

Historical Dictionary of Somalia, New Edition

Mohamed Haji Mukhtar

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*To my son,
Suleyman Mukhtar,
who died at age eleven from the indiscriminate
shelling in Mogadishu in 1990, and to all the innocent
young people who suffered the same fate.*

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Series Editor's Foreword

When Somalia became independent in 1960, there was some doubt whether it could achieve its ultimate goals of expanding into a greater Somalia and bringing together all the Somalis who had been artificially divided by colonialism. But there was no cause to expect that the opposite would occur, that the state would splinter into smaller entities, that rather than there being five points on the star (as represented on Somalia's flag) there would not even be two. Alas, the unexpected happened, among terribly tragic circumstances, and the tragedy is still not over. It is hard to explain exactly what happened, let alone why it happened, and that is frankly not the purpose of this book. Its purpose, one it certainly does fulfill, is the broader goal of presenting the Somalis, primarily those within the bounds of the former Somali Democratic Republic but also many living further afield, and helping us understand who they are, who they were prior to the collapse of the state, and even who their ancestors were. It concedes the dark side, much of it political and economic, but also shows what is good and hopefully enduring in the culture and arts of Somalis.

This new edition of the *Historical Dictionary of Somalia* replaces an earlier edition, written in happier times, and brings the story up to date. It also expands the coverage substantially in a dictionary section that includes many more persons, places, events, institutions, and traditions, with a special concern for the arts and culture. Among these entries are more, not fewer, on foreign influences that were sometimes decisive. The chronology traces the path downward, then upward, and over the past decades back down again with little sign of recovery. The introduction helps put all this in context. A particularly comprehensive bibliography allows readers to find the inevitably missing details as well as varied explanations of what went wrong, despite so much effort expended in making things turn out right.

As the author explains in other contexts, writing about Somalia and the Somalis is not easy. Much of the ancient and even more of the recent precolonial history is not written, and what was written during the colonial period cannot really be trusted. Multiple views exist on what has happened since independence, depending on who is trying to prove what. So piecing together the story and presenting it in an objective manner is a daunting task. Even harder is

expressing criticism of the Somalis rather than blaming others, especially if one is a Somali. So the very least one can say is that Mohamed Haji Mukhtar has done an admirable job in extremely difficult conditions.

Born in Somalia, raised bilingual in Somali and Arabic, fluent also in English and Italian, he was able to tap the existing resources and has, indeed, been doing so for many years already as a student and research fellow in Somalia, Italy, Tunisia, the United States, and Egypt (where he obtained a doctorate at Al-Azhar University, at the Islamic world's oldest and most venerated school of Islamic studies). Dr. Mukhtar has taught about Somalia and, more broadly, Africa at the Somali National University, the National University of Malaysia, and Savannah State University, where he is presently professor of African and Middle Eastern History. Over the past decade, he has returned frequently to Somalia for visits and field research, all the while contributing actively to Somali causes, as among other things editor of *Demenedung*, the newsletter of the Inter-Riverine Studies Association, of which he was the chairperson, and chairperson of the Somali Committee for Peace and Reconciliation. This historical dictionary is in its own way a contribution to understanding without which peace and reconciliation will be harder to achieve.

Jon Woronoff, Series Editor

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Reader's Notes

As I noted in 1987 in *History in Africa: A Journal of Method*, “most Somali government publications, if not all, appear in Arabic and one, or sometimes more, European language as well as in Somali since the advent of a Somali script in 1972. Therefore, if a Somali wrote anything, whether privately or officially, it was normally written in Arabic. Only in the late 1970s did Somali writings in non-Arabic languages begin to appear in any number.” Since then, many Somali scholars have published not only in Somali and Arabic, but also in other languages, especially English. Scholarship hitherto had been based on too little knowledge or had been subject to censorship by a totalitarian regime.

In 1997, when I began writing entries for this dictionary, I faced the dilemma of what to include and what to leave out and also how to transcribe certain sounds in Somali languages and dialects that the official script for Af-Mahaa, which is after all only one of many Somali languages, does not accommodate. I also agreed with the publisher to work on this new edition of the *Historical Dictionary of Somalia* without borrowing materials from the previous edition by Professor Margaret Castagno. I therefore used Castagno's entries only for updating or for reinterpretation and revision in the light of recent scholarship. I am grateful for Castagno's first edition as a useful guide, but readers should remember that the two volumes are entirely different in content.

I have focused on historical events, figures, and places that have significantly influenced Somali history without neglecting lesser-known figures, such as women and minorities, who have played significant historical and cultural roles. I have attempted to create a pluralistic record, so that no one element in Somali history and culture is emphasized over another. The use of the script officially adopted in 1972 imposed one language, Af-Mahaa, over others. Of course, each colonial language, Italian, English, and French, sounded and spelled Somali words differently. Uniform spelling of Somali names and places is rare even now. Thus, I have chosen to use the spellings that are conventional in the British and American press, for example: Aideed instead of Aidiid (Italian) or Caydiid (Af-Mahaa); Baidoa rather than Baydhowa (Af-Maay) or Baydhabo (Af-Mahaa); Mogadishu instead of Mogadiscio (Italian) or Muqdisho (Af-Mahaa).

Somalis do not use family names or surnames, but nicknames are common. For example, the former president, Mohamed Siad Barre, who in the Western media is known as *Barre*, was known in Somalia as *Afweyne* (Big-Mouth) or by his personal name, Mohamed Siad. So in situations like this, sometimes two entries were inserted, with the nickname cross-referenced in bold. Three religious titles derived from Arabic are frequently used: *maalling* or *ma'allin* (Qur'anic school teachers) for any teacher; *haji*, a person who has performed pilgrimage to Mecca and visited the holy places of Islam in Medina and Jerusalem; and *sheikh*, a man of religion. Political titles such as *malak*, *ugas*, *islaw*, and *boqor* indicate chiefly or royal rank in a clan or confederacy of clans. Some clans employ Arabic titles, such as *suldaan* (from "sultan") and *imam* (spiritual leader), for the head of the clan. Somalis who claim descent from the household of the Prophet Muhammad use the title *sharif* for male and *sharifa* for women. Some dynasties, such as the Ajuran, used Islamic titles such as *amir* (emir) and *na'ib* (vice emir) in their administration.

The collapse of the Somali state raised questions about governance, the principle of national sovereignty, the culture of power in the modern state, and the concept of humanitarian intervention. Most importantly, it called for the reappraisal and reexamination of Somalia's culture and history. This volume therefore addresses these issues.

Three maps are provided: the first, following the spelling used in this edition, indicates historic sites, cities, and regions; the second shows the historical location of the major clans; and the third maps Somali languages and dialects.

Abbreviations and Acronyms

AFIS	Amministrazione Fiduciaria Italiana della Somalia (Italian Administration on the Trust Territory of Somalia)
A.H.	<i>anno Hegirae</i> (in the year of the Hegira)
AL	Assemblea Legislativa (Legislative Assembly)
AN	Assemblea Nazionale (National Assembly)
ASMAEI	Archivio Storico del Ministero degli Affari Esteri Italiano (Historical Archives of the Italian Ministry of Foreign Affairs)
AUNEP	Afis UNESCO Nomad Educational Project
BEAP	Buur Ecological and Archaeological Project
BMA	British Military Administration
B.P.	before present (before 1950 B.C.E.)
CAFS	Commander Australian Forces Somalia
CARE	Cooperative for Assistance and Relief Everywhere
CDI	Centro di Documentazione, Istituto Agronomico (Florence, Italy)
CENTCOM	Central Command (Tampa, Florida, United States)
CFM	Council of Foreign Ministers of the Allies (during and after World War II)
CID	Criminal Investigation Division
CINCCENT	Commander in Chief, Central Command (United States)
CIVPOL	Civilian Police (UNOSOM II)
CMIO	Chief Military Information Officer (UNOSOM II)
CMOC	Civil Military Operations Center (UNITAF)
CMOT	Civil-Military Operations Team (Australia)
CPSU	Communist Party of the Soviet Union
CR	Conciliation Resources
CRS	Congressional Research Service (United States)
CSS	Council of Secretaries of State
CT	Consiglio Territoriale (Territorial Council)
DART	Disaster Assistance Response Team (United States)
DHA	Department of Humanitarian Affairs (UN)
DMSGC	Digil-Mirifle Supreme Governing Council

DOD	Department of Defense (United States)
DPKO	Department of Peacekeeping Operations (UN)
EC	European Community
ECHO	European Community Humanitarian Office
ENE	Ente Nazionale Elettrica (National Electric Company)
EU	European Union
FAO	Food and Agriculture Organization (UN)
FAST	Fleet Anti-Terrorism Support Team (United States)
FFP	Food for Peace
FGM	female genital mutilation
FLCS	Front de Libération de la côte Somalie
FO	Foreign Office (UK)
FP	Feeding Point
FRUS	<i>Foreign Relations of the United States</i>
FSAU	Food Security Assessment Unit (UN)
G-12	Group of 12 factions
GHAJ	Greater Horn of Africa Initiative
GS	Governo della Somalo (Somali government)
GSL	Greater Somalia League
GTZ	Deutsche Gesellschaft für Technische Zusammenarbeit (German Society for Technical Cooperation)
HDM	Hizbiya Digil-Mirifle (Digil and Mirifle Party)
HDMS	Hizbiya Dastur Mustaqil al-Sumal (Somali Independent Constitutional Party)
HOC	Humanitarian Operations Center (UNITAF)
HRO	Humanitarian Relief Organization (UNITAF)
HRS	Humanitarian Relief Sector (UNITAF)
ICITAP	International Criminal Investigation and Training Assistance Program (United States)
ICRC	International Committee of the Red Cross
IFRC	International Federation of the Red Cross
IGAD	Intergovernmental Authority on Development
IMC	International Medical Corps
I MEP	First Marine Expeditionary Force, based at Camp Pendleton, California (United States)
INGO	international nongovernmental organization
IO	Bureau of International Organizations (United States)
IOM	International Organization for Migration
IPR	Institute for Practical Research
IRC	International Rescue Committee
IRIN	Integrated Regional Information Network (UN)

ISA	Inter-Riverine Studies Association
JCS	Joint Chiefs of Staff (United States)
JESS	Juba Environment and Socioeconomic Studies
JTF	Joint Task Force (United States)
LPI	Life and Peace Institute (Sweden)
MARFOR	Marine Force (UNITAF)
MCC	Mennonite Council of Churches
MEF	Marine Expeditionary Force (United States)
MP	Military Police
MPL	Majerteen Progressive League
MSC	Military Staff Committee (UN)
MSF	Médecins Sans Frontières (Doctors without Borders)
NCO	Noncommissioned officer
NEC	National Executive Committee
NFD	Northern Frontier District (Kenya)
NGDO	nongovernmental development organization
NGO	nongovernmental organization
NPPPP	Northern Province People's Progressive Party
NSC	National Salvation Council
NSS	National Security Services
NUF	National United Front
OAU	Organization of African Unity
ODA	Overseas Development Administration (UK)
OECD	Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development
OFDA	Office of Foreign Disaster Assistance (United States)
OIC	Organization of Islamic Conference
OPEC	Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries
OSALA	Oromo-Somali-Afar Liberation Alliance
OSCE	Organization on Security and Cooperation in Europe
OSD	Office of the Secretary of Defense (United States)
PDD	Presidential Decision Directive (United States)
PLO	Palestine Liberation Organization
PRO	Public Record Office (UK)
PTT	Police Technical Team
PVO	Private Voluntary Organization (United States)
1 RAR	1st Battalion Royal Australian Regiment
RCs	Regional Councils
RDC	Regional Development Committee
REDSO/ESA	Regional Economic Development Services Office for East and Southern Africa
RRA	Reewin Resistance Army

SACB	Somali Aid Coordination Body (UN)
SAIS	Società Agricola Italo-Somala (Italo-Somali Company for Agriculture)
SALF	Somali Abo Liberation Front
SAMO	Somali African Muki Organization
SAREC	Swedish Agency for Research Cooperation (with developing countries)
SCF	Save the Children Fund (UK)
SDA	Somali Democratic Alliance
SDM	Somali Democratic Movement
SDU	Somali Democratic Union
SEPADO	Somali Environmental Protection and Anti-Desertification Organization
SG	Secretary-General (UN)
SGC	Supreme Governing Council
SIDA	Swedish International Development Authority
SLA	Somali Liberation Army
SNA	Somali National Alliance (USC splinter)
SNAI	Società Nazionale per l'Agricoltura e l'Industria (National Company for Agriculture and Industry)
SNC	Somali National Congress
SNDU	Somali National Democratic Union
SNF	Somali National Front
SNL	Somali National League
SNM	Somali National Movement
SNU	Somali National Union
SOCOM	Special Operations Command (Tampa, Florida)
SONNA	Somali National News Agency
SORSO	Somali Relief Society
SPL	Somali Patriotic League (exclusively Usman Mohamud clan)
SPM	Somali Patriotic Movement
SPMAGTF	Special Purpose Marine Air Ground Task Force (United States)
SR	Senate Resolution (United States)
SRC	Supreme Revolutionary Council
SRRP	Somali Rural Relief Program
SRSG	Special Representative of the Secretary-General (UN)
SRSP	Somali Revolutionary Socialist Party
SSA	Somali Salvation Alliance
SSDF	Somali Salvation Democratic Front
SSIA	Somali Studies International Association
SWDO	Somali Women's Democratic Organization

SYC	Somali Youth Club
SYL	Somali Youth League
TCDC	Transitional Charter Drafting Committee
TNA	Transitional National Assembly
TNC	Transitional National Council
TNG	Transitional National Government
ToT	Training of Trainers
UN	United Nations
UNAC	United Nations Advisory Council
UNCIVPOL	United Nations Civilian Police
UNCT	United Nations Coordination Unit
UNDOS	United Nations Development Office for Somalia
UNDP	United Nations Development Program
UNDRO	United Nations Disaster Relief Office
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization
UNGA	United Nations General Assembly
UNHCHR	United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
UNICEF	United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund
UNIDIR	United Nations Institute for Disarmament Research
UNITAF	United Task Force
UNOSOM I	United Nations Operation in Somalia I
UNOSOM II	United Nations Operation in Somalia II
UNPOS	United Nations Political Office for Somalia
UNSCR	United Nations Security Council Resolution
UNTAC	United Nations Transitional Assistance Commission
UNVMTTEA	United Nations Visiting Mission to Trust Territories in East Africa
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
USC	United Somali Congress
USF	United Somali Front
USIS	United States Information Service
USLO	U.S. Liaison Office (UNITAF-UNOSOM II)
USP	United Somali Party
USR	United Somali Roots
WFP	World Food Programme
WHO	World Health Organization (UN)
WO	War Office (UK)
WSLF	Western Somali Liberation Front
WSP	War-Torn Societies Project (Somali Program)
WV	World Vision



Figure 1. Somalia, Regional Divisions until 1991

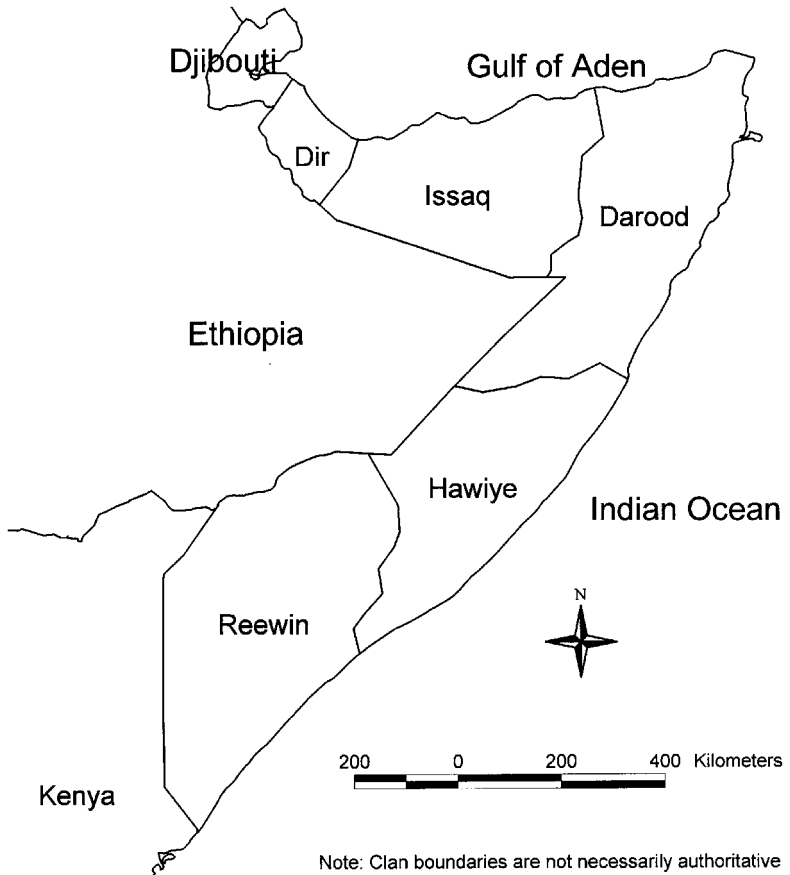


Figure 2. Major Clans and Their Historic Locations

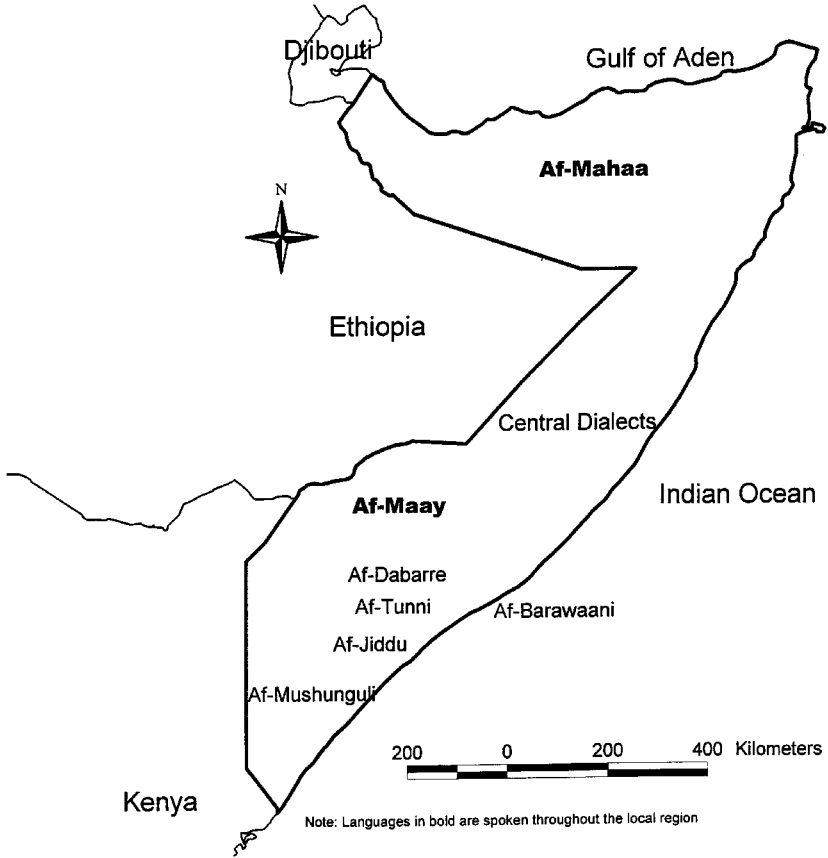


Figure 3. Major Languages and Dialects

Chronology

- 4000 B.C.E.** Jiddu presence in the Horn (proto-Somali I).
- 3000 B.C.E.** Emergence of Proto-Somali II or pre-Rendille and Garre.
- 3000 B.C.E.** During the fifth dynasty, Egyptian documents record the earliest known Pharaonic expedition to Somalia, the Land of Punt, for frankincense and myrrh.
- 2000 B.C.E.** The Tunni group occupy the lower Shabelle valley. Early herding communities in the Horn.
- 1475 B.C.E.** Illustration of Queen Pharaoh Hatshepsut's expedition to the land of Punt in the queen's temple at Deir el-Bahri.
- 1000 B.C.E.** Proto-Somali III speakers, including the Garre and the Tunni, occupy the Juba valley.
- 200 B.C.E.** Ptolemies of Egypt move into the Horn to get elephants to be used against their rival Seleucids in the east, who are using Indian elephants.
- 150 B.C.E.** Himyarite (South Yemen) presence in the coastal towns. Sultan As'ad al-Himyari rules Mogadishu and environs.
- 632** The exiles of the Riddah (apostasy wars), mainly from Oman, settle in Banadir and later move to the hinterlands through the waterways of the Shabelle and the Juba, laying the foundation for the early Islamic centers of Afgoy, Bali, Harar, and others.
- 695** Migration of an Omani group led by brothers Suleiman and Sa'id of Juland to settle on the East African *Zanj* coast.
- 700** Caliph Abdul Malik Ibn Marwan of the Umayyads sends an expedition to the East African coast to conquer Mogadishu and secure its *kharaj*, or annual tribute.
- 739** The first Shi'ite emigrants arrive on the East African coast.

- 755** Abu Ja'far al-Mansur, of the Abbasids, appoints a *na'ib* (viceroy) to collect taxes and supervise the teaching of Islam in Mogadishu.
- 804** The Muslims of Bilaad al-Zanj (the land of Zanj), present-day Somalia and East Africa, rebel against the Abbasids and refuse to pay *kharaj* taxation. Caliph Harun al-Rashid sends a punitive expedition.
- 829** Al-Ma'mun, the seventh Abbasid caliph, sends 50,000 men to crush the secessionist Muslim towns of Bilaad al-Zanj and force them to pay their back taxes.
- 920** A group led by the "Seven Brothers of al-Ahsa," from the Persian Gulf, settle in Mogadishu and Barawa, Somalia.
- 935** Al-Mas'udi (d. 957), a Muslim traveler-historian, in his book *Muruj al-Dhahab wa Ma'adin al-Jawhar* (The garden of gold and gems), describes the socioeconomic life of Somali cities, both on the Khalij al-Barbari (Gulf of Aden) and the Bahr al-Zanj (Indian Ocean).
- 1000** Hassan ibn Ali al-Shirazi leads the largest migration from Persia to East Africa.
- 1001** Oligarchic city governments emerge in Mogadishu and coastal towns of southern Somalia. Mogadishu is governed by a confederation of 39 clans: 12 from the Muqri clan, 12 from the Djid'ati, 6 from the Aqabi, 6 from the Isma'ili and 3 from the Afifi.
- 1154** Al-Idrisi (1100–1166), a Muslim geographer, reports that Marka (Merca) and Barawat (Barawa) are towns on Bahr al-Zanj (the Sea of the Blacks), that is, the Indian Ocean, and that there are Hawiyi settlements on the Banadir coast.
- 1228** Al-Hamawi (d. 1228), a Muslim traveler who compiled *Mu'jam al-Buldan* (Dictionary of cities), includes entries for Zayla, Berbera, Mogadishu, and Marka. He notes that the inhabitants of Berbera are very dark and speak an unwritten language, but that the inhabitants of Mogadishu are not blacks.
- 1238** The construction of Jama' mosque in Hamar Weyn quarter, Mogadishu, is completed.
- 1268** The construction of Arba'a Rukun mosque in Mogadishu is completed.

- 1269** The construction of Fakhruddin mosque in Hamar Weyn quarter, Mogadishu, is completed.
- 1286** Ibn Sa'īd al-Maghribi (1212–1286), a Muslim geographer, notes that Mogadishu is *Madinat al-Islam*, an Islamic center.
- 1300** Beginning of hostilities between Muslims and Christians in the Horn. Abyssinia requires the sultanates of Bali, Hadya, Harar, Fatajar, Dawaro, and Ifat to pay tribute.
- 1301** Theocratic rule of the Qahtani dynasty begins in Mogadishu.
- 1328** Amda Syon I, emperor of Abyssinia (1314–1344), jails Haq al-Din I, Sultan of Ifat, when the sultan refuses to pay tribute.
- 1330** Abu Bakar bin Fakhruddin establishes the Fakhruddin dynasty in Mogadishu.
- 1331** Ibn Battuta visits and gives a full description of Zayla and Mogadishu.
- 1332** Jamal al-Din, the sultan of Ifat, sends an emissary to the Mamluks sultan of Egypt requesting military and political support in the conflict with the Abyssinians.
- 1333** Haq al-Din II becomes new Sultan of Ifat and declares *ji-had* against the Abyssinians. He fights until killed in battle in 1386.
- 1415** Sa'd al-Din II (1386–1415), the successor of Haq al-Din II, is assassinated on the island of Zayla.
- 1445** The exhausted Muhammad ibn Badlay (1445–1471) of Awdal Sultanate (or Adal, which had its capital in Zayla) concedes the payment of an annual tribute to Abyssinia.
- 1450** The Persian Zuzni dynasty comes to power in Mogadishu.
- 1471** Lada'i Uthman, emir of the Awdal, renews the *ji-had* against Abyssinia and defeats two successive Abyssinian military expeditions in 1473/4.
- 1499** **3 January:** Vasco da Gama shells Mogadishu, “a large town, with houses of several stories, big palaces in its center, and four towers around it.”
- 1506** Portuguese fleets burn and loot Barawa.

- 1507** Portugal establishes a garrison on the island of Socotra at the entrance to the Red Sea.
- 1517** Lope Suarez captures and burns Zayla. This marks the fall of the Adalite Sultanate.
- 1518** Saldanha sacks and destroys the port of Berbera.
- 1518** Muhammad Ibn Azhar al-Din (1488–1518), emir of Awdal, is murdered; civil war follows, as five emirs rule in two years.
- 1527** Imam Ahmad Gurey, the “left-handed” (1506–1543), also known as al-Ghazi (the conqueror), defeats the Abyssinians decisively at ad-Dir.
- 1528** Imam Ahmad defeats Somali rivals, restores law and order, refuses to pay the annual tribute to the Abyssinians, and declares a *jihād*.
- 1529** Imam Ahmad defeats the Abyssinians at Shimbera Kure.
- 1542** Ahmad Gurey defeats Abyssinian-Portuguese armies at Afla in the valley of Wafla.
- 1542** **October:** Galawdewos, the emperor of Abyssinia, defeats Imam Ahmad Gurey at Wayna Daga near Lake Tana. Imam Ahmad is fatally wounded.
- 1543** **22 February:** Imam Ahmad Gurey dies. His forces retreat.
- 1551** Amir Nur (1551–1567), Imam Ahmad’s nephew, known as Sahib al-Fath al-Thani (the champion of the second conquest), comes to power and revives the *jihād* unsuccessfully.
- 1555** Luug Aw Madow, Sarmaan Aw Umur, and Mereerey Aw Hassan, all theocratic city-states, emerge in southern Somalia.
- 1560** The Ajuran Imamate in south-central Somalia emerges.
- 1600** The Muzaffar dynasty replaces the Fakhruddin in Mogadishu.
- 1670** Ottoman Turks become the rulers of Zayla and parts of north-western Somalia.
- 1671** Banadir ports support Omanis against the Portuguese in East Africa.
- 1750** The Geledi Sultanate, later known as Afgoy, emerges in Ay Ulay in the southern Shabelle valley.

- 1800** Formation of the Majerteen Sultanate in Bandar Alula.
- 1819** Sheikh Ibrahim Hassan Yeberow establishes a reformed *Jama'a* in Bardera in the Upper Juba region.
- 1839** The British establish a garrison in Aden.
- 1840** Yusuf Ali breaks from the Majerteen Sultanate and moves to Hobyo.
- 1843** Yusuf Mahamud, sultan of Geledi, captures and burns Bardera. The expedition is a counteroffensive to the political and economic impact of the reforming *Jama'a*.
- 1846** Charles Guillain visits coastal Somalia and writes on the socio-economic conditions of Mogadishu, Marka, Barawa and Afgoy.
- 1848** The sultan of Geledi, Yusuf Mahamud, is killed at Adaddey Suleyman, a village near Marka, in a battle between the Biamaal and the Geledi confederacy.
- 1869** The Suez Canal opens.
- 1878** Sultan Ahmad Yusuf (1848–1878) is killed at Agaaran, near Marka, by the Biamaal. The Geledi army retreats.
- 1884–1885** The scramble for Africa: Europeans sign “friendship” and protectorate treaties with Somali clans.
- 1886** Britain and Germany agree to recognize the sovereignty of Zanzibar over parts of the East African coast, including some ports of Somalia.
- 1887** Menelik II of Ethiopia conquers Harar.
- 1889** **7 April:** Italian protectorate treaty with sultanates of Alula and Hobyo. **2 May:** Italy and Ethiopia agree on boundaries between Italian colonies in East Africa and Ethiopia. **3 August:** Agreement between the British East Africa Company and the Italian government transferring control of Kismayu, Barawa, Marka, Mogadishu, and Warsheikh from Zanzibar to Italy.
- 1891** **24 March:** Britain and Italy agree on the demarcation of their respective spheres of influence in East Africa, from the River Juba to the Blue Nile. **10 April:** European powers accept the boundaries of Ethiopia drawn by Menelik II in his circular letter.

- 1893** **May:** The Filonardi Company begins administration of the Banadir ports of Warsheikh, Mogadishu, Marka, and Barawa and of the interior from Adale in the north to Kismayu in the south.
- 1896** **November:** *Ahad Cecchi* (the Sunday Year of Cecchi). Wa'daan warriors kill the Italian explorer Antonio Cecchi and most of his troops at Lafoole, west of Mogadishu.
- 1897** Formal treaties to partition the Horn are signed between Britain, France, Italy, Zanzibar, Germany, and Ethiopia.
- 1898** Sheikh Uways ibn Muhammad al-Barawi (1846–1907) establishes a *jama'a* at Balad al-Amin (the Town of Heavenly Peace) in the lower Shabelle valley. His teachings spread throughout East Africa and Southeast Asia.
- 1898** **January:** The Benadir Company replaces the Filonardi Company.
- 1899** Beginning of the dervish wars.
- 1905** **5 March:** Sayid Mahamed Abdulle Hasan, “the Mad Mullah,” (1856–1920) signs the Ilig Agreement with Italy. **May:** Italy imposes direct colonial rule in southern Somalia.
- 1906** **13 December:** Britain, France, and Italy recognize Ethiopian sovereignty and settle disputes about colonial borders in the Horn.
- 1907** Sheikh Uways ibn Muhammad al-Barawi is murdered in Biyoley, near Tiyeglow, by followers of Sayid Mahamed Abdulle Hasan.
- 1908** **April:** Italy establishes the colony of Italian Somalia, with Tomasso Carletti as governor. The Colonial Corps of Somalia, known as the Zaptie, is created. **16 May:** Italy and Ethiopia settle by treaty the frontier between Italian Somalia and Ethiopia.
- 1910** The Corpo di Polizia della Somalia (Somali police force), composed of Italian Carabinieri officers and Somali recruits, is created.
- 1920** The al-Jam'iyah al-Khayriyah al-Wataniyah (Patriotic Benevolent Society) emerges. This philanthropic association eventually becomes the political party Hizbiya Digil-Mirifle (HDM). **February:** The British Royal Air Force shells and destroys Taleh, dervish headquarters of Sayid Mahamed Abdulle

Hasan, “the Mad Mullah.” This marks the end of the dervish movement.

- 1923** **5 December:** Governor Cesare Mario De Vecchi di val Cismon arrives in Mogadishu as the first Fascist governor of the colonial administration.
- 1924** **February:** Sheikh Hassan Barsane leads a revolt against the Fascist attempt to disarm rebels.
- 1926** **July:** Italians annex Oltre Giuba (Outer Juba) and refer to both sides of the Juba as Jubaland.
- 1927** **November:** Boqor Isman Mahamud is defeated and renounces his rights as sultan of Majerteen. Thus, Somalia Settentrionale (Northeastern Somalia) becomes part of the Italian colony.
- 1933** Maurizio Rava, the Italian governor (July 1931–March 1935), inaugurates Somalia’s first museum, the Museo della Garesa (Palace Museum).
- 1934** **5 December:** Italy clashes with Ethiopia at Wal-Waal. This is the beginning of the Italian conquest and occupation of Ethiopia.
- 1935** The Jam’iyat ‘Atiyyat al-Rahman (Gift of God Society), a social club in the British Protectorate of Somaliland, is formed. This club eventually leads to the formation of the Somali National League (SNL).
- 1936** **1 June:** Addis Ababa falls to the Italians, who proclaim an Italian colonial empire in the Horn that includes Ethiopia, Eritrea, and Somalia. **June:** Italy promotes the idea of “La Grande Somalia” (Greater Somalia), which includes all Somali regions in the Horn. This is the first time that Somalis in Ethiopia have come under Italian colonial rule.
- 1940** Italians occupy the British Protectorate of Somaliland. After the defeat of Italy in the Horn, the British Military Administration (BMA) governs the former Italian Somalia, the British Protectorate, and Ethiopia.
- 1942** **31 January:** Britain recognizes the independence of Ethiopia with Emperor Haile Selassie I as its lawful ruler. However, the BMA still administers Somali regions that Ethiopia claims: the Ogaden, the Reserved Area in the British Protectorate, and part of the former French Somaliland.

- 1943** **15 May:** The Somali Youth Club (SYC) is organized in Mogadishu.
- 1944** Ethiopia signs an agreement with Britain reasserting the sovereignty of Ethiopia in the Reserved Area, but allows the Ogaden to remain under the BMA.
- 1945** The Charter of the United Nations, which recognizes the right of self-determination of peoples, is signed.
- 1946** British foreign minister Ernest Bevin proposes that British Somaliland, Italian Somaliland, and the Ogaden be combined as a trust territory.
- 1947** **25 March:** Al-Jam'iyah al-Khayriya al-Wataniya becomes Hizbiya Digil-Mirifle (HDM) Party. **15 May:** The Somali Youth Club (SYC) becomes the Somali Youth League (SYL), a political party.
- 1948** Withdrawal of the BMA from the Ogaden, which becomes a region in Ethiopia. **January:** The UN Four Power Commission (France, the United Kingdom, the United States, and the Soviet Union) visits Somalia to determine the future governing system. **11 January:** *Hanolato* (long live Somalia) demonstration in Mogadishu; 52 Italians and 14 Somalis die. The Somali National League (SNL) emerges in the British Protectorate.
- 1949** **5 October:** *Dhagahtur* (stone throwing) demonstration: a protest against the Italian return to Somalia as the administering authority for the UN trusteeship system. **21 November:** The UN General Assembly resolves to create the Trust Territory, makes Italy the administering authority, and guarantees full independence by 1960.
- 1950** **January:** Transfer of authority from Britain to Italy for the administration of the Trust Territory of Somalia. **22 February:** Giovanni Fornari, the first *ammministratore* of the Trust Territory, arrives in Mogadishu. **17 April:** Baidoa Incident. This is a protest against the former BMA appointment of “foreigners,” actually other clans, in police and civil service positions.
- 1951** **1 January:** First Consiglio Territoriale (Territorial Council) appointed. **7 February:** The Territorial Council makes Arabic the official language, but government business is conducted in both Arabic and Italian. Communications with the UN are in French.

- 1952** **25 May:** Kismayu Incident: the local community protests the appointment of nonlocals by the former BMA.
- 1953** **June:** Ustad Usman Mohamed Hussein, president of the HDM, is assassinated.
- 1954** **28 March:** First municipal elections with direct male suffrage: 20 parties compete for the 318 seats (281 Somali, 23 Arab, 10 Italian, 3 Pakistani, 1 Indian) in 35 councils. **10 September:** The Istituto Superiore (Higher Institute of Social Science, Economics, and Law) is established to train a class of persons to take over major civil service and political posts. **12 October:** National Flag Day. The Territorial Council adopts a national flag, a blue rectangle with a five-pointed white star in the middle for the five Somalias under different colonial administrations: the Trust Territory of Somalia, the British Protectorate of Somalia, French Somaliland, the Ogaden, and the Northern Frontier District in Kenya (NFD).
- 1955** Somalization of the administration in the Trust Territory begins. **28 February:** The BMA withdraws from Haud and the Reserved Area. Ethiopia takes over the administration of the territories. **March:** The National United Front (NUF) is organized to campaign for the recovery of the Haud and the Reserved Area and the independence of the British Protectorate of Somalia.
- 1956** **26 February:** First general election and the formation of the Assemblée Legislativa (Legislative Assembly) in the Trust Territory of Somalia. Twenty parties compete for 60 seats in the assembly, but only four parties win seats: the SYL, HDM, SDM, and Marehan Union. Ten appointed seats are reserved for ethnic minorities. **26 March:** The Assemblée Legislativa elects the first presidente (speaker), Adan Abdulle Osman. **9 May:** Abdullahi Issa Mohamud is appointed first prime minister. He forms the first ministerial cabinet.
- 1957** Formation of the first Legislative Council in the British Protectorate of Somalia. **25 March:** The HDM becomes Hizbiya Dastur Mustaqil al-Sumal (HDMS, Somali Independent Constitutional Party) and calls for regional autonomy. **16 April:** Kamal al-Din Salah, the Egyptian representative on the UN Advisory Council, is assassinated in Mogadishu. The council is composed of Colombia, Egypt, and the Philippines.

- 1958** The UN Trusteeship Council appoints an arbitration tribunal to decide upon the disputed territories between Ethiopia and Somalia before the termination of the trusteeship period. However, the matter remains unresolved and Somalia becomes independent without clearly demarcated borders. **6 October:** Mohamud Harbi leads a peaceful demonstration in Djibouti, French Somaliland, for independence and unification with the Trust Territory of Somalia. Harbi and many other nationalists are detained. **20 October:** Municipal elections in the Trust Territory of Somalia. SYL wins 416 of 663 seats, HDMS wins 175, GSL wins 36, and the rest are divided among smaller parties.
- 1959** **4 March:** General election in the Trust Territory of Somalia: SYL wins 82 of 90 seats, as other major parties boycott the election, challenging its legality. **April:** The Assemblée Legislativa becomes the Assemblée Costituente. **August:** The National Pan-Somali Movement is organized in Mogadishu.
- 1960** **February:** First general election in the British Protectorate of Somalia: SNL wins 20 of 33 seats, the USP wins 12, and the alliance of NUF and SYL wins 1. **6 April:** The Legislative Council of the British Protectorate of Somalia passes a resolution calling for independence and unification with the Trust Territory of Somalia on 1 July 1960. **12 April:** The Somali National Army is created with General Da'ud Abdulle Hirsi as comandante della forza armata. **22 April:** The proclamation of union between the two territories of Somalia, the Trust Territory and the British Protectorate. Leaders of the two territories meet in Mogadishu, 16–22 April 1960, and agree that the two territories will be united on 1 July 1960. **26 June:** British Protectorate of Somalia gains independence as Somaliland. **30 June:** At midnight of 30 June, the provisional presidente of the Assemblée Legislativa, Adan Abdulle Osman, proclaims the independence of the state of Somalia. **1 July:** The legislative assemblies of Somaliland and Somalia meet to form the Assemblée Nazionale, composed of 90 deputies from Somalia and 33 from Somaliland. Adan Abdulle Osman is elected as acting president of the Somali Republic. **7 July:** Jama Abdullahi Ghalib, from the former Somaliland, is elected presidente (speaker) of the Assemblée Nazionale. **22 July:** President Osman appoints Abdirashid Ali Shermarke as prime minister.

- 1961** **2 June:** The government of Somalia signs an agreement of economic cooperation, exchanges, and cultural contacts with the USSR. Under this agreement, the USSR grants a 40 million ruble loan for industrial and agricultural development. In addition, the USSR builds two hospitals, a high school, a printing shop, and a broadcasting station in Somalia. **20 June:** The first Constitution of the Somali Republic is submitted to a popular referendum: 1,760,539 vote for the constitution and 82,987 voted against. **6 July:** The Assemblée Nazionale elects Adan Abdulle Osman president of the Somali Republic for six years. Osman defeats Sheikh Ali Jimale Baraale by one vote. **11 July:** Prime Minister Shermarke forms a new government. **16 October:** President Osman makes his first official visit to an independent African state, Ghana. **1 November:** The United States agrees to construct Kismayu Port. **December:** A group of military officers in Hargeisa stage an unsuccessful coup d'état.
- 1962** **18 June:** Jama Abdullahi Ghalib, presidente of the Assemblée Nazionale, leads a parliamentary delegation to the United Kingdom to discuss the status of the Somali-dominated Northeastern Province of Kenya (Northern Frontier District, NFD) before Kenyan independence. **15 June–11 August:** Representatives of major Kenyan political parties, Jomo Kenyatta, chairman of the Kenya African National Congress (KANU); Odinga Oginga, KANU deputy; and Roland Ngala, chairman of the Kenya African Democratic Union (KADU), visit Somalia to negotiate the status of the NFD.
- 1963** **12 March:** Somalia breaks off diplomatic relations with the United Kingdom in response to the findings of the British Commission of Inquiry, which notes that 62 percent of the population of the NFD of Kenya favors unification with Somalia but concludes that the status of the NFD cannot be determined until Kenya is independent. **May:** Sheikh Ali Jimale Baraale (leading 20 members, including Egal from the north) forms the Somali National Congress (SNC) to challenge the ruling party, the SYL. **23 May:** President Osman leads a delegation to Addis Ababa to sign the Charter of the Organization of African Unity (OAU). **June:** Article 29 of the Somali constitution is amended to prohibit non-Muslim proselytization. **15 July:** Somali Airlines and Alitalia become partners. **November:** First municipal elections after independence and unification: SYL wins 665 of the 904

seats, SNC wins 105 seats, and the rest is divided between HDMS and other minority parties.

1964

February: The OAU Council of Ministers meeting in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, resolves that Somalia and Ethiopia should cease hostilities and find a “peaceful and lasting solution” to the border disputes. **30 March:** Somali and Ethiopian ministers meeting in Khartoum agree on a cease-fire, withdraw military forces 10 to 15 kilometers from either side of the provisional border, and appoint a joint commission to oversee a complete withdrawal of the military forces. **30 March:** First general election after independence and unification: SYL wins 69 of the 123 seats, SNC wins 22, the Somali Democratic Union (SDU) wins 15, HDMS 9, and others 8. **19 May:** The newly built National Teachers’ Education Center in Lafoole, 25 kilometers from Mogadishu, is inaugurated under the direction of five educators from Eastern Michigan State University. **7 June:** President Osman appoints Abdirazak Haji Hussein as prime minister. **3 July:** Hussein’s first government fails to win a vote of confidence. **6 August:** President Osman calls on Hussein to form a new government. **28 September:** National Assembly gives Hussein’s second government a 91 to 23 vote of confidence. **12 November:** World Bank finances the development of Mogadishu Port. **18 November:** SYL elects Prime Minister Hussein as secretary general. This is the first time that the head of government has simultaneously held the office of secretary general of the party. **27 December:** The Sixth World Muslim Congress meets in Mogadishu and supports independence for Somali territories in Kenya, Ethiopia, and Djibouti.

1965

19 January: OAU Liberation Committee meets with the Front de Libération de la Côte Somalie (FLCS) in Mogadishu. The FLCS representatives demand the immediate independence of French Somaliland, release of all political detainees, and OAU support. **2 February:** Prime Minister Hussein puts all civil servants on one year’s probation in an effort to weed out incompetent personnel on the principle of *l’uomo giusto al posto giusto* (the right man for the right job). **24 June:** Brigadier General Mohamed Siad Barre confirmed as commander in chief of the Somali National Army. **28 June:** The Council of Ministers designate Arabic and English as provisional languages of instruction in the primary schools, pending selection of an official written form of the Somali language. **4 August:** Somalia and Ethiopia

accuse each other of amassing troops on the border, in violation of the Khartoum agreement of March 1964. **2 September:** OAU secretary general Diallo Telli visits Mogadishu to intervene in the Somali-Ethiopian crisis. **14 December:** The presidents and foreign ministers of Kenya and Somalia meet at Arusha, Tanzania, in an effort sponsored by President Julius Nyerere to mediate the dispute about the national status of the Somali-dominated Northern Frontier District of Kenya.

1966

6 February: Ahmed Sheikh Mohamed Absiye, presidente of the Assemblea Nazionale, is expelled from SYL. **8 March:** Sheikh Mukhtar Mohamed Hussein is elected presidente of the Assemblea Nazionale, winning with 69 votes against 42 for the opposition candidate, Mohamed Haji Ibrahim Egal. **5 September:** The Somali government arrests the secretary general of the Mogadishu-based Front de Libération de la Côte Somalie on an embezzlement charge and closes the FLCS office, finding its “extremist views” unacceptable. **25 October:** Shabelle Oil Company (formed by the emir of Kuwait and West Texas oilmen) sign a six-year exploration agreement in Mogadishu, making it the sixth firm to seek oil in Somalia since independence. **2 December:** The French National Assembly approves a referendum in French Somaliland on its future relationship with France, *oui* to remain a colony or *non* for independence. **17 December:** Prime Minister Hussein and senior officials make a 20-day tour through all regions of the country. Hussein declares: “This country cannot entirely depend on foreign aid for its development. Self-reliance is the fundamental policy.”

1967

18 March: Both Ethiopia and Somalia deploy troops on the borders of French Somaliland in the days immediately preceding the referendum. From 18 to 21 March, French authorities close the borders, suspend air and train traffic, and shut down the port. The *Washington Post* notes that “on election eve, Djibouti resembles a fortress before a siege.” **20 March:** France wins the referendum: 22,523 *oui* to 14,734 *non*. Somali leaders in Djibouti demonstrate against the outcome. French security forces open fire on the crowd, killing at least 11 and wounding 20. Legionnaires round up approximately 4,000 men and women as aliens who are deported to the Somali Republic. Djibouti remains sealed. **6 April:** A new eight-man Conseil de Gouvernement is installed in Djibouti and chaired by the French governor, Louis Sagat. All but two ministers, a Frenchman and a Yemeni, are from the non-Somali Afar clan,

which voted for France in the referendum. **June:** Former prime minister Shermarke is elected president. **14 August:** Foreign Minister Ahmed Yusuf Dualeh and Ali Idd Omar, an official in the Ministry of Information, are arrested and detained for espionage. **20–23 September:** King Faisal of Saudi Arabia makes a state visit, at the invitation of President Shermarke, signaling a more pro-Arab and Islamic political alignment.

- 1968** **5 September:** Prime Minister Egal makes an official visit to Addis Ababa, the first by a Somali head of government. Somalia and Ethiopia agree to demilitarize the borders, to reopen the Mogadishu-Hargeisa road, and to establish commercial air and telecommunication links. **13 December:** The Somali government grants uranium concessions to several Western companies collectively known as Somiren. Uranium deposits had been discovered in Somalia in early 1968.
- 1969** **March:** Second general election: of the 123 seats, SYL wins 73, SNC 11, HDMS 3, and others 36. More than 65 parties compete in this election and, although non-SYL parties win 50 seats, those elected join the SYL with one exception, former Prime Minister Hussein, who remains loyal to his party, Dabka (Flame). **15 October:** President Shermarke is assassinated by one of his bodyguards. **21 October:** A military coup led by Mohamed Siad Barre establishes the Supreme Revolutionary Council (SRC) to govern the republic.
- 1970** **7 May:** Nationalization of major Somali and foreign companies and banks: Società Elettrica Italo Somalo, Società Nazionale per l'Agricoltura e l'Industria (SNAI), Azienda Generale Italiana Petrolio, Banca di Romo, Banca Napoli, Grindlays Bank, and Bank Port Said. **21 October:** The SRC proclaims that Somalia will henceforth be governed according to the dictates of "Scientific Socialism."
- 1971** The East and Central African Summit Conference is held in Mogadishu. Emperor Haile Selassie I participates. **May:** Attempted coup and assassination of Siad Barre failed. After a lengthy trial, the coup plotters, Major General Mohamed Ainanshe, Lieutenant Colonel Salad Gabeere Kedie, and Colonel Abdulkadir Dheel, are executed.
- 1972** **February:** Somali-Soviet Agreement. The Soviet Union agrees to construct and maintain military facilities, build a new air base, and

improve the port at Berbera. The agreement details a Soviet contingent of 1,500 advisers to all levels of the Somali armed forces and scholarships to the Somali Officer Corps. **21 October:** Adoption of standard script for Af-Mahaa, the national language.

- 1973** **April:** Former President Adan Abdule Osman, Prime Minister Abdirazak Haji Hussein, and other civilian politicians are released from prison. **May:** The OAU creates a committee to mediate the Ogaden conflict.
- 1974** **16 February:** Somalia joins the League of Arab States. **July:** Ololaha Horumarinta Reer Miyiga (rural development campaign) begins. **11 July:** Somali-Soviet friendship and cooperation treaty: Somalia receives MiG-21 fighters, T-54 tanks, a SAM-2 missile defense system and modern torpedo and missile-armed fast-attack and landing craft for the navy. Soviet advisers are increased to more than 3,000. **August:** Somalia's eight administrative regions are divided into fifteen. **29 November:** The National Drought Relief Committee is established for the Dabadheer (long-tailed) drought in northern regions (Bari, Nugal, Sanag, Togdher, and Mudug).
- 1975** **11 January:** Barre, president of the SRC, announces Heerka Qooyaska (new family law) giving Somali women equal inheritance right. **23 January:** Ten sheikhs are tried and executed for their involvement in religious protests against the new family law. They are Adam Ali Hirsi, Ali Jama Hirsi, Ali Hassan Warsame, Sheikh Ahmed Sheikh Muhammad, Sheikh Ahmad Iman, Hassan Issa Iley, Muhammad Ziyad Hirsi, Sheikh Musa Yusuf, Suleyman Jama Muhammad, and Yassin Ilmi Awl. **February:** First census. Population 3.72 million.
- 1976** **26 June:** Foundation of the Somali Revolutionary Socialist Party (SRSP) and the election of Siad Barre as the secretary general of the party.
- 1977** **27 June:** Djibouti gains independence as the Republic of Djibouti. This is hailed by all Somalis in the republic as a victory over French colonialism, but the Somalis of Djibouti manifest little interest in rejoining their brethren in a Greater Somalia. **August:** Some 35,000 regular Somali soldiers with 15,000 militia from the Western Somali Liberation Front (WSLF) advance into Ethiopia and occupy most of the disputed territories of the Ogaden. **13 November:** Somalia renounces the 1974 Treaty of

Friendship and Cooperation with the Soviet Union and orders immediate evacuation of Soviet advisers and removal of Soviet presence on bases and ports; 600 Somali officer trainees are repatriated from the Soviet Union.

- 1978** **March:** Somali defeat at the hands of the Ethiopian-Soviet-Cuban advance, generating a massive influx of refugees. **9 April:** Failed coup and 17 officers executed. **4 November:** Somali Studies International Association (SSIA) is launched.
- 1979** **February:** The Somali Salvation Democratic Front (SSDF), a Majerteen-based opposition group, is formed. **29 August:** Second Somali constitution approved in a special election, 3,597,692 votes for to 7,898 against. **30 December:** The first one-party (SRSP) election.
- 1980** **August:** Somalia agrees to give the United States access to the military port and airfield at Berbera. The United States provides \$53 million in economic aid and \$40 million in military aid. **8 September:** Arabic Language Intensification Campaign. New emphasis on Arabic in education, media, and government offices.
- 1981** **April:** The Somali National Movement (SNM), an Issaq clan-based opposition group, is formed. **August:** A Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation is signed at Aden, Yemen, by the leaders of Libya, South Yemen, and Ethiopia.
- 1982** **9 June:** Arrest and detention of seven leading political figures, including Vice President Ismail Ali Abokor, Vice Chairman of the People's Assembly Osman Jelle, cabinet ministers, and top party officials.
- 1983** **19 March:** Somalia bans *qat*, the stimulant *Katha adulis*.
- 1986** **May:** Barre involved in a near-fatal car accident on the Afgoy-Mogadishu road. He is hospitalized in Riyadh, Saudi Arabia, for a long period.
- 1988** **April:** Somalia signs a peace treaty with Ethiopia, renouncing its claim to the Ogaden. **June:** The army and air force bombard Hargeisa and Burao, centers of opposition to Barre, driving an estimated 300,000 Issaqs into Ethiopia as refugees.

- 1989** **12 January:** The United Somali Congress (USC), a Hawiye-based opposition group, is formed. **22 April:** The Somali Democratic Movement (SDM), a Reewin opposition group, is formed. **9 July:** Monsignor Colombo is murdered in the cathedral in Mogadishu.
- 1990** **15 May:** Some 114 religious, business, and political leaders (known as the Manifesto group) call for Barre's resignation and a national reconciliation conference to create an interim government.
- 1991** **5 January:** Mogadishu in flames. Personnel of the U.S. and other embassies are evacuated by military helicopter. Some relief operations and nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) continue providing help amid lawlessness. **27 January:** Barre flees Mogadishu to Gedo, near the Ethiopian and Kenyan borders. **29 January:** The USC unsuccessfully nominates Ali Mahdi Mohamed as interim president. **18 May:** The Issaq-dominated SNM announces its secession and declares its independence as the Somaliland Republic. **15 July:** Djibouti reconciliation Conference. **September:** Barre forces seize Baidoa, which becomes an area of contention; this is the main direct cause of the famine that grips Somalia in 1992. **17 November:** War breaks out in Mogadishu between Mohamed Farah Aidede and the Interim President Ali Mahdi Mohamed. Fighting continues for about five months, resulting in de facto division of Mogadishu into north and south and in heavy casualties.
- 1992** **1 January:** Boutros Boutros-Ghali, the new UN Secretary-General, sends a fact-finding mission led by Under-Secretary-General James Jonah. **23 January:** The UN Security Council calls for an arms embargo, urgent UN humanitarian assistance, and a cease-fire. **24 April:** The Security Council establishes UNOSOM I, with 50 cease-fire observers, and supports a 90-Day Plan of Action for Emergency Humanitarian Assistance to Somalia. **28 April:** Boutros-Ghali appoints Mohamed Sahnoun (Algeria) as the special representative of the secretary-general in Somalia. **May:** Barre's militia makes one last effort to recapture Mogadishu, but is defeated by the Somali Liberation Army (SLA) at Ballidogle. **5–23 July:** UNOSOM I cease-fire observers arrive in Mogadishu. **22 July:** The UN secretary-general's report on Somalia estimates that a million children are at immediate risk from malnutrition, 4.5 million people are in urgent need of food assistance, and 40 percent of livestock had been killed by drought and

disease. Hundreds of thousands of refugees are displaced internally and regionally, while epidemics are claiming hundreds of thousands of lives. The report concludes that “people in Somalia have begun to lose any sense of hope.” **14 August:** U.S. president George H. W. Bush orders airlifts to combat what he calls a “man-made famine that threatens the lives of 1.5 million people.” **14 September:** Five hundred UN peacekeepers from Pakistan arrive in Mogadishu. **9 December:** The U.S. Marines and U.S. Navy land in Mogadishu as part of Operation Restore Hope and UNITAF. In the following few weeks, UNITAF builds up to a peak of 37,000 troops. **28 December:** UNITAF units are deployed to nine Humanitarian Relief Sectors (HRSs): Mogadishu (United States), Ballidogle (Morocco), Kismayu (Belgium/United States), Baidoa (Australia/United States), Bardera (United States), Huddur (France), Beled Weyne (Canada), Jalalaqsi (Italy), and Marka (United States).

1993

1 January: President Bush visits Baidoa. **8 January:** Heads and representatives of 14 Somali factions sign an agreement in Addis Ababa for an immediate cease-fire, disarmament, and cessation of hostilities among all Somalis. The signatories agree to convene a National Reconciliation Conference in Addis Ababa on 15 March 1993. **26 March:** Security Council calls for the replacement of UNITAF with a UN peacekeeping force and the establishment of UNOSOM II. General Cevik Bir (Turkey) is UNOSOM’s force commander. **27 March:** Heads and representatives of 15 Somali factions sign a National Reconciliation Agreement in Addis Ababa. The agreement calls for disarmament and security, rehabilitation and reconstruction, restoration of property and settlement of disputes, and a transitional mechanism for the future Somalia state. **May:** Borama Conference elects a new president of “Somaliland,” Mohamed Haji Ibrahim Egal. **5 June:** Somali National Army militia ambushes Pakistani troops under UNOSOM II, killing 24. **25 September:** Somali militiamen shoot down an American Black Hawk helicopter, killing 3 crewmen. **3 October:** 18 American rangers and one Malaysian peacekeeper are killed and 75 troops are wounded in a raid in south Mogadishu to capture Aidede; 300–400 Somalis are killed and over 700 are wounded. Chief Warrant Officer Michael Durant is captured and angry Somalis drag an unknown soldier through the streets of Mogadishu.

1994

March: The United States and several other countries complete withdrawal from UNOSOM II, leaving 19,000 troops. **31 May:**

UNOSOM II mandate extended for four months. **24 October:** Representatives of UN agencies and international nongovernmental organizations (INGOs) meet in Nairobi to review the future of humanitarian operations in Somalia after UNOSOM II. **18 December:** President Bill Clinton sends marines and ships to Somalia to protect UN troops as they withdraw.

1995

2 January: Barre dies in Lagos, Nigeria, and is buried in his official birthplace, Garbaharey, Gedo region. **5 March:** UNOSOM II forces complete withdrawal. **19 March:** The Pan-Digil and Mirifle Congress declares the independence of the autonomous Riverine State, comprising the former Upper Juba, Lower Juba, and Banadir regions. **11 June:** Aideed is ousted as chairman of the USC/Somali National Army by his former financial backer, Osman Hassan Atto, who wants the UN and aid agencies to return. **15 June:** Delegates from 15 political factions attending a Somali reconciliation conference in Mogadishu unanimously elect Aideed president of the Republic of Somalia. The conference also elects five vice presidents, each representing a different major clan. **3 July:** Egal, president of the self-declared Republic of Somaliland, proposes the establishment of “strategic links” with Israel. **17 September:** Aideed seizes Baidoa. Local elders are jailed in Mogadishu and some are killed. **13 October:** The Reewin Resistance Army (RRA) emerges to fight the Aideed occupation. **24 December:** North Mogadishu’s Islamic Court chairman Sheikh Ali Sheikh Mohamud introduces a new *shari’a* law pronouncing that criminals sentenced to death be beheaded, that all businesses be closed during prayer times, five times a day, that films be subject to censorship, and that all non-Islamic holidays, such as Christmas and New Year’s Day, be banned.

1996

13 May: The Nairobi *Standard* reports clan leaders are cultivating and exporting hashish to finance the purchase of arms and salaries. Annual harvests have increased to over 160 tons with a street value of \$272 million. **20 June:** A conference, financed by the European Commission, on “Decentralized Political Structures for Somalia” is held in Naivasha, Kenya, and attended by about 30 Somali intellectuals and experts from the London School of Economics. The conference endorses decentralization and power sharing. **24 June:** A new warlord, Musa Sudi Yalahow, emerges, leading a fourth faction in southern Mogadishu. The other warlords are Ali Mahdi Mohamed, Mohamed Farah Aideed, and Osman Hassan Atto. **8 July:** Aideed attacks Sudi in his fiefdom, the

Hoosh and Booli Qaran quarters of Medina, south Mogadishu. Colonel Abdullahi Ambarre, Aideed's commander, is killed, along with at least 10 other militiamen. **1 August:** Mohamed Farah Aideed dies from wounds incurred in a battle between his militia and the allied militias of Mahdi, Sudi, and Atto. The Somali National Army elects Aideed's son Hussein, a former U.S. Marine, to head the militia. **15 September:** The Islamic Court in the northern section of Mogadishu bans "pornographic" films and traditional dancing and warns clean-shaven men to grow beards. **18 November:** Traditional leaders from different regions and clans gather at the Nakuru Conference in Kenya to discuss decentralized political structures. They call for an immediate cease-fire and dialogue among all Somali factions.

1997 **3 January:** Twenty-six Somali faction leaders sign a major peace accord at a reconciliation conference in Sodere, Ethiopia, but two key groups refuse to join the peace bandwagon. Under the peace accord, the factions set up a National Salvation Council (NSC), with five rotating chairs, to organize a national reconciliation conference in Bosasso in the northeast before setting up a provisional government and transitional authority. **23 February:** The *guurti*, or national congress, of the Republic of Somaliland reelects, with 223 out of 315 votes, President Egal for a second five-year term. **22 December:** Rival Somali faction leaders sign a peace accord in Cairo ending the civil war. They also agree to hold a national reconciliation conference in Baidoa in February 1998, which, however, does not meet.

1998 **24 July:** A major gathering of clans in Garowe in northeastern Somalia agrees to form an autonomous government called Puntland. Abdullahi Yusuf Ahmed is elected president and a nine-member cabinet and 69-member assembly are also chosen.

2000 **13 August:** After four months of deliberation, the Arta Conference inaugurates a new Transitional National Assembly (TNA) with Abdalla Deerow Issak as speaker. **24 August:** The TNA elects Abdiqasim Salad Hassan as interim president of Somalia for a period of three years.

2001 **2 March:** For the first time in 10 years, Somalia is represented at the Organization of African Unity (OAU) summit in Tripoli, Libya. **23 March:** Leading warlords opposed to the TNA meeting in Awas, Ethiopia, announce the formation of a Somali Rec-

conciliation and Restoration Council, which is given the task of preparing “an all-inclusive” national reconciliation conference within six months. **28 October:** The TNA withdraws confidence in the Transitional National Government (TNG).

Introduction

Since the fall of the dictator Mohamed Siad Barre in January 1991, the former Somali Democratic Republic has not been a state functioning under the common rule of law, but rather it has been a patchwork of regions and districts in different stages of lawlessness, anarchy, and chaos. The northwestern region, a British protectorate before independence and unification with the former Italian-administered Trust Territory of Somalia, declared itself autonomous and independent on 18 May 1991, as the Somaliland Republic. The northeastern region proclaimed itself the Puntland State in 1998. The southern and southwestern regions had declared the Riverine State in 1995, only to be overthrown in six months by the warlord Mohamed Farah Aidede. The Reewin Resistance Army (RRA), after driving Aidede's son out in 1999, contemplated another state, to be called perhaps Riverineland, Arlaadiland, Azania, or Riverine State. Meanwhile, the internationally and diplomatically recognized Transitional National Government was set up in Mogadishu in August 2000, but its governing authority has been challenged both within the city and in the countryside.

LAND AND PEOPLE

Somalia is located in the easternmost point of the Horn of Africa, bounded to the east and southeast by the Indian Ocean, to the north and northeast by the Gulf of Aden and the Republic of Djibouti, to the south and southwest by Kenya, and to the west by Ethiopia. The country has a coastline of 3,200 kilometers, extending from Loyadde on the Gulf of Aden to Ras Kiyambone on the Indian Ocean. The land mass of the former Somali Republic was 626,541 square kilometers, about the size of Texas. The country is flat, with the exception of the Magnyafulka escarpment "scraping the sea" in the south and the Gollis range lying in the north, where altitudes reach 1,800–2,100 meters and occasionally rise to 4,000 meters. The northern part of the former Somali Republic is extremely dry and hot; known as *guban*, "burnt," this area has temperatures as high as 45 degrees Celsius in Berbera and Bosasso. Due to the

low average annual rainfall, below 70 millimeters, vegetation consists mainly of dry scrub and grasses. This makes the north by and large inhospitable for sedentary farming.¹ The seasonal migration of the nomads, thus, is the source of constant conflict over water and grazing rights, not only between clans, but also with the neighboring nations, particularly Ethiopia and Kenya. The region is also vulnerable to frequent drought: the *dabadheer* “(the long-tailed”) drought of 1974–1975, for example, claimed 30 percent of livestock and caused extensive human dislocation.²

In the southern region, the situation is quite different. The region is traversed by the country’s only two rivers, the Juba and the Shabelle. The Juba meanders its way to the sea at Yoontoy, near Kismayu, while the Shabelle loses itself in coastal marshes at Hawaii, not far from Barawa. The area between the two rivers, known as the Inter-riverine Region, constitutes the most fertile area for farming and herding, with an annual rainfall of 350–600 millimeters. Moreover, the plateau that extends from the Doi belt near Dinsor to the Ethiopian highlands hosts natural waterfalls and springs, such as the Gerboda in Baidoa, and flooding, such as the seasonally flowing Bohol Urugeey near Buur Hakaba, in the rainy seasons, which helps seasonal farming and grazing. The climate in the Inter-riverine region is mild, the temperature normally ranging from 15 to 25 degrees Celsius and sometimes dropping during the *jilaal*, or dry season, to freezing.³

Off the coast there are islands, the Bajuni islands, Chula, and Chawai in the south and Maydh off the Sanag coast and Sa’adin near Zayla (Zeila) in the north.

No reliable census has been made. According to the United Nations 1991 estimate for the former Somali Republic, including Ethiopian refugees, there were 7.7 million inhabitants: 60 percent nomadic pastoralists and 40 percent people who practiced agriculture, trade, and crafts. Although postcolonial scholarship portrays Somalia as being predominantly nomadic pastoralists, it is evident that farming and other occupations have been practiced widely, especially in the Inter-riverine region and fertile areas of the northwest. In addition, the coastal city dwellers and groups marginalized by both the city dwellers and the nomads—the reer-Goleed, reer-Maanyo, and Bajuni—are traders, fishers, and artisans.

The dominant form of social structure is the clan system, composed of ancestral groups such as the Reewin, Hawiye, Darood, and Issaq. All trace their Arab descent exclusively from the Hashimite family of the Prophet Muhammad and thus profess the faith of their ancestors, Islam. There are many forms of the Somali language. The nomads mostly speak Af-Mahaa. The pastoral Reewin, who are farmers, traders, and artisans, speak the distinctly different Af-Maay and have different social and cultural traditions.⁴

EARLIER HISTORY

The Somalis are an ancient people indigenous to the Horn of Africa. From the fifth dynasty, ancient Egyptians traded with a region they called the Land of Punt, importing myrrh and frankincense for ceremonial, cosmetic, and medical purposes. The Arabs, particularly the Yemenis and Omanis, traded with Somalia before the Islamic era and knew Somalia as the *bilaad al-Berber* (land of the Berbers). Medieval geographers and travelers document trade with Indian Ocean civilizations and even China. However, it was after the rise of Islam that powerful city-states were established on the coast and in the interior. These states had strong commercial and cultural ties, but were never politically united. The Awdal in the north once dominated a territory extending from Zayla at the coast to Bali and Harar in the interior. The Ajuran, in the 16th and 17th centuries, extended their authority over the riverine region, keeping their seat at Marka on the Banadir coast. The medieval history of the Upper Juba region attests that the Gasaaragude Greeds in Luug were the supreme authority over the loosely allied Mirifle clans of the Reewin. According to Ibn Battuta and others, the Mogadishu Sultanate in the 14th century boasted a university and traded throughout the Horn, East Africa, Egypt, Arabia, Persia, and Southeast Asia.⁵

Vasco da Gama attempted but failed to conquer the ports of Mogadishu, Zayla, and Barawa for the Portuguese in the 15th century. However, the Portuguese support of Christian Ethiopia was responsible for the decline and fall of several states in the Somali interior. In the 18th century, the nascent Geledi Sultanate ruled over a confederacy of all the Digil clans and their *harifa* (allies) in Afgoy, while the Majerteen *boqors* (“sultans”) established protostates among the Darood at Alula and, later, among the Darood and Hawiye at Hobyo. In the 19th century, Zanzibar periodically controlled the southern Somali coast and Egypt controlled the northern coast, extending its hegemony in 1870 as far as Kismayu, which it called Port Ismail, after the Khedive Ismail.⁶

During “the European “scramble for Africa,” Britain signed treaties with the Issaq clans to ensure safe passage along the Somaliland coast and to guarantee a fresh supply of meat for its colony in Aden, which had been established in 1839. France signed treaties with the Afar and Issa chiefs in 1862 and 1874 respectively, occupied Oboch and Tadjourah, and eventually established the Côte Française des Somalis in 1896. Italian colonial aspirations were at first limited to the diplomatic sphere; however, Italy signed its first protectorate treaty in 1889 with Yusuf Ali, the sultan of Hobya, and then signed another with Boqor Isman of Alula in the same year. From 1900 to 1941, Italy gradually occupied most of the Somali areas of the Horn. By the colonial agreements of 1897, Somalis lived under British, French, and Italian

colonial administrations. In addition, the northern region of British colonial Kenya was mostly inhabited by Somalis, while Ethiopia claimed the traditional Somali grazing lands of the Haud and the Ogaden.⁷

The Somalis strongly resisted colonialism. In the north, the dervishes led by Ina Abdulle Hasan, known by his followers as the “Sayid” (leader of the Sal-ihyya brotherhood) and by the British as the “Mad Mullah,” fought against both British and Ethiopian occupation from 1899 until 1921. In the south, the Goshu Revolt (1890–1907), led by Nassib Buunto, emerged as a struggle against traditional slavery and the forced labor introduced by the Italians in their Juba Valley plantations. The Banadir Rebellions (1888–1928), led by militant warriors like Sheikh Abdi Abiikar Gaafle and the zealous millenarian Sheikh Hassan Barsane, were triggered by the Italian occupation of the ports. *Jama’a* “brotherhood” centers, scattered throughout the agricultural parts of the region, were safe havens for runaway slaves and other “brothers,” many of whom became founders of early Somali political parties and associations that resisted colonial authority and sought independence.⁸

PAN-SOMALISM AND THE DRIVE FOR INDEPENDENCE

The struggle of Somali people after World Wars I and II to rise above colonial partition and reunite was remarkable. In 1936, after the conquest of Ethiopia, Italy created a greater Somalia, the *Governo della Somalia*, that included the Ethiopian Ogaden and, briefly, British Somaliland following its conquest in 1941. Italy thus created the basis of pan-Somali nationalism, *la Grande Somalia*. In 1946, the British foreign secretary, Ernest Bevin, proposed to the allied Council of Foreign Ministers a plan to place the Somali-inhabited territories then under the British Military Administration under a British trusteeship. Though the Bevin plan was rejected, *la Grande Somalia* of the Italians and the “Greater Somalia” of the British encouraged Somalis to fight for a pan-Somali state that transcended colonial borders.⁹

The pan-Somali campaign was spearheaded by Abdulkadir Sakhawuddin, the grandson of Sheikh Uways al-Barawi, who was venerated by the pan-Islamic and anticolonial Uwaysiyya brotherhood. Sakhawuddin and 12 other young men from different clans founded the Somali Youth Club (SYC) in Mogadishu in 1943 to fight for independence, unity, and a strong central government. Other parties, however, like the Hizbiya Digil-Mirifle (HDM), founded in 1947, advocated confederation, with self-governing and autonomous states rather than a strong central government.¹⁰ Within the British protectorate of Somaliland, the Somali National League (SNL) agreed with the SYC, but the National United Front (NUF) cautiously advocated independence first and union

with the rest of Somalia at a later date. Thus, there was no agreement on what form of government would be most suitable for Somalis after independence. Should the country have a single unitary government; should it be a federation of self-governing regional states; or should it be split into five or more completely separate states?

In 1949, the United Nations gave Italy a 10-year trusteeship authority over its former colony. When the Trust Territory and the British Protectorate both achieved independence in 1960, they joined together to form the Somali Republic, but the tensions that were to lead to future regional conflict and civil war were already evident. This republic regarded itself as the protector of all ethnic Somalis in the Horn. The five-point star in the heart of the republic's flag indicates five Somalias, two independent and united in 1960 and the three territories that were still separate: French Somaliland, Ethiopian Somaliland, and Kenyan Somaliland.

Both the civilian government (1960–1969) and the military regime (1969–1990) promoted pan-Somalism as a central ideological tenet. Indeed Somalia engaged in at least four “wars of liberation,” in addition to numerous border clashes. They all failed in their objective to unite and eventually caused the dissolution of the state itself, so that there came to be no sense of Somalism, let alone pan-Somalism. Those politicians who were perceived as lacking or betraying the pan-Somali faith were eliminated—indeed, often assassinated. Ordinary Somalis also paid dearly with their lives and belongings in senseless conflicts. Pan-Somali ideology could well be said to have destroyed the economy, as the bulk of the national budget went into the army. The proud Hooga Dalka, “the “National Army,” was humiliated on several occasions, most importantly in the Ogaden War of 1978. Some deliberately mispronounced *xooga* (calamity) for *hooga* (army), to suggest that the national army was indeed a national calamity. One year earlier, in 1977, the military regime had relinquished its claim on Djibouti, after the Djiboutians overwhelmingly voted against the amalgamation of their territory with Somalia. Similarly, Somalis in Ethiopia and Kenya accepted their Ethiopian and Kenyan identities. Furthermore, after the fall of the military regime, the former British Somaliland chose to secede rather than to remain part of what it came to call “Somali South.” Thus, pan-Somalism was a total failure, though this ideology still troubles the Somali intelligentsia, to the confusion of friends and neighbors alike, and obstructs the reestablishment of a Somali state, either united or not.

CIVIL WAR AND THE COLLAPSE OF THE STATE

The overthrow of Siad Barre in 1991 was the prelude to total disintegration. The opposition groups were all clan-based factions fighting for their own particular

interests. Some of them focused their activities on areas historically controlled by their respective clans. For example, the Somali National Movement (SNM) operated in the Issaq-inhabited area of northwestern Somalia; the Somali Salvation Democratic Front (SSDF) operated in the Mudug region, primarily inhabited by the Majerteen; the United Somali Congress (USC) operated in the Hawiye territory of the central regions; and the Somali Democratic Movement (SDM) operated in the Inter-riverine region, which was predominantly populated by the Digil and Mirifle. Other groups were fighting to defend the territorial gains they had made since independence in the Inter-riverine and coastal regions of the south. The Somali Patriotic Movement (SPM), representing the Ogaden clan, operated in the Middle and Lower Juba valley; the Somali National Front (SNF), representing the Marehan, was based in the Gedo region; and the Somali National Alliance (SNA), a Habargedir splinter faction of the USC, occupied the regions of Banadir and the Lower and Middle Shabelle valley.

In January 1991, the USC captured Mogadishu and installed Ali Mahdi Mohamed as interim president. However, the retreating remnants of Barre's regime pursued a "scorched earth" policy in the Inter-riverine region of the country for almost a year, destroying the infrastructure and bringing agricultural production to a standstill. The Inter-riverine people were trapped between Somali Liberation Army (SLA) militia led by Mohamed Farah Aided in the north, Barre's forces in the southwest, and the troops of Mohamed Sa'id Morgan' (Barre's son-in-law) in the south, in what became known as the "Triangle of Death."¹¹ Throughout 1992, and before the United Nations' Unified Task Force (UNITAF) arrived, competing warlords prevented food from reaching Baidoa and other parts of southern Somalia. The warlords used various tactics, forcing relief agencies to use for transport the militia's drivers and trucks, which were methodically looted en route. Warlords imposed fees on relief flights sent by UNITAF and took a percentage of the food load as well. By mid-January 1993, UNITAF had secured all seaports, airports, and delivery routes in the "Triangle of Death" and handed it over to another UN contingent, the United Nations Operation in Somalia II (UNOSOM II), which despite the fact that the operation cost more than \$1.5 billion and involved some 37,000 troops, was unable to bring peace to the warring factions. UNOSOM II withdrew in March 1995.¹²

Fighting between the Somali militias continued into 2000. All attempts to foster negotiations for an enduring truce and creation of a stable national government were doomed. Aided himself was killed in street fighting in Mogadishu in 1996 and the RRA liberated the Bakool (1998) and Bay (1999) regions from his successor, his son Hussein Aided. New forms of authority emerged: the secessionist Republic of Somaliland (1991), the autonomous Puntland State (1999), and the federalist Riverine State (2001). The Transitional National Assembly (TNA) (2000) struggled to revive the former Somali Republic.

POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS

The concept of a united nation of Somalia, or Somaliland, emerged only after the Italian conquest of the Horn and the establishment of the *Governo della Somalia* in 1936. Under the Italian trusteeship, an elected Somali government was created in 1956. Eventually, the nascent state of the Somali Republic, which amalgamated British Somaliland with the Trust Territory, emerged in July 1960.

From 1960 to 1969, Somalia enjoyed a parliamentary democracy with an independent judiciary, 123 *deputati* (deputies) elected every five years, and a president elected every seven years. The country was divided into eight administrative regions, six from the former Trust Territory and two from the former British Somaliland. The regional governors and district commissioners were appointed by the Ministry of the Interior, but their power was nominal; decentralization of administration was achieved by elected district and municipal councils. However, from 1969 to 1990, the constitution was suspended under the military regime of Major General Mohamed Siad Barre, which established the Supreme Revolutionary Council (SRC), composed of 25 officers with Barre as chairman. Shortly thereafter, the SRC proclaimed “scientific socialism” the official ideology of the renamed Somali Democratic Republic.

In 1976, the Somali Revolutionary Socialist Party (SRSP), modeled after the Soviet Communist Party, superseded the SRC. All SRC members automatically became members of the party’s central committee, while Barre was the secretary general. In 1979, a new constitution was adopted making Somalia a Marxist-Leninist republic with a one-party system and, in December 1979, the People’s Assembly, composed of 177 members, was elected from the one-party list. Barre was elected president on 24 January 1980 for a six-year term and was reelected for another term in 1986. His tenure as president (1969–1990) was also longer than those of Aden Abdulle (1960–1967) and Abdirashid Ali Shermarke (1967–1969).

Opposition to Barre began as early as 1971, when he publicly executed two members of the SRC, Major General Mohamed Ainshe and Lieutenant Colonel Salad Gabeere, who among other military officers and civilians were accused of treason. This was followed by the execution of 10 sheikhs on 23 January 1975 who opposed the new family law, Heerka Qooyaska, which gave new rights to women in the name of “scientific socialism.”¹³ The military regime also abolished traditional clan and religious titles, such as *malak*, *garad*, and *sultan*. Somalia’s defeat in the Ogaden War in 1978 signaled the beginning of the end of Barre’s power. An attempt to overthrow his regime was crushed on 9 April 1978, as 74 members of the armed forces were arrested and 17 officers were executed.¹⁴ Militant opposition groups, based mainly in Ethiopia, were soon organized: the Somali Salvation Front in 1978, the SNM in 1981,

and the USC and the SDM in 1989. On 26 January 1991, Siad Barre was overthrown and sought asylum abroad, where he died in 1995. The clan-based factions that deposed Barre disastrously failed to bring about peace and stability. Indeed, the new clan-based factions that mushroomed from 1991 to 2000 made reconciliation virtually impossible. The opposition therefore “had only one thing in common: [the goal] to oust Barre; beyond that, they hated each other as much as they hated Siad Barre.”¹⁵

The struggle for central authority is the root cause of the collapse of the Somali nation-state. Today, parts of the former Somali Democratic Republic are run by self-declared states and republics, while others are administered by traditional clan authorities. Much effort and time have been expended trying to forge unity for a people who may not want unity. For this reason, some have considered the possibility of establishing a confederation.

NOTES

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The Dictionary

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AAW. *See* **BARBAAR**

AAW SHEENG. **Reewin** youth fraternity. Originally, the youth served as middlemen between the nomads and the tailors who made their clothes. More recently, *aaw sheeng* refers to sport and literary clubs whose memberships are made up of men of the same age.

ABAAR. Drought. *See* **DABADHEER DROUGHT**

ABAY NABIYEY. Literally, “Sister Prophet.” A cult that was developed by southern Somali women who held memorial ceremonies for Fatima, the daughter of Prophet Muhammad. Somalis, particularly the Asharafs, descendants of the Prophet Muhammad through his daughter Fatima and cousin Ali, regard the household of the Prophet with special honor. In fact, the veneration of Fatima developed into a cult known as Abay Abay, Abay Nabiye, or Abay Sitidey.

ABDI BILE ABDI (1962–). Somalia’s first and only world track-and-field 1,500-meter champion. During the civil war in Somalia, the fastest “technicals,” armed cars, were nicknamed Abdi Bile. In 1987, Abdi Bile won the world 1,500-meter championship in Rome. He was also the World Cup 1,500-meter champion in 1989 and a Grand Prix finalist in 1987 and 1989. In 1987, Abdi Bile set a record, 3:31.7 for the American Intercollegiate Games. In 1989, he set the African record in the 1,000 meters (2:14.50) and the Arab record in the 800 meters (1:43.60).

Abdi Bile was born in Taleh, once headquarters of the dervishes, and raised by his uncle Mohamed Abdi Geelle, a police officer in Laas Anood in the Nu-gaal region. In 1978, Abdi moved to **Mogadishu** for further education and enrolled in the school of veterinary sciences. When he was 18, a high-school track coach coaxed him to try the 400-meter run, which he ran in 56 seconds,

a surprisingly good time. The coach, Hassan Warsame, recruited him for the city track club. In 1982, Abdi clocked 3:51, just short of the winning time of 3:42.2, in the 1,500 meters at the Second All-African Track and Field Championships in Cairo.

The Somali 800-meter runner Jama Mohamud Aden, then at Fairleigh Dickinson University, “lobbied” U.S. track coaches to recruit Abdi and he received a scholarship at George Mason University in Fairfax, Virginia. Enrolling as a freshman in 1983, he won the National Collegiate Athletic Association track championship twice for George Mason, first in 1985 and second in 1987. Abdi’s major challenge, however, was winning the world 1,500-meter championship.

In 1987, Abdi Bile defeated Steve Cram, the world record holder, in Rome. His time was 3:36.80, making him the first Somali world champion. Abdi said: “the main thing was to carry the dignity of the flag, the name of the Somali people.” He was given a hero’s welcome on his return at the Mogadishu airport. Ironically, Abdi’s victories coincided with the deterioration of Somalia. He felt that his country had athletic potential and he hoped to coach after graduation. Two years after he graduated, Somalia collapsed, so his dreams went unfulfilled.

ABDI DEEQSI WARFA “ABDI-SINIMO” (1920–1967). A poet and musical innovator. He was born in Jarahorato, Borama District, but lived most of his life in **Djibouti**. He worked for the Djibouti Port Authority as a driver of a transshipment truck from Djibouti via Diredawa to Addis Ababa, **Ethiopia**. In 1943, Abdi-Sinimo first hummed the opening lines of a poem, later recognized as in the **Balwo** genre (which some say he created), to entertain himself while repairing a broken vehicle. The poem begins:

Balwoy! Hoy balwoy
Waha i baleyey mooyaan
Waha i baleyey babur
Waha i baleyey berguba. . . .

(Balwoy! O’ Balwoy
I know not what made me suffer
It is a truck that made me suffer
She is berguba [a girl’s name] who made me suffer. . . .)

With these lines, Abdi-Sinimo started the modern northern Somali song tradition. In 1944, he retired from driving and went into music full time. He later created a **Balwo** band at Borama. In the early 1960s, Abdi-Sinimo moved to Djibouti, where he later died.

ABDI MUSA MAYOW (1943–). President of the **Somali Democratic Movement (SDM)** in 1990, one of the founders of the **Unione Gioventu di Hizbiya (Hizbiya Youth Union)** in 1957, and the coordinator of the **Inter-riverine Manifesto**, or **Bayaanki Labada Webi**, in 1989. Of the **Geledi** clan, he was born in **Umur Beere** near **Afgoy**. His formal education (1957–59) was in marine science at the **Scuola Maritima**; he also completed a teacher-training program at the **Scuola Magistrale** in 1961. From 1961 to 1965, **Abdi Musa** taught first at **Homboy** and **Kismayu** in what was then the **Lower Juba** region and then at the **Scuola Maritima**. From 1965 to 1971, he studied **International Law** at **Kiev State University** in the **Soviet Union**. He was later a judge in the district court in **Mogadishu**. In 1973, he was appointed chief justice of the **Alta Juba Regional Court** in **Baidoa**. He resigned in the early 1980s and founded a private law firm to defend the public from government abuse and corruption. He also joined a secret society of the riverine people in opposition to **Mohamed Siad Barre**. **Abdi Musa** was known in the group as "**Dr. X**," because he would have been arrested if it were known he belonged to the group. Indeed, most of the educated elite opposing **Barre** were in jail or living in exile.

In 1990, **Abdi Musa** was elected president of the **SDM**. Lacking its own arms and trained soldiers, the **SDM** joined the **United Somali Congress**, a **Hawiye** movement, to form the **Somali Liberation Army**. Later, the **Somali Patriotic Movement** and the **Southern Somali National Movement** also joined the alliance, which forced **Barre** out of the country. **Abdi Musa**, based in **Mogadishu**, called for international intervention, which **Somalia** received in the form of **Operation Restore Hope**, and supported the establishment of the **United Nations Operation in Somalia (UNOSOM)**.

During the **UN** operation, he campaigned for disarmament as a prerequisite for reconciliation and rehabilitation. He represented the **SDM** in all local and overseas conferences from 1990 to 1999. He was a firm believer in federalism and regional autonomy. In 1993, his leadership was challenged by **Mohamed Ali Hamud** of the **Jilible** subclan, based in **Baidoa**, who led the **Somali Democratic Movement/Bonka**, which was perceived as a **Mirifle** movement. In August 1995, the two movements cosponsored the **pan-Digil and Mirifle Congress of Baidoa** and established the first regional government, which was led by **Dr. Hassan Sheikh Ibrahim**, "**Hassey**," one of the six rotating chairpersons of the **Digil-Mirifle Supreme Governing Council (DMSGC)**. For health reasons, **Abdi Musa** retired from politics in 1999 and joined his wife and children in **Geneva, Switzerland**.

ABDILLAHI MOHAMED MOHAMUD HERSI "QARSHE" (1924–1997).

Poet-musician, commonly known as **Abdillahi Qarshe**. He was born in

Moshi, Tanganyika (of a north Somali lineage), and as a child moved to Aden, where he completed primary school. As a boy, he was fascinated by music and memorized Hindi and Arabic songs from the radio and films. Songs, music, and films were then taboo among the nomads of the north. In 1945, Abdillahi went to Northern Somaliland, where he became a clerk for the British Military Administration (BMA). In Berbera, he learned how to play *al-’uud* (a lute) and in 1948 he composed his first song “Ka ka’aay” (Arise!). Qarshe’s work married poetry and song and introduced a new alliterative form, a new form of **hello** that was shorter than the classical form. Thus he is considered the father of northern Somali music and one of the first in northern Somalia to compose poems that could be sung.

Unlike the traditional hello poems, which were all about love, Qarshe’s hello expressed traditional Somali values and political issues; his melodies urging independence were sung widely and were an important feature of the independence drive. A founder of the **Walaalo Hargeisa** group in 1955, he contributed poems, composed music, and sang in patriotic plays, such as “Somalidii hore iyo Somalidii dambe” (Somalis past and present), produced by the Walaalo in the spring of 1955.

In 1957, Qarshe composed a song to words created by Hussein Aw Farah that came to be sung everywhere for the Somali flag that begins “Qolaba calankeedu waa ceynoo” (Every nation has its own unique flag). Abdillahi Qarshe is also remembered for anticolonial and patriotic melodies, such as “Lumumba ma noole mana dhimane” (Lumumba is neither leaving nor dead) in 1960 and “Aqoon l’aani waa iftiin la’aani,” (To be without knowledge is to be without light) in 1961. The latter became the signature tune of **Radio Mogadishu**, until it was replaced by “Dhulkayaga” (Our country”) in 1964.

During the military era (1969–1991), Qarshe revolutionized the Waaberi (the national artists and performers club), which trained many young musicians and received many medals and awards. Abdillahi Qarshe died in London on 28 October 1997. His body was flown back to **Hargeisa**, where it rests today.

ABDILLAHI SULDAAN MOHAMED “TIMA’ADDE” (1920–1973). Famous poet. Abdillahi Suldaan Mohamed, known as Tima’adde (the white-haired), was born in Galooley of Gebiley district of northwestern Somalia in 1920. In Galooley, Abdillahi Suldaan attended the local Qur’anic school. In his early teens he started composing and reciting poetry (initially, he could neither read nor write). His father and mother died when Abdillahi was very young. In 1936, Abdillahi Suldaan migrated to Harar, where he worked in a restaurant owned by one of his uncles. Oral sources indicate that one evening young Abdillahi was visited by a beautiful girl who was pretending that she

was looking for incense but was indeed looking for a “Prince Charming.” Abdillahi Suldaan spoke to her what is widely believed to be his first verse of poetry.

Foos doon haddad tahay dukaan furan ma weydeene
Maxaa faras magaalaha ku dhigay laga hooyday fiidki.

(If you are really looking for incense
You could have found it in a shop!
Why are you hanging around a closed place?)

In his youth, Abdillahi paid visits to most Somali-inhabited areas of the Horn of Africa, such as Harar, Diridawa, and **Djibouti**. While in Djibouti, he met his rival poet, Abdi Gahayr, who was the subject of satiric poems or lampoons. In Djibouti, Abdillahi also married his first wife, Barni. In 1950, Tima’adde left Djibouti and left Barni behind with a child, Maryan, and settled in Galooley, his birthplace, where he married his second wife, Ardo. In the mid-1950s, during the heyday of nationalism in the protectorates, Abdillahi Suldaan joined the **Somali National League** (SNL) and moved to **Hargeisa**, the headquarters of northern Somali nationalism.

Tima’adde composed hundreds of poems, but he is best remembered for his poem to the Somali flag recited on midnight, 25 June 1960, “Kaana siib kanna saar;”—“Hoist this [the Somali flag] and lower that” (the British Union Jack). From 1960 to 1969, Tima’adde was a member of the **Somali Democratic Union** (SDU), after he lost confidence in the SNL and the **Somali Youth League** (SYL). After the military coup of 1969, he supported the *ka’aan* (revolution), which the army called their coup. Indeed, in 1971 the military regime honored him by giving him a *shahaaddo sharaf* (honor award) for his devotion to and struggle for pan-Somali nationalism. In February 1973, Abdillahi Suldaan Mohamed “Tima’adde” died in the arms of his elder daughter, Maryan, at Kalabaydhka. On 7 February, he was buried in Gabiley.

ABDILLAHI YUSUF AHMED. First president of **Puntland State of Somalia**, in 1998. He helped found the Majerteen clan-based **Somali Salvation Democratic Front** (SSDF) in 1979 in opposition to the **Mohamed Siad Barre** government. A colonel in the **Somali National Army** (SNA) before the military coup of 1969, he was imprisoned by Siad Barre but released in the early 1970s and appointed manager of a state agency dealing with the importation of spare parts for government vehicles. In 1977, at the outbreak of the **Ogaden War** between **Ethiopia** and Somalia, he was reinstated as commander of the southwestern front in the Sidamo region of Ethiopia. Within a few months of his new appointment, Somalia suffered a series of

humiliating defeats. Abdillahi Yusuf, together with some other high-ranking Majerteen officers, staged an unsuccessful coup in April 1978. His co-conspirators were court-martialed and executed, but Abdillahi fled to **Kenya** and then to Ethiopia, where in 1979 he formed the SSDF, a military and political front against Siad Barre. Libya funded Ethiopia's strategic and material support of the SSDF. They also set up the short-wave radio station Kulmis, the voice of the front and a powerful propaganda weapon against the Siad Barre regime.

Abdillahi Yusuf's SSDF failed to attract any substantial non-Majerteen military support. Thus in 1982 Barre was able to split the group and, as a consequence, the majority surrendered in response to an offer of general amnesty and payment for their surrendered arms. Some were appointed to very lucrative posts. Ethiopia, annoyed with this development, put Abdillahi Yusuf in jail, where he remained until Mengistu Haile Mariam was peacefully removed from power and deported and Meles Zenawi came to power. Because anti-**Darood** sentiment was running high following the ouster of Siad Barre in 1991, Abdillahi Yusuf was forced to concentrate his political activities in the Majerteen regions, Mudug and Bari (the Majerteen is a subclan of the Darood). His leadership of the SSDF was challenged in 1993–1994 by Mohamed Abshir Musa, an Osman Mohamud Majerteen, whose subclan controlled the Bosasso port, the only SSDF outlet to the outside world and the most viable economic resource of the northeastern regions. At the Garowe Conference in July 1998, the Darood voted him president of their own Puntland State of Somalia in the hope that eventually they would be joined in a federal system with the other three entities. Thus he opposed the **Arta Reconciliation Conference of May–August 2000**, which established a central state.

ABDIQASIM SALAD HASSAN (1942–). Interim president of the **Transitional National Government** (TNG) elected by the **Transitional National Assembly** (TNA) on 24 August 2000 at Arta, **Djibouti**. This veteran politician of the Habar Gedir subclan was born in Beled Weyne. He first became involved in politics in the early 1960s at Moscow University, where he was a member of the executive committee of the Somali Students Association of the **Soviet Union**. He graduated with a master's degree in biochemistry and returned to Somalia in 1965 to work at the Ministry of Agriculture. In 1968, he ran for parliament but lost.

During the military regime, he was minister of industry and commerce (1973–1976), minister of information and national guidance (1976–1978), minister of youth and sports (1978–1980), minister of culture and higher education (1982–1984), minister of state (1987), and minister of commerce (1989). From 1990 to the overthrow of **Mohamed Siad Barre**, Abdiqasim

served as deputy prime minister, minister of interior, and briefly, minister of labor and social services.

Abdiqasim lived in **Egypt** for most of the civil war period. However, in May 2000 he was elected interim president, because it was felt that the **Arta Reconciliation Conference of May–August 2000** that only a **Hawiye** president would be able to govern **Mogadishu**, which was traditionally Hawiye. Moreover, it was felt that as it was the Hawiye warlords who had destroyed the city, they were in the best position to rebuild it.

