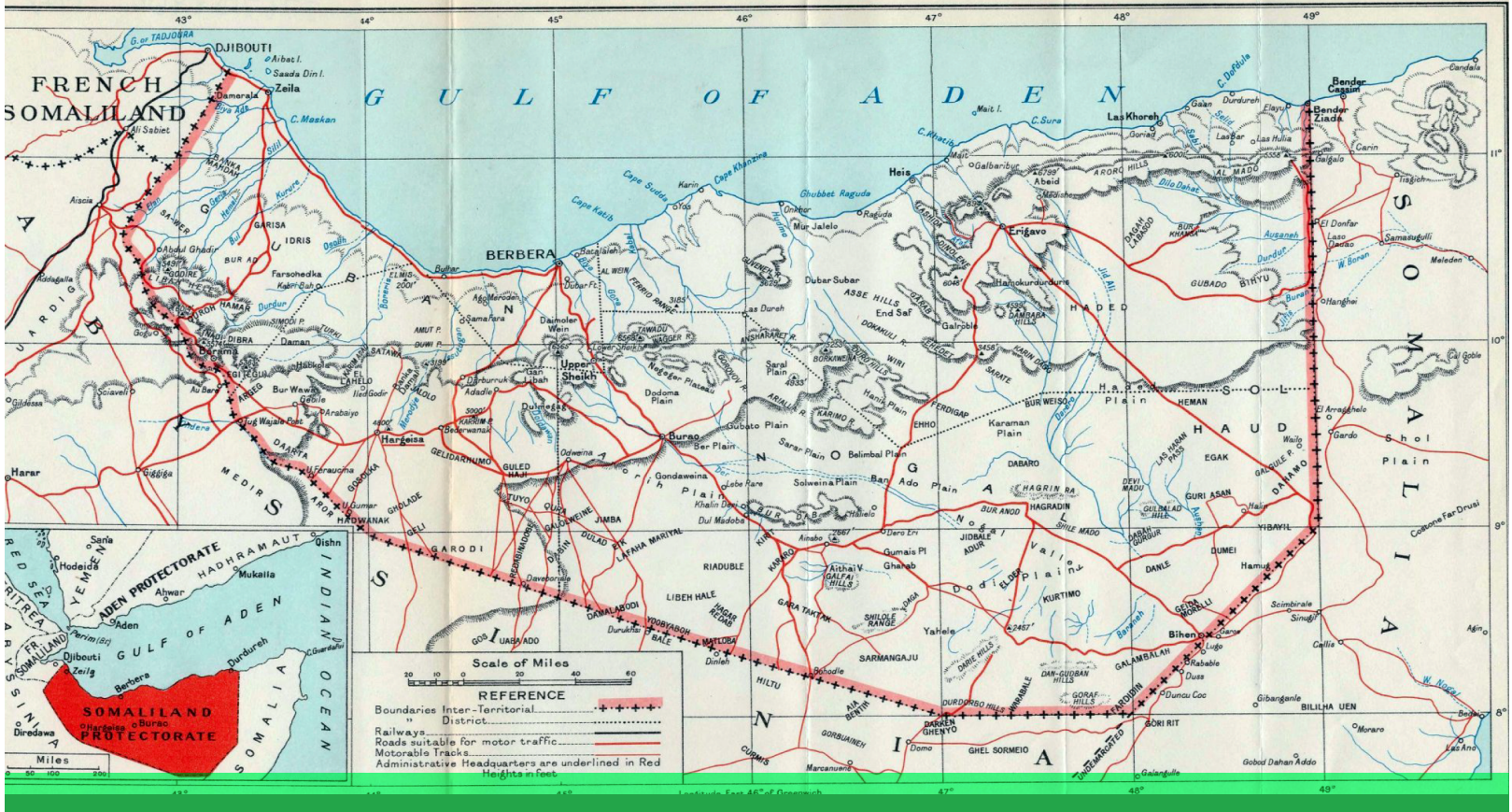




# REPUBLIC OF SOMALILAND

## Country Profile 2021



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CHAPTER

1

# GOVERNMENT

# 1. GOVERNMENT



**T**he government of Somaliland comprises legislative, executive, and judicial branches – each of which counterchecks the other but does not have a direct overarching jurisdiction over the other paving the way for a system of check-and-balance. The legislative comprises a bicameral parliament breaking into the house of elders, ‘Guurti’ or (Upper House of Parliament) and the Lower House which is called the House of Representatives. Each of the two houses has 82 members.

The Guurti was born with the rebirth of the Republic and the restoration of its lost sovereignty in 1991 as an extension of the Elders’ Council that adjudicated social and judicial matters during the emancipation years in Ethiopia in the mid and late-80s. The first elected members of the House of Representatives took their oath in 2005 following a one-person, one-vote election which decided who was to represent the constituents.

The Executive Branch is headed by a President and a Vice President who are popularly elected on one of three national political parties’ tickets. His Excellency President Musa Bihi Abdi, elected in late 2017, presently heads the state. H.E. Abdirahman Abdullahi Ismail ‘Zeili’i is the Vice President. The current government is the fifth in the 29-year history of the Republic and the third elected on the one-person, a one-vote democratic system with each government handing over reins of government to the next, succeeding administration peacefully and without rift or rancor.

## 1.0. Country Name

Republic of Somaliland (Jamhuuriyadda Somaliland).

## 1.1. Short Form

Somaliland.

## 1.2. Government type

Presidential Republic

## 1.3. Demonym

Somalilander(s).

## 1.4. Capital

Hargeisa (alternate spelling: Hargeysa).

## 1.5. Major Cities

Hargeisa, Burao, Borama, Berbera, Las Anod, and Erigavo.

## 1.6. Independence

Somaliland officially attained its independence from Britain on June 26, 1960.

## 1.7. Restoration of Sovereignty

The Republic of Somaliland restored its sovereignty on 18 May 1991 withdrawing from the unlawful merger with Somalia. The decision was made by the Grand Conference of Clan Elders held in Burao from 27 April to 15 May 1991. It was later supported by the Somaliland Public after the referendum was held that affirmed Somaliland's reinstating sovereignty from Somalia as a separate independent sovereign state where 97.1 % voted in favor of the reclaimed sovereignty.

## 1.8. Public Holidays

No	Description	Number of Days
1	Eid al Fitri	2 days
2	Eid al Adha	2 days
3	Maulid un Nabi	1 day
4	Muslim New Year	1 day
5	Lailatul Isra Wal Mi'raj	1day
6	International Labour Day	1 day
7	Somaliland Re assertion of independence, 18 May	2 days
8	Somaliland 1960 Independence Day	1 day
9	Gregorian Calendar New Year, 1 January	1 day

## 1.9. Flag description

The flag of the Republic of Somaliland consists of three horizontal, parallel stripes: green, white and red from top to bottom with the Islamic *Shahada* inscribed on the green and a black, five-pointed star centred on the white, middle stripe.



## 1.10. National Emblem

The emblem, set off by a circular yellow background, consists of a coffee-colored falcon sitting below two scales and at the bottom of which are two hands clasped in a handshake. Starting from an intertwined knot at the bottom two, open-ended laurels branch off upwards on either side of the scales and the falcon. The *Bismillah* in Arabic closes the gap at the top of the laurels and the words *Allahu Akbar* (Allah is Great) are inscribed on the chest of the falcon.



## 1.11. National Anthem

The Republic of Somaliland National anthem - 'Samo ku waar' (Live in Eternal Peace)<sup>1</sup> - was composed by the late great playwright and songwriter, Hassan Sheikh Mumin.

1. [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=y2LrS\\_aPxxg](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=y2LrS_aPxxg)



## 1.12. Constitution

The Constitution of the Republic of Somaliland was adopted by the House of Representatives on 30 April 2000. It replaced a National Charter that has served as the principal guiding document since it was passed in 1993 at the Borama conference. Subsequently, the political system of Somaliland has had this transition from clans elected representatives to popular elections. And it was the historic year of 2001, when the national referendum was held, in which 97% of voters, who turned out in large numbers, not only ratified the national constitution but also reaffirmed the decision for Somaliland to reinstate its sovereign nation-state.

## 1.13. Judicial system

The National Constitution defines the country's judicial system as: "*The state [180] shall have a judicial branch whose function is to adjudicate on proceedings between the Government and the public and between the various members of the public (Article 97 (1), which also establishes the Supreme Court, Appellate courts of the regions, regional courts, district courts and the courts of the national armed forces.*

## 1.14. Political Parties

The Republic of Somaliland's Constitution permits three national political parties which are currently Kulmiye (ruling party), UCID and WADDANI – the two opposition parties.





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CHAPTER

2

# GEOGRAPHY

## 2. GEOGRAPHY

### 2.0. Location:

East Africa (Also, referred to as the Horn of Africa)

### 2.1. Geographical Coordinates:

The Republic of Somaliland is situated in the Horn of Africa. The territory of the Republic of Somaliland covers the same area as that of the former Somaliland Protectorate and is located between Latitude 8' to 11' 30' north of the equator and Longitude 42' 45 to 49' East; and consists of the land, islands, and territorial water above and below the surface, the airspace, and the continental shelf.

### 2.2. Land boundaries:

The Republic of Somaliland is bounded by the Red Sea - Gulf of Aden – to the north; Somalia to the east; the Federal Republic of Ethiopia to the south and the west; and the Republic of Djibouti to the northwest. Somaliland is positioned along the Gulf of Aden near the entrance to the Bab al-Mandeb, a major sea-lane through which almost one-third of the world's shipping passes.<sup>2</sup>

#### 2.2.1. Border Treaties and Demarcations

The country's boundaries were amply defined by, respectively, the Anglo-French Treaty of 1888, Anglo-Italian Protocol of 1894, and the Anglo-Ethiopian treaty of 1897. The Djibouti–Somaliland boundary was established by the Anglo–French agreement of February 2–9, 1888, as follows:<sup>3</sup>

*The protectorates exercised, or to be exercised by France and Great Britain shall be separated by a straight line starting from a point on the coast situated opposite the wells of Hadou [at Loyada], and leading through the said wells to Abassouen; from Abassouen the line shall follow the caravan road as far as Bia-Kabouba, and from this latter point it shall follow the caravan route from Zeyla [Zeila] to Harrar [Harer] passing by Gildessa [Jaldesa]. It is expressly agreed that the use of the wells of Hadou shall be common to both parties.*

The Anglo-Ethiopian Treaty of 1897 (sometimes called the Rodd Treaty) was an agreement negotiated between diplomat Sir Rennell Rodd of Great Britain and Emperor Menelik II of Ethiopia primarily involving border issues between Ethiopia and British Somaliland. It was signed on 14 May 1897 in order to “strengthen and render more effective and profitable the friendship between the two kingdoms”, according to its preamble.<sup>4</sup>

The Treaty consisted of several articles, the second of which defined the geographical boundaries between Ethiopia and British Somaliland. Between 1932 and 1935,<sup>5</sup> an Anglo–Ethiopian boundary commission demarcated the British Somaliland–Ethiopia boundary. The tripoint – Madaha Djalelo – was decided from the context of the Anglo-French agreement of 1888, the Ethiopian–French Convention of 1897, and the Anglo–Ethiopian treaty of 1897.

The eastern border with Somalia took shape through a series of treaties known as the British-Italian Protocol between 1891 and 1894. The delimitation of the ‘spheres of influence of Great Britain and Italy in Eastern Africa’ was signed at Rome, Italy, on the 24th March, and the 15th April 1891.

<sup>2</sup> <https://www.ft.com/content/8c33eefc-f6c1-11e5-803c-d27c7117d132>

<sup>3</sup> Djibouti – Somalia Boundary, *International Boundary Study*, May 18, 1979; *The Geographer Office of the Geographer, Bureau*

<sup>4 - 5</sup> G. T. M. (1937) *Anglo-Ethiopian (Somaliland) Boundary Commission, 1932-5, Empire Survey Review*, 4:26, 225-230, Doi:

The Plenipotentiaries representing the two sides decided that:

*The boundary of the spheres of influence of Great Britain and of Italy in the regions of the Gulf of Aden shall be constituted by a line which, starting from Gildessa and running towards the 8th degree of north latitude, skirts the north-east frontier of the territories of the Girrhi, Bertiri, and Ber Ali tribes, leaving to the right the villages of Gildessa, Darmi, Gig-giga, and Milmil. On reaching the 8th degree of north latitude the line follows that parallel as far as its intersection with the 48th degree of longitude east of Greenwich. It then runs to the intersection of the 9th degree of north latitude with the 49th degree of longitude east of Greenwich, and follows that meridian of longitude to the sea.<sup>6</sup>*

In 1929 the two governments of Britain and Italy decided to carry out the actual demarcation of the two areas under their respective influence and work commenced in September of that year.<sup>7</sup> The British government proposed that a more accurate mapping, following the lines previously agreed upon, be done initially from the air which the Italian government agreed to.

### 2.3. Country Area:

110,000 Square Miles or 177,000 Square Km.

### 2.4. Area - comparative:

An area slightly larger than England and Wales combined. It is about the size of Uruguay (177,125 Sq. Km) which ranks 89th in a list of 195 world nations<sup>8</sup>.

### 2.5. Topography

Somaliland consists of three topographic zones: coastal plain (Guban), mountain range (Oogo) and plateau (Hawd). The Coastal plain "Guban" is between the sea and the mountain range known as "Golis". This is a narrow and dry strip of land the coast and is very hot hence the name 'Guban', meaning "the burnt" in Somali.

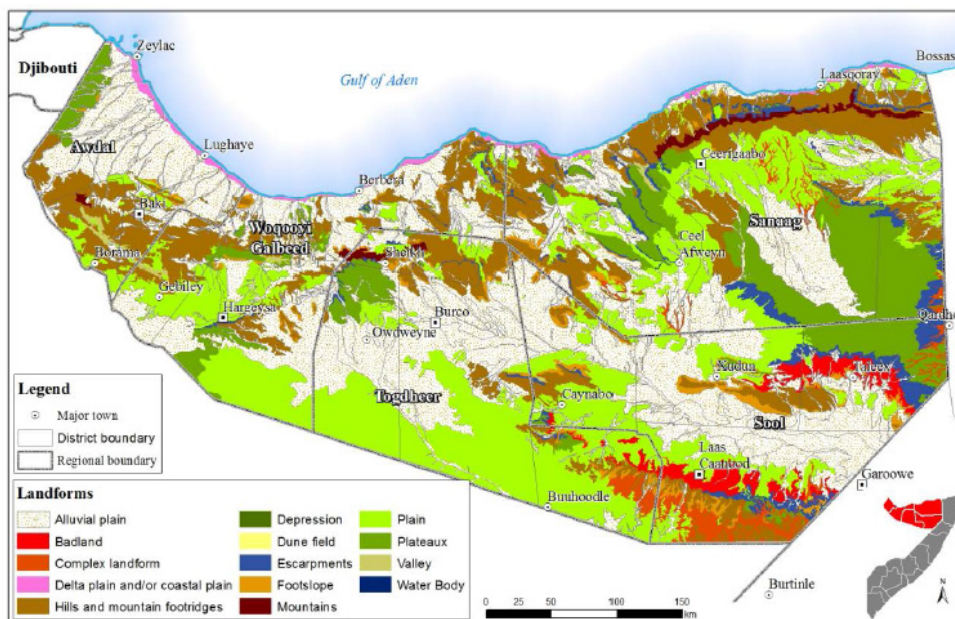


Figure2: Land Map of Somaliland

6. *The Anglo-Italian Somaliland Boundary*, By J. H. Stafford and C. L. Collette, *The Geographical Journal* Vol. 78, No 7.-8 *World Statistics [sorted by Area]*, [https://data.mongabay.com/igapo/world\\_statistics\\_by\\_area.htm](https://data.mongabay.com/igapo/world_statistics_by_area.htm)

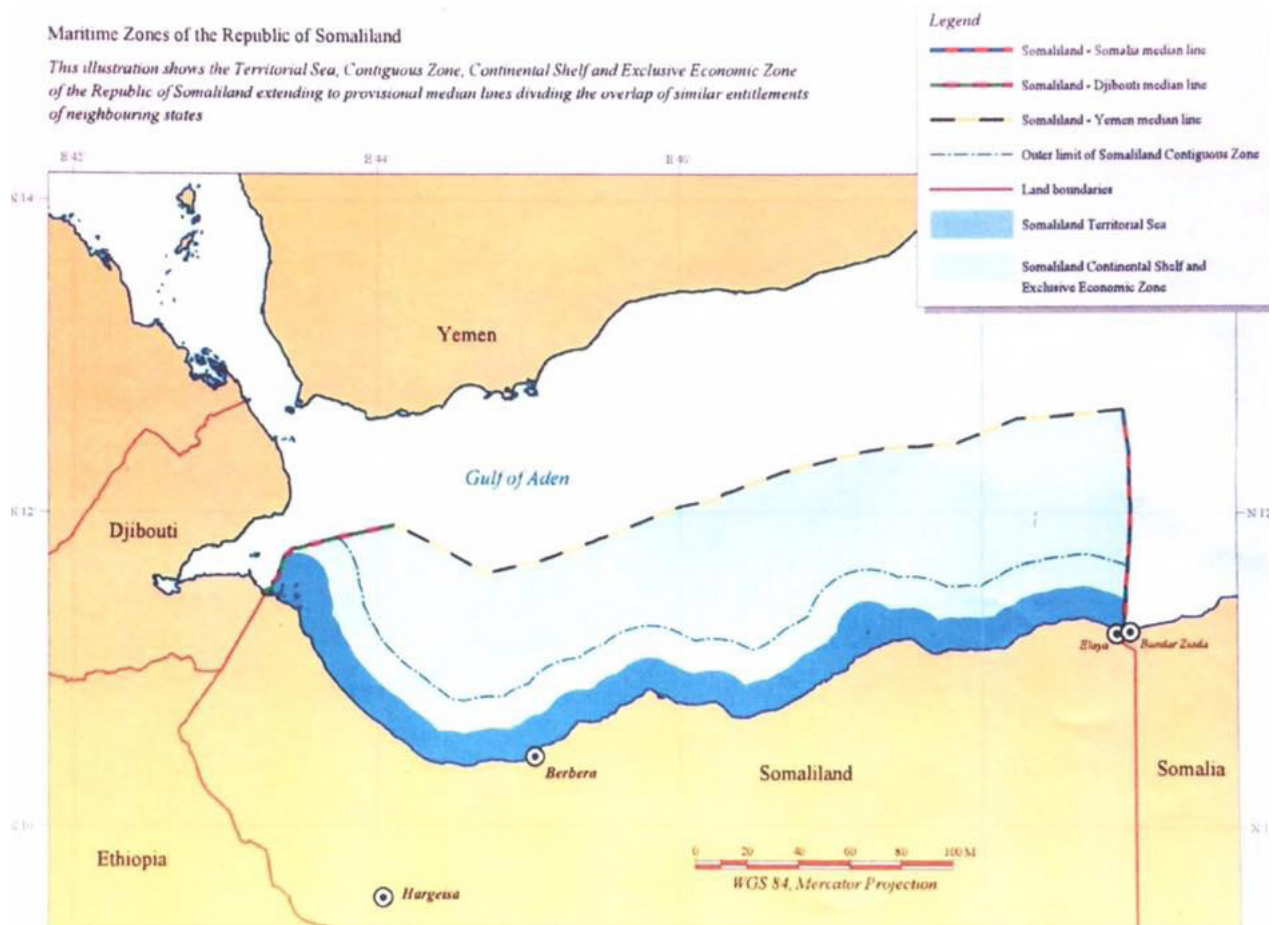
Guban gets narrower towards the East and wider towards the West. The Golis range (Oogo) is the escarpment south of Guban zone and runs along the coastal lines in the North of the country, where the highest peak known as Surad rises up to 2,633 m (7000 ft) above sea Level..

