Somali Institute for Development Research and Analysis (SIDRA)

2018 Annual Report
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ABOUT SIDRA

Who We Are
The Somali Institute for Development Research and Analysis (SIDRA) provides quality research and development services to the public and private entities in Somalia. SIDRA offers technical innovative solutions through knowledge-based policy researches, policy briefings and projects. We generate new knowledge that contributes to addressing the obstacles to the development of Somalia.

Our Vision
SIDRA aspires to become the leading development research institute and center of excellence in Somalia.

Our Mission
SIDRA is a center of research that generates new knowledge that aims to be relevant, original and excellent. Our work co-constructs knowledge, alliance, dynamic policy environment and institutional capacity to fit for purpose.

Strategic Objectives
1. To conduct high quality research and policy analysis to inform evidence based effective policy making in Somalia
2. To build a forum for debate public policy in Somalia
3. To respond to the need to build external capacity for public policy research and policy analysis in Somalia

Our Focus Areas
SIDRA’s research strategy for 2017 to 2021 is based on the major transition that is taking place across the Somali development landscape. To contribute to this transition, the institute is focusing on three broad areas of;

- Gender and Women’s Empowerment
  - Women Inclusion & Emancipation
  - Girl Child Education
  - Gender Equity
- Good Governance
  - Democracy
  - Rule of Law
  - Participative Politics
- Social Development
  - Poverty Eradication
  - Education
  - Health
  - Education
  - Environment & Energy

Our Team
SIDRA team includes practitioners, research professionals, intellectuals and opinion formers working together as a team to solve challenging and complex cultural, economic, environmental and social development problems affecting Somalia. SIDRA staff, associates and consultants cover a spectrum of expertise – enterprise and business development, economics, engineering, environment, public reform, public finance, social services and gender equity.

Our Contacts
Garowe, Puntland Somalia
+252 5 846044
info@sidrainstitute.org
MESSAGE FROM THE EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

For years, we have raising the bar for excellence in terms of knowledge generation in Puntland and Somalia at large. 2018 has not been any different. As our annual report will show, we have stepped up the output in terms of publications produced and it is in this same year that SIDRA has ventured into providing consultancy services and project implementation as we expand our portfolio. We continue to venture for new heights and challenges in knowledge production and programs consultancy.

2018 was a productive year for us as we were able to produce 3 research studies and 3 policy briefs. Two of the research studies were in the Socio-economic Development theme namely; The Impact of the Role of Traditional Leaders on Politico-Governance in Somalia: Present Realities and Past Reflections and Localizing the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) & SDG7 in Puntland. The other study was in the Gender and Women’s Empowerment theme named Gender Mainstreaming in Puntland Public Institutions – A Case of Ministries of Education, Labor, Health and Planning.

The two policy briefs were; Women, Peace and Security Agenda: Somali Women in the Post Conflict Socio-Political Arena in both the Gender and Women’s Empowerment and Good Governance themes and Regional Integration in the Horn of Africa: Is Prime Minister Abiy’s Initiative an Institution Ahead of Its Time? Which was in the Good Governance theme.

To kick off the consultancy services, we were chanced to partner with Overseas Development Institute to partly implement the Advancing Learning and Innovation on Gender Norms (ALIGN) Programme Project. Among the activities, we held the 1st Annual Summer Dialogues under the theme, “Puntland State at Twenty: Transformation to Stability & Good Governance” with financial support from Diakonia. Together with SCANSOM we successfully held the 2018 Garowe International Book Fair.

With these few highlight, allow me to urge you to read on to see what we have worked on this year. I continue to appreciate all our partners who have made it possible for our institution to grow to these new levels. I also pay great homage to the board of directors, the SIDRA team, our clients and well-wishers.

Sincerely,

Guled Salah Barre
SIDRA Executive Director
Somali Institute for Development and Research Analysis (SIDRA)
EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

SIDRA carried out several assignments in the Gender and Women’s Empowerment thematic area with the aim of addressing the gender inequalities and women exclusion which continues to remain a challenge in our society. These include; a research Study: Gender Mainstreaming in Puntland Public Institutions – A Case of Ministries of Education, Labor, Health and Planning, a policy Brief: Women, Peace and Security Agenda: Somali Women in the Post Conflict Socio-Political Arena, and a project/Consultancy: Advancing Learning and Innovation on Gender Norms (ALIGN) Programme Project.

