



The Horn of Africa: From Conflict to Regional Integration through Conflict Resolution

- Youth Voices in Diaspora and HOA Regional Issues
- Fishbowl Discussion on Ethiopia's Leadership Transition
- Somalia's Political Transition
- HOA Regional Perspectives and Possible Economic Integration
- Regional Politics and the Role of the Diaspora

IHASA 2012 Conference

September 28-29, 2012

University Of Minnesota

Human Rights Center

Mondale Hall, Room 25 (Law School)

229 19th Street S, MPLS, MN

Friday, September 28th 3pm to 8pm

Saturday, September 29th 2pm to 8pm

Program

DAY AND TIME	THEME AND FACILITATOR	TOPIC	SPEAKER
FRIAY September 28,2012			
3:15 -3:30	Formal opening by University of Minnesota Human Rights Center and IHASA	Opening Remarks by Co-Sponsoring organizations: University of MN, Human Rights Center and IHASA	Patrick Finnegan, Assistant Director for Development & Research, University of Minnesota Human Rights Center Hamse Warfa, Executive Director, IHASA
		About IHASA	Sadio Abdullahi, Communications Director, IHASA
3:30-4:30	Opening Keynote address	US Policy Towards Somalia	Ms. Pamela Fierst, Senior Somalia Desk officer, US State Department
4:30-4:45	Break & Asar Prayer		
4:45-5:15	<u>Panel-I</u> Fishbowl Discussion on Ethiopia's Leadership Transition Moderator: Sadiq Abdirahman	Ethiopia's Leadership Transition	Dr. Terrence Lyons Mr. Roble Faisal, Ms. Fowsia Abdulkadir
5:15-6:00	<u>Panel - II:</u> Youth Voices in Diaspora and HOA Regional Issues Moderator: Hodan	Youth voices in Diaspora and Regional Affairs	Mr. John Hassan, M.A., Community Activist Ms. Hinda Ulusow, Community Organizer, Somali Action Alliance Mr. Osman Ahmed,



	Hassan		Community Organizer
6:00-7:00	Keynote Address: Moderator: Hamse Warfa	US Policy towards the Horn of Africa (regional context)	Ambassador Herman J. Cohen Former Assistance Secretary for African Affairs, US State Department
7:00-7:15	summary of translation in Somali		
7:15-7:30	Maghrib Prayer and adjourned for Friday session		

SATURDAY, September 29, 2012	THEME AND FACILITATOR	TOPIC	SPEAKER
2:30-3:30	Panel-I <i>Role of the Diaspora in Regional Politics</i> Moderator: Idris Abdi	Regional Politics and the Roles of the Diaspora	Professor Abdirizak M. Warfa Dr. Terence Lyons Mr. Mohamoud Geldon
3:30-4:30	Panel-II <i>Ethiopia's Leadership Transition</i> Moderator: Fowsia Abdulkadir	Ethiopia's Leadership Transition	Dr. Asfaw Beyene, Mr. Sadiq Abdirahman
4:30-4:45	Break/Asar Prayer		
4:45-5:45	Panel-III <i>HOA Regional Perspective and potential Economic integration</i> Moderator: Hamse Warfa	HOA regional perspectives	Dr. Ken Menkhaus Mr. Faisal Roble Mr. Chic Dambach



5:45-6:45	Panel-V <i>Somalia's Transition</i> Moderator: Zainab Hassan	Somalia's Political Transition	Ms. Fowsia Abdulkadir, Professor Abdiwahid Qalinle Dr. Ken Menkhaus Mr. Mohamed Duale
6:45-7:00	Community Awards		Presenters: Nur Abshir, Mustaf Hassan, Mohamed Yarow.
7:00-7:15	Summary of Translation in Somali		
7:00-7:15	Conference ADJOURNED		



Institute for Horn of Africa Studies and Affairs (IHASA):

Institute for Horn of Africa Studies and Affairs (IHASA) is a 501c3 national non-profit organization whose mission is to research and disseminate information on the political and socio-political, economic and justice issues affecting the people in the Horn of Africa and in the Diaspora communities. IHASA promotes peace, justice, equality, development and supports policies and actions that contribute to the advancement of good governance and the elimination of conflicts in the Horn of Africa.

IHASA strongly believes that the people of the Horn of Africa, given the opportunities necessary, are productive and the region is very dynamic and resourceful. IHASA believes that the necessary opportunities can be attained through peace, justice, and mutual development as a way of life.

Contact us at info@ihasa.org or 619 788 2916.



