

Puntland Post Monthly

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WHITHER PUNTLAND?

In February Puntland President Said Abdullahi Deni called for a consultative conference for Puntland stakeholders. The conference to take place mid March will have almost all the characteristics of the 1998 conference out of which an autonomous administration emerged. The founding President of Puntland Abdullahi Yusuf Ahmed envisioned a Puntland that would pioneer federalism for a Somalia that was still a country with no government. Twenty one years after that conference Somalia has a Federal Government but its writ does not run throughout Somalia. It is dependent on African peacekeepers.

Who should take the blame for apparent failure federalism in Somalia? Should one equate this political failure with possible relapse to state failure?

President Deni made the right call to hold a consultative conference. Puntland has been staunch supporter of federal institutions since the end of the transition. Puntland political class deluded themselves into thinking that ending the transition is a sure way to institutionalise federalism. The absurdity of this line of thinking is better reflected by how the Federal Governments under President Mohamed Abdullahi Mohamed turned out to be a more destabilising entity than its predecessor. The centralism goals of the incumbent Federal Government has had consequences for the relations between Mogadishu and Federal Member States. Puntland is a key member of the Federal Institutions but its forces are not a part of the clan militias known as the Somali National Army. This exclusion means Puntland forces do not get training similar to the one clan militias in Mogadishu and nearby regions undergo under the name of the Somali National Army.

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Whither Puntland?

From page 1

The President of the Federal Government interfered in Puntland politics when, in an interview, he urged President Deni “to respect wishes of the people”.

Other challenges facing Deni’s administration range from the legacy agreement with DP World-owned company that runs Bosaso Port. The administration of Dr Abdiweli Mohamed Ali saddled Puntland with contractual obligation that can cost Puntland its image as a destination for investment should Puntland government terminate the Bosaso Port agreement, which has had a severe impact on the economy of Puntland. Bosaso business community remains sceptical what DP World can do to make Bosaso as thriving a port town as it was before Deni’s predecessor inked the deal with P & O.

On several occasions Puntland State distanced itself from legislations passed by the Federal Parliament and the Upper House. One such law is the electoral law. Described as impractical by the United States,

the Somali electoral law got passed without the endorsement of all Federal Member States. With the surrender of Ahlu Sunna Al Jama’a the Federal Government has a reason to believe the wind is in its sails: three Federal Member States – Galmudug, Hirshabelle, and South West State – are in its fold in addition to Mogadishu whose status beyond capital city has yet to be agreed.

Puntland has agreed the 2016 electoral agreement that gives Puntland State federal representation of disputed territories without seeking a just solution to the territorial dispute. The new electoral law places disputed territories within Somaliland, meaning Puntland will lose to represent constituencies in disputed territories.

Signing up to a new electoral model will commit Puntland State to working with the Federal Government, which exploits Puntland weaknesses and in the process damages trust. The Federal Projects has turned out to become a centralism movement that on one hand plays a nationalist card and subscribes to US-driven the Horn of Africa Economic

Integration agenda on the other – all at the expense of genuine political reconciliation promised by President Mohamed Abdullahi Mohamed when he vowed he would act like an “elder sitting under a tree” to talk to everyone.

“The Announcement of Puntland Consultative Conference is a step in the right direction” says Ismail Haji Warsame, an influential blogger and writer. The Federal Government will try to send to Garowe spoilers. Did it ever occur to ardent Puntland federalists that federalism would produce a President fanning dissent in the Mother of Federalism in Somalia, as many people call Puntland? At the end of the consultative conference the direction Puntland will be going will be clearer.

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Berbera Urban Project launched by the Somaliland Government and the European Union

By Khadar Mariano

Berbera urban development project was jointly inaugurated in Berbera by the European Union, Somaliland Ministry of Planning, Municipality of Berbera and UN-Habitat on the 30th of January 2020.

According to the joint press statement released, the €7.5 Million “project will support inclusive and sustainable development of the coastal city through strengthening the capacity of the municipality in urban planning, improving the waste management system as well as stimulating employment and entrepreneurship for urban communities.”