SIDRA produced a policy brief to shed light on the changing dynamics within the Horn of Africa and a research study on the impact of the role of traditional leaders on politico-governance in Somalia: present realities and past reflections. The policy brief: Regional Integration in the Horn of Africa: Is Prime Minister Abiy’s Initiative an Institution Ahead of Its Time? And a Research Study: The Impact of the Role of Traditional Leaders on Politico-Governance in Somalia: Present Realities and Past Reflections. We also held a forum: 1st Annual Summer Dialogues: “Puntland State at Twenty: Transformation to Stability & Good Governance”

SIDRA contributes to the social economic development of Somalia through our knowledge production and policy support works as it one of the Social Economic Development thematic area. We did a research Study: Localizing the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) & SDG7 in Puntland and held a forum: Garowe International Book Fair.

SIDRA will continue to contribute to strengthening gender and women’s empowerment in Somalia, contribute to strengthening of good governance and democracy and to the social economic development of Somalia through research, policy formulation and projects.
1.1. Gender and Women’s Empowerment

Increasing girl child education, empowering women and advocating for equal political representation for women are among some of the ways through which SIDRA believes gender and Women’s Empowerment can be realized. To further this, SIDRA carried out several assignments in the Gender and Women’s Empowerment thematic area with the aim of addressing the gender inequalities and women exclusion which continues to remain a challenge in our society.

1.1.1. Research Study: Gender Mainstreaming in Puntland Public Institutions – A Case of Ministries of Education, Labor, Health and Planning

We were commissioned by the European Union to undertake this study. This study examined the extent to which gender mainstreaming was carried out in the design, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of policy, programs and projects implemented by Puntland Ministries Education; Health; Labor, Youth and Sports; and Planning and International Cooperation. The study aimed to provide insight that can contribute to promote equality among women and men in Puntland. The main methods of the study were in-depth interviews with Ministers, Director Generals, Directors, Gender Focal Points and Technical Advisers and desk review of other secondary data.

The study found that all legal frameworks in Puntland provided for gender equality and rejected any form of discrimination. The problem of gender inequality was therefore result of poor practices but not lack of policy guidelines. The main weaknesses identified included limited capacity on gender issues and mainstreaming, lack of gender focal points or gender units, absence of clear gender targets and priorities to allow accurate evaluation of progress made in gender mainstreaming, and lack of consistent application of affirmative action provided by existing policies to bridge the existing gender gap in the public sector.

The study recommends the integration of a gender perspective at every stage of the project, from design to implementation and finally in monitoring and evaluating progress. Further, the study recommends the adoption of gender action and equality plans meant in line with national development policies and plan. More important, gender-mainstreaming capacity of public institutions should be built to enable them to implement effective gender mainstreaming programs and to undertake comprehensive monitoring and evaluation of the gender impact of public project and programs.

1.1.2. Policy Brief: Women, Peace and Security Agenda: Somali Women in the Post Conflict Socio-Political Arena

Between March and June (2018) SIDRA Institute, in partnership with the Swedish organization Kvinna till Kvinna, undertook a study that gathered up to date data regarding women, peace and security in Somalia. The study -which main results are summarized in this Policy Brief-developed a series of data collection tools and methodology to collect information from secondary sources (i.e. literature review) and primary data (using qualitative methods). The study was informed by the review of policy and legislative documents of the governments, international and local development partners and other key stakeholders. Primary information was collected through focus groups discussions and key informant interviews in five cities in Somalia (Garowe, Mogadishu, Hargeisa, Adado and Galkacyo) and from other stakeholders in Nairobi.
The study found that the main drivers of conflict in Somalia include: - Clan-based divisions - Intercommunal tensions - Radicalization and terrorist threats - Poor governance - Competition for natural resources and - External conflicts and relations with other countries. For decades, Somali women have been caught in conflict as clans rise against each other or fight for political supremacy. To date, many Somali women and children still live as refugees in neighboring countries such as Kenya and Yemen.

The study found that the biggest challenge for women’s empowerment in Somalia is the implementation of the laws that already exist and the monitoring of their performance. The problem is therefore not a lack of policy and legislation, but weak implementation mechanisms nationally and within the regions. Lack of access to education and economic empowerment, together with cultural and traditional barriers and weak government’s commitment conspire to deny women’s rights and voice in Somalia.