Speaker Biographies

Pamela Fierst is the Senior Somalia Desk Officer at the U.S. Department of State in the Bureau of African Affairs, where she has spent her career engaged in U.S. policy in the Horn of Africa. In her current capacity, she advises and supports senior policy makers on the development and implementation of U.S. policy in Somalia. Pamela and her team cover a wide range of issues on Somalia, including the political transition, security sector issues, and humanitarian and stabilization efforts. Prior to covering Somalia, Pamela was the Deputy Director (acting) for the Office of the Special Envoy to Sudan (S/USSES). She spent almost five years working on U.S. policy in Sudan prior to South Sudan's secession in 2011. Pamela is a graduate of Indiana University's Mauer School of Law and a former Presidential Management Fellow. She is a 2012 graduate of the National Defense University's National War College where she earned a Master's of Science in National Security Studies.

Herman J. Cohen is retired career diplomat and specialist in African and European affairs, Ambassador (ret.) Herman J. Cohen is President of Cohen and Woods International. Established in 1998, the consulting firm provides strategic planning services to African governments, and multinational corporations doing business in Africa.

Mr. Cohen retired from the US Foreign Service in November 1993. His last position prior to retirement was Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs under President George H. W. Bush (1989-1993). During his 38-year career with the U.S. Foreign Service, he served in five African countries and twice in France. He was the American Ambassador to Senegal, with dual accreditation to the Gambia, from 1977 to 1980. He was Chief of Mission (Chargé d'affaires a.i.) for 14 months in Zaire (Congo) in 1968. He also served in Uganda, Zimbabwe, and Zambia.

During assignments in Washington, Mr. Cohen also served as Special Assistant to President Reagan and Senior Director for Africa, on the NSC staff (1987-89), Principal Deputy Assistant Secretary for Intelligence and Research (1980 to 1984), and Principal Deputy Assistant Secretary for Personnel (1984 to 1987).

From 1993 to 1998, under contract to the World Bank, Mr. Cohen was a Senior Advisor to the Global Coalition for Africa, an intergovernmental policy forum that worked to achieve consensus between donor and African governments on economic policy and good governance.

From 1996 to 2010, Mr. Cohen visited Libya eight times as a private citizen for consultations on US-Libyan relations with Libyan government officials. He was one of the founders of the Libya-US Dialogue organized by civil society organizations in both countries, and later sponsored by Chatham House in the UK as the Libya-US-UK dialogue. He played a role in the normalization of relations between Libya and the international community in 2002 acting as a private citizen. He lectured on US-Africa relations at the Academy of Higher Studies in Tripoli in 2010, and has advised both the United States Corporate Council on Africa, and the United States Chamber of Commerce about doing business in Libya.



Mr. Cohen's honors and awards include the French Legion of Honor, the Belgian Order of Leopold II, the US Foreign Service distinction of Career Ambassador, and the Townsend Harris Distinguished Alumni Award of the City College of New York. He is a member of the Council on Foreign Relations and the American Academy of Diplomacy.

A first generation American raised in New York City, Mr. Cohen received a Bachelor of Arts degree in political science from the City College of New York (1953) and completed work for a Master of Arts degree in international relations from the American University (1962). Mr. Cohen is the author of a book on conflict resolution in Africa entitled *Intervening in Africa: Superpower Peacemaking in a Troubled Continent* (Published by Palgrave/St. Martin's Press in September, 2000). This book won the annual award for distinguished writing on diplomatic practice for the year 2000 conferred by the American Academy of Diplomacy.

Hamse Warfa recently joined Margaret A. Cargill Philanthropies, the third largest philanthropic foundation in the US. The Margaret A. Cargill Philanthropies serves as the umbrella over three grant making organizations founded by Margaret A. Cargill, all with a common vision: To provide meaningful assistance and support to society, the arts, the environment and all living things. Hamse works closely with the Vice President of Programs, Trustees and other Foundation staff on development and implementation of large and small strategic grant opportunities. Prior to joining MAC Philanthropies, Hamse served as Senior Program Officer at Alliance Healthcare Foundation, a San Diego-based foundation working to improve access to healthcare for the underserved communities. Before joining Alliance Healthcare Foundation, Hamse spent eight years as Associate Executive Director for Horn of Africa, where he was responsible for all programs and organizational policies, including the hiring, training and support of staff. He also worked at Nonprofits Management Solutions as a lead facilitator in community discussions on health (care) and healthcare reform.

Hamse Warfa was born in Somalia. He moved with his family to the United States in 1994, after escaping Somalia's civil war and spending almost three years living in a refugee camp in Kenya. He continues his affiliation with Horn of Africa region as a founding Executive Director of the Institute for Horn of Africa Studies and Affairs (IHASA), a think-tank that promotes conflict resolution and peace building in order to eliminate the persistent violence in the Horn of Africa region.

