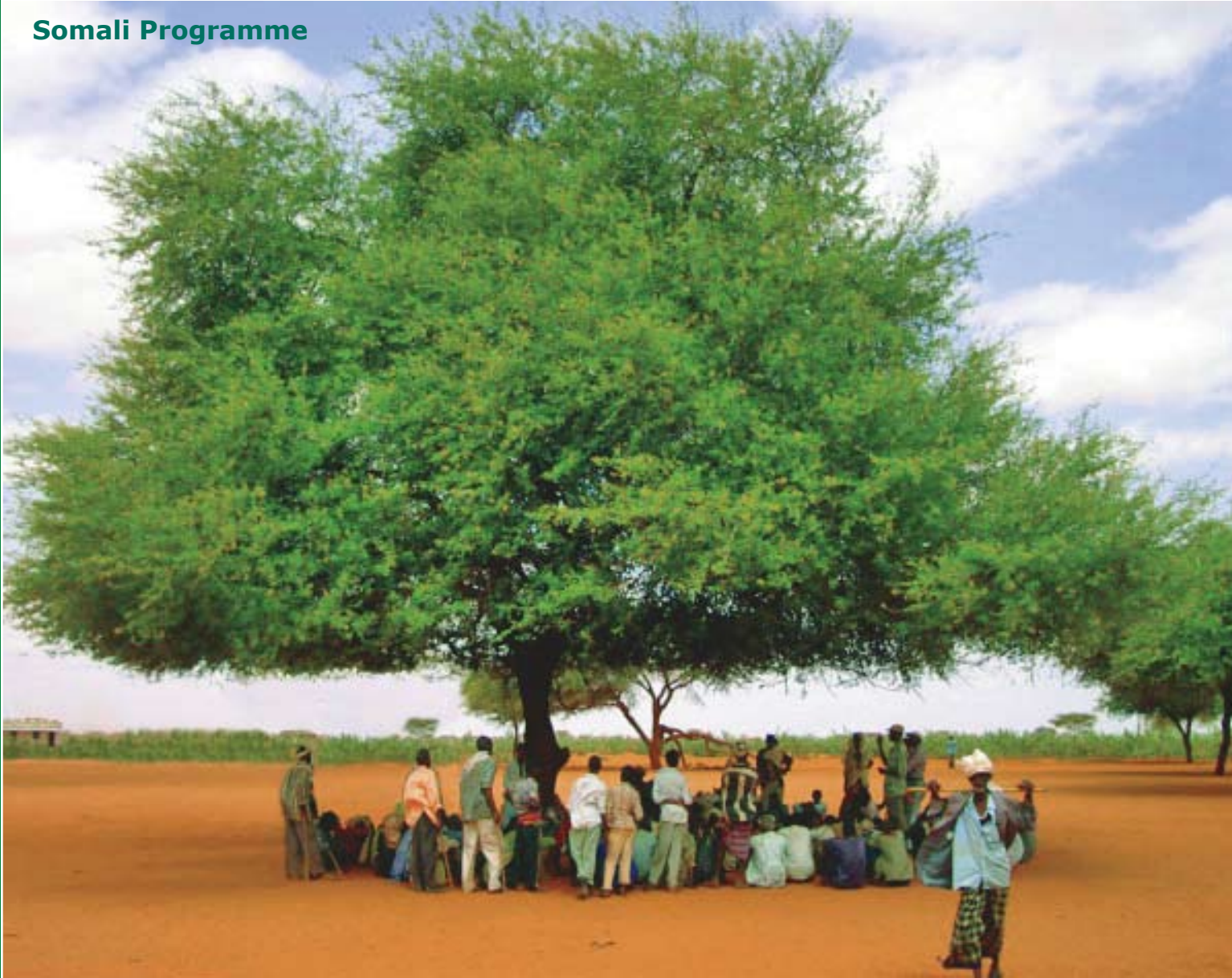


THE SEARCH FOR PEACE

Somali Programme



The Puntland Experience: A Bottom-up Approach to Peace and State Building

Peace Initiatives in Puntland

1991 — 2007

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Peace Initiatives in Puntland 1991–2007

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The study is a draft chapter in a forthcoming publication representing the findings of the peace mapping study.

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ACRONYMS

FSAU	Food Security Assessment Unit (subsequently known as Food Security Analysis Unit)
GTZ	German Agency for Technical Assistance
ICU	Islamic Courts Union
LPI	Life and Peace Institute
NGO	Non Governmental Organization
SNDU	Somali National Democratic Union
SNM	Somali National Movement
SPM	Somali Patriotic Movement
SRC	Somali Revolutionary Council
SSDF	Somali Salvation Defence Force
TFG	Transitional Federal Government
UN	United Nations
UNDOS	United Nations Development Office for Somalia
UNDP	United Nations Development Program
UNICEF	United Nations Children’s Fund
UNITAF	United Nations Task Force
UNOPS	United Nations Office for Project Services
UNOSOM I/II	United Nations Operation in Somalia
US	United States of America
USC	United Somali Congress
USP	United Somali Party
WFP	World Food Programme
WSP International	War-torn Societies Project: subsequently known as International Peacebuilding Alliance (Interpeace)

PREFACE AND METHODOLOGY FOR THE PEACE MAPPING STUDY

The Dialogue for Peace

Working to consolidate peace and support better governance across the Somali region

Rebuilding a country after conflict is about far more than repairing damaged buildings and re-establishing public institutions. Fundamentally, it is about rebuilding relationships at all levels, restoring the people's trust and confidence in governance systems and the rule of law, and providing the population with greater hope for the future. These processes are all critical to the consolidation of peace and security in fragile post-conflict situations. When they are neglected, the threat of conflict re-emerging is very real. In this sense, state-building and peace-building are potentially contradictory processes – the former requiring the consolidation of governmental authority, the latter involving its moderation through compromise and consensus. The challenge for both national and international peacemakers is to situate reconciliation firmly within the context of state-building, while employing state-building as a platform for the development of mutual trust and lasting reconciliation. In the Somali region, neither of these processes can be possible without the broad and inclusive engagement of the Somali people.

Interpeace (formerly known as WSP International) – launched its Somali Programme in the northeastern part of Somalia known as Puntland in 1996. It subsequently expanded its programme to Somaliland in 1999, and to south-central Somalia in 2000. Working with highly respected local peace-building institutions established with the programme's support – the Puntland Development Research Center (PDRC) in Garowe, the Academy for Peace and Development (APD) in Hargeisa, and the Center for Research and Dialogue (CRD) in Mogadishu – Interpeace has employed a highly successful 'Participatory Action Research' methodology to advance and support interlinked processes of peace-building and state formation. Interpeace's experience in the Somali region over the past decade indicates that the understanding and trust developed through the PAR methodology can help to resolve conflicts directly, while at the same time building consensual approaches to address the social, economic and political issues necessary for a durable peace. The Dialogue for Peace programme has provided unique opportunities for the three partners to engage with each other in collaborative studies and shared projects across their borders – such as this peace mapping study - while managing their respective components of the Dialogue independently. The three partners meet regularly with Interpeace's Somali programme team as well as with a 'Dialogue Support Group' comprising the programme's donors.

Methodology of the Peace Mapping Study

In January 2007, Interpeace and its Somali partner organisations began a study of peace initiatives in the Somali region as part of Phase II of the Dialogue for Peace Programme. The study complements the "conflict mapping" exercise undertaken in partnership with the World Bank in Phase I of the programme¹. No comparable study of peace initiatives in the Somali region had yet been undertaken, despite the numerous reconciliation processes in the Somali region since 1991, at local, regional and national levels. While some of these have failed to fulfil expectations of resolving violent conflict, others have provided a basis for lasting stability, peace and development but are unknown beyond their immediate context. Interpeace and its partners consider that there are valuable lessons to be learned from these initiatives for both Somali and international policy makers, in terms of key factors that influence their success, sustainability or failure, and in terms of the relationship between peace processes and state building.

¹ Conflict in Somalia: Drivers and Dynamics, World Bank report based on research by CRD, PDRC, APD and the Centre for Creative Solutions (Hargeisa), 2005.

The overall aim of the study was to enhance current approaches to and capacities for reconciliation and the consolidation of peace - both in the Somali region and in other contexts – by studying and drawing lessons from local, regional and national peace initiatives in the Somali region since 1991. The specific objectives were to:

- Document key local, regional and national peace initiatives over the past 16 years in the Somali region (including those that may have failed to achieve the anticipated results);
- Identify key factors that influence successful peace initiatives and factors that may undermine the sustainability;
- Synthesise lessons learned from these reconciliation initiatives for the way forward;
- Study the relationship between peace initiatives and state building in the Somali region

The study was designed with four phases, facilitated by Mark Bradbury in collaboration with the Interpeace Somali program team, with the field research undertaken by the three partner organisations. During the preparatory phase the three organisations established their research teams and compiled inventories of peace meetings in the Somali region. Following a workshop in April 2007, at which a research framework and a work plan for the study was agreed, the researchers conducted literature reviews, interviews and group discussions to develop a historical Overview of peace initiatives in their respective areas. This research was reviewed at a joint workshop, before undertaking a third phase of detailed research on case studies while the Audio Visual Units of the organisations prepared films (in Somali and English) to accompany the research and reach a wider audience. Additional support was provided by a number of colleagues² and the CRD also undertook research on internationally sponsored national peace conferences in collaboration with Professor Ken Menkhaus.

In the series of workshops that marked the transition between the project phases, the researchers received training in designing a research framework, analytical tools, interviewing techniques and comparative learning³. Information was gathered through individual interviews and group discussions with people who had been involved in or witnessed the events, many in the places and communities where the peace conferences took place.

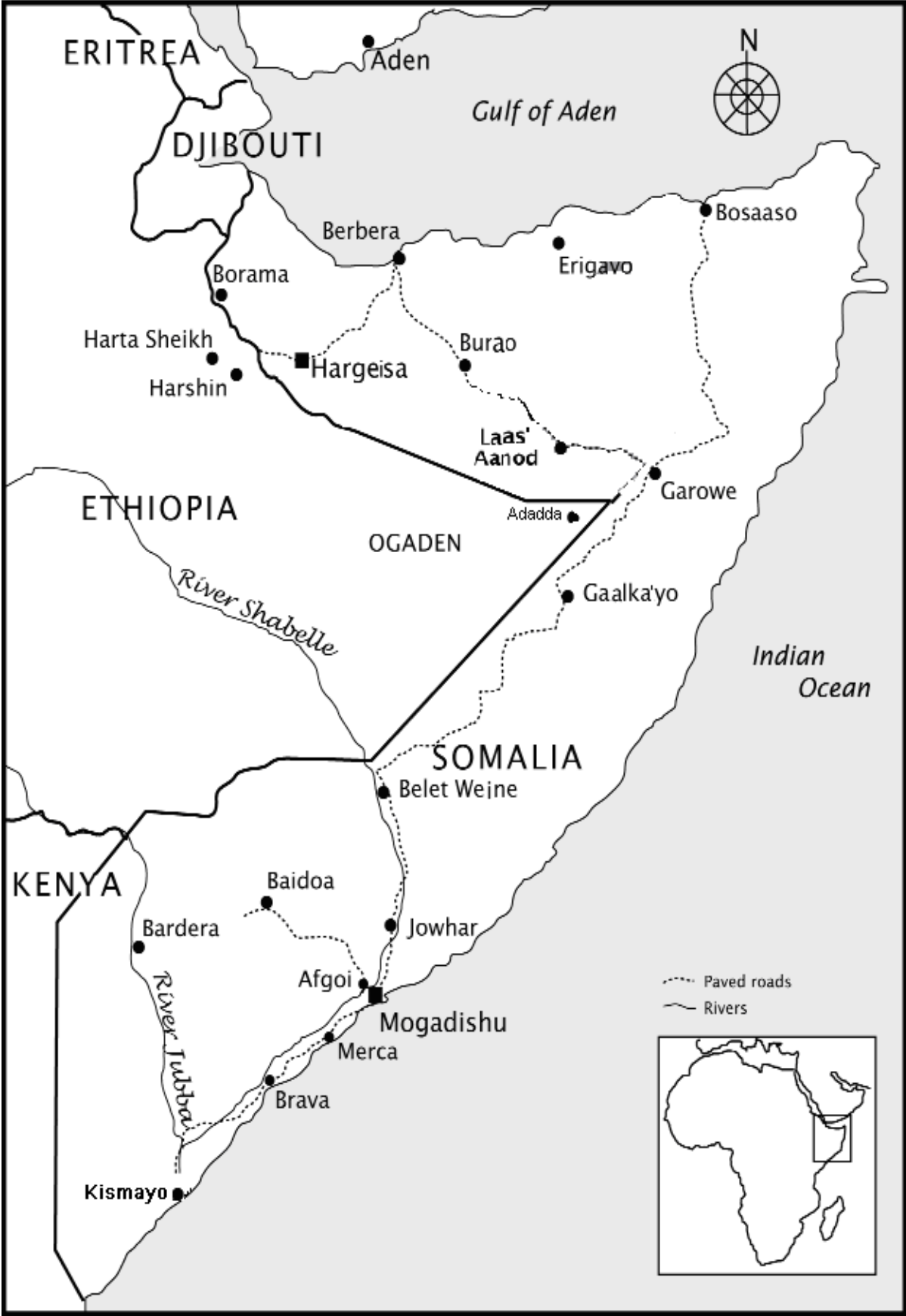
In line with Interpeace's Participatory Action Research (PAR) methodology, Working Groups of knowledgeable individuals were convened in each region to provide guidance and comment on the research. Many of the interviews were recorded on audio tape and film and now comprise a historic archive of material on Somali peace processes, together with written documentation on the meetings, including copies of signed peace agreements. Finally, the research reports were peer reviewed before being completed.

This report forms part of the final series of five publications presenting the findings of the peace mapping study – both as a record for those involved, and as a formal presentation of findings and recommendations to the national and regional authorities, the broader Somali community, and international policy makers. Together with the short documentary films that accompany the reports, it is hoped that these publications will provide a practical platform for the sharing of lessons learned on peace and reconciliation initiatives in the Somali region.

² Mark Bradbury, Abdirahman Raghe, Pat Johnson, Janet Oeverland, Ulf Terlinden, Mohamed Hassan Ghani, Michael Walls, and Rita Glavtza.

³ Resource people included Dr Justin Willis of the British Institute in Eastern Africa and Andy Carl of Conciliation Resources.

Map of Somalia, 1991



Overview of Local Peace Processes in Puntland

Introduction

Demography and historical background to Puntland

Historically, and during colonial times, the regions of Bari, Nugaal and North Mudug⁴ were together known as “*Migiurtinia*”. After independence, they were referred to as the ‘Northeast Regions’ of Somalia, known to the rest of Somalia as *geeri-go’an* and *gaariwaa* (meaning “isolated and inaccessible”) because of its remoteness. The territory is characterised by vast semi-arid rangelands on which nomadic pastoralists raise herds of camels, goats and sheep, a number of small towns, and small coastal settlements where people practice rudimentary fishing. The economy is primarily dependent on pastoralism, the livestock trade, and the import and export of goods at the port of Bosaaso on the northeast coast.

Stretching from the Gulf of Aden and the Indian Ocean to the north and east, to south Mudug region in central Somalia and bordering Ethiopia and Somaliland in the west, the area encompasses the traditional territory of the Harti clan group of the Darood clan-family and a number of other Darood clans and is considered one of the most homogeneous Somali regions. The Harti clan group comprises the Majeerteen (in Bari, Nugaal and North Mudug regions and Zone 5 of Ethiopia), the Dhulbahante (in Sool and Sanaag regions), the Warsangeli (in Sanaag and Bari regions) and the Deshiishe clans (in Bari region). The Majeerteen are further subdivided into four major sub-clans, of which the largest, the Mohamoud Suleiman, is further subdivided into Omar Mohamud, in northern Mudug region, southern Nugaal region and lid in Zone 5 of Ethiopia; the Isse Mohamud, in Nugaal and Bari regions; and the Osman Mohamud, in Bari region (see diagram below). A number of smaller Majeerteen sub-clan also inhabit northern Bari region.

Three other clans of the Harti clan group, the Geesaguule, Kaskiqabe and Liibaangashe, are found in all of these regions, as well as a number of other Darood clans, including the Marehan, Leylkase and Awrtable and minority groups, such as the Arab Mohamud Saalah, Madhibaan, Tumaal, and Bantu. The formation of Puntland State, in 1998, claimed a wider territory than the historical “Northeast Regions” to incorporate parts of Sool, Sanaag and Togdheer to the west⁵, although Puntland’s claims to these western territories are contested by Somaliland. Harti clans also inhabit areas of southern Somalia, notably in the Lower Juba region and Kismayo, the regional capital, where they migrated in the 19th century, as well as the adjacent area of Wardheer in eastern Ethiopia.

The traditional life of the northeast regions was disrupted from 1900-1920 by the turmoil of battles waged by Sayid Mohamed Abdulle Hassan against European and Ethiopian colonisation of Somali territories, and subsequently from 1923-7 by the resistance of the Majeerteen Sultanates to Italian direct rule (Abdisalam M. Issa Salwe 1996). From 1935-36, over 25,000 pastoralists were subject to compulsory conscription by the Italians for their war against Ethiopia and many of the able young men who survived this later emigrated to southern Somalia, contributing to the socio-economic growth of the emerging towns there (Puntland State profile, 2006-7). Through their involvement in business and in the Italian and British colonial administrations, they acquired modern skills and experiences and played a prominent role in Somali politics, becoming an important component of the Somali state machinery after independence in 1960 (Bernhard Helander 1998). For example, the last civilian president of Somalia (1967-9), Abdirashid Ali Sharmarke, and Prime Minister Abdirizak Haji Hussein were both prominent Majeerteen leaders. Sharmarke’s assassination by one of his bodyguards triggered the 1969 military coup, and Abdirizak Haji Hussein subsequently became a target for persecution by the military regime.

4 North Mudug region comprises (Gaalka’yo, Jarriiban and Galdogob districts)

5 Specifically, Sool region without the district of Ainabo, eastern Sanaag, and Buhoodle district of Togdheer region: the latter is now considered the capital of the Puntland region of Ayn, with two new districts of Widh-Widh and Horufadhi.

This oppression and alienation of leading Majeerteen figures was a significant factor in the formation of the first armed opposition to the military government of Siyad Barre in the aftermath of the Somali army's defeat in the Ogaden war with Ethiopia. A group of army officers led by Colonel Mohamed Sheikh Osman (a member of the Majeerteen clan) attempted a military coup in April 1978. Immediately after it was apparent that the coup had failed, a number of other officers, led by Lieutenant Colonel Abdulahi Yusuf Ahmed, fled to Kenya where the first Somali Salvation Front (SOSAF), later re-named the Somali Salvation Democratic Front (SSDF), was secretly formed. The group subsequently moved to Ethiopia where the formation of the SSDF was officially launched and began an insurgency in the Somali regions bordering Ethiopia. The regime responded with a punitive "scorched earth" policy in Mudug region and further repression against the Mohamoud Suleiman sub-clan as a whole.

According to WSP (2001), "From independence in 1960 to the collapse of central government in early 1991, very little of the substantial foreign aid given to Somalia and the national development fund found its way to northeast Somalia." The crucial exceptions were the development in the 1970s of a tarmac road from Belet Weyn through Gaalka'yo, the gateway to southern Somalia, to Garowe and in the late 1980s, another tarmac road from Garowe through the hinterland to Bosaaso Port and development of Bosaaso port itself, together with a fish processing plant.

The impact of the collapse of the Somali State on the northeast regions of Somalia

Following the overthrow of Siyad Barre's regime in early 1991, the state collapsed and Somalia was plunged into civil war. In southern Somalia, hundreds of thousands of people died and government institutions and the economic infrastructure disintegrated, with public and private property looted, squatted and destroyed. The civil war caused social and political disintegration along clan lines and massive internal displacement, including the Darood clan's exodus into the northeast as well as into southern regions of Somalia, as people were forced to flee the factional fighting and seek refuge in their ancestral territories.

One of the primary legacies of the disintegration of the Somali State was a return to the dominance of clan-based structures throughout the country. In the absence of the state, local traditional mechanisms re-emerged as the basis of local governance to address social, security, administrative and political affairs, and to provide a crucial safety net. Thanks to its relatively homogeneous clan composition, the northeast regions were spared the fragmentation and violence that gripped much of the rest of Somalia after 1991, and remained a relatively coherent entity.

The stabilization of the northeast regions was aided by a reversal of the "brain drain" to the south over the previous two decades. Many of the people who fled to the northeast regions in the early 1990s had professional backgrounds, including military officers and civilian technocrats in the administrations of the previous governments who earned the nickname "*Dowlad Ku Nool*⁶" (government-dependents) (WSP, 2001). They brought a level of administrative expertise and experience to the northeast regions that had been largely absent. Their experience of government was one of the enabling factors in the evolution of local governance structures during the period of the United Nations Operation in Somalia (UNOSOM) from 1993-5. A number of local administrative structures were re-established through clan-based power sharing arrangements following consultative community meetings, which were intended to provide the foundation for a modern democratic system of governance.

6 Interview with Beldaje Ali Farah, Bosaaso, November 2007

The record of these councils was mixed; some succeeded in establishing a level of law and order and others foundered on power struggles related to local clan and sub-clan dynamics or attempts to form new districts. In line with the Addis Agreement in 1993, which established the Transitional National Authority (TNA), UNOSOM only accepted districts established up to 31 December 1990 but in some areas, tensions between the sub-clans continued to simmer until UNOSOM's departure in 1995.