1.1.3. Project/Consultancy: Advancing Learning and Innovation on Gender Norms (ALIGN) Programme

SIDRA in partnership with Overseas Development Institute (ODI) implemented some activities on this project that aimed at tackling stereotypes and gender bias in higher education institutions in Puntland through digital empowerment carried out from May 2018 to January 2019. The goal of this project was to raise awareness and effect change through capacity enhancement in blogging, filming, digital platforms, mentoring and networking in a community of practice.

The project deliverables were; 20 participants recruited and trained on filming and blogging, 50 participants integrated in Community of Practice, 50 participants incorporated in the mapping study/research study using both qualitative methods (focus group discussions, key informant interviews) and some quantitative questionnaires and 180 beneficiaries targeted for awareness creation and sensitization campaigns on negative gender norms in schools and universities in form of one seminar.

The Lessons Learnt from the project included: more people are becoming aware of the importance and benefits of educating girls, Gender-based violence (GBV) is the most extreme expression of unequal gender relations in society, sexual Harassment in Schools and HEI is increasing, many girls are told that Islam commands women to stay in their houses, transition of women from student to lecturer or another career in HEI, is often more difficult than for men and attitudes, perceptions and negative stereotypes against female lecturers among students also hinder women from pursuing a career in HEI.
1.2. Good Governance and Democracy

SIDRA in its different works, contributes to the development of good governance and democracy in Puntland and Somalia. To increase its role played in this thematic area, SIDRA produced a policy brief to shed light on the changing dynamics within the Horn of Africa and a research study on the impact of the role of traditional leaders on politico-governance in Somalia: present realities and past reflections.

1.2.1. Policy Brief: Regional Integration in the Horn of Africa: Is Prime Minister Abiy’s Initiative an Institution Ahead of Its Time?

SIDRA produced this policy brief to propose policy recommendations that would be beneficial to any integration initiatives and efforts in the Horn. This is because the Horn of Africa (HoA) region has been riddled with interstate armed conflict, poverty, drought, extremism and famine. Dictatorships and authoritarian regimes have ruled much of the region and contributed to the broken political and social system in the region. Decades of underdevelopment coupled with social disparity and divisions along ethnic, religious, tribal, cultural and political lines have contributed to the conflicts and social upheavals within the region.

The policy recommendations were among others; the countries in the horn of Africa region must reform their political structures and bring in democratic system of government, promote freedoms of expression and thought and liberalize their economies. Effective, independent and fair judicial systems are the cornerstone of just society. The horn of Africa region must put systems in place to realize transparency and accountability. The recent conflict of the Oromo and Somalis in Ethiopia doesn’t endear Somalis to the idea of Ethiopia’s integration initiative. Historic hostility and suspicion loom large. Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed, in collaboration with Somali and Oromo leaders in Ethiopia, must find lasting solutions for this recurrent communal violence.

1.2.2. Research Study: The Impact of the Role of Traditional Leaders on Politico-Governance in Somalia: Present Realities and Past Reflections

After examining the politically collapsed system of Somalia, we had to study how the people have lent trust to the office of traditional leaders owing to the tradition’s respect to the office. As an approach of a research method, the author has utilized the existing records and informed experience with continual field observation and engagement in the Somali sociopolitical and socioeconomic landscapes.

The study found that, a number of issues ranging from historicity, integrity and capability of the holders of the office has long been questioned. The prevailing assumption on what is considered to be the traditional leadership reduces the historical, multidimensional socio-political system to a simple single chieftaincy institution. There is a lack of clarity in the way it is linked with history. The new type of the relationship between the elders’ office and the politicians have also long been a phenomenon of questionability. In fact, the relationship creates confusion or even corruption in responsibility meeting.