ABDIRASHID ALI SHERMARKE (1919–1969). Second president (1967–1969) and first prime minister (1960–1964) of the Somali Republic. He was born at Harardheere, in the district of Hobyo. There is a mosque named after him in **Mogadishu**. After completing his elementary education in 1936 in Mogadishu, he worked for the Italian colonial administration and the BMA (1941–1950) as a government clerk. In 1943, he joined the **Somali Youth Club** (SYC), which became the **Somali Youth League** (SYL) in 1947. He was a member of the SYL central committee in 1950. From 1950 to 1953, he completed his secondary education in the School of Politics and Administration. Thus, he was part of a political elite created by the Italian trusteeship administration. He completed his undergraduate studies with a degree in political science at the University of Rome in 1958, making him one of the first Somalis to have a university degree. Following the Italian custom, he was addressed as *dottore*. He was the only graduate in the first Somali cabinet.

In 1959, Abdirashid was elected to the **Assemblea Legislativa** (AL) from the district of Qardho for the SYL. From 1960 to 1964, he was the first prime minister of the Somali Republic. At first, he was pro-Western, but he was not supported by the United States and the European Economic Community (EEC) countries. He shifted his support to the East, but as a conservative Muslim he experienced conflict with the atheism of dialectic materialism. Finally, he switched to a nonaligned foreign policy; throughout, he was a diehard pan-Somalist and his government struggled to unify the Somalis in **Kenya, Ethiopia**, and French Somaliland with the republic. In March 1963, his government broke off diplomatic relations with United Kingdom when the UK refused to honor the result of the 1962 referendum in the Northern Frontier District (NFD) of Kenya in favor of uniting with the republic. In 1967, he became president. The 1968 elections to the **Assemblea Nazionale** (AN) were singularly corrupt. Abdirashid's party won an overwhelming majority, but many felt that the elections were rigged, and he became very unpopular. Nevertheless, during this period, he switched to a peaceful approach to solving crises with neighboring countries, as he sought a policy of *détente* with Ethiopia and Kenya, but this approach was not well received at home. He was assassinated by a bodyguard in Las'anod on 15 October 1969.

ABDIRAZAK HAJI HUSSEIN (1924–). Anticlan politician, served as prime minister, 1964–1967, and ambassador to the United Nations, 1975–1980. He was born into a nomadic family, which had its base in the Mudugh region and in southern **Ethiopia** circa 1924, and was raised as a camel herder. Under the British Military Administration (1941–1950), he joined the colonial troops. From 1947 to 1950, he served as an interpreter in **Baidoa**. During the early Trusteeship period in southern Somalia, he was a clerk. He was president of the **Somali Youth League** (SYL), 1955–1956, and was elected to the **Assemblea Nazionale** (AN) in 1959. He had no formal education, but was fluent in English and Italian. From 1958 to 1960, he was president of the Istituto Superiore (Higher Institute of Law and Economics). In the first independent government, he was minister of interior from 1960 to 1962 and minister of public works and communication from 1962 to 1964.

In 1964, President **Adan Abdulle Osman** appointed Abdirazak Haji Hussein prime minister and asked him to form the Council of Ministers. This appointment created clan conflict in the parliament and even within the SYL, the ruling party, because Abdirazak belonged to the Majerteen, the same subclan as **Abdirashid Ali Shermarke**, his predecessor as prime minister. An Abgaal poet, in *shirib* form, wrote, “marna Rashid marna Razak, kuwa kale ma raashinba” (one time Rashid and the other Razak, are the rest [clans in the parliament] just rations?). His awareness of the dissension brought about by clan identification was instrumental in the creation of a balanced cabinet of ministers of a manageable size representing all the major clans. This cabinet did not survive, for it failed to obtain a vote of confidence and Abdirazak was forced to reshuffle. All the new non-clan-based cabinets he proposed were also rejected. Somalia was without a government for 10 months, but finally Abdirazak’s policy of non-clan-oriented government prevailed. Since his government, no prime minister or head of state has been able to form a relatively small ministerial cabinet that does not accommodate the interests of all the clans. The post-Arta government of 2000 was composed of over 80 ministers, in comparison with Abdirazak’s 13-member cabinet in 1965.

Abdirazak opened his administration by dismissing officials he found incompetent. Since the dismissal letters were arriving in *busta rossa*, the red envelopes commonly used then by government offices, this era is known infamously as the *busta rossa* time. Abdirazak’s administration instituted the system of hiring on merit and qualifications alone, *l’uomo giusto al posto giusto* (the right man for the right post). He also began merit-pay salary increases for the first time. He was partly successful in creating a meritocracy and banishing the venerable practice of *mahaad taqaan looma bahne ee ayaad taqaan* (It’s not what you know but who you know that gets the job).

Although his government was committed to the unification of all Somali ethnic territories, he persistently followed peaceful and constitutional policies in dealing with the Somalia *irredenta*. He asked the **United Nations (UN)** and the **Organization of African Unity (OAU)** to supervise a referendum in the Somali territories of **Djibouti**, the **Ogaden**, and the Northern Frontier District of Kenya. In 1967, when Dr. Abdirashid Ali Shermarke became president, Abdirazak left the SYL and founded, with **Abdulkadir Mohamed Aden “Zoppo,”** a new party also called Dabka (the flame). He was the only one reelected on this ticket in 1969. When after the election every deputy joined the SYL hoping for a portfolio, Abdirazak was the only one who did not cross the aisle. Thus, he was the only deputy in opposition to the ruling party at the time of the military coup of October 1969. From 1969 to 1973, he was detained, but in 1974 he was appointed ambassador to the United Nations, a post he held until early 1980. Since then, he has not been particularly active in politics, but since the early 1990s he has been active in reconciliation efforts.

ABDULKADIR ALI HASSAN “BAARUDEY.” See **FANNAANIINTA AR-LAADI.**

ABDULKADIR MOHAMED ADEN “ZOPPO” (1919–2002). Commonly known as Abdulkadir Zoppo or Abdulkadir Soobe, “the lame.” A businessman and powerful **Reewin** politician, he was born at Bulo Burti, Hiran region. He began his political career in the early 1940s as a member of the al-Jam’iyah al-Khayriyah al-Wataniyah (Patriotic Benevolent Society) at **Baidoa**. In 1944, Zoppo joined the **Somali Youth Club in Mogadishu** and helped transform the club into a political party; he joined the **Somali Youth League (SYL)** in 1947 and served on the Comitato Centrale (Executive Committee). However, when the Italians returned to the Trust Territory in 1950, Zoppo joined the **Hizbiya Digil-Mirifle (HDM)** party.

Zoppo was trained by the Italians, but completed his secondary education in **Egypt** in 1954. After the assassination of Ustad Usman, president of the HDM, in 1954, Zoppo represented the party at the **United Nations** Trusteeship Council annual meetings in New York. He then returned to Mogadishu to become the secretary general of the HDM and worked for the transformation of the HDM into a national party, the **Hizbiya Dastur Mustaqil al-Sumal (HDMS, Somali Independent Constitutional Party)** in 1957. He was elected member of the **Assemblea Legislativa** in 1956, was reelected in 1959, and served as the vice president of the **Assemblea Nazionale** from May 1959 to July 1960, when he became minister of finance in the first government of the Somali Republic. He shifted allegiance after the 1959 elections, joined the SYL, and was reelected for the SYL at Bur Hakaba in

1964, when he became minister of interior. In the 1968 election, Zoppo with **Abdirazak Haji Hussein** cofounded a new party, the Dabka (Flame), but was not returned to office.

During the military regime, Zoppo retired from politics and focused on his import/export ventures in bananas, oil, and cigarettes. However, in the late 1980s he joined the growing opposition to **Siad Barre** and was a leading signer of the **Inter-riverine** Declaration of October 1989, Bayaanki Labada Webi. He represented the **Somali Democratic Movement** in major reconciliation conferences until 1998. He was elected vice president of the interim Somali government at the **Djibouti Conference of June–July 1991** and was cochairperson of the National Salvation Council (NSC), the transitional national government formed at Sodere, in 1997. Abdulkadir Mohamed Aden “Zoppo” died in Rome in June 2002 and was buried in Baidoa. *See also* **SODERE DECLARATION OF JANUARY 1997**.

ABDULKADIR SAKHAWUDDIN (c. 1906–1946). The founder of the **Somali Youth Club (SYC)** in 1943. Abdulkadir Sakhawuddin was born in Tiyeglow, northeast of Biyoley, the spiritual center of Uwaysiyya, which was founded by his grandfather, **Sheikh Uways ibn Muhammad al-Barawi**. At a very young age, Sakhawuddin completed Qur’anic School, having mastered Arabic and related religious disciplines. He then joined the Qadiriyya order and became a devout Sufi contemplative mystic until he felt that he had reached *ilham*, one of the more elevated spiritual states. In the late 1920s, Sakhawuddin started organizing *jama’a* brotherhoods to teach his people about **Islam** and then mobilize them to resist the Italian colonial occupation. He traveled throughout the country and in the late 1930s established a meeting place for young people in **Mogadishu**. Sakhawuddin was remarkably well read in Arabic and Muslim history and political issues, and believed in the role of youth in promoting better social values. He aimed at founding a young political cadre such as the Young Turks in the Ottoman Empire and the Young Arabs in the Arab World.

In early 1943, Sakhawuddin recruited 12 highly motivated disciples to lead the Somali people in the whole **Horn of Africa** and challenge the “colonial powers” of **Britain, Italy, France, and Ethiopia**. In May 1943, he announced in Mogadishu the formation of the SYC with 13 founding members. Sakhawuddin then started traveling again to promote the ideals and principles of the club throughout the country. This time, he was fortunate that most of the Somali people were under one colonial administration, the British Military Administration. With the exception of **Djibouti**, then French Somaliland, Somalia was administered temporarily by Britain in what was known in Britain as the Occupied Enemy Territories.

As Sakhawuddin was able to travel widely, his political message was heard all over the Somali territories. In August 1946, he died in Jigjiga, during one of his campaigns to create new SYC branches and spread SYC ideology throughout the country. His sudden death was a great loss to his adherents. However, Sakhawuddin's ideas did not die with him, and indeed they thrived. On 11 May 1947, only a few months after Sakhawuddin's death, the SYC was transformed into a progressive nationalist party, the **Somali Youth League**. Thus, his dreams were realized.

ABDULLAHI ABDIRAHMAN “DAASH.” See **FANNAANIINTA AR-LAADI.**

ABDULLAHI ISSA MOHAMUD (1922–1988). A prominent diplomat who in 1956 became the first premier of the first legislative parliament in Somalia, known as the **Governo Somalo** (Government of Somalia). Born in the Hiran region, Abdullahi Issa was raised by his mother, Marera Dini, because his father died soon after his birth. After he frequented the Qur'anic school in Bulu Burti, the home of his clan, the Habargedir, his mother moved to **Mogadishu** to enable her son to go to the Italian schools there. From 1939 to 1941, he worked as a postal clerk in **Marka**, a coastal town south of Mogadishu. During the early years of the British Military Administration (BMA) in Somalia, Abdullahi Issa moved back to Bulu Burti and established business enterprises to support his mother. In 1944, he joined the **Somali Youth Club** (SYC) and in 1945 he founded SYC branches in Bulu Burti.

In 1947, when the SYC was transformed into the **Somali Youth League** (SYL), Abdullahi Issa was elected a member of the SYL Central Committee. In late 1947, Abdullahi Issa was elected as the secretary general, replacing the deceased Yassin Haji Osman. From 1947 to 1950, he was the chief spokesman of his party before the Council of Foreign Ministers (CFM); the Four-Power Commission of Investigation in Africa, which dealt with the Occupied Enemy Territories after World War II; and the **United Nations** General Assembly. From 1950 to 1954, he represented the SYL before the UN Trusteeship Council.

From 1956 to 1960, Abdullahi Issa served as prime minister in the Trust Territory of Somaliland under Italian administration. During his premiership, the British Protectorate of Somaliland and the Trust-Territory of Somalia were united to form the Somali Republic on 1 July 1960. From 1960 to 1969, Abdullahi Issa held several cabinet portfolios, but from 1969 to 1973, the military regime imprisoned him with other prominent politicians. He was released from detention in 1974 and appointed as Somali ambassador to Sweden. Abdullahi Issa Mohamud died in Rome in March 1988 and his body was flown to Mogadishu to be buried in the **Shermarke** graves.

ABDULLE RAAGHE TARAAWIIL (d. 2000). Poet and actor. He recited his poetry, chanting the Abgaal genre called Guurow, on **Radio Mogadishu**, which he joined in 1960. Abdulle Raaghe was a multitalented actor who could perform tragic and comic roles, male as well as female; he could play the fool, but he was most remarkable in plays of social criticism and protest. During the first independent government, for example, he recited his own personal interpretation of “Shabeel Naagood” (Leopard among women), composed by **Hassan Sheikh Muumin Garod**.

Maad dhankaa u ka'daan, Qoraxda ay u dha'eyso
 Ama dhankaa u ka'daan, ay ka soo dhalaneeyso
 Dhexda haa idin taagey, dhulka ha idin liqee

(Why didn't you move to where the sun sets [the West]
 Or why didn't you move to where it rises [the East]
 What makes you stand in the middle: may the earth swallow you!)

The 1960s marked the emergence of the nonaligned movement as a third world power. Abdulle Raaghe thought nonalignment was weak and that the nation should choose the Eastern bloc or the West. In 1982, he was accused of expressing antigovernment opinion in his poetry and arrested; he was held in solitary confinement in a Mogadishu prison known as Godka (the hole) for four years. During the civil war, Abdulle Raaghe lamented the humiliation of Somalis in several poems, “Astaan qaran” (Nationhood”) and “Dardaaran abwaan” (A poet’s will). In traditional Somali culture, the poet was supposed to have extraordinary power either to create or destroy. In the later poem, he condemns those who are destroying the nation.

Asluub iyo haddii Sharafi Jirin, Aamina humaadey
 Aadaabtiyo hishoodki, haddii laga ugaaroobey
 Aargoosi reer hebal, haddii laysu aaneeyey
 Ee ruuh aan eed gelin, rasaas lagu asqeeysiyey
 Afdabeed ninkaan wadan, haddii aqalka loo dhaafay.

(No value, honor, or trust is respected
 When man shuns civility and behaves like a beast
 Mutually assured destruction, brother against brother
 Bullets mow down the innocent
 If you don't have a flaming gun,
 Armed gangs will rape and loot your household.)

Abdulle Raaghe Taraawiil died in Mogadishu in April 2000, in his late seventies.

ABJAD. A code or formula from Eastern **Egypt** used to ascribe number values to each letter of the Arabic alphabet. In this method, the normal order of the

Arabic alphabet of A, B, T, Th, known as Western or Moroccan, is reordered to form the order of A, B, J, D (hence “Abjad”). Here the alphabet is arranged in a secret order and the 28 characters receive a number value from 1 to 1000: A = 1, B = 2, J = 3, D = 4, H = 5, W = 6, Z = 7, H = 8, T = 9, Y = 10, K = 20, L = 30, M = 40, N = 50, S = 60, ‘ = 70, F = 80, S = 90, Q = 100, R = 200, Sh = 300, T = 400, Th = 500, Kh = 600, Dh = 700, D = 800, Z = 900, Gh = 1,000.

The Abjad is learned using the following rhythmic mnemonic codes: AB-JaD, HuWaZ, HuTaY, KaLaMaN, Sa’aFaS, QaRaShaT, ThaKhaDh, DaZiGh. The memorization of the Abjad is the first lesson in the *duksi*, Somali Qur’anic School. In oral societies such as Somalia this system is very helpful for computing dates or even calculating mathematical equations. For example, a Somali religious poet composed an Arabic poetic eulogy for his master, **Sheikh Uways Ibn Muhammad al-Barawi**, in which the date of his death is rendered: KaGhaShJaD, which equals 1327 A.H. (*anno Hejirae*) in the Islamic calendar. We know by subtracting 1327 from 1420 A.H. (the equivalent of 2000 C.E.) that Sheikh Uways died 93 years ago, 1907 C.E. Thus, the Abjad numerals can always be decoded to determine correct historical dating.

ADAN ABDULLE OSMAN (1908–). Also known as Adan ‘Adde (the white one). The first president (1960–1967) of the Somali Republic. He was born in Beled Weyne, Hiran Region. In 1918, Hiran Region was devastated by the *darwiish* (dervish) attacks and Adan’s family migrated to **Huddur**, Bokool region, for safety. Two years later, they moved to **Baidoa**, where Adan Abdulle started attending the colonial school and also worked part time as a houseboy for the family of an Italian clerk. For the adolescent Adan, this colonial experience was tremendously influential. He frequently recalled Sig Tusso, the clerk, “a man I will never forget.” In early 1923, Tusso was transferred to **Mogadishu** and Adan followed him. However, when Tusso was transferred to **Italy**, the young Adan had to face the challenges of life alone. As life in Mogadishu was too difficult, Adan switched to the simpler life of the agrarian town of Afgoi, 30 kilometers north of Mogadishu, where he found a daytime job and enrolled in the *serale* school (adult or night school). By 1928, Adan Abdulle was employed as a personnel clerk at the de Martino Hospital in Mogadishu. This job helped him to complete *quinta elementare* (fifth level), equivalent to the American eighth grade, the maximum education available for Somalis in colonial times. In 1931, he was promoted to head of the personnel office, where he gained more civil service experience under the Italians.

In 1941, when the British occupied Italian Somalia and, indeed, governed the **Horn of Africa** with the exception of **Djibouti**, Adan Abdulle left

Mogadishu and returned to Beled Weyne. In February 1944, Adan joined the **Somali Youth Club** (SYC), which became the vehicle for his political career. In 1947, when the SYC became a full-fledged political party, the **Somali Youth League** (SYL), Adan Abdulle was elected secretary of the Beled Weyne branch. Subsequently, he became a member of the SYL Central Committee, which in 1951 appointed him the Beled Weyne delegate in the newly established political entity, Consiglio Territoriale or (**Territorial Council**, TC) for the Trust Territory of Somalia. In 1953, he became one of the vice presidents of the council. Apparently, his charismatic leadership appealed to many Somalis outside his Beled Weyne constituency and Hiran Region. A year after becoming vice president, in 1954, Adan Abdulle was elected president of the SYL, a very powerful political position.

In 1956, the TC was replaced by a new political entity, **Assemblea Legislativa** (AL), whose members were elected. Adan Abdulle was elected to represent Beled Weyne district. The AL elected him its *presidente* (speaker), a position he held until the AL became a Constituent Assembly. On 1 July 1960, Adan Abdulle proclaimed the independence and unification of former British Somaliland and Italian Somaliland to form the Somali Republic. The **Assemblea Nazionale** (AN), which replaced the Constituent Assembly and was made up of members of both northern and southern parliaments, chose Adan Abdulle as provisional president of the republic for a period of one year. In 1961, the AN reelected him president of the republic for a full term, to last until 1967.

As a patron of **Pan-Somalism**, Adan Abdulle's government attempted to unify all Somali territories. He did not sign the **Organization of African Unity** (OAU) Charter, for it affirmed colonial boundaries. In 1967, he accepted his defeat in the presidential election and honorably surrendered his office to his elected successor, Dr. **Abdirashid Ali Shermarke**, but remained a member of the assembly. This indeed, was an exemplary act of decency and political maturity, which gave him heroic stature. Adan Abdulle Osman remained in the country after the military coup and throughout the years of the military regime (1969–1991); he did not flee Somalia during the civil war and refused to take sides. Indeed, he was engaged in the reconciliation efforts and was the first to sign the Manifesto that in 1989 asked **Mohamed Siad Barre** to step down and aimed to create an interim government while Siad Barre's regime was still intact. Adan Abdulle Osman chaired the **Djibouti I** and **II** reconciliation conferences of 15–11 June and 15–21 July 1991, known collectively as the **Djibouti Conference of June–July 1991**.

Today, Adan Abdulle Osman tends his farm in Janaale, in the Lower Shabelle region. Though he lacks armed protection, his property has remained untouched throughout the civil strife, a tribute to the deep respect and honor in which he is held by the Somali people.

ADAR. Also “Athar” or “Athyr.” This is an oral Maay poetic genre dealing especially with camels that is popular among the pastoralists of the riverine region of Somalia. Although the camel and camel herders and owners have been praised in Somali literature, folktales, and proverbs, in both the past and present, this special poetic form, which glorifies the camel more than any other, has not been adequately recognized and studied. The Adar form is recited at festive occasions such as *arros* (weddings), **Urur** (the annual traditional clan festival), **Dethyb** (which celebrates male birthdays or heroes after a war, or welcomes distinguished people from travel abroad), the *Eids* (Islamic holy days), and national holidays.

On the above occasions, the **Barbaar** “youth” from two towns, regions, or clans line up as teams to compete in a dance known as the **Shabal**. In an athletic fashion, the young men of one group rest on their knees facing their opponents. The competition starts with an opening poetic verse, such as *Dooy dala, duucyo gaala* (heaven is Dooyland and the camel is the mother of wealth), followed by synchronized clapping, then quickly and unexpectedly, slapping of the arms of the other team. In the end, the winner stands up while the loser remains seated. The winner, on the one hand, praises himself and his town or clan and glorifies their camel, while on the other hand, he satirically annihilates and humiliates his opponents by associating them with cattle herders or farmers.

This competition is repeated over again and again. The winners always insult their opponents, ridiculing them satirically while musical instruments are played and the girls ululate. It is very interesting to watch Shabal if the winners alternate with losers, because then the Adar responses express the values and qualities of both clans, towns, or regions. The Adar genre represents and celebrates camel behavior and colors; the quality of camel milk, meat, and fur; camel habitat; camel names (female, male, and calf); camel herders; and the social and economic value of camels. Adar also touches on issues relating, for example, to the history of clans, genealogies of families, wars between clans, biographies of heroes and saints, significant years, and migrations. The Shabal game can last for hours until a group is defeated or surrenders. It always ends in a very friendly manner, unless it is between two rival groups that have historically or politically been in conflict. In the latter case, disturbances and even violence can occur. Even in these cases, however, tense situations are defused amiably.

ADDIS ABABA AGREEMENT OF 27 MARCH 1993. The leaders of 15 Somali political movements signed this agreement at the conclusion of a National Reconciliation Conference in Addis Ababa. They resolved to stop fighting and to reconcile their differences through peaceful means. The leaders also agreed to continue other peace initiatives, especially the cease-fire

agreement signed in Addis Ababa in January 1993, which included the handing over of all weapons and ammunition to the **United Task Force** and the **United Nations Operation in Somalia II**.

The agreement provided for a transitional period of two years, effective 27 March 1993. The transitional mechanism consisted of four basic organs of authority: **Transitional National Council (TNC)**, **Central Administrative Department**, **Regional Councils**, and **District Councils**. The agreement also provided for the appointment by the TNC of a Transitional Charter Drafting Committee. The signatories of this agreement also signed the **Addis Ababa Peace Agreement and Supplement of January 1993**, with the exception of Col. Mohamed Nur Alio, who signed as representative of the **Somali Democratic Movement** and the **Somali National Alliance**, instead of being a cosigner as he was in the earlier agreement.

ADDIS ABABA PEACE AGREEMENT AND SUPPLEMENT OF JANUARY 1993. Representatives of 14 Somali political organizations met in Addis Ababa, **Ethiopia**, from 4 to 8 January 1993 and agreed to the convening of a National Reconciliation Conference in Addis Ababa on 15 March 1993, the implementation of a cease-fire and modalities of disarmament, and the establishment of an ad hoc committee to help determine the criteria for participation at, and the agenda for, the reconciliation conference.

The agreement was signed by Mohamed Ramadan Arbow, chairman **Somali African Muki Organization**; Mohamed Farah Abdullahi, chairman, Somali Democratic Alliance; Dr. **Abdi Musa Mayow**, chairman, and Col. Mohamed Nur Alio, Cochairman, **Somali Democratic Movement**; Ali Ismail Abdi, chairman, Somali National Democratic Union; Gen. Omar Haji Mohamed Hersi, chairman, **Somali National Front**; Dr. Mohamed Rajis Mohamed, chairman, **Somali National Union**; Gen. Aden Abdillahi Noor, chairman, Somali Patriotic Movement; Col. Ahmed Omar Jess, chairman, Somali Patriotic Movement/Somali National Alliance; Gen. Mohamed Abshir Muse, chairman, **Somali Salvation Democratic Front**; Col. Abdi Warsame Issaq, chairman, **Southern Somali National Movement/Somali National Alliance**; Gen. **Mohamed Farah Aideed**, chairman, **Somali National Alliance**; Mohamed Qanyare Afrah, chairman, **United Somali Congress**; Abdurahman Dualeh Ali, chairman, United Somali Front; and Mohamed Abdi Hashi, chairman, **United Somali Party**.

Among the dignitaries present on the occasion were the secretaries general of the **United Nations** and the League of Arab States and the representatives of the **Organization of African Unity**, the Organization of Islamic Conference, the **Intergovernmental Authority on Development**, and the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries.

AF. Literally means “mouth,” but it also means “language,” especially unwritten languages.

AF-BAJUNI. Known also as Mbalazi or Chimbalazi. This is a language spoken by people of the Bajuni Islands in Southern Somalia.

AFBAKAYLE. The first armed encounter between the *darwiish* (dervish) troops and the British colonial forces in the British protectorate of Somaliland. The two forces clashed on 3 June 1901, in a valley called Afbakayle, 45 miles west of Las’anod. The British colonial troops were prepared to crush the *darwiish* forces established in about 1899 by **Sayid Mahamed Abdulle Hasan**, who sought to launch the Salihyya order and fight against the infidel colonial powers. But the British attack was delayed because it was the dry season and water resources were insufficient. This delay helped the *daraawiish* (the plural of *darwiish*) because water was very necessary for their livestock and because it allowed them ample time for acquiring more ammunition and recruiting more followers for the movement.

The British colonial troops were composed of Indians, Sudanese, Swahili East Africans, Somalis, and some British and Boers. They were under the command of Colonel Swayne, known to the *daraawiish* as Suweyn Cawar (one-eyed Swayne). Their forces included 50 mounted troops, 20 camel corps, 1,200 infantry, 3 Maxim guns (type of machine gun), 2 seven-pounder guns, and 1,000 transport camels. Reinforcement troops from the 3d King’s African Rifles comprised 400 mounted troops and camel corps and 50 infantry marching from Burao. All garrisons in the Burao region and Haud were made to stand by in case further reinforcements were required. The *darwiish* forces were composed of 10,500 horsemen with swords and traditional weapons and 1,500 horsemen with rifles. There were some 3,000 *darwiish* members protecting families and managing the livestock.

On 3 June 1901, the two forces clashed around noon, resulting in many dead and wounded on both sides, with each side claiming victory. The *daraawish* called the battle Haradhiig, or bloodbath, to remember it as the bloody day it was. Both the British and the *daraawiish* learned valuable lessons about each other’s disciplined military power. While the British colonial troops were waiting for reinforcements, the *daraawiish* moved toward the mountain ranges east of Las’anod.

AF-BARAWAANI. Known also as “Mwini” or “Chimwini.” This language is spoken by the Barawaani people in the city of **Barawa** and the Barawaani community in **Banadir** towns and East Africa.

AF-BOON. This language is spoken around Jilib District, Middle Juba region. Linguistically, it belongs to the Cushitic family of languages. It has some affinity with the **Af-Garre** and **Af-Maay** of Somalia and the Rendille of **Kenya**. The Af-Boon speakers use Af-Maay, particularly the Af-Maay of Jilib accent, as lingua franca.

AF-DABARRE. A distinctive language of a Digil clan family. It is spoken by the Dabarre and Iroole clan families around Diinsor District and nearby **Barawa** District. Diinsor District is in Bay region, while Barawa is part of Lower Shabelle. Af-Dabarre is also spoken widely in the Qassy Dheere area.

AF-GARRE. Spoken by the Garre subclan of the Digil clan family. It dominates areas of southern Somalia, southern **Ethiopia**, and northeastern **Kenya**, especially in Wanle Weyn, Buur Hakaba, **Baidoa** of the Doi belt and Middle Shabelle, and **Qorioley** of Lower Shabelle. The Garre in Somalia also speak **Af-Maay**, while those in Kenya and Ethiopia also speak languages of their respective countries in addition to their own Garre. Linguistically, Af-Garre has been reported to be close to **Af-Boon**.

AFGOY. One of the oldest towns on the lower Shabelle valley, 30 kilometers north of **Mogadishu**, Afgoy is the site of Lafoole College, the first college of education in Somalia, built on the site of the battle of **Lafoole** of 1896. Afgoy is also known for the **Istunka**, the annual “stick fight” carnival commemorating the New Year in the riverine region. It was a trade center for the Sil’is dynasty in the 15th century and then fell under **Ajuran** rule. Around the mid-1650s, Afgoy became the site of the Geledi Sultanate, composed of a confederation of the Shanta Aleemo, Garre, Wa’daan, Moobleen, Hubeer, and Hintire clans.

Neither the Sil’is nor the Ajuran developed the town, but limited themselves to controlling the caravan routes and collecting taxes and tribute. Afgoy was in its golden age in 1800 under the reign of the Gobroon dynasty, which was not only a powerful military machine but, by its use of Asraar or **Ta’daar**, the feared “secret, mystical language,” was a formidable force in other respects as well. The sultanate ruled most of the **Inter-riverine region** until the Italian colonial occupation. The inhabitants grew sorghum, beans, cotton, and later bananas and a variety of vegetables. The Afgoyans say *laka beere beerwaye* (you can count on your farm), as opposed to the nomads, who counted on their camels. Afgoyans raised cows and goats for meat, milk, and ghee. They also traded in livestock and slaves. Afgoy was the crossroads of caravans bringing ivory, leopard skins, and aloe in exchange for foreign fabrics, sugar, dates, and firearms. Afgoy merchants boasted of their wealth; one of the wealthiest said, “Moordiinle iyo **Mereerey** iyo

Mooro Iidow, maalki jeri keenow kuma moogi malabside” (Bring all the wealth of Moordiinle, Mereerey, and the enclosures of Iidow, I scarcely notice it.) Afgoy is also known for weaving the traditional white cotton, or “ceremonial clothes.”

The most famous Geledi sultans are **Mohamud Ibrahim Adeer** (d. 1828), **Yusuf Mahamud** (1828–1848), **Ahmad Yusuf** (1848–1879), and Usman Ahmed (d. 1910). Adeer founded the confederacy after he defeated the alliance of the Gurgaate, Hillibi, and Hintire. Yusuf Mahamud’s conquest of the town of **Bardera Jama’a** in 1848 made him a legendary power, although soon after, the Biamaal of **Marka** killed him at the battle of Adaddey. His son, Ahmad Yusuf, who was a skilled diplomat, was killed in the battle of **Agaaran**, also by the Biamaal, in 1879. Finally, Ahmad Yusuf’s son, Usman Ahmed, died when the Italians occupied Afgoy.

Afgoy began to decline after the death of Sultan Ahmad Yusuf, because the political alliances that defeated Bardera had fallen apart. The Hintire boycotted the Marka attack of 1848 and the Wa’dan did not join the battle of Agaaran. In addition, after the death of Yusuf Mahamud and Ahmad Yusuf, there was no longer a charismatic leadership, while the charismatic language of Ta’daar (*Asraar*) was gone as well. Moreover, when the Biamaal diverted the caravan routes to Awdheegle and Marka, Afgoy was economically and politically crippled. In 1882, Georges Revoil, a French traveler, reported that the sultan of Geledi had great difficulty controlling his old allies and no longer received tributes. In 1896, Giuseppina Finazzo, an Italian visitor, noted that Sultan Usman’s authority was confined to his own clan, the Gobroon.

After the failure of the **Banadir** resistance in 1908, Afgoy was defended only by the Ahmadiyya brotherhood, whose **sheikhs** were eventually captured and exiled or forced to flee. The Italians confiscated more than 2,000 hectares of arable land and established slave plantations that grew cotton, bananas, sugarcane, and various vegetables and fruits for export. During Fascist times, Afgoy was linked by rail with lower Shabelle agrarian towns to transport sugarcane to the Villabruzzi, or Jowhar, sugar refinery and other agricultural products to the ports of Marka and Mogadishu.

After independence, the Italian plantations were kept as state farms or run by privileged private citizens. During the military regime, under the so-called land reform, the regime forced poor farmers to undersell their land to members of the **Darood**, the clan of **Mohamed Siad Barre**. If they did not, they were forced off their land or imprisoned. By the mid-1980s, there were almost no local farmers left along the river. During the civil war, **Mohamed Farah Aideed**’s militia occupied the Shabelle valley and continued the exploitation and oppressive rule of their predecessors.

AFIS UNESCO NOMAD EDUCATION PROJECT (AUNEP). A joint project in nomadic education in Somalia was started by the **Amministrazione Fiduciaria Italiana della Somalia** (AFIS) and the **United Nations** Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) in March 1956. In this project, UNESCO furnished the services of a technical expert and equipment—such as vehicles, cinema projector, and epivisor—and documentary films, while AFIS provided operating expenses and local personnel. The site selected was a bush center in Afmadow in the Lower Juba region, about 115 kilometers northwest of Kismayu. The choice of Afmadow was due to its location in a nomad country, where in the rainy season there is plenty of good pasture, while in the dry season the nomads flocked to the town, where there were numerous wells and, for a short time, it was possible to meet and instruct the nomads in relatively large numbers.

AUNEP aimed to bring to Afmadow native ex-soldiers and a group of Qur'anic teachers who would receive two to three months of training and would then be sent to accompany the larger nomadic groups in their wanderings and continue instructing them. In the long run, the project would expand its activities and create more bush centers for training personnel in sufficient numbers to make a real impact on the nomads. However, AUNEP failed for lack of resources and difficulties in sustaining both personnel and students. Therefore, in 1958 the project was terminated and the administration put more efforts into the **Diinsor Alta-Giuba UNESCO Fundamental Education Project** instead.

AF-JIDDU. A distinct language from **Af-Maay** or **Af-Mahaa**, which are commonly spoken in Somalia and considered as the two main Somali languages. Af-Jiddu is one of the Digil languages spoken by the Jiddu clan inhabitants of **Qorioley** District, Lower Shabelle region; **Diinsor** District, Bay region; and Jilib District, Middle Juba region. Af-Jiddu is closer to Af-Maay and other Digil languages than to any other language of the **Horn of Africa**. Ethnic Jiddu inhabiting **Ethiopia**, especially in Bale Province, speak Oromo widely.

AF-MAAY. Known also as “Maaymaay” or “Maayteri” (What did you say?) or **Af-Reewin**. The language of most Somalis south of the Shabelle valley, in the Middle and Lower Shabelle regions, Bakool, Bay, Gedo, Middle and most of Lower Juba regions, and most of **Banadir**. The speakers of Af-Maay are commonly known as Digil and Mirifle. The language is readily intelligible by Digil speakers of **Af-Garre**, **Af-Dabarre**, **Af-Jiddu**, and Af-Tunni, but unintelligible to the **Af-Mahaa** speakers of the north and northeast of the Shabelle valley, except for the urbanized and itinerant populations. There are no pharyngeal sounds, but there are nasals, fricatives, and plosives.

AF-MAHAA. The official language of the former Somali Democratic Republic, commonly known as Af-Somali, since 1972, when a modified Roman or Latin script was adopted as the standard script. This language was also referred to as “Mahaatiri” (What did you say?) to differentiate from “Maay-teri” of **Af-Maay** or “Haatiri” of Af-Abgaal. It is spoken widely in the Hiran, Mudug, Bari, Nugaal, and Sanaag regions, parts of the northwestern region, and parts of the Gedo and Lower Juba regions. Unlike Af-Maay, this language lacks nasal sounds and has distinctive pharyngeal phonemes. In 1972, it became the language of the media, newspapers, **radio** and television, and instruction in schools. Af-Mahaa gained further currency and displaced other Somali languages in the rural areas due to the mass-literacy campaigns launched in 1974 under the rural development program of **Olo-laha Horumarinta Reer Miyiga**, following the adoption of the script. *See also* **SOMALI SCRIPT**.

AF-MUSHUNGULI. A language spoken by descendants of slaves who escaped from their Somali masters in the **Inter-riverine regions** in the early 1800s. This language is spoken widely in Jilib and Jamaama Districts of Lower Juba, but also in **Mogadishu**, Kismayu, and **Baidoa**, because of migration to these urban areas. Af-Mushunguli belongs to the Niger-Congo language family and is intelligible to the speakers of waZigua, the Zigula, or Shamba in northern Tanzania.

AFTAH (Maay Script). A day off from *duksi*, “the Qur’anic School,” honored by the *maalling* (teacher) and *kabiir* (assistant to the teacher).

AGAARAN. A decisive battle between the Biamaal and the Geledi. *See also* **AHMAD YUSUF**.

AGAARWEYNE. On 16 April 1903, the *daraawiish* (dervishes) defeated the British colonial troops at Agaarweyne. After the defeat of **Beerdhiga**, the British reorganized their troops in the **Horn of Africa** under a new commander for their operations against **Sayid Mahamed Abdulle Hasan**, whom they called “the Mad Mullah.” This time, the British planned to attack the *daraawiish* on three fronts: from Hobyoo with 2,296 troops, including mainly British and Boers from South Africa, Somalis, Yaos, and Sikhs; from Berbera, through Buhodle, with 1,745 troops, including Somalis, Sudanese, Sikhs, Yaos, and a corps of British Royal Engineers; and from Jigjiga, through Dhagahbur, with largely Ethiopian troops accompanied by British officers. The three forces were to meet at Agaarweyne not later than 15 October 1903.

The British government coordinated its efforts with **Italy** on the Hoby front and **Ethiopia** on the Jigjiga front. The two countries agreed to support British troops in this endeavor, because it was in the best interest of all the colonial powers in the region to contain, control, or indeed crush the *darwiish* threat (*darwiish* is the singular form of the term). However, the *daraawiish* were fully aware of the British maneuvers. On the night of 15 October, they divided their forces into two shifts. They also decided upon the type of horse to deploy during the heat of the day and the type to deploy during the cool time. At dawn, the *daraawiish* attacked the enemy from four directions and at around 11:00 A.M., the second *darwiish* forces replaced the first as planned. The fighting lasted until late hours of the day. Both sides suffered tremendous losses, but victory went to the *daraawish*. Nine British officers and more than 200 men were killed: only six men were left unwounded from this battle.

AGRICULTURE. This sector accounts for roughly 20 percent of the gross domestic product and employs 30 percent of the population. Farms are found in the **Inter-riverine region** in the south and in a strip in **Awdal** region in the northwest, where rainfall is satisfactory and there are basic irrigation systems. Generally, there are three types of farming: **irrigated**, **flood-irrigated**, and **rainfed** or settled farming. The British and Italians established plantations in the early 1920s for bananas, sugarcane, cotton, and grapefruits (see **BANANA INDUSTRY; SOCIETÀ AGRICOLA ITALO-SOMALA [SAIS]**). During the Trusteeship period (1950–1960), efforts were made to build *war* (catchments) in the dry regions, flood-control works in the cultivated area between the Juba and Shabelle Rivers, and grain storage facilities.

After independence (1960–1969), civilian governments invested largely in state plantations and private farming and model farms to attract farmers and train them in the use of modern technology for export crops, such as sugarcane and bananas. Somalia became nearly self-sufficient in grain and cereals and vegetables. However, in the military era (1969–1991), the **Supreme Revolutionary Council** launched a number of three- and five-year plans to increase production, raise the standard of living, and create better working conditions. **Crash Programs**, **Cooperative Developments**, and agricultural settlements became the essential building blocks of a socialist economy. The state expanded the sugar processing plant at Jowhar in Lower Shabelle and built a new one in Mereerey, Lower Juba (see **MANUFACTURING; MEREEREY SUGAR PLANT**). From the late 1970s, most of these programs began to fail, owing to labor shortages, inadequate technology, and withdrawal of Soviet support in 1977. During the civil war, Somali farmers returned to preindustrial methods of cultivation. See also **ECONOMY**.

AHAD CECCHI. A term referring to 1896, the year in which the Italian colonial troops for the exploration of the Shabelle valley led by Antonio Cecchi (their consul general in **Zanzibar**) were defeated by the Wa'daan clans. The year is remembered as the “Sunday Year” of Cecchi. *See also* **LAFOOLE MASSACRE**.

AHMAD GUREY (1506–1543). Imam Ahmad ibn Ibrahim, known as Ahmad Gurey, “the left-handed,” or Ahmad al-Ghazi, “the conqueror.” From **Zayla**, the headquarters of the **Awdal** sultanate, Imam Ahmad was able to rally the ethnically diverse Muslims of the Horn, mostly Afars and Somalis, in a *ji-had* to break the Abyssinian Christian control of the region. His first expedition, 1525–1529, concluded with the Abyssinian defeat at Shimbira Kure. The Emperor Lebna Dengel, who reigned 1508–1540, was unable to organize any effective defense. Northern Shawa fell to the forces of Imam Ahmad in 1531, followed by the fall of Amhara in 1533 and Tigrey in 1535. Muslim forces devastated the countryside and subjected almost all of the centuries-old Christian Abyssinian empire to Muslim governors. Abyssinia was thought to be the site of the realm of the legendary priest-king, Prester John. Thus, Lebna Dengel appealed successfully in the name of Christ to the Portuguese. Moreover, the struggle against the Muslims was considered a crusade. The Portuguese had expelled their Moorish rulers in the late 15th century; now, they were certainly willing to help the Abyssinians drive Muslims out of the Horn.

In 1539, Imam Ahmad defeated the Portuguese forces under the command of Dom Christoval da Gama, who was captured and decapitated. In triumph and no longer fearing a Christian counterattack, Imam Ahmad dismissed much of his army, including some 900 Ottoman troops. On 21 February 1543, Emperor Galawdewos, who reigned from 1540–1559, and Portuguese troops defeated the depleted Muslim forces and killed Imam Ahmad Gurey at Lake Tana in a surprise attack. Thus, the Muslim forces, who were only unified under the Imam’s charismatic command and military genius, were routed. However, although Abyssinia was no longer under attack, it suffered losses so extensive that it was centuries before it recovered fully. Ahmad Gurey, an Abyssinian Muslim, became a Somali folk hero. Some claim indeed that he was of **Darood** or **Reewin** stock. In 1986, under the auspices of **Mohamed Siad Barre**, a Darood, on the 480th anniversary of Ahmad Gurey’s birth, a monument was erected in **Mogadishu** of a mounted figure in Muslim robes, supposedly in Ahmad Gurey’s honor but actually asserting Darood hegemony. Hawiye clan militia forces thus destroyed it after the fall of Siad Barre.

AHMAD SULEIMAN ABDALLA. *See* **NATIONAL SECURITY SERVICE (NSS)**.

AHMAD YUSUF (1848–1878). Sultan of Geledi and the son of the legendary sultan **Yusuf Mahamud**. Ahmad took over as a sultan after his father was killed by Biamaals at the battle of Adaddey Suleyman in 1848. Unlike his father, Ahmad inherited a dismembered, weak sultanate. Major clans of the Geledi confederacy, such as the Hintire, **Jiddu**, Begedi, and some **Reewin** clans, renounced their loyalty to the Geledi. Although Sultan Ahmad succeeded in regaining the allegiance of some clans, the Biamaals continued to resist Geledi hegemony along the lower Shabelle valley. Ahmad, determined to take revenge on the Biamaal, moved his military base to Buulo Mareerto, partly because it was the heart of the Digil, but also because, after all, it was strategically close to the Biamaal headquarters.

In 1878, after 30 years of preparation for a decisive battle between the rival Geledi and Biamaal, Sultan Ahmad declared war. Unfortunately, one of his allies refused to participate in the war against the Biamaals and Ahmad's brother Abukar warned him to stop the war. On leaving for the march to **Agaaran**, Ahmad told his brother, "Stay at home and guard the women and the children, you coward." Ahmad's troops regrouped in Golweyn. Abukar, his brother, now joined the troops there. At Agaaran, about four kilometers from **Marka**, the Geledi and Biamaal forces met for a decisive battle. The two forces fought fiercely and, when the Geledi gained the upper hand, the Biamaals made use of magic, Asraar, and not only won the battle decisively but killed Sultan Ahmad and his brother just as they had Ahmad's father and uncle 30 years earlier.

The victorious Biamaal celebrated the event. The triumphant Marka called upon the women of Biamaal. The sultan of Biamaal, addressing the gathering, said, "Every woman should bear sons like those two [Sultan Ahmad Yusuf and his brother] as a witness to their courage and handsomeness."

AHMED ARTAN HANGE (1936–1993). Writer, born in Las'anod and raised in Dar es Salaam, in what was then Tanganyika. After completing his secondary education, Ahmed studied Russian language and literature at the Lomonossov University in Moscow. In 1971, he was employed at the copyright office in **Mogadishu** and also became a member of the **Somali Language Commission** and of the Academy of Culture. He published extensively in Somali, English, and Russian, including, *Folktales from Somalia* (1988); "Suugaanta Kacaanka" (The literature of the revolution), in *Dhambalka Akadeemiyaha Dhaqanka* (1 May 1975) and *Somali Folklore: Dance, Music, Song* (1973). Among his best-remembered short stories is "Qawdhan iyo Qaran" (Qawdhan and nation), published in *Horseed* nos. 5, 8 (1967). He also wrote a play, *Samawada* (1968). Ahmed died in an Utanga refugee camp in **Kenya** in 1993.

AIDEED. *See* **MOHAMED FARAH AIDEED; HUSSEIN MOHAMED FARAH AIDEED.**

AJNABI. From the Arabic *ajnabi*, foreigner, and things that are made in foreign countries.

AJURAN. An imamate or dynasty that emerged in Somalia to control the Shabelle valley from Qallafo, on the upper Shabelle, to the shores of the Indian Ocean, and from Mareeg on the central Somali coast to the Kenyan frontiers in the southwest, thus controlling most of the south-central regions of contemporary Somalia, from about the mid-13th to the late 17th centuries. The Ajuran was the leading clan of a confederacy, including the Muzaffar dynasty of **Mogadishu**, the Hawiye-affiliated clans, and the **Reewin** clans. The origins of the Ajuran are mysterious, but the Ajuran is believed to be the offspring of a mixed marriage between an Arab immigrant, Bal'ad, and Faduma, the daughter of a local Somali leader, Jamballe Hawiye.

The Ajuran introduced an Islamic theocratic state headquartered in **Marka**. The imam, or emir, a title used only by Islamic leaders, was at the top of the hierarchy. To indicate his special spiritual function as leader of prayer, the imam, known in Somali as *gareen*, was assisted by emirs, governors, and *na'ibs* (viceroys), rather than the usual *garad*, *islaw*, and *malaak*. Thus, Islamic *shari'a* (jurisprudence) was the rule. Another feature of Ajuran rule was a powerful armed, mounted army that policed the state and collected taxes, or "tributes," of cereal and livestock. These tributes were so exorbitant that many said that the state indeed deserved its name, Ajuran, relating it to the Arabic *ijara*, "rent" or "tax." The Ajuran are also remembered for public works: many of the deep stone-lined wells still in use and many abandoned stone fortifications still standing in southern Somalia are reliably attributed to Ajuran engineering. Tombs and other Ajuran ruins are found in Marka on the **Banadir** coast.

Ajuran authority was challenged in the late 16th century by rebels within the confederacy, first by the pastoral Darandoolle, who gained power after assassinating the Muzaffar ruler in the Ajuran alliance in Mogadishu circa 1590. Two other pastoral clans, Galje'el and Badi 'Adde, assaulted the imamate in the middle Shabelle valley. In the riverine region, new clan alliances against the Ajuran emerged, led by the Geledi; eventually, the Ajuran were defeated circa 1700. The remaining Ajuran were scattered throughout the country, and some crossed the Juba River, where their descendants live today in what is now the Northern Frontier District (NFD) of **Kenya**.

AKADEEMİYADA CILMIGA FANKA IYO SUUGAANTA. *See* **AKADEEMİYAHA DHAQANKA.**

AKADEEMIYAHA DHAQANKA (Academy of Culture). Established in 1973 as a department of the Ministry of Culture and Higher Education to promote **Af-Mahaa Somali** as the national **language**, especially in its new written form. The academy also collected oral literature and folklore and had extensive holdings, including manuscripts, recordings, and crafts, in a research library with facilities for recording. Transcriptions, translations, and textbooks were published in Af-Mahaa Somali. The academy had a weekly newsletter, *Kacaan* (Revolution) and two monthly journals, *Dhambaal* (Courier) and *Cilmiga* (Science). In an attempt to document and revitalize folk tradition, it also had a group of musicians, singers, dancers, and storytellers who toured the country and also performed internationally.

In the late 1970s, the academy became an independent research institution, the Akadeemiyada Cilmiga Fanka iyo Suugaanta (Academy of Sciences, Arts, and Literature) with five departments, including the Guddiga af-Somaliga (**Somali Language Commission**) and the department of History, Geography, Arts, and Sciences. The academy employed not only university-trained personnel, but also oral historians, poets, tellers of folktales, traditional healers, and practitioners of traditional medicine and husbandry.

ALAQAD. Also ‘Alaqad, a cult title bestowed on candidates, usually old women, who are ordained after completing a series of therapeutic and talismanic tests. The first phase of this is called *Samarad* (diagnostic), in which the person becomes inflicted with *jinni* spirits of **Saar** or **Mingis**. Here, the person goes through certain rituals. Special **dances** and songs are played; a great quantity of perfumes and incense are offered by the candidates for Alaqad. This is followed by the *Sharad* phase, in which the *jimns* leave the candidate in peace but only temporarily. Both the candidate and the *jimns* are given a later appointment called *Muul*, which is the decisive phase (in some areas this stage is called **Mingis** and others *Saar* or *Zaar*). The *Muul* ceremonies are intended to make sure that the *jimns* are fully satisfied and leave the candidate in peace for good. Animals are sacrificed, expensive clothing and perfumes are donated to the spirits, and there is dancing for seven days. On the last day of the ceremony, the title “Alaqad” is awarded and, as a certificate, the new Alaqad is given a drum or, in some areas, a ring or coin. The Alaqad then becomes the interpreter and direct communicator of her *jinni*.

ALI KHALIF GALLAYDH (1941–), Prime minister of the **Transitional National Government** (TNG) and minister of industry in the **Mohamed Siad Barre** regime. From the Dhulbahante subclan of the **Darood**, he was born in Las’anod, Sanag region, in the British Protectorate of Somaliland, now the self-declared **Republic of Somaliland**. After earning his PhD in public administration from Syracuse University in the **United States**, he re-

turned and was appointed governor of the Società Nazionale per l'Agricoltura e l'Industria in the late 1970s, before serving as minister of industry (1980–1982) and governor of the **Mereerey Sugar Plant** in the late 1980s. He defected to the United States when Barre's regime was about to collapse and taught public administration at Syracuse University. In the early 1990s, he became a member of Ergada Wadatashiga Somaliyed and engaged in the reconciliation and rehabilitation initiatives. He eventually founded and chaired Somtel, a Somali telecommunication company based in Dubai that connected **Mogadishu, Hargeisa,** and Bosasso by phone.

On 8 October 2000, **Abdiqasim Salad Hassan,** the interim president, appointed Gallaaydh prime minister. Seeking to balance power among the **Reewin, Darood, Hawiye,** and **Dir Issaq,** Abdiqasim hoped the appointment of the Darood Gallaaydh would provide a counterbalance to the Reewin speaker of the **Transitional National Assembly (TNA), Abdalla Deerow Issak,** and to himself, a Hawiye. The appointment of a Darood from the former British protectorate of Somaliland was also a political strategy to give the TNG some leverage with **Mohamed Haji Ibrahim Egal,** the self-appointed president of the Republic of Somaliland. If a Dir had been appointed, Egal would have felt threatened. Gallaaydh's government lasted only 13 months before the TNA withdrew its confidence on 28 October 2001.

ALI MAHDI MOHAMED. One of the founders of the **United Somali Congress (USC)** and interim president after the fall of **Mohamed Siad Barre** in January 1991. A firm believer in Somali unity, he was the leader of a group of 12 factions, known as **Group Twelve** or G 12, in opposition to **Mohamed Farrah Aideed's Somali National Alliance.** Ali Mahdi, an Abgaal (a **Hawiye** subclan), was born in **Mogadishu** and received an Italian colonial education. He was active politically in the mid-1960s and was elected to the **Assemblea Nazionale** in 1968, only to be arrested and detained by the military regime in 1969. After his release in the mid-1970s, he went into business and gained ownership of the best hotel in Mogadishu, the Makka al-Mukarramah. In the mid-1980s, he was active in opposition to the Barre regime, especially as part of the nonmilitary **Manifesto** group in 1989, which established the Council for the National Reconciliation and Salvation.

Ali Mahdi's emergence as interim president of Somalia was based on the strength of his Abgaal clan in and around Mogadishu and on the belief that he was the appropriate person to succeed the late Dr. Ismail Jumale Osole, another Abgaal and the man who had been expected to become president after the overthrow of Barre. However, **Mohamed Farah Aideed,** Mahdi's archrival, opposed the appointment. The **Djibouti Conference of June–July 1991** supported Mahdi's interim presidency, but Aideed called for an extraordinary USC congress to nullify the appointment. Though

Aideed was elected chair, Ali Mahdi still took the oath of office on 18 August 1991 and established an interim government of 83 ministers, with Omar Arteh Ghalib of the **Issaq clan** as prime minister. Aideed called Mahdi a “self-proclaimed” interim president and the militias of the two men clashed, virtually destroying Mogadishu in over four months of continuous and indiscriminate shelling. Despite repeated attempts to bring about a cease-fire, an estimated 30,000 people were either killed or injured. An infamous Green Line was drawn to divide the city into Mahdi’s north and Aideed’s south.

Ali Mahdi supported international intervention, but Aideed continued fighting both Mahdi and the **United Nations** peacekeeping forces. When Aideed died as a result of wounds on 2 August 1996, Mahdi was still regarded as interim president. However, when the former British Somaliland seceded and declared its independence once again, bringing further political polarization, Mahdi’s political role lessened considerably and he left Mogadishu to watch and wait, mainly in Cairo and Rome. Another Abgaal warlord, Muse Suudi Yalahow, emerged to lead the clan. In 2000, however, Mahdi was an Abgaal delegate at the **Arta Reconciliation Conference of May–August 2000** in **Djibouti** and was eventually elected a member of the **Transitional National Assembly**. He returned, with no portfolio, to Mogadishu as part of the government of a newly declared interim president, **Abdiqasim Salad Hassan**, a Habar Gedir.

ALI MATAN HASHI ILMI (1927–1978). First Somali pilot and member of the **Supreme Revolutionary Council**. He established the air force as a branch of the national army. After the military coup of 1969, he was in charge of cultural affairs for two years.

AL-ITTIHAD AL-ISLAMI. Literally, “Islamic Unity.” A *salafi* (return to early Islamic values) movement that emerged in the mid-1970s when Somalia adopted the secular ideology of “scientific socialism,” which explicitly rejected traditional **Islam**. Initially, al-Ittihad was a call for a return to the Qur’an and the Sunna; later, benevolent societies and *akhwaan* (brotherhoods) emerged. Sheikh Mohamed Ma’allim (a graduate of al-Azhar), Sheikh Ali Warsame, and Sheikh Mohamed Isse were early, influential leaders who advocated a return to early Islam and the austerity of the Prophet in their *halaqa* circles. The sexes were not allowed to mix, **women** had to be veiled, and men had to be bearded and dress according to the earliest customs, rather than the current Somali practice. Al-Ittihad called for *nizam al-Islami*, “Islamic order,” with the establishment of an Islamic *umma* governed by *sharia* law. The socialist regime of **Mohamed Siad Barre** suppressed al-Ittihad’s followers, especially after 23 January 1975, when 10 sheikhs were executed in **Mogadishu** for their militant opposition to the new Heerka

Qooyaska (“family law”), which gave women equal inheritance rights (*see SOMALI WOMEN’S DEMOCRATIC ORGANIZATION*).

In 1981, a splinter group *al-Islah al-Islami* (Islamic Restoration) broke away from al-Ittihad. Al-Ittihad uncompromisingly rejected the modern, secular state and refused to enter into the political process. Al-Islah al-Islami, however, was moderate and pragmatic, advocating the Islamic agenda within the existing political structures. It shared with al-Ittihad the ultimate goal to take over and recreate a theocentric state based on *sharia*, but was willing to work within the system, even if to destroy it. Moreover, both groups were allied with other Muslim fundamentalist associations in the wider Islamic world and were supported by endowments, *zakat*, and the special funds known as *al-mu’allafati qulubuhum* (for the newly converted) from philanthropic Islamic associations. Petrodollars also came from Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, and Iran to fund *da’wa* (proselytization). The leaders of both groups were trained at the Saudi sponsored al-Jaama’a al-Islamiyya al-’Alamiyya (International Islamic Universities) in Pakistan and Malaysia. The governments of Syria and Iraq, and some underground groups such as *al-Qaeda* in Afghanistan, provided military training. Both groups established Qur’anic schools and orphanages and provided basic Islamic education.

After the collapse of the state, both groups were involved in **clan** politics and suffered as a result. Al-Ittihad’s membership was mostly limited to the Marehan and Majerteen subclans of the **Darood**, while al-Islah’s was limited to the **Hawiye** Shikhaal and Habar Gedir subclans. Al-Ittihad’s schools, orphanages, and other initiatives were confined to Gedo, Lower Juba, Middle Juba in the south and Bari and Mudugh in the northeast. Al-Islah was active in Lower Shabelle, **Banadir**, and Middle Shabelle. They both established *sharia* courts, which chopped off hands of criminals and stoned adulterers in their respective constituencies. Although militarily and financially strong, they had almost no role in political reconciliation until the **Sodere Declaration of January 1997**; they were quite active and visible in the formation of the **Transitional National Assembly** in Arta in 2000 and financed the **Transitional National Government**. Indeed, they ran, and continue to run, essential operations, such as banking, postal services, telecommunication, and security services (*see BARAKAAT*). Thus they are a government within a government. *See also ARTA RECONCILIATION CONFERENCE OF MAY–AUGUST 2000*.

AMMINISTRAZIONE FIDUCIARIA ITALIANA DELLA SOMALIA (AFIS). The Italian Trusteeship Administration of Somalia. This unique arrangement was set up according to **United Nations** Resolution 289 on 21 November 1949, which placed the former Italian colony of Somaliland, then under British Military Administration, under the UN Trusteeship Council,

with **Italy** as the administering authority for a 10-year period, at the end of which the territory would become independent.

The resolution was unique because: Somalia was the first territory to be placed under the trusteeship system not administered by the authority previously in control; the decision to place Somalia under trusteeship had been taken by the United Nations, rather than by voluntary action of the administering authority; the United Nations had special and unusual responsibilities; and the 10-year limit on the trusteeship period reflected not only a political decision that was part of the overall solution of the problem of the former Italian colonies, but also a desire to impose special conditions on the administration and special responsibilities on Italy, which as an ex-enemy power and nonmember of the United Nations was receiving a special dispensation by being permitted to administer a trust territory.

The resolution also stipulated that there should be a trusteeship agreement acceptable to both the administering authority and the UN General Assembly. In all previous cases, the administering authority had submitted its desired draft agreement autonomously and retained full control over its contents. However, in the case of Italian Somalia, in addition to the Italian draft there were other drafts such as those submitted by the Philippines, known as the Philippines draft, and proposals advanced by the delegate of the Dominican Republic. This allowed the Trusteeship Council to negotiate with Italy and also gave the United Nations a much greater voice in setting the terms of the agreement than it had enjoyed in previous agreements. Furthermore, the resolution provided that the administering authority should be closely observed and assisted by a **UN Advisory Council** composed of the representatives of Colombia, **Egypt**, and the Philippines.

ARAB COUNTRIES. Somalia's cultural and economic ties with the Arabs go back to the pre-Islamic era. Somalia was always close to the Arab world, but with the conversion to **Islam** its connection to other Arabic, Islamic nations became very powerful indeed. **Egypt**, Syria, and Iraq provided scholarships in the pre- and postindependent Somalia. Indeed, Egypt established schools in Somalia from primary to secondary levels during the trusteeship period. After independence, Somalia looked to the Arab world for diplomatic and economic support. However, **Pan-Somalism** sometimes undermined support for pan-Arabism; thus Somalia was often moderate in its stands on Arab nationalism, especially in regard to Palestine, in both the **Organization of African Unity** and the League of Arab States. In addition, the adoption of "scientific socialism" by the military government and the signing of the friendship agreement with the **Soviet Union** in the early 1970s brought Somalia into conflict with the wealthier and conservative Arab states. Also, Orthodox Arabs were shocked by **Mohamed Siad Barre's** execution of 10

imams who preached against his secularism in 1975. Nonetheless, Somalia joined the League of Arab States in February 1974, during the world oil crisis, to become the first non-Arab member of the organization.

Before Somalia joined the Arab League, it received economic support and aid from a number of Arab countries, notably Kuwait, which financed a power station in **Mogadishu**, and Iraq, which built a refinery in Jazira, south of Mogadishu. Until 1977, Somalia was closer to the radical Arab states, but after the failure of the 1974 treaty with the Soviets, which broke off diplomatic relations, Saudi Arabia increased its financial aid and Barre's regime aligned with conservative Arab states, particularly Iraq, the United Arab Emirates, and Kuwait. Barre pitted radical and conservative Arab powers against each other successfully, even in 1979, when Egypt signed the Camp David Peace Agreement with Israel. He did not break diplomatic relations with Egypt then, as did most Arab nations, and later, in 1990, he sided with the U.S.-led coalition of Arab states that opposed the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait.

After the collapse of the state in 1991, Arab nations turned their backs on Somalia. Their efforts for relief and reconciliation were insignificant; in fact, some Arab countries, like Libya and Egypt, constantly provided economic aid and weapons to the anarchic Somali warlords. The Arab League passed resolution after resolution calling for Somalia's unity, but provided no relief assistance. Neighboring Arab countries closed their borders to Somali refugees. Normally, stateless persons cannot be deported, but Saudi Arabia deported stateless Somalis, indeed dumping shiploads of them on Somali beaches. Although some Arab countries participated in **Operation Restore Hope**, it was only for political reasons. However, Somalis still seek Arab support. **Abdiqasim Salad Hassan**, the first president in the post-civil war Somalia, elected in August 2000 in Djibouti, visited the Arab League's ministerial meeting in September and the summit in October 2000, both held in Cairo, asking for political and economic support. This was his first official visit to any nation or international organization.

ARTA RECONCILIATION CONFERENCE OF MAY–AUGUST 2000.

Arta is a summer resort in **Djibouti**. This conference was organized as a peace initiative of the Djibouti president Ismail Omar Guelleh. Guelleh's initiative aimed to curb the power of the Somali warlords by inviting over 1,500 delegates from various sections of the civil society. The delegates formed a transitional authority to draw up a constitution and eventually conduct a national election. The initial 225 seats of a **Transitional National Assembly** (TNA) were allotted according to a power-sharing formula: 44 seats for each of the four major **clans**, that is, the **Darood**, the **Dir**, the **Reewin** or Digil-Mirifle, and the **Hawiye**; 24 seats for the "minority clans," and 25

seats for women. In a later stage, President Guelleh was empowered to appoint 20 more members of parliament to the TNA, to make 245 seats. Immediately, the TNA elected Abdalla Deerow Issak (Digil-Mirifle) speaker and, on 24 August, **Abdiqasim Salad Hassan** (Hawiye), interim president. On 8 October, after consultation with clan elders, the president appointed **Ali Khalif Gallaydh** (Darood), as his prime minister, and within a week the new prime minister appointed 25 ministers, again proportionately from the major clan groups. The TNA held its inaugural sessions in **Mogadishu** on 2 November and by 10 November had established the necessary military and civil government offices. Thus, the stage was set for a new era in Somalia.

ASMO. This power to curse is associated with sheikhs, who can use it to utterly destroy their enemies. It is believed that their curse is devastating. Sheikhs also have the power, *Du'a*, to bless and protect themselves and their people. In both cases, they call upon Allah, who rewards the virtuous and punishes transgressors. *See also* **TA'DAAR**.

ASSEMBLEA LEGISLATIVA (AL). The Legislative Assembly was the legislative body before independence, commonly known in the Trust Territory by the Italian acronym, AL. The legislature has its origin in the elections of 1956 and was composed of 60 elected Somali *deputati* (deputies) and 10 nominated representatives of the foreign residents of Italian, Arab, Indian, and Pakistani extraction. The assembly was inaugurated on 30 April 1956 in the presence of the Italian undersecretary of state for foreign affairs and the undersecretary of the **United Nations** Trusteeship Department. On 5 May 1956, the AL unanimously approved the first law, establishing the first Somali government, **Governo Somalo**. The assembly elected **Adan Abdulle Osman** president and he remained in office until 1960. Meetings were multilingual; speeches and debates were in Arabic, Italian, English, and local Somali **languages**, which were then translated and transmitted through headphones as at the meetings of the United Nations. Although the trusteeship administration retained veto power and the assembly had only limited power in foreign relations, the assembly had complete legislative power in domestic affairs. In 1959, the assembly was enlarged to include 90 elected Somali deputies (and no nominated ones) and, in 1960, upon unification with British Somaliland and formation of the Somali Republic, the assembly reached 123 deputies, 33 of them from the former British Somaliland. The Legislative Assembly in British Somaliland was elected in February 1960 and was chaired by **Mohamed Haji Ibrahim Egal** until 1 July 1960, when the two legislative assemblies united to become the **Assemblea Nazionale**, or National Assembly.

ASSEMBLEA NAZIONALE (AN). The National Assembly, a 123-member unicameral legislature (known by the Italian acronym, AN) consisted of the 90 *deputati* (deputies) from the former Trust Territory of Somalia elected in 1959 and 33 deputies from the former British Somaliland elected in 1960. Both adult men and women voted, although they did not vote for deputies individually: they voted for a slate of candidates presented by a political party.

The country was divided into 47 electoral districts, the number of seats allotted to each district being proportional to the estimated population. Political parties presented a list of candidates for each district, along with 500 signatures of voters from the district and a 5,000 shilling (about \$700) security deposit. However, within a district, voters could vote at the same time for different party slates, depending on how many deputies were assigned to the district. The person named first on his party list was then elected, but sometimes the others on the list were not, because of the practice of voting for different lists within the same district. This system created problems that often led to violent unrest. If a candidate failed to obtain a place on his party's list that was high enough to ensure election, he would then form his own party with his name at the top of the slate. Thus, competition among candidates within each party led to the proliferation of parties, so that there were 22 parties in the 1964 elections and 70 in 1969.

Because of the failure of the 1957 census, voters were not registered but only required to identify themselves. Each voter's hand was marked with indelible ink immediately before voting, to prevent anyone from voting more than once. Haji Bashir Ismail was elected as the transitional president of the assembly on 1 July 1960; Jama Abdullahi Ghalib was elected to serve from 7 July 1960 to March 1964, followed by Ahmed Sheikh from 26 May 1964 to 1966. Ahmed was removed from the presidency for treason and replaced with **Sheikh Mukhtar Mohamed Hussein**, who remained in office until the military coup d'état in October 1969, when the parliament was dissolved by the **Supreme Revolutionary Council**.

AW JAMA UMAR ISE (1932–). A recorder and collector of oral history and poetry. A member of the **Somali Language Commission** and on the staff of the **Akadeemiyaha Dhaqanka** (Academy of Culture). The title *aw* (aaw) or *sheikh* generally indicates a man of religion; Aw Jama is therefore called Sheikh Jama as well. His formal education was Arabic and Islamic and he became a certified teacher in Hargeisa in 1957. In the early 1960s, Aw Jama moved to **Mogadishu** to teach and continue to collect the poems of **Sayid Mahamed Abdulle Hasan**, known in the West as the "Mad Mullah." Aw Jama has written about the *daraawiish* (dervishes) in *Taariikhda Daraawiishta*: 1895–1921 (The history of

the dervishes, 1895–1921), published in 1976, and *Diiwaanka Gabayadii Sayid Maxamad Cabdulle Xasan* “(Collected poems of Sayid Mahamed Abdulle Hasan),” published in 1974. Before the **Mahaa Somali script** was formally adopted, Aw Jama published in Arabic: *Tarikh al-Sumal fi al-’Usur al-Wusta wa al-Haditha* (The modern and middle ages of Somali history) and *Zu’ama al-Harakah al-Siyasiyya fi al-Sumal* (The leaders of political movements in Somalia), both in 1965.

As a member of the Academy of Culture, Aw Jama researched the history of the towns of the Banadir coast. In 1979, he published, in Arabic, *Muqdishu Madhiha wa Hadhiriha* (“Mogadishu: Past and present). In collaboration with Somali historians Mohamed Haji Omar and Ahmed Jimale “Castro,” he wrote *Speared from the Spear: Traditional Somali Behaviour in Warfare*, published by the International Committee of the Red Cross in 1997.

AW USMAANKA. A holy place in **Marka**.

AWDAL. An administrative region in the former Somali Democratic Republic, with Borame as capital and **Zayla** (Zeila) as the major city and port, created in the early 1980s to revive the name of one of the oldest Islamic sultanates in the **Horn of Africa**, the Awdal (Adel, Adl) Sultanate. The sultanate emerged in the early days of **Islam** (around the 9th or 10th century) with its headquarters at Zayla, an ancient port and trade center on the Gulf of Aden. In the 13th century, the sultanate extended southward to the northeastern boundaries of modern Kenya and included most of the Islamic territories of the Horn, including the territory of the present Republic of Djibouti. The growth of the sultanate territorially as well as in population required the establishment of emirates and subdivisions. From the early 1200s, there were seven Islamic emirates: Ifat, Dawaro, Arabini, Hadya, Sharqa, Bali, and Dara. Muslim geographers of the time called them *Duwal al-Tiraaz al-Islami* (the hinterland Islamic states).

In the 14th century, Awdal became vulnerable to the forces of the emerging Christian kingdom of Abyssinia, known as the Solomonid dynasty (1270–1468), especially during the reigns of Amde Tseyon (1314–1344) and Zera Yaqob (1334–1468). The Muslim states were loosely connected and had poor communications. The Abyssinians, however, were organized and able to strike quickly and effectively. During the Solomonid dynasty, Islamic power lessened, but the sultanates recovered with the emergence of Ahmad ibn Ibrahim (1506–1543), known as **Ahmad Gurey**, “the left-handed,” who proclaimed himself Imam and launched *jihad*, a holy war, on the Abyssinians.

The Imam reorganized the Muslim armies of the sultanate, transferred the headquarters from Zayla to Harar for strategic reasons, and made successful diplomatic contacts with the wider Islamic world, particularly with the Ot-

toman Empire. His initial campaign was victorious. From 1529 to 1542, he conquered almost all of Ethiopia, but in 1543 his armies were defeated by the allied Ethiopian-Portuguese forces and retreated and finally were dispersed. Most of the hinterland Islamic sultanates are part of modern Ethiopia to this day, but Zayla remains in modern Somalia.

AWLAAN. This is a type of short drum, cylindrical, with a flat, round base. This type of drum is widely used by the Cushitic societies of northeast Africa. *See also* **MUSIC.**

– B –

BAIDOA. Though it came to be known as “the city of walking dead” during the famine of 1991–1992, Baidoa, also Baydhowa, the center of power of the **Inter-riverine region** and the capital of the Bay region, was traditionally known as *Baydhowa Jinaay* (the heavenly Baydhowa) or *Il Baydhowa* (the springs of Baydhowa). It is located at the edge of the Magniafulka (main central upland), from which flows the Il, or springs, which are the source of the stream and the grazing land along which the city was founded. A legend credits the discovery of the Il to a bird that opened the springs with its beak and then led the people to settle in this place blessed with fresh water and abundant pasture. Also, according to oral tradition, the shrine of the patron saint Obo Esherow has been visited in Baidoa for more than 400 years.

The original settlement was near the springs. Salaamey, the oldest sector, was established on the stream. Buulo Jima (the **Jama’a** quarter) another old sector of the city, was predominantly populated by the adherents of Jama’a brotherhoods. Baidoa attracted merchants and farmers from the **Banadir** coast to settle in what came to be known as Buula ‘Arbeed (the Arab quarter). Menelik II of **Ethiopia** invaded Baidoa in the late 19th century, but was pushed back. The Italians occupied it in July 1913. During the British military occupation (1941–1950), the Berdaale quarter, where Somali clients and employees of the British lived, was the stronghold of the **Somali Youth League**; the rest of city was held by the members of **Hizbiya Digil-Mirifle**.

Baidoa is 260 kilometers from **Mogadishu** and about 430 meters above sea level. The average annual rainfall is 600 millimeters and the temperature ranges from about 18 to 35 degrees Celsius. The city has a mixed pastoral and agricultural economy; the main crop is sorghum and the livestock are camel and goats. Before the civil war, the camel population in the Bay region was the largest in the entire country, exceeding 1.3 million head. After independence in 1960, Baidoa became the center for many international aid projects (such as the Bay Agricultural Development Project) and during the

Mohamed Siad Barre years it was a major military post. As a result, Baidoa grew to become the fourth-largest city in the nation. However, the majority of the new urban middle class were outsiders and the new projects tended to benefit primarily the allies of the Barre regime. In 1974, an administrative reorganization divided the former Upper Juba region into three separate regions, thus reducing Baidoa's access to the agricultural and pastoral resources of the Juba valley, to which it had historically been closely linked.

In fact, at the outbreak of the civil war in 1991, Baidoa was trapped between **Mohamed Farah Aidede**'s militia in the northeast, Barre's in the southwest, and Morgan's (Barre's son-in-law's) in the south, in what became known as the "triangle of death." From mid-1991 to mid-1992, nearly 500,000 people died in the Bay region, with 3,224 dying in one month in Baidoa. None of the warlords allowed food into Baidoa. Moreover, the city suffered from undisciplined troops' *bilibilaqo* (looting and banditry). With the arrival of multinational troops and the establishment of the **United Nations Operation in Somalia** (UNOSOM I and II) in 1993–1995, Baidoa recovered. The city established its own local authority and, at the withdrawal of UNOSOM in March 1995, Baidoa formed its own regional government, which claimed its preindependence territorial status, that is, it included the Alta Juba, Bassa Juba, Banadir, and Lower Shabelle regions. However, after six months Aidede's militia invaded Baidoa and the short-lived experiment in self-rule was aborted. *See also* **BAIDOA INCIDENT OF 1950; JUBA-LAND; OPERATION RESTORE HOPE; SOMALI DEMOCRATIC MOVEMENT/BONKA; UNIFIED TASK FORCE; REEWIN RESISTANCE ARMY.**

BAIDOA INCIDENT OF 1950. Shortly after the inauguration of the **Amministrazione Fiduciaria Italiana della Somalia** (AFIS, Italian Trusteeship Administration of Somalia) on 22 February 1950, a clash occurred in Baidoa. Between 17 and 23 April, five men were killed and dozens more were wounded. The AFIS authority reported that 60 *kooyto* (newcomer) families totaling 500 had fled to **Mogadishu**, claiming that the **Hizbiya Digil-Mirifle** had attacked them and looted their shops because they were members of the **Somali Youth League** (SYL). The root causes of this incident, however, may go back to the ill feeling that the **Reewin** or Digil-Mirifle bore toward certain elements of the **Darood** and **Dir** (or Irir) clans of the SYL, which had prospered under the British Military Administration (BMA) from 1941 to 1950.

The majority of the Somali employees in the BMA were ethnically Darood-Dir but identified politically as SYL. During the visit of the **United Nations Four Power Commission of Investigation** to Mogadishu in 1948, assigned to report on the wishes of Somalis for a trusteeship administration,

the British, hoping to be the chosen for the authority, used their SYL allies to denounce the Italians. Indeed, elements in the SYL had been involved in the **Mogadishu Incident of 11 January 1948**, in which 52 Italians were killed and many shops and restaurants were looted. Less serious incidents had also taken place in Baidoa and other Italian-inhabited towns in the Lower Shabelle and Juba valleys prior to the establishment of AFIS.

There are several possible explanations for the Baidoa incident. One is that the Darood-Dir in the SYL feared that they might lose what they had gained under the British. Another sees the incident as a political ploy to secure privileges before the complete withdrawal of the British; the SYL in fact were trying to establish a strong negotiating position with the incoming Italian administration. On 27 January 1951, the AFIS, SYL, and **United Nations Advisory Council** reached a settlement whereby members of the fleeing families were not only allowed to return but were guaranteed compensation and protection. Soon after, the SYL became pro-Italian.

BAJJII. From the Hindi *bhaji* (vegetable fritters). A veggie ball with lady finger as the main ingredient and with onions and chili powder. The Banadirians also use other vegetables such as peas, beans, and hot peppers. *Bajjii* is served as a vegetable accompaniment to rice or *jabbati*, but it also can be served as an appetizer or by itself. *See also* **BANADIR**.

BAKHTIYANASIB. From the Arabic *al-Bakht wa al-Nasib* (fortune or luck). During the **United Nations** trusteeship administration of Somalia, the Italian administering authority introduced an annual lotto, whereby during the *fiore* (Annual Somali National Fair), visitors were entertained with the possibility of winning a house. In fact, there is in **Mogadishu** a home nicknamed “Bakhtyanasib house” that was won by a visitor at the fair in the 1950s.

BALWO. Modern Somali songs. *See also* **ABDI DEEQSI WARFA “ABDI-SINIMO”**; **BELAAYO**.

BANADIR. A geographic term for the coastal region of southern Somalia in which is located **Mogadishu**, the capital of the region as well as of the nation. The region historically was the coastal strip extending from Hobyo in the central region to Kismayu in the south, including the coastal cities of Warsheikh, Mogadishu, **Marka**, **Barawa**, and Kismayu. However, during the sultanate of **Zanzibar**, *Banadir* referred only to the coastal towns (although not to Hobyo). Under the early Italian occupation of southern Somalia, *Banadir* referred to the whole Italian colony in East Africa, extending from the southern boundaries of the Hobyo Sultanate to Goobweyn village at the mouth of the

Juba River on the Indian Ocean. After 1925, when **Italy** occupied the northern Majerteen sultanates of Hobyo and Alula and annexed Jubaland through negotiations with the British, Italy redefined its colonial boundaries and Banadir became a region extending from the town of Mareeg in the north to Barawa in the south. The coastline was shorter, but the interior territory was larger, including most of the Lower Shabelle region and important hinterland towns such as **Afgoy**, Bal'ad, Janaale, **Mereerey**, and Dafeed. During the military regime, particularly in 1974, when **Mohamed Siad Barre** redrew the regional map of Somalia, Banadir was Mogadishu city only.

BANANA INDUSTRY. The banana crop is Somalia's second-largest export item, after **livestock**, and is an important source of hard currency. Since colonial times, production has remained in the hands of a few foreign or Somali concessionaires. During the Fascist era, the colonial regime created the Regia Azienda Monopolio Banane (Royal Banana Monopoly Firm), which had full control of transport in Somalia and the sole right to export bananas to Italy. After World War II, the Somali banana industry was practically at a standstill. However, shortly before the Italians began their administration of the Trust Territory in 1950, **Italy** suddenly reactivated the banana monopoly as Azienda Monopolio Banane (Banana Monopoly Firm). The change in name was due to the establishment of a republican regime in Italy.

Bananas are grown in the fertile **Inter-riverine region** between the Juba and Shabelle valleys. Early farms were mainly situated in an area from Joohar to Shalambod in the Lower Shabelle valley because the left banks of the Juba River were not part of Somalia until after the 1925 Anglo-Italian demarcation, when trans-Juba was annexed to Somalia. Later, important plantations were created in the Lower Juba.

After independence, the civilian government established its own banana monopoly and encouraged Somali businessmen to participate. Italy remained the major market, but in the mid-1960s Aden, **Egypt**, and other Middle Eastern countries also provided markets. This increase in markets fostered the development of more banana farms, some of them Somali owned. During the military regime, privately owned firms were nationalized in 1970 and the **Supreme Revolutionary Council** government created the Wakaaladda Muuska Ummadda (National Banana Board, NBB). Ninety percent of production was controlled by the NBB, which was also the sole export agent. Both Somalis and Italians owned the remaining 10 percent privately. Somalia's banana exports were hard hit by the closure of the Suez Canal after the 1967 Arab-Israeli War. However, from 1972 exports increased considerably with the opening of new Middle Eastern markets.

Banana exports reached their peak in the mid-1980s; by 1989, the Food and Agriculture Organization estimated Somalia's banana production at

116,000 tons, when only 10 years earlier it had been 69,000 tons. After the collapse of the state in 1990, the Somali banana industry remained relatively intact, the monopoly shifting from **Mohamed Siad Barre** to **Mohamed Farah Aideed**. In 1998, the FAO estimated Somalia's banana exports to Europe, the Middle East, and North America at 53,000 tons.

BARAKA. From the Arabic *barakah*, meaning to find pleasure or delight. It is a soul power, a blessing bestowed by a holy person. It is considered a gift of God to the founders and heads of Sufi orders, who also inherit it through their personal ancestries, going back to Muhammad, the Prophet of **Islam**. Baraka is also associated with secular leaders and their clan genealogies.

BARAKAAT. This money transfer service allows Somali consumers and businesses to send and receive funds in minutes at agency locations throughout the world (wherever there are Somalis). The sender fills in a simple form with address and telephone number, but also provides details about the receiver, such as full name and nicknames or *ina ayo* ("the son of's"). For more specification, the senders also provide the *qabiilka* (**clan**) of the receiver, the *lafta* (subclan), the *laga helo* (location), and any other forms of identification, such as the name of a prominent person in the area who knows the receiver or significant marks. The financial charges are very high, particularly if the money is sent to remote destinations with inadequate communications or business facilities. Some charges are considered as insurance against loss. To guarantee the arrival and delivery of funds, the sender may pay extra charges to receive a telephone call from the receiver's end. The Barakaat agents provide copies of the above procedures upon request, but usually transactions are conducted on an oral basis.

The Somali transfer system from overseas dates back to precolonial times and it grew quickly in colonial times because of plantations, the construction of public works, and military service. However, this transfer system was never as sophisticated then as it became after the collapse of the Somali state in the 1990s. Unlike before, where the receiver's end (the Somali Peninsula or the **Greater Horn of Africa**) was better defined, today members of a Somali clan can be located not only in different places in Somalia, but also in outside countries or continents.

Thus, the need for a reliable mechanism to transfer remittances became paramount and Barakaat was established by mainly young *wadaads* (religious men) in the 1990s. The Barakaat service is actually a relief service more than businesses. The *wadaads* are also engaged in the rehabilitation and reconstruction of the country. Unlike in the *Hawaalad* system of transfer services that was common among the Somali workers in the Middle East in the 1980s, where workers send their money to their families through a

businessperson from their clan, the Barakaat agents are cross-clan and even more reliable than the *Hawaalad*. They have a striking slogan: *Waa lagaa daranyahay dir* (there are worse off than you, so send or give).

BARAWA. An ancient town on the southern Somali coast. Oral tradition relates that Aw Ali from the interior settled in a forest between *arra guduud* (the red dunes) and *deeho* (the white sands). Aw Ali liked the freshness of the ocean air and called for help from his people in the interior to clear the forest and build several houses for him and his family. Eventually, the settlement, much of which is now under water, grew into a town named Barawa Ban Aw Ali (Barawa, the open space of Aw Ali). The people of Barawa speak a language of their own known as Chimbalaazi, which—though it includes some Tunni, **Af-Maay**, and **Af-Mahaa** vocabulary—is related more to the northern dialect of Swahili. Local historians relate the origin of the Barawaanis to the Egyptians, Persians, Arabs, Indians, and even the Javanese. However, historically, Barawaanis are Wardaay (Bantu), Tunni, Wajiddu (Jiddu), **Ajuran**, and Wambalazi (Galla), that is, all the various ethnicities that fought each other through the centuries. The Tunni, composed of five subclans (Da’farad, Dakhtira, Goygali, Hajuwa, and Waridi), were the latest to drive the Jiddu into the interior, where they established their own sultanate in Qoryooley.

The Tunni made a treaty with the Jiddu, so that Tunni settled on the west bank of the Shabelle and the Jiddu settled on the east bank. Both also agreed to resist foreign penetration, to allow only *seddah saamood* (the three footprints, which are the Tunni, the Jiddu, and the wild beasts). However, they did accept the first Muslim migrants, the Hatimi from Yemen and the Amawi from Sham (Syria), around the 10th century, for both religious and commercial reasons. The town prospered and became one of the major **Islamic** centers in the Horn, the Barawaani Ulama, attracting students from all over the region. Muslim scholars of the time, such as al-Idrisi, wrote about Barawa as “an Arabic ‘Islamic’ island on the Somali coast.” Al-Idrisi also described the construction of the coral houses, probably following Arab and Persian designs, and noted that Barawa market was full of both domestic and foreign commodities.

Barawa was famous for traditional crafts, such as the weaving of the *ali-indi* or *kikoy* cloth, and for the *kofiya baraawi* (hats) worn by dignitaries even today, traditional sandals, shields and belts, furniture, and several types of cooking pots, still locally made, including the clay horned stoves seen in the heyban pottery (see **BUUR HEYBE**). Barawa had a distinctive style of woodcarving and furniture making, seen in such items as the *‘Atiir* (wedding bed), the *wambar* (wooden, leather-covered stools), and the *mihmil* (Qur’an holder). Gold and silver necklaces, bracelets, and jewelry containers were produced, as were metal trunks, tea/coffee pots, iron beds, spears, and arrows. Barawa is also known for its own architectural style. Wider streets and

larger windows are common. Barawa has many two-story houses with bridges constructed over the streets, built so that women or the elderly could visit other houses without going down into the street. The town was divided into major quarters, each with a main *masjid* (mosque). Coral was transported by camel carts and burned to make lime for buildings, a wise use of traditional skills that was more economical than using imported cement.

Barawa was reduced to ashes by the Portuguese fleet in 1506 and later became a major Portuguese port, but in league with other coastal towns it liberated itself from Portuguese rule in 1758, when it became part of the coastal alliances led by the **Zanzibar** Sultanate. In 1840, when the **Bardera** Jama'a, looking for an outlet to the sea, attacked Barawa, the town was burned and the people appealed to the sultan of Zanzibar for protection. However, in 1889 Barawa fell into the hands of the Italians, when the Sultan of Zanzibar was forced to agree to the annexation of the **Banadir** ports to the Italian colonial administration of the Horn. Barawa resisted the Italians. **Sheikh Uways Ibn Muhammad al-Barawi** organized his akhwaan and instigated the Banadir revolt, which was defeated in 1908. Sheikh Uways migrated to Biyoley to reorganize his akhwaan, but was killed in 1909. His successor, Khalif **Sheikh Faraj**, was also killed in 1925. However, the **Uwaysiyya** order, named after the martyr Sheikh Uways, emerged throughout southern Somalia and East Africa, establishing *jama'as* in the riverine region that became strongholds of the educated elite and refuge for the disadvantaged. From these *jama'as*, many influential political leaders emerged to form modern Somali political parties. **Abdulkadir Sakhawuddin**, the founder of the **Somali Youth Club** in 1943, was not only an Uwaysi leader but also the grandson of Sheikh Uways. Barawa was the stronghold of **Hizbiya Digil-Mirifle**, founded in 1947. In addition to Sheikh Uways, Barawa could boast of notable ulama in the fields of Islamic jurisprudence, Hadith, *tafsir*, and Sufi literature, among them **Sheikh Nureini Sabiri**, **Sheikh Qasim Ibn Muhyiddin al-Barawi**, **Sheikh Ma'allim Nuuri**, and a female poet-saint, **Dada Ma Siti**.

Barawa began to decline in colonial times, when advanced port facilities were established in **Marka** and **Mogadishu**. Postindependence governments also neglected the town. From 1974, Barawa suffered because of the refugee settlement programs of Sablaale: over 5,000 of the 30,000 nomads from drought-stricken areas were resettled and unsuccessfully taught agriculture and fishing as new ways of life. The newcomers turned the urban life of Barawa to a nomadic one, and many Barawanese left town, so that Barawa no longer had its traditional character and prosperity. During the civil war, Barawa suffered greatly from the retreating forces of **Mohamed Siad Barre** in the early months of 1991, and eventually the town was looted and destroyed, mostly by militia loyal to **Mohamed Farah Aideed**. By 1992, many Barawanese had fled to settle in refugee camps in **Kenya**.

BARBAAR. Literally, “young man” or “adulthood.” In the **Inter-riverine region**, the term refers to a social institution of young men very similar to a modern-day youth club. This institution is headed by an *aaw* (father); below the *aaw* there is a *gob* (secretary), followed by a *galang* (literally, “hand,” an assistant). These positions constitute something like an executive authority. At the bottom of the pyramid there are *raan*, the initiated members of the association who collectively make up the barbaar.

The identity and affiliation of the barbaar depend on a district or village and rarely on a clan or tribe. Unlike most Somali communities, where the political identity rests on genealogies, in the Inter-riverine society, identity is based on place, such as a village, rather than on agnatic lines. To become a member of a barbaar, an individual has to be circumcised; he has to be 15 years of age; and he has to offer a sacrifice called *barbaaramagal* (adulthood).

Confidentiality is a key factor in this initiation. The young man applying for membership will express his willingness to a close friend who is already a *raan*. The friend will then carefully forward the request to a *galang*, who in turn passes it along. When the word reaches the *aaw* by way of the *gob*, the *aaw* will automatically form a secret committee for the occasion. The *raan* who initially forwarded the word will become a liaison between the applicant and the committee until the ceremonies are over. A secret invitation (all these communications are conducted orally) is then sent to all members of the local barbaar as well as to representatives of neighboring barbaars. The idea behind inviting members of other barbaars is to spread the word of the affirmation of the new member. Then the date and place of the ceremony are fixed. It is necessary that the initiation takes place in the late hours of the night, when children, women, and the elderly have gone to sleep. In the middle of a dark night (during a waning moon), after all the guests have arrived, the young applicant comes along with a *waaly* (young he-camel) or a *duby* (bull). Then he slaughters the animal and a fire is built to brighten the area and to roast the meat. The crowd cheers for the young man.

While food is prepared, poets and storytellers entertain the guests. The history and legends of their people are remembered. After the meal, the *aaw* stands, raises his cane, and is lifted onto the shoulders of the crowd. He says a prayer known as *Igaarteey* (Oh, young men) in a poetic rhyme and the crowd spontaneously repeats *igaar lahaaw* (blessed they are). The *Igaarteey* explains the history of the peoples of the region, with particular emphasis on the history of the family of the new member; it gives details of duties and responsibilities of the barbaar and encourages the teenagers of the community to join the barbaar, warning them of the dreadful status of a nonpurified person in this life. It is necessary to remember that within the communities that practice the barbaar ceremonial initiations, if a young man has not been initiated into the barbaar, he is called *wasaaq*, which literally means “dirt.” He

is unable to accept his social responsibilities and status and he is prohibited from marrying or taking part in the community function, and may be ridiculed and harassed. It is a mandatory initiation for a proper young man. Finally the crowd is dismissed.

In the Inter-riverine society, the *barbaar* is the backbone of the community. The pride and prosperity of any village or neighborhood rests on its *barbaar*. They are called upon for any duties requiring hard work and sacrifice, such as *geedqaad*, or “clearing the bush,” either for public or private purposes; *goob*, or plowing, weeding, or harvesting crops; or *oldhow*, defending the territory from foreign invasion and recovering animals and other property taken by an enemy. Generally, the *barbaar* are called on for all voluntary and philanthropic activities that contribute to the well-being of the community.

BARDERA. The center of the earliest and most famous *jama'a* (religious settlement) in Somalia, founded in the early 19th century. Bardera is located on the Juba River, 240 kilometers west of **Baidoa**, surrounded by relatively high land, which makes the climate very hot during the period from December to April, when the maximum temperature can reach into the 40s Celsius. Bardera was known as the “Onion Capital.” The name Bardera means “tall palms.” The palms that used to characterize that stretch of river were visible from many kilometers away. The trunks were once used for the central poles of the local *mindille* (house). Today, unfortunately, these remarkable palms are depleted, primarily because of the production of *shalabow*, a mild palm wine produced by burning the palm trees and collecting the dripping juice as the tree dies from the fire. It is an example of how the country’s natural resources have been devastated, in this case for the sake of a mediocre drink.

Bardera was the first place in Somalia to introduce onion production for commercial purposes. This began in the 1950s, when the town had barely 5,000 inhabitants. The production of onions increased steadily in the 1960s and 1970s, but began to decline in the 1980s, due to the fact that farmers could not get fertilizers to replenish the soil and also because of the government’s establishment of the Union Cooperative, which imposed regulatory controls and disabled the free market. Along the bank of the river is a narrow stretch of fertile, sandy land, irrigated by small individual pumps that allow for agricultural endeavors. Other than this stretch, there is no good agricultural soil available in Bardera. The sorghum farms, for which the Bardera district is famous, are located further downstream, along the road to Saakow and **Diinsor**. A little upstream is Haryanta, or Markabley, where the river gorge is suitable for a dam site. Markabley is where German explorer Carl Von Der Decken was killed in 1860. The remains of his steamship can still be seen in the river.

The jama'a of Bardera was founded in 1819 by the pious **Sheikh Ibrahim Sheikh Hassan Yeberow** and about 150 other religious reformers who fled from Wanla Wiing town due to religious disagreements and repression by **Yusuf Mahamud**, the sultan of Geledi. The community developed its own administration and army and became the most prestigious religious institution. The jama'a was composed of six sections, which elected leaders in consultation with the *ulul amri* (the supreme authority) of the jama'a. The *ulul amri* was always a direct descendant of the jama'a's founder and was advised by the section leaders representing the jama'a's diverse membership.

Since its founding, people from all parts of the country have sought religious learning at Bardera. During the 1800s, Bardera spread its influence in most of the **Inter-riverine region**, but encountered strong antagonism from **Barawa** and Lower Shabelle region, where in the view of the reformers, a lax style of life and unclean trade were practiced. The jama'a was opposed to the slave and ivory trades, the use of tobacco, and other practices that deviated from **Islamic** teachings. Sheikh Ali Dhurre was the organizer of the military apparatus of the jama'a. From 1830 to 1840, Bardera engaged in a war against Barawa, which was eventually defeated. Barawa, with its ally the sultanate of Geledi, attacked Bardera in 1843 and after a long resistance Bardera was defeated in 1860.