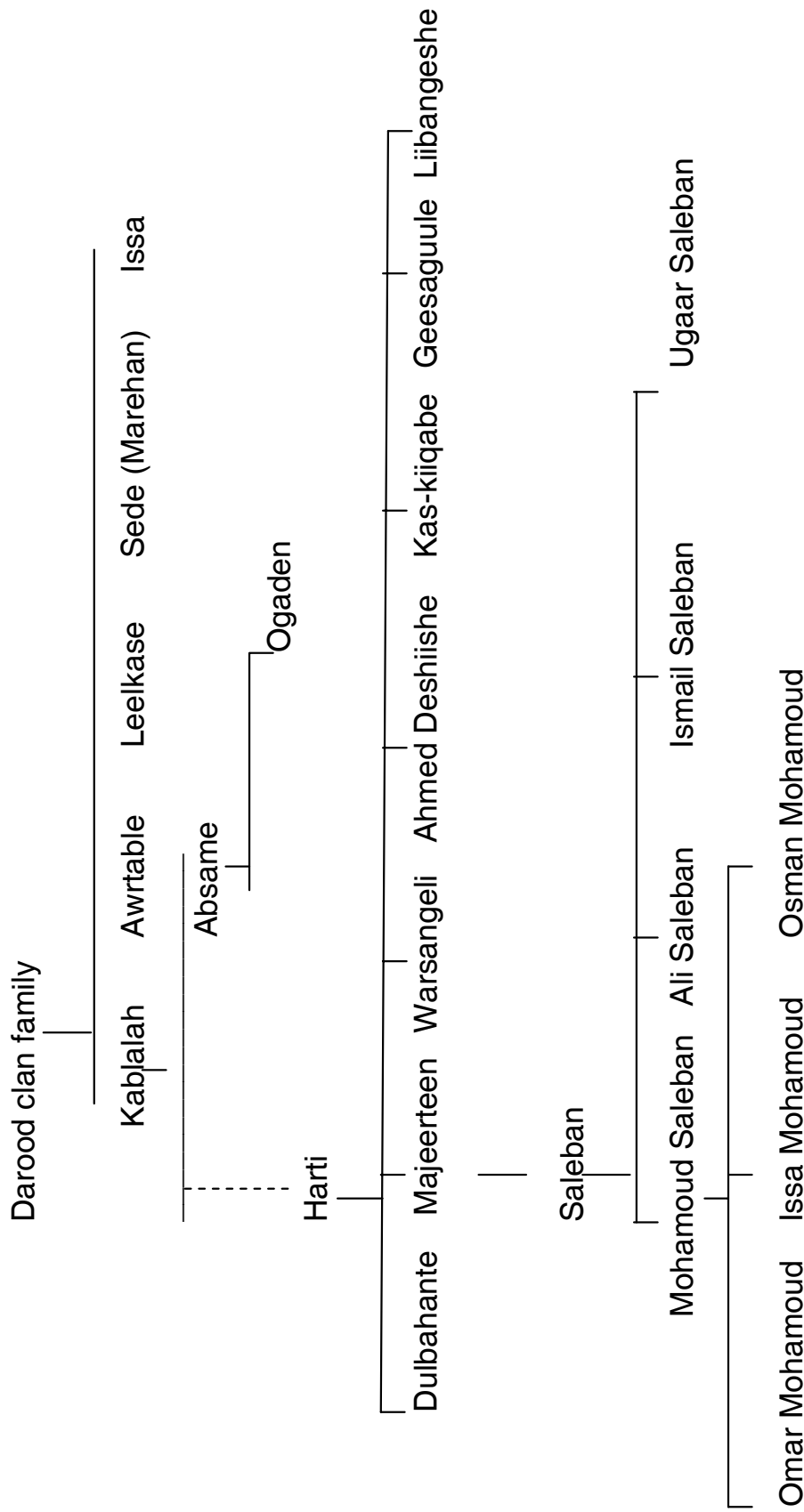
The relative stability of the northeast meant that, unlike southern Somalia, most public infrastructure was spared from destruction. Police stations remained physically intact, often with a policeman protecting it from looting or squatting by displaced families who already occupied many other public premises. In the absence of salaries, the policemen supported themselves by using the police radios to provide an invaluable communication service to dispersed family members across Somalia and neighbouring countries. But there was widespread looting by gangs, who targeted former government offices and the Italian road construction companies in Garowe and Bosaaso, benefitting from the Somali community's lack of a sense of common ownership of public property and institutions (which are therefore not protected from destruction or appropriation)..

Another major impact of the war on the northeastern regions was a massive influx of displaced people of the Harti clan group from the south and the northwest regions (Somaliland). The population of urban centres doubled and, in the absence of local governance systems or municipal services, haphazard development emerged with little regard for public spaces. Many people headed for the port of Bosaaso, either for livelihood opportunities or to attempt the dangerous crossing to Yemen and onwards to Saudi Arabia and the Gulf States. Ferrying immigrants from Bosaaso and its coastal villages across the Gulf remains a lucrative business, despite the high risks and deaths en route.

Despite the pressures of absorbing so many displaced persons, the region received very little external humanitarian assistance. This was primarily because international humanitarian resources were focussed on the disastrous famine in southern Somalia in which over a quarter of a million people are estimated to have died. Nevertheless, not a single starvation-related death was recorded in the northeast during 1991-1993, the height of the famine in the south (WSP, 2001).

Simplified clan diagram for the Darood clan family

The diagram below is a partial and simplified lineage for the Darood clan family, one of the five main Somali clan-families. Many lineages are omitted while others are compressed or their relationships simplified.



Timeline of Events in Puntland (Northeast Somalia)

After the collapse of the Somali State in 1991, the situation in northeastern Somalia evolved through a number of phases, each characterised by internal conflicts and peace processes. These were:

1. Civil war and the strengthening of the SSDF
2. Transition: the Mudug Peace Agreement and regional administrations
3. Recovery and rebuilding: establishment of the Puntland State of Somalia
4. Constitutional crisis and armed conflict
5. Political transition

Civil war and the strengthening of the SSDF

The onset of the civil war

From the late 1980s onwards, two parallel tracks emerged to address the deepening national crisis⁷ as the country plunged into political and economic chaos, armed opposition forces pressed towards the capital, the government lost control of many regions outside Mogadishu, and administrative structures disintegrated.

On the one hand, a group comprising the remnants of the former civilian government launched an initiative to try to salvage the country from total collapse by attempting to persuade Siyad Barre to resign and form a caretaker government. Although this strategy put them in opposition not only to the Barre regime but also the armed opposition groups (see below), the process gained momentum and gathered popular support as a mass movement. It built upon the preceding mobilisation of civic actors, which included a cultural group who composed songs and plays, such as the well-known “Land cruiser” depicting the travesties of the regime.

Members of the group were mostly urban-based or in the diaspora and had connections with both Western countries (notably Italy) and the Arab world. Many of them had suffered long imprisonment under the Barre regime and several leading members originated from the northeast regions, including General Mohamed Abshir (who acted as the group’s spokesman on the BBC and the Voice of America), Abdirizak Haji Hussein (former prime minister and well-respected Somali nationalist), Abdulahi Boqor Musse “King Kong” (brother of the *boqor*, or king, of the Darod clan), and General Abdulahi Ali Farah “Hoolif”. Other key figures included the advocate Ismail Jumaale, the focal point for the group before he passed away in Italy, as well as Ali Mahdi and Hussein Bod, all from the Hawiye clan family. In mid-1990, the group, now numbering over one hundred prominent political, traditional and religious figures, engaged in a series of underground meetings in which the “Manifesto Declaration” was drafted. The Manifesto Declaration temporarily united former political rivals and was signed by 114 members of the ‘Manifesto Group’, as it became known. The government responded by arresting outspoken members of the group and, although they were quickly released in response to foreign pressure, the movement faltered.

On the other hand, the armed struggle was gaining ground through the factions formed from mid-1978 onwards to wage guerrilla warfare against the Barre regime with military support from Ethiopia, Libya and South Yemen (the Tri-partite Alliance).

⁷ Interviews with several senior Somali figures, August 2008

For the first ten years of the armed opposition (1978-1988), the SSDF had been effective in weakening the Barre regime. The Somali National Movement (SNM) was active from its base in Ethiopia from 1979, led by Sheikh Yusuf Madar, until he was replaced by Ahmed Mohamed Silanyo who was in turn replaced by Abdirahman Tuur in 1990. In 1989, the United Somali Congress (USC) was formed with Ismail Jimale Ossoble as its first chairman until his death in Italy in 1990. Ali Wardhigley led the USC branch in Mogadishu and was succeeded by Hussein Haji Bod and later General Aydiid.

In April 1988, General Siyad Barre and Colonel Mengistu of Ethiopia met in Djibouti and signed a non-aggression agreement with commitments to restrain the armed political opposition movements operating in the other's country. The SSDF and SNM chairmen, Dr. Hassan Ali Mirreh and Ahmed Mohamed Silanyo, met with Mengistu in May 1988, complaining of Ethiopian betrayal in reaching a secret agreement with Siyad Barre at their expense. Mengistu in turn accused them of failing themselves and letting down their allies because of infighting between and within the factions and offered to renounce the agreement if the factions united to form a joint armed opposition against the Barre regime. This was agreed by the SSDF, SNM and Ethiopia and a joint meeting was planned in Dire Dawa in 30 days time to finalise a strategy to depose the Barre regime⁸. However before the meeting took place, the SNM invaded Burao and Hargeysa in May 1988, resulting in heavy casualties and the devastation of both cities.

The SNM's actions contributed to polarisation of the clans and the USC forming its own faction to focus on Hawiye-dominated regions in south-central Somalia. Meanwhile, in southern Somalia, the Somali Patriotic Movement (SPM) led by Colonel Omar Jess was conducting guerrilla operations in the Lower and Middle Juba regions

Worried that this polarisation of clans, combined with a weakened Barre regime would lead to civil war and a political vacuum, the SSDF refrained from engaging in clan warfare and instead adopted a wait-and-see approach⁹. Chairman Dr. Hassan Ali Mirreh resigned at the end of his two year term in early 1989, replaced by Musa Islan Farah as acting chairman. In the meantime, an alliance was formed between General Aydiid (USC), Abdirahman Tuur (SNM) and Colonel Omar Jess (SPM) to intensify the guerrilla war in their respective areas.

Critically, however, no single faction or leader was sufficiently dominant to take over as victor when the regime finally fell.

In January 1991, the USC, encouraged by the local Hawiye uprising and boosted by public agitation by the Manifesto Group, entered the capital and drove out President Siyad Barre. Some analysts identify the controversial announcement by the Prime Minister of the first caretaker government, Omar Arteh, as a critical event, when he instructed the police, military and security forces to hand over government responsibilities to the liberation movements of the SNM in the North and the USC in the South - with no reference to the SSDF or the SPM¹⁰. This was seen by many as aggravating tensions between the clans. The USC forces, predominantly drawn from the Hawiye clan, exacted reprisals against members of the Darood clan-family for their clan affiliation with Barre. In the power vacuum that followed, the bloodshed escalated into all-out civil war. Members of the Darood living in the capital and neighbouring districts fled south to Kismayo, onwards to Kenya, or to the northeast regions of Somalia.

The collapse of the central government also left a political and institutional vacuum at the local level. In the northeast regions, armed gangs of youth emerged, looting public property and harassing former

8 Interviews with senior Somali figures, Nairobi, August 2008

9 Some commentators note that the SSDF may have been weakened by the imprisonment of Abdulahi Yusuf in Ethiopia.

10 *ibid*

government officials and innocent civilians. These gangs, known as *Jirri* after a blood-sucking bird that feeds off camels, further undermined the relative stability of the northeast regions. In order to combat the growing lawlessness and insecurity, and to defend their people from further attacks by USC forces, northeastern leaders including local politicians, elders, and former officers from the police and army agreed to reinforce the SSDF.

The Somali Salvation Democratic Front (SSDF) and the struggle to control Gaalka'yo, 1991

In 1977, the Siyad Barre regime had suffered a devastating defeat in the Ogaden war with Ethiopia. Founded the same year by a group of dissident politicians and senior military officers, the SSDF was the first major armed opposition movement to challenge Siyad Barre's repressive regime and was welcomed by the Ethiopian revolutionary socialist regime headed by Colonel Mengistu. In time, Libya and Yemen also emerged as major sponsors of the SSDF.

In the early days, the SSDF was an all-inclusive popular front with Mustapha Haji Noor (an Isaaq) as the chairman with three vice-chairmen: Haji Omar Sterlin and Shanddiinle (both Hawiye) and Colonel Abdulahi Yusuf (Darood). Both the Executive and Central Committees were well balanced regionally and clan-wise but serious internal power struggles and the establishment of other clan-based liberation movements soon reduced the SSDF to a principally Majeerteen organization. By the early 1980s, infighting and factionalism had plunged the SSDF into deep political crisis. In 1985, the new leader of the SSDF, Colonel Abdulahi Yusuf Ahmed, was detained by the Ethiopian government and the movement's weapons and other assets were confiscated. The SSDF assumed a low profile to avoid being drawn into an inter-clan civil war. Most of the central committee members sought refuge abroad, while the fighters drifted back to Somalia, principally Mogadishu and the northeast region.

In early 1991, following the seizure of Mogadishu by the Hawiye-dominated USC and massacres of Darood clan members, Majeerteen communities in northeastern Somalia – especially Mudug region - feared further attacks by the Hawiye-based USC forces led by General Aydiid.

Amongst the influx of people who fled from the south-central and northwest to their ancestral homeland in the northeast regions were a fair number who had experience in the civil service and professions, as well as many of the Majeerteen political leadership¹¹. Both factors contributed to the idea of establishing an embryonic political organisation and revitalising the SSDF.

A meeting was hastily convened in Gaalka'yo on 14 February 1991 to re-launch the SSDF (WSP, 2001). A Central Committee of 76 members was formed, mainly from the Majeerteen clan with representatives from the Leylkase and Awrtable clans as well as the Marehan and Ogaden (all members of the Darood clan-family). General Mohamed Abshir, a senior and widely respected former national police commander in the 1960s, was appointed regional chairman for North Eastern Somalia. Musa Islan Farah remained the acting national Chairman and foreign affairs spokesman, leading the SSDF delegations to the Djibouti I and II reconciliation conferences in June and July 1991. Following these conferences, he deferred the national chairmanship to General Mohamed Abshir for the sake of unity of the SSDF and the people of North Eastern Somalia. However, some of those named in the Central Committee were not consulted or informed before their nomination while others were absent. Nevertheless the outcome partially overcame previous divisions

¹¹ Interview with Beldaje Ali Farah, Bosaaso, November 2007

among the SSDF membership, and created a united position on defence. The SSDF joined forces with the relatively small Mudug-based Somali National Democratic Union (SNDU) and militia from the Marehan clan in Galgaduud region against the USC forces.

Two weeks later, on 28 February, USC militia attacked and took control of Gaalka'yo, a strategic trading centre and crossroads between north and south Somalia, the coast and eastern Ethiopia. The action escalated the conflict between the Hawiye and the Darood clans - particularly between the Hawiye / Habar Gidir sub-clan of General Aydiid, and the Majeerteen clan, which reportedly lost over 550 people in the battle¹².

In May 1991, the Mengistu regime in Ethiopia was deposed by the rebel Ethiopian Peoples' Revolutionary Democratic Front. SSDF leaders, including Abdulahi Yusuf, were released from detention and returned home to the northeast regions. Yusuf was offered the role of second-in-command in the SSDF hierarchy, with the defence portfolio¹³, but he declined the offer, claiming instead his former position as chairman of the movement. In order to reconcile their differences, and join forces to re-take Gaalka'yo, the SSDF Central Committee and other prominent members of the movement convened a meeting in Bosaaso. The rivalries between the different factions of the SSDF were temporarily resolved and a few weeks later, in June 1991, the SSDF militia resumed the battle for Gaalka'yo, eventually retaking control in the late summer.

Leadership rivalries within the SSDF

On the political front, three broad groups had emerged¹⁴. Former high-ranking officials from the Barre regime (such as Hassan Abshir - formerly mayor of Mogadishu, General Jibril – former head of the National Security Service, Colonel Abshir Muse, General Ali Ismail and others) formed a “marriage of convenience”¹⁵ with the armed wing of the SSDF led by Abdulahi Yusuf and were contesting for power with those associated with the former civilian government and the Manifesto Group led by General Mohamed Abshir. As a result, Colonel Abdulahi Yusuf and General Mohamed Abshir emerged as rival contenders for the leadership position.

The divisions were characterised by differences in approach¹⁶. Those associated with the former civilian Somali government enjoyed a level of respect amongst the public for their good record in governance and the suffering they had endured under the Barre regime (including imprisonment) generating popular support amongst the intellectuals, emerging civil society in northeast regions, and the diaspora. Their political perspective focussed on the priority of self definition of the territory of the northeast regions (and avoiding offensive action beyond its borders) while preserving a patriotic Somali national identity (and avoiding action that would exacerbate clan hatred). However, they were nicknamed the “*sulux*” (pacifists or mediators) since their philosophy did not appeal to the sentiments of people who had lost family members, been evicted from their homes, were threatened by the Hawiye clan, and wanted clan revenge. In contrast, the former ministers of the Barre regime called for the “return of the experienced and tested leaders” and rallied behind Colonel Abdulahi Yusuf as the founder and legitimate head of the SSDF. He was popularised as a strong Darood leader who could match Aydiid (considered a strong Hawiye leader), generating popular appeal, including amongst those calling for clan revenge.

12 Interviews with elders and militia leaders in Gaalka'yo, 2007

13 Decree issued by the SSDF Central Committee and traditional titled leaders of northeast regions on a state of emergency on 16 May 1992

14 Interviews with several senior Somali figures, August 2008

15 Similarly, in the south, remnants of the Barre regime joined forces with the armed wing of the USC.

16 Interviews with several key Somali figures, August 2008

The differences in approach were accentuated by the absence of key civilian politicians at critical periods (for example, General Mohamed Abshir was frequently preoccupied in Mogadishu and elsewhere supporting other Manifesto Group members or organising representation for the Northeast regions at national level peace conferences). Although Colonel Abdulahi Yusuf and his allies were active in the national peace talks, they also emphasised the military defence of the northeast regions.

The unresolved leadership dispute and latent conflict between the two contenders and their respective supporters became a feature of successive national level reconciliation processes and hindered progress towards the establishment of an effective regional administration over the next seven years. Incremental headway was made through different phases¹⁷ and a series of political meetings and community gatherings, paving the way for public mobilisation at the grassroots level in the northeast regions. Despite its internal divisions, the SSDF played a critical role as the only major political and military faction in the area.

“Go’aanada Shirweynaha” Garowe seminal conference, June 1991 and security challenges

In response to the rapidly evolving dynamics throughout the Somali region, the second inter-regional conference in the northeast regions was convened. Senior leaders of the SSDF arrived from the recently concluded Somali national conference in Djibouti (5-11 June, 1991), including Abdirizak Haji Hussein and Mohamud Yusuf Aden ‘Muro’. Representatives of the Marehan clan from Galgaduud region, who had joined forces with the SSDF in the battle against the USC for the ‘liberation’ of Gaalka’yo town, participated together with high level delegations from the regions of Bari, Nugaal and north Mudug, selected through consultations between the SSDF leadership and the senior elders (Dr. Z. Farah, 1998). The conference aimed to address four key issues:

1. the defence of the North-East and the protection of the lifeline road (Gaalka’yo-Bosaaso) and Bosaaso port
2. resolution of the leadership of the SSDF and membership of its central committee;
3. the position of the Northeast regions towards the forthcoming Djibouti II conference due to take place the following month, July 1991¹⁸
4. the position of the Northeast regions towards Somaliland’s declaration of independence in May 1991;

Four days of intense deliberations resulted in a series of decisions. It was agreed, for the first time, that an inter-regional administration would be formed for the northeast regions to include local administrations at regional and district level. Jama Ali Jama was appointed as the coordinator with a full mandate to form a joint northeast administration, aided by a 16-point agreement on emergency powers to prevent opposition or obstructions. The key question of whether it would be independent or under the SSDF was resolved through a compromise in which there would be fifteen secretaries of state, five from the SSDF and ten from the regions, as a transitional model for the administration. The SSDF and Mudug and Nugaal regions made their nominations but selection of those from Bari region was more complicated (due to the multi-clan presence in Bari). Despite the emergency powers, Jama Ali Jama was unable to provide the necessary proposals and in November 1991 General Mohamed Abshir appointed Abdulahi Boqor Muuse (King Kong) to replace him as the coordinator to form a new northeast administration with a cabinet, which, however, failed to materialise.

The decisions reached at the Djibouti I conference (at which the SSDF, USC, SPM, SNM, SDA and USF were all present) were reported to the meeting by Abdirizak Haji Hussein and the rest of his delegation,

¹⁷ Interview with Mohamed Abshir Waldo, Garowe, November 2007

¹⁸ Ali Mahdi was subsequently re-appointed as President at the Djibouti II conference in July 1991

namely to condemn and bring to justice Siyad Barre for crimes committed against the nation; call for a ceasefire, peace and understanding amongst all Somalis; and convene the follow-up conference, Djibouti II, within thirty days. Abdirizak underlined the importance of participating in Djibouti II and preparing well for it.

The Garowe conference responded to the declaration of independence by Somaliland with an acknowledgement of Somalilanders' contribution in Somali political history, particularly the union of the North and the South in July 1960 to form the Somali Republic, and an appeal for them not to secede from the Republic.

The stability of Bosaaso was given first priority in order to protect the port as the lifeline for the northeast regions, while agreement was reached to make Garowe the capital of the northeast regions.

The conference was largely successful, although the divisions within the SSDF and differences in approach remained. However, over the next few months, security deteriorated and in late 1991 a senior UN international was murdered and a national doctor and an elder injured in an attack in Bosaaso, resulting in the suspension of foreign aid to the northeast regions for a year. Another effect of the breakdown of law and order was the illegal burning of thousands of trees, mainly from the acacia forest in the Sool plateau, for the highly profitable charcoal export trade through Elayo and Mareero (near Bosaaso), which was not only devastating the environment but also resulting in protection rackets and checkpoints on the main highway.

Meanwhile, the SSDF faced three other potential challenges: to the west, the Somali National Movement (SNM), a liberation organization anchored in the Isaaq clan, was following up its declaration as an independent state by expanding its authority eastwards into Sool and Sanaag regions. Within the northeast, a militant Islamist faction known as *al-Itihaad al-Islaami* established training camps and settlements in several areas and persuaded General Mohamed Abshir – who believed them to be free of corruption – to hand over the management of Bosaaso port to them. There was also the continued threat of the USC militia attacks from the south.

The al-Itihaad al-Islaami and the Garowe conference, June 1992

By early May 1992, the militant Islamic movement, *al-Itihaad al-Islaami*, was expanding its influence and military power in the northeast. A conference of political and traditional leaders from across the northeast had been planned in Garowe to discuss the establishment of the new inter-regional administration under the guidance of a preparatory committee led by Sultan Garrasse of the Nugaal elders, together with professionals and civilians, many of whom were close to General Mohamed Abshir.