The study findings found that, today’s elders’ office does not functionally represent its corresponding pre-colonial office; the former consisted of clan-oriented decentralized chieftains and statehood-oriented authoritative sultanates; there are thus historical and functional diversities in the background of the various components of today’s office; the office
ACHIEVEMENTS BY THEMATIC AREA

1.2.3. Forum: 1st Annual Summer Dialogues: “Puntland State at Twenty: Transformation to Stability & Good Governance”

In order to contribute to the development of good governance and democracy in Puntland and Somalia, SIDRA conceptualized a forum that can bring together different stakeholders to share thoughts and knowledge on how Somalia’s governance and leadership can be democratized and improved. The Summer Dialogues is an annual high-level forum which is an initiative by SIDRA. Its major goal is to debate on the challenges that Somalia faces, their causes and recommended policy measures to achieve the countries development objectives.

We held the first Summer Dialogues held from 1st to 5th August 2018 at Puntland State University in Garowe came at an opportune time when Puntland State of Somalia was marking twenty years of existence as a semi-autonomous Federal State. This Dialogue was formulated to discuss the achievements of Puntland in the past twenty years, drawbacks and the way forward. It was built on the theme “Puntland State at Twenty: Transformation to Stability and Good Governance”.

The Summit brought together 120 participants including the founding fathers of Puntland, religious leaders, traditional elders, academics, civil society, businessmen, policy makers, local people and government officials from the different regions of Puntland to debate and present ideas on inclusive politics, security, justice, human rights and social development.

1.3. Social Economic Development

Our policy briefs and research projects are aimed at informing social policy and economic initiatives development and implementation for government and non-government actors in Somalia. That way, SIDRA can then be able to contribute to the social economic development of Somalia through our knowledge production and policy support works as it one of the Social Economic Development thematic area.

1.3.1. Research Study: Localizing the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) & SDG7 in Puntland

The world came together in September 2015 and adopted 17 Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) crafted through the most consultative process ever to address the enormous global development challenges for the next 15 years.

SIDRA carried out a study on the localization of the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) & SDG7 in Puntland between September 2017 and January 2018 was organized in three work areas: (i) Explore the environment, challenges and opportunities for localizing SDGs in Puntland; (ii) Generate data and information on the status of SDG 7 and provide the baseline for monitoring future progress on SDG7 in Puntland; and (iii) Based on the results of i and ii, localize SDG goal 7 with the aim of increasing use of solar power in Puntland.

Public Surveys, Focus Group Discussions and Key Informant Interviews were conducted at two urban areas (Bosaaso and Garowe) and two rural areas (Ely and Galdogob). A total of 800 participants were engaged at the four locations.
ACHIEVEMENTS BY THEMATIC AREA

Since the SDGs came into effect in January 2016, SIDRA has taken a key role in generating data, information and knowledge to facilitating localization of SDGs in Somalia. A policy brief prepared by SIDRA in 2016 highlighted the many challenges of localizing SDGs in Somalia like; fragile peace, insecurity and bad governance and a weak government structure where citizens are not empowered to actively participate in development.

1.3.2. Forum: Garowe International Book Fair

In another effort to strengthen the reading and writing culture among the Somali youth and communities in Garowe, SIDRA in collaboration with SCANSOM Publishers and Puntland Women Writers Association organized the Garowe International Book Fair in Garowe. The event is an annual event that promotes the literacy, restore cultural values and encourage young emerging writers, poets, and artists. It brings together thousands of participants including authors, artists, poets, linguists, motivational speakers, playwrights, scholars, policy makers, activists, readers as well government’s officials from across Somali territories and around world.
2019 PRIORITY AREAS

2.1. Gender and Women’s Empowerment

SIDRA will continue to contribute to strengthening gender and women’s empowerment in Somalia through research, policy formulation and projects aimed at;

1. Supporting political and economic empowerment and leadership of women in Puntland and Somalia
2. Advocating for the increased enrollment of the girl child and females in all levels of education
3. Partner with Health, physical integrity and psychosocial well-being.
4. Continuing to research about gender norms and institutional change
5. Continue to advocate to the end all forms of discrimination against all women and girls everywhere
6. Continue supporting research and knowledge generation aimed at eliminating all forms of violence against all women and girls in the public and private spheres, including trafficking and sexual and other types of exploitation

2.2. Good Governance and Democracy

SIDRA will continue to contribute to strengthening of good governance and democracy in Somalia through research, policy formulation and projects aimed at;

1. Continue advocating for increased participative politics and governance where people are able to voice their own opinions through legitimate immediate organizations or representatives
2. Support research and projects that contribute to adherence to Rule of Law: in Somalia. Contribute to policy formulation that calls for consensus oriented decision-making which ensures that even if everyone does not achieve what they want to the fullest, a common minimum can be achieved by everyone which will not be detrimental to anyone.
3. Advocate for the opportunities for the people to improve or maintain their well-being.
4. Advise government and other institutions to be accessible to the public and be understandable and answerable.

