

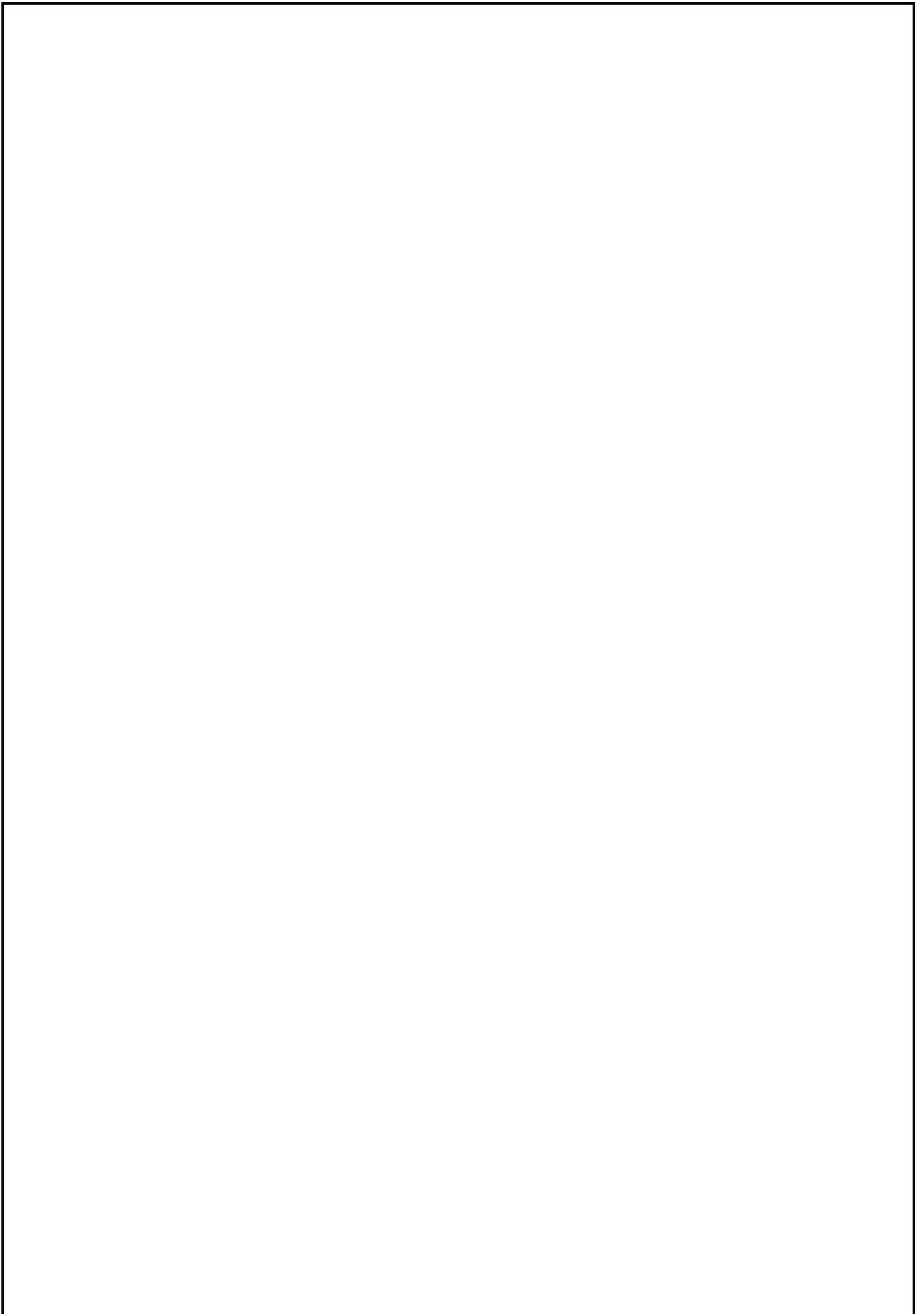


Emergency Aid (Gurmad) for the
Revival of the Somali State

Reflections on the past and future of
the Somali Republic

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Preface

The Somali republic has been given the chance of a new beginning. It is an opportunity to make a decisive move away from a clan-based system and to lay the foundations of a modern, democratic state where all Somalis are equal before the law and resources and administrative posts are distributed on a basis of merit, not clan.

This short publication is a collection of reflections on the recent history of Somalia in which I have been personally involved, and on some issues that will determine whether we take this opportunity or not. Some material is taken from an earlier publication under the same title in December 2008.

In the appendix are articles and reports which I hope will nourish the thinking of the reader. I am thankful to Peter Riddell and Jim Baynard-Smith for helping me to assemble this document.

Osman Jama Ali

February 2013

A life bound up with Somali history

I was born of a nomadic family at the beginning of the Second World War in Haud and Reserved Area, or Western Somalia, now the Fifth Region of Ethiopia. My parents died of malaria when I was two years old and I was brought up by my maternal uncle. I was fortunate as my uncle was working for the British Somaliland administration, and he got me into the well-known Sheikh School in Northern Somalia.