In May 1992, a number of leaders allied to Abdulahi Yusuf (including Hassan Abshir, Abshir Muse, and General Abdulahi Saed Samatar) met in Djibouti to discuss the challenge posed by *al-Itihaad*, as well as defence against the attacks in Mudug region by the USC, and how to strengthen the SSDF administration. The group confidentially drafted an emergency decree calling for the establishment of an emergency committee “solely for defence matters but exercising extraordinary powers¹⁹”. On their return to Bosaaso, they persuaded prominent traditional elders of the need for the emergency committee headed by Abdulahi Yusuf to confront the security threats posed by *al-Itihaad* and the USC, while assuring General Abshir that Yusuf was not competing for chairmanship of the SSDF but was concerned with defending the northeast regions. Coupled with dynamics elsewhere (with Siyad Barre finally forced to flee Somalia to Kenya and Aydiid in control of much of south-central Somalia, including parts of Mudug region), the anti-Darod threat was a strong card and Mohamed Abshir was unable to oppose their argument.

¹⁹ Interviews with senior Somali figures, Nairobi, August 2008

On 16 May, the SSDF Central Committee and traditional titled leaders of the clans of the northeast regions jointly issued an emergency decree to effectively dissolve the cabinet formed by King Kong and replace it with an emergency security committee led by Colonel Abdulahi Yusuf as commander of the SSDF militia. The emergency committee was empowered to manage the Bosaaso port revenue and seize properties and assets in order to counter the frequent attacks of the USC in north Mudug. Although the *al-Itihaad* forces were angered at losing management of the port, considering this to be the beginning of a campaign against them, the SSDF and the emergency committee did not see them as a major threat at this stage.

The meeting's decisions were pre-empted when *al-Itihaad* forces, led by Hassan Dahir Aweys seized the town of Garowe, Bosaaso port, and strategic locations along the main road. More than fifty traditional elders, politicians, and other prominent personalities attending a meeting in Garowe to mobilise resources for the emergency committee were taken hostage by *al-Itihaad* and held at Lige, outside Garowe. The SSDF and clan militias responded immediately through mass popular mobilisation and heavy fighting ensued. By late June 1992, after fierce combat that left hundreds dead, the SSDF regained control. The Garowe hostages were released unharmed and the remaining *al-Itihaad* forces withdrew to Las-Qoray port in Sanaag region, west of Bosaaso (see also below).

The conflict with *al-Itihaad* was ultimately resolved through a compromise that permitted the group to exist as an unarmed, religious/ social movement but obliged it to abandon political activity and expel all non-native (i.e. non-Harti) members (including its Hawiye leader, Hassan Dahir Aweys, who was suspected of using *al-Itihaad* as a front to support General Aydiid) Many of its senior figures remained peaceably in the northeast, redirecting their energies toward business, preaching, teaching and the judiciary²⁰.

Sool and eastern Sanaag regions, and the challenge of Somaliland, 1991-2

The initial peace agreements between the Isaaq and the Dhulbahante clans included the cessation of hostilities in Berbera in February 1991, the subsequent conference in Burao, April-May 1991, and a series of peace processes in Sanaag region²¹. These agreements ensured that political competition in Sool and Sanaag regions remained largely peaceful until 2003 but were nevertheless insufficient to provide full security and stability at local level. As in the northeast, the lawlessness and insecurity that followed the collapse of the state prompted the senior traditional and religious leaders and intellectuals in Sool region, led by Garaad Abdulqani Garaad Jama, to convene a meeting in Bo'ame in June 1991 with the aim of establishing a local administration mandated to restore law and order in Dhulbahante clan areas. The primary outcome was to assert a position of Somali national unity for Sool region and the Dhulbahante community.

A follow-up meeting, Bo'ame II, was convened in 1992 with the substantial participation of members of the *al-Itihaad al-Islami*, who had recently been defeated by the SSDF in the northeast regions. While the Dhulbahante elders invited peaceful participation by the *al-Itihaad* in the process of rebuilding in the region, ultimately many of the *al-Itihaad* followers moved to the strategically remote and inaccessible mountainous areas and coastal settlements in eastern Sanaag region (although others remained active in Sool region).

Violent conflict between the militia of the USC and the SSDF in Mudug, 1991-3

Between 1991 and the Addis Ababa Reconciliation Conference in March 1993, there were at least twelve major armed conflicts between the USC and the SSDF in Gaalka'yo and Mudug. The second major conflict, in May 1991, reached the outskirts of Gaalka'yo, after which a frontline was established 30 kms south of Gaalka'yo at Dagaari and eastwards to the Indian Ocean. In 1992, the civil war was at its height and the SSDF and population of the northeast were attaching great importance to the defence of this southern border.

²⁰ Interviews with several senior Somali figures, August 2008

²¹ See the Somaliland Peace Mapping study - Peace in Somaliland: An Indigenous Approach to State-building, APD/ Interpeace 2008

Transition in the northeast regions

The Mudug Peace Agreement, 1993

Between 1991-2, successive rounds of fighting took place in Gaalka'yo between militia from the two dominant clans in the area. Mudug region occupies a strategic position as a key trading crossroads in central Somalia. It is also home to diverse clans, notably two clan-families who are considered traditional political and social rivals: the Habar Gidir clan of the Hawiye clan-family and the Majeerteen clan of the Darood clan-family. North Mudug, including the northern part of Gaalka'yo town, is especially associated with the Omar Mohamud sub-clan of the Majeerteen; south Mudug, including southern Gaalka'yo, is inhabited principally by the Sa'ad sub-clan of the Habar Gidir. These features of Mudug region make it susceptible to power struggles and clashes between the different groups, with elders, intellectuals and politicians from the two communities taking the lead in containing the violence.

However, by 1993 the leaders of the opposing militia factions, Abdulahi Yusuf and Aydiid, were each experiencing serious internal challenges and both recognised that, at this stage, no single leader had sufficient power to become the winner at the national level. Making use of their historical connection (including sharing a prison cell under the Barre regime), they agreed that each would consolidate their respective power bases in their own geographical area and support each other²². Both leaders were also motivated by the need to create a secure environment for trade flow through the regional capital, Gaalka'yo.

This convergence of interests provided the basis for negotiations that resulted in the Mudug Peace Agreement reached in June 1993 between Abdulahi Yusuf, on behalf of the SSDF Defence and Emergency Committee, and Mohamed Farah Aydiid, on behalf of his faction of the USC, for a cessation of hostilities and peaceful coexistence throughout the Mudug region, with the SSDF maintaining control of the three districts of north Mudug. The agreement included establishment of joint security structures involving the traditional leaders of the two opposing sides in order to contain acts of violence, such as camel rustling and looting of trade goods. At the time, the Mudug Peace Agreement caused tension within both the SSDF and the USC, resulting in political realignments, including between General Mohamed Abshir, Ali Mahdi and UNOSOM in a tacit alliance against Abdulahi Yusuf and Aydiid. Some argue that this contributed to the heavy fighting in Mogadishu in October 1993, which led to the withdrawal of UNOSOM.

The agreement had superseded attempts by UNOSOM to support a broader-based conference process with the inclusion of the other factions of SSDF and USC under General Mohamed Abshir and Ali Mahdi (both from the civilian-based Manifesto Group) – and it also effectively terminated the SSDF-SNF alliance between the Majeerteen and the Marehan clans (both of the Darood clan family), since it was entered into by the SSDF unilaterally.

Because the attention of the political and military leaders of the Sa'ad sub-clan of the Habr Gedir communities in south Mudug (notably Aydiid and Atto) was focussed on factional fighting in Mogadishu and south-central Somalia, and because the Abshir faction of the SSDF and many other leaders rejected the agreement outright, certain provisions of the agreement relating to joint security provisions and establishment of local governance structures in Mudug region were not fully implemented.

Nevertheless, even without full implementation of the 1993 Mudug peace agreement, it is considered one of the rare peace initiatives in the framework of contemporary peace efforts in south and central Somalia that had a positive impact, not only ending the bloodshed in Mudug region but also forming a critical element of the relative peace in the northeast regions through the turbulence of the 1990s. Soon after it was

²² Interviews with senior Somali figures, Nairobi, August 2008

signed, trade resumed between north and south Somalia and Gaalka'yo town began to thrive. Although isolated incidents continued to occur, the two communities refrained from direct confrontation and instead problems were addressed through the traditional elders.

Throughout this period, Abdulahi Yusuf focussed his attention on garnering the support of UNOSOM to form local district councils in north Mudug under his guidance. In exchange for Abdulahi Yusuf's influence on Aydiid to attend the national reconciliation conference in Addis in March 1993, UNOSOM would approve the lists for the local councils in the northeast provided by Abdulahi Yusuf²³. Despite public demonstrations against this approach when UNOSOM representatives arrived in Gaalka'yo (during which Yusuf's militia fired over the heads of the crowds to disperse them), the lists were approved and distributed to each town through the UNOSOM newspaper "*Maanta*", quelling public challenges to Abdulahi Yusuf in the area²⁴.

One problematic after-effect of the Mudug Peace Agreement was the large number of militiamen who "demobilised" and returned to their communities. Many of them lacked livelihood skills and formed armed groups who set up roadblocks along the vital trade route between Gaalka'yo and Bosaaso and joined protection rackets for the illegal burning of trees and the lucrative charcoal export trade (WSP, 2001).

Garowe "Peace and Life" conference, 16-29 December 1993

Following the agreement reached at the Addis conference in March 1993 on the approach to the formation of local councils and with the benefits – and unexpected challenges – of the Mudug Peace Agreement making themselves felt, the "Peace and Life" conference in Garowe aimed to foster peace and enhance socio-economic development and cooperation in the area. It was attended by respected *Isimo* and senior political representatives, including the vice chairman of the United Somali Party (USP), a political body comprising a group of Darood clans (namely the Dhulbahante and Warsangeli) who now opposed Somaliland's secession, and representatives from UNOSOM (see annex).

Many Somalis saw this as a Harti gathering and it was seminal in promoting the idea of the Harti clan group and allied Darood clans regrouping as a political entity, primarily to enhance the security of the Harti clan. The attendance of all five Harti regions at this conference was a precursor to the eventual formation the Puntland State of Somalia, some five years later.

Efforts to form an administration: 5th SSDF Congress in Gardo, June-September 1994

During this period, two different dynamics encouraged northeastern leaders to redirect their attention to internal political problems. The conclusion and relative success of the Mudug Peace Agreement provided assurances of improved security in Mudug region – while the failure of national level peace talks promoted their interest in the agenda for the northeastern regions. Abdulahi Yusuf had failed in attempts to reach a deal with Aydiid and Tuur (the fourth member, Jess, was absent from the meetings) while General Mohamed Abshir and his allies were unable to move forward in talks with Ali Mahdi, who was suffering the impact of the civil war in Mogadishu on his Abgal community. Both leaders returned empty-handed and turned their attention to the northeastern agenda.

The idea of creating local administrations at district and regional level was also boosted by the outcome of the second Addis Ababa conference in March 1993, which had agreed upon a "bottom-up" approach as a transition towards the formation of a national government (Dr. Z. Farah, 1998). As described above, Abdulahi Yusuf had already been actively engaged in establishing local councils under his guidance in parts

²³ The approach to formation of district councils was agreed at the Addis conference in March 1993

²⁴ Interview in Puntland, August 2008

of north Mudug region. Members of other district councils, including that of Burtinle (in north Mudug), Laas Qoray, and Dhahar (Sanaag region) and elsewhere, had been selected by community leaders according to “UNOSOM criteria” agreed at the Addis conference.

A series of consultative meetings were held in Bosaaso and Garowe in an effort to address the deteriorating lawlessness in the northeast regions and form regional administrations.

Despite the opposition of General Mohamed Abshir, who wanted the congress postponed, an active minority, known as the “group of four” comprising influential figures allied to Abdulahi Yusuf — General Abdulahi Saed Samatar, Mohamed Yusuf “Gagaab”, King Kong, and Ali Barre ‘Idilibah’ — persuaded the *Isimo* that the congress should go ahead. This was further reinforced when Aydiid contacted some of the *Isimo* to lend his support to Abdulahi Yusuf, raising hopes that progress towards establishment of a northeast administration would be matched by resolution of the fighting in south Somalia. Finally, by this stage the *Isimo*, many other influential figures, and the general public were increasingly impatient with the wrangling within the SSDF and wanted to see progress. The SSDF diaspora in Kenya were particularly vocal in their demand for the congress.

It was agreed that the 5th SSDF Congress would be held in Gardo town aiming to restructure the SSDF Central Committee, elect a new chairman, and establish a credible and functional administration for the northeast regions, which would be empowered to re-establish law and order. This was the first, formal, all-inclusive SSDF congress since its last congress in Harar, Ethiopia in 1986. The deep division between General Abshir and Abdullahi Yusuf, as a result of differing opinions on the Mudug Peace Agreement, meant tension was high from the outset.

The preparatory committee was headed by General Abdullahi Said Samatar, an ally of Abdulahi Yusuf, and the Congress foundered almost immediately over disagreements about the number, selection criteria, and representation of delegates, reflecting the struggle for chairmanship of the SSDF movement between Mohamed Abshir and Abdulahi Yusuf (as well as other potential candidates). A small group of participants strove to reconcile their differences but when almost three months passed without any agreement, on 22 August the seven *Isimo* present at the congress attempted to broker a compromise by appointing as chairman Abdirizak Haji Hussein, the well-known Somali nationalist and former Prime Minister of the civilian government of the 1960s. Although his arrival in Gardo was warmly welcomed by the public, his proposal for a one month conference to resolve the political crisis was accepted by Mohamed Abshir but rejected by Abdulahi Yusuf. Instead of unifying the SSDF, the congress had further exposed the sharp divisions within the movement and the SSDF divided into two factions, with neither able to claim control of the northeast regions, and Abdirizak returned to his home in the US.

Following the failure of the Congress and the split in the SSDF, General Mohamed Abshir’s faction nominated an ex-ambassador, Mohamed Omar Jama ‘Dhigic-Dhigic’, on 3 October 1994 as the head of a non-political administration for northeast regions. He was tasked with the establishment of a North East Somalia State (NES), envisaged to be one of several states forming a future National Federation of Somalia. Detailed plans were put in place for institution building but foundered because of the unresolved divisions within the SSDF.

Establishment of Bari, Nugaal and North Mudug regional administrations, 1993-5

With open divisions within the SSDF after the Congress in Gardo, local community leaders exerted efforts to reconcile the leaders of the dominant clan in Bari region, the Osman Mohamoud. Resolution of their internal differences was especially critical as Bosaaso port (in Bari region) was the only source of public revenue for the northeast regions at this stage. A proposal for a local administration was developed and submitted to other clans and sub-clans in Bari region and subsequently to a gathering in Gardo. The six month All Bari Communities Conference²⁵ from October 1995 was attended by 154 delegates from the 28 communities of Bari region, including traditional leaders and 8 women representatives and concluded on 17 March 1996 with agreement on formation of a regional council, which would define a subsequent regional administration. Four out of six district councils in Bari region were formed and received basic training and support packages from the Life and Peace Institute (LPI). At the request of the communities, agreement was also reached to establish a further nine district councils, which would be reviewed in two years time (with only those that demonstrated economic viability to be retained) (Wolfgang Heinrich, 1997).

Similar meetings had been taking place elsewhere, following the 1993 Addis agreement: four district councils were formed in Nugaal region between August and October 1993 (each receiving basic training and support from LPI) and Nugaal was the first to establish its regional administration. An elders' conference in Nugaal region in June 1995 agreed the administration would apply "*sharia* law as the sole law in the region" (Wolfgang Heinrich, 1997) and introduced revenue collection to maintain the administration (councils, courts, police and tax collectors).

Four district councils were formed in north Mudug in 1993 (as described above) and a regional administration was also established²⁶.

The relative viability of these local administrations in the major towns and districts gave momentum to the desire for decentralised governance for the northeast regions. As Ugas Hassan Ugas Yasin noted "the population was mature enough to welcome the establishment of order and the rule of law"²⁷.

The newly established regional administrations developed a plan to share the revenue generated at Bosaaso port and to fund common security forces and social services. These developments were encouraged by the international donor and aid agencies, which launched education, health and social development programmes through UNDP, UNICEF, WFP and GTZ, with training and support for district councils provided through LPI.

However these positive trends were undermined by developments at the national level (see below) and by the thriving unregulated economy run by private businesses. The burning of trees and export of charcoal and wildlife to the Gulf States had intensified, resulting in the proliferation of roadblocks, primarily targeting charcoal trucks, along the main highway between Garowe and Bosaaso. Those who benefited from such activities remained opposed to the restoration of functioning government and the rule of law.

The role of the traditional elders and local peace initiatives

Despite the sharp division within the SSDF and the booming unregulated economy, the northeast regions remained relatively calm, largely due to the sustained work of the traditional elders to contain, prevent and resolve conflicts²⁸.

25 Interview, Nairobi, August 2008

26 Interview with Dr. Yasin Farah, Bosaaso, November 2007

27 Interview with Ugas Hassan Ugas Yasin, Bosaaso, November 2007

28 Interviews with community and clan leaders, 2007

An example of one of these peace initiatives was the 'lid peace mission to eastern Ethiopia in late 1994 after fighting erupted between two sub-clans of the Majeerteen residing across the Ethiopian border in the eastern region of Wardheer, in an area known as "lida" (the Sands). The conflict between the Reer Hersi sub-clan (of the Omar Mohamoud sub-clan of the Majeerteen clan) and the Reer Mohamoud sub-clan apparently arose over a killing dating back ten years and escalated with further revenge killings on either side, including that of a prominent businessman in Gaalka'yo. The conflict between the two sub-clans impacted on the trade between Mudug and Wardheer regions, with the potential to expand further, both into northeastern Somalia and eastern Ethiopia. A group of respected Majeerteen clan elders, mostly from Bari and Nugaal regions and led by the late Islan Mohamed Islan Mussa, the paramount chief of Nugaal region, travelled to the Somali region of eastern Ethiopia to mediate. The mediation team was seen by both parties in conflict as neutral. It began by meeting the elders and intellectuals of the two sub-clans and, with their consent, convened a meeting at which the two communities presented their cases. The mediation team negotiated *diya* (compensation payment) and a settlement was reached between the two communities.

Hierarchy of the Somali traditional leadership

"[T]he northeast region had traditional structures of governments dating from the early 19th century, namely: the Sultanates of Majeerteen (1901-1927) whose territory included the current regions of Bari and Nugaal; the Sultanate of Mudug/Hobyo (1885-1925) and the Sultanate of eastern Sanaag (1901-1925)" (Puntland Ministry of Planning and Statistics, 2003)

The traditional titled leaders or paramount chiefs (*Isimo*) are usually crowned in a traditional ceremony known as "Aano-Shub" (meaning crowning with milk, pouring milk on the head) or "Aleemo-Saar" (meaning showering with green leaves) and are known in Puntland as "Isim" (singular) or "Isimo" (plural). The highest traditional position for the Darood clan is the *Boqor* (king), with other positions denoted as *Ugaas*, *Garaad*, *Islan*, *Beeldaaje*, *Sultan* and *Qud* and the *Caaqil* (chief), *Nabaddon*, *Samadoon* and *Oday*.

After the collapse of the state in 1991, the *Isimo* and other senior elders stepped into the power vacuum to resume responsibility for working in collaboration with politicians, intellectuals, members of the diaspora and others to prevent or mediate community-based and political conflict. Some attribute their effectiveness and the regard in which they are held in part to the relatively stable hierarchy of traditional titled elders in the northeast regions/ Puntland (Professor Federico Battera, study of the Puntland charter, UNDOS, 1998).

Recovery and rebuilding: establishment of the Puntland State of Somalia

In 1995 when UNOSOM left and Somalia slipped down the international agenda, the European Union commissioned a study by the London School of Economics on models of decentralisation suitable for the rebuilding of Somalia, 'A Menu of Options'²⁹. The study was widely circulated and encouraged the thinking behind the establishment of a regional administration for the northeast regions³⁰, a concept of which the EU and a number of others within the international community were supportive as part of the "building blocks" approach. During the same period, from 1996 onwards, a group of Somali intellectuals and professionals had begun extensive consultations through the War-torn Societies Project (WSP³¹) to explore opportunities for community-based recovery and rebuilding in the northeast regions from a peacebuilding perspective. In the face of the challenges experienced by politicians from the northeast in the national level reconciliation

29 *A Menu of Options, a Study of Decentralised Political Structures for Somalia*, London School of Economics and Political Science – EU, EC Somali Unit, August 1995 [should there be reference in text and this listed in references not footnote?]

30 Interview with Walid Musa, Nairobi, December 2007

31 WSP was re-named the International Peacebuilding Alliance, or Interpeace, in 2006.

process, these initiatives helped to mobilise broad-based support amongst the communities in the northeast towards a level of stability and trust-building that fostered the aim of establishing a regional administration.

The national Somali and SSDF conferences in Sodere, 1996-7

Two significant events took place in late 1996 and early 1997 in Sodere in Ethiopia that contributed to this: the Somali national conference (from 22 November 1996 to 3 January 1997) and the SSDF reunification meeting (from 7-20 January 2007).

In November 1996, twenty six Somali political factions met in Sodere in Ethiopia at the “The High Level Consultation of the Somali Political Movements” and agreed to establish the National Salvation Council as the body to be recognised by the UN, the OAU, and Arab League as representing the Somali people³². The meeting was to be followed by a National Reconciliation Conference³³ in Bosaaso in the northeast regions on 1 November 1997, at which a Transitional Government of National Unity would be established.

In 1996, the tensions between the two wings of the SSDF had deteriorated to the point that four wings emerged. In October, a group of SSDF supporters in Nairobi initiated action to bring the leaders of all four wings to a meeting in Nairobi, with logistical support and funding from the European Commission. The group first approached General Mohamed Abshir and Colonel Abdulahi Yusuf, who agreed to the meeting. However, because of the parallel arrangement of the national conference, the Ethiopians feared a SSDF conference in Nairobi would delay the appearance of the SSDF leaders scheduled to participate in the national conference. They offered instead to host the SSDF meeting in Sodere from the 7-20 January 1997, after the conclusion of the national conference, which was expected to take two to three weeks. The SSDF meeting was attended by thirty five senior members. The SSDF leaders agreed on a compromise in which General Mohamed Abshir was appointed the SSDF chairman for internal affairs and head of the Provisional Political Council (*Golaha Ku Meelgaarka ee Siyaasadda*) and Colonel Abdulahi Yusuf was assigned as SSDF chairman to manage national issues and represent the SSDF on the National Salvation Council (Bernhard Helander, 1998). Fifteen members of the SSDF Executive Committee of the Provisional Political Council were also appointed.

