO that their organization produced. While this investigation was underway, it was also found that they [accused 1, 2 and 3] had contacts with the illegal SNM organization that is based in London. Abdi Langare is a man who was previously charged with spying for the enemy, and the National Security Court of the Northwest Region had sentenced him to death, but later the same court released him from that punishment. That should suffice to show us that we can honor the statement of this absent witness, since when releasing him from the death sentence the court did not sentence him to life or a similarly long imprisonment; and it is important that the attorneys understand the appropriateness of his statement. As written in Abdi Langare's statement, he tells us that RUDM was not limited to the city and that Adan [Adan Waali] wanted to ally himself with the government since he knew of the illegal objectives of RUDM. Accused No. 1, 2 and 3 were the men who met with Mohamed Nur Handulle (ARAB) who had met with DUQSI and Ina-Waddaad Diid in Jeddah, these men are the leaders of the so called SNM. They [accused 1, 2 and 3] said "these two men recently met the Isaaq clan in Saudi Arabia, except most of the knowledgeable who are now among Reer Sablaale." By "Reer Sablaale" they mean the Somalis who were hurt by the "Dabadheer" Famine [famine of 1974], who were subsequently aided by their government, and later some of them went to Saudi Arabia for economic reasons. These people [reer sablaale] are now returning the favor to their government and have refused to join DUQSI and Ina-waddaad Diid to weaken the Somali Nation. They added [accused 1, 2, and 3] that it was necessary to bring the Ida-Gele clan back to the rest of Isaaq and to free them from the Marehan clan [Siyad Barre's ruling clan]. That has no basis. The ways they attempted to achieve this can be seen simply from the articles written in UFFO that were read in the court, such as "Nationalization of the region", "Berbera was captured" and "La socoto". "La Socoto" [those with] it is clear is to mean anybody who completely fulfils his responsibility for his country and his flag. "La Socoto" means those who kow-tow to the Marehan, and its objective is to demoralize and to begin ways of breaking the ties of the nation and to hurt those who are ready to fulfill their responsibilities. In order to fulfill their objectives, the so called organization realized that the Somali people are susceptible to religion, and that they needed to use religion as a cover, and it happened that accused No. 1 met with the youth of the Brotherhood that he thought were opposed to the government. In that same

meeting accused No. 3, Mohamed Haji Mohamoud said things like "Girls have now become prostitutes, boys have become drug and alcohol addicts, the men have become emigres and the women have become sellers of qat." And he suggested that the government was responsible for this state of affairs. His intentions were to create problems between the government and the public. I am sure the result of that has been seen. The riots that took place in Hargeisa lately, the detention of the accused was only a cover. False news was spread through town that the detainees were sentenced to death or life terms. We were all present for the results [riots]. These things show you the existence of the organization of which Dr. Adan, Jabane, Abdurahman and Aabi were members. Accused Nos. 4 to 20 together are accused of also being members of RUDM. Accused No. 21, 22, and 23, their charges are different. They were the members of the Brotherhood who illegally met and decided to cooperate with the RUDM organization. Specific charges: Accused No. 16 has confessed to the crime of having an illegal weapon. As for the explosions, their planning, we charge accused No. 17 and 20, at the same time they themselves tell us that accused No. 24 and 25 helped them. I remind you that the manner these explosions took place can suggest that it was related to the publication of the UFFO journal. Because the houses of the three men that were mentioned in UFFO, and who were thought to be behind the detentions, were attacked. If I estimate, these men are between 28 and 38 years in age. The one with the least education has a secondary school diploma. It would have been good if their intentions were good and they were honestly aiding their people. But we find that they were men who wanted to establish a clan-based government, and they were set to create problems between the government and the people. Because of that, we strongly urge that accused 1, 2 and 3 be found guilty. We request that accused No. 4 to 20 be sentenced each to 30 years in prison. We leave the court to decide the punishment of 21, 22, and 23. We also leave the punishment of accused No. 24 and 25 to the court.

DEFENSE OF ATTORNEY ISMAIL

As indicated by the prosecution these are young men who today are very dear to our country with respect to their educational qualifications and professions. We can understand that by the fact they include doctors, engineers, and educated businessmen. They are people who have held responsibilities for our nation previously and are now helping in the development of our

country. The existence of an organization was mentioned but the accusation does not fulfil article 322 of the SCC and article 3 of XLY 54, because up to now we do not have an existing organization. The prosecution also speaks about confessions, but article 66[?] of the SCC, I believe that these have no importance as they were obtained by threats, terrorization and the like, and are diminished by the sloppy investigation that shows many faults. There are many defendants accused of belonging to the organization. Let us ask ourselves, how can someone be accused of membership in a nonexistent organization? The charges against accused No. 3 are not proper and his house was searched illegally. That invalidates the finding of the journal. But where was the journal originally brought from? Dahir Id [Witness No. 1] told us that after hearing news about it, he asked some people to find the journal. When it was brought to him he improperly forwarded it to the Commander of the 26th Division of the Army, who repeated the mistake by forwarding it to the office of the NSS. The management of Pepsi Cola indicated that the typewriter is theirs, but as is legally required under article 161 of SCC, an expert was not consulted to show that this is the typewriter used to write the journal. When it is said that the accused complained about the lack of water and electricity and other problems pertaining to the government, is it possible to say that the group was anti-nation? That is not correct because these criticisms and the problems they have spoken about are true. Wasn't it just last night when the court was completely dark? and Isn't it unfortunate that the small village of Wanla Weyn [town in the south of Somalia] gets electricity regularly while the second capital of the nation, Hargeisa, does not get electricity after lunch each day and that it [electricity] goes out at any time as it did last night; especially since we are so close to the so-called border. The third prosecution witness testified that the youth (accused) established the self-help project that was later recognized by the authorities of the region. The purpose of the leaflets was to create chaos and it did. I request the court to release the 6 defendants I am representing as none of them was shown to have been a member of RUDM.

DEFENSE OF ATTORNEY FAYSAL

I am representing accused Nos. 2, 4, 5, and 20. The prosecution's case was not sufficient. It is also true that the statements of accused No. 2 cannot be a basis for the accusation. Accused No. 2 is charged under article 3 XLY 54 and writing the journal UFFO. Why then did the prosecution ask for the

death penalty? The confessions, the statement of Langare and the third witness all stated that accused No. 2 established the organization. But later it was found that the organization was started in 1977 and that they [prosecution] did not know who started it. The witness [witness No. 3] also told us that he did not have any other trail to follow except the statements of Langare. There are other people who have not been arrested who have been listed in the statement of No. 2 that was used as a basis for these charges, and why these others were not arrested we have not been told. I, therefore, request that the court ignore the statement of No. 2. Accused No. 2 said that they established a self-help organization, but Langare who wanted money, and Aadan [Waalii], who was advised by a man called Faysal in Mogadisho to work with the government, created these problems. Langare stated that he was "chewing" qat with the Commander of the 26th Division one day when the commander asked him to bring him the journal UFFO and that he, Langare told the Commander that he [Langare] himself had two copies that he would bring to the Commander. Abdi Langare also mentions in his statement that there is a self-help organization in Hargeisa, at no time did he mention RUDM or anything like that. I believe that this matter is meant to bring the people and government in conflict. The third witness lied about the fact that accused No. 2 confessed to RUDM, and up to now we do not have the RUDM organization or its objectives. That shows there is no proof against accused No. 2 with respect to RUDM, and the charges are not appropriate. There is no evidence against accused No. 4 except the confession of accused No. 2 and I do not know why the prosecution did not drop the charges against him. There is no evidence against accused No. 5 except the statement of witness No. 3, that he read or had the journal UFFO as he is charged with. Accused No. 20 is charged with the explosives but there is nobody except accused No. 17 that these charges relate to as under articles 322, 325 or 332. The placement of the bombs at the house of Gani cannot be accused of any one except accused No. 17. He [accused No. 20] does not know anything about weapons as stated by witness No. 3. All these points should be respected by the court. It also appears that the prosecution did not fulfill its proper role and, therefore, I urge the court to release the defendants I represent No. 2, 4, 5, and 20.

DEFENSE OF ATTORNEY HUSSEIN BILLE

The name RUDM cannot apply here because Dr. Tani was born in Aware [a town in the Ogaden Region of Ethiopia] and Jabane (accused No. 2) was

born in Odweyne [a small village some distance away from Hargeisa]. The 3rd witness testified that Langare brought them the journal, and he also testified that there are no other witnesses except the defendants. This shows that the prosecution has no case. Because of that I urge the court to reexamine the charges. There is no evidence against accused No. 6. Accused No. 14 is sick and used to go to the house of Dr. Aadan [accused no. 4] for that reason. Even while he was in prison he required treatment. Accused No. 16 is the same as the others, and there is no evidence against him, except the possession of the pistol and that relates to "ordinamento pubblico e sicurezza". There are no statements by accused No. 17 that indicate his membership in the organization, and where did the explosives come from? Accused No. 24 was tortured, and there is no evidence against him or accused No. 25. They should all be released. I am particularly surprised why the prosecution wishes to believe the guilt of some while disregarding that of others, as charges were dropped against accused No. 26 and 27. Accused No. 27 was charged with bringing the explosives and No. 26 was said to have taken part in the execution. Yet, the charges remain for others.

DEFENSE OF LAWYER HASSAN SHEIKH

The following articles should be studied for the fulfillment of justice. Somali Criminal Code articles 1, 16 and 20, and the court should base its judgments on them. Let us ask ourselves--what can be a crime? Human Rights laws relate to the individual's honor and his freedom, and both crime and punishment are specified. The articles of law cannot by themselves speak but the person can. Are the charges based on these articles? the answer is no. When the action causes harm isn't the guilty person the one who ties himself with chains in front of the court (rapporto di causalita)? To show that they [defendants] were active members of RUDM we must find material and office as the article of accusation mentions. It should be shown how the objectives of the organization diminish the unity of the nation and compromise the ability of the government. It is a wrong interpretation to say the unity of the nation is being destroyed by Hargeisa. Such conspiracies can take place in other cities. The problems created by Abdi Langare, wherever he is now, have forced the army to besiege the city and waste its efforts; and the intellectuals we were all waiting for are now accused of nonexistent charges. Under article 149, the alleged confessions do not prove the accusations. It is not necessary to sign all statements in front of an attorney,

but those statements that incriminate the accused himself must be witnessed by an attorney. Mohamed Dagal Hersi (accused No. 10) was brought in front of an attorney but the other 3 [defendants] were not. As per article 146 SCC, we did not see any statement proving the charges that fulfill the requirements specified under article 199 of SCC, we are ignorant of these. Thus our defense is incompetent. The accused did not confess to anything, and charges against them were not proven. The Public Prosecutor himself was invited to the wedding [the wedding of accused No. 1 where an illegal meeting to start RUDM was allegedly held]. There is no crime, they should be released.

DEFENSE OF ATTORNEY OSMAN ABDI

The court should be persuaded by the arguments presented by the previous lawyers with whom I am defending these accused. The charges brought by the prosecution belong to another department. We are here for justice. Abdi Langare is now a member of an illegal organization that is against our nation and he now broadcasts from enemy radios and people hear him every day. It is amazing that we are asked to believe a person of that character. Pursuant to article 197 of SCC, if two statements contradict each other, the defendant's statement is followed. In his statement accused No. 13, Dr. Osman, said that he used to have qat with these individuals. That is not a crime. The defendants I represent (accused No. 13 and 18) must be released.

DEFENSE OF ATTORNEY BASHIR ARTAN

The four defendants I am representing (accused No. 19, 12, 21 and 22) have not been asked whether they belonged to an organization, and they did not confess to anything. Their cases should have been dropped. The existence of the organization has not been established. The prosecution did not fulfill the requirements of articles 110 and 163 of the SCC. The prosecution was afraid to drop the charges and left them to the court. The investigator's testimony was only about verbal statements that he himself wrote down, and there are no other witnesses that were brought before the court. Since there is no crime committed by the defendants I represent, they should be released and returned to their places of employment.

THE COURT'S ANALYSIS AND VERDICT

The following conclusions have been reached by the court after listening to the witnesses and hearing the arguments of all sides:

1) That between 1977 and 1978 some of the accused who thought of themselves as "intellectuals" held meetings at places of qat, discussed and exchanged opinions about the government; in particular, the regional government. They used as a cover the dissent that already existed in the region of Hargeisa.....

While still continuing with their secret meetings, they started to educate the public about the problems present in the region. At all times they presented the government in a bad light. Finally, in June of 1981, they strengthened their meetings, they held several consecutive meetings and they contacted members of the illegal organization SNM based in London and headed by DUQSI who lives in Saudi Arabia. Those members of SNM had managed to illegally enter the country and informed them about how the "Isaaq" clan in the Gulf States are now members of SNM. The members of SNM who came from Saudi Arabia were Adan Ali Farah (Adan Waali) and Mohamed Nur Handulle (ARAB) and they fled after the NSS began investigating this case. They [SNM members] were made responsible to start in Hargeisa an illegal organization opposed to the government and to start matters that are against the peace and security of the region and at the same time opposed to the unity of the nation. Afterwards, they [the SNM members] held many meetings with some of the accused telling them that all of the "Isaaq" clan except the Ida-Geli have joined the illegal SNM. They [the SNM members] indicated that every Somali clan has started their own force and that it was necessary for them to strengthen SNM and to stop serving the Marehan as the Ida-Geli does. After the two ("accused" Adan and Handulle) who were emissaries from the DUQSI-lead SNM, were successful in their efforts, they started an illegal organization they named RUDM which means "men born in the city". The following accused joined that organization:

- | | | |
|---------|---|--------------------------------|
| accused | 1 | Mohamed Barud Ali |
| " | 2 | Ahmed Mohamed Yusuf |
| " | 3 | Mohamed Haji Mohamud |
| " | 4 | Adan Yusuf Abokor |
| " | 5 | Abdirahman Abdillahi Haji Adan |

- “ 6 Ahmed Hussein Aabi
 “ 7 Hussein Mohamed Duale
 “ 8 Mohamoud Sheikh Hassan Tani
 “ 9 Abdillahi Ali Yusuf
 “ 12 Yusuf Abdillahi Kahin
 “ 13 Osman Abdi Megag
 “ 20 Bashe Abdi Yusuf
 “ 16 Moahmed Ali Ibrahim
 “ 15 Adan Warsama Said

In their initial meetings the defendants and the founders of RUDM (Adan Waali and Handulle) reminded each other of the injustice of the regional government and its lack of concern for the region, and they resolved at the same time to solely rely on the public and not to wait for government action, and also to secede from the rest of the Republic. They then began a committee called “SAMAFAL” [philanthropy, good samaritan] that collected money, material, medicine for the Hargeisa Hospital. Their objective was to make the citizens and the government confront each other so that they could gain the support of the public who would then join their illegal organization. It is also true that they met some of the public on the occasion of the wedding of accused No. 1 (Mohamed Barud Ali) held at the house in Guraysamo owned by accused No. 28 (Hassan Abdillahi Eelgeeye). Some of the defendants gave speeches there [at the wedding] that were intended to inflame the public. Among those speeches were some that related to injustices and the problems in the region and the fact that “boys are now becoming drug addicts, girls are becoming prostitutes, mothers are becoming qat sellers and the old men emigres”. It was mentioned at the same time that “soldiers are shooting people in the streets for no reason, schools have all decayed and that nobody cares about the roads and the hospitals”

Thus when the court carefully evaluated how these actions took place, and considering the confessions they gave in front of the court attorney, the court has decided that without doubt these defendants are guilty of wilfully committing these ugly actions that are anti-unity of the Somali nation, and that they violated article 3 (2) XLY 54 issued on 10.9.1970.

2. That accused No. 1 (Mohamed Barrud Ali) and No. 2 (Mohamed Ahmed Yusuf) were active members of the illegal RUDM that they started in Hargeisa. In September 1981, they together printed a journal called UFFO. They meant by UFFO “the wind that precedes rainfall”. In that journal they printed propaganda and lies against the leaders of the region, intended to inflame the people. They wanted the people to realize that the leaders were not honestly concerned about the problems of the region. These actions were meant to create anti-revolutionary sentiment.

In addition, accused Nos. 1&2 distributed the journal UFFO to all the members of the RUDM organization, and some copies were left in places around town, especially at busy locations such as Bar Hargeisa and Bar Kulmiye etc.....

Therefore, the court considering the confessions that these defendants wrote before the court attorneys and the exhibits (issue 1 of UFFO) and having seen how these crimes took place, finds accused No. 1 Mohamed Barud Ali and accused No. 2 Ahmed Mohamed Yusuf, guilty without doubt, and that they willingly violated article 19 of XLY of 10.9.1970.

3. It is also clear to the court that accused No. 3, Mohamed Haji Mohamud Omer and accused No. 5, Abdirahman Abdillahi Haji Adan, were active members of the illegal organization RUDM. In their houses one copy each of UFFO and an anti-revolutionary poem were found. Therefore, they are guilty of the charges of possession of articles criticizing the government and they violated article 19 XLY 54 of 10.9.1970.

4. Accused No. 16, Mohamed Ali Ibrahim, was also a member of the illegal organization RUDM that had been established inside the country. In addition a Makarof Pistol and six rounds of ammunition were found in his house. He had no permit for these. Thus the court considering his confessions in front of the court and having listened to the presentation of the evidence, without doubt concludes that Mohamed Ali Ibrahim, is guilty of possession of an illegal weapon under article 1 of XLY 65 3.11.77.

5. The following defendants; Omer Issa Awale (accused No. 18), Mohamed Ali Sulub (accused No. 19) and Ali Egeh Farah (accused No. 18) were accused of belonging to an illegal organization. After listening to the

witnesses, the court concludes that these defendants were not guilty of these crimes; they are however, guilty of the crime of NOT REPORTING A CRIME under article 22 XLY 54 10.9.1970. That is because they did not tell the NSS about the existence of the illegal journal that accused Nos. 1 and 2 published and that they themselves read several times.

6. It is also clear to the court that after accused No. 1 & 2 were arrested, several others: Ahmed Mohamed Madar (accused No. 17), Mohamed Abdi Je'er (accused No. 24) and Mohamed Ma'allin Osman (accused No. 25) started a campaign of terrorism to focus the attention of the public on this case. They decided to target the people they thought were behind the detentions and to drop explosives at their houses. After that, the above-mentioned defendants threw three bombs at the houses of the 1st Assistant of the Party of the Northwest Region, the house of businessman Tindeer and the house of the Commander of the 26th Division of the Army.....

Therefore, the court after considering their confessions and having seen the actions that they took, especially the houses they attacked, concludes without doubt that the defendants are guilty under articles 322, 325 and 332 of the SCC.

7. The following defendants: Mohamed Dagal Hirsi (accused No. 10), Mohamed Abdi Duale (accused No. 14), Ismail Abdi Huree (accused No. 21), Hassan Abdillahi Sh. Ali (accused No. 22) and Ahmed Hassan Madar (accused No. 23) were accused of the crime of membership in an illegal organization. The charges against these defendants were not proven

THEREFORE

THE COURT:

After seeing: Articles 3 (sec. 1/2). 18, 19 and 22 XLY 54 of 10.9.1970. Article 1 XLY 65 of 3.11.77, articles 322 (sec. 1/2), 325 and 332 SCC that are related to article 71 SCC-----

After seeing: Articles 68, 108, 109, 110, 112, 163,146, 155, 172 and 202 SCC-----

After seeing: Articles 40, 44, 109, 110, 119, 127, 128 (sec1/2) and 158

SCC-----
After seeing: Article 10 XLY 8 of 26.1.70 and the related article 151
SCC-----
After seeing: Articles 120, 121, 122, 123, 124 SCC-----

IT IS CLEAR

THAT:

1. Accused 1 and 2 are guilty of the crime of "MEMBERSHIP IN AN ILLEGAL ORGANIZATION AND THE WRITING OF ANTI-NATION PROPAGANDA".....
2. Accused 3 is guilty of the crime of "MEMBERSHIP IN AN ILLEGAL ORGANIZATION AND POSSESSION OF WRITTEN MATERIAL ANTAGONISTIC TO THE POLICIES OF THE REVOLUTION"
3. Accused No. 5 is guilty of the charges that are "MEMBERSHIP IN AN ILLEGAL ORGANIZATION AND POSSESSION OF A WRITTEN MATERIAL ANTAGONISTIC TO THE POLICIES OF THE REVOLUTION".....
4. Accused 4, 6, 7, 8, 12, 13, 15 and 20 are accused of the charges that are MEMBERSHIP IN AN ILLEGAL ORGANIZATION and are guilty.....
5. Accused 16 is guilty of the charges that are "MEMBERSHIP IN AN ILLEGAL ORGANIZATION AND POSSESSION OF A WEAPON WITHOUT PERMIT".....
6. Accused 17, 14 and 25 are guilty of the charges they are accused of that are "PARTICIPATION IN A CRIMINAL GROUP AND DISTURBING THE PUBLIC SECURITY".....
7. Accused 18, 19 and 11 are not guilty of the charge of MEMBERSHIP IN AN ILLEGAL ORGANIZATION the court replaces those charges with the crime of NOT INFORMING SECURITY ABOUT A CRIME under article 22 XLY 54 of 10.9.70.

THE COURT SENTENCES

B. Accused Mohamed Barud Ali and Accused Ahmed Mohamed Yusuf: LIFE TERM. THE COURT observed the rules that allow leniency.

I. Accused Mohamed Haji Mohamoud and accused Abdirahman Abdillahi Haji Adan on the count of *MEMBERSHIP IN AN ILLEGAL ORGANIZATION* each to 20 years, on the count of *POSSESSION OF WRITTEN MATERIAL ANTAGONISTIC TO THE POLICIES OF THE REVOLUTION* each to 10 years of imprisonment; the court has followed the rules of leniency.

J. Accused Mohamed Ali Ibrahim for the crime of *MEMBERSHIP IN AN ILLEGAL ORGANIZATION* to 20 years of imprisonment, on the count of *POSSESSION* of a *WEAPON WITHOUT A PERMIT* 5 years in prison and 10,000 shillings in fines; the court has followed the rules of leniency.

X. Accused Adan Yusuf Abokor, Ahmed Hussein Aabi, Hussein Mohamed Duale, Mohamoud Sheikh Hassan Tani. Abdillahi Ali Yusuf, Yusuf Abdillahi Kahin, Osman Abdi Megag, Bashi Abdi yusuf and Adan Warsama Said, each to 20 (twenty) years of imprisonment. The court has followed the rules of leniency.

KH. Accused Ahmed Mohamed Madar, Mohamed Abdi Je'er, and Mohamed Ma'alim Osman, for the crime of *PARTICIPATION IN A CRIMINAL ORGANIZATION* each to 3 years of imprisonment, for the crime of *TERRORISM BY THROWING HAND GRENADES* each to 2 years of imprisonment, for the crime of *ENDANGERING THE GENERAL SECURITY* each to 3 years of imprisonment. In total the punishment for each is 8 (eight) years in jail.

D. Accused Omer Issa Awale, Mohamed Ali Ibrahim and Ali Egeh Farah each to three years in prison.

The court releases accused: Said Mohamed Ibrahim, Ismail Hashi Madar, and Adan Abdillahi Ali "Eelgeye", after the Assistant public Prosecutor of the National Security Court of Hargeisa dropped the charges against them. Since the charges have been dropped, they should be released as per article 112 of SCC.

At the same time, the court releases from imprisonment the following defendants: Ismail Abdi Hurre, Hassan Abdisalam Sh. Ali, Ahmed Hassan Madar, Mohamed Abdi Duale, and Mohamed Dagal Hirsi, after the charges against them could not be proven. The court orders their quick release from prison if they are not in jail for other crimes.

The court orders the return of the typewriters: OLIIVETTI LMM 4445733 to the Pepsi-Cola factory and CITIZEN K3 SER No. 3008567 to the owner, Mohamoud Qalib. The court also orders that the MAKAROF DAM 3138 and 6 rounds of ammunition be confiscated.

Hargeisa, March 4, 1982

Chairman

Sharif Sheekhuna Maye, Colonel

(signed)

Senior Assistant

Mohamed Ali Abdi

ADVISORS:

1. Attorney Yusuf Abdi Haji
2. Colonel Ahmed Abdi Awale

STAMP OF THE SECURITY
COURT OF THE NORTHWEST REGION

APPENDIX III

**Original document of the Verdict of the Hargeisa
National Security Court in Somali language.
by Hargeisa National Security Court, 1982.**

Few days after the verdict of the Court that tried "*My Teachers' Group*", copies of the transcript of the Court decision were distributed to the relatives of "*My Teachers' Group*". The author is thankful to those people who fled to Ethiopia during the Hargeisa destruction in 1988, taking with them this copy of the transcript and preserved this important document for future references.