## 2.6. Coastline:

The Somaliland coast lies north of the equator, between latitude 10.0N and latitude 11.0N and between longitudes 43.15/E and longitude 49.0E in the Gulf of Aden. It stretches 856km with an Exclusive Economic Zone (EEZ) area of approximately 70,000 sq.km.

## 2.7. Maritime Zone:

The four main zones Somaliland has an international right to command are: (a) a territorial sea that extends twelve nautical miles seaward from delineated baselines; (b) a contiguous zone that extends beyond the seaward limit of territorial sea to a distance of 24 nm; (c) a continental shelf that extends 200 nautical miles seaward from its baselines, subject to delimitation with states having overlapping maritime claims in accordance with international law; and (d) An exclusive economic zone that equally extends 200 nautical miles seaward from its baselines subject to delimitation with states having overlapping maritime claims in accordance with international law.



**Figure 1:** Maritime Zone of the Republic of Somaliland

## 2.8. Climate:

Somaliland is classified into three main climatic zones across the regions. These include; (a) desert zone mainly along the coastal belt, (b) very arid zone in the central and western areas and (c) semi-arid zone in the lower parts of Awdal and present-day Maroodijeex. The latter areas receive the best rainfall up to 500 to 600 mm per year, Togdheer, Sool and Sanaag regions come next with rainfall values of 100 to 400 mm per year. The coastal belt and a small pocket of the area south of Sool region are characterized by very low rainfall with values less than 100 mm per year.<sup>9</sup>

Somaliland is subject to four seasons each lasting three months. Winter (Jiilaal) is a dry season occurring from December to mid-March. Spring (Gu') is the long rainy season, lasting from late March to mid-June. Summer (Xagaa) is the third season and occurs from late June to mid-September. Autumn or fall (Dayr) is another rainy season but is much less bountiful than the spring season in many parts of the country, especially the west which is compensated by 'Karan' showers in winter.

## 2.9. Coastal Climate:

It is arid and hot most of the time, while precipitation is less than 50mm annually. Water Temperature is 21C in January & 37C in October. Two monsoon winds are experienced annually. Southwest monsoon blows June to September, while Northeast blows October to March.

## 2.10. Land Use

Only 3 percent of the land is, currently, used for crop production, and a further 7 percent is potentially arable.<sup>10</sup> Around 60% of the land is used purely for grazing including transhumance pastoralism and about 40% for crop production where rain-fed agriculture is practiced.



**Figure 2:** Land under agricultural use in Wajaale Valley of Somaliland

9. Territorial diagnostic report of the land resources of Somaliland (2016), FAO, SWALIM

10. Territorial diagnostic report of the land resources of Somaliland (2016), FAO, SWALIM





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CHAPTER

3

# DEMOGRAPHICS

## 3. DEMOGRAPHICS

### 3.1 Population:

Overall population can be deduced from area specific computations made of population distribution in the different regions of the Republic adding up to 5.7 million.<sup>11</sup>

### 3.2 Population Growth rate

The latest UNFA / Somaliland Ministry of Health survey (MoHD/UNFPA 2020)<sup>12</sup> establishes that the population of Somaliland is growing by 2.93% Other sources quote different figures: Population Data (3.14%), ranking it as 126th in world populations.

A 2018 study conducted by the International Livestock Research Institute (ILRI), however, chooses to differ by stating that ‘Somaliland faces a high population growth estimated at 4.3% per annum’. This growth is much higher in urban areas, where it reaches approximately 20% per year in Hargeisa (MoNP&D 2011)<sup>13</sup>

### 3.3. Population Density

Population estimates survey (PESS) of 2014 estimates 22 persons per /km<sup>2</sup>. However, PopulationData.net (March 2019) puts population density at 28.27 inhabitants / km<sup>2</sup>.

### 3.4. Death rate

A CIA Fact book (2017), which does not distinguish between Somaliland- and Somalia-specific demographics estimates that there are 13.1 deaths to 1,000 persons of the population.

### 3.5. Fertility Rate<sup>14</sup>

- a) TFR in rural areas : 6.1 children per woman
- b) TFR in urban areas: 5.0 children per woman
- c) Average TFR in Somaliland : 5.5 children per woman

The total fertility rate is highest among women from the poorest quintile, 6.7 children per woman. Women from the richest quintile have the lowest TFR, 4.3 children per women.

### 3.6. Life expectancy

According to the Ministry of Health Development, life expectancy for males is 54 and 57 for females

<sup>11</sup> An international population estimates formula was used to arrive at this figure/  $Present\ Population = Past\ Population (1 + growth\ rate)^n = 650,000 (1 + 0.032)^{69} = 5,712,319$  or 5.7 million (650,000 being the Somaliland population as per the 1959 Census)

<sup>12</sup> 7 The Somaliland Health and Demographic Survey 2020

<sup>13</sup> The dynamics of natural resources in Somaliland—Implications for livestock production, Catherine Pfeifer, Todd A. Crane, Lawrence Mugunieri, et al, International Livestock Research Institute (ILRI), 2018

<sup>14</sup> Somaliland Gender Booklet, Central Statistics Department, Ministry of Planning and National Development

### 3.7. Literacy rate

Average literacy rate for adults above 15 years of age is estimated at 48.0%.<sup>15</sup> Literacy rates were highest for the youth aged 15-24 who had literacy rates of 74% for males and 55% for females. The literacy rate tends to decline as age increases beyond 24 years. On aggregate, about 37% of males and 35% of females have completed secondary education as their highest grade completed. Additionally, about 3 in 10 males and 2 in 10 females have a university education. The largest share of the remaining proportion of persons has an upper primary or lower primary education.<sup>16</sup>

### 3.8. Language

Article 6 of the Constitution of the Republic of Somaliland defines the primary language of the country as 'Somali'. Arabic is adopted as a second language, adding that 'other languages shall be used, when necessary'

### 3.9. Religion

Islam is the official religion of the Somaliland Republic as Article 5 of the country's constitution stipulates. Article 33 (1), however, grants both citizens and non-citizens the right to belief in the creed of their choice: *'Every person shall have the right to freedom of belief, and shall not be compelled to adopt another belief. Islamic Sharia does not accept that a Muslim person can renounce his beliefs.'*

### 3.10. Net migration rate

These statistics were published by the UN International Organization for Migration (IOM). In line with the current UN policy towards Somaliland, the statistics cited here for Somalia are also true for Somaliland. *Net Migration rate for 2015-2020: -3.4 migrants/1,000 population.*

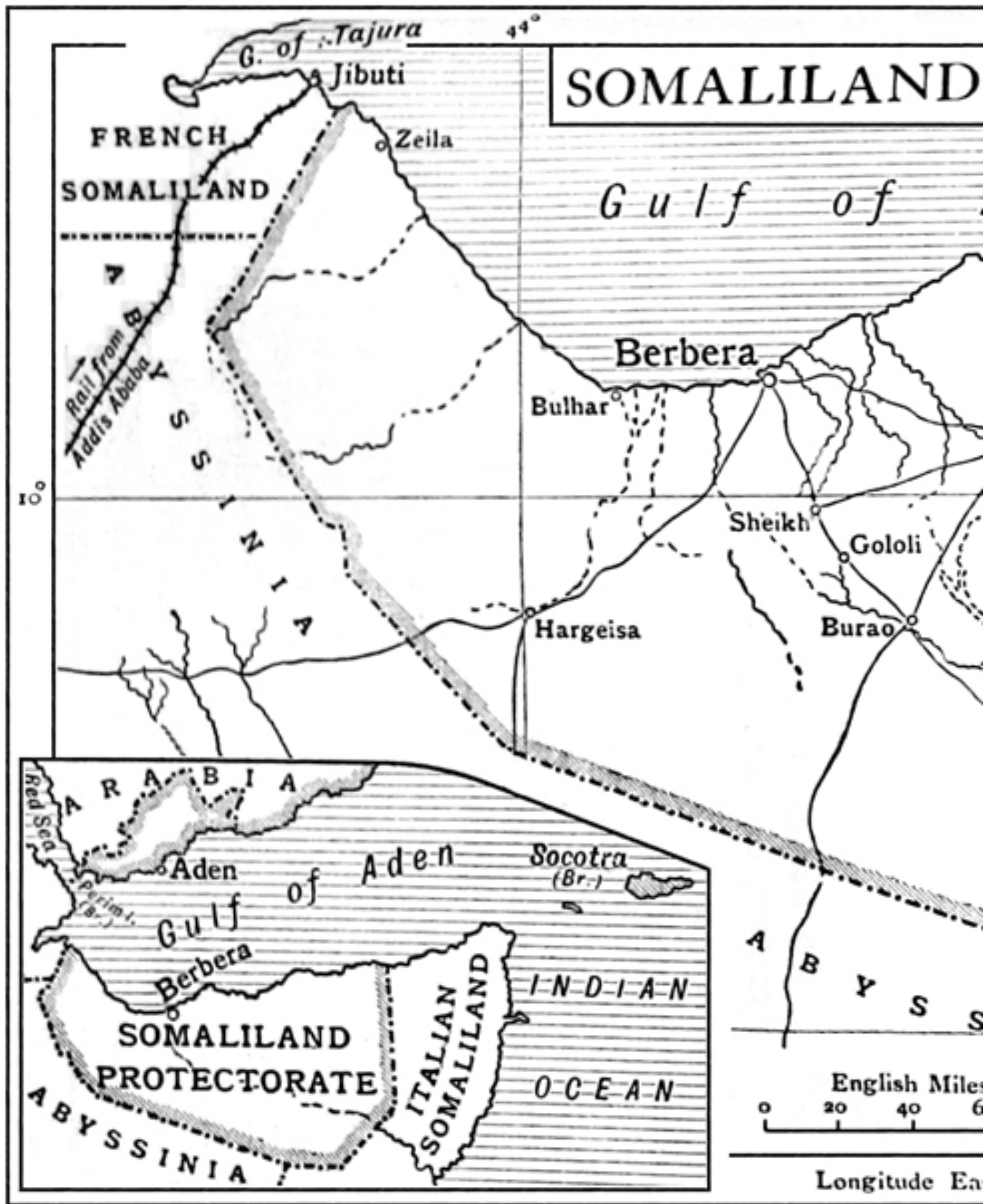
### 3.11. Urbanization rate

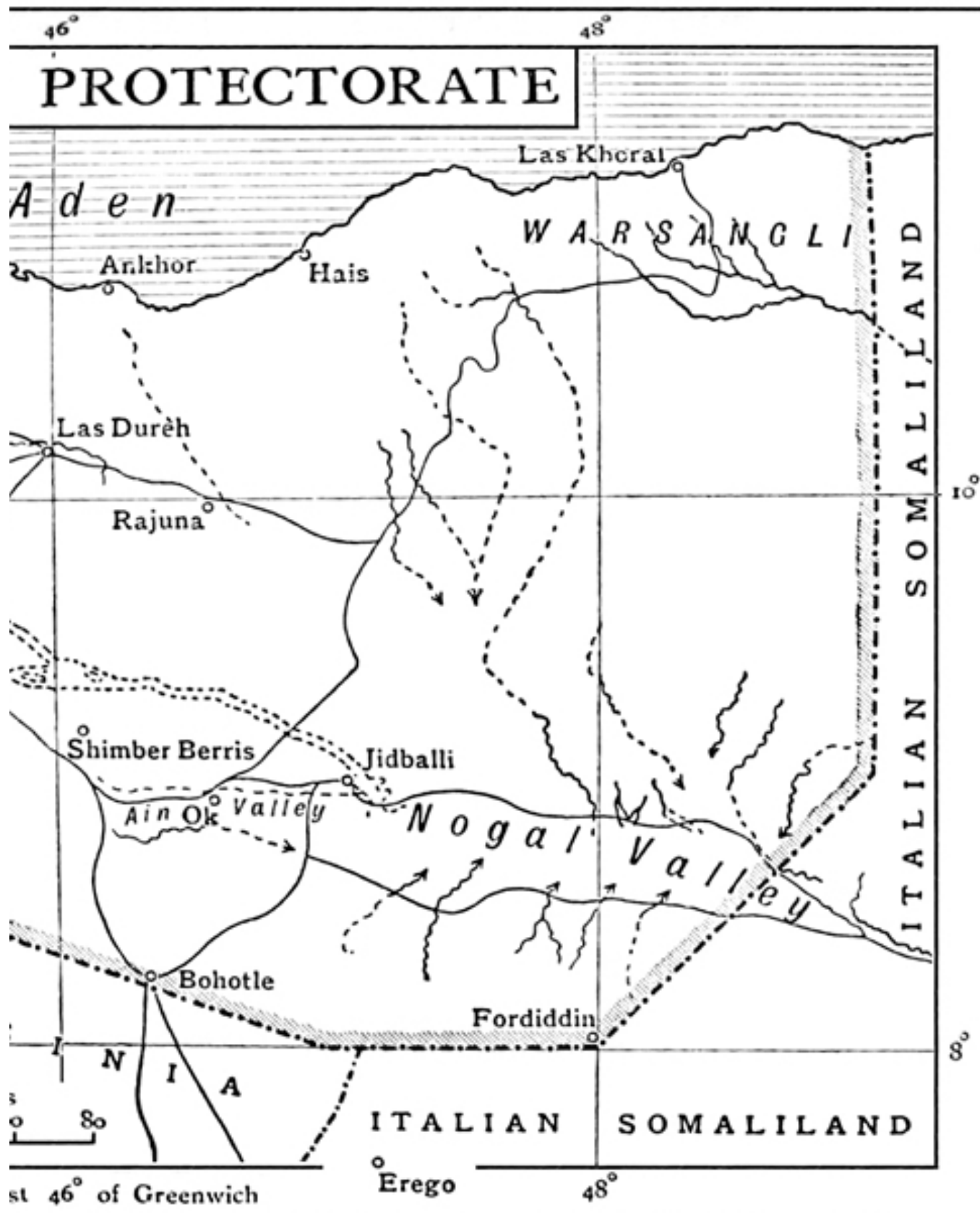
Somaliland Ministry of Planning and Developments statistics department (CSD) puts urban and semi-urban, sedentary populations at 53% of the total.

<sup>15</sup> Labor Force Survey, 2012, ILO

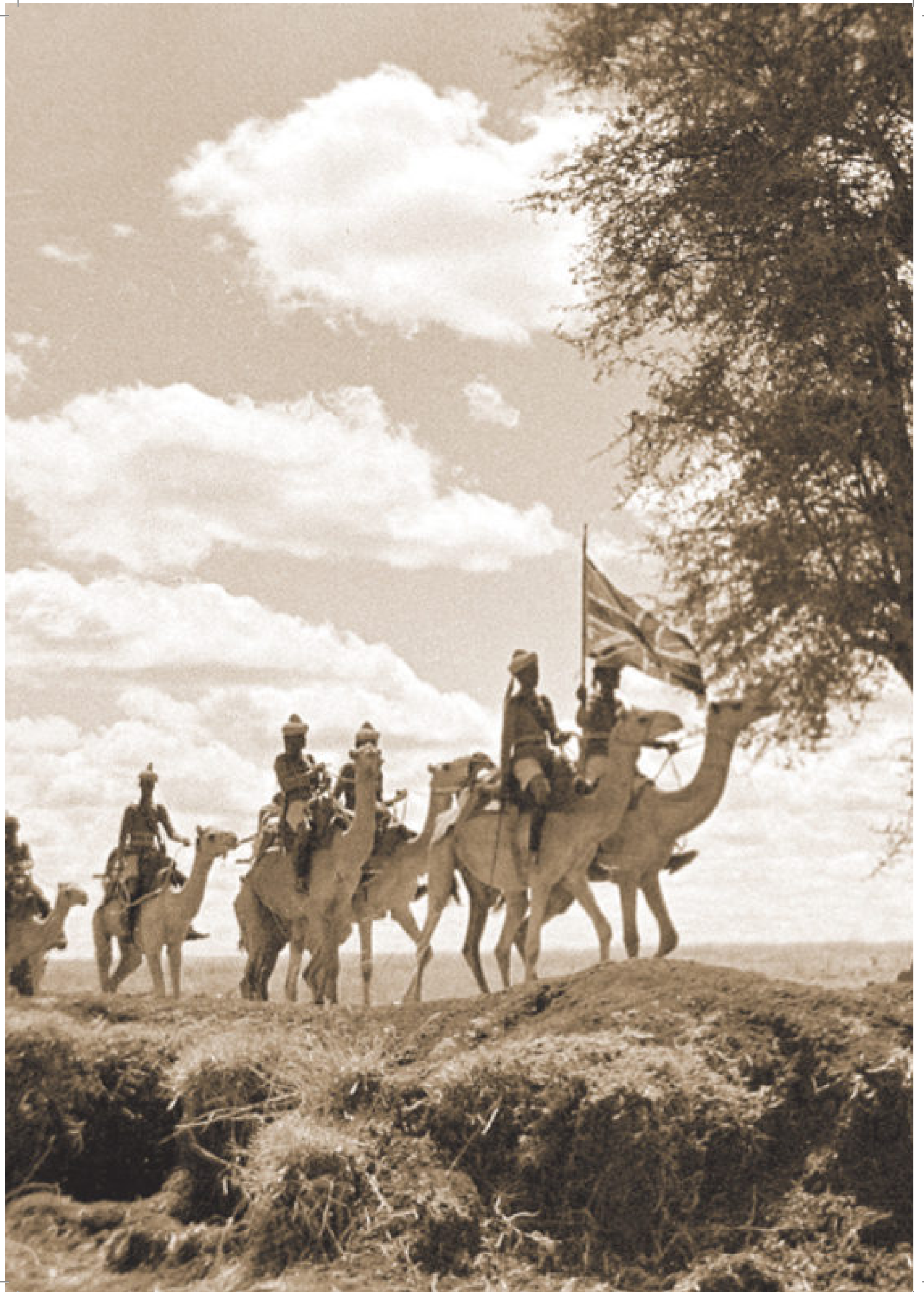
<sup>16</sup> 'Disregarding Somaliland case is a scar on the integrity of UN & AU', Ahmed J Yassin, Somaliland Intellectuals Institute

Figure 3: Map drawn in line with the Anglo-Italian Protocol of 1894





Emery/Walker Ltd. sc.