In 1940 the Italian fascist troops took over all the Somali territories. Then in 1941 the British took over all the Somali territories, Ethiopia and Eritrea from the Italians. As a boy, after the war, I still remember listening to the Somali soldiers who had fought in the British, Italian and French armies. Their stories of other peoples and cultures opened our eyes to the wider world.

In 1946 the British Foreign Secretary, Ernest Bevin, seeing that all the Somalis were one homogeneous people, proposed in the 'Bevin Plan' to unite all of them in one country. Unfortunately the UN rejected this proposal, suspecting the British of imperial ambitions. In 1955, when I was in primary school, Haud and Reserved Area, or Western Somalia, was officially transferred to the Ethiopian Empire (honouring a promise made by the British to the Emperor Menelik in 1897 in return for his logistical help in defeating the Mahdi in Sudan). That ignited Somali nationalism and there were so many meetings and demonstrations that the British Foreign Secretary visited Hargeisa, the capital of British Somaliland.

A delegation of Somaliland elders was organised, paid for by public subscription to which everyone donated. The delegation included the famous traditional leaders, Sultan Bihi Foley, Sultan Abdullahi Sultan Deria, Sultan Abdulrahman Sultan Deria, Michael Mariano, Dubbe Ali Yareh, and the man who was permanently struggling at the UN in New York for independence and who became the first Prime Minister of Somalia, Abdullahi Issa. They went first to New York, and then to London, where the British Government said it could do nothing about the transfer of Haud and Reserved Area to Ethiopia, but promised that the North would get its independence at the same time as the South. (The South had already been promised that it would get its independence in 1960.)

These events shaped the early political consciousness of my generation as we eagerly struggled for Independence and immediate union with Southern Somalia. Since then I have experienced all the political events that Somalis have passed through.

I owe my university education to one of 200 scholarships offered to the Somali Republic by the Soviet Union in 1961. On return to Somalia I entered government service and later became Minister of Fisheries and Marine Transport 1973-84 and was able to contribute to the development of Somalia's fishing industry. I was Chairman of the Bureau for Science and Technology 1984-89 and in 1989 was made Minister of Public Works and Housing which

gave me the opportunity to defect and join the opposition Somali National Movement. Since then I, in common with many Somalis, have been a refugee, generously granted citizenship by the United Kingdom.

In 1994 I attended a gathering in Sweden of senior Somalis organised by Initiatives of Change. Though we were from different clans and political factions, there was a willingness to apologise for the wrongs we had committed and to forgive others' mistakes, and this led to genuine reconciliations among us. Since then I have been convinced that we must adopt this spirit if we are to find our way out of the mess we are in. The moral standards of honesty, purity, unselfishness and love, which every Muslim is asked to observe, are essential foundations for a stable society. This is the message that I tried to demonstrate and express as Deputy Prime Minister of the Transitional National Government 2000-2003, as candidate in the Presidential Elections in 2004 and as Chairman of the UK-based Somali Initiative for Dialogue and Democracy (SIDD) (see Appendix 5).

I believe that the countries of the Horn of Africa are passing through a phase of turmoil that other continents have faced in the past, and that we will emerge. Our destiny, after healing the wounds of the past, is of friendship and cooperation. I do not seek office or advancement, but I want to give the rest of my life for the reconciliation of my people and the wider Horn of Africa, and I invite all my compatriots to do the same.

The origins of clan-based politics and the root-causes of statelessness in Somalia

Before the colonial powers came to Africa, and before the appearance of urban centres, there was no central authority in Somalia. Communities were organised simply: every small clan was either nomadic, moving in search of water and pasture for their animals, or were villagers living by subsistence farming. These communities were mainly clan-based, though there would have been many instances of people of different clans living together.

There were no police or prisons; if a crime was committed, the elders of the community required the criminal to pay compensation. Every sub-clan took responsibility for its offenders because the crime of one person was attributed to the whole clan, and revenge could fall on any member of that clan.

It was an oral society and every member of the sub-clan knew the rules of the society by heart, knowing the penalties for each offence. However, when the colonial powers arrived, the traditional rules were replaced by new rules written in Italian or English. At that time less than one per cent of Somalis could read and write, and those who could were in the urban centres. So the colonial powers used clan-belonging as a means to divide and weaken

their common stand, as well as a means of tracing people, equivalent to the European postal addresses.

The political parties that struggled for independence condemned the clan system as divisive and promoted Somali nationalism. Yet, when in 1960 they inherited the system after independence, as they had little more than primary education, no experience of state management, and no elite to support them, they themselves resorted to clannism as a means of governing. This caused the disappearance of the nationalist parties and when elections were called four years later, each Member of Parliament started his own clan-based political party. Those who subsequently became ministers then gave privilege and posts to their own clansmen, and nepotism, injustice, corruption and mistrust took root.

When the state was on the point of collapse in 1969, the army took over. It proclaimed that the principal evil it wanted to eradicate was clannism and in that they had the support of the whole population. For nearly six years, an atmosphere of euphoria reigned and Somalia became very popular in Africa. The army distributed resources justly and carried out a lot of development projects very rapidly. The crucial difference between this and previous governments was the return of many of those who, after independence, had been granted scholarships to universities in USA, Western and Eastern Europe, especially the Soviet Union, and Egypt. In the non-clannish spirit of the time, they were together able to contribute their skills to develop the country.