The last pages of the document are missing from this copy, but the reader can refer to the translation of the same document in appendix II.



BX. 10/82
WG. 18/82

Jam. D Somali

Maxkummad Badbadada
G W Y

HARBEYSA

Xukun lid Ku Ah Maxamed Baarud Cali & 27 Fedayeen oo Kele

Harbeysa 4 3 82

JAMHUURIYADDA DIMUQRAADIGA SOCMAALIYEED
UMMATA DADKA SOCMAALIYEED
MAXAMADKA BADEAADADA G. G. GALBEED

Sannadka Kun Sagsaal Soqol iyo Siddeetan iyo Laba, maalinta 4aad
Bisha Kraso, Kaagalada Hargeysa.-

LAXKAMADDA BADEAADADA GOROLKA WAQOYI GALBEED

G/Dhexe Shariif Sheekhuna Iyee.....GUDDOCIYIYE
2. Gars. Yuusuf Xaaji Cabdi CaliLA TALIYE
3. G/le Axmed Cabdi CawaaleLA TALIYE
oo uu ka soo qayb galay Dadweyne U Doode Dhamme Cabdulle Cali.
Kaalayena uu ka ahaa Maxamed Cali Cabdi (Carab)

MAXAY KU DHAWAAQDAY XUKUNKA SOO SOOCCA OO KU SAABSAN DAWLADDII
KU TAAGHAYD EDEYSANAYAASLA KALA AH:

1. Inj. MAXAMED BAARUUD CALI L/31 Ina Cudbi Cali, ka shaqeeya Wer shadda PEPSIGA Hargeysa-Qareenkiisa Ismaaciil Jumcaale.
2. AXMED MAHMED YUUSUF"Jabane" L/33, ina Cawo Gilmi, Ex-Bare Jaamici ah Qareenkiisu ahaa Faysal X-Jaamac.
3. Dr. MAXAMED X. MAXAMUUD CUMAR L/33, ina Basra Ismaaciil, Ganacsade ah, Qareenkiisu ahaa Ismaaciil J.-
4. Dr. AADAN YUUSUF ABOKAR L/34, ina Kaali Yuusuf, ahna Maamulaha Isbitaalka Guud ee Hargeysa, Qareenkiisu ahaa Faysal Xaaji.
5. Dr. ABDULWAHAB CABDULLAHI X. AIDAN, L/26, Ina Dehabac Maxamuud shaqee- shaqeeya Kafiska Iskaada G/G/G, uhaa Qareenkiisu ahaa Faysal Xaaji.
6. AXMED KUSEEN CAABI L/33, ina Faadumo Meccad, ka shaqee- ya Bankiga Ganacsiga & Keydka-Laanta Hargeysa.
7. XUSEEN MAXAMED DUCAALE"Berberaawi" L/32, ina Mako Ibrahim, ahna Bare Jaamici ah-Qareen-ahaa I-Jum.-
8. Dr. MAXAMUUD SHEEH KASAN WAANI, L/26, ina Maryan Beegsi, ka sha- qeeya Isb-Hargeysa-Qareen-Ism-Jum.-
9. Dr. CABDULLAHI CALI YUUSUF "CoLaad", L/34, ina Caasha Cabdillaahi, ka shaqeeya Mak-Darqa Qaranka ee Xa- mar, Qareenkiisu ahaa Xasan Sh-Ibraahim.
10. MAXAMED DAGAAL XIRSI, L/32, ina Muumins Maxamed, Ex-Bare Jaamici ah, Shaqo Laawe Qar-Xasan Sh.-
11. CALI CIGE FAARAX"Cali Biid" L/29, ina Ardo Kabar, ahna Maam-Wak- Dhismaha Hargeysa, Qareen-Xacen Sheekh.-

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...../2.

12. YUUSUF CABDULLAHI KASHIN L/29, ina Cibaado Warsame, Beersaale ah, Qareenkiisu ahaa Bashiir Cartan.
13. Dr. CISMAAN CABDI MEYCAAG, L/30, ina Kaaha Faarax, ahna Takhtar Shaqo Laawe, Qareen- Cusmaan Cabdi.
14. MAXAMED CABDI DUCAALE"Ayuub" L/35, ina Khadiija Xaaji, ka sha- qeeya Sacuudiga, Qareen-Xussen Bile.
15. AADEN WARSAME SAGIID L/33, ina Cawa Ismaaciil, ahna Ganac- sade, Qareenkiisu ahaa Ismaaciil J.
16. LAXALED CALI IBRAAHIM L/35, ina Faaduma Ducaale, ka shaqee- ya Kafiska Iskaada G.G.G., Qar-X-Bile.
17. AXMED MAXAMED MADAR L/28, ina Caasha Cali, ahna Bare Jaa- mici ah, Qareenkiisu ahaa X-Bile.-
18. CULAR CIISE CATAALE L/33, ina Aamina Nuur, ahna Xisaabi- yaha Wak-Bad-Shaqaalaha ee Hargeysa, Qareenkiisu ahaa Cusmaan Cabdi.
19. Dr. MAXAMUUD CALI SULUB, L/30, ina Faadumo Maxamed, ka shaqee- ya Isb-Hargeysa, Qareen-Bashiir Car.
20. HAASHE CABDI YUUSUF L/29, ina Aamina Ibrahim, ahna Ganac- sade, Qareenkiisu ahaa Faysal Xaaji.-
21. ISMAACIIL CABDI HURRE, L/26, ina Xabiiba Mooge, u shaqeeya ganacsade X-Cali, Qareen-Bashiir.
22. XASAN CABDISALAAN SH-CALI, L/23, ina Cibaado Xaaji, ka shaqeeya Wer-shadda Pepsiga Har-Qareen-Bashiir.
23. AXMED XASAN LADAR, L/29, ina Faaduma Caabi, Shaqo Laawe, Qareenkiisu ahaa Ismaaciil Jumcaale.-
24. MAXAMUUD CABDI JICIIIR, L/34, ina Khadiija Daarood, ahna Bare Jaamici ah, Qareenkiisu Xuseen Bile.
25. MAXAMED M. CALILIN CISMAAN AXMED, L/32, ina Shukri Jaamac, ahna Bare Jaamici ah Qareen-Xuseen Bile.
26. SAGIID MAXAMED IBRAAHIM, L/33, ina Eeko Kaariye, ahna Bare Jaa- mici, Qareenkiisu Xuseen Bile.
27. G/Dhexe ISMAACIIL KAASHI MADAR, L/..., Madaxa Waaxda Sannadka Qaybta 26aad KDS, Qareen-X-Bile.
28. XASAN CABDULLAHI CALI "Coalgeeyo" L/36, ina Faaduma Muxumed, ahna Arile, Qareenkiisu ahaa Ismaaciil J.

L A X I R A Y:

Eed-1aad 4-11-81, Eed-2aad 2-11-81, Eed-10aad & 19aad 11-11-81, Eed- 3aad, 4aad, 5aad, 7aad, 8aad & 9aad 19-11-81, Eed-11aad, 12aad, 13aad, 14aad, 15aad, 16aad & 16aad 4-12-81, Eed-28aad 4-12-81, Eed-6aad

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...../3.-

5-12-81, Eed-17aad 14-12-81, Eed-20aad 29-12-81, Eed-24aad & 25aad 30-12-81, Eed-21aad & 22aad 9-1-82, Eed-23aad 10-1-82, Eed-26aad 6-2-82, Eed-27aad Dibed Joog:-

K U S E D E Y S A N

B. Bedeysanaha 1aad (Inj. Maxamuud Baaruud Cali):

" 2aad (Axmed Maxamed Yuusuf "Jabane") &

" 3aad (Maxamed Kaaji Maxamuud Cumar), waxaa wadaajir

la idiinku eedeynayaa Dembiga ah "ABAABULID URUR KAARAAN AH", kana soo horjeeda Midnimada Ummadda Soomaaliyeed ee ku xusan Qod-3aad qaybtiisa 1aad, X.L.Y.54 ee 10-9-1970kii oo xiriir la leh Qod-71aad X.C.S., sababtoo ah in aad Magaalada Hargeysa ka abaabusheen "URUR" ka soo horjeeda Midnimada Ummadda Soomaaliyeed oo aad ku magacowdeen R.U.D.K., kasoo mihniiisu yahay "Ragga U Dhashay Magaalada".

T. Eed-1aad & kan 2aad, waxaa gaar ahaan la idiinku eedeynayaa Dembiga ah QORID DAAAYADO KU LID AH QARANNILADA ee ku xusan Qod-1aad (qaybtiisa 1aad) ee isla XLY.54 ee 10-9-1970kii, xiriirna la leh Qodobka 71aad X.C.S., sababtoo ah in idinkoo Madax u ah "Ururka RUDE" aad misna abaabusheen, daabacdeen, soo searten kaddibna qaybiseen Jornal aad ku qorteen daacayado ka dhan ah Midnimada oo aad kaga been sheegeysaan ujeedooyinka & Siyaasadda Kacaanka, Jornaalkaasoo aad u bixiseen "UFFO" oo aad micnaheeda ulajeedeen Dabeyska ka soo norreysa roobka, idinkoo ulajeeda in "URURKA R.U.D.K." iyo Jornaalkuba ay hordhac u yihiin Siyaasado Kacaanka lagu majo-xaabinayo, oo ay ka dambeeyaan Dad ku nool Dibedda kana soo horjeeda Qarennimada Soomaaliyeed.

J. Eed-3aad, waxaa gaar ahaan laguugu eedeynayaa dembiga ah "HAYSASHO QORAAL LID KU AH SIYAASADDA QARANKA" ee ku xusan Qod-19aad isla XLY.54 ee 10-9-1970kii, sababtoo ah in gurigaaga laga helay "Hal Koobi oo ah Jornaalka UFFO, oo ay soo saareen Eed-1aad & kan 2aad, kuwaas oo aad Madax ka wada tihiin Ururka Kaarsanta ah ee R.U.D.K.-

X. Eed-4aad Dr. AADEN YUUSUF ABOKOR, 5aad CAB/MAAN CAB/HI X.AADEN,
 " 6aad AXMED KUSEEN CAADI, 7aad KUSEEN MAX'ED (DERBERAAMI),
 " 8aad MAXAMUUD SH.X.TAANI, 9aad Dr. CABDILLAAMI CALI COLAAD,
 " 10aad MAXAMED DAQAAL XIRSI, 11aad CALI CIGE FAARAX(C.Biid),
 " 12aad YUUSUF CAB/HI "QSYDH", 13aad Dr. CISAAN CAADI LAYGAAG,
 " 14aad MAX'ED CAADI "AYUB", 15aad AADEN MARSAME SAGIID,
 " 16aad MAXAMED CALI IBRAAHIM, 17aad AXMED MAXAMED MADAR,
 " 18aad CUMAR CIGSE CAGAALE, 19aad Dr. MAXAMUUD CALI SULUB,
 " 20aad MARSAME CAADI YUUSUF, 21aad ISMAACIIL CAADI HURRE,
 " 22aad XASAN CAB-SHEEEN CALI, 23aad AXMED XASAN MADAR,

..//..

...../4.-

Waxaa wadaajir la idiinku eedeynayaa Dembiga ah ka "QAYB GELID URUR KAARAAN AH", kana soo horjeeda Midnimada Ummadda Soomaaliyeed, ee ku xusan Qod-3aad (Qaybtiisa 2aad) X.L.Y.54 ee 10-9-70kii, xiriirna la leh Qod-71 X.C.S., sababtoo ah in aad Xubno Pir-Fircoon ka ahaydeen "URURKA R.U.D.K.", ee Eedeysanayaasha 1aad, 2aad & 3aad ay ka abaabusheen Magaalada Hargeysa, ujeeddadiisuna ahayd in la wiiqo Siyaasadda Kacaanka, idiinkoo ka qayb gelay Kulanno iyo Shirar kala duwan ee Ururkaasi yeeshay, go'aannadiisana si buuxda uga qayb gashen, Fikradana uga dhiibteen.-

KH. Bedeysanaha 5aad (Cabdiraxmaan Cabdillaahi), waxaa gaar ahaan laguugu eedeynayaa Dembiga ah, "HAYSASHO QORAAL LID KU AH SIYAASADDA QARANKA" ee ku xusan Qod-19aad X.L.Y. 54 ee 10-9-1970kii, sababtoo ah in Gurigaaga laga helay Gabay sad gacantaada ku qortay oo lagu canbaareynayo Siyaasadda iyo Mabda' Kacaanka.-

D. Bedeysanaha 16aad Maxamed Cali Ibraahim, waxaa gaar ahaan laguugu eedeynayaa Dembiga ah "HAYSASHO HUB SHARCI DARRO AH", oo ku xusan Qod-1aad X.L.Y.65 ee 3dii Nofembar 1977dii, sababtoo ah in Gurigaaga laga soo helay Bastooladda Maakaarofka ah tirsigeedu yahay AY3138, iyo 6 (lix) xababood oo lagala soo galay Xad-ku sheegga.-

R. Bedeysanaha 17aad Axmed Maxamed Madar & Bedeysanaha 20aad Baashe Cabdi Yuusuf, waxaa si gaar ah la idiinku eedeynayaa Dembiyada kala ah 1)-ABAABULID URUR DEMBI FALE AH, ee ku xusan Qod-322 (1aad) ee X.C.S., 2)-KU CABSII GELIN QARXIN BOMBO GACMEED ee ku xusan Qod-325 ee X.C.S. iyo 3)- HALIS GELIN NABADGELYADA GUUD ee ku xusan Qod-332 ee X.C.S. oo xiriir la leh Qod-71aad X.C.S., sababtoo ah in aad abaabusheen Urur ujeeddadiisu tahay in lagu tallaabsado dembiyo kala duwan, isla markaana aad labadiina iyo eedeysanayaasha 24aad, 25aad, 26aad iyo 27aad, aad ku qaxiseen Guryo ay leeyihiin Dad isugu jira Madax iyo Shacab "BOMBOOYINKA" gacanta, isla mar ahaantaana aad halis geliseen Nabadgelyada Dadweynaha, idiinkoo BOMBOOYINKA aad qaxiseen ku tuurey meelo aadna habsan in dad joogo iyo in kale.-

S.- Eed-24aad (Maxamuud Cabdi Jiciir), Eed-25aad (Maxamed Macallin Cismaan), Eed-26aad (Saciid Maxamed Ibraahim) & Eed-27aad (G/Dhexe Ismaaciil Xaashi Madar), afartiina waxaa eedeysanayaasha 17aad iyo 20aad, la idiin kula eedeynayaa Dembiyada kala ah 1)- KA QAYB QAADA-SHO URUR DEMBI FALE AH ee ku xusan Qod-322 (Qy-2aad) X.C.S., 2)-KU CABSII GELIN QARXIN BOLBOOYIN GACMEED ee ku xusan Qod-325 X.C.S. iyo 3)- HALIS GELIN NABADGELYADA GUUD ee ku xusan Qod-332 X.C.S. oo xiriir la leh Qod-71 X.C.S., sababtoo ah in aad ka mid ahaydeen Urur Dembi

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fale ah, kana qayb qaadateen, gacanna ka geysateen BOMBOOYIN GACMEED lagu qarxiyey Guryo ay kala deggen yihiin Dad Madax iyo Shacabba leh, isla markaana Bombooyinkaas aad halis ku geliseen Nabudgelyada Guud ee Dadweynaha.-

SH.-Bed.26aad Kasan Cabdullasahi Cali "Ceelgeeye", waxaa laguugu eedeynayaa Dembiga ah "AFMINSHAARINIMO", ee ku xusan Qod.21aad XLY. 54 ee 10.5.1970kii, sababtoo ah in markii dembiyada ay galeen dar-tood loo xiray eedeysanayaasha kor ku qoran qaarkood, aad ku dha-gaaqday, fidisayna dacaayado Lid ku ah Hawlaha Madaxda G.W.G. iyo Hay'adaha baarista, adigoo sheegay in eedeysanayaasha la xiray aysan wax dembi ah gelin, hase yeeshee la shirqoolayo iyo in qoraalka Jornaalka Ufo ay ka dambeeyaan isla Madaxda Dowladda ee G.W.G.-

Dembiyadaasu waxay ka dhaceen Magaalada Hargeysa 6dii (liix-dii) bilood ee ugu dambeeyey Sannadkii 1961kii.-

F L L I Y O X E E R

Garsooraha Maxkamadda markii la horkeenay Eedeysanayaasha kor ku xusan, una akhriyey warqadda EEDDA isagoo isla markaasna u sheegaya jawaabihii uu Sharcigu u bannaaneyey sida ay qorayaan Qodobada 103 & 104 KHCS, waxay Eedeysanayaashu ku kala jawaabeen dhammaantood DAFIRAAD, hase yeeshee Eedeysanaha 16aad Maxamed Cali Ibraahim oo ku wada eedeysnaa Dembiyada kala ah "KA QAYB QAADASHO URUR XAARAAN ah iyo HAYSASHO HUB SHARCI DARRO AH, wuxuu QIRTAY Dembiga ah Haysa-sho Hub Sharci darro ah.-

Kaddib waxay Maxkamaddu amartay Dadweyne U Doodaha inuu soo caddeeyo in DEMBI DHACAY, hadduu dhacayna ay galeen Eedeysanayaashani, si-da waafaqsan Qodobada 110 & 163 KHCS.-

H O R D H A C

Dadweyne U Dooduhu wuxuu Maxkamadda u soo jeediyey Hordhac sida uu qoraayo Qod.114 KHCS, yirina sannadkii 1961kii ayey Debadda ka yimaadeen Dad Soomaaliyeed oo Qareenka ka soo horjeeda, lana kulmeen Eedeysanayaasha oo isugu jira Jaamiciiyiin iyo Indheer garato ah, oo abaabulay Ururkan, qoreenna Jariidada Kacaanka liddiga ku ah, qabashadoodiinna waxaa dhacay dembiyada kale, waxaan keenayaa ma-ragta dacwaddan:

MAREHMATIGA 1AAD : DHALLE DAHIR CIID CIIMI: asagoo dhaarsan wuxuu yiri: Waxaan ahay Madaxa Xafiiska Nabudgelyada C.Q.S. ee Qaybta 26aad X.D.S., waxaa jirtay in bishii Oktoobar 1961kii, dhammakeedii

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warar lanagu soo gaarsiiyey in Hargeysa uu ka soo baxo Joornaal Dad Soomaaliyeed ay soo saaraan. Dad xog-ogaal noqon kara ayaan u dirnay. Bin la yiraahdo Cabdi Laangare wuxuu ii keenay Joornaal la yiraahdo "UFFO", Ururka soo saarana la yiraahdo R.U.D.M., waana akhriyey Jornaalkaas, kaddib waxaan u geeyey Jeneral GAANNI, Taliyaha Qaybta 26aad XDS. Markaan aragnay Joornaalka iyo Ururka soo saara magaciisa, waxay noogu muqatay in aan u gudbino Taliyaha NSSka Gobolka W.Galbeed si ay u baaraan.-

IN/ DADWEYNE U DOODE & M/1AAD:

J. 5 (shan) warqadood oo la teebgareeyey oo isku xiran ayey ahayd, mana xusuusan karo sidii ay u qornayd, haddii aan arkose waan garan lahaa.

J. TUSID - Joornaalku waa asagii.

J. Waxaa ii keenay Joornaalkan nin la yiraahdo Aadan (oo Boliiska ka tirsanaan jiray) oo Cabdi Laangare la sooday.

J. Aadan-kaas maalin ayuu Kafiiskayga iigu yimid wuxuuna ii sheegay inuu Xamar ka yimid oo uu la soo kullmay G/Dhexe Maxamuud Samatar oo Kafiiskayaga Xamar Madax ka ah, wuxuuna ii sheegay inuu jeelyahay inuu i arko ilana sheekaysto, wuxuuna la sooday Cabdi Laangare.

J. Cabdi Laangare aniga ayaa u diray Joornaalka, wuxuuna igu yiri Aadan ayaa ii keenay iina soo helay.

J. Ma aanaan weydiinin Aadan inuu asagu u dhiibay Cabdi Laangare Joornaalka.

J. Taliyaha Qaybta 26aad aniga ayaa Joornaalka u geeyey, asaga, Aadan iyo Cabdi Laangare si gear ayey isku arkeen.-

IN/QAREEN ISMAACIIL JUMGALE & M/1AAD:

J. Joornaal waxaa la yiraahdo "Hadal daabacan oo ujeedo la leeyahay,

J. Magaca UFFO ayaa ka dhigay Joornaal iyo Ururka soo saaray.

J. Maan arag cid daabacday iyo meesha lagu daabacay.

IN/QAREEN FAYSAL & M/1AAD:

S. Ma wax been ah ayaa ku qoran Joornaalka? MAXKAMADDU WELI KA JOO-JISBEY SU'ALSHAAS QAREENKA.

S. Ma jiraan magacyo caddeynayaa dadkii qoray Joornaalka?

J. Ma jiraan wax magacyo ah oo ku qoran Joornaalka oo ah ciddii qortey.

J. Brayga UFFO IYO RUDE ayaa ku tusaaya inuu Joornaalka ka soo horjeedo Dowladda, waayoo waa Urur aan Dowladdu ogaayn.-

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J. Markii Joornaalka ay ii keensan ayaan lacag siiyey Cabdi Laangare & Aadan.

IM/QAREEN XASAN SHEEKH & M/1AAD:

J. Waxaan ka marag fureyaa Joornaalka, xogtayduna waa tan aan sheegay.

IM/QAREEN CUSMAAN & M/1AAD:

J. Wuxuu marag furkaygu ku egyahay Joornaalka--

QAREEN BASHIIR: Ma su'aalayo.

IM/QAREEN BILE & M/1AAD:

J. Markii lacagta aan siiyey waxay ahayd markii ay Joornaalka ii keeneen ee way ahayn markaan u diray.

J. Waan fahmay UFFO siday u qoran tahayba.

J. Ciidanka Booliiska ayuu ka tegey Aadan, shaqose ma hayo.

IM/2AAD DADWEYNE U DOODABA & M/1AAD:

J. Uffo waxaan u aqoona "DABAYL KULUL"

J. Macno kale ma laguugu sheegay? J. Macnaheedu waa sidaas.

IM/MAXKAMADDA & M/1AAD:

J. Wax bearis ah kumaan samaynin Joornaalka cidda soo saartay.

J. Cabdi Laangare wuxuu yiri Aadan ayaan ii keenay. Aadanu wuxuu ii sheegay in niman dhallinyaro ah oo guux-guuxaaya ay jiraan Taliyaha Qaybta 26aad ayaan u sheegayaa ayuu i yiri.

J. Joornaalka Jeneral Gaanni ayaan u gudbiyey, asaga ayaa NSSka u gudbiyey.

J. Waxaan weydiiyey Cabdi Laangare wuxuuna ii sheegay in Joornaalka ay qoreen Maxamed Baaruud (Eed-1aad), Jabane (Eed-2aad) iyo Dr. Taanni (Eed-3aad), waxaana lagu daabacay Wershadda Pepsi Cola.

SOO JEEDIN DOO QAREEN ISMAACIIL:

Haddii ay Maxkamaddu su'aal cusub keento, Edeysanayaasha aan difaacayana wax ka sheegayso, Habka (Procedure) oo dhan ayaa isbedeelaaya, marag kale hala weydiiyo su'aalahaas--

JAWAABTA M/1AAD:

Maxkamaddu wayay raadinaysaa garsoon daddaalad ku dhisan, wixii cusub ee ka soo baxa su'aasha, Maxkamadda u soo jeedi.

M/1AAD - CELIIS JAWAAB:

Cabdi Laangare wuxuu ii sheegay in Dr. Taanni (Eed-3aad), Baaruud (Eed-1aad) iyo Jabane (Eed-2aad) ay Qoreen Joornaalka UFFO, kuna daabaceen Wershadda Pepsi Cola--

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QAREEN ISMAACIIL & MAXKAMADDA:

Qareen Xasan Sheekh wuxuu maraggu ugu jawaabay waxaan ka marag ahay in warqaddu (Joornaalka) la ii keenay aadan raad-raacin, ma ogi eedeysanayaasha in ay xiriir la leeyihiin. Maxkamaddan wuxuu u sheegay in eedeysanayaasha 1aad, 2aad & 3aad ay qoreen Joornaalka UFFO iyamaa Run ah?