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CHAPTER

4

# HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

## 4. SOMALILAND HISTORY

### 4.1. Archeological Evidence

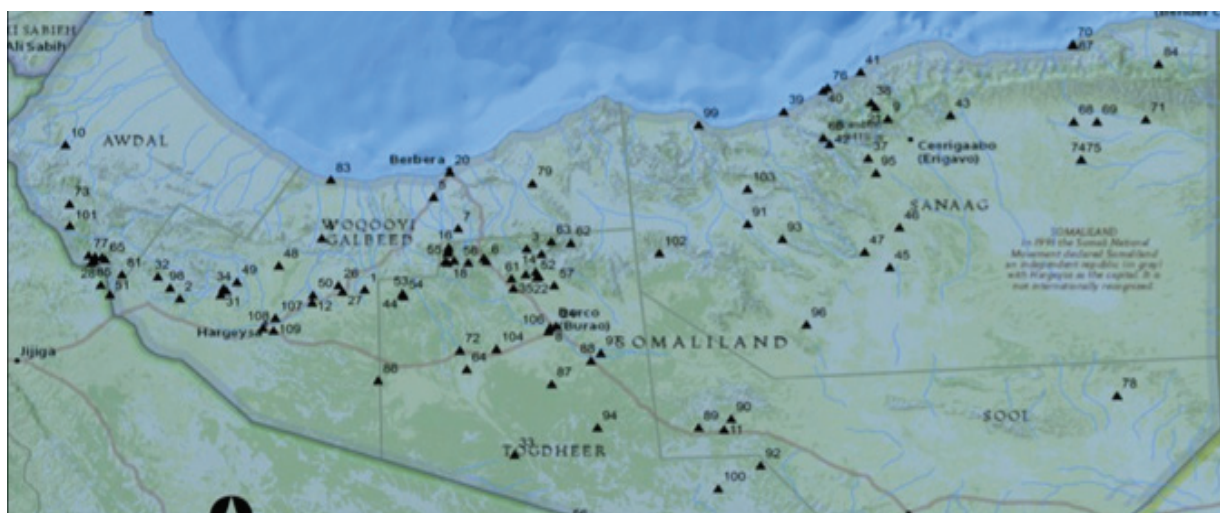
Archeologists have discovered through meticulous and painstaking attention to detail that many of the ill-attended, yet-to-exploited landscapes of Somaliland were, in fact, part of a region inhabited by the earliest modern humans, hundreds of thousands of years ago inhabited by the earliest-known pastoralists of northeast Africa as the spectacular rock art of this region indicates dating back to 5000 to 12 000 years.<sup>17</sup>

The paintings, the ancient towns ruin, and other traces marking the existence of past civilizations in the area still hold volumes of secrets that need to be unveiled.

Dr Sada Mire in a 2015 paper on Mapping the Archeology of Somaliland gives us a more detailed account of how important this part of the world has been to the world for eons past, stating that ‘the importance of this region is largely due to its location at the heart of ancient long-distance trade

networks, making it a cultural crossroads.’

*The coastal populations were active seafarers, facilitating not only transmission of goods (gold, ivory, slaves, aromatic oils, animal skins, and textiles from Africa, in return for silk, glass objects, spices and Chinese porcelains, etc.) but also ideas and cultures (The Archaeology of the Islamic Empires of the Horn of Africa: Ruined Towns (ca. Sixth–Seventeenth Century CE)). Maritime archaeology is on its way but terrestrial coastal material shows that the people of this region were part of the Silk Road trade. The archaeological evidence from the Somali region shows material from Tang Dynasty to Ming Dynasty China. All these networks, trade and institutions culminated in the Islamic Medieval empires of the Horn of Africa, such as the Ifat and Awdal(Adal) states (The Archaeology of the Islamic Empires of the Horn of Africa: Ruined Towns (ca. Sixth–Seventeenth Century CE)). The above claims are all indicated by the body of past and recent archaeological discoveries in Somaliland (and Somalia) that account for more than 200 sites, many of them clusters of sites. Hopefully, proper study of these sites will substantiate and show the significance of this region for world prehistory and history.*<sup>18</sup>



A T Curle<sup>19</sup> states that “periodical reference to the ‘mysterious ruined cities of Somaliland’ citing them as an ‘unsolved riddle of Africa’ have appeared in books and articles from time to time.”

Mr. Curle and Captain R. H. R. Taylor carried out a series of archeological investigations west of Hargeisa

17. 1944-1950, John A Hunt , 1952 *Rock Art and the Archaeology of Pastoralism, Ancient Writing and Symbolism of Time (ca. 3000*

18. *Mapping the Archeology of Somaliland: Religion, Art, Script, Time, Urbanism, Trade and empire*, Dr. Sada Mire, *African Archaeological Review*, March 2015

19. *Mapping the Archeology of Somaliland: Religion, Art, Script, Time, Urbanism, Trade and empire*, Dr. Sada Mire, *African Archaeological Review*, March 2015



in 1934. He said the ‘numerous types of objects were classified and made it possible to assign the period of occupation of the towns to the 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> centuries.’

As a result, they classified the towns into four groups, three of which lie well within Somaliland or within a short distance of the border with Ethiopia: (a) the coastal town of Zeila and the island of Saad-Din which lay about four miles to the north both of which areas showed ruins and relics from an earlier inhabitation; (b) Second category grouped 13 remnants of old towns on both sides of border with Ethiopia which included Amud, Abasa, Aw Boba, Aw Bare, DerbigaAdad, Beyo Dader, Damerakhad, Derbile, Gogesa, Qorgab, Hasadinle, Kabab, Musa Hasan, the sites of a religious settlement at Sheikh Barkab and of a single house or villa at Aroqolab; (c) the third group was smaller consisting only of the towns of Eil Humo and Eik. The fourth group was at Rugayi, near Dagahbur in Ethiopia.

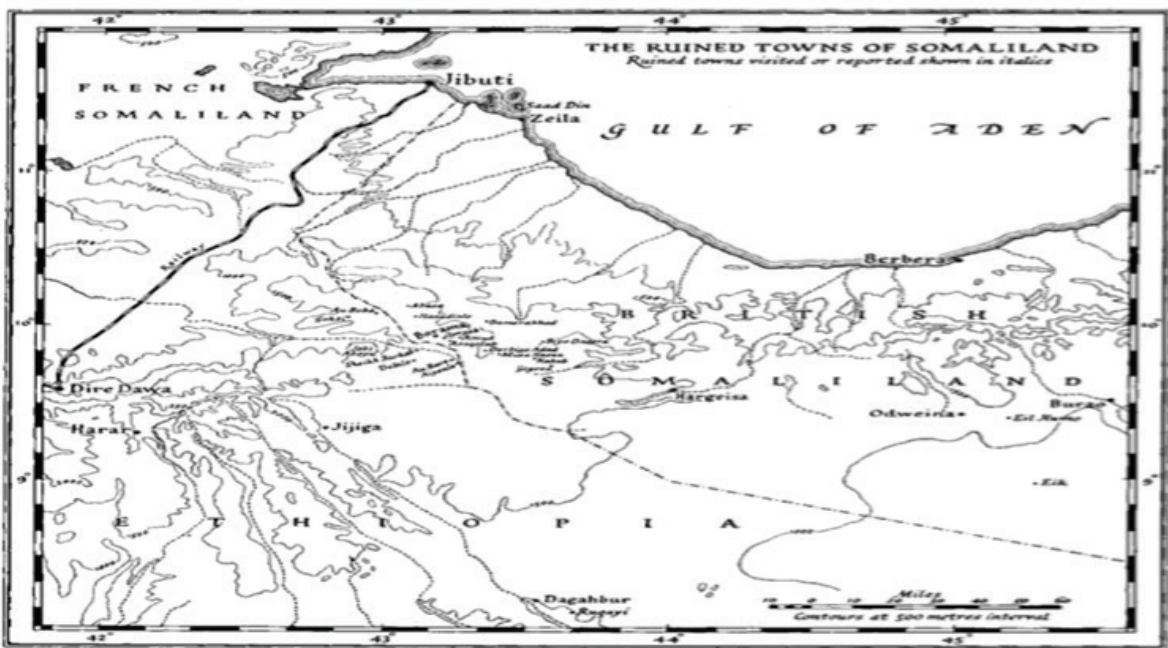


Figure 4: The Ruined towns of Somaliland

## 4.2. Somaliland Before 1884

The immediate region in which the Republic of Somaliland lies has been described as the ‘heart of ancient long-distance trade networks, making it a cultural crossroads.’<sup>20</sup> According to linguists, the first Afro-asiatic-speaking populations arrived during the ensuing Neolithic period from the family’s proposed urheimat (“original homeland”) in the Nile Valley, or the Near East.<sup>21</sup>

Written circa 50 to 68 B.C. by a Greek writer or writers, the Periplus of the Erythraean in hthraean Sea, details a voyage that starts details a voyage that passes through some parts of present-day Somaliland on its way to the Indian subcontinent. Notably, among the flourishing, coastal trading posts the writers stopped to take note of were Avalites (Zeila), Malao (Berbera) and Mundus (Heiss). The description is unmistakable but, as is in the case of Heiss (a.k.a.Xiis or Hiis), location of proper town may have shifted several hundred yards to the east. Traces of the ancient town still show atop the promontory opposite the Ma’ajaleenka islet.

20 - 21 Mapping the Archaeology of Somaliland: Religion, Art, Script, Time, Urbanism, Trade and Empire, Sada Mire, 2015, Springerlik



### 4.3. Somaliland” The True Land of Punt

The fabled land of Punt that Egyptians so revered could by all calculations be the present-day Republic of Somaliland. Looking at the map of trade routes from Egypt to Punt via rivers, wadis, and by sea and the charted route of Queen Hatshepsut’s route during an expedition to the Land of Punt on the Red Sea coast in 1493 BCE in the 18th Dynasty of Egypt, there is no doubt the case is so.

Geographically, Somaliland is nearer to Egypt than Somalia, and as the items which the expedition found in the land of Punt is also abundantly available in Somaliland (gold, frankincense, myrrh, feathers, wildlife, etc.), logic dictates that the expedition needed not to travel any further for the same items and bypass Somaliland.

The Land of Punt was long associated with the goods in ancient Egyptian markets because materials from Punt were also used in their temple rituals. Priests wore leopard skins, gold became statuary, and incense was burned in the temples. Hatshepsut’s inscriptions also claim that her divine mother was from Punt - and there is evidence that Bes (the goddess of childbirth) came from Punt Land as well.<sup>22</sup>

Punt Land became a semi-mythical land for the pharaohs, but it was a real place through the New Kingdom (1570-1069 BC). During the reign of Amunhotep II (1425-1400 BC) delegations from Punt were accepted. The reign of Ramesses II (1279-1213 BC) and of Ramesses III (1186-1155 BC) mentioned Punt as well. The pharaohs were fascinated by Punt as a “land of plenty” and it was best known as Ta Netjer - “God’s Land.

### 4.4. Political History

#### 4.4.1. The British Protectorate

Somaliland, due to its strategic location near Bab el Mandeb, at the entrance to Gulf of Aden and the Red Sea, has always been of interest for strategic and commercial reasons. In the mid-16th century, the great Ottoman Empire annexed the port of Zeila and provided protection, at a cost collected through customs and other charges, for Arab, Persian and Indian merchants who serviced the trade requirements of the surrounding area and the Abyssinian hinterland. In 1870 the ambitious Khedive Ismael I of Egypt, whose country was

22. Somalia: The Ancient Lost Kingdom of Punt is Finally Found?, Tarek El Dawny, dom-punt-finally-found-006893” <https://www.ancient-origins.net/ancient-places-africa/somalia-ancient-lost-kingdom-punt-finally-found-006893>

nominally part of the Ottoman Empire, obtained the Ottoman Sultan's authorized rights over Zeila in exchange for paying an annual fee of sterling pounds 18,000.<sup>23</sup> The Khedive in due time acquired the coast between Bulhar and Berbera without reference to the Sultan.<sup>24</sup>

In 1877 Britain signed a convention recognizing the Khedival annexation of all the East African coast north of Ras Hafun (the promontory of land jutting out into the Indian Ocean south of Cape Gardafui). The agreement stipulated that no portion of this area should be ceded to any foreign power and that British consular agents should be appointed at places on the coast. The Sultan of Turkey, hitherto not very interested in any land east of Zeila, generating, however, a piqued interest of the Ottoman Empire.

As Egypt had opened the Suez Canal in 1869, Egyptian interest shifted more on the coastline rather than the interior. At coastal locations lighthouses, harbors, piers, blockhouses, and barracks were constructed, and running water supplies engineered. Some of these facilities have lasted until recently.

In 1884 Egypt was facing the Mahdist revolt in the Sudan and for financial reasons (dictated by Britain) had to curtail its projects along the Somaliland coast. By agreement with Britain the Egyptian flag remained flying in Somaliland but Egyptian troops and officials were withdrawn and replaced by very few British troops, ships and officials from Aden.<sup>25</sup>

#### 4.4.2. Britain Sets Protectorate

Shortly after Britain set garrisons in Aden, only 150 miles across the Berbera port of the Republic of Somaliland, in 1839, Somaliland became a source of fresh meat. With the departure of the Egyptians and the

possibility that other colonial powers had their eyes trained on the potentials of the Somaliland coasts and its hinterland, Britain had to act fast. The British colonial office expedited Major A. Hunt of Great, representing his government, to draw up protection treaties with several Somaliland clans. Britain wooed Somaliland clan leaders with a promise of protection, guaranteeing them full support in case of an attack from other neighboring territories, which were then occupied by other Europeans (See The Map of Africa by Treaty written by Sir E. Hertslet). On their part, the clan elders of the day refused to grant the British the right to land unless they agreed to their terms.

The British agreed to the Somaliland conditions among which were: (a) that Somaliland was to be a Protectorate and not a colonial conquest, and (b) that no British baby was to be delivered on the mainland. Only after the agreement was finalized and signed on hide skin aboard a ship, was the British able to land. Soon after, Great Britain sent its Vice Consuls to the Somaliland coastal towns such as Berbera, Bulahar, and Zeila. Due to the relative stability brought on by the treaties, trading at coastal towns also briskly picked up. Somaliland became British Protectorate/Colony in East Africa which not only balanced its books but had also constantly reported surpluses. The key to Somaliland's opulence by African economic standards of the day was international trade, as the people in the territory were in the words of one British colonial officer, "Natural born traders." (See "Somaliland" by Andrew Hamilton).

23. *Somaliland: 1884-1898 – The early British Years* <http://www.kaiserscross.com/188001/257522.html>

24. *ibid*

25. *Somaliland: 1884-1898 – The early British Years* [scross.com/188001/257522.html](http://www.kaiserscross.com/188001/257522.html)" <http://www.kaiser>



**Figure 5:** this boat was the hosted venue, where Somaliland clan elders signed an agreement with British protectorate that Somaliland was to be a Protectorate and not a colonial conquest

### 4.4.3. The Dervish Movement 1899 – 1920

Sayyed Mohammed Abdulla Hassan was an articulate, tall, thin, dark-skinned man with a small beard and dark eyes<sup>26</sup> who had an uncanny knack with word play and poetry.



**Figure 6:** A Mural of Sayyed Mohammed Abdulle Hassan painted to his likeness

Sayyed Mohammed<sup>27</sup> is reported to have been born in 1856, which, in Somali lore, was called Gobaysane – a rich, prosperous year. The Sayyed studied under local religious scholars and perfected the holy book Quran, Sunna and other religious studies in no time. He undertook the Hajj and studied under Mohammed Salih in Mecca in the early 1890s – a name his sect so devoutly clung to until the end - Salihia.

<sup>26</sup>. [scross.com/188001/257522.html](https://scross.com/188001/257522.html) Air Power In British Somaliland, 1920: The Arrival Of Gordon's Bird-Men, Independent Operations And Unearthly Retributions, By Brigadier Andrew Roe, 2018, RafCasps @ ndent-operations-35cd9191f445" <https://medium.com/raf-caps/air-power-in-british-somaliland-1920-the-arrival-of-gordons-bird-men-indepent>

<sup>27</sup> This Somali leader led 20-year armed resistance against British, Ethiopian and Italian colonialists, [face2face.com](https://face2face.com), 2018

Sayyed Mohammed Abdullah Hassan was to his adherents a messianic Sunni, freedom fighter. At the time he started the Dervish movement, he was seen as a liberator, a man not interested in this world, and a freedom fighter whose only objective was to drive the 'colonials' out from the world of Somalis – the British Protectorate. To a vast majority of Somalis and foreigners, especially, the British, Italians and the Ethiopians, he was the “Mad Mullah,” a quasi-religious bandit leader intent on plunder and disruption who imposed his will through savage executions and mutilations.

The Sayyed waged an active campaign against the British and clans that he labeled as loyalists to the Crown started as early 1899. It was reported that during this year he had amassed some 5000 men, 1500 of whom were mounted, under his command. *“I have no forts, no houses, no country. I have no cultivated fields, no silver or gold for you to take — all you can get from me is war, nothing else. I have met your men in battle and have killed them. We are greatly pleased about this. Our men who have fallen in battle have won paradise...”*, he stated in a letter he dispatched to the British Governor on the same year.