During the Italian occupation of the Inter-riverine region (1908–1920), Bardera was suspected of supporting the Biimaal resistance against Italian domination in the south and the *darwiish* (dervish) movement against the British in the north. Much later, during the military regime of **Mohamed Siad Barre** (1969–1990), the jama'a suffered greatly. It was denied the freedom to preach and teach Islamic theology.

Students and sheikhs were continuously harassed and forced to work in self-help schemes (**iska wah u qabso**) and participate in the October parade. This situation compelled many sheikhs and students to abandon the town. Toward the end of Siad Barre's dictatorship, the regime attempted to interfere in the jama'a's internal affairs, as it tried to influence the selection of the jama'a leader and to make the *ulul amri* a member of Siad Barre's party or clan.

The final tragedy occurred when supporters of the ousted dictator killed the last *ulul amri*, Sheikh Mursal Sheikh Alyow (1968–1992). Among other things, Sheikh Mursal's death interrupted his project of writing the history of the jama'a of Bardera, which he had been working on during the last years of his life.

BARKADLE YUSUF. A saint remembered for his system, *Alif la Kordhowey*, for rendering Arabic vowel sounds into Somali vowel sounds, a system that

made the writing and the reading of the Qur'an much easier for students in the **duksi**. He was one of the first sheikhs to propagate **Islam** in the Horn. In northern areas he is known as Yusuf Aw Barkhadle (the blessed one) or just Aw Barkhadle; in the south he is called Yusuf al-Kawneeyn (Yusuf of the two worlds); and in the **Inter-riverine** areas, he is known as Barkadle Yusuf (the blessed Yusuf). Sometimes he is referred to as *sharif*, to indicate his descent from the Prophet's household; he is also referred to by the religious titles sheikh or *aw*. His clan lineage is not known. His name was and is known all over Somalia. His shrine at Dhogor, also known as Aw Barkhadle, is about 30 kilometers northeast of **Hargeisa**.

BATAR. A popular **dance** performed on festive occasions. The term *batar* means "talkative," which reflects the rich variety of forms in which men and women dance together or separately.

BEERDHIGA. A major battle on 6 October 1902, between the **daraawiish** (dervishes) and the British colonial troops at Hodayo Pond about 70 miles north of Galka'yo. The British sources call this battle Erigo, after their camp on Sallah Eerigo, near Roh well.

Colonel Swayne's force was composed of 2,360 regular Sikhs, Yaos, Sudanese, and Somalis. In addition, he was provided with 1,189 reinforcement troops. However, hundreds of British troops were killed and many were injured at the battle of Hodayo, known to the Somalis as Beerdhiga. High-ranking officers, especially Lieutenant-Colonel Phillips and Capt. J. N. Angus, were killed, as were 99 Levy and communication troops, while 86 were injured. Colonel Swayne himself was struck in the eye and was thereafter remembered as Suweeyn Cawar (Swayne the one-eyed). Although the daraawiish lost over 40 of their revered hajjis and sheikhs, they seized over 400 camels loaded with the precious water tins, ammunitions, rations, and whiskey, the latter returned with the note, "Muslims have no use for alcohol."

After Beerdhiga, word spread that the daraawish were victorious against the infidels. Thus, missions were sent to **Sayid Mahamed Abdule Hasan** congratulating him and supporting his causes. Poems glorifying the battles were composed and recited. One of the distinguished delegations was sent by Boqor Isman Muhamud, the sultan of Alula, whose daughter, Qaali, was given in marriage to the sayid in a political match. The sayid paid a dowry of 277 she camels and gave many gifts to the delegation. Thus, the Beerdhiga victory made the daraawiish's cause well known to the whole of Somalia and forced the British to reevaluate their military mission and reduce Swayne in rank to serve under Brig. Gen. W. H. Manning. *See also* **AFBAKAYLE; BRITAIN; DARAAWIISH; FARDHIDIN.**

BEERREY. Traditional **dance** practiced by farmers. Legend has it that two men once saw the graceful movements of an ostrich dance in the bush and they began to imitate and practice the dance until they could perform it perfectly. This is how the graceful beerrey was born. However, some believe the name of the dance comes from the word for farm, *beer*, and, therefore, it was a dance of farmers celebrating a harvest.

BELAAYO. Genre of poetry, from the Arabic *baliyyah* (a she camel whose owner died). In pre-**Islamic** Arabia, such a camel was buried alive with her head above ground. The camel's tail was tied to the neck and it was left to die. The Arabs believed that mankind would be gathered on the Day of Judgment while riding on *Baliyyah*'s back. Thus, *belaayo* in the Benaadiri refers to dreadful and appalling situations. This implies that after World War II, when the genre (later known as **hello**) emerged in northern Somalia, it was associated with evil and catastrophe. Because *belaayo*, or *balwo*, was viewed as love poetry, which is considered immoral in a traditional Muslim society, and had a lower stature than traditional northern Somali poetry, it was thought that it must therefore be satanic and ungodly. *See also* **ABDI DEE-QSI WARFAA "ABDI-SINIMO"; ABDILLAHI MOHAMED MOHAMUD HERSI "QARSHE."**

BILE. *See* **ABDI BILE ABDI.**

BOORANE. *See* **SHEIKH HUSSEIN BALIYAAL.**

BORAMA CONFERENCE OF FEBRUARY–MAY 1993. A conference of elders and leaders in northwestern Somalia that affirmed the secession, in 1991, from the former Somali Democratic Republic and the creation of the **Somaliland Republic**. Borama was chosen as the site of the conference because it was more clan-neutral than other towns, **Hargeisa**, Berbera, and Buro, which were all dominated by the **Issaq clan**. The elders and representatives agreed to disarm clan militias and they all swore on the Qur'an not to attack each other. They established a bicameral legislature made up of a house of elders and a house of representatives. On 5 May 1993, the conference elected **Mohamed Haji Ibrahim Egal** president of Somaliland Republic.

BRITAIN. After Britain occupied Aden in 1839, its interest in the Gulf of Aden and the **Horn** was strong, because the British wanted strategic control of the entrance to the Red Sea and the Harar-**Zayla** and Harar-Berbera trade routes, which supplied fresh meat to the garrison in Aden. In 1855, the Habar Awal subclan of the **Issaq** signed a trade treaty that allowed Britain to establish a liaison office at Berbera. In 1884, **Egypt** withdrew and Britain took over all

the northern ports and signed treaties of protection with major Issaq sub-clans; subsequently, a protectorate was established at Berbera in 1887. From 1889 to 1921, the protectorate was devastated by the *darwiish* (dervish) wars led by **Sayid Mahamed Abdulle Hasan**. From 1924 to 1934, veterinary and agriculture programs were established in the **Awdal** and the Haud regions, where the export of livestock and skins increased remarkably. For one year, in 1940, the protectorate was incorporated in the Italian East African Empire (*see* **ITALY**), but it was retaken by the British and, from 1941 to 1950, all the Somali areas of the Horn came under the British Military Administration (BMA) in **Mogadishu**.

In 1946, Britain proposed to the Council of Foreign Ministers of the allied powers that the Somali-inhabited area of the Horn be placed under a British trusteeship to form a “greater Somaliland.” The proposal was rejected, but remained a rallying cry for pan-Somalists for many decades to come. Britain signed treaties with **Ethiopia** surrendering the **Ogaden** and Haud regions in 1948 and 1954–1955 respectively. When these agreements became public, there was an outcry throughout all Somalia and the Somali sense of unity was strengthened as a result. In Mogadishu, in 1959, a pan-Somali movement was launched for the unification and independence of all Somali people in the Horn. In 1950, the former Italian Somalia was governed by a **United Nations** trusteeship, with **Italy** as the administering authority (*see* **AMMINISTRAZIONE FIDUCIARIA ITALIANO DELLA SOMALIA**), while the Somaliland Protectorate reverted to Britain. On 1 July 1960, the two Somali territories became independent and united as the Somali Republic. This new republic demanded the recovery of Somali territories in Ethiopia (the Ogaden and Haud), the Northern Frontier District (NFD) in **Kenya**, and French Somaliland in **Djibouti**. In 1962, a special British **Northern Frontier District Commission** determined that the majority of Somalis in the NFD wished to join the Somali Republic. However, Britain announced that an independent Kenya would decide upon the matter; this announcement caused another outcry and Somalia broke off diplomatic relations with Britain. The continuous armed conflicts from 1963 to 1983 with both Ethiopia and Kenya had serious social and economic repercussions (*see* **OGADEN WARS; PAN-SOMALISM; REFUGEES; WESTERN SOMALI LIBERATION FRONT**).

During the military regime of **Mohamed Siad Barre** (1969–1990), relations with Britain were mainly limited to educational assistance. When the anti-Barre **Somali National Movement** established a base in London, Barre criticized Britain for supporting his enemies (*see* **BRITISH BROADCASTING CORPORATION**). After the secession of the former British Protectorate of Somaliland in 1991, Britain remained neutral, neither recognizing the newly self-proclaimed **Republic of Somaliland** nor supporting reunifica-

tion. During the civil war and famine crisis, Britain did not participate in the UN-led multinational efforts, known as the **United Task Force**. But British **nongovernmental organizations**, such as Oxfam and Save the Children, were active in relief operations. *See also* **HANOLAATO; MOGADISHU INCIDENT OF JANUARY 1948; NORTHERN PROVINCE PEOPLES PROGRESSIVE PARTY**.

BRITISH BROADCASTING CORPORATION (BBC). The BBC Somali Service began on 17 July 1957 with Abdi Dualeh as the first presenter. It was the first broadcast in an unwritten African language. The service began with two 15-minute segments weekly, but eventually developed into two 30-minute segments daily. Though well received by the Somali government and most speakers of **Af-Mahaa** throughout the **Horn**, the service was not without its critics. The Ethiopian government and the French colonial administration in **Djibouti** considered it a tool for British propaganda for Somali unity. Postindependence administrations, especially **Mohamed Siad Barre's** military regime, were sensitive about certain broadcasts, especially when opposition leaders were interviewed and their views were reported. Moreover, speakers of Somali dialects other than Af-Mahaa felt slighted by the service. In the early 1960s, the Somali Service relied mostly on Somali students for presenting the news, but the supervisory positions were filled with former British colonial and military officials in the Horn.

Until Somali had an official script in 1972, programs were live, the news presenters translating directly from English into Somali as they spoke. Somali men from the former British protectorate dominated the broadcasting service in its early years. However, by the mid-1980s, the first female staff member, Zeinab Jama (also from the north), was recruited, as were several southerners, including Abdinur Sheikh and Yusuf Garaad. During the Somali civil war, the BBC Somali Service was extended to Europe, North America, and Australia. *See also* **BRITAIN**.

BUR ECOLOGICAL AND ARCHAEOLOGICAL PROJECT (BEAP) *See* **BUUR HEYBE**.

BURDA. A piece of Prophet Muhammad's cloth given to Ka'b ibn Zuhayr as a reward for his poem in praise of the Prophet. But the "Burda" also became the name of the most celebrated poem on the same subject, by al-Busiri, the Egyptian poet. According to a legend, al-Busiri composed the poem after he was cured of a paralytic stroke when the Prophet threw a mantle over al-Busiri's shoulders as he had done for Ka'b ibn Zuhayr. The fame of this miraculous healing spread throughout the Islamic world and the poem became used as a therapeutic subject for all ailments, particularly paralytic

strokes. In Somalia, the “Burda” is used as a charm and recited over ill people and at burials.

The legacy of the “Burda” is remarkable in terms of the poem’s impact on Somali religious poetry, particularly on poems composed in Arabic. The multiple meters used in the “Burda,” such as the *takhmis*, the *tathlith*, and the *tashtir*, have been employed by the Somali religious poems. This is very clear in the poems of **Sheikh Abdirahman al-Zayla’i** in praise of the Prophet, namely: “Mawlid Rabi’ al-‘Ushaq fi Dkikr Mawlid Sahib al-Buraq,” known as “Rabi’ al-‘Ushaq,” and “Mahijat al-Afrah fi Madh Sayyidna Muhammad Nur al-Arwah,” known as “Nur al-Arwah.” The latter was written in 100 verses. Many Qadiri sheikhs later employed the method of multiple meters.

The “Burda,” along with the “Rabi’ al-‘Ushaq” and “Nur al-Arwah,” are frequently recited in Somalia during the Mawlid (the Prophet Muhammad’s birthday), which falls on 12 Rabi’ al-Awal; during the *ziyara* (visitation) to the shrines of Somali saints and *tariqa* leaders; and in the month of Ramadan, particularly on **Laylatul-Qadri** (the Night of Power), which falls on 27 Ramadan. The poems are also recited in Laylat al-Isra’ wa al-Mi’raj (the Night of Journey and Ascent), which falls on 27 Rajab.

BUUN (‘AROOG). Also *buung*, a large cowrie shell blown as a mouth-organ to announce important social events, such as the arrival of honored guests, a family reunion, and the arrival of the bride at a wedding. In ancient times it was used to sound the alarm before a battle. Buun is also used as a musical instrument in certain **dances** and songs, such as *weeryr* and *shirib*. It is common in coastal **Banadir** as well as the hinterland. Another name for buun, in the southern dialect, is ‘*arooq*.

BUUR HEYBE. The largest of the many granitic inselbergs (*buuro*) in the Doi, Bay region. Buur Heybe is located about 180 kilometers northwest of **Mogadishu** and is 610 meters above sea level. The locals call this inselberg Buur Heybe, “the mountain of the clay sand,” referring to the abundant clay materials available in the area. They also call it Buur Eyle, indicating the founding inhabitants of the surrounding villages and towns (Berdaale, Muuney, and Howaal Dheri). The Eyle (which means hunters with dogs) are agropastoralists, part-time hunters, and potters. Berdaale, located at the foot of Buur Heybe, is their major market town.

Historically, Buur Heybe has been an important political and religious center of the area. The oral tradition of the Doi belt suggests the existence of pre-**Islamic** dynasties using Buur Heybe as their headquarters. On its peak are ancient burial sites for unidentified holy men where annual *siyaro* (visitations or pilgrimages) are made by the locals. There are also rock shelters with ancient paintings. One of these rock shelters is called by the locals Abka

Eeden I Oboy Haawo (Adam and Eve's court). Close to the holy sites, there is a trench that no person with an evil past can cross, but will fall into with no return. This symbolizes the *siraad* (passage toward heaven). During the Islamic period, the burial sites were renamed as Islamic holy sites. For example, the locals pay *syaro* today to Owol Qaasing site (from the Arabic "Abul Qaasim," another name for the Prophet of Islam) and to the shrine of Sheikh Abdulqadir al-Jilaani (the founder of the Qadiriyya order) on the peak of the mountain.

The Eyle tradition indicates that the site has been invaded and occupied successively by Jidle, Maadanle, and **Ajuran** peoples, but that the Eyle were successful in defeating all of them. The victory over the Ajuran is attributed to the fact that the Eyle were equipped with locally manufactured *mariid* (poisonous, iron-headed arrows). One of the largest and perhaps the most accessible rock shelters at Buur Heybe is Gogollis Qabe ("the furnished place," known in **Af-Mahaa** as **Gogoshiis Qabe**). The site was first spotted in 1935 by an Italian archaeologist, Paolo Graziosi, who referred to the shelter as Bur Eibe. Ten years later, J. D. Clark excavated a site about half a kilometer to the north and called it Gury Waabay (the poisonous house). It was not until 1983, however, when the Bur Ecological and Archaeological Project (BEAP) began, that hundreds of sherds began to be recovered from the re-excavation of the site, as well as from other rock shelters. The prehistoric aspect of Buur Heybe is also strongly evident in the history of pottery production in the area. Although there are no written records about pottery production in Buur Heybe, the oral stories of the area indicate that the Eyle of Howaal Dheri village were the first people to make pottery in Buur Heybe. This group used to offer human sacrifices to the clay, which is why their village is called Howaal Dheri (the potters grave) even today.

Buur Heybe potters produce several types of vessels in a multitude of shapes, forms, and sizes. Among the most popular vessels are *dheri* (cooking pots), which come in different sizes: the large size, *dheri muraad* (feast pot); the regular size, *dhaal*; and the *waaway-buneed*, for making coffee with *dhaaysy* (butter). Also common was the *kuud* (water storage vessel), which falls into two categories: *shaambiyi*, large pots with short necks, and *ashuung*, which have elongated bodies with a narrow mouths. Finally, Buur Heybe potters produced the *iding* (brazier), which comes in two major forms: *iding-jikky* (kitchen brazier), with three prongs to support the cooking vessel and a flat base for stability, and *iding-mady* (head brazier), or incense burner. Some of the latter have wide mouths, others have side openings, and still others have angular necks. These vessels are mainly used by women to burn incense for their hair, body, and clothing. Due to the introduction of metal vessels, some types of vessels disappeared from the market, such as *quly* (ablution pots) and *jelmed* (teapots).

The Buur Heybe vessels are elaborately decorated with vertical and horizontal lines, circles, and a variety of other geometric shapes, which give the Heyban pottery its distinctive style. The motifs used here could express love stories, common animals used in the area, tribal marks, or trademarks of some potter or village. The latest excavations of Buur Heybe rock shelters and studies of its pottery exposed some 32 contiguous one-meter units, the majority of which attained the depth of about 1.2 m below surface, and revealed the Doian, or Heyban, industry to be one of the oldest in the region, dating to sometime between 12,910–11,000 B.P. (before present). The human skeletal remains recovered represent sound evidence of mortuary practices in Somalia as old as early the Stone-Holocene ages. Thus, Buur Heybe is one of the oldest historical sites in the **Horn of Africa**.

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CAIRO ACCORD OF 22 DECEMBER 1997. The Cairo Accord (or Cairo Declaration) was signed by 26 rival Somali faction leaders who agreed to cease hostilities and to rebuild state institutions. The leaders met in Cairo from 12 November to 22 December 1997 and agreed to set up a transitional federal-system government and to convene a national reconciliation conference in **Baidoa** on 15 February 1998, composed of 465 **clan**-based delegates. This February 1998 conference decided to appoint a 13-member presidential council made up of representatives of the five major groups of clans and to appoint a prime minister and a 189-member constituent assembly. The conference also resolved to conduct a national census during a three- to five-year transitional period and to take all necessary steps to disarm the militias and reopen all checkpoints, airports, and ports as soon as possible. Finally, the conference agreed that a constitution should be drafted and approved and that the first election of a constitutional government should be held before the end of the transitional period. **Ali Mahdi Mohamed** and **Hussein Mohamed Farah Aideed** signed the accord as cochairmen with the supporting signatures of leaders of the rival factions. *See also* **ADDIS ABABA AGREEMENT OF 27 MARCH 1993**; **ADDIS ABABA PEACE AGREEMENT AND SUPPLEMENT OF JANUARY 1993**.

CARE INTERNATIONAL. *See* **INTERNATIONAL NONGOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS**.

CARE USA (COOPERATIVE FOR ASSISTANCE AND RELIEF EVERYWHERE). *See* **INTERNATIONAL NONGOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS**.

CENTRAL ADMINISTRATIVE DEPARTMENT. According to the **Addis Ababa Agreement of 27 March 1993**, this department was to be responsible for the reestablishment of the civil service in preparation for the restoration of a formal Somali government. Like the other transitional provisions, it failed.

CENTRAL RANGELAND DEVELOPMENT PROJECT. A multi-million-dollar project to improve rangeland and livestock funded by the **United States Agency for International Development**, the International Development Association, the International Fund for Agricultural Development, the Overseas Development Administration, the World Food Program, and the government of Somalia. Later, the German Technical Cooperation assisted with veterinary and forestry services. The project area covered the Hiran, Galgaduud, and Mudug regions, a total of 149,000 square kilometers. It is estimated that 544,000 inhabitants were directly involved in the care of 1.0 million camels, 0.9 million cattle, 1.2 million sheep, and 3.9 million goats. The project had two phases. The first phase (1980–1989) involved research and training; soil conservation; the creation of watering places, wells, and ponds; and the formation of grazing cooperatives. The project also provided financial and technical assistance to the National Range Agency. The second phase, which was funded to run for another six years, began in 1989. The civil war effectively put an end to this phase, as it did to other project activities.

CHULA ISLAND. One of the archaeological sites in the Bajuni islands south of Kismayu, particularly at the port of Kudi, which enjoyed considerable trade with the Indian Ocean ports and had a direct trade route to Goa. The islanders are known as the Bajuni people. Most of the archaeological sites are scattered on the banks of the Anole and Chawai Creek, particularly at the village of Yamani, where there are the remains of stepped tombs and other funerary materials.

CIVILIAN-MILITARY OPERATIONS CENTER (CMOC). *See*, **UNITED TASK FORCE (UNITAF)**.

CLAN. Affiliation identified by race, ethnicity, language, and lineage. Clan identification permeates all aspects of Somali culture and politics. However, scholars have perceived a homogenous nation consisting of two genealogical groups, Sab and Samale, both descendants of Aqil ibn Abi Talib of the Quraishi **qabiil**, the household of the Prophet Muhammad. The Sab are the agriculturalist **Reewin** of the **Inter-riverine region** and the Samale are the pastoralist **Dir/Issaq, Darood, and Hawiye**, mainly in the central

and northern regions. These groups in turn are subdivided into many *tol* (agnatic sub-groups) and each *tol* could be broken into many *reer* (families); *reer* and *tol* form the bases of each clan identity. In addition, there are some minority groups not identified with clans, such as the Banadiris of the coast, the **Reer Goleed** (bush people) in the south, and the Midgan and Yibir, untouchables who live among the Dir/Issaq in the north.

Clans follow *heer* (customary law), which consists of the *shari'a* and pre-Islamic traditions. The urbanized clans are not as concerned with the *asabiyya* (lineage system) as are the pastoralists, for whom the bond of lineage is paramount. One communicates most easily with people who share one's own values, language, and experience. This is, in fact, the source of the us–them dichotomy in all social relations. Before colonial times, Somali clans were confined to definite regions with distinct political outlooks. Each had its own monarchical leaders, *malak*, *gereed*, *islaw*, *sultan*, or *ugas*. However, during the struggle for independence, nationalist parties, such as the **Somali Youth League**, promoted **pan-Somalism** based on the notion of national identity and a common culture that would transcend clan loyalties.

Post-independence Somalia outlawed clanism and repudiated clan titles and loyalties, but because pastoralist clans dominated the political and economic arena, the ties of lineage and blood kinship were too embedded in the Somali psyche to be exorcised. President **Mohamed Siad Barre**, on the one hand, attacked clanism as an intolerable abomination but, on the other, favored in appointments his own lineage, the Marehan of the Darood clan. By the late 1970s, armed opposition groups emerged based on clan affiliation: the **Somali Salvation Democratic Front** was Majerteen-based, the **Somali National Movement** was Issaq-based, the **Somali Democratic Movement** was Reewin-based, the **United Somali Congress** was Hawiye-based, and so forth. By the mid-1980s, Barre lost his stature as a national leader and was reduced to a mere clan chief, until he was overthrown. Post-Barre, the structures of civil rule crumbled.

Though Somalis deplored the reimposition of clan divisions, they had no choice but to seek protection from their clans. Leaders of opposition movements became clan leaders and then warlords. Barre's prophecy became true, "when I leave Somalia, I will leave behind buildings but no people." Ethnic cleansing escalated in the riverine regions. The Issaqs migrated from **Mogadishu** and other southern towns to the former British Somaliland, their homeland in the north, and on May 1991 declared the **Republic of Somaliland**. The Darood fled to the newly invented regions in the south, the Lower Juba, Middle Juba, and Gedo, but in 1998 established the autonomous **Puntland State** in the northeast, their historic region.

From 1991 to 2000, Somalis were engaged in reconciliation to reestablish the state. There were over 13 national reconciliation conferences to sort out

the clan problem. In the **Sodere Declaration of January 1997**, major clan realignments took place that were regressive, as the alignments replicated the clan divisions of precolonial, indeed pre-Somali, times, when each clan was a law unto itself. The Sodere declaration promoted a national government with a rotating head of state from the four major clans, the Reewin, Darood, Hawiye, and Issaq. The **Arta Reconciliation Conference of May–August 2000** established the **Transitional National Assembly**, composed of 44 deputies from each of the four major clans, 24 from the minority clans, and **25 women**, five from each of the four major clans and five from the minority clans. A **Transitional National Government** was appointed, with **Abdiqasim Salad Hassan** (Hawiye) as president, **Ali Khalif Gallaydh** (Darood) as prime minister, Abdalla Derow Issak (Reewin) as speaker, and a cabinet composed of 25 ministers selected on a clan power-sharing basis.

CLITORIDECTOMY. Female circumcision, also known as Pharaonic circumcision or excision, is widely practiced in Northeast Africa, most of **Islamic** Africa, and the Middle East. According to nomadic tradition in Somalia, which is perhaps more radical than other cultures, the female pudenda are unclean and must be purified before puberty. “Purification” involves the excision of the clitoris, labia minora, and most of the labia majora. The wound is stitched up, leaving only a scar and a hole the diameter of a matchstick for urination and menstruation. Until marriage, the genital area is sealed up and only on the wedding night does the husband either open his wife with a knife (in certain regions, the older **women** of the family perform the cutting operation) or force entry with his penis. In many instances, this operation is performed by traditional circumcisers in unsterile surroundings with rudimentary instruments (razor blade, knife, glass, etc.) on groups of girls of the same cohort, between five and twelve years. A considerable percentage of these girls die in the first three months from tetanus or hemorrhage.

In addition to short-term mortality, clitoridectomy has serious physical and psychological consequences, such as deformation of the vagina, cyst formation, elephantiasis of the vulva, chronic pelvic infection, painful menstruation, and urinary tract infections, all of which can lead to death. Women complain that they feel incomplete, indeed crippled, as they are incapable of sexual climactic pleasure. Rigid and inelastic scar tissue prolongs labor and obstructs normal passage of the fetus, causing brain damage and respiratory problems, thus increasing the chance of neonatal death. Furthermore, in nomadic areas where unassisted childbirth is common, many mothers die in childbirth. Infant mortality is also high, as mothers eat little during the last trimester, fearing that a large fetus will cause a painful delivery.

There has been an international outcry against female genital mutilation (FGM). Many educated Somalis, especially those who live abroad, experi-

ence serious cultural conflict, condemned both if they allow it and if they do not. Clitoridectomy has been denounced by leading Somalis. There is nothing in the Qur'an or the Hadith that endorses this pre-Islamic practice. Somali doctors also disapprove of it, but most Somalis believe that no girl or woman is pure unless she submits to this *adah* (custom). If girls are not circumcised, they have little chance of marriage, their fathers will not get the bride price, and the family will be ridiculed. Thus, most Somali parents force their daughters to undergo clitoridectomy. *See also* **CLITORIDECTOMY CEREMONY; SOMALI WOMEN'S DEMOCRATIC ORGANIZATION; WARIS DIRIE.**

CLITORIDECTOMY CEREMONY. Known as *gudniin*, this is a traditional feast in the **Banadir** region (but elsewhere in the south as well) for a recently circumcised girl. Only **women** and children (with a few *wadaads*, "sheikhs," to read Qur'an as blessing) attend. Participants remove their shoes before they enter and sit in groups on mats and cushions and eat in the traditional manner with the usual ablutions. The *wadaads* are served before the women and children. The traditional dishes include rice and goat or mutton, with *shitni* (hot sauce), salad, and fruit. Banadiris always eat **bananas** (not considered a fruit) with their rice.

After the participants eat, they wash and rinse their hands again. Here they are given *istiraasho* (a piece of clean cloth) to dry their hands with and perfume to take away the smell of the food. After that, they are served with coffee and *halwo* (sweet cakes). Today, tea, juices, and soft drinks are also served. For women, a special *unsi* (incense) is burned. Each invited woman gives money as she leaves. Close friends of the mother stay behind to clean up and the mother counts her money and finds out whether she lost or gained from the ceremony. This, together with money raised during *aroods* (weddings) and *ta'siyo* (funerals) is a very important form of mutual support, both psychologically and financially, for the women of the community, who are otherwise totally dependent on men. *See also* **CLITORIDECTOMY; WARIS DIRIE.**

CONFERENZA. *See* **MOGADISHU INCIDENT OF 11 JANUARY 1948.**

COOPERATIVE DEVELOPMENTS. Known also as *Ururrada Iskaashatooyinka Somaliyeed* (Somali Cooperative Unions), established during the military and socialist regime of **Mohamed Siad Barre** (1969–1990), when banks, farms, and all private businesses were nationalized in the early 1970s. Farms were promoted as **iska wah u qabso** (self-help schemes), where the use of intensive labor in a **crash program** would make the country agriculturally self-sufficient, reduce unemployment, and provide technical training,

but most importantly instill in the workers a sense of patriotic duty and “national consciousness.” This is seen in the slogans used for these developments, such as “Work is honor,” “Work is duty,” and “Work is the right thing to do.”

By 1978, there were 224 registered cooperatives. Most agricultural cooperatives, the *ujedabadan* (multipurpose cooperatives) were located in the irrigated areas, where land, tools, and livestock, though still owned individually, were used collectively, and the supply and marketing was also collective. At the same time, there were the *iskaashatada beeraleeyda* (group farm cooperatives), where all land and equipment was used communally by a collective workforce. However, individuals could work their own land as well as the communal land. In the heyday of “scientific socialism” (1970–1977), the military regime used these cooperatives to prove their socialist credentials and to get economic support and political leverage from socialist countries. Nevertheless, the success of these efforts remained open to question, and by the early 1980s they were obviously failing. The *ujedabadan* cooperatives failed to use cooperative marketing. In the case of *beeraleeyda* cooperatives, farmers worked mostly on their own land, so there was often a labor shortage. In addition, the Cooperative Law of 1974 prohibited hiring workers. Moreover, the work ethic was neither traditional nor **Islamic**. Thus, despite the use of mechanized equipment and a free labor force, cooperative developments failed. They were also unsuccessful because they were not genuine, since they had political goals instead of sound economic ones.

COOPERATIVE FOR ASSISTANCE AND RELIEF EVERYWHERE (CARE). See **INTERNATIONAL NONGOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS.**

CRASH PROGRAM. In an effort of speeding up the implementation of development projects during the early years of the military regime (1969–1974), the government was relatively successful in mobilizing the masses all over the country to contribute to a Crash Program. The purposes of the program were to promote self-sufficiency in food grains (maize and sorghum) and increase import substitution of cotton, rice, wheat, oilseeds, and tobacco; to create employment opportunities in the rural areas; to train personnel in modern agricultural and public works methods; and to encourage the migration of the unemployed from the cities into rural areas.

The program was involved in **agriculture**, irrigation, and public works. By 1974, the number of farms was increased; the program also reduced unemployment and even helped in the areas of public works and the construction of community facilities, such as schools, orientation centers, roads, and

irrigation canals. *See also* **COOPERATIVE DEVELOPMENTS; ECONOMY; IRRIGATED FARMING.**

– D –

DABADHEER DROUGHT OF 1974–1975. Drought is a common phenomenon in Somalia, occurring at intervals of three to five years. Drought causes extreme hardship, particularly among the nomads, but herds are quickly replenished and pastoralists return to their traditional grazing grounds when the rain comes again. But this was not the case with the drought of 1974–1975, which was the worst in memory and is remembered by Somalis as Dabadheer (the long-tailed). The loss of **livestock**, cattle, goats, sheep, and camels was reckoned in the millions; the human death toll was relatively small, 1,500 according to the official sources released in February 1975. However, this drought deprived pastoralists of their livelihood and seriously reduced livestock, Somalia's most important export commodity.

The vicious Dabadheer drought was first publicly acknowledged in a gloomy speech given by **Mohamed Siad Barre** on 21 October 1974, which was followed by the declaration of a state of emergency on 29 November and the formation of the National Drought Relief Committee. Immediately, regional, district, and village relief and reception committees were also established. The Somali government mobilized all its resources to face the severe socioeconomic consequences of the drought. Funds that were originally allocated for **Ololaha Horumarinta Reer Miyiga** (Rural Development Campaign) were redirected to the relief operations. Relief camps were set up in the worst affected regions of Nugal, Sanag, Togdher, Bari, Mudug, and Galgadud.

As soon as the camps were established, thousands of people flooded into them. Medical facilities, manned by public health officers, were ready to assist. During the months of November and December 1974, the number of drought refugees reached 112,000 persons and new arrivals were between 3,000 and 5,000 daily. By May 1975, the total number of refugees was 772,000 persons. The administration of camps fell into the hands of a Camp Committee, chaired by a teacher from the Rural Development Campaign and including an officer of the health department, a **National Security Service** agent, and three members representing the inhabitants of the camp. Each camp was provided with communication facilities, including radio and telephone systems, and was in daily communication with the National Drought Relief Committee. The Camp Committee was responsible for the overall daily refugee count, ration preparation and distribution, and the general security and well-being of the inmates. In all camps, there were educational programs and vocational training workshops.

Somalia appealed for help to Somalis outside the country as well as to foreign governments and agencies. Even before the drought, Somalia was facing a national food shortage. The international response, particularly from countries and agencies of the Eastern bloc and many Arab and **Islamic** countries, was very positive. The **Soviet Union**, in addition to pledges of food and medical items, played a significant role in the transportation of nomads and their animals to safe haven camps or settlements. The Soviet heavy air transport *Antonovs*, which carried Somali camels, went well beyond mere propaganda. In addition, the Soviet Union donated heavy trucks driven by members of Komsomol, the Communist Youth Organization of the Soviet Union.

Western governments and agencies were reluctant to help in the beginning, but later pledged considerable aid as the drought continued to devastate Somalia. Countries of the European Economic Community contributed generously to the cause. The **United States** pledged cash as well as other aid. Most of the Scandinavian countries contributed to the relief efforts through the International Red Cross. Major Western NGOs contributed to the relief efforts, including Christian Aid, Oxfam, and the World Food Programme. Nigeria and Uganda were among the sub-Saharan countries involved.

By mid 1975, about 90,000 nomads from relief camps were transported to agricultural settlements in Dujuma, Kurtun Waarey, and Sablaale, situated in the **Inter-riverine region**. Another 15,000 were resettled in new fishing settlements along the coast in Eyl, Adale, El Homed, and **Barawa**. From 1976 to the mid-1980s, substantial funds were provided through foreign aid in the development of both irrigated and rain-fed cultivation in the country. Substantial areas were prepared for cultivation, but rain-fed agriculture, in particular, failed to come up to expectation. Settlers began moving out to look for other opportunities, and by 1979 less than three-fifths of the original settlers were left. The nomads also abandoned the fishing settlements, for fishing was contrary to their nomadic livelihood. Moreover, when Somali–Soviet relations were terminated in 1977 and Soviet advisers left the settlements, the Soviet vessels and technology remained idle, because local staff were untrained. Thus all development projects originating from the drought were doomed by the mid-1980s. Furthermore, the eruption of civil strife in the same period led to the total civil and political meltdown of Somalia.

DABSHID. *See* **ISTUNKA.**

DADA MA SITI (d. 1920). This female *weliyya* (saint) and Qur'an teacher, who was born in **Barawa, Banadir** region, belonged to the Asharaf clan, which claimed to be descended from the household of the Prophet Muham-

mad. Dada Ma Siti was a gifted poet in Chimini. Most of her poems were mystical or praised the saints of Barawa, for example, “Shaykhi Chifa Isilowa,” written in praise of **Sheikh Nureini Sabiri** at his death in 1909. Both men and women visit her shrine in Barawa annually.

DAHIR HAJI ISMAN (1925–). One of the founding members of the **Somali Youth Club (SYC)**, born in Hobyo, Mudugh region. Dahir’s birth year is remembered as the year that the Hobyo Sultanate was defeated by the Italians and its sultan, Ali Yusuf, was removed to **Mogadishu**. In 1927, Dahir migrated with his mother to Mogadishu and settled in the Iskurarran quarter. He learned the Qur’an and the basics of **Islamic** education under his father. In 1939, he completed his elementary education in Italian and was employed as a typist. However, within a year **Italy** was defeated and Somalia fell into the hands of the British Military Administration (BMA, 1941–1950). During this period, Dahir learned English and worked for the BMA as a recruiting clerk in the Department of Education.

In 1943, Dahir and 12 others, most of whom were civil servants, founded the SYC. He was given the role of activist and delivered provocative speeches. In the aftermath of the Somalia **Hanolato** (long live Somalia) demonstrations, known also as the Dhaghahatur (stone-throwing) Incident of 5 October 1949, he was detained and sent into exile to Eel Buur, Mudugh region, until 1950. After the return of the Italians as the trusteeship authority, he was reemployed at the Gegnio Civile (Department of Public Works). In 1952, Dahir gave a fiery speech against the Italians in Kismayu that led to confrontations between the migrant **Darood clans** and the indigenous people of the town. In the incident, an Italian as well as several locals of both groups were killed. Dahir again was sent into exile, this time to Eil, Mijurtinia region. In 1953, he returned to Mogadishu on health grounds and, in 1954, went to Italy on scholarship. He later returned to become the first Somali governor to Mijurtinia in 1955 and went on to Lower Juba in 1957.

Dahir worked for the Ministry of Interior as director general from 1960 to 1969 and was jailed by the military regime in 1969. However, in 1972 Dahir was released and given a managerial position in the Petroleum Cooperation in Kismayu, where eventually, in 1982, he was appointed director general, the position in which he served until 1990. After the collapse of Somali state, Dahir left the country and lived in Italy, **Kenya**, and eventually Ottawa, Canada.

DANCE. Somalis have preserved the authenticity of their African culture. Somali dance, especially, is a medium through which they express their feelings and desires, pleasure and pain, love and hatred, prayers and curses. Somali dance expresses the whole human condition. Somali folk dances are

ritualistic or recreational. Ritualistic dances are performed to placate evil forces and spirits or to allay the effects of diseases, crop failures, marauding wild animals, or, for example, the raider who has taken a man's wife or property. Dances performed for such purposes include Beebe, Borane, Hayaat, **Istaqfurow**, **Istunka**, **Mingis**, **Nuumbi**, and **Saar**. Early man danced in honor of elemental forces and offered sumptuous sacrifices, even of human beings killed at the altar of a deity. He made ceremonial obeisance to the sun, moon, stars, the sea, rivers, mountains, caves, forests, deserts, thunder, lightning, and rain to ensure the goodwill or at least the neutrality of the powers that beset him. In Somalia, recreational dances vary from region to region. Somalis in some areas dance in the *goobty dheelly* (dance square), while others dance around or under the *geedka 'aweyska* (dance tree), as the main center of social recreation.

Traditional dances are performed when the rains come, hopefully reviving life in the arid Somali bush, where nomads roam with their herds in search of fodder and water; during farming or harvesting seasons; or on other happy occasions, such as weddings, births, or the welcoming of honored guests. Dances performed on occasions such as these include **Batar**, **Beerrey**, Dhaanto, Gebleey Shimbir, **Isfeel**, **Kabeebey**, **Shabal**, Shooby, and **Walasaqo**. Young and old alike go to dance arenas on such occasions to enjoy themselves. Techniques for performing each of these dance types differs in the various localities in which they are staged, as do their themes and form. The musical instruments played also vary. *See also* **AWLAAN**; **DII-SAW**; **HEES**; **HELLO**; **MUSIC**; **WILWILO**.

DARAAWIISH. Or dervishes. The singular in Somali Arabic is *darwiish*. *Daraawish* are known for trance-inducing devotional exercises in a *tariqa* (Sufi brotherhood). They were also soldiers in the resistance to colonialism. The word is derived from the archaic Persian *darvash*, meaning a poor mendicant who begs in the name of God, also known in Arabic as *faqir*, a poor or needy person of God. In Somalia, followers of **Sayid Mahamed Abdulle Hasan**, famous in British imperialist circles as the "Mad Mullah," were fierce warriors who fought the colonial advance but were referred to by their leader as *daraawish* to show their nonmilitary and spiritual adherence to the Salihyya *tariqa*. The sayid himself signed his correspondence as "the dervish," indicating his *spiritual* leadership of a *jihad*. The historian Robert Hess characterizes the sayid as "The Poor Man of God." Later, the **Somali National Police Force** adopted the name *Darawiishta Poliiska*, after the cavalry of the sayid.

DAROOD. A **clan** that traces its lineage to a legendary Arab immigrant, Sheikh Abdurahman ibn Ismail al-Jabarti, who arrived some time from the 13th to

the 15th centuries and married a native **woman**, Donbira, **Dir**'s daughter, whose children became the patriarchs of the Darood **clan**. The Darood are subdivided into three major subclans, the Marehan, **Ogaden**, and Harti, the latter an alliance of the Warsangeli, Dhulbahante, and Majerteen. Each of these subclans is broken down into smaller *reer*; the Majerteen has about a dozen sub-*reer*. The Darood are nomadic pastoralists from the northeastern regions who, driven by war and weather, have migrated south and west in the past two hundred years. The oral tradition of the **Reewin** speaks of the *geeki mariidi* (people of the old days), Darood who sought asylum in the **Inter-riverine region**. Harti traders settled in Kismayu in the Lower Juba region in the 1880s. Further migration took place during the **daraawiish** wars (1900–1920). When **Italy** occupied the two Majerteen sultanates of Alula and Hobiya in 1926 and exiled the sultans Boqor Isman Mohamud and Yusuf Ali to **Mogadishu**, many Darood fled to the south. The Ogaden, mainly from the Awlihan and Mohamud Zubeer lineage, moved further south into trans-Juba.

The Darood served as colonial troops and civil servants, and at independence became the key players in the country's political and economic affairs. During the civilian administration (1960–1969), two of the three prime ministers, **Abdirashid Ali Shermarke** (1960–1964) and **Abdirazak Haji Hussein** (1964–1967), were Darood. Shermarke served as president of the republic from 1967 to 1969. The Darood were generally better educated and enjoyed greater economic success than other Somalis. During the military era (1969–1990), one may speak of *Darodization*, as the Darood were politically and economically dominant. The **Supreme Revolutionary Council** (SRC) was dominated by the Darood and led by **Mohamed Siad Barre**, a member of the Marehan subclan of Darood. The Central Committee of the **Somali Revolutionary Socialist Party**, which replaced the SRC in 1976, was predominantly Darood. Barre became the head of state, secretary general of the SRSP, and commander-in-chief. His immediate kin made up what came to be known as the M.O.D. administration: "M" for Marehan, Barre's lineage; "O" for Ogaden, his mother's lineage; and "D" for Dulbahante, his son-in-law's lineage.

The **Dabadheer Drought** of 1974–1975 forced over 105,000 victims to settle the coast and interior of the riverine region. These settlements led to the creation of new regions, such as the Middle Juba for Ogaden, Gedo for Marehan, and Lower Juba for Harti. Darodization was also reflected in the quest for the *Somalia irredenta* (missing Somalia), in which successive Somali governments paid more attention to the liberation of the Ogaden than to that of **Djibouti** and the Northern Frontier District of Kenya. Indeed, the Ogaden Wars (1963–1983) caused another massive influx of refugees to be resettled in the invented regions. During the civil war, the Darood consolidated their control of the newly created regions, but also established the autonomous

Puntland State. *See also* **PAN-SOMALISM; SOMALI NATIONAL FRONT; SOMALI SALVATION DEMOCRATIC FRONT; WESTERN SOMALI LIBERATION FRONT.**

DAUD ABDULLE HIRSI (d. 1965). First commander of the **Somali National Army.**

DERVISH. *See* **DARAAWIISH.**

DETHYB. A special ceremony for newly born males common in the **Inter-riverine Region**. In a paternal society, male babies not only make their parents proud and hopeful but also affirm communal continuity. *Dethyb* literally means a dry (but not dead) tree that puts forth green leaves in the rainy season, but figuratively it symbolizes new life, created from the parents and brought to the household as well as to the community at large. Those who participate bring green branches to the ceremony and feast to symbolize the life of the new soul joining the community.

Neither the parents nor the community plan this ceremony; the **barbaar** of the village organize it as a surprise. When a baby is born, word spreads and the **barbaar** agree among themselves on a date at which they will proceed to the house of the new baby. They perform a special **dance** at the door of the house and place green branches on the roof. They remain outside chanting and dancing until the baby is brought out. They then make the baby smell their sweat, in the belief that this will protect the baby from the evil eye or any satanic threat. The father then appears with a sacrificial *usjhin* animal (*see* **URUR**). After a special blessing, the animal is slaughtered and the **women** prepare food for the feast, at which the *barbaar* dance in the **Shabal** manner, sing, recite poetry, and tell stories.

During the ceremony, the child is named and formally becomes a member of the community. Due to infant mortality, the *dethyb*, which inducts the child into the community, may be kept on hold for as long as two years to be sure of the infant's long-term survival. The name is carefully chosen to signify and confer good fortune, to commemorate a revered ancestor, or to reflect the parent's sense of gratitude or pride. **Islam** identifies this ceremony as a pagan, *jahiliyyah*, pre-Islamic practice. Moreover, socioeconomic changes of the past century or so are responsible for the gradual erosion of this tradition. Today, children are born in hospitals and their names are assigned immediately or when the hospital releases the mother and child and issues a birth certificate.

DHAGHAHTUR. *See* **HANOLATO.**

DIINSOR ALTA-GIUBA UNESCO FUNDAMENTAL EDUCATION PROJECT (DAUFEP). An educational program funded jointly by the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) and the Italian government at Diinsor town in the Upper Juba region. The program was initiated on 5 August 1952, but was formally inaugurated on 8 January 1954. The program sought to train Somali personnel to set up and develop basic education projects for different parts of the territory that included health, economic, and cultural improvement of the community. The program also was to serve as a pilot project for other community development programs.

Diinsor was chosen because it was both a settled community and a watering place used by the nomads. Diinsor was the seat of the district and a commercial center with skilled workers and it had a school and infirmary. The first Somali team trained under the project included a primary school teacher, a midwife, a male nurse, an agricultural assistant, a carpenter, and a driver. The team was supervised by a director from UNESCO and an assistant appointed from the Italian staff of the education department.

The main part of the training consisted of a practical in-service course in which the trainees learned the techniques and procedures of fundamental education through their practical application to cases and situations in the actual environments in which they would eventually be called upon to work. The DAUFEP initiative attempted to improve native farming methods and techniques, such as the introduction of animal-drawn implements, to expedite and improve the preparation and maintenance of the land, including control of pests. DAUFEP also developed preventive health campaigns against conjunctivitis and skin eruption prevalent among the peoples of Diinsor. The extermination of insects and rats was a successful element of the program.

DAUFEP also successfully improved the production of handicrafts in the Diinsor area. The use of a modern potter's wheel replaced the old method, in which the potters worked in a squatting posture, laboriously rotating by foot a wooden circular platter on which the clay was mounted. Improved forges and anvils were provided for blacksmiths. More spacious and brightly lit working quarters were designed for the weavers, who learned an improved technique of separately weaving the ornamental band called *tarash* that increased its usefulness for ornamenting clothing and accessories. In October 1956, Diinsor inaugurated a new DAUFEP office building, which included an impressive social center where Somalis could listen to the **radio**, read newspapers, and use a small library of basic texts in Italian and Arabic. Thus, DAUFEP was a successful project that led to other pilot projects in the country. *See also* **AFIS UNESCO NOMAD EDUCATION PROJECT.**

DIISAW. Popular **dance** in the areas of Jamama, Jilib, and Afmadow in the Lower Juba valley. This dance is performed for fertility rites at which the newly wedded couple sits at the entrance of their home while acrobatic dancers perform rhythmically to the clapping (*sa'ab*) and stamping (*jaan*) of a choir. The bride and groom provide a thanksgiving feast, where gifts are exchanged with the dancers in the hope of many children and good fortune. If no one dances at the wedding, no children will come!

DIKRI. From the Arabic *dhikr*, meaning “remembrance” or “testifying,” states of visionary ecstasy aroused by rhythmic movements and gestures, deep breathing, and the chanting of *qasa'id* (poetic hymns) that free the singer or chanter from the body and lift him into the presence of God almighty. Only the leader recites the *qasidah* (hymn) and those around him in a choral circle respond. Some participants fall into *jedbo* (trance) and only recover from it once the divine frenzy has subsided. No musical instruments are played, although in the more Arabic-influenced **Banadir**, on the Mawlid (Prophet's birthday), a drum of Arabic origin called *daf* is played.

DIR. One of the oldest **clans**, it is widely dispersed throughout the Somali peninsula. Oral tradition indicates that the Arab sheikhs who founded the **Da-rod** and **Issaq** clans married Dir **women**. Indeed, the **Arta Reconciliation Conference of May–August 2000** recognized four major clans, **Reewin**, Da-rod, **Hawiye**, and Dir (which included the Issaq). Historically, the Dir were subdivided into the Issa, Gadabursi, and Biamaal. The Issa and Gadabursi are farmers, herders, and traders scattered about **Djibouti**, **Ethiopia**, and the **Aw-dal** region of northern Somalia. The Issa are more warlike and practice the '*adah* (custom) of seeking trophies by cutting off their victims' sexual organs. Both clans played significant political and economic roles in the former Somali Republic. In Djibouti, the first two presidents were Dir (Issa): Hassan Guleed Aptidoon (1977–1998) and Ismail Omar Guelleh (1998–). Ethiopia also accommodated the Gadabursi, Issa, and the Issaq politically, so that they could vote and be represented in the Ethiopian government.

The Biamaal, the only major Dir subclan to migrate to the south, allied with the Digil subclan of Reewin in the Lower Shabelle valley and with the Banadiris of the coast. Indeed, the Banadiri port **Marka** became one of the Biamaal strongholds after the defeat of the **Ajuran**. The Biamaal were proud farmers and herders who struggled to keep their distinctive identity. They defeated the Geledi sultanate twice, first at Adaddey Suleyman in 1848 and second at **Agaaran** in 1878 (see **AHMAD YUSUF; YUSUF MA-HAMUD**), and they actively resisted Italian colonial rule.

Some Dir, such as the Bajumaal among the Shabelle and the Madawiine among the **Reer Goleed**, lost their distinctive Dir identity, but after inde-

pendence they demanded political recognition. The Biamaal and southern Dir role in modern Somali politics has been insignificant. During the trusteeship and early civilian government, they had only a member of parliament or two at most, although a Dir, **Mohamud Abdi Nur “Jujo,”** held several important ministerial posts. After the collapse of the Somali state, the southern Dir organized the **Southern Somali National Movement** as a counterpart to the northern Dir, the Issaq **Somali National Movement**. *See also FIIN-LOW; SHEIKH ABDI ABIKAR GAAFLE.*

DISTRICT COUNCILS. At the **Addis Ababa Conference of 27 March 1993**, it was decided that District Councils would be selected through consensus for the two-year transitional period. Each council would consist of 21 councillors, including at least one **woman**. Each district would select three councillors to participate in one of the 18 **regional councils**. By August 1993, the **United Nations Operation in Somalia** claimed that over 20 district councils had been formed. However, the councils did not function properly and thus this initiative failed.

DJIBOUTI. Port town at the southern entrance to the Red Sea. Since 1977, it has been called the Republic of Djibouti, which includes the port and the surrounding area, which is altogether about the size of New Hampshire. Historically, Djibouti was part of greater Somalia and inhabited by mainly Issa, Afar, and a small minority of Yemenites. In 1887, Djibouti became a French colonial possession, known as Côte Française des Somalis, or French Somaliland. After the 1967 referendum on self-determination, the colony's name was changed to Territoire Français des Afars et des Issas. The Issa majority in Djibouti shared with the rest of Somalia a common history and culture. Until World War II, French Somaliland was politically quiescent, unlike the rest of Somalia, occupied by the British or Italians, where serious resistance emerged. This was partly because of the small population of French Somaliland and partly because of the pressure **Ethiopia** put on France to keep the railway open. Because of the thriving port of Djibouti, connected by the railway to Ethiopia, there were relatively many job opportunities at the docks and in transportation.

However, after World War II, the Docker's Union and the Club de la Jeunesse Somali et Dankali (Somali and Dankali Youth Club), led by the charismatic **Mohamud Farah Harbi**, became active political forces. By 1958, they united to form the Union Démocratique Somalienne (Somali Democratic Union), which opposed the constitutional referendum to remain French. Harbi was pan-Somali and fought not only for independence, but also for union with the former Italian and British Somaliland. As British Somaliland united with the Republic of Somalia soon after both

gained independence, Harbi hoped that Djibouti would unite with Somalia, so that the three territories would be one. However, the French, unlike the British, interfered, expelling Harbi not only from the Chamber of Deputies but also from Djibouti itself. This also forced the Union Démocratique Somalienne into exile in **Mogadishu** and elsewhere, as it became the Front de Libération de la Côte Somalie.

In March 1967, France offered another “oui”/“non” referendum. Fearful of French interference, the Republic of Somalia called upon the **United Nations** and the **Organization of African Unity** to provide observers for the referendum. Although the UN voted to send observers, the French conducted an unsupervised referendum, which favored their interests. They used a divide-and-conquer strategy, setting Afar against Issa, so that the colony ceased to be identified with Somalia but became the Territoire Français des Afars et des Issas. Ali Arif Bourahan, a fervent opponent of independence, was elected deputy president (the president was French), of the Conseil du Gouvernement, the highest authority in the colony, and remained in that position until 1976, one year before independence. When Djibouti gained full independence on 27 June 1977, it remained separate from Somalia.

During the civil war in Somalia, Djibouti worked for the reconciliation of Somali factions. In June–July 1991, President Hassan Guleed Aptidon hosted a peace and reconciliation conference, which was inconclusive. President Ismail Guelleh in 2000 called a comprehensive peace conference, which lasted for about five months in the Arta resort and concluded with the formation of the **Transitional National Government**, with an elected president, parliament, and council of ministers, which has been functioning in Mogadishu since August 2000. *See also* **ARTA RECONCILIATION CONFERENCE OF MAY–AUGUST 2000; DJIBOUTI CONFERENCE OF JUNE–JULY 1991.**

DJIBOUTI CONFERENCE OF JUNE–JULY 1991. One of the early conferences, sponsored by Hassan Guleed Aptidon, president of **Djibouti**, to resolve the Somali civil war. In the preparatory sessions on 5–11 June 1991 representatives of four factions participated: the **Somali Democratic Movement**, the Somali Patriotic Movement, the **Somali Salvation Democratic Front**, and the **United Somali Congress**. The first President of the Republic, **Adan Abdulle Osman** (1960–1967), the president of the pre–**Mohamed Siad Barre**, civilian National Assembly, **Sheikh Mukhtar Mohamed Hussein** (1966–1969), and two former prime ministers of the civilian government, **Abdirazak Haji Hussein** (1964–1967) and **Mohamed Haji Ibrahim Egal** (1967–1969), also attended. Adan Abdulle Osman was elected chair of the conference. By 15 July, leaders of two other factions, the Somali Demo-

cratic Alliance and the United Somali Front, had joined the conference. The **United Nations**, the **United States**, the **Organization of African Unity**, the European Community, the League of Arab States, the **Intergovernmental Authority for Drought and Development**, and the Organization of Islamic Conference were important and influential observers. The conference declared an immediate cease-fire, endorsed **Ali Mahdi Mohamed** as interim president of the republic, beginning 26 July 1991 and reaffirmed the unity of Somalia, the formation of a national government, and the enactment of regional autonomy.

DOWAAD. *See* HANQAAS

DUKSI. Qur'anic schools, similar to the *madrasah* or *kutaab* schools in **Islamic** Arabia. The duksi are often, although not always, attached to the *masjid* (mosque). They provide instruction in the basic writing and reading of the Qur'an, beginning at age five. Children memorize the whole Qur'an and master the writing and reading of Arabic when they are nine or ten years of age. The *duksi* are similar to primary schools in modern Western education.

DUMAAL. A custom in which a widow is married to the brother of her deceased husband or other member of his family. It is similar to **higsins**, in which a widowed man marries the sister or a blood-related member of his deceased wife's family. The term *dumaal* is from the family of eastern Cushitic language, from *du* (dead) and *maal* (benefit), thus "death-benefit." *Dumaal* is highly recommended if the widow is left with children or still capable of childbearing. In the first case, the children benefit because the stepfather is a blood relation, or *adeer* (uncle), whose affection would be greater than a stranger's. In the second case, the deceased husband's family benefits, because the brother-in-law saves the expenses of another wedding and would beget new children for the well-being of the family. *Dumaal* also is socially and economically recommendable. The widow inherits part of her deceased husband's wealth, but the wealth stays in the family. The practice promotes social harmony, because possible **clan** conflicts are avoided. The widow may refuse to marry her brother-in-law, but doing so could injure the reputation of her family or clan and generate hostility between the children and their cousins. Thus, *dumaal* is believed to support the social and economic well-being of traditional Somali society. It strengthens the bond between families and clans. However, because of modern changes in values, the custom is disappearing from the urban centers. *See also* **WOMEN**.

– E –

ECONOMY. One of the least-developed countries, Somalia has limited resources now much depleted by frequent droughts (1974–1975, 1986–1987, and 1991–1992), wars of liberation (1963–1964 and 1977–1978), and the civil war (1979–). Development projects, such as the **Crash Program** and **iska wah u qabso** (self-help schemes), designed to ease unemployment and provide training, failed. The socialist regime of the military era nationalized all private enterprise and trade (*see* **SOCIETÀ AGRICOLA ITALO-SOMALA**). The creation of overambitious but underfinanced **Cooperative Developments** (*see* **MEREEREY SUGAR PROJECT; MUGAMBO PADDY RICE PROJECT; NORTHERN RANGELAND DEVELOPMENT PROJECT; QORIOLEY REFUGEE AGRICULTURE PROJECT**) caused the country to fall deeply into foreign debt. Since the collapse of the state in January 1991, there is no economic data, indeed no economy, and the country was economically dependent on the **United Nations** and on **international nongovernmental organizations**.

Traditionally, **agriculture** and **livestock** account for 40 percent of the gross domestic product (GDP) and about 65 percent of export earnings and employ about four-fifths of the labor force. Between 1994 and 1998, the GDP decreased by 10.1 percent while the population grew by 9.0 percent. The production and exportation of **luubadang** (frankincense), myrrh, and charcoal was 6 percent of GDP. **Manufacturing** contributed 5 percent. **Fisheries**, though Somalia has a long coastline and abundant marine resources, were an insignificant sector, contributing only 1 percent of the GDP.

The exchange rated the Somali shilling at independence 7.14 to the U.S. dollar. By the end of the military era, the official rate was 4,500 to the dollar. In 1998, an unofficial rate was more than 8,000 to the dollar, and indeed trade has been conducted in all the currencies of the world since the collapse of the state. Somalis live on the *hawala* (hidden economy; *see* **BARAKAAT**).

According to Countrywatch.com, exports were estimated at \$176 million and imports at \$369 million in 1997. Even after the fall of the state, **bananas** and **livestock** were the main exports to the **Arab countries** and **Italy**. Imports, from **Kenya**, Saudi Arabia, Belarus, and India, ranged from petroleum products, foodstuffs, and construction materials to **qat**, arms, and ammunitions. *See also* **GREATER HORN OF AFRICA INITIATIVE; SOVIET UNION; UNITED STATES OF AMERICA**.

EEL JAALLE. Historically, Eel Mugne, a quarter of **Marka**. Later a training and political orientation camp during the **Mohamed Siad Barre** period.

EEMAR. A group of **Reewin** artisans and craftsmen. The Eemar is made up of a **Hiring** association with an **aaw** (father) ruling the *raan* (members). Eemar make jewelry, weave cloth, and embroider clothing, especially *tarash* (decorative edging). *See also* **HERGAANTI**.

EGAL. *See* **MOHAMED HAJI IBRAHIM EGAL**.

EGYPT. Egyptian records of trade with the Land of Punt for the aromatic **lubadang**, or frankincense, date from the Old Kingdom. However, the most authentic piece of historical literature is from an expedition sent to Punt by the female Pharaoh Hatsheput of the New Kingdom, a diary that describes the geography, resources, and people of the region. In later times, Egypt maintained contact with both the Christians of **Ethiopia** and the Muslims of Somalia, because of the strong affinity of Egyptian Copts for their Ethiopian counterparts and Egypt's role supporting Somali Muslims. Egypt also had an interest in protecting the sources of the Nile, some of which were in Ethiopia, and the entrance to the Red Sea at Somalia.

Under the Mamluks (1250–1517), Egypt maintained commercial and cultural relations with the Muslims of the Horn and provided military assistance when Vasco da Gama bombarded **Mogadishu** in 1499, when Lope Suarez took and burnt **Zayla** in 1517, and when Saldanha sacked Berbera the following year. However, it was Ottoman Egypt that supported **Ahmad Gurey's** *fath al-Habasha*, the conquest of Abyssinia, and prevented the colonial advance of the Portuguese along the Somali coast. In 1869, Egypt, under Khedive Isma'il Pasha, occupied the northern ports of Zayla and Berbera and established a garrison at Harar, the center of the interior trade routes of the Horn. Egyptian administration improved the ports by building lighthouses and constructing freshwater facilities. In addition, the Egyptians introduced a unified weighing system and currency. Moreover, they built *masjids*, mosque complexes, and schools that modernized education. They also improved commercial sea links by ship and boat, secured caravan routes to Harar and the interior, and constructed a telegraph facility. In 1875, Egypt attempted to control the Somali coast from Ras Hafun to Kismayu, which it renamed Pur Ismail (Port Ismail) after Khedive Isma'il Pasha. However, after **Britain** occupied Egypt in 1882, all Egyptian possessions became British. In 1884, the northern ports came under a British protectorate and the southern ports came under the sultan of **Zanzibar**.

After the revolutionary coup of 1952, Jamal Abdul-Nasser encouraged Somali political movements and provided military training. Egypt, with Colombia and the Philippines, was a member of the **United Nations Advisory Council** (UNAC), which monitored the Italian trusteeship administra-

tion from 1950 to 1960. It used its advisory role to create a pro-Egyptian, Nasserite constituency. It funded “party schools,” that is, schools run by political parties. It sent Egyptian teachers for all grades and for vocational education and teachers’ training. Egypt also established schools that granted Egyptian diplomas in Mogadishu, **Marka**, **Barawa**, Belet Weyn, Kismayu, Galkayo, and **Baidoa**. Nasserite ideology was evident in the literature and activities of the major political parties, particularly the Greater Somali League, which was comparatively militant in its pan-Somali, pro-Egyptian, and pro-Arab stances. The assassination of Muhammad Kamal al-Din Salah, the Egyptian member of UNAC, in 1957 also triggered a wave of pro-Egyptian feeling. Nasser became the role model for Somali nationalists and children born in the 1950s were named after him.

During the civilian administration (1960–1969), Egypt provided technical assistance and continued to grant military and civilian scholarships. It established a large cultural center in Mogadishu that included a high school later known as Madrasat Allahi (Allah’s School) for the large, green neon sign bearing the name of Allah that could be seen from miles around. Despite the sign, the school was secular and also included a teacher’s training college, an infirmary, a cinema, a library, sport grounds, and other facilities, all run by Egyptians. Similar facilities were established in the capital cities of the eight Somali regions.

One third of the police and military officers who staged the coup in 1969 and formed the **Supreme Revolutionary Council** graduated from Egyptian military academies. In 1974, Somalia joined the League of Arab States and made Arabic the official language of the country, in addition to the **Af-Mahaa Somali**. In 1979, when most Arab countries broke off diplomatic relations with Egypt because of the Camp David Agreement, Somalia supported the pro-American Anwar Sadat, then president of Egypt. In 1990, Somalia also supported the pro-American, Egyptian-led coalition of Arab states that opposed the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait.

After the collapse of **Mohamed Siad Barre**’s regime, Egypt did not close its embassy and it participated significantly in the multinational forces led by the United States from 1993 to 1995. Egypt also facilitated reconciliation conferences between faction leaders, such as the **Group Twelve** meeting in Cairo from 1 to 7 March 1994 and the comprehensive peace conference between 26 faction leaders, which also took place in Cairo, from 12 November to 22 December 1997. During the civil crisis and the famine of 1991–1992, Egypt supported **Mohamed Farah Aideed**’s faction for economic advantage and supported other anti-Ethiopian factions, so that there would be a greater role for the Egyptians in the reconciliation conferences. Also, Egypt supported the transitional national government, which emerged from the **Arta Reconciliation Conference of May–August 2000**.

EMBLEM OF SOMALIA. The emblem, or official seal, was adopted under the Italian trusteeship on 27 September 1956 and retained by successive Somali governments. It is composed of an azure escutcheon in a gold border, with a five-pointed star, surrounded by a Moorish battlement, rampant “in natural form” (i.e., culturally authentic) and borne by two leopards that are facing each other and resting on two lances, “in natural form” as well and interwoven with a white ribbon.

EREEBY. From the Arabic *arabah* (a bedraggled and messy women), the opposite of *hathiig* or fashionable.

ERGADA WADATASHIGA SOMALIYED (Somali Committee for Peace and Reconciliation). Two years before the overthrow of the dictatorship of **Mohamed Siad Barre** in 1991, Somali intellectuals in the **United States** and Canada began to meet to work out a transition to a new government. These discussions involved Somalis from different **clans** as well as non-Somalis representing organizations concerned with peace and conflict resolution. In December 1990, a group of over 20 Somali academics and professionals met in Harrisonburg, Virginia, to exchange ideas and create a more formal organization, which was eventually known as Ergada Wadatashiga Somaliyed. The group selected a steering committee composed of Said Samatar, Osman Sultan, Mohamud Togane, Mohamed Mukhtar, and Mohamud Tani.

As the situation in Somalia rapidly deteriorated in 1991 and 1992, Ergada worked to encourage peace by maintaining contacts with Somali political and military factions; sponsoring Ergada members in traveling to the region to educate people on and promote the idea of a peaceful resolution; and organizing public forums and meetings for Somalis in the diaspora. In 1992, Ergada worked intensively with the Swedish Life and Peace Institute, which had been previously involved elsewhere in the **Horn of Africa**. It also established professional connections with other nongovernmental organizations (NGOs), such as the Canadian Institute of Peace and Conflict Studies/Conrad Grebel College, the Mennonite Central Committee, and the U.S. Institute of Peace.

Ergada provided expert submissions and proposals to **United Nations** agencies, international NGOs, Somali NGOs, and most importantly, the **United Nations Operation in Somalia**. Ergada introduced and advocated a “bottom-up” (as opposed to “top-down”) approach, empowering elders, religious leaders, teachers, and poets—the precolonial peacemakers—as Ergada believed that the war makers at the “top” could not also be the peacemakers. Building peace would have to come from the bottom and work its way up. This vision was reflected at least in small part by the 1993 Addis Ababa Reconciliation Conference’s decision to rebuild a governance

structure starting at the local level (*see* **ADDIS ABABA AGREEMENT OF 27 MARCH 1993**).

Ergada is truly cross-clan; it emerged as an idea and initiative for mediation prior to Siad Barre's ouster and is still active today, after 12 years of active consultation and deliberation with the United Nations and other organizations since the beginning of the Somali crisis. Ergada's advocacy of "elder emphasis" and the "bottom-up approach" was adopted fully or partly, not only at the conferences of Addis Ababa in 1991 and 1993, but also in the **Sodere Declaration of January 1997** and the **Arta Reconciliation Conference of May–August 2000**. The post-Arta government is substantially composed of Ergada members operating according to its principles.

ETHIOPIA. Somalia and Ethiopia have been in a state of conflict over religious, racial, and nationalist issues, and often in armed conflict, since the 13th century, the longest period of conflict in the history of the **Horn of Africa**. Until the early 15th century, Muslims of the region, including the sultanates of Hadya, Dewaro, Harar, Ifat, Bali, Fatajar, and **Awdal**, paid annual tribute to Christian Ethiopia, then known as Abyssinia. In 1527, however, the Awdal Sultanate refused to pay the tribute and proclaimed *jihad* , receiving support from other sultanates. Imam Ahmad ibn Ibrahim al-Ghazi (1506–1543), known as **Ahmad Gurey**, or the "left handed," led the *jihad* and brought most of Ethiopia under his control.

In the late 19th century, the beginning of the colonial era, the region was contested not only by European powers, but also by some African powers, such as **Egypt**, **Zanzibar**, and Ethiopia. The Egyptian and Zanzibari presences in Somalia were limited to the coast, with the Egyptians extending from **Zayla** to Cape Guardafui on the coast and in Harar in the interior and the Zanzibaris from Warsheikh to the Kenyan northern frontier. Harar experienced Egyptian rule from 1875 to 1885, but was occupied in 1887 by Ethiopia, which then followed an expansionist policy toward its neighboring countries, including Somalia.

In the second half of the 19th century, Somalia fell under the rule of, and was partitioned by, the British, French, and Italian colonial powers. Ethiopia benefited much from the partition. Menelik's Circular of 1891 claimed Somali territories extending from Awdal in the north to the Juba River in the south. Accordingly, European treaties of 1891, 1894, 1897, 1908, 1944, 1948, and 1954, respecting the circular, placed Somali territories within Ethiopia. This partition aroused Somali aspirations to unify all Somalis in the **Horn** under one Somali administration. On 1 July 1960, the former British Somaliland and the Italian Trust Territory of Somalia gained independence and united to form the Somali Republic, thus fulfilling the deep-rooted desire of the Somali people for unity. However, from the onset hostilities occurred between

Ethiopia and Somalia, escalating into an all-out war in 1964. To create a climate conducive for peaceful negotiation, the **Organization of African Unity** (OAU) sought, unsuccessfully, a diplomatic settlement. Though the leaders of both countries disregarded all of the OAU efforts, the Somali civilian government in its last year, and the military government from 1969 to 1975, followed a policy of *détente*.

After the fall of the Ethiopian imperial government in 1974 and the death of Emperor **Haile Selassie** in 1975, the Somali military regime supported an anti-Ethiopian liberation group, the **Western Somali Liberation Front** (WSLF), based in **Mogadishu**, which (with the help of a covert operation of the national army of Somalia during a few weeks in 1977) gained control over most of the long-disputed territories within Ethiopia. However, in early 1978 the combined WSLF and national Somali troops could not hold on to the recovered territories, as Ethiopia received **Soviet** and Cuban help and Ethiopian-Cuban allied forces recaptured all the lost territories. This forced the military regime in Somalia to recall its army and withdraw from Ethiopia. This withdrawal marked the end of the pan-Somali dream and provided a basis for cordial relations between the countries. Ethiopia and Somalia signed an agreement on 4 April 1988 to end subversive activities and restore normal diplomatic relations.

Beginning in 1991, after the collapse of the Somali state, Ethiopia opened its door to Somali refugees. Ethiopia also facilitated forums for peace talks among Somalis and supported all efforts for the rehabilitation and reconstruction of Somalia. Addis Ababa hosted most of the important Somali reconciliation conferences, in 1992, 1993, 1997. *See also* **ADDIS ABABA AGREEMENT OF 27 MARCH 1993; ADDIS ABABA PEACE AGREEMENT AND SUPPLEMENT OF JANUARY 1993; SODERE DECLARATION OF JANUARY 1977.**

– F –

FAAL. “Fortune” or “fate,” often personified and described as fickle or unreliable. A *faaliye* is a professional fortune-teller whose predictions clients generally believe. The *faaliye* draws, with constant revision, geometric shapes with dots and lines until he or she reaches a satisfactory conclusion that predicts either a good or bad fortune. Those who believe in faal always act according to what the *faaliye* has concluded. They follow the *faaliye*’s counsel, either to fulfill what he or she has predicted or to avert a bad fortune, whether it be a personal, a family concern or a matter that has an impact on the welfare of the community at large, such as war and peace, business deals, travel, and most importantly, marriage.

FANNAANIINTA ARLAADI. An alliance of artists to protect the **Inter-riverine** heritage of **music**, drama, and poetry, founded in **Baidoa** soon after the collapse of **Mohamed Siad Barre's** military regime. Fannaaniinta Arlaadi, however, had its origin in the late 1950s, when **Radio** Mogadishu dropped **Af-Maay** programs in favor of **Af-Mahaa**, which then became the official national **language**. Maay is the lingua franca of the **Inter-riverine region**. Thus the hegemonic assertion of Mahaa was unacceptable to speakers of Maay, especially when the military regime launched, in 1974, **Ololaha Horumarinta Reer Miyiga**, the national literacy campaign, with the object of making Somalis literate only in Mahaa, thus marginalizing the use of other Somali languages. Af-Mahaa became the language of administration and instruction in schools and university and was called Afka Hooyo (the mother tongue), much offending those whose mothers did not speak it.

The culturally alienated members of Fannaaniinta Arlaadi lived during or served under previous regimes as educators, civil servants, or members of the armed forces. With the collapse of the Barre regime in 1991 and the famine and violence of the **clan** militias in the Inter-riverine region, some poets began to speak out. The music teacher Abdulkadir Ali Hassan, known as Baarudey (Gunpowder), wrote the poem, “Ay Tiringney Magaageng.” (Let us keep our name), which helped restore riverine pride. The soldier Isak Nurow Eeding, known by the appropriated clan name Abgalow, wrote the inspiring poems “Mowqif Mujahid” (The role of the Mujahid) and “Isa Goroneeng” (Let us Agree), which mobilized young men and women to defend their culture.

One prominent member of Fannaaniinta Arlaadi, Mohamed Haji Mohamed, or Tarash (Weaver), a member of the Horseed (the armed forces national band) wrote controversial and subtle plays for which he was dismissed and then imprisoned for four years. In 1978, he wrote, produced, directed, and acted in two plays: *Doobnamaadey* (Never too late) and *Saba Sabaabu* (Deceit) that were censored and banned as ka'andiid (antirevolutionary). Another member, also a prominent playwright, Abdullahi Abdirahman, known as “Daash” (Courtyard), wrote the popular plays *Felek* (Astrology) in 1975 and *Sahan* (Exploration) in 1978. Daash's most politically provocative poems are “Iska Diing” (Shame), written in 1992, and “Dhaar” (Vow), written in 1993. He composed poetry and plays in several riverine languages: **Af-Maay**, Dafeed, and **Af-Mahaa**. The short-lived Radio Baidoa (July 1994–September 1995) broadcast riverine folk **music**, poetry, plays, and stories and thus served as a catalyst for riverine cultural revival. Radio Baidoa was the first ever to broadcast and produce programs exclusively in Maay.

The membership of Fannaaniinta Arlaadi has grown since 1993 to include a band of musicians, traditional dancers, singers, choreographers, and other craftsmen. The group's role has extended beyond literary works to include

other advocacy campaigns for literacy, health services (vaccinations and inoculations), certain veterinary vaccinations, reconciliation, and community rehabilitation. Since 1992, Fannaaniinta Arlaadi has produced two newsletters: *Arlaadi* (Homeland) in Maay and *Jubba News* in English. However, when the warlord **Mohamed Farah Aided** occupied Baidoa on 17 September 1995, he immediately shut down Radio Baidoa, banned the two newspapers, and jailed most of the writers associated with the group. *See also* **DANCE**.

FARDHIDIN. One of the major battles between the British colonial troops and the **daraawiish** (dervishes) of Somalia. Fardhidin is a rift about 50 miles east of Las'anod. This battle took place on 16 July 1901, when British colonial troops were ambushed while they were advancing toward the darwiish camp at Fardhidin. The British troops were planning a surprise attack on the daraawiish, but having been warned by spies, they evacuated and prepared an ambush, allowing the British colonial troops to enter the Fardhidin rift while the daraawiish hid in the bushes above. By the time the last British troops entered the rift, they were overwhelmed by fire from all directions. The fighting lasted until noon. Although the daraawiish had significant losses of sheikhs and hajis, they claimed victory and recovered arms and ammunition, which were very useful for future encounters. Colonel Swayne, the commander of the British colonial troops during the first and second expeditions, who conceded that the daraawiish were very powerful, asked for more support. In the meantime, he regrouped in Nugal for a decisive battle.

FARIID. Also *maguuf*, from the Arabic *fariid*, meaning excellent or exceptional. However, in the Banadiri Somali, *fariid waaye* means agreed, a done deal.

FIINLOW. Also known as Sabti iyo Ahad (Battle of Saturday and Sunday), the battle in 1908 when the Italians defeated the Bimaals decisively. In this battle, 2,000 warriors confronted more than 500 Italian colonial troops. The Bimaal warriors fought fiercely against well-armed and well-trained troops, but to no avail.

FISHERIES. Somalia has a 3,200-kilometer-long coast, the longest in Africa, stretching from **Djibouti** and the straits of Bab el-Mandab in the Gulf of Aden to Ras Kiamboni on Somalia's border with **Kenya**. Somalia also has a continental shelf of 45,000 square kilometers with an abundant supply of sardines, tuna, flounder, grouper, and mackerel. Surveys conducted by Soviet and Somali specialists in the early 1980s estimated that the waters off the Somali coast could yield a catch of 750,000 to 2,000,000 tons per year.

Due to the low level of fishery technology coupled with the low purchasing power and non-fish-eating habits of Somali nomads, fish production was

always far below its potential. As a result, the fishing industry has long remained a subsistence activity with little impact on the national economy. However, shortly after independence, emphasis was placed on the organization and expansion of sea transport and port facilities and the creation of back-up facilities. In the early 1970s, the Ministry of Fisheries and Sea Transport was set up. Fishing cooperatives were also established in 1974 in compliance with the Law on **Cooperative Development**; 25 were operating in 1984. Due to the 1974–1975 **Dabadheer drought**, a total of 15,000 nomads were resettled along the southern coastline from Adale to **Barawa**. They were organized in cooperatives under the administration of the Coastal Development Project and efforts were made to train them as fishermen. By 1978, the catch had increased from 5,000 to 125,000 tons annually. The government also restructured the Las Qorey canning factory and reactivated the Bolimog freezing plant. However, these projects failed, as did other Somali development projects.

The decline of fishing was affected by environmental, demographic, economic, and political factors. Trawling could only be conducted in limited areas, because of the rocky, uneven, and often narrow shelf, from 15 to 50 kilometers, from Ras Kiamboni to Loyadde. Moreover, the irregularity of the monsoon season, which caused heavy seas, made fishing dangerous most of the year for small boats and dhows. Poor transportation and refrigeration facilities (especially in relation to supplying the hinterland), combined with the poor management, poor maintenance, and an unskilled staff, further undermined this initiative. When the Somalis broke diplomatic relations with the **Soviet Union** in 1977 (because of the latter's support of **Ethiopia** in the **Ogaden** conflict), the Soviets withdrew essential technology and pulled out all their supporting staff, which had heavy responsibilities in the use and maintenance of fishing boats and equipment. Finally, trained fisherman deserted the enterprise, as did the resettled nomads. Thus, Somalia's fishing industry was doomed.

FLOOD-IRRIGATED FARMING. The type of irrigation used in both the Shabelle and Juba valleys. In the early 1980s, more than 110,000 hectares were farmed using this traditional system. Crops were planted gradually as the water receded from the floodplain. Ditches also diverted the receding waters to adjacent fields. In some cases, channels were constructed, but these were useful only if the river rose sufficiently for the water to reach the fields. Flood-irrigated farming was more intensive than ordinary **rain-fed farming** and, under favorable conditions, yields resulted in surpluses that produced cash income. The principal crop was maize, but beans, cotton, and sugarcane were also raised.

FORTA SHEIKH (FORTE CECCHI). A memorial fortress for Antonio Cecchi in **Mogadishu**, but later also a name for a quarter in Mogadishu. *See* **LAFOOLE MASSACRE**.

FRENCH SOMALILAND. *See* **DJIBOUTI**.

– G –

GAAS. Horn of buffalo or deer, widely used in the **Inter-riverine region** for ritual and ceremonial occasions instead of a trumpet. *Gaas* is also a military term for regiment.

GALWEYTE CAVE. Located south of Las Qorey, Galweyte Cave was discovered in 1982. The area where the cave is found is environmentally harsh. Annually, it receives about 100 mm of rainfall. But samples recovered from the cave indicate the weather conditions of the region were wetter and that the area was slightly more habitable during the Holocene Age than it is today. The calcite deposits recovered from the cave date to 9,700 B.C.E.

GASAARAGUDE. One of the oldest sultanates in Somalia, founded by Aw Kalafow, popularly known as Aw Maadow (thus, his royal seat, **Luug** Aw Maadow), who took the royal title *gereed* instead of sultan. Most **Reewin** people even today call the city Luug Aw Maadow. According to oral tradition, Gereed Kalafow was the great grandson of Muhammad Garsaagude, the Arbiter (from *gar*, a legal dispute, and *gude*, “judge”), the eponymous ancestor of the **clan** whose name over time became Gasaaragude.

According to another account, which typically traces clan ancestry back to an Arab founder, the Gasaaragude are descended from Diin Abubakar, an Arab sheikh who arrived in **Mogadishu** with four sons, Jamal, Fakhr, Umar, and Shams, and their families. Jamal settled in Lamu and established the Jamal Diin dynasty. Fakhr traveled inland and settled in Afgoy, establishing the Fakhr Diin Sultanate, known later as “Geledi.” Umar continued further toward the northwest and founded Luug, establishing the Umur Diin Sultanate, known later as Gasaaragude. Kalafow, the great grandson of Umar Din, in this version is still recognized as the first to use the title *gereed*.

Gereed Kalafow is said to have died c. A.H. 839 (about 1435 C.E.) and his grave is a shrine that pilgrims visit in Luug even today. His reign is associated with the construction of the royal residence in Luug. It is also remembered as the era of the great conquests, when his sovereignty reached as far as Tiyeglow to the northeast and **Buur Heybe** in the south. He defended the

sultanate from Digoodi, **Ogaden**, and Marehan attacks and, after defeating the Boran, he claimed to be the great *gereed* of both sides of the Juba. Most Reewin clans paid homage to the Gasaaragude *gereeds*. A common saying among the Reewin clans is *Gasaaragude gob Reewin*, which means either that the Gasaaragude are the Reewin aristocracy or that they are the law enforcers of the Reewin. The idea is that the Gasaaragude are the highest authority in the Reewin community, particularly among the Mirifle, just as the Geledis are among the Digil. Another common saying is *Doo leedey Lugh Seew*, which holds that Luug, the seat of the Gasaaragude *gereed*, was the final appeal in any disputed case. This saying is usually uttered following a judgment at the highest level of the clan.

The inadequate Gereed Liibaan, who succeeded Gereed Kalafow, was overthrown by his cousin, Ali Hir. This led to a series of succession crises in the sultanate, which hindered further economic progress and political stability in the region. The sultanate suffered from a devastating civil war and lost territories gained during the reign of Gereed Kalafow. Nonetheless, this dynasty founded by Kalafow ruled much of the Reewin land from the 14th to the 19th centuries. Most of the Gasaaragude *gereeds* were descended from the line of Gereed Kalafow. He left behind six sons—Liibaan, Hilowle, Umur, Amin, Keerow, and Maadow—from whom the six subclans of the Gasaaragude are descended.

The *gereed* received audiences daily. He made decisions, appointed officials, and heard complaints. A special secretary always recorded the *gereed's* activities. Bottego, describing the *gereed* of his time, Gereed Ali Hassan Nuur, said: “He is righteous, humble and above all generous. He is loved and honored by his people. Annually, he donates grain to the poor of the community, and monthly adorns the eldest member of each of the six Gasaaragude subclans with the long gowns” (or *toops*). His rule was informal, inclusive, and rather democratic. He met with his people in any convenient place, and no appointment was needed. Until 1974, when the military regime banned traditional rule, the power of the town was centered in the hands of the *gereed*, who was advised by a council of *malaks* and elders from the six Gasaaragude subclans, *malaks* of major Reewin clans inhabiting Luug; *Nai'bs*, his deputies in distant towns and villages, and other influential figures, mainly the *widaad* religious leaders and the most important merchants, the *tanaad*.

GELEDI CONFEDERACY. *See* **AFGOY; YUSUF MAHAMUD.**

GERBOODA. *See* **BAIDOA.**

GERMANY. *See* **LUFTHANSA INCIDENT.**

GOBAAWIIN. *See* LUUG.

GOBEYS: A flute made of bamboo reeds, pierced with three to five small holes (apertures or air outlets), and usually played by cattle herders in the northwestern part of the country to accompany the recitation of a *gabey* (poem).

GOGOSHIIS QABE. One of the largest rock shelters, and perhaps one of the most accessible, in Somalia, at **Buur Heybe**, about 180 kilometers northwest of **Mogadishu**. The site was discovered in 1935 by Paolo Graziosi, an Italian archaeologist, who called it Bur Eibe, though D. J. Clark in 1945 referred to it as Gure Makeke or Gury Waabay (the poisonous house). S. A. Brandt and his archeological team that worked there from 1983 to 1985 believed the proper name was what the locals called it: Gogoshiis Qabe (the place of the mat). However, the name has been changed from the **Af-Maay** form to the **Af-Mahaa**, Gogollis Qaby (the furnished place). The latest excavations exposed some 32 contiguous one-meter units, or sites, about 1.2 meters deep. The *doian* or *eibian* pottery industry was found to date to some time between 12,910 and 11,000 B.P. The skeletal remains of the 14 human individuals recovered indicate mortuary practices as old as the early Stone-Holocene Ages.

GOOB. A social organization found in farming areas of the **Reewin** society. *Goob* is a village-based workers' cooperative that consists of adults in the village who assist each other with farm work. They normally go in rotation or on call for a day's work on a member's farm. Not all farm work involves *goob*, but *beer abuur* (planting), *beer goymy* (harvesting), *beer fal* (weeding), and *beer hamaar* (clearing or plowing) do. Participants of the *goob* bring the necessary tools, but the host provides a meal of the staple food of the village. After the job is finished, the meal is served to various age groups: *wasaq* (juniors or under age), **barbaar** (youth), *akhiyar* (seniors), and *ulmy* (imams and other religious men).

Before the meal, the crowd is entertained by oral histories, poetry, or religious speeches; after the meal, there is a *du'a* (blessing). Sometimes, **dances** and poetry competitions are staged. Usually the *goob* workers march to and from the farm while performing the *weerar* dance. They also sing rhythmic songs composed for the rhythm of the planting, weeding, or whatever work they are engaged in. *See also* **HIRING; SHABAL.**

GOOBROON. *See* **AFGOY; AHMAD YUSUF; YUSUF MAHAMUD.**

GOVERNO DELLA SOMALO (GS). The Somali government. One of the outstanding events in the modern political history of Somalia was the establishment of the first elected government, the Governo Somalo, known by its Ital-

ian acronym GS, on 9 May 1956. The Italian administrator nominated **Abdulahi Issa Mohamud** as prime minister, who in turn selected five ministers from the **Assemblea Legislativa**: Haji Muse Bogor, minister of the interior; **Sheikh Ali Jimale Baraale**, minister of social affairs; Haji Farah Ali Omar, minister of economic affairs; Salad Abdi Mahamud, minister of financial affairs; and **Mohamud Abdi Nur “Jujo,”** minister of general affairs. The administrator also appointed six Italian officials who would act as counselors to the cabinet without right to vote. The prime minister coordinated the activities of the Council of Ministers. The council was competent to make decisions on all matters concerning the internal administration of the country, the budget, and the staff. However, its power was limited by two factors: the power of the Italian chief administrator, who was entitled to intervene in the legislative powers of the cabinet, and the power of the Italian counselors. *See also* **ITALY; UNITED NATIONS ADVISORY COUNCIL IN SOMALIA (UNAC)**

GREATER HORN OF AFRICA INITIATIVE (GHAI). This initiative was launched by President Bill Clinton in 1994 in response to the regional instability in the Greater Horn of Africa (GHA), comprising Burundi, Eritrea, **Ethiopia, Djibouti, Kenya,** Rwanda, Somalia, Sudan, Tanzania, and Uganda. The goals of the GHAI were political stability and economic self-sufficiency. The GHAI was indeed a new operation of the **United States Agency for International Development**, which worked with international and regional partners, such as the **United Nations**, the European Union (EU), the GHA governments, regional and subregional governmental organizations, national **nongovernmental organizations** (NGOs), and local community groups.

To satisfy the twin goals of the initiative, it became necessary to coordinate between new tools and the existing ones, such as Africanization; strategic coordination, or pairing relief to development; and proactive strategies relating to regional political realities (ethnic conflict, etc.). The GHAI developed pilot programs in both conflict resolution and food self-sufficiency. The **Regional Economic Development Services Office** supported the **Intergovernmental Authority for Development** initiatives to resolve the Somali crisis, the conflict between Ethiopia and Eritrea, and the civil war in Sudan. The GHAI increasingly encouraged and supported collaborative research to develop technologies to increase food production by funding the activities of local nongovernmental organizations undertaking innovative development and crisis prevention projects.

GREATER SOMALI LEAGUE (GSL). *See* **HAJI MUHAMED HUSSEIN.**

GROUP TWELVE (G-12). After 11 months, the **Addis Ababa Agreement of 27 March 1993** had not been implemented and Somalia remained a country

with no state. The **United Nations Operation in Somalia** (UNOSOM II), funded by the international community, was also ineffective. Therefore, a group of 12 faction leaders who had signed the Addis Ababa agreement met in Cairo on 1–7 March 1994 to form another government. The group was composed of **Abdi Muse Mayow**, representing the **Somali Democratic Movement**; Abdi Warsame Issak, **Southern Somali National Movement**; Abdirahman Dualeh Ali, **United Somali Front**; Aden Abdullahi Nur, **Somali Patriotic Movement**; Ali Ismail Abdi, **Somali National Democratic Union**; Mohamed Abdi Hashi, **United Somali Party**; Mohamed Abshir Muse, **Somali Salvation Democratic Front**; Mohamed Farah Abdullahi, **Somali Democratic Alliance**; Mohamed Qanyare Afrah, **United Somali Congress**; Mohamed Ragis Mohamed, **Somali National Union**; Mohamed Ramadan Arbow, **Somali African Muki Organization**; and Omar H. Mohamed, **Somali National Front**. After seven days, the group agreed on the formation of a Transitional National Salvation Council, composed of 17 members, including the 15 signatories of the Addis Ababa Agreement, the chairman of the **Somali National Movement** (SNM), and **Ali Mahdi Mohamed**. Though Ali Mahdi had not signed the Addis Ababa Agreement, he had acted as interim president since 1991 and thus was also chosen as head of the G-12. The Cairo consultation also suggested the preparation of a national constitution. Neither the SNM nor the **Somali National Alliance** was at the Cairo meeting, but they and the G-12 did attend a meeting sponsored by the **United Nations** in Nairobi, on 1–23 March 1994. They all signed the **Nairobi Declaration of 24 March 1994**.

GUD-GUD. A limestone cave at the foot of a mountain above the Tog Damaale/Kal Caddooti valley south of Las Qorey town, discovered in 1980 by a Somali-American team of archaeologists from the University of Georgia. The stone artifacts and remains of fauna recovered from the cave reveal historical changes in the sea level on the Somali coastline of the Gulf of Aden and information about the human occupation and agricultural activity in the Golis mountain range and the *Guban* (burned) regions of northwestern Somalia, now uninhabitable because of the harsh, dry climate. Radiocarbon dating of samples recovered from the cave has dated the site to 40,000 years B.C.E..

GUDUUDA ‘ARWO. First female singer recruited for Radio **Hargeisa**, in 1953. Her real name was Shamis Abokor. In Somalia, singers are known by noms de plume. *See also* **RADIO**.

GULWADAYAL (VICTORY PIONEERS). One of the largest **paramilitary** and revolutionary forces in Somalia, established in August 1972 as a wing of the army but actually commanded by an office of the president, **Mohamed Siad Barre**. In addition to their military training, the Gulwadayal were given

a special political training, which made them more influential than the army or police. After the formation of the **Somali Revolutionary Socialist Party** in 1976, the Gulwadayal became an important part of the party apparatus. From 1977 to 1979, because of the increased need for military personnel for the war with **Ethiopia**, Gulwadayal increased from 2,500 to 10,000 members of both sexes. In 1980, the force came under the command of Abdirahman Hussein, known as Abdirahman Gulwade, or “victory pioneer,” the son-in-law of the president.

This militia, with its distinctive green uniform and symbol of a vigilant eye on badges and flags, functioned like similar groups in Mao Zedong’s Cultural Revolution, promoting the principles of the *Ka’an* (revolution) by fighting what they identified as lazy or reactionary behavior and defending what they identified as traditional cultural values. Recruited mostly from the unemployed, uneducated, and anomic, they acted as a vigilante mob with the authority to investigate, arrest, and detain all persons they identified as *Ka’andiid* (antirevolutionary), especially those who were suspected of working with governments in the non-Communist bloc and of being hostile to the Barre regime.

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HAARANG MADAARE. Haarang Madaare is among the early *weli* (saints), who introduced **Islam** in the Doi region of Somalia. He was part of an Islamization process that involved not only proselytizing but also Islamizing “pagan” sites and customs. Pre-Islamic sites, where the locals visited annually and made sacrifices, were given Islamic names, while the festivals became celebrations of Islamic historical events. There are 114 historic mountains scattered in the Doi belt of Somalia hosting ancient religious sites that became Islamic, among them, **Buur Heybe**, Buur Hakaba, and Buur Gerwiine. Haarang Madaare supported the Elay clan and blessed their expansion into the Doi region, and he was responsible for the downfall of the pre-Islamic tyrant Gheeddi Baabow of Buur Hakaba. Haarang Madaare’s shrine lies in Buur Hakaba, next to that of another saint, **Sheikh Muumin**, whose coming was prophesied by Haarang Madaare.