M/1aad: J. Labada su'aaloodta waan ka jawaabay--

SOO JEEDIN QAREEN ISMAACIIL:

Ha lagu dacweeyo maraggan Qod-29i XCS, waa markhaati Beenaale, isku arrin ayuu laba siiyood ugu kala jawaabay.

JAWAAB CELIN XEER ILAALIYAHNA:

Been ma sheegin maraggu, su'aasha dambe hore loona weydiinin.

ADKEYN QAREEN ISMAACIIL:

Ha lagu qodo Qodobkan, ma aha Xeer Ilaaliyuhu inuu Difaaco maragga uu keensaday, Kiteabna waa lagu dhaariyey, Eeddu waa DIL ciyaar ma ah waa KIIS addunka oo dhan indhaha ay ku hayaan Verbaalahana 3 Kaaliye ayaa qoraaya--

JAWAAB MAXKAMADDA:

3 (siddex) Kaaliye wey qorayaan, dhegeystayaasha Hoolka fadhyaama labada su'aalood & Jawaabahoodaba wey maqlaayeen. Maxkamaddu maragga dhegaysatay codsiga Qareen Ismaaciil iyo Jawaabta K/X-I., way diidey soo jeedintii Qareenka kuna saabsan in maraggu lagu dacweeyo Markhaati Beenaale.

MARAGGA 2AAD: C/SARE XASAN MAXAMED NUUR TALIYAHNA NSSKA G/W/G:

Dhaar dabadeed wuxuu yiri:

Bishii Oktoobar dhamaadkeedii 1981 ayaa war nalagu soo gaarsiiyey in Joornaal magaalada Hargeysa gudaheeda laga soo searo, isla markaana lagu akhristo magaalada Joornaalka la yiraahdo S.N.I. oo ka soo baxa LONDON laguna dardariyey suuqa Hargeysa warqado dacaayad ah oo SNM leedahay. Markaas anagu Xafiis ahaan maannu helin, hase yeeshee Taliyaha Qaybta 26aad ayaa noo soo gudbiyey Joornaal la yiraahdo UFFO iyo cadad ka mid Joornaalka SNM-- Jaalle Cumar Jeer oo ka tirsan G.S.R. ayaa lala socodsiiyey anaguna Xafiiskayaga Xamar ayaan gaarsiinay. Haddib Xamar ayaa laga soo amray in la baaro. Ninkii warka soo sheegay wuxuu sheegay in eedeysanaha 2aad (A.L.Y.) guri-giisa hal koobi Joornaalka UFFO laga soo qaaday, waxaanan soo xirmay Edeysanaha 2aad oo sheegay in asaga iyo eedeysanaha 1aad ay qoreen oo keliya Joornaalkaas. Maallintii markaan ku laabtay gelin-

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kii dambe Kafiiskaayga, waxa la ii keenay qoraal uu eedeysanaha 2aad ii soo qoray oo uu iigu dhiibay Sarkaal Xafiiska joogay, waxuuna ku qoray warkii hore la iga qoray waa been ee waxaan arrintan isku ognahay 20 (Labaaton) Qof oo uu magacyadooda qaar sheegay, qaarna uu yiri wajiyadooda ayaan garanayaa, kadibna waxaan soo xirnay eedeysanaha 1aad, waxaana kama looga soo diray Guddi Baariseed, Eedeysanayaasha 1aad & 2aad iyo Dokumentiyadii ilaa markaas aan ka hayey, ayaaga ayaan ku wareejiyey.--

IM/DAD.EYNE U DOODAHA & M/2AAD:

- Wuxuu akhriyey maraggu Joornaalka wixii dusha laga qornaa.
- J. Ma xusuusan karo taariikhda la xiray Eedeysanaha 2aad.
- J. Laba cisho ayaa u dhexeysay eedeysanaha 1aad & 2aad xarigooda.
- J. Labaaton qof ayuu qoraal ku bixiyey eedeysanaha 2aad.
- J. Eed-1aad shooqista eed-2aad ayaan ku soo xirnay.
- J. Eed-2aad warqad magacayga ku qoran yahay ayuu ii soo diray oo uu gacantiisa ku qoray.
- J. TUSID. Warqaddani waa tii uu ii soo qoray Eed-2aad.
- J. Waxaa ku qoran: Ku: Col.Xasan Maxamed, waxaan xusuustay (anigoo aan mar wada xusuusan karni magacyada ku qornaa) ay kala yihiin Aadan Cali Faarax, Aadan Aw Saciid Warsame, Maxamed Baaruud Cali, Baashe Cabdi Yuusuf, Dr.Sulub, Dr.Bashiir, Dr.Xaddi, Daahir Faarax Jire iyo eedeysanaha 2aad laftiisa iyo qaar kale oo badan. Akhristayaasha Uffo way badan yihiin, inkastoo aysan koobiyadu badneyn, waxaana loo akhristaa si wareeg ah, Eedeysanaha ayaa qoray oo saxcekey warqaddan.
- J. Su'aal keliya ayaan markaasi weydiiyey eedeysanaha, waxaannu iigu jawaabay inuu hubo in raggaani yihiin ragii ka mid ahaa ragii la oga.
- J. Eed-1aad waxba anigu kama ogi.
- J. Waxaan ku wareejiyey Guddi oo uu Madax ka yahay G/Sare Cali Kuseen, caddeyntii eed-2aad iyo labada eedeysane 1aad & 2aad.

IM/QARBEN FAYSAL & M/2AAD:

- S. Qoraalka SHN iyo UFPO ayaa kuu soo gudbiyey?
- J. Waxaa ii soo gudbiyey S/Guuto Gaanni.
- S. Ma ogtahay cidda keentay labadaas Joornaal?
- J. Ma ogaanin cidda u keentay General Gaanni.
- S. Cabdi Isangare ma kuu sheegay in Ladan Joornaalka keenay?
- J. Laya, wuxuu Cabdi Isangare ii sheegay inuu ka soo qaaday asagu guriga eed-2aad..

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- S. Mala handaday mise la dilay Eed-2aad?
- J. Inta aan ogahay lama dilin.
- S. (TUSID) warqadda magaca ah SUUB ma qoraal ka geddisanaa farta kale?
- J. Jawaab waa maya ee biiraha (Qalinka) ayaa lagu celceliyey.
- S. Liiskan Eed-2aad qoray Cabdi Isangare ma ku jiray? J. Haa.
- S. Joornaalka SHN ma ogtahay cidda laga soo qaaday?
- J. Ma ogaanin.
- S. Ragga liiska ku qoran ma wada xirteen?
- J. Rag xiran iyo rag kaleba waa ku qoran yihiin.
- IM/QARBEN ISLAACIIL & M/2AAD:
- S. Warqaddan (Joornaalka) ma hab Kafiiseed ayaa laguugu soo gudbiyey mise waa lagu dhiibay?
- J. Gacanta ayaa la iiga dhiibay.
- S. Markii hore warbixin ayaa laga qoray eed-2aad markii dambena warbixin 2aad ayaa laga qoray, midkoodeedbuu xor ahaa?
- J. Tan hore si xornimo ah ayaa looga qoray, tan labaadna la mid.
- S. Ma waafaqsan yihiin labada caddeymoood qod-201 XHCS?
- J. Labada caddeymooodba Xeer Islaaliyaha ayaa haya.
- S. Eed-1aad goormaa ayaa la soo xiray?
- J. Dhammasdii Oktoobar ayaa la soo xiray, markuu sheegay Eed-2aad.
- S. Eed-1aad wax maka qortay? J. Laya.--
- IM/QARBEN KASAN SHEEKH & M/2AAD:
- S. Qoraalka farta ah ee eed-2aad ma hortaada ayuu ku saxcekey, mise ayada oo saxceexan ayaa lagu keenay?
- J. Ayada oo saxceexan ayaa la ii keenay.
- S. Qalinka saxceexa iyo Qalinka qoraalka kale ma is leeyihiin?
- J. Ma kala garan karo in ay kala duwan yihiin iyo in kale.
- S. Baaristaadii ma ogtahay in ay laba qallin ahayeen mise mid?
- J. Ma baarin.
- S. Sow waajib kuguma ay ahayn in aad baarto oo aad ogaato?
- J. Sababta aan u baari waayey waxay ahayd waxaan ku wareejiyey Guddiga.--
- IM/QARBEN CUSMAN & M/2AAD:
- S. Warbixinta Joornaalka markuu soo gudbisay ciddii keentay? Mise ma la socotay ciddii keentay?
- J. Maya ee hore ayaan u oga dadka keenay.--

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- S. Ma adige ayaa u yeortay Dadkii Keenay Joornaalka?
 J. Cabdi Laangare ayaa igu yiri aniga ayaa keenay.
 S. Ururku ma jiraa, mase ogatay?
 J. Urur waxba kama sheegin ee waxaan ka hadlay Joornaalka iyo xarigga Eed-1aad iyo 2aad.-

IM/QAREEN BASHIIR & M/2AAD:

- S. Cabdi Laangare wax ma qortay?
 J. Haa, wuxuu ii sheegay inuu guriga Eed-2aad ka soo gaaday Joornaalka UFFO sariirtiisa hoosteeda.
 S. Cabdi Laangare meesha uu jiro ma ogatay? J. Maya.
 S. Taariikhdiisa ma taqaanaa? J. Waxba kama sheegi karo taariikhda Cabdi Laangare.
 S. Imisa Bedeysane ayaa xirnaa markaad Guddiga dacwadda ku wareejiyey? J. Waxaa xirnaa Eed-1aad & 2aad.-

IM/QAREEN KUSEFN BILE & M/2AAD:

- S. Wax kale ma ka aragtay Joornaalkan?--
 J. Koobigan hore iyo koobi Guddigu i tustay.
 S. Idiinku ma baarteen oo ma hesheen meesha Joornaalka uu ka yimid?
 J. War ahaan annaga oo u haynna ayaa la ii soo gudbiyey Joornaalka SNE iyo UFFO min hal koobi.
 S. Ma baarteen halka dhabta ah ee ay ka soo baxdo UFFO?
 J. Maya ee ninkii la igu sheegay ayaan soo qabtay.
 S. Eed-2aad markaad wax ka qoreyseen wax ma la gaarsiyey?
 J. Markaan wax ka qoraayey Sarkaal ayaa ila joogay, wax la gaarsiyey ma jiraan, isna waxba iima sheegin, midda kale wuxuu ku xirnaa bannaanka Xafiiska NSSka hortiiisa, laba cishona wuu xirnaa.
 S. Joornaalka ayaa keenay ayaa lagu yiri?
 J. Rag badan ayaa lagu tilmaamay, laakin Cabdi Laangare ayaan la kulmey.
 S. Maka warhaysaa meel uu jiro Cabdi Laangare?
 J. Meel uu jiro kama war hayo Cabdi Laangare.--

IM/MAXKAMADDA & M/2AAD:

- S. Ma weydiisay eedeysanaha inuu saga qoray caddooynta labaad?
 J. Haa, wuxuuna ii sheegay inuu asagu qoray.-
QAREEN KUSMAAN: Maxkamaddu waxaan ka codsanayaa in ay maraggu ii su'aasho:
 S. Xageebuu ka ka keenay Cabdi Laangare Joornaalka UFFO?

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- J. Cabdi Laangare wuxuu yiri Joornaalka anagoo wado qayilaynaa Eed-2aad ayaan barikimo meesha taallay ka hoos helay.

QAREEN BILE: Maxkamaddu waxaan ka codsanayaa in ay maraggu ii su'aasho:

- S. Caddaymo hore maka qorteen eed-2aad?
 J. Ma jiraan 2dan caddaymo kuwa ka horreeyey.--
MARAGGA MAD L/X. QASIM YUUSUF CALI: Dhaar kadib wuxuu yiri: Waxaan ka tirsanahay Gabyta Baarista NSSka ee Kamar. 3-11-81 ayaa Guddi aan ka tirsanahay oo ka koobaan NSSka iyo Boliiska lanoo soo diray Hargeysa si aanu u bearno arrin ka dhacay. Waxaa madax noo ahaa G/Sare Cali Xuseen Diinle. 11-11-81, waxaa lanagu soo wareejiyey Dokumenti sheegaayo inuu jiro Hargeysa Urur qarsoodi ah oo ujeedadiisu tahay Midnimada Ummada Soomaaliyeed in la qaybiyo, Hab Qabiil iyo Hab Gobol. Dokumentigu wuxuu sheegayaa in ay ka dambeeyaan Urur deggen Yurubta Galbeed, khaliijka iyo Jabashida. Joornaal ay ku qoran tahay UFFO waxaana ku qoran dushiisa: UFFO WAA JOORNAAL KA SOO BAXA GURIGA QAYBATA AH EE XISBIGA, laba nin oo xiran ayaa lanagu soo wareejiyey, Eed-2aad (Jabano) oo macallin ahaan jiray iyo Eed-1aad (Inj. Maxamed Baaruud) oo ka shaqoeya Wershadda Pepsi Cola, ragga ka dambeeya waxaa laga hayaa ayaa la yiri laba-daas nin. Wareysi ayaan la yeelannay Eed-2aad oo Bannaanka Xafiiska NSSka ku xirnaa, waxaa lanagu soo wareejiyey caddayn uu gacantii sa ku qoray, wuxuu noo sheegay eedeysanaha in asagu iyo eedeysanaha laad ay Joornaalka UFFO ay gacantooda ku qoreen. Iiis magacyo ah ayuu noo qoray. Waxaanuu weydiinay labada caddaymo (tan hore iyo tan labaad), wuxuu noo sheegay markaas eedeysanaha 2aad sidan: Himan Ciido gale ah ayaan hawshan la galay, markii la igu qabtayna wey igaga baxeen, markaad ogaday in 2 (laba) nin oo Ciida Gale ahi lacag nagu qaateen Holidayna kan shabag ka dhacay, anna sirta kale waan sheegayaa: Wuxuu yiri dhacdhacaaga Indheer garadku wuxuu bil-lawday 1977kii, markii Ruushka la eryay oo Adduunkii hore nooga reebay, haddii mabaadi'iisii la tuuri weyey niyaaddiina wey naga xumaatay, waxaan maray Heerar, Waxaana la keenay Barasaab la yiraahdo ATAR JEEBLE oo dhacqashadii Gobolka qabtay oo Kamar Wershado kaga dhintay, waxaa la keenay Indheer G/Sare Cabdiraxmaan (M. Cab.) oo lacagtii geliyey. Wuu halkan ah oo magaaladu u taqaanno QOOR JAR ama JEEGA XIIR, lacagtaas kaaladu u baahneyd, laamulkii waan sii naqmay.

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Wuxuu yiri Eed.2aad muddadii dambe waxaan ogaannay in S.I.M. laga furay Debadda Madaxna uu ka yahay DUQSI, Demaqaadiyaadna soo celinaya waxaan doonay inaan teageero sinno. Arooskii Eed.1aad oo lagu qabtay Eed.2aad walaalkii guri uu leeyahay, waxaan guddoon sannay in aan wax qabsano oo aan Dowladda wax ka sugin. Maallintii labaad waxaan guddoonsannay in Urur SAMAFAL ah samaysano dadweynahana ugu muujinno in aan danahooda u wadno, si inoo raacaan. Gur-yaha aan ku shiray oo ay wada degenaayeen Bedeysanayaasha 5aad, 6aad iyo 4aad oo saldhig noo ahaa. Guriga Eed.4aad (Dr.Aadan) ana-goo fadhina ayuu Eed.1aad igala hadlay in aan arrimahaaga aan qoraal u bedelno, waxaan ku niri cadadka hore soo diyaari. Eed.1aad ayaa ii keenay cadadkii 1aad oo laba koobi i siiyey, cadadkii 2aad waxaan ka qoray ayuu yiri, cadadka hore makiinadda Warshadda Pepsi Cola ayaa lagu qortay 5 koobi ayey ahayd, cadadka 2aad waxaan ku qoray makiinad uu leeyahay Waxamuud Qaallib nin la yiraahdo, lagana soo qaaday gurigiisa, cadadka 3aad waxaa qoray Eed.1aad, wuxuuna ku qoray Warshadda Pepsi Cola, waxaan siiyey ayuu yiri koobi Eed.3aad, koobi kalena waxaan siiyey nin la yiraahdo Aadan Waalli, koobiyadii kale waan qaybiyey Chammeantood, Eed.2aad wuxuu sheegay inuu la kulmay nin la yiraahdo Maxamed Nuur Kandulle (CARAB) uu la shiray Bedeysanayaasha 5aad, 11aad, 10aad & 7aad, wuxuuna na soo gaarsiiyey farriinno uu DUQSI iyo INA-WADAAD-DIID oo la shiray Isaaqa Sucuudiga degonnaa. Dadkii aqoonta labna wey raaceen ayuu yiri, hase yeeshee kuwii diiday ee yiri Dalkayaga ka hor iman meyno wuxuu ku magacaabay REER SABLAALE, markaas wuxuu yiri buu yiri Maxamed Nuur Kandulle markuu eedeysanayaashaasi la shiraayey, idinkuna ha noqonina Reer Sablaale, Aadan Waalli si toos ah ayuu ugu xirnaa DUQSI, wuxuu yiri Reer kasta Jabhad ayuu sameystay Jabhadda ISAAQA cdekeya oo Ciids Kale soo raabiya Isaaqa Kale oo daba dhilif u ah Maroocaynka, ka iskana daayeen waxa uu hadaxa ugu yahay Cabdi Waaraabe, ferrintii toosi ayey ahayd. Waxaan goosannay ayuu yiri Eed.2aad inaan WADADDA isku xirno si xagga Diinta dadka uga soo galno, fadhi gopel dhig ah ayaan yeellanay, waxaana maallintaasi la is weydiiyey oo wadada ay ku waraysteen: Waxay saacadda midigte ugu xirtaan, Hilibka inay aamin iyo arrimo kale oo caadooyin ah. Waxdadda 3 nin ayay dhayeen, waxaan hadax u ahaa Eed.22aad iyo 23aad iyo nin Isallin (P.T.) ah oo qarco ka shaqayn jiray oo baxsaday. Maallintii dambe waxaa doonay eedeysay WADADDA, wuxuu

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yiri Eed.2aad anaga ayaa waraysannay, waxayna yiraahdeen Urur Dow-laddu diidan ayaannu nahay, waxay na weydiiyeen maxaad tihiin? Waxaan ugu jawaabnay ayuu yiri: Dad saaxiib ah ayaan nahay oo Isku-lada mar kawada baxay, waxayna na weydiiyeen ujeedayada kadibna waan ka warwareegnay, adigu markii dambe waxaan ku hoshiinnay ayuu yiri: ISKAASHI, kulana tallinnay Waxdada in ay ISTAKOORKA Bulshada iska bi'iyaan.-

IN/KKIG IYO M/3AAD.

- J. Carab ninka la yiraahdo wuu la qayilay, waxaan ahayn ayuu yiri Eed.2aad asaga ah, Eed.5, 7, 9, 10 & 11.
 - J. Waxdada waxaa la shiray Eed.1, 2, 3, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 11, 12, 14, 15, 22, 17 & 20 ayaan ka xusuusta oo Shirka ka qayb galay.
 - J. Su'aal khaas ah ma xusuusto cid weydiiyey.-
 - J. Guriga Eed.22aad gurigiisa ayaa lagu shiray wuxuuna ka mid ahaa raggii wax u yeeray Eed.21aad oo Waxdada ah ayaa Madax u ahaa iyo 2 kale ayaa guriga Eed.1aad shirka uga qayb galay.
 - J. Eed.21 & 23 aad ayaa WAXDADA uga qayb galay.
 - J. Eed.22aad wuxuu sheegay in niman Waxdada sh isla shireen, markaan waxaan goostay ayuu yiri markayga inaan ka qayb qaato.
 - J. Eed.23aad ayaa Waxdada weydiiyey Dowladda ay rabaan habkeed, waxayna ugu jawaabeen "DOWLO ISLAAM AH", eedeysanaha 3aad wuxuu weydiiyey ma ta KHUMAYNI oo kale, waxayna yiraahdeen MUYA, midkii KHLAFADA oo kale. Eed.3aad ayuu ku celiyey: ma ugu dhaqmi kartaan CASRIGAN, islaamku sidii uu u dhaqmi jiray? Waxay ugu jawaabeen in buuqag Islaamka deggen Pakistaan iyo Laser oo culimo ahi ay qoreen lagu dhaqmi karo dhaqan dhaqaale ahaan.
 - J. Waxdada waxay weydiiyeen maxaad aragtay markaad hadhanka ku soo noqotay (waxaa la weydiiyey Eed.3aad), wuxuuna ku jawaabay: waxaan arkay: INANII oo qarsoo ah, INANII oo Nabagle ah, ISLAAN-TII oo Qaadiy ah, ODAYGII oo Qurbaani ah.-
- Eed.1aad wuxuu noo sheegay in uu asagu abasbulay Wargeyska UFFO kii ugu horreeyey cadad shaan ahiga ayaa darsaday ayuu yiri, Ma-kiinada Pepsi Cola ayaan ku qoray, 3 koobi Jabane ayaan u dhiibay. Cadadkii 2aad ahiga iyo Eed.2aad (Jabane) ayaa gurigeysga ku qornay, cadadka 2aad qaybintiisa waxaan ku doognay 21.10.1981,

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cadadkii Jaadna aniga ayaa ku qoray Makiinadda Pepsi Cola.--
 Eed.1aad wuxuu sheegay in eed.4aad gurigiisa geyn jiray Joornaalka
 Eed.2aad gurigiisa dhigi jiray, eed.7aad uu koobi siiyey. Shirarkii
 Waxdada aniga ayaa qaban qabsiiyey ayuu yiri eed.1aad, waxaan la
 xiriiyey ayuu yiri Eed.21 iyo 22 oo isku shaqo ahaayeen. Eed.1aad
 wuxuu sheegay in asaga iyo eed.4aad ay soo jeediyeen in ay u di-
 raan Dacayado Dowladda qaban karta, si toos ahna Dadku u qaadan
 karo, wuxuu yiri eed.1aad ninka Jariidada SNM qoraa wuxuu Af Soo-
 maali ugu qori waayey.--

TUSID: Joornaalka waa SNM, waana kii Idfriishyada lagu akhrisan ji-
 ray Eed.4aad ayaa yiri deed: Af Soomaali halagu soo qoro Dadku ma
 wada yaqaanno Afka Ingiriiska ah. Eed.1aad wuxuu yiri: Dacayad
 Cusub oo Dowladda qaban karte ha loo diro.--

AKHRIID: Joornaalka UFFO Qod.1aad Berbera waa la qabsaday.....Col.
 Cebeecasiis Bilad geesi ayuu mutaystay markii uu adhigii Mareexaan-
 ka raray.....Qod.2 Qaramaynta Gobolka, Mareexaan oo hadax ka wada
 ah Kafiisyada (tirin Xafiisyadaas) NIS iyo Guulwadyaasha ...LA SO-
 COTO....