The meeting resolved the leadership conflicts and agreement was reached on a future work plan, including the convening of a SSDF conference by the end of the year, the formation of a provisional administration integrating regions of Mudug, Nugaal and Bari, and hosting of the all-inclusive National reconciliation conference in Bosaaso³⁴.

The impact of the 1997 Cairo national Somali conference on the future of the northeast regions

Following the Sodere meeting, preparations were well underway in Bosaaso in late 1997 to host the national reconciliation conference when the process was unexpectedly shifted to Cairo, resulting in great dissatisfaction in the northeast (Herbert Herzog, 1998) and provoking accusations that Egypt, Yemen and other Arab countries were biased towards the Hawiye clan factions³⁵. Suspicions were reinforced when the Cairo conference from 12 November-22 December 1997 resulted in an agreement that recognised Ali Mahdi and Hussein Aydiid (both leaders of Hawiye clan factions) as the sole representatives of the Somali people, in line with the power-sharing agreement between them. Furthermore, the Cairo agreement relocated the proposed National Reconciliation Conference from Bosaaso to Baidoa to be held in January 1998.

32 KAHA BARI (N. 350), 30 January 1998

33 Resolutions adopted by the National Salvation Council of Somalia in its second ordinary session from 24 June-10 July in Sodere, Ethiopia, and endorsed by IGAD

34 Decisions of the SSDF Leadership Meeting on 07-20 January 1997, Sodere, Ethiopia

35 KAHA BARI newspaper editorial (N. 351) 1997

For the general public in the northeast regions, the Cairo agreement was a huge blow and seen by many as a betrayal of hopes for the rebuilding of Somalia, as well as a way of minimising the influence of the northeast in Somali national affairs³⁶. The relocation of the proposed national reconciliation conference from the relatively secure port of Bosaaso to Baidoa town, which was under military occupation by Aydiid's forces, was seen as a humiliation for the northeast regions as well as impractical. (In the event, Aydiid refused to withdraw his forces from Baidoa and the conference never took place.) The SSDF delegation in Cairo called the SSDF Central Committee in Bosaaso for guidance and was instructed to withdraw and return home.

"That conference had [negative] political implication for the northeastern people. The President, Ali Mahdi, and the Prime Minister, Hussein Aydiid, appointed at the conference were both from the same Hawiye clan and that was not acceptable. We instructed Abdulahi Yusuf and Aden Gabyow to walk out of the conference. The Sool and Sanaag regions were also unhappy with the agreement signed at the conference" *Dr Yassin Farah, member of the SSDF Central Committee*³⁷.

The refusal of two of the primary Darood clan leaders to acknowledge the Cairo agreement and their public withdrawal from it was welcomed by the majority of the Darood people. Mohamed Abshir, who endorsed the Cairo Agreement, was censored by his supporters and lost credibility, marking the beginning of the decline of his political influence in the northeast regions.

The failure of the national reconciliation initiatives in Sodere and Cairo combined with popular desire in the northeast regions for an environment more conducive to peace and prosperity to provide the necessary impetus for political change (WSP, 1998; Bernhard Helander, 1998). It prompted prominent figures from the diaspora to intervene, urging the formation of a single, unified State of North East Regions.

Garowe Community Consultative and Constitutional Conferences and the birth of the Puntland State of Somalia, 1998

In early 1998, the failure of the national process, inherent threats from the USC in the south and the absence of effective administration in the northeast prompted a number of SSDF Central Committee meetings followed by a series of *ad hoc* consultative meetings between members of the SSDF central committee, local and diaspora intellectuals, and traditional and religious leaders in Bosaaso, Gardo and Garowe. Although there were differences on options and approaches at these meetings, almost all agreed on the need for a regional governance structure to address the political, economic, and social needs of the area. Eventually agreement was reached to convene a 'community consultative conference' in Garowe in the February 1998, which decided to convene a northeast constitutional conference in May 1998. The selection of delegates was based on the demography of the Harti clan group, firstly by region and then by distribution down the main lineage to the sub-sub-clans. Instead of confining participation to the inhabitants of 'Northeastern Somalia', invitations were ultimately extended to all Harti clans (as well as the Marehan of Galgaduud region): a decision that would have significant consequences (see the case study below).

Delegates began arriving in Garowe from early May 1998 for the opening of the constitutional conference on 15 May. Organisation of the "*Shir Beeleed*" (community conference), subsequently known as the "*Shir-Beeleedka Dastuuriga ah ee Garowe*" (Garowe Community Constitutional Conference), included the registration and accommodation of delegates, undertaken by a preparatory committee which organised the whole conference process and drafted the charter with the help of a group of international constitutional lawyers. Over 460 delegates representing the different sub-clans and social strata participated. A provisional Charter was adopted in July and a president and vice-president were elected, marking the establishment of

36 Interview with Dr. Yasin Farah, Bosaaso, November 2007

37 Interview with Dr. Yasin Farah, Bosaaso, November 2007

the Puntland State of Somalia. The cabinet was appointed in August 1998 and the parliament inaugurated the following month.

The mandate of the nascent Puntland government was to address the priority concerns of the public, namely the reestablishment of public institutions; ensuring law and order; drafting a new constitution within the three years of its term of office; preparing socio-economic development plans; and playing a more effective role in the national peace and reconciliation process. The administration worked with prominent community elders and former police officers to establish the first units of the police and *Daraawiish*³⁸ (paramilitary forces) and launched a campaign to clear the “charcoal roadblocks”³⁹. Through their joint efforts simultaneous operations were carried out along the 680 km length of the road, removing over 60 illegal roadblocks. This had immediate benefits and over the next two years, the administration thrived, restoring peace, stability, and confidence to the region.

Puntland constitutional crisis, armed conflict, and the mediating peace mission, 2001-3

In June 2001, just weeks before the three year term of the first Puntland government was due to expire, a constitutional crisis erupted. The Puntland Charter agreed at the Garowe conference in 1998 defined the provisions for a transition to a democratic system of governance during the Puntland Regional Government’s three year term. These included the drafting of a constitution, holding of a census and popular referendum to endorse the draft constitution, and preparation of the legal framework for political parties and elections. By mid-2001, none of these provisions had been fulfilled and the incumbent administration instead proposed extending its mandate for a further three years. However Article 34.2 of the Charter stipulated that if elections had not been held successfully by the end of the three-year transitional period, the Chairman of the Supreme Court would assume the presidency on an interim basis, pending the convening of a representative Community Constitutional Conference within 45 days.

There was significant public opposition to the proposed extension of the mandate and pressure to adhere to the Charter. The outgoing administration called on the traditional titled elders to defuse the impasse, but rejected their recommendation to comply with the Charter’s provisions.

The president of the Supreme Court was nevertheless sworn in at a meeting of the traditional titled elders in Garowe, over the objections of the outgoing president and his administration, and given responsibility to prepare the ground for a Constitutional Community Conference within the specified 45 days. The outgoing president, Abdulahi Yusuf, and his supporters regrouped in Gaalka’yo and prepared for an assault on Garowe and Bosaaso. The president of the Supreme Court quickly convened the Constitutional Community Conference in Garowe but it was not fully representative since Abdulahi Yusuf and his supporters refused to participate. On 14 November 2001, the delegates at the conference elected Colonel Jama Ali Jama, a former official of the SSDF and a leading opponent of Abdulahi Yusuf, as president. He duly formed a government, but almost immediately Abdulahi Yusuf launched an attack and successfully captured Garowe, the Puntland capital. Jama Ali Jama withdrew with his cabinet to Bosaaso and Puntland was formally divided. Abdulahi Yusuf subsequently captured Bosaaso and Jama sought refuge in Djibouti, together with some of his cabinet members.

Recognising the imminent threat to the stability and peace in Puntland, a group of influential figures from within Puntland and the diaspora initiated the “Puntland Peace Mission” comprising prominent intellectuals

38 *Darwiish* (derived from dervish) refers to members of armed religious fraternities, particularly the soldiers of Mullah Mohamed Abdulla Hassan, renowned for leading the struggle against the colonial powers in the early 19th century. The contemporary use of *Daraawiish* in Puntland refers to paramilitary forces.

39 Interviews with senior elders, 2007

and elders headed by Abdurahman Sheikh Nur, with funding support from Diakonia, an INGO based in Garowe. In the summer of 2001, the Puntland Peace Mission launched an intensive public awareness campaign to prevent further escalation of the conflict and avert civil war, in particular demanding that the two parties to the conflict confine any fighting to areas outside urban centres (which was effective). The mission also engaged in shuttle diplomacy between the two parties in Gaalka'yo and Bosaaso, achieving a temporary suspension of hostilities.

Despite these peace efforts, the first in a series of armed confrontations between the supporters of Jama Ali Jama and Abdulahi Yusuf took place at Al-Hamdullillah, midway between Gardo and Bosaaso in August 2002. Jama Ali Jama's militia suffered a heavy defeat and regrouped in Dhuudo, 100 km east of Gardo town under the leadership of General Mohamoud Mussa Hersi (Adde), a Somali from the diaspora in Canada. His forces suffered a further heavy defeat in Dhuudo in December 2002 and retreated to El-Afweyn in western Sanaag (Somaliland), where they re-grouped under the name *Golaha Badbaadinta Puntland* (Puntland Salvation Council). Several attempts to mediate the crisis ended in failure. Puntland remained tense and uncertain in the face of a serious threat of further violent confrontation between the two forces with the added potential risk of Sanaag region becoming a battleground. Insecurity on the main highway between Gaalka'yo and Bosaaso resulted in reduced trade and economic hardship throughout Puntland.

The Puntland Peace Agreement, 2003

In early 2003, Said Mohamed Raage, a member of the Puntland parliament and a prominent businessman who had maintained a cordial relationship with both Abdulahi Yusuf and General Adde, initiated dialogue between the two parties, involving two distinguished *Isimo* (traditional titled elders) from Sanaag region in the mediation. Both were held in high regard by their respective communities and beyond: Boqor Osman Aw Mohamoud of the Habar Jeclo clan of the Isaaq clan-family, and Sultan Said Sultan Abdulsalam of the Warsangeli clan of the Harti clan group. The two senior elders visited Gardo and Bosaaso and enlisted other influential elders, intellectuals, and prominent businessmen in the process, including Haji Said Aw Mussa, Mohamud Ali Jagaf, Mohamed Aden, and Abdi Osman Fikad, all of whom lent their support to the peace initiative.

Their efforts to achieve a local peace were probably assisted by dynamics at the national level. In October 2002, the IGAD-led Somali national reconciliation conference had begun in Kenya. Abdulahi Yusuf's participation in the talks as *de facto* president of Puntland placed him under pressure to reach a peaceful settlement of the crisis back in Puntland.

An intensive dialogue process followed, in part conducted via telephone, and in early April 2003, the first step towards an agreement was reached: Adde Musa and a contingent of over 800 heavily armed militiamen moved from their base in El Afweyn in Sanaag region to the suburbs of Bosaaso to conclude the negotiations. The return of Adde and his militia was widely heralded as a successful compromise, rather than capitulation, and was followed by intensive negotiations over the next two weeks, culminating in an agreement signed by Abdulahi Yusuf and Mohamoud Mussa Hersi (Adde) at the presidency, in Bosaaso, on 15 May 2003. The peace agreement included provisions for a three year extension of Abdulahi Yusuf's mandate (until 2004) and incorporation of Adde's militia into the Puntland forces. Jama Ali Jama left Puntland to join the IGAD-led national reconciliation conference in Kenya (and subsequently became an MP in the Transitional Federal Parliament in 2004). Stability had been restored to Puntland.

Dharkeyn-Geenyo Peace Agreement – goodwill mission to stop hostilities, 2004

During 2004, localised clan-based fighting occurred in an area southwest of Laas 'Aanood in Sool region territory disputed between Puntland and Somaliland. The conflict between the Qayaad and the Bah

Ararsame sub-clans of the Dhulbahante was sparked by disagreements between traders in *qaad* (a mild narcotic leaf), but its origins lay in disputes over grazing land and unresolved revenge killings. The conflict deteriorated with the killing and displacement of elders, women and children, razing of villages, and looting of camels and other livestock. Political interest groups in both Puntland and Somaliland appeared to be aggravating the situation.

Several attempts by local elders, intellectuals and religious leaders failed to stop the bloodshed until General Mohamoud Hersi Mussa (Adde) stepped in. He engaged a number of other respected titled elders from the region in the process, including Garaad Suleyman from the Dhulbahante clan who was able to exert pressure on the two belligerent sub-clans. After extensive shuttle diplomacy between the two communities, a peace agreement was reached for a ceasefire and accommodation of the militia from both sides at Dharkeyn-Geenyo village.

The Ramada Peace Agreement, 2005

In late 2004, fighting broke out in Mudug region between the Reer Mahad and the Reer Khalaf sub-sub-clans of the Omar Mohamoud sub-clan (Majeerteen). The conflict was triggered by a killing at a checkpoint, which took place in the context of a cycle of revenge killings between the two communities. It had an immediate impact on the security and the trade flow in Gaalka'yo town. Several prominent figures from both communities were killed, while dozens more fled and sought refuge elsewhere as the cycle of revenge killings escalated.

Elders from another Majeerteen sub-clan (the Reer Bi'iid-yahan), who were seen as neutral in the conflict, took the lead in brokering an agreement between the two communities. Resolution involved a long process of dialogue to address the settling of scores between the two sub-clans. Finally a deal was reached and the "Ramada Peace Agreement" was signed on 4 December 2005 by the two sub-sub-clans at a ceremony in the Taar City Hotel in Gaalka'yo in the presence of a large number of representatives of the Gaalka'yo local authority and community, including elders from south Gaalka'yo (from the Sa'ad sub-clan of the Habar Gidir clan of the Hawiye, as neutral observers and witness to the process). A central feature of the agreement was the stipulation that in the case of any further killing or breach of the agreement, *sharia* shall be applied rather than *dijya* (compensation payment). This reflects "*dijya*-paying fatigue" by the concerned communities but also indicates that, in the absence of an effective governance system and enforcement of law and order in acute conflict areas, such as Gaalka'yo, the mediators opt for the higher moral authority of the application of *sharia* (see annex for further details of the Ramada peace agreement).

National level political dynamics and political transition, 2004 to present

Since late 2002 there had been considerable political uncertainty in Puntland due to the frequent and prolonged absences of President, Abdulahi Yusuf, who was attending the IGAD-led Somali national reconciliation conference in Kenya. Moreover, proposed extensions to the mandates of the Executive and the House of Representatives, which had been necessitated by the constitutional crisis of 2001 and subsequent conflict, had never actually been ratified.

In late 2004, the national conference elected Abdulahi Yusuf as President of the Transitional Federal Government of Somalia (TFG), obliging him to step down as Puntland's leader. In line with the provisions of the Puntland Provisional Constitution, Vice-president, Mohamed Abdi Hashi, became interim president of Puntland, pending election of a new president by the House of Representatives in early 2005.

The gradual maturing of Puntland's political institutions helped to better manage and contain conflict but did not eliminate it entirely. In early 2006, for example, the Puntland Minister of Planning and International Cooperation, Abdirahman Farole, lost a vote of confidence in the House of Representatives and was dismissed but, rather than accept the result, he mobilized militia from his clan to surround the parliament building. The police stormed the building, killing three and injuring several others of the militia in the operation. Although this rapid reaction resolved the immediate crisis, the way in which a senior figure in the administration had so easily resorted to force against the legislative body damaged the image of the Puntland administration and underscored the fragility of Puntland's peace and stability.

Analysis of the local peace initiatives in northeast regions/ Puntland

In reviewing local peace initiatives in the northeast regions and subsequently Puntland since the collapse of the Somali state in 1991, five phases can be identified, each with different characteristics.

1. The first phase from the outbreak of the civil war in 1991 is characterised by a period of confusion that resulted in renewed reliance on the traditional system of governance under the guidance of senior traditional elders and *Isimo*. During the same period, the SSDF was reorganised and subsequently played a crucial role as the only major political and military faction in the northeast regions, in contrast with the proliferation of factions in southern Somalia. The SSDF worked in tandem with the clan elders and succeeded in mass mobilisation to defend the northeast regions, representation of the northeast regions in national reconciliation conferences outside Somalia, and bringing a level of order to the areas under its control.

2. The second phase saw military clashes in Gaalka'yo and north Mudug region, the SSDF leadership conflicts, and the arrival of UNOSOM with plans for national dialogue as well as the Mudug Peace Agreement, which ended the de facto 'state of emergency' that had underpinned SSDF rule. Efforts were made to establish regional and district administrative structures but internal dynamics within the senior leadership of the SSDF limited their effectiveness, leaving the northeast regions in a state of "permanent transition" (WSP, 2001). The leadership struggle was characterised by differences in approach between those associated with the military wing of the SSDF allied with former ministers from the Barre regime and politicians and officials from the former civilian government of the 1960s. Eventually the failure of successive national level peace talks prompted both factions to turn their attention to the agenda for the northeast regions.

3. The third phase dates from the community-based consultative process that led to agreement on the formation of the Puntland federal government in 1998 up until the constitutional crisis in 2001 and can be characterised as recovery and rebuilding of administrative systems. The early achievement of the administration in clearing the numerous roadblocks along the main trade route built public confidence and a constructive period of relative political stability followed.

4. The fourth phase was marked by political crisis at the end of the mandate of the administration in 2001, resulting in serious armed confrontation and concerns that Puntland would descend into chaos. Many of the clan-based conflicts over pastoral resources and associated cycles of revenge killings occurred during this period of political turbulence. A number of factors, internal and external, contributed to the eventual negotiated resolution of the crisis, in which members of the Puntland diaspora as well as influential figures in Puntland played a part.

5. The fifth phase, from the peace agreement reached in 2003, was characterised by political transition, increased insecurity, and outbreaks of clan-based conflict. The Puntland president was largely absent, attending the national reconciliation talks in Kenya where he was subsequently appointed president of the TFG. The ensuing political vacuum in Puntland created serious tension and uncertainty but was managed

effectively with the help of traditional leaders and other influential figures, resulting in the election of a new Puntland president, General Adde in 2005.

The main findings include the importance of administrative structures and systems of governance for managing and sustaining peace agreements. The Overview reflects the complex interplay of the roles of traditional leaders, politicians, intellectuals and members of the diaspora, and of national and local level political agendas in the northeast regions and Puntland.

After the collapse of the Somali state and the ensuing power vacuum, the traditional elders resumed responsibility for managing peace and security in the northeast regions and addressing local community-based disputes, working in collaboration with other leading figures. Conflicts were resolved through interplay of the political elite together with the traditional leaders, intellectuals and members of the diaspora who all contributed to mediation of clashes, crises, and facilitation of the delivery of humanitarian assistance by international agencies.

In most cases, the traditional conflict management structures and the modern system of governance worked in a complimentary way that provided for the application of law and order.

Many of the peace initiatives aimed to build a structured system to tackle conflict through establishing administrative structures and systems of governance. This appears to reflect the recognition by the key stakeholders and communities that peace would only be sustained through effective governance capable of applying the rule of law. From 1991 onwards, efforts were being made to establish local and regional administrations and it is notable that, in the vast majority of cases, the local governance systems were established through a consultative approach that ensured a level of community ownership.

The resolution of several peace initiatives dealing more directly with clan-based conflicts relied on the administrative structures for implementation and enforcement of peace agreements reached. Given the fluid political dynamics that underpinned the nascent local administrations in northeast regions/ Puntland, this rendered the peace agreements vulnerable to recurrence of conflict when agreements were not fully monitored or implemented. Nevertheless, the majority of the local clan-based peace initiatives were sustained with only minor breaches of the peace accords reached. In contrast, the political settlements have proved more challenging, with breaches that resulted in renewed violence (for example, after the constitutional crisis in 2001).

During the period of political crisis from 2001-3, the political conflict over the administration and law and order mechanisms was associated with an increase in local conflicts, indicating the important role of governance systems in reinforcing conflict resolution and peace agreements at community level. This also reinforces the observation (above) that the sustained impetus towards establishing effective governance systems in the northeast regions/ Puntland was underpinned by recognition that effective governance is required to sustain peace and promote development.

Throughout, from 1991 to the present, the impact of national level politics on dynamics within the northeast regions and Puntland is apparent. These reflect the interplay of the political elite and the traditional leaders as well as the relationship with Ethiopia as a regional partner with whom Abdulahi Yusuf, in particular, sustained a close relationship.

Another feature is the continuing latent conflict over the disputed territories in Sool and eastern Sanaag regions between Somaliland and Puntland. Somaliland's home-grown reconciliation and establishment of a

functioning administration has been reflected in other constituencies in the Somali region. A number of the Dhulbahante elders who participated in the Boroma conference in Somaliland in 1993 were also active in the Garowe Constitutional conference in 1998, which led to the establishment of the Puntland state.