The Vice President of Somaliland H.E. Abdirahman Abdilahi Saylici, who was present at the event, has noted how important this project will be to helping Somaliland attain National Development Plan II goal. The Vice President has also underlined that the government will prioritize the

development projects similar this project to promote economic growth and create opportunities for citizens, especially women and youth.

The European Union’s H.E. Ambassador Nicolas Berlanga Martinez who has also made remarks at the inauguration of he project emphasized the significance of the project for the City of Berbera in terms of sustainable development and increased economic activities in the city as well as more opportunities for its inhabitants. “This project will propel the city of Berbera to achieve sustainable development goals of building resilient infrastructure, promotion of industrialization and innovation. The project will hopefully address the challenge to improve waste management not only in economic or operational terms but also considering the environmental and social impacts” Ambassador said.

The Federal Government of Somalia has signed this project, in September 2019, with the European Union with a total budget of €23 Million for the coastal cities of Mogadishu and Berbera. The rest of the fund will be committed to projects in go to the capital City of Mogadishu.

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THE LOOMING CONSTITUTIONAL CRISIS IN SOMALIA

One year ago in Garowe President Mohamed Abdullahi Mohamed rejected the call from Federal Member States to form a collective leadership council to prepare Somalia for elections. With less than a year to go before the planned 2021 elections the International Community urged Somali stakeholders to pool their to hold “credible” polls. The Federal Government relies upon the electoral law passed by the Federal Parliament in December 2019. Not all Federal Member States agreed the electoral model. In March 2016 there was a consensus on the enhanced elections held in 2017. The incumbent Federal Government and Federal Member States lack a common political ground to thrash out issues that affect cooperation over preparations for the 2021 elections. The Federal electoral law complicates matters. Article 53 empowers the Federal Parliament to decide the next if elections do not take place as planned. Inserted in the electoral law is an ambiguous clause that can be interpreted in different ways. If planned one person, one vote elections do not come to pass, the Federal Parliament will decide where to

go from there. This can mean either (a) the Federal Parliament will expedite a term extension for the executive and legislative branches or (b) the Federal Parliament will recommend the appointment of a caretaker government. First scenario is less likely given the opposition to term extension expressed to Somali political parties and the International Community. The second scenario might stand a better chance to succeed if it gains the backing of the Federal Member States. The lack of national electoral consultative platform adopted by the Federal Government turned out to become its Achilles heel. If Puntland rejects electoral modalities, the legitimacy of Federal Institutions will be called into question. Somaliland has already distanced itself from federal political processes. The looming constitutional crisis Somalia faces is one the incumbent Federal Government has engineered with scant attention to political consequences.

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AGAINST THE POLITICAL ISOLATION OF DJIBOUTI

Djibouti and Somalia are two sisterly countries. Somalia stood by the people of Djibouti during their struggle for independence. The late Djibouti President Hassan Gouled Aptidon never got tired of his effort to help Somalis reconcile. In 1991, when all other countries were coming to terms with and beginning to understand what came to be known as state failure, Djibouti organised a reconciliation conference for Somali political stakeholders. What is noteworthy about the succour of Djibouti is the realisation among participants of the conference that, for Somalia to become a democratic and peaceful country, politicians must commit themselves to peacemaking and regular communication no matter what political differences they have.

It was a timely lesson in a political education for political leaders who did not prepare themselves for post-dictatorship Somalia. In 2000 Djibouti organised another reconciliation conference that become a springboard for reconstituting the Somali state. A decade after the second reconciliation conference Djibouti sent its

troops to Somalia as peacekeepers.

It is unfathomably bizarre to see the Federal Government of Somalia buying into the strategy to exclude Djibouti from the Horn of Africa Economic Integration initiative proposed by the Prime Minister of Ethiopia, Dr Abiy Ahmed. It is not a carefully discussed policy of Somalia to consider Djibouti as the odd one out even in this unrealistic initiative. It a non-African policy aimed at punishing Djibouti for expanding its circle of friends. It is equally deplorable to see how indifferent Somali opposition parties are to the political opportunism of Federal Government leaders, whose behaviours are best exemplified by the Somali saying *dameeri dhaan raacday* (the donkey accompanied the the water caravan) about unthinking support and a desire to put other countries' interest above the national interest. The support for the agenda to politically isolate Djibouti is an initiative with which Somalis would *not* like to be associated.