Hamse is currently working on his PhD in Leadership Studies. His educational accomplishments include an undergraduate degree in political science from San Diego State, a Master of Science in organizational management and leadership from Springfield College and graduate-level certificates on the Foundations of Conflict Analysis and Preventing Deadly World Conflicts from the United States Institute of Peace, a congressionally funded institution that works to prevent



and end conflicts. Hamse is regularly called upon as an expert to brief members of congress and to educate policymakers.

From 2006 to January 2010, Hamse was the chairperson for the San Diego Refugee Forum, a professional association serving people fleeing violence and persecution. In 2009, San Diego Metropolitan Magazine selected Hamse as one of 40 of San Diego's outstanding young business and civic leaders' awards. In 2010, San Diego's Channel10, an ABC NEWS affiliate, presented Hamse with its 2010 Leadership Award. Hamse's personal story was also included in the book, 'The TRY: Reclaiming the American Dream.' The book contains a dozen true stories of ordinary people who've overcome adversity and have done extraordinary things across varied fields of endeavour.

Mr. Sadiq Abdirahman is a Systems Engineer and a Human Rights activist. He has a Bachelor's degree from Metropolitan State University and two Masters Degrees, Master of Software Systems and M.A. in International Leadership from University of St. Thomas. Mr. Abdirahman has applied to a Ph.D. Program in Political Science at University of South Dakota. He hopes to focus on his research in the areas of International Relations, Diplomacy, and Third World Development. Mr. Abdirahman brings significant leadership roles in number of organizations. He served as the vice chairman of the Horn Institute for Peace and Social Justice, an organization that was established to promote peace and social justice in the Horn of Africa. He is currently the Institute for Horn of Africa Studies and Affairs' country director for Somalia and a board member. He has worked hard to bring the plight of the entire Somali people in the Horn of Africa to the attention of the international community and the world media. He has participated in numerous forums as a guest speaker and has given interviews to local and foreign media regarding the human rights abuses taking place in the Horn of Africa, particularly focusing on Somalia and Ethiopia. Mr. Abdirahman has worked tirelessly with Minnesota congressional representatives to bring these violations to the attention of the United Nations, where it can be shared and addressed by all member States. Mr. Abdirahman has a long history of activism and community organizing. The multiple projects he has worked reflect on his commitment to peace and social justice to reign in the Horn of Africa.

Dr. Ken Menkhaus is professor of Political Science at Davidson College, where he has taught since 1991. He received his Ph.D. in International Studies in 1989 from the University of South Carolina, where he was awarded a Fulbright Scholarship for dissertation research on southern Somalia. His subsequent specialization on the Horn of Africa has focused primarily on development, conflict analysis, peace operations, state failure, state-building, and political Islam, involving both academic research and policy work. He taught for two years at the American University in Cairo Egypt from 1989 to 1991. In 1993-94, he served as special political advisor in the UN Operation in Somalia, was a visiting civilian professor at the US Army Peacekeeping Institute in 1994-95, and was awarded a visiting scholar position at the US Army Strategic Studies Institute in 2011-12. In 2004 he was awarded a US Institute of Peace grant for research on armed conflict in the Horn of Africa. He regularly serves as a consultant for the UN, US government, non-governmental organizations, and policy research institutes, and has



provided expert testimony on five occasions before Congressional subcommittees. Menkhaus is author of over fifty articles, book chapters, and monographs, including *Somalia: State Collapse and the Threat of Terrorism* (2004), "Governance without Government in Somalia" in *International Security* (2007), and "State Fragility as Wicked Problem" in *PRISM* (2010). He has been interviewed on BBC, CNN, FOX, Al Jazeera, NPR's *All Things Considered*, the *Voice of America*, the *Diane Rehm Show*, MSNBC's *Hardball with Chris Matthews*, and other media. Menkhaus also has a professional and teaching interest in philanthropy and the non-profit sector, and developed a course and grant-giving exercise on that topic which is supported by a \$100,000 grant from Ms. Doris Buffet's "Learning by Giving" foundation.

Terrence Lyons is Associate Professor at the School for Conflict Analysis and Resolution, and co-director of the Center for Global Studies at George Mason University. His publications include: *Politics from Afar: Transnational Diasporas and Networks* (2012, co-editor); "Conflict-Generated Diasporas and Transnational Politics in Ethiopia," (2007); *Avoiding Conflict in the Horn of Africa: U.S. Policy toward Ethiopia and Eritrea* (2006); *Demilitarizing Politics: Elections on the Uncertain Road to Peace* (2005). He has also written numerous articles in a range of journals and policy-oriented publications and has served as senior program adviser to Carter Center's projects in post-conflict Liberia (1997) and Ethiopia (2005).