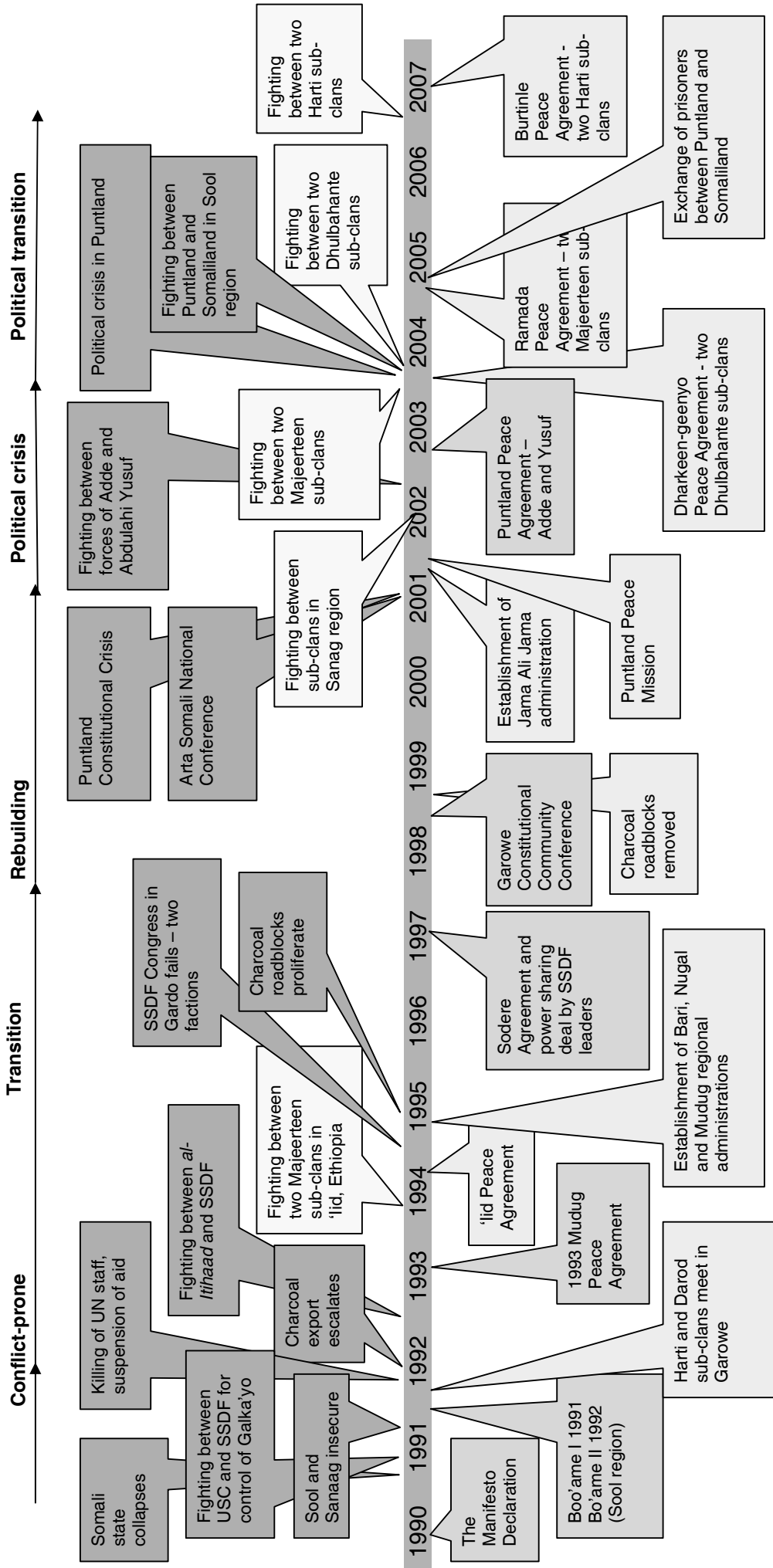
While competing agendas of the political leadership at the national level were a strong feature of the state of “permanent transition” (WSP, 2001) from 1991-8, the successive failures of national peace talks - combined with a new emphasis on what became known as the “building blocks” approach to state rebuilding from 1995 - ultimately contributed to the impetus towards the community-based conference through which the Puntland State was finally established. Subsequently the national level agenda was a factor in resolution of the political crisis and violent conflict in 2003. However Puntland’s vulnerability as a platform towards national level agendas may in part reflect the need to strengthen its vision for its existence as a semi-autonomous state.

Selection of the Case Studies

The first case study explores the community-driven process to resolve the longstanding stalemate of governance in the northeast regions, culminating in negotiated power sharing between clans and the establishment of the Puntland State of Somalia at the Garowe Constitutional Community Conference in 1998. The conference itself was the culmination of a series of discussions and meetings dating back to the re-launching of the SSDF in 1991, and national level dynamics were an intrinsic part of the process.

The second case study focuses on a chronically recurring conflict between two pastoral communities in a strategic grazing area between the regions of Sool, Nugaal and Zone 5 of Eastern Ethiopia that was resolved through the joint efforts of traditional elders, the regional administration, and civic actors in 2007. A previous peace accord between the two communities in 1997 had never been fully enforced and an early attempt by clan and religious leaders to end the most recent round of violent clashes foundered over conflicting territorial claims. The conflict was only finally resolved in May 2007 with the involvement of *Isimo* from the immediate and neighbouring communities, supported by community mobilisation by women peace activists and others. Unusually, it included provision for the destruction of a number of water catchments, which were the root cause of the fighting but also represent a significant financial investment by the owners and/ or community.

Timeline of major conflicts and peace initiatives in northeast regions of Somalia (Puntland), 1990 – 2007



Inventory of peace initiatives in northeast regions/ Puntland

	Category/level	Stakeholders	Time	Nature	Focus	Key actors
Gaalka'yo meeting to re-launch SSDF	Local	People of NES	Feb 1991	Political / Security	Reactivation of SSDF	Gen. Abshir, Gen. Holif, Mussa Isan
Garowe Harti Meeting	Zonal	NES, Sool, and Sanaag	1991	Political/Adminin	Est. of admin system	Gen. Holif, Bihl
1993 Mudug Peace Agreement	Regional	SSDF, USC, SNIDU, people of Galgaduud region + NES	1993	Political	Cessation of hostilities	Gen. Aydiid and Col. Yusuf
SSDF Conference at Gardo	Local	Harti sub-clan Groups	1994	Political	SSDF unity and NES Rebuilding	Gen. Abshir and Col. Yusuf
Peace: Reer Mohamoud & Reer Hersi	Cross-border	Majeerteen in Zone 5 and Mudug region)	1994-5	Pacification	Peace-building	Clan elders and intellectuals
Puntland Isimo conference to defuse political impasse	Local	People of Puntland	2004	Political and clan	Conflict prevention	Puntland Isimo
Ramada Hotel Agreement	Local	Mudug and people of Puntland	2006	Clan	Conflict resolution	Clan elders
Burtinle Peace Agreement	Regional	Sool and Sanaag and Ethiopian Zone 5	2007	Pacification	Conflict resolution	Isimo, religious leaders, admin., elite , local women NGOS, PDRC
Boo'ame I	Political and administrative	People of Sool region	1991	Establish administration in Sool region	Law and order	Late Garaad A/Qani and other politicians
Boo'ame II	Political and administrative	People of Sool region	1993	Reforming the regional administration	Law and order	Garaad Abdullahi Issa, religious & other politicians
Elders and women mediation between 2 Warsangeil sub-clans	Pacification	Adan Said, Bah Majeerteen and people of Puntland	1999-2000	Mediation	Agreement	Bari region Isimo and WAWA

Case Study: The Establishment of the Puntland State of Somalia — the Garowe Constitutional Community Conference

The long process towards the establishment of the Puntland State of Somalia had its origins in discussions at a conference in Garowe in June 1991 on the formation of a regional administration for the northeast regions and the “Peace and Life” conference of December 1993, which mobilised an alliance of Harti clans. The process was further reinforced by the outcome of the second National Reconciliation Conference of Addis Ababa in 1993 (Federico Battera, 1998). The series of meetings and the prevailing national and local dynamics during the subsequent seven years, notably the Sodere SSDF meeting in 1997, eventually culminated in the *Shirweynaha Dasturka Woqooyi Bari* (the Constitutional Community conference) in Garowe in 1998. This case study captures the key dynamics and challenges encountered during the course of the preparatory meeting, the Garowe consultative conference, and the Garowe Constitutional Community Conference itself and identifies the key ideas, principles and political positions that were addressed in the process.

Preparations for a Constitutional Community Conference, January-February 1998

In late 1997, preparations in Bosaaso to host the national reconciliation conference (agreed at the Sodere conference, Ethiopia) were thrown into disarray when the national peace process shifted unexpectedly to Cairo, Egypt, and the proposed venue for the national conference was redefined as Baidoa.

At a critical meeting of the SSDF Provisional Political Council in Bosaaso on 18-20 January 1998, plans were made to hold a consultative conference the following month to prepare the ground for a Constitutional Community Conference of the northeast regions (*Shirweynaha Dasturka Woqooyi Bari*). Six people were appointed as a preparatory committee,⁴⁰ which finalised the agenda and the draft documents for the consultative conference in a meeting in Garowe on 21–23 February 1998.

The consultative conference, 25 February-12 March 1998⁴¹

The consultative conference to prepare for the Garowe Constitutional community conference was convened in a hall at the 54th Army Garrison on 25 February 1998 and chaired by Suldan Said Mohamed Garasse of Nugaal region, in the absence of the paramount chief of Nugaal region, Islan Mohamed Islan. The SSDF chairman, General Mohamed Abshir, was also absent abroad and his request for the conference to be postponed until late February was not accepted⁴². The SSDF deputy chairman, Engineer Abshir Musa, was emerging as a political player and he, amongst others, pushed for the preparations to proceed⁴³. Meanwhile Abdulahi Yusuf’s return from Cairo was greeted with public demonstrations applauding him for walking out of the Cairo conference while Mohamed Abshir lost substantial support for his assent to the Cairo agreement, which was widely seen as a humiliation for the northeast regions.

A *shirguddon* (chairing committee) of seven and a secretariat of twelve members were appointed. Over 250 delegates and observers from the three regions of Bari, Nugaal and north Mudug attended up until 4 March. Five representatives each were invited from Sool, Sanaag and Galgaduud (from the Marehan clan) regions as observers, but did not attend by the conclusion of the consultative conference on 4 March, when documents of the outcome of the conference were finalised and signed and delegates returned home, with

40 KAHA BARI (N 350)

41 KAHA BARI (N. 354, 358)

42 Interview with Mohamed Abshir Waldo by KAHA BARI (N. 363); Dr. Herbert Herzog (page12)

43 Interview, Nairobi, August 2008

the exception of the political and traditional leaders. They were joined on 8 March by political and traditional leaders from Sool and Sanaag regions, who arrived with pomp and ceremony - on garlanded horses⁴⁴, accompanied by a fleet of cars – to ask that they be included in the constitutional conference. The request was accepted and joint revision of the documents to include the two new regions was finalised between 10-12 March (see below). This now represented a broad cross-section of the communities of the Harti clan group and other Darood clans living in these regions. The final document included the contributions of a wide range of *Isimo*, leaders of political organisations in the respective regions (the SSDF, USP and SNDU), representatives of civic and women’s groups, intellectuals, religious leaders, diaspora, media, and international agencies.

Assessment of the political context and the way forward

The discussions began with analysis of the political situation in Somalia and the role of the respective regions in the reconciliation process in Somalia, leading into a debate on the establishment of a regional administration. Papers were presented by the SSDF and the SNDU (the USP had not yet joined the conference), followed by discussion marked by concern at the status of the Somali national reconciliation process.

It was proposed that reconstruction of the Somali state should be based on the “bottom-up” approach, with federal arrangements of autonomous states (Ugo Mattei, 1998). This was considered to be the way forward to peace and reconciliation and an approach that did not challenge the unitary political system of the sovereign nation of Somalia. Instead it was argued that the establishment of a regional state would contribute positively to peace and reconciliation in Somalia in partnership with an eventual Federal Somali State.⁴⁵ Unlike Somaliland, it should not aspire to secede. Aside from the historical nationalism of the northeast regions, one of the motivations for preserving national unity related to the historic claims and interests of people from the northeast in other regions of Somalia, notably Kismayo area in Lower Juba region, and other regions of southern Somalia where they had properties and investments.

At the same time, the idea of an autonomous state was pervasive in the thinking of the leaders and intellectuals of the northeast (Federico Battera, 1998) and reinforced by dissatisfaction with the Cairo agreement, which recognised two Hawiye clan leaders, Aydiid and Ali Mahdi, as the sole representatives of the Somali people. The neglect of the northeast regions that was associated with the centralization of power and resources in Mogadishu by previous Somali governments generated support for the concept of autonomy⁴⁶ founded on decentralisation and the development of regional and local resources and capacities. The initiative to create an autonomous state would be guided by the principle of the “bottom up” and “building blocks” approach towards rebuilding the Somali state.

The name of “Puntland” for the state was first discussed after the Garowe Conference in 1991 at which the idea of an integrated northeastern administration was first agreed. The name “Puntland” gained momentum at the Sodere conference, subsequent SSDF meetings, and the Garowe Consultative conference, until it was officially adopted at the Constitutional Conference.

Finally, it was believed that the regions represented at the conference had sufficient economic and social resources for self-development.

44 Horses are relatively rare and valuable resources in the northeast and their ceremonial use reflects prestige

45 Interview with Beldaje Ali Farah, Ugas Hassan Ugas Yasin, Bosaaso, November 2007

46 Interview with Beldaje Ali Farah, Bosaaso, November 2007

The conference went on to discuss technical issues relating to the establishment of the Puntland state with reports presented by the Technical Sub-committee of the preparatory committee on: the draft charter proposing the makeup of the government, its structures and institutions; levels of power sharing with the (future) federal state; the political role of the *Isimo* and of the political organizations of the SSDF, USP, and SNDU; socio-economic development and integration of the respective regions; and regulation of the economy and revenue generation.

Representation and engagement of other regions

Abshir Musa's proposal that he nominate officials of the SSDF as representatives from the three northeast regions in his capacity as deputy chairman of the SSDF was generally unpopular. In contrast, Abdulahi Yusuf said "why should we refuse the will of the people to send their own representatives?"⁴⁷. This proposal for representation from the three regions of the northeast reflected the general mood and was carried.

Subsequently, before the conclusion of the consultative conference, Abdulahi Yusuf suggested that "our brothers" from the Dhulbahante and Warsangeli in Sool and Sanag regions should be invited in order to inform them of the decisions reached. Accordingly, in the second stage of the conference from 10-12 March, representatives of the Dhulbahante and Warsangeli and their political organisation, the USP, joined the proceedings. Two delegations representing different Dhulbahante sub-clans came from Sool region, one led by Garaad Salebaan and the USP chairman, Abdi Hashi, and the other by Garaad Abdi Qani and Ahmed Abdi Haabsade, the latter being the former speaker of the Somaliland parliament. By attending the Garowe meeting, both he and Garaad Abdi Qani demonstrated they were shifting their political allegiance from Somaliland to Puntland.

Having arrived as observers, the Dhulbahante and Warsangeli representatives stated their intention to become part of the process. Those who had originally promoted the idea of the community constitutional conference in order to form a regional administration for the three northeast regions (only) attempted to persuade the consultative conference to stick with this plan and had significant support amongst the public. The Dhulbahante and Warsangeli representatives, however, accused them of denying them a place. Abdulahi Yusuf, who hosted the dissenting elders of the Majeerteen clans in Bosaaso, persuaded them to include their brothers from the wider Harti clan group. The original conference organisers were out-manoeuvred and ultimately had no option but to accept inclusion of Dhulbahante and Warsangeli representatives.

Two other Darood clans inhabiting the northeastern regions, the Lelkasse (of the Tanade clan) and the Awrtable clan (of the Yusuf clan), had already joined the consultative conference. But, in its final stages, the Marehan clan, who inhabit parts of Galgaduud region, refrained from participating in the conference because of the conflict in the Juba (Kismayo) regions, between the Harti and Marehan.

There were no expectations that the (Habar Gidir) communities of south Mudug would participate, as Abdulahi Yusuf later noted in his inaugural speech to the Puntland parliament⁴⁸ :

"... after the Mudug Peace Agreement of 1993, the community of South Mudug was invited at various times to join the process of regional institution building in Mudug region but they refused to do so...and failed to respond to our brotherly and good neighbourly invitations. In the interests of greater regional development, North Mudug decided to be part of the State of Puntland."

47 Interview, Nairobi, August 2008

48 Speech of H.E. President Abdulahi Yusuf at the Opening of Parliament, Garowe, Puntland, 16 September 1998

Organisational preparation for the Constitutional conference

Following discussion of the agenda for the planned Constitutional conference on the establishment of Puntland State of Somalia, the focus shifted to organisational aspects, including: selection of the preparatory and its technical sub-committees; allocation of quotas and selection of delegates; and agreement on procedures for the conduct of the conference. A preparatory committee of twenty eight members, chaired by Mohamed Abshir Waldo, was appointed to prepare for a conference of over 430 delegates, to be held in Garowe over fifteen days from 15 May 1998. Members of the preparatory committee were to be selected on the basis of professionalism and competency with the additional criteria of strong support for unity, democracy, and the rebuilding of the Somali State. Membership of the committee was apportioned by political organisation and region, with at least one woman included in each category: SSDF (5), USP (3), and SNDU (1); Bari region (3), Nugaal region (3), north Mudug region (3), Sool region and Buhoodle district (4), eastern Sanaag region (3) and western Galgaduud region (namely, the Marehan clan) (3). The preparatory committee had a number of sub-committees, among them Finance, Logistics, Protocol, Delegate Selection Verification, and Dispute Settlement and Discipline.

The key tasks of the preparatory committee were to: supervise the guidelines for selection of delegates and ensure genuine democratic representation; prepare the conference agenda and establish procedural rules; seek funds and technical assistance for the conference; and oversee the logistics of the conference. The committee was also to mobilise the public, inform them of the objectives of the conference, and encourage their moral and financial support for the gathering. Finally, the committee was to appoint the technical committees with expatriate experts and Somali resource people able to prepare the critical political documentation such as the Charter and the Bill of Rights for the new state. Once the chairing committee had been nominated by the delegates at the Constitutional Conference, the preparatory committee was to relinquish its prerogatives.

The Charter technical sub-committee was tasked with preparing proposals on: the structure of self-government and its institutions; socio-economic development; the role of the political organisations (SSDF, USP, SNDU) and the traditional leaders in the Puntland State; and the basis for participation of Puntland State in the future federal state.

The consultative conference directed that the delegates to the Constitutional conference were to be nominated at district and regional levels by the public with the advice of *Aqils* and *Nabaddoons* with their lists submitted to the regional governors before being passed to the *Isimo* for validation. The conference also decided against separate participation by political and traditional leaders who would instead be part of the delegations assigned to each particular region. This action certainly contributed to the relatively easy selection of the participants and the smooth running of the conference proceedings.

Finally, an appeal was made by the consultative Conference to the international aid community to provide financial and technical support for the Constitutional Community Conference. The outcome of the Garowe consultative conference was signed by the *Isimo* (see Annex 3) and all documents relating to the conference proceedings were signed by the chairman of the conference, Suldan Said Mohamed Garaase.

Parallel mediations

During the consultative conference in Garowe, (and while Abdulahi Yusuf was seriously ill), several issues were resolved through the mediation of the *Isimo* and politicians in an effort to ensure the smooth-running of the subsequent Constitutional Conference.

One controversy related to the rival claims by Boqor Mahmoud Boqor Musse and his younger brother, Abdulahi Boqor Musse ('King-Kong'), for the title of *Boqor* of the Osman Mohamoud clan (Herzog, 1998). In private meetings, King Kong was eventually persuaded to give up his claim on the basis that, if the process included representation from the Harti clan group (not only the smaller Darood and Majeerteen clan representatives from the three northeast regions), he would be in a strong political position. Accordingly, he gave up his claims in favour of his older brother – and lent his support to the strategy for inclusion of the Dhulbahante and Warsangeli as part of the wider Harti clan group.

Subsequently the *Isimo* also addressed the long-standing dispute between the two *Garaads* of the Dhulbahante in Sool region, Garaad Abdi Qani and Garaad Salebaan, which was resolved sufficiently for their participation in the conference. However the lingering dispute between Suldán Said Suldán Abdisalan and his uncle, Ali Mahdi, over the title of *Suldán* of the Warsangeli required protracted arbitration by the council of *Isimo* and ultimately delayed the attendance of the delegation from Sanaag region at the constitutional conference.

Garowe Constitutional Community Conference, 15 May-23 July 1998

The Constitutional Conference opened on 15 May 1998 at the premises of the 54th Garrison in Garowe, Nugaal region, with a ceremony attended by the senior politicians of the area, with the exception of General Mohamed Abshir. It was chaired by Islan Mohamed Islan Musse, a charismatic and compelling figure whose family has held the position of the senior titled elder of Nugaal, the hosting region, for seven generations: he was appointed the Islan in 1935. Islan Mohamed Islan took the proceedings of the conference under his guidance and pledged to bring it to success. After the official opening, the conference was immediately adjourned to enable the preparatory committee to finalise the validation of the lists of regional delegates, resolve related disputes, and address numerous logistical challenges. The three primary disputes that delayed the conference for more than two months were (1) the dispute over the Warsangeli "Sultan" title; (2) the longstanding dispute between the two *Garaads* of the Dhulbahante clan (both described above); and (3) issues relating to allocation of delegates to the Dhulbahante-Warsangeli clans of Sanaag region.

Although the necessary arrangements for the conference had not been completed in time for the official opening, the significance of the date had persuaded the conference organisers to open it on 15 May. This date marks the establishment of the Somali Youth Club in 1943, the political party that brought Somalia to independence in 1960, and which was founded by Yasin Osman Sharmarke, a Majeerteen and cousin of Abdirashid Ali Sharmarke who later became president of Somalia⁴⁹. The public in the northeast regions viewed the process of establishing Puntland State as a significant step in the process towards the rebirth of Somali statehood. The organisers of the conference also felt enormous pressure to prove their ability to keep to the timetable for the conference.

The conference reconvened on 2 June 1998 in the presence of the delegates (with the exception of those from Sanaag) to select the chairing committee and secretariat. One chair, secretary, and assistant secretary was appointed from each region, with the overall chairing of the conference assigned to Islan Mohamed Islan. The conference was again adjourned until 6 June to address the continuing disputes over lists of delegates from the regions (with the exception of Mudug and Nugaal). At this stage, copies of the draft Charter for the Puntland State of Somalia were distributed to the delegates.

⁴⁹ Conversation with Abdirahman Osman Abdulle (Shuke), PDRC director, Garowe, November 2007

Participants

The preparatory committee engaged in a painstaking process to validate the legitimacy of the lists of delegates according to the rules established by the consultative Conference. The allocations had been agreed as follows: Bari (97), Nugaal (56), north Mudug (56), Sool region and Buhoodle district (96), Sanaag (56), western Galgaduud (42, although these delegates did not attend) and diaspora (30) from the relevant regions, to be selected by their communities according to their own agreed procedures, and with each of them to having voting rights at the conference (Abraham, 2002: see annex for the distribution of quotas for diaspora delegates). The contest for seats began at the district level, with lists passed to regional governors and validated by the *Isimo*. On occasion the *Isimo* were confronted with two or more lists of delegates from the same districts or regions and considerable time was devoted to addressing the disputes.

While the mediation by the *Isimo* during the preparations for the conference had succeeded in resolving several internal disputes amongst senior clan representatives, the lingering dispute between Suldan Said Suldan Abdisalan and his uncle, Ali Mahdi, over the title of *Suldan* of the Warsangeli required protracted arbitration until finally, on 22 June 1998, over a month after the conference had begun, Suldan Said was recognised as the legitimate titled leader and the delegation from Sanaag were able to join the conference.

