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SPECIAL ISSUE

An Overview of the Fifth International Congress of Somali Studies

Held in connection with the 150th Anniversary of the College of the Holy Cross

**December 1-3, 1993
Hogan Center
College of the Holy Cross
Worcester, Massachusetts**

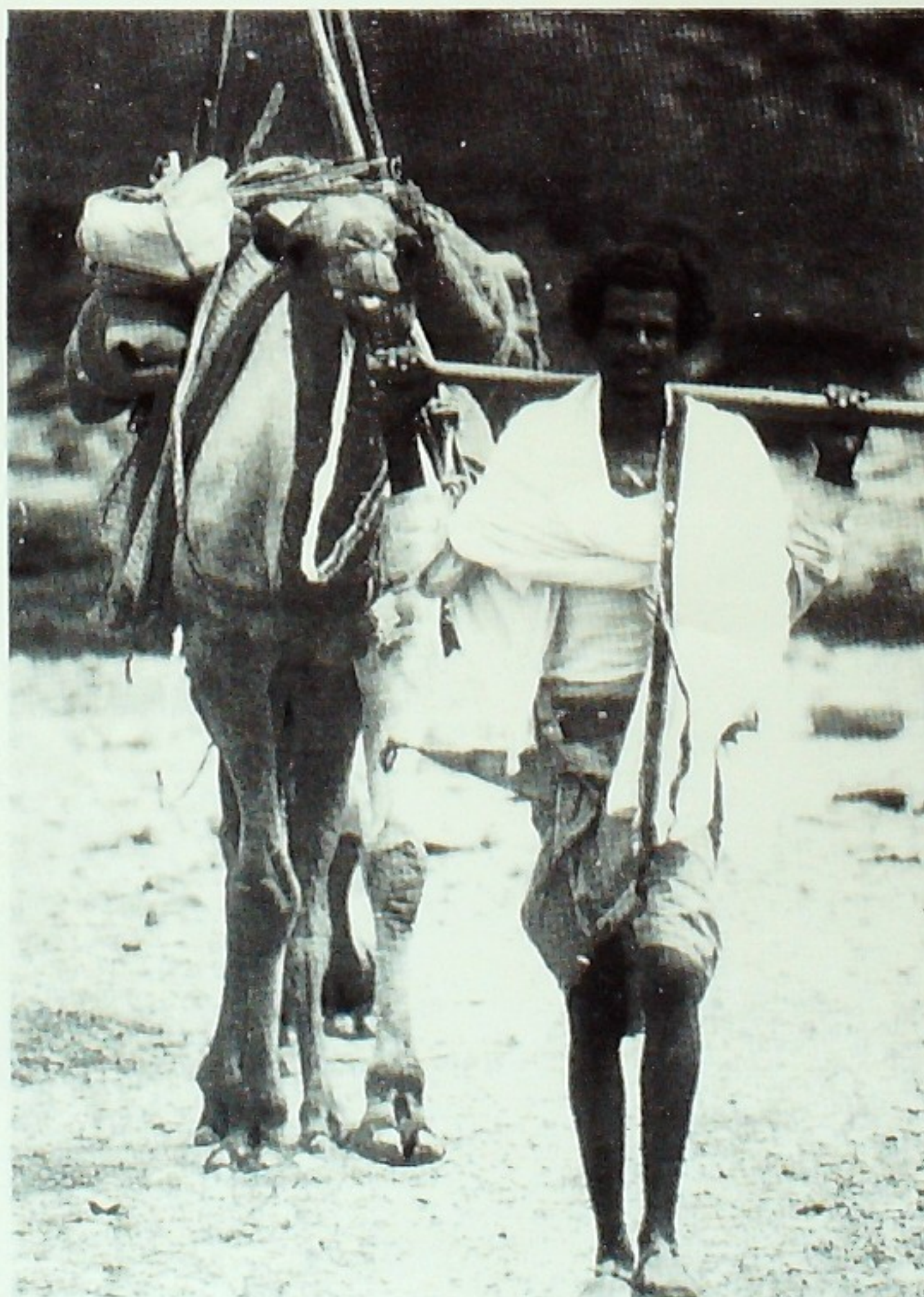


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IFTIN MAGAZINE

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IFTIN is a magazine written by and for the Somali community. If you are of Somali heritage or just interested in the region and have something to say, please send us an editorial or an article. All material will be considered for publication, regardless of political standing and regional perspective. Do not hesitate to send us a letter!

IFTIN will discuss a variety of topics concerning our society, including immigrants, refugees, women, culture, and health. Your discussion is welcome.

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EDITORIAL,

After several months of publicity and preparations, the Fifth International Congress of Somali Studies was held finally at the College of the Holy Cross, December 1-3, 1993, as one of the events organized to mark the 150 Anniversary of the College. Part II took place in the form of Somali Studies panels included in the African Studies Association Annual Meeting held in Boston, December 4-7, 1993.

Following the hosting of this highly successful Congress, the Somali Studies International Association (SSIA) organizers, through the College of the Holy Cross, won a United States Institute of Peace (USIP)(1994-1995) Grant to hold a small post-Congress Symposium and publish a selected group of papers in a scholarly book provisionally entitled, SOMALIA: WHICH WAY AHEAD?. The United States Institute of Peace Grant allows us to publish papers directly or indirectly related to the current Somali Crisis--the relief, rehabilitation, reconciliation and reconstruction theme of the Fifth Congress. We shall continue to strive and find ways and means of publishing some of the other non-Crisis related academic papers.

USIP encouraged us to give the Fifth Congress and its forthcoming publication as much publicity as possible. Congress program Chair professor Lee Cassanelli prepared the enclosed Congress overview and sent it to highly respected scholarly journals. It was also agreed to publish a selected group of summaries, a representative sample of papers delivered at the Congress in a Special Issue of the local Somali Community magazine, IFTIN. This publication will be distributed as widely as possible abroad and in Somalia/Somaliland to alert the prospective audience about our final forthcoming publication.

Some time before and after the May 30, 1994 deadline, we have received copies and disks of several revised Congress papers, many of these have now been entered into our computer. Since editing them carefully will take time, we could still take in more revised papers if you care to send them. Based on our editorial schedule, we are still flexible enough to take in papers from now till March 15, 1995.

Some time late in May, Early June 1995, the College of the Holy Cross will host the small Special Symposium, SOMALIA: WHICH WAY AHEAD? The participants will be able to read at least some of the papers and offer suggestions for improvements - the Symposium will be able to play an Editorial Advisory role. Even more important: the Special Symposium will generate policy recommendations to compliment the academic papers. The policy recommendations will be duly recorded and reproduced in a special highlighted part of the book. A few of the keynote speakers who, for reasons beyond their control, were not able to address the Fifth Congress, will be invited to speak at the Special Symposium, giving us their wisdom, experience and insight for the benefit of our final publication.

We would very much appreciate your feedback on this Special Issue of IFTIN on the Fifth Congress and/or any of the topics/issues raised in this guest Editorial. Let me express our compliments and most sincere gratitude to Miss Suad Abdulkadir for allowing us to use IFTIN ("light" in Somali), and for the dedicated and professional work she put into producing this IFTIN Special issue on the Fifth Congress.

The Fifth Congress decided to recommend Germany as the site for the Sixth International Congress of Somali Studies in 1996. The German SSIA Chapter is to inform us in due course about the actual dates, city and related arrangements.

Let me close by expressing our most sincere gratitude to the College of the Holy Cross for providing the funds and hosting the Fifth Congress, and to USIP for funding the post-Congress Symposium and Publications.

Dr. Hussein M. Adam,
College of the Holy Cross,
Congress Coordinator,
Guest Editor, IFTIN,
June 30, 1994.

GREETINGS AND AN INTRODUCTION FROM THE CONGRESS COORDINATOR

On behalf of the Somali Studies International Association (SSIA), the Holy Cross Congress Organizing and Congress Advisory Committees, we welcome you to Worcester and the Fifth International Congress of Somali Studies as well as to the follow-up panels within the 36th Annual Meeting of the African Studies Association (ASA), Westin Hotel, Boston, December 4-7, 1993.

Preparations for this Congress were begun during the 34th ASA meeting in St. Louis in 1991; the unfolding Somali civil wars, famine, US and UN humanitarian interventions attained staggering local and global implications during the course of our Congress preparations. This allowed us to attract a larger group of significant policymakers, voluntary relief/development organizations (NGOs) and other activists than was the case in our previous Congresses. Journalists have also given our activities more attention than in the past.

For effectively helping me to launch this project, permit me to thank the Congress Program Chair, Professor Lee Cassanelli and Publicity Chair, Professor Charles Gesheker. By phone, fax and during chance encounters at related conferences, I have benefited from consultations with many of you.

Let me express our sincere gratitude to the College of the Holy Cross and all the institutions/individuals listed in our acknowledgments for having given the Congress project financial, material and moral support. Let me thank the Holy Cross students who are providing Secretariat assistance to the Congress and the many who plan to attend Congress sessions. Holy Cross administrator, faculty and staff support has gone far beyond the significant financial support. Again, a warm welcome to you all! We are honored and pleased that you chose to meet here and to enrich us by your presence at a time when the College of the Holy Cross is celebrating its 150th Anniversary!

Dr. Hussein M. Adam

THE SOMALI STUDIES INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION

During the November 1978 Baltimore Annual Meeting of the African Studies Association (ASA), a group of Somali and non-Somali scholars got together and established the Somali Studies International Association (SSIA), with the following general objectives:

- to promote scholarly research, both within and outside Somalia, in all areas and disciplines within the social sciences, natural sciences and humanities;
- to encourage international cooperation and to facilitate the exchange of ideas among scholars engaged in research on Somalia and the Horn of Africa;
- to organize international congresses on Somali studies and periodic panels at meetings of national and international associations and organizations;
- to provide the general public with information on historical, cultural and contemporary issues in the Horn of Africa.



Dr. Hussein M. Adam
Congress Coordinator and Associate Professor,
Political Science College of the Holy Cross

THE FIFTH INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF SOMALI STUDIES:

Current Issues And New Directions

Lee V. Cassanelli

University of Pennsylvania

The Fifth International Congress of Somali Studies took place on the campus of the College of the Holy Cross in Worcester, Massachusetts, from December 1-3, 1993. Its overall theme, "The Somali Crisis: Relief, Reconciliation and Reconstruction," reflected the continuing concern over the civil wars, famine, and US and UN interventions that have dominated life in the Horn of Africa during the past several years, often with global implications. This briefing is intended to summarize the activities of the Congress and to provide selective commentary on some of the new trends that emerged from it.

More than 300 individuals registered for the Fifth Congress, including 171 Somalis currently residing in Africa, Europe, the middle East, and North America. Participants included scholars from a dozen countries, representatives of Somali and international NGOs, journalists, social workers, U.S. policymakers, former Somali officials and educators, and students.

Some forty-five panel and plenary sessions were held, and over 150 contributors read papers or participated in round tables in Worcester (as well as at the subsequent African Studies Meetings in Boston). While the urgent and immediate issues of military intervention, health, relief, and reconciliation were high on the Congress agenda, the program included many panels that addressed enduring topics in Somali studies (language and

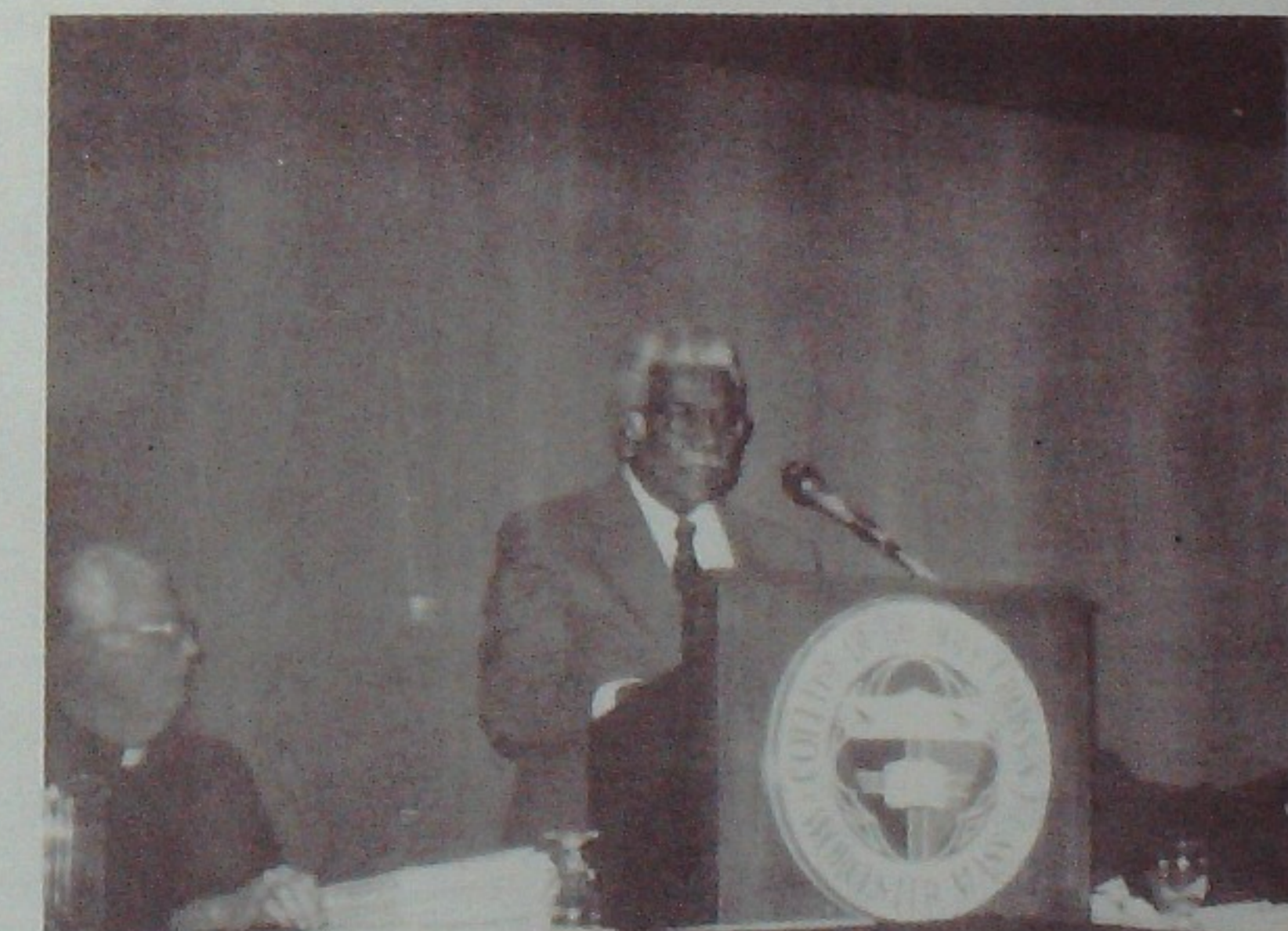
literature, religion and kinship, historic preservation, environment, social and cultural history.) As several speakers noted, the survival of Somalia will depend not only on the rebuilding of political and economic institutions, but also on the restoration of moral and cultural traditions that have enabled Somalis to cope with crises in the past.