Patrick Finnegan is the Assistant Director for Development and Research at the University of Minnesota Human Rights Center. He manages the Center's grant and report writing, engages in fundraising, assists in financial management and strategic planning, and conducts research and writing on substantive human rights issues. Patrick has been involved with the Human Rights Center since 2002, starting as an intern, then serving as a student employee, then as a regular staff member. He obtained his B.A. in Global Studies (with minors in History and French) from the University of Minnesota and his Masters of Public Policy (with a graduate Human Rights Minor) from the University's Humphrey School of Public Affairs.

Patrick serves as a researcher for ProRights, a human rights consulting organization based in Kenya and the U.S. He is also a volunteer translator and interpreter (English-French) for the Advocates for Human Rights, receiving a 2009 Volunteer of the Year Award from that organization. Patrick has been a volunteer for Minnesotans United for All Families, engaging in community outreach on issues of marriage equality and LGBT rights, as well as a board member for the Oromo-American Citizens Council (OACC).

Ms. Fowsia Abdulkadir, is an independent researcher and human rights activist. In the international context, Ms. Abdulkadir's research interests include gender-based analysis and gender mainstreaming as well as the role of women in governance, democratization, and conflict resolution in the Horn of Africa. In the national context, her research interests are in Canadian social policy analysis, particularly focusing on program and policy evaluation and public sector accountability issues. Also, as an independent researcher, Ms. Abdulkadir has been researching immigrant and refugee women's settlement issues, particularly exploring how



these women re-negotiate their social identities in the context of intersecting issues of ethnicity, gender, and race. Ms. Abdulkadir has conducted extensive research in the areas of cross-cultural parenting, human rights, and immigrant and refugee settlement issues. Ms. Abdulkadir currently works as a Program Evaluation & Performance Measurement Analyst at the Public Health Agency of Canada. As Human Rights Activist, in October 2007, Ms. Abdulkadir gave testimony to the United States House of Representatives Subcommittee on African Affairs on the humanitarian tragedy in the Ogaden and the current Ethiopian Government's human rights record. Ms. Abdulkadir has an MSW in social work with a concentration in Canadian Public Policy and a BSW from Carleton University in Canada. As well, Ms. Abdulkadir has earned a graduate Certificate of Teaching English as Second Language (C.T.E.S.L), from Carleton University; and a BA in Economics from Aligarh University in India.

Abdulwahid Qalinle has served as an Adjunct Associate Professor at the University of Minnesota Law School since 2004. He is an expert in the areas of Comparative Constitutional Law, Islamic law, International Law, and the Rule of Law. Qalinle received advanced degrees in law from the International Islamic University in Islamabad, Pakistan, and from the University of Minnesota Law School. Prior to his studies in law, he was a researcher at the Islamic Research Institute, a leading Islamabad-based think-tank. Qalinle currently teaches Islamic Law at the University of Minnesota Law School. He also works at Metro Law Group, PA, a Minneapolis-based law firm.

Qalinle was the founding Chair of the Somaliland Law Reform Commission, focusing on rebuilding the Rule of Law and Transitional Justice in post-conflict environments. He also served as Quest Professor, working under the auspices of the United Nations Development Program in Hargeisa, Somalia, where he gave in-class lectures in law courses and undertook curriculum and staff development training with the Faculty of Law & Legal Clinic at Hargeisa University and Amoud University in Somalia. Abdulwahid was recently appointed by the Government of Somalia to be a member of National Select Technical Committee overseeing the approval of the new Constitution by the National Constituent Assembly, and facilitating the appointment of members of the New Somali Parliament. Qalinle is a leading authority on the merger of Islamic law and the Anglo-Saxon Legal System, a frequent guest speaker at universities and colleges and a commentator with local and international media outlets such as BBC, VOA, Minnesota Public Radio, the Minneapolis-based Star Tribune, and the Associated Press, among others. Qalinle sits on the Boards of several organizations in Minnesota. He lives in Minneapolis with his family.

John Hassan was born in Muqdishu, Somalia. He came to the United States after fleeing the civil war in Somalia. He is a community activist and has been very involved in community organizing activities in particular the Ogaden Issue. He is a board member of the Ogaden Youth Student Union (OYSU) and serves as an advocate for peace and justice and mobilizes the community for actions that contribute to the advancement of human rights in the Horn of Africa. Mr. Hassan holds a BA in Public Relations from Metropolitan State University and a Master of Arts in Healthcare and Human Services Administration from Saint Mary's University of Minnesota. Currently he works for the Hopkins Public Schools as a Service Coordinator.