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PUNTLAND TO LOSE FEDERAL REPRESENTATION OF DISPUTED TERRITORIES

MOGADISHU (PPM) – Puntland State of Somalia will lose the privilege to federally represent constituencies in disputed territories of the ex-British Somaliland. A seventeen-member Provisional Committee tasked with completing the electoral law and appointed by the Upper and Lower Houses has a mandate "to prepare the electoral law for members of the Upper House and Lower House from Northern Regions (Somaliland)".



Puntland will not federally represent disputed territories

If the new law becomes a basis for the planned 2021 elections in Somalia, Puntland State will have the privilege to send to the two Houses only members who hail from territories in the ex-Italian Somaliland.

The use of the word "Somaliland" in the electoral law indicates the policy of the Federal Government to pave the way for South-North talks. At a recent question and answer session in Mogadishu the

Federal Minister of Planning Jamal Mohamed Hassan argued that Puntland State and Somaliland Administration "[do not send aid earmarked for constituencies in disputed territories to people in those territories](#)".



Jamal M. Hassan: Puntland and Somaliland do not distribute aid to disputed territories

"The goal is to isolate Puntland if it boycotts the electoral law" says Awad Yusuf, a history lecturer in Mogadishu. "Northern Somalia is a phrase that politically keeps Puntland in the South geographically and politically, and cuts it off from the regions it federally represents now. Some of the regions are under Somaliland control."

The 2016 electoral agreement that gave Puntland State the privilege to federally represent constituencies in disputed territories no longer applies because the new electoral law was passed in December without the input of Federal Member States.

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US SUPPORT FOR SOMALI ARMY SUSTAINS POLITICAL INSTABILITY

The United States resumed a limited support for the Somali National Army. The rationale for this decision is to continue the fight against Al-shabaab. In a country that has yet to create a central command post for armed forces support for select groups of armed militias paid in the name of the Somali Army undoes the core stabilisation strategy for Somalia. The US Embassy in Mogadishu views troops controlled by Federal Government as legitimate force deserving of training and operational support. This policy drives a wedge between the Federal Government of Somalia and Federal Member States for several reasons. The Security Architecture that was unveiled in London Somalia Conference in May 2017 mandated the Federal Government to work on the creation of an inclusive security apparatuses and national army. The Federal Government has not brought this goal into fruition: neither Jubaland forces nor Puntland Defence Forces come under the command of Mogadishu-based Somali National Army. Puntland State fights Al-shabaab and ISIS on two fronts but the United States does not support Puntland forces. "US policy towards Somalia is reminiscent of its noughties policy to support warlords to form counterterrorism alliance when

the warlords' militias were terrorising civilians" says a Somali journalist in Mogadishu, who asks to be quoted anonymously. The outcome of this divisive policy is breakdown of trust and collaboration between the Federal Government and Federal Member States that Mogadishu looks upon as outside its sphere of influence. The pre-1991 Somali National Army was politically controlled by the military regime that used it to overthrow a civilian government in 1969. It was an instrument of oppression used to keep the regime in power. Clan militias that filled the vacuum after state collapse reflect exclusive, clan make-up. Not all Somali clans had clan militias particularly social groups classified as minorities. It is the task of politicians to create an exclusive national army. While dependency upon Amisom continues the US assistance for certain forces in Somalia sows seeds of a future conflict. How can Somaliland be persuaded to give the Union a second chance if the South is still mired in a latent political conflict and still retain a government protected by African peacekeepers? Rebranded clan militias cannot become a national army in a country whose leaders ignore the need for genuine political reconciliation.

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MUDUG GOVERNOR WARNS THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT AGAINST DEPLOYMENT OF TROOPS

An interview with the Puntland Governor of Mudug.

Puntland Governor of Mudug is based in North Galka'yo.

Puntland Post Reporter Abdirahman Isse

Omar [interviewed](#) Governor Ahmed Musse Nur by telephone several week ago. Following is an edited and English translation of the interview.

Puntland Post: How is the situation in Mudug now?