S/J. Eed.1aad wuxuu sheegay inuu asagu fikiray kiligiisa qoray UFFO
 Xafiiska Pepsi Cola waxaan ka helnay BLOCK NOTE uu lahaa eed-
 1aad waxaan ke helnay warar ku qoran oo uu ku soo saaray
 cadadka 2aad IYO 3aad ee UFFO ku soo baxay, waxaan la xusu-
 sanahay: Gaanni oo Caasha Juusto ninkoedu beddelasay, waxaanu
 yiri Eed.1aad SAADAALO ayey ahaayeen. Lakiinadii waannu hel-
 nay Guriga Maxamuud Qaalib nin la yiraahdo ayaanan ka soo qaad-
 nay, Eed.1 & 2aad way noo xaqiijiyeen. Xaaska Maxamuud Qaalib
 way sheegtay in Lakiinadda uu qaaday Eed.2aad oo Macallin u
 ahaan jiray. Cadadadii kale maannu helin ee UFFO.--

EDEYSANNAHA SEDDEXAAD:

Eed.2aad siduu sheegay wuxuu akhra nin qayb weyn ka gashay Shirarkii
 Guriga Eed.1aad, kadib markii Eed.2aad qiraal ku ooddeyey. Guriga
 Eed.3aad waxaan ka helnay Hal koobi oo ah Joornaalka UFFO, wuxuuna
 noo sheegay inuu ka qaaday Eed.2aad ee akhristeenka Eed.6, 15, 6aad
 asaga oo geeyey guriga Eed.3aad. Kadib dhaar ayuu ENGLAND wax ku
 baranaayey, markii Cambona Bangiga Islaamka oo Sucuudiga ku yaalla
 ayuu ke shaqayn jiray, waxaan u malyaynaa inuu bartay "KOBICINTA
 DHAQA LAMA" haddanada 3aad, kadibna haddanka ayuu ku soo laabtay.--

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Wuxuu Shirarkii ka sheegay in Bangiga Islaamku maruu uu ka shaqayn
 jiray Soomaaliya u ogolaaday MALKAYNTA 6 Tagaalo, kadib markii Dow-
 ladda Soomaalidu soo weydiisatay. Heddana magaaladan wax nal ah la-
 ma gelinin, dadkana waa u dullinimo, Dowladdana waa u karti xumo.
 Socdaallo uu ku tegay kareykanka, Ingiriiska iyo Sucuudiga cid maan
 arag ayuu yiri cid aan la kulmayna ma jirto.--

EDEYSANNA 4AAD:

Ilaa 10 qof oo edeysanayaasha ka mid ahi waxey qiraal ku bixiyeen
 in ay guriga Eed.4aad lagu shiri jiray. Aaa shaqaale eed.4aad, gu-
 rigana Dowladda ayaa leh. Ta labaad shirarka lagu qabanaayey waxay
 ahaayeen Hab Urur iyo waxyaabihii looga hadli jiray. Eed.4aad wuxuu
 sheegay in gurigiisa lagu shiri jiray, danahoodana lagaga hadli ji-
 ray. Joornaalka UFFO gurigeeyga wean ku maqlay ayuu yiri ciddii
 heysana ma xusuusto ayuu yiri. Joornaalka SNM waan akhristay ayuu
 yiri, waxaa kale oo akhristay ayuu yiri Edeysanayaasha kala ah:
 1, 2, 3, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 13, 15 iyo 17aad.--

EDEYSANNAHA 5AAD:

Ugu horreyntii waxaa sababay qabshediisii markuu Eed.2aad ku cad-
 deeyey qiraalkiisa inuu ka mid yahay Ururka R-U-D-E, waxayna ku
 jireen asaga iyo Eed.2aad laba guri oo iska soo horjeeda (Indian Line)
 ku yaalla, guriga Eed.4aad wuu tegi jiray, shirkii Waxdada wuu ka
 qayb galay, wax dood ahna kama jeedin. Gurigiisa waxaan ka helnay
 warqad oo ku qoran yahay GADAY oo gacantiisa uu ku qoray, Dacayad
 ah kana dhan ah hadaxweynaha JDS. Eed.5aad wuxuu gurigiisa kula
 kulmay Maxamed Muur Mendulle (CARAB) iyo Aadan Cali Faarax (Aadan
 Waalli) oo DUQSI ferriin ka siday, wuxuu sheegay in rag u riyaaqay
 ay jireen ferriintii, rag aan wax ku darsanna ay jireen. Wuxuu shee-
 gay in uu labe cadad oo UFFO ah uu Eed.2aad koenay gurigiisa oo la-
 gu akhristay. Joornaalka SNM oo barnaamij ah lagu akhristay, qiraal-
 na uu ku bixiyeey arrintaas.--

WUXUU BARAGGU YAR AKHRIYAY GABAYGII LAGA TEGAY GURIGA EDEYSANNAHA...

.....Edeysanuhu wuxuu yiri nin Macallin ahaan jiray aysa tiriyey
 oo hore Gabaygan angii Laxkammada Eed.3aadka Hargeysa ugu xukuntay
 10 sano oo xarig. Wuxuu yiri edeysanuhu ma garanayo cidda ii akh-
 riday iina yeerisay ee aan Gabayga ka qortay.--

DADWEYNE U DOODE:& 1/3AAD:

S: Gabayga maxaad u fesiirtoon?

J: Gabaygu wuxuu ka mid ahaa gabayo isdaba joog ahaa oo la oran jiray

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"DEELAY" kana soo horjeeday Dowladda. Eed.5aad wuxuu yiri Urur aan ka mid ahaa na jiro, hase yeeshee Shirarka waan iska fadhiiy jiray. EEDAYSANAHNA 6AAD:

Gurigiisa si joogta ah waxaa / tegi jiray Xubno Ururka ka tirsan, maalin ayaa eed.6, 8 & 15aad oo wada fadhiiya ayaa eed.3aad ula yimid Joornaalka UFFO, kuna akhriyey, Eed.6aad, 15aad & 3aad wey wada akhristeen. Markii la xiray Eed.4aad wuxuu yri "WAR INALADA WAX AAN U QABANNO".

EEDAYSANAHNA 7AAD:

S. Laxaad ku soo qabateen, maxaana idin gearsiiyey qabashadiisa?
J. Eed.2aad wuxuu nqo sheegay in qadad UFFO ka mid ah uu siiyey eed.1aad & 7aad. Eed.1aad wuxuu yiri ma xusuusto taasi. Eedeysanahani shirar badan ayuu ka qayb galay, gaar shaan shirkii aroog ka Maxamed Baaruud, shirkii Waxdada. Wuxuuna ka mid ahaa raggii la kulmay Maxamed Nuur Xandulle (CARAB) sida ay sheegeen Eed.5o iyo 6aad. Eedeysanahani waxba kama jiraan ayuu yiri, hase yeeshee wuxuu sheegay inuu kula qayilay guriga Eed.4 iyo 5aad. Eed.2aad wax gaar ah noogama sheegin eedeysanaha, ka qayb gal shir mooyene.:-

EEDAYSANAHNA 8AAD:

Wuxuu ka mid ahaa Ururka, sida uu eed.2aad qiraal ku bixiyey. Waxaan ka warsannay oo dhan siday ahayd ayuu noogu sheegay. Guriga eed.2aad 4, 5 iyo 6aad, waan ka qayb galay ayuu yiri shirarkoodii. Shirkii Waxdada wuu ka qayb galay. CARAB (Maxamed Nuur Xandulle) oo ah nin-kii Debedda ka yimid si gaar ah ayuu ula kulmay, marna kuwa kale ayuu kala mid ahaa. Xagga Caafimaadka ayuu ka hadlay shirkii Eed.1aad gurigiisa lagu qabtay. Warqad niman kale ujeedo ka lahaayeen aysa loo yeeriyey oo uu gacantiisa ku qoray, warqadda waxaa loo diraaqey Dowladda Dhexe, waxaana soo diyaariyey Eedeysanayaasha: 10, 7, 15, 17aad oo lahaa ra'yigooda, waxaana loo qoreeyey oo dan ka lahaa Eed.20aad oo yiri soxibaday ayahen ra'yey si nastaba ha u dha-cee inaan siidaayo, wuxuuna sheegay in eed.20aad uu yimid BAAR HARGEYSA kuna yiri, Asiiir wigoonda Geediidka Bedda Jaalle Jaamac Gaas lucaamiye wuxuu yiri soo diyaariya qoraaal aad ku matalaysaan Dadweynaha. Eed.20aad ayuu weydiiyey in ay soo qoreen warqaddaasi kadibna ay tegeen guriga eed.4aad oo markaas nimaan, halkaasina ku

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qoreen warqaddaasi, kadibna warqaddii eed.20aad gurigiisa ku teeb-gareeyey, Jaamac Gaasna uu u dhiibay. Danta eedeysanaha 20aad waxay ahayd ayuu yiri Taani (Eed.6aad) waxay Ina-sdeer ahaayeen eed.1aad, kadibna uu u qoray ra'yiga dhallinyaradu u yeerisay. Eed.20aad, inkasta oo aysan ii sugnayn waxaan filayaa inuu ka shaqayn jiray Rug-ta Ganacsiga. Taani wuxuu noo sheegay inuu Aabihiis ka shaan jiray Gobolka Gaadi, inuu Iskuullo badan ka galay Gobolkaan meelo ka tirsan, saxiibbo badan leeyahay, wax Qabiil ahna xiriirin, wuxuuna sheegay in dhallinyarada ka xiriiran xagga Famliga Hoyadii ka dhalatay. Eed.8aad wuxuu sidaas ku bixiyey Qiraal, Qiraalkaasna way is waafaqeen ka eed.2aad.-

EEDAYSANAHNA 9AAD:

Eed.2aad Qiraalka uu bixiyey ayaan raacnay. Waxaa jirtay intii annu Guddigayagani imaanin ayey NSSka yimaadeen asaga iyo eedeysanayaasha 7, 8, 9aad, waxayna la kulmeen Eed.2aad oo halkaasi ku xirnaa. Eed.9aad wuxuu weydiiyey kan labaad "Arrintii lagu xiray ka warren", waxaannu eed.2aad sheegay inuu ku yiri: markii hore idinka ayaa i geliyey, markii la i qabtayna waa la igaga dhuuntay, waxna la iima qabanin, aniguna waxaan oga oo dhan waan sheegay. Kadib maalmo dabadeed ayaa la ii yimid ayuu yiri eed.2aad, waxayna igu yiraahdeen ayuu yiri eed.7, 9aad oo ii yimid, dhallinyaradii waxay yiraahdeen, noona kaa soo fureen: waxaad u baahato waa lagu dhammaynayaa, waxaad bedisaa liiska dadka aad magacyadooda sheegtay, si baadigoobka iyo baarista loogu jahwareero, arrintuna qoys kasta u taabato, arrinteesi Qiraal ayuu ku bixiyey Eed.9aad. Wuxuu kaloo eed.9aad sheegay in asaga iyo eed.10aad, Cabdi Laangare iyo Aadan Cali Guhaad ay ka wada hadleen arrimo, sida Ciida-galaha Mareexaanka looga recbi lahaa ee ISLAAMA loo soo reacin lahaa. Wuxuuna ka mid ahaa raggii CARAB kula shiray guriga eed.5aad. Eedeysanahaan markii intooda badan la xiray uu ka mid ahaa Guddi loo magacaabay inay odayaasha la shireen, intii annu wax qabanna la xiray.-

EEDAYSANAHNA 10AAD:

Eed/sha intooda badan Qiraal ayay ku bixiyeen inu eed.10aad ka mid ahaa Ururka. Eedeysanuhu waan la qayili jiray ayuu ku daayey warkii-sa, hase yeeshee wuxuu ka mid ahaa raggii wax ka qoray warqadda Eed.20aad. Eedeysanuhu wuxuu ka qayb galay shirkii lagu guddoomiyey in haddii Jabono (Eed.2), raggii sheegay inuu badiyo magacyada dadka iyo shirkii lagu guddoomiyey in ayeysesta lala shiro.-

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EEDEYSANAHHA 11AAD:

Shirarkii wuu ka qayb galay siduu Jabane (eed.2) sheegay. Eed.11aad inuu Ururka ka tirsanaa la nooma sheegin, wuxuuna qoraal ku bixiyey inuu shirar ka qayb galay iyo inuu akhriyey Joornaalka UFFO & SNM.-

EEDEYSANAHHA 12AAD:

Ugu horreyntii Jabane (eed.2) ayaa sheegay, wuxuu ka qayb galay shirarkii, wuxuuna akhriyey Joornaalka UFFO, wuxuu sheegay inuu shirar ka qayb goli jiray, hase yeeshee la soocniin ujeedooyin ka hooseeyey. Ragga kale waxba noogama sheegin. Wuxuu ahaa ninkani Bee raley, wuxuu yiri waqti ma haysaninba, waxii lagu sheekaysanaayey wax dareen ah ina gelinin, Raggan markii la xiray wuxuu ka mid ahaa ragtii loo diray in ay Madaxda Gobolka ka arkaan arrinta inamada.-

EEDEYSANAHHA 13AAD:

Debedda ayuu wax ku soo bartay, Jabane (eed.2) ayaa Qiraalkiisa ku daray. Qiraalada eedeysanayaashu bixiyeenna wey ku sheegeen, wuxuu ka qayb galay shirarkii guriga eed.4aad oo uu la deggenaa. Wuxuu caddeeyey inuu akhristey UFFO & SNE, wuxuu shirkooda ka weydiyey Odeyaashu maxay yiraahdeen: waxaa loogu jawaabay INAMO AFKOODA HAYSAN WAAYEY KA GALNO ARRILAHOOA AYEY ODEYAASHU YIRAHADEEN, wuxuuna yiri WAA CRIMINALS odeyaasha ee aan layno Madaxda Gobolka, arrintaasi waxaa noo sheegay eed.20aad Baasho Cabdi Yuusuf. Eedeysanuhu wuxuu sheegay inuusan ra'yi ku darsan jirin lugna ku lahayn, hase yeeshee uu akhristay Joornaaladii gurigiisa la keenay.-

EEDEYSANAHHA 14AAD:

Jabane (eed.2) wuxuu ku daray Qiraalkiisa, eedeysanayaal dhawr shina caddeeyeen inuu eed/hani ka mid ahaa Ururka RUDE. Eedeysanuhu wuxuu sheegay inuu tegi jiray Eed.13aad oo Takhtar u ahaa, asaga oo wadna-ha xanuun ka hayey awgeed, Eed.14aad ma tegin shirka Madaxda.-

EEDEYSANAHHA 15AAD:

Wuxuu qoraal ku caddeeyey eed.2aad inuu ka qayb galay shirkii Waxda-da iyo fadhigii Guryastmo, guriga eed.6aad & 7aad ku akhriyey Joornaal UFFO, asaga waa qoraal.-

EEDEYSANAHHA 16AAD:

Waxaa qiraal ku caddeeyey eed.2aad guriga eed.5aad uu ka qayb geli jiray shirarka, midna waxba kama sheegin. Gurigiisa waxaa laga soo helay mar la fatishay bistoolad Takarof ah. ka jirto cid wax ka sheegayaa inuu eray ka yiri ama ra'yi ka geyntay shirarkaas.-

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EEDEYSANAHHA 17AAD:

Jabane (eed.2) wuu caddeeyey inuu shirarkii oo dhan ka qayb galay, eedeysanaheni kaallin muuqata markaan ka weynnay inuu ka jiro ayaan qabashadiisa dib u dhigannay. Wax ra'yi kama geysan fadhiyada. Waxay wada shireen Eed.20aad. Rag ilaa 13 gaaraya waxay qiraal ku bixiyeen inuu Ururka ka mid ahaa, kana qayb galay shirarka, anaga oo qabashada la sugaynaa ayaa waxa la qaxiyooy guriga Kaaliyaha 1aad ee X.H.K.S. G/W/G oo lagu tuurey BOMBO. Mar labaad waxa guri uu degen yahay nin ganacsade ah oo la yiraahdo TINDHEER lagu tuurey BOMBO, isla maalmahaas lagu tuuray 2 Bombo guriga Taliyaha Qaybta 26aad XDS, hase yeeshee aan qaxin. Warqado ayaa lagu daadiyey Xafiiska Soodaalka, Guulwadayaasha iyo meelo kale, waxaana warqadahaas ku qornaa "GUUSHA SNE AYAA LEH, GEERIDANA AFWEYNEW Xuuraenku wuxuu noo sheegay in raggaasi Ururka ah qaybta aan la xirin ay ka danbeeyaan qaraxyadaas. Eedeysanuhu 9,12,61 ilaa 14,12,61 baxsad ayuu ahaa, wuxuuna socod uga jiray Hargeysa/ Berbera/Hargeysa, kadibna waan qabannay. Markaan qabannay ayaan toos wax uga weydiinay Bombooyinka wuxuuna qirtay inuu qaybintooda iyo abaabulkooda uu ka danbeeyo, go'aanna ay sidaas ku gaareen asaga iyo eedeysanayaasha 20, 24 & 25 oo ay wadajir uga shireen. Shirkaasi oo ay ku qaateen Baar Hargeysa, guriga Eed.4aad iyo H.Q. agtiisa, ujeedadoodna ay ahsyd in aanay wax dilin, hase yeeshee ay argagax geliyeen ciddii ka danbaysay xarigga saaxibadood, kadib markii waan-waantii soconweysay.-----

Eed.17aad wuxuu sheegay inuu la kulmay Eed.27aad oo ay ILLA-ADEER yihiin ahna Madaxda Waaxda Sanaada ee Qaybta 26aad XDS, waxaan ka codsadey ayuu yiri inuu ii keeno ilaa 10 (toban) xabbo oo waxyaabaha qarxa, si beer uu saaxiibkii oo xidhani leeyahay (eed.12) oo ay bahalo cunaan si uu ugu DIDIYO. Wuxuu eed.27aad ii sheegay ayuu yiri in ay tahay waxaan suurtoobi karin nin asaga oo kale ahna wax la weydiisto aysan ahayn. Mar labaad ayaan weydiyey ayuu yiri, waanu igu xanaaqay. Mar saddaxaadkii ayaan ka calaalalay ayuu yiri, wuxuuna igu keenay markaas dambu gurigeyga, wuxuuna igu yiri eed.27aad, HA KORDHISANIN DHIRAAQOYINKA haddaadan beer ku isticmaalayn. Waxaan dhigay ayuu yiri guriga eed.24aad lana kulmay isla eed/ha gurigiisa uu dhigay kan 25aad, 26aad & 26aad. Waxaan qaxiyooy ayuu yiri 9kii Disambar 1961 guriga Kaaliyaha 1aad ee X.H.K.S. Gobolka W.G., eed.20aad waxaan u xilsaarsay ayuu yiri guriga Taliyaha Qaybta 26aad XDS,

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Eed.24aad inuu qarxiyo sidoo kale guriga ninka TINDHEER la yiraahdo, ciddii raacday nooma sheegin, hase yeeshee asaga ayaa isa sheegay. Waanay wada fuleen ayuu yiri qarshihii oo dhan.-

EEDAYSANAAHA 18AAD:

Jabane (eed.2) ayaa markii hore sheegay. Marka eed.20aad ayaa Qiraal ku bixiyey. Guriga eed.18aad waxaa lagu guddoonsaday in HAB GOBOL la isku habeeyo oo looga hortago Dowladda. Shirkaa aroosha wuu ka qayb galay. Jariidada SNM nin Jidda ka yimid koobi uu sitay ayaan mar akhristay ayuu yiri. Shirka gurigiisa lagu qabtay wuu dafiray iyo ka guriga Tr.Aadan (eed.4).-

EEDAYSANAAHA 19AAD:

Marka hore Jabane ayaa Qiraalkiisii ku daray, wuxuuna guriga kula jiray eed.4aad, kana qayb galay shirkii Guryasamo oo arooskii eed.1aad. Wuxuu guri kula jiray Eed.4aad laba bilood oo dambe mooyane. Kama uu qayb gelin shirka Waxdada Ururkii Samafalka wuu ka qayb galay Qiraalka wuu ku bixiyey.-

EEDAYSANAAHA 20AAD:

Anaga oo raacayna qiraalka eed.2aad bixiyey, markii hore waan weynay, waxaan ka dirnay BADI GOOB. Markaan soo qabannay, caddeyn iyo qireel ayuu ku bixiyey inuu ka mid ahaa Ururka, kana qayb galay dooddii, isla markaasna akhristay Joornaalada oo dhan.-----
Wuxuu sheegay in muddadii la xiray oodeysnayaashe kale ay wada shireen eed/sha 24 iyo 25aad ay xoogna ula wada xiriireen eed.17aad oo ay saaxiibo ahaayeen, guriga eed.4aad ay ku kulmi jireen.-----
Wuxuu noo sheegay inuu maallin raacay baabuur uu watay eed.17aad oo uu la socday eed.24aad asaga oo gaarsiinaayey meel uu guri ka dhisanayey. Wuxu yiri in eed.17 ka yiri, war inaadii xirnaa wax ma u qabannaa, annaga debadda joognaa, anna waxaan ku iri anigu idin kulama jiro, arrinta uu looyahay kulama jiro waxay ahayd ayuu yiri go'aankii ugu danbeyey ee uu soo jeediyey eed.13aad ee ahaa in Madaxda Gobolka la laayo, waxna arrinteesi ka raacay ayuu yiri eed.24.-

EEDAYSANAAHA 21, 22 & 23AAD:

Waxay ahaayeen Waxdada. Eed.21aad inuu ka qayb galay fadhigii RUDM iyo Waxdada yeeladay. Eed.1aad ayaa shirkaasi soo qaban qaabiyey, waxaana shirka hore ka soo qayb galay eed.21 & 23aad, waxayna merkii dembe la xiriireen eed.22aad oo fedkiiga dambe qaban qaabiyey. Sed-

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dexduba caddeymo iyo qiraallo ayay ku bixiyeen, waxaana fadhiyadaa la yeeshay ku saabsanayeen: ISERASHO, WADA SHAQAAYI & AFKAAR IS-DHAAFASHO.-

EEDAYSANAAHA 24AAD:

Jabane (eed.2) ayaa ugu horreyntii sheegay oo caddeeyey inuu ka mid ahaa Ururka. Wax hadal ah ama ficil ah lama yeelan. Asaga iyo eed.25aad kadib markuu caddeeyey eed.17aad inuu u xilsaaray qarxinta guriga TINDHEER, waxaan weydiinnay eed/sha 17, 20 & 25aad, wuxuu na yiri kuwan midna ma aqaanno! Kadibna waan u keenay oo soo horjoq jinnay, wuxuuna yiri kuwan waxaan u kala aqaannaa JOHNY, BAASHE-YARE IYO MACALLIN CUSMAAN, siday u kala horreeyaan, wuxuu yiri kadib, Xarunta Gobolka agtiisa ayaan iska raacnay aniga & eed.20 iyo kan 17°, waxaan la socnay baabuurka eed.17aad, wuxuuna na weydiiyey oo uu yiri INAMADII XIRNAA WAX MA U QABANNA, BAMBQOYIN KA ISTICMAALNAA, Baashe Cabdi Eed.20aad ayaa yiri annaga shuqul kuma lihi. Waalmo dabadoed, anigoo maallintii hore diiday, ayaan ogolaaday. Eed.17aad wuxuu noo qaybiyey Bombooyin, waxaa la ii xilsaaray inaan qarxiyo guriga Guryasamo ku yaal ee uu leeyahy TINDHEER, waxaana aniga gurigaasi ila fuliyey qarxintiisa eed.25aad oo Bombada gacantiisa ku tuuray. Isla hawshaas waxaa qarxiyey guriga Kaaliyaha Koowaad eed.17 & 26aad oo la socday. Guriga Taliyaha Qaybta 26aad XDS, waxaa loo xilsaaray eed.20aad, hase yeeshee habeenimadii ballantu ahaa inuu qarxiyo waa laga maqli waayey magaalada wax qarax ah. Subaxnimadii waxaannu oqannay in guriga Taliyaha Qaybta 26aad laga helay bombo dheeraad ah, marka loo eego bombooyinkii aan haysannay. Kafib waxaan qabsannay eed.20aad Baashe oo xilkaas lahaa, waxaannu weydiinnay maxay bombooyinku u qarxi-waayeen iyo bombada dheeraad ah, wuxuu nagu yiri bombada dheeraad ah waxaa ii dhiibay eed.17aad, mar haddii aan tuurayna aniga waajibkaayga waan gutay. Guriga Tindheer darbigiisu wuxuu ahaa 1,80 metir, waxaana ku tuuray bombada Maxamed Macallin Cusmaan ah, kadibna laqabsat gurigiisii ayuu u lugeeyey, aniguna waxaan soo raacay Baashe.-

EEDAYSANAAHA 25aad:

Wuxuu sheegay in ay aqoon ka sheegayay waqtan kale, isla markaasna ay kulmi jireen, hase yeeshee wax uu dafiray inuu asaga bombadaasi wax ka ogaa, shaqona ku lahayn arrintaasi, hase yeeshee wuxuu noo sheegay in asaga iyo eed.24aad ay israacoon oo ay u soo qaadeen eed.17

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mushaharkiisii oo ay u geeyeen xaaskiisa oo ka shaqeysa Xafiiska Xanshuuraha Berriga ee Hargeysa, wuxuuna noo sheegay in xaaska eed-17aad ay u sheegtay in ninkoedu u xiran yahay Bombooyinka. Eed-17aad markaan readinaynay waxaan ku doonaynay magaciisa ah Axmed Maxamed Madar, hase yeeshee magac kale ayaan helnay oo aanan hadda xusuusnayn oo uu Dowladda ugu shaqeeyo kuna mushahar qaato.-

EEDAYSANAHHA 26AAD:

Eed-24aad wuxuu qiraalkiisa ku sheegay in eed-17aad yiri waxaa i raacaya eed-26aad, Eed-17aad cid la socotay ma sheegin. Sidoo kale Eedaysanahani wuu dafiray in ay arrintaasi wax ka jiraan.-

EEDAYSANAHHA 27AAD:

Eed-24aad ayaa noo sheegay in eed-17aad ku yiri bombooyinka waxaan ka soo qaadi doonaa INA XAASHI MADAR, wuxuuna yiri eed-24aad waxaan ogaaday in ninkaasi yahay G/Dhexe Ismaaciil oo ilma adeerna ay yihiin eed-17. Eedaysanuhu wuu dafiray waxna kama sheegin bombooyinkaasi, isla markaasna wuxuu caddeeyey in aysan bombada weerarku asaga hawshiisa hoos iman, wuxuuna sheegay inuu maallin keliya rawixiyey eed-17aad xaaskiisa.-

EEDAYSANAHHA 28AAD:

Urur kuna jiro. Waxaa xirnaa eed-1aad oo IMA-ADBERKIIS AH, waxaannu eedaysanahani la xiriiray Jaalle Jaamac Gaas, warqadda saxiibadii ayaa qoray, asaguna wuu TEEB GAREEYAY, waxaannu u dhiibay Jaamac Gaas oo Kamar tegaaya. Warqadda waxaa ku qornaa arrimo looga been sheegaa-yo dawadda la baarayey, taasii oo ay ku qoreen in Madaxda Gobolku ka dambeeyso arrinta Joornaalka UFFO oo ay soo direen Qurmis.-

IM/QARBEN ISMAACIIL & M/3AAD:

- S. Maxaad ku xaqiijisay jiritaanka Ururka lagu eedaynayo eed-1aad?
 J. Baaristayda bilawgeedi eed-2aad wareysiga aan lo'yoollannay wuxuu noo sheegay inuu jiro Ururka RUDH iyo in eed-1aad uu ku jiro.
 S. Ma hesheen qalabkii iyo Xafiisyada Ururka aad sheegtay?
 J. Maanu helin qalab iyo Xafiisyo Ururka uu ku shaqeeyo.
 S. Ma jiraan wax aad ku caddeyn karto Ururka oo aan ahayn warka Eed-2?
 J. Waxaan saldhig ugu dhignay laba arrimood: (1) Warbixinta Eed-2aad, iyo (2) Joornaalka UFFO.
 S. Sida qod-199 XHCS sheegayso warbixin cadaysano kan kale ee la eedayn san wax kaga sheegayso ay marag noqonaysa marka la helo marag kale oo lagu kaabo arrintaasi, ma hesheen cid kale oo caddeynaysa?
 J. Ma hayno cid kale oo caddeynaysa.