In common with the preceding civilian governments, the military regime wished to unify the whole people of Somali origin, liberating those who were still under foreign rule. This created tension with the colonial powers and with its neighbours, especially Ethiopia and Kenya. In 1977, war broke out with Ethiopia and the Somalis retook the whole of the Somali region which Britain had ceded to Ethiopia. However, with the help of the Russians, Cubans and Yemenis, Ethiopia expelled the Somali army from all the areas they had occupied and a large number of Ethiopian-Somali refugees flooded into Somalia.

After the defeat, a group of army officers led by Abdullahi Yusuf attempted to overthrow the government. They failed and Abdullahi Yusuf and some of his collaborators fled to Ethiopia, while others were captured, tried and executed. Instead of just targeting the coup leaders, the military regime branded the whole of Abdullahi Yusuf's clan as traitors. Many were imprisoned, others fled to East Africa, the Gulf and Europe, and their assets such as water tanks were destroyed in the rural areas. That had the effect of strengthening Abdullahi Yusuf and, with the support of the Ethiopian government, he set up the Somali Salvation Democratic Front (SSDF) in Ethiopia.

When the military regime criminalised the whole of Abdullahi Yusuf's clan, people from the other clans opposed this injustice, including the elders of the neighbouring clans in Mudug region and some famous nationalist poets. One of them, Mohamed Ibrahim Hadrawi, wrote a very powerful poem condemning it and was imprisoned for that and other poems. From

that date onwards, the regime started becoming clannish in nearly all its attitudes and behaviour.

Shortly after, some Northern politicians and officers fled to Ethiopia and organised their own opposition front, the Somali National Movement (SNM). Again the regime committed the same mistake of branding all Northerners as 'anti-revolutionary', and 'anti-Somali'. This further weakened the regime as mistrust and division grew within it. Starting from 1981, the military regime carried out a lot of injustice and suppression in the North. Under the command of Gen. Mohamed Hashi Gaani, there were summary executions and many intellectuals and businessmen were jailed without trial. Many others left the country to the Gulf states, Europe and America. At the beginning of 1988, the military regime started peace negotiations with the military regime of Ethiopia and severely increased its suppression of the Northerners especially those who were of the same clan as the leaders of the SNM. The same year, the SNM attacked Hargeisa and Burao, and the military regime, under the command of Gen. Mohamed Said Hersi 'Morgan', responded with massacres and the indiscriminate bombing of all the Northern cities, destroying Hargeisa and Burao.

Many Somalis of other clans expressed their sympathy to the Northerners and opposed the action. Some elders of the President's clan even went to the Northern elders to express their sympathy and sorrow. Some officers of the President's clan disobeyed orders to fight the Northerners and were jailed. Others from other clans left the army and took their troops to join the opposition. One of them was Col. Ahmed Omar Jess.

The Benadiri people, who had no opposition front, clandestinely approached the Northern elders in Mogadishu and showed their sympathy and support for the Northerners. Every time the military regime committed an action against a clan, people of other clans secretly tried to help them.

In 1988, when the massacre was going on in the North, the military regime organised a gathering of all the Somali clans except the Northerners to convince them to fight against the 'criminals' who started the war in the North. However, some elders asked why the Northerners had not been invited to the meeting, and the attempt to unite other Somali clans against the Northerners failed. This is a further example of the Somalis trying to be one people while the regime was trying to divide them for its own benefit.

Yet another opposition movement, the Somali United Congress (USC), was organised from Ethiopia, this time by General Mohamed Farah Aideed and other politicians from the Mogadishu area, and again the regime targeted the whole of his clan as supporters of the USC. The military regime used the same method and massacred the supporters of the USC. In some cases they were not supporters, but only came from the same clan. Similarly Somalis of other clans showed their support.

One night in Mogadishu at the beginning of 1989, 42 Somali intellectuals originally from the North were taken from their houses to the beach near a sand-dune where they were

machine-gunned and buried in a mass grave. Miraculously, one of the victims, survived though wounded, and was able to get back to Mogadishu. By morning the news had spread all over Mogadishu and the world. They were killed for no other crime than belonging to that clan. This atrocity was the straw that broke the camel's back as the international community withdrew its support for the regime. The President of Djibouti, Hassan Guled Abtidon, and the British Foreign Secretary, Sir Geoffrey Howe, made a joint declaration in Djibouti condemning that action. The Mogadishu population were appalled at what had taken place and unanimously supported the Northerners. It effectively marked the end of the military regime.

By this time the regime had reached the point where no one could trust any but his own clansmen. The president had become so suspicious of the other clans that he increasingly resorted to buying the support of his own clan by awarding them promotion, education, health facilities, resources, employment, bank-credits etc. By 1988, all the ministers were in contact with their respective clan-based opposition groups and the regime disintegrated. Because the opposition was divided along clan lines, they could not offer a viable alternative government when the military regime collapsed. All the governments since Siad Barre's regime were clan-based (those of Ali Mahdi, Mohamed Farah Aideed, Hussein Aideed, Abdul Kassim Salad, Abdullahi Yusuf), and all the opposition groups.