HAILE SELASSIE I (1892–1974). Emperor of **Ethiopia** from 1930 to 1974. Born in Harar on 23 July 1892 to Ras Makonnen and Yeshe-emabet Ali, his given name is Tafari. Both of his parents died while he was very young, but the death of his half brother Yelma in October 1907 was a turning point in Tafari’s life. In 1910, Tafari was appointed governor of Harar and became Ras Tafari. After the deposition of **Lij Iyasu** in 1916 and the coronation of Mene-

lik's daughter Zewditu as empress, Ras Tafari was nominated as regent and heir to the throne. On November 1930, on Zewditu's death, Ras Tafari was crowned Emperor Haile Selassie I. Following in the footsteps of Menelik II, Emperor Haile Selassie I sustained the policies of centralization of the administration and westernization of the army and education. However, these processes were interrupted by **Italy's** occupation of the **Horn** in 1936–1940. In this period, the emperor lived in exile in England. After the allied forces liberated the Horn, **Britain** restored Haile Selassie I as emperor to Ethiopia on 5 May 1941. Afterwards, for more than a decade, Britain supported the emperor in sustaining authority in the region. Britain helped Ethiopian gain control of the railway in 1946 and annex Eritrea in 1952 and the **Ogaden** and Reserved Areas of Somalia in 1948 and 1955, respectively. These courses of actions put the emperor at odds with both Eritreans and Somalis.

Somali responses to the 1948 act were of regret and outrage. Riots and spontaneous demonstrations occurred in all parts of the Somali territory. Innocent rioters were killed in many places; in Jigjiga alone, on 24 March 1948, 25 Somalis lost their lives and Ethiopian forces detained many others. Similar demonstrations took place in 1955, after Britain handed over to Ethiopia the pastureland of Haud and the Reserved Areas. Furthermore, a multiclan delegation was sent to Britain and to the **United Nations** to protest this illegal transaction. The emperor's relations with Somalia worsened after 1960, when the former British Somaliland and the Trust Territory of Somalia gained their independence and united to form the Somali Republic. The new republic adopted a policy of reunification of Somali territories by peaceful means. However, Somalia and Ethiopia engaged for more than a decade in some of the bloodiest wars in the history of the Horn of Africa, known as the **Ogaden Wars**, over the Ogaden and Reserved Areas. Early full-scale warfare took place in 1964 and a total fiasco for Somalia came in 1978, when Somalia finally abandoned the ideals of **pan-Somalism**.

Although the emperor took the lead in the inter-African crisis and Ethiopia became the headquarters of the **Organization of African Unity** (OAU), little progress was made in resolving the Eritrean struggle or the **pan-Somali** conflict over the Ogaden and Reserved Areas. In 1973, a combination of drought and the evident corruption and inefficiency in the distribution of aid led to chaos and widespread unrest in Ethiopia. The emperor, however, managed to control the situation by reshuffling his cabinet and appointing a committee to draft a new constitution. In June 1974, the emperor attended the OAU summit in **Mogadishu**, Somalia. But his days were numbered. In September 1974, the army seized power in Ethiopia and created the Derg, a military administrative council. They kept the emperor under house arrest until he was declared dead on 27 August 1975. He was never formally buried. In 1992, on his 100th birthday, Ethiopia sought to honor its last em-

peror by giving him an official funeral, but was deterred by the Rastafarian call to abandon these plans, because Rastafarians believe that Haile Selassie I never died, but was resurrected.

HAJI ABDULLAHI MURSAL MOHAMED (1920–1982). President of **Hizbiya Digil-Mirifle** (HDM) and a successful merchant. He was born in Morogaabey, southwest of **Huddur**, in 1920. His given name was ‘Alim, which means “knowledge,” but while he was in Saudi Arabia performing Hajj, a Saudi man told him he could not be called ‘Alim, as ‘Alim is Allah, so he must be known as ‘Abd-Allah. He then became Haji Abdullahi, the Somali rendering of ‘Abd-Allah. He was also well known as Affarhindhood (of the four eyes), perhaps because he was the first person to wear eyeglasses in his village. Abdullahi completed the Qur’anic education at Morogaabey, then pursued further education in Arabia. In 1938, he performed Hajj and worked for about a year in Saudi Arabia. As he did not have the means in Mecca to support himself and his education, he traveled to Damascus, Syria, where he was given a scholarship. He returned to Somalia via **Ethiopia** when he learned the Italians had lost their colony.

At Jijjiga in 1942, he fell in love with and married an Ethiopian (Shawan) woman named Ibsa, or “mirror,” who changed her name to Fatima when she converted to **Islam**. He stayed in Jijjiga for several years, teaching and engaging in trade. In 1948, he returned to Somalia with his wife and two children. Immediately, Haji Abdullahi became an active member of HDM. In 1952, he was elected member of the Consiglio Territoriale (**Territorial Council**, TC) from the district of Huddur (representing Hizbiya) and he was subsequently re-elected annually until 1956, when the TC was replaced by the Legislative Assembly, to which he was also elected. Haji Abdullahi protested in speeches and in the newspapers the unfair exclusion of members of his party from the Somalization of civilian and police personnel, which began in 1955 in preparation for independence. While neither the Italian administration nor the **Somali Youth League** (SYL), the governing party of the transitional government, accepted his protests, the **United Nations Advisory Council**, especially the Egyptian member Ambassador **Kamal al-Din Salah**, and other Somali opposition parties supported his grievances. Despite the support he received from the Egyptian ambassador, Haji Abdullahi and two members of Hizbiya were accused in the assassination of Kamal al-Din on 17 April 1957. Though they were cleared of charges, Haji Abdullahi was effectively neutralized as a political force. During his tenure in the assembly, and unlike other Somali parliamentarians in opposition, he remained loyal to the ideals of his party and never crossed the aisle for a portfolio from the ruling SYL.

Haji Abdullahi was a successful businessman. After he lost his seat, he established a trade link between **Mogadishu** and Huddur supplying basic com-

modities. He was a shareholder in an Arab import/export enterprise engaged in trade with Aden, **Italy**, **Egypt**, and India. He opened the first gas station in Huddur in 1968. In the 1970s, Haji Abdullahi Mursal became very depressed, partly because he lost his beloved wife Fatima, who died in late 1972, but also because he lived to see the implementation of policies he had warned about earlier that threatened to annihilate his own people. In the 1970s, **Mohamed Siad Barre** divided the **Reewin** region of Upper and Lower Juba into eight regions, allocating six of them to other, “foreign” **clans**. Haji Abdullahi’s own town, Morogaabey, and Huddur were assigned to the **Ogaden**, a Darood subclan. Haji Abdullahi, when he was the president of Hizbiya in 1957, had warned that the Digil-Mirifle people would lose their fertile land to the nomadic Somalis unless they acted to prevent it. By 1980, all Digil-Mirifle land, with the exception of the landlocked Bay region, was controlled by the nomadic **Darood** and **Hawiye**.

HAJI MUHAMED HUSSEIN (1917–1980). Popular pan-Somalist, founder of the Greater Somali League (GSL) in 1958, one of the founders of the **Somali Youth Club** in 1943, and diehard Nasserite. Born in **Mogadishu** of the Reer Hamar clan, his father was a wealthy merchant who traded in Harar and **Zanzibar**. After completing his formal education in **Egypt** in 1957, he was elected president of the **Somali Youth League** (SYL). However, his pan-Somali militancy and his criticism of the moderate government of **Abdullahi Issa** split the party. Indeed, in April 1958, he was expelled from the SYL. Haji Muhamed and most of the militant nationalists of the SYL then immediately formed the Greater Somali League (GSL), which came in third place in the 1958 municipal elections. The GSL boycotted the 1959 general election to protest what it called the SYL rigging of the elections and developed into the **Somali Democratic Union (SDU)**, which had links to the socialist bloc, particularly Peoples’ Republic of China. The SDU’s red banners led to it being called the Red Flag Party (‘Alan’as). In 1964, Haji Mohamed was elected to the **Assemblea Nazionale (AN)** from Marka and he continued to advocate **pan-Somalism**. He supported the national liberation movements and lobbied for them at international conferences. His party sponsored Somali students to study in China, **Egypt**, Syria, and Iraq. He fought for the Arabic script instead of **Ismaniyya** or any other form of orthography. Haji Mohamed enjoyed a reputation as a formidable orator in Arabic.

HAJI SAGAAL HAJIILE. A saint whose shrine is still venerated and visited in Godowny, Bokool region, Somalia. Sagaal Hajiile means “of nine Hajjs,” as he made nine pilgrimages to Mecca, which was a record. His real name is Yaaqub of Asharaf. His role in Islamization in his region is well remembered.

Because of the hardships and dangers involved in the Hajj, the pilgrim is given the honorary title *haji*, which sometimes ranks above any other honorary or professional title, such as *ma'allim* or even *sheikh*.

Generally, the **Reewin** people call all **Af-Mahaa**—speakers of Somalia “Heewiye,” and they hate them. The Heewiye were referred as *Heewiye naareed*, meaning “people of hell.” Sagaal Hajiile also detested the **Hawiye** and promulgated certain laws limiting their settlement in the Bokool region. Other people claimed that Sagaal Hajiile also detested the Abyssinians. When he died, his will specified that he be buried with his head lying toward the southeast so that he could continue kick the Heewiye and the Abyssinians even after his death. Sagaal Hajiile is remembered as a saint who organized settlements and divided farmlands and grazing land among the Bay and Harqaan people. He led the formation of **clan** alliances, such as the Bay alliances and Harqaan alliances. He introduced regional or locality clan names such as Reer Bay (people of Bay region), Reer Adably (people of the farmland), Godle (people of the Godle well), and Godowny (people of the Godowny region). Thus, in these regions, identity is more territorial than ancestral and the people are bound to the land that they cultivate or use as pasture, to the *eel* (wells) and water reservoirs, or to other institutions of common interest. It is also believed that because of Sagaal Hajiile’s *dhaaw* (mystical powers), *ycaweey* (elephantiasis) and *dhejy buuby* (flying snakes) were eradicated from the region.

HALIMA MOHAMED YUSUF “GODANE” (1935–1994). Known as Halima “Godane,” the “stooped one.” A female poet-activist, born in Kismayu, Juba region, in 1935, she was married at age nine to Bulqaas of Ali Seleebaan. In the late 1940s, she moved to **Mogadishu** and joined the **Somali Youth League** (SYL). In the early 1950s, Halima “Godane” was elected a member of the *Committato Femminile* (women’s committee) of the party. She used to recite patriotic female poetry of the *buraambur* genre on national occasions and entertained crowds at the weekly meeting, which fell on Sundays. However, Halima’s most remembered nationalistic *buraambur* was the one she recited for the Somali flag on 12 October 1954, which begins,

‘Alanka Soomaaliyeedow ‘arshiga ka nuur
‘Irkaad u egtahaye rabbiyoow lagaa ‘absado

(O, Somali flag: shine as brightly as the throne of God;
Sky-Bright, may all your enemies fear you)

In 1958, she supported the split from the SYL of a group led by **Haji Mohamed Hussein** to form the **Greater Somali League** (GSL) and was elected a city councillor of Mogadishu in the municipal elections of the same year. In 1967, Halima “Godane” joined a new party, *Hawl iyo Hantiwadaag*

(Workers Socialist Party) and she remained loyal to the ideas of socialism and national unity of the country. In 1974, **Mohamed Siad Barre** recognized Halima with an award and lifetime monthly pension payment from the Mogadishu municipality.

HANGASH. A security organization established in 1978, in the aftermath of the 1977 coup attempt, to maintain surveillance over the national army. However, as the government’s crackdown on political activity became more severe in the following years, the Hangash became the most notorious security apparatus in the capital cities of each region in the country. *See also* **PARAMILITARY.**

HANOLATO (“LONG LIVE SOMALIA”). Known also as the Dhaghahtur (stone-throwing) incident, the Somalia Hanolato took place in **Mogadishu** on 5 October 1949. Two Somalis were shot to death, more than 50 were seriously injured, hundreds were arrested, and leaders of Somali political parties all over the country were detained.

When the fourth session of the **United Nations** General Assembly opened in September 1949 to decide the fate of the former Italian colonies in Africa, Somali people were tense. The Conferenza and the **Somali Youth League** sent delegations to Lake Success, New York. The two delegations reported to their respective headquarters by cable or telephone, and from the headquarters news spread through party branches all over the country. In addition, Somalis tuned to the Voice of America and the BBC (**British Broadcasting Corporation**) World Service to follow the UN debates. It was clear from the reports of the UN political committee on 4 October 1949 that Somalia was going to be placed under a UN trusteeship, with **Italy** as the administering authority. This news increased tension in Mogadishu considerably and the British Military Administration (BMA) was shaken by anti-Italian riots, like those of 11 January 1948. Preventive measures such as cutting telephone wires and jamming radio frequencies were futile. However, Italians stayed off the streets and closed their businesses as ordered.

On 5 October 1949, the BMA in Mogadishu received a petition signed by 70 persons, including chiefs, sheikhs, elders, and other men of standing in Mogadishu. The signatories informed the authority of a peaceful, but anti-Italian, proindependence demonstration. The BMA, however, not only prohibited the demonstration, but also sent in riot squads. By 2 P.M., crowds had started gathering near the Italian cemetery. When the riot squad warned the crowd to disperse within 15 minutes, members of the crowd responded that they would hold the demonstration and were prepared to die for the cause. The riot squad opened fire, killing one and wounding 15, but the crowd held firm, throwing stones and crying *Somalia hanolato!* (long live Somalia!).

When the British then called in the army, another Somali was killed and many were wounded, of whom seven later died. Four British policemen were wounded.

Similar demonstrations were held throughout the country. The BMA ordered the closing of all political organization offices, the imprisonment of political leaders, sheikhs, and chiefs, and the deportation of others to rural areas outside Mogadishu. These police measures were resisted in some areas, notably at Dolow, where two Somalis were killed and many were injured, and at **Bardera**, where two Somalis were shot to death and a district commissioner and several police were stoned. In **Baidoa**, a bomb was thrown into an Italian restaurant, injuring the Italian owner and his wife and a Greek working for the British authority. *See also* **BRITAIN**.

HANQAAS. An ink, also called *dowaad*, locally prepared from a mixture either of coal dust, leaves of the liilow plant, and water or of fresh milk, gums, and sometimes, a bit of sugar. It is prepared by the *kutaab* and kept in a specially carved wooden container. The types and colors of hanqaas depend on what it is being used to write. In addition to the common black hanqaas used by the *kutaab* for writing their daily Qur'anic lessons on the looh (writing board), there are green and red *hanqaas* for writing on paper or amulets. *See also* **DUKSI; TAALIL**.

HARGEISA. The second largest city in the former Somali Democratic Republic and the capital of the British Protectorate of Somaliland. Hargeisa is about 320 kilometers from Berbera on the Gulf of Aden and has a population of about one million people, according to a 1998 estimate. The name is derived from *hargageys* (place to sell hides and skins), because it was a trade center and watering place for nomadic **Issaq** and **Dir** herders. In 1870, Hargeisa was taken by **Egypt** and incorporated with the coastal towns of **Zayla** and Berbera, as well as the interior town of Harar. In 1941, Hargeisa became the capital of the British Protectorate of Somaliland and during the British Military Administration (BMA) it became a **qat** transportation hub. After the end of World War II, **Britain** established a **radio** station in Hargeisa, Radio Kudu, which promoted northern Somali music, songs, and plays (*see* **ABDILLAHI MOHAMED MOHAMUD "HERSI"; ABDILLAHI SULDAAN MOHAMED "TIMA'ADDE"; GUDUUDA 'ARWO; WALAALO HARGEISA**). Hargeisa declined in importance in the 1941–1948 BMA period, when the British governed Somalia from **Mogadishu**.

From 1948, Hargeisa became home of the Somaliland National League (SNL), which advocated the unification of an independent British Protectorate with the Italian administered Trust Territory. In June 1960, the SNL, led by **Mohamed Haji Ibrahim Egal**, as the majority party in the north and

fully supported by the **United Somali Party** and the **National United Front**, the northern minority parties, signed an act of union in Hargeisa, which was cosigned by the **Assemblea Legislativa** in Mogadishu the night before the celebration of unification and independence of the Somali Republic on 1 July 1960.

During the civilian era and most of the military period, Hargeisa prospered. As the second capital of the nation, it had an international airport and paved roads linking it with major cities in the north as well as the capital Mogadishu. Radio Hargeisa, as Radio Kudu was then known, remained the only station in the nation besides Radio Mogadishu. Hargeisa had its own **National Theater**, National Museum, and National Library. However, in the early 1980s, as Mogadishu became increasingly dominant, many Issaq civil servants as well as army officers resigned, defected, and eventually formed an opposition group called the **Somali National Movement (SNM)**. In 1980, President **Mohamed Siad Barre** appointed Gen. Mohamed Hashi Gani, a Marehan, military commander of the northern regions with headquarters in Hargeisa. Gani removed Issaqs from all key economic positions, seized properties, and ruled the city under emergency laws. In 1984, Barre replaced Gani with Gen. **Mohamed Said Hersi "Morgan,"** a Majerteen and his Barre's son-in-law, to suppress the SNM, which was attacking military installations and government facilities. In 1988, Morgan leveled the northern part of Hargeisa, killing about 5,000 civilians. The SNM took control of Hargeisa in 1990 and, when Barre's regime collapsed in January 1991, Hargeisa became the capital of the self-declared **Republic of Somaliland**. *See also* **ISMAIL ALI ABOKOR; JAZIRA MASSACRE.**

HASSAN MOHAMED NUR "SHAARGADUUD" (1946–), Leader of the **Reewin Resistance Army (RRA)** and a powerful officer in the former **National Security Service (NSS)**. Shaargaduud (Red Shirt) was born in **Baidoa** of the Harin **clan**. He earned a military degree with a specialization in telecommunications in 1969 at the Modena Military Academy in **Italy**. He was also trained in military intelligence in the 1980s in **Egypt**, Italy, East Germany, and the **Soviet Union**. In 1978, he earned a law degree from the **Somali National University (SNU)**. He served as the regional commander of the NSS in the Lower Juba region in 1972–1975 and the Northwestern region in 1980–1982; in this period, he was also the president of the Hargeisa Security Court. In 1977–1980, he was the presiding judge of the **Mogadishu Security Court**. Shaargaduud was governor of Gedo region (1982–1984) and, until the fall of the **Mohamed Siad Barre** regime, he served in several different security positions, including aide-de-camp to President Barre.

During the civil war, Shaargaduud was active in reconciliation efforts. After the **Djibouti Conference of June–July 1991**, he was included in the first

transitional national government as secretary of the interior. In 1994, he became a member of the **Supreme Governing Council**. Shaargaduud's current political importance comes with the formation in 1995 of the RRA, which he then led to liberate the Bakool and Bay regions from **Mohamed Farah Aided**'s militia in 1998 and 1999 respectively. In 2002, Shaargaduud proclaimed himself president of the southwest, the third autonomous region of the country. *See also* **PUNTLAND STATE OF SOMALIA: REPUBLIC OF SOMALILAND**.

HASSAN SHEIKH MUUMIN GAROD (1930–). Playwright, poet, and actor born in Borame district. After completing his Qur'anic education, Hassan was a teacher and trader. In 1965, he became a news reader for **Radio Mogadishu**. In 1968, Hassan joined the Cultural Department of the Ministry of Education to train young men and women in the performing arts.

Hassan's plays are paradoxical and satirical, witty and acerbic. *Dawo Bukootay* (Bad medicine), *Dab Dhahamooday* (Cold fire), and *Durdur Oomay* (The valley of thirst) are well known, but he is most famous for his 1974 *Shabeelnagood* (Leopard among the women), which was translated into English. Hassan borrows a lot from folklore, reviving and popularizing the older poetic expressions of Somali culture. It could be said that his work reclaims the past for contemporary literature. One good example is "Alif la kordhabay, alif la hoosdhabay, alif lagoday" (The three vowel sounds and how the consonants sound with them), a song that he wrote in 1972 and that provides a Somali mnemonic for learning the new (modified) Roman script of the language. In the early 1980s, Hassan moved to the newly independent **Djibouti**, where he is employed at the Institut Supérieur d'Etudes et de Recherche Scientifiques as a research scholar of Somalia's oral literature.

HATHIIG. From the Arabic *hathiq* (crafty and fashionable lady), the term is generally used for **women** who are chic in their appearance and neat in organizing their households.

HAWIYE. One of the most important **clan** families, the Hawiye are agropastoralists who have historically inhabited the central region. Some are also found on the **Banadir** coast. They claim Arab ancestry. There are three main subclans: the Gurgate, the Jamballe, and the Gugundhobe. The Gurgate are further divided into seven subclans: the Habar Gedir and Abgal, who are mainly pastoralists; the Shikhaal, who perform religious functions; and the mainly agriculturalist Wa'dan, Hirab, Mobleen, and Hillbi, who are allied with non-Hawiye, **Inter-riverine** clans (formerly, the Wa'dan were confederated with the Geledi, the Hirab with the Tunni, the Mobleen with the Shidle, and the Hillibi with the Dawuud).

The Jamballe were subdivided into five major subclans known as the *shanta Bal'ad* (five Bal'ad): three of them (the Karure, Arure, and Olajir) no longer exist, while the Hintire survive as part of the Inter-riverine Jiddu. The **Ajuran** had a powerful sultanate and are historically important but are found today mostly in the deep south and in the Northern Frontier District of **Kenya**. The third major Hawiye group, the Gugundhobe, are made up of seven subclans. Of these, the Jidle and Jejele are federated with **Reewin** clans, the Jibide and Molkal are no longer identifiable, and the Digoodyiya migrated to southern **Ethiopia** and northern Kenya. However, the pastoralist Galje'el and Badi Adde of the Hiran and Middle Shabelle regions have relevant roles in modern Somali politics.

The Abgal and Habar Gedir subclans have the most political power within the Hawiye and Somalia in general. **Mogadishu** was identified as an Abgal city even before the colonial era and the Abgal were active in the formation of political parties fighting for independence, such as the **Somali Youth League** and the Conferenza. The Habar Gedir emerged politically in the trusteeship period (1950–1960), particularly in 1956, when **Abdullahi Issa Mohamud** became the first prime minister. For the next 20 years, the Habar Gadir dominated the civil service, police, army, and the business world in Mogadishu and the Banadir coast. The Habar Gedir remained influential until the fall of **Mohamed Siad Barre** in 1991. The Abgal under **Ali Mahdi Mohamed** and the Habar Gedir under **Mohamed Farah Aided** struggled for control of Somalia as a whole but especially struggled for control of Mogadishu, which they divided into two sectors, Mogadishu North (Abgal) and Mogadishu South (Habar Gedir). Aided had control of the Inter-riverine regions. Both Mahdi and Aided established national governments but failed to attract the Reewin and the **Issaq**. In 2000, a **Transitional National Assembly** was elected in Arta, **Djibouti**, with **Abdiqasim Salad Hassan**, a Habar Gedir, as interim president of the **Transitional National Government**, but the Abgal have a fair share of cabinet posts and also the mayorship of Mogadishu. *See also* **ADAN ABDULLE OSMAN; ARTA RECONCILIATION CONFERENCE OF MAY–AUGUST 2000; MANIFESTO GROUP; UNITED SOMALI CONGRESS.**

HAYBARRA. A competitive and dueling **dance**, punctuated with the recitation of sometimes insulting, sometimes self-celebratory poems of **barbaar** (youths). Each young man competes to be **aaw** (father) and spiritual leader of the group and to win the hand and heart of the most graceful girl in the group. The girls compete in the display of their charms and graces and respond to the dancing and poetic chanting. After a number of rounds, the winner gets the girl and is declared leader.

HAYLA CAVE. This cave, which bears the name of a seasonal stream in the heart of the Golis mountain range of northwestern Somalia, contains massive calcite deposits similar to deposits in other caves discovered in the region earlier or at the same time. The paleontological analyses of deposits in the cave, which began in the 1980s, were not completed due to the civil war. However, preliminary results indicate that they might contribute new historical evidence and provide detailed paleontological data for the Golis region. See *also* **GALWEYTE CAVE; GUD-GUD; MIDHISHI.**

HEDO. Also *hetho*, meaning ghost or spirit. Somalis believe that the soul is made up of differing parts or layers, the “outer” or lower parts and the “true” or higher parts. The first is responsible for life, speech, and memory in this world. However, at death, the lower parts deteriorate with the body and the higher continue on a spiritual journey. Sometimes, however, a ghost remains and lives on out of habit. Although most ghosts are not malevolent, *hedo* is evil and is depicted as a walking or flying skeleton with bright, white bones. Sometimes the skeleton has missing parts and makes horrifying noises. If *hedo* touches a person, no matter how important, he or she will go insane. Thus, no one will build on or live near a graveyard.

HEERKA QOOYSKA. See **WOMEN.**

HEES. Literally, “song.” Somali songs express the spiritual life of the community as a whole, its past, its present, and its future. Songs of the nomadic pastoralists are essentially vocal, while those from the settled areas are accompanied by dancing, drums, and other traditional instruments. **Dikri** religious *qasaa’id* (chants) are not songs but are intoned by a *qaadi* (the chanter), followed by the *halqah* (a choir circled around him) during the religious ceremonies. The *qaadi* and *halqah* chant and move in a rhythmical cadence.

There are three distinct ways of performing Somali songs: *gabey*, singing a poem; *hees*, singing with stamping, clapping, and musical backing; and *’iyaar*, singing with dancing. *Gabey* includes the various genres of poetry, such as *guurow*, *geeraar*, *buraambur*, and **masaffo**. *Hees* includes different folk songs connected with the life cycle, ranging from *hees ’arured* (children’s songs) and *hees howled* (work songs) to *hees ’iyared* (**dance** songs). The *’iyaar* involve singing to accompany dances, such as in **beerrey**, *kabeebey*, and *shirib*, which are for entertainment, and **Saar**, **Mingis**, and *hayad*, which are for rituals involving spirit possession or exorcism. Although some types of *hees* require musical accompaniment, it is important to note that for the nomads what matters the most are *’od* (voice), *jiib* (choir or multivocal singing), *jaan* (stamping), and *sa’ab* (clapping). Indeed *’od* is fundamental for all *hees*. See *also* **HELLO; MUSIC.**

HELLO. Form of contemporary **music.** *Hello* literally means to sing or hum.

It is believed that **Abdi Deeqsi Warfa “Abdi-Sinimo”** introduced this lyrical form in the 1940s, when it was first known as *balwo* (the crazy thing), or *belaayo*. *Hello*, distinguished by a semioriental style, is often used in love songs but now is also used for social or political commentary.

HERGAANTI. Hunting is an ancient institution for providing food for the village and protecting it from wild beasts. Hunting is conducted with a *qaansi* (bow), *gamuung* (practice arrows), and *filleer* (razor-point arrows). The arrow quivers are called *gobi* and have a pocket for the spare *filleer* and a small container for *mariid* (poisons), which are glued onto the *gamuung* and the *filleer*. The hunter also uses *shapaq* (nets) and *ay* (“fling” or “snare”), a special trap that catches and hangs the prey. In addition, hunters need spears, knives, and other poisons.

The *hergaanti* (hunters) are divided into four major groups: *dedbeti* (with bows and arrows), *duguti* (with nets), *dooxiti* (with traps), and *dabati* (with cords and strings). It is a profession that is exercised collectively under an institution called **hiring** (a society, literally “bundle”), which creates a bond among individuals of the community or clan. The *hiring* has a hierarchical structure. The spiritual head is the *hergaanti wiing* (great hero) and he is followed by the *hergaanti guul* (the victorious hero). These two officers are assisted by *hergaanti falang* (the ascribed hero), who is responsible for the ordained (initiated) or specialized heroes known after their specific duties or by honorary titles, such as *hergaanti libee* (lion hero), *hergaanti waraabi* (hyena hero), and *hergaanti dowi* (fox hero). At the bottom of the pyramid are the junior members, known as *deebad* (birds). The hierarchy can also be simplified as: **aaw** (father) at the top, followed by *qaansi* (the bow), *ul dhahi* (the column), and *deebad* (the birds). Membership in this institution is an honor that rises above occupational or racial bias. To become a member of a *hiring*, it is necessary for a candidate to offer food, consumed at a common banquet, as a token of his initial entry and then undergo initiation rites before he is offered a title.

Immediately after the banquet, the *deebad*-to-be stands in front of the *hergaanti wiing* to say the oath of allegiance in the following fashion: “*Obsi Alla, Obsi Rasuul, Obsi Osob, Obsi Ees, Obsi Ebeesi, Obsi Afyeri, Obsi Ogoong, Obsi Oong, Obsi Iri, . . .*” or “I swear by Allah, I swear by the Prophet, I swear by the virgin land, I swear by the grass, I swear by the poisonous snakes, I swear by the ‘small mouth’ arrow, I swear by the orphan, I swear by the thirst, and I swear by the sun. . . .” The candidate frequently responds after the *hergaanti wiing* in an affirmative manner by saying loudly, “*Alla lilly og*” (“Allah is my witness”), “*Rasuula lilly og*” (“the Prophet is my witness”), and so forth, within the rest of the oath. Finally, the *hergaanti wiing* asks the

candidate, “*Ay aawka e?*” (Who is thy father?). The candidate responds loudly, “*Adi aawkey e*” (“you, sir”), but the *hergaanti wiing* says, “I am not! Thy father is *dhimishi*” (death). The candidate then receives the title of *deebad* and the honor of membership in the *hiring*. He also receives a bow and arrow from the members of the *hiring* as a gift and gesture of welcoming. Members of the *hiring* have rights and responsibilities. To honor their superior, to respond positively to the calls of the *hergaanti*, and to obey their orders during operations are among the cardinal rules. Failure to do will bring suspension. *See also BARBAAR.*

HERING. A noble sanctuary. In Arabic, *haram* refers to the most revered places, al-Haramayn being the two holy places of Mecca and Medina. Al-Quds (Jerusalem) is the third sanctuary. In Somalia, however, a *haram*, or hering, is the burial place of a saint or a shrine, which is always attached to a *masjid* (mosque) in cities or *mawly* (places for prayer) in villages and rural areas. The hering may also provide dormitories for the homeless and travelers, facilities for bathing and ritual ablutions, and storage. The community and special *waqf* funds maintain these sanctuaries. Colonial authorities, for political reasons, renovated, restored, and enlarged several sanctuaries in Somalia, such as **Oboo Umur** and Oboo Abdalla in Sarmaan, Bakool region, and **Sheikh Suufi in Mogadishu**. After independence, the Somali Ministry of Justice and Religious Affairs established a department to maintain and even create new *masjids* and hering.

HIGSIIN. A nomadic custom when a widowed husband married his deceased wife’s sister or other female blood relative. The term is composed of *hig* (successive) and *siin* (to give or to grant). As in **dumaal**, the *higsiin* custom provided for the welfare of the children by giving them a *habar yar* (little mother) who will be more affectionate with her nieces and nephews than a nonrelative would be. Higsiin thus solved the problem of finding a new mother for the orphans. It also maintained cordial relations between the widowed husband and the family of the deceased wife. And it saved *yarad* (the wedding expenses) and promoted social harmony. *See also WOMEN.*

HIMIL. From the Arabic *himl*, (to load). Himil is the wood that *kutaab* (Qur’anic school students) are required to bring every evening to their *duksi* for heat and light in the rural areas, where there is no electricity.

HINWEYNE VALLEY. Located northeast of **Hargeisa**, near the village of Hamas in the Golis mountains. Archaeologists recovered tufa rock deposits in this valley that showed evidence that at 30,000 or 40,000 B.C.E. the area had a spring and higher rainfall (sometimes over 500 mm annually), which was also indicated by flood erosion.

HIR. A person devoting himself to traveling and seeking knowledge far away from home. This type of student is supported by community efforts or by individual donors known as *waqf* (endowment). In the rural areas of Somalia, a *hir* must be accommodated by a family under what is known as **ta'allug** ("bond" or "attachment"). In fact, the relation between this student and the family that supports him will remain affectionate, even after the student graduates and returns home.

Early Somali education was conducted within the confines of the *mowly* (village prayer place) or *masjid* (a mosque, which is in a town or city). These were used as places of learning as well as for daily prayers and congregational ceremonies, and some of them provided lodging for the *Hir* and residences for *ma'allimiin* teachers. From the account of Ibn Battuta (1304–1377), we learn that **Mogadishu** placed great importance on education. Students were given room and board and Ibn Battuta himself was lodged in the student's hall, attached to the *jama'a* mosque during his visit to the city in 1331.

Somali formal education begins with **duksi** (Qur'anic school), which is often although not always attached to the *masjids*, where basic writing and reading of the Qur'an is taught. Children memorize the whole Qur'an at age eight or nine and master the skills of writing and reading Arabic. Historically, after graduating from this level of education, students often traveled considerable distances from one city to another within Somalia, and sometimes as far as the Middle Eastern centers of learning, for further education. Special dorms and funds for the *hir* from Somalia were reserved in Cairo, Damascus, Medina, and Mecca and were known as *riwaqs* (porticos) of al-**Zayla'is**, al-Jabarti, or al-Sumali.

Historically, many centers of higher learning, both in Somalia and in the Middle East, specialized in certain aspects of **Islamic** studies, which explains why the *Hir* students typically traveled from one place to another. For example, Somalia's southern coastal centers, for example, Mogadishu, **Marka**, and **Barawa**, were strong in Qur'anic-related studies such as *tafsir* (the translation of the Qur'an), Hadith (the tradition of the Prophet), and Sufism (Islamic mysticism). The hinterland centers, for example, Sarmaan, Mubarak, and **Bardera**, were strong in memorization of the Qur'an and the skills of its writing. Even further inland, centers such as Qulunqul and Harar specialized in grammar and syntax. This was also true of the centers outside Somalia. For example, students went to North Africa to study *multi-mathhab* (diverse schools of thought), to Sham for Sunni studies, and to the Hijaz for advanced studies of Hadith, to mention just few. The *hir* were attracted to such places by the educational environment and by the opportunities for work and wealth. Most of the *hir* returned home with titles, such as *ma'alim* (teacher), sheikh (theologian), *qaadi*, (judge), sufi, (mystic), and haji,

and they sustained the educational environment in Somalia. Those who remained in the Middle East often lived respectable lives as teachers, Qaadis, or writers. The nickname *Zayla'i* was their trademark wherever they settled.

HIRING. Hiring literally means “bundle” and refers to **Reewin** traditional societies embracing all males of the same age with a similar status and social function and a strong bond to each other. Examples are **barbaar**, those youths who have been recently initiated into an age set; **hergaanti**, young warriors; and *ulmy*, in Arabic, the ulema, scholars of the *fiqh*, Hadith, and the Qur'an. In addition, there are *ooji* hiring for builders of houses, those serving funeral needs, and butchers, and *eemar* hiring, for traditional doctors, exorcists, and fortune-tellers.

HIZBIYA DASTUR MUSTAQIL AL-SUMAL (HDMS). The history of this political party goes back to the 1920s, immediately after **Italy's** occupation of the **Inter-riverine region** was completed. It was founded as a philanthropic movement under the name of al-Jam'iyah al-Khayriyah al-Wataniyah (the Patriotic Benevolent Society), which provided food and shelter for the victims of the occupation, educated them, and mobilized them against colonial occupation.

On 25 March 1947, it became a political party, **Hizbiya Digil-Mirifle (HDM)** (the Digil and Mirifle Party), commonly known as Hasbiya, with the purpose of defending the rights and interests of the Digil and Mirifle **clans**, which predominantly inhabited the **Inter-riverine region**. By 1957, it had changed its name to Hizbiya Dasur Mustaqil al-Sumal (HDMS, Somali Independent Constitutional Party) and for more than 20 years (1947–1969) it was the sole opposition party, contesting all elections and second in power only to the **Somali Youth League (SYL)**. The HDMS insisted on the necessity of undertaking a census of the Somali population as a basic step toward development; the importance of constitutional government and the adoption of a federal system for establishing a genuine democratic and economically developed political entity; and the economic importance of developing proper methods and technologies for agriculture and animal husbandry.

HIZBIYA DIGIL-MIRIFLE (HDM). *See* **HIZBIYA DASTUR MUSTAQIL AL-SUMAL.**

HOOBAL. From the Arabic *hubal*, a pre-Islamic Arabian god whose effigy was once venerated in the Ka'ba in Mecca. In 630, at the conquest of Mecca, the image of *hubal* was destroyed with those the other Arabian gods worshipped there. Now, in Somali folk stories, hoobal is a *jinni* (spirit), like the Greek god Pan, driving people to dissolute self-distraction, to indulging in

all the behaviors expressly forbidden by the *shari'a*. During certain Somali folk **dances**, the chorus chants *hooballa, hooballa*, now meaningless but clearly a fossilized form of pre-Islamic worship. Dances or songs that begin with the opening verse *hoballa helley* are also tainted to a degree and associated always with non-Islamic behavior.

HOORRY. Also called *aqal*, a nomadic hut carried on the backs of camels or oxen and donkeys during migration in search of water and grazing. The hoorry is made up of *uthub* (tree branches), *kebed* (straw mats), *oolool* (woven branches, to make a bed), *hathyg* (ropes), *maghaar* (cow hides), and various utensils and holders. Depending on the size of the hut and the distances traveled, one camel can usually carry a sizable hut, but some huts are so large that more than one camel is needed. Upon arrival at a suitable site, the **women** unload the camel and with their feet make a circle in a clear area large enough for all the parts of the hoorry. Holes are then dug to hold the *uthub* branches, which are bound together in the shape of a beehive and then covered by the *kebed*. The hoorry has an entrance from which six- to seven-foot-long ropes hang. The interior is divided into two areas, first, the enclosure at the left of the entrance, the private *gondoob* (marriage chamber) for the husband and wife only, and then the larger area used for family activities, dining, and sleeping for children and visitors during inclement weather.

HORN OF AFRICA. A peninsula on the east coast of Africa that juts into the Indian Ocean where it is joined by the Gulf of Aden. On a map, the region resembles a V or a horn lying on its side. Historically, the Horn covered Somalia and eastern Ethiopia; today, however, the modern states of Somalia, Djibouti, and Eritrea constitute the Horn. *See also* **GREATER HORN OF AFRICA INITIATIVE.**

HUDDUR. Capital of Bokool region and acknowledged by many as the heartland of the **Af-Maay** form of Somali **language** and culture. The saying *Howaal ii Huddur(ba) mal Huraw* (You can avoid neither the grave nor Huddur) shows the proud ethnocentricity of its inhabitants. Huddur is the birthplace of a great number of Af-Maay poets and folklorists, among whom are Mad Sheikh Abdalla, **Malak Mukhtar Malah Hassan**, and Akakow. Huddur is 180 kilometers north of **Baidoa** and about 550 meters above sea level. “Uddur” means settlement or center and the city has long been an oasis and a site for watering livestock. An ancient treaty ensures communal access to the wells and the digging and maintenance of a new well must be conducted collectively. The most historic well in Huddur is called Maandheere (the ever-rising well). It has a high iron content that reddens the teeth, thus Huddurans are known for their red teeth.

Unlike other major **Inter-riverine** cities, Huddur historically did not establish economic, political, or cultural ties with the **Banadir** coast. Instead, it was oriented to and influenced by the *jama'a* (religious brotherhood) traditions of the Upper Juba and Upper Shabelle valleys. In precolonial times, Huddur's leading families maintained strong political and commercial ties with the *gereeds*, or sultans, of **Luug**, as well as with Sarmaan, the seat of the Asharaf and the spiritual center for the Bay and Harqaan **clan** confederacy; Godowne, sacred for the memory of numerous saints buried there; Shibeelow, the most fertile area, well supplied with ponds, wells, and grazing grounds; and Biyoley, the center of the **Uwaysiyya** brotherhood and the site of the much-visited shrine of **Sheikh Uways Ibn Muhammad al-Barawi**, the founder of the brotherhood. Later, Huddur also influenced events along the Upper Shabelle valley, particularly in the defense against the Ethiopian and the incursion of the *daraawiish* (dervishes).

Italy occupied Huddur in 1914 and built a fort with twin towers that soon became a landmark. Under the Italians, Huddur became an important trade center for livestock and livestock products, gums, and game skins. In 1923, it became the capital and the seat of the Fascist Southern Command (Fronte Sud) of the Regione del Confine (frontier region). Allied forces led by the British general Alan Cunningham drove the Italians out in 1941 and imposed a rationing system for basic foodstuffs and textiles that the old people still remember. However, the **Hizbiya Digil-Mirifle** political party and the **Somali Youth League** sprang up during the British occupation, which was also the time when the colonial school system was introduced in parallel to the traditional *madrasah*. The town was electrified in 1958, during the **Amministrazione Fiduciaria Italiana della Somalia** (AFIS) and had its first gas station in 1968. Huddur prospered until the military regime of **Mohamed Siad Barre** took power in 1969. In 1974, the Siad Barre regime created a new region called "Bakool" and made Huddur its capital as well as the site of a military garrison supposedly established to defend the country from "Ethiopian aggressions." Thousands of soldiers were brought in and the city was subjected to a military occupation, which ended only with the overthrow of the Barre regime in 1991. In the early 1990s, Huddur suffered famine along with the rest of the Inter-riverine region. It was conquered in 1995 by **Mohamed Farah Aideed**, who was in turn driven out by the **Reewin Resistance Army** in 1998.

HUMANITARIAN OPERATIONS CENTER (HOC). *See* **UNITED TASK FORCE.**

HUMANITARIAN RELIEF ORGANIZATIONS (HRO). These organizations include international nongovernmental organizations, **United Nations**

humanitarian agencies, the International Committee of the Red Cross, and the International Federation of the Red Cross.

HUSSEIN. *See* **ABDIRIZAK HAJI HUSSEIN.**

HUSSEIN KULMIYE AFRAH (1920–1993). Major-general in the **Somali National Police Force** (SNPF) and close associate of **Mohamed Siad Barre**. Hussein Kulmiye was second vice president from 1973 to 1990, a member of the Politburo for the **Somali Revolutionary Socialist Party** from 1976 to 1990, and the speaker of the Golaha Sha'biga (**People's Assembly**) from 15 February 1990 to 27 January 1991. Kulmiye spoke several Somali languages, including **Af-Jiddu**, **Af-Barawaani**, **Af-Maay**, and **Af-Mahaa**. He was also fluent in Italian, English, Arabic, and Ki-Swahili. His linguistic gifts made him very valuable in gathering political intelligence, which also meant that he had intimate connections with many different sectors of Somali society. He was an indispensable political operative.

An Abgal (*see* **HAWIYE**) born at Mareeg in the central region, Hussein had a colonial Italian education in **Mogadishu**. He joined the Italian colonial troops and was trained in **Italy** (1939–1941). However, Kulmiye returned to Somalia when it fell to **Britain** in the British East African Campaign and joined the British gendarmerie. In 1945, he attended a course at the Criminal Investigation Department in Nairobi, **Kenya**, and became an instructor and translator at the Police Training School in Mogadishu. During the trusteeship period (1950–1960), he taught at the Scuola di Polizia (Police Academy) in Mogadishu. From 1960 to 1967, he was aide de camp to President **Adan Abdulle Osman**. From 1967 to 1968, after receiving further training in the U.S. Department of Justice's Criminal Investigation and Training Assistance Program, he became the second-in-command of the SNPF. After the 1969 coup, he was a member of the **Supreme Revolutionary Council**, serving as minister of the interior (1970–1973), chairman of the National Drought Commission (1974–1976), deputy head of state (1976), and minister of national planning (1985–1987).

After the collapse of Barre's regime, Hussein remained in Mogadishu and worked as an intermediary between warring factions. He died of liver cancer in the **United States** in 1993 and was buried in his family cemetery in Mogadishu.

HUSSEIN MOHAMED FARAH AIDEED (1962–). A Somali-American, a U.S. citizen, and the son of one of the most powerful warlords, **Mohamed Farah Aideed**, who controlled south **Mogadishu** until his death. Hussein Aideed was born in Beled Weyne on 16 August 1962; he grew up in Mogadishu and attended Italian schools. When he was 17, his father sent him to

the United States, where he completed high school and studied engineering at California State University, though he did not graduate. He worked for Los Angeles County in minimum-wage jobs, but eventually enlisted in the U.S. Navy and was posted to the first division at the height of Somalia’s civil war in the early 1990s. In 1992, he was among the U.S. troops in a humanitarian and peace initiative code-named **Operation Restore Hope**. Shortly after his father’s 1996 death from wounds sustained in a gunfight between his **clan**, Habar Ghedir, and the rival Abgal clan, Hussein Aideed was elected to succeed his father and became the leader of the **Somali National Alliance**.

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IBRAHIM HASHI MAHAMUD (1929–1971). Educator and Islamist.

Ibrahim was born into a pastoral Ogadeni family. Devastated by the latest colonial campaign against **Sayid Mahamed Abdulle Hasan** in the 1920s, Ibrahim’s family migrated to Upper Juba. At six, Ibrahim was sent to Qur’anic school, but because his family was always on the move, grazing their herds, looking for water, and evading the constant **clan** wars of the **Ogaden** region, his progress was slow. The young Ibrahim would forget whatever he had learned, only to begin again in a new school wherever or whenever his family happened to settle. Eventually, the family settled in Qabridaharre, **Ethiopia**, where Ibrahim joined the Rashidiyya **Jama’a**, a religious brotherhood, and completed his Qur’anic education.

From 1940 to 1948, Ibrahim became a **hir** (traveler-student) in the *Galbeed* Northwest **Islamic** centers and he mastered Arabic and religious studies. In 1951, Ibrahim moved to **Mogadishu** to join the newly established Islamic schools administered and taught by faculty from al-Azhar University and, upon completion, he went to Cairo, where in 1956 he graduated from Kulliyat al-Lughah al-Arabiyyah (College of Arabic Studies) at al-Azhar University. In 1957, he completed a master’s degree program in education. He then returned to Mogadishu and was employed by the Organization of Islamic Conference (OIC), a pan-Islamic organization.

From 1957 to 1960, Ibrahim lectured and wrote extensively, advocating a **pan-Somali** ideology and the adoption of Arabic as the official Somali **language**. Some of his early articles were later compiled in books, among which are “al-Ta’lim fi al-Sumal” (Somali education), published in 1960; “Kifah al-Hayat” (Life struggle), published in 1961; and “al-Sumaliyya bi-Lughat al-Qur’an” (The Qur’anic Language for Somali Script), published in 1964.

In September 1960, Ibrahim was appointed to the Somali Language Committee, composed of nine members, to study the best script for Somali and submit a report to the Ministry of Education by March 1961. While reviewing several scripts, Ibrahim discovered that the majority of the committee were anti-Arabic and, as he was not likely to change his mind, he resigned from the committee before the final report was signed and submitted. Two other important members, including **Yasin Isman Keenadiid**, also left the committee. Ibrahim, however, continued to defend his pan-Somali philosophy and the adoption of Arabic as the official language, or at least using Arabic orthography to transcribe Somali. In January 1971, the **Supreme Revolutionary Council (SRC)**, in power since 21 October 1969, appointed Ibrahim to a new 21-member language committee, Guddiga Af-Soomaaliga (**Somali Language Commission**). The commission's mandate was not only to write textbooks for elementary schools, but also to write a Somali grammar and to compile a modest Somali language dictionary. The decision on what script would be used for Somali was left to the SRC. Ibrahim served on the commission only for six months, until his death in July 1971. The final decision on the **Somali script** was made in October 1972.

IGALLE. Site of a battle between the Biimaals and the Italians in January 1905.

IID AANGRAFA. Known in Islam as 'Iid al-Adha (the feast of sacrifice). In parts of Somalia, this feast is called 'Iid Weyn (the greater east), in contrast to the lesser feast ('Iid al-Fitr) or **Iid Furung**, at the end of Ramadan (fasting month). Iid Aangrafa is the high point of the Hajj pilgrimage and is celebrated by Muslims throughout the world, even by those who are not participating in the pilgrimage in Mecca. Iid Aangrafa is often marked by the slaughtering of lambs and the distribution of meat to the poor people of the community. This feast begins on the 10th of Dhul Hijja month, known in Somalia as Aangrafa, which marks the last month of the Islamic calendar. The feast ends the rituals of the Hajj and the slaughtering of the animals commemorates Abraham's sacrifice of his son Ishmael, which expresses the believer's willingness to sacrifice for God.

IID FURUNG. Known also as 'Iid al-Fitr. It is a feast and holiday celebrated at the conclusion of the month-long fast of Ramadan. The day starts with the Salat al-'Iid (public prayer). On this day, everyone wears new clothing, particularly children. Adults are dressed in their finest clothing. Visiting of relatives, friends, and neighbors follows the prayer. Every household prepares food and drink for visitors. Children collect money from every house they

visit and every adult they meet. The common greeting of the *Iid* days is *Iid mubarak* (blessed 'Iid). The *Iid* lasts for two to three days, from the first day of *Shawal* (*Furung*), the month following *Ramadan*. In certain Somali towns and villages, it lasts for a whole week and is marked by **dances** and elaborate meals. *Furung* literally means "open"; in this case, it refers to the opening or breaking of the rigors of the *Ramadan* fast.

IJAZAH. Literally, to offer a license, an award, a degree, a diploma, or a certificate. In Somalia, it is *ijaaso*, a verbal contract awarded to a member of a Sufi *tariqa* (order) that ties the new member to the spiritual master, or sheikh, of the order and to the rest of the members. The *ijaaso* is pronounced by the spiritual head of the order, who recites to the new member major clauses of the contract. The new member repeats after him, pledging and affirming the oath of allegiance to the order.

The *ijaaso* is also granted to a *muriid* (disciple) who has demonstrated certain mystical qualities as defined by the teachings of the *tariqa* to which he belongs. In this case the *muriid* is offered the title of **khaliif** (successor) of the spiritual master and is called *Ijazat Khaliif*.

The formula of the oath in this case is different and the responsibilities are greater. The *ijazah* in this case is crowning a new *khaliif*. It elaborates certain rights and obligations to the *khaliif*; it refers to the *silsilah*, a chain of initiation and transmission of mystical knowledge; it shows the seal of the grantor, endorsed by a larger number of witnesses, who may also be *khaliifs*. Thus, the *ijazah* constitutes the *khaliif's* primary sources of legitimation as a teacher of the *tariqa*. It is always awarded after *salat al-subah* (morning prayer) in a congregational fashion after a night-long **dikri** performance. In the case of recruiting new members, the *ijazah* may be offered to an individual or a group who has demonstrated devotion and great deeds to the order. The congregation will be the witness for the award.

ILIG AGREEMENT OF 1905. Signed between the leader of the **daraawiish** (dervishes), **Sayid Mahamed Abdulle Hasan**, and Giulio Pestalozza at Ilig, on 5 March 1905. Pestalozza was representing the interest of not only his own government of **Italy**, but also that of **Britain** and **Ethiopia**. In this agreement, all parties agreed to a long-lasting peace. In addition, the *daraawiish* were allowed to establish for themselves a principality and a "residence" in the *Nugaal* valley, sandwiched between the sultanates of *Alula* in the north and *Hobyo* in the south and with access to the sea. Furthermore, the agreement allowed all parties to enjoy freedom of trade but prohibited the arms traffic and abolished the slave trade in their respective territories in the **Horn**. On 24 March 1905, W. Malcolm Jones, representing Britain, signed an amendment to the Ilig agreement in relation to trade and

commerce, requiring the daraawiish to conduct their business in the British protectorate of Somaliland according to the regulations and laws enforced in the protectorate. Finally, the Ilig agreement made Sayid Mahamed Abdulle Hasan and his daraawiish another ally to Italy in the **Horn of Africa**, as had happened with Boqor Isman and Ali Yusuf earlier.

ILMI BOWNDHERI (1908–1941). A poet also known as Ilmi Boodheri. Believed to have died from a broken heart, he is northern Somalia’s Romeo. Ilmi grew up in the rural area of the Haud, but lived in Berbera most of his life. First working as a waiter and a cook, he eventually ran a bakery. When he was about 30 years of age, Ilmi fell in love with a young girl, Hodon, for whom he composed poems, but his love was not reciprocated and he expressed his unhappiness in many poems. It was said that his health failed, especially after Hodon was married to another man. According to his biographer, Rashid Mohamed Shabelle, who in 1975 published *Ma Dhabba Jacayl waa loo Dhintaa* (Is it true people die of love?), Ilmi did die of love. His grave in Berbera is called “Qabrigi Ja’aylka” (The love grave) and in **Mogadishu**, a cinema, Cinema Hodon, is named after him.

ILMI ROBLE WARFA (1835–1934). *Ugas*, or chief (like *malak* in the south), known also as a poet, of a splinter Gadabursi **clan**. His other names were Ilmi-Dheere (Ilmi the tall) and Kun ‘ilil (A Thousand Sorrows). In the late 1850s, the British appointed Ilmi-Dheere *ugas* of all the Gadabursi in the then British Protectorate. Ilmi-Dheere thus supplanted the traditional line of **Ugas Nuur** and his successor, Ugas Roble II, who had fallen out of favor with the British. Ilmi’s authority was recognized in a coronation ceremony in **Zayla** in 1917. Ugas Roble II, however, remained *ugas* of the Gadabursi in **Ethiopia**. Ilmi was a member of the delegation that had accompanied Ugas Nuur to **Egypt** in late 1870s and also was one of the Gadabursi elders who signed the treaty with the British at Zayla in 1884. Ilmi-Dheere’s usurpation of the traditional succession provoked other subclans, especially the Yonis, to vie for the *ugas*-ship. The conflict was conducted almost entirely in poetic duels. These poems were rich in symbolism and imagery. Two of the best are “Dhega Taag” (A battle-cry), by Ilmi-Dheere, and “‘Aabudle” (A declaration of faith), by Fariid Dhabi-haye, Ilmi’s Yonis rival. Eventually, the Yonis succeeded Ilmi-Dheere at the end of his reign.

IMAN ABDULMAJID (1955–). “Magnum supermodel,” entrepreneur in cosmetics for “people of color,” and humanitarian activist. The daughter of a Somali diplomat, Iman went to school in **Mogadishu** and Cairo and studied political science at Nairobi University in **Kenya**, where in 1975 she caught the eye of Peter Beard, a celebrated fashion photographer who encouraged

her to move to New York. By 1979, Iman had appeared in *Vogue* and Revlon had signed her to represent the company in an ad campaign. In the 1980s, she became one of the first African-American models to achieve the status of “supermodel.”

In 1989, Iman moved to Los Angeles to pursue a career in acting and appeared in movies and on television shows, including *Out of Africa*, *Miami Vice*, *The Human Factor*, *Jane Austen in Manhattan*, *House Party 2*, *No Way Out*, *Exit to Eden*, and *Star Trek VI: The Undiscovered Country*. In 1992, Iman returned to New York and founded her own cosmetic company, named “Iman,” that produced products exclusively for darker skin. “For years women of color—and I do not mean only African-Americans, but Hispanics, Asian and Native Americans, as well—have been short changed by the cosmetic industry,” she said.

As a Somali, Iman was devastated by the famine in **Baidoa** in 1992 and approached the **British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC)** to make a documentary on her homeland. “Somalia is not a nation of beggars and looters. I want people to know what it used to be.” Her televised visit in the last week of September 1992, when she met her uncle, aunt, and cousins, was broadcast in **Britain** in October and an article based on it was published in *Vogue* shortly after. Since then, Iman has been much involved in humanitarian endeavors, such as the French Action Contre la Faim (Action against Hunger) and the British Break the Cycle, against domestic violence. In 1997, she hosted a benefit for the American Children’s Defense Fund. She supports Batoto Yeku, Ki-Swahili (For Our Children), a Harlem-based nonprofit group that uses African dance, music, and storytelling to teach African-American children about their heritage. In 1999, the National Urban League honored Iman with their humanitarian award.

Iman is married to the rock superstar David Bowie and their daughter, Alexandria Zahra Jones, was born 15 August 2000. She also has an adult daughter, Zulekha, from her previous marriage, to basketball player Spencer Heywood.

INSTITUTE FOR PRACTICAL RESEARCH (IPR). Nonprofit independent research and educational institute, founded in **Hargeisa, Republic of Somaliland** in 1997. It aimed to attract skilled and educated Somalis from the diaspora and engage them fully in reconstruction and development activities.

INTERGOVERNMENTAL AUTHORITY ON DEVELOPMENT (IGAD). Formerly known as the Intergovernmental Authority on Drought and Development. This body was founded in 1986 by **Djibouti, Ethiopia, Kenya**, Somalia, Sudan, and Uganda. Eritrea joined in 1993. IGAD’s mission is economic development and political stability in the **Greater Horn of**

Africa. IGAD attempts to remove physical and nonphysical barriers to interstate trade, communications, and telecommunications by connecting nations through the Trans-African Highway and the Pan-African Telecommunication Network and by improving ports and railway systems. IGAD also provides facilities and forums for conflict resolution and peace settlements in the region.

INTERGOVERNMENTAL AUTHORITY ON DROUGHT AND DEVELOPMENT. See **INTERGOVERNMENTAL AUTHORITY ON DEVELOPMENT.**

INTERNATIONAL NONGOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS (INGOs). Private nonprofit multinational agencies created for famine and disaster relief. For the past 50 years or so, INGOs were active in Somalia. From 1950 to 1960, almost all **United Nations** agencies, such as the Food and Agriculture Organization, the World Health Organization, the United Nations Children's Fund, and the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization, assisted the Trust Territory of Somalia. After independence, and particularly during the cold war era, Somalia also received massive aid from both the Eastern and Western blocs. In this period, many international financial institutions, including the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund, funded development projects in agriculture and livestock. However, most of this funding went into unproductive development projects. The attempt to liberate and unify Somalia *irredenta* culminated in the 1977–1978 **Ogaden War** with **Ethiopia**, which led to a massive influx of **refugees**. As Somalia suffered from extensive government corruption and major economic setbacks, it was dubbed the “graveyard of foreign aid.”

INGOs were most active during the famine and civil war of the 1990s. Almost all known INGOs were present at one time or another. The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, the World Food Programme, the Save the Children Fund, and Médecins Sans Frontières were all involved in famine relief. The International Medical Corps was an American NGO that provided medical services from 1991 to 1995 in **Baidoa** and Beled Weyne. The International Committee of the Red Cross not only helped victims of factional fighting during the civil war, but also funded peace conferences and related publications, such as *Spared from the Spear: Traditional Somali Behaviour in Warfare*, published in 1977. The Swedish Ecumenical Council, known as the Life and Peace Institute, through its **Horn of Africa** Program funded major reconciliation conferences, trained civil administrators, and supported local reconciliation initiatives that stressed “bottom-up” approaches. CARE, Catholic Relief Services, World Vision International, and

the European Council on Refugees and Exiles all helped refugees and those who sought asylum all over the world. *See also* **ARAB COUNTRIES; COOPERATIVE DEVELOPMENTS; GREATER HORN OF AFRICA INITIATIVE; JUBALAND; NORTHERN RANGELAND DEVELOPMENT PROJECT; PAN-SOMALISM; UNITED STATES AGENCY FOR INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT.**

INTER-RIVERINE REGION. The Inter-riverine region is the land mass between the Juba and Shabelle Rivers that is inhabited mostly by **Reewin clan** families, who speak **Af-Maay** and are farmers and herders. The area also contains several other ethnic groups, including the **Reer Goleed**, the **Banadiris**, and pockets of southern **Hawiye**, **Dir**, and **Darood** clans.

Politically, the clans are feudal and hierarchical: the rulers, called variously *malak*, *ugas*, or *sultan*, preside over a council of *gobs* (representatives of subclans or families) in the Mirifle subclans and a council called *ul-hay* or *akhyar* in the Digil subclans. Generally, the Geledi Sultanate at **Afgoy** were the rulers of the Digil and their allies, while the **Gasaaragude** Sultanate of **Luug** were the rulers of the Mirifle subclans. Allied but non-Reewin families and associations on the Lower Shabelle, the Juba, and the **Banadir** coast, some of them speaking languages and dialects other than Af-Maay, such as **Af-Barawaani** and **Af-Mushunguli**, may have their own rulers but send representatives to the Digil or Mirifle councils. There are also other groups, such **barbaar** (youth association), *ooji* (construction workers), **hergaanti** (warriors”), led by an **Aaw** (father) (*see* **HIRING**). Finally, saints and sheiks play a significant role in the shaping of the society.

The rulers always defer to and enforce the directives of the *ulama* (*see* **HAJI SAGAAL HAJIILE; OBOO UMUR; SHEIKH HASSAN BURAALE; SHEIKH MUUMIN**).

The Inter-riverine region is the bread-basket of Somalia, with **irrigated** and **rain-fed** farms, good grazing lands, and abundant wildlife. Major crops include sorghum, maize, sesame, and a variety of fruits and vegetables, especially bananas, mangoes, sugarcane, cotton, tomatoes, and squash. It is traversed by historic caravan routes. Trade on the rivers themselves connects the coast to the interior markets. As the **Banadir** ports, like other Swahili ports, are known for trade with Arabia, India, as well as distant China and Indonesia, the region had a cosmopolitan character. During the scramble for Africa, **Ethiopia**, **Egypt**, **Zanzibar**, **Germany**, **Britain**, and **Italy** contended for control and colonization of the **Horn** and East Africa, but Italy secured the Inter-riverine region, where they could establish a plantation system known as *cologno*. Though initially they were resisted, by 1926 Italy had imposed colonialism on the whole Somali peninsula.

During the struggle for independence, political parties were clan oriented, though they always claimed to act in the national interest and against clan divisiveness. Thus, the anticlan ideology acted to consolidate clan interests. For example, the non-Reewin, mainly Darood and Hawiye, who also held the reins of power in the national government but who had previously lived in peace and harmony among the Reewin, reasserted the former precolonial allegiance of the *geeki mariidi* (old days). “Anticlan” laws enacted at independence that abrogated traditional land rights allowed the non-Reewin to consolidate their gains at the expense of the Reewin. Under the guise of nationalism, they promoted Hawiye and Darood interests. When the Inter-riverine, Reewin-dominated Upper Juba, Lower Juba, and Banadir were partitioned into nine regions, only two remained in Reewin control, while the others were mostly Darood. This hegemonic but supposedly national development was aggravated under **Cooperative Development** in 1974, when Reewin land was appropriated under a pseudo-eminent domain law. The state farms thus created used Reewin labor, but were managed by the Darood and in the Darood interest, not the national interest.

After the fall of **Mohamed Siad Barre**, warlords contended for control of the region and, by 1995, the Hawiye (Habar Gedir subclan) of **Mohamed Farah Aideded** occupied the Lower Shabelle, Middle Shabelle, Banadir, Bay, and Bakool, while the Darood, Majerteen subclan, of **Mohamed Said Morgan** occupied Lower Juba; the Darood, **Ogaden** subclan, of Adan Gabiyow occupied the Middle Juba; and the Darood, Marehan subclan, of Omar Haji Masalle occupied the Gedo. Meanwhile, the **Reewin Resistance Army (RRA)** emerged in late 1995 to restore Reewin dominance. By 1999, the RRA reclaimed Bay and Bakool, but halted its campaign when the **Transitional National Government** was formed in 2000. *See also* **ARTA RECONCILIATION CONFERENCE OF MAY–AUGUST 2000; BAIDOA; BARAWA; LAFOOLE MASSACRE; NASSIB BUUNTO; REFUGEES; SHEIKH ABDI ABIKAR GAFFLE; SHEIKH FARAT; SHEIKH HASSAN BARSANE; TRANSITIONAL NATIONAL ASSEMBLY.**

INTER-RIVERINE STUDIES ASSOCIATION (ISA). The ISA was founded on 5 December 1993, in the last days of the Fifth Congress of the **Somali Studies International Association**, held in Worcester, Massachusetts. The new association was formed at this meeting because, for the first time, at the SSIA there was a reexamination of the sociocultural assumptions upon which the study of Somalia had been based. The image and portrayal of Somali society and culture had hitherto been sectarian, mainly derived from the values of certain ethnic groups that could neither empirically nor theoretically represent the Somali whole. Thus, the ISA was pluralistic, regarding Somali society as diverse groups brought together by shared historical experience and rejecting monolithic, hegemonic cultural markers and

indeed the very notion of a homogenous culture. The ISA, then, focused on the scholarly study of all aspects of Somalia, with particular emphasis on the **Inter-riverine Region**, to reassess the conventional interpretation of Somali history and culture and to facilitate debate within a pluralistic framework. The ISA held its first congress at the University of Toronto on 4 November 1994. It publishes *Demenedung*, a quarterly newsletter.

IRRIGATED FARMING. Irrigation, mainly in the Shabelle and Juba valleys, dates back to early colonial times, when the **Società Agricola Italo-Somala** (SAIS) was established in 1920 in Jowhar, then called Villa Abruzzi. By the mid-1980s, 37,000 to 39,000 hectares in the Shabelle valley and 13,000 to 15,000 hectares in the Juba valley were under controlled irrigation. The Ministry of Agriculture also planned to irrigate 1,000 to 2,000 hectares more each year. There was always a shortage of water. The Shabelle and Juba Rivers both had seasonal and shallow flows. Both the civilian government (1956–1969) and the military regime (1969–1990) sought foreign funding for the construction of a major dam at Faanole, which they hoped would provide year-round irrigation for an estimated 160,000 hectares, but the project never materialized: *fari kama godne Faanole* (“not even an inch [literally, a finger] was dug at Faanole!”), as a common saying of the time went.

Irrigated farming on plantations and state farms was geared to export markets. The Genovese Duke of Abruzzi founded the SAIS for sugarcane, cotton, and **banana** plantations. The Fascist government created the Regia Azienda Monopolio Banane (RAMB, Royal Company for the Banana Monopoly) for the harvesting and exportation of bananas to **Italy**. Cliques of powerful officials of successive Somali regimes from 1960 to 1990 secured the exclusive use of fertile, irrigated lands for state farms. Government officials and entrepreneurs acquired land in the fertile areas of Lower Shabelle and Juba, but Italian concessionaires remained major shareholders in post-independence enterprises and concessions. The Società Nazionale per l’Agricoltura e l’Industria, for instance, was owned by both the Somali government and a consortium of Italian businessmen. The military regime nationalized these and other private enterprises. In **Mohamed Siad Barre’s** pseudosocialist system, irrigated farms became publicly owned agriculture cooperatives, but Italian shareholders and a few wealthy Somalis controlled the export of the crops. The Ministry of Agriculture was always the broker for both public and private interests. Export quotas and *valluto estero*, or export-import licenses, were sold secretly to Somalis who in turn resold them to the highest Italian bidders.

During the military regime, government-sponsored **cooperative developments** expanded irrigated farming by claiming—under the right of eminent

domain—large areas of irrigable land held by traditional farmers. It was assumed that Somalia would soon be self-sufficient in food, but achievement of this dream was doomed to failure. *See also* **AGRICULTURE**; **RAIN-FED FARMING**.

ISFEEL. Dance contests taking place during the latter half of Ramadan in southern Somalia. Historically, these dances were performed during special occasions such as initiation ceremonies, weddings, or the annual carnivals and pilgrimages made to certain ancestors. The contest usually were between communities or villages, between the *aw reer* (married) and *doob* (unmarried), and so forth. However, with the spread of **Islam** in Somalia and the Islamization of certain traditional rituals, these dances became popular during Islamic festivities such as the two Eids—**Iid Aangrafa** (*al-Adhaa*) during the Hajj performances and **Iid Furung** (*al-Fitr*) at the end of Ramadan, the fasting month. The Isfeel in major towns and cities developed in a way that a special committee representing all quarters of the town or city announces the competition. This committee determines the beginning day and how long the Isfeel will last. Teams from the quarters prepare for the event, making special costumes and distinctive masks. Awards are given to the best-performing team. Indeed, modern Somali **music** and musicians have been drafted from these performances. In the late 1950s and early 1960s, **Radio Mogadishu** played the best dances performed during the Ramadan Isfeel and also announced the winning teams.

ISKA WAH U QABSO. “Self-help schemes.” In the early days of the military regime, the **Supreme Revolutionary Council (SRC)** introduced public works projects and agricultural cooperatives that involved every able-bodied person in an area working according to the principles of the governing ideology of “scientific socialism.” These projects involved building roads, schools, hospitals, and centers for ideological instruction, digging wells and canals, and staging massive clean-up and sanitation efforts. *See also* **CRASH PROGRAM**.

ISLAM. Many Somalis claim that their ancestors were converted to Islam before the Hijra to Medina, Islam’s first capital city. All Somalis are Sunni and follow the Shafi’i school of thought. Contrary to the belief that Islam spread from the north to the south in the Somali peninsula, later studies indicate that Muslim (Arab, Persian, and Indian) migrants and merchants were not attracted to the northern region, partly because it lacked natural harbors and protection from the frequent cyclones of that area and partly because it lacked economic resources necessary for settlement and trade. Moreover, the region was too close to southern Arabia for merchants and fugitives from

the Riddah (apostasy wars) to feel safe from their enemies in Medina and Mecca. Thus, they established refugee ports along the southern **Banadir** shores that later traded intensively with the Arabian peninsula.

Itinerant holy men whose shrines are visited to this day converted the riverine people. By the 13th century, **Reewin** proselytizers pushed northwest to Bali and Shawa on the southern plains of Abyssinia. In the 14th century, Muslims established powerful states and controlled the trade routes to the Red Sea through Harar and **Zayla** and to the Indian Ocean ports along the Shabelle and Juba valleys. These states attempted to conquer the highlands of Abyssinia, but were defeated, indeed annihilated, by the Abyssinian-Portuguese alliance of the 15th century. In the 16th century, the **Ajuran** Imamate allied with the Banadir city-states and controlled most of southern Somalia.

The *tariqa* (orders) effectively Islamized the whole region and played a crucial role in the fight against colonialism and in fostering nationalist sentiment. In the 19th century, the two militant jihadist movements, the Salihiyya, led by **Sayid Mahamed Abdulle Hasan** in the north, and the Qadiriyya led by **Sheikh Uways ibn Muhammad al-Barawi** in the south, emerged. **Mohamed Siad Barre's** “scientific socialism” disrupted and undermined the traditional and orthodox religious establishment. Thus, the **al-Ittihad al-Islami** (Islamic Unity) and al-Islah al-Islami (Islamic Restoration and Reform), Islamic opposition groups, emerged in the 1980s, fighting to establish an Islamic state in Somalia. *See also* **AHMAD GUREY; AWDAL; UWAYSIYYA.**

ISMAIL ALI ABOKOR (1940–). Colonel in the **Somali National Army** and third vice president (1971–1982), under President **Mohamed Siad Barre**. Barre's right-hand man, he was deputy secretary general of the **Somali Revolutionary Socialist Party** (1976–1982), chairman of the **People's Assembly** (1980–1981), and minister of information and national guidance (1971–1973). An **Issaq**, Ismail Ali Abokor was born in Togdheer, British Somaliland. Trained at the Sandhurst Royal Military Academy in Britain, he was one of 25 officers who staged the 1969 coup and established the **Supreme Revolutionary Council** (SRC). He chaired the important Political Committee of the SRC from 1969 to 1982.

Ismail's political fortunes changed dramatically when he was arrested on 9 June 1982 with seven others for “collaborating with an unnamed foreign power to undermine the state.” Among his alleged coconspirators were the speaker of the People's Assembly, Omar Arte Ghalib, and a number of other ministers who were jailed for seven years without trial. On 7 February 1988, after a summary trial, Abokor was found guilty of founding the **Somali National Movement**, an aggressive Issaq anti-Barre opposition movement. He

was sentenced to be executed by firing squad, but Siad Barre commuted the death sentence to house arrest. At the collapse of Barre's regime in 1991, he went into religious retirement in **Hargeisa** and, eventually, the United Arab Emirates.

ISMAIL JUMALE HUMAN RIGHTS CENTER. The Dr. Ismail Jumale Human Rights Center was established in **Mogadishu** on 22 July 1996, six years after the death in suspicious circumstances of Ismail Jumale Osoble, a prominent human rights lawyer during the dictatorial rule of **Mohamed Siad Barre**. Ismail practiced law in the early 1960s and edited the *Tribuna*, an influential journal, until he was elected to the **Assemblea Nazionale** in 1968. As there are no police, courts, or prisons, the reports of this center are the only source of justice available. The center is supported by a number of international human rights bodies. See **MANIFESTO GROUP; UNITED SOMALI CONGRESS.**

ISMANIYYA SCRIPT. An alphabet that was invented by Isman Yusuf Kenadiid between 1920 and 1922. The inventor believed that his script was suitable not only for **Af-Mahaa** Somali but also for other Somali **languages**. This alphabet is composed of 19 consonants and 10 vowels arranged in the order of the Arabic alphabet, excluding the *huruf al-halq* (the pharyngeal fricative sounds) such as *ha* and other sounds that are not native to Somali, such as *z* and *dh*. The vowels are arranged: *I, U, O, A, and E*. Ismaniyya provided particular marks for numbers as well.

This script was first examined by Enrico Cerulli in *Oriente Moderno* on 4 April 1932, but it was in the works of two Italian linguists, Mario Maino in *La lingua Somala strumento d'insegnamento professionale* (The Somali language as means of professional teaching), published in 1953, and Martino Moreno in *Il Somalo della Somalia: Grammatica e Testi del Benadir, Darod e Dighil* (The Somali grammar and texts of Banadir, Darod, and Digil), published in 1955, that Ismaniyya received scholarly treatment. Both linguists claimed that Ismaniyya was a phonetic alphabet. In addition, it was technically sound, because its adherents were able to procure typewriters that could reproduce it. Moreover, it was an indigenous script.

However, the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization commission of 1966 pointed out a number of problems: many of the Ismaniyya signs bore a close resemblance to each other, while some letters were written from right to left and others from left to right, which would be a great source of confusion and make the development of a cursive system difficult. Furthermore, Ismaniyya was not truly a national script. Nearly all its advocates were Isman Mohamud, of the Majerteen subclan, and many of the nationalists who were of different clans opposed it. See also **HAJI MO-**

HAMED HUSSEIN; IBRAHIM HASHI MOHAMUD; MAA Y SCRIPT; MUSE HAJI ISMAIL GALAAL; SHIRE JAMA AHMED; SOMALI LANGUAGE COMMISSION; YASIN ISMAN KEENADIID.

ISSAQ NUROW EEDING “ABGAALOW.” *See* **FANNAANIINTA AR-LAADI.**

ISSAQ. This predominantly pastoralist **clan** of the former British Protectorate of Somaliland claims descent from the Hashimite Sheikh Issaq Ibn Ahmad al-Alawi, who appeared in northern coastal Somalia between the 13th and 15th centuries. The three major subclans are the Habar Awal, the Habr Garhejis, and the Habar Tolje’la, each subdivided into smaller *reer* (families). The largest, the Habar Awal, are herders and merchants who control the northern port of Berbera. The Habar Gahejis graze their herds in the Togdheer and Sanag regions and use wells and streams at Burao and Erigabo. Some are also found in the disputed Haud and **Ogaden** areas in **Ethiopia** as well as the Northern Frontier District of **Kenya**. The Habar Tolje’la, on the Gulf of Aden coast between Heys and Karin, not only are herders but also harvest **Luubadang**.

The Issaq played a major role in the drive for unification and independence. They chose to join the Trust Territory of Somalia in 1 July 1960 to form the Somali Republic. During the civilian administration (1960–1969), they held their share of powerful positions. Jama’ Mohamed Ghalib (1960–1964) and Haji Ahmed Sheikh Obsiye (1964–1966), both Issaq, served as president of the National Assembly, while the Issaq **Mohamed Haji Ibrahim Egal** was prime minister from 1967 to 1969. Furthermore, when English became one of the official languages, the Ministries of Foreign Affairs, Foreign Trade, Education, and Information were mainly run by the Issaq. They were also powerful in the early years of the military regime (1969–1991). However, from the late 1970s, when **Mohamed Siad Barre** and his subclan, the Marehan, were dominant, the Issaq were marginalized and they organized the **Somali National Movement** in opposition to his regime. The struggle forced the flight of all the Issaq from **Mogadishu** and the major towns of the south, and the Issaq-populated **Hargeisa** was devastated by Barre forces. By 18 May 1991, three months after the fall of Barre’s regime, the SNM established an autonomous administration in the former British Protectorate called the **Republic of Somaliland**, with Hargeisa as capital. *See also* **BRITAIN; ISMAIL ALI ABOKOR.**

ISTAQFUROW. Annual rituals performed during the monsoon season in the coastal regions of Somalia, particularly along the **Banadir** coast. During this season, the northeast wind blows violently along the coast, causing storms and torrential rainfalls in the Indian Ocean. The wind causes much damage to property as well as human life. Inhabitants felt powerless against such

natural calamities and thought that some cruel god was against them, and they offered sacrificial rituals to appease the deities.

Although Somalia today is a predominantly Muslim country, the Istaqfurow rituals are still practiced, with a slight difference in the nature of the offerings. In ancient times, the offerings were given to the god of the sea and were human sacrifices, but today they are to Allah, God almighty, and are of animals. A hundred head of select cattle, sheep, and goats are brought to the sea on a designated evening and slaughtered. After a few minutes, a hundred carcasses are strewn about, while the sea turns crimson with the blood of the animals. Crowds watch the spectacle, dancing, chanting “Istaqfiru Rabbakum innahu kaana ghaffaaran yursil al-samaa ‘alaykum midraaran” (Seek forgiveness of your lord. He is ever ready to forgive you. He sends down for you abundant water) and pronouncing some mysterious formula. On the faces of the young people there are expressions of amazement and even fear, while those of the elderly assume an air of solemnity. The propitiators believe that the god of the sea is now satisfied with the scent of animal (in ancient times human) blood and that the winds and storms will die down and the people live peacefully until the next Istaqfurow comes. These celebrations are held annually in January and February.

ISTUNKA. An annual feast that occurs at the end of the dry season (August–September), before planting, in **Afgoy**, 32 kilometers northwest of **Mogadishu**. The feast is part of the Dabshidka (“Lighting the Fire”) celebration, when in front of every house, a fire is built for celebrants to jump over. A celebrant’s age determines how many times that person must jump over the fire. Boys and girls run from fire to fire. Animals are sacrificed during Dabshidka. Special costumes are worn and special dishes are prepared. There are series of continuous events: dancing, poetry recitation, and plays. Istunka, literally a stick fight, is a mock battle or tournament between the inhabitants of the opposite banks of the Shabelle River, which splits the town. Legends indicate it is derived from an ancient battle that decided which **clan** would use the river water during the dry season. It is also possible that the festival was originally an exercise to train warriors to defend clan territory from invading clans. It is feared that a failure to stage the tournament would cause female barrenness, crop failure, famines, and epidemics.

The festival lasts for three to four days. On the last, climactic day, men of both sides enter the battlefield in military formation, led by the warrior elders and followed by their women, who inspire the men with moving songs about ancestral valor and great victories:

Wadne Weyne,
walaalkiis ka roore
Waarid waaqa laga waayey . . .

(Know you, faint-hearted coward
 Who abandons his own brother in battle?
 Not even God could preserve your life forever . . .)

The men are naked except for loincloths fastened at the waist, a headband or ribbon, and a string of amulets worn around the neck or arm. Each combatant is equipped with a bundle of fresh sticks, which he uses one after the other to strike the bare bodies of his opponents. All at once, the columns of men advance toward each other in a solid mass. Great dust clouds rise, and many warriors fall to the ground bathed in a mixture of sweat and blood. Eventually, the side with the heaviest casualties retreats in defeat. However, there is never a call for compensation for injuries or damages; normal relations are restored and there is no ill will until the next annual Istunka. During the festival, Afgoy attracts many Somali and foreign visitors.

ITALY. The Italian presence in Somalia dates back to 1885, when the government sponsored Antonio Cecchi's mission to explore the Juba region. From then, Italian activities in the region were centered on diplomatic efforts to gain territories in the **Horn**. Italy signed an agreement with the Majerteen sultanates of Hobyo and Alula in 1889, followed by the Italo-Zanzibari Agreements of 1890 and 1892 and the Anglo-Italian Protocols of 24 March and 15 April 1891. In 1893, Italy gained **Banadir** and established the Filonardi Company, which engaged in the colonization of the region and expansion into the interior. In the period 1893–1896, Italy invested heavily in the explorations of Juba and Shabelle and lost resources as well as lives. Vittorio Bottego was killed on the Juba in 1897 and Antonio Cecchi was killed on the Shabelle in 1896. Filonardi Company failed in attracting Italian entrepreneurship and bringing about stability in the region.

In 1896, the Benadir Company took over the administration of the colony, with Georgio Sorrentino as its Royal Commissioner Extraordinary. Sorrentino pursued the pacification of the region by force. Until 1898, he engaged in punitive expeditions against Geledi and Wa'dan in the Lower Shabelle and the company introduced forced labor, which later caused the annulling of the company's concession in 1905, when Italy imposed government's direct government rule, which lasted until 1923. In this period, Italy successfully penetrated the interior as far as **Ethiopia's** southern boundaries and established effective administration over the newly occupied regions. This was only possible after the crushing of Banadir resistance as well as the **daraawiish** (dervishes) in the north. Attempts were also made to attract investors in agricultural concessions and animal husbandry, but with little success.

It was during the Fascist administration (1923–1941) that Italy managed to fulfill its colonial dreams and establish its presence in most of the Horn. By

capturing **Sheikh Hassan Barsane** in 1924 and the sultans of Majerteen in 1925, annexing Jubaland in 1926, taking over Ethiopia in 1936, and amalgamating British Somaliland in 1941, Italy established its colonial empire in the **Horn** (although it soon lost it during World War II). In the period before the war, Italy spearheaded the idea of putting all Somali people under one administration, what the Italian media dubbed “la Grande Somalia,” or “the Greater Somalia.”

On 21 November 1949, after five years of extensive debates in the Council of Foreign Ministers of the Four Powers and in the **United Nations** (UN) on the former Italian colonies, former Italian Somalia was placed under UN trusteeship, with Italy as the administering authority for 10 years, effective 1 April 1950. To prepare the Somalis for governing themselves, Italy sent many young Somalis to Italy for training. It also established public schools up to secondary level as well as a two-year institute of law and political sciences. Parallel to the civilian administration, Italy also prepared the nucleus of Somali police and armed forces, where in 1956 the country inaugurated its first native self-governing authority, the **Governo della Somalo** (Somali Government), with an elected parliament or **Assemblea Legislativa**. In this period, Italy solidified its economic ties with the future Somalia. At independence in 1960, Somalia’s external trade was exclusively tied to Italy.

Italian influences remain apparent in the urban centers of Somalia even today. Major southern Somali towns such as **Mogadishu**, **Marka**, **Afgoy**, and **Baidoa** are almost mirror images of Italian towns. Food and fashion are identical to the Italian in form and substance, although menus in the Somali towns are given orally. From the 1970s until the last days of **Mohamed Siad Barre**’s regime, Somalia’s higher education was totally Italian, with the exception of Lafoole College for teacher training and some minor institutions where the medium of instruction was English, Arabic, or Somali; all Somali higher education institutions and technical schools taught in Italian. Siad Barre was the only African head of state who spoke and wrote fluent Italian. During the civil crisis and the collapse of the Somali state, Italian efforts were visible in Somalia, particularly in the south. Italy was involved in the mediation process between the warring factions. It sent troops as part of the multinational **United Task Force** in 1993. It also supported **Mohamed Farah Aideed**. *See also* **LAFOOLE MASSACRE; PAN-SOMALISM**.

IYASU, LIJ (1896–1935). The son of Ras Mikael of Wello and Shewa Regga, daughter of Emperor Menelik II, Lij Iyasu was born in 1896, when Menelik defeated the Italians at Adowa. Ras Mikael, though Christian, belonged to an Islamic family. In Wello, in fact, he was called Ras Muhammad Ali. The young Iyasu, therefore, inherited elements of both Islamic and Coptic tradition. In 1907, Menelik, incapacitated by heart problems and a series of strokes, nomi-

nated his grand-nephew, Lij Iyasu, as his heir. This was officially announced in July 1908. Since Iyasu was only 12 years old, Ras Betwaddad Tesemma was appointed regent. Under Tesemma's regency, and until his death on 10 April 1911, the empire suffered from maladministration that caused political unrest. The young Iyasu had to wait for the death of Menelik in 1913 before he could be crowned and officially perform his responsibilities as the emperor.

After the death of the regent, however, Lij Iyasu became more active in public affairs and enjoyed more personal freedom, particularly since he refused to take on another regent. On 11 May, to demonstrate his increased role, Iyasu made a new seal for the empire, where he styled himself, not emperor, but "Son of Menelik, King of Kings of **Ethiopia**." Lij Iyasu started appointing his own men to posts in regions that might oppose his reign. At the same time, he adopted a policy of tolerance and accommodation of all religious beliefs. After the death of Menelik, Iyasu traveled all over the empire attempting to construct power bases for his reign. At the outbreak of World War I, Iyasu allied with the Ottomans (Turkey) in order to get support from Muslim constituencies in the **Horn**. He married the daughters of prominent Muslim chiefs and sheikhs. He built *masjids* in Jijiga, Dirirdhawa, and Asmara. He named Muslim subgovernors, district commissioners, and other prominent government officials.

In 1915, Lij Iyasu established military relations with **Sayid Mahamed Abdulle Hasan** of Somalia, who was leading the *daraawiish* (dervish) resistance against the British in the **Horn of Africa**. To show his commitment to the dervishes, Iyasu provided eight camel loads of arms and ammunition in October 1915 and also promised to support Sayid Mahamed as king of the **Ogaden**. He made a request to the Somali *ulema* to construct a genealogy that derived his ancestry from *Hashimite* stock, the Prophet Muhammad's line. During his long sojourns in Jijiga, Harar, and Islamic towns of the empire, he adopted Muslim dress and customs.

To demonstrate his Islamic faith, Lij Iyasu held a large meeting in Jijiga in early September 1916 with Somali chiefs and religious men; at the meeting, he encouraged peace and friendship among Ethiopians regardless of their religious affiliations. He openly declared himself a Muslim and announced he would work for the conversion of Ethiopia to **Islam**. He demonstrated his new policy by sending to Muslim countries, chiefs, and religious leaders Ethiopian flags embroidered with a crescent and the Islamic formula of faith and letters promising that he would lead them in a *jihad* against the infidels. The new policies, however, cost Lij Iyasu dearly. On 27 September, he was excommunicated by the *abuna* (the Coptic patriarch) and was publicly proclaimed dethroned. The *abuna* declared Zawditu, Menelik's daughter, empress, with Ras Tafari, son of Ras Makonnen, as regent and heir to the throne. Iyasu remained in hiding for five years, until he was captured in 1921. He was kept in detention until he died in 1935.

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JAMA'A. An agricultural settlement, founded by a religious leader of one of the major Sufi orders in Somalia: Qadiriyya, Ahmadiyya, or Salihyya. Membership in a *jama'a*, has historically been derived from young male celibates and theoretically was voluntary and cross-clan. Lineage, however, was a factor with some *jama'as* and generally a man joined his father's order. New members underwent a formal initiation ceremony during which the order's particular *dikri* was celebrated. Members gave the oath of allegiance to the *jama'a* and swore to accept the head of the branch as their spiritual guide (**Ijazah**). The *jama'a* provided its members a sense of community, a *masjid* (mosque), a *duksi* Qur'anic school, a common land for farming, and a shelter. During colonial times, *jama'as* became safe havens for runaway slaves and outcasts.

Often *jama'as* were established in an area between the territories of two rival **clans**, so that they provided a buffer zone and were instruments of conflict resolution between the clans. The most powerful and historic *jama'as* were the **Bardera** Jama'a on the Juba River, founded in 1819 by **Sheikh Ibrahim Hassan Yeberow**, and the Shidle Jama'a on the Shabelle River, founded by Sheikh Muhammad Guleed in about 1880. *Jama'a* communities spread widely among the riverine areas. Colonial records indicate that in the 1920s there were more than 50 *jama'a* in former Upper Juba with a combined membership of 30,500, 30 in **Banadir** with a membership of 2,880, four in Lower Juba with a membership of 760, and eight in Hiran with a membership of 1,001. No *jama'as* were established in other regions because climatic and social conditions did not encourage agricultural settlements.

The *jama'as* constituted a new hierarchical system that substituted kin lineage with the chain of the order Silsilat al-Tariqah. This was especially clear in the riverine region, where residence tended to be more important than descent. The *jama'as* were more than a religious community; they were anticolonial forces struggling against **Italy**; they also fought against colonial collaborators, such as salaried chiefs and those enrolled in the colonial services. It is also evident that modern political organizations had their origins in *jama'as*. See also **HIZBIYA DIGIL-MIRIFLE; SOMALI YOUTH CLUB; UWAYSIYYA**.

JANAABA. A state of major ritual impurity caused by sexual intercourse, masturbation, or a wet dream. To become ritually clean again, it is necessary to take a ritual bath known as *ghusl* (cleansing or washing) from head to toe or to bathe by *tayammum*, using dust. Before purification, a person cannot enter a *masjid*, touch a holy Qur'an in a ritual, perform Salat (the five required prayers), or perform Hajj (pilgrimage).

JAZIIRA MASSACRE. In 1988, the Somali Air Force bombarded **Hargeisa**, leveling most of the city and killing many innocents (*see* **MOHAMED SAID HERSI “MORGAN”**). Hargeisa was the second-largest town in the country and predominantly populated by the **Issaq** clan. This attack agitated all Somalis across **clan** and they expressed their anger in the form of riots, demonstrations, and subversive actions all over the country. On 13 July 1989, the government jailed significant numbers of Somali human rights activist, religious leaders, and professionals. On the following day, the government deployed massive antiriot forces to the major *masjids* of **Mogadishu** as a preventive mechanism, because rumors indicated that the *imams* might address the issue of the jailed sheikhs in their Friday sermons, which might provoke their audiences and lead to a major demonstration. The government forces included units of the Military Police (MP) called *duub cas* (red parats), the **National Security Service**, the *Birmadka Poliska* (police riot squad), and hundreds of *dhar’ad* (plainclothes security services). There were armored cars on standby in the neighborhood of every grand *masjid*. However, special attention was given to the Kasa Bobolare grand *masjid* on the south side of Mogadishu, whose *imam*, Sheikh Abdirashid Sheikh Ali Sufi, was among the jailed. In addition, the Kasa Bobolare quarter was predominantly populated by *reer waqooyi* (Somalis of northern regions), who were supporters of the **Somali National Movement**, an anti-Mohamed Siad Barre group.

Immediately after the prayers ended, calls of *Allahu akbar* (God is great) roared in the middle of the crowd outside of the *masjid* and a stampede ensued in which an officer was killed. This was followed by arbitrary shooting from the government forces. Crowds started defending themselves, using canes, stones, or whatever they could, and shouted anti-Siad Barre slogans. The combined government forces continued shooting into the crowd and killed 30 people, according to official reports, and injured 70. However, some eyewitness reports indicated that the numbers of both killed and injured were much higher. Due to the gravity of the situation, emergency measures were announced and, in the middle of the same night, government forces isolated the Kasa Bobolare quarter and engaged in a house-to-house search, killing whoever resisted and dragging many to unknown jails. Fifty men were taken to a jail in Jaziira, about 30 kilometers south of Mogadishu, and were shot to death on the night of 16 July 1989. The majority of them were believed to be *reer waqooyi*.

JIDBAALE. British colonial troops defeated the **daraawiish** (dervishes) at Jidbaale, in the Nugal valley, about 70 kilometers north of Las’anod on 9 January 1904. *Darwiish* (the singular form of the word) victories at **Af-Bakayle** in 1901 and **Agaarweyne** in 1903 had made them reckless and overconfident, so they discarded their characteristic guerrilla tactics and openly attacked the British position at the well of Jidbaale. However, the

British were ready for them. Gen. Charles Egerton ordered his troops to wait until the daraawiish came within range of their artillery, especially the heavy machine guns. According to British sources, the daraawiish lost 7,000 men and their army was destroyed. They fled northeast, seeking asylum from the sultan of Alula, Isman Mohamud.

JIDDU. Oldest sultanate at **Qorioley** in the southern Shabelle valley. **Marka** and **Barawa** are among its major coastal towns. One of the ancient peoples of the **Horn**, the Jiddu, speak one of the oldest languages, **Af-Jiddu**. They are composed of 69 subclans inhabiting an area including Buulo Marreerto, Anoolle, Dhagaai, Gaduud, Muki Dumis, Sablaale, and Egherta. They are mostly nomads and farmers. *See also* **QORIOLEY REFUGEE AGRICULTURE PROJECT.**

JILI. The capital of the Hillibi Sultanate.

JUBALAND. The land between the Juba River in southern Somalia and the Tana River in northern **Kenya**. Historically, the region was populated by **Reer Goleed** farmers on the lower part of the river and the agropastoralist **Reewin** on the upper. The Bajuni, Tunni, and Biamaals inhabited the coastal plains. However, in the late 19th century, other **clans** such as the **Darood** and the **Hawiye** from the northeast and central regions, respectively, settled in this area. In 1924, the British ceded most of Jubaland to **Italy**, which divided the region into Upper and Lower Juba. When the Darood clans became powerful in the postindependence Somali government, many of them moved into the region and established businesses and large estates. In 1975, **Mohamed Siad Barre**, a Marehaan Darood, created five regions, Middle and Lower Juba, Gedo, Bay, and Bakool, for political reasons. Gedo was a Marehan region, Middle Juba was **Ogaden**, the Lower Juba was Majerteen, and Bakool was Ogaden. The major Reewin historic riverine towns, Dolow, **Luug**, **Bardera**, Jilib, Jamaame, and Kismayu, thus lost their Reewin identity. The Reewin held only the landlocked Bay region.