Governor: The situation is calm. There are talks to start in Ballibusle. Puntland negotiators are already at Ballibusle; negotiators from the other side [Galmudug State] will be arriving at the venue today as agreed. We hope solutions will be found to the conflict.

Both administrations have been collaborating for quite some time. Politically motivated exaggeration of the conflict has come to an end. From time to time some people commit crimes, or ambush cars. What is being looked at is how a customary law on these crimes can be enacted by both sides so

people in the region can co-exist peacefully.

Ahmed Musse Nur: We warn against deployment of troops in Mudug

Puntland Post: There are reports that the Federal Government plans to deploy troops in Mudug to beef up security of the region. Are you aware of the plan?

Governor: I heard of the plan but it is not aimed at improving the security in the region. We do not need their support. The Federal Government troops operate at borders when there are inter-state hostilities in line with the federal system. Each administration has a duty to secure its districts. As you know for the last 21 years Puntland has been securing territories under its jurisdiction, and on several occasions Puntland was at war with terrorist groups. We never had a need to seek assistance from another side. We are up to the task of securing our regions. The plan of the Federal Government to deploy troops in Mudug is not dissimilar to the deployment of troops in Gedo to destabilise peaceful regions

and to overthrow the existing administration. The plan is to deploy troops in Mudug in March. I warn them against such a move. Mudug is not where they can deploy troops at will. No one can do what people do not want. People are armed here. Only when people and the administration collaborate can something get done. Puntland is self-reliant and consults with its people. It relies on its security forces. It does not seek any assistance from anyone. Any group that tries to attack us we will view as occupiers. People protecting themselves against occupiers and people seeking promotion by attacking another region are not the same. I warn them against the plan [to deploy troops in Mudug] and not to fan hostility and cause bloodshed among Somalis. Their aim in Gedo is to take over the region from the [Jubaland] administration. The information we have indicates they are arming themselves to attack Mudug in the same manner as they did Gedo.

Puntland Post: How possible is it for the weak Federal Government

to launch an attack and destabilise Mudug?

Governor: They have deployed troops in three Gedo districts and appointed new commanders. Mudug is different. In Gedo they may have some supporters due to clan connection. Mudug is different from Gedo; they have no supporters here. We will defend the regions should they attack Mudug.

Puntland Post: Has the Federal Government communicated with Puntland State about the deployment plan?

Governor: They have not communicated with us about it. There is no need for deployment of troops. We have enough troops. More training and coordination is what the Federal Government could contribute. If they have our country's interest at heart they would cooperate with us on making our troops more professional through training and help with remuneration.

Puntland Post: As you know the Federal Government said that it had formed a new administration for Galmudug. What is the position of Puntland on the "three presidents" of Galmudug?

Governor: Puntland welcomes what people of Galmudug collectively support. We have not supported or financed any of the contenders. It is our interest and the national interest to have a peaceful and strong Galmudug as our neighbour to cooperate on different challenges. Galmudug conference was organised by the Federal Government and last seven months. We see the outcome of the conference. Different clans live in Galmudug. They deserve to have an inclusive administration.

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BLOOD MONEY AND PUNTLAND JUSTICE SYSTEM

Hybrid justice system of Somalia allows for the payment of blood money in line with the Islamic jurisprudence. Blood money is obligatory when a person causes the death of someone but the choice to accept or not to accept blood money belongs to the family of the deceased person to be able to spare the convicted person from execution. In Puntland, as in many parts of Somalia, blood money is key element of legal remedies. Tradition, bad governance and effects of state collapse leave blood money aspect of the civil law open to abuse. Tradition dictates that a portion of the blood money be distributed to members of the subclan, who would contribute to raising blood money (usually donating camels) when a member of the subclan is convicted of murder. This practice is waning. Religious leaders liken it to theft of the belongings of the victim's family. Where religious leaders make less discursive contribution is the asymmetrical clan power and wealth disparity in society make blood money put families of victims at disadvantage. A poor or minority family may give in to the pressure to accept blood-money. A family's right to exercise the choice to accept blood money or to have the convicted murderer executed by