The validation of delegates was further complicated by continuing dissension over the participation of representatives from the Dhulbahante and Warsangeli clans from Sool and Sanaag regions. General Mohamed Abshir's alliance within the SSDF saw that the inclusion of these delegates tilted the balance of voting power strongly in favour of Abdulahi Yusuf's alliance (since he had supported their inclusion). Another concern was about the tensions that would be generated with Somaliland, since these regions lie within the borders it claims. Implicit admonitions were made by a number of international diplomats and donors against the inclusion of Sool and Sanaag regions in the process. According to Ugas Hassan, "The donors were prepared to support the conference with financial contribution, provided that Sool and Sanaag were excluded. This position was overruled by the determination of the people"⁵⁰. Under pressure from Abdulahi Yusuf's supporters, King Kong (who had renounced his claim to the title of *boqor* to contest as a political leader for the Harti clan group), and the Sool and Sanag representatives themselves, Sool and Sanaag regions were included and subsequently played a decisive role in the establishment of Puntland State. Ultimately, the competing demands over representation were resolved by increasing the delegates for Bari (which generally supported General Mohamed Abshir) and Sool and Sanaag regions, adding a further 91 seats to the total number of delegates (from 421 to 512⁵¹), and the official lists were agreed by the preparatory committee.

Venue and security

The first logistical problem was the lack of adequate infrastructure and facilities in Garowe, at that time a small town on the main highway between Gaalka'yo and Bosaaso, and ill-equipped to host the large number of people flocking to witness the historic event, in addition to those participating in the conference. Dr Yasin Farah recalls that the challenges included "...the physical constraints [of] the meeting hall, still under construction at the time, with a very narrow space that couldn't accommodate the delegates without sacrifice". Somali proverbs expressed the sense of tolerance and compromise in these circumstances: "*Biyo gacmahaaga lagaga dhergaa*" (You get the best satisfaction with what is yours) and "*Gacal isma ciriiriyo*" (Kin can squeeze comfortably into a small space).

50 Transcript of interview with Ugas Hassan Ugas

51 Note that the total number of participants at the conference fluctuated as different times during the process

Sixteen private villas were used to accommodate delegates and the host region of Nugaal provided 400 armed police and militia to ensure the security of the conference under the overall protection of the *Isimo*⁵².

Agenda and issues for discussion

Preliminary speeches focussed on the analysis of the Somali situation; the relevance of the establishment of Puntland State; the security context in the regions; environmental protection (related to charcoal production); and the objectives and the expectations from the conference. The chairing committee presented the documents drafted by the preparatory committee, including a draft agenda and charter and received suggestions from the delegates on: procedures for conducting the conference, including the time allocated to speakers; discussion of the Charter and its endorsement; the capital of Puntland State; procedures for campaigning and for electing the Parliament, Head of State and Deputy; and the future role of the political organizations and of the traditional elders in the politics of the would be Puntland State.

“The Garowe community accepted the need to extend their hospitality and lines of credit to the delegates. Garowe did not have good water and there were not adequate hotels and restaurants. Some of the delegates had to sleep in the open. Everyone was tolerant for the sake of the conference” *Dr Yasin Farah*⁵³

The Charter

During the adjournment of the conference for three days, delegates were able to read the draft charter in preparation for a full debate on relevant articles. The resumption of the conference heralded lively discussion, with the secretariat interacting with the steering committee and delegates, providing information, summarizing delegates’ speeches, and attending to the procedural aspects of the conference and providing copies of the agenda and conference procedures to the regional delegates⁵⁴.

The procedure for election of the Head of State and Deputy generated heated debate over the voting method (secret ballot or hand raising); the determination of the total number of voting delegates and voting quorums; and the denomination of the Head of State (as Chief Minister or President). Some delegates favoured establishing an Electoral Committee to preside over the elections and numerous other views were expressed. There were complaints that insufficient time was allowed for speeches and insufficient copies of the Charter and other documents were available.

Eventually, the Charing Committee proposed the nomination of a Charter Technical Committee of five members, one from each region, to study the controversial articles of the draft Charter, make the necessary revisions, and propose a version that could be agreed upon. The Technical Committee was appointed as follows: Chair – Dr. Abdi-Asis Nur Hersi (north Mudug); Hassan Abshir Farah (Nugaal); Dr. Abdurahman Abdi Madobe (Bari); Ahmed Abdi Haabsade (Sool); a representative from Sanag, when available (since the Sanaag delegation was still awaiting validation). The delegates forwarded their suggestions to the Technical Committee, who withdrew to consolidate the different views presented and compile a revised draft of the Charter.

When the conference reconvened on 21 June 1998, for the first time (after more than a month of discussion) the Chairman was able to produce the definitive list of official delegates to the Constitutional Conference (with the exception of the Sanaag delegation)⁵⁵. Non-delegates were asked to leave the hall, including the delegates from Sanaag region who had yet to present a unified list. The remaining delegates gave their

52 Interview with the governor of Nugaal, Dahir Ali Isse, by Kaha Bari, 5 June 1998

53 Interview with Dr. Yasin Farah, Bosaaso, November 2007

54 Verbatim report on conference proceedings, Abdullahi A'rahman Ahmed 'Ayrow' UNDP Bosaaso, 26 July 1998

55 Ibid

formal endorsement to the agenda and procedures for the conference. They also received copies of the revised draft Charter, following the amendments made to it by the charter review committee on the basis of almost 300 proposals from the delegates.

Selection of the capital of Puntland State

The first round of discussion focused on selection of the capital of Puntland State, partly on the basis of the criteria for selection of the capital proposed by the preparatory committee. These were that it should have a central location, access to sufficient water, and a bearable climate, and that the decisions of the previous conferences be taken into consideration (which had identified Garowe as the capital of the northeast). Apart from delegates from Bari region, who favoured Bosaaso, the majority of other delegates proposed Garowe as the future capital. The debate became so heated that the chairman, Islan Mohamed Islan, adjourned the session to convene an emergency meeting of the traditional titled leaders to discuss the issue with Abdulahi Yusuf. In order to avoid a recurrence of such a controversy arising during debates, the chairman also decided to form a group of “ten wise men”, namely a traditional elder and an intellectual from each region (see annex), who would work with the five members of the technical committee on any contentious issues that arose during the conference and had the potential to disrupt the harmony of the proceedings.

Admission to the next session of the conference was again strictly limited to delegates and, following resolution of the internal dispute within the Warsangeli by the *Isimo*, the delegates from Sanaag region were able to participate for the first time.

During this session, the prominent political figure (and candidate for the presidency), Abdulahi Boqor Musse ‘King-Kong’, suspecting that he was being out-manoeuvred through an alliance between Abdulahi Yusuf’s camp and the Islan as the chair, expressed his dissatisfaction with the procedure of the conference and the discussion on the Charter, saying that the agenda was not being respected. He advised the chair, as a traditional leader, to remain neutral in keeping with tradition and to stay out of the political debate, saying “Although I have my own program and I want to run for the presidency, I feel that the conference is being hijacked”⁵⁶.

Discussion continued on the Charter, focussing on: the selection of the Capital; allocation of parliament seats; dismissal of the parliament; the case of prolonged absence or disability of the Head of State; and the title to be given to the Head of State. It was also proposed that the Charter should include articles relating to: environmental protection; financial and market regulations including foreign investment; the official language of the State; and parliamentary power and the limits of amendments. Over 120 delegates commented in the discussion, which covered 20 of the 35 articles of the Charter⁵⁷.

During the session, General Mohamed Abshir took the opportunity to comment more generally, admonishing the delegates to be aware of whom they would elect as President⁵⁸ and later telling the media “I want to run for the presidency with an Islamic programme”. His comments were taken to indicate his disappointment with the direction of the conference and the dominance of support for Abdulahi Yusuf. Eventually he withdrew from the proceedings and did not stand as a presidential candidate.

By 30 June, the conference was ready to approve the Charter, with the exception of the two articles relating to the location of the Capital and the allocation of parliamentary seats. These were put aside for further deliberation and guidance from the *Isimo*. The delegates voted, region by region, by raising their hands, and

⁵⁶ Interview with Abdullahi Boqor Musse, KAHA BARI (N.374)

⁵⁷ These articles were the focus of the debate: 1-4-5-6-8-9-12-14-18-19-20-30-33-34.

⁵⁸ Interview with Gen Mohamed Abshir, KAHA BARI (N. 374)

the Charter was approved by 359 of the 402 delegates present with 31 voting against and 12 abstentions⁵⁹. The conference then adjourned for a short break to enable the *Isimo* to discuss the two contentious articles, while the delegates celebrated Somali National Independence Day on 1 July, reconvening on 4 July. Two days later they welcomed an Italian government delegation led by the Italian ambassador for Somalia, Francesco Sciortino, who brought messages of political support for the Constitutional Conference.

The conference delegates had high expectations of a statement from the *Isimo* on how to resolve the differences relating to the two outstanding articles, on the selection of the capital and allocation of parliamentary seats. With visible disappointment, the chair, Islan Mohamed, informed them that the *Isimo* had been unable to reach a compromise solution and the decision would have to be made instead by the delegates. Extensive discussion ensued. After input by half of the hundred delegates who had registered to speak on the issue, the chairman observed that since no new insights were forthcoming, the issue would be put to a vote. The vote was held on 8 July with delegates raising their hands, region by region, with 257 voting for Garowe and 36 for Bosaaso with 6 abstentions. Only 299 delegates were present for the vote: many of the absentees had campaigned for Bosaaso and, lacking sufficient votes to win, they absented themselves rather than endorse Garowe as the capital.

Allocation of parliamentary seats

The second contentious issue was the allocations of seats for the Parliament. A technical committee of fifteen members, three from each region, was appointed (see Annex 3) to explore options and present proposals on the allocation of parliamentary seats. At this point, several delegates expressed dissatisfaction about the way in which issues were being addressed and criticised the chairmanship of the conference. The chairing committee responded by threatening to resign but calm was restored and the crisis over the chairing of the conference subsided.

After several days of recess, the conference resumed to hear proposals from the technical committee on the allocations of parliamentary seats. Some of the contention over seat allocation related to claims by clans whose traditional territory lies within more than one region. The Leylkase and Awrtable clans wanted seat allocations for both Mudug and Nugaal regions, and the Dhulbahante clan claimed seats for Sanaag as well as Sool region. This generated confusion since the procedure for allocation of seats was based on clan but associated with the region inhabited by the majority of the clan. Ali Ismail Girre, the leader of the SNDU, with which the Leylkase and Awrtable clans were associated, was invited to the platform to address the question and the issue was resolved. A delegation from Kismayo also addressed the conference to bring messages of support from the Harti clan group in Juba, with speeches by Abdulahi Bile Said, Abdulahi Gure and Osman Musse Iirro.

Finally, the Governor of Nugaal region, Dahir Ali Isse, presented the technical committee's proposal for the allocation of parliamentary seats according to the regions. The delegates from Bari region argued for an increased allocation and those from Nugaal region, the host region, accommodated this by donating one of their seats to Bari region, resulting in a final allocation as follows: north Mudug (10 seats); Nugaal (9 seats); Bari (21 seats); Sool (15 seats); Sanaag (11 seats), bringing a total of 66 parliamentary seats. After considerable debate, animated by a recitation by a woman poet, Anab Hassan, it was agreed that the allocation would include five women, to be nominated by each region (WSP, 2001). There was no accommodation for minority groups⁶⁰. According to one participant, "The minority groups were allocated a

59 Verbatim report on the Constitutional Community Conference, UNDP, 1998

60 Minority groups include the Arab Saalah, Madhiban, Tumaal, and Bantu

number of delegates in some districts but were unable to share these among themselves.”⁶¹ An overwhelming majority of the delegates approved the proposed distribution of parliamentary seats and the chairman enjoined the delegates to present their nominations for parliamentary representatives within 45 days.

Presidential election

The scene was set for appointment of the electoral committee and the election of the president and vice president. The electoral committee members, who were selected on the basis of neutrality and were not conference delegates, were: Musse Islan Farah (north Mudug), Sheikh Ali Nur (Nugaal), Abdi Hakim Said Musse (Bari), Hassan Awad Guled (Sool) and Osman Ashur Abdulle (Sanaag). The conference was adjourned for several days to allow for campaigning by the presidential and vice presidential candidates, who were: Abdulahi Yusuf Ahmed, Mohamed Jama Magan, and Warsame Abdi Shirwa for president; and Mohamed Abdi Hashi, Yasin Ali Tamad, Mohamed Abdi Haabsade, and Ahmed Mohamed Gonle for vice president.

The electoral committee established that the quorum would be two-thirds of the delegates and voting would proceed by a show of hands. Abdulahi Yusuf was elected president with more than 80% of the votes (377 out of 392 delegates present), with Mohamed Abdi Hashi elected as his vice president by 237 votes. They duly took the oath of office and were empowered for the three year transitional period.

Funding for the conference

The SSDF had resolved to cover the costs of the conference primarily through local resources and the slogan “*Iskaa Wax-u-qabso*” (We will rely on ourselves)⁶² was heard frequently from the politicians, elders and the general public, particularly after it became clear that international funding was not forthcoming (see below). According to Ugo Mattei, “Foreign experts [had] been offered as a technical help to the preparation of the Garowe Constitutional Conference by the UNDP Somalia. But this was not exactly what the preparatory committee, eager and in need of direct financial help was looking for”⁶³. Switzerland provided \$200,000 through the UNDP to cover the cost of external technical experts (four lawyers and a coordinator, the Swiss consultant, Herbert Herzog).

Two measures had been put in place by the SSDF prior to the conference to raise the necessary funding - a 15% increase in the import tax at Bosaaso port and allocation of the entire import tax for three months (until 30 June) to fund the conference and the defence of Kismayo. This move was unpopular with the business sector, leading to disputes with SSDF officials. The SSDF chair, Mohamed Abshir also disputed the decree issued on 18 May 1998 by Abdulahi Yusuf (during Mohamed Abshir’s eight month absence from the country) to form the defence and financial committees. The controversy was resolved with the help of the *Isimo*, who endorsed the committees and the other measures put in place to fund the conference.

According to the accountant for the conference finance committee, “The conference received Somali Shillings 1.287 million [approximately US\$ 165,000] in cash but there was no price tag on the livestock donated by the clans”⁶⁴. This was mostly derived from Bosaaso port revenue with additional contributions from the diaspora and the regional administrations as well as private donations. Regional contributions were requested as follows: “Mudug, Nugaal, and Sool regions: 30 million Somali Shillings each, Bari and Sanaag regions: 50 million Somali Shillings each” and the official delegates were advised to cover their

61 Interview with Beldaje Ali Farah, Bosaaso, November

62 Interview with Hassan Abshir KAH BARI (N.365)

63 Ugo Mattei, *Cardozo Law Bulletin - Patterns of African Constitution in the Making*, 27 November 1998

64 Interview with Mohamed Abdulkadir Barre (Accountant of the Financial Committee)

own expenses during the planned fifteen day conference⁶⁵. The women from the regions, and particularly Nugaal, made a tremendous contribution in providing accommodation and addressing numerous logistical issues⁶⁶. When the Constitutional Conference extended far beyond the scheduled fifteen days, the elders, delegates, and general public of Garowe and beyond showed considerable resilience in sustaining the process and meeting the additional costs.

The financial costs of the conference were only settled after the establishment of the first executive cabinet of the Puntland State. According to the accountant of the financial committee, "The debt incurred by the conference with the public amounted to US \$300,000. The Ministry of Finance of the first Puntland Government paid US \$ 200,000 and the rest was written off."⁶⁷

The role of the international aid community

In 1996, during the period of the most prolific and intensive political debate in the northeast regions, a new initiative was launched in the area by the War-torn Societies Project, which was subsequently attributed as being an important factor in the success of the process that culminated in the Garowe Constitutional Community Conference⁶⁸. WSP's Somali-led participatory action research engaged hundreds of stakeholders across the northeast regions in discussions, workshops, and group meetings where concepts of consensual decision-making, inclusiveness, and peacebuilding were disseminated and put into practice. Many of the participants subsequently became delegates and active members of the preparatory or technical committees and secretariat for the conferences. The draft reports summarising the outcomes of this extensive research were published before and during the two conclusive conferences in Garowe that led to the establishment of Puntland State⁶⁹ and made substantive contributions to the intensive political debate at that time.

The WSP team also represented a unique resource for the process leading to the conferences. According to WSP (WSP Somali Programme, 2001), as the organisers of the conference turned to the WSP research team for technical support they were "...drawn into the process, providing logistical support to the delegation". As a result, WSP's own work was delayed and suspended for nearly six months. The Zonal Project Coordinator, Adam Biihi, and regional researchers, Abdisalam Ali Farah (Mudug region), Abdigafar Haji Mohamed Abdulle (Nugaal region) and Ahmed Abbas Ahmed (Bari region) were all actively involved and the WSP facilities were put at the disposal of the conference for printing and photocopying material etc.

For the international donors, however, concerns arose when it became clear that the constituency of the new state was to include Sool and Sanaag regions⁷⁰. According to one of the conference organisers, "The international agencies initially pledged to support the conference financially when participation was limited to northeast regions but when other regions joined, they reconsidered their positions in the face of the political implications it might engender in respect to the national reconciliation process"⁷¹. At that stage, the donors withdrew their pledges of financial support over concerns about the political implications for Somaliland, which claims Sool and Sanaag regions as part of their colonial legacy⁷².

"The international community wanted to help us with establishment of administrations for the northeast regions but in the face of the establishment of the Puntland State, they refused to support us. But I'm sure that when Puntland is established, they will begin to help us" *Abdullahi Yusuf* commenting on the Garowe Constitutional conference⁷³.

65 Interview with Mohamed A. Waldo, chairman of the preparatory committee, KAHA BARI (N.369)

66 Interview with Mrs. Hawa Isse Mohamud of WAWA women's group, Bosaaso, November 2007

67 Mohamed Abdulkadir Barre, accountant with the financial committee

68 Rebuilding Somalia: Issues and Possibilities for Puntland - WSP Somali Programme, 2001

69 These were the draft North-East Somalia Regional Reports on Mudug, Nugaal and Bari in December 1997, finalised as the Zonal Note in mid-1998.

70 Abdullahi Abdurahman Ahmed (Ayrow), Focus group discussion, Garowe, November 2007

71 Interview with Mohamed A. Waldo in KAHA BARI (N.363)

72 Interview with Suldan Said Mohamed Garasse, Garowe, November 2007

73 Interview with Abdullahi Yusuf, KAHA BARI (N.366)

International support for the process was therefore limited to technical expertise to prepare for the conferences, to document the proceedings, and to assist with formulation of the Charter. One of the technical experts, Ugo Mattei, reported that "...the only help provided has been a small group ofscholars under the coverage of the United Nations Development Office for Somalia. Such experts met with the preparatory Committee in Garowe in the month of April and a document has been produced to serve as a base for the Constitutional Conference"⁷⁴ These scholars were Brendan O'Leary, constitutional expert on government at the London School of Economics; Herbert Herzog, Swiss consultant; John Murray, professor on Comparative *Sharia* and Secular Law and former US State legislator; Ugo Mattei, Italian constitutional lecturer at Italian and US universities; and Marco Guadagni, Italian Professor of Education at Trieste University, who all provided invaluable expertise in assisting with the drafting and editing of the Charter of Puntland State. Abdiqawi Yusuf and Zakariye Farah were not present at the charter drafting sessions in Garowe but made valuable written contributions,. Other Somali resource persons in drafting the charter included Dr. Hassan Ali Mirreh, Dr. Mohamed Hassen Barre, Abdirahman Farole, and Adam Jama Biihi. Although the UN Political Office gave minimal attention to the process, UN Development Office for Somalia (UNDOS) provided technical support to minute the conference proceedings; the US appeared to be altogether oblivious of the process; and the Arab League and the African Union were suspicious that it was a prelude to further disintegration of the country.

Analysis of the process towards establishment of the Puntland State

Conflict and peace dynamics

The successive failures of the national level reconciliation processes played a decisive role in the subsequent peace initiative in the northeast regions, subsequently Puntland. The idea of establishing an administration for the northeast regions had been under consideration since the seminal Garowe conference in June 1991 and was reinforced by the agreement on a "bottom-up" approach at the Addis Ababa conference in 1993 and the concept of the "building block" approach to reconstruction of the Somali state, articulated in the "Menu of Options" in 1995. Unlike Somaliland, the communities of the northeast regions (and subsequently Puntland) strongly supported Somali national unity, in part because of their historical claims to areas of Juba, including the resource-rich port of Kismayo. At the same time, a decentralized system of governance through federalism was seen as the solution for Somalia, firstly in the face of the clan fragmentation that followed the collapse of the state and, secondly, as a way of countering the centralisation in Mogadishu of previous Somali governments, which had left the northeast regions in a state of neglect. In practical terms, the northeast regions were seen as a viable entity that could be self-sustaining with the potential for self-government.

This approach was reinforced by the agreement reached within the SSDF at the Sodere conference in early 1997 to proceed towards establishing an administration for the northeast regions, as a "building block" for a future federal Somali state. The hope generated by the apparent progress at the Sodere conference in early 1997 towards forming a government of national unity and the partial resolution of the divisions within the SSDF leadership during that conference were both dashed by the unexpected turn of events in the national Somali process in late 1997. The Cairo agreement was seen as heavily biased towards the Hawiye clan leaders; the two SSDF leaders, Mohamed Abshir and Abdulahi Yusuf, took different positions on the Cairo process; and the relocation of the proposed national conference from Bosaaso to Baidoa (under occupation by Hawiye-based clan militia) emphasised the differences between the leadership of the Hawiye and the Majeerteen clan and allied clans of the Darood, the two key rival clan families in national level political dynamics. These events provided the necessary impetus to move the communities of the northeast regions beyond the state of "permanent transition" towards the formation of the Puntland state.

74 Ugo Mattei, *Patterns of African Constitution in the Making* - CARDOZO LAW BULLETIN, 27 November 1998



Elders meet in Burtinle with PDRC researchers to prepare the ground for the reconciliation process



Businessmen and elders engage in serious discussions over the costs of the berkedo (water reservoirs) to be destroyed as part of the peace accord



Weapons surrendered after signing of the peace accord



Community elders and officials oversee the destruction of the berkedo (water reservoirs) as agreed as part of the reconciliation process



Collecting camels for compensation payment as part of the reconciliation process (above and below)



On the southern border of the northeast regions, there was no expectation that the community of south Mudug, inhabited predominantly by clans of the Hawiye, would join the process. Despite the relative success of the Mudug Peace Agreement of 1993 between the communities of north and south Mudug, little progress had been made since then to consolidate the peace and move towards a joint administration.