Participants hardly needed reminding that events unfolding in the Horn would have major ramifications for the rest of Africa and the world. A noted Africanist had recently written: "Three post-colonial taboos have been broken in the Horn of Africa in the 1990s. First there is the UN's temporary 'tutelage' of the Somalis to help them back to self-government—the taboo of recolonization. Then there is the independence of Eritrea with the cooperation of the government in Ethiopia, of which it was once a

province—the taboo of officially sanctioned secession. Third, there is the rest of Ethiopia groping for a federal constitutional order based on ethnic autonomy—the taboo of retribalization" (*Economist*, 11 September, 1993, p. 28).

The author of these words, Professor Ali Mazrui, served as a keynote speaker in one of the Congress' Pan-African sessions. In his remarks, Mazrui discussed the "demonstration role" that Somalia was playing in the current world order. Like Eastern Europe, India, and much of the rest of Africa, he noted, Somalia was undergoing a process of "microtribalization," in contrast to the "macrotribalization" represented by the recent creation of a western European community (and, one might add, in contrast to the earlier vision of a pan-African community). He also raised the question of whether the present international

intervention in Somalia represented a new form of "collective colonialism," and challenged the idea of a unilinear historical trend from colonization to decolonization in recent world history. In his own inimitable way, Mazrui also called attention to some of the old dichotomies about Africa that the Somali crisis



**PROFESSOR ALI MAZRUI SPEAKING AND
FATHER JOHN BROOKS LISTENING**

seemed to highlight: a colonial heritage that deepened nationalism without deepening a sense of national identity; a post-colonial state that swung like a pendulum between tyranny and anarchy; a country that was victimized both by the Cold War and by the end of the Cold War.

Another dichotomy in Somali society—and one frequently overlooked in contemporary political analyses—emerged from Mazrui's remarks: its division culturally into farming and herding traditions, into "lovers of land" and "lovers of animals." Though Mazrui did not explore the implications of this distinction, it suggests an aspect of the Somali crisis that has largely been overlooked: the intense contest for land¹. The major battlegrounds of the current civil war are located where armed militias are competing for control of southern Somalia's most productive assets—irrigable farm land, port facilities, and urban and peri-urban real estate. While journalists (and even many Somalis) continue to frame the current struggle in terms of competing war lords and clan factions, what is at stake is really access to the country's material resources. The allocation of land and water rights will almost certainly remain a critical and contentious issue in Somali reconstruction, and one that future Congresses will have to address.

While Mazrui focused on the international lessons of the Somali crisis, a second panel on Pan-African Perspectives reminded participants of the enduring colonial legacy in some of Somalia's (and

¹ See, for example, the suggestive paper by Alex de Waal, "Land Tenure, the Creation of Famine, and Prospects for Peace in Somalia," *African Rights Discussion Paper No. 1* (October 1993), London; and Catherine Besteman and Lee Cassanelli, eds., *Politics and Production in Southern Somalia*, forthcoming.

Africa's) current troubles. Kenyan novelist Ngugi-wa-Thiongo emphasized themes that have appeared in much of his writing and that remain relevant in the Somali case: the survival of a colonial culture and mindset in the authoritarian behavior, elite life style, and intolerance of dissent found among post-colonial leaders throughout Africa.

Despite the fact that scholars and spokespersons representing all major clans and regions of the country were in attendance, the Congress was remarkably free of rancor, if not of polemics. Several sessions on grass-roots political and economic developments in Somaliland (the northern region whose recent declaration of independence has not been welcomed by all Somalis) were attended by non-northerners with cautious interest. There was some debate about whether international donors had ignored those regions of the country where local residents had taken the initiative on reconciliation and modest reconstruction. Some felt that more external assistance should be directed toward those communities, that have begun to put their own houses in order; others contended that prospects of foreign aid money would serve only to intensify factional infighting, and therefore that foreign development assistance should be limited.

Predictably, strong differences of opinion about the effectiveness and consequences of Operation Restore Hope and UNOSOM II were voiced. Participants also agreed to disagree about General Aidid's future leadership role, as they did about virtually all the prominent Somali personalities on the current political scene. While Ambassador Robert Oakley had to absent himself from the Congress to attend the Addis Ababa conference on reconciliation, several officials who had worked with him and with the UN reported on their experiences in helping to mediate local Somali peace accords—

experiences which no doubt helped them field the hard questions they got from the audience!

Several issues that in earlier Somali Studies meetings had only been undercurrents came to the surface in Worcester. One was Islam's potential role in Somalia, a topic which drew an unexpectedly large audience. While a few participants clearly felt an Islamic government was the only way out of the present morass, others preferred to focus on Islam as a potential guide to restoring the human dignity, sense of solidarity, and respect for education and property rights that seem to have been lost in the wartime environment. But a potential contradiction emerged: will leadership in a new Somalia come from those now being educated in Islamic schools (mainly Somalis still living in their own country or in refugee camps in Kenya) or from the children of those Somalis who have fled to the West and who presumably are being educated for possible roles in a reconstituted, Western-oriented political and legal system?

The Fifth Congress also witnessed the emergence of a vocal group of Somalis who represented themselves as members of the country's "minorities." This term, which in the past typically referred to small artisan communities or to the descendants of 19th-century slaves, has recently been appropriated by other communities who do not belong to one of the major clans of Somalia. These include the long-time urban (and sometimes wealthy) residents of Brava, Marka, and Mogadishu; the industrious Bajuni fishermen of the southern coast and islands; and substantial numbers of small (often poor) farmers from the riverine and inter-river districts of the south. Many fled to Kenya when armed militias occupied their lands. Whatever their class backgrounds, the new "Minorities" shared an emerging consciousness of having been dis-

possessed by force, and of having suffered disproportionately from the predatory activities of the rival militias. They have tended to be strong backers of any international force that can neutralize the "war lords"; but, together with many smaller clans in Somalia, they fear that their rights will not be safeguarded by any new government made up of the more militarily powerful factions.

Clearly the civil strife in Somalia has exposed fault lines in society that go well beyond the clan differences that outsiders are fond of writing about. The myth of a culturally homogeneous nation—a myth which seemed to set Somalia apart from most other African states—will have to be replaced by a new model that recognizes the significance in recent Somali history of divisions of class, color, occupation, and language. These societal divisions are not necessarily immutable, but analysts can no longer afford to ignore them if they seek to understand the contemporary crisis in the Horn of Africa.

The recent conflict has also generated a Somali diaspora of unprecedented scale. For the first time, the Congress included several sessions on the problems and prospects of overseas Somali communities. While Somalis have a long

history of overseas trade and travel, the recent flood of political refugees and displaced persons to Kenya, Djibouti, Europe and North America has generated a whole new series of social and psychological problems in Somali emigre communities. Papers discussing tensions associated with unemployment, alienation, family strife, and conflict with citizens of host countries indicated that there is a Somali crisis overseas as well as back home. The consequences for Somali culture, identity, and family structure are only beginning to be studied.

Somali women have not been absent from factional politics or from front-line protests against foreign military intervention; but the international media has been slow to recognize the absolutely crucial role they have played in helping heal the wounds of war. Not only have many assumed roles as teachers, nurses, and administrators of relief centers in war-ravaged districts of Somalia; but they have been instrumental in reopening local markets and providing goods and services. They have borne the brunt of preserving the health of children and of trying to rebuild family life both in Somalia and among overseas refugees, where many serve as social workers. Some twenty Somali women ap-

peared on panels to discuss these and other issues. Though their presence was substantially larger than at any previous Congress, Somali women are still heavily underrepresented in most associations of Somali scholars.

Finally, a new generation of Somali students made their presence felt in Worcester. Many of them expressed dismay at the pressure their relatives were bringing on them to be loyal to their "clans"; at philosophy for the next generation; and at the antisocial behavior they were beginning to see among some of their frustrated peers. Their views on Islam as a welcome alternative ideology, on the growing irrelevance of Somali traditions for them, and on the failure of intellectuals to provide leadership posed an implicit challenge not only to many of their elders but also to scholars whose work has focused on Somali cultural tradition rather than on contemporary social change.

This was the first International Somali Studies Congress to be held in the United States—previous Congresses had met in Mogadishu (1980 and 1989) in Hamburg, Germany (1983), and in Rome (1986). Despite the divisions that have beset Somali society, the Somali Studies International Association (SSIA) has stood by its initial commitment to welcome scholars, educators, and activists of all persuasions, to study Somali life and culture beyond any specific state borders, and to refrain as an organization from taking political positions.

Of course, individual members have used the occasion of the triannual Congresses to voice their objections to human rights abuses, foreign interventions, and restrictions of freedom in Somalia (some even going so far as to boycott the 1989 Mogadishu Congress!) But it is this vitality and openness to debate which has kept the Association alive and well, and has led to the



SESSION ON WOMEN AND THE CRISIS

spawning of affiliated Somali studies organizations in France, Germany, Italy, the UK and North America. Every three years, these national groups pool their expertise and energies with the SSIA to organize an international Congress, with the aid and support of local government agencies, universities and professional associations in the host country.

In 1993, the SSIA was privileged to be part of the 150th Anniversary celebration of the College of the Holy Cross, whose generosity and hospitality honored us all. And one can only marvel at the energy and unflagging optimism of Congress Coordinator Hussein Adam of Holy Cross College, whose organizational efforts, with the help of Publicity Chair Charles Gesheker (Chico State University) and Program Chair Lee Cassanelli (University of Pennsylvania), made the Fifth Congress happen.

Lee Cassanelli is Associate Professor of African History at the University of Pennsylvania and author of *The Shaping of Somali Society* (University of Pennsylvania Press, 1982).

Livestock Sector of Somalia: A Review After The Current Crisis

*Dr. Hassan Ahmed
Mohamed, London, UK.
Dr. Mohamed Aw Dahir
Ibrahim, London, UK.*

Somalia, the country of milk and honey, is in reality a pastoral state. Nomadic pastoralism is a predominant activity and livestock constitutes the economic base of the country; around 75% of Somalia's population are livestock pastoral-

ists, engaged in one form of animal husbandry or another, while the remaining 25% are indirectly dependent on the livestock sector.

Countrywide, Somalia, with the exception of the north and eastern regions, is presently in civil war. In the presence of such a crisis, its livestock sector, though its exportation ceased, played a considerable role in being a major source of food and income for both the rural and displaced urban communities.

Increasingly, due to a lack of water points and overgrazing of limited grass lands, the impact of drought has taken its toll throughout the country.

In summary this important economic base is presently in great danger. For the last three years, following the collapse of Somalia's state institutions, and together with the above predicament, outbreaks of infectious and parasitic diseases decimated the herd sizes as neither veterinary drugs nor vaccines were available for the treatment and immunization of the livestock. Furthermore, no relief, rehabilitation or restocking of the impoverished rural communities was undertaken by any of the major international aid associations. Addressing this issue is of an utmost importance, for surely its a matter of time before flocks of new waves of starving, destitute pastoralists appear on the refugee camps and/or near the urban settlements. Acting in good time and reversing the present situation by reestablishing the animal health services, for a start, will reduce the incidence of animal diseases and hence will hasten the regeneration of the herd size and subsequently their productivity and economical stability. In short, in a collapsed state, reviving and regenerating its economic base is the first step to be targeted by any relief and reconstruction programs.

Analyzing Somali's Past and Present Economic Constrains and Opportunities for Creating a Conducive Future Economic Environment

*Jamshid Damooei(Ph.D.)
Associate professor of
economics
California Lutheran University.*

This paper looks at the past and the current economic problems in Somalia. It highlights the impact of the political developments of the last three decades in Somalia in the creation and the escalation of the country's economic problems leading to the overthrow of the previous regime. A similar investigating look at the present economic situation is taken to find the principle causes of the emerging economic problems created by the evolving economics conditions during the last three years. As for the latter, the study indicates that a number of factors ranging from the bottlenecks caused by the ongoing civil war to the shortcomings emanating from the current emergency operation of the international NGOs and the UN system may have contributed to the escalation of the current economic crisis. This study aims at providing policy solutions that are practical and implementable within the current and the near future economic and political climate of Somalia.

The ongoing political and economic anarchy in Somalia has brought new dimensions (rare if not unknown) to the existing experiences of human misery, civil disorder, and

social catastrophe. The political violence of the last three years showed a deep division and animosity between and within the tribes in Somalia. At present, there are twelve regional political territories (power centers) in Somalia. The North-West has declared an autonomous government and does not consider itself a part of the former Somali Republic.

The military intervention of UNITAF in December 1992, headed by the United States and the establishment of the UNOSOM II (United Nations Operations in Somalia) thereafter were the result of the political and humanitarian decisions reached by the U.N. The task of the UNOSOM II has been to secure the relief and emergency operations leading to a program of rehabilitation, while efforts for political reconciliation can continue for the emergence of a democratically elected government. The operation of UNOSOM was successful in easing the onslaught of starved people in most parts of the country. However, UNOSOM has not been successful in either brokering a sustainable peace and formation of civil order, or in the reduction of violence in the country. The events during summer of 1993 took a worse turn and the mission of UNOSOM turned to pursuing a Hawiye clan leader, an issue that brought the UN operations in Somalia under question and scrutiny.

While the dire need for rehabilitation and reconstruction and return to a normal state of life in Somalia has been urged by Somalis, donors and international organizations and NGOs, little has actually been done towards such aim in the country. Furthermore, some of the measures taken by the UN and international NGOs leave some issues debatable when the present or the longer term future effects of these policies are concerned.

An Outline for Creating a Conducive Economic Environment for Rehabilitation and Reconstruction:

Condition of a conducive economic environment requires a conscious effort on the part of all concerned to make a thorough assessment of the impacts of their ongoing interventions in Somalia. There is a need for taking an active role in facilitating the establishment and strengthening of the needed institutions for successful recovery and rehabilitation program in this country. In absence of nationally accepted government in Somalia, this policy should be pursued by the United Nations system. This is a difficult exercise as it has to make bold assumptions about the national interest of a country who is not represented politically in an overt manner.

A proposed outline for reconstruction and rehabilitation of Somalia may contain three major sets of policy and rehabilitation provisions. These policy interventions may overlap to a great extent and indeed their separation is based on policy focuses than anything else.

Immediate Regeneration of the Economy:

There should be a joint effort with the participation of Somalis, the international organization and the donor countries to assess the current economic situation in Somalia with emphasis on the impact of the current emergency operation. The principle objective such as effort should be the design of a program for the immediate economic regeneration of Somalia.