Dr. Asfaw Beyene is a Prof. of mechanical engineering at San Diego State University. He is also Director of the Energy Center, and graduate advisor in the same department. He has published widely in the Energy systems and renewable energy. He has secured about \$50r research grant from various agencies including the National Science Foundation, Department of Energy, and California Energy Commission. One of his newly proposed technologies, the morphing blade, has been featured as a “powerful idea” by the US News. Dr Beyene is also active in the Oromo Studies Association, and has served both as the President and Board Chair.

Dr. Charles F. (Chic) Dambach is Chief of Staff for Congressman Garamendi. He was the President and CEO of the Alliance for Peace building since November 2005. AFP is a network of private and public organizations dedicated to build sustainable peace and security worldwide. The organization facilitates collaboration and coordination among conflict prevention and resolution professionals, civil society, international organizations, and government agencies. Previous national CEO positions include the National Peace Corps Association, Operation Respect, and National Assembly of Local Arts Agencies (now Americans for the Arts). He is also a writer, lecturer and consultant on nonprofit governance. He is the North American representative to the Global Partnership for the Prevention of Armed Conflict, board chair for the Coalition for American Leadership Abroad (COLEAD), and a member of the board of the J. William and Harriet Fulbright Center. In addition, he serves on the board of City Lit Project in Baltimore. In 1998 Chic helped form and lead a team of returned Peace Corps Volunteers to work informally with the leaders of Eritrea and Ethiopia to help end their border war. The team also facilitated joint meetings among the leaders of the combatants in the Congo civil war and participated in the Inter-Congolese Dialogue leading to the formation of a coalition government and the election of the official government. In addition, he served as an official in the 1988, 1992 and 1996 Olympic Games. He was named the Distinguished Alumnus in 2004 by the Oklahoma State University College of Arts and Sciences, and he received the International Platform Association’s Global Coalition Peace Award in 2001. He was inducted into the Worthington (Ohio) Schools Hall of Fame in 2007.

Mustafa Hassan received his first Degree from Addis Ababa University 1993. He has been in public service for the past 12 years. Mustafa briefly worked in the Somali regional administration in the Degah Bur Zone. He moved to Australia to continue his education. In 1998, Mustafa completed his Master of Business in Public Administration from VUT in Melbourne, Australia. He relocated to the United States 1999. In 2001 he joined Ametek Company where he assumed a supervisory position in the Company’s Human resources management and served in that position for over two years. Mustafa was granted a teaching license from the Minnesota Department of Education and served as a teacher in Minneapolis Public schools District one since 2005. In 2006 he was hired by Pillsbury United Community Affiliate CSCM where he served in the capacity of Senior Employment Counselor helping new refugees adjust their lives in the United States. Mustafa was one of the founders of African Immigrants Community where he is now serving as the Chief Executive Officer of the organization. In this capacity, he is responsible for implementation of policies set by the Board of Directors as well as annual goals, objectives, financial matters, programs and management of



the corporation. Guidance and direction is provided by the Chairman of the Board and its Executive Committee. Mustafa is an active member of the community striving for the positive change of the community. Mustafa is a Researched and board member for The Institute for Horn of Africa Studies and Affairs.

Mr. Abdirizak Mohamed is assistant professor at Metropolitan State University in St Paul, Minnesota. Prof. Abdirizak holds undergraduate and graduate degrees from the University of California San Diego (UCSD) and University of Washington Seattle (UW Seattle). An independent researcher and writer of the Ogaden issues, Abdirizak is concerned with the plight of the Ogaden people, human rights issues in the horn of Africa, as well as education, good governance, and the use of science to uncover human rights violations in the horn of Africa.

Zainab M. Hassan has been a Program Officer for The Minneapolis Foundation (TMF) in the past five years. Currently, she serves as the primary contact for grantees and grant seekers under the Foundation's strategic focus areas of Transform Education and Building Social Capital of the community grant making. Zainab also represents TMF's interests to public and private agencies, donor, funding partners and the community at large. In that regards, she serves as key staff on two major donor advised funds and manages one field of interest fund, and supports donors interested in accessing information and need consultation on grant making. In addition, she conducts research and analysis on current issues and topics, links opportunities in the nonprofit community with the resources of the foundations, and provides oversight for evaluation. Previously, she worked as director of projects, researcher, program evaluator, and consultant for foundations, international organizations, and local nonprofits. She also worked as Cultural Services Coordinator for Metropolitan Health Plan (Hennepin County).