They all failed because they were clan-based. The worst aspect of clannism is that once divisions start there is no end to it. When the clan-based opposition movements had defeated the regime, they divided into sub-sub clans and fought each other. The USC divided into sub-clans headed by General Aideed and Ali Mahdi and fought each other; in the North, in 1995-6, the SNM divided into sub-clans headed by Mohamed Ibrahim Egal and Abdul Rahman Ahmed Ali and fought each other; and the SSDF divided into sub-clans headed by Abdullahi Yusuf Ahmed, Jama Ali Jama and General Adde Musa and fought each other. The death and destruction resulting from these internal clan divisions was as great as or even greater than the war with the military regime.

After independence the Somali people rejected clannism, but the leaders, whether civilian or military, manipulated clan allegiance, just like the colonial powers, to weaken opposition and remain in power.

All Somalis are now convinced that our main problem is organisations based on clannism, and that they should be abolished. So many of our Somali poets in their poetry condemn the clan-based approach and explain clearly its futility. So the slogan must be: 'Clannism - never again!' One of the famous Somali poets, Abdullahi Sultan 'Timocadde' who played an important role in the struggle for Independence and after, composed a powerful poem against clannism, in which he wrote, 'Dugsi ma leh qabyaaladi, waxay dumiso mooyaane' ('Clannism offers no shelter, it only destroys').

Reflections on key issues

Why federalism is not appropriate for Somalia

Federalism, with its 'presidents' in each regional capital, will not help the unity of the Somali people. The idea of federalism was copied from Ethiopia. However, in Ethiopia, federalism is based on ethnicity. It is not appropriate for Somalia which is the most homogeneous state in the whole of Africa (one ethnicity, one language, one religion). Somalia needs democratic, decentralised administrative regions coordinated by a unified national authority. The IC needs to encourage a bottom-up, geography-based approach, rather than the clan-based approach. Local administrations at village, district and regional level must be created and encouraged. District commissioners and regional governors have to be elected by the people, not appointed by government, to democratize the society.

Dialogue with the North

In 1960, the new Somali rulers came to power in an atmosphere of emotional patriotism. They were completely unprepared for the management of a state and couldn't handle the just distribution of national resources, employment, promotion etc. The unification of the North and the South was sudden and unprepared. Under the UN mandate under Italy from 1950, the South had ten years to prepare for independence, but the North did not have the same preparation. At the end of the ten-year mandate, the British wanted to postpone the independence of the North, but the Northerners refused and demanded immediate and unconditional union with the South which the British were obliged to grant. The Northerners gained independence on 26 June 1960, and union took place five days later on 1st July, the day the South got its independence.

In the period leading to independence, both the Italians and the British, and a few Somali politicians in both Protectorates, advised against union. But the unity of the five parts of Somalia was enshrined in the constitution of all the political parties and everyone was in favour of the unification of the first two parts of Somali territory to gain independence from the colonial powers.

At the same time, the Emperor of Ethiopia, Haile Selassie, wanted to annex the Somalis and was trying to convince the Somalis and the international community that they were part of Ethiopia. He invited the Ministers of Italian Somaliland and British Somaliland to Addis Ababa and asked them to join his empire. This was an early source of the Somali mistrust of Ethiopian intentions.

After independence, there were great difficulties in reconciling the Italian and British systems of administration. In the period before written Somali was established, there was rivalry between the Italian-educated and British-educated elites. Differences in ranking in the armed forces and civil service caused problems, and Northern officers and civil servants felt they were not given their fair share of positions. However, those concerned were very

few, and there was no friction between ordinary Somalis wherever they came from. Nevertheless, since that time Northerners have claimed they were under-represented in successive parliaments.

In 1988 the Northerners suffered heavily under the military regime. The towns of Hargeisa and Burao were flattened in 40 days of bombing and 50,000 people were killed, with many more injured. Those who survived escaped to the Somali region of Ethiopia where they were protected and helped by the Ethiopian government and the international humanitarian organisations. At the time, the two military regimes of Somalia and Ethiopia were deeply hostile to each other and each supported and armed the other's opposition movements.

Some Northerners wrongly believe it was the Southerners who were responsible for the actions of the regime against them. This is untrue because there wasn't any geography-based allegiance among either the Northerners or the Southerners, and there was no hatred between them because of where they lived. The military regime in its last days was using clannism to play-off one clan against another. It should also be acknowledged that Southerners, for example Col. Abdullahi Yusuf and Gen. Aideed were also fighting the military regime in clan-based organisations, and it was they who finally overthrew it. The concepts of 'Northern' and 'Southern' did not exist at that time.

When forming the transitional institutions, a special dialogue should be established with the Northerners to bring these feelings to light.

Creation of a representative National Army

A National Army must be created by the Transitional Executive, drawn from all parts of Somalia and disregarding all previous ranks. Somalis with military experience can be taken on as trainers and teachers. During the formation of the National Army, the UN Security Council should guarantee the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Somalia.

Trials for war-crimes not appropriate at this time

Trying leaders for war-crimes is not appropriate for Somalia. In a clannish society, there are no war-criminals, because a crime committed by an individual is considered as a crime committed by the whole clan. Though this is one of the worst features of clannism, because innocent people may be punished for a crime committed by a member of their clan, nevertheless at this stage, war-crimes trials would make reconciliation more difficult.