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- S. Makiinadda maxaa soo geliyey?
 J. Waxaa soo geliyey eed-1aad ayaa noo sheegay in makiinad Xafiiska taala uu ku qoray Joornaalka, asaga ayana geeyey Xafiiska oo noo sheegay inay ten tahay makiinadii uu ku qoray, kadib markaan xarfaha makiinadda iyo ferta ku qoran jariidada isku eegnay waxba uma dhexeeyaan.
 S. Sida uu qoraayo qod-161 XHCS, ma istigmasheen KHABIR garaacis ta makiinadda aqoon u leh?
 J. Maya.
 S. Warqaddan (TUSID) qoraalka ku qoran ma makiinadda Pepsi Cola mise ku kac?
 J. Haddaan makiinadda kale u oogo ma sheegi karo.
 S. Cabdi Laangare hadda ka hor Maxkamadda ma la keenay?
 J. Waan maqlay in ayada oo dagaal cadow lagula jiro inuu gacan siiyey kadibna Maxkamad la saaray.
 S. Cabdi Laangare meel uu jiro ma ka warhaysaa?
 J. Maya horeba aqoon ugu lehayn.
 S. Ma martay Cabdi Laangare in marag looga baahan yahay swgeed aanu ka bixin Haddanka?
 J. Maya maan amrin.
 S. Maxkamad ma weydiisatay joogista Cabdi Laangare oo marag noqon doona?
 J. Maya maan weydiisan.
 S. Aadan Cali Guhead ma la kullantay, maan ogtahay inuu wax ka keenay Joornaalka.
 J. Aadan lamaan kulmin, hase yeeshee Cabdi Laangare wuxuu ii sheegay inuu la fariistay nin la yiraahdo BARE GSEYE, eed-2aad iyo rsg kale iyo inuu isle gurige eed-2aad ka helay Joornaalka UFFO.
 S. Ma weydiisay Cabdi Laangare in loo diray Joornaalka?
 J. Maya ma hubo in loo diray iyo in kale, hase yeeshee wuxuu ii sheegay in nin la yiraahdo Faysal Cali Waraabe uu kula dardaarmay inuu la shaqeeyo Dowladda.
 S. Haddii qalabkii dembi muujinta la waayo ma jiraan dembi mise ma jiro?
 J. Ma aanan helin qalabka dembi muujinta ah.
 S. Ma jiraa dembi dhexeey?
 J. Waa jirtaa.

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- S. Haddaba ma hesheen dembigaas loo haysto wax marag ah oo ka baxsan iyaga?
- J. Qiraalkooda mahee wax kale uma hayno.
- S. Qiraalka eedeysanayaashe inaanu ku filayn caddaynta dembiga ma la socotaa?
- J. Haa waan la socodaa sharciyan.
- S. Eedeysanaha Jaad muxuu kaga duwan yahay kan isad & 2aad?
- J. Waxba kagama duwana.
- S. Qoraalka gurigiisa laga soo qaaday maxaad ka leedahay, mase amar Maxkamadeed ma u hayseen baarista guriga?
- J. Maya amar Maxkamadeed ma arkin, ciidanka baarayna kama mid ahayn anigu mana sheegi karo inuu raalli ka ahaa iyo in kale.
- S. Eed.2aad wuxuu ka duwan yahay kuwii hore ee ka qayb galka ahaa?
- J. Waxba kagama duwan, Saadna isna waxba kagama duwana, sidoo kale Aadan Warsame Nuur.
- S. Eed.2aad ma kuu yiri waxaan doonayaa inaan la hadlo Wasiir Ku-xigeen?
- J. Ma xusuusto.
- S. Ma weydiisay inuu Wasiir Ku-xigeenku yiri qoraal ka soo dhig?
- J. Sida uu ii sheegay eed.2aad.
- S. Ma hubiseen in Wasiir Ku-xigeenku sidaas yiri?
- J. Ma hubin sidaasi inay jirto.
- S. Ma kuula muuqatay inay tahay cabesho loo qortay Hadax, maxayse kuula muuqatay?
- J. Maya cabasho uma qaadan ee waxy iila muuqatay cambaareyn Madax iyo been ka shengid.
- S. Maxaad ku diiday inaad rumeyseto in qoraalka UFFO Kulmis soo saartay maadama uu Cabdi Laangare oo cadow kalkaal ahi ka soo fushay arrintu?
- J. Waa mid moesha ku jirto.
- S. Baaris ma ku haboonayd iyo habsiimo?
- J. Haa laakin kuma erag wex ciid ah oo uu dadweynaha kaga duwan yahay.
- S. Ma ku yiri eed.2aad rag baa warqadga qoray?
- J. Haa waa ii sheegay.
- S. Maxaa loogu eedeeyay Afmiinshaarnimu?
- J. Sababta waxay shayd isaga aya dan gaar ah ka lahaa.

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- S. Inuu wax qoro iyo in kale ma la warqabtaa?
- J. Maya.
- S. Warqaddii ma la hayaa?
- J. Ilaa iyo inta aan la socodo maya.
- S. Warqadda iyo isagu ma is-arkaan?
- J. Maya, waxaanu ku ogaanay raggii qoray iyo isaga oo keliya wax kalese looma hayo.
- IM/QAREEN XASAN SHEEKH & M/3AAD:
- S. Maxkamadda u sheeg eed.2aad waxa uu ka shaqeyn madama aad muddo dheer baareysay?
- J. Xapaanada Xoolaha ayuu ka shaqeyn, fasax ayuu ku yimid Hargeysa si uu u guursado, waana guursaday.
- S. Wax ma ka weydiiseen qoraaladda UFFO & SNM?
- J. Akhriska labada Joornaal wuu ka qayb qaatay.
- S. Caddaynta eed.2aad oo keliya miyay ku saleysan tahay eeddu?
- J. Haa waa sidaas.
- S. Ma sababta Guddigii la yiri Dowladda hale hadasho baa lagu xiray?
- J. Guddiga ku jirideedu dembi ma aha, lama wada xirina Guddiga intii ahayd.
- S. Dhibaato ma u geysateen inuu xirnaa, mase la socotaa inuu Dagaal tuurku ~~man~~ nuucaayo ciqaabta jirka.
- J. Haa waa mamnuuc dilistu, dhibaataada la gaarsiiyeyna lama sood.
- S. Muxuu ku sugnaa markaad qabaneyseen & waxa uu ka shaqeynaayey?
- J. Bare ayuu ahaa wuu ka ruqsaystay, waxbana kama qabaneynin Har/ysa.
- S. Wax argagaxiisimo ah ma ku kacay, nooma qiran aya tiri.
- J. Eed.2aad aya saldhig u ah, waxna nooma qiran.
- S. Wakhtiga aad qabateen kageebuu joogay?
- J. Xarada Guulwadaayaasha oo ay ku xiran yihiin eed.1aad ayay u dhacdeen iyagoo kula jirara waan lagu qabtay.
- S. Wax caddaan ma u hayseen?
- J. Caddayn iyo Qiraaal baa jirtey.
- S. Waxaa ii qoran ma bixin qirtal ma jirtaa?
- J. Waa dhici kartaa.
- S. Ma jirtaa in eed.10aad nebaro kuu sheegtay?
- J. Ma xusuusto laakin 20.11.04 aniga amray in katiinad lagu xiro.

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QAREEN XASANI: Waxaan lehkamaada ka codsanayaa inay aragto oogada eed-10aad, si caddaaladda loo daryeelo, waayo waxaa-nu nuynaa "CAD HILIB IB" oo jirkiisa ka go'ay:-

DADWEYNE U DOODE: La ogolin arrirtan haddii samu caddeynin eedey-sanuhu cid u geystay dhibaataada. Asaga ayaa xor u ah jirkiisa, arrirtan oo sideeba XASAAZI AHAYD ama BEER LA-LAWSI AH, yeelan Maxkamadda ogolaanin:-

QAREEN XASANI: Sida qod-150 KHOS uu shaagaayo qirsal lagu bixiyey TAHDIID iyo wax la mid ah, ballan qaad iyo Lacag was waxba kama jiraan. Jalle Bu'doomiye, caddeynta ka weyn inaan kacono JIRKIISA QADINTI KA GO'AY IYO WABARADI WAA KAKAY? Maxkamaddu ha noo ogolaato. Eedeywanaha Difaaciisa Dowladda ayaa ii magacawday.

MAXKAMAADU: Iya loo sheegaystay dooddii dhinacyada, waxay garatay in aan Maxkamadda gadaheeda lagu qaabinin eedeysanaaha, lagana ogolaanin codsiga Qareenka, balse ay Maxkamaddu maal u gooni ah ay ku barto haddii ay u aragto in ay lagama maarmaan tahay caddaaladda darteed.

QAREEN XASANI & I/3AAD:

S. Ma la kulantoon qorsal lagu magacaabay Hubno, Madax iyo Jagoo-yin uu kala looyahay Ururka, ha ahaado qarsocsi mise caadi?

J. Maya aan helin qorsalkaasi:-

IM/ QAREEN CUSLEEN & I/3AAD:

S. Maxaad ku ogeystay shirkaasi caynka ay shaayeen? Wax lagu tilmaamo Urur maxaad ku ogeystay?

MAXKAMAADU: SUBAASHAS HORE AKA BOC WEYDIYAY, Su'aal kale weydiy.

S. Waxaad warqaddan iga tustis noosha uu ka qoran yahay magaca eed-13?

J. Warqaddan waxba kama jiraan shoojin oo qiraalka eed-2aad ayuu ahaa kii wax ka sheegay eed-13aad.

S. Maxaad uga jeedday dhawr ayuu waddanka soo galay eed-13?

J. Inuu Dehadda ka yimid oo waqti aan fogaayn uu yimid, wase xusuusto waqtigii uu yimid.

S. Maxaa caddeyn ah oo eed ka baysaa?

J. Caddeyn iyo Qirsal Qarsocsi horriisa uu ka bixiyey, wuxuuna akhriyey Joornalada UTFO & S.I.

S. Ma shooji barta maan aan jirkiisa ka gooni oo uu fariistay?

J. Wuxuu fariistay Suriga eed-4aad oo uu la degma:-

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S. Shirku ma shir caadi ah ayuu ahaa mise qayilaad la wada fadhio?

J. Shir caadi ah ma sheegin, hase yeeshee qayilaad Joornaal lagu akhriisanayo, xanta lagu kala qaadanayo war la isugu sheegaayo ayey ahayd.

S. Waqtigeebu ahaa shirka uu ka yiri eed-13 wax hala laayo?

J. Intii u dhexaysay 4tii ilaa 19.12.81 ayey ahayd.

S. Goormaa la xiray eed-13aad?

J. Waxaa la soo xiray 4.12.1981.

S. Ma intuu xirmaabuu hadalkaasi yiri?

J. Maya taariikhda kale ayaan ku khaldamay, ninka shirka wax nooga sheegay aya taariikhdaas baafis ku jiray.

S. Ma jirtaa wax dhibaato ah oo loo geystay eed-13aad?

J. Ma jirto in wax loo geystay ogaalkayga.

S. Eed-18aad sideebaad ku ogaatay, ma jirtaase inuu Ururka ka mid ahaa, cid idiin shoegtay oo marag ah?

J. Eed-2aad oo keliya ayaa noo sheegay, wax marag ah umanaan cuskanin.

S. Maxaad ku caddeyneysa in eed-18aad markaad lahayd nin Dehadda ka yimid ayaa Huteel ku tusay Jariidadda SIM oo uu akhristay?

J. Kataa in ay jirto ma ogin ee asaga ayuunbaa noo sheegay?

S. Maxaad ku sugi weyday ama aad u xaqiiqsan weyday inuu noqon karo marag lagama maarmaan ah Cabdi Laangare?

J. XEER ILAALIYE "DOOD AYAAN KA QABAA". Su'aashaas hore ayaa looga jawaabay.

S. Ma jiraan wax eed ku hayso eed-13 & 18aad oo ka duwan qiraalka eed-2aad?

J. Ma hayo.

IM/ QAREEN BASHIIR CARTA & M/3AAD:

S. Mar haddii la waayey habkii Urur, Qalab I.W.M., maxay ku eedey-san yihiin eedcysanayaasha aan Qareenka u ahay (12, 19, 21 iyo 22aad)?

J. Qalab ayaan helin.

S. Wax caddeyn ah ma u haydaa eed/shan aan difaacayo oo PROVA AH oo aan ahayn Qiraalka Eed-2aad?

J. Maya uma hayo.

S. Waxdaa oo aan dhowr jeer maglaayey hadda, maxaad uga deiddaa, inkastoo sysan ku jirin eedda?

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J. Haddii aysan ceddā ku jirin, maxaad iga weydiin.

IL/QAREEN FAYSAL KHAJI & M/3AAD:

S. Imise warbixinood ayaa ka qorteen eed.2aad?

J. Ilaa 5 caddaymo ayaa ka qornay.

S. Toobaad saldhig uga dhigteen baaristiina 5taas warbixinood?

J. Tii ugu horreysay ee aan annaku ka qornay ayaan saldhig uga dhigannay.

S. Ragga ku qoran warbixintaas aad saldhigga ka dhigteen ma wada xirteen?

J. Maya, maanu xirin.

S. Ma sheegtay wax ka qaddisan warbixinta eed.2aad oo aad ku soo xirteen ma jiraan?

J. Warbixinta eed.2aad ayaan u cuskannay.

S. Maxaad u soo xiri weyday kuwan kale ee liiska ku jira?

XEER ILAALIYE: DOOD AYAAN KA QABAA SU'ASHAN:

Qab-qabashada eodeysanayasha, saldhig ayey u ahayd ayuu yiri. Maraggu wuxuu sheegay in ay soo qabteen inta goobood ee qof waliba ka qaatay meesha ay ku soo qabteen. In badan ayuu maraggu taagaa, Jaalle Guddoomiyo waan iska hortaagayaa su'aashan oo wax ka jawaabay maraggu.

QAREEN FAYSAL: Jawaab celin:

Maxkamadda sharafta leh, in badan ayuu maraggu ku celceliyey Maxkamadda horteeda in saldhigga dacwad-du uu ahaa Qiraalka Eed.2aad, gaar ahaan su'aalaha uu weydiyey Qareen Ismaaciil. Maraggu ayuu ka warwareegin jawaabta ee Maxkamadda ha ka sheego.

M A X K A M A D D U:

Markay dhegeysatay su'aasha la weydiyey Maraggu, doodi uu soo jeediyey Xeer Ilaaliyaha iyo jawaab celintii Qareen Faysal, waxay amroysaa markhaatiga inuu ka jawaabo su'aasha Qareenka ee ah: HADDII AAD RAACDEEN QIRAAJKA EED.2AAD MAXAA DADKA UU SHEEGAY Loo kala reebay?

MARAGGA:

J. Qabashadu ayuu igama soo fusho, warka Jabane (eed.2aad) mooyee ninkii war kale loo haynin maanu qabnin.-

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S. Urur in la abaabulay, lagana abaabulay Arooskii Eed.1aad, hadaan ku iraaqdo ma hagaagsana? Maxaad ka qabtaa?

J. Maan odhanin halkaas ayaa Urur laga abaabulay, waxaan markii hore idhi "HALKAAS WAXA LAGA ABAABULAY ARRIMO LA XIRIIRA URURKA.

S. Goormaa ayaa la abaabulay Ururkaan aad sheegayso?

J. Ururka sida Jabane sheegay (eed.2) waxaa la abaabulay 1977kii.

S. Ea kuu sheegay cidda abaabushay?

J. Eed.2aad iima uusan sheegin cidda abaabushay. Rag aannu sheegin ayaa abaabulay.

S. Eed.1, 2 & 3aad, waxaad ku soo eedeysen in ay Urur abaabuleen? Maxaad ugu eedeysen haddii aannu cidna sheegin?

J. Sannadkii 1977kii ayaa la abaabulay, cidda abaabusha iima sheegin.

S. Eedda waxaa ku qoran in dembigu dhacay Gdii Bilod ee ugu dembeyey sannadka 1981kii, ma sheegi kartaa inta shir ee ay isugu yimaadeen?

J. Cidina nooma sheegin tirsada shirarka.

S. Guriga eed.5aad imisa shirbaa lagu yeeshay?

J. 3 jeer ayaa lagu shiray.

S. Guriga eed.2aad imisa jeer ayaa lagu shiray?

J. Ma xusuusto.

S. Guriga eed.4aad imisa shirbaa lagu yeeshay?

J. Ma xusuusto.

S. Eed.2aad ma ku ogaatay baaristaadii inuu ka tirsanaa Guddiga Samafalka?

J. Kumaan ogaanin inuu ka tirsanaa.

S. Kulamada aad sheegtay in ay yeeshen Eed/shan Maxkamadda ma u sheegi kartaa, waxa Midnimada Ummadda wax u dhimaaya oo loo yeelay?

J. Haa. Kulan lagu yeeshay guriga eed.18aad, waxaa la isla soo qaaday sida ay ugu habaynayaan Ururka: "MA HAB QABIIL, HAB GOBOL MISE HAB QARAMEED.

S. Ma sheegi kartaa wax lagu wiiqay awoodda Dowladda oo ay ku kaaceen eed/shu?

J. Guri Guryasamo ah shir ay ku yeeshen, waxaa go'aan ku gaareen in ay Guddi Samafal ah sameystaan, hase yeeshee Dowladdu aanay ogayn la yeeshan dadweynaha

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- S. Yaa kuu caddeeyey inay sidaas yeeleen?
- J. Caddeynta Jabane (eed-2aad).
- S. Wax tillaabo ah oo awoodda Dowladda ku wiiqayaan ka qaadeen?
- J. In ay sameeyeen Guddi Samafal ah, uruuriyeen daawooyin, lacago, qalab, xaqeen, nidaamiyeen Isbitaalka Hargeysa, gaadna ka qabteen. Maamulka Gobolka ma ogayn Samafalkaas.
- S. Ma hubtaa in Maamulka Gobolku oggolaanin Ururka Samafalka?
- J. Mar dambe ayaa loo oggolaaday!
- S. Inuu eed-2aad muddo 5 cisho ah qatanaa isla markaana aad bis-toolad ku hadadeen?
- J. Ma ogi taas, meel aanan joogin waxba isaga lagama qorin.
- S. Xiriirka dadweynaha iyo iyaga ma wiiqayaa awoodda Dowladda?
- J. Taasi waxay ku tuseysaa hadax bansanihooda iyadoo Gobolka ogeyn.
- S. Cadadka SNM ayaad ku soo qabateen?
- J. Cidna kuma aanan soo qabanin, edd/shan ayaanu tuseynay in ay la mid tahay tii alkhristeen iyo in kale.
- S. Sida aad sheegteen Eed-1aad fadhiyada kama qayb geli jirin, si kale marna ma loo sheegay wuxuu ka qayb galay?
- J. Mar buu sheegay asagu inuu ka qayb galay shirarkaas lagu qaban jiray gurigiisa. Maxamed Sh.Xasan Taani wuxuu loo sheegay inuu mar ra'yi dhiibtay.
- S. Ma jiraan cid kale oon ahayn kuwan la xiran oo wax ka sheegaysa?
- J. Maya.
- S. Ma la socotay markii guriga eed-2aad la baarayey?
- J. Maya ee Cabdirashiid nin la yiyashdo ayaa arrintaas baarista nooga qayb galay.
- S. Eed-20aad inuu Ururka ka mid yahay ma caddeynta eed-2aad baa tixgeliseen?
- J. Haa, inkastoo isna noo qirtay.
- S. Ururka Waxdada & Samafalku wey ka jawaabi kari waayeen ujeedoo-yinkooda ayaa mar hore tiri. Iminkana waxaad leedahay waa Urur dhisan ma iskhilaafsan yihiin?
- J. Haa wey is khilaafsan yihiin.
- S. Eed-2aad ka baxsan eed-1aad dembiyada oo shan ma u hay-saan?
- J. Maya wax ka baxsan uma hayno.-

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CODSI QAREEN KUSEEN BILE:

Edeysanayaasha 26, 27 & 28aad waxay EG-
MADEEN INLAAN KA DIP.ACO dembiyada loo kala
haysto ee Maxkamaddu ha iga aqbasho.

MAXKAMADDU:

Wey aqbashay codsiga Qareenka--

IM/QAREEN KUSEEN BILE & M/3AAD:

- S. La kuu sheegay eed-2aad wakhtiga ay Shirarka qaban jireen?
- J. Ma garan karo wakhtiyada, hase yeeshe wuxuu xusay eed-2aad qadad dabadeed.
- S. Ma sheegi kartaa Xubnaha Ururka sida ay Hawlaha u kala qaabil-san yihiin cide hadxda u ah, kharajkooda iyo tirada guud shaan?
- J. Maya midna ma garanayo isna iima uusan sheegin.
- S. Ma ka qayb galeen shirarka Cabdi Laangare iyo Aadan Waalli?
- J. Cabdi Laangare ayaa maallin fadhiiistay shir lagu qabtay guriga eed-2aad.
- S. Aadan Cali Guhsad ma la fadhiiistay marna?
- J. Maalin ayuu la fadhiiistay eed-3aad.
- S. Aadan inuu baxsaday ma la socotaa xaalkiisu ee waa sidee?
- J. Waanu ka maqayn Hargeysa markuu baxsaday, waan qaban lahayn waa eedeysane maqan hadda.
- S. Cabdi Laangare ma qaban lahaydeen?
- J. Laya wax xadgudub ah oo uu sameeyey ayaan jirin.
- S. Shirarka uu ka qayb galay maxaa lagu qaban waayey?
- J. Sababto waxay tahay isagoo hawl loo diray ka soo qabanaayey mar-kasta.
- S. Cabdi Laangare ma ku yiri aniga ayaa soo qaaday Joornaalka UPFO?
- J. Haa aniga ayaa soo saaray ayuu i yiri.
- S. Hadduu yiri anigu ma soo qadin maxaad ka qabtaa?
- J. Anigu qoraal aan ka qoray ayaan hayaa.
- S. Wax dibada ka ah eed/sha oo caddaynaya jiriteanka dembiga ma jira?
- J. Maya.
- S. Baaristiinii maxaad ugu ogaan waydeen?
- J. In Joornaalka ay qoraan ayaga ayaa soo sheegay (eed-1/2aad).
- S. Eed-6aad inta goor ee gurigiisa la fadhiiistay ma garaneysa?
- J. Maya ma garanayo.
- S. Labada shir ee hadxda kee buu ka qayb galay?