The Juba region was one of the prime sites for development. In the 1930s, Italy expanded plantations through the use of forced labor. During the trusteeship period (1950–1960), it assisted small-scale agricultural projects, but in the 1980s massive technical and financial assistance was invested in development projects such as the **Mugambo Paddy Rice Project** and the **Mereerey Sugar Plant** project. These projects involved the expropriation of vast areas of land held by smallholders to create large state farms. The **Mogadishu–Kismayu Highway**, constructed by Italy and the European Community; the Kismayu Meat Factory, constructed by the **Soviet Union**; Kismayu Port, constructed by **United States Agency for International Development**; the

Mereerey Sugar Project, developed by the United Arab Emirates and Saudi Arabia; the Jilib Hydro-Electric Power Plant, constructed by Peoples Republic of China; and Kismayu Hospital and other primary health care clinics and programs, developed by the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF), World Concern, and China, were all projects that benefited the region. However, during the civil war, most of these projects were destroyed. Those that remained were fought over by each successive **clan** militia that claimed them. *See also* **ARAB COUNTRIES; MANUFACTURING.**

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KABEEBEY. A **dance** performed in the agricultural areas of Somalia. This dance is dedicated to the special drum that is played when this particular dance is performed. The kabeebey, in certain areas *qoboobey*, meaning “cool,” is performed on special festive occasions, such as weddings and the birth of a child, as well as during ceremonies connected with circumcision.

KAMAL AL-DIN SALAH (1910–1957). Representative of **Egypt** in the **United Nations Advisory Council** for the Trust Territory of Somaliland under Italian administration. His full name was Muhammad Kamal al-Din Salah. He was born in Cairo on 28 May 1910. He graduated from the Law School at Cairo University in 1932 and afterward worked as a lawyer. From 1936 to his assassination in 1957, Kamal al-Din Salah represented his country as a diplomat. He served in Jordan, Syria, Lebanon, Japan, Czechoslovakia, Sweden, France, and the UN. On 16 April 1957, Muhamed Sheikh Abdirahman, a young Somali man known as **Wiilow**, killed Kamal al-Din at the gate of the diplomat's residence in **Mogadishu**. The assassin was convicted and sentenced to life imprisonment. On 17 June 1957, the **Assemblea Legislativa** unanimously adopted a resolution to honor Kamal al-Din Salah, conferring on his son, Muhammad Farid, the Star of Somali Solidarity, which is a first-class honor. Also an avenue in Mogadishu as well as a cultural center or club, Nadi Kamaluddin (Kamal al-Din Club), was named after him.

KARIN HEEGAN. In the heart of the Guban plains of the northeastern region of Somalia is a rock shelter known as Karin Heegan (vigilance pass). Inside this shelter, later paleoanthropologists discovered a series of mono- and polychromatic cave paintings that date back to c. 1,600 and 2,100 B.P. The paintings depict some humpless long-horned cattle, goats, camels, dogs, other animals, and hunting tools such as bows and arrows. Karin Heegan site

is situated about 70 kilometers northwest of Bosasso and about 30 kilometers south of the Gulf of Aden.

KAT ADULIS. *See* **QAT.**

KELI ASAYLE. During the early Fascist era, the Italian colonial administration introduced forced labor in plantations and public works. Here, hundreds of Somali workers died when a dike near Janale village, along the flooded Shabelle River, broke over the irrigation canal they were excavating and drowned them. Thus the event is remembered as “Keli Asayle” (“canal of moaning”).

KENYA. Border disputes with Kenya have been major sources of conflict as ethnic Somalis inhabit areas on both sides of the international boundary. In 1891, **Britain** signed a protocol with **Italy** defining their respective spheres of influence in the **Horn of Africa**, the Juba River being the line of demarcation between the two colonial authorities. Britain, recognizing this, established two separate regions south of Juba that were largely ethnic Somali, namely **Jubaland** Province and the Northern Frontier District (NFD). After 33 years, in 1924, Britain signed another treaty with Italy, transferring Jubaland to Italian Somaliland. Although the intent was perhaps to put all Somali people under one colonial master, leaving the NFD with the British administration in Kenya led to Somalo-Kenyan animosities for many decades to come.

With the 1936 incorporation of Ethiopian Somalia with Italian Somaliland and with the Italian occupation of British Somaliland in early 1941, the Italian grand design of “La Grande Somalia” seemed in the making. Only the NFD and **Djibouti** regions were out of the jurisdiction of the new administration of the *Governo della Somalia* (Somali government). Although this situation was short-lived because of the Italian defeat in World War II, from 1941 to 1950 the idea of a “Greater Somalia” inspired both the British Military Administration (BMA) and the leaders of Somali political parties to try to unify all Somali people. In 1946, Great Britain proposed to the Council of Foreign Ministers (CFM) the Bevin Plan to unify all Somali people in the Horn, but it was defeated in both the CFM and the **United Nations**. In 1949, Somalia was repartitioned, with Italy again governing its former colony, now as a trust territory; the British keeping the British Protectorate and the NFD; the French keeping their colony, Djibouti; and **Ethiopia** governing Haud, the Reserved Areas, and the **Ogaden**.

After the independence and unification of former British Somaliland and the Italian Trust Territory of Somalia in 1960, the new Somali Republic denounced the arbitrary colonial division of its territories, but announced a policy for

peaceful reunification. At the same time, Somalis in the Kenyan NFD formed their political movements calling for independence and union with the Somali Republic, or independence and the establishment of an autonomous entity. The British authority had to arrange a constitutional mechanism for the separation of the NFD before Kenya became independent in 1963. However, Kenyan leaders in both the Kenya African National Union (KANU) and the Kenya African Democratic Union (KADU) opposed the idea of unification of the NFD and Somalia. Jomo Kenyatta, then leader of KANU, made it clear when he visited **Mogadishu** in July 1962 that the NFD issue was a Kenyan domestic issue and not a concern of any other government.

In 1962, however, Britain appointed a fact-finding commission on the NFD question, which reported that the majority favored secession and unity with the Somali Republic. But Britain blocked this course and, consequently, the Somali Republic broke off diplomatic relations with Britain in March 1963. Immediately after Kenya became independent, the NFD was renamed North East Province and Somali–Kenya hostilities escalated. The Somali government indirectly supported the Somali guerrillas, which Kenya called *shifita* (gangs) seeking to destabilize Kenyan authority in the NFD, while Kenya insisted that the **Organization of African Unity** (OAU) Charter should stipulate that African states must respect border lines as they existed upon independence. From 1965 to 1967, the OAU tried to normalize the Somali–Kenya dispute, but to no avail. In 1966, Kenya broke off diplomatic relations with Somalia. President Julius Nyerere of Tanzania offered a reconciliation initiative, but the two sides refused to take it up.

In 1967, when **Abdirashid Ali Shermarke** replaced **Adan Abdulle Osman** as president and **Mohamed Haji Ibrahim Egal** became prime minister, relations between Somalia and Kenya improved. The new Somali government announced a policy of détente with its neighbors. Indeed, at the OAU summit in Kinshasa, from 11 to 14 September 1967, Kenya and Somalia signed an agreement to honor the OAU ideals and respect each other's sovereignty and territorial integrity. Furthermore, at Arusha, on 28 October 1967, Somalia and Kenya signed the Arusha Agreement, brokered by Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia and supported by Julius Nyerere of Tanzania and Milton Obote of Uganda. Thus, in January 1968 Kenya and Somalia resumed diplomatic relations and in July of the same year President Abdirashid Ali Shermarke paid an official visit to Kenya.

During the military regime in Somalia (1969–1990), Kenya–Somali relations remained quiet. After the failure of Djibouti to unite with Somalia at its independence in 1977 and the painful debacle in the **Ogaden War** in 1978, the dream of pan-Somalism faded. In 1981, **Mohamed Siad Barre** visited Kenya and indicated that Somalia no longer claimed Kenyan territory; in December 1984 Barre signed an official agreement with Daniel arap Moi re-

linquishing the ideal of a Greater Somalia. Following the collapse of the Somali state in 1991, during the subsequent power struggle in central and southern Somalia, an estimated half a million Somali **refugees** fled to Kenya. With the support of **international nongovernmental organizations**, Kenya provided shelter for Somalis in Utanga camp in Mombasa on the coast and at several other camps in the former NFD. Although ethnic Somalis in this region have shown great compassion for the refugees, the general attitude of the Kenyan public has been inhospitable and unaccommodating. For example, in 1992, the Kenyan Navy's refusal to accept a shipload of Somalis resulted in the drowning of hundreds of refugees. In addition, the Kenyan government used Somali refugees as pawns in negotiations for the continuation of international aid. *See also* **NORTHERN PROVINCE PEOPLES PROGRESSIVE PARTY; NORTHERN PROVINCE UNITED ASSOCIATION.**

KHADIJA ABDULLAHI DALEYS. First female singer for **Radio** Mogadishu, in 1951.

KHALIIF. From the Arabic *khalifah*, which is the title for the successor of Muhammad, the Prophet of **Islam**. In Somalia the term has a mystic meaning, carrying the idea of vicarship. The title is held by a founder or introducer of a *tariqa* (order), such as with **Uwaysiyya** or Zayla'iyya in the first instance and Qadiriyya or Ahmadiyya in the second. To become a khaliif, it is necessary that an individual reach a certain stage of mystical perfection as required by the teachings of his *tariqa*, then the individual is given an **ijazah** (permission) by his patron (or master) sheikh or khaliif. Usually the ijazah is granted and read during a **dikri** (gathering) and witnessed by significant members of the *tariqa*. The khaliif, then, is the principal propagator of the order in a designated area. He may pronounce himself independent from his patron sheikh and establish his own disciples or he may refrain from pronouncing independence until the death of the patron sheikh. Among the khaliif's duties are transmitting the *tariqa*'s prayers, leading the *hadrah* (choral circle) during the dikri gathering, and granting ijazah of the khaliif to his own disciples in turn. Generally, the followers of the Qadiriyya and Ahmadiyya orders use the title, whereas the Salihyya use the title of sayid.

KUR. Baby shower or ritual ceremony for pregnant **women**. *See also* **ABAY NABIYEV.**

KUTAAB. Or *kitaab*, literally, "readers of the book," the young students from six to ten years old at the **duksi** (Qur'anic school). Egyptians also call the Qur'anic school itself kutaab or *katatiib*.

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LAFOOLE MASSACRE. Lafoole is a village located about 25 kilometers south of **Mogadishu**. From the mid-1960s, Lafoole became famous as the host of powerful academic institutions as well as some key economic facilities. It became the seat of the Kulliyadda Wahbarashada (College of Education), known as Lafoole College; the campuses of the College of Agriculture and the Institute of Agriculture are also in Lafoole. In addition, Lafoole hosted the first school for the training of primary school teachers, known as “PP,” and the Xarunta Dhallinta Kacaanka (Center for Revolutionary Youth). The village, however, is always remembered by the locals for the historic Wa’dan attack on the first Italian expedition into the hinterlands of Somalia. This attack took place on 25 November 1896, when Antonio Cecchi, the Italian general consul in **Zanzibar**, leading an expedition of 70 Askaris and 15 Italian officers, was ambushed at Lafoole. The attack started after midnight, beginning with a reconnaissance mission by undercover Wa’dan warriors offering milk to members of the expedition. The real intent of the warriors was to evaluate the conditions of the expedition, its size, armaments, and particularly where the guards were positioned.

By 1:00 A.M., after the milk dealers left the scene, six guards were knocked out and the camp was overwhelmed with poisoned arrows. In the darkness, Cecchi and his team tried to defend themselves but all their efforts were in vain. The fight lasted for another seven hours. By 8:00 A.M., all members of the expedition, including Antonio Cecchi, were dead, with the exception of three who miraculously worked their way back to Mogadishu and reported the ambush. For the Italians, Lafoole was a disaster. The Italian media dubbed it the “Strage di Lafole” (Lafoole Massacre). But for the Somalis, Lafoole was glorious. It took place in the same year as Adowa in **Ethiopia**, when Italian troops were also defeated. Lafoole made the Italian colonial ambitions come to a halt for another decade or so. Somalis call the year **Ahad Cecchi** (the Sunday Year of Cecchi).

LANGUAGES. The Somali languages and dialects belong to the Eastern Cushitic subbranch of the Afroasiatic family. They are related to languages such as the Saho-Afar, spoken in the northeastern part of the **Horn**; Galla-Sidamo of southwestern **Ethiopia**; and Omo-Tana of northeastern **Kenya**. Historical linguists have tentatively subdivided Somali languages and dialects into more than 20 groups. The northern Somali people speak what is generally referred to as **Af-Mahaa** with dialectical variants. From the central regions to the south, **Af-Maay** is the dominant language, though there are other languages and dialects, such as **Af-Jiddu**, Af-Tunni, **Af-Dabarre**,

and **Af-Barawaani**, whose speakers may use Af-Maay as a lingua franca. In business and religion, there are a large number of Arabic loan words. Since none of the Somali languages then had a script, Arabic, English, and Italian remained official languages in the former Somali Democratic Republic until 1972, when a modified Roman script was adopted for Af-Mahaa. Technical language is largely formed after Italian and English models.

In the 13th century, **Barkadle Yusuf** adapted Arabic script for the transcription of Somali vowels to facilitate the teaching of the Qur'an in the *duksi*. In the late 19th century, **Sheikh Ibdirahman Issak** and **Sheikh Ahmed Abiikar Gabyow** made poetic and mnemonic translations from the Qur'an and the Hadith, but these translations were not written down until recently. **Sheikh Uways Ibn Muhammad al-Barawi** used Arabic script when he printed his Af-Barawaani, Af-Maay, and Af-Tunni *qasai'd* (poems). In 1938, Sheikh Muhammad Abdi Makahiil published an essay in the **Issaq** dialect using Arabic script. In the 1960s, both **Ibrahim Hashi Mohamud** and Sa'id Usman Guleed promoted the use of the Arabic script. In their seminal works, Ibrahim Hashi Mohamud's *al-Sumaliyah bi-Lughat al-Qur'an* (Somali in the language of the Qur'an) and Sa'id Usman Guleed's *Alfaz Arabiyah fi al-Lughah al-Sumaliyah: Bahth Maydaani* (Arabic words in the Somali language: A field study), they advocated the official adoption of the Arabic script.

In the late 1920s, Isman Yusuf Keenadiid, a Majerteen of the **Darood clan**, developed a unique script known as **Ismaniyya**, which however was only applicable to the Af-Mahaa spoken in the northeast and, perhaps, the central region. In 1933, **Sheikh Abdirahman Sheikh Nuur Abdillahi** introduced another unique script, known as the Gadabursi script. In the late 1940s, **Mustafa Sheikh Hassan** of the Hariin subclan of the **Reewin** devised a script to be used by those who spoke Af-Maay and related dialects known as the Kanton Barkadle (Blessed Fifty). In 1952, Hussein Sheikh Kadare of the Abgal subclan of the **Hawiye** introduced the Kadariyya script. Although their own **clans** accepted these scripts, other clans would not. Kanton Barkadle and Kadariyya were neglected because neither the Abgal nor the Reewin played significant roles in postindependence Somalia.

Missionaries developed Latin-based scripts. In 1897, Evangeliste de Larajasse and Cyprien de Sampont wrote a *Practical Grammar of the Somali Language*, which used a Latin orthography for Af-Mahaa. J. W. C. Kirk, in the British protectorate (1902–1904), recorded the Somali he heard and was taught in a Latin script, but he used some features of Arabic script. For instance, he employed an apostrophe for the Arabic *'ayn*, *hh* for *ha*, and *gh* for the *ghayn*. In 1905, Kirk published a grammar for the Yibir and Midgan dialects. Latin-based orthographies were examined in major publications by the Italian orientalist Enrico Cerulli and the linguists Martino Moreno and Mario Maino.

During the trusteeship period (1950–1960), **Italy** brought the issue to the **Territorial Council**, which unanimously adopted Arabic as the official language of the country. Thus, Somalia gained independence and unification without a unified script for its languages. The first civilian administration (1960–1969) set up a national language commission to agree on a script. The United Nation’s Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization also formed a special commission to assist; however, the commissions could not come to a consensus and the government decreed that Arabic, English, and Italian were all official languages.

The **Supreme Revolutionary Council** promised in 1969 “to constitute, with appropriate and adequate measures, the basic development of the writing of the Somali language” and, in 1971, appointed a **Somali Language Commission**, however without giving it specific instructions to recommend a script. The choice of a script would be political and, indeed, on 21 October 1972, on the third anniversary of the coup d’état, a helicopter dropped multicolored leaflets over the parade at the *tribuna* (national parade stage) in the new Latin script, which most people could hardly read, but which from that day on was the official script of the language. Soon, many realized that the script was only suitable for one form of the language, Af-Mahaa, but all such criticism was repressed in the name of cultural homogeneity and monolingualism. Thus, it was through the adoption of this script that one form of Somali became the only officially acceptable form.

When the military regime was overthrown in January 1991, this assertion of homogeneity came under attack. The **Inter-Riverine Studies Association** emerged in 1993 and at its first congress it adopted a new, Latin-based script for Af-Maay called Alif-Maay (Maay alphabet). In 1998, Salim Alio Ibro released a dictionary of Jiddu, using a Latin-based script, entitled *English-Jiddu-Somali Mini-Dictionary*, published by La Trobe University, Australia. *See also* **AF-BAJUNI; AF-BOON; AF-MUSHUNGULI; FANNAANI-INTA ARLAADI; MAAY SCRIPT; MUSE HAJI ISMAIL GALAAL; SOMALI SCRIPT; YASIN ISMAN KEENADIID.**

LAQBO. Laqbo literally means “rename” or “nickname.” It is the process of transmitting or translating from one **language** to another. It is obvious that Somali languages coexisted with Arabic for thousands of years. While in North Africa Muslims Arabized the region, the situation in the **Horn** was totally different. The Muslims in this case Islamized the region and used local actors for teaching and spreading **Islam**, an approach that was tremendously successful. Bilingualism became a common phenomenon in the urban centers of Somalia. Many Muslim traveler-writers in Somalia, such as Ibn Batuta, have observed this linguistic dualism.

According to a widely accepted tradition, the indigenous instructors teaching Arabic through *laqbo* have to translate every branch of learning into local language so that the students can absorb the meaning of Arabic words fairly easily. This method might cover a wide range of subjects, from *tafsir* (lexicography) and Qur'anic studies to Hadith (the tradition of the Prophet Muhammad). Through this method, students become bilingual and master complex subjects through their mother tongue. Somalization of an Arabic word or phrase is a difficult process that requires that the teacher be clear and concise, devising the most suitable semantic amalgam of the word or phrase to be translated or localized.

LAYLATUL QADRI. Laylatul Qadri (the “great night” or the “night of power”) falls between the 26th and 30th days of Ramadan. On this night, Muslims stay up all night long and then the whole of the following day and night. During the last days of Ramadan, Somalis, like most Muslims, sleep during the day and stay up all night. Laylatul Qadri is the night Allah first revealed the Qur'an to Muhammad, the Prophet of **Islam**. Surah 97, Surat al-Qadr, is the source-text for this night's special distinction: “We have indeed revealed this [message] in the night of power: And what will explain to thee what the night of power is? The night of power is better than a thousand months. Therein come down the Angels and the spirit by Allah's permission, on every errand: Peace! This until the rise of morn!” This night is a night of special grace, for the evil spirits, who have been chained by God's angels since the onset of Ramadan, are now doubly and triply bound and the gates of heaven open, so that the good angels and the spirit of God descend into the world. Throughout this night, Somalis read the Qur'an and pray for forgiveness. Families prepare special dishes of the season at home and at *masjids*. Friends get together for *af-fur* (breakfast) on those evenings and stay for *suhur* (the before-dawn meal). *See also* **BURDA**.

LIBERAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY (LDP). Known as Liberale, this party was formed in 1959, after an alignment of several **Hawiye** parties that had separately, since 1954, not been able to gain a seat in the Legislative Assembly or in the municipal councils. Indeed, in 1948 all Hawiye clans were organized in one political front, the Conferenza, but after the establishment of the Italian trusteeship administration (1950–1960), the front fell apart. In the 1959 general election, the LDP gained two seats in the National Assembly. However, shortly after the election, the two LDP deputies joined the **Somali Youth League**.

LIG-YASSU. *See* **IYASU, LIJ**.

LIVESTOCK. One of the most important sectors of the Somali economy, it is a source of livelihood for more than 50 percent of the population and generates 70 percent of foreign exchange. Camels, cattle, goats, and sheep are reared. According to the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO), Somalia was the world's largest exporter of live animals until the mid-1970s. In 1985, it still ranked third, after Australia and Turkey, in the number of exported sheep and goats. Camels were the principal animals in the northern and central regions and in parts of the Inter-riverine area, where cattle are more important. Sheep and goats are reared almost everywhere in the country and represent the most important tradable stock locally, as well as in the international market.

It is estimated that 45–55 percent of Somalia's land area is rangeland; frequent droughts compel nomads to be continuously on the move in their quest for water and pasture. In the mid-1970s, a Ministry of Livestock, Forestry, and Range was established to increase the size of herds, to eradicate animal diseases, and to plan for better rangelands. However, from 1974 to 1990, according to the FAO, Somalia's per capita production of mutton, beef, and camel meat remained essentially unchanged at 20 to 23 kg. In addition, tribal warfare and the devastating civil war of the 1990s claimed the lives of many nomads and the looting and poisoning of their herds.

However, even after the collapse of the state, livestock production revived, especially in the north and northeast, and became the main source of foreign exchange, tax revenue, and employment opportunities. Thus, several **international nongovernmental organizations** supported livestock projects to improve production in both quality and quantity. Nevertheless, the livestock economy faces a number of challenges: first, the logistical problems of servicing nomadic communities; second, lost markets due to increased competition, especially in traditional markets in the Middle East; and third, the difficulty of complying with the veterinary guidelines of the World Trade Organization. The most fundamental obstacle is political. All development depends on the future stability of the region. *See also* **LIVESTOCK DEVELOPMENT AGENCY; NORTHERN RANGELAND DEVELOPMENT PROJECT.**

LIVESTOCK DEVELOPMENT AGENCY (LDA). Initially, the LDA was a department within the Ministry of Livestock, Forestry, and Range, but in the mid-1980s the LDA became an autonomous agency and continued to provide water facilities (wells, catchments, safer canals, and pools) and veterinary services. The LDA also promoted increased production of hides and skins, principally for export. By the mid-1980s, the Wakaaladda Hargaha iyo Saamaha (Agency for the Development of Hides and Skins), a joint project of Somalia and the **United Nations** Development Program, had become part of the LDA.

LOOH. This wooden board, also known as loog, is used for writing in the **duksi** (Qur'anic schools). Children write with a locally made flat wooden pen that is dipped in **hanqaas**, an ink made of coal dust, leaves, fresh milk, and a bit of sugar. These boards are made from a special wood, such as *yuc'ub*, and are stained by repeated use. Boards are of all sizes, from small to large, and are rectangular or square, depending on needs.

LUFTHANSA INCIDENT. An antiterrorist rescue effort. On 13 October 1977, a Lufthansa airliner, carrying 87 passengers, was hijacked by four terrorists belonging to the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine. The flight was denied landing rights in every country it approached for four days, but it was refueled in Rome, Larnaka in Cyprus, Dubai in the United Arab Emirates, and Aden, until Somali authorities allowed it to land in **Mogadishu**. The hijackers demanded the release of 11 imprisoned members of the Baader-Meinhof gang of West Germany (terrorists also known as the "Red Army Faction") and a \$15,750,000 ransom. The Somali authorities allowed 60 Grenzschutzgruppe 9 West German commandos to storm the aircraft. The action resulted in the killing of three of the hijackers and the wounding of the fourth, a woman. The passengers and crew were released without serious injury. Somalia at first claimed that the raid had been carried out by Somali commandos with the cooperation of some West German experts, but it later became clear that the operation was wholly German and that the Somali authorities had only consented to it under Western and Saudi Arabian diplomatic pressure.

This unpredictable event, however, greatly expanded Somali–West German relations. Bonn not only thanked the Somalis for their cooperation, but also, in January 1978, offered a credit of DM (*deutsche mark*) 25 million as part of an expanded economic aid package. The loan was unusual in that it was not tied to a specific development project. On 5 February 1978, Somalia signed another agreement with West Germany for a DM 53 million loan for the development of **fisheries**, irrigation, and water resources. Lufthansa and Somali Airlines also entered into a partnership agreement. Somali Airlines aircraft benefited from special maintenance services in Germany, while Frankfurt airport became the gateway of Somali Airlines to Europe.

LUUBADANG. Incense. *Luubaan* or *fooh* are aromatic gums, from either *maydi* (frankincense) or *hidi* and *beeyo* (myrrh), harvested from trees indigenous to the northeastern region, Bari, and the central Bakool region. The bark is pierced and the sap forms glistening "tears" that harden into milky white resins if they are *maydi* or reddish brown resins if they are *hidi* or *beeyo*. The resins have been widely used since ancient times in ceremonial and religious rites and for cosmetic and medical purposes. The smoke

of incense is so strongly fragrant and penetrating that women speak of “wearing” the smoke. Incense was important in the markets of the ancient world, worth its weight in gold, and even today Somalia supplies about 60 percent of the world’s frankincense. Those who perform spiritual **dances** and magical ceremonies to exorcise evil spirits often demand ‘*asarleged, bu’tureen, ‘iddi, isku soo haad, and jaawe*, the most fragrant and expensive forms of incense. Until 1974, though some trees growing in the wild could be tapped by anyone, others were owned by clans. However, the military administration established an *iskaashato* (cooperative) for aromatic gums, which were mostly processed outside the country. *See also* **COOPERATIVE DEVELOPMENTS**.

LUUG. One of the most important commercial and political centers for the **Reewin** in the **Inter-riverine region**, about 260 kilometers northwest of **Mogadishu** and 104 kilometers from **Baidoa**. “Luug” in **Af-Maay** means a loop or an enclosure: the town is located on high land surrounded on three sides by the meandering Juba River, called Ganane by Luug’s inhabitants, in the Juba valley. Luug was the royal seat of the **Gasaaragude** sultans and was separated from the mainland by a wall three meters high with only one gate that was shut from dusk to dawn. The Italians, finding this location favorable strategically, built a stronger brick wall and a twin-towered fortress. The Fascists built an asphalt road from Baidoa to Luug, where in 1935 Italian colonial forces gathered to invade **Ethiopia**. General Rodolfo Graziani, the commander of the Fronte Sud, considered Luug vital both for protecting the supply route from Dolow to Harar and for defending the security of the Fronte Sud as a whole.

In addition to its strategic and historic importance, Luug was the southern gateway to the **Horn of Africa**, from which all trade arrived and departed, the crossroads between the commercial towns of northeastern **Kenya**, southern Ethiopia, and central Somalia and the meeting point where merchants exchanged goods. The Juba was navigable from the Ethiopian highlands to the Indian Ocean. Thus, in the 19th century, Omani Arabs traded with the merchants of Luug. The Omani Arabs, from **Zanzibar**, and the Ethiopians, from the highlands of Ethiopia, both attempted to capture the city; later, the Ethiopian emperor Menelik II invaded in campaigns from 1892 to 1895, but the city successfully resisted his forces. European explorers recognized how useful the river was for colonial penetration and domination. However, several early explorers were killed, among them the German Carl Claus Von der Decken (d. 1865) and the Italian Vittorio Bottego (d. 1897), whose diaries were immediately published and used as guides for exploration and colonization. Another Italian explorer, Ugo Ferrandi, lived in Luug for 17 months and wrote many useful reports on the city and the surrounding re-

gion. Because of Luug's reputation, **Germany, Britain, Italy,** and Ethiopia competed for colonial dominance.

Luug is famous for its *suuq* (market), where people from all over the region with their different clothing and languages gathered to buy a great range of goods, from vegetables to gold and silver. The town is well laid out and is perhaps the earliest example of urban planning in Somalia. In addition to the royal residence and the merchants' houses, there are residential quarters where the houses have no windows and are fenced with wooden gates. Different parts of the town are designated for specific purposes, such as the slaughter of animals (*kawaan*), schools (**duksi**), worship (*masjid*), the courts (*beitul-hukun*), the dead, that is, the cemetery (*howaal*), and finally, the farms (*beer*). The town is exclusively Muslim, mostly from the Gasaaragude clan, with the Gobawiin, their subjects, the second most numerous. There are mixed-race groups; Gallas, mostly from Ethiopia; and Swahilis from Zanzibar and the mainland coast of East African.

During the Italian colonial administration, Luug was part of the Alta Giubba (Upper Jubba Region), but **Mohamed Siad Barre**, in an anti-Reewin move, created a new regional entity called Gedo, so that Luug would lose its central economic, historical, and political role. Indeed, from 1974 the nomadic Marehan clan, to which Barre belonged, settled in Luug and drove out the original inhabitants, who became refugees in Baidoa, **Huddur**, and coastal cities. The Reewin people became landlocked in the dry lands of central Somalia, because they no longer had access to the Juba River or to Luug. Moreover, Barre's internal partition cut Luug off from its century-old history as a center of Reewin political and juridical life.

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MA'ALLIM NUURI (c. 1881–1959). Also known as Sheikh Ma'allim Nur Haji Abdulqadir. A poet-sheikh, studied under **Sheikh Qasim Ibn Muhyiddin al-Barawi** and **Sheikh Nureini Sabiri**, mastering poetry and Islamic education. He taught in **Barawa** and composed poems in Chimbalazi as well as in Arabic. His masterpieces are in Chimbalazi. For the Baravanese, whose learning is orally oriented, Ma'allim Nuri's poems have simplified knowledge about **Islam**, the duties and responsibilities of a Muslim, the *sirah* (the life story of the Prophet Muhammad), and major themes of the Islamic *shari'a* (laws). Most of his poems are lost. The best remembered is his *Zubadi*, which is based on *Matn al-Zubad fi al-Fiqh*, a classic work on Islamic *fiqh* (jurisprudence) written by Sheikh Ahmed bin Raslan. This poem is more

than one thousand verses and has been required reading for the students of Islamic studies in Barawa.

MAADANLE. Early inhabitants of south-central Somalia pushed by the **Reewin** into **Kenya** and **Ethiopia**.

MAAY SCRIPT. A modified Latin-based orthography for **Af-Maay** adopted at the first **Inter-Riverine Studies Association (ISA)** Congress, held in Toronto, Canada, in 1994. In 1972, the Somali Republic adopted a Latin-based script for **Af-Mahaa**, which became the official **language** of the nation. Maay speakers reacted by aggressively working on the development of their own script. In 1976, a secret association, the Af-yaal (Language Keepers), was founded to revive Maay language and culture, but by 1980 many Af-yaal members were persecuted, imprisoned, or driven into exile. It was those in exile who developed various forms of Maay scripts.

The ISA adopted a form of Maay script developed by Abdullahi Haji Hassan (Aw-Soomow) and Ahmed Mohamed Ali (Ycaycurow) called Alif-Maay, “the Maay alphabet.” There are letters for 34 vowels and consonants. The consonants are called *shibly*: *B, P, T, J, JH, D, TH, R, S, SH, DH, G, GH, Q, F, K, L, M, N, NG, W, H, Y*, and *YC*. The vowels are called *shaghal*: *A, E, I, O, U, AA, EE, II, OO, UU*, and *Y* if preceded by a consonant, as in *dugsy* (school) or *serby* (rod).

There are six vowels and consonants that are exclusive to Af-Maay and not present in the officially recognized Mahaa. They are: *P*, which always occurs in the middle of a word, a sound produced by the lips, similar to the English *P*, e.g., *heped* (chest), *hopoog* (scarf for women), or *opy* (placenta); *JH*, a guttural sound close to the English *J*, e.g., *jheer* (shyness), *jhiryng* (fracture), or *jhiir* (name of grazing land northeast of **Baidoa**). *TH*, pronounced as *th* in the English article “the,” e.g., *mathal* (appointment), *ething* (permission), or *mathy* (head); *GH*, pronounced as in the Arabic *ghayn*, e.g., *haghar* (deceive); *NG*, similar to the end sounds of the English word, “helping,” e.g., *angkaar* (curse), *engjeg* (dry), or *oong* (thirst); and *YC*, like the Italian *signora*, e.g. *ycaaycur* (cat) or *maaycy* (ocean). When Mahaa was the official language, people speaking these sounds faced discrimination. If one’s name held those sounds not recognized as standard, the name would be transliterated into Mahaa and, thus, it was possible not to recognize one’s “official” name, e.g., Iddiraang Mad Emed in Af-Maay would become Cabdiraxmaan Maxamed Axmed in the official Mahaa. *See also ISMANIYYA SCRIPT; SOMALI SCRIPT.*

MAHDI. *See* ALI MAHDI MOHAMED.

MAHIIB. A prayer token, usually a strip of cloth in many colors, put on the tombstone or a tree in a **hering** or a *weli* (saint’s shrine) calling for a bless-

ing and, if the blessing is fulfilled, promising a sacrifice of thanksgiving to the saint as an intercessor. To many, if not most, Muslims this practice is very un-Islamic. Mahiib is derived from the Arabic *muhib*, the shepherd's call for the return of his sheep or goats to the homestead. In the **Af-Maay** language, **duksi** (Qur'anic school) students or **kutaab** (prepubescent boys and girls), whose prayers are more acceptable and effective because of their presumed greater purity and innocence, are paid for prayers for the restoration of lost property, recovery from illness, or the cure of infertility and other reproductive disorders. If the prayers and petitions are answered, the *kutaab* are given a feast and the *maalling* (teacher) declares an **aftah** (day off).

MALAK MUKHTAR MALAK HASSAN (1908–). Known as Malak of Malaks (chief of chiefs) of the Digil-Mirifle **clans**, also the chairman of the **Supreme Governing Council**. An authority on Somali customs, **languages**, and literature, he is a **khalif** of the Qadiriyya order. Malak Mukhtar was born in Goobyd Demeeraad, near Jilibow village, 35 kilometers southeast of **Huddur** in Ehed Golool Gubay (the “Sunday” year of burning Golool trees), for it was a drought year, when Golool trees were burned for their myrrh, which was sold in markets as far away Awdheegle in the Lower Shabelle valley. It was also the year Italian colonial troops crushed the **Banadir** resistance and penetrated the interior of the country.

After completing his Qur'anic studies, Malak Mukhtar went to Madina **Jama'a**, near Buur Hakaba, where he studied *fiqh* (Islamic jurisprudence) and Arabic. In 1927, he returned home with title *maalling/sheikh* (teacher-sheikh). In 1928, he was married to Keeray Alyow Haydar and, while preparing for his teaching and preaching role, his father Malak Hassan “Borow” (the dark), the Malak of Laysan, died. Malak Mukhtar automatically inherited the title and was formally invested in the ceremonial Golool village, the traditional birthplace of the Laysan clan, and was carried shoulder high for about five kilometers, in the middle of dancing **barbaar**, to Sarmaan, the holy town, for the blessings of the *Asharaf* (spiritual authority) of the **Reewin** people. There, he was bathed with the sacred water from the *huud* (well) and officially proclaimed the Malak of Laysan clan.

In 1948, Malak Mukhtar joined the **Hizbiya Digil-Mirifle** (HDM), later **Hizbiya Dastur Mustaqil al-Sumal** (Somali Independent Constitutional Party) and served as president from 1960 to 1968. During the Italian trusteeship period, he was elected to the Consiglio Territoriale (**Territorial Council**) from the district of Huddur as an HDM party member. He introduced secular and coeducation and nonconventional technology to his constituency and in 1954 inaugurated the first elementary school in Kor Koor village with Italian and Arabic as the media of instruction. During the trusteeship period, Malak Mukhtar also introduced new crops and farming techniques, such as *dubiile* (ox-powered plowing).

In 1956, he was elected to the **Assemblea Legislativa** (Legislative Assembly), the first national executive organ in the history of Somalia. His HDM won 13 out of 60 seats. In 1959, he was reelected to the **Assemblea Nazionale** (National Assembly) and he remained a member until 1968. He then retired from politics and went back to farming, teaching, and preaching in his home village, Jilibow. In 1970, Malak Mukhtar established a congregation *masjid* (mosque) with an attached Qur'anic school. Jilibow became a center of learning attracting many **hir**. In 1980, a Digil-Mirifle delegation came to Jilibow and asked Malak Mukhtar to negotiate with **Mohamed Siad Barre's** regime. He formed a group of dignitaries, which led to the establishment of a Digil-Mirifle opposition party, the **Somali Democratic Movement**, in 1989.

During the **United Nations Operation in Somalia II**, from 1993 to 1995, he helped to reestablish local authority in most of the Mirifle territory and in March 1995 he spearheaded the formation of the pan-Digil-Mirifle government, which unhappily was aborted by the invasion of **Mohamed Farah Aided** on 17 September 1995. Malak Mukhtar then left **Baidoa** and organized the **Reewin Resistance Army** in the hinterland. He was a part of the **Arta Reconciliation Conference of May–August 2000**, at which a parliament was agreed upon and a national president elected.

MALKAT. Also called siimbar. A wooden trumpet covered with hide, which may in part be made of horn or metal. It is commonly used in the agrarian areas of the Inter-riverine region. The malkat has a ceremonial function, for example, during birthday celebrations and weddings. In **Afgoy**, it is played during the **Istunka** (stick-fighting) festivities.

MANA MOOFI. The most spiritual town in the Gosha region. Here, the shrine of Sheikh Murjan, a Somali saint, is visited annually.

MANIFESTO GROUP. The Manifesto group, which emerged in late 1989 in **Mogadishu** in opposition to the **Mohamed Siad Barre** regime was unique: it was unarmed, cross-**clan**, internally based, and had no ambition to assume power itself. The group worked on a conflict-resolution basis with the aim to create an interim government while the military regime of Siad Barre was still intact. This interim government would then organize and administer free general elections. Some 114 Somali intellectuals, business people, and political figures from both the Barre and earlier regimes signed the Manifesto the group produced.

The group called for the eradication of oppressive laws and policing and convening a national reconciliation conference that would lead to the formation of a future national government. Somalia's first president, **Adan Ab-**

dulle Osman, and the former speaker of the parliament, **Sheikh Mukhtar Mohamed Hussein**, were cochairs of a 13-member executive committee. Barre's response was very harsh: in June 1990, he ordered the arrest of 45 members of the group, who were tried and sentenced to long prison sentences, some even to death. A mass demonstration in Mogadishu surrounded the court house and the presidential palace, calling for the release of the detainees. And released they were.

MANUFACTURING. Before colonial times, traditional weaving was to be found in the major towns of the Banadir coast and the hinterlands. A pottery works was long established at **Buur Heybe**. Every town had a blacksmith who forged weapons and jewelry. The Italians established a sugar refinery at Jowhar in 1920 and also established small-scale operations in textiles and fish canning. After independence, however, the government, with foreign aid, built about a dozen new large and medium-sized plants, among them the meat-processing factory at Kismayu, the dairy plant at **Mogadishu**, the fish cannery at Laas Qorey on the northern coast, and the cotton textile plant at Bala'ad, south of Jowhar. In the early 1960s, there was also some private small-scale manufacturing, but it was highly controlled by the state.

In the military era, following the "scientific socialism" of the early 1970s, the **Supreme Revolutionary Council** expanded industrialization. By 1978, there were more than 50 modern, state-owned plants in the country, some of them large. They included a cigarette and match factory, a packaging plant making cardboard boxes and polyethylene bags, a fruit and vegetable canning plant, a wheat flour and pasta factory, an iron foundry, and a petroleum refinery. Older factories and plants, such as Somaltex, the textile factory; the brick and tile factory at **Afgoy**; and the sugar refinery at Jowhar, were brought up to standard. A new and larger sugar refinery, the **Mereerey Sugar Plant**, was built in Mereerey near Jilib, on the Juba River. In the early 1980s, a cement plant became operational at Berbera, northern Somalia.

Most of the plants were foreign-funded or loan-assisted. The **Soviet Union** financed most of the food-processing plants, while the Peoples Republic of China set up the cigarette and match factory. The Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries funded the Mereerey Sugar Factory. Both **U.S. Agency for International Development** and Yugoslav technical assistance were used to set up the iron foundry. Iraq furnished the funds for the oil refinery. In the 1980s, small-scale private-owned enterprises mushroomed in Mogadishu, for example, a chemical plant that produced detergents, shampoos, and insecticides, and several soft drink plants. According to the Ministry of Industry, there were more than 6,000 small manufacturing units that employed fewer than five workers each and produced a wide range of goods that included handwoven cloth, clothing, footwear, pottery, hand tools, rope, vegetable oils,

and baked goods. By the mid-1980s, most of the heavy industries were shut down because of a lack of proper maintenance, shortages of spare parts, lack of managerial staff and skilled workers, and most importantly, the looting and vandalism during the civil war in the late 1980s and 1990s. *See also* **BA-NANA INDUSTRY; SOCIETÀ AGRICOLA ITALO-SOMALA.**

MAREHAN UNION. Clan-oriented political party. Every Somali political party has a clan orientation, but the Marehan Union was formed exclusively for the Marehan, one of the principal **Darood** subclans. The only time the Marehan Union contested an election, in 1956, it won only one seat in the first **Assemblea Legislativa** (Legislative Assembly). However, immediately after the election, their deputy crossed the aisle to the **Somali Youth League**. During the civil war, the Marehan, then associated with **Mohamed Siad Barre**, the deposed dictator, founded the **Somali National Front**, which was active in reconciliation conferences to protect their interests.

MARKA. This ancient city on the **Banadir** coast was mentioned around 1150 C.E. in the writings of the Arab geographer Al-Idrisi. Marka is the home of the Afarta Aw Usmaan (the four famous sheikhs named Usmaan [Osman]): Aw Usmaan Markayaale, who is not only venerated in Marka but has a mosque named after him with a small underground chamber that, according to popular belief, was once part of a corridor that led directly to the holy city of Medina; Aw Usman Garweeyne, whose shrine on the island of Gendershe is the site of an annual pilgrimage; Aw Usmaan Makki of Dhanaane; and Aw Usmaan Bausaan of Jazira. Thus, the city is called “Marka Aw Usmaan” or “Marka Addey Minin Aw Usmaan” (Marka, home of Usmaan). Some of the earliest inhabitants of Marka may have come from Persia following an earthquake that destroyed the port of Siraf in the 10th century. There are many traditions of Shirazi, or Persian, migration to towns along the entire East African coast, and some historians believe the Reer Manyo and Gaameeydle of Marka have a Middle Eastern ancestry.

These distinctive people have always been threatened by outsiders envious of their wealth and location, controlling both local and international trade. However, the people of Marka have always resisted conquest. The **Ajuran**, for instance, who came to dominate the entire lower Shabelle valley and took the city as their capital, were eventually driven out, by the late 17th century. Up until very recently, visitors to Marka could see the ruins of the palace of Sultan Ajuran Amir, which according to legend once contained a huge drum whose sound could be heard throughout the town and up into the nearby hills.

In the 18th and 19th centuries, Marka was an important and independent center for the export of ivory, grain, and **livestock** to southern Arabia and East

Africa. The powerful sultans of Geledi based in **Afgoy**, some 90 kilometers north of Marka, attempted conquest several times. In 1848, however, the Geledi sultan **Yusuf Mahamud** was killed in the famous battle of Adaddey with the Biamaal clan of Marka; and 30 years later his son, Sultan **Ahmad Yusuf**, suffered the same fate at the battle of **Agaaran**. During these years, Marka continued to trade with **Zanzibar**. In 1860, the sultan of Zanzibar constructed an armed *garesa* (governor's residence) empowered to collect customs duties along the Banadir coast, but the local residents also resisted this imposition and attacked the *askaris*, even killing a governor in 1876.

The city of Marka was nearly a thousand years old when the European "scramble for Africa" began in the 1880s. **Italy** nominally took control of the Banadir coast in 1890, but the inhabitants of Marka and the Biamaal of the interior resisted. In 1893, the first Italian resident of Marka was killed, which was followed by the assassination of Giacomo Trevis in 1897. These incidents only added to Marka's reputation as a city hostile to foreigners. From 1900 to 1908, the imams of Marka led the war of resistance to colonial occupation of the interior, but they and their followers paid dearly. A local poet attacked those who refused to take up arms against the colonial invaders:

Reer Janna waa jid galeen
Reer Jahima iska jooga.

(Those who resist are heaven bound.
Those who submit can stay home in Hell where they belong.)

However, by 1908, the Italian government had committed more troops to break down the resistance and Marka became the colonial headquarters of the Lower Shabelle Region, while its port became the second busiest in the country.

One reason for the town's prosperity was the development of **agriculture** in the nearby farming districts of Shalambood, which the Italians called Vittorio d'Africa (African victory) and Janaale. After World War II, political figures from Marka region played a central role in the drive for Somali independence. Ibdow Alywo Ibraw, the Sultan of Jiddo, and **Haji Mohamed Hussein** were elected to the parliament. During the **Mohamed Siad Barre** regime (1969–1991), Marka went into an economic decline, as much of the banana export business was directed to the new port in **Mogadishu**. The collapse of the central government brought chaos to Marka. Many shops were looted and many of Marka's long-time residents fled as **refugees** to neighboring countries. Various militia factions (including the Hawiye and Dir) battled for control of the riverine areas in what became known as the "banana wars"; many poor farmers were forced to cultivate at gunpoint. Once again, the people of Marka are threatened by outside invaders, thus there is still no peace in this proud and historic city.

MASAFFO. Catechismal poems, composed by prominent religious men and women to teach the principles, rights, and responsibilities of **Islam** to the Somali people in their different vernacular **languages** and dialects. The masaffo identifies what is *halaal* (lawful) and what is *haram* (forbidden). Since Somalis were a preliterate people with a strong oral poetic tradition, masaffo was very important in the spread of Islam there. It has also been used to resolve disputes instead of a more direct application of the Qur'an and the Hadith. The masaffo poets are sometimes more resourceful than the **sheikhs**, who always rely on Arabic sources. The masaffo composers translate and put in poetic form, especially meter, Qur'anic verses or Hadith quotations. They are accomplished "singers" (more correctly, they recite or chant) of Arabic combined with the local Somali vernacular. They perform at *halaqat al-dikri* (chanting circles) and at celebrations at bazaars and public places, wherever people congregate, in Ramadan nights and at many other Islamic festivals and public occasions. The Sufi (mystic seer), the *qaady* (leader of chant in the dikri), and the nabi amman (poet laureate of Muhammad the Prophet), all recite masaffo.

MEREEREY. A major urban center south of Shabelle region, founded by the legendary master of *asraar* (secret science) **Sheikh Hassan Buraale**. Mereerey, strategically located on the banks of the Shabelle River, has been the headquarters of the United Hintire and Hubeer subclans. It was chosen because it lay at the crossroads of the trade route to the interior and it provided excellent conditions for **irrigated farming** and good grazing for **live-stock**.

Oral tradition relates that the **Hawiye** nomads moving into the area occupied the town, but with much resistance. One day, a *shir* (clan meeting) was called and it was decided to burn the whole town to free it from the occupation. According to a *shirib* song commemorating the event, *Mereerey maslaha liing gubi* (Mereerey was burned for a worthy cause.) The people of the town sacrificed their homes, their stores of grain, and other possessions to rid themselves of the Hawiye domination. During the Geledi confederacy of the late 17th century, Mereerey was the second capital subject to **Afgoy**, the seat of the Geledi Sultanate. In 1878, however, Mereerey broke the alliance by refusing to join Sultan **Ahmad Yusuf's** attack on the Biamaals, a neighboring **clan** that had refused to join the confederacy. Thus, the Hintire and the Geledis were at odds. Sheikh Maadow Maalling became the head of the United Hintire and Hubeer clans in the late 18th century. Sheikh Maadow was a religious scholar and an adept of the '*lm al-asraar* (secret of science). According to Hintire oral tradition, it was his possession of the higher powers of *asraar* that enabled Sheikh Maadow to surpass even the *ta'daar* (sacred magic) of the Gobroon, so that he could establish his own

confederacy, which included Hintire, Hubeer, Daafeed, and parts of the Elai clans.

Mereerey had adopted a neutral policy in local warfare, a policy that dated back to 1843, when it refused to participate in the Geledi war against the Bardheere. Because their alliance was Muslim, they felt they should go to war only if they were invaded. **Sheikh Ashir Sheikh Maadoow Mahad**, the grand sheikh of Mereerey, issued such a *fatwa* (Islamic legal opinion) and the Hintire and their allies declined to participate in any local battles. Mereerey, however, defended itself from clans, including the Garre and the Geledi. In 1903, they defeated the Geledi in a battle remembered as the battle of Ahad Mereerey (the “Sunday” year of Mereerey). With regard to Mereerey’s anti-colonial stance, the following *shirib* praises their sheikh: *Ra dhighe Aashir Maadow Maallaing Mahad . . . Raiyinimaas diidy* (“The writer of ‘R,’ Ashir Maadoow Maalling Mahad . . . Refused to be the subject of colonialism”).

From 1906 until the Italian attack on the town in August 1908, Mereerey suffered from problems of succession. Indeed, the Italian attack on Mereerey was a blessing in disguise. All Hintire and Hubeer stood by the young Islaw Abukar, the grandson of the legendary mystic Sheikh Maadow Maalling, and fought bravely against the Italian invasion. Mereerey met the Italians with a united show of force. More than 70 warriors perished in the Mereerey battle. However, since **Italy** had already defeated the resisting forces of the Gosha (1907), coastal **Banadir** (1908), Biamaal, and Wa’daan (1908), Mereerey could not hope to win. It was about noon when Mereerey surrendered and was sacked and burned to ashes by the “infidel” Italians. Thus, Mereerey was burned again. The defeat of United Hintire and Hubeer opened the **Interior riverine region** to the Italians and led to the colonization of the most fertile parts of the country. *See also* **NASSIB BUUNTO**.

MEREEREY SUGAR PLANT. A **cooperative development** project, funded by **Arab countries**, to replace the old Jowhar sugarcane plantation and refinery. The plant in **Mereerey** was supposed to meet all the sugar needs of the country and to lower unemployment. The project, which began operation in 1980, was expected to reach capacity in 1984. However, in 1985 the production reached just over 50 percent of its target plan. By late 1985, production had decreased sharply; by 1987, the plant was doomed to failure. The project was particularly a failure in terms of fulfilling its promise to the local community. Local indigenous farmers lost their land to the project through expropriation; some had their sources of water diverted or blocked; others had their fields deliberately flooded. There was an increase in malaria and the villagers blamed the outbreak of cholera in the 1980s on the muddy environment created by the project. Fewer children attended school after the project. The expropriation of land created a climate of insecurity. Thus, the

failure of the project was a serious socioeconomic setback. *See also* **IRRIGATED FARMING; JUBALAND; MUGAMBO PADDY PROJECT; SOCIETÀ AGRICOLA ITALO-SOMALA.**

MIDHISHI. A limestone cave in Midhishi Valley nearby Erigabo, Sanaag region. Archaeologists have recovered from this cave some artifacts with Late and Middle Stone Age affinities. This cave is the only one found so far in Somalia to indicate the culture and history of the late Quaternary ages of the **Horn of Africa.**

MINGIS. A ritualistic **dance** widely practiced in the northeastern region of Somalia, but recently spread throughout the country. It is intended to exorcise *jinn* (spirits) from individuals said to be possessed. Most of the victims are wealthy families with young **women** looking for their Prince Charmings or women who are happily married but fear they are unable to bear children. Here a gang of old witches and grumpy male charlatans team together and terrify these people by playing on their fears. The group of charlatans tells their victim that they are possessed by an evil spirit that is causing all their problems and that the spirit can be exorcised for a price. If they do not pay them and offer sacrifice, then the Mingis spirit, an especially terrible type of *jinni*, will possess them. Thus, one lavish feast follows another and in this fashion the gang is able to keep themselves in a permanent, lucrative business.

The venue for the Mingis rite is usually inside the victim's house, decorated with cozy draperies and carpets. The windows are shut and the light kept dim. Columns of incense smoke rise up from all corners of the room. The victim, often a young woman, is seated in the middle of the room, wrapped in a transparent, loose gown, with her hair falling over her face and shoulders. A choir, which may be composed of both sexes, surrounds her. Suddenly, the old witch enters in a frenzied, semi-mad condition, hiccuping, groaning, and wailing loudly that her *jinni* master desires sacrificial animals, sums of money, exotic perfumes, and expensive clothes as a condition for exiting the victim's body. While the old witch runs, jumps, and crawls from one corner to another, drums synchronize her movement, accompanied by the chanting of the choir.

Next to the victim is seated the **alaqad**, who is in direct communication with the *jinni*. As soon as the sacrificial requests are met by the victim and have pleased the spirits, the Alaqad begins pronouncing unintelligible phrases and formulae, denoting the particular spirit she alleges resides in the body of the victim. Finally, the spirits exit the body of the patient, who will be immune from such spirits in the future. Like most people in the ancient world, Somalis believed in the unseen spirits, such as *jinn*s. They also be-

lieved that certain individuals, such as the *alaaqad* or the *jinni dhaawe* (exorcist), had contact with the spirit world. Thus, Mingis constitutes a pre-Islamic spiritualist cult that served to heal ailments both physical and spiritual. The belief in possession, not unlike the possessions portrayed in movies like the *Exorcist* and the *Amityville Horror*, and bad luck brought on by evil spirits is worldwide. *See also* **SHEIKH HUSSEIN BALIYAAL**.

MISSION CREEP. Twenty-four Pakistani peacekeepers from the **United Nations Operation in Somalia II** were killed in **Mogadishu** in an ambush by forces loyal to **Mohamed Farah Aidede** on 5 June 1993. *See also* **MOHAMED FARAH AIDEED; OLYMPIC HOTEL BATTLE**.

MOBILE MILITARY COURT (MMC). A government department initially responsible in 1982 for military trials. The judges were military officers. In 1984, however, the MMC assumed jurisdiction over civilian cases, particularly national security offenses. Eventually, the MMC tried every case of a political nature and, from the mid-1980s to the fall of the **Mohamed Siad Barre** regime in January 1991, it ordered mass executions in **Mogadishu** and the regional capitals. *See also* **NATIONAL SECURITY SERVICE**.

MOGADISHU. City in southern Somalia, capital of the country, located on the Indian Ocean, just north of the equator. Mogadishu is the nations' largest city and its chief seaport. The city has rich history. The *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* calls it Serapion and describes it as a major market for oriental as well as African goods. Persian and Arab traders found it a thriving trade center on the East African coast. In the 10th century, Muslim migration and intermarriage with the Mogadishans made the city one of the earliest Islamic centers in the **Horn of Africa**. By the 13th century, the city became a leading commercial port and political power had been consolidated under the rule of the Fakhruddin Sultanate. Mogadishu provided goods from the interior, such as **livestock**, leather, and ivory, and had its own cloth industry, known as *banadiri* or *alindi*. From the 14th to the 15th century, the Muzaffar Dynasty ruled the city. Mogadishu fought against Portuguese expansion, but by the end of the 17th century it had fallen under **Zanzibari** control.

In 1889, Sayid Khalifa, the sultan of Zanzibar, leased Mogadishu along with other **Banadir** towns, to **Italy** for 50 years in return for an annual rent of 160,000 rupees. At the beginning of the 20th century, Mogadishu became the residence of the royal Italian commissioners for the Filonardi and Benadir companies. In 1908, it became the capital of the Italian colony in southern Somalia. In 1941, Mogadishu was made the headquarters of the British Military Administration in the Horn of Africa. After World War II, Mogadishu became the center of Somali nationalism, as the headquarters of

the **Somali Youth League** and **Hizbiya Dastur Mustaqil al-Sumal**. In 1948 and 1949, the city staged riots and demonstration against colonialism. Over 50 Italians were killed in the first riots and many Somalis were killed in both. The demonstrators shouted Somalia **Hanolato** (“long live Somalia”).

In 1950, Mogadishu was chosen as the seat of the trusteeship administration and, in 1956, it was chosen as the seat of the first Somali parliament. Mogadishu finally became the capital of independent Somalia in 1960. The city grew rapidly through the 1970s and 1980s. Although much of the urban economy centered on the export of primary commodities such as fruit, livestock, and animal hides, it developed a number of light industries, including milk and dairy processing, soft-drink bottling, and cigarette and textile production. By the mid-1980s, political instability was beginning to consume the city. In 1989, the armed forces loyal to the dictator **Mohamed Siad Barre** bombarded the city for four weeks to cleanse it of opposition groups, leaving more than 50,000 dead and half of the city in ruins. Barre fled Mogadishu on 26 January 1991, but left a violent legacy. The city became a battleground between **Mohamed Farah Aided** and **Ali Mahdi Mohamed** during the civil war. For three months, the city was turned into rubble, leaving more than 20,000 dead. In early December 1992, **United Nations** troops led by the United States (the U.S. mission was known as **Operation Restore Hope**) occupied the city. Thus Mogadishu became the center of UN operations intended to restore government and to ease famine caused in part by Somalia’s civil war. This UN operation was known as the **United Nations Operation in Somalia I**, which lasted from 1992 to 1993; the later operation was known as the **United Nations Operation in Somalia II**, which lasted from 1993 to 1995. On 2 November 2000, Mogadishu became the seat of the **Transnational National Assembly (TNA)**.

Although Mogadishu markets are once again busy, much of the city’s infrastructure is still in ruins. The conflict left a generation of orphans, many of whom had joined violent gangs and made life in the city unsafe. Moreover, warlords have divided the city into enclaves, whereby it lost its national stature.

MOGADISHU INCIDENT OF 11 JANUARY 1948. **Mogadishu**, the headquarters of the British Military Administration (BMA, 1941–1950) and of the Somalia gendarmerie, was the scene of a tragic incident in which 51 Italians, mostly women and children, were killed and a similar number were wounded. The death toll on the Somali side was 14, with about 50 wounded. Mogadishu then had a population of approximately 50,000 to 60,000, including some 3,000 Italians. The two political parties, the **Somali Youth League (SYL)** and the Somalia Conferenza, were contending for political supremacy in Somalia under **United Nations** trusteeship. The SYL drew its sympathizers from among northern, pastoral Somalis, but most of its mem-

bers in Mogadishu were civilian or military officials of the BMA. According to the findings of the court of inquiry, more than 80 percent of the Somalis in the Somalia gendarmerie were members of the SYL. The league, doubtless for reasons of policy, appears to have had much support from the BMA and, in the minds of the SYL's opponents, and possibly of its members and supporters also, was a government-sponsored institution. The league called for a 10-year trusteeship of the Four Powers: **Britain**, France, the **United States**, and Russia.

The Conferenza, for its part, was supported mainly by southern farmers and town dwellers. The name *Conferenza* (conference) indicated the federation of several southern political clubs and parties, such as the philanthropic Jam'iyah al-Khayriyah al-Wataniya (Patriotic Benevolent Society), founded in the early 1920s, which had become the political **Hizbiya Digil-Mirifle** (HDM) in March 1947. The Conferenza opposed the British because during the BMA the political and social conditions of Somalia were worse than they had been under the Italians. Britain enforced the forced-labor policies of its Italian Fascist predecessors, favored the northerners over the southerners, and above all, betrayed the Somali cause by handing over many Somali territories to **Ethiopia** in 1944 and 1948. Thus, the Conferenza called for an international trusteeship, preferably under an Italian administration, since **Italy** originated the ideal of la Grande Somalia (Greater Somalia) in 1936.

Upon the arrival of the Four Power International Commission in Mogadishu beginning on 4 January 1948, it was apparent that, with the existence of two such antagonistic political parties, a violent clash was inevitable. The British authorities were particularly disturbed by the intensification of anti-Italian propaganda, in writings appearing on the walls of public buildings in Mogadishu, such as *Morto Italia* (death to Italians). The Catholic printing press and the bars that were frequented by Italians had been bombed, with considerable destruction of property and both Somali and Italian casualties. However, no one was arrested, as the BMA actually favored the anti-Italian movement. Prior to the arrival of the International Commission, the British chief administrator nevertheless warned the public in Mogadishu that they would not be permitted to hold demonstrations without prior authorization of the civil affairs officer (CAO). The chief administrator informed the secretary of the visiting commission that this measure could reduce tension, but the commission did not concur and instead felt that free political expression should be guaranteed to all parties.

Accordingly, daily processions were staged in Mogadishu beginning on 7 January. The SYL, however, asked British authorities to hold their demonstration, to the exclusion of all others, on 11 January. The leaders of the Conferenza, appealing to the chief administrator, insisted on their right to

demonstrate the same day. The Conferenza, in its appeal, pointed out that their demonstration would be made up only of local Mogadishans, while the SYL demonstration would be made up of supporters from up-country, as far as Ethiopia. Mediation between the two parties was not successful.

At 11:30 A.M. on 11 January, the Central Police Station received reports of serious street fighting in Via Cardinal Massaia, where the headquarters of both parties were located. Though at first, sticks and stones were the only weapons used, the SYL headquarters began to fire guns in “self-defense.” Armed gendarmes rapidly swelled the ranks of the SYL defenders and their rifle fire completed the discomfiture of the Conferenza parties. However, the BMA did not intervene, stating that the disorder was solely a Somali matter. By noon, the streets of Mogadishu began to fill with SYL supporters, assisted by armed Somali gendarmes, seeking any opportunity to kill Italians and destroy their property. Bars and restaurants were broken into and looted. Fifty-one Italians were killed perhaps 50 meters from the Central Police Station. As before, there was no intervention to save lives or restore order. Many died from gunshot wounds. Some bodies brought to the hospitals were mutilated (even after death, an indication of hatred and a desire for vengeance). The nonfatal casualties of the Italians included women from 4 to 62 years old. “This was the work of the followers of the Somali Youth League,” an eyewitness reported.

In addition, there were hundreds of refugees, many hysterical or in shock. On 11 January, it was estimated that the two hospitals, De Martino and Rava, sheltered over 800 Italian and Somali refugees. Italian refugees were also sheltered in the Cathedral and the Hotel Croce del Sud. This tragic incident served both the Italians and the SYL, as it led to the return of Italy as an administering authority and helped the SYL to gain power at independence.

MOHAMED ALI SAMATAR (1935–). Former general in the **Somali National Army** (SNA), first vice president (1971–1990), and **Mohamed Siad Barre**’s constitutional successor, the most loyal and politically mature of all Barre’s lieutenants. Samatar, of the minor Tumaal **clan**, was born in Kismayu, Lower Juba. He went to school in **Mogadishu** and was sent to **Italy** for military training at the Cesano di Roma Staff Infantry Academy (1954–1956). Upon his return, Samatar was trained at the Scuola di Polizia (Police Academy) in Mogadishu and became police commander at **Marka**. He became one of the first officers of the SNA in 1960, was trained at the Frunzi Academy in Moscow (1965–1967), and was promoted to lieutenant colonel. Samatar played a significant role in Barre’s 1969 coup and became the first vice president, a post he held until 1990. Samatar was among the founders and a member of the politburo of the **Somali Revolutionary So-**

cialist Party. On 6 August 1971, he was appointed minister of defense, another key post and one he retained until 1987. He was responsible for early victories in the **Ogaden War** of 1977–1978. The Somali forces under his command conquered most of the **Ogaden** until driven out by a massive Soviet-supported counterattack.

From May 1986 to January 1987, Mohamed Ali Samatar was acting president when Barre was in a coma from injuries in a car crash. After Barre's recovery on 31 January 1987, Samatar was appointed prime minister, a post he held until 1990. When the **United Somali Congress** took Mogadishu in January 1991, Samatar went into exile, first in Italy, then in the **United States.** *See also* ETHIOPIA; SOVIET UNION.

MOHAMED AWALE LIBAN (c. 1919–2001). Designer of the Somali national flag. He was born near Galkayo in the Mudug region, but received an Italian missionary education in **Mogadishu.** Fluent in Italian, at first he was employed at the popular Italian Bar Savoia in Mogadishu; later, he was a colonial clerk. In the aftermath of the Italo-Ethiopian war, he traded all over the **Horn.** Under the British Military Administration, he clerked for the military governor of the northeast in Galkayo. In the mid-1940s, he joined the **Somali Youth League** and in 1953 he became a member of the central committee.

In 1954, Mohamed Awale Liban represented business interests in the **Territorial Council**, which on 12 October 1954 adopted Liban's design for the Somali national flag, a simple blue cloth, resembling the **United Nations** flag, with a five-pointed star in the center, representing the five Somalias under different colonial administrations. Thus 12 October is always a holiday, Flag Day (Maalinta Alanka). From 1960 to 1967, Liban was chief of staff for President **Adan Abdulle Osman.** Under President **Abdirashid Ali Shermarke,** he was director general of personnel, that is, head of the civil service. He retired after the military coup and, in 1991, emigrated to Canada.

MOHAMED FARAH AIDEED (d. 1996). A controversial figure since 1991, Mohammad Farah Hassan, known as "Aideed" (rejecter of insults), was born in Beled Weyne, central region, around 1930, although officially he was born on 15 December 1934. His mother gave him the nickname "Aideed" when a neighbor commented that her child was of a darker complexion than his father. During the British Military Administration of the **Horn of Africa** (1941–1950), Aideed traveled to Galkayo, in the Mudug region, to stay with his cousin, Adan Abdurahman, a policeman who taught Aideed to type and speak rudimentary Italian. Aideed enrolled in the Italian-trained *Corpo di Polizia della Somalia* (Police Corps of Somalia) and in 1954 he was sent to **Italy** as a special cadet to be trained in the infantry school at Cesano in

Rome. After completing his training, Aideed was appointed to several leading police offices, among which was head of the **Banadir** Division. In 1959, he was sent back to Italy for further training.

In 1960, Aideed was promoted to lieutenant and became aide-de-camp of Maj. Gen. **Daud Abdulle Hirsi**, the first commander of the National Army. He was sent to Moscow for three years for staff-level training at the Frunze Military Academy. During the military regime (1969–1991), **Mohamed Siad Barre** marginalized Aideed and imprisoned him from 1969 to 1974; he was afterward given minor administrative positions in public corporations. However, during the **Ogaden War** of 1977, Aideed was promoted to brigadier general and made an aide-de-camp to Barre. In 1984, Aideed was appointed as Somalia's ambassador to India. From 1978 to 1989, **clan** and subclan opposition movements to Barre emerged. In 1989, Aideed, after the death of Dr. Ismail Jumale Osoble, became the leader of the key **Hawiye clan** movement, the **United Somali Congress**, which was organized in Rome that year. In January 1991, Aideed led the successful campaign to remove Barre from the capital, **Mogadishu**, and he later frustrated Barre's attempts to recapture Mogadishu in mid-1991. However, Aideed's desire to be the leader of the Somali nation was foiled when the USC nominated **Ali Mahdi Mohamed** as interim president, an appointment that was confirmed by the **Djibouti Conference of June–July 1991**.

Aideed's armed opposition to Interim President Ali Mahdi Mohamed leveled Mogadishu and divided the city into North and South sectors by a de facto "Green Line." Militias loyal to Mahdi controlled the north sector and those loyal to Aideed controlled the south sector. Intraclan war reduced the country to anarchy and caused a famine in the **Inter-riverine region**, which led to international humanitarian intervention. Aideed opposed the **United Nations** presence in Somalia from the beginning. His militia demonstrated this opposition in the June ambushes, when 24 UN troops were killed and 75 Somalis working for the UN died. Aideed also defied the U.S.-led **Operation Restore Hope**, which was withdrawn after the October 1993 massacre known as the **Olympic Hotel Battle**. After the complete withdrawal of the **United Nations Operation in Somalia**, he invaded **Baidoa**, took over the Bay and Bokool regions, and in September 1995 proclaimed himself president of the Somali Republic. However, Aideed's political and personal alliances began to splinter and, on 2 August 1996, he died in his Mogadishu home after suffering mortal complications following gunshot wounds to the liver in intraclan fighting in Mogadishu suburbs. *See also* **MISSION CREEP**.

MOHAMED HAJI IBRAHIM EGAL (1928–2002). First prime minister of the British Protectorate of Somaliland (26 June 1960 to 1 July 1960),

third prime minister of the civilian administration of the Somali Republic (1967–1969), and beginning in 1993, second president of the **Republic of Somaliland**. Egal, or Igal, was born in Odweyne. He was a student in London from 1950 to 1954 and joined the **Somali National League** on his return. In 1958, he was appointed a councilor of the Legislative Council of the Protectorate, representing the business community, and in February 1960 he was elected to the five-month-long Legislative Council, which automatically made him a deputy of the **Assemblea Nazionale** upon unification.

In 22 July 1960, Egal was appointed minister of defense of the United Somali Republic; he became minister of education on 27 July 1961. However, he resigned from the **Somali Youth League** (SYL), the government party, and thus the government, in mid-1962 to help form the **Somali National Congress** in 1963. Egal was reelected in 1964 for the SNC, but in 1966 he crossed the aisle to join the SYL. He was appointed prime minister in 1967 in the SYL government of President **Abdirashid Ali Shermarke**. He launched the policy of détente with neighboring **Kenya** and **Ethiopia**, which may be one of the reasons he was overthrown. Egal was in custody from 1969 to 1975, charged with misappropriation of funds and “conspiracy.” When he was released (without trial), he held diplomatic posts and such key positions as head of the Chamber of Commerce under the military regime.

Egal was president of the Republic of Somaliland from 1993 to 2002. He died in Pretoria, South Africa, in May 2002 and was buried in **Hargeisa**. *See also* **BORAMA CONFERENCE**.

MOHAMED HAJI MOHAMED “TARASH”. *See* **FANNAANIINTA AR-LAADI**.

MOHAMED IBRAHIM AHMED (1921–1998). Commonly known as “Liqliqato,” he was a general in the **Somali National Army** and a diplomat and politician under **Mohamed Siad Barre**. Of the **Hawiye** Shikhaal subclan, he was born in Jamama, Lower Juba region. Liqliqato was educated in Italian colonial schools, received military training in **Italy**, and fought with Italy during its conquest of the **Horn** (1936–1941). He remained in the gendarmerie under the British Military Administration and was sent to **Britain** for further training. After a two-year training course in Italy (1952–1954), he held important posts in the **Somali National Police Force**. In 1962, he was transferred to the SNA and he became a brigadier in 1968 and second commander in early 1969. Mohamed did not take part in the military coup of October 1969. However, Barre appointed him as an ambassador, first to the **Soviet Union** (1969–1970) and then to the Federal Republic of **Germany**

(1970–1974). On 6 December 1974, Mohamed Ibrahim Ahmed was appointed minister of agriculture (1974–1978) and he served as minister of domestic and foreign trade from 1978 to 1980. He later served as chairman of the Standing Committee of the **People's Assembly** until the end of Siad Barre's era, in January 1991.

Mohamed Ibrahim Ahmed had a remarkable memory and was a store of historical and genealogical information. He collected oral histories and, in 2000 in **Mogadishu**, his family published in **Af-Mahaa** his seminal volume, entitled *Taariikhda Soomaliya: Dalkii Filka Weynaa ee Punt* (Punt: History of Somalia).

MOHAMED SAID HERSI "MORGAN" (c. 1940–). Former general in the **Somali National Army**, **Mohamed Siad Barre** henchman, and a leading warlord in Kismayu after the fall of Barre. He was President Barre's personal bodyguard. His fortunes rose when he married Barre's daughter in 1977. In 1984, Morgan was appointed commander of the Northern Region and was responsible for the bombardment of **Hargeisa** and other major northern towns, where thousands of civilians were killed and much property was destroyed, and whence he acquired the nickname "Butcher of Hargeisa." In 1989, he was appointed minister of public works and telecommunication and commander of the SNA, a position he held until Barre was overthrown. When Barre retreated to **Baidoa** in order to stage a comeback, Morgan despoiled the resources of the **Inter-riverine region** to such an extent that he could be said to have been the cause of the famine of 1991–1992. He plundered the grain stores, appropriated **livestock**, burned towns and villages, kidnapped and raped, and killed the unarmed. After Barre fled to Nigeria, Morgan occupied Kismayu in early 1993 to protect the interests of his **clan**, the Majerteen, and Barre's clan, the Marehan. Morgan became a member of the **Transitional National Assembly** in August 2000.

MOHAMED SIAD BARRE (1916–1995). Military ruler and president of Somalia from 1969 to 1991. His year of birth has been given variously as 1912, 1916, 1919, and 1921, while his place of birth has also been the subject of disagreement. In 1980, he established a town Garbaharrey near the Juba River to commemorate his birth. Barre ordered the construction of Garbaharrey from scratch to become the capital of Gedo, a new region that was also established to honor his birth. Some of his official papers indicate that he was born in Ganane (Juba River) in 1916. Barre belongs to the Marehan subclan of the **Darood**; he migrated to **Mogadishu** during the Fascist era. In 1941, he joined the gendarmerie and, in the early 1950s, he was sent to **Italy** for further military training. In 1960, he was among the high-ranking offi-

cers to make up the first **Somali National Army**. Barre became the commander in chief of the armed forces in 1965 and major general in 1966. After the assassination of President **Abdirashid Ali Shermarke** on 15 October 1969, he led a military coup d'état and became the head of the **Supreme Revolutionary Council (SRC)** on 21 October.

Barre won early support from the masses, urban intellectuals, professionals, and the military because of his promises to end tribalism and corruption and forge a modern socialist state. He also sustained the policy of supporting African liberation movements and forced the adoption of a script for the Somali **language**. Although he officially banned **clan** loyalties, he depended on *nabaddono* (clan chiefs) to keep order in rural areas. When the **Somali Revolutionary Socialist Party (SRSP)** was formed in 1976, Barre made clan affiliation an important factor in officer status and appointment to key government office, and he ordered recruitment from his own Marehan sub-clan be increased. At the same time, he held the most sensitive military and civilian positions in the nation. He was the head of the state, chairman of the SRC and the Council of the Secretaries of State, secretary general of the SRSP, and commander in chief of the armed forces. During his rule, the press was censored and labor unions were banned. In keeping with his official ideology of “scientific socialism,” he also placed a large part of the economy under “state” control. Indeed, this centralization of power and money was one of the leading causes of the Somali civil war.

Barre's major concern was security. Immediately after the coup d'état, he established the **National Security Service (NSS)**, one of the most notorious intelligence operations in the country's history. He also made the Somali army one of the most powerful armies in sub-Saharan Africa. He bought weapons from both East and West during the cold war. In 1977, Barre used the army to seize **Ogaden** from **Ethiopia**, but was humiliated when the **Soviet-** and Cuban-backed Ethiopians reclaimed the territory in 1978. Barre also used the armed forces against the Somali people. In addition to many individual cases of torture and assassination, entire clans were targeted for execution, systematic rape, and village bombardment. The army also destroyed the grazing lands, water catchments, and grain reservoirs of the people, leading to mass starvation and death by thirst. By late 1980, internal as well as international pressure forced Barre to offer reforms allowing a multiparty system, legalizing the narcotic **qat**, revoking equal inheritance for **women**, and liberalizing the economy. However, it was too late. By 26 January 1991, Mogadishu was taken over by opposition forces loyal to the **United Somali Congress** and Barre fled to Garbaharrey. He attempted to recapture Mogadishu in mid-1991, but failed. After being denied asylum in **Kenya**, he went to Nigeria, where he died on 2 January 1995. *See also* **PAN-SOMALISM; WESTERN SOMALI LIBERATION FRONT.**

MOHAMUD ABDI NUR “JUJO” (c. 1923–1970s). Known also as “Jujo.” He was minister of general affairs in the first Somali cabinet in 1956. In 1959, he became minister of communication and public works, and in 1962–1964, he was minister of the interior. From 1964 to 1967, he was minister of state for the Presidency Council. Mohamud Abdi Nur “Jujo” was born in **Luug** of the **Dir clan**. His family migrated to **Baidoa** while he was very young and he completed his formal education there. He joined the **Somali Youth Club** in 1944. From 1950 to 1960, he held the office of general secretary of the **Somali Youth League** in Baidoa. In 1951, he was appointed a member of the **Territorial Council**; he was elected to the **Assemblea Legislativa** in 1956 and to the **Assemblea Nazionale** in 1959.

MOHAMUD FARAH HARBI (1920–1961). **Pan-Somali** political leader in the former Côte Française des Somalis (French Somaliland), now the Republic of **Djibouti**. In 1946, he was one of the founders of the Club de la Jeunesse Somali et Dankali (Dankali and Somali Youth Club), which evolved in 1947 into the political party Union Démocratique Somalienne (Somali Democratic Union, UDS). He was also the first native of the Côte Française des Somalis to be elected to the French National Assembly, which he accomplished in 1956. He led his party into the Pan-Somali National League, founded in **Mogadishu** in 1959. Harbi belonged to the Issa **clan** and grew up in Ali Sabieh, one of the main rail stations linking Djibouti with Dire Dawa in **Ethiopia**.

His formal education was limited and early in his life he worked on the railway. He later worked on the docks in the port of Djibouti and joined the Docker’s Union at the end of World War II. In 1947, Harbi helped to found the UDS and was one of the greatest and most eloquent speakers for the cause of both his party and his union. Notably, he spoke in his mother tongue, rather than in French; therefore, he gained a large following, not only among the Issas, but also among the Afars and other minorities, such as the Yemenites. He was deputy president of the Conseil du Gouvernement, the French colonial administration, in 1957. In the 1958 referendum campaign in which the French government under Charles de Gaulle offered autonomous self-government in a French “commonwealth” or complete independence, he campaigned for the independence of French Somaliland and his party offered a program of liberation from colonial domination and unification with the rest of Somalia. However, he lost the referendum and then conducted a campaign of protest alleging that the vote was rigged. For this, he was declared *persona non grata* by the colonial French authorities, who then expelled him from the country.

From the mid-1950s, Mogadishu, under the **United Nations** trusteeship, was open to all Somalis. In August 1959, Harbi moved to Mogadishu to participate in the national movement to form a Pan-Somali League. The movement was led by the **Somali Youth League** and supported by other ma-

for political parties, including Harbi's and the **Somali National League** of British Somaliland. Members of the **Assemblea Legislativa** also participated. At the conclusion of the first meeting of the Pan-Somali League, in December 1959, Harbi was unanimously elected to head the movement from a base in Cairo, with Egyptian support. There, he had better media coverage and exposure to the broader Pan-African movement. He also made contact with socialist regimes that supported African liberation movements. Mohamud Harbi died in October 1961 in the explosion of a specially commissioned small Air Egypt aircraft en route from Geneva to Cairo. Some believe the French Sécurité planted the explosive device.

MOHAMUD IBRAHIM ADEER (d. c. 1820). Sultan of Geledi, the father of the legendary Sultan **Yusuf Mahamud**. Sultan Mohamud opposed the forces that were attempting the restoration of the **Ajuran** Sultanate. Around 1799, he defeated the Gurgate confederacy led by the Ajurans. During his reign, the united Hintire and Hubeer also suffered defeat against the Geledi. When Sultan Mohamud died, his son Yusuf succeeded.

MOOD. Wealth in gold or silver. Traditionally, wealth in Somalia is either *nool* (living wealth) or *mood* (dead wealth). In pastoral Somalia, only camels were **nool**. Elsewhere in Somalia, nool included all **livestock**. In this, they were like their Arab neighbors, for whom wealth was either *naatiq* (speaking), meaning camels, or *abkam* (deaf), meaning gold and silver.

MOROOMBE. A legendary tyrant, the queen of Somalia. Moroombe is also known by many Somalis as "Arrawelo." There is little or no mention of her family and how she came to power. However, most of the folk tales of her life suggest that Moroombe is a mythical personage created by popular fantasy over the centuries. She is remembered as the castrator of men. She was fat and ugly, but also brilliant and wise. She used to set impossible riddles or tasks for men and, if her riddles were not solved and her wishes were not executed to her liking, she killed them or, if they were lucky, only castrated them. According to stories of Moroombe's life, she emancipated **women** folk, while men were either killed or made into eunuchs. As far as was known to her, only three were spared: her lover (until he made her pregnant), an old wizard who proved too clever for all her cunning tricks, and her own grandson, who would eventually kill her. In fact, the grandson was the son of the old wizard, who impregnated Moroombe's daughter.

As Moroombe's death relieved men, it saddened women folk, because under Moroombe, women were the dominant sex; after her death, Somalia would turn again into a man's world. Moroombe for women became an immortal heroine, a champion of women's liberation. In many places of Soma-

lia, there are symbolic tombs of Moroombe, stone mounds called *howaaltiir* (pillar tombs) or, in some parts of Somalia, *taallotirriyaad* (pillar monuments). Tradition holds that whenever men pass by one of these “tombs,” they throw stones onto it with a curse upon Moroombe. The mounds themselves might well have been created in this way over the centuries. On the contrary, women place green branches and fresh leaves on the mounds as a sign of respect for the greatest woman ruler in Somali oral tradition. Moroombe’s maxims are remembered as advice to women even today; among the surviving sayings are: Whatever you will accept in the end, refuse it first; Never grant your favors to men ungrudgingly; Be the wrongdoer, but always cry for sympathy; Commit infidelity, but always deny it, so as to pretend having a clean conscience.

MORYAAN. This word, widely used in the last years of the military regime, refers to young homeless boys, mostly orphans or runaways and sometimes known as *‘iyaal maroodi* (elephant’s children), who established gangs. They were used by **Mohamed Farah Aideed** to run **Mohamed Siad Barre** out of **Mogadishu**. More recently, the word refers to armed thugs given to looting, rape, murder, and extortion.

MUGAMBO PADDY RICE PROJECT (MPRP). A **cooperative development** project. In 1980, Mugambo, a large village with 3,500–4,000 inhabitants on the banks of the Juba, became the site of a multipurpose agricultural project called the Mugambo Paddy Rice Project that was expected to produce paddy rice and cotton crops.

However, by early 1985, due to insufficient financing and inefficient contractors, the project began to falter. Only one-third of the land was cleared and only 40 percent of irrigation and drainage canals were completed. By 1987, the project was stagnant because of poor maintenance, a lack of parts, a shortage of skilled workers and, most importantly, managerial problems. In addition to the economic failure of the project, traditional farming in general and the Mugambo community in particular were disrupted. The imposition of cooperative development was alien to the traditional ethos of farming, grazing, and hunting. Moreover, working conditions on the project were harsh; to the inhabitants, working on the project was no different from the forced labor of colonial times. Most of the village farms were confiscated by eminent domain without compensation to the owners. Farmers were often less productive because they had to walk long distances to the fields. The new irrigation canals also made access to the fields difficult, especially during the floods of the rainy season. **Women** and children preferred to work on the **banana** plantations. Nomads were no longer free to browse on the fallow farmlands during the dry season, nor did they have access to the river.

Health and veterinary services were not improved. Malaria became endemic. School dropouts increased. *See also* **IRRIGATED FARMING**.

MUNAAQIB. From the Arabic *manaqib*, it means biographical literature dealing with acts and deeds of the founders of Islamic legal schools of thought. Generally, this literature is written by students of the school founders and covers the qualities, virtues, and behaviors of founders; in addition, the literature provides ample information about genealogy, place of birth or death, and the truth of founders' sayings. However, immediately after the development of Islamic mysticism and the cult of saints, *manaqib* literature began dealing with figures as saints or mystics. Thus, the *manaqib* literature tended to become more hagiographical instead of being only biographical.

In Somalia, this literature is called *munaaqib*. The followers of a *tariqa* (order) recite the *Munaaqib* of their founder during festive gatherings. It is also common for certain families to adopt a tradition of holding a recitation night once per week in their household, when a group of sheikhs and students come to read chapters of the life story of the family's *tariqa* founder. Since the most popular *tariqa* in Somalia is the Qadiriyya, the most commonly recited *munaaqib* is *al-Fiyudhat al-Rabbaniyaa fi al-Ma'athir wa al-Awrad al-Qadiriyya* (Grace of God in the recitation of the glorious deeds of Qadiriyya), collected and edited by al-Haji Isma'il Ibn Sayid Muhammad Sa'id al-Qadiri. This *munaaqib* deals with traits and deeds of Sheikh 'Abdulqadir al-Jilaani, the founder of Qadiriyya order.

Somali hagiographers play a significant role in writing about Somali saints and those who founded or introduced branches of *tariqa* in the country, such as Uwaysiyya, founded by **Sheikh Uways Ibn Muhammad al-Barawi** al-Qadiri. Sheikh Uways introduced the Qadiriyya order in Somalia and founded his own branch, which is named after him. The popular *munaaqib* about Sheikh Uways was written by **Sheikh Abdi Ili** and entitled *al-Jawhar al-Nafis fi Khawas al-Shaykh Uways*. The same author wrote the hagiography of the founder of Zayla'iyya, **Sheikh 'Abdirahman al-Zayla'i**, entitled *Jala' al-'Aynayn fi Manaqib al-Shaykhayn: al-Shaykh al-Waliyyi Hajj Aways al-Qadiri wa al-Shaykh al-Kamil al-Shaykh 'Abd al-Rahman al-Zayla'i*. Both works are widely recited among the Qadiriyya followers in the Horn of Africa.

The most popularly recited *munaaqibs* are those on the marvelous aspect of Prophet Muhammad's life and on the virtues of his companions and of the orthodox caliphs. The favorite of all *munaaqibs* in this category are those written in poetic forms, such as al-Barzanji and al-Busayri in the praise of the Prophet. These *munaaqibs* are read during the Mawlid al-Nabi (Prophet Muhammad's birthday) or on any religious occasion, such as Ramadan nights, particularly **Laylatul Qadri** (the Night of Power). Since Somalia is an oral so-

ciety, many poets contributed generously in this regard, known as *Nabi Ammaan* (praise of the Prophet). It is said, *Nebi allow nimba afki nuur allow kugu amman* (Oh Prophet and the light of Allah, praised in the **languages** of diverse communities). The best poems in Somali on the virtues and exploits of the Prophet Muhammad are those composed by Sheikh Uways Ibn Muhammad al-Barawi, Sheikh ‘Abdirahman al-Zayla’i, and **Sheikh Qasim Ibn Muhyiddin al-Barawi**. These sheikhs recited poems on this subject in Arabic, **Af-Maay**, Tunni, and Chimbalazi languages, as well as **Af-Mahaa**.

MURIYAD. A gold or silver wedding necklace customarily given to the bride by the groom. It is composed of a string of gold or silver balls with trumpet ends usually filled with gum (*gomma laca*). The muriyad always remains the property of the bride, so that the man who asks for its return, even in the case of divorce, is greatly disdained. In one Somali poem, a mother says that she will give up her necklace to aid her daughter in trouble.

MUSE HAJI ISMAIL GALAAL (c. 1917–1980). A leading specialist on northern Somali literature and a member of the **Somali Language Commission**. Muse was of the nomadic **Issaq clan** of the Burao district. He learned English and became a teacher at the end of World War II. He studied linguistics at the School of Oriental and African Studies, in London, with B. W. Andrzejewski and, in 1954, returned home to teach and engage in research at the Sheekh Secondary School. Muse initially supported the Arabic script for Somali, but from 1955 spoke out in favor of the **Ismaniyya script**. At independence, Muse worked at the Departamento Culturale (Cultural Department) of the Ministry of Education and, in 1961, was appointed to the Somali Language Committee. Finally, Muse supported the Latin script put forth by **Shire Jama Mohamud** and, ironically, accused **Egypt** of sponsoring the Arabic script for political reasons. He further pointed out what he saw as the technical weakness of both the Arabic and Ismaniyya scripts. He was also appointed to the language commission of the military era and was on the staff of the **Akadeemiyaha Dhaqanka** (Somali Academy of Culture).

Muse published extensively in Somali and English, including *Hikamad Somali* (Somali wisdom), a collection of oral narratives published in 1956, and “Some Observations on Somali Culture,” published in *Perspectives on Somalia* in 1968. Muse was also interested in traditional sciences and technologies, especially astrology; thus, one of his contributions was *Stars, Seasons and Weather in Somali Pastoral Traditions*, published in 1970. He also collaborated with **Ahmed Artan Hange** and Omar Aw Nuh to write on Somali folklore for a Russian publication in 1974. Muse died in December 1980. In 1994, Charles Gesheker established the Muse Haji Ismail Galaal

Prize, to be awarded annually at the African Studies Association meetings for the best original contribution by a Somali author at the conference.

MUSEO DELLA GARESA. The Museo della Garesa (Palace Museum), later the National Museum of Somalia, was one of the earliest museums in sub-Saharan Africa and the first in Eastern Africa to publish, in 1934, a comprehensive catalog of its collections. The museum was housed in a late-19th-century mansion that was the seat of the government of Sayid Sa'id, sultan of **Zanzibar**, who ruled from 1806 to 1856. The building served as the home and office of the *wakiil* (viceroy) of the sultanate in **Mogadishu**. During this period, the sultan of Zanzibar was also sultan of Muscat and was in control of the **Banadir** region of the Somali Coast.

The mansion was so impressive it was called a palace: *Garesa* is derived from the Arabic *qasr*, which means “palace.” The palace was built and decorated in the early Islamic South Arabian style. Unfortunately, the building had deteriorated greatly by the time it was converted into a museum in 1933. Banadiri craftsmen restored much of the decorative work in wood, on the doors and windows; in plaster, in the courtyard and on the walls; and in paint, on the floors and ceilings. All the work was done in conformity with the original design. The renovation was carried out during the height of Italian colonialism, with the approval and assistance of Maurizio Rava, the Italian Governor of Somalia in 1931–1935. During World War II, and during the British Military Administration (BMA) of 1939–1950, the museum was neglected and the collections deteriorated. However, after independence, the museum was restored once again, collections were enlarged, and displays were redesigned.

The museum displayed an exhibit on the history of Somalia from the early Egyptian Pharaonic penetration, to the “Land of Punt,” to the present. Among items displayed in this exhibit were wooden headdresses, known as barshi, ancient artifacts from the days of the Egyptian invasion. The Persian influence was documented by the display of remains of armory, pottery, and marble decorations, all found along the Banadir coast and most of them dating back to the 10th century B.C.E. Also exhibited were gravestones and funeral inscriptions dating from 700 to 1000 B.C.E. and numerous ancient bronze coins that bore the name of Muslim sovereigns of South Arabia, Persia, and the Somali sultans. The items from this period all demonstrate the long history of a stable, civilized Muslim city life along the Somali coast. Cannons used in the invasion of Somalia by the Portuguese in the 15th century were also exhibited.

More recent Somali history was documented in the coin and stamp collections from the colonial era. The archives comprised papers and documents from precolonial and colonial periods. The largest part of the

museum's collections was devoted to paleontological findings ranging from those from Louis, Mary, and Richard Leakey's excavations to those of Donald Johanson's explorations in the **Horn** in the last half of the 20th century. The museum was administered by the Ministry of Culture and Higher Education. After the collapse of the Somali state in 1991, and the fall of Mogadishu into the hands of warlords, the museum was destroyed and the collections were stolen.

MUSEUM. *See* **MUSEO DELLA GARESA.**

MUSIC. Traditional Somali music expresses the life of the community: the suffering of war, the hard work of tilling the land, the sorrow of the death of a relative or close friend, as well as the happiness of a good harvest or hunting expedition, a marriage, or a birth. In Somalia, music was a feature in towns and villages, since the pastoralists considered music somewhat below a man's dignity. The pastoralists' preferred "music" was singing, stamping, and clapping.

There are three types of Somali music: folk, lyric, and modern. Traditional musical instruments, mainly used by the riverine communities, the coastal Banadiris, and the inhabitants of the Bajuni Islands in the Indian Ocean, are usually a part of folk music. These instruments include the "membranophone" instruments: drums such as *chapua* (ceremonial drum), *gooma* (small drum), *kayamba*, *medhondhe*, *makdar gaab* (short drum), *msondho* (high ceremonial drum), *nasaro* (high ritual drum), *reeme*, *yoomo*, and *vuuma* (small drum). There are also "odiophone" instruments, for striking or shaking, such as *daf* (oriental tambourine), *kayaaba* (a dried vegetable with seeds inside), *shumuf* (wooden or vegetable ankle rattles), **shambal** (wooden clappers), *utlaas* (brass plates), *zipaandhe* (bound sticks), and *zumaari* (double clarinet). Stringed instruments include *kinaandha* (lute), **shareero** (guitar), and *seese* (one-chord violin). Wind instruments include **buun**, **gobeys**, and *mdhuube* (different types of portable pianos), *muufe* or *peembe* (horns), **malkat** (wooden trumpet), and *vuugwo* (long, wooden pipe blown as a trumpet).

Lyrical Somali music is also known as **hello** and is characterized by foreign elements, such as a slow tempo and lilting melodies. The form of *hello* singing is a new genre in contemporary Somali poetry, having come into being in the 1940s. Modern Somali music, however, is a combination of the folk and lyrical music with an overlay of Asiatic rhythms and patterns founded on the pentatonic scale. Foreign influences in Somali modern music have undoubtedly enriched the musical culture of the country for the past century, but unfortunately they have also weakened the traditional ethnic Somali music, which was characterized mainly by the polyrhythmic talking drum of continental Africa. *See also* **DANCE; HEES.**

MUSTAFA SHEIKH HASSAN (1927–1983). Painter, sculptor, and folklorist. He was born into the Harin subclan of the **Reewin** at Mooro Waraabe, near Berdale in the Alta Juba region. He was a member of the **Somali Language Commission** and invented a script called *Kontonbarkadle* (The Blessed Fifty) for **Af-Maay** in the late 1950s. A graduate of the Scuola Politica Amministrativa in 1958), he was a *commissario distrettuale* (district commissioner) from 1959 to 1964 in Afmadow, **Baidoa**, Jilib, Jamame, Bal’ad, and Beled Weyne. In 1964, Mustafa Sheikh Hassan was elected to parliament. He was a trader in Kampala, Uganda, in the late 1970s and in Jeddah, Saudi Arabia, afterward. He tape recorded in Af-Maay traditional knowledge of plants, human anatomy, and the wildlife of the Reewin countryside. He was also known for his popular drawings, such as his depiction of the Somali man chained by the legs, arms, and head by the five colonial powers. Another of his famous images was that of the *maandeeq* (she-camel), which portrayed the Somali nation milked by all Somalis. He also portrayed Somalis as sheep preyed upon by colonial beasts.