The British used superior firepower and masses of troops against the Sayyed and, at each confrontation, the British would proclaim victory. The fact remained, though, that the Sayyed always evaded capture rendering British claims meaningless. A sort of truce which lasted until 1908 followed. But, again, in 1912, 1913 and 1914, trouble between the two sides resumed albeit at a much lower military-level engagement. On the outbreak of World War I, the British moved considerable numbers of their forces

to other theatres. Taking advantage of the situation, the Sayyed consolidated his power base. He started building stone forts atop strategic vantage points which strategically commanded large areas atop hills and mountains in the Sanaag and Sool areas, which, due to the intensity of his war with European, Ethiopian and Somali forces, he was not able to do until then.

During this period, the Sayyed brought more than half of the Protectorate territory under his direct command or influence. The Sayyed, it has been reported, received aid from the Ottomans, Germans and, for a time, from the Emperor Iyasu V of Ethiopia.<sup>28</sup> By 1919 the Mullah's hold on Somaliland had become so strong that the British were faced either with abandoning their protectorate or with using a military force estimated at two infantry divisions to deal with the bandit leader. In the bleak postwar economic climate, this was an unaffordable option for the British War Office.<sup>29</sup>

On June 2, 1919, PM Churchill accepted a proposal put to him by RAF Chief of the Air Staff, Sir Hugh Trenchard, for a RAF airstrike against the Sayyed, his forts and followers. A self-contained air component comprising of 10 two-seat de Havilland D.H.9 reconnaissance-bombers, with 36 officers and 183 airmen, was approved. The RAF built a makeshift base at which was completed on 21 January 1920. Three days later, six RAF D.H.9s took off from the DurElan airfield to initiate the first airstrikes on this part of Africa on Sayyed Muhammed's forts at Medeshi and Jideli, east of Erigavo. The bombing and aerial strafing continued hitting key forts and regrouping grounds until the Sayyed fled to Taleh.

<sup>28</sup> Wikipedia: British Somaliland, <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Somaliland#Prehistory>

<sup>29</sup> &35Hunt For The Mad Mullah, By Derek O'Connor, <https://www.historynet.com/hunt-ma-mullah.htm>



**Figure 7:** stone forts atop of dervishes headquarter

In early February, after aerial reconnaissance indicated that his forces had reached Taleh, three D.H.9s bombed the fort, one scoring a direct hit on the Mullah's compound. The Mullah fled the area defeated, and his forces in disarray, crossing over to Ethiopia.<sup>30</sup> In November 1920, the Dervish movement he started as an independence struggle 21 years ago ended with his death in Imey, Ethiopia.

#### 4.5.0. Contemporary History: Build-up to Independence 1935 – 1960

##### 4.5.1. Political parties

The first political party, the Somali National Society (SNS), was founded in 1935. It later transitioned in part to the Somali National League (1945) – perhaps in alignment with its counterpart in Italian Somalia – the Somali Youth League with whom it shared many principles without necessarily actively cultivating them. Mohamed Haji Ibrahim Egal, who was to become later the first Prime Minister of Somaliland led the (SNL). The National United Front (NUF) led by Michael Mariano Ali, the United Somali Party (USP), led by Ali Garad Jama, and many more followed suit between 1945 and 1958.

In the period between 1940 and 1941, the country fell briefly under Italian occupation which helped Somaliland parties to gain an insight into what was developing in South Somalia. Perhaps, it was this colonial jolt, awakening which further propagating the need for a greater Somali unity since the relationship between the British and Somalis was more on equal terms than the colonial nature of Italy's outlook on territories it occupied in east Africa.

In 1943, Her Majesty the Queen of England and Wales, it is reported, offered Somaliland leaders to bring Somali-speaking areas like Hawd and Reserve Area (5th Region of Ethiopia) and NFD (Northern Frontier Districts) under Somaliland administration.<sup>31</sup> The overzealous elements among the yet-to-be-seasoned leaders saw it as a hoax to compartmentalize the idea of a Greater Somalia. Hence, they turned it down – a misjudgment that was to regrettably dog Somaliland politics at every turn of its history.

Spontaneous insurrections demanding for an early departure of all foreign occupations later surfaced one of which was led by Sheikh Bashir Haji Yussuf who was later in 1945 tried and hanged by the Brit-

30. *Somaliland's 26th June 1960, 86 years of protectorate comes to end!*, By Abdulaziz Al-Mutairi, [hiiraanonline.com](http://hiiraanonline.com), July 01, 2008

ish in Burao. The decade that led to 1960, however, was, for Somaliland politicians, time enough to fully prepare themselves and their nation for full, diplomatically mature, politically and economically capable statehood. 'At the time of independence there was a strong anti-colonial sentiment sweeping the African continent. Somaliland was no exception. There was a popular drive to unite all the five Somali inhabited territories including Somaliland, Somalia, French Somaliland (Djibouti), Ogaden (Ethiopia), and the Northern Frontier District (NFD) of Kenya. The five pointed white star on the flag symbolized this aspiration. The 1954 Anglo-Ethiopian Agreement in which Britain transferred 25,000 sq. miles (64,750 sq. km) of 'Hawd' grazing land to Ethiopia evoked an outcry in Somaliland and intensified the demand for a union to recover lost territory' <sup>32</sup> At the time of independence, there was a strong anti-colonial sentiment sweeping the African continent. Somaliland was no exception. Eventually, Somaliland had obtained its independence from Great Britain on June 26th, 1960, by the Royal Proclamation of Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth. The independent state of Somaliland was the 15th state to gain independence in Africa and was immediately welcomed by 35 UN member states included permanent members of the Security Council. A few days later, Somaliland voluntarily entered into a merger with Italian Somalia in July 1st 1960 to form the Somali Republic.



*Figure 8: Somaliland Delegation to United Kingdom 1955*



*Figure 9: The Somaliland Protectorate Constitutional Conference, London, May 1960 in which it was decided that 26 June be the day of Independence, and so signed on 12 May 1960. Somaliland Delegation: Mohamed Haji Ibrahim Egal, Ahmed Haji Dualeh, Ali GaradJama& Haji Ibrahim Nur. From the Colonial Office: Ian Macleod, D. B. Hall, H. C. F. Wilks (Secretary)*

#### 4.5.2. Referendum on ‘Constitution of Somali Republic’

In June 1961, an openly rigged, quasi-referendum was conducted in areas in both the former British Protectorate and Italian Somalia to decide whether the two sides would stay together or Apart. The move was meant to quell once and for all the widespread displeasure of northerners of Somaliland to the unequal, south-dominated partnership. Somaliland voted 52% against a constitution of the Somali Republic in 1961, this was a clear sign that the merger between Somaliland and Somalia aborted and failed at the onset.

#### 4.5.3. Coup attempt of Somaliland Military Officials

In December 1961 – Disaffected Somaliland-born officers attempted a coup de tat to restore Somaliland to its June 26, 1960, independent political status. The coup failed. The attempt was a reflection of the dissatisfaction of the people of Somaliland who correctly predicted the outcome of a merger which began with total domination of the Southern former Italian Somalia against the north Somaliland.

The attempt was, also, an apt interpretation of feelings across the regions of Somaliland as, immediately following the Somaliland politicians’ blunder, all leading positions, among which were the presidency, the prime minister, House Speaker, Chief Justice and the commanders of all of the army, navy, police and custodial corps all went to southern-born politicians and commanders. The usurpation of power and the total abnegation of any vestiges of a ‘union’ were, largely, made a foregone conclusion by the 3:1 ratio balance of the parliament and the government in favor of the south.



#### 4.5.4. Military Coup

On October 21, 1969, a military junta led by Brigadier-General Mohamed Siyad Barre took over the regions of the country. He took advantage of a vacuum created by the assassination of the then President Abdirashid Ali Sharma'arke in Las Anod on 15 October 1969. He immediately jailed Mohamed Haji Ibrahim Egal, who at long last became a Prime Minister in 1967 following the election of Sharma'arke to the Presidency, under arrest. And so were the whole civilian government were arrested.

The 'Revolutionary Council' immediately declared that all political treaties which the civilian governments it took over entered were null and void, thus throwing the last vestiges what was, in essence, a Somalia-dictated 'merger' into the wind. To consolidate his authority, the military dictator, SiyadBarre, started a surreptitious plan to build a power base that was ultra-loyal to him and only him. Unbeknown to his comrades within the Council, he began empowering individuals, clans and groups on whom he could rely to consolidate his power base.

One of his first targets was to turn the northern regions – the old Somaliland protectorate – into a military chiefdom governed by hand-picked military governors. It was during the invasion he made on Ethiopia in 1977, on the pretext that he was liberating 'Western Somalis', that the military strongman's plans slowly unfolded becoming visible to the discerning in the form of arbitrary executions of young, brilliant military officers, shooting others on the back, and largely, replacing whole commands to install his hand-picked officers over them. At the end of that short-lived war, Siyad Barre turned his wrath on civilians especially focusing on regions he marked as potential threats to his one-man rule. Somaliland never dimmed in his view as the head of the list.

#### 4.5.5. The Somali National Movement



*Figure 10: Announcement of Somali National Movement (SNM)*

One writer<sup>33</sup> puts the emergence of the Somali National Movement (SNM) and its rise to a force to be reckoned with to a reaction to 'General Barre's continued atrocities, summary executions, target assassinations, arbitrary arrests, expulsions, freezing commercial activities and, above all, mass starvation of millions of nomads whose livestock and water points had been destroyed by the army forces as part of the eradication campaign'.

Mark Bradbury, states that intellectuals, businessmen and religious leaders founded the SNM as a result of 'Isaaq disaffection with the regime' arising 'from a number of sources: inadequate (and undemocratic) political

<sup>33</sup> *Somaliland: A Nation Reborn, Yussuf A Robleh, DruckhausSpáth, GmBH, 2006*

representation, unequal distribution of development resources, and government regulation of business, particularly the livestock and qaat trade'.<sup>34</sup> The ten years between 1981 and 1990 and the events that transpired laid the foundation for the inception and establishment of a restored sovereignty in Somaliland. A great number of reasons are cited for the rise against the military dictatorship of General Mohamed Siyad Barre. Among these was widespread oppression targeting a major section of the people then living in what was known as the northern regions of 'Somalia' – namely the Northwest, Togdheer, Sool and Sanaag regions. A widely reported marginalization, under-development, political, social and economic repression, uneven spread of resources, lopsided power-sharing, capital punishment became the order of the day.

In 1981, the pent up frustration within the Isaaq community was explosively triggered by the government's arrest of a group of Hargeisa intellectuals, 10 whose only crime was to have organized self-help programs. Accused of distributing anti-government propaganda and other subversive activities, they were handed down sentences ranging from death (later commuted to life imprisonment) to long-term prison sentences. Their detention and torture helped to mobilize national and international condemnation of the regime.

At roughly the same time, consultations within the Isaaq, both within Somalia and in the Diaspora communities of the Gulf, Saudi Arabia, and the United Kingdom, led to the formation in London, of the rebel Somali National Movement (SNM). By 1982, the SNM had established bases in Ethiopia, from where it waged an armed struggle against the regime's forces in the north, initially in the form of clandestine cross-border incursions. In January

1983, the SNM campaign gathered momentum with a daring raid on Mandheera Central Prison, which released over 1,000 political detainees and other inmates who had been condemned to death (GOS - Background: 1994).

In return, the government redoubled its campaign of brutal repression. In the urban centers, arbitrary arrests, detentions and executions accelerated. In the rural areas, the regime sought to undermine the SNM's support among nomads by destroying their livelihoods. Water points were declared off limits, closed, destroyed, poisoned and mined. Commercial trucks were grounded, starving the rural community of food, medicines, and other consumer goods. Villages were razed to the ground and soldiers allowed to confiscate livestock without compensation.<sup>35</sup>

In the years starting from the inception of the SNM, responding to the socially and politically repressive campaign of the regime against central clans in Somaliland, military commanders were appointed as governors to the then regions of Togdheer, Northwest and Sanaag, and were given free hand to deal with the emerging situation as they saw fit.

Arbitrary arrests, spur-of-the-moment detentions, property impoundment, creation of civilian militias, transfer of large populations from neighboring Ethiopia to take over coastal and agricultural lands and the open segregation of resident clans linked to the SNM became openly and unabashedly the order of the day. It reached a stage where even a private army man transferred to these regions became rich within no time living off the proceeds of bribes, protection money and loots he earned off petrified members of the central clan which formed the bulk of the Movement's power base.

34. *Somaliland*, Mark Bradbury, CIIR, 2001

35. *A Self-Portrait of Somaliland: Rebuilding from the Ruins*, Somaliland Center for Peace & Development, 1999.

Ultimately SNM succeeded in liberating Somaliland and defeated the military regime of Siyad Barre in January 1991. The victory of SNM has become the beginning of reinstating the hope and the will of the people to freely determine their political destiny and deepening the fate of peace and political solidarity of the people of Somaliland. The aftermath of the victory of SNM, the SNM controlled that any retaliation should not happen and this has paved the way for the Somaliland tribes and SNM leadership to hold a series political reconciliations and peace building initiatives before the reassertion of the sovereignty.

#### 4.6. Extrajudicial Killings

The government, in attempt to isolate the central clans, wooed other non-Isaaq Somaliland clans into its fold, thus training its whole attention and suppressive tactics against the Isaaqs. It was during the period between 1984 and 1988 that wanton killing in groups or by individuals became the norm of the day – sometimes with flimsy pretexts, sometimes not. The cities of Hargeisa, Burao and Sanaag witnessed mass killings in the name of the law.<sup>36</sup>

Between 1987 and 1989, the regime of Somali dictator Siyad Barre massacred an estimated 200,000 members of the Isaaq tribe, the largest clan group in the northwest part of Somalia. At the time, some Isaaqs were fighting for independence, and to eliminate the threat, Barre tried to exterminate all of them. Experts now say there are more than 200 mass graves in Somaliland, most of them in the Valley of Death.<sup>37</sup>

In the mid-90s, the Somaliland War Crimes Investigations Commission to document the atrocities, and help experts find mass graves dotted around the country. Shortly afterwards, the Peruvian Team of Forensic Anthropology - Equipo Peruano de Antropologia Forense (EPAF) – started making yearly trips to Somaliland to help the government properly document mass grave. Experts would uncover the mangled skeletons of dozens of victims, some times more than two or three score lumped into one grave, some still tied together.

What was to be discovered defies the imagination. Al Jazeera and Professor Bulhan, between them, tell parts of the story in videos of the same title “Kill All but the Crows.”<sup>38</sup>

A 2001 UN report investigating the attacks against the Isaaqs concluded that “the crime of genocide was conceived, planned and perpetrated by the Somalia Government against the Isaaq people of northern Somalia.” But the events have been mostly forgotten; the boys playing soccer did not know the story behind the bones.<sup>39</sup>

36. Jones, Adam (10 February 2017). *Genocide, war crimes and the West: history and complicity*. Zed Books. ISBN 978-1-84277-191-4.

37. *In the Valley of Death: Somaliland's Forgotten Genocide*; Ismail Einashe and Matt Kennard, *The Daily Nation*, October 22, 2018. [malilands-forgotten-genocide/](https://www.thenation.com/article/in-the-valley-of-death-somalilands-forgotten-genocide/) <https://www.thenation.com/article/in-the-valley-of-death-somalilands-forgotten-genocide/>

38. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=JNBtlc2wHU8>

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=U13K8Dxg9c8>

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=U13K8Dxg9c8>

39. *In the Valley of Death: Somaliland's Forgotten Genocide*; Ismail Einashe and Matt Kennard, *The Daily Nation*, October 22, 2018.

<https://www.thenation.com/article/in-the-valley-of-death-somalilands-forgotten-genocide/>



Figure 11: Mass Graves

## 4.7. Landmines

The use of land-mines by government forces against civilians was especially damaging in this particular region due to the majority of Isaacs (and other northern Somalis) being pastoral nomads, reliant on the grazing of sheep, goats, and camels. A report commissioned by the Vietnam Veterans of America Foundation describes the ramifications of this tactic as follows:<sup>40</sup> Such massive mining was part of the destructive and inhumane policies of the Siyad Barre regime impacting on the socio-economy, infrastructure and livelihoods of the people of Somaliland.

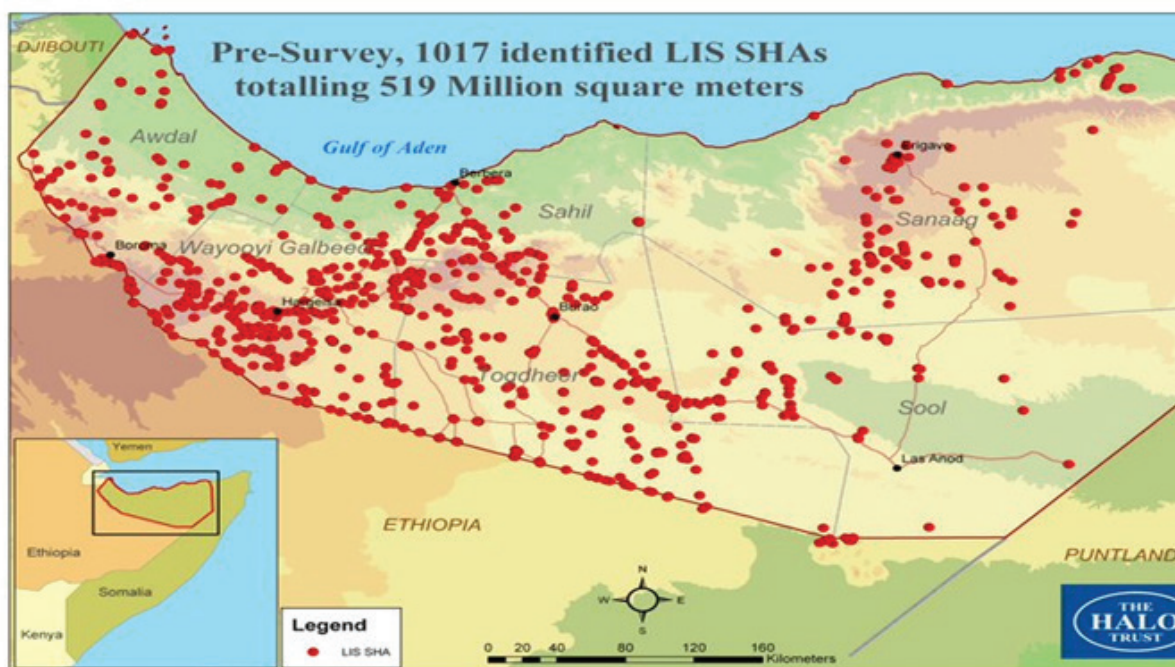


Figure 12: Somaliland's landmines sites

40. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=JNBtlc2wHU8> <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=U13K8Dxg9c8>  
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=U13K8Dxg9c8>



لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا اللَّهُ مُحَمَّدٌ عَبْدُهُ وَرَسُولُهُ



CHAPTER

5

# REBIRTH OF SOMALILAND

## 5. REBIRTH OF SOMALILAND

### 5.1. Peace and State building processes

On 26 January 1991, the Somalia military leader, General Mohamed SiyadBarre finally fled. His hasty flight was precipitated by armed southern fighters at the head of which was the USC, shelling him out of Villa Somalia, the seat of government. Immediately afterward, Mogadishu unilaterally built a ‘Somalia’ government putting Ali Mahdi Mohamed at the Presidency.