As a member of the African diaspora philanthropy, Zainab is a member of the African Women's Development Fund USA Minnesota Network, and Pan-African Women's Philanthropy Network Founding Member. Zainab is also an active member of the Somali diaspora civil society and have participated in many local, national, and international forums about philanthropy, good governance, security, peace building, human rights, social and environmental justice, and gender equity. From 2003 to 2005, Zainab was the chairwomen of Pan Somali Council for peace and Democracy known as Israaca (the largest organization for Somali intellectuals in the Diaspora at the time). Currently, she serves several advisory boards and committees for local, national and international organizations. Academically, Zainab holds a Masters of Public Affairs (MPA) from the Hubert H. Humphrey Institute of Public Affairs, University of Minnesota, and was awarded the Best Individual Masters of Public Affairs Paper for the 2006 graduating class. She also graduated with honors from Old Dominion University in Norfolk, Virginia earning a B.S. in Environmental Health with a minor in Chemistry. She also earned a Certificate in Program Evaluation from the College of Education and Human Development, University of Minnesota. Currently, Zainab is participating in the James P. Shannon Leadership Institute program, and was the recipient of several fellowships notably the Otto Bremer Foundation's Graduate Fellowship on Philanthropy and Human Rights; the Upper Midwest Human Rights Fellowship; and The Funders' Network for Smart Growth and Livable Communities' PLACES Fellowship.



Mr. Horsed Nooh is IHASA's Associate Executive Director. He was born in Muqdisho, Somalia. For the past 10 years, Horsed has been one of the leading advocates for peace and justice in the Ogaden and in the entire Horn of Africa region. Horsed has completed his undergraduate degree in Biochemistry and is currently working on his Master of Science in International Studies.

Mr. Faisal A. Roble is an independent scholar, and writes about the Horn of Africa region, focusing on political conflicts. Roble received his B.A. in Human Geography from the National University of Somalia, in Mogadishu, and his two M.A. degrees from the University of California in Los Angeles (UCLA) in Afro-American Studies and in Urban and Regional Planning, respectively. Roble has written several peer-review articles, a chapter in an upcoming edited book on Somalia, and about 20 essays and opinions pieces. Roble is a former contributing editor at the Ethiopian Review and editor-in-chief of Wardheernews.com. Currently, he is a Principle Planner for the City of Los Angeles, where he worked for the last twenty years, and he is the head of the City's office for strategic and master planning where he is responsible for approximately \$2 billion projects. He is a member of African Studies Association and American Planning Association.

Sadio Abdullahi was born in Somalia and raised in the United States. She is a recent graduate from Saint Mary's University of Minnesota with a Master's in Healthcare and Human Services Administration. She obtained her Bachelors of Science from the University of Minnesota. She is the Director of Communications for the Institute for Horn of Africa Studies and Affairs (IHASA). She is currently working for Community Action Partnership of Ramsey and Washington Counties as a Family Social Worker.

Mohamed Duale is a Public policy and public health professional with more than 20 years of experience in government and non-governmental organizations including NGOs in the Horn of Africa. Mohamed helped established and led a Minnesota-based non-profit community-based organization and is a founding member of the Somali Health coalition of Minnesota. Mohamed's expertise include in Community Engagement, Facilitation & Outreach, Cultural Competency & Diversity Training, Health & Safety, Program Design, Implementation, & Evaluation of Public Policy, Advocacy, and Research.

Osman Ahmed is one of the young Somali-American leaders and youth activists in Minnesota. He has been politically involved locally and internationally and has been engaging under-represented communities into American politics since 2008. Osman has done work with local organizations such as Take Action Minnesota, HECUA, Advocates for Human Rights, and he was the youngest Wellstone Fellow in 2010.



He recently graduated from University of Minnesota with B.A in Political Science and Global Studies. He is the U.S. ambassador for Worldwide Somali Students and Professionals, a non-profit Somali students' organization. Currently, Osman is a community organizer with Keith Ellison for U.S. Congress.



Abstracts (partial list)

Professor Abdi-Rizak M. Warfa

Assistant Professor

Metropolitan State University

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Somali Diaspora: Muted Actors in Somali Conflict Resolution and Peacemaking

One of the most salient features of modern Somalia is the role diaspora communities play in the Somali political landscape. Many years after settling abroad, mainly in affluent countries of the West, members of the Somali Diaspora use their newly found social capital and acquired knowledge skills to sponsor and promote social and political development in their country of origin. Recently, many have returned to participate in the political process of government building and ran for the highest office in the land, the office of the President. Despite their increased visibility, members of the Somali Diaspora do not appear to take active role in conflict resolution and peace-building efforts. This study investigates the diverse roles that Somali Diaspora can play in the different phases of the Somali conflict, including conflict escalatory phase, peacemaking, and post-war reconstruction efforts. Recognizing that Somali Diaspora has the potential to make powerful contributions to peace and reconciliation, the study focuses on the leverage points that members of the Somali Diaspora can use for constructive intervention and the role they can play in post-TFG era.