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- J. Kii Gambe ayuu ka qayb galay.
- S. Eed-14aad sida uu sheegay waqno xanuun ma leeyahay?
- J. Haa intii xabsiga ku jiray dhawr jeer ayaanu kula kulnay.
- S. Wax hadal ama ra'yi ah ma dhiiban jiray?
- J. Maya.
- S. Ma idin sheegay eed-16aad inuu bistooladda salab gear ah u iib-saday?
- J. Wax caddoynaya in xadku sheega laga keenay ma jiro, noomana sheegin.
- S. Ururka dembi Felada ah ayaa caddoynayaa?
- J. Qiraalkooda ma ahaa wax kale uma hayno.
- S. Ma ka warheysaa in la ciqaabey eed-17aad?
- J. Maya inta aan ogahay.
- S. Guddigii madaxda la hadleysey soo ka mid muu ahayn?
- J. Ma ogi inuu ka mid ahaa iyo in kale.
- S. Ma dhutinaayey eed-17aad markii la soo xiray?
- J. Ma dhutineynin.
- S. Hadda ma dhutinaayaa?
- J. Ma ogi.
- S. Wax kale oo lagu caddoynayo bombooyinka ma jiraan?
- J. Hadalkooda ma-hee, wax kale ma jiraan.
- S. Eed-24aad caddoyniisa mooyee wax kale ma loo hayaa?
- J. Maya.
- S. Ma ciqaabteen issagana?
- J. Ma ogi.
- S. Eed-25aad caddoyniise ka baxsan isna ma u haysaan?
- J. Maya qiraalkiisa mooyee wax kale looma hayo.
- S. Eed-27aad ayaa isaga wax ka sheegaya?
- J. Cidna wax kama sheegayso isna waxba nooma qirun shegidii eed-17aad mooyee.
- S. Labo magac miyuu leeyahay eed-17aad?
- J. Waxaanu ku baafinay magaca Axmed Maxamuud Xadar.
- S. Goorma ayaaad hesheen eed-17aad?
- J. Berbera oo walaalkii uga dhoofinaayey markuu ka soo noqday.

CODSI QAREEN MAYS XAAJI:

Waxaan codsanayaa in eed-20aad in la cego jirkiisa Maxk-horteeda.

DADWEYNE UU DOODE: Haddii cidda dhibatada sheegayso aysan caddoynin dhibatada qofkii u geystay, iyaga ayaa

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mas'uul ka ahaa. Haddii aysan dhibtaas la sheegaayo aysan caddoynin eed/sha & Qareenadu oo markaas loo ciqaabi doono cidda dhibka geystay. Hore waxaani way u jircen oo Dad aan xilke ahayn ba suuqa la wareegaayey oo doonayaa inay Dowladda iyo Dadweynaha kala dilaan. Rabashadii Magaalada Hargeysa ka dhacdayna ka mid ayey ahayd arrinta. Sidaas darteed ha la diido sababahaas darteed in eed/sha jirkooda Maxkamadda hortooda laga cego, dacwaddanina halkeeda ha ka socoto.--

IM/MAXKAMADDA & M/3AAD:

- S. Eed-26aad waxba kamaadan sheegin Xeer Ilaalayahana waxba kaagama su'aalin, bal noo caddoyn sababta lagu xiray?
- J. Eed-24aad ayaa sheegay inuu la socday eed/hani kan 17aad ha-beenkii la qaybinaayey bombooyinka.
- S. Asaga maxaad ka qorteen?
- J. Waxaa uu noo sheegay inuusan waxba ka ogeyn arrintaas. Eed-17aad isna waxba kama sheegin.
- S. Joornaalka SNM ma yahay kaad sheegtay in lagu akhristay guryaha eed/sha: 4, 5, 6 & 7aad?
- J. Joornaalka SNM ee aanu hayno cidna laguma soo qaban ee waanu tuseynay keliya.
- S. Magaca HURMI & UFFU ma hesheen cidda dhibatada?
- J. Eed/sha 1aad & 2aad.
- S. Ma ogaateen in Xubnaha kale ee Ururku ogaayeen soo saarka UFFU iyo in kale?
- J. Ma ogeyn soo saarkiisa, hase yeeshee in ay arkeen ayey noo sheegeen.
- S. Joornaalka SNM halkaas bead ka hesheen?
- J. Ma ogi ee waxaa keenay G/Sare Cali Xuseen oo laga xiriiri kara.
- MURAGGA 4AAD MAXAMUUD AXMED WILII: Dhaar dabadee wuxuu yiri: Waan aqanaa eed-1aad (Maxamed Xaariid) wuxuuna ka shaqeyn jiray Worchadda Pepsi Cola. Makiinad ay Worchaddu lahayd ayaa maalin Cii-damada Nabadsugidduu iga qaadeen baaris darteed oo ay yirashdeen waxay baaristaasi la xiriirtaa eed-1aad, kadibna makiinadii ayaan siiyey, Xafiiska ayaa lahaa.--
- IM/QAREEN ISMAACIIL & M/4AAD:
- S. Ayaa makiinadan ku shaqeyn jiray Xafiiskiina?
- J. Wiil iyo gabar ayaa shaqadaas u qornaa, Dadaxdara u garaaci jiray.

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S. Ma aragtay baaruud oo galab ama habeen ku soo noqonaya Xafiiska?
 J. Ma arag weli.

MARAGGA 5AAD CABDIRASHIID YAASIIN MAXAMED: Dhaar dabadeed wuxuu yiri: Qoraalkan ah GABAYGA DEYLEEDA AH, wuxuu ka mid ahaa waraaqooyin aanu ka soo qaadnay guriga Eed-5aad baaris mar aanu ku saameynay. Gabeygaas aniga ayaa helay una gartay inuu yahay GABAY ka soo horjeeda danaha Qaranka, ku qoranna farta eed-5aad. Markii aan akhristay una gartay inuu dembi ahaa ayaan garaacay oo tan makii-nada ku qoran aniga ayaa qoray. Markii arrintaas aanu wax ka weydiinay eed-5aad wuxuu noo sheegay inuu isagu qoray Gabeyga fartii-siina ay tahay, hase yeeshee uu nin kale ii yeerinaayey oo ka qortay, waxaana tiriyey buu yiri nin macallin ah oo Maxkamaddaani horrey u xukuntay. Anagoo wadana baarista eed/aha, waxaan ka soo helnay bistoolad LIKHAARROOF ah oo nooca Ruushka guriga eed-16aad Sida aanu u helnay bistoolada waxay ahayd in aanu weydiinay HUB ma haystaa, waxuuna noogu jawaabay Bistooladdan aniga ayaa waa horre iibsaday, hase yeeshee wax sharci ah ilaa hadda uma haysto, sidaas ayaanu bistooladda kaga soo qaadnay.-

IL/QAREEN FAYSAL & M/5AAD:

S. Amarka baarista gurigiisa ayaa idin siiyay, mase haysateen awood baaris oo idiin oggolaatay Maxkamadda?
 J. Madaxda oo keliya ayaa amar nagu siiyay soo qabashadiisa iyo baarista gurigiisaba.
 S. Ma idinka socoday eed-5aad marka aad gurigiisa baareyseen?
 J. Haa waa nala socoday.
 S. Gabeygan maxaad ku gartay inuu Qaranka ka soo horjeedo?
 J. Magaca AF-MEYNE oo uu Madaxweynaha loo jeedo iyo noociyadiisa oo DEYLE ah.

IM/QAREEN XUSEEN BILE & M/5AAD:

S. Ma kuu sheegay eed-16aad inuu lacago Dowladeed xuduud ku sheege agteeda iyo meelo kale oo badan uu geeyo, isuguna ilaaliyo?
 J. Maya ilaa sheegin.

MARAGGA 6AAD DHAAMLE CALI GAANI AXMED: Dhaar dabadeed wuxuu yiri: Anigu waxaan ka mid ahaa Guddigii loo soo magacabay baarista eed/SHAN, waa jirtay in aanu labo nuqul oo Joornaalka UFPO ah oo aanu Xeer Ilaalinta u soo gudbinay, waxayna kala ahaayeen mid markii aanu laagaladda nimid ayey NSSka Hargeysa noo soo gudbiyeen, kan

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kalena baaristeydii aanu ku helnay, waxaan ka soo qaaday guriga eed-5aad habeenkii aanu qabaneynay isaga laftiisa.-

IM/QAREEN ISLAACIIL & M/6AAD:

S. Saacadda aad guriga tegteen waa goorma?
 J. 13,30 ee habeenimo ayey ahayd.
 S. Wax fasax baaris ah ma haysateen?
 J. Inkastoo aanan waraaqo u haysanin haddana waxaa noo fasaxaya Qod-58 XHCS.

MARAGGA 7AAD KHADRA ISMAACIIL NUUR: dhaar dabadeed waxay tiri:

Qaybta 26ka Juun ayaan deggenahay. Habeen saq-dhexe ay tahay ayaa waxaa gurigeeygii iigu yimid eed-2-aad iyo ciidan la socoda, waxaana layga qaaday teeb uu ninkeygu lahaa. Eed-2aad iyo ninkeygu way wada sheeqayn jireen, markaas haddii uu joogo iyo haddii uu maqanya-hayba ninkeyga cedeysanaha wakhtiguu doono ayuu teebka qaadan jirey inkastoo aanan teebka waxba ka aqoonin haddana qubkii ama galkii uu ku jirey teebku waa ken Maxkamadda hor yaal.-

MARAGGA 8AAD MUXUMED SHEEKH CABDULLAHI JIBRILL: dhaar dabadeed

wuxuu yiri: Anigu waxaan ahay waardiyaaha guriga kaaliyaha 1aad ee Gobolke W/G. Habeen anigoo barandada hoosteeda fadhiga ayaa goor fiid ah qarax ka dhacay kotta sibirka ka soo horreysa hoosaada baabuurka loo hooyo, cid kale guriga gudahiisa iyo dibadiisaba ma joogin waan sara kacay oon eegay dhankii aan islahaa waxa qarxay ayaa laga soo tuuray cid waan arki waayay, kadibna waan baqay in aan dibada u baxo soona eego cid meelahaas mareysay, kadibna dib ayaan gurigii ugu noqoday waxaan baqtiyey nalalkii gudaha iyo dibadaba ku yaallay, waxaan u soo sheegay gabadh Sacido la yiraahdo oo uu kaaliyuhu abti u yahay oo nagu dhoweyd markaas iyana telefoon ayay u dirtay Ciidamada Nabadgelyada, waana la yimid lana baaray lana masawiray, wax dhibaato ah oo weyn ma ahayn FALIIDH sibir-kii gaaray oo keliya ayaa khasaarey u ahaa qaraxaas.-

MARAGGA 9AAD FAADULO MAXAMED XIRSI: Dhaar dabadeed waxay tiri:

Anigu waxaan deggenahay guri ku yaal Waaxda Guryasamo, goor aan anigu jiifsaday ayey ahayd oo habeenimo, waxaan maqlay QARAX dha-cay waan soo kacay waxaan la kulmay siigo iyo BOOR kacay baranda-dii gurigii aan degganahay, iridka dibada ayaan furay cid na arag waxna ma maqal wax dhibaato ah haba yaraatee nama gaarsiinin qara-xaasi, dadka joogay gurigana waa ay hurdeen oo qoqolhooda ayey ku jireen.

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MARAGGA 10AAD L/X-MUHAMMAD AHMED DHOCIB: Dheer dabadeed wuxuu yiri: Ururka 10aad ee Sencada ayaan Taliye ka ahay, waxayna hoos timaada, waaxda Sencada ee Qaybta 26aad XDS oo uu hadix ka yahay Eed-27 aad, anigoo jooga Xafiiska ayaa ii yimid L/X-Cabdillaahi Shaarub iyo K/le la socoday, waxayna ii sheegeen in BOHBO ay sideen oo ay yiraahdeen waxaanu ka soo qaadnay guriga S/Guuto Gaani, baa badaas amankeedu bedankeeda waa ka baxsanaa. Bombadu waa tan wee rarka ee C-Q-Sida. Labo ammaan ayey laadahaay wayna kale sarceyaan, midka biinka ah ee kale jecda waa toosiyey. Bombadii waxaanu tusnay Ciidanka laanta Baarista Dembiyada, wayna nasawirteep kadibna daryeel darteed ayaan meel banaan ah ku qorriyey, kadibna waxaan u imid S/Guuto Gaani iyo C/Dh-Ismaaciil Kaashi Madar oo ah eed-27 aad, anagoo la fadhino Taliyaha Qaybta 26aad ayaa mar labaad lena horkoontay bombo labaad oo laga soo helay isla guriga S/Guuto Gaani dibadiisa oo aan isna qarxin. Labada bombo waa isku nooc ah RBG oo ah Sencada Ruushka. sidii tii hore ayey shayd, haddii meel kakan lagu tuuri lahaa way qarxin lahayd, waasha ay ku dhacday waa meel jilicsan dhul bilow me laha, rako ahaa ayey ahsayd oo diisan, meel bombeda banaanku ah ayaa la dhigay, sidii tii hore oo kale ayaa Ciidan L.B.D. loo diray hawlshoodiinn ay ka qabsadeen, kadibna aniga iyo eed-27aad waan soo qaadnay waanan qarxinay.-

MARAGGA 11AAD AHMED CALI JAAHIC: Dheer dabadeed wuxuu yiri: Waxaan ahay Xisabiyaha Wasaaradda Waxbarashada & Barbaarinta ee G/W/G, waan aqoosnaa eed-17aad waa nin macallin ah magaca aanu mushaharka ku siinno waxaa la yiraahdo Cabdiraxmaan Cabdillaahi Madar. Dugsiga Faarax Oomax ayuu bare ka yahay intii uu xirnaa mar Bil mushaharkeed ayaan ugu dhiibay eed/sha 24 & 25aad oo isla soco da waanu isticmaalnaa inuu macalimiinta iskuugu dhiibno mushaharka.

IM/KARBEN KUSEEN BILF & K/11AAD:

S. Goormaad musharka iskuugu dhiibtaan, magaca kale inuu looyahay ma ogeatay?

J. Magaca Dowladde uu u shaacayo ayaa sidaas ah, Foolyo bargaada ayoy ugu qoran tahay magacaasi, wadid isgearsiin la'aani dhacdo ayaa loyskuugu dhiibo.

DADWEYNE U DOODE:

Xeer ilaalinta maragoodii intaas ayey kaga egtahay, waxaan Maxkamadda u soo jeedinayaa sida uu qabo Qod-155 XHCS in aan soo gud-

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biyo caddayntii laga qoray marag Cabdi Muxamed (Laangare) oo hada maqane ah, sababtoo ah in aan maragaa haba yaraatee la helin karin, samantana lala heli waayey in loo geoyo isaga.-

DOOD: KARBEN ISMAACIIL:

Qod-155 XHCS, habkiisa lama raacin, waxaan Maxkamadda ka codsanayaa in laga diido codsiga Dadweyne u Doodaha si loo dhowro caddaalade.

DOOD: KARBEN KASAH SHEELIH:

BI-LASLAX CADDALADA, ayaan isu hor taagayaa codsiga Dadweyne U Doodaha, waxayna dhaawaceysaa Qodobada 164 & 186 XHCS, Hab ka marag furka. Qod-155 XHCS wuxuu sheegayaa xiriir caddayn ah (sida qofka dhintay & qof la waayey marka habkeeda loo maro waana mid MAJHUUL AH.

DOOD: KARBEN CISLAAN:

Qoraalka uu qoray Cabdi Laangare, sida uu qorayo qod-197 XHCS, shakh-siyediise oo xun awgeed, marag looma qaadan karo haddii qoraalkiisu waafaqsan yahay nin loo ballan-qaaday ama lo'ag la siiyey mana noqon karo marag ha la diido codsiga Dadweyne u Doodaha.

DOOD: KARBEN KUSEEN BILF:

Sida uu qabo Qod-155 XHCS, mid dhintay (xubnaha A/B) ee isla qodobkaas ayaa diidaya, ma ka hadal adduuno oo la diidaayo sidaas darteed ha la diido codsiga Dadweyne u Doodaha.-

JANAAB: DADWEYNE U DOODE:

Sida uu sheegayo Qod-155 XHCS ee aan hore u cusaday maragaa waa la soo waayay. Arrinta ay ka doodayaan Qareennaduna waa la sheegay inuu ITOOBIYA u baxsaday si aanu maragaa u furin, baxsashadiisiina waxaa ka dambeeya dad magaalada Hargeysa doogan. Abaalgudka la siiyeyna waa uu ka horreeyey xariga dadkan. Eedeysanayaasha xiranna waxba kama hadlayo. Sidaa darteed waxaan ku ADKEYSANAYAA in nalaga aqballo qabashada caddaynta ee Maxkamadda, lagana diido Qareennada codsigooda ay ku diidan yihiin in Maxkamadda ayoomsato caddaynta Cabdi Laangare.-

DOOD: KARBEN ISMAACIIL:

Iyadoo ay arrintani ku timid sahlasho ay sahladeen baarayaa- sha iyo K/Ilaalintu iima muuqsto sabab hadda nalooga dhigo

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muhiin caddaynta Cabdi Laangare, sidaa daraadeed wa-xaan Maxkamadda ka codsanayaa inaysan oggolaan u soo gudbinta caddayntaas iysda ah.-

MAXKAMADDU:

Waxay dhacaysatay codsiga Xeer Ilaalinta kuna saabsan soo gudbinta caddaynta Cabdi Laangare iyo doodii Qareen nada, aragtayna Qodobada 155, 164, 186 iyo 197 ee XHC waxay oggolaatay in caddaynta Cabdi Laangare loo soo gudbiyo Maxkamadda.-

DADWEYDHE U DOODS:

Waxaan Maxkamadda u soo gudbinayaa Galabka marag muujinta iyo Dokumentiga isugu jira oo kala ah: 2 (labo) Lakiinadood oo kuwa qoraalka ah, Bistoolad Lakaarood iyo 6 (lix) xabbadood, warqaddii Warshadda Pepsi Cola ay ku caddaynayeen inay lakiinadada qoraalka leeyihiin, hal koobi oo ah Jariidada S.N.M. ay soo saarto, Blok Note "VICTOR" sh oo ay ku qoran yihiin daraafyo caddadoyo UFFO ah ku soo laxay, warqadda Taliyaha Nabadsuudada oo ka hadleysa qaraxii Magaalada ka dhacay, banifecsto ay ku qoran tahay Guusha SNM bea leh QBERIDAMA AFWEYNAA LEH, tear baafin ah iyo caddaynti Cabdi Laangare.- Waxaan kaloo soo gudbinayaa GAL u gaar ah Eed.1aad oo ay ku jiraan 5 (shan) caddaymo, 2 (labo) qiraal Maxkamadeed, Farihiisa iyo sawirkiisa.- GALKA Eed.2aad oo ay ku jiraan 5 (shan) caddaymo oo uu mid gacantiisa ku qoray iyo 2 (labo) qiraal Maxkamadeed.

GALKA EED.1AAD oo ay ku jiraan qiraal iyo 2 caddaymoood.

"	"	4aad	"	"	"	qiraal iyo 2 caddaymoood
"	"	5	"	"	"	qiraal & caddayn iyo gabay fartiisa ah.
"	"	6	"	"	"	qiraal iyo caddayn.
"	"	7	"	"	"	qiraal iyo caddayn.
"	"	8	"	"	"	qiraal iyo caddayn.
"	"	9	"	"	"	qiraal iyo caddaymo.
"	"	10	"	"	"	qiraal iyo caddaymo.
"	"	11	"	"	"	qiraal iyo caddaymo.
"	"	12	"	"	"	qiraal iyo caddaymo.
"	"	13	"	"	"	qiraal iyo caddaymo.
"	"	14	"	"	"	qiraal iyo caddayn.
"	"	15	"	"	"	qiraal iyo caddaymo.
"	"	16	"	"	"	qiraal iyo caddaymo.
"	"	17	"	"	"	qiraal iyo caddaymo.

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GALKA	EED.	15aad	uu	ku	jiro	qiraal iyo caddaymo.
"	"	19	"	"	"	qiraal iyo caddaymo.
"	"	20	"	"	"	qiraallo iyo caddaymo.
"	"	21	"	"	"	qiraallo iyo caddaymo.
"	"	22	"	"	"	qiraallo iyo caddaymo.
"	"	23	"	"	"	qiraallo iyo caddaymo.
"	"	24	"	"	"	qiraallo iyo caddaymo.
"	"	25	"	"	"	qiraallo iyo caddaymo

iyo 2 Koobi oo ah Joornaalka UFFO oo kala ah mid laga soo qaaday aqalka eed.3aad iyo tii baarayaashu X/Ilaalintan u soo gudbiyeen.-

GODSI: QAREEN ISMAACIIL:

Si aamnu uga bogenno qoraallada iyo Dokumentiga Maxkamadda loo soo gudbiyey, waxaan codsanayaa in dib naloogu dhigo ilaa 30 daqiiqadood oo aamnu xaaladda ku derisno.-

MAXKAMADDU:

Larkii ay dhacaysatay codsiga Qareen Ismaaciil, waxay oggolaatay in hal saac dib loogu dhigo Qarqennada si ay xaaladda u dersan.....

DOOD: QAREEN ISMAACIIL:

7da eedeynta aan darsacayo 6 ka mid ah waxaa Galalkooda loo soo gudbiyey Maxkamadda. Eed.1, 3, 7, 8, 15 & 23aad midkood na kama hadlin Joornaalka UFFO iyo RUDM isla mar ahaantaas eed.3aad oo lagu codeeyay in laga helay Joornaalka UFFO maracsani habka Sharciya ah heliisanku sida u dhacay, baddamaa aan lagu golin aqalka oggolaansho Maxkamadeed wax kale oo sababana ayan muuqan.