On 31 January 1991 he announced the composition of his government, declaring that the insurgency which toppled SiyadBarre started from the ‘central regions’ totally ignoring the decade-long armed struggle of the SNM – the single, most potent factor that made the mighty military machine of the dictator eat dust. If not for the weakened condition of the military might which paved the way for the blitz to advance the USC, the SNM and others made on the capital during the closing months of 1990 would not have been possible.



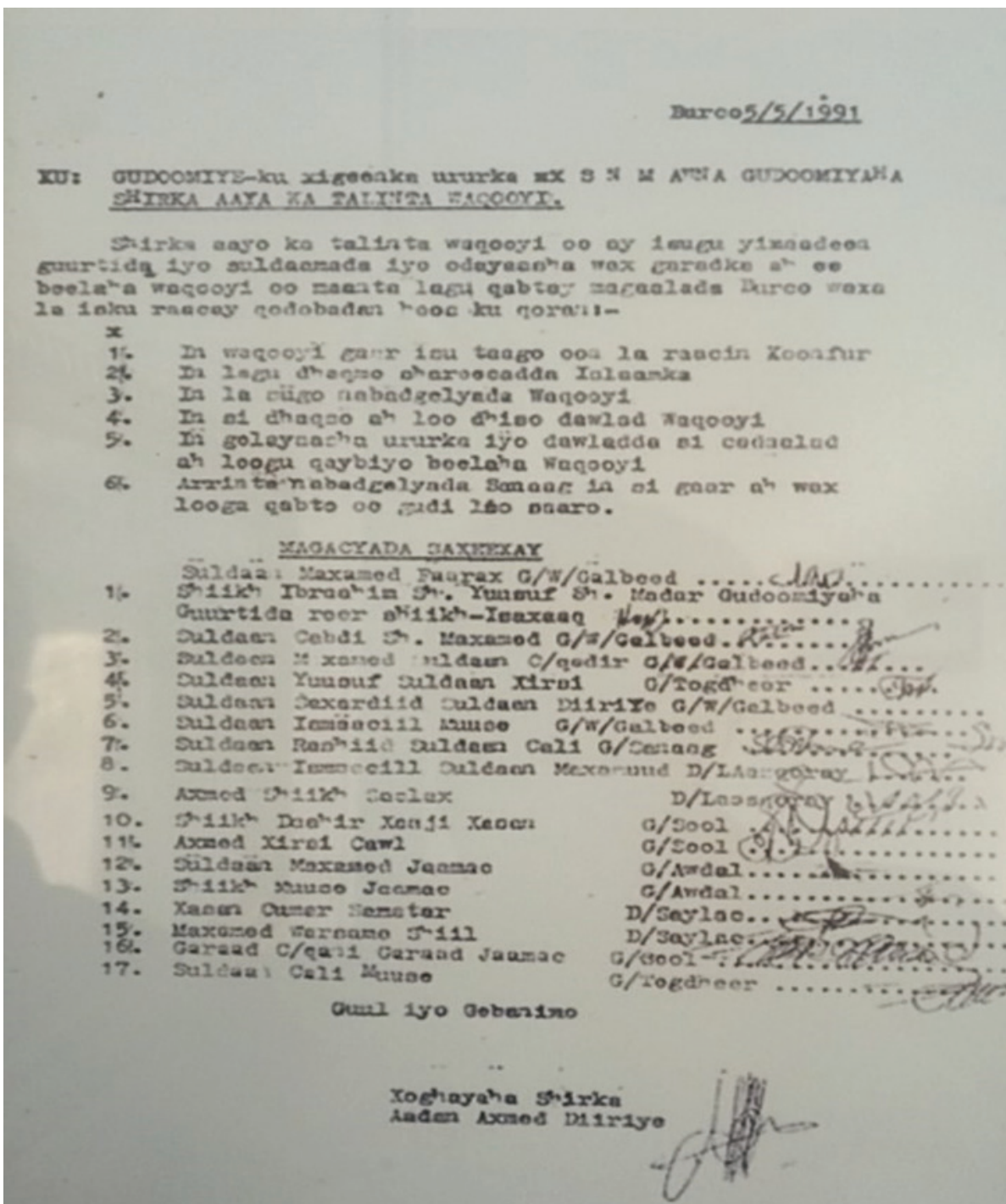
*‘Brothers Grand Conference’. Burao, Somaliland, 1991, (copyright Boobe Yusuf Duale).*

Two weeks later, clans of Somaliland came together in Berbera. The meeting resolved that within two months each clan should mend fences among its political and traditional leaders, select representatives for a grand conference to be held in Burao in mid-May, and decide on a possible outlook to a government separate from that of Mogadishu which had already shown all the go-at-it-alone hallmarks which failed the intended merger of Somaliland and Somalia in 1960. It was during this mulling period in which clans deeply discussed what the future direction of Somaliland would look like.



The clans successfully concluded their side meetings and converged in time in Burao to reach pivotal resolutions that were to become the most critical since the nation's hasty escapade to a Mogadishu that did not truly share its enthusiasm in 1960.

*On 18th May 1991 at this second national meeting, the SNM Central Committee, with the support of a meeting of elders representing the major clans in the Northern Regions, declared the restoration of the Republic of Somaliland, covering the same area as that of the former British Protectorate. The Burao conference also established a government for the Republic; an administration that inherited a war-ravaged country in which tens of thousands of people had been killed, many thousands injured, and the main cities, Hargeisa and Burao, almost entirely destroyed. The territory had been extensively mined, yet with the establishment of peace, hundreds of thousands of internally and externally displaced people were starting to return home.*



It was at this meeting that the first government of the new republic was elected. president Abdirahman Ahmed Ali, the last SNM leader during whose tenure the country has finally reached its dearly-sought goal of freedom and restoration of its sovereignty, was selected to lead the new government. Hassan Essa Jama became the first Vice President of the government.



*Burao conference in 1991. Copy right Boobe Yusuf Duale*

As difficult and incendiary as those first three years were, pacification among clans continued and the ground for an eventual demobilization of militias was laid. This period is characterized by the ‘establishment of security and government’.

According to the Academy for Peace and Development (APD), about 39 peace conferences and meetings took place between 1991 and 1997 which shared core values and objectives. Among these were:

- Restoration of relations between communities affected by the war;
- Establishment to relatively stable security regime in which law and order has increasingly fallen within the ambit of a system of partially decentralized government;
- Establishment of local and national institutions of governance; and
- Creation of an environment conducive to economic growth and the beginnings of what might be considered a more broadly-defined process of development.

This first government was replaced by another grand conference held in Borama in 1993 during which Mohamed Haji Ibrahim Egal was elected President with Abdirahman Aw Ali Farah the Vice presidency. A National Charter to pave the way for a full-fledged national constitution was also adopted.



*Borama conference in 1993 (Copyright Boobe Yusuf Duale)*

## 5.2. Democratization process and elections 2002-2020

In the period between 1993 and February 1997, when the third grand conference was convened in Hargeisa, saw the demobilization and nationalization of clan militias, a brief flare of an internecine conflict between the government and one of the major clans of Somaliland, and the solid foundation-laying of a true institution-building that prepared the country for a democratic, multi-party system. The last conference that clans' representatives participated was in 1997 and this is where the democratization process took the lead in the pursuant of years in which the first democratic popular elections were held in 2002 since in 1959 of the Somaliland British Protectorate.

Mohamed Haji Ibrahim Egal was, again, elected president and Dahir Rayale Kahin became the third Vice President of Somaliland in 1997. Soon after, the government set about the draft of requisite instruments for the formation of political associations and the election of local councils and members of parliament. "Subsequently, the political system of Somaliland has had this transition from clans elected leaders into popular democratic elections and Somaliland succeeded to manage this transition where the citizens opted running a constitutional democracy and multiparty political system".<sup>41</sup>

In accordance with Article 9 of the Constitution passed in the year 2000, the three most successful of the associations turned into national political parties at the end of local council elections. The first three such parties were UDUB, Kulmiye and UCID. At present set-up, UDUB went out of the political structure and was replaced by Waddani.

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*41. Political History of Somaliland, Mohamed Ahmed Mohamoud 'Barawani', 2019.*

The table below shows elections and one-person, one-vote balloting held since 2002.

No	Elections	Timeframe
1	Constitutional referendum	2001
2	Local council and political parties elections	2002
3	Presidential elections	2003
4	House of Representatives elections	2005
5	Voter registration	2008-2009
6	Presidential elections	2010
7	Local council and political parties elections	2012
8	Voter registration	2016
9	Presidential elections	2017
10	Parliamentary and local council elections	2021

Somaliland has succeeded in establishing a multiparty competitive electoral system, where opposition and ruling parties compete freely, and where power has been peacefully and smoothly transferred from incumbent presidents to the opposition. Somaliland practices or performs most democratic fundamental and universally agreed on principles and values that included but not limited to freedom of speech, free press, free market, human rights, vibrant civil society and non-state actors, freely operational opposition parties, civic participation and right to assembly and association.

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CHAPTER

6

# LEGAL CASE OF SOMALILAND

## 6. LEGAL CASE OF SOMALILAND

'Politically, Somalilanders entered the merger at a disadvantage. Despite Somaliland's preference that a single Act of Union is agreed to by both governments prior to the merger, this fundamental step was never taken. A presidential decree entitled the "Law of Union of the State of Somaliland and Somalia" submitted to the combined legislatures failed to win their approval, and the matter was ultimately referred to the people in a problematic referendum. Somaliland's Prime Minister was assigned the relatively junior post of Minister of Education in a cabinet heavily dominated by southerners. Likewise, Somaliland was allocated only 33 seats in parliament versus 99 for the south. The designation of Muqdisho as the remote national capital left the majority of Somalilanders estranged from their new government and alienated from the country's social and economic nucleus'.<sup>42</sup>

Prior to attaining independence on 26 June 1960, Somaliland was very much interested in pursuing the dream of a Greater Somali State encompassing all the territories inhabited by people of Somali ethnic origin. After discussions in 1960, Representatives of Somaliland and Somalia agreed that an Act of Union will be signed by both states on independence and that this document will be in the nature of an international agreement between the two states.

Pursuant to the understanding between the politicians of the two states of Somaliland and that of Somalia, the legislative assembly of Somaliland immediately signed an Act of Union<sup>43</sup> and a Somalia Law on June 27 into law, a day after the state attained full independence, paving the way for a union with Somalia upon independence. This was to have been discussed with their counterparts, updated, amended and, after signature by both parties, should have been adopted as the new United States' Act of Union to be submitted to a joint national assembly once the two separate council came together on their first sitting. Instead, the Somalia assembly convened on June 30 and passed an act of their own written in the Italian language called *Atto di Unioni*.

Starkly contradicting the understanding between the two sides, the two assemblies got convened without a signature of an Act of Union on 1 July 1960. A provisional president was elected by an Assembly whose members outnumbered the dissenting

voices of those from Somaliland by 3:1 - a step that presaged 'what was to happen again and again in the relationship between Somaliland and Somalia, the newly elected provisional President than issued on the same day a decree-law aiming to formalize the union'<sup>44</sup> in direct violation of all principles agreed upon before the two sides came together. This decree, too, was never presented to the joint, legally 'unlawful' assembly to turn into law.

42. *Self-Portrait of Somaliland: Rebuilding from the Ruins*, Somaliland Center for Peace & Development 1999.

43. *Somaliland & Somalia: The 1960 Act Of Union – An early lesson for Somaliland*, Dr. Ibrahim Hashi, [http://www.somalilandlaw.com/Somaliland\\_Act\\_of\\_Union.htm](http://www.somalilandlaw.com/Somaliland_Act_of_Union.htm)

44. *Somaliland & Somalia: The 1960 Act of Union – An early lesson for Somaliland*, Dr. Ibrahim Hashi, [http://www.somalilandlaw.com/Somaliland\\_Act\\_of\\_Union.htm](http://www.somalilandlaw.com/Somaliland_Act_of_Union.htm)

Contini stated that “the Union of Somaliland and Somalia Law did not have any legal validity in the South (Somalia) and the approval “in principle” of the Atto di Unione was not sufficient to make it legally binding in that territory.”

Eugene Cotran, in his book, *The Law of Marriage and Divorce*, writes that:

- a. The Union of Somaliland and Somalia Law, and the Somalia Act of Union were both drafted in the form of bilateral agreements, but neither of them was signed by the representatives of the two territories.
- b. The Union of Somaliland and Somalia Law purported to derogate in some respects from the Constitution of the Somali Republic.
- c. The Somalia Act of Union was partially approved “in principle” but never enacted into law.
- d. The decree-law of July 1, 1960, did not come into effect since it was not converted into law in accordance with the Constitution.”

- Six months after a ‘union’ of the two states was forced – where one had a decided domination, supremacy, and with the other no where to back to, ‘a new Act of Union was put to the National Assembly, and promulgated on 31 January 1961. This Law entitled the “Act of Union” was made retrospective even though there is a generally accepted principle that laws should not be retroactive.’
- More than 35 countries, besides Great Britain welcomed the new state immediately. Israel, Libya, the United States were among the first to either send in their congratulatory messages or declare diplomatic recognition.
- These ‘states, including members of the permanent members of the Security Council acknowledged its independence immediately, and the United Kingdom signed several bilateral agreements with Somaliland which were deposited at the United Nations under article 102 of the UN Charter. The new state called the State of Somaliland was a fully-fledged sovereign state under international law.’
- The separation of states that entered into unions but again reverted into their former states on time of independence has precedents in Africa: Egypt and Syria were joined as the United Arab Republic (1958 - 1971). Senegal and Mali were united as the Fédération du Mali (1959 - 1960). Senegal and Gambia were merged in the Séné-Gambia Confederation (1982 - 1989). Eritrea officially separated from Ethiopia in 1993, Sudan and South Sudan .2011.

## 6.1. Expert Opinion, Justification of Restoration of Sovereignty

International law and expert opinion support the Republic of Somaliland’s legal case:

- ✓ Somaliland comprises the territory, boundaries, and people of the former British Somaliland Protectorate defined and delimited by the provisions of the following international treaties: the Anglo-French Treaty of 1888; the Anglo-Italian Protocol of 1894; and the Anglo-Ethiopian Treaty of 1897.
- ✓ As AU noted that Somaliland is not subject to opening the Pandora’s Box due to these comprehensive International Treaties entered during the formation of Somaliland British Protectorate adding the failure of both sides – Somaliland and Somalia to ratify Act of Union in 1960, rejection of Somali Republic constitution in 1961 by the people of Somaliland and other international instruments that promote self-determination of peoples as United Nations charter, Somaliland people have every right to reinstate their sovereignty lost in 1960.

- √ The republic of Somaliland possesses all the main criteria for statehood as set by the 1933 Montevideo Convention, generally considered a norm of customary international law:
  - o *“The State as a person of international law should possess the following qualifications:*
    - (a). a permanent population;
    - (b). a defined territory;
    - (c). government; and
    - (d). capacity to enter into relations with the other states.”
  
- √ *“It is undeniable that Somaliland does indeed qualify for statehood, and it is incumbent on the international community to recognise it... Any efforts to deny or delay would not only put the international community at risk of ignoring the most stable region in the Horn, it would impose untold hardship upon the people of Somaliland due to the denial of foreign assistance that recognition entails.”* - Legal opinion issued by the South African Department of Foreign Affairs (29 April 2003)

Somaliland fulfils all “the normative criteria of statehood as they have traditionally been applied in international law.” A Yannis <sup>45</sup>

“Somaliland has a very good case for legal recognition under the rules of the Organisation of African Unity and, more recently, under those of the African Union.” Michael Walls & Steve Kibble <sup>46</sup>

Somaliland’s independence restores the colonial borders of the former British Protectorate of Somaliland and therefore does not violate the principle of *uti possidetis* – that former colonial borders should be maintained upon independence – which is enshrined in the Consultative Act of the African Union. <sup>47</sup>

- √ Moreover, the then provisional Somalia President of 1960, Adan Abdulle Osman, applied on 1 July 1960 for membership to the United Nations, through its Security Council, and subsequently registered as such by the General Assembly in September 1960, a ‘Republic of Somalia’ that ‘proclaimed independence on 1 July 1960’. This makes the registration specific to that country which became independent on that date alone - Somalia, and not binding on the state of Somaliland in any form or manner.