MUSUQ-MAASAQ. Bribery. Musuq-maasaq involves a member of the legislature selling his vote, a minister demanding a percentage of a government contract, or a clerk who will not issue a license or mailman who will not find a piece of mail until he has received a gift. This is the same as the *dash* or *kola* in English-speaking West Africa. Musuq-maasaq infected all levels of government. Corrupt government officials were often called *dufanlayaal* (“greasy,” as in their palms are greased). The more you pay, the better your chances to do business. Even the lowest clerk in an office expects a token to perform the work he is paid to do. If the businessman refuses to pay, he or she fails to win the contract. It is futile to complain openly. This practice has been prevalent, indeed pervasive, since the days of the trusteeship administration in the 1950s.

One explanation is that in earlier days it was traditional to give gifts to chiefs, sheikhs, or professional healers or craftsmen when one was receiving some special service from them. Another explanation is that there is little sense of obligation to people outside one’s own **clan**, village, or region and, therefore, one must create that obligation with a gift. More importantly, the nomadic culture introduced this practice to the urban centers and the civil services of the country. In the nomadic tradition, there is no distinction between public and private property; therefore, there is no perceived harm in using government privileges or rights for private purposes. Thus, not only is bribery widespread, but theft is as well, though often those who steal are rather surprised to find that they are called thieves.

– N –

NAIROBI DECLARATION OF 24 MARCH 1994. A United Nations-sponsored “informal consultation” in Nairobi for the Somali faction leaders from 11 to 23 March 1994. This meeting took place after three days of **Group Twelve (G-12)** Conference meetings in Cairo and a year after the signature of the **Addis Ababa Agreement of 27 March 1993**, which had not even gotten off from the ground. At this time, the signatories were divided into two groups: the G-12, led by **Ali Mahdi Mohamed**, and the **Somali National Alliance**, led by **Mohamed Farah Aideed**. After two weeks of deliberation, the leaders of the two groups agreed to restore the territorial integrity and sovereignty of the Somali state; to renew pledges of cease-fire throughout the country; and to prepare a general meeting between the signatories of the Addis Ababa Agreement and the leaders of the **Somali National Movement** on 15 April 1994 in **Mogadishu** to work out the modalities of hosting a national reconciliation conference on 15 May 1994. This conference would establish a legislative assembly to select a president, vice president, and prime minister. On 24 March 1994, **Ali Mahdi Mohamed**, on behalf of the G-12, and **Mohamed Farah Aideed**, on behalf of the Somali National Alliance, signed the declaration.

NASHUUTHY. From the Arabic *nashazah* (disobey), the legal status of a **woman** who is neither married nor divorced, but in limbo until death. When a man declares to and convinces the court that his wife has disobeyed him without good reason but he does not divorce her, then the *qadi* (judge) pronounces that she is nashuuthy. In **Islam**, divorce serves both husband and wife, because they both may remarry and start new lives. However, on the rare occasions when a husband refuses to divorce his wife or a wife fails to convince the court that there are grounds for divorce, she ends up a social pariah and may resort to migration, beggary, or prostitution to support herself. The husband can marry again, but she is forever a figure of scorn.

NASSIB BUUNTO (d. c. 1907). Leader of the Goshal confederation and the hero of antislavery. Though the Arabs addressed him as sultan of the Goshaland, his real name was Makanjira Che Zamani. His birthplace and date of birth are unknown. Goshal oral tradition indicates that Nassib Buunto was not a Goshal native, but it is evident that he was in Goshal in 1875, when he met the Egyptian expedition to Kismayu. Nassib Buunto was successful in establishing one of the most powerful confederations in the Goshaland, incorporating Somalis of Bantu origin as well as others. His diplomatic skills

intimidated some regional powers, who signed agreements of peace and cooperation recognizing him as the sole authority in the Gosha region. A number of foreign powers also made deals with him and recognized him as the sultan for all the Gosha. By 1892, Nassib Buunto was declared the sole authority over 46 villages of the Gosha on both banks of the Juba River, extending from Yoontoy at the mouth of the river in the south to Mfudu in the north.

In addition to his diplomatic skills, Nassib Buunto was also a charismatic military leader. Colonial reports estimated that between 25,000 and 40,000 militia were under his command. He possessed up to 1,000 guns, while most of his troops were armed with bows and poisonous arrows and spears. He was victorious over the Werday and the **Ogaden** clans. Nassib Buunto recruited the bulk of his fighters from the freed slaves who fled from their Italian landlords and Somali *abans* (protectors). He established a center for them in the Gosha that was later named after him, the Nassib Buunto Center or Nassib Buunto Village.

This center offered the escaped slaves not only refuge and freedom, but also a better way of life through the development of communal farming and cattle rearing and through training in new handicraft skills, new techniques for building houses, and the manufacturing of necessary tools and weapons. Nassib Buunto was celebrated as the African Spartacus for his fight for the freedom of slaves. In 1931, Umberto Bargoni published a book entitled, *Nella Terra di Nassib Bunto, lo Spartaco della Somalia Italiana* (In the land of Nassib Buunto, the Spartacus of Italian Somaliland). Another aspect of Nassib Buunto's power was his incredible magical power. He was remembered as a man who ordered crocodiles and hordes of bees to attack his enemies. Gosha oral tradition indicates that, in the war with the Ogadens, he could turn his troops into termite hills or make them invisible. Somalis as well as Goshans feared him and many of them paid tribute and taxes to be safe. In 1907, the Italians detained Nassib Buunto and hanged him. *See also REER GOLEED.*

NATIONAL MUSEUM OF SOMALIA. *See* **MUSEO DELLA GARESA.**

NATIONAL SECURITY SERVICE (NSS). One of the most powerful intelligence operations in Somalia, established with the assistance of the **Soviet Union**, immediately after the 1969 coup d'état by **Mohamed Siad Barre**. NSS training was identical to that of the *Komitet Gosudarstvenny Bezopasnosti* (KGB, Committee of State for Security) and it had unlimited powers of arrest and investigation. Both the civil service and the military were under its surveillance and the NSS reports played an important role in the promotion and demotion of government officials.

The NSS was an elite organization staffed by men from other intelligence units, such as the **Somali National Army**, the **Somali National Police Force**, the People's Militia, and a number of other intelligence operations headed mostly by trusted members of Barre's family. To be a member of the NSS, it was not only necessary to demonstrate loyalty to Siad Barre, but it was also preferable to belong to Barre's subclan, the Marehan. From 1969 to 1981, the service was headed by Barre's son-in-law **Ahmad Suleiman Abdalla**, who was succeeded by Mohamed Jibril and Ali Hussein Dinle, each of whom served for five years, before January 1991, which marked the end of the military administration. Although the NSS was supposed to "maintain public order," in fact it was Barre's personal guard. Five thousand men, almost all from the Marehan subclan, were stationed in **Mogadishu**, where Barre lived most of the time.

After the 1977 **Ogaden** fiasco and the 1978 coup attempt, the NSS jailed about 100 people, mainly from the armed forces, and subsequently ordered the execution of 17 of them. Thereafter, the military government adopted new policies to suppress opposition to Barre's military regime. The new security apparatus included the **Mobile Military Court**, the **Regional Security Council**, and the **Hangash** (military police). These new surveillance organizations were given absolute authority to detain people indefinitely. New emergency laws were adopted that placed civilians under the jurisdiction of military tribunals and military police. From 1988, guerrilla movements sprang up all over Somalia. As a result, Barre declared a state of emergency and enacted harsh new measures against opposition elements. However, in 1990 his power was reduced and, in January 1991, his office was shelled and the NSS escorted Barre to his eventual exile in Nigeria.

NATIONAL THEATER. In colonial times, Somali performing arts—poetry, **dance**, storytelling, and singing **hees**—were neither respected nor encouraged. Theaters and cinemas were segregated. During the trusteeship period, in the former Italian Somaliland (1950–1960), particularly during the transitional government of 1956–1960, a small amphitheater, the Teatro Duna (Theater on the Dune), was built in **Mogadishu** for the performing arts. *Miyi Iyo Magaalo* (Country versus town), a play that dealt with all the social dichotomies of the time, educated versus uneducated, literate versus illiterate, colonial versus independent, traditional versus modern marriage, was performed there, as were other similarly nationalistic plays. The National Theater building in Mogadishu, which opened in 1966 and seated 1,500 people, was a gift from the People's Republic of China. This became the home of Somali culture and traditions, showing films and hosting poetry and singing competitions and concerts. The theater was also a venue for important national and international conferences and seminars. The building was vandal-

ized during the civil war and only a concrete skeleton remains. *See also* **AKADEMIYAHA DHAQANKA; RADIO; WALAALO HARGEISA.**

NATIONAL UNITED FRONT (NUF). This party emerged in 1955 over a specific issue: the return of Haud and the Reserved Area to the British protectorate of Somaliland. These territories were handed over by Britain to **Ethiopia** in 1954 during the British Military Administration in the **Horn** in the aftermath of World War II. The founding fathers of this party were members of the **Somali National League** (SNL) delegation to the United Kingdom and the **United Nations** in 1955 led by Michael Mariano to campaign for the return of Haud and the Reserved Area from **Ethiopia**. The failure of the campaign led to a split of this group and the establishment of the NUF as a party.

The NUF sought independence within the British Commonwealth. Unlike the SNL, the party was against immediate integration with the Trust Territory of Somalia because of the two totally different colonial legacies that the two regions inherited from **Italy** and **Britain**. Like the **Hizbiya Dastur Mustaqil al-Sumal** in the Trust Territory of Somalia, the NUF called for a federal system between the two regions, followed by a gradual integration. In the 1960 general election in the British Protectorate of Somaliland, the NUF won 1 of 33 seats in the Legislative Assembly. After independence and unification, the party did not compete in any further elections.

NOOL. Real or living wealth, specifically livestock. *See also* **MOOD.**

NORTHERN FRONTIER DISTRICT COMMISSION (NFDC). A two-member commission appointed by the British to report on the “public opinion of the inhabitants on the future government of the Northern Frontier District (NFD) of **Kenya**, that is, whether it should remain part of **Kenya** or be united with the Somali Republic. After the Kenya Constitutional Conference of 1962, an independent commission, composed of G. C. M. Onyiuke, a Nigerian lawyer, and Maj. Gen. M. P. Bogert, was appointed by the Colonial Office to investigate the wishes of the peoples of the NFD. The commission visited the six major districts: Garisa, Mandera, Moyale, Marsabit, Isiolo, and Wajir. The report established that about 90 percent of Somali **clans**, the Galla, and minority Muslims, approximately half the total population of NFD, inhabiting the six districts, were in favor of joining the Somali Republic as an autonomous unit. The other half, the Boran, Gabbra, Sakuye, Rendille, Riverine tribes, Oroma, and Turkana, opposed union with Somalia, while some of the Oroma, Sukuye, and Riverine areas were of mixed opinion. The results of the report did not satisfy the Somali Republic. Thus, in March 1963, the Somali Republic broke off diplomatic relations with

Britain, due to the “bad faith” in which it conducted itself on the matter, and the districts remained in Kenya. *See also* **NORTHERN PROVINCE PEOPLES PROGRESSIVE PARTY; NORTHERN PROVINCE UNITED ASSOCIATION.**

NORTHERN PROVINCE PEOPLES PROGRESSIVE PARTY (NPPPP).

The secessionist movement in the Northern Frontier District of **Kenya**, supported by the **Darood** and **Hawiye** clans of the region and some leaders of the Islamized Boran and the Rendille. The NPPPP stood for secession from Kenya before Kenyan independence and the creation of a separate colonial government to prepare for independence, not with Kenya but “as an autonomous unit” of Somalia. The NPPPP, though supported mainly by the Darood and Hawiye **clans** in the Garissa, Wajir, and Mandera districts, had influential and active branches in the other three districts: Moyale, Marsabit, and Isiolo.

NORTHERN PROVINCE UNITED ASSOCIATION (NPUA). A political party that emerged in the Northern Frontier District of **Kenya** to unite the antisecessionist movements of the region, especially the non-Somali Boran, Gabbra, Burji, and Konso. The NPUA’s headquarters were in Marsabit, but there was a Nairobi branch and supporters in the Moyale district. *See also* **NORTHERN PROVINCE PEOPLES PROGRESSIVE PARTY.**

NORTHERN RANGELAND DEVELOPMENT PROJECT (NRDP). More than half of Somali land is exclusively rangeland, the rest being arid and semiarid. In the north, the majority of the population are nomadic pastoralists. Thus, rangeland and water resources are important considerations in economic planning. Rangeland conservation started in the 1960s, when the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) and the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) helped local agencies to organize the NRDP to establish range management services, new forms of water conservation, and improved **livestock** care and breeding. Though the major grazing areas in the north were identified by 1974, two years later the NRDP failed because the UNDP and FAO withdrew funding for political reasons.

However, in 1977, the Kuwait Arab Fund for Economic and Social Development offered to support the project, but however limited their support to three northern regions, Togdheer, Sanaag, and Nugaal, and focused on vegetation management and resources conservation. In 1979, the military government also created the Wakaaladda Daaqa Qaranka (National Range Agency) for the conservation of **wildlife** and forests. By 1980, reserved grazing areas for 15 villages and towns were in operation, each covering 400 square kilometers, but grazing was rotated: half of the land was grazed dur-

ing the first rainy season (the *gu*), while the other half was grazed during the second (the *deyr*). By the mid-1980s, the NRDP had failed to recruit qualified staff and management or to have obtained sufficient funding from either the Somali government or foreign sources. Finally, the **Somali National Movement**, a northern faction opposed to **Mohamed Siad Barre**, shut down the NRDP operation.

NURUDDIN FARAH (1945–), English-language novelist and playwright, the winner of the 1998 Neustadt International Prize for Literature, “widely regarded as the most prestigious international literary award after the Nobel.” In 1980, Nuruddin also won the English-speaking Union Award. In 1991, he was awarded the Tucholsky Literary Award in Stockholm for his work as a literary exile. Almost all of his works have been written and published in English while in exile. Nuruddin was born in **Baidoa** in 1945 of an **Ogaden** father who served the British colonial administration as an interpreter. In 1957, Nuruddin’s father was transferred to Qallafo in southern **Ethiopia**, where he began both his Qur’anic and formal education. However, in 1963, the devastation of the Somalo-Ethiopian war over the disputed Ogaden region, of which Qallafo is a part, forced his family to flee to **Mogadishu**, where Nuruddin completed his secondary education. A government scholarship allowed him to study in India and he graduated with a bachelor’s degree in literature and philosophy from Punjab University in 1969.

Nuruddin returned to Mogadishu at the height of **Mohamed Siad Barre**’s military regime and became a high-school teacher and a part-time lecturer at the **Somali National University**. Initially, like many Somali intellectuals, he supported the military coup, or the “revolution.” He declared that “Somalia needed a revolution and therefore we all invested our hopes in it.” In 1970, *From a Crooked Rib*, his first novel, gave him a certain fame as the first Somali to be published in Heinemann’s African Writers Series, whose founding editor was Nigerian author Chinua Achebe. However, when Nuruddin’s early plays, such as *A Dagger in Vacuum*, were censored and suppressed as counterrevolutionary, he found himself in opposition to the Barre regime. His only published work, *From a Crooked Rib*, was condemned by the Marxists as bourgeois and, thus, also counterrevolutionary.

In 1974, Nuruddin was granted a postgraduate scholarship to study theater at the University of London, but after one year he transferred to the University of Essex, which he left a year later without a degree. His second novel, *A Naked Needle*, published in 1976 and also in the African Writers Series, brought about his final rupture with the Barre regime, which not only condemned the novel but declared him an enemy. Indeed, Nuruddin feared for his life and committed himself to a life in exile. He began writing a trilogy entitled *Variations on the Theme of an African Dictatorship*, the first of

which, *Sweet and Sour Milk*, published in 1979, won the English-speaking Union Literary Award. *Sardines* in 1981 and *Close Sesame* in 1983 completed the trilogy.

Nuruddin lived on his royalties, freelance writing, and part-time teaching. However, he never established residence or asked for asylum in any Western country. Since 1981, he has lived in one African country after another. He was a visiting scholar at the University of Jos, Nigeria, from 1981 to 1983. He then moved to the Gambia, where he finished *Maps*, the first novel of another trilogy, and completed the draft of the second, *Gifts*. From 1986 to 1989, he taught at the University of Khartoum, where he completed *Gifts* (published in Finnish in 1990, before the English publication in 1992) and began *Secrets*, the last novel of his second trilogy, published in 1998. From 1989 to 1991, he taught at Makerere University in Kampala, Uganda, where he met his second wife, Amina Mama. In 1991, he moved to Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, where he traveled widely and lived the closest to home he ever has since going into exile. In 1992, Nuruddin and wife moved to Kaduna, Nigeria, where two of his children were born. In 1999, he moved to Cape Town, South Africa, to write and teach.

Nuruddin's novels are mainly concerned with the impact of Barre's military dictatorship on the lives of ordinary Somalis. He is much admired for his political integrity and opposition to authoritarianism. Nuruddin is also known for writing sensitively about **women** and sometimes from a woman's point of view. In more than 30 years in exile, Nuruddin has never joined a political faction nor taken part in any effort directed against the dictatorial regimes under which he had lived.

NUUMBI. A ritual **dance** performed only at night, preferably after midnight, to reach a plane of spiritual ecstasy and trance that is supposed to be the manifestation of a master spirit. As the *jinn* (spirits) are in a state of constant struggle for power and influence, each cult group believes that its own **alaqad** (master spirit) is supreme over all the other spirits and that, through dance, they challenge or resist other spirits. Thus, the adherents of different cults openly compete with one another. When a disciple dancer, for instance, wishes to perform the ritual dance number of his particular **alaqad**, a member of another cult demands that the favorite dance of his cult be performed first. One of the dancers abruptly jumps into the arena and calls for the propitiatory hymn in honor of his master spirit. The choir then responds with full voice, chanting in unison and clapping, until the dancer works himself into an ecstasy, running and jumping erratically about the dance square. His rival then bursts into the circle, demonically crying out his own hymn. The choir and musicians, usually neutral and taking no sides in the supernatural duel, begin chanting and playing to the new formula as demanded by the second dancer-

disciple. The first dancer then angrily leaves the dance square, offended by the “impostor” who has “profaned” his dance offering. After resting for an hour, he jumps back in, chanting for his alaqad. His opponent then takes a rest until it is time to return. In this fashion, back and forth, the dancing and singing continue until dawn. *See also* **HEES; MINGIS; MUSIC.**

– O –

OBOO UMUR. Also Umur Aarag. In the **Af-Maay**, *oboo* is a title of respect for a grandfather or other elder. Oboo Umur, known also as Umur Qaanun (Umur the Lawgiver) was an Asharaf elder who founded Sarmaan village, south of **Huddur**, four hundred to five hundred years ago. He set laws and regulations for the **Reewin** people in general, particularly the Bay and Harqaan **clans**. In Oboo Umur’s time, the **Reewin** people were divided and were at war with the Arusi and Oromo in the northwest and the famine-stricken Somalis from the north, who the locals called Heewiye. Moreover, the defeat of **Ahmad Gurey** by the Ethiopian-Portuguese alliances and the collapse of the hinterland Islamic states caused another wave of migration to the **Inter-riverine region**, all of which contributed to social and economic crisis.

Oboo Umur introduced a new form of governance that was based on a combination of **Islamic** and customary law. He divided farmlands, grazing lands, and water reserves equally among the **clans**. He also introduced a form of zoning, separating residential from farming and grazing areas. Oboo Umur promoted rituals for solidarity, interdependence, and reconciliation. At the annual **Urur** ceremony, representatives of all Bay and Harqaan clans arrive at Sarmaan in the middle of the dry season (*jilaal*), and gather in a predetermined place. Each group brings assigned *surahs* (chapters) from the Qur’an written on a **looh** (board), along with sacrificial animals, food, and drink. At the conclusion of the ceremony, the entire assembly joins in prayer and the **taalil** (holy water) is distributed to be sprinkled on fields, flocks, and human beings to ensure a great harvest and prosperity. Oboo Umur’s descendant’s conducted such rituals after his death. His shrine and the shrine of his brother, Oboo Abdalla, are still visited.

OGADEN. Desert region in the northwestern part of Somalia, populated by the nomadic Ogadeni **clan** and other ethnic Somali clans. The region was part of the Italian Fascist Governo della Somalia (1935–1941) and then came under British occupation until 1948. When **Britain** withdrew in 1948, the region became part of **Ethiopia**. Since then, the region has been an area of constant dispute between Somalia and Ethiopia. Major military confrontations date

back to the early 1960s after Somalia gained independence. The **Ogaden Wars** of 1964 and 1978 were devastating to both countries. Somalia lost over 8,000 men in 1978, while thousands of guerrilla fighters in the Somali-sponsored **Western Somali Liberation Front** died as well. In addition, Somalia's economy was drained by an influx of about 650,000 Somali and Ethiopian **refugees**. The Ogaden War of 1978 marked the beginning of the end of the dream of **pan-Somalism** and of the creation of Greater Somalia. Since the end of the Mengistu Haile Mariam regime, Ethiopia has given the Ogaden, now known as Zone 5, political autonomy. *See also* **ORGANIZATION OF AFRICAN UNITY; UNITED STATES OF AMERICA; SOVIET UNION**.

OGADEN WARS (1963–1983). The unsuccessful attempts of successive Somali governments to liberate by military conquest the ethnically Somali **Ogaden** region of **Ethiopia**. Historically, the Ethiopian-Somali conflict was religious (*see* **AHMAD GUREY**), dating back to the 15th century, when Christian Ethiopia was resisting the Islamic advance. During the colonial partition of the **Horn**, the Somali-dominated Ogaden and Haud regions were ceded to Ethiopia by the successive agreements of 1884, 1887, 1897, 1942, 1948, and 1955 (*see* **BRITAIN, ITALY, PAN-SOMALISM**). Immediately after independence and unification of the former British Protectorate of Somaliland with the Trust Territory of Somalia, a border dispute arose with Ethiopia. Indeed, there was not (and there still is not) an internationally recognized border. The first clash was in the summer of 1963, when Ethiopian troops burned Ogadeni villages on the "provisional administrative line." The **Organization of African Unity** served as intermediary between the two countries, but to no avail. Somalia supported the Ogaden liberation movement (*see* **WESTERN SOMALI LIBERATION FRONT, WSLF**) and, indeed, created a special Ministry of Somali Affairs, the top post of which was always held by an Ogadeni. The bloodiest clash took place in 1977–1978, when the WSLF (actually the **Somali National Army**) occupied most of the disputed Ogaden but was driven out by Cuban-Ethiopian forces with the military backing of the **Soviet Union**. In 1982–1983, Ethiopia crossed the de facto border and occupied the strategic towns of Galdogob, Balamballe in the Mudug region, and other pastoral wells and major trade routes. Eventually, Somalia signed a treaty renouncing its claims over Ogaden in 1983. *See also* **ARAB COUNTRIES; UNITED NATIONS; UNITED STATES OF AMERICA**.

LOLOHA HORUMARINTA REER MIYIGA. A rural development campaign of 1974. The major objective of this massive campaign was to teach at least a million nomads how to read and write in the official form of Somali,

Af-Mahaa. As the campaign involved the mobilization of every student in the country, it effectively unified the country in the use of the written, official **language**. Before 1972, all Somali languages were spoken only and all written business was conducted in Arabic and the colonial languages, Italian, English, or French. After 1972, the military government imposed the use of Af-Mahaa in a Latin-based orthography as the national language. Immediately, in all cities and towns, there were campaigns to make everyone literate in Af-Mahaa, though many were literate in other languages. Af-Mahaa was made the main language of instruction in all the schools. By 1974, an acceptable standard of this new literacy had been reached in urban areas.

The ensuing literacy drive involved a national mobilization. Schools and colleges all over the nation were closed and some 25,000, almost the entire student population, were sent into the nomadic areas as teachers. The motto of the campaign was *Bar ama baro* (What you know, teach; What you don't know, learn). All accepted the egalitarian ideal initially. The student teachers did not go out as arrogant urbanites to instruct the nomads, but went rather to share with them a newfound and exciting knowledge. And at the time it was hoped that the student teachers, in their turn, would learn from the nomads about their traditions and their survival skills for a harsh environment. At least one million nomads attained basic literacy in one year. In addition, a new and more concrete sense of national unity was created. However, the campaign imposed one Somali language, Af-Mahaa, over others that also had claims to legitimacy. This would be a major bone of contention and a cause of disunity in the future.

OLYMPIC HOTEL BATTLE. The bloodiest military confrontations between Somalis and the **United States of America** and the cause of American withdrawal from the **United Task Force** in Somalia.

The U.S. mission, over 28,000 U.S. troops sent in December 1992 in what was known as **Operation Restore Hope**, had a humanitarian mandate to feed the hungry and heal the sick. However, after the collapse of **Mohamed Siad Barre**, Somalia was not a state functioning under the rule of law, as the basic institutions of civil society, such as a police force, did not exist. Moreover, the general population was armed to the teeth. Therefore, both the U.S. and **United Nations** (UN) missions had to provide their own security, which inevitably involved armed conflict with the militias, particularly after May 1993, when the UN set up its own operation, the **United Nations Operation in Somalia** (UNOSOM II), led by the American admiral Jonathan Howe. **Mohamed Farah Aideed** felt threatened by the new developments and his anti-UN rhetoric led to the June 5 incident when 24 Pakistani UN peacekeepers were killed in an ambush in **Mogadishu** (*see* **MISSION CREEP**). Both the United States and the UN identified Aideed as a threat that should

be eliminated. The UN Security Council called for the apprehension of those responsible for the ambush and Admiral Howe put a bounty on Aideed's head. However, Aideed was getting stronger and it seemed that a political solution without him was almost impossible.

On 5 October, the Rangers received a tip that Aideed was chairing a meeting at the Olympic Hotel in Mogadishu. At 3:00 P.M., about 100 U.S. Army Rangers and 12 elite Delta Commandos, with 8 MH-60 Black Hawk helicopters, set out from Mogadishu Airport to capture Aideed. However, when the Rangers arrived at the hotel, they were surprised with a torrent of AK-47 and rocket fire. Three U.S. Black Hawk helicopters were gunned down immediately. Charlie Company, or Quick Reaction Force, came in to assist but was ambushed and retreated to the airport. The United States called upon the Pakistani and Malay contingents to come to their assistance, but they did not. The U.S. Rangers fought with the militia around the Olympic Hotel until dawn without either UN consent or aid. The surviving rangers were rescued by their own troops. Some 18 American soldiers were killed, 77 were wounded, and 2 became prisoners of war. A video of a humiliating interview with one of the prisoners of war, Chief Warrant Officer Michael Durant, and another video showing a dead GI dragged through the streets of Mogadishu, were seen widely in the international media. In 2002, Hollywood released a film entitled *Black Hawk Down*.

OON ('ON). From the Arabic *'awaan* (middle-aged cow). In the **Banadiri**, it is a person who looks younger than he or she really is.

OPERATION PROVIDE RELIEF. The U.S. airlift operation to provide humanitarian aid to central and southern Somalia (**Baidoa**, **Bardera**, Belet Weyn, and **Huddur**), then dubbed by the international media as the Triangle of Death. The airlift extended its operations also to **Mogadishu** and **Kismayu**. This airlift was conducted from **Kenya** starting in August 1992 and provided emergency aid regularly until the arrival of the **United Task Force** in Somalia in December 1992. The operation suffered from looting and banditry on the ground by militias loyal to **Mohamed Farah Aideed**. The United Kingdom eventually joined the operation and sent two Royal Air Force aircraft to Mombasa, Kenya.

OPERATION RESTORE HOPE. The U.S.-led, **United Nations**-approved operation in Somalia from 9 December 1992 to 4 May 1993. As international concern over the civil war and famine in Somalia grew, the administration of George Bush decided on a major humanitarian intervention on 25 November 1992. Within a month, the U.S. Central Command (CENTCOM), working with the Joint Chiefs of Staff, developed a mission statement and an opera-

tional concept of what was known later as Operation Restore Hope. On 3 December 1992, the UN Security Council (UNSC) adopted Resolution 794, declaring the situation in Somalia “intolerable” and endorsing the deployment of a military force led by a “member state” to “create a secure environment.”

American forces included 33,000 troops from the naval forces already in the Indian Ocean area, the First Marine Expeditionary Force at Camp Pendleton, California, the army’s 10th Mountain Division, as well as the air force personnel. The operation’s mandate involved four stages: marines land in **Mogadishu** and secure port facilities and airfields; U.S. forces work with the **United Task Force (UNITAF)** to secure lines of communication to central and southern Somalia; the forces extend protection for relief supply convoys; and the operation is handed over to a UN operation known as the **United Nations Operation in Somalia II (UNOSOM II)**.

The first three stages were executed quickly and professionally. During a short period, UNITAF not only secured the Mogadishu and Kismayu ports and the airport in Mogadishu, Kismayu, **Baidoa**, and other cities in the central and southern region, but it also made them functional. By 15 April 1993, UNITAF engineers repaired and improved a total of 1,800 kilometers of roads. Relief convoys were provided all necessary security escorts, food and medication were effectively distributed, and the death toll dropped dramatically.

However, Operation Restore Hope failed to reach the fourth goal, peace and stability in Somalia, which was far more important than the successful and well-publicized marine landing in Mogadishu and UNITAF deployment in central and southern Somalia. The operation lacked a proper political dimension. Indeed, CENTCOM removed or changed some critical political guidelines that were part of the original proposal for Operation Restore Hope, which would have involved Civil Affairs Officers and the army Military Police in the restoration of the **Somali National Police**. CENTCOM ignored all of these provisions, concerning itself instead with a quick fix. The operation was in place only a few weeks before the change in U.S. administrations and commanding officers were not well prepared for this change or for a later development, the UN’s requirement that the operation’s forces be multinational and led by the United States (UNSC Resolution 794) and its simultaneous authorization of the expansion of the mission of UNOSOM II (UNSC Resolution 814). *See also* **HUMANITARIAN OPERATION CENTER**.

ORGANIZATION OF AFRICAN UNITY (OAU). The OAU was created on 25 March 1963 to promote African unity and peace. Somalia was a founding member but soon showed that it fit the characterization by an Ethiopian historian who called it, “the troubled child of Africa,” because of conflict with

its neighbors, **Ethiopia, Kenya, and Djibouti**. In February 1964, the OAU Council of Ministers meeting in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, was divided over which side to support in the Somali-Ethiopian border crisis. The council passed a resolution calling for a cease-fire and a settlement of the territorial dispute. A cease-fire agreement was finally reached between the two countries at Khartoum, Sudan, on 30 March 1964.

However, border disputes flared up again in the spring of 1965 and Somalia appealed to the OAU to send a fact-finding mission, but Ethiopia denied Somali claims and would not facilitate the OAU mission. The situation remained tense until the government of **Abdirashid Ali Shermarke** and **Mohamed Haji Ibrahim Egal** came to power in 1967 and promoted a policy of regional détente. Somalia also allied with moderate governments instead of with radicals. The government did not relinquish Somalia's territorial claims, but hoped to create an atmosphere in which the issue could be peacefully negotiated. In September 1968, Egal made an official visit to Ethiopia, the first by a Somali head of government. Somalia and Ethiopia agreed to establish commercial air and communication links and terminate the state of emergency in the border regions.

As part of its pan-Somali objectives, Somalia supported all Somali liberation movements with offices in **Mogadishu** and also offered training and scholarships. In December 1965, in an OAU-sponsored meeting at Arusha, Tanzania, Somalia negotiated over the Northern Frontier District cause and signed an agreement with Kenya to bring an end to political activity in the disputed areas in the NFD. Similarly, in 1967, Somalia supported a referendum for independence in French Somaliland, followed by unification with the Somali Republic. The Somali Republic feared the outcome and thus pressed the OAU to adopt a resolution urging France to ensure that the referendum was conducted in a just and democratic manner.

During the early years of the military era, the **Supreme Revolutionary Council (SRC)**, without rejecting its pan-Somali principles, immediately made it clear it would adhere to the policy of détente. This commitment was underscored by **Haile Selassie**'s state visit to Somalia in 1971 to participate in the East and Central African Summit Conference, and by Somalia hosting the 12th OAU summit, in Mogadishu in June 1974.

After the deposition of Haile Selassie in the 1974 coup and the discovery of oil and natural gas deposits in the **Ogaden**, the SRC urged active Somali intervention in the Ogaden to recover *Somalia irridenta* (lost Somalia). Thus, from 1975, the SRC supported the newly reorganized **Western Somali Liberation Front (WSLF)**, led by pan-Somalists operating in the Ogaden. To deal with the new border conflict, the OAU created a Good Office Committee of eight states to mediate, but Somalia did not comply with the OAU and, by the late summer of 1977, Somali national forces under the

cover of WSLF had invaded the Ogaden and within a few weeks had captured most of the disputed territory. Meanwhile, Ethiopia appealed to the OAU, but Somalia denied having invaded. In March 1977, Cuba's mediation also failed and the Soviets provided massive military supplies to Ethiopia and abandoned Somalia. Thus, Somalia broke off diplomatic relations with the **Soviet Union**. Ethiopia prevailed and, by March 1978, Somalia was defeated and withdrew from the Ogaden. *See also* **PAN-SOMALISM**.

– P –

PAN-SOMALISM. The post-World War II ideology favoring a single state for all Somalis. Pan-Somalists believe that there are sufficient common cultural characteristics among Somalis in the **Horn of Africa** to justify creating one Somali state transcending colonial borders separating Somali from Somali, much as many other ethnicities have been divided in Africa. Some Somali political parties of the postwar period promoted the notion of a “Greater Somalia.” European colonial powers also gave lip service to the idea whenever it suited them.

On 1 July 1960, the Somali Republic was formed from the unification of former British Somaliland and the Italian-administered Trust Territory of Somalia. This republic regarded itself as the protector of all ethnic Somalis in the **Horn**. The five-point star in the heart of the republic's flag indicates five Somalias: two independent and united in 1960 and the remaining three that were then under French, Ethiopian, and Kenyan administration. However, there is no agreement on how the grand design of a Greater Somalia might be achieved. The **Somali Youth League**, a leading proponent of Pan-Somalism, believed the liberation and unification of Somali peoples were sacrosanct and nonnegotiable. Other parties, such as **Hizbiya al-Dastur** **Mustaqil al-Sumal** and the **National United Front**, argued that Somali territories with different colonial experiences and different **clan** identities must first settle internal conflicts and then become independent (initially separate from one another), before taking the next step of forming a unified Somalia. Still other leaders regarded a Greater Somalia as only a very long-range goal.

Both the civilian government (1960–1969) and the military regime (1969–1990) promoted pan-Somalism as a central ideological tenet to the extent that it affected their internal political policy and international diplomacy. Indeed, Somalia has since independence engaged in at least four “wars of liberation,” in addition to numerous border clashes, which all failed and eventually caused the dissolution of the state itself, so that there came to be no sense of Somalism, let alone pan-Somalism. Those politicians who were perceived as lacking or betraying the pan-Somali faith were eliminated, indeed, often

assassinated. Ordinary Somalis also paid dearly in terms of lives and material resources in senseless conflicts that could well be said to have destroyed the economy, as every penny went into the army. The proud **Somali National Army** was humiliated on several occasions, most importantly in the **Ogaden War** of 1978, with **Ethiopia**. One year earlier, in 1977, the military regime had relinquished its claim on **Djibouti** after the Djiboutians overwhelmingly voted against the amalgamation of their territory into Somalia. Similarly, Somalis in Ethiopia and **Kenya** accepted their Ethiopian and Kenyan political identities. Furthermore, after the fall of the military regime, the former British Somaliland chose to secede rather than to remain part of what it came to call "Somali South." Thus, pan-Somalism was a total failure, though this ideology still troubles the Somali intelligentsia, to the confusion of friends and neighbors alike, and obstructs the reestablishment of a Somali state.

PARAMILITARY UNITS. Reserve forces, militias, or irregular military or police units called into action at times of foreign or domestic emergency as units in the **Somali National Army** (SNA). After independence, the SNA relied on paramilitary units to help maintain national security and preserve internal stability. In 1961, the Women's Auxiliary Corps was established and qualified young **women** were trained for administrative and service positions. They enlisted for two years and served mostly at SNA headquarters in **Mogadishu**. During the border clashes with **Ethiopia** in 1964, about 2,000 men volunteered and trained at special camps in the regional capitals as a reserve unit. In 1967, another reserve unit, the Home Guard Corps, made up of 6,000 trained men, was established. These reservists were not paid after training. In 1972, the military government established yet another, much larger and more visible and effective reserve unit that was paid even after training, the People's Militia or **Gulwadayal** (victory pioneers).

After Somalia was defeated in the **Ogaden War** of 1977–1978, the government created paramilitary units in each of the many **refugee** camps. **Mohamed Siad Barre** also encouraged the creation of **clan** militia trained, armed, and financed by the SNA. This was a divide and conquer political strategy that would allow him to strengthen his own base by pitting **clans** against each other; it also guaranteed, after his departure, continual social and political instability, indeed the collapse of the state. In addition, the SNA continued training and financing the **Western Somali Liberation Front**, with the objective of regaining the **Ogaden**. However, these militias were a political liability, as they ensured that Somalia would become a killing field after Barre's fall from power. *See also* **HANGASH; REGIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL**.

PEOPLE'S ASSEMBLY. Or Golaha Sha'biga, the legislative body established by the constitution of 1979, under **Mohamed Siad Barre's** military

regime. It was composed of 171 elected members. However, the election on 30 December 1979 was really a referendum, as voters were allowed only to vote “yes” or “no” on the entire list of 171 candidates from the **Somali Revolutionary Socialist Party (SRSP)**.

SRSP officials chose candidates without reference to geographical or tribal factors; indeed, candidates were to be selected from all sectors of society. In addition, six of the candidates had to be **women**, 20 were from the armed forces, and 14 were “independent.” According to the 1979 constitution, the president, then Mohamed Siad Barre, had the power to nominate six more deputies, which would bring the number up to 177. The criteria for the selection of the latter was their “dedication to science, arts, and culture” and, more intriguingly, what Barre called their “highly esteemed patriotism.” Nearly four million Somalis voted in 1979, 99.91 percent for the government. Only 1,826 voted against. There were 1,480 invalid ballots. At its first meeting, on 24 January 1980, the People’s Assembly elected Brig. Gen. **Ismail Ali Abokor** as speaker and, on 27 January, Siad Barre was unanimously elected president for a six-year term. Thus began the first elected government since the 1969 military coup.

PESTALOZZA AGREEMENT. See **ILIG AGREEMENT OF 1905.**

PUNTLAND STATE OF SOMALIA. Unlike the **Republic of Somaliland**, Puntland State, named after ancient Punt, famed for its frankincense, is not a secessionist, but an autonomous regional administration established for the northeast region of Somalia at the Garowe Conference on 24 July 1998. This conference was attended by 450 delegates representing all **Daroods** of the Majerteen, Dhulbahante, Warsangeli, Lelcase, and Awrtable subclans. Puntland is made up of the Bari, Nugaal, and Sool regions, parts of the Mudug, and the Sanaag and Togdheer regions. **Abdillahi Yusuf Ahmed**, a Majerteen, was chosen as president and Mohamed Abdi Hashi, a Dhulbahante, was chosen as deputy president. The conference also endorsed the creation of a 69-member parliament and a ministerial government of nine, but it called for a federated nation of Somalia with autonomous states or regions. Garowe is the capital. See also **SOMALI SALVATION DEMOCRATIC FRONT.**

– Q –

QABIIL. From the Arabic *qabiilah* (tribe), qabiil refers to a kinship group descended from a real or imagined ancestor or a group of people living in a particular area who speak a common language, practice common rituals, and

share common social institutions and values. It is believed that there are more than a hundred qabiil in the Somali peninsula. Certain qabiils are subdivided into smaller units such as *tol*, a group of people who identify themselves through the same lineage, and *reer*, the immediate family. *Reer* may also refer to a group with the same profession, such as the fishers in the *reer Maanyo* or to people living in the same area, such as the **Reer Goleed** people of the Goshu region.

QASIM HILOWLE (1923–). A Banadiri singer, composer, songwriter, and actor and the father of the singer and actress Faduma Qasim. He was born in **Mogadishu** and was trained as a carpenter, a skill he practiced most of his life. His poetic gift was revealed in the days of *nadis*, social and political clubs, such as the **Somali Youth Club**, the **Banadir Youth Club** (or *Unione Gioventu Banadir*), and the *Unione Patriotico Beneficente*, in the 1940s, when Mogadishu became the political center of Somalia. He wrote and recited patriotic songs and nationalistic plays. Qasim Hilowle is remembered for the song “*Somaliyey Toosooy*” (Somalia Arise! Arise!), which became the national anthem. During the trusteeship period under the Italians, he worked at **Radio Mogadishu** as a singer, composer, and actor. In addition to his own work, he revived Banadiri folk music and drama. Qasim Hilowle worked closely with Awees Geedow, the *doyen* of the Banadiri playwrights, and composed for many Banadiri singers, such as Ahmad Sharif, Suufi Ali, and his own daughter, Faduma Qasim Hilowle.

QAT. A popular stimulant also known as Khat, Chat, Cat, or Mira. This green leafy plant, *Catha adulis*, cultivated throughout East Africa and Yemen, contains two pharmacologically active ingredients, cathinone and cathine, the combined effect of which is somewhat like that of amphetamine sulfate. Qat is chewed widely by Somalis and Yemenis. The taste of qat is bitter. The chewer builds up a wad (*taqsiin*) in his cheek, until he reaches a euphoric high (*mirqaan*). Of course, this high is followed by a hangover (*qaadiro*), depression, bad sleep interrupted by nightmares (*dubaab*), and other symptoms of withdrawal. Thus, the user is forced into an addictive cycle that continues throughout his life. The origin of the tree and the date of its introduction to Somalia is uncertain; however, it is widely believed that qat is native to **Ethiopia** and spread through its use by the *ulema* (religious people) to ward off sleep during nightly meditation and missionary journeys. They believed it was a sacred gift from God and called it *ubaha jannada* (flower of paradise) and *qut al-awliya* (food for saints). One of the earliest references to qat in Ethiopia comes as part of a 14th-century malediction by a Muslim king to not only defeat his Christian enemy but plant qat in his kingdom, as qat was anathema to Christians.

The habit of chewing qat for religious purposes spread to the whole of Somalia in the 1940s due to open borders during the British Military Administration. This development corresponded to the formation of social and literary clubs where musicians and singers chewed qat to enhance their performance. Soon the use of qat spread to the general population. New trends emerged, such as *geerash*, men and women chewing qat together. It was, however, from the mid-1960s that the habit of chewing qat spread throughout the whole society and became a lucrative business. Qat was sold in every corner shop, while every town had a special qat market. In the 1950s and earlier, qat was chewed in *majlisis* or *mafrishs*, rooms furnished with soft mattresses and pillows and where incense was burned. In the 1980s, qat chewers were everywhere, in tea shops, on buses and airplanes, and on the street. Even the farmers chewed qat as they plowed. Even when the government prohibited it in 1983, the consumption of qat remained widespread through a lucrative black market. During the civil war, the warlords provided qat to their militias as part of their daily ration.

QORIOLEY. Or, among the town's inhabitants, Qorgnioley (Qorycooley), the seat of the **Jiddu** Sultanate. Located some 135 kilometers south of **Mogadishu** and about 35 kilometers from **Marka**. *See also* **QORIOLEY REFUGEE AGRICULTURE PROJECT**.

QORIOLEY REFUGEE AGRICULTURE PROJECT. A refugee resettlement program that was a joint venture between the Somali government, which provided land for **irrigated farming**, and the **United States Agency for International Development**, the **United Nations** High Commissioner for Refugees, and the Save the Children Fund (SCF) in 1983–1986. **Qorioley** had a higher rainfall than most regions and direct access to the Shabelle River. A self-constructed, hand-dug irrigation system had already been established. Qorioley, the site of the ancient **Jiddu** sultanate and providing links to the capital of **Mogadishu** and the coastal towns of **Marka** and **Barawa**, had a stable population of about 4,000 to 5,000 inhabitants, before 20,000 refugees from the **Ogaden** and Oromo in **Ethiopia** were settled in camps nearby. The goal of the Qorioley Refugee Agriculture Project was to turn the camel-herding nomad refugees into settled and self-sufficient farmers in three years. However, the nomads saw farmers as inferior beings forced to live a life of toil. They believed that a nomad whose camel has died and who was a beggar in a refugee camp still had a higher status than a successful farmer.

By late 1985, the project received all necessary funding, but though the refugees were fed and sheltered, no real development work was attempted. The Somali government supported the project in name only and treated it as

a source of income for numerous corrupt politicians and favored officials. If the donor agencies and experts actually did what they were supposed to do, they were removed, deported, and even killed. Aid groups were left in peace as long as they did not do their jobs. Eventually, this demoralizing policy led to both refugees and employees stealing food, medical supplies, and equipment. When the civil war erupted, development projects and refugee camps were looted, vandalized, and destroyed. This wholesale destruction led to the man-made famine of 1991–1992.

QULO (QULY). Portable water container, made of wood or dried *bo'or* fruit. Usually the container carries water used for ablution or **taalil** (holy water). The holy water serves as a liquid amulet obtained by washing potent magical or Qur'anic verses that have been written on a **looh** (wooden board) by *Wadaads* (religious healers). *See also* **WADADDO**.

– R –

RADIO. Until the introduction of the Somali script in 1972, the majority of Somalis relied on radio broadcasting in Arabic, Italian, English, and French. The British established Radio Kudu in 1943 (renamed Radio **Hargeisa** in 1945), immediately after the reoccupation of the Somaliland protectorate. In the Italian Somalia, a similar service, known as Radio **Mogadishu**, existed. Both radios remained in service, even after the unification of the two regions in 1960, and even after the collapse of the Somalia state in 1991. During the military era (1969–1990), both stations came under the Department of Somali Broadcasting Services (SBS). The SBS set up public listening centers in major towns and rural areas, so that those who could not afford a radio set of their own could still listen. Although Radio Mogadishu mainly broadcast news in **Af-Mahaa**, other programs were transmitted in nine other **languages**. Major programs of the SBS included those on government activities, world events, health, sports, economic issues, and religion. Radio Mogadishu had correspondents in the field to report events live. Regular and lively coverage kept listeners in touch with social and political developments, such as the **Ololaha Horumarinta Reer Miyiga** (Rural Development Campaign) of 1974, during which over 25,000 students and teachers penetrated nomadic areas to eradicate illiteracy.

Urban Somalis, as well as speakers of Af-Mahaa, also rely on radio stations outside of the country that have Somali services, such as the BBC (**British Broadcasting Corporation**) Somali Service, Radio **Ethiopia**, Radio Jeddah, Radio Cairo, and Radio Moscow. From the mid-1980s, the So-

mali diaspora established radio stations in Scandinavia, North America, and Australia. After the collapse of the state and the proclamation of the Somaliland Republic, Radio Hargeisa became a factional radio serving and propagandizing for the self-proclaimed “republic,” while Radio Mogadishu fell into the hands of the **United Somali Congress** faction under **Mohamed Farah Aideed**. Since then, regional radio has mushroomed, with the creation of such stations as Radio **Baidoa** and Radio Garowe. Indeed, even the **United Nations Operation in Somalia II** established its own Radio Maanta (Today) in Mogadishu.

RAIN-FED FARMING. Farmers use traditional methods to clear and cultivate the semiarid land of Somalia, clearing the forest with the typical axes of the region (*missar*), burning the bush land, and using the *kordog* (hoe) for planting and the *yeemby* (a shorter hoe) for weeding. A large family can cultivate four to six hectares. Those farmers who plow with oxen and camels cultivate more land and, if they use modern seeds and pesticides, produce more crops. The major rain-fed crop, which in some areas is planted on more than 90 percent of the land, is *misgy* (sorghum), because it grows in places with a low rainfall. Sorghum may be stored for more than 10 years in *bakaar* (underground granaries), which are drawn on during drought and famine. Crops of lesser importance include *galley* (maize), *sissin* (sesame), *tinjir* or *digir* (beans), *suuf* (cotton), *ambaghy* (spinach), *qary* (melon) and, occasionally, *hawaajy* (spices), all grown principally in the *gu* (spring) and, to a lesser extent, the *deer* (autumn). Rain-fed farming carries well-known risks. The timing and duration of the rainy season, the amount of rainfall, and the use of poor quality seeds and inadequate traditional technology all contribute to uncertain harvests.

Under the Trusteeship in the 1950s, the **United States Agency for International Development** and the Food and Agriculture Organization set up centers in **Diinsor** and Boonka in the Upper Juba region, Jammama in the Lower Juba region, and Lamadoonka in the **Banadir** region, to train farmers to use animals for plowing, rotate and diversify crops, and use pesticides. In 1966, the Somali Republic set up the Agricultural Development Agency (ADA) to promote agricultural cooperatives, to give loans to farmers, and to supply treated seeds, pesticides, and the latest technology, especially pumps for irrigation. In the 1970s, the National Organization for Agricultural Tractors (ONAT) was specifically established to distribute tractors to cooperative farmers. The National Grain Marketing Board fixed grain prices for national markets. Later, ONAT merged with ADA to form the Agricultural Development Corporation (ADC). However, none of these agencies was effective, because of bureaucratic corruption and cultural bias against nonpastoral economies. In the 1980s and later, agricultural cooperatives mushroomed in

the rain-fed farming regions and multimillion dollar projects, such as the Bay Project, were organized; however, not only were these projects mismanaged, but also most of the World Bank loans and international aid went into the pockets of corrupt government officials. Moreover, most of the young farmers were forced into paramilitary forces or, to escape that fate, migrated to the Gulf countries to work as manual laborers. Thus, rain-fed farms mostly reverted to untilled, abandoned land. *See also* **AGRICULTURE; COOPERATIVE DEVELOPMENTS; IRRIGATED FARMING.**

REER GOLEED. These inhabitants of the Juba Valley, mostly farmers, are descended from slaves acquired by late-18th-century Somali plantation owners. They come from ethnic cultures of the **Horn**, particularly southern **Ethiopia**, or East and Central Africa, such as Boranna, Arusi, Yao, Makuwa, Nyassa, Wagnamesi, and Zaguwa. Contemporary Somali scholarship tends to ignore the Somali role in slave raids and slave trading. The Reer Goleed are the most persecuted minority in Somalia.

Gosha oral tradition reveals that runaway slaves from the Shabelle valley were the first inhabitants of the Gosha forest (in the Juba valley), which provided safe haven and fertile land. They established villages on the banks of the Juba River from Dujuma south to Jamama, including Malalayle, Kumsama, Kumtira, Makalango, and Zunguni. In the early 19th century, the villages formed a confederation under Farhaan Haji Awees, known as Farhaan Makuwa. He was succeeded by **Nassib Buunto**, the first to proclaim himself sultan of the Gosha. He established the first center for the liberated slaves. The Gosha was important for agricultural development in colonial times. When agricultural cooperatives were established, the Reer Goleed lost their farms and grazing lands and many were forced to migrate or work as forced labor. During the civil war, they suffered at the hands of Somalis; their homes were burned and many were killed, while in relief centers they were discriminated against. They formed an unarmed political movement, the **Somali African Muki Organization**. The **United States** gave the Reer Goleed a special **refugee** status in 2000, making them eligible to enter the United States as refugees.

REEWIN. The Reewin or Reewing, formerly transcribed as “Rahanweyn,” “Rahanwein,” or “Reewing,” are one of the largest ethnic groups in the **Horn**. They occupy the region between the Shabelle and Juba Rivers, where the majority practice some form of agropastoralism (mixed herding and farming). The Reewin are divided into two major **clans**, the Digil and the Mirifle, who claim to be brothers and descendants of Mad (for Mohamed), historically known by the eponym Mad Reewin, Dighil being his older son and Mirifle being the younger. The Digil mainly inhabit the **Banadir**, Juba,

and Shabelle regions, while the Mirifle live in the central and western parts of Somalia. The Mirifle fall into two main branches: the Sagal, or “nine,” and the Siyeed, or “eight.” The Sagaal in turn are subdivided into nine clans, the Hadame and Luwaay being the largest. The Siyeed are divided into 16 clans, including the Leysan, Hariin, and Elay. The Digil are seven clans known as *toddobadi aw digil* (seven Digil), including the Geledi, Dabarre, and **Jiddu**. The Reewin people speak several **languages**, such as **Af-Jiddu**, **Af-Tunni**, and **Af-Dabarre**, but all speak **Af-Maay**. Modern linguistic studies suggest that the Reewin languages are some of the oldest languages in the Horn.

The Reewin played a major role in the Islamization of the Horn, founded early Islamic center, and introduced new forms of Islamic learning and teaching. Unlike other clans, the Reewin identify themselves more on a territorial than a strictly genealogical basis: Reer Bay (people of Bay region), Reer Dhoboy (people of Dhoboy land), and Reer Manyo (people of the sea), for example, show how important territorial identification is. The **Inter-riverine region** suffered the most under Italian colonial exploitation and the Reewin resisted the occupation initially in **jama’as** (religious brotherhoods), then under the British Military Administration they formed their own political party.

However, from independence to the fall of **Mohamed Siad Barre**, the Reewin had little political power and were marginalized by other clans. For example, the Reewin historical region was broken down into several regions to accommodate the **Darood** and **Hawiye** migration. Reewin culture and languages were ignored. Thus, in 1995 the Reewin opposed Siad Barre and established their own autonomous state, the Riverine State, which was overthrown by **Mohamed Farah Aideed** seven months later. In 1997, at Sodere, Ethiopia, the Reewin were recognized for the first time to have the same political claims as the Hawiye, Darood, and Issaq. At Arta, **Djibouti**, in 2000, they received an equal share in the composition of the **Transitional National Assembly** and the eventual **Transitional National Government**. See also **AHMAD GUREY; ARTA RECONCILIATION CONFERENCE OF MAY–AUGUST 2000; BAIDOA; BARAWA; BARDERA; FANNAANIINTA ARLAADI; HAJI SAGAAL HAJIILE; HIR; HIZBIYA DASTUR MUSTAQIL AL-SUMAL; LAQBO; LOOH; LUUG; MARKA; MAA Y SCRIPT; MOGADISHU; OBOO UMUR; REEWIN RESISTANCE ARMY; SHEIKH MUUMIN; SHEIKH NUUR HUSSEIN; SOMALI DEMOCRATIC MOVEMENT; SUBA’**

REEWIN RESISTANCE ARMY (RRA). Also Rahanweyn Resistance Army.

The first **Reewin** armed faction to emerge during the Somali civil war. The RRA was founded in a *shir* (assembly) at Jhaffey, west of **Baidoa**, on 13

October 1995. Col. **Hassan Mohamed Nur, “Shaargaduud”** (Red Shirt) was elected chair, and an executive committee composed of officers, traditional leaders, religious leaders, and intellectuals was established. The formation of the RRA was triggered by the invasion of Baidoa by **Mohamed Farah Aideed’s** militia on 17 September 1995, which overthrew the local government, the Digil-Mirifle Supreme Governing Council, established in March 1995. Aideed completed the occupation of Reewin land by capturing **Huddur** in the Bakool region.

The RRA’s first major task was to recruit, train, and arm young Reewin men and women. Former officers supervised the training and all Reewin **clans** contributed men, arms, and money. Early in 1996, the RRA attacked the more important installations held by Aideed in Huddur and Baidoa. When reconciliation efforts, especially the **Sodere Declaration** and **Cairo accords**, failed after the death of Aideed in a street fight and the succession of his son, “Aideed Junior,” the RRA insisted that it would not negotiate with those who occupied Reewin land.

In October 1998, the RRA liberated **Huddur** and, by early November, Aideed’s militia had retreated to Baidoa. This victory consolidated the RRA’s military and political status locally and internationally. On 6 June 1999, the RRA liberated Baidoa and continued to fight against Aideed forces in the Lower Shabelle region. However, the **Arta Reconciliation Conference of May–August 2000**, which established a transitional national government, suspended further RRA military action. Nevertheless, within a few months, the RRA broke away from the Arta agreements and began to work toward the establishment of an autonomous state.

REFUGEES. Drought is regarded as the worst natural calamity in the region.

It is an ordeal that, with varying degrees of severity, enters the experience of almost every generation and influences pastoral movements across the arid and seemingly inhospitable terrain in the **Horn of Africa**. Climatological studies indicate droughts occur very often and that frequencies differ from one region to another. In the 20th century alone, Somalia suffered from more than 10 serious droughts. In addition to droughts, **clan** warfare and conflicts between countries in the region have always led to massive influxes of refugees.

During the **Dabadheer drought** in 1974–1975, Somalia resettled about 105,000 nomads in the riverine and coastal regions of the country as cultivators and fisherman. The **Ogaden** fiasco of 1977–1978 caused a massive influx of Ogadeni refugees as well as other ethnic groups from **Ethiopia**. The **Mohamed Siad Barre** government, unable to cope with their relief and rehabilitation, appealed to the **United Nations** High Commissioner for Refugees and asked for international aid. In September 1979, the govern-

ment there were estimated 310,000 in the camps. However, by late 1980, the estimate jumped to more than 1.3 million in camps and some 700,000 to 800,000 refugees at large, either attempting to carry on their pastoral nomadic ways or squatting in towns and cities. The UN and other humanitarian nongovernmental organizations expressed skepticism of the government claims and made their own estimates of 450,000 to 620,000 in camps, but ignored the refugees outside the camps. Thus, the donor agencies subsequently budgeted their aid on 650,000 refugees.

By mid-1981, there were more than 30 refugee camps, mostly in the **Inter-riverine region** and scattered all along the banks of the Shabelle and Juba Rivers and in the towns and cities of those valleys. Barre's government benefited from the influx of the refugees, even based on the reduced numbers of the international agencies. The government established a special bureau, the National Refugee Commission (NRC), which became more powerful than any ministry; indeed, the NRC was seen as a government within a government. Donor agencies provided massive food and medical aid through the Somali NRC, which subcontracted with other government agencies dealing with refugee problems. The massive surplus of food and medical aid was sold on the black market. Some refugees even opened shops of their own. Refugee aid became such a source of foreign exchange that it was an important component of the Somali GNP.

In the 1980s, the government prepared a tricky policy concerning a sustainable solution for the refugees, consisting of long- and short-term stages in its execution. The long-term stage dealt with the repatriation of the refugees as the only durable solution. The short-term stage fell into two phases. First would be a middle-range phase, focusing on the introduction of development projects, such as agricultural self-sufficiency projects, and the setting up of small-scale industries. This would eventually make the refugees as self-supporting as possible, particularly in food production. The second phase allowed refugee settlement programs, but the policy was carefully phrased, stipulating that, although the government would provide land for those who wished to settle, the integration of refugees into the general fabric of Somali society would be conditional upon the attainment of a state of self-sufficiency by the refugees. The Somali government's major concern was, therefore, to keep the foreign aid flowing smoothly through refugee programs. In fact, in 1984, when the world responded to the famine in **Ethiopia**, word spread among the refugees in Somalia that better relief and aid programs were available across the border. The Somali government rejected any repatriation plans and closed the borders, at the same time that the government rejected re-settlement plans. Either option would have meant an end to the refugee resources.

Because the bulk of the refugees were ethnic Ogaden, who are part of Barre's clan, the **Darood**, Barre recruited special forces from the camps for his own personal protection. He also helped the refugees infiltrated Ethiopia as forces of the **Western Somali Liberation Front**. These forces, labeled as *jabhad* (the front), were also used to fight against the non-Darood groups opposing Barre at home as well as in Ethiopia, such as the **Issaq-based Somali National Movement (SNM)**, the **Hawiye-based United Somali Conference (USC)**, and the **Reewin-based Somali Democratic Movement**. In the early 1980s, these forces were also used against the Majerteens of the **Somali Salvation Democratic Front**. Demonstrating how *jabhads* were spoiled is an expression that emerged in *mafrishes*, the qat-chewing courts: "Jabhadbaa yimiye Jannaalow ka bul dheh," which means when a *jabhad* arrives before the court (*bazar*) there is no room for expats. Thus, refugees' resources provided both economic and political support for Siad Barre's government.

Beginning in 1988, the refugee problem in Somalia was transformed, particularly when the civil war spread over the whole country. By mid-1989, the border regions of Somalia and Ethiopia were swept by the advancing SNM and USC militias in the northwest and central regions, respectively. This forced the withdrawal and termination of all aid activities in the country and led to the total collapse of the Somali state. This time, the refugees went out from Somalia seeking resettlement in the neighboring countries of Ethiopia, **Kenya**, and **Djibouti**. In the 1990s, Somali asylum seekers were all over the world. Oddly enough, they represent the largest black community in Finland and the second-largest in Canada, two of the coldest places on earth.

REGIONAL COUNCILS (RCs). According to the **Addis Ababa Agreement of 27 March 1993**, Regional Councils consisting of two men and one woman from each district in the 18 regions would be part of the two-year transitional government. Several Regional Councils met but not all, and this initiative, like others in the transitional plan, failed. *See also* **CENTRAL ADMINISTRATIVE DEPARTMENT; DISTRICT COUNCILS; TRANSITIONAL NATIONAL COUNCIL**.

REGIONAL ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT SERVICES OFFICE FOR EAST AND SOUTHERN AFRICA (REDSO/ESA). A service-oriented organization to support U.S. national security goals of fostering regional stability and promoting free and open markets in the East and Southern African region. Somalia was one of the primary direct beneficiaries of REDSO/ESA programs during **Mohamed Siad Barre's** time and after. In 1992, REDSO/ESA became the implementing platform for President Bill Clinton's \$15 million per year **Greater Horn of Africa Initiative**, which sought to

strengthen African capacity to improve food security and establish systems of conflict prevention and mitigation. REDSO/ESA promotes sustainable economic growth and enhances regional trade, cooperation, and integration. It is expanding the use of information technology to advance democracy, mitigate conflict, disseminate agricultural research, improve health networks, and provide information to African decision makers. *See also UNITED STATES AGENCY FOR INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT.*

REGIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL (RSC). The highest intelligence organization operating in the country, created in 1976 as an umbrella of security apparatus. It consisted of the regional governor, the regional military commander, the regional police commander, the **National Security Service** regional director, the regional chairperson of the **Somali Revolutionary Socialist Party**, the commander of the **Gulwadayal** (victory pioneers), and the director of the police custodial corps. Since 1976, control of the security apparatus has been increasingly concentrated in the presidency under the authority of presidential adviser on security affairs **Ahmad Suleiman Abdalla**, known as “Dafle,” President **Mohamed Siad Barre**’s son-in-law. The RSC was under Dafle’s directives and usually met weekly, although during emergencies it met more frequently and could impose indefinite prison sentences or the death penalty. The RSC was notorious in the suppression of the public, it ordered mass arrests of opposition group sympathizers in the regions as well as in the capital **Mogadishu**, it confiscated properties, and it harassed travelers within the country and overseas.

REPUBLIC OF SOMALILAND. A self-declared republic established in the northwestern region of the former Somali Democratic Republic with the same colonial boundaries that divided British Somaliland from Italian Somaliland before independence and union in 1960. Immediately after **Mohamed Siad Barre** was ousted in January 1991, the **Somali National Movement** declared the creation of the new republic, seceding on 18 May 1991, and appointed Abdirahman Ahmed Ali “Tuur” (the hunchback) as interim president for two years. However, Abdirahman “Tuur” failed to secure international recognition and sufficient resources for a state to function properly, let alone recover from war damage. He had no resources for reconstruction and certainly none for a police force to provide the necessary security.

In 1993, the **Borama Conference** installed **Mohamed Haji Ibrahim Egal**, a prime minister in the former Somalia civilian government, as president of the Republic of Somaliland and designated an executive council to advise him, a bicameral legislature (one house elected, the other a council of elders, or *guurti*), and an independent judiciary, all for two-year terms. Egal

also failed to secure international recognition, but he did manage to establish a secure state with an operating police force. His economic administration was especially effective. He established control over the collection of customs and duties at ports and airports, as well as at the borders with **Ethiopia**, Somalia, and **Djibouti**. The income generated from duties that had to be paid for **qat**, the narcotic plant imported from Ethiopia and **Kenya**, was an important source of revenue. Most importantly, Egal established a central bank in **Hargeisa**, the new capital, which introduced a new currency, the Somaliland shilling.

From 1995, Egal's term in office was extended twice, first for a year and a half and second for five years, by the *guurti*. A new constitution was drafted and, despite the lack of international recognition, Somaliland was effectively independent. Interestingly enough, the eventual unification of Somaliland with the other Somali regions was always part of the 1990s peace process, whether they participated or not. Many offers were made for an equal (sometimes more than equal) share of power in a new government if they would give up secession. In the most recent proposal offered at the **Arta Reconciliation Conference of May–August 2000**, the **Issaq** and other **clans** of the region were offered the portfolios of prime minister, minister of foreign affairs, and several others, but Egal's government opposed the initiative and refused to participate. Indeed, the president and the House of Representatives of the republic declared that those who did participate were traitors. Nevertheless, the prime minister, a Dhulbahante; the foreign minister, an Issaq; and other important cabinet members of the new state established in **Mogadishu**, the Somali Republic, were from northern clans, also including the Gadabursi, Warsangeli, and Issa.

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SAAHO. A system of water reservoirs, believed to have been dug by the **Aju-ran**, much larger than *war* (pools) and usually in the rocky areas of *harqaan* (grazing lands) in the Bay and Bokool regions.

SAAR (Zaar). A state of frenzy caused by being possessed by the Saar *jinn*s (Saar spirits). It also denotes the **dance** to drive away the *jinn*s. Literally, Saar means something placed on top of something else. When the possessed becomes hysterical, his or her friends dance the Saar or “beat a drum” around the victim for his or her relief, the only remedy available to relieve the pressure of the *jinn*s on the possessed's body and soul. There are two forms of Saar: Saar *moo* (the “drummed” Saar), a dance to the beat of a

drum, clapping, and stamping, and Saar *lugeed* (the “legged” Saar), unaccompanied dancing. The victim in the center is considered the leader of the dance and thus of his or her own cure.

The dancers form a circle around the possessed person, clapping, stamping, and singing in a chorus line; then, the possessed starts gyrating in the center. As time passes, the possessed’s movements become wilder and wilder, until he or she drops sweating and exhausted to the ground in a trance-like state. Then the possessed gets up, running here and there hysterically, threatening the crowd with a stick or dagger, muttering vulgarities and blasphemies, like *beree* (“I will jump over the fence,” i.e., apostatize) and *kubahee* (“I will be out of the Islamic fold,” i.e., become an infidel), then *beri* (I did jump) and *kubahi* (I am an infidel). Again the possessed falls to the ground exhausted, but then rises, muttering the *shahaadah*, the first Pillar of Islam: *La ilaha illallaah, Muhammad Rasuul Allah* (there is no God but Allah and Mohamed is his Prophet) and recovers his or her normal state. This signifies that the possessed has now returned to his senses and to **Islam**. The ritual appears to be a throwback to pre-Islamic propitiations of spirits and other supernatural powers. Nevertheless, Saar has sometimes become part of public cultural performances as a national dance rather than a serious ritual to remove illness. Also, dancers may pretend possession to attract a girl or a boy they love.

SALAH MOHAMED ALI (1936–). Commonly known as Sharif Salah, a polymath, literary critic, career politician, and diplomat. Born in **Huddur**, he earned the *laurea* baccalaureate in 1962 from the Università degli Studi di Roma, majoring in economics and political science. As a junior diplomat, Salah was an attaché at the Somali embassy in Cairo (1963–1965); later, he has been ambassador to Italy (1978–1981), to the People’s Republic of China (1981–1984), and to the United Kingdom (1984–1988). From 1971 to 1974, he was president of the **Somali National University** and he served as president of the Guddiga Af-Somaliga (**Somali Language Commission**) in 1971–1972. From 1974 to 1976, he was minister of culture and higher education. In 1976, he was one of the founders of the **Somali Revolutionary Socialist Party** and a member of its Central Committee. He has served as president of the Bureau of Scientific Research (1976–1977) and the Bureau of International Relations (1977–1978).

Sharif Salah is a prolific writer in Arabic, English, Italian, and Somali. His publications include a seminal work for the study of Somali **language** and literature, *al-Mu’jam al-Kashaf ‘An Juthur al-Lughah al-Sumaliyah bi al-‘Arabiyyah* (A dictionary on the Arabic roots of the Somali language), published in Cairo in 1996. During the civil war, he published “Madre Courage di Mogadiscio” (Mother courage of Mogadishu), in *Il Diritto del Uomo*

(March 1999), and “A Moment in Somali History: Education in Huddur under the British Military Administration 1941–1950,” in *Demenedung* (special issue 2001). Sharif Salah translated into Somali Wole Soyinka’s *The Trials of Brother Jero* and Sophocles’s *Electra*. He was elected president of the Somali Intellectual Forum for Peace in 1993 and participated in most of the Somali peace and reconciliation conferences.

SAYID MAHAMED ABDULLE HASAN (1856–1920). The **khalif** of the Salihiyya order and the leader of *darwiish* (dervish; also **daraawiish**, the plural form) resistance against British, Italian, and Ethiopian imperialism in northern Somalia from 1899 to 1920. His rivals in the Qadiriyya order called him *wadaadka waalan* (the Mad Mullah), a term the British later adopted. He is also known as Ina (the son of) ‘Abdulle Hasan. For some Somalis, Sayid Mahamed is a hero and one of the greatest poets of his era.

According to some of his biographers, after finishing his Qur’anic school, he studied in **Bardera** and visited Harar and **Mogadishu**. In 1894, he made his Hajj and, at Mecca, met Sheikh Muhammad ibn Salah al-Rashid (c. 1854–1919), the founder of the Salihiyya order. Sayid Mahamed enrolled in the *halaqaat* (study circles) of ibn Salah for several years and eventually joined the order and became one of its *khalifs* in Somalia.

He returned home through Aden and arrived at Berbera in the spring of 1897. Immediately, he started preaching and teaching the precepts of the Salihiyya order. He attacked the use of **qat**, a mild narcotic, and of tobacco, and spoke against the Christian missionary activities in Berbera. In addition, he condemned the practice of *tawassul* (intercession of deceased saints), widely accepted by the Qadiriyya adherents there. As his Salihiyya following grew, the sayid found himself in conflict with both the Qadiriyya order and the British authority in Berbera. In response to their opposition, in 1899 he made a *hijra* (migration) to the interior and established his group of daraawiish, a Sufi brotherhood. He sought support for his movement among the Dhulbahante (his mother’s **clan**) in the Nugal Valley, among the Majerteen in the northeast, and finally among his paternal kin, the **Ogaden**.

The daraawiish established a camp at Haradigeed, the heart of reer Zubeer territory. Here, the sayid called for *jihad* and asked for moral and material support. The Ogadens—who at the time were struggling to resist Ethiopian incursions into their territory—provided men, rifles, and ponies for the darwiish cause. On 5 March 1900, the daraawiish attacked an Ethiopian garrison in Jigjiga and liberated the town. As a result, they gained status as the defenders of God’s cause against the Ethiopian infidels. The daraawiish also gained more rifles and ammunition from the defeated Ethiopians.

In the summer of 1900, the daraawiish attacked British-protected tribes of Somaliland and looted over two thousand head of camels, thus acquiring

undisputed authority in the region. However, the cordial relations between the sayid and the Ogaden began to fray as a result of subclan rivalries. When the majority of the Ogaden launched an anti-*darwiish* campaign, the sayid was forced to withdraw to Nugal and negotiate with the Dhulbahante to pay extensive outstanding blood money.

From 1901 to 1904 the daraawiish fought against four major Anglo-Ethiopian military expeditions. The allied forces totaled some 10,000 troops (comprising Sudanese, Yaos, Boers, Indians, and Somalis), but failed to defeat the daraawiish. In 1905, the **Ilig Agreement** was signed between the sayid and **Italy**, representing itself and all the other colonial powers (**Britain, Ethiopia**, and France) interested in the region. The agreement recognized the daraawiish and placed them in the Nugal region, sandwiched in between the two Majerteen sultanates of Alula in the north and Hobya in the south.

The period after the Ilig Agreement gave Italy an opportunity to crush southern Somali resistance in the Gosha in 1907 and the **Banadir** and the Lower Shabelle in 1908. The sayid also took advantage of the peace period to rebuild the *darwiish* forces, which he then used to raid and plunder neighboring clans. In 1909, his followers murdered archrival **Sheikh Uways Ibn Muhammad al-Barawi**, burning his new settlement in Biyoley. During the years 1905–1910, the daraawiish lost much support because of their indiscriminate raids against friends and foes alike. Several followers abandoned the *darwiish* cause, especially after the sayid was supposedly excommunicated in a famous letter from the head of the Salihyya order in Mecca.

Following this setback, the sayid became suspicious and reportedly plotted the executions of dozens of former friends and allies. He imposed more dictatorial ordinances in the *darwiish* camp and broke the Ilig truce in the name of a renewed call for *jihād*. By late 1909, he withdrew from Eyl to the Nugal valley, where he established a more permanent headquarters at Taleh. This proved to be a major strategic error, since it enabled the British to attack him and destroy his supplies. They even used aircraft to bomb his fortress in 1920. The British air raids reduced Taleh to rubble and the daraawiish suffered heavy losses. Eventually, the sayid and his remaining followers fled to the south, where the sayid died, in Imey, in December 1920. *See also* **AF-BAKAYLE; AGAARWEYNE; BEERDHIGA; FARDHIDAN; NASSIB BUUNTO; SHEIKH ABDI ABIKAR GAFFLE.**

SEYCHELLES CONSULTATION OF OCTOBER 1992. A meeting of 18 Somali intellectuals and **United Nations** diplomats led by Ambassador Mohamed Sahnoun to work out a viable reconciliation strategy. The meeting took place in Victoria, Seychelles, 22–25 October 1992. **Ergada Wadatashiga Somaliyed** (Somali Committee for Peace and Reconciliation)

chose delegates from all regions except the northwest, which had already seceded. Of the 18 participants, only four were living abroad. After four days, the consultation concluded that the **United Nations Operation in Somalia I** (UNOSOM I) and other **international nongovernmental organizations** that hitherto had distrusted and ignored the Somali intelligentsia should rely on the expertise and experience of this group. The participants concluded that a forum of Somali intellectuals should be formed in **Mogadishu** for this purpose and that Somali self-help initiatives should be empowered. The consultation envisaged a gradual “bottom-up” approach of reconciliation, beginning by building support for reconciliation at the regional level, then moving to the five UNOSOM I zonal levels, to northern and southern levels, and finally to a National Reconciliation Congress. The consultation also developed a framework for disarmament and delivering humanitarian relief.

SHABAL. *See* **ADAR; BARBAAR; URUR.**

SHALABOW. Palm wine, commonly found in **Bardera**.

SHAMBAL. Wooden clappers. *See* **MUSIC.**

SHARAQ. Metal clappers used in village dances, such as *bullo*, *gebley shim-bir*, and **beerrey**.

SHAREERO. The Somali variant of the traditional instrument of the Near East, the *kithara*, played by the agrarian people of the **Inter-riverine region**. The shareero has a round, wooden body covered with a resonating skin with two holes. Wooden arms and six to seven twisted gut strings run from an iron ring in the resonator to a crossbar. The crossbar and arms are elaborately decorated with beads, amulets, and cowries. The Shareero (either solo or with other instruments) is played in ritual ceremonies and dances, such as **Saar** (or **Zaar**) and **nuumbi**, to exorcise evil spirits. These ceremonies include singing, dancing, and drumming throughout the night and often produce trance states in the participants during which the evil spirits are believed to be exorcised.

SHARIF AIDARUS SHARIF ALI AL-NUDARI (1893–1960). Historian and pan-Islamic leader. He was born in **Mogadishu** in 1311 A.H. (c. 1893). He continued his Qur’anic education in Mombasa and Lamu, returning to Mogadishu in 1914 to teach and preach at the Shingani Mosque. He also collected oral data for his lectures on Somali history, which became the major publication *Bughyat al-Aamaal fi Taarikh al-Sumaal, li-ba’dhi Mulukiha*

wa-Sukkaniha wa-'Umraniha wa-al-Din Alladhi Ya'budunahu Qabl al-Islam bi-Thamaniyah Qurun ila a-An (The history of Somalia: Its kingdoms, peoples, cities, and pre-Islamic beliefs from eight hundred years before **Islam** up to the present). Initially circulated in manuscript, the book was published in 1955 in Mogadishu by the Trusteeship Administration Press. Sharif Aidarus worked with the leaders of the *tariqa* (orders) to create a united front for the propagation of the Islamic faith in East Africa. He was one of the founders of al-Raabitah al-Islamiyyah (Somali Pan-Islamic Party) and was the head of the Mogadishu branch of al-Mu'tamar al-Islami (Organization of Islamic Conference) until he died in 1960.

SHARIF ALYOW ISSAQ AL-SARMANI. See **SHEIKH FARAJ.**

SHEIKH ABDI ABIIKAR "GAAFLE" (1852–1922). A Biamaal *ma'allin* (teacher-sheikh) and warrior born in 'Armadobe village. After finishing Qur'anic education at home, he was sent by his father to the esteemed 'Eel Gaal Center, near **Marka**, for further Islamic education, particularly in the subjects of *fiqh* (Islamic jurisprudence), *tafsiir* (Qur'anic translation), and Hadith (Prophet Muhammad's tradition). Gaafle learned from such famous sheikhs as Sheikh Usman Sheikh Hassan and Sheikh Muhammad Abdalla, known as Baarmawaaye. Gaafle became a well-known *ma'allin* in the Biamaal community. From 1888, Gaafle traveled extensively all over the Shabelle valley, preaching, teaching, and warning his brethren about the menace of Italian colonizers.

In 1896, when **Italy** bombarded Nimow, **Turunley**, and Dhanaane in retaliation for the **Lafoule Massacre**, not only did the Italian attack fail, but Antonio Cecchi, consul general in **Zanzibar**, was killed. The Biamaal and other leading **Banadiri** forces felt it was safe to stop resistance and begin negotiations. In June 1896, at Igalle *shir* (clan council), Sheikh Abdi Abiikar Gaafle, one of the *ma'allimin* present, warned the *shir* to be prepared for, but not intimidated by, the horrors of war and occupation. Shortly after, Gaafle was proved right: Italian troops occupied and garrisoned Igalle itself. Gaafle however, reorganized and attacked Igalle in January 1905; he was wounded but not mortally. Gaafle then made an alliance with the **daraawiish** (dervishes) in the north, led by **Sayid Mahamed Abdulle Hasan**. Although the dervishes supported Gaafle with firearms, they would not fight with Gaafle, since their leader had signed the **Ilig Agreement**, a nonaggression pact, in March 1905. Thus, one after the other, the Italians were able to crush the Somali resistance movements, first the Banadiris in the south and then the dervishes in the north. However, Gaafle continued to resist until 1908. The battle of **Fiinlow** marked the end of the Banadir resistance against Italian colonialism.

SHEIKH ABDI ILI (1895–1962). Famous poet and biographer of the Qadiriyya *awliya* (saints). Sheikh Abd al-Rahman Ibn Sheikh Umar, known as Sheikh Abdi Ili, of the Ili subclan was born near Warsheikh, north of **Mogadishu**, where he completed the usual Qur’anic and basic Islamic studies: *al-ibadat* (form and practice of worship), *al-buyu’* (business law), *al-nikah* (family law), and *al-jinayat* (criminal law). He moved to Mogadishu to perfect his *‘ilm al-fiqh* (theological studies), but also to further his understanding of *‘ilm al-nahw* (syntax) and interpretation (i.e., translation) of the Qur’an, *‘lm al-tafsir*, without which his studies would have been incomplete. For syntax, he studied under Sheikh Mohamed al-Ogadeni. For Tafsir, he studied under Sheikh Muhammad bin Faqi Yusuf al-Shashi and Sheikh Muhammad bin Sheikh Hussayn al-Shafi’i.

By 1920, he had become adept in the mystical practices and states of *‘ilm al-tasawuf*, particularly those of the Qadiriyya *tariqa* (order). His masters were **Sheikh Abdillahi al-Qutbi**, Sheikh Ahmad al-Genedershi, and Sharif Hassan al-Sarmani, who conferred upon him the **ijazah**, an ordination in the Sufi mystical *tariqa*. Sheikh Abdi Ili devoted himself to the study of rhetoric and literary criticism, following the strictures of *‘ilm al-balaghah: al-ma’ani* (exegesis), *al-bayan* (advanced technique), and *al-baligh* (eloquence). He memorized the masterworks in praise of the Prophet Muhammad, such as *al-Hamziyyah*, an anthology of works beginning with the letter *alif*; *al-Burda* (The Prophet’s mantle honoring the poet), by al-Busayri; and *al-Barzanji*, by al-Barzanji. He then started collecting the life stories of the Qadiriyya saints, particularly the Somalis. He wrote a hagiographic account of **Sheik Uways Ibn Muhammad al-Barawi**, *al-Jawhar al-Nafis fi Khawaas al-Shaykh Uways* (The precious jewel: The life, acts, and graces of Sheikh Uways), circulated in manuscript and not published until 1964. This work is not only biographical but also gives a detailed account of the spread of the Qadiriyya order throughout Somalia, eastern Central Africa, and Southeast Asia, especially Malaya, which traded with Somalia. He wrote a similar hagiographical account of **Sheikh Abdirahman al-Zayla’i**, *Rahat al-Qalb al-mutawalli’ fi manaqib al-Shaykh ‘Abd al-Rahman bib Ahmad al-Zayla’i*, which was also circulated in manuscript, until publication in 1954.

One of the most popular of Sheikh Abdi Ili’s Arabic poems is in praise of Prophet Muhammad, *al-Durra al-Muhammadiyya fi Madh Ashraf al-Bariyya* (Adoration of the Prophet, pearl of the universe). Another poem calls upon the Somali Qadiriyya founders who promoted the cause of their *tariqa*, *Mafrहत al-Albab fi Nathm Asma’ al-Aqtab*, which relates how the soul is blessed by calling upon the names of the *qutbs* (pole-stars) of the faith. For Sheikh Abdirahman al-Zayla’i, the *qutb* who introduced the Qadiriyya order into Somalia, he wrote the distinctive *al-Tawassul bi al-*

Shaykh 'Abd al-Rahman al-Zayla'i (Intercession through Sheikh Abdirahman al-Zayla'i).

SHEIKH ABDILLAHI AL-QUTBI (1879–1952). A prominent Qadiri leader and prolific writer on **Islam**. Of the Shikhal subclan, he was born and died in Qulunqul, in southwest **Ethiopia**, but spent most of his adult life in **Mogadishu**. He was remarkably erudite in all Islamic areas of study, but he specialized and wrote extensively in *fiqh* (theology) and *mandhiq* (philosophy). Some of his works remain only in manuscript to this day, but five of them were published in his old age as *al-Majmu'ah al-Mubarakah* (The Blessed Collection): *'Aqīdat Ahl al-Sunnah wa al-Jama'ah* (Doctrine of Sunni Islam), *Siraj al-zulam fi Silsilat al-Sadah al-Kiram* (The candlelight guide to the genealogy of the Prophet's household), *Tahdhirat Balighah Tusamma bi al-Sikkin al-dhabihah 'Ala al-Kilaab al-Nabihah* (An attack [as with sharp knives] on the heretical teaching of the barking dogs [of the Wahhabiyya and Salihyya orders]), *Nasr al-Mu'miniin 'Ala al-Maradah al-Mulhidiin* (Victory of the true believers over the heretic rebels), and *Anisat al-'Ashiqiin fi Tadhkirat al-Muhibbiin* (A companion to the beloved faithful). Al-Qutbi's poems in Arabic (*qasa'id*) and the Somali (**masaffo**), written for his colleagues, students, and friends, are included in the collection. Some of his correspondence is included in the fifth book of the collection.

SHEIKH ABDIRAHMAN AL-ZAYLA'I (1815–1882). Born at Mubarak town, southeast of **Huddur**, in the region of Bokool (formerly Alta Giuba), Somalia. He belonged to the Diso subclan of the Godle **clan**. According to his hagiographer, al-Zayla'i was a person who did not fear encounters with other learned men or with sultans and who was accustomed to the society of poor people, for he believed they were identical in status if not in power to sultans, sayids, and amirs. His belief in humility and a common brotherhood was shown once when he was teaching Arabic syntax in the grand mosque in Harar. Among the students was Emir Abdallah, the sultan of the city, who used to sit on a platform raised above the floor, like a throne, while listening to the lectures. When al-Zayla'i finished his lesson, the sultan complained, "I understood nothing of what you said Sheikh Abdurahman!" As he was the sultan, no one dared to argue with him, but al-Zayla'i answered, "Sultan, you are a proud man and knowledge does not enter the heart of the proud. Your lack of understanding was all because you sat raised above the others while you listened to the knowledge." The sultan accepted the honest words of the Sheikh and his sincere advice and, humiliated and degraded, sat down with the students and listened humbly.

Al-Zayla'i left Mubarak, his home town, after he completed his Qur'anic education and went off to **Mogadishu** for further Islamic studies, leaving behind

a wife and two daughters. After two years, he returned home, shocked to discover that the *ulema* of his own clan had divorced him from his wife because of his long absence. He was so annoyed by this *fasakh* (compulsory divorce), contrived by the Diso *ulema*, that he laid *habaar* (a curse) on them: "No Diso '*alim* will live long." Thus, until today, every Diso '*alim* dies young. It is believed that al-Zayla'i left home and never returned.

In Mogadishu, al-Zayla'i studied under prominent Banadiri *ulemas*, including Sheikh Abu Bakr ibn Mihdar and Sheikh Abdirahman Sufi, but he received his mystical training from his *murshid* (spiritual guide), Sheikh Isma'il al-Maqdishi. Al-Zayla'i served the sheikh until he mastered Sufi matters. He was then advised to go to Mecca to receive the **ijazah** from Sayid Fadl al-Qadiri. On pilgrimage from Mogadishu, he passed through Harar, where he remained after his return, preaching and teaching **Islam** for a period of time. Around 1850, al-Zayla'i came to Mogadishu to ask his *murshid*, Sheikh Isma'il al-Maqdishi, for permission to go and spread Islam and the Qadiriyya order among the **Ogadens**. About 1860, al-Zayla'i moved to southwest **Ethiopia** and established a **jama'a** settlement at Qulunqul. At this point, al-Zayla'i's hagiographer says, Zayla'i's prestige became "well-diffused," his reputation "spread as far as the horizons," and his rank was raised "in the towns and countryside."

Al-Zayla'i is considered a man of literature. His works were numerous, but unfortunately most of them have been lost. The few that have been published concern Arabic **language**, grammar, syntax, and morphology. He composed a rhyming treatise on '*Ilm al-Sarf* (Arabic morphology) called *Fath al-Latif Sharh Hadiqat al-Tasrif* (A syntax of Arabic language), published in Cairo in 1938. In addition, Sheikh Abdirahman was a poet and wrote numerous collections on Islamic topics, most of which have been put together into one volume, *al-Majmuu'ah al-Mushtamalah* (A complete collection), including nine poems covering Sufism, Islam, and the Qadiriyya order. This collection was also published in Cairo in 1972.

Al-Zayla'i died and was buried at Qulunqul on 5 Rabi' al-Thani, 1299 A.H. (24 February 1882). His students and followers continued spreading his message for the Qadiriyya order under a branch, al-Zayla'iyya, named after him. Remarkable powers have been attributed to al-Zayla'i's shrine. Although it is described as being situated in a "dangerous and remote place," the shrine is renowned as "the refuge of the traveler, and the troubled and those in need."

SHEIKH ABDIRAHMAN "BANAANI" (d. 1987). Visionary and charismatic leader. He was known as "Banaani" ("ingenious" or "inventor") because he was ever innovative and an agent of progress. He once said, "Nomadism is antiurbanization, and without urban life there is no civilization."

He was therefore committed to creating settled communities in nomadic regions. Sheikh Banaani was a gifted man with extraordinary engineering skills.

Shortly after independence in 1960, he established an agricultural settlement in Tooswiine, in the Bay region, about 30 kilometers west of **Baidoa**. Employing local technology for all his major projects, he dug wells, constructed canals, and designed and built the more spacious huts without poles known as *mindille*. This surprised his followers so much that they thought that he had *karamah* (supernatural power). One of his enemies, Maalling Haji Eddow, said he was *sihiroole* (sorcerer), a man who uses the evil arts of *jinns* (spirits). However, Sheikh Banaani survived such taunts and the Tooswiine settlement not only became self-sufficient but also supplied the region with basic cereals and foodstuffs. He also created a skilled workforce there.

By the late 1960s, Sheikh Banaani had established another settlement in the Harqan area, the Haabarre settlement, in the heart of the grazing lands of the region. This settlement attracted many camel herders from different **Reewin** clans. The sheikh's major concern was to train and educate the different nomadic Reewin clans to live with each other in a harmonious, settled society. Although some point out that the bulk of the settlements were made up of members of his own **clan**, the Leysan, the sheikh welcomed all Reewin clans. Indeed, in these settlements the Reewin identity was promoted. Sheikh Banaani thus became a Reewin nationalist. In the early 1970s, he established a third **irrigated** settlement in the Lower Shabelle. In addition to growing common crops like maize, sesame, **bananas**, papayas, tomatoes, and beans, he introduced groundnuts, sunflowers, rice, and new types of melons. The socialist regime's *iskashatooyin* (cooperatives) and *iska wah u qabso* (self-help schemes) profited from the example of the sheikh's settlements. However, these settlements did not embrace **Mohamed Siad Barre's** socialism and indeed were at the forefront of the opposition to Barre and founded the **Reewin Resistance Army**. Sheikh Banaani died in a car accident in 1987.

SHEIKH ABDIRAHMAN SHEIKH NUUR ABDILLAHI (1900–1990).

The founder of the first *madrasah* (Arabic school) in Borama, in the 1930s, and the inventor of the Gadabursi script in 1933. Sheikh Abdirahman became a judge in Borama in 1950 and took a judicial post in **Hargeisa** in 1959. He was appointed head of the Appeals Court in **Mogadishu** in 1976. In addition to his teaching and religious career, Sheikh Abdirahman wrote extensively on linguistics and the history of Islamic sultanates in the **Horn**, including his *Ilbaxnimadii Adal iyo Sooyaalka Soomaaliyeed* (**Awdal** civilization and Somali history), published in Abu Dhabi in 1993. Sheikh Abdirahman died in Borama in 1990.

SHEIKH ABDULLAHI IBN YUSUF IBN MUHAMMAD AL-ZAYLA'I

(d. 1361). *Muhaddith* (scholar of Prophet Muhammad's tradition), lived in the Riwaq al-Zayla'yin of al-Azhar in Cairo and was a student of his countryman, **Sheikh Usman Ibn Ali al-Zayla'i**. He specialized in the discipline of Hadith, the traditional study of the Prophet Muhammad's sayings, deeds, and way of life as a model for imitation. His most important work is the four-volume *Nasb al-Rayah fi Takhrij Ahadith al-Hidayah* (Exegesis of the guided traditions), a scholarly and standard edition of Hadith studies that establishes a canon of orthodox studies and rejects all that was not fully accepted by the *ulema*. The text is used currently, available in its 1938 edition. The sheikh's tomb is in Cairo, next to his master's. See also **ZAYLA**.

SHEIKH AHMED ABIKAR "GABYOW" (1844–1933).

A poet-sheikh, born in Haruur iyo Haji 'Ali, north of 'Adale. After completing his Qur'an education, Ahmed traveled to Warsheikh, a coastal town north of **Mogadishu**, and to Mogadishu itself for further Islamic studies. He returned to his home village to teach and preach. He was gifted in the religious poetry known as **masaffo**, thus his title, sheikh-gabyow (poet-sheikh). He composed many masaffo, ranging from *hanuunin* (inspirational) to *digniin* (admonitory). In the early days of Italian colonial rule, Sheikh Ahmed Gabyow composed patriotic poems defending the country and the faith: "Dariiq" (The right path) and "Rafaad" (Suffering). "Dariiq" declares:

Somaliyaan u dagaallamaeyna
 Kuwa dulmaaya la dood galeyana
 Kufriiga soo degey diida leenahay
 Dabeysha mawdka intey I daandeyn
 Hilibka duud cunin oonan deeb noqan
 Dadka tusaan danihiisa leenahay
 Kuwa dambaan u dariiq falaaya

(Fight against the enemy of Somalia!
 Reject the infidel colonial settlements!
 Do something before you die;
 Soon you will turn into ashes and worms will eat your flesh
 Set a model for later generations!)

This poem may have inspired the people of Warsheikh in 1890 to resist and force the withdrawal of Italian troops. The uprising resulted in the killing of two Italian officers, Zavaglio and Bertorello, who were later hailed as "heroes whose deaths must be avenged," as they were indeed. In 1891, **Italy** sent a punitive expedition led by Vincenzo Filonardi, head of the Italian colonial administration of the **Banadir** ports, which destroyed both Warsheikh and nearby Adale and killed more than 80 people. Sheikh Ahmad

Gabyow spoke to a *shir* (clan council), concluding with a masaffo entitled “Rafaad” (Suffering):

Ragow haddoo qalbi waa rafaadaa
 Rajulka kaafira oo rugtaan yimid
 Sidii Rasuul Rabbi nooma soo dirin
 Mana rabnee naga reed bax wa niri
 Haddaase ruux la dagaasho ka roon
 Reerkaad u kaasho laheydna raagaan
 Ragow haddoo qalbi waa rafaadaa

(Our Manhood is wounded by these aliens;
 They are not prophets sent by God!
 We rejected them, but they did not heed us
 Woe to those who came late
 When we were fighting against such powerful forces
 Our Manhood is wounded by these aliens.)