Creating a Conducive Economic Environment for Re-

habilitation and Recovery:

The purpose of the first proposed set of interventions is to look into what should be done immediately if the regeneration of the economy is envisaged and a more coordinated plan of action by donors with least negative economic effects, is going to be pursued. There is also a dire need to assess the prospects of creating a sustainable macroeconomic framework that can promote a successful implementation of rehabilitation and reconstruction in medium term.

The focus of such efforts should be to assess the need and propose the mechanism of establishing a macroeconomic environment conducive to promotion of free and fair trade, encouraging domestic investment, attracting direct and joint foreign investment, facilitating efficient operation of exchange market, enhancing the operation of financial markets, establishing an efficient public sector compatible with a probable decentralized government power and administrative structure and most importantly setting in place mechanism of direct intervention that can assist alleviation of poverty in Somalia.

Building National Capacity:

Building national capacity in Somalia is an effort to enhance the absorptive capacity of Somalia's economy for a successful implementation of its near future rehabilitation and reconstruction program. It should be viewed as setting in motion a process that can enhance the ability of Somalis to take advantage of the opportunities available to them for the betterment of their lives. This means empowering people to take charge and determine their destiny in a framework that they recognize as most suited. The role of international donors is to

facilitate such process. Fostering a sustainable human development process in the heart of such development.

It should be realized that human development is not limited to social sectors (health, education and nutrition). While human development focuses on developing capabilities of people it also places great importance on how these capabilities are employed. Therefore, free participation of people in social, political and economics decisions making are vitally important.

Human development does not have a generic agenda for every country in the world. Each country should have its own. Indeed, Somalia must have its own focus and put people on the center of its own agenda for economic development. Such process must be extended to all range needs and ambitions of the country.

A pertinent framework for building the future national capacity of Somalia should elaborate on both, the structure and the substance and the component of such framework. The outcome may be regarded as a set of "development objectives" for the country. In the case of Somalia this should constitute an open-ended process for inclusion of national aspiration and desire as they pursued in time.

Project Identification and Design Mechanism:

In the design of the program/projects different donors and international agencies must be involved. The framework proposed in this paper can serve as general guidelines on the preparation of the program which is to be translated by a number of projects. The preparation of projects has the following distinct dimensions:

(i) The Financial side that requires

allocation of funds by bilateral and multilateral donors earmarked to specified purposes in the area of Human Development. Donors may choose to allocate their funds to special agencies or organization to utilize for specified purpose or the pool of funds which should be created by UNOSOM (in the absence of a nationally recognized government.)

(ii) The other aspect of Identifying/Design mechanism is to charge different donors with task of designing and executing pertinent human development projects in their areas of willingness or competence.

(iii) The third aspect of a relevant design is to make sure that as acceptable degree of cohesion to the acceptable framework is observed in each project. The organization that can speak with authority on such front (in the absence of nationally accepted government in Somalia) is UNOSOM who can use the power of persuasion and scientific dialogue to prevent implementation of unsuitable projects in Somali.

(iv) The forth dimension of implementing a meaningful program of "National Capacity Building" is to make sure that the essence of this proposed program based on the argued principle of "Human Development Approach" is maintained and pursued through the overall reconstruction program in Somalia. The major issue here is the future economic policy framework during the rehabilitation program and thereafter. This must be a principle component of any present or future macroeconomic framework for the economic adjustment and stabilization in Somalia.

The Potential Role of Women's Groups in Reconstruction

Dr. Hilarie Kelly,

Anthropologist, University of California LA

Somali society has undergone tremendous upheaval in recent years, affecting Somalis both within the former republic and outside of it as well. In the past, Somali women in both rural and urban areas have organized local groups, such as the abaysitti (religious devotional groups) and hagbad (rotating credit associations), which can transcend family, clan and even ethnic ties. These groups provided a framework for women's cooperation, particularly in terms of sharing resources and vital information on strategies for survival and improved welfare. Such groups are not inconsistent with Somali religious beliefs and traditional family values. Women's group thus represent an organizational resource for the social and political reconstruction of Somalia, in addition to the male elders who are often mentioned as traditional and legitimate leaders. This paper discusses the potential as well as the limitations of such women's group. Limitations include the fact that these groups tend to be very small-scale and have a limited focus, and that not all Somali women were inclined to join them even before the current crisis.

This paper is inspired in part by research conducted in Kenya, where women's traditional groups among the Orma were revitalized as an Islamic institution under the influence of Somali neighbors during a severe crisis period in Orma history. Somali women joined Orma women in group meetings, which now commonly feature Abaysitti hymns. Somali Historian Amina Adan has written about the evolution of some Somali abaysitti groups into Hagbad, rotating credit associations, a process that was beginning to occur among women's groups to adapt to changing circumstances and needs. The cur-

rent challenges to the Somali community are many and will have to be addressed in creative ways on many level. The purpose of this paper is to generate discussion on potential roles of women's groups in reconstruction, and to propose that future research include an examination of how women's groups have continued to function both within the former republic and among Somali women living elsewhere. Some observation are made about women's groups as problem-solving institutions in other communities that have also faced serious crisis of survival. To address the current crisis, it is important that we acknowledge the existing, "grass-roots" institution-building strategies employed by all segments of Somali society, including women.

A Perspective on Somaliland's Oil Policy

*Hussein O. Farah
Los Angeles CA.*

Before the escalation of wars and hostilities in the Horn of Africa in the late 1980s and early 1990s significant interest was shown by the oil industry in the region's potential for hydrocarbon reserves. According to geologists and oil industry sources the significant quantities of oil and natural gas prone and could yield significant quantities of oil and natural gas. An area that seems to hold the most promise is the territory of the breakaway Republic of Somaliland which has separated from the rest of Somalia in May 18, 1991. A major hydrocarbon study conducted in the region substantiates that Somaliland's territory is well situated within the "oil window". Interest in Somaliland's oil prospects is also fueled in part by a major oil discovery in Yemen, 350 miles north, by Hunt Oil Corporation

of Texas. Yemen which is now a hot bed of oil exploration activity has joined the oil producing countries in relatively short period of time. Some geologists had disclosed in mid-1980 that this oil producing geologic trend in Yemen may be a part of a massive rift system that arcs into and across sides of the gulf of Aden further reinforces the likelihood of major oil discovery in Somaliland if an effective exploratory program is implemented.

It is no accident, that the entire territory of Somaliland was leased out to oil giants such as Chevron, Conoco and Amoco by the former dictator of Somalia, Mohamed Siyad Barre, before he was overthrown. In spite of the cataclysmic events of chaos and lawlessness that Somalia has undergone in recent years, none of the oil companies which have concessions in Somalia and Somaliland have yet relinquished their oil interest in the region. However, these oil companies have since suspended all their oil exploratory efforts in the region and continue to stay in force majeure.

Before they suspended exploratory activities the oil companies have made some progress in their quest for oil in the region. Conoco which hold the lions share of the blocks in Somaliland had achieved "very good oil shows" which could lead to a major oil discovery if delineated and pursued further. Chevron had conducted aeromagnetic survey, helicopter-supported gravity surveys, field geologic studies and shot 2,000 miles of seismic lines in its concession. International Petroleum Corporation (IPC) have previously completed a major study to locate the position of the highly productive grabens of the Red Sea/Gulf of Aden/Arabian Peninsula area, which spurred it to bid for acreage in Yemen, Ethiopia and northern Somalia(now Somaliland).

AMOCO later joined IPC as operator and delineated several good prospective in onshore Somaliland.

Drilling was to commence on these prospects before AMOCO suspended its operations and declared force majeure due to the escalation of hostilities which eventually drove the forces of the former dictator, Siyad Barre, from Somaliland in 1991.

Somaliland's government has made it clear time and time again that it is fully committed to honor and validate all existing oil and gas concessions in its territory which were awarded by the deposed regime of Siyad Barre to their full expiration term. Upon the expiration of these contractual obligations, Somaliland will be willing to extend these contracts under new renegotiated terms to current lease holders or put them out for bid to other interested oil companies. Somaliland have also began to develop its own petroleum policy and is in the process of establishing legal regimes that address the exploitation of any hydrocarbon resources in its territory.

In order to improve its economic condition Somaliland is very motivated to establish a liberal petroleum policy which can create a conducive environment for international oil companies to explore for and produce any commercial oil reserves in its territory. All this is not lost in the free-market oriented government of Somaliland which is working feverishly to win back the oil companies to its territory. If peace and stability continue to improve in Somaliland, as they have been in recent times, the oil companies that have interests there, may return sooner than later to make yet another big find for the world of big oil.

The Northern Somali Pastoralists; Victims of Conflict and Development

Hussein M. Nur

Pastoral group are generally the most vulnerable groups of the Somali society both during conflicts and peace times. Pastoralists possess adoptive strategies for their survival to cope with the serious upheavals and traumas of droughts and famines (including man-made ones) they are fraught with. The "Dabadheer" drought of 1974/5 in Northern Somalia was in fact, part of the series of droughts and famines endemic in the Sahel region during late 1970s and early 1980s.

At times of conflicts, though pastoralists seem to live far from the centers of conflicts and political power struggles they are in no way exempt from them. In addition to the droughts and famines; increased commercializations and continuously changing patterns of the pastoral economy the Northern Somali pastoralists have been subject to the pressure of political instabilities in this era of modern killing arsenals. This is a pattern that the rest of the Horn countries also experienced.

It is noteworthy to mention that conventional technical development patterns label pastoralists as the 'problem people'. Most of the development interventions often results with consistent failures of which concerns has already been expressed. The failures, in my view, are largely due to uncertainty and absolute ignorance of the entire pastoral way of life of large sections of the populations (over 70% of Northern Somalia) on the part of governments, development planners and policy makers. This led to

the neglect of the local management systems of the pastoral resources. Instead, success of pastoral development intervention do not depend upon the technical 'fixes' but surely, as I argue, on the organization of the local pastoral societies. My argument stem from the fact that pastoralists possess own local institutions and structures as well as own indigenous technical knowledge and skills which are essentially crucial for the management of sustainable pastoral environments. Therefore, I strongly propose the usefulness of the pastoral social structure both at times of conflicts resolutions and in search for genuine development.

As for the latter a case in point is the respect of the social structures of the Borana in Ethiopia, which are involved in the unity of economic, social, and ritual purposes, as the basis for a livestock development project funded by the World Bank. Despite distinctive social structures, Somalia is no different in this realization. Such structures are again important in conflict resolutions as observed effective in post-civil war Northern Somalia. The traditional social structures of Northern pastoralists have been already described by I.M. Lewis (1961,62) and Abdi I. Samater (1988). I personally see these traditional associations as part of my experiences, as valuable both in maintaining proper management of the pastoral resources and in resolving the standing conflicts between groups. Disregarding them in the reconstruction process of Somalia will be a great mistake.

Finally the overall objectives of this paper are to highlight and bring the attention of scholars that the real victims both in peace and conflict periods are firstly the pastoral groups, notwithstanding they form an integral part of the society socially and economically.

Teacher Education and Reconstruction In Somalia

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INTRODUCTION

Education is viewed by most Third World countries as a primary vehicle for their socio-economic and political development. The schools are expected to prepare knowledgeable and skilled people who understand their social responsibility, have the necessary capacity to assist in economic development and can provide future leadership for their country. The heavy responsibility placed on education is predicted on the assumption that without education, development will not occur.

TEACHER EDUCATION

This paper will focus on the role of teacher education in reconstructed Somalia, and in particular the new mission of Lafoole College of Education. In the past, Lafoole College was the English speaking teacher training institution that prepared secondary school teachers. It was a part of Somali National University, but in several ways, both philosophically and physically, it operated as a separate institution. The new mission of the college has yet to be determined. However it is assumed that its redevelopment and reorientation will be an important factor in determining the redirection of teacher education in the country.

To consider the new role of Lafoole College this paper will pose a series of questions and explore some tentative answers in attempt

to help Somali educational leaders address key issues that surround a reconstructed educational system. These questions are:

NEW OPPORTUNITIES

What new and renewed educational opportunities can best serve the government and people of Somalia? What socio-economic and political realities can be approached through national development? What should be the specific role of primary, secondary and higher education? What structural transformation will be necessary? What should be the priority areas? Can Somalia draw upon experiences of other nations that have faced similar challenges?

MAJOR OBSTACLES

What major barriers stand in the way of renewed efforts in educational development? Is there a lingering conservatism? Where does it come from? What opposition can be expected from the key groups? What inefficiencies can be assumed? Does the present structure inhibit reform? What the present curriculum do or not do? What teaching materials are lacking or inappropriate?

LAFOOLE COLLEGE OF EDUCATION

What tentative proposals can be made in order that Lafoole college can assist in preparing teachers that can address the new opportunities and help to overcome present obstacles? How should the college be administered? What qualification should the faculty have? What kind of student should be admitted? What should the curriculum look like? How can class room instruction be strengthened?

EXTERNAL ASSISTANCE

What should be the role of external organizations institutions in helping to redevelop the college? Can an outside university facilitate this redevelopment? Can the outside university draw upon the past experience in Somalia? If so how? Should Somali teacher educators work with an outside university to help identify problems and priorities? Can such a group analyze opportunities and formulate short and long term strategies? What resources can an outside institution bring to the college? What joint proposals are feasible?

SUMMARY

During the three year 1986-1989, the University of Massachusetts Center for International Education worked closely with the administrators and staff of Lafoole college in a staff development effort. Until the recent conflict escalated a linkage relationship was maintained between the two institutions and Somali teacher educators pursued short term training and advanced education at the University of Massachusetts, Amherst.

The three year project was funded by the United States Information Agency under the title of the

Teacher-Text-Technology Initiative. The Primary goal of the project was to strengthen teacher education in mathematics, science and English. The University of Massachusetts Center for International Education is prepared to continue this relationship, and expand on its mission, when and if, the opportunity becomes available.

Often the process of educational redevelopment is slow. While governments can exercise a strong influence in determining the purpose of education, teachers must

identify with that purpose. At times there is a gap between what teachers expect from schooling and what the government wants. In spite these constraints, nation-building still remains one of primary reasons why the government supports education. How teachers prepared at Lafoole College can best be utilized to help on the process of reconstruction in Somalia is the challenge this paper will address.

New Strategies For Economic Reconstruction And Development in Somalia

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Somalia has been one of the poorest and most underdeveloped countries in Africa, according to the available statistical economic and social indicators and it was dependent on foreign assistance not only for investment capital but also for provision of food and other essential goods and technical expertise. After the devastation by the tragic civil war undoubtedly it felt to the bottom of the poverty list and a larger part of the population is displaced and being fed by the international humanitarian organizations. Historically inherited economic and social backwardness, scarce natural resources, many years of colonial exploitation and oppression coupled with lack of progress in the development efforts of the post-independence period, are the underlying to factors of the prevalent underdevelopment and poverty.

It was not always an easy task to conduct a quantitative economic analysis in Somalia, because of the

lack of reliable statistical data in nearly all sectors of the economy that of the rural/nomadic sector in particular. Thus I am compelled on to focus in my presentation mainly on development policy issues.