2.3. Social Economic Development

SIDRA will continue to contribute to the social economic development of Somalia through research, policy formulation and projects aimed at;

1. Continue supporting projects and programs that promote growth and poverty reduction (employment, inequalities)
2. Contribute to community resilience building and sustainable development
3. To support the improvement of access to social services
SIDRA PARTNERS AND COLLABORATORS
SIDRA STAFF

**Guled Salah Barre**
**Co-founder / Executive Director:** Before SIDRA, he was a Minister at the Ministry of Environment, Wildlife and Tourism of the government of Puntland State of Somalia. Prior to joining the government he worked many years with UNDP Somalia where he coordinated activities under the Poverty Reduction and Environmental Protection (PREP) programme as well as the Joint Programme on Local Governance (JPLG) throughout Puntland. Before joining UNDP, he worked at the East Africa University as Deputy Rector of the Garowe Campus and Lecturer.

**Amina Jama Mahmud**
**Senior Gender Advisor:** Dr. Amina Jama Mahmud is passionate women’s health and Education. She holds a PhD in Applied Health Technology from Blekinge Institute of Technology, an MPH and a B.Sc. in Nursing from Lund University, in Sweden. She has also studied Management, Communication for Development and Higher Education Pedagogy at post graduate level.

**Salim Said Salim**
**Researcher:** Salim Said Salim is a senior lecturer at Puntland State’s University faculty of law. He has A Master’s Degree in Law and Educational Administration. He works with SIDRA as a researcher on the Governance and Democracy.

**Mohamed Jama**
**Researcher:** Mohamed Jama has a Bachelor’s degree in Business Administration and currently pursuing Masters in Public Administration. He is a senior managerial and organizational development expert. He has more than 7 years of experience in the public sector, civil society, international organizations and the private sector in Somalia and Kenya. Mohamed is working with SIDRA as a researcher.

**Samira Duale Dirir**
**Operations Associate:** Samira Duale Dirir obtained ICM (UK) Diploma in 2014 from Nairobi Aviation College. She has a Diploma in Business Management and Administration and International Business Communication. She has acquired skills and proficiency in human Resources Management from here experience working with various organizations including Oldenyero investment dealers and Hass Petroleum. Samira is currently the Operations Associate at SIDRA.

**Kiberu Jonah**
**Head of Policy and Planning:** Worked as a co-researcher on Negative Gender norms affecting women in Higher education in Puntland funded by Align Fund of Bill & Gates Foundation. He holds a MBA in Finance option and he is a Certified Public Accountant of Uganda -CPA with a Post Graduate Diploma in Taxation and Revenue Administration from East African School of Taxation.

**Kalinaki Lawrence Quintin**
**Partnerships Manager:** He has a Bachelor’s Degree in Mass Communication and a Post Graduate Diploma in Monitoring & Evaluation with a Post Graduate Certificate in Teaching English as Foreign Language. He has attended a number of focused continuous professional training courses at various institutions in Research, Project Planning and Management, Monitoring, Evaluation and Communication.
Dr. Abdi Mohamoud Ali: Abdi is a PhD holder in System Dynamics. Currently he is directing the entire Somali Health and Demographic survey process – planning, implementing, monitoring and evaluating to ensure the Survey succeeds. He works closely with the ministries of Planning and Health in Puntland, Somalia. He is not only responsible for the creation of the three-year Statistics Strategic Plan (2019-2021) which provides a roadmap and direction on key priorities in line with Puntland State policy on development, he also developed the Statistics Act Bill for the Ministry of Planning in Puntland. Abdi has ample experience in research, he has more than ten completed research. His recent research is on Transport System integration Model. He is member of three professional bodies: ‘Royal Statistics Society’ and Operational Research Society, UK North West Research Network and the Institute of Mathematics and its Applications.