the State exists in a context where neither the State nor the clergy boasts an absolute coercive power. In some areas where asymmetrical clan power does not exist (i.e. people of the same social group live in a district, for example), the family of the person convicted of murder weigh payment of blood money on its impact on family wealth and the specific circumstances leading to the murder and the possibility that the convicted murder may commit murder again. A recent case in Lasanod offers a contrasting but encouraging lesson about blood money. The family of man who killed another man fled to South Galka'yo. The family of the suspect liaised with Galmudug authorities, who handed the suspect over to the family. The suspect confessed to the murder. He was handed over to the family of the deceased man, who asked for blood-money. Where the rule of law is weak blood money does not stop feuding or reoffending. Puntland justice system heavily depends on customary law, the Somali Penal Code and Sharia. Of these three elements the customary law enjoys primacy but its system is more transparent than the Federal Government justice system: the soldier who shot a minister dead and people who killed and burned a man's body have yet to be convicted of the crime for fear of clan backlash. In 2003 PDRD raised questions about a justice system reliant upon clan quotas when employing judges. It is Puntland State addressed the hybrid justice system that serves

interests of the powerful.

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The Illegality of Ethiopian Forces' Presence in Somalia

By A. S. Gurase

The presence of Ethiopian troops in Somalia as a part of AMISOM divides Somalis. To be fair Ethiopia did not ask for to contribute troops AMISOM. In 2009 Ethiopian troops withdrew from Somalia after an agreement signed by the former Transitional Federal Government of Somalia and Alliance for Reliberaration of Somalia. The Agreement stipulated that Ethiopian forces will withdraw from Somalia and the ARS will recognise TFG as the legitimate authority in the country.

In 2014 President Hassan Sheikh Mohamed signed a bilateral agreement to deploy Ethiopian troops as a part of AMISOM. The Somali Parliament did discuss the proposal. President Mohamud was in the process of facilitating the creation of two Federal Member States – Galmudug and Hirshabelle. Having falling out with Kenya over the formation of Jubaland State, President Mohamud opted for the policy to recalibrate relations his administration had with

Ethiopia, a country that shared common strategic goals with Kenya to defeat Al-shabaab.

Neither the parliament nor politicians who participated in negotiations between TFG and ARS raised concerns about the decision to deploy Ethiopian troops as a part of AMISOM. Both President Sharif Ahmed and Abdirahman Abdishakur, the leader of Wadajir Party, had the experience and the credibility to take President Mohamud to task for political expedience.

“President Farmaajo took a leaf from the book of his predecessor” says Hassan Mohamud, a freelance journalist in Garowe. “There is a risk that the precedent set by President Hassan Sheikh Mohamud to rescind past peace agreements to achieve short-term personal and political goals can keep Somalia in perpetual dependency upon AMISOM.”

In 2016 Harun Maruf, the VOA Somali Service broadcaster, illuminated how Ethiopian troops got deployed in Somalia. “ Many Ethiopian troops in Hiran, Bakool and Galgudud regions are not mandated by AU but operate under bilateral defence

agreement w[ith] Somalia” tweeted Maruf.

The saga of not subjecting deployment of Ethiopian troops to wider consultations has opened Somalis' eyes to mendacity of the Federal Government leaders.



Deployed in Somalia on the basis of an agreement between the two countries, the Ethiopian troops take orders from Villa Somalia. Since the visit of Abiy Ahmed to Somalia in 2018 to promote his flagship Horn Economic Integration initiative, President Mohamed Abdullahi Mohamed deepened the relations with his Ethiopian counterpart to demonstrate commitment to US-driven integration agenda although Somalia is still in fragile status and wholly dependent on AMISOM to function in the capital and neighbouring regions

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SIDRA: NEGOTIATE WITH AL-SHABAAB

Somali Institute for Development Research and Analysis (SIDRA), a Puntland-based think tank, has proposed negotiation with Al-shabaab as a viable strategy to end the war with the proscribed terrorist group. In a policy brief entitled [Youth Radicalization in Somalia](#), SIDRA points to a host of factors that drives youth radicalisation — a corrupt political class, inability of “mainstream” religious groups to counter extremist ideology of Al-shabaab, unemployment, weak governance and “ tacit collaboration with the insurgency by critical segments of society — namely the business community”.