A number of factors contributed to the subsequent – and, for many, unexpected – inclusion of Sool and Sanaag regions (and the district of Buhoodle) in the formation of the state of Puntland. Having been invited to observe progress at the consultative conference, on Abdulahi Yusuf's initiative, the Dhulbahante and Warsangeli clan representatives indicated their intention to stay on and join the process. Critically, their inclusion shifted the balance of power away from the alliance of Mohamed Abshir towards the alliance of Abdulahi Yusuf, who had brought them into the process. The high proportion (45%) of delegates from Sool and Sanaag at the Constitutional Conference overwhelmed the political ambitions of Mohamed Abshir's camp to the advantage of Abdulahi Yusuf and his supporters.

The inclusion of the Dhulbahante and Warsangeli enabled an extension of territory to encompass the wider Harti clan group, beyond the Majeerteen clan and allied Darood clans, comprising a third of the entire Somali region. It also reinforced the links with the Harti clan group presence in Kismayo and Juba, a strategic resource-rich location in southern Somalia. The broader alliance of the Harti clan group both recognises and reinforces the investment of Puntland in the political future of southern Somalia and at the same time had the potential to undermine Somaliland's secession from Somalia since Sool and Sanaag regions and the district of Buhoodle all lie within the former colonial borders claimed by Somaliland. Although many in the northeast regions opposed Somaliland's secession, instead favouring a united Somali state, they also opposed the extension of the envisaged process from the northeast regions to the Harti clan group.

The original organisers of the conference were vocal in arguing against the inclusion of Sool and Sanaag regions in the process and recognised the potential for political and administrative confusion in the territories disputed with Somaliland. They also anticipated that the international donor community would withdraw its pledge of support for the conference and subsequent support for the regional administration, which proved to be a valid concern as the international aid community demonstrated its reluctance to endorse the engagement of Sool and Sanaag regions in the process⁷⁵.

From the perspective of the representatives of the Dhulbahante and Warsangeli clans at the conference, joining Puntland State fulfilled several purposes. One of the stated motivations was that Sool and Sanaag regions were not benefiting from the aid assistance provided by the international aid community to Somaliland on their behalf⁷⁶. The alliance with Puntland provided a means to: exercise leverage on the Somaliland government to increase resources to their area; oppose Somaliland's secessionist claim; consolidate the Harti clan group position in Kismayo and Juba; and benefit from influencing the balance of power in both Puntland and Somaliland. At the Garowe conference, Sool and Sanaag regions fielded 213 out of the 469 delegates, gained 26 of the 66 parliamentary seats and three of the nine cabinet posts. In addition, by unwritten agreement, the Puntland vice president is Dhulbahante and the parliamentary speaker is Warsangeli.

It had originally been envisaged that the Marehan, another Darood clan who inhabit neighbouring territory in Galgaduud region, would also be engaged in the process of establishing Puntland State as overall clan security was the highest priority in the civil war situation. The organisers of the consultative conference had had high expectations of their participation⁷⁷ and a variety of reasons were given for their withdrawal. One issue related to the involvement of Marehan militia in fighting with Harti groups in Kismayo.

75 Interview with senior diplomat, Nairobi, 30 November 2007

76 A meeting of representatives of the Harti clan and Meheri sub-clan of the Arab Saalah clan in Kenya on 28 March 1996, in the presence of members of the SSDF and USP, made a formal complaint to the international donors about the lack of aid to Sool and Sanaag regions after the collapse of the state.

77 Interview with Suldan Said Mohamed Garasse, Garowe, and with Dr. Yasin Farah, Bosaaso, November 2007

“We sent envoys to them but they would not participate in the conference because of the situation developing in Lower Juba. There was heated debate on whether to wait until the issue was settled: it was decided to go ahead with the conference” interview with *Dr Yasin Farah*⁷⁸.

Ugas Hassan also noted there was also dissension within the Marehan clan “...the Galgaduud or Abudwaq Marehan community couldn’t agree among themselves on participation in the conference although some welcomed it”⁷⁹ Another issue related to the absence of representation by a sufficient number of credible and respected traditional elders able to shoulder the responsibility of such a serious commitment⁸⁰. Finally, the question of their participation may have been influenced by unresolved grievances:

Nevertheless, the seats allocated to the Marehan clan remained open to them throughout the Constitutional Conference.

“We invited and hosted them several times but the lingering grudge of the Marehan clan of Siyad Barre against the role of the SSDF in dethroning the Barre regime might not have healed well” interview with *Suldan Said*⁸¹.

Although the establishment of Puntland State was based on power sharing between the clans, this was not made explicit in the Charter (or the subsequent Puntland constitution). The incompatibility of the clan-based system with democratic systems of governance presents significant challenges, in terms of the appropriate engagement of qualified people for government positions on the basis of merit; issues of accountability; and broader public participation, including that of women and minority groups. Nevertheless, the clan-based power sharing of the Puntland State did provide a formula for stability in the short-term and the basis for a transition towards democracy.

Actors

The power struggle between the wings associated with the two SSDF leaders, General Mohamed Abshir and Colonel Abdulahi Yusuf, remained a theme throughout the preparations for the conference and the meeting itself. Although the SSDF reunification conference in Sodere in early 1997 resolved the leadership dispute between Mohamed Abshir and Abdulahi Yusuf and unified the organisation, recurrent tensions testified to the continuing power struggle between the two leaders. Mohamed Abshir was absent from the country for eight months and missed the beginning of the consultative conference. In his absence, Abdulahi Yusuf authorised mechanisms for funding both the conference and the conflict in Kismayo. Mohamed Abshir disputed the decree, which was also unpopular with members of the business sector, and the *Isimo* was forced to intervene to endorse the measures. The clash between the two figures continued after the conclusion of the Garowe conference, which had recommended that there would not be political organisations in the three year transitional mandate of the government, during which time a new constitution allowing political parties was to be written.

Abdulahi Yusuf was skilful in building alliances and neutralising key opponents, for example, by bringing dissatisfied representatives of the Dhulbahante and Warsangeli into the process and gaining support from the Islan, chair of the conference, in exchange for Yusuf’s support for Garowe as the capital. He appeared to have access to the necessary funds from the diaspora to support these alliances and had also gained in popularity for his stand at the Cairo conference – in contrast with Mohamed Abshir’s loss of credibility in supporting its controversial outcome.

78 Interview with Dr. Yasin Farah, Bosaaso, November 2007

79 Interview transcript, Ugas Hassan Ugas

80 Interview with Beldaje Ali Farah, Bosaaso, November 2007

81 Interview with Suldan Said Mohamed, Garowe, November 2007

The crucial role played by the *Isimo* (in collaboration with other influential figures) in mediating numerous disputes at different levels demonstrated the regard in which they are held in Puntland as well as highlighting some of the challenges implicit in making the transition from the traditional “*xeer*” system of conflict resolution to democratic systems of governance.

A number of professionals and intellectuals showed immense commitment to the resolution of the process and their dedication was a factor in its ultimate success. This was coupled with the valuable technical expertise provided by the small group of international resource people.

Participation and representation

After the initial proposal by Engineer Abshir Musa that he nominate representatives from the regions in his capacity as the deputy SSDF chairman was turned down, there was clear support for the directive from the Consultative Conference that the communities should nominate their representatives at local level.

The criteria and procedure for the selection of delegates was clearly defined by the consultative conference but, in common with many gatherings that relate to power sharing or political representation, there was fierce competition for seats and duplicate lists of delegates from the district level since each sub-clan wishes to have access to the political appointments or administrative positions that are likely to emerge. This can prove beneficial for the delegate and enhances the general status of the sub-clan and, once a position is acquired, it is frequently identified as belonging to the sub-clan rather than the individual. These dynamics complicate the selection of delegates as the entry point to the competition for political appointments. Furthermore, in the allocation of seats by the sub-clan, clan membership frequently over-rides selection criteria based on merit.

As a reflection of the clan-based process, there was no representation for minority groups who lie outside the Darood clan group structure. The issue of representation was further complicated by contention over the inclusion of Sool and Sanaag regions and was only finally resolved by increasing the allocation for Bari region (whose constituents felt most disadvantaged) as well as for Sool and Sanaag regions. The preparatory committee and subsequently the *Isimo* had to mediate numerous disputes and the final list of delegates was not agreed until after the conference had already been in progress for over a month.

In keeping with Somali tradition, women played no visible role in the conference. There is very little recognition of their contribution behind the scenes in mediating disputes and ensuring the continuity of the process or of their critical logistical support, accommodating and feeding conference delegates, and addressing numerous practical challenges. By agreement of the conference, and as a gesture of affirmative action, the Charter allocated five seats for women in the parliament, one per region, with the implicit understanding that these would be nominated on clan basis rather than by women themselves.

Management, quality of mediation, critical junctures

The homogeneity of the communities of the northeast regions and their relative neglect by successive Somali governments helped to sustain the traditional structures of governance and the *Isimo* continue to command respect and authority. The *Isimo* were crucial to the success of the process leading to the establishment of the Puntland state, providing leadership in the face of the divisions within the SSDF, sustaining public confidence in the initiative, and using their position of respected authority to chair and mediate the conference. The paramount chief of the Isse Mohamoud clan of Nugaal region, who hosted the conference in Garowe, had substantial authority and made it clear that the Garowe conferences took place under his protection. The determination of Islan Mohamed Islan to overcome successive challenges and obstacles in the process was one of the factors in its ultimate success.

During the consultative conference that prepared the way for the Constitutional conference, Islan Mohamed and his fellow *Isimo* worked with other influential figures (including politicians) to mediate competing claims to lineage titles within the Dhulbahante and the Osman Mohamoud clans of the Harti clan group. However the lineage dispute within the Warsangeli clan was not resolved until a month after the Constitutional conference began, delaying the participation of the delegates from Sanaag region.

At critical junctures during the Constitutional conference itself, Islan Mohamed, as chair of the conference, adjourned the sessions in order to find solutions outside of the main hall with the assistance of *ad hoc* technical committees formed for specific purposes. For example, the multiple comments of delegates on the draft Charter were addressed by a five-member technical committee, who presented an amended draft for further discussion by the plenary. The two outstanding issues of contentions (selection of the capital and allocation of parliamentary seats) were left for the *Isimo* to develop a proposal to present to the plenary, reflecting the confidence in which they were held by the delegates to reach a workable compromise. The chair, Islan Mohamed, was clearly disappointed when they failed to reach agreement amongst themselves. Instead, the selection of the capital was put to a vote and the contentious issue of allocation of parliamentary seats was referred to a fifteen-member technical committee and ultimately resolved by the host community (and that of the chair, Islan Mohamed) giving up a parliamentary seat to Bari region. In line with the overall process of power sharing on a clan basis, the committees, including *ad hoc* technical committees, were selected on a “regional basis” (clan).

Throughout, the group of “ten wise men” provided added value in fostering constructive dialogue. They had been brought together to represent the interest of the whole community (rather than the interests of individual communities) and, where necessary, they provided a counter balance to the dynamics within the political elite. This tactical approach by the chairing committee proved immensely valuable in helping to resolve a number of issues through discussions behind the scenes.

The strategies adopted by the chairing committee were not welcomed by all the participants. At different stages, two key figures, Abdulahi Boqor Musse ‘King-Kong’ and Mohamed Abshir, objected to the way the conference was being conducted, indicating their suspicions that the chairing committee was favouring Abdulahi Yusuf’s camp. Their dissatisfaction was taken as reflecting the shift in the political balance towards the other main contender for leadership, Abdulahi Yusuf. In response, the chairing committee threatened to resign, a drastic measure that would have left the process in disarray. This was sufficient to contain the crisis and the meeting proceeded.

Community ownership, funding, and legitimacy

The relative homogeneity of communities in the *gaariwaa* (isolated and inaccessible) northeast regions and the historical neglect of this area by successive Somali governments fostered a common sense of identity. This was reinforced as a result of the civil war by continuing threats from the south from the Hawiye, and from the northwest from the Isaaq, clan-families. The remoteness of the northeast regions had also motivated those seeking professional opportunities to migrate south and, as a result, an unusual number of people with experience in public administration and political movements (such as the cadres of the Somali Youth League) originated in this area. When they were displaced by the civil war in 1991, they brought essential skills, experience, and familiarity with governance systems back to the northeast regions. In a similar vein, the communities of the northeast regions tended to pride themselves on their “political maturity”. The sensitisation and community mobilisation that accompanied the engagement of the War-torn Societies Project in the northeast regions from 1996 undoubtedly contributed to raising awareness of critical issues for the peacebuilding process as well as the potential for progressing beyond the prolonged

stalemate of the political process. All of these factors are likely to have contributed to the commitment of the general public to the long process that culminated in the Garowe Constitutional conference.

The determination of both the conference organisers and the public to succeed with the process may well have been enhanced by the absence of international funding. Earlier indications from donors of financial support were not forthcoming when the political implications of the process became clear, namely that representatives of Sool and Sanaag regions were participating.

The measures put in place by the SSDF prior to the conference to raise the necessary funds generated controversy within the SSDF leadership and were disputed by members of the business sector, who bore the brunt of the increased taxation. However they proved successful in covering approximately two thirds of the costs, with the balance written off and absorbed, primarily by the host community, the Isse Mohamoud clan of Nugaal region, who in line with custom also provided security, livestock, and accommodation for delegates.

Quality of the agreement and subsequent developments

The Puntland Charter represents an inter-clan agreement between the Harti Majeerteen, Dhulbahante, Warsangeli, and Deshiishe, and the allied Darood clans of Leelkasse and Awrtable, inhabiting the five regions over which Puntland State claims sovereignty. The territory defined as Puntland on the basis of the Harti clan group lineage overlaps that claimed by Somaliland on the basis of the historical colonial border. As a result, relations between Puntland and Somaliland have been problematic, at times resulting in violent clashes in the disputed territories.

The Charter established three branches of government, the legislative, the executive and an independent judiciary. The clan-based power-sharing that was the foundation for the Puntland Charter meant that all positions were filled on the basis of clan lineage, although this is not made explicit in the Charter. The MPs, cabinet ministers, and senior posts in the public administration were all selected according to clan lineage. The minority non-Darood groups have no representation. An unwritten agreement reserves the positions of the President, the Vice-President and the Speaker of Parliament for the clans of the Majeerteen, Dhulbahante and Warsangeli respectively. The clan-based system presents significant challenges in terms of engaging qualified people, accountability, and broader public participation including that of women and minority groups but did provide the basis for power-sharing that brought stability and the potential for a transition towards democracy.

The Charter provided for a three year term of office for the president, from July 1998 to June 2001, and specified that the mandate could not be extended. During this transitional period, the administration was tasked with drafting a constitution, holding a census and a popular referendum on the draft constitution, preparing the legal framework for the formation of political parties and holding of elections. In the event that elections could not take place within the three year transitional period, another constitutional community conference was to be held within 45 days under the auspices of the Chief of Justice. The transitional framework was clearly articulated but none of the transitional tasks were completed by the end of the three year term, at which point a serious constitutional crisis arose that eventually ended in violent conflict.

Conclusion

The Garowe Constitutional Community Conference was fundamentally a community-driven process, founded on the inter-related needs to go beyond the paralysing stalemate produced by the power struggle within the SSDF leadership, ensure common security, and to reach an effective agreement for the shared management of the economic resources of the northeast regions from Bosaaso port to the trading centre of Gaalka'yo.

Attempts in southern parts of Somalia to form clan-based systems of governance have yet to bear fruit (after the first attempt, by the Digil-Mirifle clan in Bay and Bakool regions, was overthrown by Aydiid's militia forces in 1995). One of the factors in the successful formation of Puntland State may be the dominance of the northeast regions through the 1990s by a single military political faction, the SSDF, and the consequent relative security and stability of the area after the collapse of the State. A second related factor is the strong tradition of respect for the authority of the titled traditional elders, which originates from and is fostered by the relative homogeneity and common lineage of the communities in the northeast regions. This enabled the traditional leaders to manage community-based disputes (and maintain relative security) as well as support mediation of the long-standing power struggles within the SSDF sufficiently to sustain it as a single faction. And, third, the communities in the northeast regions are perceived to share a sense of common identity, which was reinforced by the impact of the civil war and by the dominance of other communities in the national level reconciliation processes.

All of these factors appear to have contributed to sustaining the long evolution of the process that culminated, after a further ten months of dedicated preparation, in the Garowe Constitutional Community Conference and the establishment of the Puntland State. While this was a substantial achievement that brought considerable benefits to the area, to date the political system of Puntland State has not been fully democratized. In order to avoid the stalemate of "permanent transition", the next steps in the democratisation process will have to be fully grasped.

Case Study: The Burtinle Peace Agreement

Map of Adadda Area



Introduction

In early 2007, violent conflict arose between two communities in the strategic pastoral zone of Adadda, which has abundant rich pastures but few water sources. The dispute related primarily to the use of grazing resources, with one community opposing any further development of permanent water catchments (*berkedo*) and the other community pressing for expansion to the north of new settlements through building *berkedo*.

Resolution of conflicts between the pastoral communities in Adadda area is complicated by the cross-border nature of this remote territory, which straddles: the regions of Sool, Nugaal, and Mudug as well as the unmarked border with Zone 5 of Ethiopia; the territories disputed between Puntland and Somaliland; and clan boundaries. The communities in the area are primarily from the Omar Mohamoud sub-clan of the Majeerteen and the Bah Ararsame sub-clan of the Dhulbahante, both from the Harti clan group of the Darood clan family and with fluid clan boundaries between them and frequent inter-marriage, which cements social relationships between the two communities.

The Adadda area has also been host to several clan-based political factions since the outbreak of the civil war. The Majeerteen-dominated Somali Salvation Democratic Front (SSDF) political group was the primary force in the region after its re-constitution in 1991, with the Warsangeli-Dhulbahante political faction of the United Somali Party (USP) and the Awrtable-Leylkase faction of the Somali National Defence Union (SNDU) also present. The drive towards settling political competition through the establishment of a regional authority overshadowed local level clan conflicts through the 1990s and beyond. The Adadda conflict provides insights on the impact of these political transformations in the region and the ability of the pastoralist communities to contain, manage, and mitigate local resource-based conflicts.

While the cross-border nature of this strategic pastoral area has contributed to the failure of previous reconciliation efforts, another factor has been the lack of clarity about roles and responsibilities for follow-up and the absence of a strong administration to ensure adherence to the agreements reached. Furthermore, successive failed initiatives have increased distrust and animosity between the two communities.

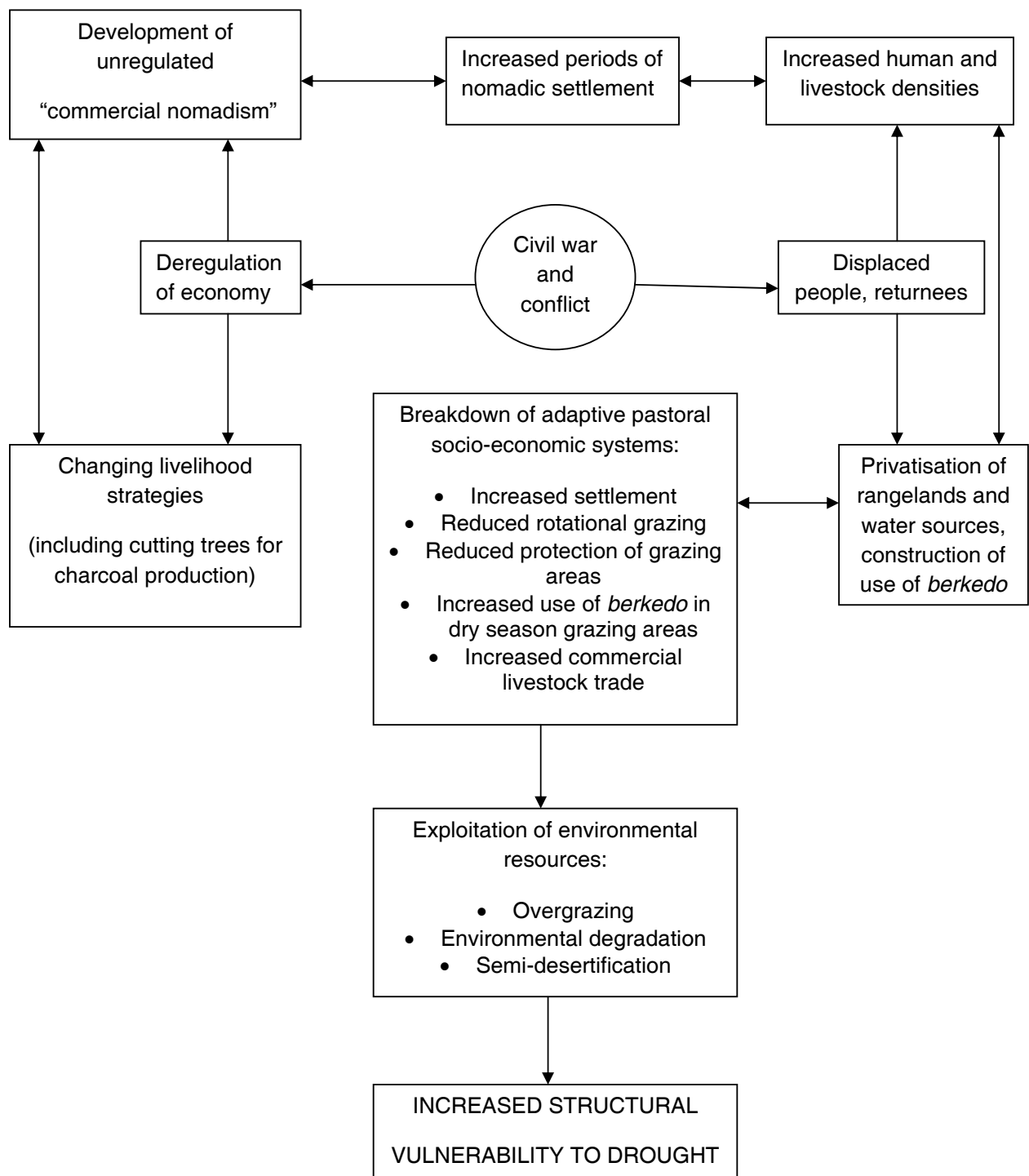
Background on environmental pressures on pastoral communities

In general, pressure on the essential resources of grazing and water in pastoral areas has increased over time due to environmental degradation associated with deforestation and erosion; reduced rainfall; and increased human and livestock populations as a result of natural population growth. In addition, in many areas, there has been increased settlement by people fleeing the civil strife in south-central Somalia, reflecting the overall transformation of the northeast regions of Somalia after the collapse of the Somali state in 1991 and the huge influx of Somalis who trace their origins to the area⁸². The proliferation of settlements in traditional pastures for nomadic communities, in particular, has had a noticeable negative impact on the environment and competition for the limited pastoral resources is a common cause of conflicts, with looting of livestock and killing.