Diasporas, Dialogue, and Conflict Resolution in the Horn of Africa

Dr. Terrence Lyons

School for Conflict Analysis and Resolution

George Mason University

Political dynamics and outcomes around the globe have been transformed by globalization, new patterns of human mobility, and the development of innovative transnational social networks. This is certainly the case in the Horn of Africa where Ethiopian diaspora support for opposition political parties is crucial and high levels of remittances from Eritrean and Somali diasporas sustain large populations. “Conflict-generated diasporas” often play roles in polarizing politics and making conflicts more difficult to resolve but they can also play key roles in peacemaking and democratization. This paper will examine the for diaspora dialogues to promote conflict resolution in the Horn of Africa and will reflect upon the Ethiopian Extended Dialogue project (2000-2003) and possibilities for dialogue processes in the future.

Dr. Ken Menkhaus

Professor, Davidson College



Abstract

Dr. Ken Menkhous, a professor of Political Science at Davison College, North Carolina, is an expert on the Horn of Africa, and has recently completed fieldwork on border area cooperation and conflict trends in the Horn for USAID. Ken would be presenting at the conference the findings of his research and some potential recommendation for moving the region and its residents from conflict conditions to one of cooperation and good governance.

Faisal Roble

Director of Research, IHASA

Abstract

Faisal Roble, Director of Research at IHASA and an editor of the Horn of Africa Journal (HOA), presents an upcoming paper that assess the centrality of the Somali question in the production of conflict and its potential for any future cooperation among the residents of the Horn of Africa Region. Mr. Roble's paper highlights the elastic and fluid nature of Somali citizenship and its pervasiveness in most of Horn of African countries. He would argue that any future cooperation and cessation of conflict in the region hinges on the political dispensation of the Somali speaking people in the coming decades.

Sadiq A. Abdirahman.

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Ethiopia: A country in Search of Peace and Leadership

Ethiopia is irked by a lack of exemplary leadership that can unite the country and establish peace, tolerance, and harmony among its diverse population. Over the past two decades, the country was ruled by a totalitarian party whose leadership had perpetuated gross human rights violations and social injustices against its own citizens. The ruling party, Tigrayan People's Liberation Front, led by Prime Minister Meles Zenawi, who recently passed away from an unspecified illness, has steadily dominated state power for personal use. He exercised control over his party, state media, military, police, security, and the Ethiopian parliament. Moreover, the Prime Minister has worked tirelessly to spread his influences over the region. Moreover, it is a common knowledge that Ethiopia's history has a significant bearing on its future. The issue of who belongs to where is something that has never been addressed. If not addressed now, the ethnic strife that exists in the country could have a potential devastation for the future. Successive Ethiopian leaders have relied on the military to safeguard the unity of the country. And at this rate, it cannot be maintained by force alone to keep the country together. The future developmental success will depend on how Ethiopia addresses its contested history and



leadership question. Ethiopia needs a morally responsible leader who can think critically, act wisely and work skillfully to advance the common good of the country.

Dr. Asfaw Beyene

San Diego State University

One of the following two options is cooking for the post-Meles Ethiopia.

Scenario 1: The TPLF will reconcile its internal differences and promote a Tigrean leader who will eventually retake over the PM's office, by way of open or stealthy control. This takeover may be gradual to calm the EPRDF constituents and also the Ethiopian civic who may contest the seemingly endless rule of Tigreans over the rest of the ethnic population. In this scenario mayhem is to be expected, - even if temporarily suppressed or postponed, unless Scenario 2 is forged on the fly, after a quick trial of Scenario 1.

Scenario 2: The TPLF will attempt to design a long-term exit. In this scenario, the incoming PM will be given a sure but gradual power in a manner that will not allow too abrupt shake up of the political and economic platforms of the EPRDF and the TPLF. The promotion of non-Tigreans in Ethiopian political hierarchy could be conceived as an ideal strategy for survival of the TPLF as a viable political class that will continue a dominant but more positive role in any emerging Ethiopian political composition, whatever the composition may be. In this scenario, a better chance for peace can be expected, despite a quick setback with new or old players is just as likely - based on developments that emerge in due course.

Most if not all other scenarios can be branded to one of these two scenarios, with more, or less intensive outcomes of either positive or negative consequences. I will discuss the conditions and equations, such as intra-EPRDF power balances, the role of opposition, political traditions, etc. that allow the staging of a more likely of the two scenarios.