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45. *State Collapse and the International System: Implosion of Government and the International Legal Order from the French Revolution to the Disintegration of Somalia*, Alexandros Yannis *Institut universitaire de hautes études internationales*, 2000, p.129

46. *Beyond Polarity: Negotiating a Hybrid State in Somaliland*, *African Spectrum*, Michael Walls, Steve Kibble, (Vol. 45, Issue. 1, 2010), pp. 31-56

47. *Constitutive Act of the African Union, Article 4, Para (b), adopted by the Thirty-sixth Ordinary Session of the Assembly of 53 heads of state and government*, 11 July, 2000 - Lome, Togo. [https://au.int/sites/default/files/pages/34873-file-constitutiveact\\_en.pdf](https://au.int/sites/default/files/pages/34873-file-constitutiveact_en.pdf)



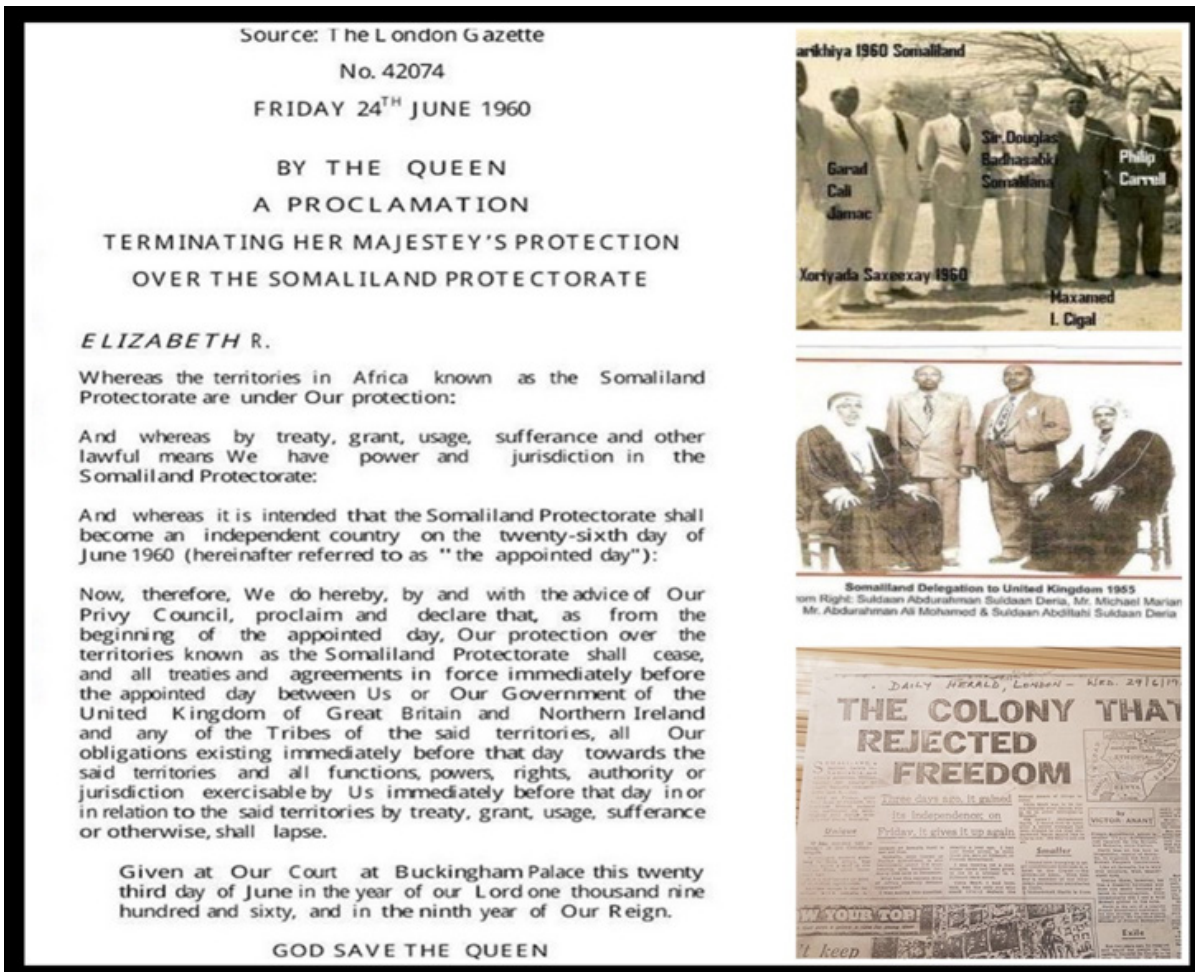


Figure 6: Queen Elizabeth II Proclamation of Independence (left column) and some of the architects of independence (right column)

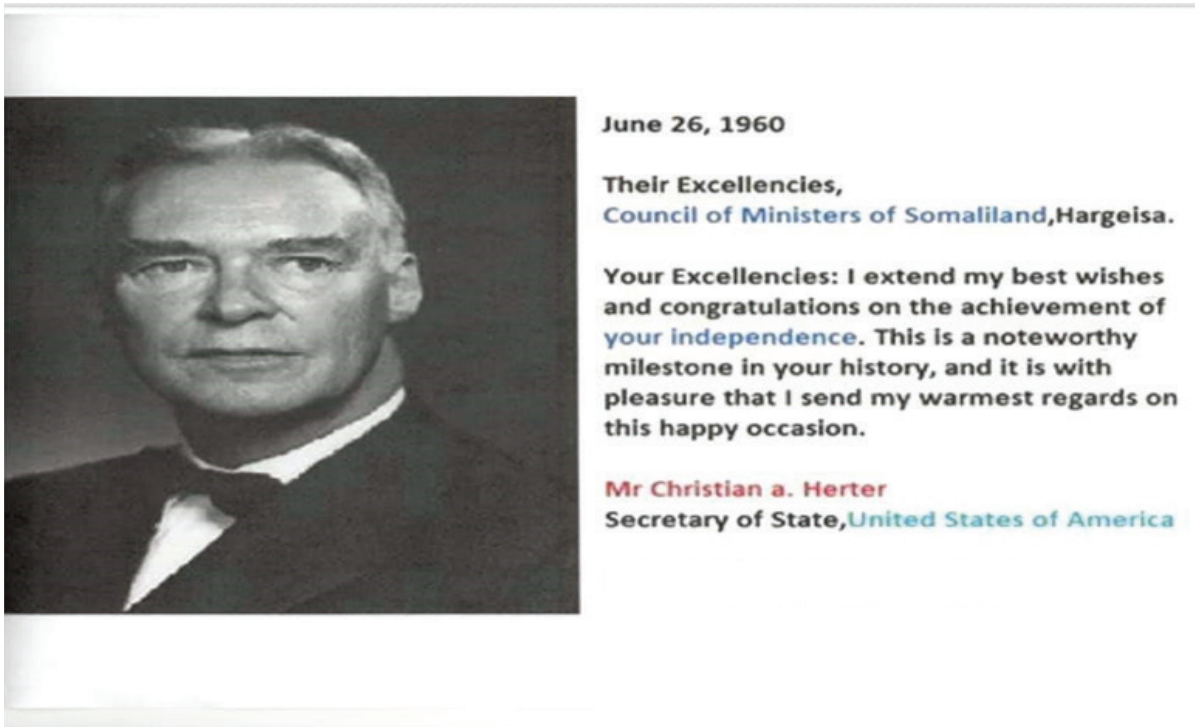


Figure 12: Congratulatory letter from US foreign Minister for the independence of Somaliland

There are several propositions which illumine the grounds on which a lawful reclamation of the 1960 Somaliland independence rests – a situation that, also, makes a petition to the International Court of Justice (ICJ) to decide the case if all other avenues fail to meet the aspirations of more than five million citizens of Somaliland not only a viable alternative but an imperative and vitally unavoidable decision.

The report of an AU fact-finding mission to Somaliland, – which was appointed by a former president of Mali and chairperson of the AU Commission, Alpha Oumar Konare – between April 30 and May 4, 2005, had expressed the opinion that Somaliland had been made a “pariah region” by default. It strongly recommended the country’s recognition, saying that since its declaration of sovereignty in 1991, Somaliland has been steadily laying the foundations of a democratic “modern state.”<sup>48</sup>

The AU mission stated that the ‘Union’ established in 1960 between Somaliland and Somalia brought enormous injustice and suffering to the people of the region. “The fact that the union was never ratified and also did not work to satisfaction while it lasted from 1960 to 1990, makes Somaliland’s search for recognition historically unique and self-justified in African political history. As such, the AU should find a special method of dealing with this outstanding case,” the report recommends.

The report noted that there was plenty to support that the plethora of problems confronting Somaliland in the political, socio-economic, military, humanitarian and other sectors stem from the legacy of a political union with Somalia, that malfunctioned, bringing destruction and ruin upon the population. The mission set out to assess the prevailing political, socio-economic, security, humanitarian and other related issues, as well as to listen to the concerns of the leadership and people of Somaliland, and duly report back the findings and the recommendations to the AU Commission for further action. It was led by the deputy chairperson of the Commission, Patrick Mazimhaka.

*It was of the view that while it was the primary responsibility of the authorities and people of Somaliland to make efforts to acquire political recognition from the international community, the AU should be disposed to judge the case of Somaliland from an objective historical viewpoint and a moral angle vis-a-vis the aspirations of its people.*<sup>49</sup>

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48. Somaliland: AU Mission to Somaliland Says Recognition Overdue, <https://unpo.org/article/3867>

49. *Ibid*

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CHAPTER

7

# ECONOMY



### 7.1. Growth rate: 3.5%

Taking 2012 as a starting point, the country's budget had been on the rise indicating a healthy, overall growth despite the severe drought in 2015 and the livestock export ban later in 2017.

### 7.2. GDP (Gross Domestic Product)

2,573 million US dollars (2017 EST.)<sup>50</sup>

#### 7.2.0. GDP - per capita

675 US Dollars.<sup>51</sup>

#### 7.3.0. Agriculture

In Somaliland farming contributes between 8% and 15% of the GDP, as livestock production and exports are the backbone of the economy and the biggest hard currency earner for the country. Due to the importance of livestock, the Somaliland Government treats it as a different sector and has a separate ministry dedicated to livestock.<sup>52</sup>

It is estimated that about 10% of the land is

suitable for agriculture. Despite being erratic and often scanty there are nevertheless two main rainy seasons. These are GU or spring (April to June) and Deyr or autumn (September to October), in between these two rainy seasons there is also Karan (late July through September) most occur in the western regions.

The farming in Somaliland is predominantly subsistence in nature. The principal grain crop grown under rain fed conditions is sorghum, followed by maize; and both crops are grown primarily for household consumption by small-scale farmers. Fruit and vegetable crops, which are relatively small, are grown mainly for commercial purposes and the principal commercial crops are tomatoes, lettuce, onions, watermelon, peppers, cabbages, oranges, lemons, and papaya.

Rain-fed farming accounts for 90% of the total area cultivated, while the area under irrigation constitutes only 10%, supporting about 4,000 farm families. The sector is dominated by smallholder

<sup>50</sup> Budget Outlook for 2019, Ministry of Finance Development

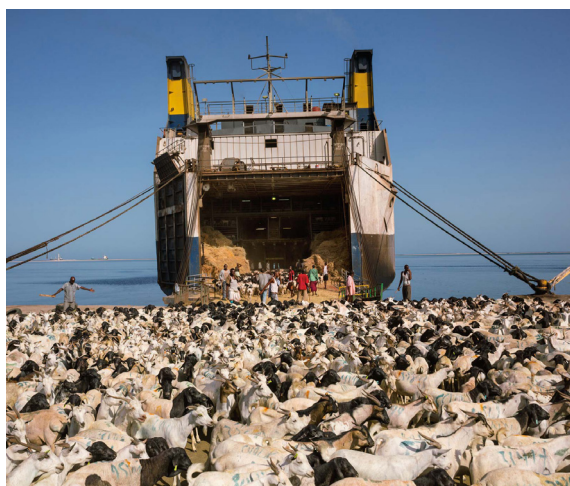
<sup>51</sup> Somaliland Central Statistics Department of the Ministry of National Development

<sup>52</sup> Somaliland Ministry of Trade and Tourism

farmers who own farms ranging from 2 to 30 hectares in the area. The average farm size is approximately 4 hectares. During the dry season, irrigated farms make good profits, because the supply in the vegetable and fruit markets is low in this period. The shortfalls are usually filled by imports from neighboring countries such as Ethiopia and Somalia. In recent years, the cultivation of watermelon has emerged as an important source of income for the farmers. Presently, watermelon is the only fruit crop that is exported successfully to Djibouti.

#### 7.4.0. Livestock <sup>53</sup>

Livestock is currently the leading economic sector in all of Somaliland. Livestock production accounts for 60-65% of the gross domestic product (GDP).



Based on 1998 FAO estimates of livestock numbers and past growth rates, Somaliland has about 1.69 million camels, 0.40 million head of cattle, 8.4 million goats and 8.75 million sheep in 2011. The Sool, Sanaag and Togdheer regions account for about 75% of all livestock. Somaliland's major livestock exports are sheep and goats, accounting for 91% of all animal exports. In 2010 a total of 2.352 million shoats were exported through the Berbera port (including from Ethiopian sources). Of this total, 1.612 million (69%) were exported between September and November for the Hajj festivities. Assuming an average export price of

US\$70, the estimated total value would be over US\$160 million. With government taxes at around US\$3.60 per head, this means tax revenue of around US\$8.5 million or 10% of the Somaliland government's total revenue.

Somaliland, and to a certain extent the other exporters from the Horn of Africa, depends on only a few countries for exports. For example, out of the 2.585 million head of sheep and goat exported through the Port of Berbera in 2010, about 78% went to Saudi Arabia, 20% to Yemen and the rest to Egypt and Oman. With increased investment, smart regulation, infrastructure development, sector coordination, and improved branding, Somaliland has ample opportunities to capitalize on the growth of the livestock sector in the Middle East and other regions of the world, while supporting the growing local demand.

#### 7.4.1. Livestock Population

There were above 20 million heads of livestock in Somaliland in the year 2013. Of course, since then, there happened a severe drought that has culled stocks, especially, cattle, camels and sheep down to a less level. Much head found salvage along the Golis. Mountains which retains much of its foliage throughout the year. Livestock populations in the West of Somaliland did not also suffer as much in the 2015 protracted drought which ran offer to early 2016. Other livestock had also been trucked to remote areas in Somalia where it found succor.

#### 7.4.2. Poultry Farms

There are 12 successful poultry farms in the country which are small scale farms that hold between 300- 60,000 heads of chickens and are mostly layers (egg-layers) based in the peri-urban farms. The poultry industry is new and poultry production is an emerging source of food that if

<sup>53</sup> Somaliland Ministries of Trade/Tourism & Livestock/Fisheries

encouraged and invested well can be viable. The core challenges of poultry industry include feed (feed cost is very high in Somaliland due to limited agricultural by-products), limited experience of farmers for poultry rearing and absence of local agencies for the production of low-cost vaccines to control endemic diseases of poultry. Poultry is a good source of income for households, nutrition for children and is manageable by the females if well trained.

Mostly, the poultry breeds kept in Somaliland are European breeds (hybrid) which prove difficult to adapt the local weather and the existing endemic diseases, the local breeds are characterized by low production and productivity.

### 7.4.3. Dairy Farms

There are increasing peri-urban dairy farms in suburbs of cities which are a form of livestock investment to turn livestock products into a commercialized sector that is capable to maximize returns from animal products. There are nine (9) peri-urban dairy farms registered by the Ministry of Livestock since 2011, these farms were invested by traders in the urban centers which are a success story when it comes to investments. These Peri-urban farms include dairy and fattening farms, there have been also 15 (15 milk cooperatives and associations) milk cooperatives and meat cooperatives who are aimed to bring



the stakeholders together in a coherent way that provides the voice. The increasing farms do require capacity –building, enabling environment, including credit system, technical support and strengthen their governing structure. There is a small industry that processes milk (although its process powder milk imported from abroad as bottled Yoghurt). These farms and industries are not only investment but are also demonstration form that is eye-opening for the other traders. There is, therefore, an important space for the government to institutionalize them and create continual awareness programs to encourage more investment.

### 7.4.4. Contribution to Food Security<sup>54</sup>

Livestock plays a very crucial role in the food security of the people that inhabit the Somali ecosystems. Meat and milk are the two animal food sources which people of Somaliland depend on; it is obvious that milk and meat are very important staples in the Somaliland diet, a major source of proteins, minerals as well as vitamins for the rural population to whom vegetables are often inaccessible. Rural households meet their demand for carbohydrates through the sale of their livestock in local markets investing the earnings to purchase rice, maize, sorghum, tea, sugar and pasta amongst other products.

Selling livestock to buy grain could be lucrative as long as the “caloric terms of trade” are good for livestock owners. This relates pastoral production to pastoral consumption of cereals (both expressed in energy values) through the price of the respective products and their energy value on the market. However, to profit from this exchange of protein for carbohydrates, pastoralists rely on three things: trader willingness to buy animals or milk when cash is needed for food, trader willingness to sell low-cost cereals or grains when pastoralists need them at places that are safely accessible, and the ability to sell animals without

<sup>54</sup> *Statistical year book of the Ministry of Livestock and Fishery Development, Farham A Yussuf, Abdirizak M Ahmed, 2018*

jeopardizing the national herd size, structure, and composition. This concept of “caloric terms of trade” helps the understanding of what goes on in pastoral societies, and it evolves around the relative caloric value between grain and livestock or milk.

## 7.5.0. Fisheries

### 7.5.1. Coastal Characteristics

The western coast has wide sandy beaches, while the eastern coast has relatively narrow sandy beaches broken at intervals by rocky outcrops and cliffs. The continental shelf on the eastern coast is between 5 to 10kms wide when measured at the 200m depth line. The shelf becomes wider-reaching around 30-50kms near Zeila town area at the border with Djibouti.



### 7.5.2. Fish Resources

The average annual value of the potential fish catch is estimated at US\$32 million, assuming a freight on Board (FOB) price of US\$2 per kilogram based on current practices and sales in Gulf markets as reported in a variety of United Nations and World Bank reports (JNA, Productive Sectors Report, Sept, 2007). As per recent estimates, the yearly sustainable catch available to Somaliland fishermen could be around 40,000 metric tons (Shuraako.org).

### 7.5.3. Current Fish Production

Somaliland is endowed with a rich coastline along the Gulf of Aden and Indian Ocean. These waters are home to an extensive list of fish species, including various species of tuna, albacore, lobster, swordfish, shark, and many others. Even though no comprehensive data is available, estimates from fragmented assessments point to the existence of large untapped resources in a pristine environment (IUCN 1997/99 and Cesvi 2011).

The estimated catch by local Somaliland fishermen is around 15,000 – 20,000 metric tons annually. However, it must be noted that fishing boats from neighboring countries like Yemen do still come and fish illegally in Somaliland water. These actions are being taken seriously. The actual number of boats and the

quantity of fish they catch annually is difficult to determine; however, it is estimated that illegal fish reaches 4800mt – 6000mt yearly. Yemenis are known to utilize wooden or plastic boats of small sizes (8-11m in length) with carrying capacities between 3mt and 7mt. They tend to be afraid of being arrested and stay far away from Somaliland fishing water in the daytime.