Return of property to its rightful owner

A commission should be set up to restore properties, especially farms and town houses, to their rightful owners. This is particularly important in the case of the unarmed urban Benadiri people who did not take part in the civil wars and yet suffered disproportionately.

Conclusion - Hope for the Horn

Though it will take time to restore the relationships with the neighbouring countries, once a stable administration has been established in Somalia, the conditions should exist for cooperation to gradually develop, as 'oodi ab ka dhow' or 'xigto waa degaan' - which means, 'your neighbour is your next of kin'.

Looking further ahead, Somalia should work for the Horn of Africa to adopt the spirit and model of the European Union. France and Germany fought three wars in 75 years, but now they live in peace and cooperation, and people cross their borders hardly aware they have passed from one country to another.

In fact, I wonder what other vision there could be for our region, which will secure the future for coming generations, and equip our countries to face the economic, social and environmental challenges which are increasingly super-national in character?

Appendix 1

Report of visits to Mogadishu and Somali communities in the Gulf and East Africa, and policy recommendations by Osman Jama Ali - July 2012

I visited Qatar, Dubai, Nairobi, Mogadishu, Berbera during the first three weeks of July 2012. My mission was to encourage dialogue and reconciliation that is necessary in order to revive the Somali state. I met businessmen, intellectuals, staff of international NGOs, former and present politicians, and people who are trying to be members of the coming government. My message to them was the message of Initiatives of Change, of reconciliation, accepting each other, a non-clan-based approach, encouraging peace, security and dialogue.

Change of mentality

A complete change has taken place in the mentality of Somalis in Somalia and in the diaspora. Before, everyone was trying to be clannish, and see other clans as not to be trusted. Now, after more than 20 years of civil war and hatred, people have suddenly put away their weapons and are accepting each other as Somalis, one nation.

The Capital

It is the first time since 1991 that the capital Mogadishu has had one authority. Before, Mogadishu used to have more than 20 warlords; every district was controlled by a warlord with a militia composed of his clansmen. When I was Deputy Prime Minister 2000-3, we could not visit any district of the city without taking armed guards. But now with only a driver, I visited every district of Mogadishu, by day or by night. It was safe! Before, only certain clans inhabited Mogadishu, but now there people of all clans and regions accepting to share the capital.

People from the diaspora are pouring into Mogadishu to participate in the reconstruction and revival of the capital. There are possibly 10,000 from the diaspora, from every country, who went back just to see. Hotels are full, there are so many cars on the roads. Revival is obvious when you go there. I was amazed how things have changed in a short time. The Shabab (terrorist organisation) have left the city and the surrounding areas because they have seen that the public are against them and not ready for more wars.

Somalis are sharing Mogadishu. There are so many people from all regions now in Mogadishu. When I used to go to 'Somaliland' and talk about unity, they used to say that if Mogadishu became peaceful, people would go there. It is the African way to only concentrate on the capital. This is weakening the secessionists and strengthening the unionists. The Somalis are accepting each other as one nation.

Effect of the International Community

We have to be grateful to the International Community (IC), which is giving real attention and which helped the Somalis to create their own parliament. Previous parliaments were created outside Somalia – this is the first time that Somalis are selecting their MPs and government members. Now Somalis accept to sit together in their capital to put their own house in order. It is important that Somalis work together now to consolidate. Most of the IC is now united to help Somalis get rid of terrorist organisations, and piracy. The Somalis are getting a lot of attention because of that.

The London conference

The intergovernmental conference in London in February generated widespread international attention on Somalia. The fact that the UK, which is a member of the UN Security Council, and the country which accepted the biggest number of Somali refugees, focussed its attention on Somalia gave great hope to Somalis. And the UK has a long experience with Africa. We felt this was the beginning of the revival of the Somali state. Because of the attention given by UK to Somalia, even the Gulf States and other Arab countries are giving more attention. Before, they were not trying to fight piracy or terrorism, but they are now fully on board.

Importance of the UK Somali diaspora

Somali citizens of other European countries come here because of the language. So the Somali community in Britain are the biggest and most active diaspora in Somalia. The UK Somali diaspora sends back more money to Somalia than any other diaspora. The diaspora in Europe, North America and Australia have learned a lot from the people they lived among. These people have a great influence on Somalis inside Somalia and are now teaching them about the philosophy of democracy.

Dreams of revival

Everyone says, 'We will soon be one of the most developed countries in Africa. 'First suffered, first recovered.' We are in a strategic position, with the longest coast-line in Africa, with petrol, gas, mineral, marine resources, life-stock, agriculture and only 10 million people. Many companies are now contacting them to exploit the resources, because of the attention given by Britain, Turkey and the IC. It gives great hope.

Corruption

The corruption and nepotism of the previous governments have been exposed by the Report of the Monitoring Group on Somalia and Eritrea to the Chairman of the Security Council Committee concerning Somalia and Eritrea. Now the IC will not agree to give money without the proper controls. Bribery for political gain is being revealed and our hope is that the corruption will be controlled. Clannish and corrupt people will be the focus of attention

which was not the case before. Now the expenditure of the Somali government will be monitored by the IC, and gradually corrupt and clannish people will be excluded, particularly because the diaspora will not tolerate it. Ordinary people are talking about the corruption.