Dr. Jeremiah Gitonga Njeru: Dr. Njeru has a PhD in the Natural Science from the University of Berne, Switzerland and a MSc degree in Hydrology, University of Nairobi. Furthermore, he possesses a BSc degree in the Earth Science from the University of Nairobi, Kenya. Since 2013 he has been working Food and Agriculture Organization / EC funded Somalia Water and Land Information Management (SWALIM) Project.

Dr. M H Suryanarayana: Development economist with experience in providing technical assistance in preparation of human development reports, poverty reduction strategy papers, tracking of MDGs. Served as a Senior Economic Advisor, International Poverty Centre, United Nations Development Programme, and Brasilia and led several UN policy/programme evaluation missions in countries like Brunei Darussalam, Botswana, Nepal and Somalia. As a 'Senior Trainer', designed, developed and conducted a workshop on 'Food Policy Analysis' sponsored by the FAO, IFPRI and the Government of Bangladesh for academicians and policy makers in Bangladesh. Over 25 year's teaching and research experience. Served as consultant for ADB, OECD, UNDP, World Bank, and provided technical assistance (vide UN Missions) to developing country governments including Bangladesh, Botswana, Brazil, Brunei Darussalam, India, Nepal, Puntland, Somaliland, South Central Somalia and Vietnam.

Dr. Vanja Berggren: Vanja is a PhD holder in International health. She is a fulltime appointment as senior lecturer and associate professor in public health (docentur Folkhälsovetsenskap) at the Medical Faculty, Lund University, Sweden. She has experience in supervising PhD students to finalize their dissertations, both as main- and as co-supervisor. She performed post-doctoral periods (2008-2010) in Syria and Saudi Arabia (EU-project Capacity Building in the Middle East) with Liverpool School of Tropical Medicine, UK. She has coordinated research projects in Uganda (cervical cancer and HIV/AIDS), Jordan (breast cancer), Saudi Arabia (malnutrition, physical activity and obesity), in Somaliland and Sweden (Female Genital Mutilation). She has/had research collaborations (including scientific publications) with Egypt, Vietnam, Somaliland and Sudan.

Dr. Ubah Christina Ali Farah: Ubah Cristina Ali Farah was born in Verona, Italy, of a Somali father and an Italian mother. She grew up in Mogadishu but fled at the outbreak of the civil war at the age of eighteen. She lived in Rome where she taught Somali language and culture at Roma Tre University. She holds a PhD in African Studies from the University of Naples; currently she is based in Brussels. She is a poet, novelist, playwright, and oral performer. She has published stories and poems in several anthologies and in 2006 she won the Lingua Madre National Literary Prize. Her novel Madre piccola (2007) was awarded the prestigious Vittorini Prize and has been translated into Dutch and English with the title Little Mother (2011). Her latest novel Il comandante del fiume (2014) has just been published in Italy (October, 2014). She participated in the University of Iowa’s prestigious International Writing Program in the fall of 2017 and she’s been invited to the MEET (Maison des Ecrivains et Traducteurs de Saint-Nazaire) Residency 2018.
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FINANCIAL SUMMARY

Revenue

Expenditure

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**SIDRA IN PICTURES**

**Image 1:** President Abdiweli Gaas and a part of the ministers of Puntland visit SIDRA’s ED.

**Image 2:** The Minister of education, Puntland State of Somalia H.E Abshir Yusuf officially closes the 2018 Summer Dialogues.

**Image 3:** The minister of Jubbaland region, Aidid Saleeban giving his remarks during the 2018 summer dialogues.

**Image 4:** A team from SIDRA doing interviews and data collection in Mogadishu for the ongoing study on Women, Peace and Security in Somalia.

**Image 6:** Dr. Aamina, speaking about the importance of girls participating in research in higher education.

**Image 7:** SIDRA Institute providing optimum workshop for academic research writing training.
Image 8: Guueed Salah Barre welcomes participants to the 2018 Summer Dialogues

Image 9: Cross section of the key panelists prepare to start the summer debate program

Image 10: A wide shot of the leaders of Puntland and Somalia after attending an event organized by SIDRA (2018 Summer Dialogues)

Image 11: SIDRA’s ED takes a group photo with some of the youths that participated in a high level event organized by SIDRA

Image 12: President Cabdiwali Maxamed Cali Gaas opens the 2018 summer dialogues conference

Image 13: The vice prime minister of the federal government congratulating the Puntland Government for making 20 years
ADDRESS

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