Classical development model of urban-based modernization and industrialization dominated the development process in Somalia over the years, which did not only neglect the rural sector of both small subsistence crop farming and nomadic pastoralism (the mainstay of the Somali economy, in terms of productive capital investment) or rendering vital social services, but destabilized it economically, socially and ecologically and made it vulnerable to ecological and economic crisis. This had created rural-urban migration in an extensive scale which subsequently produced a social explosive situation there.

Decaying repressive dictatorial military regime with restrictive socialist economic policy through which the scarce financial resource were diverted to unproductive areas. This had led to the collapse of the public sector which was controlled by the government, comprising nearly all the modern formal productive and service activities which virtually have been physically destroyed later in the interclan fighting.

Foreign assistance granted for political purposes supported the corrupted decadent system and was one of the major contributory factors for the disastrous economic and political crisis.

An important question is to be asked, before proposing any alternative policy strategy that may be appropriate to the post-civil war economic reconstruction and development in Somalia. It is whether the Somalis, especially those who had the opportunity to be educated and

economically privileged groups who in fact let Somalia failed in the past, are prepared to learn a lesson from historical mistakes and face the challenge of overcoming the present catastrophe to build a viable economy with sustainable basis, requiring new perspectives and vision.

If I assume a positive answer of this question is forthcoming, then Somalis have the will and commitment to face the challenge of freeing themselves from mental dependence inherited from the colonialism which led to the failure of the development efforts of the past three decades and present economic crisis and the collapse of social order.

Next question would be developing of institutions in which the society organizes itself in both the public and private spheres that are suited to economic, political and environmental realities and conditions and needs of the Somali society. In the process of institution building, government institutions have absolute priority, because of their crucial role in creating political, legal, administrative and security framework that is necessary for functioning economy. Government institutions that may emerge after the end of chaos and in form and function, in order to be sustained, they must be useful for the whole society and be more democratic, representative and accountable and above all be able to play a major role in promoting economic development.

As development strategies based on classical models focused on industrialization and urbanization had not only failed but done more harm than good to the greater majority of the population. Human focused development strategy seems to offer better alternative to overcome the current crisis and to open new perspectives in the distant fu-

ture.

Three major problems facing many poor development countries and Somalia in particular can be resolved with human-centered development strategies which intersect:

- the first is existence of poverty on a large scale;

- the second is the threat to the natural environmental and the resource base; and

- the third is continuing rapid population growth, which intersects with poverty and environmental damage in a variety of complex ways.

Human-Centered development focuses on mobilizing human potential and channels this energy and creativity to best and constructive use. It empowers the rural poor to participate in the development process both in decision-making and operational level. Shifting attention into the rural sector would only not contribute to alleviation of poverty but also to prevent extensive urban migration and further environmental degradation and gradually lead to balance population growth.

These and more relevant economic development problems and issues would be discussed in the paper.

Livestock and Land Use Development Prospects In Somalia

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Somalia with its present structure of physical, human, climatic and edaphic conditions is essentially the "most pastoral livestock" in tropical

Africa. Livestock provides subsistence of three-fifth of the Somali population and is the foreign exchange earner and sizable commercial offtakes from national herds have been established routine since decades. Livestock is and will remain the mainstay of the Somali Socio-economy since 45 percent of the country's total land surface (624,348 sq km) can be considered as exclusively rangeland. At present the opportunity cost of this land is nearly nil since the soil is not suited for any use other than extensive grazing. However, it appears that the livestock sector is suffering a deep rooted crisis in terms of social, environment and economic disintegration which recently accelerated by the present war and famine (drought) and which most of Somalia have experienced since the last two years. The present crisis has begun effecting the country since early eighties and has since then proceeded to reach its peak during the early nineties in the whole Somalia. The effect has been dramatically severe in all areas where agriculture and livestock are dominating; before all, the loss in human lives and the loss or the destruction of the indigenous social control and values which has been intacted the Somali communities and which understandably has failed to respond positively.

The paper deals with the main issues of livestock development problems in Somalia and describes the major changes happened in the land tenure and land use and summarizes the various constraints and aspects of the past, present state and future prospects of livestock development. Special emphasis will be given to the ecological, economic, institutional, political and technical forces limiting the development in the Somali livestock sector, context would require during 1990s in terms of political participation of and

incentives for the livestock herder, and modifications shaping the future of the pastoral people and consequently of the livestock industry. This is felt to be important for the formulation of the management guidelines for better utilization and control of the renewable resources in these areas. The measures for livestock development and land use substitutability in the Somalian context are mainly seen in the areas of land use and land tenure with the associated policies of rangeland and livestock management. Other areas of importance include marketing and investment alternatives/diversification and alternative employment and income generating ideas.

The approach and the methodology in this paper is diagnostic in nature and emphasis is given to problem-oriented analysis and explanations. Most of the information presented in this paper is mainly based in extensive field research and practical experience in Somalia.

Mogadishu: City of Hope, Territorial and Environmental Policy

Mohamed Abdulcadir Ahmed.

Politicnico di Milano
Mogdishu city presents, up today, areas easily identifiable which belongs to its various period of development.

Briefly these areas can be:

1) The historical township: Hamarweyne and Shangani.

2) Urbanized and built areas in colonial period; 1920-1940

3) Urbanized and built areas after the second world war while the

later urbanization after the second world war represents the great area of the city in term of occupied territory and in population, the first two areas represent a limited and well defined portion in their morphological and topological characteristic.

In the city there are other areas of remarkable archeological interest, landscape or anthropological which for various reasons may have to be subject to study and protection such the ancient areas Hamar jab-jab laid waste by construction of the airport and never being submitted to a serious campaign of excavation. Single monuments such as Abdulaziz Minaret already studied by Cerulli and Monneret di Villard or Scek Sufi cementry, the old ports, the promenade belt.

In 1920-1940 with the construction of the car-park and the destruction of the old city wall, begun the period of the "Italian" expansion. The first buildings not connected to the tissue if the historical city were completed.

In 1929 is the first town-planing scheme.

A second town-planing scheme was introduced in 1937 and approved in 1938.

After the 2nd world war the city settlements order is far from finding its own balance and seems seriously compromised. The capital continues to develop on intense subdivision residentials, generally square-mesh net or rectangular ones; inside the houses are placed in confused and irregular way lacking of adequate primary service and infrastructure. Thus in the '30s the "built" steers north, after the 2nd world war west, in 1967 still falls on north, at last in the present era towards east. The ancient center results, therefore, completely surrounded. The urban metastasis seems irrepressible. Mugdishu spreads without an organic plan

strategy along the Indian ocean. The government class overburdened by deep question of international and internal policy had never been able to fit into an organic and balanced planning the city problems. In fact the town-planning legislation of the country assigns too little space to the disposals related ordering the settlements. A law of 1973 which takes care of, mainly the building activity, provides only type of town-planning scheme for the regulation of settlements. There are no possible indications correlating the planning initiative undertaking by regions, districts, town, villages.

The civil war which has been raging in Somalia for the past three years certainly canceled even further all remaining traces of the past but will not prevent us from pursuing our field research.

The major problems arise from the concentration of social and physical infrastructure on Mogadishu. Besides the central government, the University and international organizations located in the capital more than 75% of Somali doctors and 44% of hospitals were in Mogidishu, where only about 10% of population were living. Such a monocentric configuration will hamper only sound social and economic development in all other parts of the country.

Therefore, it is essential that Somali people support a decentralized development strategy fully exploiting available potentials, investing in social and physical infrastructure in new development centers, and by improving access from minor to major centers, therefore the orientation must go towards settlements; the role of the city and rural development integrated through policy of strengthening the local government units and the role of establishing intermediate cities with support of

coordinated international agencies.

Theory and Praxis of 'Bottom-up' Political Reconstruction: The Creation of District Councils in Somalia

Ken Menkhaus, Davidson College, Virginia

The central debate surrounding UNITAF and UNOSOM II's mandate in Somalia focused on the process of fostering political reconciliation and reconstruction in Somalia. Specifically, the debate revolved around whether the international community should take a "top down" or a "bottom up" approach to both national reconciliation and political rehabilitation in the country. Should the UN treat functional/militia leaders as representatives of Somali constituencies, or were these individuals usurpers who enjoyed no legitimate authority in Somali society? If the latter were true, how could the international community work to accurately identify the legitimate representatives?

This research paper focuses on the attempts UNOSOM II has made since March 1993 to advance a "bottom up" approach to both conflict resolution and political representation in Somalia. It draws on the first-hand fieldwork conducted as part of the mandate of the Policy Planning Group's efforts to monitor regional reconciliation and formation of district councils. The paper first draws on the case of the Kismaayo and Jubbaland peace accords and how UNOSOM grappled with the problems of representation and the role of militia leaders. The Jubbaland peace accords were intended to enable

local, "traditional" authorities to break away from the grip of outside militia leaders and pursue a local peace—in other words, to encourage a "bottom-up" peace in Kismayo.

The process revealed the many interlocking constituencies in the region—militia, politicians, traditional elders, businessmen and clans—and how they responded to the prospect of regional peace. The process also underscored the fundamental difficulties UNOSOM faced in determining the relative autonomy of Somali clans and their traditional leaders with the factional leaders who claimed to speak on their behalf. At the heart of this case lay the basic question: are the "warlords" an integral part of their clans, as observers such as John Drysdale have argued, or do they enjoy power only through intimidation and force, as I.M. Lewis contends?

The second case study assesses the bottom-up approach UNISOM has taken in the rehabilitation of Somali governance. The Addis Accord of March 1993 stipulated that the UN assist in the recreation of district council, regional councils and a transitional national councils, but not in any predetermined order. UNOSOM chose to begin with district councils, on the premise that political reconstruction beginning at the local level would yield a more representative national government and marginalize those factional leaders who could not generate grass-root support. Outside observers who had criticized the Addis Accords for institutionalizing the power of militia leaders applauded UNISOM's efforts to speedily establish district councils throughout the country.

This section reviews the process of District Council selection in the country and assesses the extent to which District Councils are actually

serving as appropriate structures for establishing grass-roots representation in Somalia. Unanticipated problems with district council formation suggest that a focus on local level governmental structures does not guarantee a more representative political body—instead, it can merely shift national power struggles and inequalities to local arenas of conflict. Research on both of these case studies is ongoing.

How Peace is Maintained in the North-Eastern Regions.

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North-Eastern Regions (NER) is geo-political term covering mainly four provinces Bari, Nugal, Mudug and part of Galguduud, Garowe the capital of Nugal was chosen to be the seat of the NER administration. The estimated population is 2.5 million (65% women and children). Bosaso represents the commercial center.

Since the fall of Siyad Barre's regime in January in 1991, Somalia has spiralled deeper into violent, political fragmentation and social and economic chaos. What began as a loosely concerted struggle against the regime, quickly deteriorated into a contest between rival clans and indiscriminate killing. In addition to the high toll of dead and wounded, large number of people have been displaced and dispossessed by conflict, many of such people returned to NER seeking for their lives.

The people of the NER are suffering from the effects of two simultaneous conflicts: the hostilities between the SSDF and the USC, and the fighting in

Mogadishu. Both have displaced large number of people, many of whom have sought refuge in the NER.

Over 300,000 displaced people with large proportion of women and children have become an unbearable burden to already destitute relatives. The strain of supporting these extraordinary circumstances has placed the population of the NER under considerable stress, and threatens to overwhelm what fragile mechanisms the people have managed to develop. In some places, the displaced outnumber the inhabitants, government buildings, hospitals, and schools are filled with squatters.

The NRE under the authority of the SSDF has established an autonomous administration. The main brain behind establishing the administration were the traditional leaders including elders chosen for their talent, Ulema (men of religion) and intellectuals and politicians. They have established a functional administration at regional, district and municipal levels, with recognizable lines of responsibility and accountability. The international community-foreign government, UN agencies and NGOs should be very careful not to encourage, unintentionally perhaps, Somali disunity, distrust, further instability and cause more damage by unbalanced and biased aid or support for some regions or factions over others.

More undue attention and interest for one region is bound to be seen as favoritism for that region and this could cause serious further atrocities among the various Somali clans. For example, if a region is well provided with food and medical supplies by the relief organizations as has happened already, while other regions are not provided any help, what could be the feeling and reaction of the latter?

Some regions will of course, be needier than others but it is a matter of degree.

The Failure Of The Elite: The Crisis Of Political Loyalty in Somalia

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Somali elites could be classified into two major groups: traditional elites and modern elites. Traditional elites are tribal chiefs and traditional Ulama, while modern elites consist of secular nationalists and islamists. In analyzing Somali elites, the author of this paper departs from the traditional perspectives such as anthropological school of I.M. Lewis and social theory school of Ahmed Samater and Lidwien Kapteijns. The author strongly believes that Somali history and politics were looked through the prism of western scholars who obviously downplayed the political roles of Islam in the Somali society. To overcome this methodological problem, the analysis, in this paper, is based on an elitist perspective which permits a more, satisfactory integration of all levels of Somali society than it is possible with "clanist" or "social theory" interpretations.

Initially, the paper shows the formation process of traditional and modern elites, and their respective responses to the colonial onslaught. It also indicates how traditional elites were complementing each other to accomplish their duties, contrary to the confrontational policy between secular nationalists

and modern islamists.

Secondly, the paper attempts to demonstrate how Somali secular nationalists, after governing for over thirty years, have failed to sustain the unity of Somali nation-state, let alone realize their major national goal of uniting all Somalis in the Horn of Africa.

Thirdly, modern Somali Islamists are inspected as a new political challenge in Somalia. Islamists have appeared recently in political arena as a political force. At the present time, there are major Islamist groups: Al-ittihad Al-Islami, the neo-salafi movement, the Islamic Movement and the Muslim Brotherhood. The author believes that Islamic elites are politically weak and insufficiently organized to fill the political vacuum created by the ineffective secular nationalists.

Fourthly, political tribalism and its radical phase represented by the creation of sixteen political tribal factions with all its warlords represents the reverse process of nomadization of urban elites. In fact, the failure of tribally organized political entities and misery and destruction they have brought to the nation has discredited many traditional elites during the current civil war.

Finally, the paper illustrates the crisis of the political loyalty in Somalia, and concludes that the Somali nation faces immense challenges: the failure of the imported European systems, the corruption of traditional leaders, the absence of conscious national leadership, the commercialization of politics, the immaturity of Islamists, and above all the paucity of a genuine Somali intelligentsia.

Somali Theater of Peace "STOP"

Project"

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The following are the points which define the project:

1. Name of the project; Somali Theatre of peace Project [Stop Projects].
2. Place of implementation; Somalia with intensive efforts from abroad.
3. Duration of projects; Three years minimum with possible extension as needed.
4. Objective of the project; Peace reconciliation, and reconstruction of Somalia.
5. Cost of the project; Yet to be worked out and presented.
6. Implementing agency; Somali intelligentsia (this represent the Somali word "wax garad", which does not stand for the level of education but for the level responsibility) with the help of Somali peace loving public and international community.