Sheikh Ahmed Gabiyow, a millenarian, prophesied:

Before the end of the world,
 The Somali shall be divided in three:
 One will live in a palace surrounded by his guards,
 One will continue living in the bush,
 Drawing sustenance from the sale of milk,
 Which he will carry to town in his tunji;
 One will die in the dusty street crying,
 “Somalia!”

His complete poems have still not been collected. A few have been published in translation. Sheikh Ahmed Gabyow died in 1933 in Adale, where many visit his shrine.

SHEIKH AHMED HAJI MOHHADI (d. c. 1900). Religious reformer and opponent of Italian colonial conquest. Unlike his counterparts, who usually preached in *masajid* (mosques) that were locally based or identified with a *tariqa* (order), Sheikh Mohhadi lectured in *masajid* in diverse quarters of **Mogadishu**, such as the Jama’, Fakhruddin, Arba’ Rukun, and Shingani *masajid*. He was well known for his anticolonial stands expressed in his *khutab* (Friday sermons). In 1889, he condemned the Italo-**Zanzibar** treaties, which handed over the **Banadir** ports, including Mogadishu, and the inland territory to the Italians as colonial possessions. To show his holy defiance, he abandoned Mogadishu, *darul kufr* (the place of the infidels), in what he called a *hijra* (thus, replicating the Prophet’s Hijra to Medina) to Nimow, about 15 kilometers north of Jazira on the coast, which he proclaimed *darul Islam* (the

place of **Islam**). There he established the Jama'adda Nimow (the Nimow Brotherhood). However, on 20 April 1897, when the Italians bombarded Nimow in retaliation for the **Lafuole Massacre** of November 1896, Sheikh Ahmed fled with his *akhwan* (followers) to Daay Suuf, an inland village of the Wa'dan **clan** where he was welcomed and promised full support. The Italians put Sheikh Ahmed on their "most wanted list" as a dangerous militant and leader of the **Lafuole Massacre**. He taught and trained many young Wa'dan warriors and most of his *talaba* (students and disciples) were from this clan. The Abukar Moldhere, a Wa'dan subclan, indeed was the first to oppose the Italians in the Shabelle region. Sheikh Ahmed died at the beginning of the 20th century in Daay Suuf, where his shrine is to be found.

SHEIKH ALI DHURRE (c. 1860). See **BARDERA**.

SHEIKH ALI JIMALE BARAALE (1903–1979). Minister of social affairs, health and education in the first government. Sheikh Ali was born in Omad, near Beled Weyne, of the Hawadle subclan of the **Hawiye** and received a colonial education in **Mogadishu**. In 1935, he joined the colonial army, the Banda or Dub'ad (the white turbans) and he rose quickly to *capo banda* (regimental head) and fought in the Italo-Ethiopian War of 1936. In 1938, he became a clerk in the newly created Italian administration, the Governo della Somalia (Somali government). Posted to Wardheer town in the **Ogaden** region, he served as a "first class" translator in Qabridaharre until 1941. Sheikh Ali was an early member of the **Somali Youth Club** in 1946 and one of the founders of the **Somali Youth League** in 1947 in Beled Weyne, where he was the local secretary general from 1947 to 1955. From 1953 to 1955, Sheikh Ali served on the Consiglio Territoriale (**Territorial Council**) and, in 1956, he became minister of health, veterinary and labor, a portfolio he held after independence until 1963. He then founded a new opposition party, the **Somali National Congress**. In 1961, he contested the presidential election against **Adan Abdulle Osman** and lost by one vote. Sheikh Ali remained a member of parliament until the military coup of 1969. He then retired from politics to live on his farm in Jowhar, Lower Shabelle valley. In 1970, the farm was nationalized. Sheikh Ali's health deteriorated and the family moved him to his home town of Beled Weyne, where he died from hypertension. His will required that his tomb would have no sign and the family would dig a well anywhere in Somalia as an endowment for nomads.

SHEIKH ASHIR SHEIKH MAADOOW MAHAD (d. 1907). The son of grand mystic-'Alimn ('*Alim* is a scholar in Islamic studies) Sheikh Maadoow Mahad. Raised and educated under his father. Ashir succeeded his father as the head sheikh of the Hintire **clan**. However, unlike his father, who combined

the religious and political leadership of the clan, Ashir refrained from taking on the day-to-day affairs of the community, put them in the hands of the *islaw* (chief), and made his own focus religious affairs. He was a man of peace and toleration who condemned warfare whether within or between clans. He broke the Hintire-Geledi alliance because of the latter's imperial tendencies and their use of the alliance for subjugation and exploitation of other clans. Because of these new policies launched by Sheikh Ashir, the Hintire boycotted the Geledi-Biamaal war of 1878–1879. The outcome of the boycott and war was disastrous to the Geledi, as they were not only defeated in humiliating fashion, but also their sultan, **Ahmad Yusuf**, was killed in the decisive battle of **Agaraan** near **Marka** in 1879. The boycott also led to the estrangement between the Geledi and Hintire. The two clans were thereafter engaged in constant war and crisis until the death of Sheikh Ashir in 1907.

Sheikh Ashir kept his clan neutral, even with regard to the resistance against **Italy**. War to him was an evil, particularly when it was aimed at aggression and expansion. According to Ashir, good Muslims were those who worked for peace and only engaged in war when their territory was invaded. Just as he refused to send Hintire warriors with Sultan Ahmad Yusuf to fight against the Biamaal earlier, so he declined to allow them to take part in the Wa'dan resistance against the Italians. Likewise, he refused to cooperate with the Italians. In fact, he consistently rebuffed their messengers and their gifts in seeking cooperation. Sheikh Ashir Maadoow Mahad wanted freedom and security for his clansmen, but died in 1907 while **Mereerey**, the headquarters of the united Hintire and Huber clans, was on the verge of falling into the hands of Italian colonial troops.

SHEIKH FARAJ (d. 1925). Known also as Sufi Baraki (the blessed Sufi), he was the first successor, as **khalif**, of **Sheikh Uways Ibn Muhammad al-Barawi**, who was martyred in Biyoley in 1907. He was Sheikh Uways's loyal student as a *muriid* (seeker), until the Biyoley massacre, of which he was one of the few survivors. In 1908, he returned to **Barawa**, the birthplace of Sheikh Uways, and organized a successor *tariqa* (order) that came to be known as **Uwaysiyya**. Following in the footsteps of Sheikh Uways, Sheikh Faraj migrated to the Tunni territory in the Lower Shabelle and made his headquarters in Buulo Mareerto, where the number of his followers grew quickly.

Sheikh Faraj devoted himself to the cause of the *tariqa* and to carrying the torch of Uwaysiyya. Through serious, spiritual exercises, lengthy prayers, the reading of *werdi* (prescribed readings), and recitation of his sheikh, he showed signs of *karaamah* (mystical power), thought of as a supernatural gift of miraculous power, such as for bringing rain and healing. In the early 1920s, Sheikh Faraj claimed that Sheikh Uways's soul transmigrated into him so that, indeed, the *akhwaan* (followers) who knew Sheikh Uways before he

died could not distinguish between them in appearance, manner, and even voice. Thus, he became very popular in the Shabelle region as well as in the Qadiriyya community all over Somalia.

In 1922, Sheikh Faraj launched a campaign against **Italy's** colonial activities on the **Banadir**. He established new centers for the **jama'a** in Golweyn and Muki Dumis. His *akhwaan* were trained to protect the farmlands from the Italians penetrating the fertile Lower Shabelle region. However, in 1923, these centers were attacked and mostly destroyed by Italian colonial forces. Sheikh Faraj traveled to Tiye glow in Upper Juba to coordinate with a **Reewin** movement that emerged there and was led by Sharif Alyow Issaq al-Sarmani. Tiye glow, where earlier the **daraawiish** (dervishes) had suffered a serious defeat, was the headquarters of the movement, for it resisted early waves of Italian occupation. The town was also located in between the two holiest places in the Reewin territory, Sarmaan (the headquarters of Asharaf; see **OBOO UMUR; URUR**) and Biyoley (the headquarters of Uwaysiyya and where the shrine of Sheikh Uways is located).

To consolidate the power of the movement resisting the “infidel” Italians, the two leaders agreed to put more emphasis on defending the coastal areas of Banadir and the farmland of the Lower Shabelle. Therefore, forces from the Tiye glow *akhwaan* led by Sharif Alyow went with Sheikh Faraj to support the *akhwaan* in Buulo Mareerto and other Lower Shabelle centers. The movement sought internal unification and reform, to counter divisive tribalism and those officials, salaried chiefs, and qadi's it labeled hypocrites, actually collaborators in the pay of the Italians. The movement constructed defenses in preparations for the resistance.

Fulfilling the new strategies of the movement, the construction of two secure fortresses was finished in early 1924 in Dhai-Dhai, later known as Jama'a Dhai-Dhai, and in Qorile, later known as Buulo Asharaf, after Sharif Alyow. The Italian Fascist authority was troubled by these developments. Mario De Vecchi di Val Cismon, the Fascist governor of Somalia, warned Sheikh Faraj to give up what he called “unhealthy activities.” The two fortified camps dispatched delegations throughout the **Inter-riverine region** to recruit more supporters. They contacted Sheikh Murjan, a prominent Qadiri holy man in the Lower Juba, who not only blessed the movement but also supported it materially. The colonial authorities felt endangered and, as a preemptive measure, the governor ordered the Barawa district commissioner to negotiate with the leaders of the movement to prevent a rebellion. This move failed and a Zaptie (colonial strike force) was sent against Sheikh Faraj and his allies.

On 20 October 1924, more Zaptie forces attacked Dhai-Dhai Center. The *akhwaan* defended their camp and forced the colonial forces to retreat to Barawa and leave behind some of their dead and injured. Sheikh Faraj considered this victory a miracle and it reinvigorated his jihadist movement. In

early November, more colonial troops attacked the strongholds of the movement; many centers were burned and the *akhwaan* fought bravely, but were overwhelmed by superior troops and weaponry. After many losses, they retreated toward the north and northwest. Sheikh Faraj and a small number of the *akhwaan* remained in the Lower Shabelle region, introducing guerrilla tactics to fight the enemy. On 31 May 1925, colonial troops surprised Sheikh Faraj in his hiding place and defeated his *akhwaan*. He was wounded, captured, and sent to Barawa, where he died from his injuries soon after. Meanwhile, Sharif Alyow, having survived death or capture by colonial troops, was able to retreat to Tiyeglow, his home town.

SHEIKH HASSAN BARSANE (d. 1928), Millenarian and grand mufti, master of *ilm al-asraar* (the secret knowledge), and leader of anticolonial resistance in the Lower Shabelle valley between 1905 to 1928. He was the son of Sheikh Nur Ahmad Omar, who founded the first *tariqa* (order) at Beled Ubaadi, about 80 kilometers northwest of Jowhar, in 1848. The Barsane are a subclan of the nomadic Galje'el (**Hawiye**) who are the “first-born” and thus, even before Sheikh Nur, were blessed with ritual powers to make rain, produce **taalil** (holy water), dispense *hirsi* (charms), remove *habaar* (curses), and predict the future. Though the *tariqa* required strict observance of the *shari'a* (Islamic laws), the Barsane acquired from it new power and status combined with their traditional authority as ritually sanctioned arbitrators among the Galje'el.

Sheikh Hassan Barsane went on Hajj (pilgrimage) in the late 1880s and, while in Mecca, he learned more about Muslim reformers, such as the Moroccan Sheikh Ahmad ibn Idris al-Fasi (1760–1837) and the Sudanese Muhammad Ahmad al-Mahdi (d. 1885). He also met the Sudanese Sheikh Muhammad ibn Salah al-Rashid (d. c.1918), the founder of the Salihyya *tariqa* (order), and Sheikh Muhammad Guleed (d. 1918), the Somali student of Muhammad ibn Salah who first introduced the Salihyya *tariqa* in the Upper Shabelle valley. Sheikh Hassan then returned home with a militantly millenarian message.

In 1890, he founded a new center, **Jama'a** Mubarak Belet Karim, near the wells of Eel Dheere. In 1897, Sheikh Hassan called for a *shir* (assembly) that moved the jama'a to Jiliale, from a nomadic area in the Upper Shabelle valley to an agricultural area in the Lower Shabelle valley, into which both the Europeans and Ethiopians were expanding. On the one hand, European colonial conquests were threatening the **Banadir** coast, while, on the other, the Ethiopians were moving into the riverine region. European teams frequently “explored” the Shabelle valley. In 1896, at **Lafuole**, the Wa'dan **clan** clashed with the Italian expedition led by Antonio Cecchi and defeated it. At Jiliale, the jama'a celebrated the Wa'dan victory against the infidels, but the news about the Italian counterattack and their burning and sacking of Nimow, Jazira, Dhanane,

and other coastal towns in revenge was alarming. As a coastal *laashin* (poet) put it, *Biamaaley jebiyeeene Barsaney u soo socdaan* (after the breaking of the Biamaal in the Banadir, Barsane [Sheikh Hassan's jama'a] will definitely be broken). Sheikh Hassan mobilized his followers and during a *shir* said, "the infidels surround us on all sides, the Europeans from the east and Ethiopians from the west; both are advancing to occupy our land." When someone in the crowd asked how they could protect themselves, Sheikh Hassan responded that Allah would support them as long as they remained on the right path, and that sheer number in troops and peerless armament would not count: "How oft, by Allah's will, hath a small force vanquished a big one?" (surah 2, verse 249).

In 1908, **Italy** overcame coastal resistance; they then took over the Geledi and conquered **Baidoa** and **Huddur** in 1913 and 1914, respectively. Italian plantations were established in Bal'ad and Jowhar from 1908 to 1920. However, the Jiliale jama'a resisted the Italians and refused to be coopted into the Zaptie (colonial strike force). They also forced the **daraawiish** (dervishes) of **Sayid Mahamed Abdule Hasan**, the "Mad Mullah," to retreat to the **Ogaden in Ethiopia**. In March 1924, when Mario De Vecchi di Val Cismon, the fascist governor of Somalia (1923–1928), called for the jama'a to turn in their arms, the sheikh convoked a grand *shir* that, inflamed with millenarian zeal, denounced the order: "The world is very close to its end. Only 58 years remain. We do not want to stay in this world. It is better to die while defending our laws." The first punitive attack was unsuccessful, but colonial troops from Beled Weyne attacked from the west and captured the sheikh.

The sheikh was imprisoned and died in 1928 in **Mogadishu**. His body was returned to Jiliale, where it was entombed, and his shrine is visited there annually on the day of his death (*ziyara*). The defeat of Jiliale jama'a and the death of Sheikh Hassan Barsane cleared the way for the Italian dream of establishing the *impero colonial fascista* (Fascist colonial empire) in 1936, only eight years later. The revolutionary Somalia, under **Mohamed Siad Barre**, honored the sheikh by naming a high school in Mogadishu after him.

SHEIKH HASSAN BURAALE. The master of '*Ilm al-Asraar*' ("secret knowledge"), whose shrine is visited even today in Jazira a town, south of **Mogadishu**. Legends of his power emerged in southern Somalia in stories set in the last days before the end of **Ajuran** rule around 1700. He rebelled against Imam Umur, who arrested him and commanded him to cut grass and feed the royal herd. Sheikh Hassan, however, refused, saying that "he was not a slave of the imam, but a slave of God only." Nonetheless, he was humiliated and insulted and forced to cut the grass. The animals, however, would not eat the green and fresh grass, but only the dry hay. This revealed the sheikhs's *karamah* (secret power). The animals understood that the Ajuran had misused their authority and so the imam learned his lesson and released the sheikh.

SHEIKH HUSSEIN BALIYAAL. The mystic sheikh associated with the Borane **dance**. Muslims of the **Horn**, in their *ziyara* pilgrimage, visit the shrine of this popular saint, one of the first to preach **Islam** in the **Inter-riverine region**, in the valley of Kashamsare in Bali, **Ethiopia**, the source of the Juba River. Sheikh Hussein is popularly known in Somalia as Baliyaal (of the Bali region). He was one of the early saints preaching in the southwestern region of Ethiopia, northern **Kenya**, and the south-central regions of Somalia. He is also known as Sheikh Nur Hussein, Nur (light) being a name of praise. It is said that when Sheikh Hussein was about to be born, a mystical light illuminated his mother's house; it was also said that his followers saw light radiating from his shoulders, particularly when he was traveling in the dark or when he was in a trance.

He was not only a teacher but had supernatural power. In Somalia, Sheikh Hussein's cult is known as Boran or Borane, after the ritual dance introduced by people of Boranna and Arusi origin. His disciples chanted their **dikri** rhythmically and sometimes with musical accompaniment; this evolved into the distinctive Borane dance, in which *jinn*s (spirits) manifest themselves for either good or ill, but mostly ill. In urban Somalia, the young **women**, married and unmarried, will dance when they hear the **music**, because of its power to answer the plea for a husband or a child or to give relief from illness or other forms of distress. Unfortunately, it is believed that the dance may well accomplish the direct opposite, infecting the dancers with deadly diseases or making them barren for life. The *jinn*s that emerge in the dance reside in the victim's body and remain there until sacrifices are made. Then, the dancer begins to speak the strange Borane **language** (which must be translated by another, more experienced dancer), speaking as the spirit, who calls for sacrificial gifts, food, clothes, or money. Some spirits are so obstinate and demanding that they are only satisfied with expensive articles imported from overseas, such as gold and perfumes. However, once their wishes are satisfied they will leave the victim's body. *See also* **MINGIS**.

SHEIKH IBDILLE ISSAK (1796–1869). A millenarian and catechismal poet. Sheikh Ibdille Issak Mogaw was born in Totiyas, southwest of **Huddur**, Bakool region. He was an erudite Islamic scholar, proficient in Arabic and the **Af-Maay** and **Af-Garre** (Karre) **languages**. Sheikh Ibdille developed a teaching technique to explain and translate the *shari'a* (Islamic laws) from Arabic to Af-Maay or **Af-Garre**. Unlike traditional sheikhs, who followed the **laqbo** translation system, he used poetry to teach the Qur'an and the Hadith. His poems range from *towhiid* (theological discourses on the nature of the deity), *Arkaan al-Islam* (The basic five pillars of Islam), and *Arkaan al-Iman* (The basic pillars of faith) to *shari'a*. They also include poems on Islamic history and stories from the Qur'an. The poems are chanted in chorus

by children, **women**, youths, or the elderly. The most venerable is **Shoofin**, chanted in the **duksi** (Qur’anic school) by the **kutaab** (Qur’anic students), even now. The following lines come from a poem called “Jinaasy” (Eulogy), in memory of the Sheikh’s mother:

Ma roorta aayow my iing habroowto
Maddi dhighiiny muftyi ku dheeghey may hallayi.

(Dear mother who never abandoned me
Who can never become a wife to me
What shame to cleanse her naked body.)

The poem deals with funeral rites, especially bathing, incensing, and clothing the body for the grave and reading the surah 36, Yassin, as a final blessing when a person is dying, followed by the **talqin** (readings over the grave) and rituals related to the *duug* (sacrificial offerings) and *isheeding* (memorial).

Sheikh Ibille was also a mystic and millenarian who foresaw the imminent end of the world, the social upheavals and colonial occupation.

Kaptang iyooney Kummusaariyowa Kooy doone
Kedkaas ma rooga Keleeng obookey hal Kabaaloy
Kufka beenty e Kamiisky beenty e koofiyaathy beenty e
Kulubka kuusow kuffaar edoowka ing kaalmeye

(Captains and Commissioners are coming
I will not be here
Read the words of God to be safe
Those wearing sandals, robes, and skullcaps will all be lying
Others will all assemble [in *kulub*, in clubs] to welcome the
white infidels.)

Sheikh Ibille died in **Bardera**, where his shrine is visited to this day.

SHEIKH IBRAHIM SHEIKH HASSAN YEBEROW (d. 1836). Religious reformer and founder of **Bardera Jama’a** in 1819. After making his Hajj, he returned to Dafeet town, **Banadir** region, his birthplace, to establish a reformist jama’a there. However, he was rejected and, imitating the Prophet Muhammad, he made a *hijra* to Bardera, where he established his community.

Sheikh Ibrahim’s movement sought to restore Sunna orthodoxy. He introduced an **Islamic** dress code for both men and women. He forbade the use of tobacco and abolished the ivory trade. He opposed *tawassul* (intercessory prayer through saints), faith healing, fortune-telling, and the pre-Islamic **dances**, such as **Saar**. Furthermore, his jama’a followed a strict interpretation of the Qur’an, avoiding the permissive *qiil* readings. The jama’a was self-sufficient economically and had its own army. Sheikh Ibrahim also in-

roduced a monarchical political system with the *ulu al-amri* (the one in charge) as the supreme authority, who could only be elected from the people of Bardera. Sheikh Ibrahim died in 1836 and was succeeded by **Sheikh Ali Dhurre**. See also **YUSUF MAHAMUD, SULTAN OF GELEDI**.

SHEIKH MAYOW HASSAN HUSSEEN (1876–1950). Reformer and founder of a branch of the Salihyya brotherhood. He was born at Dusty, of the Maalling Wiiny **clan**, about 40 kilometers south of **Baidoa**. He completed his religious education at **Dinsor**, the center of the Salihyya order in the riverine region. He returned to his home village to teach and preach to his people. Soon he became famous and attracted many **hir** (itinerant students). He decided to establish a **jama'a** at Mardha, about 30 kilometers north of **Bardera**, near the famous waterfalls of Markabley. However, he encountered problems with the local people, the Gobaawiing, who did not support his reforms, among which were the banning of *massafy*, or taking a girl against her or her family's will to another location for marriage. He also forbade *fad* or *yered* (bridal money) and limited the *meher* (dowry) to 12 Somali shillings. The jama'a was open to every Somali, regardless of clan affiliation.

In the 1920s, Sheikh Mayow moved to a site in the middle of the Gosha forest on the banks of the Juba River, halfway between **Bardera** and Sakow, and he named the new site Gaaguure. The name came from the **Af-Maay** word *garuur* (to crawl) and in fact they crawled 10 kilometers from Mardha to get there. There were no roads and the land was infested with the tsetse fly. His followers carried machetes to clear the way. At Gaaguure, he built his first *masjid* (mosque), from which he could continue his teaching and directed a self-supporting community, which constituted a new branch of the Salihyya brotherhood. He divided the *akhwaan* (followers) into seven groups, known as *firqa*, named after the seven days of the week, such as *firqa Ehed* (the Sunday group) and *firqa Isniin* (the Monday group). Each *firqa* was led by a married man, one of the shiekh's sons or a devout brother. Celibate men and women were known as **daraawiish** (dervishes) and remained part of Sheikh Mayow's family until they were married.

Sheikh Mayow established relations with leaders of other *jama'as*, even some outside Somalia, such as those of Sheikh Siid Abbas of the Garre clan in **Kenya** and Sheikh Abdullahi Haji of Degoodiye in **Ethiopia**. In Somalia, Sheikh Mayow exchanged *ziyara* (visitations) and gifts with Sheikh Ibdiyow Usmaanow of the Bardera Jama'a and Sheikh Mohamed Guleed of Misra, near Jowhar, who belonged to the Shidle clan. The Gaaguure Jama'a grew fast. By the late 1940s, it covered an area of over 400 square kilometers and was governed by Sheikh Mayow, as the *imaam* (head of the jama'a), the *akhiyaar* (council of nobles), the *shuruud* (police force), and the judicial apparatus.

Penalties were called *ta'siir*, which ranged from fines to expulsion from the community. *Heer* (common law) and *shari'a* (Islamic law) governed the *jama'a*. Sheikh Mayow passed away at the age of 74, but left behind a thriving community. However, during the military and secular era of **Mohamed Siad Barre**, young men and women of the community were forced to work on **iska wah u qabso** (government self-help programs) for no pay. Others were forcibly drafted into Barre's **paramilitary** institutions. Consequently, the values of the *jama'a* broke down. During the civil war, Barre's militias looted grain, raped women, and killed both people and **livestock**. Most of Gaaguure was burned.

SHEIKH MUKHTAR MOHAMED HUSSEIN (1912–). Presidente (speaker) of the **Assemblea Nazionale (AN)** from 1967 to 1969. He was born in Eddoy Beerrey near **Baidoa** in the Hadame **clan**, of which he was later the *malak* (chief). He was educated in Harar, **Ethiopia**, then the education center of the **Horn**. In the late 1940s, he became sheikh-*malak* of his clan. During the British Military Administration (1941–1950), he was the general secretary of the **Somali Youth League in Huddur**. In 1952, he was appointed to the Consiglio Territoriale (**Territorial Council**) and, in 1956, he was a *qadi* administering Islamic law, and also was elected to the **Assemblea Legislativa**, where he was the undersecretary of justice in the first Somali cabinet. He was elected vice president of the AN in 1960 and served until 1967, when he was elected president of the body.

After the assassination of President **Abdirashid Ali Shermarke** on 15 October 1969, Sheikh Mukhtar became the constitutional interim president of the Somali Republic. When the military took over on 21 October 1969, Sheikh Mukhtar was put under house arrest. In the late 1980s, he was released and immediately became politically active, signing the **Manifesto** declaration. After the collapse of the military regime, he was a notable mediator in reconciliation efforts, especially in the **Inter-riverine region**. He was a significant figure at the **Djibouti Conference of June–July 1991**, because technically he was still president of the republic. He is currently an active peacemaker in the Inter-riverine region. Unlike the Somali sheikhs, he did not belong to any *tariqa* (order) but was a Sunni Muslim. He used to speak Arabic in the parliament, because his **Af-Maay** was not recognized as a national **language**.

SHEIKH MURSAL SHEIKH ALYOW (d. 1992). See **BARDERA**.

SHEIKH MUUMIN (d. c. 1773). Called a “patron” saint, he was born in **Mogadishu** to a **woman** called Asha Osman, of the Iskashato subclan of Reer Hamar. According to both Reer Hamar and Elay oral tradition, a divine spirit impregnated Sheikh Muumin's mother. He was raised with his mother's clan

in Mogadishu. After finishing his Qur'anic education, Sheikh Muumin transformed himself into a bird and flew southwest to the land of Elay, where **Haarang Madaare** had had a dream prophesying his arrival. The saint was graciously welcomed in Buur Hakaba, because the Elays were happy to see the dream coming true. They provided the saint with abundant livestock and a residence. The saint in return promised to help the Elay with his divine power and asked for a specific request. The Elay had three main requests: to be victorious against their enemies when they were expanding their territory, to have their wells desalinated, and to have their crops protected from birds.

Of all the three requests, Sheikh Muumin is well remembered for his success in *shimbir dhoore* (keeping birds off the crops). After the saint's death, an annual ritual was performed to commemorate his deeds. With regard to crop protection, a descendant of Sheikh Muumin would read the Qur'an in a **hoorri**, a specially built nomadic tent, for three consecutive months, a period called Khalaawy (seclusion), during which he would finish the Qur'an seven times. Sacrificial offerings were made. An ox and a sheep were slaughtered when the building of the hoorri was begun and seven oxen were slaughtered when the building was completed. The reader was given three cows as a reward. For the three months of the Khalaawy, the reader was supplied daily with his basic needs. If the birds did not stop eating the crops, the community concluded that the rituals were not performed properly, but the fault always lay with the community, not the sheikh.

SHEIKH NUREINI SABIRI (c. 1831–1909). A revered saint-*'alim* of **Barawa**. He was born in Barawa town. Sheikh Nureini studied most **Islamic** sciences, but specialized in *fiqh* (Islamic jurisprudence). He then taught Islamic studies in Barawa. Sheikh Nureini was also a member of the Ahmadiyya order. He became the chief *qadi* of Barawa until he died in 1909. His shrine is visited in Barawa annually by his followers.

SHEIKH NUUR ALI AHMAD OLOW (c. 1916–1995). The founder of the Wahhabiyya or the Salafi (return to the sources) school of theology in Somalia. He was, indeed, a fundamentalist in the tradition of the Wahhabi teaching in Saudi Arabia. He was born in the northeastern region but moved to **Mogadishu** to complete his education. In the late 1940s, Sheikh Nuur made his Hajj, was given a scholarship, and entered the Dar al-Hadith school in Mecca, specializing in the study of Hadith (the tradition of Prophet Muhammad). In the mid-1950s, he returned to Somalia to teach the fundamentalist Wahhabi message.

In the late 1950s, Sheikh Nuur graduated from the Kulliyat al-Shari'a (School of Islamic Law) of al-Azhar University in Cairo. In 1960, shortly after independence, he returned to Mogadishu and was appointed judge in the

civil court. A few years later, he was promoted to the Supreme Court and eventually became the director general of religious affairs in the Ministry of Justice. After the military coup in 1969, Sheikh Nuur was imprisoned for his opposition to the secularism of the military regime. After his release, he migrated to East Africa, where he taught in the Kasuni Islamic Institute in Mombasa, **Kenya**, and at the Bilaal Islamic Institute in Kampala, Uganda. The League of the Islamic World, a Saudi-funded institution, sponsored his Islamic mission in East Africa. He died in Riyadh, Saudi Arabia, in 1995.

SHEIKH NUUR HUSSEIN (1888–1975). Proletariat saint. He was born in Basra, Upper Shabelle Valley, to a religious family who were followers of the Ahmadiyya order. His full name was Sheikh Nuur Hussein Ma'allim Dirgadai. At nine years of age, after completing his Qur'anic school, he joined a Sufi circle led by Master-Sheikh Usman Sheikh Hassan Ma'allim and developed his distinctive sanctity while serving his master. He was a leper and, after being quarantined in **Mogadishu**, moved in 1919 to the Lower Juba River town of Jilib, where there was a leprosy hospital.

His move to Jilib came about in 1919, when a group of Italian doctors conducting health surveys in the rural areas of Lower Shabelle valley heard that there was a leper in Basra village but could not locate him. They left a message with the master-sheikh requesting the leper be sent to Mogadishu for examination as soon as possible. The master-sheikh sent Sheikh Nuur to Mogadishu, telling him “we are sending you to be the **khalif** of Lamadadka.” Sheikh Nuur asked “where is that place?” The master-sheikh replied, “I don't know, but the spirits of the saints revealed to me that it is a place where, if a *muriid* (seeker) remained khalif there until the death of his master-sheikh, and received the turban of the master-sheikh, the seeker-khalif would be promoted to the highest spiritual place.”

Upon arrival in **Mogadishu** with his cousin, Sheikh Abdirahim, Sheikh Nuur was sent to quarantine and eventually transferred to the leprosy hospital at Jilib. Sheikh Abdirahim returned to Basra and reported to the master-sheikh, as the master-sheikh played with his children, that Sheikh Nuur was hospitalized and might be sent to Jilib. Suddenly, the master-sheikh stopped playing and wept, but smiled and took a deep breath, saying, “Two things have been revealed to me right now: first, that I will never see Sheikh Nuur again and second that I will die soon.”

When Sheikh Nuur arrived at Jilib, he was told that the local name was Lamadadka, which fulfilled part of the prophecy of his master-sheikh, that Nuur would become khalif of a place called Lamadadka. According to the story, upon his arrival, Sheikh Nuur went into a trance under a tree that came to be blessed as a major site of the *ziyara* (visitation of the holy shrine). In the leprosy hospital, he met irreligious men and **women** who sang and

danced and were utterly ignorant of **Islam**. He started preaching to them and used his mystical powers to convert them, warning those who rejected his call that they would die from lice infection.

Although Sheikh Nuur converted many of them, he met significant opposition and eventually left and secluded himself. During the seclusion, according to his hagiographers, Sheikh Nuur fasted for four years, eating only the leaves of the *washqaar* tree. He experienced great spiritual purification in his devotion to God and the hereafter, with the patience of the prophet Ya'qub (Job). His body became miraculously bright in the night and he emitted the odor of sanctity. His blessing allowed two barren women over 50 years old to conceive and give birth. At this time, Sheikh Nuur was cured of leprosy and his cousin Sheikh Abdirahim, came to Jilib with the turban of Master-Sheikh Usman. When the turban was received, Sheikh Nuur developed visionary powers. He received in his courtyard the Prophet Muhammad, Sheikh Abdulqadir al-Jilani, and Sayid Ahmad ibn Idris, who handed to him 10 banners and a walking stick known as Salimow. Then people began visiting him and seeking forgiveness for their past misdeeds. In his honor, the people of Jilib promised to support his teaching and gave him a wife.

In 1924, Sheikh Nuur established a **jama'a** settlement and a residence at Kariim, where his holy shrine is visited today. Unlike many Somali saints who followed only one particular *tariqa* (order), Sheikh Nuur believed that the orders were all from the same source and should avoid sectarian disputes. He even built mosques named after the founders of each of the three major orders in Somalia: Qadiriyya, Ahmadiyya, and Salihyya. Moreover, although Muslim women can pray with men, Sheikh Nuur built a special mosque for women.

In addition to his religious efforts, Sheikh Nuur devoted himself to the social well-being of his community. He established orphanages, built centers for the blind, and assisted the homeless. Funding for these services was derived from self-help schemes, which were mostly agricultural, as Islam encourages. Sheikh Nuur introduced three categories of agricultural projects. First was communal farming, in which all able persons of Kariim had to participate. Communally grown crops were stored in the *beit al-maal* (treasury of the town) and appropriated according to community needs. The second type was endowed farming. This was also communal but its yield was saved for the elderly, disabled, and poor people of the community. Third was private farming, which allowed individuals to meet their own needs but obliged them to pay the annual *zakat* (tax) to the *beit al-maal*. In addition, Sheikh Nuur bought surplus crops for a special fund to be used during famine and drought.

For the security of the settlement and the preservation of public order, Sheikh Nuur introduced the *shuruut*, a committee for public safety. The

committee provided social services for newcomers, engaged in conflict resolution, and had the capacity to detain, punish, or deport those who breached community norms.

Sheikh Nuur devoted much time and wealth to providing the basic needs of an urban community, for example, he built an infirmary, furnished with all necessary medical equipment, and paid the salaries of the medical personnel, as well as paying for the drugs and other expenses of the patients. He introduced a public clothing establishment where poor people were given free clothing and free tailoring services. He maintained the electricity generator and subsidized the installation of wiring and other facilities to light the town. He dug public wells for free water and introduced public grinders to help the low-income families grind grain or maize. In 1975, Sheikh Nuur Hussein died, but he left behind this tremendous legacy of community welfare in Kariim town. The settlement was a model for developing later urban communities based on self-supporting schemes, such as the **iska wah u qabso** (government self-help programs) of the early 1970s and the *iskashatooyingka* (cooperative projects) of the 1980s.

SHEIKH QASIM IBN MUHYIDDIN AL-BARAWI (1878–1921). A mystic-poet of the Wali **clan** born in the town of **Barawa**. He was a multilingual scholar and composed poems in Arabic, Chimalazi, and Tunni. He also wrote and collected a **munaaqib** (hagiographic accounts) of many Qadiriyya saints, including the biography of his spiritual master, **Sheikh Uways Ibn Muhammad al-Barawi**, entitled *Ta'nis al-Jalis fi Manaqib al-Shaykh Uways* (A blessed companion on the deeds of Sheikh Uways). Among his best poems in Chimalazi is *Chidirke ya Rasulallah*, on the Prophet Muhammad's intercession. His *qasa'id* (poems) in Arabic are published in a collection known as *Majmuu'at al-Qasaa'id* (Collection of Poems).

SHEIKH SUUFI (1828/9–1906/7). Sheikh Abdurahman bin Sheikh Abdallah, known as Sheikh Suufi or Sheikh Abdurahman al-Shashi of the Shanshiya **clan**, was born in **Mogadishu**. He learned the Qur'an by heart when he was seven years old and then completed his Arabic and Islamic education in Warsheikh, an Islamic center north of Mogadishu. He was nicknamed "Suufi" (the mystic) because, in his teens, he used to dress up in fancy robes and gowns like those of the *ulema* and Sufis. He soon became famous in the **Banadir** region for the depth and eloquence of his lectures in his *halqat* (study circles). He was unique because he acquired his learning without traveling abroad. Some of Sheikh Suufi's biographers consider his learning itself a miracle, the most obvious sign of his saintliness.

Sheikh Suufi studied Sunni **Islam**, specializing in the Shafi'i school and choosing the Qadiriyya as his Sufi *tariqa* (order). Sheikh Suufi was a re-

markedly spiritual poet. His best work is collected in *Dalil al-'Ibad Ila Sabil al-Rashad* (A companion of the believers in the right path), which provided poetic instructions to reach spiritual goals, rather like the instructions in the ancient *Book of the Dead* of the Egyptians, which told the reader exactly what to do, and how to be good, to have a good afterlife. It was edited by Muhammad Sufi bin **Sheikh Qasim Ibn Muhyiddin al-Barawi**, circulated only in manuscript form, and has never been formally published. Sheikh Sufi died on Friday, 28 Safar, 1323 A.H. (c.1906/7). His shrine is visited annually in the cemetery named after him, Qabuuraha Sheikh Suufi (Sheikh Sufi Cemetery), in Mogadishu, between the **National Theater** and **Radio** Mogadishu. Indeed, before independence, the cemetery was greatly honored because it is where many great *ulema*, sultans, and *malaks* were buried. Even today, it is an honor to be buried in the Sheikh Suufi cemetery.

SHEIKH USMAN IBN ALI AL-ZAYLA'I (d. 1342). Theologian of the Hanafi school of thought from the **Zayla** region, an ancient Islamic center in the **Horn**. The Hanafi school differs from the other Islamic schools of thought in that it is more logical and practical and less rigid and racial in its interpretation of the Qur'an and the Hadith. Sheikh Usman's six-volume work, now available in its 1897 edition, on the Hanafi doctrine, *Tabyin al-Haqaa'iq li-Sharh Kanz al-Daqa'iq*, remains authoritative. Though he was not Egyptian, he had founded his own *halaqat* (college) in al-Azhar mosque in Cairo, where he died and was buried.

SHEIKH UWAYS IBN MUHAMMAD AL-BARAWI (1846–1907). The survivor of the Qadiriyya *tariqa* (order) and the founder of the **Uwaysiyya** branch. He was born in **Barawa**, a major **Banadir** town. Sheikh Uways belonged to the Tunni (which literally means "united") tribe. The coastal Tunni, the artisans of the Banadir region, are famous for their crafts: weaving the *alindi* (plain and colored textile for clothing) and making jewelry and shoes. They are also builders and manufacturers of traditional arms (spears, daggers, and shields).

Uways's father, Haji Muhammad, was a prominent member of the Barawa religious and business community. He sent his son to the Qur'anic school, where the young Uways completed the Qur'an faster than usual. He continued his Arabic and Islamic studies under such renowned Barawanese *ulema* as Sheikh Mad Jinaay al-Bahlul and Sheikh al-Haj Mad Dhayane, who taught him the basic principles of the Qadiriyya and eventually encouraged him to pursue further studies in Baghdad. In 1870, Uways left Barawa for Muscat and Basra en route to Baghdad, the birthplace of Abdulqadir al-Jilani (d. 1166), the founder of the order. Before the journey, Uways visited holy places in Barawa, **Marka**, Jazira, and **Mogadishu**, where he prayed,

seeking spiritual strength. In Baghdad, Uways studied mystical theology under the master Sayid Mustafa bin Sayid Salman al-Kaylani, the head of the Qadiriyya order and the keeper of the Jilani Masjid and shrine in Baghdad. But before receiving the **ijazah** (certificate, degree, or license) to become a full-fledged Sufi and the title of the order, he was required to pray at the Prophet Muhammad's shrine in Medina so that his ordination and title would receive the necessary sanction in a dream or a vision. After a series of pilgrimages to Mecca and visits to the shrine of the Prophet in Medina during 1873–1876, Uways's dreams were recognized as authentic and he went back to Baghdad to receive the **ijazah**, which included the seal of the order, his place in the *silsilah* (chain of succession) of the **khalifs**, his title as the Sheikh al-Hajj, the banner of the order, and a ring, a green turban, and a white *'imamah* (head scarf).

He then left for Barawa, by way of Medina, Mecca, Sanaa, and Aden, meeting prominent Muslim *ulema* and visiting the shrines of well-known saints and sheikhs, among them the shrines for **Sheikh Abdirahman al-Zayla'i** a Qadiri, saint at Qulunquul in what is now southwestern **Ethiopia**, in order to obtain their blessings. Soon after Sheikh Uways arrived in Barawa in the fall of 1882, he became the undisputed khalif of the Qadiriyya order. His followers acquired for their branch, Uwaysiyya. However, in Barawa and the rest of Somalia, Sheikh Uways was attacked; among his detractors were members of a rival order, the Salihyya.

The return of Sheikh Uways to Barawa coincided with the arrival of the British and French colonial powers in the north and the German and Italian colonial powers in the south. Thus, Sheikh Uways started fighting on a domestic front with the Salihyya and on a foreign front with the colonial powers. He established settlements in south-central Somalia with headquarters at Biyoley. From 1883 to his death in 1907, he traveled eastern coastal Africa and its hinterlands as a missionary gaining new converts to **Islam** and preaching the tenets of the Qadiriyya order. He paid visits south along the Swahili coast all the way to Mozambique. He stayed in **Zanzibar** and Dar es Salaam and his followers established Uwaysiyya centers in the hinterlands of Tanganyika and Malawi, and even as far as the Congo. In the coastal areas and on the Indian Ocean Islands, Uwaysiyya won many adherents through his dynamic preaching and that of his disciples, his khalifs.

In addition to his Sufi mystic power, Sheikh Uways was a multilingual poet. He composed religious poems and addressed congregations in Af-Tunni (his mother tongue), Arabic, **Af-Maay**, **Af-Mahaa**, and Chimalazi. His hagiographers published only some of the Arabic texts, because the other **languages** were only spoken. His rich literary legacy is largely unexplored. Furthermore, Sheikh Uways was a historian, especially of Islamic history and political thought. In one of his vitriolic poems describing the ways of life

of Salihyya followers, Sheikh Uways portrayed them as Karramiya (an Islamic sect that believed God had a body), Janahiya (a sect that believed in reincarnation), and Wahhabiya (a sect that is against *tawassul*, or intercession of the prophet and saints). This shows how well acquainted Sheikh Uways was with divergent or even heretical Islamic religious thinking that had a political impact on African Islam. In 1907, Sheikh Uways was murdered in Biyoley by Jidle clan followers of the Salihyya order (*see SHEIKH FARAJ*). His shrine is visited annually, not only by Somali followers of all **clans**, but also by Uwaysiyya followers from East and Central Africa and southern Arabia.

SHERMARKE. *See* **ABDIRASHID ALI SHERMARKE.**

SHIRE JAMA AHMED (1936–1989). Linguist and educator. Shire Jama Ahmed of the Marehan **clan** was born in Wardheer, **Ogaden** Province, **Ethiopia**. He completed his Qur'anic school there and continued his Arabic education in **Mogadishu**. During the British Military Administration of Somalia (1941–1950), he learned English at teacher training courses and became a certified teacher. With the return of the Italian administration in Somalia (1950–1960), Shire attended the Arabic and Islamic schools organized by al-Azhar, where in 1955 he won a scholarship to study at al-Azhar University in Cairo, **Egypt**.

While in Cairo, he studied linguistics and paid special attention to the criticism concerning the Arabic script. He became convinced that Arabic script would not be suitable for the Somali **language** and that the Somalis would be making a grave mistake if they adopted it. In 1957, Shire returned to Mogadishu amid the lively debate concerning the national language and national script. He started writing to the local newspapers advocating for the Latin script. He declared those favoring Arabic or **Ismaniyya** to be fanatical or chauvinistic. Latin to Shire had several advantages in contrast to the other scripts. Phonetically, it was closer to the Somali and would not require further letters or diacritics. Moreover, there were Muslim societies that used the Latin script in their languages, such as Turkey and Indonesia. As a script was a human rather than divine creation, it was not a heresy to use the Latin script.

Shire developed a modified Latin script in 1959 that was later chosen by the language committee appointed in 1960 by the Ministry of Education. The minister, however, kept the report confidential and the findings of the committee were never published or brought to the attention of the government. In 1966, the Somali government invited the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) experts to form a linguistic committee. The committee included Bogumil Witalis Andrzejewski, S. Strelcyn, and J.

Tubiana. This committee recommended Shire's script as both "practical" and "objective." The Somali government, however, could not adopt the expert's findings for political reasons. All Arab and most Islamic countries as well as the Somali masses considered the adoption of Latin script as a neocolonialist action. In January 1971, 15 months after the military takeover, Shire was appointed to membership of the Guddiga Af-Soomaaliga (**Somali Language Commission**) and, in October 1972, the **Supreme Revolutionary Council** adopted Shire's modified Latin script to become the national script for Somali. In the late 1970s, Shire became the chairman of the Guddiga Af-Soomaaliga, and for most of the 1980s he served as diplomat to several countries. His major publications include *Naxwaha Af Soomaaliga* (Somali syntax), published by the **Akadeemiyaha Dhaqanka** in 1976.

SHIRIF. Wooden combs commonly used among the **Inter-riverine** people of Somalia as well as Swahili and other Bantu peoples of East Africa. Shirif are also called *saqaf* in **Ogaden** and northern Somalia and *shanle* in the coastal **Banadir**. In terms of size and design, they differ from place to place because of the lengths and kind of hair desired. Generally, shirif are used by **women**, but men also use them, especially in the tribes that permit men to grow their hair long. Older men use smaller combs for their beards. A special type of shirif used by warriors has a hole bored into the handle into which an ostrich feather may be inserted. Some shirif commonly used in the coastal areas have double rows of teeth, while other types with a single row of teeth predominate in the rest of Somalia. The latter are large and carved elaborately, especially the triangular handle, with its symmetrical double-projecting crescent at the sides.

SHOOFIN (Shoofing, Shaafin). A poem chanted by *kutaab* (*duksi* students) at the closing of a day session, either at dusk or at the preparation for Isha (night prayer). The poem was composed by the millenarian **Sheikh Ibille Issak** in **Af-Maay** and became the school anthem in the *duksi* tradition. *Shoofin* is meant to *hirsi hir* (keep devils at bay) and is chanted to protect communities from all evils. The poem has an epic sweep, from creation to the Day of Judgment, and lays out fundamental spiritual and moral values:

Aadamow inti Jerto
 Allaga ku obsoy
 Nabaga ku obsoy
 Seer Allow summung my lee
 Saf yera na haysyte

(As long as you exist [son of Adam]
 Fear your God and your Prophet
 Allah's universe is great, numberless
 Believers are outnumbered)

The poem then moves on to describe the divine attributes:

Majey weelshey allow
 Maddi wal maaga miing taagwaaye
 Maas myki lihiini maag wal niin siyey Rabiyouw
 Alleew wal welby ogey,
 Walwelby arageew,
 Walwelby dheegeow . . .

(God wills all without a word
 Whatever he intends, his command it “be” and it is!
 Who gives without conditions
 God who knows everything
 Who sees everything
 Who hears everything . . .)

Then the poem warns those who fail to obey God and his prophets what will happen to them:

Allishey ing gefow
 Nabashey ing gefow
 Adaabtiis ebeda
 Agadshey dumiya
 Agadshey ruhshey ka saas

(Those who dishonor God,
 Those who dishonor the Prophet
 will suffer now
 and burn in hell for ever)

The poem blesses the line of teachers, parents, and neighbors from ancient times and ends with the verses from the holy Qur’an, *wama rameyta ith rameyta walakinnallaha rama . . .* (when thou threwest [a handful of dust], it was not thy act, but Allah’s: In order that he might test the believers by a gracious trail from himself . . .) (surah al Anfal 17). The *kutaab* imitate the Prophet Muhammad’s action at a battle by throwing a handful of dust into his enemies’ eyes: they throw the shoofin into the eyes of their community’s enemies so that Allah will accept their prayer. Indeed, *kutaab* prayers are believed to be very effective.

SIAD BARRE. *See* MOHAMED SIAD BARRE.

SILSILAH. Literally, “chain,” and religiously it is a chain of initiation for religious *tariqa* (orders). To prove the legality of their “way” each *tariqa* or branch has its own hierarchy or chain of authority connecting them to the founder of the order. Some *tariqa* may trace descent from one of the

Khulafa' al-Rashidun (the rightly-guided caliphs). In this chain, previous khalif heads of the order are listed.

SIYARO. From the Arabic *ziyarah*, visits or homage made to the shrines of the *awliya* (saints or holy men), noted sharifs, and prominent religious Sufi orders. In Somalia, the siyaro marks the death day of any of the above individuals. Almost every village or town has its place of worship and, in the countryside, even in the most remote areas, there are tombs of long-deceased saints where locals pay tribute annually. During the siyaro, scales of activities include **dikri**, **suba'**, and feasts with all kinds of food imaginable. Vows are made and advice sought from the saints' descendants. Some devotees bring home *turaab* (dust) from the grave to be added to water and divided among the followers of the particular saint or cult. Some of the pre-Islamic annual festivals are also common in Somalia. Popular visitations are made to the shrines of **Sheikh Uways Ibn Muhammad al-Barawi** in Biyoley, **Oboo Umur** in Sarman, and Aw Usmaan Markayaale in **Marka**. *See also URUR.*

SOCIETÀ AGRICOLA ITALO-SOMALA (SAIS). The Italo-Somali Agricultural Society was founded in 1920 by the Duke of Abruzzi to produce major export crops, **bananas**, sugarcane, and cotton. The plantations in the Lower Shabelle valley near Jowhar were known from 1920 to the mid-1950s as the Villa Abruzzi, and they were farmed by forced labor, *cologno*. The plantations were not very productive during World War II and the British Military Administration. But SAIS was revitalized during the Italian trusteeship (1950–1960) through a new policy that hired families to plant and harvest crops and also permitted them to keep and irrigate their own private farms. This successful strategy raised the production of sugar from 4,000 tons in 1950 to 11,000 tons in 1957, thus making the country self-sufficient in sugar production.

The Somali Republic in 1960 became co-owner with Italian shareholders. Irrigation systems and transport facilities were improved. By 1970, SAIS sugar production reached its highest level ever, more than 400,000 tons, and was nationalized as the Società Nazionale per l'Agricoltura e l'Industria. But production fell quickly for many reasons, among them the salination of the sugar estates at Jowhar, a shortage of fertilizers and pesticides, and a labor shortage caused by the migration of skilled labor to the Middle East. In 1978, the military regime expanded sugar operations in Jowhar and developed another state-owned plantation at Mereerey in the Lower Juba valley. A sugar refinery there went into operation in September 1980. *See MEREEREY SUGAR PROJECT.*

SODERE DECLARATION OF JANUARY 1997. Representatives of 26 political movements met for six weeks in **Sodere, Ethiopia**, a hot-springs resort about 100 kilometers southeast of Addis Ababa, and made a “solemn declaration” on 3 January 1997 to the people of Somalia and to the international community. They then established a National Salvation Council, consisting of 41 members selected proportionally from all **clans**. Thus, the four major clan families, **Darood, Hawiye, Issaq, and Reewin**, were allocated nine seats each, leaving five seats for smaller groups. Six further seats were reserved for the **Somali National Movement (SNM)**, made up of the northern Issaq/**Dir** clans, which had not yet joined the process. There was also an 11-member National Executive Committee, led by a five-member presidium with rotating cochair: Abdullahi Yusuf Ahmed, **Abdulkadir Mohamed Aden “Zoppo,” Ali Mahdi Mohamed**, Aden Abdulle Nur, and Osman Ali Atto. The representatives agreed to convene another national reconciliation conference inside Somalia at Bosasso, northeast Somalia, to approve the charter of a Transitional Central Authority or the Provisional Central Government of Somalia, which, however, never took place. They further called upon other political movements and leaders who did not come to the Sodere meeting, such as the SNM, led by **Mohamed Haji Ibrahim Egal**, and the **United Somali Congress**, led by **Hussein Farah Aideed**, to cooperate and participate. In addition, the Sodere Declaration also established political, social, foreign relations, defense, and economic affairs committees that did meet, but not in Somalia.

SOMALI AFRICAN MUKI ORGANIZATION (SAMO). A faction created by descendants of slaves who live in the Juba and Shabelle valleys and are known as **Reer Goleed** (people of the forest) or Shabelle (people of the Shabelle). They are also called Jareer (people with kinky hair). Despised by the “pure” Somalis, who call them by the pejorative “Addoon” (the equivalent of “niggers”), they suffered terribly from the civil war. Their villages were burned, their crops were destroyed, and their **women** were raped. They were denied the safe haven of the **refugee** camps. SAMO, a nonmilitary association, was founded in early 1991 to safeguard their interests. SAMO joined other marginalized peoples, such as the *reer* Hamar (people of **Mogadishu**) and *reer Barawa* (people of Barawa) to establish an alliance of minority clans, or the “fifth clan,” in the Somali **clan** structure. SAMO was chaired by Mohamed Ramadan Arbow. *See also* **ARTA RECONCILIATION CONFERENCE OF MAY–AUGUST 2000; SODERE DECLARATION OF JANUARY 1997; SOMALI NATIONAL UNION.**

SOMALI DEMOCRATIC ACTION FRONT (SODAF). *See* **SOMALI SALVATION DEMOCRATIC FRONT.**

SOMALI DEMOCRATIC ALLIANCE. *See* **ADDIS ABABA PEACE AGREEMENT AND SUPPLEMENT OF JANUARY 1993.**

SOMALI DEMOCRATIC MOVEMENT (SDM). This anti-Siad Barre group organized by Digil-Mirifle first met in Dubai, United Arab Emirates, on 22 April 1989 and elected an executive committee chaired by the late Dr. Omar Sheikh Osman. The SDM's *raison d'être* was essentially to protect the unarmed and defenseless Digil-Mirifle peasants in the **Inter-riverine region** from the violent depredations of the warring factions. The SDM called for the establishment of a federal republic with fully autonomous regional governments, each with an elected legislature, an independent judiciary, and an elected president. The central government would have a pacific foreign policy avoiding the usual confrontations and conflicts of the **Horn**.

After the death of Omar Sheikh Osman in 1992, the SDM elected Dr. **Abdi Muse Mayow** as president. Initially, the movement sought alliances with other non-Darood groups, because Barre had put the Darood, which was his **clan**, in control of the Inter-riverine region. In June 1989, the SDM attempted to make an alliance with the Issaq **Somali National Movement**, but it failed because the **Issaq** clan was too remote geographically. The 1990 alliance with the Hawiye **United Somali Congress (USC)** was successful in bringing down Barre's regime in January 1991. However, after the split up of the USC, the Inter-riverine region fell into the hands of **Mohamed Farah Aideed's** faction of the **Hawiye USC**, which not only occupied but also very nearly destroyed the regional infrastructure. Aideed's faction's attacks and looting actually caused the 1992 famine.

During the **United Nations Operation in Somalia I**, the SDM split into two branches, one led by Col. Mohamed Nur Aliyow, who followed Aideed, and another led by Abdi Muse Mayow, who worked with the **United Nations**. The attempt in 1993 to unite the two factions failed and actually created a third faction, the **Somali Democratic Movement**. All three SDM factions were politically important, because they accounted for 45 percent of the population and occupied the most fertile lands. They were active in the reconciliation efforts of the 1990s and their proposal for the future governing system of Somalia was almost entirely set out in the **Arta Reconciliation Conference of May–August 2000**.

SOMALI DEMOCRATIC MOVEMENT/BONKA (SDM/BONKA). The SDM/Bonka, in effect a third branch of the **Somali Democratic Movement (SDM)**, was founded at the Bonka Conference of 7–11 March 1993, which united all the **Reewin** and merged the SDM/Asali, led by **Abdi Muse Mayow**, with the SDM/**Somali National Alliance (SDM/SNA)**, led by Col. Mohamed Nur Aliyow. All factions, then, agreed that, first, there should be a

cease-fire and the militias should be disarmed; second, the NGO humanitarian efforts should be protected in some manner from harassment, homicidal attacks, and looting until law and order was established; third, the reconciliation process should have a “bottom-up” rather than a “top-down” approach, accepting the authority of the elders from the civil society rather than the military “warlords”; and, fourth, unity would be achieved by a confederation of autonomous regions and states. The Bonka Congress elected Dr. Mohamed Ali Hamud, former minister of state for foreign affairs, as president; it elected two vice presidents, one from the SDM/Asali, Mohamed M. Hussein, and the other from SDM/SNA, Abdillahi Mad Idiris; and chose a central committee composed of both branches meeting at **Baidoa**. Thus, the united SDM became known as the SDM/Bonka. However, when the Addis Ababa Reconciliation Conference was called a week later, the two older branches sent delegations, utterly disregarding the previous agreement. Thus, SDM/Bonka became a faction in itself. *See also* **ADDIS ABABA AGREEMENT OF 27 MARCH 1993**.

SOMALI DEMOCRATIC PARTY (SDP). The Majerteen Progressive League became the Somali Democratic Party in the transitional period between the municipal election in 1954 and the first general election in the Trust Territory of Somalia in 1956. The Majerteen were intimidated by a coalition of mostly **Hawiye** parties (the Somali African Union, **Somali National Union**, and Abgalia), which won over 60 seats in the municipal election. The SDP sought a Mudug alliance that would include the Habargedir to avoid Hawiye domination in the coming general election in 1956. The SDP called for the eradication of nepotism, which was endemic during the Somalization of administration that began in 1955. Unlike the **Somali Youth League** (SYL), the SDP advocated a loose federal form of government with some centralization of administration. The **Hizbiya Digil-Mirifle** party supported the SDP position but did not join the alliance. The SDP won only 3 out of 60 seats of the first general election of the **Assemblea Legislativa** (Legislative Assembly) in the Trust-Territory. Those three deputies joined the SYL, hoping for ministerial portfolios, which they did not get. The party disappeared and its members were split between the SYL and the Great Somali League, founded in 1958.

SOMALI DEMOCRATIC UNION (SDU). The Somali Democratic Union was founded in 1962 by **Haji Mohamed Hussein**, a **Banadiri**, formerly the president of the **Somali Youth League** (SYL), and most of the initial membership of the party was **Darood** and Banadiri. They were then joined by members of the Darood-led SYL, the **Issaq**-led **Somali National League** (SNL), and the Dir-led **United Somali Party** (USP) when **clan** alliances

broke down in 1962. Most of the Issaq and **Hawiye** SYL and SNL members of the **Assemblea Nazionale** (AN) allied with the Darood and the coastal Banadiris to form the SDU. Significant numbers of the Hawiye withdrew from the SYL-SNL to form the **Somali National Congress**. The SDU enlisted dissident elements of the SNL, USP, and SYL and was committed to the **pan-Somalism** propagated by the Great Somali League of 1958. Thus the SDU was a revolutionary and nationalist party advocating Nasserite socialism after the model of Mao Zedong's Red Guards in China. In 1964, the party won 15 of the 123 seats of the AN, but it failed to win a single seat in the 1969 general election.

SOMALI ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION AND ANTI-DESERTIFICATION ORGANIZATION (SEPADO). A voluntary non-governmental organization founded in 1996 by a group of Somali environmentalists abroad to combat environmental problems of war-torn Somalia. SEPADO is interested in conducting ecological research and finding means to fight against desertification. It is also working at creating and providing occupational skills to implement reforestation programs and increase the level of environmental awareness among the people. Furthermore, it is campaigning against nuclear and other waste dumping from abroad in the country.

SOMALI FILMS AND VISUAL AGENCY (SFVA). Agency established in 1973 to promote the military government's development program. Films and cartoons were seen in all the rural areas by nomads, farmers, and workers in the **cooperative developments**. The agency also "Somalized" foreign films through censorship and dubbing. The SFVA, thus, was an important instrument in creating national unity, especially through the imposition of the "national" **language, Af-Mahaa**. *See also* **ISKA WAH U QABSO; OLOLAHA HORUMARINTA REER MIYIGA**.

SOMALI GOVERNMENT. *See* **GOVERNO SOMALO**.

SOMALI LANGUAGE COMMISSION (Guddiga Af Soomaaliga). Formed on 21 January 1971 by the **Supreme Revolutionary Council** to choose a suitable alphabet for Somali **language(s)**. It was composed of 21 Somali linguists and humanists assisted by two advisers. The commission was chaired by Dr. **Salah Mohamed Ali** and included **Yasin Isman Keenadiid** (d. 1989), **Mustafa Sheikh Hassan** (d. 1989), Ahmed Ali Abokor, Yusuf Hirsi Ahmed, **Muse Haji Ismail Galaal** (d. 1980), Abdidahir Affey, **Aw Jama Umar Ise**, Dahabo Farah Hassan, Abdullahi Haji Abubakar, Abdullahi Ardeeye, Hassan Sheikh Muumin (adviser), Mohamed Nur Alin, Mohamed Hassan Adan "Gaheeyr" (d. 1974), Hirsi Magan Isse, Umar Aw Nuh, Abdul-

lahi Haji Mohamud “Insaniyya,” Ikar Bana Haddad, Aaqib Abdullahi (adviser), Hussein Sheikh Ahmed Kadare, **Ahmed Artan Hange** (d. 1993), Mohamed Haji Hussein “Sheeko Hariir,” Abdirahman Nur Hirsi (resigned or released earlier), and **Shire Jama** (d. 1988). The commission chose a modified Roman alphabet for the Somali language and within 22 months prepared the textbooks necessary for elementary education. Thus, on 21 October 1972, Somalia announced that **Af-Mahaa** would be the national language. **Inter-riverine** and coastal languages such as **Af-Maay**, **Af-Dabarre**, **Af-Jiddu**, and **Af-Tunni** were marginalized. *See also* **AF-BAJUNI**; **AF-BARAWAANI**; **AF-BOON**; **AF-GARRE**; **AF-MUSHUNGULI**.

SOMALI LIBERATION ARMY (SLA). *See* **SOMALI NATIONAL ALLIANCE.**

SOMALI NATIONAL ALLIANCE (SNA, USC/SNA). A splinter faction from the **United Somali Congress (USC)**, formed on 14 August 1991 and led by **Mohamed Farah Aideed**. This alliance attracted defectors from other parties: Col. Mohamed Nur Aliyow from the **Somali Democratic Movement** and Col. Ahmed Omar Jess from the Somali Patriotic Movement. The **Southern Somali National Movement**, led by Col. Abdi Warsame Issaq, joined the alliance later. Militias loyal to the alliance were known as the Somali Liberation Army (SLA), which overthrew **Mohamed Siad Barre** in 1991 and chased him out of the country in 1992. The SNA opposed the **United Nations** intervention in Somalia and blocked the deployment of humanitarian aid to the famine-afflicted regions in the interior. The SNA also rejected the disarmament policy agreed to by all factions in Addis Ababa on 8 January 1993 (*see* **ADDIS ABABA PEACE AGREEMENT AND SUPPLEMENT OF JANUARY 1993**). Many hold the SNA responsible for the 5 June ambush against **United Nations** peacekeeping troops in **Mogadishu**, in which 24 Pakistani soldiers were killed and 60 were wounded (*see* **MIS-SION CREEP**), and for the **Olympic Hotel Battle**. In 1995, after the withdrawal of the **United Nations Operation in Somalia II**, Aideed proclaimed himself president of the Somali Republic and formed a national government, which had five vice presidents representing the five major Somali **clans**. To demonstrate his authority, he invaded and occupied the riverine regions of Bay, Bakool, Lower Shabelle, Middle Juba, and Lower Juba. Aideed remained SNA leader until he was killed in August 1996. His son, **Hussein Mohamed Farah Aideed**, took his place.

SOMALI NATIONAL ARMY. The history of armed forces in Somalia dates back to colonial times. **Britain** and **Italy** established regular and irregular Somali units in the British Protectorate and Italian Somaliland, respectively.

On 12 April 1960, after independence and unification, the Somali National Army was formed from the respective colonial units with the primary mission of protecting Somalia's territorial integrity. Col. **Daud Abdulle Hirsi** was the first commander, until he died in 1965 and was succeeded by Gen. **Mohamed Siad Barre**, who held the post until 1991.

Although the first postindependence Somali constitution renounced war as a means of solving boundary disputes, it also urged the unification of the dispersed Somali territories in **Ethiopia**, **Djibouti**, and **Kenya** into a Greater Somalia. From 1963 to 1977, therefore, the army was engaged several times in overt and covert operations within Kenya and Ethiopia. Traditionally, the Somali National Army enjoyed popular support and considerable prestige in Somali society. The armed forces had a reputation for integrity and discipline, as it was widely believed that they were not infected with **clan** divisions and were less corrupt than civilian sectors. Not only was the army effective in aiding the people during natural disasters, but interestingly, it had a role in the performing arts, staging traditional **dances** and drama, for example, and it dominated the sports scene with its many well-financed clubs, such as the Horseed soccer club. In 1977, however, Ethiopia (supported by the Soviet-Cuban alliance) defeated the Somali National Army in the **Ogaden War**, which badly damaged the Somali force's reputation.

Soldiers were initially recruited from nomadic Somalis between the ages of 17 and 25 who had a youthful vigor and a high moral caliber. In 1961 **women** were allowed to join the armed forces in noncombat roles as secretaries and nurses. The makeup of the officer corps and their training, however, was different. At first, officer positions were announced in the national media to fill limited vacancies. Applicants were required to be citizens between 17 and 28 years of age with a middle school certificate or above. High moral standards were also required and candidates had to be in good health and physically fit.

In training and armaments, the Somali National Army always depended on foreign countries. Until 1962, the high-ranking officers got their training in British and Italian military academies. From 1962 to 1977, the **Soviet Union** provided the armaments and most officer training. However, when Soviet-Somali relations were severed in 1977, the **United States** and several Western European countries showed an interest in selling weapons of a "defensive" nature. Many Arab and Muslim countries extended financial aid to **Mohamed Siad Barre** for simply breaking relations with the Soviet Communists. In the early 1980s, some Muslim countries were providing Somalia with military aid, including Soviet-made tanks and spare parts. From 1977 to 1982, Somalia received extensive military aid from both the East and the West, including Arab and Muslim countries.

In 1980, Somalia established its own military academies: two in **Mogadishu** (the Siad Barre Military Academy, which offered general instruc-

tion, and the **Ahmad Gurey** War College, a staff school for senior officers) and one in Kismayu (the General Daud Military Academy for noncommissioned officers). However, after the 1977 coup attempt (largely led by officers from the Majerteen subclan), Barre lost confidence in the officer corps, made clan affiliation an important factor in officer status, and ordered that recruitment from his own Marehan subclan be increased. As a result, by the late 1980s many Somalis looked upon the Somali National Army as Siad Barre's personal army and its reputation as a national institution was destroyed. The Somali defense force consisted mainly of ground forces with air force, air defense, and naval branches. During the civil war, the Somali National Army disintegrated and many soldiers and officers joined clan militias, taking military armament with them. The status of former army personnel varied. Some fled overseas; others returned to civilian life or became insurgents or **moryaan** (bandits). A small number remained loyal to Barre, who took refuge in Garbaharey, southern Somalia, and then launched a military campaign to recapture Mogadishu. The campaign failed, however, and Barre sought asylum in Nigeria, where he died in 1996.

SOMALI NATIONAL CONGRESS (SNC). Political party organized in 1963 as a result of the failure of **clan** alliances in the government party, which was made up of the **Darood**-led **Somali Youth League (SYL)**, the **Issaq**-led **Somali National League (SNL)**, and the **Dir**-led **United Somali Party (USP)**. Most of the members of the SNC were Issaq from the SNL, the Hawadle subclan of the **Hawiye** from the SYL, and the Dir from the USP. One of the founders, **Mohamed Haji Ibrahim Egal**, later president of the **Republic of Somaliland**, was from the north, while the other, **Sheikh Ali Jimale Baraale**, was from the south. All the members claimed genealogical affinity as members of the Irir and opposed the Darood-led SYL. In the general election of 1964, the SNC won 22 of the 123 seats in the **Assemblea Nazionale (AN)**. For a party emerging in less than a year, the result was very impressive. However, it did not defeat the Darood-led SYL, which won 69 seats. The SNC could not maintain its momentum and only won 11 seats in the general election in 1969.

SOMALI NATIONAL FRONT (SNF). A Marehan faction founded during the Civil War and chaired by Omar Haji Masalle. *See also* **MAREHAN UNION**.

SOMALI NATIONAL LEAGUE (SNL). The oldest party in the British Protectorate. It started in 1935 as a social club known as Jam'iyyat 'Atiyyat al-Rahman. Ten years later, it evolved into a more political organization, the **Somali National Society**. It drew its support from the **Issaq clans** in East Africa and overseas as well as within the protectorate. From 1948, when it

became the Somali National League, it established close ties with the Arab world, especially **Egypt**. The Arabic and Islamic orientation is clear from its badge, which bears a drawing of the black stone of the Ka'bah with an Arabic inscription reading, "Be united in the name of God."

Two issues, the demand for the return of lost territories in **Ethiopia** and independence and union with the former Italian Somalia, dominated the party from 1954 to 1959. The first issue arose after the Ethiopian annexation of the Haud and Reserved Areas in the British Protectorate according to the Anglo-Ethiopian Agreement of 1954. The Issaq **clans** thereby lost some of their richest grazing lands. The SNL could not accept the agreement, but all their protests were futile. The second issue involved the desire to be granted independence no later than the Italian Trust Territory of Somalia, with which the SNL hoped the British protectorate would be united. Indeed, independence was granted to the British protectorate on 26 June, five days before the independence of the Trust Territory of Somalia, to facilitate the eventual unification of the two entities into the Somali Republic on 1 July 1960. Shortly after independence, the SNL disappeared from the Somali political scene, only to reemerge 20 years later in the struggle against the **Mohamed Siad Barre** regime as the **Somali National Movement**, which, ironically, advocated secession and the establishment of the **Somaliland Republic** after 30 years of union.

SOMALI NATIONAL MOVEMENT (SNM). Founded in London in April 1981 by a group of **Issaq** émigrés who opposed **Mohamed Siad Barre** and advocated the overthrow of his regime. The SNM stood for representative democracy, a mixed economy, and a neutral foreign policy. However, from the beginning, it was pro-Arab and favored U.S. involvement in a post-Barre Somalia. In early 1982, the SNM moved to Addis Ababa, where it organized and directed its first military operation against Siad Barre. The commando units attacked prisons to free Issaq dissidents and raided armories for arms and ammunition. However, it was only in July 1984 that the movement became a serious threat. In this period, the SNM strengthened its relations with other insurgent movements, such as the **Somali Salvation Democratic Front**, and developed alliances with other **clans** in the north as well as in the south. Attacks were launched on government military posts in **Hargeisa**, **Burao**, and **Berbera**. By 1986, the SNM claimed to have carried out 30 operations against government forces in northern Somalia, killing 476 government soldiers, capturing 11 vehicles, and destroying another 22, while losing only 38 men and two vehicles. SNM operations, from 1984 to 1986, forced Siad Barre to mount an international effort to cut off foreign aid to the rebels. Barre reestablished diplomatic relations with both **Libya**, in 1987, and **Ethiopia**, in 1988, in exchange for the withdrawal of their military sup-

port of the SNM. These measures, however, failed to contain the SNM. In fact, the measures brought about popular support of the SNM, as thousands of disaffected Issaq clan members deserted the national army and joined the rebel ranks.

From 1988 to 1989, the SNM established close relations with two other clan-based southern insurgent movements, the **United Somali Congress**, a **Hawiye** movement operating in central Somalia, and the **Somali Patriotic Movement**, an **Ogaden** movement operating in southwest Somalia. On 12 September 1990, the three movements agreed to pursue a common military strategy against Siad Barre and to adopt a unified internal and external political front. By the beginning of 1991, the three rebel organizations had made significant military progress. However, when **Mogadishu** fell on 26 January 1991 and **Siad Barre** was overthrown and exiled, the trilateral agreement collapsed. The USC formed an interim government, which the SNM not only refused to join, but also refused to recognize, instead declaring, on 18 May 1991, the creation of the **Republic of Somaliland**, an Issaq secession government, which the USC interim government opposed in turn, in the name of a unified Somalia.

SOMALI NATIONAL NEWS AGENCY (SONNA). The organ of the Ministry of Information and National Guidance that supplied the local press and **radio** with the government-approved versions of national and international news. SONNA also provided daily copy to foreign correspondents based in Somalia. By the mid-1980s, SONNA had correspondents in the major cities and towns of the country. It also had an up-to-date unit that monitored broadcasts by the main radio stations in various countries, such as the Somali Services at the **British Broadcasting Corporation** in London, Radio Moscow, Radio Cologne in Germany, Radio Cairo, Radio Jeddah, and other African radio stations.

SOMALI NATIONAL POLICE FORCE (SNPF). Both the British and Italian colonial administrations employed paramilitary forces to maintain public order. The British colonial forces always included Somalis in the lower ranks of the colonial troops as armed constables (*ilaalo*) and camel corps that patrolled grazing areas of the nomadic tribesmen. The Italians also recruited Somalis as coastal police and to serve in the Italian version of the rural constabulary (*gogle*) and the Zaptie corps, which maintained peace in the townships. In addition, the Italians created the Corpo della Guardia del Confine as border troops. Both the Zaptie corps and the *gogle* constabulary were instrumental in the Italian occupation of **Ethiopia** in 1936. In 1941, after the Italian defeat in the **Horn**, the British Military Administration created a new police force called the Somalia Gendarmerie, which was made up of the former British and

Italian colonial police. In 1950, however, in Italian Somaliland under **United Nations** trusteeship administered by **Italy**, the Italian Carabinieri formed and trained the Corpo di Polizia della Somalia (Police Corps of Somalia), which was led by Italian officers. In 1958, Forza di Polizia della Somalia (the Police Force of Somalia) was created. The force was entirely Somali and led by a Somali commander, Maj. Gen. Mohamed Abshir Muse. In 1960, the British Somaliland Scouts and the Police Force of Somalia combined to form the new Somali National Police Force. The combined forces consisted of 3,700 men.

The forces were initially divided into the Darawishta Poliska, a mobile unit to keep order between the warring **clans** in the rural areas, and Bir-madka Poliska, a riot unit for emergency periods that also provided honor guards for ceremonial functions. In 1961, the SNPF created an air wing to operate in remote areas, providing field police with necessary airlift capabilities and tracking criminals beyond the reach of the field forces. The SNPF also included some technical and specialized units, such as the Tributary Division, the Criminal Investigation Division, the Traffic Division, a communication and transportation unit, health services, and a training unit. In 1971, the SNPF created a Fire Brigade, initially to serve the capital **Mogadishu**, but later extending its services into the capital cities of the regions and some other major towns. The SNPF was part of the Ministry of the Interior until 1976, when it came under the direct control of the presidency.

During both the civilian and military administrations, the SNPF received training and equipment from Western countries, particularly West **Germany** and Italy. The **United States** also supplied equipment as well as training. The government used the police to counterbalance the Eastern- and Soviet-trained and equipped army. In 1961, like the **Somali National Army**, the SNPF established a **women's** unit, to handle cases that involved female juvenile delinquencies, women criminals, prostitutes, and child beggars.

The requirements for entering the police force were identical to those for joining the army. Police recruits had to be 17 to 25 years of age, physically fit, and with a high moral character. The accepted candidates were trained for a period of six to nine months, depending on the unit the candidate wished to join or on vacancies. Each of the nation's regions and districts had a police commandant and, from 1972, the police organization was divided into northern, southern, and Mogadishu commands. The SNPF ceased to operate when the Somali state collapsed, but during the **United Nations Operation in Somalia**, the effort to create a police unit from the former SNPF failed. Some regions, such as Bay and Bokool, reestablished regional police forces, but they were destroyed in the **Mohamed Farah Aideed** invasion in 1995. In 1997, Mogadishu warlords agreed to establish police forces for the city of Mogadishu alone, but, as they could only be introduced with financial aid from some **Arab countries**, this effort failed. Perhaps the **Republic of So-**

maliland, Puntland State, and the **Reewin Resistance Army** administration in Bay and Bokool regions are the only areas in the former Somali Democratic Republic where some form of public order exists at the beginning of the twenty-first century.

SOMALI NATIONAL SOCIETY (SNS). *See* **SOMALI NATIONAL LEAGUE.**

SOMALI NATIONAL UNION. A nonmilitary **Banadiri** political faction organized during the civil war. These coastal people suffered enormous deprivations, their towns vandalized, their *jasurs* (shops) looted, and their **women** raped and kidnapped by nomads to be used as concubines. The Somali National Union was chaired by Mohamed Rajis Mohamed. *See also* **BANADIR; BARAWA; MARKA; MOGADISHU; SOMALI AFRICAN MUKI ORGANIZATION.**

SOMALI NATIONAL UNIVERSITY. Known as Jaama'adda Ummadda Somaliyeed (JUS), the university was founded in 1969, upgrading the Higher Institute of Law and Economics, founded in 1954, which offered two years of university work that could then be completed in Italian universities to obtain the *Laurea*, equivalent to a bachelor of arts degree (B.A.). In 1971, the Shahaaddada Qalanjebinta, or B.A., was first conferred on graduates from the Colleges of Law and Economics. From 1971 to 1973, six more colleges were created: Agriculture, Chemistry, Medicine, Engineering, Geology, and Education (incorporating the Teachers Training School of **Lafoole**). In the early 1980s the colleges of Languages, Journalism, Islamic Studies, and Veterinary Science were created.

Applicants were required to hold a high-school diploma or equivalent, to have completed the Halane orientation courses, which involved political indoctrination and military training, and to have passed the admissions exams. The university also required a birth certificate, an immunization certificate, a good conduct certificate, and a declaration from the Ministry of Education acknowledging the applicants' fulfillment of the national service.

The major **languages** of instruction were Italian, English, Arabic, and Somali. The Italian dominance in Somali higher education owes more to pragmatism than to planning. Despite the adoption of **Af-Mahaa** as the official script in 1972 and the decision of making it the language of instruction up to secondary education, education at the postsecondary level has always been linguistically schizophrenic. When the university was founded in 1969, the Italian language was used only in the Colleges of Law and Economics, whereas English was used at the Lafoole College of Education.

However, when the government sought assistance for the establishment of a full-scale national university, English-language donors refused, while **Italy** made a generous offer. Of the 12 colleges that made up the university in the mid-1980s, nine used Italian as the language of instruction and three used English. The use of Arabic was limited to certain subjects and dominated in the College of Islamic Studies and Languages. The use of Somali was very limited, namely to Somali instructors teaching pre-enrollment courses.

The headquarters of the university was in **Mogadishu**, but most of the science courses were taught at Gaheeyr Campus. The Colleges of Education and Agriculture were located at Lafoole, five kilometers south of **Afgoy**. Upon satisfactory completion of required courses, the Somali National University colleges offered the Shahaaddada Qalanjebinta.

SOMALI PATRIOTIC MOVEMENT (SPM). An **Ogaden** faction chaired first by Ahmed Omar Jess and later by Ahmed M. Hashi, then Adan Abdullahi Nur “Gabiyow” to protect the Ogaden interests after the civil war.

SOMALI POLICE FORCE. *See* **SOMALI NATIONAL POLICE FORCE.**

SOMALI PROFESSIONALS TRUST (SPT). The Somali Professionals Trust is a **Britain**-based charity set up to harness the skills and energies of Somali professionals scattered around the world. It was launched by a group of Somali professionals and foreign friends in Oxford, in March 1997. The group’s aim was to draw on the abilities, knowledge, and experience of Somali professionals everywhere, and of all qualified men and **women** of Somali origin, to relieve poverty, combat illiteracy, and advance education among Somali communities in the **Horn of Africa**. The SPT works with local communities in areas of relative tranquility. It supports local initiatives, especially those designed to reestablish social services and to develop a sustainable infrastructure. It provides materials and expertise as appropriate. It works particularly in the educational and medical fields, concentrating initially on education. It is committed to the highest professional standards, both in identifying local personnel to work with and in closely monitoring and evaluating projects. It encourages the return of Somali professionals to Somalia.

The Executive Committee of the SPT consisted initially of Chairman Omar A. Ali, Treasurer Peter Roth, and the following members: Yusur Abrar, Jawahir Adam, Asha-Kin Duale, Charles Gesheker, Mohamed H. Mukhtar, Faduma H. Hussein, Mohamud Jama, and Shamis Hussein. Elizabeth Miller was solicitor (secretary) and Lucy Richards was administrator. The SPT patrons were Lord Averbury, former chairman of the United Kingdom’s Parliamentary Human Rights Group; **Abdi Bile**, Olympic athlete; Lord

Callaghan, former British prime minister; Abdirahman Abby Farah, former UN assistant secretary general; Tom Farer, Dean, Graduate School of International Studies, University of Denver, and formerly a special representative of the UN secretary general to investigate the killing of Pakistani UN peacekeepers in Somalia in 1993; and John Snow, British journalist and broadcaster.

SOMALI REVOLUTIONARY SOCIALIST PARTY (SRSP). The Supreme Revolutionary Council (SRC), led by Maj. Gen. **Mohamed Siad Barre**, announced in early 1971 that a national party would be established. Preparations began in 1972 with the establishment of the Public Relation Office, the Workers Committees, the Farmers Committees, the cooperatives, and committees for other military, **paramilitary**, and civilian government sectors. All over the nation, even within the rural communities, cadres were created that were indoctrinated in the principles of “scientific socialism.”

By 26 June 1976, 3,000 men and **women** representing all sectors of the nation met in **Mogadishu** in the founding Congress of the Somali Revolutionary Socialist Party. On 1 July 1976, the Congress elected the Central Committee of the party, composed of 74 members. Five of these formed the politburo. Mohamed Siad Barre was elected secretary general of the party and chairman of the politburo, which was composed of former SRC members, Maj. Gen. Mohamed Siad Barre, Maj. Gen. **Hussein Kulmiye Afrah**, Lieut. Gen. **Mohamed Ali Samatar**, Brig. Gen. **Ismail Ali Abokor**, and Brig. Gen. **Ahmed Suleiman Abdalla** (Dafle). The SRC therefore dissolved itself and vested power in the newly elected SRSP.

Technically, the formation of the SRSP ended military rule, but in reality, power remained in the hands of a few former SRC officers. Of the 74 members of the Central Committee, 42 were officers of the army, police, or paramilitary groups. The five politburo members were Siad Barre, his three vice-presidents, and his son-in-law, the chief of the **National Security Service (NSS)**. Seven of the eleven chairs (in fact, ministers) of the various bureaus (or ministries) were officers as well. The military also dominated the regional and district governments. Obviously, the political system was entirely controlled by the military. In theory, the regime was supposed to be opposed to tribalism, but 36 of the 74 members of the Central Committee were from Barre’s **clan**, the **Darood**. Moreover, though policy proposals were supposed to be initiated from the bottom and decisions only made by the leadership after consultation with lower echelons, such was not the case: it was a “top-down” government. Very few Somalis were allowed to become members of the party: there were only about 20,000 members in the mid-1980s. Membership was a privilege for an elite cadre. Recommendations and probation periods were required for party membership.

SOMALI SALVATION DEMOCRATIC FRONT (SSDF). This group, made up of Majerteen military dissidents who fled to **Ethiopia** after the **Ogaden War**, was founded in February 1979, in opposition to the **Mohamed Siad Barre** regime. The SSDF merged with two other Majerteen groups, the Somali Democratic Action Front and, in 1981, the Somali Salvation Front. For political reasons, the SSDF initially recruited other members of other **clans**. As a token, the **Issaq** Mustafa Haji Nuur, formerly a **British Broadcasting Corporation** (Somali Service) newsreader, was appointed general secretary, but only for a brief period. Umar Hassan Mohamud, Isterline (pound sterling), an Abgaal (*see* **HAWIYE**) and the former mayor of **Mogadishu**, also served briefly as deputy general secretary. The SSDF was based in Ethiopia until the collapse of Barre's regime. In the 1980s, the SSDF launched successful guerrilla attacks on Somali government installations. However, it failed to offer any alternative for Somalia's future social order, and its military activity was centered in the predominantly Majerteen Mudug region.

The SSDF relied mainly on Libyan funding and some political and military support from the Mengistu Haile Mariam regime in Ethiopia, but in the late 1980s many troops defected to Barre. All opposition parties exiled in Libya and Ethiopia were undermined when Barre established diplomatic relations with both countries. During the civil war, the SSDF power base was further weakened by a leadership crisis that divided the front into two branches, one led by Mohamed Abshir Muse, former general of the **Somali National Police Forces**, and the other led by **Abdillahi Yusuf Ahmed**, formerly colonel in the **Somali National Army**. Both branches were active in the long and tortuous reconciliation process, from the **Djibouti Conference of June–July 1991** to the **Arta Reconciliation Conference of May–August 2000**. Nevertheless, after the **Sodere Declaration of 1997**, the SSDF called for secession and, on 24 July 1998, created an autonomous state in the northeast, the Bari region, which it named the **Puntland State of Somalia**. It rejected the Arta solution and what it called “the Mogadishu government” and believed regional autonomy was the only possible resolution of the Somali crisis.

SOMALI SCRIPT. Also **Af-Mahaa** script. A modified Latin script adopted in 1972 by the **Somali Language Commission** for what became the national **language** of the country. It was composed of 21 consonants (*B, C, D, DH, F, G, H, J, K, KH, L, M, N, Q, R, S, SH, T, W, X, and Y*) and 10 short and long vowels (*A, AA, E, EE, I, II, O, OO, U, and UU*). Almost all the letters in the Somali script represent sounds similar to those in English, with the exception of three: *C*, a voiced pharyngeal fricative comparable to the Arabic ‘*ayn*’ as in *cimri* (age); *X*, a voiceless pharyngeal fricative or emphatic *h*, corresponding to the Arabic *ha*, as in *xukuuma* (government); and *Q*, a uvular

voiceless stop, as in *qaran* (nation). Three Latin sounds, *P*, *V*, and *Z*, are not found in Somali. *DH* is a voiceless alveolar stop, as in *dheer* (tall); *KH* is a velar fricative, like the *ch* in the German *nacht*, as in *taariikh* (history); and *SH* is like the *sh* in the English *bishop*, as in *shinni* (bee). All the consonant sounds were at first to be pronounced like the Arabic, for example *jiim* for *j*, *siin* for *s*, and *miim* for *m*, but later pronunciation was changed so that an *a* was simply added to each consonant, as in *ja*, *sa*, and *ma*. The vowels are pronounced like Italian vowels. See also **IBRAHIM HASHI MOHAMUD; ISMANIYYA SCRIPT; MAAY SCRIPT; MUSE HAJI ISMAIL GALAAL; OLOLAHA HORUMARINTA REER MIYIGA; SHIRE JAMA AHAMAD; YASIN ISMAN KENADIID.**

SOMALI STUDIES INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION (SSIA).

Launched at the 21st Annual Meeting of the African Studies Association (ASA), held in Baltimore, Maryland, in November 1978. The ASA's Baltimore meeting devoted a whole panel to Somalia entitled, "Recent Developments in Somali Studies." This was the first time at a major Africanist convention that Somali topics were given special attention. Panelists and discussants represented the fields of history and archaeology, linguistics and literature, politics and international relations. This indeed highlighted the multidisciplinary nature of Somali studies.

On November 4, 1978, a group of Somali and foreign Somalist scholars and associations officially launched the SSIA. The group adopted a statement of the goals of the association, as following: "The major aim of the Somali Studies International Association (SSIA) is to promote interest in and knowledge about Somalia and its neighbors in the **Horn of Africa**. Specifically, the Association will strive: to promote scholarly research, both within and outside Somalia, in all areas and disciplines within the social sciences, natural sciences, and humanities; to encourage international cooperation and to facilitate the exchanging of ideas among scholars engaged in research on Somalia and the Horn of Africa; to encourage the publication and dissemination of articles and books on Somali Studies and related topics; to organize periodic panel and symposium on Somali Studies at meetings of national and international associations and organizations; and to provide the general public with information on historical, cultural, and contemporary issues in the Horn of Africa."

The association holds a congress every three years. The first congress took place in **Mogadishu** on 6–13 July 1980, while the second was hosted in Hamburg in 1983, and the third in Rome in May 1986. The congress was again held in Mogadishu in June 1989. The fifth, sixth, and seventh congresses took place during the meltdown of the Somali state, and these were held in Worcester, Massachusetts, in December 1993; Berlin in December 1996; and Toronto in July 1999.

SOMALI WOMEN'S DEMOCRATIC ORGANIZATION (SWDO). After the establishment of the **Somali Revolutionary Socialist Party** on 1 July 1976, the SWDO was established under its umbrella in 1977 by a congress of 500 members from all **clan** backgrounds. Sixty percent of the 20,000 founding members of the SRSP were **women**. By the fall of 1978, the SWDO had 10,000 members and many applicants. They called for equality and the participation of women in all sectors of Somali life. By 1984, they had established primary health-care facilities and family-planning programs. They encouraged cultural activity, such as poetry and folk dancing. They launched campaigns against the traditional female circumcision and infibulations. They also denounced certain traditional **dances**, such as **Mingis**, **Borane**, and **Saar**, as demeaning, and mounted a prohibition movement against **qat** and alcohol. *See also* **CLITORIDECTOMY; CLITORIDECTOMY CEREMONY.**

SOMALI YOUTH CLUB (SYC). *See* **SOMALI YOUTH LEAGUE.**

SOMALI YOUTH LEAGUE (SYL). Thirteen young Somali intellectuals from all the major **clan** families, including those from **French Somaliland**, **Ethiopia**, and **Kenya**, formed the **Somali Youth Club** (SYC) to discuss the current social, cultural, and political state of the country. The SYC hoped to get British support for a future united Somalia. The British in turn supported the club in exchange for support of a future British trusteeship. Thus, the SYC became the Somali Youth League (SYL) in May 1947. The league was consistently anti-Italian under the British Military Administration (1941–1950), but with the return of **Italy** to Somalia in 1950 at the head of the **United Nations** Trusteeship Administration, the league became more accommodating. The SYL was initially successful because of its **pan-Somali** campaign, but only two clans, the **Darood** and the **Hawiye**, actually constituted the party; it is fair to say that the league was a Darood party from 1947 to 1953 and then a Hawiye party from 1953 to 1960.

From 1960 to 1963, the league regained its broader base in a coalition with the northern clans. However, from 1963 to 1969, it was exclusively Darood. Thus, the SYL, though seemingly a progressive and nationalistic party, was for most of its life a typical one-clan party. It maintained its power not from broad internal support, but by taking advantage of the contradictions of British and Italian colonial policies and the cold war Soviet-American rivalry. In 1969, after the military coup, the **Supreme Revolutionary Council** banned all political parties in the country. *See also* **BAIDOA INCIDENT OF 1950; BRITAIN; HANOLATO; MOGADISHU INCIDENT OF 11 JANUARY 1948.**

SOUTHERN SOMALI NATIONAL MOVEMENT. A southern **Dir** faction chaired initially by Abdi Warsame Issaq and later by Abdullahi Sheikh Is-

mail. This faction was founded in the early 1990s after the collapse of the military regime.

SOVIET UNION. Immediately after independence in 1960, the **United States** refused to supply any military aid to Somalia. In spite of the ideological conflict between **Islam** and communism, Somalia approached the Soviet Union, which responded quickly with a U.S.\$32 million loan, later increased to U.S.\$55 million, to equip Somalia's nascent army. Thus in 1963 the Soviets became the leading military patron of Somalia. During the civilian administration, from 1960 to 1969, the Soviet Union furnished light arms, artillery, tanks, armored personnel carriers, and MiG-15 and MiG-17 fighter jets. In addition, thousands of Somali students, pilots, officers, and technicians received training and ideological instruction in Soviet universities and military academies. The Soviets also helped to build factories, such as a meat-processing plant in Kismayu, a milk-processing plant in **Mogadishu**, and a fish cannery in Laas Qorey. However, after 1969, the Soviets fully supported the military regime of **Mohamed Siad Barre** and became the major supplier of military aid.

In 1972, when Barre's regime declared that it was governed by "scientific socialism," the Soviet Union recognized Somalia as part of the Socialist bloc and agreed to build a port at Berbera that was to become an important Soviet military base to counter the U.S. bases in the Indian Ocean and the Red Sea. The Berbera facilities acquired additional importance when Anwar Sadat expelled Soviet advisers from **Egypt** in July 1972, the Suez Canal was reopened in 1975, and the shipment of oil increased in the Persian Gulf.

Soviet-Somali relations reached a peak with the 1974 "friendship treaty." More advanced military hardware, such as MiG-21 supersonic jet fighters, T-54 tanks, a SAM-2 missile-defense system for the capital of Mogadishu, and modern torpedo and other advanced landing crafts for the navy, were delivered to Somalia. Soviet advisers were increased. The Soviets also agreed to write off Somalia's arms debt. Increasing numbers of both military and civilian personnel were sent to the Soviet Union, Eastern European countries, and Cuba for training. The Soviet Union also set up the Somali army intelligence apparatus and the **National Security Service**. Several technical and vocational schools were also part of the 1974 agreement.

In 1976, the Soviet Union played a significant role in the formation and development of the **Somali Revolutionary Socialist Party**, a "civilian" party to replace the military **Supreme Revolutionary Council**. However, Barre's regime rejected the Soviet proposal to create a federation of **Ethiopia**, Somalia, **Djibouti**, and South Yemen. The Somali-Soviet alliance collapsed when the Soviets cut off military shipments and supported Ethiopia in the **Ogaden War** in 1977. The Barre government renounced the 1974 friendship

treaty and broke off diplomatic relations on 13 November 1977. However, the Soviet impact remained, as Somalia continued to use Soviet technology and as a significant number of influential military and civilian leaders had been trained in the Soviet Union. Moreover, Somalis were dependent on Aeroflot, the Soviet airline, long after the collapse of the Soviet Union.