Piracy

Piracy is reducing because of the intervention and activity of the IC. In the last 6 months piracy has diminished by 80% and it will end soon, because of the hope that came, and because people have courage to denounce the pirates. Many Somalis are sending goods from the Gulf, and when the pirates started attacking Somali dhows, people turned against them.

Policy recommendations

1. Need for international support to continue

We need the guidance of the IC until we have real stability and security. There is some security due to people being tired of conflict, but this has to be encouraged. The government and MPs won't have the resources to do everything they want to do, so the guidance of the IC is very necessary. The priorities are the monitoring of finances and expenditure, the creation of political parties rather than clan-based parties, decentralisation – giving the people their voice, and fighting clannism, nepotism and corruption. Because the Somali institutions are weak, the IC must guide.

2. Army and police recruitment should not be clan-based, but geography-based

The recruits for the national army and police force must be drawn from every region, with the districts putting forward their own candidates. There should be a representative national commission to assure a fair distribution of posts. Until 1991 the majority of the Somali army and police were uneducated recruits from the rural areas. However, now there is a huge army of unemployed graduates and secondary school leavers in every town. They should be recruited and trained to be officers and soldiers, which would create employment opportunities. In time they can effectively replace the foreign troops. Regarding the employment of former officers, all previous ranks should be annulled, because during the last days of Siad Barre's regime, promotion and recruitment was biased in favour of certain clans. Those former officers who are qualified to train may be employed as trainers.

3. Somali diaspora as 'Peace Corps'/'Overseas Volunteers'

Now that the IC is guiding the parliament and the future government, the hope of the Somalis is very great. As the great powers came through civil and international wars, so Somalia is emerging from its wars, and the huge diaspora, which gained experience and education in the advanced world, is now teaching the masses. In the 1960s when most African countries got their independence, the British and Americans used to send students

to Africa to go to the towns and villages as overseas volunteers. The same should be done with the Europeans and North Americans of Somali origin who can be enabled to go to Somalia for 2-3 years to teach the Somalis what they have learnt.

There is great hope that the real revival of Somalia is beginning!

Appendix 2

New Hope for Somalia

Severine Chavanne and Peter Riddell report on initiatives in both Somalia and the UK which are bringing about positive change in a country previously torn apart by conflict and natural disasters. Published Initiatives of Change-UK Newsletter Autumn-Winter 2012.

For the last 21 years Somalia has been stateless and ruled by warlords. Conflict and natural disasters have caused inestimable suffering to the population at large. Now, however, the country is experiencing a change for the better. Piracy has diminished dramatically, and the radical Al-Qaeda-related Al-Shabab movement is being pushed back by Somali and African Union troops. Recently a parliament, which was established by broad consent, met and elected widely-respected candidates as Speaker and as President. Large numbers of Somalis who sought refuge abroad are returning and, despite huge problems which still exist, a positive current seems to be flowing in Somalia.

One of those who has dreamed and worked for this is Osman Jama Ali, a veteran politician, who visited Mogadishu in July. He said: 'Now people want to go back. A complete change has taken place in the mentality of Somalis in Somalia and in the diaspora. Before, everyone was trying to be clannish, and see other clans as not to be trusted. Now, after more than 20 years of civil war and hatred, people have suddenly put away their weapons and are accepting each other as Somalis, one nation.'

Ali said the return of the diaspora to the country was a great opportunity to teach people locally about the rest of the world.

'Now you are reconstructed colonialists!' he said. 'You are teaching us good things. The things we learn from you we have to pass on. Through the Internet, people are more informed. It helps the sense of unity. Somalia must be united!'

Ali was one of a group of senior Somalis brought together in Stockholm in 1994 by Somalis who had met at Caux the previous year and drawn up a list of potential peacemakers. Throughout the 1990s he, and other members of that group, kept in touch annually at Caux conferences.

In early 2004, having just resigned as Deputy Prime Minister of a government in Somalia that had failed to establish its authority, he attended an Agenda for Reconciliation (AfR)

meeting at Greencoat Place. This led to meetings with Somali community leaders and they created together a charity, Somali Initiative for Dialogue and Democracy (SIDD). The charity aims to reconcile and integrate Somali refugees and enable those with specific skills to return to their country and contribute to national reconstruction. Courses provided by IofC in 'Dialogue Facilitation' have enabled divided community leaders to listen to each other in a new context. This has been significant because the largest Somali diaspora community in the world, including a number of political leaders, resides in Britain, and the informal economy of Somalia depends greatly on their financial contributions.

One recent contribution that SIDD made was the formation of a consortium of UK-based Somali humanitarian aid organisations, the Somali Relief and Development Forum (SRDF). This was innovative because previously Somali organisations had been clan-based and did not work together. When local aid organisations in Somalia saw what could be achieved by cooperating, a substantial number came together to create their own consortium, the Somali Humanitarian Operational Consortium (SHOC).