DOOD: QAREEN KASAN SHEEKH:

X/Ilaalintu waxay ku egtahay Qod.114 KHCS, Qarqennaduna waxay ku egtahay Qod.116, waxaa noo dhaxeeya Qod.115 KHCS, Maxkamaddu ha nagu dhaqdo qodobka noo dhaxeeya. Waxaa kale oo jirta qiraallada 3da nin ee Maxkamaddu ii magacawday, Maxamed Dagaal (eed.10) qiraal kuma kuma jiro Galkiisa, mana jiraan wax uu isku caddaynayo, sidaa awgeed ma qabo in Maxkamadda loo gudbiyo Galkiisa. Eed.9aad & 11aad isma laha caddaymooda iyo Eedaynta, midka kale Qiraal marka la leeyshay waa in lagu hor qoraal Cargsoore, taas wax muujinaya ma hayno, xitaa haddii ay noqon lahayd Shaabab kaliya anaba

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Saxiix Garsocor caddaynaya inuu goob joog u shaa. Xeer Ilaaliyuhu wuxuu kaloo soo gudbiyay warqad Taliyaha N.Sugidda G/W/G qoray, Manifesto, caddad ka mid ah Jariidada S.N.M. & warqado kale. Haddaba sida ku cad Qod.172 XHCS, wixii Maxkamadda loo soo gudbinayo waa inay ahaadaan kuwo qof khuseeya, HA LA II SHIRSO IYAY KHUSEEYAAH 3DA NIN EE AAN DAAFACAYO IYO IN KALE, haddii ayan khuseyn gear ahaan ama guud ahaan cedeey sanayasha oo dhan waxaan codsanayaa in dib loogu celiyo X/Ilaaliyaha.-

DOOD: QAREEN CUSHAAN:

Waxaa jire in galka lagu soo gudbiyay waxyaabo aan dacwadda khuseyn, caddaynta Cabdi Laangere waa 12 Bog oo bogga 12aad oo keli ahi saxiixan yahay oo aan xitaa lahayn shaabad muji-neysa ciddii qortay. Taas waxay na tuseysaa in caddaynta Cabdi Laangere loo aqoonsan yahay bogga 12aad oo keliya, isla caddayntaas boggeeda 5aad wuxuu Laangere leeyahay markii la i yiri soo raadi waxaan sheegay inaan hayo 2 Nuqul oo UFPO ah oo aan kaadan ku ogahay, dabadeed uu keenay, taas waxaan u qaadan karnaa inuu isagu mas'uul ka ahaa gebi ahaanba xaaladda UFPO loona baahnaa in isaga lagu cedeeyo abaabulka Jariidada UFPO.-

DOOD: QAREEN KUSSEEN BILE:

Sida la ogyahay Qod.149 ee XHCS oo geexaya Qiraalka waxa loola jeedo. Waxaa muuqata in eed/sha aan daafacayo 6 ka mid ah Maxkamadda looga soo gudbiyay 3 qiraal, seddexda kale 3 caddaymood. Haddaba waxaa muuqata inaanu jirin wax qiraal ah ee ay seddexda hore yihiin caddaymo iska caadi ah kuwa kalena ay caddaymaba ahaayeen, midkoodna aan waafaqsanayn Qod.172 ee XHCS, hase yeeshee ay yihiin hadal ay bixiyeen oo keliya. Sidaas daraa'dood, waxaa Maxkamadda ka codsanayaa inay dhammaanba Xeer Ilaalinta dib ugu celiso, iyadoo aan qabo kuna kalsoonahay in lagu dirqiyeey.-

JAWAAB: DADWEYNE U DOODE:

Jaallo Guddoomiye, sida ku cad Qod.10aad ee XLY 8 soona baxay 26.1.70, haddii dhegeysiga dacwaddu tahay awoodda MBD uma baahna in Qiraalka uu Garsocor goob joog u ahaado. Waxaan ead ula yaabansahay sababta Qareen Kussen Bile uu u rumaysan la'yahay Saxiixa Qoraalka ama caddaymaha ee uu sheegayo in lagu

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dirqiyeey. Haddii aan u soo noqdo Qod.172 XHCS, Maxkamadda waa loo soo gudbin karaa wax allaale wixii khuseeya dacwadda, taas waxaan ulajeedaas si buuxdana aan rabaan inaan Maxkamadda iyo dadweynahaba ka dhaadhiyiyo baddamaa ay jirto EEDEYIN la leeyahay waxaa uu Ururku RUDM ka shidaal qaata ka kale ee xaaraanta ah ee la yiraahdo S.N.M., inaan Maxkamadda u muujiyo astaan dhab ah mecaheeduns yahay Jariidada S.N.M. iyo Manifestadaba. Sidaas awgeed waxaa Maxkamadda ka codsanayaa in ay ii oggolaato inaan u soo gudbiyo si aan Eedda u soo gabaga-beeyo.-

MAXKAMADDU:

Markay dhegaysatay doodii Qareennada iyo jawaab celintii K/Xeer Ilaaliyaha Guud MBD Gobolka W/G kuna saabsan gudbinta caddaymaha eedaysanayaasha, marka aragtay Qod.10aad XLY 8 ee 26.1.70 oo lala akhriyo Qod.151 XHCS, waxay GO'AAMISAY in la qaado lana tixgeliyo caddaymaha eedaysanayaasha.

Midda ku saabsan Qoraalka Bedeysanayaasha oo Garsocoraha hortiisa ay ka bixiyeen ee Qareen Xasan Sheekh ka hadlay. Maxkamaddu iyadoo tixgelisay Qod.68 XHCS, waxay u muuqatay in loo reabay habkii loo baahnaa waafaqsan yahayna Shirciga.

Midda seddaxaad ee ku saabsan Joornaalka S.N.M., waraaqihii Taliyaha NSSka G/W/G iyo tol Xafiiska Nabadgalyada C.B.S. ee K/Xeer Ilaaliyaha Guud MBD Hargaysa Maxkamadda u soo gudbiyey, Maxkamaddu markay aragtay Qod.172 XHCS, waxay go'aamisay in dib loogu celiyo Xeer Ilaalinta, maadama cysan xiriir la lahayn EEDDA loo haysto eedaysanayaasha.-

CODSI: DADWEYNE U DOODE:

Maxkamadda waxaan u soo jeedinayaa sida uu qabo Qod.112 XHC, in aan Bedeeynta kala noqdo Bedeysanayaasha kala ah: Eed.26aad Saciid Max'd Nuur oo lagu caddayn waayey ka tirsanaanta Ururka RUDM iyo Qaraxa, Eed.27aad G/Dh-Ismaaciil Kaashi Medar oo isagana lagu soo caddayn waayey dambigii lagu soo oogay oo ah ka QAYB GELID URUR DEBART BALE AH IYO KII QARST QARXAN QARXAN BOMBO GACMEED iyo eed.28aad Xasan Cali "Ceelgeeyo" oo lagu soo

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caddeyn waayey AMKINSHAARNIMO oo ah dembigii lagu soo ee-deceyey--

MAXKAMAADDU:

Markay dhegaysatay codsigii Xeer Ilaaliyaha ee ku saabsan kala noqoshada Eedda ku taagan eed/sha kala ah 26, 27 & 28aad, aragtay Qod.112 (2) ee KHCS, waxay ka oggolaatay Xeer Ilaaliyaha inuu eedda eed:sha kor ku xusan kala noqdo--

GABAGABADII DADWEYNE U DOODAHA

""Jaalle Guddoomiye, Garsoorayaal iyo Maxkamadda Sharafka leh, anigoo bilaabayaa soo jeedinta eedeysatayda, Eed/sha 1aad, 2aad & 3aad, waxaa si wadajir ah ugu eedeysatay inay ABAABULEEN Urur ku sheegga xaaraanta ah ee lagu magacaabay R.U.D.M., kuna tallaabadeen qoraal ka iyo Faafinta Joornaalka UPFO oo Ururkoodu soo saaro, muddadii ay baaristu socoteyna waxaa la ogaadey iney xiriir sokceye la looyihiin Urur ku sheegga S.N.K. ee London ka fura. Cabdi Laangare wuxuu ahaa nin hadda ka hor lagu soo eedeeyey BASAASNIMO oo ay MBD W/G ku xubintay DIL, hase yeeshee markii dambe isla MBD W/G ciqaabtaas ka sii deyse, taasi waxaan filayaa inay inooga filan tahay qiimeynta maragga MAQANHA AH oo haddii DILKII lagu waayey ayan suurtagal noqon inuu ciqaab kale kala kulmo Maxkamadda horteeda ha ahaato Xabsi daa'im ama xabsi dheerba, waxaana habboon inay Qareennadu siigaas u fahmaan qiimaynta uu leeyahay maragga MAQANHA AH. Side eedeysatayda ku qoran Cabdi Laangare wuxuu caddeeyey inuusan RUDM fagaalada ku xidhnayn Aadan Waallina uu la damacsanaa inuu Dowladdu ku soo xidho sidii uu ula shaqeyn lahaa mar haddii uu SNM aad ugu dhowaa xogogaalna u ahaa ujeedooyinka wecsan ee RUDM. Eed/sha 1, 2 & 3aad waxay kaloo ahaayeen qasbi la shirey Maxamed Nuur Xandulle (Carab) oo isagu jidda kula kulmay DUQSI iyo IM-WADAAD DIID oo ah Madax ku sheegga SNM sheegayna in labadaas nin ay dhaawaan Dalka Sacuudiga kula kulmeen ISAAQA jooga Dalkaas, kuwaasoo intooda badan ee waxgaradka ahi raacoen RERR SABLAALE MOOYE. Reer Sableale waxaa loola jeedaa Dedkii Soomaaliyeed ee ku tabaaloobay abaartii daba dheer, kaddibna ku caato baxay gargaarkii Dowlad iyo qasbi lahaa ee ay ka heleen Ummadda Soomaaliyeed iyo xukumadooda Kacaanka ah kuwaasoo dibadaha u shaqa tegey si ay qiimaha noloshoodu

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da wax ugu taraan ee ku jecel seydhay DUQSI iyo IM-WADAAD DIIS, iyadoo ku nal qabsanaya kuna qanacsan gacantii ay dadkooda iyo dal koodaba ka heleen merkii ay tabaaleysnaayeen una shooqay in ayen wax jecel ah ku siin doonin fikradooda iyo hadafkooda lidka ku ah Midnimada iyo Qarannimada Ummadda Soomaaliyeed, isagoo waliba intaas reaciyeey in loo baxan yahay in CIIDAGALE lagu soo xiro ISAAQA intilisa kale lagana soo gooyo dabadhilifnimada MAREEKANNA, taas oo aan wax sal ah lahayn siyaabaha ay isugu taxallujinayaan. Waxaa tusaale ugu filan waxaysoobihii Maxkamadda horteeda laga akhriinaayey ee ku qornaa Joornaalka UPFO ee ay ka mid ahaayeen Qaranciynta Gobolka, Berbera wa la qabsaday iyo la SOOQOTO. La socoto waxaa cad-dan ah loola jeedo QOF ALLA QOFKII si xilkasnimo ah uga soo baxa waajibadka ciidiiisa iyo Calankiisa ka saaran inuu ku tilmaansado la SOOQOTO oo mionahedu yahay dabadhilifka MAREEKANNA, muxarka ka dambeeyaana uu yahay Niyad Jab caadooyin harsa ah oo kala goynaya Qarannimada Ummadda Soomaaliyeed loo abaabuli lahaa dhaawacna loogu geysan lahaa dadka diyaarka u ah wasjib gudashada dadkooda iyo dalkoodaba. Si ay ujeedooyinka Urur ku sheeggaas u hirgeliyaanna waxay isla garteen iney dadka Soomaaliyeed aad ugu jajeaban yihiin xagga Diinta loona baxan yahay in Diinta loogu soo dhuunto, si ay xinta waji kale loogu yeelo, waxaana dhacday in eed-1aad Shir la yeeshay dhalinyarada Maxdada oo uu u arkaayey inay Dowladda ka soo horjeedaan, isla mar ahaantaasna uu eed-3aad oo ah Maxamed Kaaji Maxamuud Shirkaas ka hadlay arayo ay ka mid yihiin: "GABADHII WAXAY NOQOTAY QARSOOTO, IILKIIINA WUXUU NOQDAY XABGLED ODFYGIINA WUXUU NOQDAY QURBAANI, HABARTIINA WAXAY NOQOTAY JAADLEY, una mis-beeyey in Dowladdu dhacay xumadees mas'uul ka tahay isagoo uga gol xaaraya sidii uu u abaabuli lahaa QAS la isega hor geynayo Dadweynaha iyo Dowladda, kaasoo aan run ahaantii qabo in natiijadiisu aaney maanta shaki lahayn qaskii iyo Weerarkii uu beryahan ay ka dhasheen Har, ooys, dhibaatooyinkii dhawaan dhacay ee loogu soo gal-baday xadhigga eed/sha iyadoo la isla dhexmaray been aan sal lahayn oo la leeyahay eed/shii xidhnaa oo kuwen ah badii baa DIL lagu xubintay intii kale XABSI DAA'IM, wixii ka dhasheynta aannu u wada joogay. Waxaysoobihii ee dhacay iyo kuwo kaloo fara badaniba waxa ay na tuseyaan jiritaanka Ururka, kaasoo ay xarab u dhacayeen qoollada Dowladda, Jabane, Cabdurexmaan iyo Caabi. Eed-4aad ilaa eed-20aad waxay

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an iyagana si wadaajir ah ugu eedeynayaa inay yihiin Xubnihii Ururka R.U.D.M.: Eed/sha 21, 22 iyo 23aad arrintoodu waa xadaysan tahay waxayna ahaayeen Xubnihii Madaxda oo iyagu RUDM la waafaqay iney iskaashi aan kalaal ahayn la sameystaan. Dunaabta gaarka ah Eed-16aad waa u qirtay Dembiga loo haysto ee ah Maysasho Hub Sharci Darro. Dhinaca Qaraxyada waxaanuu abaabulkooda ku eedeynayaa Eed-17aad iyo 20aad, isla mar ahaantaasna sida ay iyagu sheegeen waxaa la fuliyey waajibaadkii Qaraxyadaas eed-24 iyo 25aad, waxaan idiin xusuusinayse in habka uu qaraxu u dhacay laga dareemi karo inuu daba joogo qoraaladii UFFO, maxaa yeelay 3dii nin ee Joornaalka ku qornaa ee loo malayn karey iney xarigga eed/sha ka dambeeyeen ayaa aqalladoodii la qarxiyey. Rog an xidhen markii aan qiimeeyo waa inta u dhaxaysa 26 jir ilaa 36 jir ugu yaraan uu nin ka ugu aqoon gaabani haysato shahaadadda Dugsiga Sare, waa ay waanaagsanaan lahayd haddii ay ujeedadoodu tahay sidii ay SAMAFAL & wax qabasho daacad ah dadkooda ugu geysan lahaayeen, hase yeeshee taas ma hayno, waxaanuse haynaa inay ahaayeen rag doonaya inay dhistaan Dowlad toleed una guntaday sidii ay Dowladda iyo dadweynaha isaga horkeemi lahaayeen. Sidaas awgeed Eed/sha 1aad, 2aad iyo 3aad waxaan ku adkeynaynay in eedda kaloo raaco. Eed-4aad ilaa eed-20aad waxaan u weydiinayaa in EEN 30 SARADOOD OO XARIG AH LAGU XUKUMO. Eed/21, 22 iyo 23aad waxaan u deynayaa go'aankooda Maxkamadda, isla mar ahaantaas waxaan kaloo qoqobka eedda u deynayaa eed-24 iyo 25aad. Maxkamaddu waa nahaqsantahay.--

DIFAACA QAREEN ISMAACIIL

Sida uu X/Ilaalintu sheegtay raggani waa rag dhallinyaro ah maantaane qiimo gaar ah inoogu fadhiiya marka loo eego xagga aqoonta iyo xagga hawlahaaba taas oo sannu ka dhacansan karno, inay yihiin Taakhaatiir, Injineero iyo ganacsato aqoon leh oo hore hawlmaadeeno Qaranka ugu ahaan jirey haddana wax ka kobcinaya shaqaalaha Dalka. Waxaa kaloo la sheegay Urur, Qod-322 XCS iyo Qod-3 ee YLY 54 midkoodna Eoddu ma waafaqanso maxaa yeelay ilaa hadda ma hayno wax Urur ah oo dhisan. X/Ilaalintu waxay kaloo ka hadashay Qiraal haddaba ee uu qorayo Qod-60 ee XHCS waxaan ayidansanahay in aaney wax qiimo ah lahayn caddeymaha galalka Maxkamadda loo gudbiyey ku jira oo ku salaysan tahdiid, cabsi gelin I.L., una weholiso baarista

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naftirkeed oo ay dhaliilo fara badan ka muuqaan. Dad fara badan baa ka qayb-gal Urur lagu eedeynayaa, bal aan is weydiinee maxaa keenay Urur aan dhismihiisuba jirin in ka qaybgalkiisa dad lagu eedeeyo. Eed-23aad eedeyntiisa ma waafaqsani kan 3aadna waxaa muuqata in aqalkiisa si Sharci darro ah lagu bearay taasina waxay qiiima dhac u keenaysaa eedynta Joornaalka. Xaggeese laga keenay Joornaalka UFFO? Daahir Ciid, wuxuu sheegay in markii uu warka healay kaddib uu dad u dirsaday loona keenay UFFO oo uu si khalad ah ugu gudbiyey Taliysha Qaybta 26aad, markii dambena ay khaladkii hore la mid ah ugu gudubtay NSSA. Madaxda Pepsi Cola waxay sheegeen in makiinadda tahay toodi, hase yeeshee sidii Sharcigu ahaa maxaa khabiir aqoon u leh hawsha looga bashnaa in lagu xaqiijiyo in qoraalku keeda yahay loogu gudbin sida ku cad Qod-161. Marka la leeyahay eed/shu waxay ka hadleen biyo la'aan, nal la'aan iyo dhaliilo kale oo jira oo xagga Dowladda ku lug leh, ma waxaa la oran kara waa Urur Qaranka lid ku ah, tessi ma bannaana waayo waa wax xaqiiq ah inay jiraan dhibaatooyinka ay ka hadleen. Xaley miyaanay Maxkamaddu nagu madoobaan, miyaanay nasiib darro weyn ahayn in Tuulada Wanla-Weyn ay si joogto ah u hesho xoog koranto oo ku filan, Magaalamaadaxdii 2aad ee Hargeysana ayan maallintii gelinkiisa dambe wax koronto ah lahayn, ssacadaha uu doonana uu bakhtiyo sidii xaleyba Maxkamadda dhexdeeda nagu qabsatay iyadoo weliba xuduud ku sheegaa aan waxba u jirin. Maragga 3aad wuxuu sheegay inay Ururka Samafalka dhallinyaradu abaabuleen markii dambena uu Maamulka Gobolku aqoonsaday wax qabadkiisa iyo jiritaankiisaba. Manifestada waxaa ciddii ka dambeysay ugu talagaleen QAS iyo xasilooni la'aan taasina waa dhacdayba. Maxkamadda waxaan ka codsanayaa in 6da nin ee aan daafacayo oo aan midna lagu hayn eedynta RUDM laga sii daayo xabsiga si ay danahooda qabsadaan.--

DIFAACA QAREEN FAYSAL

Iyadoo aan Qareen u ahay Eed-2, 4, 5 iyo 20aad in aanay kaafi ahayn caddeyntii X/Ilaalinta looga bashnaa. Waxaa kaloo jirta in eed-2aad markhaatigiisu aanay saldhig u ahayn eedda. Eed-2aad waxaa lagu eedeeyey Qod-3.XLY 54 iyo Joornaalka Uffo, haddaba waxay X/Ilaalintu ku codsatay Dilka. Caddeymo, warbixintii laangare iyo maragii 3aad oo sheegay in eed-2aad uu abaabuley Urur, hase ahaatee mar dambe waxaa la ogaaday in Ururku la abaabulay 1977kii cid abaabushayna

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lama sheegin, maragga wuxuu sheegay inayn hayn wax kale oo raad ah oo ka duwan markhaatiga Laangare. xabixinta Eed-2aad ee Saldhigga u noqotay abuurista dacwaddan waxaa jira rag ku qoran oo aan la soo xirin lamana caddeyn. sababta; Maxkamadda waxaan ka codsanayaa inaanay tixgelin qoraallada Eed-2aad. Bedeysanaha 2aad wuxuu sgeegay in ay jirean dhallinyaro Urur Samafal ah sameysay hase yeeshee Laangare oo dhibaatooyin dhaqaale wadeen iyo Aadan oo sheegay in nin Feysal la yiraahdo oo Kamar jooga uu kula soo taliyey inuu Dowladda la sheegeyo ay dhibaataada abuureen. Laangare wuxuu caddeyn tiisa ku sheegay in isagoo la qayilaya Taliyaha Qaybta 26aad uu ka codsaday inuu u keeno Joornaalka UFFO, hase yeeshee uu u sheegay inuu laba midh hayo una keeni doono, wuxuu kaloo sheegay inuu Hargeysa ka jiro Urur Samafal ah oo marmar Dowladda la hadla marnabana ma aanu sheegin wax Urur ah iyo RUDM toona. Waxaan aaminsanahay in arrintan loola jeedo sidii Dowladda iyo dadweynaha la isaga hor keeni lahaa, maragga 3aad waxa uu ka been sheegay inuu RUDM qirtay eed-2aad, welina ma hayno Urur iyo wax loola jeedo, taas waxaan u arkaa in aanu jirin wax eed-2aad ku cad marka Uffo laga hadlayana kuma filna Qodobka coddaasi. Eed-4aad, wax kale oo aan ahayn caddeynta eed-2aad looma hayo mana garan sababta ay X/Ilaalintu eedda ugale noqon weyday. Eed-5aad isagana looma hayo wax aan maragga 3aad ahayn, loomana hayo eed-5aad wax sheegay inuu akhristay, helay ama hayey UFFO sida ku qoran eedda. Eed-20aad waxaa lagu soo xiray qaraxa wax ku filanna looma hayo, maxaa yeelay sida ku cad qodobada 322, 325 332 cid aan ahayn eed-17aad looma hayo. Dhigitaanka bombada Guriga S/Guuto Gaani cid aan ahayn eed-17aad kuma caddeyn karto. Hub ma yaqaan sida uu sheegay maragga 3aad, waxyaabahaas oo dhami waxay u baahan yihiin in Maxkamaddu ay qiimeeyso. Waxaa kale oo muuqata inaanay X/Ilaalintu si buuxda uga soo bixin kaalintii looga baahnaa waxaan codsanayaa in Maxkamadda ay xabsiga ka sii deyso eed/sha aan dafacayo ee kala ah eed-2, 4, 5 iyo 20aad.

DIFAACA QAREEN KUSEEN BILE

Magaca R.U.D.K. uma qalmo dacwaddan, maxaa yeelay Dr-Taani wuxuu ku dhashay Awaare Jababona wuxuu ku dhashay Oodweyne, maragga 3aad wuxuu sheegay in Laangare u keenay Jarildada, wuxuu kaloo sheegay inay hayeen eed/sha oo keliya ee ayan jirin markhaatiyo kale, taasina waxay muujinaysaa in ayan X/Ilaalintu wax caddeyn ah hayn,

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sidaa daraasheed waxaan codsanayaa in ay dib u raaco muxurka doo-dan oo ah eed-6aad waxba laguna caddeyn, kan 14aadna la sheegay inuu bukaan u tegi jiray guriga Dr-Aadan Iina sheegay inay intuu xidhnaa xitaa Takhtaradu xabsiga ku dawoyn jireen, kan 16aadna uu la mid yahay kuwaas hore oo aan waxba ku caddeyn, bistooladda mooyee taasoo ku xiriirsan (Ordinamento Pubblico Sicurezza). Eed-17aadna aan wax qawl ah oo uu yiri laga hayn xagge Ururka lana caddeyn waayey meesha uu Hubka (bomba) ka keenay iyo in aan waxba ku caddeyn, kan 24aad oo eed loo caddeyey kan 25aad waxba lagu caddeyn waayay in la sii deyo dhammaanba eed/sha aan dafacayo waxaan gar ahaan ula yaabsanahay sababta X/Ilaalintu ay dhinac arrinta uga rumeysen tahay dhinacna uga beeneyneyso baddamaa eed-26aad iyo kii 27aad oo lagu kala eedeynaayay: kan 27aad inuu Hubka keenay, kan 26aadna wax ka fuliyey Qaraxa ay eedeyntii kala noqotay, kuwana ugu soo eedeysay Qaraxa.

DIFAACA QAREEN MANSAN SHEEKH

Habka caddaaladda waafaqsan in loo derso Qodobada soo socoda ee X.C.S. ay qorayaan: Qod-1aad, 16aad iyo 20aad, Maxkamadduna ku dhusto dacwadde qaadistoeda. Waxaa iga su'aal ah: Maxaa dembi lagu tilmaami karaa? Shuruudde Jinaa'iga ahi waxay khuseysaa qofka Sharaftiisa iyo Koriyaddiisa, waxaana lagu tilmaamay Dembi iyo Ciqaab. Qodobku ma hadli karo ee waxa hadla Qofka. Beddu ma ku fadhida Qodobadan, Jawaabtu waa MAYA, wuxuuna buxsaama marka la helo Shuruudiisa oo dhan. Marka ficilku waxyeelo keentayo, Maxkamadda horteeda Qofka taagani ma yahay kii isku xiray Silsiladda ficilka iyo dambiga (rapporto di causalità). Kubo firfircoon in ay ka ahaayeen Ururka R.U.D.K. waa in la helaa Qolab iyo Xafiis, sida Qodobka eeddu sheegayo ujudada lagu dhaawacayo Qaranka, laguna wiiqayo awoodda Dowladda, laguna curyaaminayo, laguna daciifinaayo, TURJUKAD KHULAF ah weeyaan Hargeysa ayaa dhaawacaysa Midnimada Ummadda Soomaaliyeed, waayo Magaalocoyin kale ayaa la isku shirqooli karaa, Dowladdana uma fiicna. Rabshadii Cabdi Laangare abuuray, meel kastaba ha jiroo, wuxuu kallifay in Ciidanka weqtiga laga lumiyo ilaalinta Magaalada, Inchoer-garatadii Adduun koo dhami fiirsanaayo lagu eedeyo MAX AAN JIRIN. Sida Qod-149XHC gabo, Qiraalka la sheegay may caddeynin ereyga lagu eedeynaayo,

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ma sha wax kasto ee lagu horkecnay Garsoore ee wuxuu y hay mida asaga wax ka sheegaya (liddi ku ah). Maxamed Dageel Xirsi (cod-10) waxaa laga qoray lana horkecnay Garsoore, hase yeeshee 3da kale ee aan u ahay Qareen may qorin waxa codka ku qoran. Qod-146 KHCS wuxuu sheegaya incaysan wax qirad ah halse tusin ee wax ku furay ee cod/shan waafsuqanna qod-199 KHCS. KIJHULMA waanna ka nahay, xuguuqii difaacuna wa dhimantahay. Eed/shu wax ay qirteen ma jiraan, waxna laguma caddaynin, K/Ilaaliyaha naftiisa waxaa lagu cesumay Trooskii mana aha dombi, halse sii Gaayo Eed/shan..