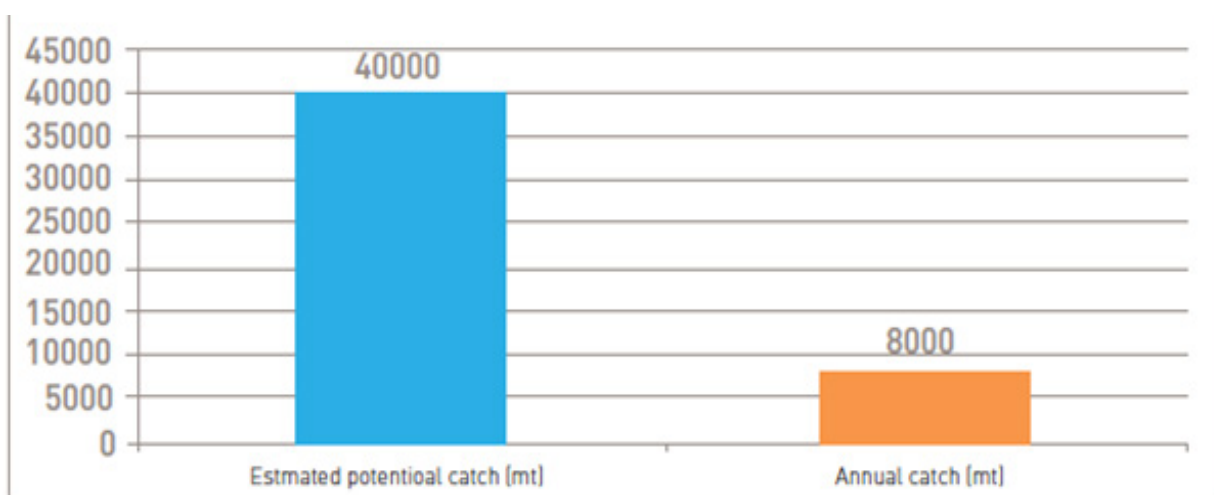


Figure 7: Gap in Somaliland Fisheries sector to be exploited annually

DISTRIBUTION OF TARGETED FISH SPECIES BY REGION		
REGION	COASTLINE COVERED (KM)	MAIN TARGETED FISH SPECIES
Awdal	230	Sea Cucumber, Shrimps, Crabs and Rock fish, Shark
Sahil	210	Mackerels, Rock Fish, Lobsters, Shark
Sanaag	430	Tuna, Sardines, Anchovy, Shark Fins, Rock fish and lobsters, <sup>7</sup>

Figure 8: Major Fish Species by region

Somaliland's potential for expansion can be illustrated by reviewing the status of fishing sectors of nearby countries. Yemen, which shares the same sea with Somaliland has been producing 230,000, 180,000 and 174,800 metric tons in the years 2006, 2007 and 2008 respectively (World bank 2009). In the Hadramout region of Yemen which is directly opposite to the Somaliland coast, the average production of fish for the years 2003-2005 was 85,511mt. It's therefore fair to assume that similar production is feasible in Somaliland waters provided.

#### 7.5.4. Fishing Communities/Cooperatives

There are major settlements of fishing communities along the coast of Somaliland. Starting from the west, they are Loyado, Tokoshi, Zeila, lughaya, Elsheik, Bulahar, Geri, Berbera, Elgerdi, Karin, Sha'l'o, Heiss, Mait, Laskorey, Elayo.



## 7.6.0. Extractives and Energy



*Building of Ministry of Energy and Minerals*

With the kind of the yet-to-be-tapped abundance of gemstones, hydrocarbons and minerals resources that the Republic of Somaliland is endowed with, the time has come for the country to invite international investors to partner with it to explore potential and optimize production. The resources need to be extracted to alleviate the country from its economic recess which initiative is already taking momentum at some quarters. The efforts, however, are somewhat hampered by the absence of intrepid international partners to spearhead the country's diplomatic recognition without which no meaningful, multilateral agreements can be reached.

Certainly, investors who take the first step of acquiring minerals exploration licenses to look for a commercial deposit of the mineral of their choice or a mining license to exploit a proven resource will be richly rewarded for their efforts. However, a more detailed, geological-geochemical exploration is needed to assess the commercial mining potential of these occurrences,

discoveries, and potential minable deposits. We strongly urge international mining companies to invest in Somaliland's mineral sector. The government of Somaliland will welcome such investors with conducive and competitive mining terms.

### 7.6.1. Energy

Currently, the principal sources of energy in Somaliland are of two main origins: Imported petroleum and local biomass resources. Petroleum is imported in the form of refined diesel, petrol, and aviation gas, all of which are used for transportation and electric power generation.



Other imported petroleum products including kerosene and natural gas which are used for cooking by certain segments of the urban community. Kerosene, in addition to cooking, is also used for illumination by a large number of consumers.

Somaliland power producers now use imported diesel fuel as the only source of energy to generate electricity. It is estimated that collectively, companies burn more than 90-100,000 liters of diesel fuel every day in Somaliland. Independent Power Producers (IPPs)<sup>4</sup> also struggle with heavy operational and maintenance costs of diesel generators. The electricity tariff rate in Somaliland is probably the highest in Africa at approximately \$1.00- 1.40 /kWh<sup>5</sup>. As global consumption, fuel costs and unstable imported fuel supply problems continue to rise, electricity costs will also rise.

This level of cost is already restricting business development in Somaliland, and as it increases, at a certain point it will be too expensive for the majority of business and ordinary consumers in Somaliland. For power producers, it is becoming difficult to stay profitable and be sustainable. As a result, the Government is prioritizing energy investment from private and public sources and is confident that major investment opportunities exist to upgrade, diversify and modernize this important sector.

It has been estimated that the capital investment required by Somaliland's energy sector is US\$15.17 million for 2012-2016, of which \$5 million is expected to come from the private sector (National Development Plan 2012-2016). Key priority challenges that investors, policy-makers, and donors need to address in the sector include:

- √ The need to invest in the outdated power plants and limited power distribution network; T
- √ The need to diversify away from the dependence on imported fuel for power generation – which has resulted in higher electricity costs in

Somaliland.

- √ The development of necessary skills and technical resources to utilize alternative energy sources for power production.
- √ The development, review, passage, enforcement, and wide dissemination of key pieces of energy legislation.
- √ The need to promote energy saving culture and invest in energy efficient technology.

Since the declaration of independence in 1991, Somaliland's electricity system was rebuilt and is now operated almost entirely by independent power producers each supplying areas in its neighborhood. Some of these are "dedicated" IPPs who sell electricity as a central part of their business model, but many others need electricity generation for their own business activities and sell excess electricity to nearby customers to supplement their own income and recoup costs. Both kinds of IPPs have fully vertically-integrated systems; they have built and maintained infrastructure to generate, transmit and distribute electricity in the areas in which they operate.

In Somaliland, each area's electricity infrastructure has been developed by the IPP working in that area. Until now, grids have not been connected, and the systems have not been unbundled, due to the high fixed cost of building new infrastructure. In each of those areas, almost all power distribution is via diesel generators for which fuel is expensive and of variable quality.

While over 20 IPPs operate in Somaliland, there has been significant consolidation of IPPs in recent years with many IPPs coming together to form one large company in order to deal with duplication and inefficiencies. This is a trend that is emerging in Hargeisa, Somaliland's capital, as well as other cities. Larger players have used this opportunity to pursue outside funding which is considerably more difficult for smaller players.

There is a clear need for investment in the energy sector, to reduce costs and prices, and to keep up with Somaliland's rapid economic expansion.

### 7.6.2. Hydrocarbons

When it comes to hydrocarbons, Somaliland is one of the few high potentials yet underexplored areas around the globe. The existence of oil and gas in Somaliland was known since the beginning of the last century, through oil seepages in several parts of the country confirming the working petroleum system. It is only the finding of the big structures and the discovery of commercial accumulations that have so far eluded the limited and intermitted exploration and the small number drilling over that length of time.

The petroleum system of Somaliland consists of high-quality source rocks of various ages, reservoir units of both classic and carbonates as well as excellent sealing rocks. The trapping mechanism is dominated by extensional tectonic structures of rotated fault blocks and related ductile deformations. The geology of Somaliland is very similar to that of Yemen as the two sides of the Gulf of Aden were only separated during Miocene (around 30 million years).

Reconstruction of the Arabian Plate to the position before the opening of the Gulf of Aden shows that the southern Yemen productive basins extend to Somaliland.

The stratigraphy of the two countries compares very well and Somaliland has numerous basins with the potentiality of containing commercial hydrocarbons.

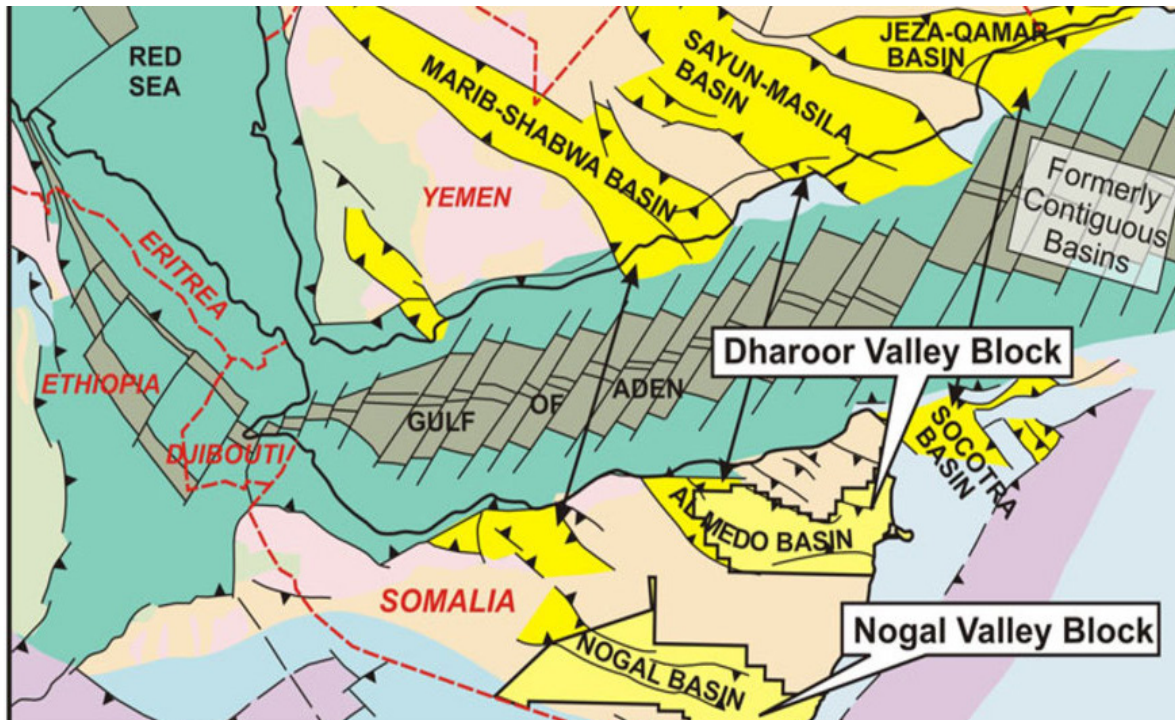


Figure 10: Extension of Yemen Basin to Somaliland

The petroleum exploration interest of the country started in 1912 when an oil seep at Dhagah Shabel, 38 km south-east of Berbera, was reported. In 1959 Standard Vacuum (Mobil and Esso) drilled three wells (Dhagah Shabel-1, -2, and -3) near the Dhagah Shabel oil seep, without the aid of subsurface control. Two of the wells recovered a small amount of free oil (33.6 API) from the Wanderer limestone (Upper Jurassic) and Nubian sandstone (Upper Cretaceous). This is believed to be sourced by the high-quality Upper Jurassic Dhaghani shale. Interest in oil exploration recommenced in the late 1970s and, in 1980, GECO conducted an extensive offshore

speculative seismic survey in the Gulf of Aden for the Somali government. In the same year Quintana Oil Company and Hunt Oil Company conducted a detail exploration programme which included an aeromagnetic survey and a seismic programme over onshore blocks 32 and 35.

From 1986 to 1990 Conoco Oil Company carried over 4000km of 2D seismic survey in area within their old blocks which covered almost 98,700km<sup>2</sup>, in Nugal basin of Sool and Togdheer regions of Somaliland. Based on the data acquired, processed and interpreted Conoco sanctioned the drilling of two wells; Nugaal-1 & Kelis

In March 2009, TGS-NOPEC Geophysical Company (TGS) completed processing and interpretation of speculative survey in Somaliland, acquired in partnership with the Somaliland Ministry of Water and Mineral Resources (currently named as The Ministry of Energy and Minerals). The programs included 5,300km of marine 2D seismic and approximately 34,000km of high-resolution aeromagnetic data covering onshore areas.

#### 7.6.2.1. Recent Multi-Client 2d Seismic Project



The Ministry of Energy and Minerals formulated and facilitated a multi-client 2D seismic project in which it

presented to all the international oil companies which have production-sharing agreements with the government. This was an effort by the ministry to enable the IOC's to fulfill their exploration obligation on a slimmer budget than having to get into separate contracts with seismic contractors.

BGP Inc. (a Chinese national seismic contractor and the leading company in onshore seismic) won the international tender held by the Ministry. The first project of the multi-client arrangement was concluded in January 2018, acquiring of 3,500km of 2D.

The second project of the multi-client has been concluded six months later, July 2018, acquiring nearly 800km of 2D seismic for RAK Gas on block SL9. The recent oil and gas activities and indeed the other major international investment in Somaliland is a fair reflection of the peace and stability this country had for a long time. In addition, it is at the most priority of the recently elected government to increase production. It is particularly giving a great deal of attention on hydrocarbons and minerals.

This is not surprising since all most all the regional countries have now made discoveries of oil and gas and since the focus of the oil and gas sector is currently on Eastern Africa The above-mentioned priority is not only a government-driven campaign but rather a national ambition embraced by the whole community.

The success of recent exploration projects was made possible by the support and effort of the public particularly the local communities. With regard to safety and security, it is a point of noteworthy that during the two major seismic projects, covering 5 regions there have not been any major security incidents and on the safety side, there has been a great achievement of 2 million man-hours without LTI.

The current scheme of Somaliland oil and gas blocks consists of 24 blocks of both onshore and offshore. Only a quarter of that is presently held by IOC's that have exploration and production sharing agreement with the government. The block system is one degree one block and therefore are huge in size (each about 12,000km<sup>2</sup>). Many of these blocks have a great deal of potentiality and open for investors. Somaliland is elongated east-west along the Gulf of Aden and hence all the blocks are not far from the coast furthest being about 300km away.

### 7.6.3. Minerals

Based on the geological and geochemical surveys and studies that were conducted to date, the mineralized zones of Somaliland are highly prospective to host a wide range of minerals. Studies that were conducted to date have recorded the occurrences of precious metals, base metals, heavy minerals, non-metallic minerals, and gemstones in many areas across the regions of the Republic of Somaliland.

The occurrence of precious metals, including platinum, silver, and gold, have been recorded in several regions of Somaliland, and a gold prospect area was discovered in the region of eastern Sanaag, fueling increased artisanal activity in the area since last year . Recorded occurrences and prospects for base metals in the country include Zinc, lead, copper, iron, titanium, manganese, beryllium, columbite-tantalite, chromium, molybdenum, tin, nickel, vanadium, ilmenite and bismuth.<sup>55</sup> Furthermore, mineral sands deposits along with the coastal areas of Somaliland, east and west of Berbera, have the potential to contain commercially important titaniferous heavy minerals that can be easily mined. Heavy minerals accumulation in these sands includes ilmenite, magnetite, rutile, monazite and zircon. A recent study of these heavy mineral sands

<sup>55</sup> *Extractives and Mineral Potential, H A Duale, Extractives and Energy Consultant East Africa, 2019*

has concluded that the development prospects of these mineral sands are encouraging.

Somaliland is also endowed with significant deposits of non-metallic industrial minerals such as gypsum, mica, feldspar, kaolin, and sapiolite. Decorative stones such as jade, which are currently mined, and quartz crystals are additionally available. For instance, there is a world-class, ready to be mined gypsum deposit of 96-99% purity estimated at 180 million tons above ground and nearly twice this quantity below the surface in an area near the Port of Berbera. Gypsum is mainly used for construction and also as an additive in the manufacture of cement. If an investor is found to mine and set up a processing plant there, it could easily be shipped on a massive scale for export to other countries. The availability of dimension stones such as granite, limestone, marble, travertine, quartz-based stones are also widely available in Somaliland.

### 7.6.4. Gemstones

As an extension of the Mozambique belt which hosts many types of gemstones in Kenya, Tanzania, and Madagascar, Somaliland's mineralized zones contain a variety of gemstones that thus far have only been mined in a small scale through artisanal activity. Gemstones occurrences found in Somaliland include emerald, ruby, sapphire, aquamarine, garnet, opal, amethyst, and topaz to name a few.



### 7.6.5. Salt<sup>56</sup>

Somaliland is blessed with abundant deposit of salt that has a potential for investment and export. Salt is currently mass-produced by evaporation of seawater or brine from brine wells and salt lakes. Mining of rock salt is also a major source; however, Somaliland is still far to reach its full potential of salt production. China is the world's main supplier of salt. In 2010, world production was estimated at 270 million tons, the top five producers (in million tons) being China (60.0), United States (45.0), India (20.0) Germany (16.5), and Canada (14.0).