In Britain, SIDD Trustee, Abdi Gure, pioneered an approach to the mental health of Somali refugees through the 'Hayaan' Project (Moving to a Better Place), which has been developed by the MIND mental health charity and the Kings Fund, initially in London. The project aims to create and train a team of 'peer educators' from the local Somali communities to help increase awareness of and access to mental health support.

SIDD has also mounted 'Peace Begins at Home' intergenerational dialogues in London boroughs, addressing a source of tension within families, where cultural and language barriers undermine family solidarity and contribute to under-achievement and alienation.

Appendix 3

Addressing the Root Causes of Human Insecurity

Human Security concerns every one of us on earth – not just those in war zones, the poor or threatened. Ambassador Mohamed Sahnoun, who made great efforts for Somalis when he was UN Special Representative to Somalia in the early 1990s, is International Patron of Somali Initiative for Dialogue and Democracy. He gave this speech when he was President of Initiatives of Change International at its international conference centre in Caux, Switzerland, in August 2008.

We all feel insecure as human beings, and naturally so. We experience all kinds of traumas as we grow, but there are also the inherited traumas, genetic, biological and psychological. We learn to deal with these traumas through education and learning.

But then situations and stresses occur which reawaken these insecurities – economic, sociological and environmental threats, dangers confronting ourselves or our families and

those close to us, our communities, our whole societies. Human security is about finding the capacity to deal with these stresses. It means equipping ourselves and others with the ability and tools that enable individuals and communities to survive dangerous threats.

This summer in Caux we have investigated causes, the reasons that people feel insecure. In 2009, we need to work more on remedies and responses. What should we be aiming at in terms of response? I see five strategic aims:

1. We must tackle the question of governance. In history, we have seen improvements in governance, towards more democracy. But today, perhaps two thirds of humanity lives beyond the rule of law. That creates tremendous stress. So how can we improve that? A better government of ourselves, of countries and of the international system. Many are calling for this, but we're still too far behind. We must build up states' capacity to deal with the problems of their citizens through the rule of law and by drastically reducing corruption. People will only feel secure if their environment is managed by people who are honest.
2. A Global 'Marshall Plan'¹ to target the countries that have improved their governance so that they can catch up after centuries of under-development. Too many think only in terms of military security, when a major threat is the lack of any economic hope in many countries. We need to raise all humanity to survival level. The failure of the Doha Round of talks at the World Trade Organisation is a sad step backwards. The vision of a new Marshall Plan could appeal to the generosity of the developed countries.
3. The dialogue between cultures. There are serious issues here, with are exploited by some – this is so short-sighted. There must be progress in the dialogue between cultures and religions. It's an urgent priority today. We must make a tremendous effort to help people to accept diversity and difference, and to live in harmony. We need to work enough on the first two aims, - then this other dialogue becomes easier, people are readier to accept the other. Local conflicts are often given a global colouring, thanks to global communications. This feeds and complicates local conflicts.
4. Dealing with wounded memories – this is absolutely essential. Often in normal education and the teaching of history these wounds are not forgotten or healed, but passed on from generation to generation. Dialogue, research and an engaged discussion are needed to understand better the injustices of history. We need to search our memories – this could help a lot.
5. The responsibility to protect and to prevent. How can we be alert enough to prevent conflicts, to see the first warning signals of tensions and work for prevention? As with health care, vaccinations and x-rays for early diagnosis, to see the warning signals of

¹ American plan after the Second World War to assist the recovery of Europe.

danger. The degradation of the environment is very important here: islands are vanishing, populations are being forced to move. We need a prevention process.

Why Caux? Can Caux make a difference? It is not a meeting place for arguing with each other or for negotiations. We try to come with an open mind, to listen, and to search together for solutions. In most meetings there are so many conflicts of interests at work. But it is important to be able to bring in people from this world of negotiations. We need to learn to see the long term. We are all in the same boat, though some are travelling First Class, and others in steerage. If the boat sinks, we all sink. The environmental issues help us to understand this.

Appendix 4

Healing the Wounds of History by Conrad Hunte

Conrad Hunte was born in 1932, the eldest of the nine children of a sugar plantation worker in Barbados. His gift for cricket took him into the West Indies cricket team during a golden period when they won seven out of ten series, memorably beating England in 1963. In 1967 he left cricket to work in Britain to prevent racial violence and build relationships between recently-arrived immigrants and the host community. This work subsequently took him to the USA, India, Kenya, and South Africa where he made a major contribution to the development of cricket. He gave this talk at the international conference centre of Initiatives of Change, Caux, Switzerland, 20 August 1994.

I'm a lucky man. I have residences in four countries on four continents. I don't mean I have a home, a house, in all those places, in fact I have only one in South Africa, but I have the privilege of being able to live indefinitely in four countries. I'm Barbadian by birth, I'm British by adoption, I'm American by marriage and I'm South African by choice. It is also my privilege to be the Chairperson of this session of our conference, Healing the Wounds of History.