SIDRA researchers have interviewed respondents in seven regions . The geographical focus of the research on which policy brief is based — Bay, Hiiraan, Bari, Togdheer, Mudug, Lower Jubba and Banadir — betrays a tenuous grasp of the nature of youth radicalisation in Somalia.

The seven regions visited by SIDRA researchers are under different jurisdictions. Except for Togdheer, five of the regions are affiliated with

a Federal Member State. SIDRA does not specify how it secured a clearance from Somaliland authorities to conduct a research in Burco. There are no reported Al-shabaab cells in Burco. Several years ago Al-shabaab assassinated a former Hizbul Islam member in Buuhoodle, a district under pre-1991 jurisdiction of Togdheer.

The causes of the failure of youth deradicalisation projects lie in the conflicting counter-terrorism initiatives developed with foreign countries involved in the stabilisation agenda for Somalia. This is the insight SIDRA policy brief accurately shares and stresses.

Different radicalisation situations obtaining in different parts of Somalia make the formulation of national counter-terrorism and deradicalisation strategies a quixotic goal.

Sharing of experience from counter-terrorism initiatives in Somalia has yet to become a standard practice to deal with Al-shabaab. A study on a UK-funded deradicalisation project in several districts of

Mogadishu found that some former Al-shabaab young operatives had re-defected to the group.

To explain why young Somalis join Al-shabaab SIDRA policy brief makes a fallacious distinction between “empowerment” and “ideological motivations”. In Southern regions of Somalia (e.g. Lower Shabelle, Middle Shabelle, Hiiraan, Banadir, Bay, Bakool, Lower Jubba, Gedo and Upper Jubba), a young man joins Al-shabaab to benefit from “empowerment” opportunity afforded by membership in Al-shabaab whereas in Puntland a young man joins Al-shabaab for ideological reasons, argues SIDRA.

SIDRA policy brief points out that political injustice — under-representation and marginalisation of certain Somali clans — is a catalyst for Al-shabaab campaigns to recruit young men.

In parts of Somalia where people rely upon Al-shabaab justice system and where the legacy of post-1990 dispossession and displacement reflect the ineffectual Federal Government judiciary, many young men

find Al-shabaab rhetoric persuasive. Youths in those parts of Somalia join Al-shabaab to help the group advance its ideological and governance goals. Al-shabaab expects recruits to commit themselves to the ideological and operational goals of the group.

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NESCOM

NESCOM is a Somali utility company founded in 2003. It supplies Garowe, the administrative capital of Puntland round-the-clock electricity. NESCOM has partnered with utility companies in Kismayo, Bosaso and other towns in Somalia.

Several years ago, NESCOM began to utilise solar and wind energy to diversify its sources of energy.

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2. Kaddib soo fur dhibcaha saddexda ah ee is kor saaran kana muuqda dhanka ku beegan midigtaada ama saddexda xariijimmo ee ku beegan bidixdaada, oo dusha sare saaran.
3. Kaddibna dooro **Manage contacts**
4. kaddib dooro **Import/export contacts**
5. kaddib dooro **Export**.
6. Kaddib dooro kaarka **SIM 1** ama **SIM 2**.
7. Kaddib gal **Adeegga Kayd** oo dheh Kaydi kaddibna OK dooro si nambarradu u kaydsamaan.



Shirkadda Korontada NESCOM ee Garoowe

A Garowe-based Electricity Company

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NECSOM oo bahwadaag la ah shirkadaha korontada Kismaayo, Boosaaso iyo magaalooyin kale, waxay sanadihii u dambeeyay billowday isticmaalka cadceedda iyo dabaysha.

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- Balance cash and checks in cash drawer at end of each shift
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- Attempt to resolve issues and problems with customer's accounts
- Initiate and open new accounts, disburse loans and collect repayments
- Explain, advise on and promote bank products and services to customers
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- Increase current/potential customers' financial

capability through education, awareness and motivation

- Identify referral opportunities and make relevant referrals
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MUBARAK GROUP OF COMPANIES



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About the programme

The purpose of the programme

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