Despite all the difficulties in the Somali crisis, there are indeed some genuine search for peace and positive imaginations, by some Somali people, in the settlement of their prolonged agony. Among them is Garaad Mohamed Jama, a 12 years old Somali boy whom I have met in London, in December, 1991, weeks after his arrival from the warring Somalia. In his capacity, Garaad predicted strongly the gloomy situation of Somalia and through it reached his conclusion by saying; war, mass killing and

destruction in Somalia will continue, until the whole country is covered with snow. He added the snow will block the gunmen into their premises and as a result of that, they will reject to execute the orders of their warlords to fight in the bitter cold, saying- We cannot fight in the snow.

In contrast, to seeing peace achieved by means of clanship fighting, Garaad preferred to expect the Horn of Africa with its tropical climate would snow peace. The logic could be that: it is unimaginable to find a solution in the Somali crisis easily, as it is almost impossible that the skies of Somalia will parachute snow.

This project is to invite the intelligentsia into their country, to influence and perhaps change and rectify the course of events. However, the rest of the following sections, will deal with and present the objectives, nature and operations of the proposed stop project at national and international levels.

The objective of the stop project:

1. To create an environment where by the Somali intelligentsia could mobilize and organize themselves effectively in large scale dynamic activities both in the diaspora and in the Country.
2. To develop a common and constructive approach of facing the crisis, by forming national and international solid branches of stop project.
3. To promote the idea of objectivity, honesty and taking non-partisan and non-political stand in search of peace.
4. To form and promote

independent, positive, and meaningful media institutions with the aim to educate the mentally poor society and promote democratic values and principles.

5. To commit itself in the national reconciliation, rehabilitation and reconstruction efforts, and to promote the idea of the Secretary General of UN, Dr. Boutros Boutros-Ghali, who has suggested to establish an international fund for construction of Somalia.
6. The project aims to seek understanding and support of the international community.
7. To investigate the necessity of approaching solution of Somali crisis, by developing a national model able to function at national, regional and local levels, keeping in mind the risk of quick and emotional decisions.

Presentation and Implementation Approach

The ideas of stop project seem as mere big ambition. However, the most important question is; Is it possible to be an achievable goal and relates to an immediate challenging need?

There are four stages to be considered in the process of implementing the project. The most difficult part is the initial part and organizational phase. To become a model attracted and loved by many in bringing all their efforts into one constructive and coordinated direction, a careful preparation, good marketing and proper salesmanship of the stop

project will determine its future.

Stage One : Presentation of the Stop Project

Stop project can only start its series of operations when its recognized. This will be achieved if considerable large section of the Somali society, specially the intelligentsia realized the importance of this project.

Stage Two: Creating Stop Branches

Stop project starts with the creation of its branches in many parts of Somalia and the world. These branches will accommodate the most talented and most peace loving Somali and non Somalis who are interested to get involved in such efforts against any discriminatory forms of clan, race, gender and creed. These stop branches could take as an example [stop branch of Canada, stop branch of Washington ... stop branch of Holland .. stop branch of Cairo.. Stop branch of Mogodishu.. Stop branch of Gaalkayo.. etc].

In the process of making the stop branches, known Somali personalities in the field of literature and arts, including poets, singers, actors, musicians, composers, writers..etc, are needed to be located and reactivated into the life of the stop branches. This is an important step because the Somali society has a great interest and belief that the artist and literary figure can play a very significant role in overcoming their plight.

Stage Three: Meeting of the Stop branches:

Constructive ideas and actions have been discussed towards the future development of the stop

project. International community has been committed. Somali society both in the country and those abroad are already involved in one way or another. Stop branches have been established with high degree of enthusiasm and determination. Culture and media institutions have started to operate. Therefore, the third stage of the stop branches meeting seems to become a reality, where branches' members, with certain degree of understanding, would contain each other differences.

Stage Four: The Peace Journey

This type of journey going into Somalia, will be great test to the Somali intelligentsia in actively contributing in the salvation of their people and country. This test will take place whilst, the international community, has committed itself to support any positive and constructive plan of action brought by the Somalis themselves.

Progress Evaluation:

The achievements of the stop project through the first phase of the peace journey, could be judged against the following:

1. That the people of Somalia with confidence and voluntarily disarmed themselves.
2. Materialize the establishment of common committees to mediate between different hostile clans in every mission's area.
3. To create an environment, where individuals and communities can exchange goods, ideas and information and travel confidently between the

different clans areas.

4. To persuade the people who fled out to repatriate back to Somalia and positively contribute to the success of reconstruction of their country.

Conclusion:

The depth of the Somali crises and its multi-layer ugly forms, indicate the difficulty of getting a solution by hasty actions. Hence, a well developed and coordinated effort by both the intelligentsia and international community, as this paper dealt with, is not only, a solution for Somalia to stand on its feet but also opens a sort of long term stability for the country.

It is not recommended that the Somali peace lovers would not only act as spectators while searching for peace indeed they have a very special role in participating into the constructive contribution towards peace.

Stop project is mainly based on my personal experience and understanding to the crisis situation.

It seems that complete absence of a cost breakdown, is a pitfall. However, this paper is prepared in a hypothetical approach. Getting feed back and findings from the intelligentsia and the international community would enable me to complete a more detailed picture of the STOP Project. It would also assist me to present an effective project cost analysis and perhaps participate in formulating details of the operational plan.

Judging the Somali Mind

Abib Jama, San Diego, Cali-

fornia

This paper will contend that there are at least three characteristics of the Somali mind that explain how the present tragic events came about and offer some predictions with respect to the future. First, Somalis order their society through tribal and clan elders. Second, Somalis view their land as sacred. Third, Somalis will not readily tolerate injustice.

Before the era of the colonialists, Somalis enjoyed a relatively peaceful existence under the rule of elders. In fact, the system worked well enough that other African nations chose to model it. Elders were carefully chosen on the basis of wisdom, affluence, influence and eloquence. They also needed to have considerable knowledge about the variety of cultural traits that existed within the Somali tribes as well as a good understanding of the neighboring peoples. In addition, elders were required to have the acceptance of their subjects as well as the approval of the religious elders. Even though this system was not totally free from intra-tribal conflicts it served the Somalis well, so well that the European powers left it mostly intact to enable them to rule effectively.

Unfortunately, the US and the UN have continued to carry out a mistaken policy by not honoring the long tradition of elders rule and allowing the elders in the country to make peace.

The Somalis believe that their land is sacred. In this way they reflect more the thinking of the indigenous peoples of the Americas rather than the thinking of Westerners. Therefore, part of the conflict in Mogadishu is not political, it is territorial. Although Mogadishu is now populated by Somalis from every part of the country, the

Hawiye tribe still lays claim to the land on which the city rests. The collapse of socialism has allowed this conflict to rise to the surface in all its fury. Again, the US and U.N. insensitivity to this divisive issue has exacerbated the situation. In a culture where family members as close as cousins are permitted to kill over land if there is an injustice, this issue is of more than minor importance.

The issue of response to injustice is the last characteristic of the Somali mind which we will discuss. This trait appears in a variety of circumstances and is ingrained from infancy. In some Somali families even babies are taught to fight back. In some instances, baby boys are placed on the backs of manly teenagers at the age of forty days in hope that the courageous traits of the youth will carry on to the growing infant as well. Boys are taught not to turn from their tormentors at any cost and in adulthood, this willingness to fight becomes a willingness to fight to the death in the face of injustice and abasement. And not only is there a willingness to fight, there is also a deep-rooted desire to exact revenge.

And so, when the southerners perceived what was thought to be condescension on the part of southerners, they eventually took revenge during the Siyad Barre regime. In turn the northerners raised up an army of insurgents to attempt to throw off the yoke of injustice. The response to their uprising was brutal. Entire towns were leveled and refugees fled by hundreds of thousands. The northerners initial revolt against justice, even though followed by a murderous response from Siyad Barre, eventually spread nationwide and toppled his regime.

However, this tendency to fight bitterly against injustice, has not

been directed only against other Somalis. The US and U.N. have now become targets as well. The attempt to "cleanse" Somalia of one clan and its leader is viewed as an injustice and appropriate revenge is being taken against the US in particular. Continued flights by US helicopters which in some cases have resulted in the deaths of women and children are also drawing out this sense of outrage.

The US and the U.N. must focus first and foremost on providing an environment in which the elders can make peace. They must not be seen as taking sides or militarily imposing their will on a people who still want to peruse their own destiny. This may be easier said than done because both the US and the UN are looking for retribution for the death of their soldiers. It will be very hard for them to chalk up those deaths to learning from experience.

Islamic Resistance in Somalia: Reflections on the Present Situation.

Mahasin Alsafi, University of Khartoum, Sudan.

Historical Background:

Islam entered Somalia since the first century of Hijra, and is deeply and widely spread not only as the principal faith of the Somalis, but also as one of the vital wellsprings of their culture.

The aftermath of the European scramble in the Eastern shores of Africa, coupled with the expansionist tendencies of Ethiopia in the nineteenth century provoked the rise of the Islamic Jihad Movement of Sayyid Muhamed Abdulle Hasan.

He waged his jihad from 1899-1920 in order to regain Somali independence from alien rule.

Somalia gained its independence in 1960. A democratic government was thus formed. Muslims intellectuals were critical that like other Muslim countries Somali leaders were unable to go beyond the traditional way of adopting Western constitutional models at the detriment of an Islamic constitution. In the first constitution there was an article "Islam is the religion of the state" but that did not amount to the formation of an Islamic State. The voices of Ulema which called for the adoption of Islamic laws and administrative reforms on the lines of Islamic teaching was not accepted. Somali Muslim intellectuals, therefore consider that the root of the problems which face Somalia up to the present could be attributed to this factor.

Islamic Resistance Movement during Siyad Barre's Regime.

The October 1969 Revolution brought to an end nine years of democratic rule. This revolution has completely ignored religion. It had an article which said "The Somali Democratic Republic will adopt scientific Socialism". This was taken by some Somalis to mean that the revolution was attempting to distance itself from religion.

In addition to this; Siyad Barre had declared in 21 October 1972 that the Somali Language will be written in Latin script and not Arabic. This was also understood as a practical step towards adopting western imperial policies to the detriment of Islamic policies which will serve the enemies of Islam.

In 1975 Muslims in Somalia were greatly shaken by Siyad Barre's

issue of what is called the family law, Xeerka Qoyska, encompassing within it some provisions which were not compatible with Quran " Shariah". This caused an outburst of anger among the masses and particularly among the religious leaders, speeches were delivered in the mosques against the law. Eleven persons -religious leaders and sheikhs- were sentenced to death on 15 January 1975. The Somalis were angered and the Islamic world condemned the mass executions.

Islamic revivalist movement which spread in most Arab and Islamic countries in the first half of the twentieth century has its impact on Somalia. In late 1960's and early 1970's some Somali graduates of Egyptian Universities, particularly Al-Azhar returned to Somalia. Prominent among them is Sheikh Muhammed Mualim. This group are the followers of Muslim Brotherhood of Egypt known as Jamat al Takfir wal-Hijra. They managed to spread their doctrine among the Somalis aided by some pamphlets and publications of their brotherhood.

Siyad Barre did not hesitate in curbing their activities by using different means. Some were massacred, some imprisoned and others managed to flee outside the country.

Islam played a political role in the opposition movements directed against Siyad Barre's Regime. Some scholars were of the opinion that these movements were in the form of an Islamic renewal(revival) rather than Islamic Fundamentalist in nature.

It was obvious that a chaotic situation was prevailing during the 1980's in Siyad's state. The Islamic revivalist movement which was thus emerging making could have played a positive role in forming a

formidable front in the tottering state by seizing a valuable opportunity offered by Siyad's policies and actions against the muslim groups to gain the support of the Somalis to the Islamic cause. Unfortunately the absence of weightily leadership among the Islamic groups plus the factional differences which dominated the scene among these muslim groups acted negatively to the achievement of the dreams of the leaders of the Islamic movement.

The Position of Islamic Resistance During the Present crisis.

The Somali Islamic intellectuals think that one of the primary motives behind the UN/USA intervention in Somalia at this Juncture is to combat the danger of growing Islamic movement in Somalia.

In March 1993 the conference on National Reconciliation was held in Addis Abba. A delegation from the Somali Islamic Movement was present and the spokesman Dr. Ibrahim al-Dousougi thought that the traditional armed groups failed to present reasonable solution to Somali problem and that it will only be possible to solve it from the Islamic point of view. But he admits that the Islamic movement failed to play an effective role during Siyyad Barre's Regime because they were suppressed and were unable to exert a reasonable effort during the civil war because of the way of dealing with each other as they staged a Jihad among themselves because of the factional differences. Other groups are also committed to their tribal or regional affiliations. He also blamed Arabs and Islamic states for their lack of interest in what is happening in Somalia.

Despite the chances facing the Islamic Movement in Somalia to

build itself a sustained and formidable power to help the Somali to get rid of the forces of destruction and come together in a reconciliated and unified nation, the Islamic movement is faced with serious handicaps which, at the present make it rather difficult for them to fill the vacuum in Somalia. The circumstances that facilitated the Islamic Jihad in Somalia at the beginning of the century are lacking in the present situation. The nature of Islam prevailing at the time of Sayyid Muhamed Abdulle Hasan was also quite different from the ideological and radical thinking of the Islamists who are leaders of the political movements prevailing among the Somalis today. So although chances of success of the Islamic resistance in Somalia are great taking into consideration the potential of an Islamic people yet for the reasons stated above, the achievement of this objective remains difficult in the present situation.

Somali NGOs a Product of Crisis

Abdirahman Osman Raghe, AFRI-ACTION, Mogdishu, Somalia

This paper will consider the nature, objectives, constraints, etc., of the present local NGOs as product of the Somali crisis in which the relief operation were carried on without the availability of the necessary legal and financial infrastructure for their services during normal times. This can further touch all the useful dimensions of the UN operations in Somalia, especially towards the broad basis of the humanitarian and reconciliation process besides the physical draw backs on local NGOS, through involvement, training or partnership with the UN agencies and international NGOS.

The local NGOs worry due to of lack of involvement, weak coordination, institutional building, training etc, of the on going operations by the UN agencies and international NGOs, may tend to push them to react as development trade unions, vs facilitators or partners of relief and development. The local participatory efforts and initiatives must be given to grow with the broad basis and grass roots philosophy of Somalia's rehabilitation and reconstruction program by UNISOM II and other international agencies and NGOs.

For sure there are inherent weaknesses in the Somali NGOs development besides the capacity building areas already raised, such as the almost lack of locally available fund raising sources and the true knowledge of the non-profit organizations as contributors to public well being. So far, an NGO as a service body, is more vague and less measurable than a profit organization for many Somalis involved in the NGOs.