### 7.6.6. Coal

In the abstract to a scientific study paper he wrote on the International Journal of Oil, Gas and Coal Technology, Dr. Mohamed Y Ali, asserted :

*Geological field mapping along with available geological and drilling data suggest that Somaliland has favorable stratigraphy and structure for coal deposits. Lignitic to sub-bituminous coal deposits with ages from Jurassic to Oligocene-Miocene occur in various locations across the country including Hed-Hed valley south of Onkhor, Guveneh hills north of Las Dureh and Daban Basin southeast of Berbera. However, the coal occurrence at Hed-Hed has both the greatest thickness and highest quality.*<sup>57</sup>

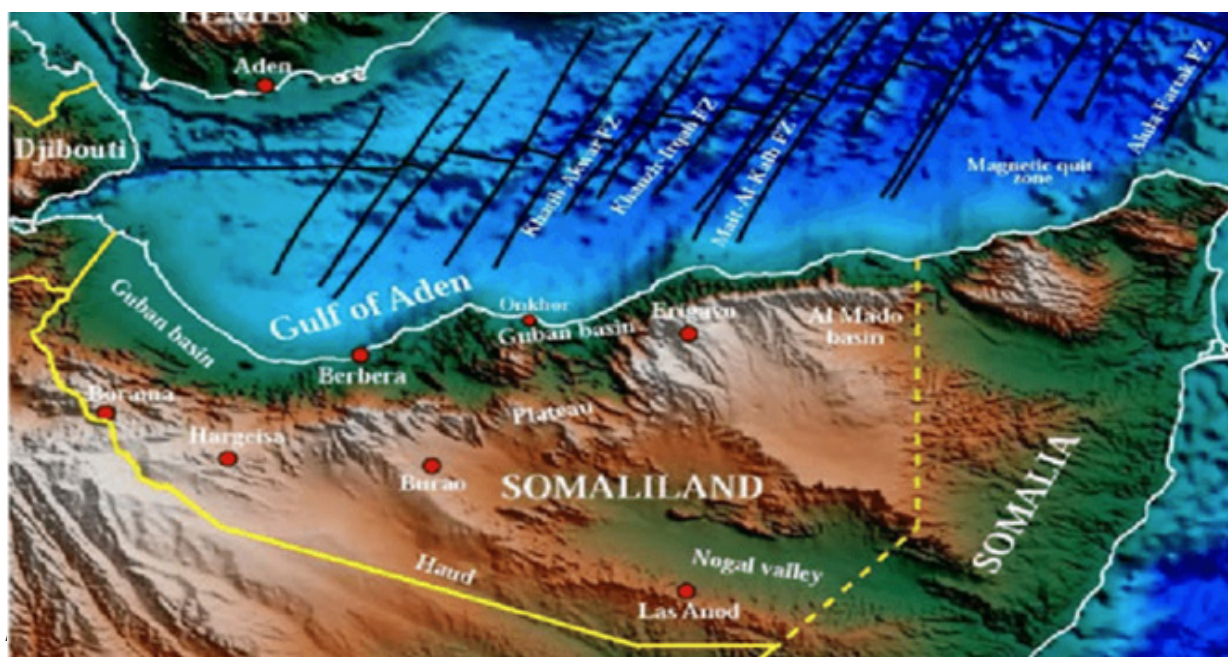


Figure 11: Map of Somaliland and surrounding regions showing plate boundaries and rift zone-transform faults of the Gulf of Aden

<sup>56</sup> Ministry of Trade and Tourism

<sup>57</sup> *Geology and Coal Potential of Somaliland*, M Y Ali, *Int. J. Oil, Gas and Coal Technology*, Vol. 2, No. 2, 2009

area in the years between 2006 and 2007, the following had been mapped:

- In the area of Gal Hamud ((45°09.885' E; 10°09.713' N)), eight kilometres north of Bihendula, coal stringers showing branches and trunks are deposited in the Lower Jurassic sandstones and conglomeratic beds of the Adigrat Formation which underlie the Bihen Limestone.
- Hed-Hed (46°14.484' E; 10°33.802' N) is located about 25 kilometres south of the coastal village of Onkhor. Coal deposits occur approximately 4 kilometres upstream in the Hed-Hed gorge from its junction with the Hodmo ravine. Hed-Hed has the greatest thickness and highest quality of coal so far exposed in the country but not ash free where Gal Hamud has the highest quality with low ash content and high calorific values.

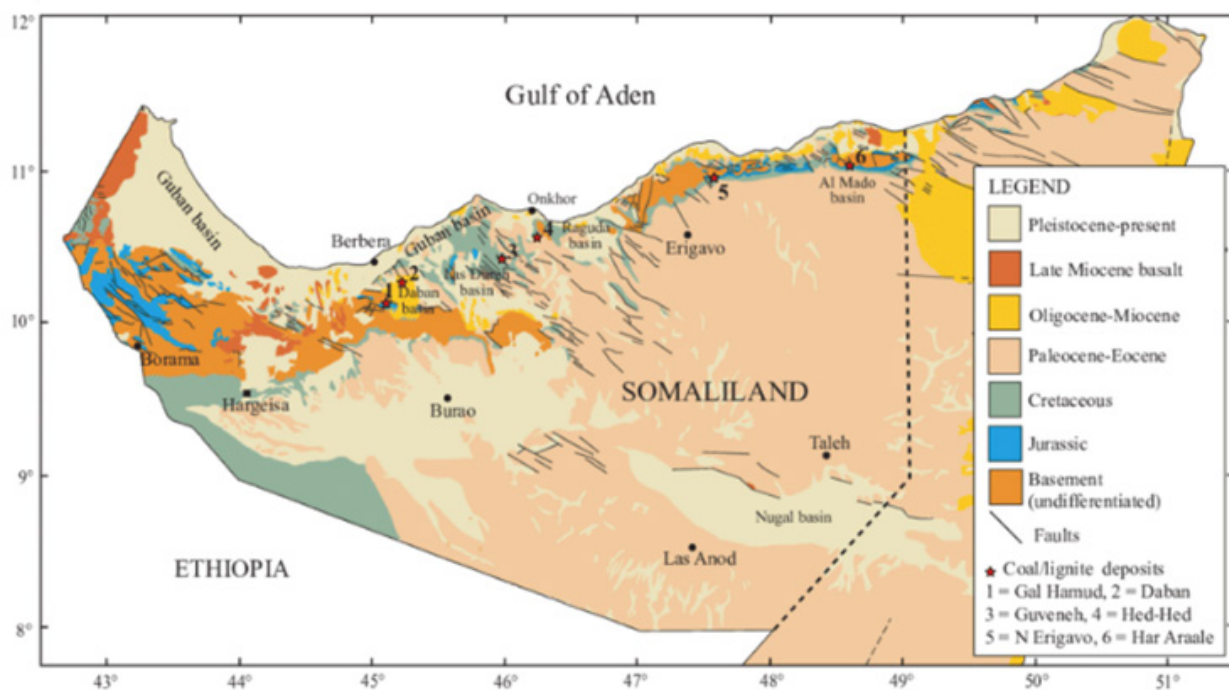
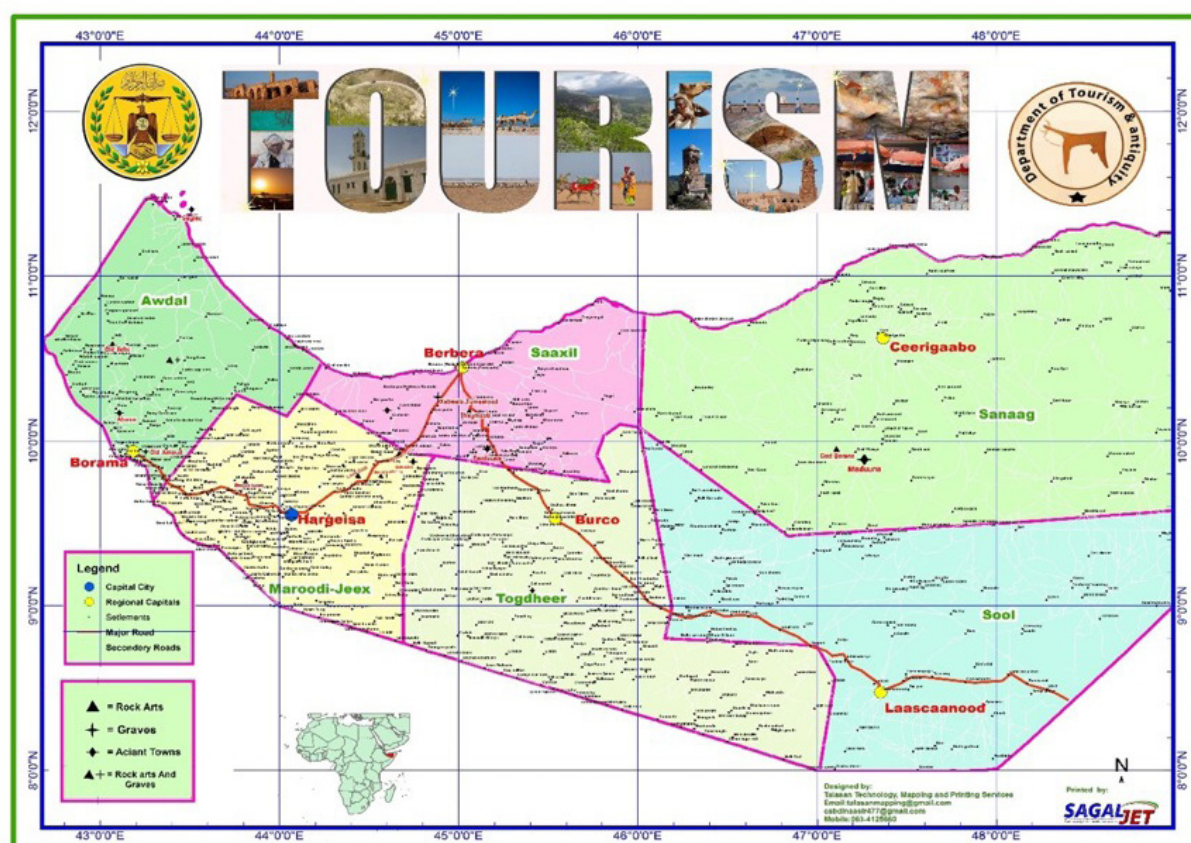


Figure 12: Simplified geological map of Somaliland showing locations of coal deposits

## 7.6.7. Tourism sites



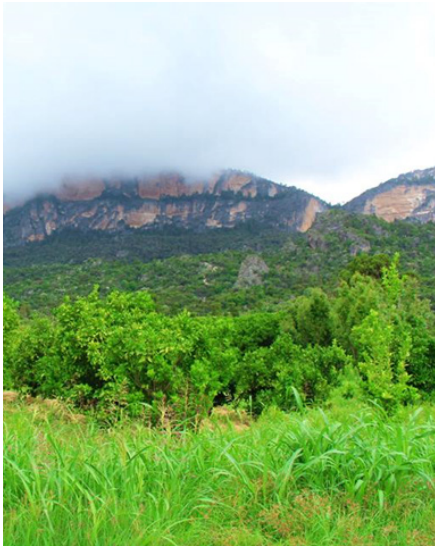
The Republic of Somaliland has always been mapped as an area rich in both natural and prehistoric attractions whose promise mesmerizes tourists and archeologists alike.

Even the best of tourist and travel agencies promoting the rich heritage of the country hardly make an indent on the untold of, untapped, unspoiled, pristine locations that local communities accept as features blended into the local lore, local terrain without realizing the added value they hold at the national and international fora as cradles of civilization or as tourist attractions which can, potentially, account for much of the country's foreign currency earnings.

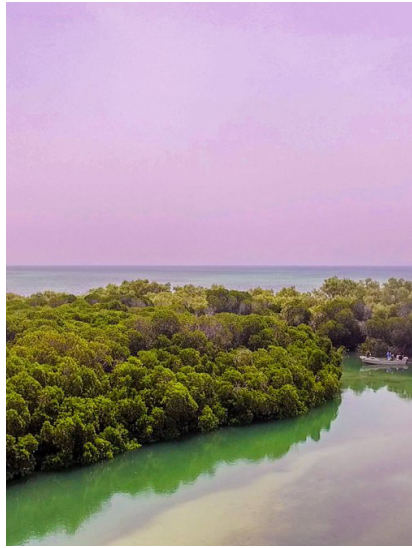
Somaliland tourist attractions at both the micro and macro-level contexts are much more than have been covered by tourism agencies. Presently, the Gulf of Aden port of Berbera is one of the destinations most frequented by tourists. The city does not only over one of the most pristine beaches in the region but, also, buildings and sites that date back to times long past such as the Ottoman-Turk footprints in the area, Zeila, and its archipelago of islands, is another seaside town which attests to the Ottoman Empire's incursion into the area. Zeila is often referred to as the entry point of Islam into Africa.

The scenic high vintage point views which Sheikh mountains, Daallo, Surud, Al Madow and the rest of that part of the Golis Range mountains in the Sanaag region offer visitors are attractions that had held the attention and imagination of tourists and tourism boards for a long time. The possibility of developing the sites to a scale at par with Alps sites has often been discussed but not implemented to date. At some points above the awesome escarpments, for instance, one finds himself looking down at majestic clouds slowly moving, blending and separating hundreds of meters down.





*Daallo Mountains*



*Sacadadiin Island*



*Las-gel cave paintings*

## 8.0. Telecommunications



At present, telecommunication in Somaliland has entered the fifth generation. It is one of the most thriving, best developed industries in Somaliland. The government is in the process of effecting interconnectivity among the two mobile gsm providers: Telesom and Sometel. Both companies also provide mobile banking and internet access, as well as prepaid call plans, monthly subscription plans, international roaming, SMS, WAP (over both GSM and GPRS), residential fixed-line services. Both companies are about to introduce 5G services on top of the enviably, highly sophisticated platforms they are already running successfully. Telesom was founded in 2001, Sometel in 2008 though becoming fully operational in 2010. Somcable largely concentrates on the provision of fiber optic Internet services and was founded in 2016.



**Somaliland Beverage Industries**

لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا اللَّهُ مُحَمَّدٌ رَسُوْلُهُ



CHAPTER

8

# INVESTMENT POTENTIAL

## 9. INVESTMENT POTENTIAL



The Republic of Somaliland has undertaken major steps to attract both national and international investors in the fecund productive sector of the country. The reforms and regulatory frameworks developed aim to boost investor confidence in almost all sectors as has been set out in the Investor Guide.

The Government of Somaliland articulates why investors must have every confidence to step forward, citing six reasons : 1) dependable security and democracy practices; 2) abundance of natural resources such as deposits of oil, gas and coal, minerals and gemstones, energy, etc.; 3) conducive business environment for both national and international investors. Many foreign direct investments have already taken roots such as Coca Cola and DP World; 4) robust and state-of-the-art telecommunications sector which also offers grounds for further investments and improvement; 5) livestock, Agriculture and fisheries offer unlimited potential for investors, and 6) sound regulatory reforms which create an investment climate. Important legislation such as ‘the Foreign Investment Law, the Islamic Banking Law, the Central Banking Law, the Electrical Energy Act, and the Commercial Banking Act–has either been passed or is making its way through parliament’.

Based on the Somaliland Five-year Development Plan there are six sectors in the economy that are regarded as priority sectors, and the government is seeking to encourage foreign investment in those sectors: banking and finance, livestock, agriculture, fisheries, industry and energy, tourism, telecommunication, ICT, roads, and much more.

The most significant foreign direct investment (FDI) which the Republic of Somaliland has landed, in recent years, is the Berbera port deal with the Dubai-owned international ports manager DP World. The Republic of Somaliland entered into an agreement with the Dubai-based ports operator worth US\$442 million in exchange for a 30-year concession. Early on during this period, DP World will: (a) operate the Red Sea port; (b) extend and build an additional quay; (c) build a free zone close to the port with the objective to turn Berbera into a trade hub linking inland Africa to the outer world; and (d) to build a 250-kilometer dual-carriageway connecting the Red Sea port to the trading town of Wajaale straddling the Somaliland-Ethiopia border.

# SOMALILAND IN PICTURES

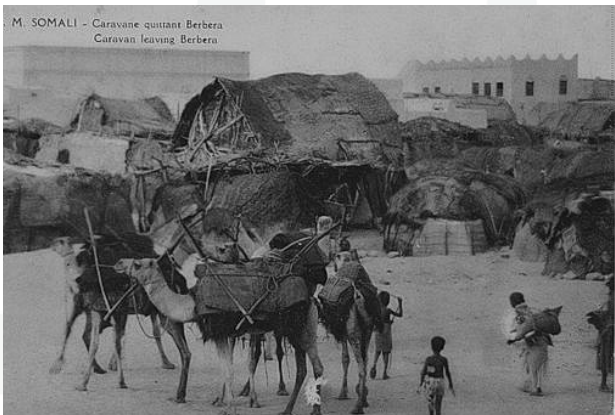
## PRE-INDEPENDENCE SOMALILAND



Somaliland Elders before 1958



British Somaliland Scouts



M. SOMALI - Caravane quittant Berbera  
Caravan leaving Berbera

Camel Caravan leaving Berbera



British Somaliland camel corps



On patrol here in 1935, the Somaliland Camel Corps



Somaliland Sultans Visit Great Britain

# SOMALILAND IN PICTURES

## DESTRUCTION OF CITIES



Ruined parts of the city



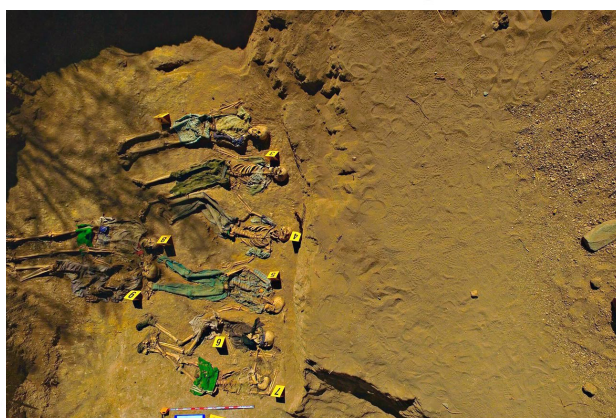
A destroyed Tanker outside Hargeisa



Hargeisa in Ruins after being attacked in 1988



Somaliland War Memorial



One of the may mass grave sites in Somaliland



Looking for landmines in post war Somaliland

# SOMALILAND IN PICTURES

## SOMALILAND SITES AND PLACES



Domestic tourists on Sacaadadiin Island



Somaliland bird species



Domestic tourists on Daallo Mountains



Capital City Hargeisa by Night



The old Temple. Masjid of Zaila



The Fertile Wajaale Valley

# SOMALILAND IN PICTURES



Somaliland Passports, Ordinary, Service & Diplomatic



Somaliland currency notes



Somaliland military parade



Somaliland military academy graduation



Somaliland Police Service



Somaliland Army during 18th May Celebrations











Sha'ab Area presidency Road #1, HARGEISA, SOMALILAND

+252 5233339 Communication@somalilandmfa.com

[www.somalilandmfa.com](http://www.somalilandmfa.com)