DIFAACA QAREEN CUSHEEN CABDI:

Maxkamaddu waxey ku qanci kartaa doodda Qareennada kale ee aanu waada difaacayno Eed/shan. Filradaha iyo Hanuuntinta ay Xeer Ilaalin tu soo joojisay Hay'addo kale ayaa iska leh, waxaan meesha u fadhinaana wala caddaalad iyo Sharci. Cabdi Laagere wuxuu ku mid yahay Urur Kaaraan ah oo ka soo horjeeda Qareenka, isla haddana wuxuu ka soo hadla IDAACADA C/DOWGA, lagana dhegeystaa. Waxaa la yaab leh in qofka ay shekhsiyaadda leh warbixintiisa la rumaysto. Sida Qod-197 KHCS uu qorayo, haddii laba warbixinood iska horyimaadaan waxe la reecayaa tan Eed/ha. Caddaynta Dr.Cusmaan wuxuu sheegay inuu qayili jiray, meadaama usun dombi ku caddayn odoysanayaasha aan difaacayo (cod-13 & 16aad) ha la siidaayo..

DIFAACA QAREEN BASHIIR CARTAN

Afarta odoysane ee aan Qareenka u ahay (cod-19, 12, 21 & 22aad) lama woydiinin Ururka jiritaankiisa iyo ka qaybgalkiisa, mana jirta wax ay qirteen oo Garsoore hortii sheegaya qoray, waxey ahayd arrin tu in lagala noqdo eedda loo haysto. Jiritaanka Ururka lama cadday nin xataa wax raad ah looma helin. Qod-110 iyo Qod-153 KHCS, waa-jibaadkeedii kam soo bixin Xeer Ilaalintu. Wax marag lama horkeenin Maxkamadda. Xeer Ilaalintu way ka cabsatay inay kala noqoto eedda ee Maxkamadda ayey u doysay, wax aan la dhegeysan karin marag shaan caddaynin dombiige meesha ku jirey ay Maxkamadda la horkecnay, baaruhuna wa warbixin uu qoray oo keliya ayuu ka waramayaa meadaama ayusan wax jirin wax dombi ee lagu caddaayey eed/sha aan daafacayo ha la siidaayo shaqooyinkoodiina ha lagu celiyo..

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GUNDHIG & ASHAB KUKON

Maxkamaddu markay dhegeysatay markhaatiyedi uu Dadweynaha u Doo- duhu horkecnay bixii ay fureen iyo dooddii dhinacyada, aragtayna qoraalladii iyo dombi muujintii loo soo gudbiyey, waxaa u soo ifbaxay arrinaha soo socda:

1). Waxaa jirtay in muddadii u dhaxaysay sannadkii 1977 ilaa 1978kii ay ka bilaabeen Baraysa Kulammo ay yeelanayeen qaar ka mid ah Ee/ sha kor ku xusan oo isku tirinayey "Indhoor-Garadka Magaalada", isuguna iman jireen hafiishyada qayilaaada, ayagoo ka faaloomaayey Filradaha, isweydaarsanaayeenaa aragtida ay kala qabsan Guud ahaan Izaamulka Dowladda Kacaanka, gear ahaanna Izaamulka Gobolka W/Galbeed, iyagoo ka faa'iidayeenaya guuxa ka jiray in muddo sha Gobolka Har geyso.....

Iyadoo ay si caadi ah u socdaayeen kulamaddadii iyo shirarkoodii qarsoodiga ahaa, ayey bilaabeen in ay Dadweynaha ka dhaadhiiciyaan mashaakilka Gobolka ka taagnaa, markastana ka tusa jireen dadweynaha dhanka xun ee dhaliisha leh, ayaa ugu danbeyntii Bishii Juun 1981dii ay xoojiyeen kulamaddadii, shirer isdabajaog sha yoo sheen, lana samaysteen Iskaashi Kubno ka tirsan Ururka Kaareanta ah ee S.N.L., xaruntiisuna tahay LONDON, Ladaxna uu ka yahay nin la yiraahdo DUQSI ee ka yimaadon Dalta Sucuudiga, kuwaas oo si qar soodi ah ku soo geliyeen kargeyska SNL, warbixinna ka bixiyeen sida dadka u dhashay "LA-ISAAQ" kama dhaqan Khaliijka ay ugu biireen Urukooda Kaaraanta ah ee SNL.....

Kubnaha ka sooday Ururka SNL ee Dibadda ka soo galay oo kala ahaayeen Aadan Cali Faarax (Aadan Gaalli) iyo Maxamed Muur Kaculle (Carab), balsedeenna markay Ciidamada Nabadgelyadu bilaabeen baarista la xiriirta Dacwaddan, iyadoo loo soo xilsaaray in ay lagaalada Hargeysa ka aboobulaan Urur kaareen ah hase yeeshee Mimi looyinka Kacaanka, abuuranaa arrimo liddi ku ah xasilooniida iyo Nabadgelyada Guud ee Gobolka, isla markaasna ka soo horjeeda jiritaanka Urukooda Soomaaliyeed.....

Kaddib markii si isdaba joog ah Kulammo ay la yeesteen Eed/shan qarskood, iyagoo ka dhaadhiiciyaayey in Dadka ISAAQA ahi ee Sucuudiga ku noolli ku biireen Ururka Kaareanta ah ee S.N.L. intaan ka ahayn C/DOWGA, waxay ku booriyeen in Soomaali kale tagtay qolo walbana ay Jabhad samaynayaan ayagana looga baahan yahay in ay toode (S.N.L.)

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xoojiyaan, iskana dhaafaan dabadhilifnimada MAREEKALANKA sida EE
CIIDAGALE Labadaas ceadaysane (Aadan iyo Xantulle) oo ka wakiil
ahaa Ururka SNM ee DUGSI uu Madax ka yahay, markii ay u nool martay
ujeedooyinkoodii ficsha xumas, waxay ABAABULBEN Ururka Xaaraanta ah
oo ay u bixiyeen R.U.D.M., mionhiisuna yahay RAGGA U DHASHAY EA-
SALLADA, waxaana Ururkaasi ku soo biiray Eed/sha kala ah:-----

- Eed- 1aad Maxamed Baaruud Cali;
- " 2aad Axmed Maxamed Yuusuf;
- " 3aad Maxamed Xooji Maxamuud;
- " 4aad Aadan Yuusuf Abookar;
- " 5aad Cabdiraxman Cabdullaahi Aadan;
- " 6aad Axmed Xuseen Caabi;
- " 7aad Xuseen Maxamed Ducaale;
- " 8aad Maxamuud Sheekh Xasan Taani;
- " 9aad Cabdullaahi Cali Yuusuf "Colaad";
- " 12aad Yuusuf Cabdillaahi Kaahin;
- " 13aad Cismaan Cabdi Caynaag;
- " 20aad Baashe Cabdi Yuusuf;
- " 16aad Maxamed Cali Ibraahim;
- " 15aad Aadan Ibraahim Saciid.

Kulamadii ugu horreeyey ee ay rasmi ahaan u yeeshen Eed/shu kor
ku xusani iyo ABAABULAYASHA Ururka RUDM (Aadan Waalli & Xantulle)
waxaa loysku baraarujiyey wax qabad la'aanta iyo dardarrada ay dawl-
laddu ku haysay G/W/Galbeed, isla markaana waxay go'aansadeen in
dadweynaha ku nool kaalada Hargeysa isku tashadaan oo ay soo Dawlad
da waxba ka sugin, kana hoos baxaan Jamhuuriyadda inteeda kale, ayaa
waxay abuureen magacaabeenna Guddi ay ku sheegeen "SALMAYAL" oo ka
Madax banaan kaamulka Gobolka, isla markaasna ay ka aruuriyeen Dad-
weynaha Lecag, Qalab, Dayactir iyo daawooyin lagu taakulaynaayo
Isbitaalka Hargeysa, iyo agoo ujeedadoodu ahayd inay iska horkeenaan
dadweynaha iyo Dawladda si kalsooni iyo gacan buuxda uga helaan
dadweynaha, kaddibna ku soo biiraan Ururkooda Xaaraanta ah.-----
Waxaa intaas dheer in mudadii ay u socdeen shirarkoodu ay ay iswey-
laarsanyiyeen fikradahooda ka dhanka ah Dawladda, waxay fursad u he-
leen in ay la kulmaan dadweynaha qaar kiis munaasabadii araabka
Eed-1aad (Maxamed Baaruud Cali) laguna qabtay Guri ku yaalla Kaafad
da Guryasamo ee Magaalada Hargeysa, wuna lahaa Eed-2aad Xasan Cab-

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APPENDIX IV

Profiles of members of "My Teachers' Group".

These profiles were collected mainly from Mohamed Barood's "Personal Account" [1], and some other sources, including direct contacts with the members of "My Teachers' Group". It is the author's hope to collect all background information and the current activity of each member of this group.

In addition to each member's name, his mother's name as "son of ..." is provided, because the mothers of these young men were those who suffered more than any other persons from this injustice.

Mohamed Barood Ali, son of Udbi Ali, was born in Hargeisa in 1950. He completed his elementary and intermediate schooling in Hargeisa. In 1970 he finished his secondary school education at Sheik, then went to the UK where he earned his B.Sc. in combined science at Sunderland Polytechnic. He worked as Industrial chemist on the Juba Sugar Project until 1980 when he returned to Hargeisa, and began to work as the Manager of the Pepsi Cola Company. When he was arrested on November 4th 1981, he was just married. Mohamed Barood Ali is co-founder and the second elected president of SORRA. He was active in the preparation of the Borama reconciliation meeting in 1993.

He also held a ministerial position in the Somaliland cabinet in 1995, being appointed Minister of Rehabilitation and Reconstruction in one of Mohamed Ibrahim Igal's governments in Somaliland. He ran for the presidency of Somaliland during the election of 1997, but he withdrew his candidacy two months before the election took place.

In 1999 Mohamed Barood Ali became a founding member and the director of a new human rights association, Samo Talis, which emerged from an ICD/Amnesty International workshop held in Hargeisa in 1998.

Mohamed Haji Mohamoud Omer Hashi, son of Basra Ismail, was born in Hargeisa in 1948. He went to Sheikh Bashir Elementary School and Ahmed Gurey Intermediate School in Hargeisa. He completed his secondary education at Sheikh Secondary School, and in 1975 he graduated at London School of Economics (London University, UK) where he earned his B.Sc degree. In 1977 he took a Diploma in Economics at North London Polytechnic, and he finally concluded his MA in Economics at the London School of Oriental and African Studies.

Before his arrest on November 19, 1981 Mohamed H. Mohamoud Omer Hashi worked at the Islamic Bank of Jeddah, Saudi Arabia; when he returned to Hargeisa in June 1979, he established his own private construction company. He was the father of six children when he was arrested. He is co-founder and the first elected president of SORRA (1990-1992). He was active in the preparation of the Borama reconciliation meeting in 1993.

Mohamed Ali Ibrahim, son of Fadumo Duale, was born in Hargeisa in 1945. He went to school in Hargeisa in 1952. He started to work in 1965, first as a revenue collector and then as an executive officer in the Ministry of the Interior. Before his arrest on December 4, 1981, Mohamed Ali Ibrahim worked in different towns and cities including Laasqoray, Badhan, Dhusamareb, Borama, Gabileh, Berbera and Hargeisa.

Hussien Mohamed Dualeh, nicknamed Berberawi, son of Mako Ibrahim, was born in Berbera in 1950. He completed his elementary education in Berbera in 1967 and attended the National Teaching Center at Afgoi High school from 1968-1970. Hussein Mohamed Dualeh "Barbarawi" was a teacher at Biodhacay primary school in Hargeisa (1970-1973). He went to the College of Education in 1973-1976 where he obtained his B.Sc. in Chemistry and Mathematics. He taught Secondary schools in Hargeisa from 1976-1980. Before his arrest on November 9th, 1981, Barbarawi was a member of the

Regional Examination Board in Hargeisa. Hussein was responsible for SORRA Berbera and now he is the Director of SORRA in Hargeisa.

Abdillahi Ali Yussuf, nicknamed Olad, son of Asha Abdillahi, was born in Hargeisa in 1947. He completed his primary education in Hargeisa and completed his secondary education at the Sheik Secondary School in 1969. He went to the veterinary School in Mogadishu and completed his studies there in 1971. Olad earned a medical degree in veterinary medicine in 1981 from the veterinary college of the Somali National University. He was arrested immediately after his wedding on November 19th, 1981.

He worked with SORRA overseas and in Hargeisa and he also held a ministerial position in one of Egal's governments in Somaliland. Olad has been the Minister of Agriculture of Somaliland for almost three years before his death on Monday night, January 8th, 2001 at the age of 54. He is survived by his wife and four children.

Dr. Osman Abdi Maigag, son of Kaha Farah, was born in 1943 in Hargeisa where he completed his primary and secondary education. After concluding secondary schooling in 1963, Osman worked for a private company in Mogadishu for one year and then he went to Europe for further education. He took a language course in Germany and then a technical course in Czechoslovakia. In July 1979 Osman obtained his Doctor of Medicine degree from the Lublin University in Poland and immediately returned to Hargeisa. He worked with a German team in a refugee camp near Berbera and later on started to work in Hargeisa Group Hospital on a voluntary basis. Dr. Osman was arrested on December 4th, 1981.

Ahmed Mohamed Yussuf, known Jabane, son of Awo Elmi, was born in Odweine in 1949. He went to Odweine primary school. He finished his higher education in 1971 at the Hargeisa Technical School and went to Lafole College of Education where he earned his B.Sc. in Physics and Mathematics. After his graduation, Jabane worked as a teacher in Galkayo until 1976 when he transferred to Hargeisa and continued teaching until his arrest on November 2nd, 1981.

Dr. Aden Yusuf Abokor, son of Haali Yussuf, was born in 1944 in Hargeisa. He completed his primary and secondary education in Aden (Yemen). He went to the Medical Academy (Warsaw) in Poland. In 1976 he completed his studies in medicine. Dr. Aden is a medical doctor with specialization in internal medicine. Before his nomination as Director of the Hargeisa Group Hospital in 1980, Dr. Aden took a one-year Internship in Warsaw. He was arrested on November 19th, 1981.

Bashe Abdi Yussuf, son of Amina Ibrahim, was born in Hargeisa in 1953. He went to elementary and intermediate schools in Hargeisa. In 1974 he finished his secondary education at Farah Omar Secondary School in Hargeisa. He worked in Saudi Arabia and came back to Hargeisa in 1979 where he became a businessman before his arrest on November 19th, 1981.

Ahmed Hussein Abby, son of Fadumo Mead, was born in 1946 in Berbera. He went to elementary and intermediate schools in Berbera. He completed his secondary education at Sheikh Secondary School in 1969. Before his arrest on December 5th, 1981, Abby worked as a banker in various cities.

Dr. Mohamoud Sheikh Hassan Tani, son of Maryan Beegsi, was born in 1953 in Aware. He went to Ainabo elementary school and Borama Secondary School. He completed his secondary education in 1972 at Farah Omaar Secondary School, Hargeisa. Tani graduated in 1978 from the Faculty of Medicine of the Somali National University. Before his arrest on November 19th, 1981, Dr. Tani worked as a medical doctor in Hargeisa and co-operated an Italian-run leprosy control program.

Aden Warsame Saeed, son of Awo Ismail, was born in Hargeisa in 1947. He went to primary and elementary schools in Hargeisa. He finished his secondary education in 1969 at the Sheik Secondary School. Aden graduated in 1974 from Aligarh Muslim University, India. Before he returned to Hargeisa in 1979, Aden worked at the City bank, Saudi Arabia. He was arrested on December 4th, 1981.

Yussuf Abdillahi Kahin, son of Ibaado Warsame, was born in Hargeisa on 26th June 1952. He went to Elementary/intermediate schools in Hargeisa. He completed his secondary education at the Technical Institute, Hargeisa in 1972. Yussuf Dheeg, as he was known, graduated in 1977 from the Polytechnic Institute in Mogadishu. He worked as a Surveyor in Saudi Arabia, and then came back to Hargeisa where he dedicated his time to farming before his arrest on December 4th, 1981.

Abdirahman Abdillahi H. Aden, son of Dahabo Mohamed, was born in Hargeisa, on May 5th, 1955. He went to primary and intermediate schools in Hargeisa. Abdirahman Yare, as his friends knew him for he was the youngest member of the group, worked as a Civil servant in Hargeisa before his arrest on November 11th, 1981.

Ahmed Muhumed Madar, nicknamed Johnny, son of Asha Ali, was born in Hargeisa in 1952. He went to Biodhacay elementary and intermediate schools in Hargeisa between 1961 and 1968, and Banadir secondary school in Mogadishu from 1968 to 1972. Madar earned his B.Sc. from Lafole College of Education in 1976 and worked as a secondary school teacher in Mogadishu between 1976 and 1978. He returned to Hargeisa and taught Biology at Farah Omar Secondary School in Hargeisa from 1978 to 1981. Madar was arrested on December 14th, 1981.

Mohamed Ma'allin Osman, son of Shukri Jama, was born in 1949. He was teaching geography in secondary schools in Hargeisa when he was arrested on December 12th, 1981.

Mohamed Abdi Ji'ir, son of Khadija Darod, was born in 1947. When he was arrested on December 12th, 1981, he was teaching biology in secondary schools in Hargeisa.

Ali Ighe Farah, nicknamed Ali Biid, son of Ardo Kabar, was born in 1953.

Ali is a Civil Engineer, and he was the head of Hargeisa Construction Agency when he was arrested on December 12th, 1981.

Omer Isse Awale, son of Amran Noor, was born in Shiekh 1948. He went to elementary and intermediate schools in Shiekh, and he completed his secondary schooling in Hargeisa. Omer worked for the Ministry of Education in 1968-70. From 1971 until his arrest on December 4th, 1981, Omer was working as an accountant for the Somali Social Assurance in Hargeisa. At that time, he was the father of two. After his release Omer joined SNM in Ethiopia. In 1989 he became the Secretary of Sanitation and Health of SNM. Omer Isse Awale was appointed the Minister of Ports and Fisheries in the first Somaliland Government in 1991 headed by Abdirahman Ahmed Ali (a.k.a. Tuur).

Dr. Mohamed Ali Sulub, son of Fadumo Mohamed, was born in 1950. He was working as a medical doctor at Hargeisa Group Hospital when he was arrested on November 11th, 1981. He studied at the Faculty of Medicine of Somali National University.

APPENDIX V

Malka Durduro site: mass graves in the vicinity of Hargeisa.

In 1997 floods at the Malka Durduro site in Hargeisa's dry river bed unearthed a series of mounds containing the bodies shown in the end of this appendix. The following text is an excerpt from a report of mission to conduct an on-site assessment of alleged mass graves in the Malka Durduro site. The full report (ref. E/CN.4/1999/103/Add.1 30 november 1998) is published on UNHCHR website (www.unhchr.ch).

The mission was carried out by Physicians for Human Rights (PHR) under the auspices of the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights in accordance with Commission on Human Rights resolution 1997/47 of 11 April 1997. The mission, to conduct an on-site assessment of alleged mass graves in the vicinity of Hargeisa, Somalia, was carried out at the request of the independent expert of the Commission on Human Rights on the situation of human rights in Somalia, Ms. Mona Rishmawi. The forensic team provided by PHR consisted of forensic anthropology experts William D. Haglund, PhD, from Seattle, Washington, United States of America, and Owen B. Beattie, PhD, from Edmonton, Alberta, Canada. Between 17 and 21 December 1997, the forensic team observed and examined a minimum of 92, and possibly as many as 116 alleged graves in three areas on the southern and southwestern outskirts of Hargeisa. These sites are referred to locally as the Milk Factory site, the Malko Durduro Elementary School site and the Badhka site.

The forensic team, having observed a large number of suspected and known mass grave sites in the vicinity of Hargeisa, Somalia, and having conducted an

assessment examination of two graves containing a minimum of six individuals exhibiting evidence of perimortem injury, binding and haphazard burial, concludes that human rights violations were committed against these individuals. Therefore, the team recommends that the United Nations, in consultation with the Technical Committee:

- a Provide assistance to the Technical Committee relating to the procedures for the collection of witness testimony;
- b Provide assistance to the Technical Committee relating to compiling a comprehensive grave registry, including detailed survey, in the vicinity of Hargeisa, as well as in other regions and towns with suspected mass graves;
- c Establish a means of providing financial support for the conduct of thorough investigations of alleged and known mass grave sites and human rights violations linked to the period from 1988 to the present; and
- d In carrying out recommendation (c):
 - i authorize and assemble an international team of forensic specialists, to work with local professionals for the purpose of conducting investigations of selected mass graves, and
 - ii encourage and support additional forensic investigations, conducted by local professionals trained in forensic methods, and assisted by international specialists.

Photos of Massgraves in Hargeisa vicinity, 1997.



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Physicians for Human Rights

<http://www.phrusa.org/>

100 Boylston Street, Suite 702, Boston, MA 02116 USA, Email: phrusa@phrusa.org

Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights

<http://www.unhchr.ch/>

OHCHR-UNOG 8-14 Avenue de la Paix, 1211 Geneva 10, Switzerland
Telephone (41-22) 917-9000, Fax (41-22) 917-9016

Amnesty International

<http://www.amnesty.org>

99-119 Rosebery Avenue, London, EC1R 4RE, UNITED KINGDOM.

Human Rights Watch

<http://www.hrw.org>

485 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10118-3299, USA

National Academy of Sciences

<http://www.nas.edu>

Institute of Medicine

<http://www.iom.edu>

Library of Congress (USA)

<http://lcweb2.loc.gov/frd/cs/sotoc.html>

Somaliland Mission in the UK

<http://www.somalilandgov.com>

Somalilandnet

<http://www.somalilandnet.com>

Somaliland Forum

<http://www.somalilandforum.com>

Hargeisa

<http://www.hargeisa.org>

Somalia Watch

<http://www.somaliawatch.org>

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Maggio 2003



Jama Musse Jama was born in Hargeisa in 1967. He studied Mathematics at the University of Pisa, Italy, where he currently lives and works as Information Technology expert in one of the Italian leading companies in the telecommunication sector. He studied Mathematics and Physics at Somali National University before he moved to Italy.



My parents and the rest of my family bore with me throughout the years of my absence from home. As a child they taught me to tell the truth, respect the rights of the others and expect that others respect my own rights. Their unconditional support to all my decisions made me the person who I am today. I owe to them much; I am genuinely indebted and profoundly thankful to my parents - Khadija H. Mohamed Elmi and Musse Jama Farah.

There was the hawk, which despite its irregular visits was always a welcome sight. I remember one particular occasion when out of the blue a hawk suddenly dropped right in front of my cell door. I heard the whistling sound of a mouse crying for help. Suddenly the hawk released it because the mouse fought back. The mouse ran for a short distance and halted. The hawk looked everywhere but could not see the mouse whose colour blended with that of the earth. The proverbial vision of the hawk apparently failed him. But at the same time, the cowardice of the mouse took over. It could not remain standing still while the hawk was so close. It darted towards a small shrub but the movement alerted the hawk and it was on top of the mouse within no time. This time there was no escaping the claws of the hawk. It flew away with its prey and with a few powerful strokes of its huge wings, it was away, chased by a gaggle of playful crows, away from my restricted view of the cell, Away, away, majestic, soaring, Powerful and FREE.

Memoires of Mohamed Barood Ali
inside LABAATAN JIROW MAXIMUM SECURITY PRISON

"Well researched, well documented, a Textbook in the History of our struggle."

Abdirahman A. Ismail, Kuwait

"It is an excellent work on an issue that has to be documented and kept in our memories lest we forget!"

Ibrahim H. Jama, United Kingdom

"Although I was in Mogadishu when the events unfolded on February 20th and I was aware of the situation, having it in memory is no match with having it in written word. Excellent!"

Mohamed Hassan Nur, USA