We can further look into what and how the UN NGOs coordination offices met their terms of references during this crisis period, were accountability and inspection of NGOs activities feasibility in an environment where insecurity and uncertainty dominated the daily course of events.

Possible outlooks for the future sustainable local NGOs and self-help groups by the concerned intellectuals and professionals will be contained in the paper. Most of the NGOs operating currently in Somalia are localized, depending on their respective work base in a region. The need for a future framework of NGO capacity building and scope of development from a region base to national levels will be also discussed.

A forum or consortium for the local

NGO could serve as a vehicle for understanding between the Somali NGOs development and their relations with the international NGOs in Somalia and abroad. This could also facilitate, them to observe the basic criteria and other formalities for their qualitative development. Through this, it could be possible to open new channels of cooperation with other international agencies and NGOs and to recover with the help of the future Somali government, the previous Somali PVO development projects.

The Somali Clan System and Indigenous NGOs Fitting a Square in a Round Hole

Abdi M Bile, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia.

The Somali clan system:

The Somalis whether a pastoral nomad or a sedentary farmer or the urban elite is guided through life by the insidious clan spell. The University graduate would behave no differently from his illiterate sibling where his clan conventions and covenants are concerned. Even the divine tenets of Islamic religion would be upheld only if they proved useful to further clan interests. This deep rooted ethnocentric system behoves that all caln-kinsmen of any tribe must keep certain reservation with respect to all other tribes.

During the temible civil wars in Southern Somalia, thousands of married couples have been separated not because of their own volition and irrespective of their love for one another and their

children but simply in response to the exigencies of inter-clan conflict that compelled each husband and wife to line up with their different clans for their own safety. This absolute loyalty to the clan negates the importance to any other human relationship outside that of one's own clan and in particular the di-paying (Blood money) section of the clan, that puts loyalty to the state on an even more bizarre footing.

The Indigenous NGOs

Haqabtir (meaning : satisfying a need) was the first indigenous NGO nationally registered with the then ministry of interior in 1984.

By 1990 there were no less than 30 NGOs officially registered but particularly all of them except "HAQABTIR" were clan-based.

NGOs and local charities were generally founded and managed by individuals of the same clan or close relatives. This central tendency for the formation of clan-based local NGOs has been only logical considering the all-pervasiveness of the clan system in Somalia. The need for initial donations from the clan as "seed" money for institution-building and the natural trust and confidence among kinsmen, considering the fear and suspicion created by a repressive regime were other factors. Security reasons might have been also involved as law and order broke down and ethno-demographic shifts were indicated in Mogdishu neighborhoods.

Apart from "HAQABTIR" which became a leading local NGO, I could recall "DARYEEL" "ADAMIGA", "JIIMILO" and "GARGAARA" as the only other few local NGOs that achieve any success.

Council of Somali Voluntary

& Development Organization (COSVADA)

In mid 1990 "HAQABTIR" had organized with the cooperation of other leading NGOs above to hold meeting and seminars for all the registered indigenous NGOs. Consensus was reached then to draft a constitution for an umbrella organization to be named COSVAD. Other international NGOs operating in Somalia were also invited as associate members.

COSVADA was generally meant to bolster up the main weaknesses of the Somali NGOs e.g. lack of qualified personnel and experience. The most effective way to build much needed institutional capacity of indigenous NGOs is to provide project actively in association with staff development. International donors are, however, reluctant to fund local NGOs with little track record while nascent indigenous NGOs lack the resources for project proposal development - a "CATCH-22" situation.

Post-Civil War Period

Soon after Siyad Barre was ousted the number of individuals claiming to be local NGOs doubled in Mogadishu. Attending NGOs meetings in March 1991 a large number of new faces claiming to head local NGOs confided to that they previously operated as contractors but wished to switch to NGO-work as there were no contracts to lobby for!

True that Somali NGOs proliferated in the post-civil war period to fill the vacuum created by the lack of state machinery, but the large majority are ineffective and only exist in name because they are not conversant with the humanitarian principle behind NGO work. In addition, they are all clan-based and generally founded as the latest clan status

symbols.

In the Northern region, known lately as Somaliland there are few but qualitatively budding NGOs like "SOMRA" with head office in London, "SORRA" in Hargeisa and "SOSVA" in Borama. Haqabtir has lost some key personal and practically all its property in the civil war, but it is now struggling to re-establish itself on national basis in Borama, Lasanod, and perhaps Hargeisa, all in Somaliland. In the South even "COSVADA" has been effectively neutralized by clan rivalry between interim-president Ali Mahdi and General Aideed factions.

LATEST DEVELOPMENT:

One hopeful event occurring recently and funded by Oxfam(USA) was an orientation seminar for over 20 NGOs from Somaliland, Somalia and Ethiopia held 25-26 October 1993 at the Africa Hall in Addis Ababa.

The NGOs present agreed to form a network to serve a clearing house to engage in advocacy, especially to portray the Somali way of life in a manner that represented the reality. In the absence of Somali NGO's consortium and the critical need for networking, workshop participant appointed the African self-reliance and Development Advocacy Group (ASDAG) and Inter-Africa Group (IAG) along with two Somali contact persons to work out a viable mechanism for fulfilling networking responsibilities for participating NGOs.

ESTABLISHMENT OF THE GALAAL PRIZE IN SOMALI STUDIES

Professor Charles Gesheker of California State University, Chico, announced in December 1993 at 5th SSIA Congress that he has made a donation to the African Studies Association (ASA) to establish an annual award to be known as the Musa Haji Ismail Galaal Prize in Somali Studies.

The purpose of the Galaal prize is to encourage Somali Scholars. The cash prize of up to \$250.00 will be awarded annually to the Somali author judged to have contributed the most significant piece of original scholarship in Somali Studies at the ASA meeting.

To be eligible for the Galaal Prize, the Somali author must present the paper in person at the annual ASA meeting and submit the completed paper to the ASA Secretariat no less than four weeks before the conference convenes. The ASA Board of Directors will appoint a three person Galaal Review Committee to select the annual recipient.

Gesheker's late mother, Rose Wolfe Gesheker, met Musa Galaal in 1978 when the ASA Conference convened in her hometown of Baltimore. The SSIA was founded at that ASA meeting. Gesheker endowed the Galaal Prize with funds left to him by his mother as enduring legacy to her and Musa Galaal.

Charles L. Gesheker
29 June 1994

Formal Congress Opening

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| <i>Prayers</i> | Father O'Halloran/Rabbi Avery-Peck/Imam Talal Eid |
| <i>Introductory Remarks</i> | Hussein M. Adam, <i>College of the Holy Cross and Congress Coordinator</i> |
| <i>A Note on the Program</i> | Lee Cassanelli, <i>University of Pennsylvania</i> |
| <i>Prospects for the Sixth Congress</i> | Dr. Thomas Labahn, <i>Frankfurt, Germany</i> |
| <i>Greetings from the ASA</i> | Ned Alpers, <i>UCLA and President-elect of the African American Studies Association, (ASA)</i> |
| <i>Opening Address</i> | Father O'Halloran <i>Vice President of the College of the Holy Cross and Chair, 150th Anniversary Celebrations</i> |
| <i>Panel Presentations</i> | Ambassador Frank Crigler, <i>Simmons College</i> John Hirsch, <i>Coauthor with Ambassador Robert Oakley of a book manuscript on Operation Restore Hope</i> Jerzy Szeremeta, <i>United Nations Development Program (UNDP), New York</i> Saadia Touval, <i>United States Institute of Peace</i> Ibrahim Meygag, <i>former Chairman of the Interim National Assembly, Somaliland Republic</i> Ali Jimale Ahmed, <i>Queens College, NYC</i> |

Congress Program

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| Frank Crigler <i>Simmons College</i> | <i>"The Risks of Peace Enforcement."</i> |
| Tom Farer <i>American University</i> | <i>"The Future of United Nations Humanitarian Interventions: The Lessons of Somalia."</i> |
| Mark Walsh <i>Carlisle, PA</i> | <i>"United Nations Success in Somalia - Kismayu Peace Accords."</i> |
| Jerzy Szeremeta <i>United Nations Development Programme, New York</i> | <i>"Somalia and the United Nations - From a Reconstruction and Development Perspective."</i> |
| Yusuf Hassan <i>Voice of America, Washington D.C.</i> | <i>"Somali Perspectives on the United Nations."</i> |
| Catherine Bestman <i>Queens College</i> | <i>"Minorities in Post-Cold War Somalia."</i> |
| Abdi M. Kusow <i>Wayne State University</i> | <i>"The Hamitic Concept and Somali Origins."</i> |
| Amina Sharif <i>Rexdale Women's Center, Toronto</i> | <i>"Somalia: The Forgotten People."</i> |

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| Christine Ahmed UCLA | <i>"The New Mufa Winner: Somali Civil War and the Changing Role of Women."</i> | Ali Moussa Iye Paris, France | <i>"The Role of Traditional Institutions in Conflict Resolution in the Horn of Africa."</i> |
| Umar Abdulkadr Eno Toronto, Canada | <i>"The Other Somalis: The Apartheid Imposed on Somali Bantu Jarer."</i> | I.M. Lewis and Ahmed Yusuf Farah London University, UK | <i>"Local Level Peace Initiatives in Somalia: Role of the Elders."</i> |
| Hussein A. Bulhan Basic Health Management, Washington, D.C. | <i>"Psychopathy of Leaders -Antisocial Pursuit of Power and Profit in Somali Society."</i> | Abdi-Asis Mohamed London, UK | <i>"How Peace Is Maintained in Northeastern Region of Somalia."</i> |
| Negussay Ayele SUNY - Binghamton | <i>"Reflections on the Culture of Violence and Violence of Culture in the Horn of Africa."</i> | Nour Kaafi Aboubakar Ottawa, Canada | <i>"The Role of the Horn of Africa Journalists and Media for Peace and Rehabilitation."</i> |
| Abiib Haji Jama United States University, San Diego | <i>"Judging the Somali Mind: Preliminary Reflections."</i> | Andrey Khrenkov Institute of African Studies, Moscow | <i>"Political Stability in Somalia - Myth or Reality? International Participation in the Process of Peacemaking."</i> |
| Richard Greenfield Africa Center, London | <i>"The Siad Barre Regime and the Fauna of Northeast Africa."</i> | Idil Salah Ottawa, Canada | <i>"Continuity and Discontinuity in Somali Women's Lives."</i> |
| Carl M. Peterson University of California, Irvine | <i>"Reassessing the Somali Civil War: What Lessons Do We Draw From It?"</i> | Nancy Merryman Wilkes College, PA | <i>"Women and War: Somali Family Recovery Strategy."</i> |
| Abdalla Ahmed Hirad United Nations, New York | <i>"The Disintegration of Somalia: Territoriality as the End of a Process and the Civil War only a Complication."</i> | Sofia A. Moaillin University of Rome, Italy | <i>"Il ruolo della donna Somala et la guerra civile."</i> |
| Bashir Abdi Elmi IFTIN, Mogadishu, Somalia | <i>"What are the Obstacles to a Reconciliation of the Somali Crisis?"</i> | Amina M. Warsame Uppsala, Sweden | <i>"The Civil War in Northern Somalia: Its Impact on Pastoralists, Especially Women and Children."</i> |
| Mohamud H. Abdulle Ottawa, Canada | <i>"The Genesis of the Somali Crisis and Prospects for Solutions."</i> | Fadumo M. Amin Toronto, Canada | <i>"The Civil Wars and Problems on Women and Children."</i> |
| Mohamed Nuuh Ali Ottawa, Canada | <i>"The Root Causes and Possible Solutions for the Somali Crisis."</i> | Abdalla O. Mansur University of Rome | <i>"The Nature of the Somali Tribal System."</i> |
| Mohamed Ali Turyare American University Cairo | <i>"Conflict and Resolution in the Horn of Africa."</i> | Alberto Borghini University of Pisa | <i>"The Pattern of Affinity in Somali Kinship and Its Theoretical Consequences."</i> |
| Mohamed Aden Sheikh Turin, Italy | <i>"Reflections on Somali Political Experience."</i> | Bernhard Helander University of Uppsala, Sweden | <i>"The Rahanweyn Clan: Constructing Community In a Descent Idiom."</i> |
| Yusuf Jama Duhul London, UK | <i>"The Pan-Horn Dimension of the Somali Tragedy."</i> | Mohamed-Abdi Mohamed Besancon, France | <i>"Le systeme de parente et les relations q'il engendre."</i> |
| Gian Paolo Calchi Novati University of Urbino, Italy | <i>"Italy and Somalia--Unbearable Lightness of Influence."</i> | Ahmed Artan Hange Mombasa Refugee Camp, Kenya | <i>"Arranged Marriage Among the Pastoral Somalis."</i> |
| Mohamud Jama United Nations, New York | <i>"Problems and Prospects in the Transition to Democracy."</i> | Carl Peterson University of California, Irvine | <i>"Somalia's Cultural Practices and the Next Somali Government."</i> |
| Ali Omar Deyr Nairobi, Kenya | <i>"Does Italy Have the Right to Continue to Influence Somalia."</i> | Mustafa Y. Ismail Immenhausen, Germany | <i>"What Form of Nationhood and State Structure for a Future Somalia?"</i> |
| Ken Menkhaus Davidson College, VA and UNISOM Mogadishu | <i>"Theory and Praxis of 'Bottom-Up' Political Reconstruction: The Creation of District Councils in Somalia."</i> | Ann Seidman Clark University | <i>"The State and State Policy Formation."</i> |

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Ottawa, Canada

Mohamed Mumin and
Abdullahi Farah Asseyr
Rome, Italy

Steven A. Brandt and
Osman Yusuf Mohamed
University of Florida

"The State and State Policy Formation."

"The Catastrophe and Governance."

"The Catastrophe and Ecology."

"The Catastrophe and Donors."

"The Catastrophe and the Region."

"The Catastrophe and Culture."

"Two Images of the Educated Elite in Contemporary Somali Literature."

"The Making of the Somali Crisis, As Reflected in the Somali Oral Poetry of the Sixties and Seventies."

"Somali Theatre of Peace."

"Literatura del Mare."

"Hadraawi's Poetry: An Introductory Reflection."

"The Political Poetry of Mohamed Abdulle Hassan and Its Relevance to the Recurring Crisis in Somali History."

"The Somali Diaspora - Problems and Prospects."

"The Somali Crisis In Canada."

"Appropriate Intervention Counseling of Somalis in Canada."

"Somali Youth in Canada: Against All Odds."

"Health Situation of Somali Displaced Women and Children in Italy."

"The Past, Present, and Future Management of Somalia's Cultural Heritage."

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University of London

Ahmed F. Ali "Idaajaa"
Rome, Italy

Ali Jimale Ahmed
Queens College

"Poetry as a Form of Resistance Against Colonialism and Patriarchy."