STUDI SOMALI. In 1977, the University of Rome, the **Akadeemiyada Cilmiga Fanka Iyo Suugaanta**, and the **Somali National University** jointly established research cooperation to teach intensive Italian to Somalis enrolled in one of the six scientific schools of the Somali National University, to conduct linguistic research into the Somali tongue, and to support both Somali and international research. This cooperative effort published nine volumes, each dealing with an aspect of Somali **language** and literature and, in 1985, a bilingual Somali-Italian dictionary. By 1991, the civil war had brought to an end the publication of Studi Somali. However, the publication of the *Dizionario Italiano-Somalo* in Rome in 1998, which complemented the 1985 Somali-Italian dictionary, and the publication of the *Barashada Naxwaha Af-Soomaaliga* (Somali school grammar) in London in 1999 were direct results and continuations of the work of Studi Somali.

SUBA'. From the Arabic *sab'a* for “seven,” also *suby*, the seven chapters of the Qur'an. Each *suba'* is named after a day; thus, Suba' Jim'e is the Friday chapter and Suba' Sabti is the Saturday chapter. *Suba'* is also a form of Qur'anic recitation where **kutaab** (students) of the **duksi** (Qur'anic school), with or without their *ma'allim* (teacher) or group of *huffaz* (learned men), make a circle and recite verses from the Qur'an, in turn with choral chanting at the end of each *ayah* (verse).

SUFI (SUUFI, SOOFY). The early Sufis, mystics seeking union with God, were saints and poets, venerated for wonder working and for ecstatic trances. The ecstatic form of mysticism was mostly pre-Islamic. However, with the spread of **Islam** came the less extreme Sufism, as it became common for most urban Somali men to belong to at least one Sufi brotherhood. Sufi masters attracted disciples, but did not try to organize them. Sufi brotherhoods tried to raise the moral tone of the community. They were known for the constant recitation of God's name (see **DIKRI**), saying no evil, praying for others, and giving humble counsel. They lived lives of pious austerity, not listening to indecencies and slander, lowering their eyes in order not to see what Islam forbids, and giving alms. The Sufi orders were responsible for the spread of Islam in Somalia. They also led the early resistance to colonialism. See also **IJAZAH; SHEIKH FARAJ; SHEIKH NUUR HUSSEIN; SHEIKH UWAYS IBN MUHAMMAD AL-BARAWI; UWAYSIYYA.**

SUPREME GOVERNING COUNCIL (SGC). This bicameral council was organized in March 1995 as an interim legislative body of an autonomous **Reewin** state. It had two houses, the House of Representatives, which had a rotating chair elected every six months, and a house of elders, called the Supreme Traditional Council of Chiefs, chaired by **Malak Mukhtar Malak Hassan**, who also functioned as head of state. The primary responsibility of the SGC was to draft a constitution and to develop defense, public security, and free-market economic policies. *See also* **SOMALI DEMOCRATIC MOVEMENT; REEWIN RESISTANCE ARMY.**

SUPREME REVOLUTIONARY COUNCIL (SRC). Known as the *Golaha Sare ee Kacaanka*. The SRC came to power six days after the assassination of President **Abdirashid Ali Shermarke** in Las'anod on 15 October 1969 and continued to operate until it was dissolved on 1 July 1976, when the new government of the Somali Democratic Republic was created. The SRC originally consisted of 25 officers led by Maj. Gen. **Mohamed Siad Barre**. The SRC banned political parties, abolished parliament, and suspended the constitution in the name of radical change in Marxist terms through the adoption of what it referred to as “scientific socialism.” The goals of the SRC were set forth in the First Charter of the Revolution, on 21 October 1969, which promised to end corruption, eliminate tribalism, eradicate hunger, provide efficient government, and create a written script for the Somali **language**. The SRC pledged to maintain **pan-Somalism** but otherwise to follow a nonaligned foreign relations.

The charter vested the SRC with all the functions previously performed by the president of the republic, the parliament, the Council of Ministers, and the Supreme Court. Though several key ministries were held by military officers who were members of the SRC, there were also civilian “secretaries of state” who made up a cabinet of ministers called the Council of the Secretaries of State (CSS), which reported to the SRC. Barre himself held the most sensitive positions in both the SRC and the CSS: he was the titular head of state, chairman of the CSS, president of the SRC, and commander in chief of the armed forces. He had complete power.

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TAALIL. Holy water, also called *tahlil* in northern and central regions of Somalia, is the water that remains after cleaning the *loog* or **looh** (wooden boards) on which Qur’anic verses have been written. Sometimes taalil is obtained when *wadaad* (religious men) recite the Qur’an and, after every verse, spit into a container of water. Taalil is always kept in **qulo** (calabash), *ubbo*

(wood), or *wayso* (leather or wood) containers. Both people and animals drink *taalil* as a cure, to end barrenness, or to increase the production of milk and fertility. It is not only drunk, but is also sprayed as a blessing on people, animals, farmland, and even houses and wells. *See also* **OBOO UMUR; URUR.**

TA'ALLUG. In **Reewin** towns and villages, ta'allug (from the Arabic *'allaqa*, which means "bond") is a bursary for **hir** (nonresident students), regardless of clan affiliation. A host family provides board, food, and clothing throughout the period of study. Among the Reewin, society is divided into the *ulmy* (educated) and the *aamy* (uneducated). The educated are honored as persons of integrity and uprightness with scholarly titles, such as **kutaab** (student), *ma'allim* (teacher), and sheikh (religious man).

TA'DAAR. Ritual sacrifice of pre-Islamic origin that was supposed to summon magical power and that was practiced by the **Goobroon** sheikhs of **Afgoy** to protect the Geledi Sultanate and its allies from military defeat and disasters, such as floods, drought, famine, and epidemics. *Ta'daar* has its origin in the ancient Arabic feast *ta'taar*, which was given annually in the month of Rajab, two months before the fasting month of Ramadan, even in pre-Islam days. The *al-atiirah* (goat) was sacrificed to all the gods. The head of the stone effigy of 'Itr, one of the highest gods, was bathed in the blood of the goat during the feast. The pagan effigy, of course, no longer exists, but there is still a ritual sacrifice that is believed to have great power at a feast before battle and during a natural calamity. Other Somali communities, such as the **Gasaaragude** and communities on the **Banadir** coast, still practice *ta'daar*, but now for more practical purposes, such as offering goats before travel, signing a contract, or celebrating good news. The sacrifice may also be offered for thanksgiving. *See also* **ISTAQFUROW.**

TALQIIN. A sermon (from the Arabic *talqiin*) read over the deceased person immediately after the completion of the burial rites. The sheikh bids farewell to the deceased (addressed by their maternal rather than their paternal name) and counsels them on their final journey: "God made you from the dust, he gave you life until this last day here, and now he has returned you to the dust. You are alone. If the angel asks you who made you, and who is your Prophet, and what is your religion, answer: Allah made me. There is only one God, Allah, and Muhammad is my Prophet and **Islam** is my religion." *See also* **WOMEN.**

TARASH. A traditional beautification of cloth and dresses.

TECHNICALS. Four-wheeled open trucks converted into mobile tanks and mounted with machine guns and other heavy weapons, including anti-aircraft

weapons. They are manned by gangs called “**moryaan**” or “jirrey.” The organized factions hire them out to relief organizations, to other factions and gangs, and for *biliilaqo* (looting and plunder).

TERRITORIAL COUNCIL (TC). Advisory body during the Italian trusteeship administration, popularly known as Consiglio Territoriale. **Italy** formed the council at the end of 1950 as a consultative and representative organ for the entire territory to debate and advise on all issues, with the exception of defense and foreign affairs. The first council consisted of 35 councillors representing 21 regions, seven political parties, two economic sectors, and five foreign communities (two Italian, two Arab, and one in India and Pakistan).

Seats of the first TC were distributed to the six regions as follows: four to **Banadir**, two to Lower Shabelle, two to Lower Juba, five to Upper Juba, five to Mudug, and three to Mijurtinia. Ethnic groups were proportionally represented. For example, the three major **clans**, the **Darood**, **Hawiye**, and **Reewin**, had six councillors each. The Conferenza Party had four seats and the **Somali Youth League** had three. Members of the TC served one-year terms and could be renominated, as many were. The size of the council increased significantly over the years. In 1955, the TC consisted of 60 Somali councillors and 10 foreigners. In 1956, when the Territorial Council became the elected legislature, the **Assemblea Legislativa**, 43 seats were held by the Somali Youth League, 13 were held by the **Hizbiya Digil-Mirifle**, three were held by the **Somali Democratic Party**, and one was held by the **Marehan Union**. Among clans, the numbers of representatives were balanced between the three major clans, the Darood, Hawiye, and Reewin, each of which won 20 seats, irrespective of party affiliation.

TIMA'ADDE. *See* **ABDILLAHI SULDAAN MOHAMED “TIMA'DE”.**

TRANSITIONAL NATIONAL ASSEMBLY (TNA). A 245-member interim parliament where the four major **clans**—the **Hawiye**, the **Reewin**, the **Dir-Issaq**, and the **Darood**—and the minority groups are represented proportionally to their numbers (*see* **ARTA RECONCILIATION CONFERENCE OF MAY–AUGUST 2000**). **Women** were allocated 25 seats, five from each of the four major clan groups and five from the minority clans. The TNA, opened on 13 August in Arta, **Djibouti**, elected a speaker, Abdalla Deerow Issak, on the following day. On 24 August, the TNA elected **Abdiqasim Salad Hassan** as interim president. In late September 2000, the TNA moved to **Mogadishu**. Members had to be at least 25 years old and hold a minimum qualification of a high-school certificate. TNA is limited to a three-year session and a constituent assembly 12 months before the end of the transitional period, as it prepares a constitution and

electoral laws, arranges a referendum, and establishes of a federal system of government.

TRANSITIONAL NATIONAL COUNCIL (TNC). An interim mechanism agreed upon by the 15 political factions meeting in Addis Ababa on 15–27 March 1993 to put an end to the armed conflict that led to the collapse of the Somali state. The TNC acted as the repository of Somali sovereignty and served as the prime political authority having legislative functions during the transitional period of two years. The council consisted of 74 members, three (two men and one woman) from each of the 18 regions of the country, one from each of the 15 political factions, and five from **Mogadishu**. *See also* **ADDIS ABABA AGREEMENT OF 27 MARCH 1993**.

TRANSITIONAL NATIONAL GOVERNMENT (TNG). An interim (three-year term) executive authority, also called the Council of Ministers, appointed by interim Prime Minister **Ali Khalif Gallaydh** from within the **Transitional National Assembly (TNA)** on October 2000. According to Article 25 of the Transitional National Charter, a (prospective) minister must be at least 35 years old, possess at least a bachelor's degree from a recognized university, be a practicing Muslim, and have no criminal record. Initially, the TNG had 25 ministers and about 50 deputy ministers on a **clan**-based power-sharing formula. The major clans, the **Darood**, **Dir-Issaq**, **Hawiye**, and **Reewin**, and the combined minority groups each had five ministerial and 10 deputy ministerial posts. However, the number of ministers and deputy ministers could be and often was enlarged for the sake of keeping a political balance. **Women** were not given full ministerial portfolios, but there were four female deputy ministers, namely two deputy ministers of sports, another of finance, and a minister of state in the prime minister's office. No portfolios (cabinet or deputy) were offered to the warlords in **Mogadishu**, nor to the breakaway northern regions of the **Republic of Somaliland** and **Puntland State**, nor to the **Reewin Resistance Army**. Islamic fundamentalists held the Ministry of Justice and Religious Affairs and the Ministry of Livestock. On 6 November 2000, the TNA approved the TNG in a vote of confidence. *See also* **ARTA RECONCILIATION CONFERENCE OF MAY–AUGUST 2000**

TURUNLEY. A major battle between Italian colonial troops and **Banadiri** warriors. The battle is also known as Dhanane, a town along the coast north of Merca. It took place on 9 and 10 February 1907, when some 2,000 Banadiri warriors attacked an Italian garrison at Turunley, which was composed of two regiments of 500 troops, one from **Mogadishu** and the other from **Marka**, under the commands of Lieutenants Pesente and Streva, respectively. Some 1,500 mercenaries (Arabs, Eritreans, and Somalis) assisted the colonial

troops. The Italian command hoped to arrest **Sheikh Abdi Abiikar Gaafle**, who in consecutive *shirs* (**clan** assemblies) mobilized the Banadiri, mainly Biamaal, the Wa'dan, the Hintire, and other clans of the former Geledi confederacy against the colonial advance. The Italian convoy burned the coastal villages of 'Eel Boqol, Mayolo, and Jaziira and killed camels and cattle.

The attack started after midnight of 9 February 1907 and lasted until the early morning of the 10th. Although more Banadiri warriors fought than in any previous engagement, superior numbers alone could not bring the defeat of the highly trained and well-armed Italian troops and mercenaries. The Banadiri fought with only arrows and daggers and perhaps some swords. They retreated, leaving behind several hundred dead and as many wounded. The Italians considered Turunley a major military victory, one which Lieut. Gustavo Pesente, the commander of the regiment, celebrated in an eyewitness account, *Danane* (Dhanane). *See also ITALY.*

TUSBAH. Prayer beads, also called *usby* in the **Inter-riverine region**, are locally made from a special wood, mostly *yusur* (ebony), or from silver. There are usually 33 beads (with a divider for every 11) or 99 (with a divider for every 33), standing for the names of God and strung on a thread with a decorative knot and other ornamentation. Somali Muslims call upon the names of God, recite certain prayers for forgiveness or in thanksgiving, or recite petitions when they finger the beads. They also remind believers of their religious obligations. Prayer beads are the most visible signs of the passion for the words of God. They are worn as an armband or as a necklace or held in the hand. Tusbah, however, are often simply worn as jewelry and are always used by the nonliterate for counting verses or anything else of a religious nature. Illiterate **Sufi** hermits will use the tusbah to calculate how many times they have read or prayed.

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UGAS NUUR (1835–1898). The 11th in the line of the Gadabursi *ugasis* (the term *ugas* means chief of a **clan** or *malak*) was born in **Zayla** in 1835 and crowned at Bagi in 1848. In his youth, he loved riding, hunting, and the traditional arts and memorized a great number of proverbs, stories, and poems. Eventually, he created his own store of sayings, poems, and stories that are quoted to this day. He knew by heart the Gadabursi *heer* (customary law) and amended or added new *heer* during his reign. He was known for fair dealing to friend and stranger alike. It is said that he was the first Gadabursi *ugas* to introduce guards and *askaris* armed with arrows and bows.

During his rule, both **Egypt** and **Ethiopia** were contending for supremacy in the **Horn**. Furthermore, the European colonial powers were competing for strategic territories and ports. In 1876, Egypt occupied the northern coast of Somalia, including Zayla, the seat of the Gadabursi sultanate. The Egyptian expedition also occupied the historic town of Harar in the heart of the Horn to control the Harar-Zeila-Berbera caravan route. The Egyptians negotiated, using **Islam** as a bargaining chip. They invited the *ugas* to Cairo to meet Ismail Pasha, the *khedive*, who honored the *ugas* with medals and expensive gifts. The *ugas* signed a treaty accepting Egyptian protection of Muslims in Somalia and Ethiopia.

In 1884, two years after Britain took over Egypt, **Britain** also occupied Egyptian territories, especially the northern Somali coast. However Ugas Nuur had little to do with the British, as long as they did not interfere with his rule, the customs of his people, and their trade routes. The *ugas* had established strong relations with Harar. In 1887, when Harar was occupied by Menelik of Ethiopia, Ugas Nuur sent Gadabursi *askaris* to support Abdalla, the emir of Harar, who was defeated. Ras Makonnen, the newly appointed Ethiopian governor of Harar, offered the Gadabursi protection in exchange for collaboration. Ugas Nuur refused and fought Ethiopian expansion until he died in 1898. Ugas Nuur is buried in Dirri. *See also* **ILMI ROBLE WARFA**.

UL-HAY. Senator, literally “staff-holder,” who held the staff of the king. In the Geledi Sultanate (c. 17th century), an ul-hay was a member of the supreme council of elders (Golaha Sare ee Akhayaarta), which was made up of the two houses of Geledi, the Tolweyne and the Yabdhaale. The Tolweyne house was in turn subdivided into the “Seven Noble Houses of ‘Elqode” and the “Eight Houses of the Aytire.” The Yabdhaale was made up of five houses, each called after one of the five quarters of **Afgoy**, the seat of the sultanate: Baalgure, Sagaalad, Raqayle, Gaalabah, and Afgoy Bari. Each of these houses sent representatives to the supreme council, which determined the economic, social, and political policies of the sultanate. They deliberated on issues relating to the welfare of the community, promulgated new laws, and could declare war. The sultan, of course, usually ratified their decisions, making them law. Thus, although the sultan was the highest authority, he was not an absolute ruler, but governed with the advice of his elders or senators.

ULUL AMRI. *See* **BARDERA; JAMA’A**.

UNITED NATIONS (UN). The history of Somali-UN relations goes back to the formation of the **United Nations** itself, by the allies in 1945, after World War II. It was decided in 1948 that the future of Somalia, formerly a colony of the defeated **Italy**, should be in the hands of the UN. In 1949, the General

Assembly voted to make southern Somalia a trust territory under Italian administration for 10 years, after which it would become independent (northern Somalia was still a British colony and the Côte de Somalie, also in the north, was a French colony). From 1949 to 1960, the UN was represented in the trust territory by the **United Nations Advisory Council**, which was composed of representatives from Colombia, **Egypt**, and the Philippines. Other UN agencies helped Somalia prepare for independence. In 1960, when Somalia (including both the Italian trust territory and the British protectorate) became independent, it also became a full member of the UN and played an international role. However, in the 1990s, at the fall of **Mohamed Siad Barre** and the eruption of civil war, the UN efforts to end human suffering and reconcile warring factions led to one of the most challenging and arduous undertakings in the UN's 50-year history.

The UN response to the Somali crisis was unprecedented. In early 1992, the **United Nations Operation in Somalia I** (UNOSOM I) and the **United Task Force** (UNITAF), an international military force, were deployed in large measure to deal with a humanitarian crisis (UNOSOM I was later replaced by UNOSOM II). Unlike in conventional peacemaking operations, the forces were deployed without the consent of a host government, since there was no Somali government. Thus, the Security Council invoked chapter VII of the UN Charter for the first time to authorize the U.S.-led multinational troops to intervene in an internal conflict. Despite setbacks, the UN operation succeeded in defeating the famine. It also restored basic services and started rebuilding the country's devastated infrastructure, most importantly, the reactivation of water-supply systems, the construction of wells, and the distribution of drugs and seeds. The UN also actively sought to create an environment conducive for Somali "leaders" to bring about national reconciliation. Toward this end, the organization sponsored several major national and subnational peace and reconciliation conferences. Unfortunately, the Somali representatives failed to honor the commitments they had made and their accords were doomed to failure. Thus, the UN withdrew its operation in March 1995, though it remained involved through the Somali Aid Coordination Body, an office established in Nairobi for post-UNOSOM Somalia.

UNITED NATIONS ADVISORY COUNCIL IN SOMALIA (UNAC). After World War II, the **United Nations** (UN) appointed **Italy** the administrator of the Trust Territory of Somalia. By a resolution in 1949, an advisory council was created, composed of representatives from Colombia, **Egypt**, and the Philippines, to aid and advise the Italian authority. The council had its headquarters in **Mogadishu** from 1 April 1950 to 30 December 1960. UNAC was assisted by a secretariat, made of locally recruited personnel. The secretariat

found it difficult to work in four written **languages**, English and French (the UN official languages), Arabic, and Italian and the spoken Somali tongues, which had to be translated into either French or English. *See also* **KAMAL AL-DIN SALAH; WILLOW**.

UNITED NATIONS OPERATION IN SOMALIA I (UNOSOM I). After the fall of **Mohamed Siad Barre**, Somalia slipped into chaos. With the concomitant lack of security, humanitarian relief agencies were always under attack from armed thugs and thus could not function, leaving countless Somalis to starve to death. On 24 April 1992, the **United Nations** (UN) initiated its first operation in a stateless Somalia, UNOSOM I, with Mohamed Sahnoun, an Algerian diplomat, as the special representative of the UN secretary general. The mandate of UNOSOM I was to deploy UN peacekeeping forces to provide security for food shipments (it has been estimated that more than 50 percent of food aid was being hijacked by the Somali warlords) and to monitor a cease-fire in order to promote the process of reconciliation.

The peacekeepers originally consisted of only 500 men, but the Security Council later authorized more than 4,000 under the command of Brig. Gen. Imtiaz Shain of Pakistan, who bore the title of chief military observer. These forces met fierce opposition from **Mogadishu** warlords, particularly **Mohamed Farah Aideded**. Food distribution was prevented and, during October–November 1992, the death rate in the **Inter-riverine region** skyrocketed. Thus, the peacekeeping mission was unsuccessful, the Security Council declared the situation in Somalia “intolerable,” and they authorized the deployment of a military force led by the **United States**. This was the first time the UN had authorized a military mission to protect the delivery of relief supplies. The force was known as the **United Task Force** (UNITAF) and the operation was dubbed **Operation Restore Hope**.

UNITAF successfully stabilized the security situation and accelerated the distribution of food and medication by the various UN agencies and **non-governmental organizations**. Though many lives were saved, the question of what the future governing system of Somalia would be was not resolved. Therefore, the UN created the **United Nations Operation in Somalia II** to work with the Somalis to create conditions that would lead to a civil society where national political reconciliation would be possible.

UNITED NATIONS OPERATION IN SOMALIA II (UNOSOM II). Following the inability of **United Nations Operation in Somalia I** (UNOSOM I) to accomplish its mission, UNOSOM II was created on 4 May 1993. UNOSOM II was a continuation of **United Nations** operations in Somalia with the mandate to police the society to ensure social stability and political rehabilitation.

UNOSOM II was made up of 28,000 peacekeepers from Argentina, Australia, Botswana, **Egypt**, France, Germany, Greece, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Ireland, **Italy**, Jordan, Malaysia, Morocco, Namibia, New Zealand, Nigeria, Norway, Pakistan, South Korea, Romania, Saudi Arabia, Sweden, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, the United Arab Emirates, the **United States**, Zambia, and Zimbabwe. Lieutenant General Cevik Bir of Turkey was commander. The annual cost for UNOSOM II was over \$1.55 billion. UNOSOM II was one of the largest UN peacekeeping operations. Like UNOSOM I, UNOSOM II met with resistance from the militias loyal to **Mohamed Farah Aidede**. On 5 June 1993, 24 Pakistani UN peacekeepers were ambushed and killed by men loyal to Aidede. On 3 October 1993, 18 American soldiers and hundreds of Aidede's men died in a battle known as the **Olympic Hotel Battle**. This led to a U.S. withdrawal. Although the UN extended UNOSOM II's mandate more than four times, providing financial support, the operation was terminated on 5 March 1995.

UNITED NATIONS VISITING MISSIONS TO TRUST TERRITORY OF SOMALIA (UNVMTTS). The UN Trusteeship Council in 1950 decided that a mission should visit the Trust Territory of Somalia every three years until independence in 1960. The first mission was in 1951, the second was in 1954, and the third was in 1957. The mandate of the mission was to investigate the steps taken by the Italian administrative authority to create a political, social, and economic infrastructure for eventual independence. The mission received petitions from Somalis as well as foreigners and investigated issues on the spot after consultation with the Italian administering authority. The mission was composed of four members, mostly from "developing" countries. The Dominican Republic chaired the 1951 mission, New Zealand chaired the 1954 mission, and Haiti chaired the 1957 mission. The **United States** participated in the first two missions, France and Australia the third. The reports of the missions are the most authoritative documents concerning Somalia during the trusteeship period. *See also* **ITALY**.

UNITED SOMALI CONGRESS (USC). The USC was founded in Rome by **Hawiye** émigrés at the conclusion of a conference held from 7 to 12 January 1989 that elected a temporary executive committee chaired by Ali Mohamed Osoble "Wardhigley" ("Pool of Blood"). Though the USC was exclusively Hawiye, it stood for the restoration of democratic institutions and the rebuilding of a war-torn nation through the unification of all liberation movements. After the death of Ali Mohamed Osoble "Wardhigley" on 27 April 1990, the USC experienced a serious leadership crisis. A congress meeting in Addis Ababa, in June 1990, mainly dominated by officers and excluding other important figures in Rome and **Mogadishu**, elected **Mohamed**

Farah Aideed as both political and military leader. This new development led eventually to a devastating split in the Hawiye community. In July 1990, Aideed seized food, medicine, and uniforms belonging to the opposing USC militias and arrested their leaders, Hussein Ali Shiddo and others.

In Mogadishu, factions were in open military conflict, shelling each other to such a degree that almost all buildings, including the most ancient and venerated, were destroyed. From 30 December 1990 to 26 January 1991, the USC militias conquered the army and the police headquarters and presidential palace, forcing **Mohamed Siad Barre**, who had lost the rest of the country, to leave the city, and thus Somalia, for good. On 27 January, the USC proclaimed victory and proposed **Ali Mahdi Mohamed** as interim president for a month, during which all other opposition groups would be invited to decide upon the future of the country. However, Aideed rejected the leadership of Mahdi, accelerating the conflict between himself and his subclan, the Habargedir, on the one hand, and Mahdi and his subclan, the Abgaal, on the other. Whatever was left standing in Mogadishu was destroyed in the cross-fire between the two subclans.

On 21 July 1991, the **Djibouti Conference** confirmed Mahdi's appointment for two years as interim president, but Aideed continued to attack Mahdi and his supporters and looted Abgaal properties in Mogadishu. On 17 November 1991, Aideed seized **Radio Mogadishu**, announced he had overthrown the government of Mahdi, and declared a revolution. The ensuing bloody war between Habargedir and Abgaal lasted for four months and reduced the city to rubble. The death toll was so great that many bodies remained unburied and were devoured by wild dogs. In April 1992, the USC of Aideed was transformed into the Somali Liberation Army, composed of splinters from the **Somali Patriotic Movement**, an **Ogaden** faction, and the **Somali Democratic Movement**, a Digil and Mirifle faction. In July 1992, Aideed also attracted a group from the **Somali National Movement**, an Issaq faction, and formed the **Somali National Alliance** (SNA), also known as USC/SNA. Thus the USC was split into Aideed and Mahdi factions for good.

UNITED SOMALI PARTY (USP). The second largest political party in British Somaliland. It was founded in 1959 to represent the **Dir** clan in the west and the **Darood** in the east. Although these clans belonged to two different lineages and rarely interacted, they shared a joint antagonism for the **Issaq**. The USP contested the 1960 general election in the protectorate, winning 12 of the 33 seats in the Legislative Assembly. This allowed the USP to secure two ministerial positions in the first government of the republic after unification. The USP formed a parliamentary coalition with the **Somali National League**. However, disruptive clan alignments led to the formation of

two new parties, the **Somali Democratic Union (SDU)** in 1962 and the **Somali National Congress (SNC)** in 1963. The Darood wing of the USP was eventually split between the SDU and the **Somali Youth League**. The Dir wing joined the SNC. Thus, the USP disappeared from the political scene until the civil war, when it reemerged as a faction rejecting the formation of the secessionist **Republic of Somaliland** in 1991. The USP was divided on the question of the formation of **Puntland State** in 1998, with the Darood of the east for Puntland and the Dir undecided.

UNITED STATES AGENCY FOR INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT (USAID). One of the federal government agencies that implements U.S. foreign economic and humanitarian assistance programs. The history of USAID goes back to the Marshall Plan reconstruction of Europe after World War II and the Harry Truman administration's Point Four Program. However, it was during the John F. Kennedy administration that the **United States** became more active in African affairs, as President Kennedy signed the Foreign Assistance Act into law in 1961 and created USAID by executive order.

Since then, USAID has been the principal U.S. agency extending assistance to African countries recovering from disaster and engaging in democratic reforms. Somalia was a major direct recipient of USAID from independence in 1960 until 1999. Direct funding for Somalia was eliminated for FY2000 and beyond because of the lack of stability and governance, as USAID efforts were limited exclusively to humanitarian assistance. This assistance is channeled through USAID's **Regional Economic Development Services Office for East and Southern Africa** and through the **Greater Horn of Africa Initiative**. USAID works also with a powerful and voluntary donor coalition that was established in the aftermath of the withdrawal of the **United Nations Operation in Somalia II** in 1995, the Somalia Aid Coordination Body. This coalition comprises over 150 organizations, including donors, **United Nations** agencies, and **international nongovernmental organizations**. USAID has working relationships with more than 3,500 American companies and over 300 U.S.-based private voluntary organizations. It also has partnerships with indigenous organizations, universities, international agencies, other governments, and other U.S. government agencies. USAID's headquarters is in Washington, D.C.

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA. Somali–American relations have constantly fluctuated in response to evolving Somali foreign policies and American interests in the Horn. Indeed, there has been a lack of consistent policy, or diplomacy, on both sides over the years. During the 1960s, the United States was the largest source of nonmilitary aid to Somalia; nonetheless, the two countries were at odds due to U.S. military aid to **Ethiopia** and Somalia's

encouragement of liberation movements in Ethiopia, **Kenya**, and French Somaliland. The military coup in 1969 further strained Somali–American relations. Somalia signed the Somali–Soviet Friendship Agreement of 1974 and received advanced military hardware for all branches of the armed forces from the **Soviet Union**. The Soviets also agreed to write off Somalia’s arms debt. However, when the Soviet Union allied itself with Ethiopia during the **Ogaden War** of 1977–1978, a Somali–American rapprochement emerged that culminated in a 1980 agreement allowing the United States access to and use of ports and airfields in Berbera, **Mogadishu**, and Kismayu, for which Somalia received in exchange U.S.\$40 million in military aid and U.S.\$53 million in economic assistance.

However, in the mid-1980s, **Mohamed Siad Barre**’s human rights policies, especially the repression of both individual rights and opposition groups, strained relations to the extent that, in 1989, under congressional pressure, the United States terminated military aid to Somalia, even though it continued to provide economic assistance. In January 1991, during the height of the fighting in Mogadishu after the fall of Barre, Washington closed its embassy in Mogadishu and withdrew its personnel from the country. Nevertheless, on August 14, 1992, President George Bush ordered massive food aid to Somalia, under **Operation Provide Comfort**, for the famine-stricken areas. Eventually, at the height of the civil war, the United States led another multinational operation to “create a secure environment” for the relief and, perhaps, to help Somalis reestablish a government. This was known as **Operation Restore Hope**. The United States supported the territorial unity of Somalia and consistently urged all parties to come together to resolve their disputes by peaceful means. Thus, the United States refused to recognize the self-proclaimed independence of the **Republic of Somaliland** in what was once the British Protectorate. In the aftermath of the **Olympic Hotel Battle** in Mogadishu in October 1993, the U.S. troops began to withdraw from Somalia and Washington limited its assistance to that provided as part of the **United Nations Operation in Somalia II**.

UNITED TASK FORCE (UNITAF). United Nations troops under a U.S. command, deployed in Somalia on 9 December 1992 as a humanitarian mission to relieve the famine and to restore order. Twenty nations from all continents save South America contributed troops to UNITAF. By mid-January 1993, UNITAF took military control of the regions south of Galgadud in central Somalia, known ever since then as the Triangle of Death. **Mogadishu** became nominal headquarters of the mission, because it was formerly the capital city. However, UNITAF had nine Humanitarian Operations Centers (HOC) in the famine belt, stretching from Kismayu along the Juba River to **Bardera** and then to Beled Weyne and along the Shabelle River to **Mo-**

gadishu and the coast. These were as follows: Ballidoogle under Moroccan troops; **Baidoa** under the Australians; Bardera under the Americans; Beled Weyne under the Canadians; **Huddur** under the French; Jalalaqsi under the Italians; Kismayu under the Belgians; and **Marka** and Mogadishu under the Americans. Ironically, this triangle of death included fertile regions once dubbed the breadbasket of Somalia.

The deployment to all nine destinations was completed by 28 December 1992, a month ahead of schedule. Once troops were in position, the **Civilian-Military Operations Center** (CMOC) was created with joint military and civilian leadership, with headquarters in Mogadishu, to coordinate the different organizational forms and operations. The CMOC and the HOC worked closely together. The CMOC daily briefed UN agencies, **nongovernmental organizations**, and the **International Committee of the Red Cross**, as well as representatives from UNITAF; it was therefore an essential liaison between all parties of the humanitarian and military mission.

Taking into consideration the serious differences of these parties in so many areas, UNITAF conducted its mission with a high degree of discipline and dedication, and humanitarian aid was delivered promptly, which was the overall objective of the mission. By 4 May 1993, the UNITAF operation was handed over to a UN operation known as the **United Nations Operation in Somalia II** (UNOSOM II). At this point, some countries, such as Australia, withdrew their troops totally; others, such as the Americans, made a partial withdrawal. Other countries joined the new peace-building phase of the mission, which worked for the rehabilitation of the Somali civil society. Here, Indian troops were deployed into Baidoa and Zimbabweans were deployed into Wajid, while the Italians remained in Jalalaqsi and the Moroccans remained in Ballidoogle and Bur Hakaba. Smaller contingents were kept in Mogadishu, such as those of **Egypt** and Botswana, who were given specific duties such as operating feeding programs or accompanying convoys. As with UNITAF, Mogadishu was chosen as the headquarters of UNOSOM II. *See also* **ITALY; OPERATION RESTORE HOPE.**

URUR. Urur literally means “gathering” or “assembly.” The **Reewin** people of the **Inter-riverine region** celebrate Urur annually. It takes place in Sarmaan, a historic town between **Baidoa** and **Huddur**. The Urur has several objectives: to furnish a platform for debate for all the concerns of the society; to crown new leaders and award heroes; and to pray together and provide an offering to God for protection of the society and its resources from their enemies—*dad*, *dugaag*, and *dabii’ad* (invaders, wild animals threatening human life, the life of domesticated animals, and farms; and ecological or natural disasters, such as famine, flood, and soil erosion).

During the Urur festivities, offerings are made of *soddong dubi* (30 bulls) and *affarta e'ed* (the four whites, a mature white male animal from each species of the most important *usjhin*, or domesticated animals: (a) a white he-camel, (b) a white bull, (c) a white he-goat, and (d) a white ram). All of these are slaughtered and eaten at a banquet on the 30th day of the second month of Jilaal (winter), which marks the Urur day annually. This tradition appears to date back to the pre-Islamic period. However, it is believed that the adherents of **Islam** adopted it and injected into it some elements of Islamic festivities. The activities associated with the Urur have many similarities with those surrounding the Hajj (pilgrimage). As in the Hajj, thousands of Reewin people come on foot to Sarmaan from all over the upper Inter-riverine region, they celebrate at an appointed time, and they eat from the sacrifice they bring. They also wear a two-piece cloth, one over the shoulder and the other around the waist. The crowd encircles the shrine of **Oboo Umur**, just as pilgrims to the Ka'ba (the holy shrine in Mecca), and then pays homage at the tomb. To some people, visiting the shrines of holy men is considered a mini Hajj or what they call the "poor man's Hajj."

According to the oral tradition of the region, it is believed that Oboo Umur (c. 1400) was the first to introduce most of the Islamic alterations to the Urur. It was he who divided the 114 *surahs* of the Qur'an among the villages of the region. Every year, until today, delegations of each village come to Sarmaan with their assigned Qur'anic portions, written on **loogs** (wooden boards). The *loogs*, often prepared by **kutaab** (Qur'anic school students), are submitted to a committee of *huffaz* (memorizers of the Qur'an) for correction. Then a descendent of Oboo Umur washes the corrected loogs into a special well called *huud*. The whole crowd is sprinkled with water from the *huud* called **taalil**. To avoid a stampede and enforce order, the washers draw a line starting from *biniska* (the gate) of the old Sarmaan to Herengka (the shrine of Oboo Umur). It is believed that to cross the line out of turn is sinful. The people are reminded of the curse: "anybody who crosses the line shall be like a shell stood on by a pregnant fat she camel."

Some of the *taalil* eventually is distributed to the participants to take home for children and people who were unable to attend the Urur. This recalls the *zam-zam* (water brought back by the pilgrims from Mecca to their home). No one sponsors the Urur festival; like the Hajj it is an individual effort made possible by *man istataa'a* (whoever can afford), to do it physically and materially.

Although there are many similarities between the Urur and other Islamic festivities, the pre-Islamic elements in the Urur celebrations are striking. During the Urur festival, people watch the parade of villagers arriving at the town of Sarmaan from all directions, singing and dancing with full gear of traditional weapons and musical instruments. They also attend athletic com-

petitions between villages or clans, such as legding (wrestling) and kopting (archery). One of the most impressive events is the poetry competition, or **Adar**, associated with an athletic performance called *Shabal* (see **BAR-BAAR**). The winner of the turn stands, praises himself, and glorifies his tribe, while insulting and humiliating his opponent's tribe. The girls of his team cheer for him and very often the men of his team perform *burur*, in which, in a hysteria, they cut the skin of their arms with their daggers as a gesture of appreciation and pride in their team's achievements.

The sacrificial festivals provide the chance to socialize and consume foods, especially meats, not normally available to them. It is also during the *Urur* festivities that delicate disputes are solved by traditional jurists.

USTAD USMAN MOHAMED HUSSEIN (d. 1953). President of **Hizbiya Digil-Mirifle**, assassinated in June 1953.

UWAYSIIYA. The most popular **Sufi *tariqa*** (order) in Somalia, Uwaysiyya follows the teachings of **Sheikh Uways Ibn Muhammad al-Barawi** (1847–1907). Uwaysiyya is one of the major branches of the Qadiriyya in the **Horn of Africa**, the first being *Zayla'iyya*, propagated by **Sheikh Abdirahman al-Zayla'i** (d. 1883). The Uwaysiyya is not confined to particular clans or regions. It spread from southern Somalia to East Africa and the eastern Congo and has strong adherents in the Indian Ocean islands, from **Bajuni**, **Zanzibar**, Comoros, and the Seychelles to Java in Southeast Asia. There are also staunch followers in southern Arabia (Yemen and Hadramout).

Uwaysiyya's success is partly due to the charisma of its founder, Sheikh Uways, an erudite scholar and poet in Arabic who also composed and recited poems in several Somali **languages**, such as **Tunni**, **Af-Maay**, **Af-Mahaa**, and **Chimbalazi**, which attracted a broad audience for his teachings. Furthermore, by incorporating indigenous practices, such as the use of drums and banners, in certain celebrations and feasts, Uways succeeded in appealing to both the masses and the elites displaced by colonial powers.

Following the example of the **Nassib Buunto** Center, the early Uwaysiyya settlements attracted and accepted runaway slaves and those considered outcast by the Somalis and Arabs. At the same time, the Uwaysiyya movement established strong relations with Zanzibari sultans and other Muslim elites in Africa and Arabia. Sultans Sayid Barqash bin Sa'id (d. 1888) and Hamid bin Thuweyni bin Sa'id (reigned 1893–1896) of the Zanzibar sultanate provided political and material support to the Uwaysiyyah, and indeed both received **ijazah** from the sheikh personally on his visits to Zanzibar.

During the "scramble for Africa," the Uwaysiyya, in collaboration with the coastal peoples of Somalia and East Africa, developed an anticolonial

and pan-Islamic ideology. From 1890 to 1908, the Italian presence in Somalia was limited to the coast, as both the Filonardi Company (1893–1896) and the Benadir Company (1896–1905) failed to establish sound business operations. The Uwaysiyya settlements resisted both economic and political penetration of the hinterland. In Tanganyika, the Uwaysiyya played a significant role in the Maji Maji rebellion against German colonization in 1905–1907. During this period, Sheikh Uways moved his headquarters to Biyoley, near **Huddur**, for strategic purposes to gain the support of the more militant pastoral **Reewin** of Upper Juba. But shortly after, in 1907, the followers of **Sayid Mohamed Abdulle Hasan** (d. 1920), the Salihyya leader in northern Somalia, murdered him.

After 1907 and the martyrdom of the sheikh, the collaboration between the coastal and the hinterland people of the Reewin was affirmed under the leadership of **Sheikh Faraj** (d. 1925), the **khalif**, known also as Suufi Baraki. The new khalif established a network of connections between the khalifas of the order in Somalia and those in East Africa, and the Uwaysiyya continued to fight the colonial authorities until 1925. It is evident that modern Somali political organization has its origins in Uwaysiyya. In 1920, Uwaysiyya leaders founded the al-Jam'iyah al-Khayriyah al-Wataniyah (Patriotic Benevolent Society). In 1943, the **Somali Youth Club** was founded by **Abdulkadir Sakhawuddin**, the grandson of Sheikh Uways.

– V –

VUMA. A small drum. *See* **MUSIC**.

VUUGWO. A wind instrument, a long wooden tube or pipes blown as a trumpet. *See* **MUSIC**.

– W –

WAAQ. A pre-Islamic Somali name for God. Proper names such as Waaqsuge or Waasuge (he who waits for God) and Dardaar Waaq (the will or adherent of God) reveal the etymological stem. Waaq is also used in **clan** names such as Jidwaaq (the path of God). Place-names that include waaq are Waaqsheeng (the gift of God), 'Abuudwaaq (he who worships), and 'Eelwaaq (the well of God). The name waaq also frequently appears in the **laqbo** usage by Somali sheikhs when they are translating Arabic texts or preaching

in *masjids* or at other Islamic gatherings. Waaq also appears in poetry and religious songs. The following is a *weerar* (worrier **dance**):

Ing welwelloy waaqa (or Waaga) tuugoy
Walaalkaa my yere

(Worry not and praise your God
You have enough brethren)

The Somali expression for abundance and plenty is *barwaaqo*, an ancient word that appears to be a compound of *bar*, meaning “place” or “property,” and *waaq*, “God”; thus, *barwaaqo* is “the place or property of God.”

WADADDO. The Wadaddo spirits cause illnesses, including pneumonia and tuberculosis, and provoke sneezing, coughing, vomiting, and fainting. The condition is then treated by a man or a woman who has recovered from the sickness. The cured person reads portions of the Qur’an over the patient and bathes him or her with special perfumes.

WADBOOYE. The most powerful of the *jinn*s (spirits) in the ritual folk **dance** known as **Mingis**, they inflict diseases or bad fortune on human beings in whom they are interested.

WAJIFUR. A bridal gift. The groom offers his bride jewelry to commemorate the first time he saw her face. Literally meaning “opening the face,” *wajifur* is supposed to be very gentlemanly and romantic. *See also* **MURIYAD**.

WALAALO HARGEISA. The “Brothers of Hargeisa,” a northern Somali group of poets and artists, founded in **Hargeisa** in 1955 to write and perform plays. Most of the founders were low-caste men, because the domain of the performing arts was considered beneath the dignity of the nomadic northern Somalis. The group also admitted **women**, such as the poetess who bore the pen name **Guduuda ‘Arwo**. The founding members included Hussein Aw Farah, poet and singer, and **Abdillahi Mohamed Mohamud Hersi “Qarshe,”** poet-musician-singer and playwright. The *Walaalo* were very influential in the development of modern Somali drama and **music**. Their early plays were full of **hello** songs. Their treatment of national issues inspired and supported anticolonial sentiment. After independence, the *Walaalo Hargeisa* became part of the **National Theater** group in **Mogadishu**. Some members remained with **Radio Hargeisa**, where their work continued to be performed, or were employed by Radio Mogadishu.

WALASAQO. A traditional **dance** performed on festive days that is commonly performed in central Somalia. *Walasaqo* must be danced by couples, a man

and a **woman**, who imitate the movement of ostriches. It is especially danced at night for those young who have just reached puberty, who may use the occasion to meet possible mates. Erotic songs, clapping, and stamping accompany the dance.

WAR. A man-made water catchment, common in the dry lands of the upper **Inter-riverine region**.

WARIS DIRIE (1960–). A human rights activist against female genital mutilation (FGM), or **clitoridectomy**. Also a supermodel and the first **woman** of African descent to be featured in advertisements for the well-known skin cream, Oil of Olay. She is also an actress. Waris, whose name means “desert flower,” was born into the traditional life of the nomadic **Darood** clan. She guesses she was born in 1960, the year of Somalia’s independence. When she was five, she suffered the female circumcision that is practiced all over Africa, as well as in parts of the Middle East and Asia. When she was 14, Waris fled to **Mogadishu** to escape her father’s decision to marry her to a 60-year-old man. Her bride price was five camels. She stayed with an elder sister in Mogadishu and worked as a *boyaso* (maid). In her twenties, she illegally entered **Britain**, surviving in London by scrubbing floors in a McDonalds fast-food restaurant. She was discovered by a freelance photographer who put her face on the cover of the 1985 Pirelli calendar. She became an international star and finally settled in a rented apartment in Soho, London.

In the spring of 1995, after finishing the **British Broadcasting Corporation** documentary, *A Nomad in New York*, which featured her return to Somalia and reunion with her Somali family, especially her long lost mother, she embarked on an activist career campaigning against FGM, telling the story of how she experienced and suffered from it like millions of other little girls down the centuries. The fashion magazine *Marie Claire* told the story of her life in the article, “The Tragedy of Female Circumcision.” She became a *cause célèbre* in feminist circles and was overwhelmed with letters of support. Waris said she was relieved by the support and only received two negative responses, both of them from Somalia. In 1977, the American Broadcasting Corporation broadcast the award-winning *20/20* segment “A Healing Journey,” about Waris. Her biography, *Desert Flower*, was published in 1999 and she became a special ambassador for the **United Nations** Population Fund. Waris Dirie is married to an African-American drummer and they live in Brooklyn with their son, Aleke. “I pray for [the abolition of FGM] every night, and I won’t rest until I complete my mission because I’m so deeply into it,” she said. “We have to get over this because no woman deserves to be sliced up like an animal.”

WESTERN SOMALI LIBERATION FRONT (WSLF). A guerrilla movement fighting for the liberation of the **Ogaden**, the disputed territory between **Ethiopia** and Somalia. The Ogaden conflict has its origins in the days of **Ahmad Gurey** and the conflict between **Islam** and Christianity in the 14th century. The conflict worsened in modern times, when **Britain** and **Italy** recognized Ethiopian jurisdiction in separate treaties in 1897, a jurisdiction that was confirmed by the British when **Haile Selassie** was restored to his throne during World War II.

In 1960–1961, Somali-Ethiopian conflicts caused the deaths of many ethnic Somalis, the destruction of major towns, and the poisoning of wells in the Ogaden. This devastation led to the formation of the Nasr al-Lah (Power of God) movement, the predecessor of the WSLF, in the summer of 1961. This ostensibly religious movement was actually very political and had branches in the Ogaden and **Mogadishu**. By 16 June 1963, the movement was engaged in guerrilla warfare within Ethiopia. By 1964, the Ethiopian counterattacks were so severe and effective that Somalia sought the help of the **Organization of African Unity**. However, the OAU resolved that all members “should respect the borders existing on their achievement of independence.” Somalia regarded this resolution as irrelevant, because Ethiopia did not achieve independence in the modern era and had always been a colonial power. Of course, very few Somali politicians had a pan-African sensibility, but it was very difficult for other African leaders to think of Ethiopia as a colonizer. Moreover, the OAU was reluctant to redraw borders in the **Horn** for fear that it would arouse ethnic demands elsewhere in Africa to redraw borders created in the colonial era.

Somalia continued to support the Nasr al-Lah movement, which changed its name to Harakat Tahrir Ogadenia (Ogaden Liberation Movement, OLM), in 1966. Somalia established a ministry responsible for *Somalia irridenta* called the Ministry of Somali Affairs. However, during the presidency of **Abdirashid Ali Shermarke** in 1967 and into the early years of the military regime, a policy of détente with Ethiopia was maintained.

In 1972, the OLM became al-Jabha al-Muttahidah li al-Sumal al-Gharbi (United Front of Western Somalia, UFWS), because the Ogadeni were just one of many Somali clans in the region. In fact, even Somalis were critical of the movement because all the officials were Ogadeni. The UFWS opened offices in Lagos, Algiers, Damascus, and Baghdad. To take advantage of the transitional period between the fall of Haile Selassie and the establishment of the military junta in Ethiopia, Somalia increased its support of the UFWS, which changed its name to Jabhat Tahrir al-Sumal al-Gharbi (Western Somali Liberation Front) in 1975. By 1976, the WSLF had resolved that “armed struggle is the only way to liberate Western Somalia,” and it mounted successful attacks on many Ethiopian outposts. In 1977, Ethiopia

accused Somalia of committing Somali regular troops to the fighting, which Mogadishu denied, although it supported the WSLF with more than 50,000 regular Somali troops. By January 1978, the combined WSLF-Somali regular troops won control of 90 percent of the Ogaden, including the major historic cities of Harar, Jijiga, Diredawa, and Gode.

However, the massive Soviet-Cuban military support of Ethiopia from late 1977 to early 1978 turned the tide and, in early February 1978, the allied forces of Ethiopia and Cuba, supplied with the latest Soviet military technology, counterattacked and humiliated the combined WSLF-Somali troops. More than 3,000 troops lost their lives in the two-day battle of Jijiga. Within a week, Ethiopia recaptured all the territory it had lost in 1977 and, on 9 March 1978, Mogadishu withdrew its troops. The WSLF survived as a **paramilitary** operation until the fall of **Mohamed Siad Barre**. *See also* **OGADEN WARS; PAN-SOMALISM; SOVIET UNION**.

“WIILOW,” MUHAMED SHEIKH ABDIRAHMAN (1927–1960). An assassin, born and educated in Bur Hakaba. Muhamed Sheikh Abdirahman “Wiilow” (“the Boy”) traveled to **Baidoa** and **Mogadishu** for further studies. In 1953, he went with other Somali students to **Egypt** on a scholarship. However, for health reasons, he returned to Somalia in 1954 before finishing his studies. On 16 April 1957, he assassinated the Egyptian representative to the **United Nations Advisory Council** to the Italian-administered Trust Territory of Somalia, Muhammad **Kamal al-Din Salah**, at his residence in Mogadishu. Wiilow, whose motives are yet to be ascertained, was convicted and sentenced to life imprisonment. On 1 July 1960, Independence Day, when prisoners were amnestied, he was found dead. Perhaps he was “eliminated” because those responsible for Kamal al-Din’s assassination felt he would reveal information that would expose them.

WILDLIFE AND HUNTING. Somalia possesses abundant and varied wildlife, particularly in the southern part of the country. The larger species include elephants, giraffes, rhinoceroses, hippopotami, lions, leopards, cheetahs, crocodiles, buffalo, zebras, wild asses, hyenas, oryx, kudu, and hartebeestes. Among the smaller species are several kinds of antelope, Waller’s gazelle, Clark’s gazelle, warthogs, monkeys, and baboons. Birds of prey found throughout the country include eagles, kites, and storks. There are also different kinds of guinea fowl, partridges, sandgrouse, rock pigeons, and bustards. Until 1969, the government issued game licenses. Hunters were also required to present trophies, whatever remained of their kill, to a government licensing officer to obtain a certificate of ownership. Those who wanted to export any trophy were required to apply for a certificate of exportation within 30 days of the killing of the animal; furthermore, a special

export tax had to be paid. However, after 1969, all hunting and trapping were banned. Somalia had only two national game parks. One was situated southwest of Kismayu and the other was north of **Hargeisa**. A third was planned for Jazira, near **Mogadishu**.

WILWILO. A folk **dance** performed before or after battle by the pastoralists in the northwestern regions. Dancers danced with spears and shields, while the team leader dances with a dagger. Today, this dance is performed on special religious or national occasions, such as the two Eids of *al-Fitri* (**Iid Aan-grafa**) and *al-Adha* (**Iid Furung**) and Independence Day.

WOMEN. Although Somali women were given 10 percent of the seats of the **Transitional National Assembly**, established in **Djibouti** in August 2000, and **Mohamed Siad Barre**'s regime promulgated the Heerka Qooyaska (family law) in 1975, which granted equal rights for women in areas such as inheritance, educational opportunities, and wages, the prospects for women are poor in many areas. Somali women do not have the political, legal, educational, or economic opportunities their male counterparts do. Female inequality is dictated by both cultural and religious tradition and socioeconomic conditions.

Under the *heer* (customary law), men dominate all social institutions and women are subservient. However, in a very interesting but misleading anomaly, women always exercised power indirectly within the extended family system. Both nomadic and agrarian women could own property either from *yarad* (bridal wealth) or income generated from her own labor, neither of which she is obliged to share with her husband. Unlike the European dowry, where the father of the bride pays money to the husband that is no longer the bride's, in Somalia and most other African countries, the prospective husband pays a dowry to the woman and has no right to it. Moreover, the bride does not take her husband's name. A divorced or widowed woman has no difficulty attracting a new spouse.

There is also evidence of a more female-centered past in the Somali tradition, as various **clans** have subclans founded by women. Terms such as *habar* (mother) or *bah* (woman line) are used even today in subclan names. Habar Gedir (Gedir's mother) and Bah Geri (Geri's line) are examples of subclan names that indicate an earlier matrilineal form of social organization. The custom of selecting the *bogor* (sultan) in the Majerteen sultanate from the *bah Dir* (Mother Dir's line) in times of succession is another manifestation of the role of women in traditional Somali society. Moreover, during the **talqin** (funeral recitation), the deceased is called not by the paternal but by his or her maternal name. Somalis say, "when one enters heaven, it is important that one is named correctly and only the mother's side do we know

for sure.” Furthermore, the folk tales of the legendary Queen **Moroombe**, who used to castrate or kill men who challenged her, especially intellectually, suggest that women in ancient Somali society may well have had a powerful political role. Nevertheless, today they are usually obliged to defer and submit to male authority.

Under **Islam**, although the Qur’an granted women equal rights, the *shari’a* (Islamic law) operates from the premise that men are a “degree above” women. In the colonial era, the introduction of male-dominated cash crops over female subsistence farming strengthened male patriarchy. The wage economy forced men to work in towns or on plantations, while most women remained in rural areas. Moreover, the prevalence of famine, drought, and epidemic diseases made life much more difficult for women than for men, as women had to carry water and children on their backs and operate a household, while men were often idle. Although the postindependence period might have seemed brighter for women, because of their political and economic role in the struggle for independence and the political rhetoric calling for female equality, the new Somali state and its social institutions reinforced and replicated pre-colonial conditions. Even in the latest Somali cabinet, formed in October 2000, not one of the 70 ministerial portfolios was held by a woman. *See also* **ABAY NABIYEY; ARTA RECONCILIATION CONFERENCE OF MAY–AUGUST 2000; CLITORIDECTOMY; DADA MA SITI; DUMAAL; HIGSIIN; IMAN ABDULMAJID; SOMALI WOMEN’S DEMOCRATIC ORGANIZATION; WARIS DIRIE.**

– Y –

YASIN ISMAN KEENADIID (1919–1989). Linguist and writer, the son of Isman Yusuf Keenadiid, the inventor of the **Ismaniyya script** in the early 1900s. Yasin was born in Hobyo, Mudug region. At 15, he moved to **Mogadishu** and studied in the Italian schools. During the British Military Administration (1941–1950), he learned English as well. After the founding of the **Somali Youth League** (SYL) in 1947, he struggled to have all hitherto unrecorded Somali oral forms written down and preserved in his father’s script. In 1949, he helped found a Somali literary society called the Society for the Somali **Language** and Literature, a cultural adjunct to the SYL that was aimed to develop and improve the Ismaniyya script and encourage the use of Somali in common speech and the translation of foreign literature into Somali.

The Ismaniyya movement, however, was challenged in the 1950s. The Ismaniyya script was perceived as a **Darood** script and, during the trusteeship

of 1950–1960, when the Darood lost dominance, the SYL (under the **Hawiye, Banadiri, and Riverine clans** alliance), opposed Ismaniyya in favor of the Arabic language, or at least Arabic script for Somali. In April 1950, the SYL published an official memorandum asking the Italian administrator Giovanni Fornari (1950–1953) to consider Arabic as the “international language” of Somalia. In 1951, the Consiglio Territoriale (**Territorial Council, TC**), the only Somali advisory body to the Italian administration, unanimously agreed that both Arabic and Italian should be the official **languages** of Somalia. Thus, the call for the writing of Somali in Ismaniyya was no longer sounded.

Nevertheless, Yasin carried the flag for Ismaniyya and defended it on a scholarly basis. In his “La nostra lingua madre” (Our mother tongue), published in the *Corriere della Somalia*, 7 March 1952, he argued that Somalia, unlike other newly independent African states, was monolingual and that the adoption of Ismaniyya for the Somali language would help to build a national state and culture.

In 1956, Yasin went to **Italy** to study philosophy, literature, and linguistics and he returned in 1959 as *dottore di lettere*, the Italian equivalent of the holder of bachelor of arts degree. In Mogadishu, he continued fighting for Ismaniyya, but the pro-Arabic forces now held the higher ground, arguing that nearly all Somalis know Arabic, that it had been chosen already by the TC, and most importantly, that Somalia was not monolingual but multilingual, with several clans claiming their languages to be the national one, with no possibility of agreement. Thus, Arabic would be the best compromise language for all.

In September 1960, the minister of education appointed Yasin to a language committee whose task was to study and report on the best means of reducing Somali to writing. During their deliberations, both Ismaniyya and Arabic scripts lost ground to a third, the Latin script, because the committee was asked to especially consider such technical questions concerning the different script as: Is it phonetic? Have its letters any diacritics? Has it any sign that has more than one function? Is it mechanically reproducible by printing? What economic impact would it have? Yasin, realizing his script had no chance, resigned from the committee that eventually submitted its final report recommending the use of Latin orthography for the Somali language.

From 1961 to 1969, Yasin worked in the Department of Culture, Ministry of Education, researching Somali linguistic issues, especially the issue of a script for the language. Successive Somali governments of the period failed to adopt any script on religiopolitical grounds. Most saw the Roman script as an ungodly script, because it was closely associated with Christianity. The Somali religious community developed a slogan, a play on words: *Laatiin waa Laa Diin* (“Latin is without God”). In January 1971, 15 months after the

military coup d'état, a new linguistic commission of 21 members, the Guddiga Af-Soomaaliga (**Somali Language Commission**), was appointed. Yasin then became the second chairperson of the commission. In 1972, when Yasin was chair, the commission adopted a modified Roman script for Somali. The Guddiga Af-Soomaaliga then became part of the newly established **Akadeemiyaha Dhaqanka** (Academy of Culture), which was entrusted with the development, standardization, and enrichment of the newly written Somali language. In 1976, Yasin published *Qaamuuska Af-Soomaaliga* (Dictionary of Somali language).

YUSUF MAHAMUD, SULTAN OF GELEDI (d. 1848). The son of Sultan **Mohamud Ibrahim Adeer** (d. c. 1820). One of the best-known Geledi sultans. Yusuf Mahamud was well educated in religious affairs and was trained as a warrior. His sultanate covered all Digil territories of Somalia and most of the neighboring Mirifle also paid homage to him. This is what some call the Geledi confederacy. The confederacy was not confined to the Digil and Mirifle but incorporated other Somalis, such as the Biamaal, Shiikhaal, and Wa'daan. To reign over such a diverse sultanate, Yusuf Mahamud promoted a policy of indirect administration. He allowed the *malaks*, *islaws* (tribal chiefs), *imams*, sheikhs (religious figures), and *akhiyaars* (notable elders) of the community to play significant roles in the administration of the sultanate. He was not only the political head of the sultanate, but also was portrayed as the religious leader. The sultanate during his reign was very prosperous economically and politically. **Afgoy**, the headquarters of the sultanate, was the meeting point of the caravan routes. Afgoy had some thriving industries, such as weaving and shoemaking. It was also the center for the **Istunka** annual festival, which marks the new year in the sultanate and is one of the best known tourist attractions in the region.

Yusuf's authority was challenged in the north by **Sheikh Ibrahim Hassan Yeberow**, the founder and leader of the **Bardera Jama'a** religious settlement, and in the south by the Biamaal **clan**. Yusuf was successful in defeating the Bardera **Jama'a** in 1843 and in burning Bardera town to ashes. However, with the Biamaals, Yusuf's fate was different. Historically, the Biamaal clan was part of the Geledi confederacy, but during the campaign to attack Bardera, when all clans of the confederacy contributed to the war efforts in men and money, the Biamaal did not take part. Moreover, they brought firearms and ammunition as well as men from the east (from the Majerteen). Furthermore, the Biamaal began attacking villages and centers that belonged to the Geledi or its allies. Yusuf Mahamud, therefore, had no choice but to counterattack. However, in 1848, the Biamaal, supported by some 150 Majerteen men led by Sheikh Ali Haji, made a surprise attack on several villages, including Baghdad, Afgoy Digil, Buulo Mareerto, and

Alanley. Although the villagers defended themselves and even killed Sheikh Ali Haji, the leader of the attack, the villages were damaged and burned.

From these attacks, Sultan Yusuf Mahamud realized that the Biamaals constituted a major threat to his sultanate, and he resolved to crush them. The sultan mobilized a force from the alliance, though it was not as great as that assembled for the attack on Bardera. In this campaign, he was accompanied by his brother, Muse Mahamud. The two forces clashed at Adaddey Suleyman, a village near **Marka**. The Biamaal defended themselves and, after three days of fierce attacks and counterattacks, the legendary Sultan Yusuf Mahamud and his brother were killed and the Geledi alliance was defeated.

YUUNGE. A container of milk large enough to serve a party at the ordination of a *bahaar* (a magician, herbalist, and traditional healer). Other sacrificial offerings are a cock, *paampa* (porridge fermented for two days), and *dhanaanto* (unripe maize fermented for a week). The ordained *bahaar* eats and drinks all the offerings and is given a necklace and a horn. *Yuunge* is also supplied as a fine for offending a member of the youth class known as *bar-baar*.

– Z –

ZANZIBAR. Historically an island port and powerful commercial center, Zanzibar joined with Tanganyika in 1964 to form Tanzania. By the eighth century, the Arabs controlled the trade determined by the monsoon winds that connected East Africa and the off-shore islands with Arabia and India. Persians also participated in this trade in the 12th century. Both Arabs and Persians intermarried with native Africans, from which the powerful Swahili culture emerged. This culture and language dominated the coast from what is now Mozambique to the **Banadir** coast of southern Somalia. Arab control of Zanzibar and other Swahili lands lasted until the late 15th century, when Portugal took over the trade routes and imposed taxes. In 1729, however, the allied forces of Swahilis and Omani Arabs forced the Portuguese out, and in 1806 an Omani-Arab sultanate was established. All the Banadir ports from Warsheikh to Kismayu had good relations with Zanzibar, but only **Mogadishu** and **Barawa** were under direct Zanzibari rule. However, during the rule of Sayid Barqash (1870–1888), Warsheikh, **Marka**, and Kismayu also came under Zanzibari sovereignty. It was in this period that Zanzibar appointed *walis* (representatives of the sultan), *qadis* (judges), and tax collectors at the Banadir ports.

Nonetheless, as a result of the European colonial “scramble” on the East African coast, the sultanate’s coastal territory was divided in 1886 between **Britain** and Germany, with only the island of Zanzibar and a coastal strip, including Banadir, left to the sultan. When Barqash died in 1888, the Banadir ports became a bargaining chip between Europeans and Sayid Khalifa, Barqash’s successor. Britain won a 50-year lease on the Banadir ports that was transferred to **Italy** in 1889. The ports then came under the control of Italian colonial companies and eventually were an important part of Italian Somaliland.

ZAYLA. Also referred as Zeila or Sayla’. An ancient port town on the Gulf of Tadjourra, at the southern entrance of the Red Sea. One of the oldest Islamic centers in the **Horn of Africa**, Zayla was also the capital of the sultanate of **Awdal** from the ninth to the 15th century. Historically, it gave access to the caravan routes in the **Horn** from the **Inter-riverine regions** to Harar. Because of the extensive trade with **Ethiopia** and Arabia, Zayla was multiracial and multicultural, occupied by Somalis, Afars, Gallas, Arabs, and *muwallids* (those of mixed race) and ruled by Somalo-Arab Muslims.

Until recently, Zayla had a wall with five gates: Bab al-Sahil and Bab al-Jadd on the north; Bab Abdulqadir on the East; Bab al-Saghir on the west; and Bab Ashurbara on the south. Muslim scholars from the Horn, especially from Somalia, were known in the Muslim world as Zayla’is (people of Zeila). In fact, a *riwaq* (residential college or hall) in al-Azhar University in Cairo and another at the Umayyads Mosque at Damascus were called *Riwaq al-Zayla’iyyin* (the Zayla’is college), as they were reserved for students from Zayla. Some notable Zayla’i scholars were the *faqih* (theologian) **Sheikh Usman Ibn Ali al-Zayla’i**, the *muhaddith* (collector of Prophet Muhammad’s sayings, practices, and deeds) **Sheikh Abdullahi ibn Yusuf ibn Muhammad al-Zayla’i**, and the *weli-sha’ir* (poet-saint) **Sheikh Abdirahman al-Zayla’i**. In 1517, the Portuguese sacked and occupied Zayla and, in the mid-16th century, it came under Ottoman rule. In 1870, one year after the opening of the Suez Canal, Zayla became Egyptian. In 1884, with the other northern Somali ports, it became a British colonial possession. *See also ISLAM.*

ZAYLA’IS. “Zayla’is” has referred, since the rise of **Islam**, to all Muslims in East Africa, just as “Abyssinia,” in ancient times, referred to the whole of black Africa. However, since the majority of Muslims in the **Horn** were Somalis and the city of **Zayla** (Zeila) itself was located on the northwest coast of Somali territory, the majority of “Zayla’i” students in the Middle East were Somalis. Some scholars speak of the Zayla’is of Yemen, as there is also a city of that name in Yemen. However, Yemeni students have their own dis-

tinctive *riwaqs* (lodges) in al-Azhar and elsewhere; in *marakiz* (places of learning) in the Middle East, there were Yemeni lodges called *Riwaq al-Yaman*. Thus, Zayla'is, who live in *Riwaq al-Zayla'iyyin*, are Somalis.

ZIPAANDHE. Sticks struck together. An idiophone instrument for striking and shaking. *See also* **MUSIC.**

ZUMARI. Traditional musical instrument commonly used among the Bajuni people of the Bajuni Islands, on the Indian Ocean near Kismayu. The zumari is much like a double clarinet and made of *fenicottero* (bones) on equal tubes. The zumari instrument is found also in most Islamic countries. This Bajuni instrument is similar to the Indian *zummarā*, or to the Yemenite *mazaamiir*. *See also* **MUSIC.**

Appendix A: Members of Government from 1956 to 1991

PRESIDENTS

Adan Abdulle Osman	1960–1967
Abdirashid Ali Shermarke	1967–1969
Mohamed Siad Barre	1969–1991

PRIME MINISTERS

Abdullahi Issa Mohamud	1956–1960
Abdirashid Ali Shermarke	1960–1964
Abdirazak Haji Hussein	1964–1967
Mohamed Haji Ibrahim Egal (also Minister of Foreign Affairs)	1967–1969
Mohamed Ali Samatar	1987–1990
Mohamed Hawadle Madar	1990–1991

MINISTERS OF AGRICULTURE

Salad Abdi Mohamed	1959–1960
Ahmed Haji Duale	1960–1961
Ali Garad Jama	1961–1964
Ismail Duale Warsame	1964–1966
Mohamud Abdi Nur “Jujo”	1966–1967
Ali Alio Mohamed	1967–1969
Abdullahi Mohamed Hirad	May–Oct 1969
Abdalla Aw Farah Hersi	1969–1970
Mohamed Hassan “Dottorino”	1970–1973
Omar Salah Abdi Karim	1973–1974
Mohamed Ibrahim “Liqliqato”	1974–1978
Ahmed Hassan Muse	1978–1982
Bile Rafle Gulaid	1982–1987

Abdirazak Mohamud Abubakar	1987–1989
Bile Rafle Gulaid	1989–1990
Mohamud Mohamed Ulusow	Feb–Sept 1990
Abdisalam Sheikh Hussein	1990–1991

MINISTERS OF LIVESTOCK, ANIMAL HUSBANDRY, FORESTRY, AND RANGE

Sheikh Ali Jimale Baraale	1959–1960
Abdullahi Gire Duale	May–Oct 1969
Mohamoud Mohamed Osman	1969–1970
Said Ibrahim Haji Said	1970–1973
Osman Mohamed Jelle	1973–1974
Yusuf Ali Osman	1974–1980
Mohamed Ali Nur	1980–1985
Muse Rabile Ghod	1985–1987
Bile Rafle Gulaid	1987–1989
Abdirazak Mohamud Abubakar	1989–1990
Abdirahman Jama Mohamed	1990–1991

MINISTERS OF DEFENSE

Mohamed Haji Ibrahim Egal	1960–1961
Sheikh Ali Ismail	1961–1962
Hilowle Moalin Mohamed	1962–1964
Aden Issaq Ahmed	1964–1966
Abdirahman Haji Mumin	1966–1967
Haji Yusuf Iman Gulaid	1967–1969
Hilowle Moalin Mohamed	1969–1970
Salad Gabeire Kedie	Apr–Jul 1970
Mohamed Ali Samatar	1970–1987
Aden Abdullahi Noor “Gabyow”	1987–1989
Hussein Abdirahman Matan	1989–1990

MINISTERS OF EDUCATION

Sheikh Ali Jimale Barale	1956–1959
Mohamed Yusuf Adan “Murro”	1959–1960

Ali Garad Jama	1960–1961
Mohamed Haji Ibrahim Egal	1961–1962
Yusuf Ismail Samatar	1962–1964
Kenadid Ahmed Yusuf	1964–1967
Aden Issaq Ahmed	1967–1969
Hasan Ali Mire	1969–1970
Abdirazak Mohamad Abubakar	1970–1974
Mohamed Hassan Aden “Gahayr”	1974–1976
Aden Mohamed Ali	1976–1982
Abdirahman Abdulle Osman “Shuke”	1982–1987
Abdullahi Mohamed Mire	1987–1990

MINISTERS OF FINANCE AND REVENUES

Salad Abdi Mohamed	1956–1959
Osman Ahmed Roble	1959–1960
Abdulkadir Mohamed Aden “Zoppo”	1960–1964
Awil Haji Abdullahi Farah	1964–1966
Ali Omar Shego	1966–1969
Sufi Omar Mohamed	May–Oct 1969
Mohamed Abdi Arrale	1969–1970
Ibrahim Megag Samatar	1970–1971
Mohamed Yusuf Weirah	1971–1974
Abdirahman Noor Hersi	1974–1978
Mohamed Yusuf Weirah	1978–1980
Abdullahi Ahmed Addow	1980–1984
Mohamed Sheikh Osman	1984–1987
Abdullahi Warsame Nur (only Minister of Revenues)	Feb–Dec 1987
Abdirahman Jama Barre	Dec 1987–Apr 1989
Mohamed Sheikh Osman	Apr 1989–Feb 1990
Mohamed Gelle Yusuf	1990–1991

MINISTERS OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS

Abdullahi Issa Mahamud	1960–1964
Ahmed Yusuf Duale	1964–1967
Omar Arte Qalib	1969–1976
Abdirahman Jama Barre	1976–1990
Mohamed Ali Hamud (acting)	Dec 1987–1989

Abdirahman Jama Barre	Apr 1989–1990
Ahmed Jama Abdulle “Jangali”	Feb–Sept 1990
Ahmed Mohamed Adan “Qeybe”	Sept 1990–Jan 1991

MINISTER OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS

Mohamed Ali Hamud	1987–1991
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MINISTERS OF HEALTH AND LABOR

Sheikh Ali Jimale Baraale	1956–1962
Mohamud Ahmed Mohamed Aden	1962–1964
Abdullah Issa Mahamud	1964–1966
Haji Bashir Ismail	1964–1967
Ali Mohamed Osoble	1967–1969
Mohamed Sheikh Mohamed Dahir	May–Oct 1969

MINISTERS OF HEALTH

Mohamed Aden Sheikh	1969–1973
Mohamed Ali Noor	1973–1976
Muse Rabile Ghod	1976–1980
Abdalla Mohamed Fadil	1980–1982
Omar Haji Mohamed	1982–1984
Yusuf Hassan Elmi	1984–1987
Mohamed Ali Munasar	1987–1991

MINISTERS OF INDUSTRY AND COMMERCE

Haji Farah Ali Omar	1956–1960
Sheikh Abdulle Mohamud Mohamed	1960–1962
Haji Ibrahim Osman “Basbas”	1962–1964
Osman Mohamud Adde	1964–1966
Abdullahi Issa Mahamud	1966–1967
Mohamed Ali Daar	1967–1969
Abdullahi Issa Mahamud	May–Oct 1969

Mohamud Gelle Elmi “Dhurwa”	1969–1970
Ahmed Mohamud Farah	1970–1971
Abdalla Mohamed Fadil	1985–1987
Hussein Abdulle Alasow	Dec 1987–Apr 1989
Bashir Farah Kahie	Feb–Sept 1990

MINISTERS OF INDUSTRY

Ibrahim Megag Samatar	1971–1973
Abdikassim Salad Hassan	1973–1976
Mohamed Sheikh Osman	1976–1980
Ali Khalif Galllaydh	1980–1982
Abdalla Mohamed Fadil	1982–1985
Hussein Abdulle Alasow	Feb–Dec 1987
Ahmed Mohamed Farah	Apr 1989–1990
Yusuf Ali Noor	Sept 1990–1991

MINISTERS OF COMMERCE

Mohamed Warsame Ali “Kimiko”	1971–1973
Mohamed Ali Shire	1977–1980
Ahmed Mohamed Mohamud “Silanyo”	1980–1982
Mohamed Omar Jama “Diga Diga”	1982–1984
Muse Rabile Ghod	1984–1985
Mohamud Saeed Mohamed “Ga’amey”	Feb–Dec 1987
Abdulkassim Salad Hassan	1989–1990
Bashir Farah Kahie	Sept 1990–1991

MINISTER OF EXTERNAL TRADE

Mohamed Wasame Ali “Kimiko”	1973–1974
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MINISTER OF DEOMESTIC AND FOREIGN TRADE

Ahmed Mohamed Mohamud “Sillanyo”	1974–1976
Mohamed Ali Shirel	1976–Dec 1977

MINISTERS OF INFORMATION AND NATIONAL GUIDANCE

Ali Mohamed Hirabe	1960–1964
Yusuf Ahmed Boukah	1964–1967
Hassan Haji Omar Amei	1967–1969
Ismail Jumale Ossoble	May–Oct 1969
Mohamed Jama Ahmed “Juge”	1969–1970
Ismail Ali Abokor	1970–1973
Abdullahi Mohamed Hassan	1973–1976
Abdikassim Salad Hassan	1976–1978
Abdisalam Sheikh Hussein	Apr 1978–1980
Mohamed Aden Sheikh	Feb 1980–1982
Mohamed Omar Jeas	Mar 1982–1987
Abdirashid Sheikh Ahmed (also Minister of Tourism)	Dec 1987–1989
Yassin Haji Ismail	1989–1990
Farah Dahir Afey (also Minister of Tourism)	1990–1991

MINISTERS OF INTERIOR

Haji Muse Boqor	1956–1959
Abdullahi Issa Mohamud (also Prime Minister)	1959–1960
Abdirazak Haji Hussein	1960–1962
Mohamud Abdi Nur “Jujo”	1962–1964
Abdulkadir Mohamed Aden “Zoppo”	1964–1967
Yassin Noor Hassan	1967–1969
Jama Ali Korshell	1969–1971
Hussein Kulmie Afrah	1971–1974
Jama Mohamed Qalib	1974–1984
Ahmed Habib Ahmed	1984–1985
Ahmed Soleiman Abadalla	1985–1987
Mohamed Abdulle Ba’adle	1987–1989
Ahmed Soleiman Abadalla	1989–1990
Abdulkadir Haji Mohamed	Feb–Sept 1990
Abdikassim Salad Hassan	1990–1991

MINISTERS OF JUSTICE AND RELIGIOUS AFFAIRS

Sheikh Mohamud Mohamed Farah	1959–1960
Ahmed Gelle Hassan	1962–1964

Abdirahman Haji Mumin	1964–1966
Sheikh Hassan Abdullahi Farah	1966–1967
Aden Shire Jama	1967–1969
Osman Noor Ali (also Minister of Labor)	1969–1970
Sheikh Abdiqani Sheikh Ahmed	1970–1973
Abdisalam Sheikh Hussein	1973–1978
Ahmed Shire Mohamud	1978–1984
Sheikh Hassan Abdullahi Farah	1984–1989
Mohamud Saeed Mohamed “Ga’amey”	1989–1990
Sheikh Mohamed Gulaid	Feb–Sept 1990
Abdullahi Osoble Siad	Sept 1990–1991

MINISTER OF STATE FOR RELIGIOUS AFFAIRS

Haji Abdullahi Sheikh Ibrahim	May–Oct 1969
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MINISTERS OF JUSTICE

Mohamud Ahmed Mohamed Aden	1960–1962
Aden Shire Jama	May–Oct 1969

MINISTERS OF PUBLIC WORKS AND COMMUNICATION

Mohamud Abdi Nur “Jujo”	1956–1960
Abdi Nur Mohamed Hussein	1960–1962
Abdirazak Haji Hussein	1962–1964
Sheikh Abdulle Mohamud Mohamed	1964–1967

MINISTERS OF PUBLIC WORKS

Mohamud Abdi Nur “Jujo”	1967–1969
Jama Ganni Ahmed	May–Oct 1969
Abdulkadir Aden Abdulle	1969–1970
Ali Hashi Sheikh Hussein	1970–1971
Mohamed Sheikh Osman	1971–1974
Mohamed Hawadle Madar	1974–1980
Mohamud Nur Galal	1980–1982

Ahmed Hassan Muse	1982–1985
Abdikassim Salad Hassan	1985–1987

MINISTERS OF PUBLIC WORKS AND HOUSING

Muse Rabile Ghod	1987–1989
Osman Jama Ali	1989–1990
Mohamed Said Hersi “Morgan”	1990–1991

MINISTERS OF POST AND TELECOMMUNICATION

Ahmed Mohamud Farah	1971–1974
Abdullahi Osoble Siad	1974–1980
Mohamed Hawadle Madar	1980–1982
Abdullahi Osoble Siad	1982–1987
Yusuf Hassan Elmi	1987–1990
Abukar Hassan Wehelie	1990–1991

MINISTERS OF TRANSPORT AND COMMUNICATION

Aden Issaq Ahmed	1966–1967
Hared Farah Nur	1967–1969
Mohamed Anshur	1969–1970
Mohamed Warsame Ali “Kimiko”	1970–1971

MINISTERS OF TRANSPORT

Abdiasis Nur Hersi	1971–1973
Muse Rabile Ghod	1973–1974
Mohamed Burale Ismail	1974–1976

MINISTER OF COMMUNICATION

Ali Alio Mohamed	May–Oct 1969
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MINISTER OF FISHERY AND MARINE TRANSPORT

Osman Jama Ali	1973–1976
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MINISTERS OF FISHERIES

Osman Jama Ali	1977–1984
Aden Mohamed Ali	1984–Feb 1987
Aden Mohamed Ali	Apr 1989–Feb 1990
Mohamed Said Mohamed Ghes	Feb 1990–1991

MINISTERS OF PORTS AND MARINE TRANSPORT

Abdalla Mohamed Fadil	1977–1978
Mohmoud Gelle Yusuf	1978–1982
Abdisalam Sheikh Hussein	1982–1984
Mohmoud Gelle Yusuf	1984–1987
Mohmoud Gelle Yusuf	1989–1990

MINISTER OF FISHERY AND MARINE RESOURCES

Aden Mohamed Ali	Feb–Dec 1987
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MINISTERS OF MARINE TRANSPORT AND PORTS AND FISHERY

Aden Mohamed Ali	Dec 1987–Apr 1989
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MINISTERS OF LAND AND AIR TRANSPORTATION

Mohamed Burale Ismail	1977–1978
Kenadid Ahmed Yusuf	1978–1982
Jama Mohamed Qalib	1982–1984
Jama Gaas Ma'awie	1984–1989
Muse Rabile Ghod	1989–1990
Mohamed Sheikh Osman Jawari	Feb–Sept 1990
Abdullahi Mohamed Hiram	Sept 1990–Jan 1991

MINISTERS OF MINING

Haji Muse Samatar	May–Oct 1969
Mohamed Buraleh Ismail	1969–1974
Hussein Abdulkadir Kassim	1974–1977

MINISTERS OF MINING AND WATER DEVELOPMENT

Hussein Abdulkadir Kassim	1977–1982
Ahmed Mohamoud Farah	1982–1987
Abdullahi Mohamed Ashari	1987–1989
Mire Aware Jama	1989–1990
Abdirisak Ali Eloi	1990–1991

MINISTERS OF NATIONAL PLANNING

Ali Omar Shego	1964–1966
Abdullahi Mohamed Qablan	1967–1969
Michael Mariano	May–Oct 1969
Ahmed Mohamed Mohamud Silanyo	1969–1973
Ibrahim Megag Samatar	1973–1974
Ahmed Habib Ahmed	1980–1982
Ahmed Soleiman Abadalla	1982–1984
Mohamed Hawadle Madar	1984–1985
Hussein Kulmie Afrah	1985–1987

MINISTERS OF NATIONAL PLANNING AND JUBA VALLEY

Ahmed Habib Ahmed	1987–1989
Hussein Kulmie Afrah	1989–1990
Mohamed Godah Barre	Feb–Sept 1990
Abdirahman Abdulle Osman “Shuke”	Sept 1990–1991

MINISTER OF JUBA VALLEY DEVELOPMENT

Ahmed Habib Ahmed	1982–1987
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MINISTERS OF LABOR AND SPORTS

Muse Rabile Ghod	1971–1973
Abdiasis Nur Hersi	1973–1974
Aden Mohamed Ali	1974–1976
Farah Wa'ais Dule	1976–1977

Mire Aware Jama	1985–Dec 1987
Abdi Warsame Issaq	1982–1984

MINISTERS OF LABOR AND SOCIAL AFFAIRS

Sheikh Ali Jimale Barale (Only social affairs)	1956–1962
Jama Mohamed Qalib	1977–1978
Mohamed Burale Ismail	1978–1982
Abdi Warsame Issak	1982–1984
Abdikassim Salad Hassan	1984–1985
Ahmed Jama Abdulle “Jangali”	1985–1987
Abdi Warsame Issak	1989–1990

MINISTER OF LABOR

Hohamed Sheikh Osman Jawari	Sept 1990–1991
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MINISTERS OF SPORTS

Farah Wa’ais Dule	1977–1978
Abdikassim Salad Hassan	1978–1980

MINISTERS OF YOUTH AND SPORTS

Mire Aware Jama	1980–Feb 1985
Mire Aware Jama	Dec 1987–1989

MINISTERS OF TOURISM

Mohamed Omar Jees	1973–1974
Jama Rabile Ghod	1974–1980
Mohamed Omar Jees	1980–1982
Yusuf Ahmed Salhan	1982–1984
Mohamud Saeed Mohamed “G’amey”	1984–1987
Abdirashid Sheikh Ahmed	Apr 1989–Feb 1990

MINISTER OF TOURISM AND STATE HOTELS

Mohamed Omar Jeess

Feb–Dec 1987

MINISTERS OF SOMALI AFFAIRS

Osman Mohamud Ibrahim

1960–1964

Sheikh Mohamud Mohamed Farah

1964–1967

Mohamed Sheikh Yusuf “Derbi”

1967–1969

Hared Farah Nur

May–Oct 1969

MINISTERS OF LOCAL GOVERNMENTS AND RURAL DEVELOPMENT

Abdirazak Mohamud Abubakar

1977–1978

Jama Mohamed Qalib

1978–1982

Ahmed Jama Abdulle “Jangali”

1982–1984

Appendix B: Political Factions

1. RRA: Reewin Resistance Army
2. SAMO: Somali African Muki Organization
3. SDA: Somali Democratic Alliance
4. SDM/Asali: Somali Democratic Movement
5. SDM/Bonka: Somali Democratic Movement
6. SDU: Somali Democratic Union
7. SNA: Somali National Alliance (initially composed of four splinter factions)
8. SNDU: Somali National Democratic Union
9. SNF: Somali National Front
10. SNM: Somali National Movement
11. SNU: Somali National Union
12. SPM: Somali Patriotic Movement
13. SSA: Somali Salvation Alliance (initially composed of 12 splinter factions)
14. SSDF: Somali Salvation Democratic Front
15. SSNM: Southern Somali National Movement
16. USC: United Somali Congress
17. USF: United Somali Front
18. USP: United Somali Party
19. USR: United Somali Roots
20. PM: Peace Movement (SSA)
21. Uj./USC: Ujeejeen

Each faction was allied with either the Somali Salvation Alliance (SSA) or the Somali National Alliance (SNA), with the exception of a few such as SNM, SDM/Bonka, and RRA. Some factions, such as SPM/SNA and SPM/SSA, were members of both.

Appendix C: Members of the Supreme Revolutionary Council (SRC), 1969

1. Mohamed Siad Barre
2. Jama Ali Qorshel
3. Mohamed Ainanshe
4. Hussein Kulmiye Afrah
5. Ahmed Mohamud Adde “Qorweyne”
6. Mohamed Ali Samatar
7. Salad Gabeere Kedie
8. Abdalla Mohamed Fadil
9. Ali Matan Hashi
10. Mohamud Mire Musa
11. Mohamed Sheikh Osman
12. Ismail Ali Abokor
13. Mohamed Ali Shire
14. Ahmad Suleiman Abdalla “Dafle”
15. Mohamud Gelle Yusuf
16. Farah Wa’ais Dulle
17. Musa Rabile Ghod
18. Ahmed Mohamud “Lahwas”
19. Ahmed Hassan Muse
20. Mohamed Omar Jess
21. Osman Mohamud Jeelle
22. Mohamed Yusuf Elmi
23. Abdi Warsame Issak
24. Abdirizak Mohamud Abubakar
25. Abdulkadir Haji Masalle

Bibliography

Research about Somalia has always been a challenge, for Somalia is an oral society. The scholar must gather sometimes unreliable, incomplete, and poorly transcribed oral materials. None of Somalia's languages had a script until 1972, when Af-Mahaa was adopted as the national language with a modified Latin script. In addition, readers interested in Somali studies need to know more than one European language, for the British, the Italians, and the French all colonized Somalia. Moreover, Somalis in the Horn live under Ethiopian and Kenyan administrations; thus, Amharic and Ki-Swahili are also useful. Furthermore, Arabic was the language of education, government, and trade throughout the Islamic era. Somali studies became more confused in the postindependence period, because scholarship was influenced by pan-Somali ideology to emphasize homogeneity and neglect or even repress materials that disclosed cultural diversity and pluralism in the society. The civil war of the 1980s and the collapse of the state in 1991 severely obstructed scholarly work. The destruction of Somali archives, libraries, museums, and ancient monuments means some important sources have been permanently lost.

This bibliography offers users an overview of Somali studies. Although most postindependence sources are in English, useful materials appear in Arabic, Italian, French, German, and Af-Mahaa Somali that may be found in the "Bibliographies and Reference Works" section of this bibliography. Some of the more useful general bibliographies are *Somalia* (1976), by Mohamed Khalif Salad, and *Somalia*, World Bibliographical Series, vol. 92, compiled by Mark W. DeLancey et al. (1988). Walter Clarke's *Humanitarian Intervention in Somalia* (1995) is very important for the Somali civil war and international intervention. Readers interested in Somali history may start with the proceedings of the first three meetings of the International Congress of Somali Studies, the first of which was edited by Hussein Adam and Charles Gishekter (1992), the second of which (in four volumes) was edited by Thomas Labahn (1984), and the third edited by Annarita Puglielli (1988). Later volumes in the series are *Mending Rips in the Sky: Options for Somali Communities in the 21st Century*, edited by Hussein Adam and Richard Ford (1997), and *Variations on the Theme of Somaliness*, edited by Suzanne Lilus Muddle (2001). Each of these volumes

has a section on history. Lee Cassanelli's *The Shaping of Somali Society: Reconstructing the History of a Pastoral People, 1600–1900* (1982) is a solid overview of precolonial Somalia.

The most important items dealing with government are *Clan, Sub-clan and Regional Representation in the Somali Government Organization 1960–1990: Statistical Data and Findings* (1998), by Aves O. Hagi and Abdiwahid O. Hagi; *The Struggle for Land in Southern Somalia: The War behind the War* (1996), edited by Catherine Besteman and Lee Cassanelli; *The Invention of Somalia* (1995), edited by Ali Jimale Ahmed; *The Somali Challenge: From Catastrophe to Renewal?* (1994), edited by Ahmed Samatar; and *The Fallen State: Dissonance, Dictatorship and Death in Somalia* (1997), by Alice Hashim.

For human rights, publications by Human Rights Watch and Amnesty International are very important. John Prendergast's *The Bones of Our Children Are Not Yet Buried: The Looming Spectre of Famine and Massive Human Rights Abuse in Somalia* (1994), contains useful information. On international intervention in the 1990s, the United Nations publications and the U.S. government publications are especially valuable. On peacekeeping, John Hirsch and Robert Oakley's *Somalia and Operation Restore Hope: Reflections on Peacemaking and Peacekeeping* (1995), Walter Clarke and Jeffrey Herbst's *Learning From Somalia: The Lessons of Armed Humanitarian Intervention* (1997), Michael Kelly's *Peace Operations: Tackling the Military, Legal and Policy Challenges* (1997), and Mohamed Sahnoun's *Somalia: The Missed Opportunities* (1994) are based on eyewitness accounts. Oakley was President George H. W. Bush's and President Bill Clinton's special envoy to Somalia, Kelly was an operations law officer with the Australian Contingent in Somalia, Clark was an American Foreign Service officer in both Somalia and Djibouti, and Sahnoun was the UN secretary-general's special envoy to Somalia.

As for the crisis of identity and cultural issues, Catherine Besteman's *Unravelling Somalia: Race, Violence, and the Legacy of Slavery* (1999), Virginia Luling's *Somali Sultanate: The Geledi City-State over 150 Years* (2002), and Ioan Lewis's *Blood and Bone: The Call of Kinship in Somali Society* (1994) are the pioneering studies in English.

In language and literature, Muse H. Isma'il Galaal (d. 1980), Mustafa Sheikh Hassan (d. 1983), Yasin Isman Keenadiid (d. 1989), Shire Jama (d. 1989), and B. W. Andrzejewski (d. 1994) were the doyens of the field. David Laitin's *Politics, Language, and Thought: The Somali Experience* (1977), John Ibrahim Saeed's *Syntax of Focus and Topic in Somali* (1984), John Johnson's *Heellooy Heelleellooy: The Development of the Genre Heello in Modern Somali Poetry* (1974), and Ali Jimale Ahmed's *Daybreak Is Near: Literature, Clans and the Nation State in Somalia* (1996) are indispensable. The two most

important dictionaries are Awil Ali Hashi's *Essential English Somali Dictionary* (1993) and Salim Alio Ibro's *English-Jiddu-Somali Mini Dictionary* (1998). Nuruddin Farah, winner of the Neustadt Prize for Literature in 1998, is the author of several novels, including *From a Crooked Rib*, *Sardines*, *Maps, Gifts*, and *Secret*. His work has been translated into more than a dozen languages. *Yesterday, Tomorrow: Voices from the Somali Diaspora* (2000) is his latest publication.

The most notable works on economics in English are those by Garth Massey (1987), Abdi Samatar (1989), and Jamil Mubarak (1996). Reports by ministries and agencies of the Somali government, United Nations specialized agencies, the World Bank, and the International Monetary Fund are also essential.

Various archives are essential, as well. The Archivio Storico del ex-Ministero dell'Africa Italiana contains important documents from the Italian colonial period. The documents are kept in the Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Rome. The Public Record Office, at both the Kew and Chancery Lane branches in London, holds original correspondence, particularly in the files in the Colonial Office, the War Office, the Foreign Office, and the India Office. The Centre des Archives d'Outre-Mer in Aix-en-Provence and the Archives du Ministère des Affaires Étrangères in Paris maintain similar colonial correspondence. Dar al-Kutub al-Misriyyah, the Egyptian Archives, holds useful documents on Egyptian-Somali relations dating from Pharaonic times. In Wathaiq al-Qal'a, Cairo, there are also documents on the Ottomans in the Horn and the Red Sea region.

Readers interested in current Somali affairs should consult the scholarly journals *Horn of Africa*, *Review of African Political Economy*, *Journal of Modern African Studies*, and *Middle East Report*. The Library of Congress in Washington, D.C., holds not only major Somali journals and periodicals but also some dailies and selected articles, documents, and pamphlets. There are no official publications from Somalia since the collapse of the state; however, the diaspora community publishes books and magazines, mainly in Af-Mahaa, especially with the Darwiish Publishing House in Denmark and Horn Heritage Publications in London, but also in the language of the diaspora's host countries: Finnish, Danish, Swedish, Italian, German, French, and English. Haan Publishers issues books in English and reprints valuable out-of-print resources. The annual *Bildhaan*, published by Macalester College in St. Paul, Minnesota, and the quarterly *Demenedung*, published by the Inter-Riverine Studies Association in Savannah, Georgia, are also useful.

Web sites such as <arlaadi.com>, <banadir.co>, <makhir.com>, <somaliland.net>, and <waaberi.com> are useful. There are many business sites, such as <hornAfrik.com>, <dahabshiil.com> and amal express. Education sites include <somaliaedu.com/muniv.htm> for Mogadishu University, <university-ofhargeisa.org> for University of Hargeisa, and <somalistudents.com>, which

links all Somali student associations in the world. Some Somali newspapers (dailies) are also on line, among which are *Qaran* from Mogadishu, *Jamhuriya* from Hargeisa, and *Dhambaal* from Toronto.

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