Abdurezak A. Hashi, PhD

Assistance Professor

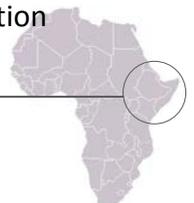
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Abstract

Constant armed conflicts, human rights violations and unhealthy foreign interventions have turned Horn of Africa, particularly the Somali inhabited neighborhoods, into a troubled region. To stabilize this strategic region, a number of attempts, some of which are political reconciliations, have been made. However, this paper argues that such conflicts are primarily due to the dominant mind-sets and attitudes of Horn of African inhabitants, which seem to deny any prospect of 'mutual respect' and 'collective success'. Thus, unless and until we are able to understand and probably reconstruct their mind-sets and attitudes, conflict resolution



in this region would indeed be impossible. This paper aims to highlight some attitudinal obstacles to conflict resolution in Horn of Africa including, among others, extreme sense of superiority as an individual, personal bravery, tribalism mind-set, and lack of win-win attitude and seeking foreign empowerment.

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Abstract

Today there is a cautious yet unmistakable optimism in Somalia over the rebuilding of the war-ravaged country following the endorsement of provisional constitution and formation of a new parliament. The end of transition, so long in anticipation, could herald new era of peace and stability in war-tired Somalia. On the other hand, there is a broad regional and international consensus that successive reconciliation conferences on Somalia produced a cycle of ineffectual transitional “governments” leaving nothing in their wake but dashed hopes, squandered goodwill and unfulfilled mandates.

For two long decades, Somalis repeatedly failed to negotiate effective and meaningful national government. In an age that is in dire need of alternative views of the future that can break with the bloody past, nothing highlights the general ineptitude of the Somalis to achieving statehood better than the utter failure of the Somali elite, both secular and religious, to pursue their own national interest defined in terms of their ability to achieve broad consensus on national purpose, strong idea of state, establish a shared socio-political vision and sound “political philosophy” for post civil war Somalia. In short, Somalis failed to rejuvenate a collective sense of national identity that would prevail upon the tribal identity and prevent the perpetuation of the inherently discriminatory and un-Islamic “4.5” formula. Alas, the Somali Diaspora, besides being an “ATM” and a vital economic lifeline, continues its role as vicarious participant of the events unfolding back in the troubled country with no ability to marshal any meaningful contribution in order to positively impact the clan-induced political stalemate.

Despite this bleak situation, however, the Somali people insist on a new political configuration that challenges the categories delimited by the clannish-minded elites, religious demagogues and the continued manipulation by the “Internationals” or “Ghost-lords” (to borrow from Bro. Abukar Arman, the fine Somali writer). Surprisingly, the citizens of Somalia have demonstrated astounding resilience and sheer will to survive and hope for a better day despite enduring decades-long brutality and disasters of all stripes. To overcome the current debacle, however, Somalia needs a new Social Contract. It is time to refound Somalia through sound principles.

This paper examines the new provisional constitution for Somalia and its impact in the post transition Somalia”



Somalia in Search of Broad-based Consensus: Transforming Clan Categories to Constitutional Constituencies

Fowsia Abdulkadir & Rahma Abdulkadir

Abstract

In Western political thought the state is defined as a legitimate political body that possesses definite territory, an active government, and the autonomous recognition of other states. In this context a legal state must have an adequate representation of its inhabitants in order to care for their interests. In the context of Somali history, it has been suggested that ethnicity or clan categorization has had a key role in the history of Somalia's political development. I. M. Lewis contends, in order to understand Somali politics one must first have a clear understanding of the clan system that has been the focal point of the politics in this part of the world as the key to Somali politics lies in kinship (Lewis, 1961). More recent works of Professor Lewis have focused on the links between Somali clan categorization (i.e. clanism) and state building in the twenty-first century underscoring the role of clanism in the Somali state throughout its history. Although, Professor Lewis paints a positive picture of the importance of kinship (i.e. an image of a pastoral egalitarian democratic Somali man); more recent analysis of the impact on Somali political history argues that it is dangerous to assert clanism – clan categorization- as a determining principle of Somali socio-political organization, (Samatar, 1995). Further, Somali political reality has not been static but rather dynamic and complex. In other words, with every historical epoch comes a new political period with emerging set of issues, for instance, pre-colonial, colonial and postcolonial and neo-colonial eras have all impacted Somali society like any other.

The purpose of this study is to assess the merits and limitation of clan power sharing, which is repeatedly found throughout recent works exploring how to get Somalia into a lasting peace, lasting peace seems to be an illusive concept in the face of the twenty year Somali civil war. The paper will explore the notions of formal institution, i.e. state institution and democratic constituencies, and informal institution in this context clan and clan politics (clanism or qabyaalad) – clan categories. Thus, this papers aims to look into two important questions: (1) whether the particular informal institutions or system of clan oriented politics, that is found in Somalia, complements or competes with formal institution i.e., democratic constituencies and state institution building; (2) the usefulness and limitations of clan categorization towards the path of democratization or modern state building.