"On Subjects and Motifs of Somali Folktales."

"Symbols of Contention: The Fate of Monuments in Modern Africa With Some Reference to the Case of Somalia."

"The Impact of Past Development Projects on the Livestock Sector and Challenges for the Future."

"Problems of Relief, Reconciliation and Reconstruction of Somalia, Particularly the Juba Region."

"Relevance of Appropriate Technology in Current Somali Farming Practices --Animal Traction."

"Contested Trade: Livestock Markets and Violence in Southern Somalia."

"Operation Restore Hope: General Assessment and Lessons Learned."

"The Empowerment of Civil Social Structures in the Process for Peace and Reconciliation."

"United States Policy in Somalia."

"Preliminary Reflections on a Peace and Reconciliation Research Agenda."

"Musico-Moro-Syllabic Relationships in the Scansion of Somali Oral Poetry."

"The Function of Abrupt Theme Shifts in Somali Poetry."

"The Uniqueness of 'Deelley' Among Somali Poetic Chains."

"Literature and the Historical Teleology of the Nation."

- Harold Marcus
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- M. A. Mohamed Salih and Maria Brons
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- Martin Doornbos
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- John Markakis
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- "Ethiopia's Policy Towards Somali Independence, 1942-1960."*
- "Identity Crisis Among the Somali of Ethiopia."*
- "What Are the Options For the Ogaden After 1991."*
- "The Somali in the New Political Order of Ethiopia."*
- "Il ruolo della donna Somala et la civile."*
- "Lessons From the Field--The experience of SORRA."*
- "The ICRC/SRCS Relief Operations During 1991-1992."*
- "The Somali Clan System and Indigenous NGOs."*
- "Women and the Impact of the War."*
- "Women, War and Peace - A Somali Perspective."*
- "Winning the Peace - Somali Women and Oral Traditions."*
- "The Potential Role of Women's Groups in Reconstruction."*
- "The Politics of Islam in the Horn of Africa."*
- "Islam and Prospects for Peace and Integration in Somalia."*
- "The Failure of the Daraawish State: Clash Between Somali Clanship and State System."*
- "Islamic Justice and Somali Problems."*
- The Significance of Islam in the Somali Future."*
- "Islam and Politics in Somalia."*
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Zahara The Chief Of Haweyne
By Christine Ahmed, Los Angeles, CA

We arrived in Baidoa on a small plane, delivering aid. From the air we could see the mountains and lushness of Kenya as we headed north to Somalia. The land became dryer and then suddenly green again. We were in Baidoa. This was the first time I ever arrived in a country where no one bothered to check my passport - no one even noticed an American sneaking into Baidoa. The Canadian U.N. troops barely acknowledged our arrival.

As we entered Baidoa, the place dubbed by the media as the city of death, we were struck by the fact that there were no corpses lying in the streets. I and my companions, an Italian leftist school teacher and a Somali professor, breathed a sigh of relief. The media image of skeleton-like people surrounded by death were still vivid in our memories. We relaxed until the professor noticed the leaflets blown along the streets by the wind. They read, in Somali: "Don't be alarmed, but many bodies must be moved from their burying places before the rains so that Baidoa can avoid outbreaks of disease and plague." The very thin, smiling children we had seen in the streets were the survivors. I had enjoyed watching them, in their colorless muslim dresses, but now I understood why they smiled - they were the lucky ones.

We were escorted into the office of a prominent American aid organization and they didn't even offer us tea (a very non-African form of behavior). We then found ourselves in front of a very tall blond woman who didn't want to be bothered by our questions. The Italian teacher had brought money from a small, grassroots organization to help set up schools in rural Baidoa, but the woman paid it no attention and shuffled us off to her next-in-command, a gentleman from Egypt who controlled the Somalis driving the armed pick-up trucks. Aid organizations have a unique hierarchy in Baidoa, led by an American or British person, with an Arab middle man and finally, the Somalis. The only aid organizations I saw with Somalis in decision-making posts were Care Ireland and the Islamic agencies.

We then met Zahara. She was tall, almost six feet, very thin and dressed as a modest Muslim woman. But under her long skirts and, flowing hijab, she wore high-top tennis shoes. She



ZAHARA AND WOMEN OF HAWEYNE

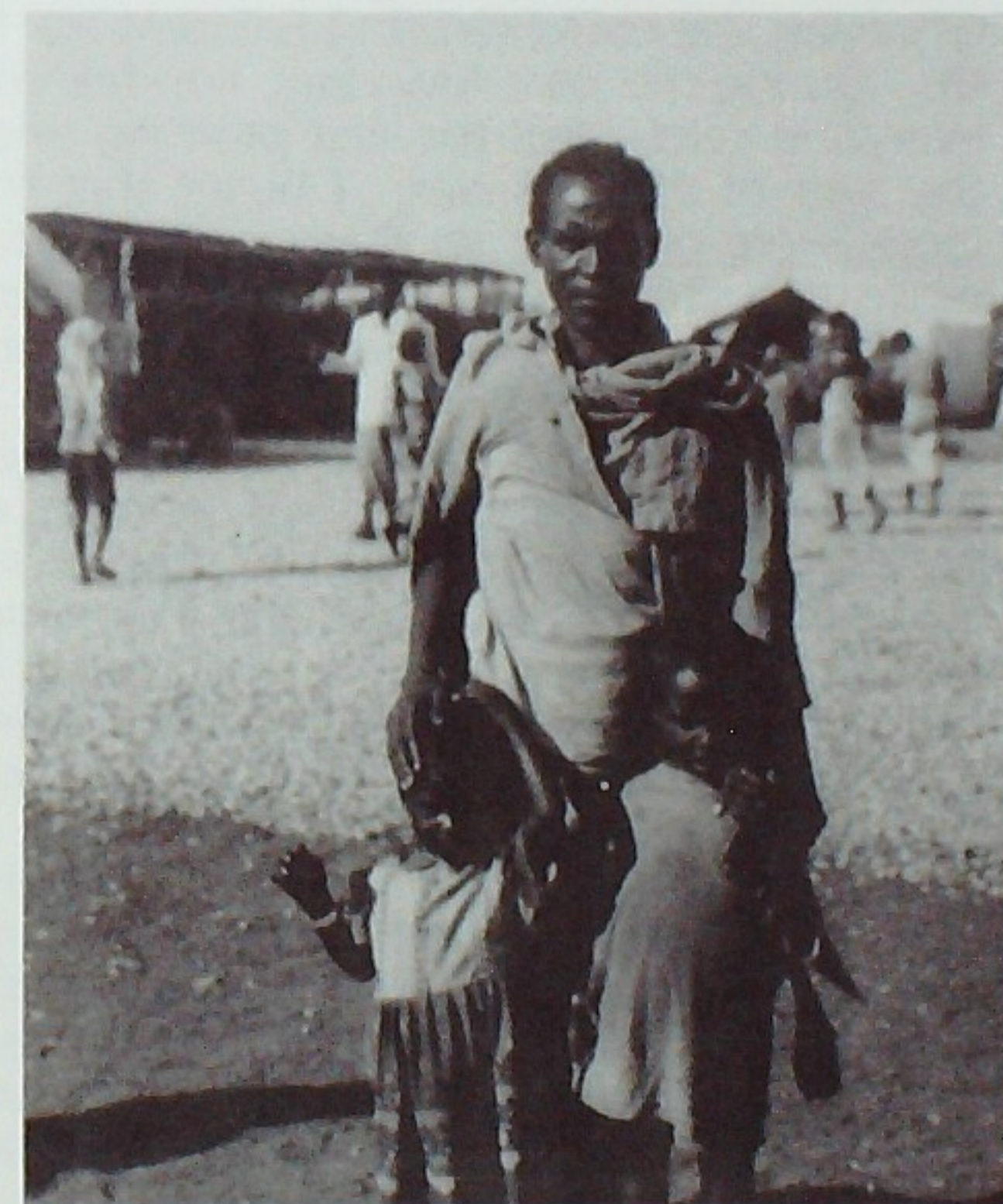
war, she had worked for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, in a high position. But as the war

had been a student of the Somali professor who was traveling with us. They were both native Maay speakers, but in Mogadishu neither had known that about the other. If your first language is Maay, you hide the fact - a stark example of the discrimination shown toward the agricultural people of southern Somalia. The professor told us Zahara had always been very smart and religious. Until the civil

intensified in Mogadishu, she had to make a decision. With a Somali passport and an open visa to Italy, Zahara had every opportunity to flee to Rome. But she also remembered her birthplace, Baidoa. She not only remained in Somalia, but returned to the area hardest hit by the civil war and ensuing famine. When she arrived in Baidoa, it was truly a city of death. Care Ireland was preparing to move out to the starving villages and Zahara joined them. She and two Irish aid workers - who are now in the southern Sudan - went to a group of villages called Haweyne. Along the roadside were the bodies of those who had tried to make it to Baidoa. The aid workers stopped to bury the dead. The road was littered with hundreds of bodies. People died where they had dropped, hoping a child or a sister or a friend would somehow make it through alive. But for each living skeleton who reached the food centers, another 10 died on the way. Zahara, who months before held a prestigious government post, was now a gravedigger. Later, I met a young man who had been a history teacher in a local secondary school. His job during the horrible months of starvation and suffering was to record the names of the dead. Day after day, the list grew longer. The work left him with nightmares.

When they finally arrived in the villages, again they were stunned by what they saw. The people had eaten everything, including their clothing. They were so hungry they couldn't even stand in line for food and swarmed the truck. Zahara was able to make order out of chaos and started setting up feeding centers. Most were so starving that at first they could not eat solids.

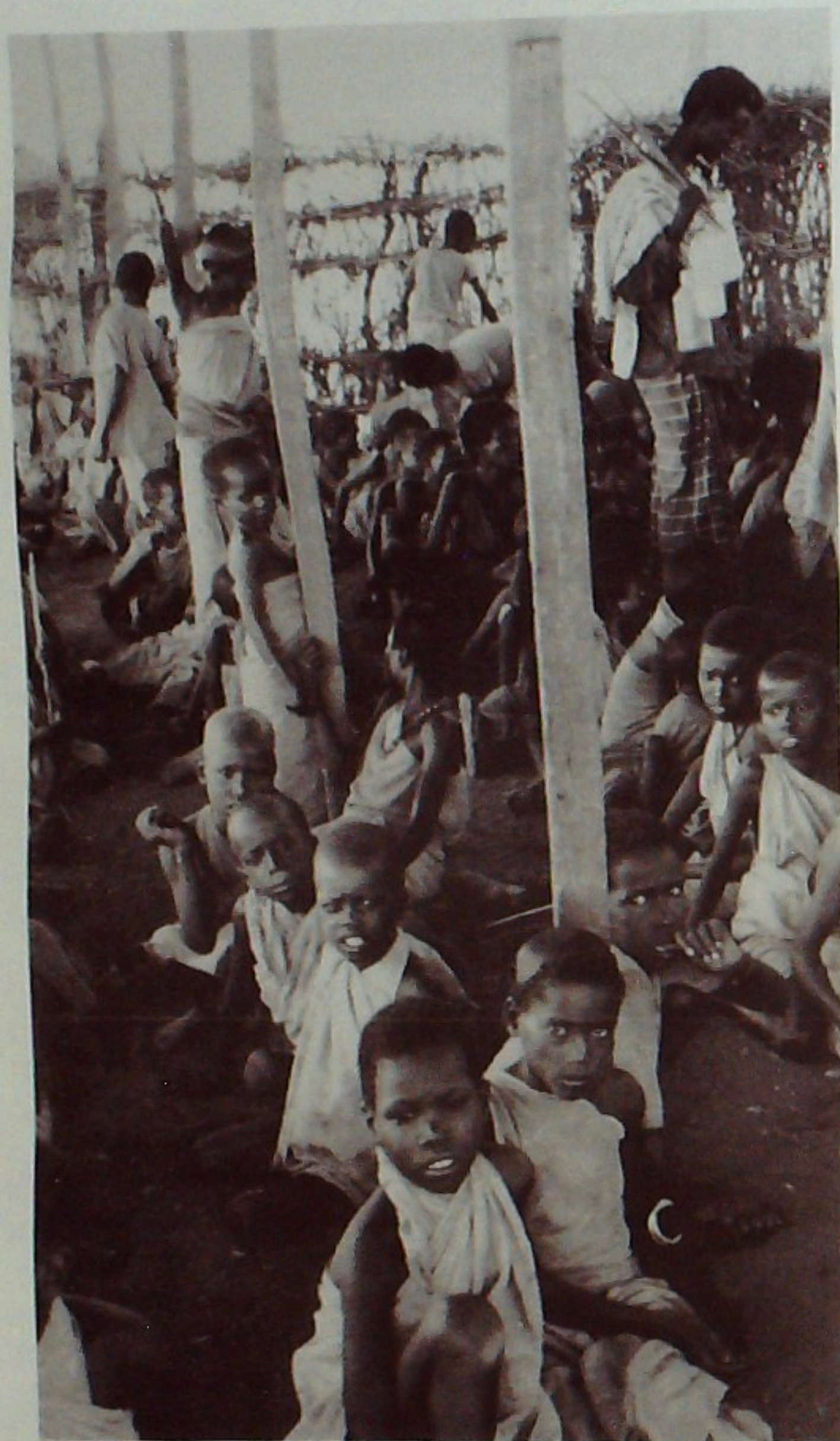
And there were many orphans. Zahara nursed them back to life, then she told each and every one of them that she was their mother - and when they saw her, they greeted her as such. She laughed as she told me she had never had a child, but now she was mother to over a hundred.



**FATHER AND TWO DAUGHTERS
LEFT FOR DEAD**

They were all he had left - and he believed he had lost them too - until Zahara intervened.

Zahara told us many stories that moved us to tears, but perhaps the most touching was the one about two little girls and their father. He, his wife, another child and the girls had walked for days, trying to find food. His wife and the other child died along the way and the father arrived at Haweyne with two tiny skeletons, barely alive. He gently set them on the ground. Zahara asked what he was doing. He said he wanted them to die in peace. She told him to bring the babies over to the feeding tent and she tenderly nursed them back to life. Two months later they were still ill, but definitely recovering. Tears filled the man's eyes and he called his daughters "the miracle children." There was pride in Zahara's eyes when she looked at the tiny girls. While they recovered their father, now landless, found bits of wood and carved beautiful spoon. He then walked 10 miles to Baidoa and sold his wares in the reviving market place. He bought little pieces of meat and walked back to Haweyne to feed them to his daughters. I watched the father bathe those little girls, with such tenderness.



**FEEDING CENTER IN HAWEYNE
BAIDOA**

We visited Haweyne with Zahara a few months after she had helped to restore life to the villages. When we arrived, she met with the elders of each village - they never made a major decision without consulting her and called her the chief. I watched her first ensure that all the women were preparing liquid full of vitamins for the children. Then she checked the water supply, chasing away youngsters and old women who wanted to use the drinking water to wash dishes. She tended the sick children and supervised the school she had set up in the village before gathering the sick youngsters for a ride to the hospital in Baidoa.