I would like to begin by quoting from the inaugural address by our President Nelson Mandela on 10th May 1994. This speech was carried to millions of people all around the world on tv, by radio and by the press. I've taken a few excerpts from it. At the beginning he said, 'Out of the experience of an extraordinary human disaster that lasted too long, must be born a society of which all humanity will be proud'. In the middle of his speech he said, 'The time for healing of the wounds has come. The moment to bridge the chasms that divide us has come. The time to build is upon us. We must act together as a united people for national reconciliation, for nation building, for the birth of a new world. Let there be justice for all. Let there be peace for all. Let there be work, bread, water, and salt for all.' And he ended on this note, 'The sun shall never set on so glorious a human achievement. Let Freedom reign! God bless Africa!'

'The time for healing of the wounds has come' is the theme for this session of our conference. In calling for healing the wounds of the past, Nelson Mandela was calling attention to a fundamental aspect of history. Recent or ancient, the history of yesterday or the history of long ago, I think that the fundamental aspect is this: The doors to the future we all long for are barred and blocked by the unhealed wounds of the past. And let me put it another way: In order for all of us to go forward together as human beings, there is a need for forgiveness of those of us who have suffered at the hands of oppressors, and there is a need for repentance of those of us who have caused such suffering. When forgiveness meets repentance, or the other way around, a new energy, a new dynamic and creative synergy, is released that the world has scarcely begun to tap.

In my view, underlying the economic, political, social, ethnic and ideological divisions of our times, inside nations and between nations, are Seven Rivers of Hate. They originate back and back in history. Very often many have forgotten where and how they began. In this context, I want to draw your attention to another definition of hate. In the definition we are accustomed to, it means 'I wish you, my enemy, to disappear from the face of the earth'. This other definition includes that, but it also adds this one: 'I wish to separate myself away from you although you may still live on earth'.

The seven Rivers of Hate are:

1. The Industrial Revolution, which in practice made the rich richer and left the poor poorer.
2. The Trans-Atlantic trafficking of slaves between Europe, Africa and the new world of the Americas and the Caribbean. This historic act made a gulf out of the gap that already existed between the races. It is now an unbridgeable gulf except by divine intervention.
3. The legacy of Colonialism and Imperialism which treated some men as gods and some as dogs.
4. The Western Nations' wrong treatment of China, notably through the Opium Wars.
5. The breakup of family life, and the alienation of the different generations.
6. The deep divisions between men of faith.
7. The elevation into philosophies of Right or Left, of man's ever-present inclination to reject God.

Two aspects of this long journey of these rivers of hate through history are worth examining closely. Number one: at some time or other, along the banks of these rivers, some people who were formerly victims turned around and later victimized others. And the second aspect is: that the unhealed memory of past wounds causes us to be more conscious of how and where others hurt us and are hurting us. At the same time this lack of healing blinds us to how and where we have hurt others - where we are hurting others.

I think that this has created a cycle of revenge. And the cycle goes something like this: those in power suppress those under them and, because the human spirit will never be permanently suppressed, this creates suffering, and out of that suffering will come struggle,

and out of that struggle can come success, and out of that success, can also come suppression. So there's a complete circle that goes on and on through history. I think that circle can and must be broken.

These Rivers of Hate can and must be blocked. We must become turbines who would turn this raging fury into a power, to shed light where there is darkness, forgiveness where there is injury and repentance where there is pride. We can be an instrument of such peace and nation-building when, as individuals and then as representatives of our own ethnic groups and our nations, we acknowledge our hurt or our guilt, accept forgiveness, or give it, and create a new synergy together. The embryo of a new beginning, a new chapter in a new history.

This is a very broad and very general analysis of history and an insight of an answer. I need to assure you that these thoughts didn't just come out of some theory, they're part of my own real and concrete experiences - for after all, I come from a people who have throughout history been enslaved. And we carry the memory with us. For some of us that memory has not been healed, but in my case I can say that I, through these ideas of MRA¹ and many faithful friends, have experienced healing.

¹ MRA, Moral Re-Armament, renamed Initiatives of Change in 2001

Appendix 5

Constitution of Somali Initiative for Dialogue and Democracy (SIDD)

Somali Initiative for Dialogue and Democracy was registered on 12th October 2006 as a UK charity, No. 1116372, with the following objects:

‘To promote national and international conflict resolution and reconciliation with a view to relieving suffering, poverty and distress, and building and maintaining social cohesion and trust among Somalis and between Somalis and neighbouring communities, in the UK, in other countries hosting Somali refugees, and in Somalia, observing strict neutrality, without regard for clan or political allegiance, by means of the following activities:

- investigating and identifying probable causes of the conflict
- examining possible solutions to the conflict through participatory research into relevant economic and social issues
- publishing reports for the public benefit on the causes of the conflict and recommended solutions
- mediating with parties to the conflict through facilitated dialogues and larger reconciliation meetings to increase mutual understanding and awareness and build trust
- providing courses to train Somali-language facilitators to organise dialogues in the UK and in Somalia
- providing courses and using other means to increase understanding of the importance of moral and spiritual values in private and public life as a basis for the development of democracy
- producing and distributing resource materials, including printed (books, pamphlets, reports of activities etc), visual (film) to create an environment favourable to reconciliation
- working in partnership with other agencies with similar objectives.’

At the first meeting, the Trustees set two priorities: 'the reconciliation and integration of Somali refugees' and the longer term aim of 'enabling skilled Somalis in the diaspora to return to Somalia and contribute to national reconstruction'.