Zahara's work started at 6 a.m. and finished late at night. I asked her why she stayed. She answered with another question: "How could I leave?" Some day in the future she would like to be an ambassador, she said, but for now she just wanted to do whatever she could to bring Baidoa back to life. During the next few days, rain fell and everyone celebrated the first planting since the start of the civil war. I heard that the crops were plentiful, so there is hope. But while the situation in Mogadishu remains unchanged, Zahara and all in Baidoa face an uncertain future.

The Western media has portrayed the African woman, the Somali woman, as the helpless girl beaten by her brother for consorting with French soldiers, a starving, passive skeleton burying her children, or a super-star model whose main claim to fame is her marriage to rock legend David Bowie. The African woman, the Somali woman, is shown as the victim, the passive creature, the erotic symbol. And now, with the

publication of Alice Walker's new book and her documentary shown around the country, the feeding frenzy over female circumcision has added another stroke to the neo, post-literate rewrite of Kipling. Only this time the "white man's burden" has become the "victimized" African woman who needs "salvation" by western feminists. Somehow, strong dedicated African women like Zahara don't fit the western media's stereotypes - and their stories are never told.

Editor's Note

We are glad to welcome a growing international readership to our audience, representing such diverse regions as Somalia, Somaliland, Djibouti, the United Kingdom, Holland, and the United Arab Emirates as well as numerous universities in the United States.

IFTIN is now beginning to include articles covering the entire Horn of Africa, bringing a more regional perspective to our magazine. We welcome writers from these areas to contribute to IFTIN.

IFTIN is entirely supported by donations from readers like yourselves. As the editors and contributors receive no remunerative compensation, 100% of donations are applied to the publishing of the magazine. If you would like to make a contribution, please send it to the address below.

Thank You,

Mohamed Sudi Adan
Editor

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On September 4th and 5th 1993, IFTIN magazine with the help of the Somali community in Connecticut (U.S.) organized a Somali Soccer tournament and fashion show.

The event was very successful, with about 200 Somalis now living in California, Canada, and New England gathering together. Our camera captured some of the moments.



IFTIN Soccer Games

IFTIN would like to thank the Somali community in Connecticut for their help, and our guests for travelling to share the event with us. Special thanks to Mohamed Yusuf Darwish who organized the tournament, and to Abdulrazaq Ismail Geede and Hussien Haji Usman for helping as a DJ and equipment manager at the fashion show. Special thanks to singer Yusuf Mohamed Hussien, Amina Ali Shoker for organizing the fashion show, and for the fashion show work crew: Afrah Farah, Huda Abdi Farah, Hodo Abdi Farah, Khadar Hirsi, Zainab Sulaiman, Yasmin Usman, Aidarous Musa, Ahmad Farah, Abdul-Aziz farah, and Yusuf Hussien.



IFTIN Fundraising Event

Maxaa keenay Khilaafaadkii iyo Kala duwanaashihii Aragtiyeed ee Somaliland

Cumar Abdi Ahmed, Burco Somaliland



Khilaafaadkii siyaasadeed, caskari iyo bulsho ee ummada Somaliland, la soo dersey labadii sanno iyo badhkii ay jirtay guud ahaan waa agabyo gun dheer, oo aan ka salgaadhidooda sahal lagu helayn, waxaanay layihiin jihooyin iyo masaadiir kala gadisan, oo ay qarkood so taxnaayeen illaa Rubuc Qarni.

Hadaba innagu waxaynu diirada saarayanaa khilaafaadyadaas kooda bulsho iyo sidii uu ku yimi, oo koleyba aynaan ka wada bogan karin, aynuse was ka iftiimin karayno.

Waxaa jirta fikrad ay Filosuufyadii hore ee Yuhuudu keeneen, oo ahayd, hadii Ummad la baabiinayo, Tiirarka ay ku taagan tahay ayaa laga burburiyaa, sida dhaqanka, xishoodka iyo Diinta. Hadaba tan meesha ku jirta ee aan si fudud looga bogsan karini, waa xaaladii xannuunka badnayd ee ku timi dhaqankii Somaaliyeed guud ahaan, kana soo jeeda Nidaamkii kelitaliska qofeed, ee wax ku xukuma hab maamul argagixin ah, musuq iyo bah-gooyada reereed iyo qalaasihii dumiyey dhismahii bulshada, Ummadnimadeedii iyo gobanimadeedii dhinac kasta oo ay ahaydba.

Tan xanuunka leh ee halkan lagu soo qaadan karaa waa himilooyinkii wacnaa ee ummadnimada loogu hiranaayey, caqligii waxgaradka ahaa, aqoontii cilmiyeed iyo farsamo oo gidiba dabkoodii la bakhtiyey, dhinaca kalena waa qiimayntii dadnimada ee wacnayd iyo anshixii bulsheed oo ba'ay, waxaana ka dhashay inay qofka, siiba waxgaradkii dadka iyo aqoontiisii iyo garashadiiba is waayaan, isaga iyo waxqabadkiisii is kala baadiyoobaan.

Qaskii iyo Qalalaasihii ka soo jirey dalkii Soomaaliya mudada dheer iyo heerkii uu gaadhay burburkii bulsho ee kadhashay ayaa maanta sabab u ah caqligi dadku inuu kala go'doomo, in dareenkood is waayo oo ay duunka iska nacaan, sida koonfur ka taagan, sidaasi ayey ku noqotay in lagu kala fogaado

Aragtida laga qabo dunida lagu noolyahay iyo waxa ka socda ama ka dhacaya, in laysku diido aalaha xiligan iyo dhibaatooyinka burburka bulshadu ay ku jirto, iyo maxaa wacay iyo maxaa dawo u ahaba, in arraga, garashada iyo qiimayntu is buriso, oo hiryigu kala jeedo, illaa xad ay gaadhey sida bulshadii

koonfureed in la waayo himilo iyo yool lagu wada hirto iyo ula jeedo lagu kulmo iyo qiyam anshax dadnimada oo la wada xeerayo, isku sina loo dhowro.

Sidaas awgeed miyaan la odhan karin bulshada Somaliland, inkastoo ay aad isu banbaanisay, haddana boogihii qaarkood way ku sii daba leeyihiin. Waaqica nolol bulsheed ee sidaas ahi, wuxu ku yimi oo geedkiisu ka beermay awoodii caqliga, carabka iyo ficilkii waxqabashada dadka, oo xadhig adag lagu jebiyey, god dheerna lagu riday, oo gagaab culus lagu daboolay, waxa keenay aaya-xumada bulsheed waa xuriyad la'aan iyo dimuqraadiyad la'aan, waana taladii dalka oo dadkii lahaa laga xarimay, waa iyadoo la damiyey tamartii midho dhalka ahayd ee wadarta bulsheed, loogana dhaartay dhaqdhaqaaq xor ah oo maskaxeed, kaasoo looga saldhigo baaxada weyn ee ummadda iyo dhismaha guud, oo si nabad u maarayn lahaa dhibaato kasta oo la soo derista ummada, midnimada garaadkeedana illaalin lahayd.

Markiise ay weydey taa ayey kala baadiyowdey. Taa awgeed wacyi dadnimada iyo mid ummadnimada waxaa saaray oo buuxiyey meeshoodii wacyigii ficiltanka qabiilo iyo intii uu lahaa ee ahayd hiilida xigtanimada abtirsiiinta dhiigga ah ee aan kala sooci jirin xaqa iyo xaqdarada, taasoo ula soo baxday wixii dhalankeedu ahaa ee lagu yiqiin oo qabiil, laf, reer iyo goys intaba ku aroorisay, oo ula gashey hungiri iyo iska danaysi keli qofeed. Hadaba dhibaatooyinkaas iyo kuwa kaleba ay yihiin kuwa weli raad ku sii leh bulshadii iyo qoyskii Somaliland, bal aynu eegno dhinac kele ee nimanka siyaasiyiinta ama indheer aragtada loo yaqaan, oo iyagu toodu ay layaab noqon karto waayo waxaad ku arkaysaa oo ku badan, siiba kuwooda jaamicadaha aduunka hore u maray ka soo baxay, ee hadana caqligooddu ugu guray heer nololeedkii ay bulshadu ka soo hayaantay ee ka kortay

.Layaabkuna waa sida maankoodu isaga hor imaanayo ee weliba laba iyo kabadan u kala yaalo.

Sababta taa siyaasiyiinta ku keentayna waxa ay tahay, waxaa dhexdiisa ku hirdamaya laba wacyi oo is burinaya: Kan hore oo la xidhiidha tacliinta iyo aqoonta casriga ah ee xadaarada aduunka maanta laga kasbaday, taasi tiyoori ahaan ay ku dabaqaan afkaartooda guud, iyo ka labaad oo la xidhiidha caqliga dib-u-guurka ah ee ay dabaqaan afkaarta xintanka qabyaaladeed iyo habdhaqankeeda shirqoolka ahba, marka ay ka hadlayaan waayaha Somaliland iyo loolankeeda siyaasadeed.

Kuwaasina sida garaadkoodu igu lumay abaartii tosneyd ee u geyn lahayd garashada heerka nolosho bulshada iyo socotadeeda taariikheed, ayey dhankooda ugu qayb qaateen huruntii mushkiladaha Somaliland la kowsatay.

Waxaan ka soo xiganay qoraalkan wargeyska Xog Ogaal Burco, Somaliland.

SUUGAAN IYO DHAQAN

Waxaynu qaybta sugaanta iyo dhaqanka ku soo qaadaynaa qayb taxane ah oo aanu ku xusi doono halgeygii weynaa Musa Galaal.

Musa Xaaji Ismaail Galaal (Musa Galal) wuxuu ahaa abwaan, xidaar, hoobal, gabyaa, iyo caalim. Ku xeel dheeraa suugaanta, dhaqanka iyo xiddigiska.

Waxaan ku soo qaadan doonaa cadadkayaga dambe guulihii uu Musa Galaal soo hooyey, iyo halgankii uu u galay midaynkii iyo meelmarintii dhaqankiisa.

GABAY

Ali Sugule

*Geeridu xaq weeyoo horaa loo garwaaqsaday
Geyigii ilaahay haddii moodku kugu gaaday
waa goobtuu Nabigii ku dilay oo gunaanadaye
guri hooye aaskaagu waa galab aayalahe
waa gaar ahaan iyo xasuus mudan goonni ah
waana guud ahaan iyo xus aan ebed gaboobayne
giddigeed aduunyadu intii geesi lagu faanay*

*gocasho iyo magac baa ka hadha gobbi u aydaaye
waad gudatey Muusow xilkii kula gudboonaaye
guushii ifkiyo iyo aakhiraba lagu gudoonsiye
goldalooladeenii kuwii kula gorfaynwaayey
ee nolosha kugu gabbay ayaa taagan goonyaha e
markaad guurtay bay leeyihiin ina Galaalowe
haddii geel ilmihii korsado gobbina meecaaddo
gabadhii ku mahmahay waa gaari la hubaaye
Marhadaanad geerida horteed geesiga aqoonsan
goblen weeye Somaaliyeey garashadaadaye.*

Ali Suggulle, wuxuu gabeygan ka tiriyey aaskii
Muusa Galal

GABAY

Moxamed Ibrahim Warsame(Hadrawi)
26/12/82.

*Godku wuxuu canaantaa
ama golol ku ciilaa
go'a qudha ku diirtaa
ama badi guhaadshaa
hadba giir u kiciyaa
gaafaha ku laastaa
geesaha ku feedhaa
gibilkooda loogaa
gumgumaha ku sooraa
giiryaala - yaashoo
goblan baa xijaabtee miyuu geesi hoydaa
garashadu wed leedahay?*

*Gabagebada sheekada
hambalyada Galaalow
waxan kugu gelbinayaa
marti soorka gacalkiyo
geenyedii abaalkiyo
mahad aan gaboobayn*

*Guntigaagu waa sharaf
goonyahaagu waa nuur
gogoshaadu waa nabad
guushana dadkayska leh
dalka geesigiisiyo
galladana adaa mudan.*

BAAQ

*Adigoon cirka ubixin
ama boodin leexada
Ama badaha waaweyn
nafta aan ku biimayn
Paris adoon tagin
ama Bonn ka sheekayn
barashada dhulkaaga
horta laga bogtaayoo
beryo laysku hawlaa*

*Dhulku baaxad sooriyo
banan midhan weeyan
ama waa boodh iyo oon
ninka buug ku haystow
beentaada weeyaan*

*Balcad Jawhar Shalambood iyo
Barakada qoryooley
waxaa canab bislaadee
Baydhaba u Gaartahay
Boosaaso iyo Beer
Bixin duule laalays
Batalaale xeebtii
biyo Guure Kalabaydh
Beeraha Wajaalee
lagu reebay gaajada
Baardheere iyo jilib
waa boqol kun oo mayl
dhulka lagu badhaadhee
beeyadu ku taalee
badar lagu abuuuree
lagu riday bariiskee
balka lagu tallaalee
muuskayo babaygii
barkadeen xareedoo
waxaa taa ka sii badan
dhulka barisamaadkee
beesheenu daaqdee
barta aynu dhagannaa
barqo dhereg ku joogtee
iyadoo barwaaqo ah
balliyadu xareeddii*

*ku bariisanaysoo
bidix midig dhan loo dayo
barigiyo galbeedkaba
buuruhu is haystaan
waaberi cadceeddii
soo saartay baallaha
bilcilkiyo maraagii
indhiiu basaasow
Boorame ma aragteen?*

*Ma ogtahay barbaaray
heesaha James Brown tumo
adigoon bogga u lulin
beerey kabeebey
bismillahi saylici
hana-haybsantii bari
batar iyo wareegtaa
kuu baadi soocee*

*Ma ogtahay barbaaray
qalabkana bud dhumucliyo
waran iyo billaawaa
kuu baada soocee*

*Ma ogtahay barbaaray
Huga maro banaadiri
seddex qayd bidhaantiyo
bafto labo dhudoodaa
kuu baadi soocee*

*Ma ogtahay Barbaaray
waxa loo buseelaa
ama qurux ku caan baxay
ama laysku baantaa
ama lagu bogsoodaa
kal bugtaa ku faydaa
kugu deeqaa baashaal
guri bila ku magac dheer
hablaheenna bilicdiyo
bilig iyo ilwaadka leh*

*Bilcaanti shisheeya ah
ninkii beegsanaayow
waxaan kaaga baqayaa
inaad baadi noqetee
cidla baylah keligaa
yaanu bahalku kaa helin
isu buri geyaankaa
barta gogashu kuu taal
bahda lagama maarmaan
bud-dhigaaga koowaad
baaqaygu waa kaa*

Mohamed Ibrahim Warsame(Hadrawi)
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