In the Adadda area, the scarcity of water resources has minimised the environmental degradation seen in other pastoral areas of Sool, Nugaal and Mudug regions. However, the construction of permanent rain-fed water reservoirs (*berkedo*) in principle enables pastoralists to access the valuable pastures all year round (instead of only in the wet season). In turn, this is associated with depletion of large parts of the surrounding grazing areas and the establishment of semi-permanent settlements (see diagram below). In Adadda, conflicts had arisen before between the two communities when *berkedo* had been dug in the shared grazing area in contravention of an agreement reached in 1997 that included a ban on digging new *berkedo* or establishing settlements.

82 See Overview for a detailed background on the political, social, and economic situation in the northeast regions of Somalia during the past 18 years.

The role of berkedo in the cycle of increasing structural vulnerability to drought in Northern Somalia (Johnson 2000, FSAU)



Conflict Trends

Competition over pastoral resources is often exacerbated in the hot dry season of the *jilal* from January to April, when pasture as well as water becomes scarce, presenting a threat to the livelihood and security of the pastoral family and community. Typically during the *jilal*, “previous injuries, taunts, unrequited blood-debts, and other differences are all contributory factors which are readily touched off when men are hungry and weary and least disposed to temporize” (Lewis, 1960). This is reflected in the historical pattern of previous violent conflicts in the strategic pastoral area of Adadda, which erupted during the *jilal* season in 1985, 1997, and in 2001.

Each outbreak of violence was followed by a peace settlement but the recurrent nature of the conflict illustrates both the challenges and the absence of effective mechanisms for implementation of the terms of agreements, which, in the absence of viable government authority in the area, has rested with the elders. During the settlement of the conflict in 1985, ministers from the Somali government were present⁸³ but the Siyaad Barre regime was already in serious decline. In the later rounds of conflict in 1997 and 2001, political dynamics within the northeast regions (subsequently Puntland) took precedence over clan conflict and mediation.

The definition of conflict by Morton Deutsch (in Walker, 2005) aptly describes the origins of the conflict in Adadda as arising when “incompatible activities occur [where] one party is interfering, disrupting, obstructing, or in some other way making another party’s actions less effective.” This definition encompasses not only competition over sparse resources but also the divergent interests and needs of both groups. As indicated above, the administrative institutions that could prevent or manage the conflict were weak or absent. Furthermore, clan conflict is notionally outside the government’s jurisdiction and the Puntland government lacks the financial resources, manpower, and absolute support of the Harti community and clans to enforce the agreements of the clan elders, leaving space for the reoccurrence of conflicts.

The confrontation between the Bah Ararsame and Omar Mohamoud communities in 1997 arose over the construction of *berkedo* (concrete water reservoirs) in Tukaale, a rich grazing area between Qoriley and Magaaley settlements, which are the primary settlements of these two sub-clans⁸⁴ and also their main militia bases. Armed forces gathered at Kur’aad, a water reservoir near Tukaale and a mediation meeting was called, hosted by the Bah Ararsame traditional elders in Qoriley from 13-15 May 1997 with SSDF leaders and members of the Burtinle district council among the participants⁸⁵. The mediation committee recommended that no further *berkedo* be constructed in the area and that the Nugaal regional authority should be responsible for implementation of the accord (see Annex 5 for details of the accord). The agreement aimed to placate the immediate conflict but its resolutions were unrealistic since, as observers noted, in 1997 “there was no formal administration...to oversee the process even with the presence of the SSDF”⁸⁶ and the Nugaal regional authority did not have the means to monitor or regulate disputes in the Adadda area. Furthermore, attention during this period was focussed predominantly on the dynamics related to the formation of an overall regional authority for the northeast regions, culminating in the Garowe Constitutional Community Conference and the establishment of the Puntland State in 1998. As a consequence, there was inadequate follow-up and little effective implementation of the peace agreement.

When conflict recurred in Adadda in 2001, regional level dynamics again took precedence with attention focussed on the Puntland constitutional crisis. On this occasion, the conflict was settled internally through mediation between the clan elders, intellectuals and the *Isimo* (traditional titled elders) from the two communities with little input from the Puntland administration.

The most recent violent conflict erupted when the Bah Ararsame objected to members of the Omar Mohamoud sub-clan again digging a new *berkedo* at Tukaale (where both communities had agreed in 1997 that this was prohibited) and asserted that the Omar Mohamoud were disregarding clan boundaries. Initial efforts by local traditional and religious leaders to contain the violence were supported by officials from the TFG and the Ethiopian government (given the cross-border nature of the incidents) and, despite the limited authority of the Puntland government across the Ethiopian border in Adadda, it responded by sending 65 soldiers (later increased to 120). They were accompanied by Puntland government officials from Laas

83 Research validation workshop, 8-9 December 2007

84 Interview with Jama, Garowe, 2007

85 Interview, Mohamed Ismail, PDRC Garowe, 2007

86 Interview, Jama, Garowe, 2007

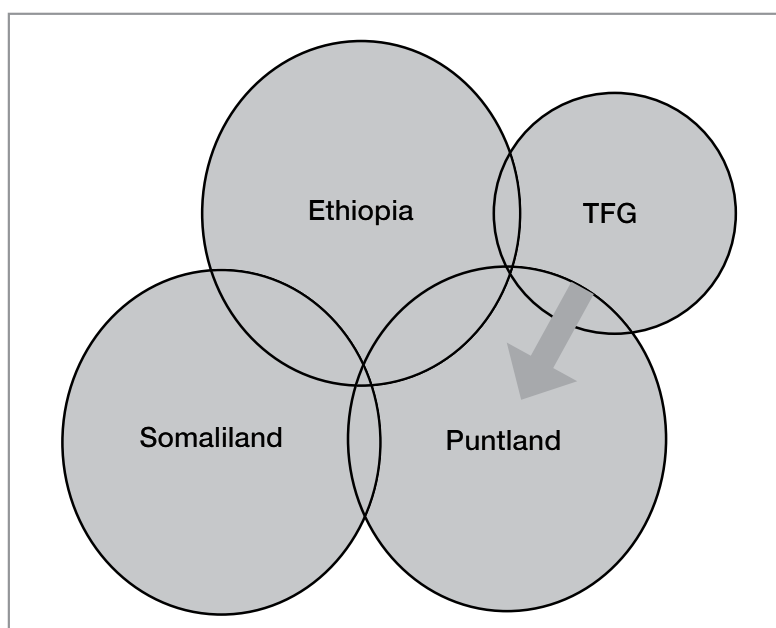
'Aanood' and Burtinle, who were from the same sub-clans as the two communities in conflict. On arrival in Adadda, the Puntland soldiers camped between the militia of the two communities to enforce a cessation of hostilities⁸⁷.

Unsettled Agreement

With the cessation of hostilities in place, on 10 March 2007 a self-appointed mediation committee comprising titled traditional leaders (*Isimo*), elders, religious leaders and members of the Puntland administration, began mediations based on the 1997 peace deal. The representatives of the Puntland government included the Minister of Finance, Mohamed Ali Yusuf (an Omar Mohamoud) and the Minister of Interior, Ahmed Abdi Habsade (a Bah Ararsame), who worked in collaboration with traditional elders from several clans from Puntland. The Minister of Justice and Religious Affairs, Abdirizak Said Geesood, selected 13 members from the parties in conflict to form the mediating committee⁸⁸, in contrast with traditional practice in which members of the feuding parties are not part of the committee.

While some contested the high level of involvement by the Puntland government, some saw this positively and even essential to reaching an agreement. Others recognised the limitations on the jurisdiction of the Puntland government but commended its efforts to address the conflict and noted that a lack of response from the government would have aroused considerable public dissent⁸⁹.

Another factor was the pressure from the Transitional Federal Government (TFG) on the Puntland government to take action, since it had a vested interest in the rapid resolution of the conflict in this cross-border area⁹⁰. During this period, the TFG, supported by Ethiopian troops, had entered Mogadishu and ousted the Islamic Courts Union (ICU), whose members dispersed. Puntland troops had been deployed to Gaalka'yo to defend against infiltration by ICU militia into the Puntland region, as well as west into Ethiopia, and the Puntland government was under considerable pressure from the TFG to secure its borders. Yet another factor was that the conflict was taking place in the territories disputed between Puntland and Somaliland, providing further impetus for rapid engagement by the Puntland government to assert its dominance in the area. The diagram below illustrates the overlapping interests of the different government bodies in the conflict area:



87 Interview with Jama, Garowe, 2007

88 Interviews with Jama, 2007 and Daad, 2008

89 Interviews with Jama, 2007 and Daad, 2008

90 Validation Workshop, 8-9 December, 2007

The mediating committee rapidly reached an agreement, which, unusually, included destruction of *berkedo* in the grazing areas as well as specifying customary blood compensation payments (*diya*) for the deceased. According to the customary law practised in Puntland, *xeer* Somali, and shari'a provisions, the *diya* for the death of a man is 100 camels and for the death of a woman is 50 camels but in the case of Adadda, the mediating committee specified *diya* of 120 camels and added a number of young women to be given in marriage (*godobtir*) to the aggrieved party, the Bah Ararsame.

“Peace wives” *godobtir* (the process of erasing grudges)

A well-known Somali proverb states “*Meeshii xinjiri ku daadato, xab baa lagu bururiyaa*” (meaning - a marriage can heal grievances and avert revenge). This is the rationale behind the practice of giving a young woman in marriage to the opposing party in conflict as part of a peace agreement in order to foster good relationships between the family of deceased and her clan of birth. The offer of the young woman, known as a *godobtir*, is, in principle, voluntary and provides the basis for marriage between the guilty and the aggrieved party. The practice is intended to enable the two parties in conflict to move forward from a period of uncertainty and a tendency to seek retribution by orienting them towards the future, including the prospect that sons born from the marriage can replace the men lost during the dispute and avert future conflict between the parties.

However, critically, the agreement proposed by the mediating committee failed to address the core issue of pastoral rights in the disputed area and the Bah Ararsame appealed against it, referring to the terms of the agreement reached in 1997, which banned the building of *berkedo* in common grazing lands. Their appeal to the mediation committee stated that, while they accepted the elders' ruling on compensation for the dead and wounded, they contested the balance of the agreement, stating that the Omar Mohamoud had dug 25 *berkedo*, all in Dhulbahante (Bah Ararsame) territory, while they themselves had only built 4 *berkedo* (see Annex 5 for the agreement and the Bah Ararsame's appeal against it).

In response, the mediating committee attempted to appease the Bah Ararsame, who had also suffered more casualties, by increasing the level of restitution for the destruction of one of the largest *berkedo*, owned by Ina Habsade, the brother of the Puntland Minister of Interior at that time, Ahmed Abdi Habsade.

The mediating committee also established a buffer zone of 25 kms between the two parties, a common traditional practice to reduce the risk of conflict between pastoralists since “conflicts occur when, owing to scarce pasture, adversary groups are constrained to graze together or close to each other, thereby offering an opportunity for settling old scores... To avoid this from happening, adversary pastoralists usually maintain a good distance from each other when grazing, keeping an informal buffer zone that often remains unused” (PDRC, 2003).

However in this instance, the demarcation of the buffer zone by the mediating committee had the effect of reducing the size of the Bah Ararsame's territory and instead of calming tensions, it aggravated the threat to the Bah Ararsame of the perceived disregard of territorial boundaries by the Omar Mohamoud. The provisions in the agreement for destruction of the *berkedo* in the grazing area and financial reparation did not address these concerns of the Bah Ararsame community. Two months later, in late March 2007, the conflict resumed, triggered by a clash between two young men from the two communities at a water point, in which the man from the Bah Ararsame clan was killed.

Subsequent fighting between militia of the two communities resulted in a further five deaths amongst the Bah Ararsame adding to the three men killed in the earlier clashes and scores of wounded, including amongst the Omar Mohamoud. Tensions were high and began to affect neighbouring areas in Sool and Nugaal regions and beyond. Appeals were made through radios, mosques and public gatherings for immediate intervention to end the fighting. The renewed clashes drew the attention of the titled traditional elders from Nugaal and Sool, namely Isan Issa Isan Mohamed, Suldán Said Garasse, Garaad Abdulahi Soofe and Garaad Abshir Salah, and women from a number of different clans. The women mobilised for peace by encouraging the parties in conflict to engage in constructive dialogue, the media to cover the mediation process, and the Puntland government to provide funding support.

The mediation process – renegotiating peace

In contrast with the earlier attempt, the parties in conflict were not part of the mediating committee. Previously, government officials, including the mayors of Laas ‘Aanood’ and Burtinle, the Minister of Finance, and the [then] Minister of Interior, were selected on the basis of their clan affiliation to mediate the conflict but were nevertheless perceived as representing the Puntland government, which aroused suspicion, notably amongst the Bah Ararsame community. Recognising this, the Puntland government made efforts to reduce its involvement in the second round of mediation in order to demonstrate its readiness to accommodate the aggrieved party and support resolution of the issue.

With the Puntland government in the backseat, third party mediators who enjoyed the trust and confidence of both the Bah Ararsame and Omar Mohamoud communities became involved. Isan Issa Isan Mohamed, the *Isim* of the Issa Mohamoud clan of Nugaal region, led the process, calling on the traditional elders of the Dhulbahante sub-clan of Ahmed Garaad for support. They convened an emergency meeting at Puntland State University on 15 April to agree on a strategy for mediation and select a technical mediating committee. Following customary procedure, it was agreed that the *Isimo* (titled traditional elders) from Nugaal and Sool regions would oversee the process and authenticate the final judgements reached by the technical committee: subsequently the *Isimo* of Mudug region also joined the council.

With the backing of the broader Harti clan group, the committee divided into three groups, each charged with engaging the parties in dialogue (DRC, 2007). Delegations were dispatched to Laas ‘Aanood’ and to Burtinle – the main clan bases of the two communities in conflict – to ensure the clans’ agreement to the mediation process and to be bound by its conclusions, both of which were agreed. The third group acted as go-between, liaising between the Bah Ararsame and Omar Mohamoud (DRC, 2007). A three day meeting of the *Isimo* and a technical committee followed, held at PDRC’s conference hall on 20 April, at which agreement was reached to send delegations of seventeen men from each party to the venue for the peace talks, to be hosted by Burtinle local council. After a lengthy process of pacification, eventually the mediating committee succeeded in bringing the parties to the negotiation table.

The identification of the venue for the mediation talks as Burtinle, a settlement of the Omar Mohamoud clan, represented an acknowledgement by the Omar Mohamoud of their offences against the Bah Ararsame, in line with the custom that the guilty party is responsible for the organisation and financing of peace talks. With the help of the mediating committee, the mayor, Hussein Guuled Hanaf, and community of Burtinle organised and funded the second mediation effort to resolve the Adadda conflict, with additional financial and logistical support provided by NGOs and the Puntland government, who also provided security. The conference began on 27 April, with a group of women “*Nabadeynta*” (see below) joining with local women peace activists outside the meeting hall to lobby for a peaceful resolution.

On 29 April the mediating committee and the *Isimo* arranged a meeting of the thirty four elders representing the two sub-clans, at which they presented their allegations and arguments. After an exhaustive examination of information from all sides, the *Isimo* asked the technical committee to provide a fair and impartial judgement on the case. The following day, the mediating committee convened a plenary session of the conference at which the chair described the process of their deliberations and finally presented a draft resolution for consideration by the two delegations. After further discussion (see below), the Burtinle Peace Agreement was endorsed by both delegations and the *Isimo*.

Traditionally, the guilty party comes to the table ready to submit to the terms of the aggrieved party⁹¹. In this case, the Omar Mohamoud were deemed the guilty party for killing Bah Ararsame men and at the signing of the agreement, an Omar Mohamoud elder professed “*waxaan samaynay lama arag lakin waxaa kadanbaysiinaynaa lama maqa*”, meaning “we [the Omar Mohamoud] have done something never seen before, and what we are about to do is unheard of”⁹² – and, in a gesture of reconciliation, the Omar Mohamoud elders presented the weapons captured during the conflict at the ceremonial occasion of the signing of the Burtinle Peace Agreement on 8 May 2007 in the Burtinle Secondary school.

The quality of the peace accord

The primary difference between this peace accord and that of the agreement in March 2007 was an amendment that omitted the destruction of *berkedo* owned by the Bah Ararsame and instead specified destruction of the recently built *berkedo* of the Omar Mohamoud. The intention was to placate the Bah Ararsame, who had suffered more casualties in the conflict⁹³, and to recognise the existing clan boundaries. In addition, and in line with the 1997 agreement, the accord prohibited both the Omar Mohamoud and the Bah Ararsame from building new *berkedo* or establishing any settlements in the specified area (between the existing villages) and stated that if any *berkedo* are constructed here, both new and old *berkedo* would be destroyed. Any violation of these terms is subject to tough penalties (a fine and one year imprisonment) with responsibility for oversight given to a monitoring committee drawn from the two communities, who may also call on the regional administrations of Sool and Nugaal for assistance.

A second feature of the agreement also relates to the actual destruction of the *berkedo*, which represent a significant financial investment by the owner as well as providing a source of income. In recognition of the financial losses, the agreement specifies cash compensation to the owners by the Puntland government through the *Isimo*. The destruction of the specified *berkedo* would be overseen by representatives from the two communities, the Puntland government, and the mediating committee.

A third noticeable feature of the agreement is in specifying both the manner in which payments were to be made and the timeframe for completion. The agreement required the Omar Mohamoud to give an imposing *diya* of 1070 live camels to the Bah Ararsame, with 467 live camels within two months of the signing of the agreement by July 2007 and the remaining 603 camels to be provided within six months by September 2007. The collection of over 1000 camels represents a considerable challenge for the sub-clan and often *diya* payments are made in cash instead (with mobilisation through the community’s diaspora to assist in covering the cost). The stipulation of live camels for the *diya* payment was an indication of the seriousness of the intent behind the agreement. Furthermore, although it is customary to pay *diya* in installments, the setting of a fixed deadline was an innovation, which also increased the burden on the *diya*-paying sub-clan (see below).

91 Interview with Nur & Farah, November 2007

92 Statement by Abdqorah during signing of the Burtinle Peace agreement

93 Interview with Nur and Farah, Garowe, November 2007

Finally, the agreement states that any violation of its terms causing injury or death is subject to an immediate fine before the case is examined, indicating the seriousness of the commitment to establishing and sustaining peace in the area.

Some members of the Omar Mohamoud community contested these recommendations and one of the mediators reported aggression towards them during their stay in Adadda, with one of their vehicles damaged by gunfire. However, ultimately the support and cooperation of the community elders overcame pockets of resistance to the agreement⁹⁴, reflecting their role as consolidators and upholders of traditional agreements⁹⁵.

Actors

As described above, the second phase was led by the *Isimo* from the affected area and neighbouring regions (Sool and Nugaal, later joined by *Isimo* from Mudug), who were trusted as third party mediators by all the stakeholders. Because of the lack of trust by one party in its role and potential conflicts of interest, the Puntland government reduced its involvement to play a support role (in contrast with the first phase). The *Isimo* selected respected figures as the technical mediating committee and, together with the mediating committee, identified thirty four elders representing the two sub-clans to participate in the peace talks.

A group of forty women activists known as “*Nabadeynta*” played a key role in community mobilisation for peace, drawing in a wide range of stakeholders to support resolution of the conflict, as described below. The local media was also engaged early on, increasing the transparency of the process by identifying the actors and their roles, which enabled members of the different communities to identify potential spoilers and integrate them into the process. The media also amplified the efforts of the “*Nabadeynta*” women to pressure all the parties and the government to make peace.

Puntland women peace builders (Nabadeynta)⁹⁶

During the first stage of the conflict, women from the Dhulbahante clan in Sool region had attempted to pacify the situation through peace mobilisation within their own community but to little avail.

When the conflict widened, a group of forty women peace activists from each region of Puntland was mobilised through the Puntland Ministry of Women Development and Family Affairs and became known as *Nabadeynta* (peace builders). Over nearly two months, the group of women travelled to Burtinle, Laas’Anood, Qoriley, and Gaalka’yo calling for peace and creating the space for dialogue.

Because women belong to one clan by birth and may belong to another clan by marriage, they have traditionally been able to play a unique role in peace-making and to cross clan lines in ways that are not available to men or to go to areas inaccessible to the men due to the conflict. In this instance, the women shuttled between the two communities in Qoriley and Magacley to open up channels of communication with elders, youth, and militia and persuade the parties in conflict to engage in dialogue. The process was not straightforward and the women’s involvement was not accepted everywhere. Nevertheless, the women persisted, evoking the importance of peace for the community through poetry and traditional songs (*buranbur*)⁹⁷.

The women’s efforts were not recognised by a seat at the negotiation table, reflecting the traditional male preserve of mediation and decision-making in the Somali culture. However, as the Puntland Director General of Women Development and Family Affairs stated, the women were fighting for peace not a seat in the peace talks. Instead, as the prospect of dialogue became a reality, the women shifted their role from lobbyists to helping to prepare the venue for the talks, and the women cooked, cleaned, tended to the needs of the elders and guests, and sang peace songs.

94 Interview with Nur and Farah, Garowe, November 2007

95 Validation workshop, 8-9 December, 2007

96 Interview with Asha Gelle, Garowe, 2007

97 A form of poetry traditionally sung by women

Dissemination, follow-up and impact

The agreement defines clearly the roles of the administration and the two communities for implementation as well as the nature and timeframe for payments to be completed (neither of which had been specified in the earlier agreement in March 2007).

At the conclusion of the peace conference on 8 May, both parties were instructed to convey the outcome to their constituencies, particularly regarding the destruction of the identified *berkedo*.

Ten days later, on 18 May, a large group comprising the *Isimo*, mediating committee, two Puntland government ministers (from the two parties) and observers travelled to the villages of Adadda and Ariska to consolidate the agreement, support the establishment of modalities for exchange of looted livestock and disbandment of clan militia, and oversee the destruction of the *berkedo*. Heavy rains made the journey hazardous and lengthy but the delegation was warmly welcomed by the Bah Ararsame community on arrival and the demolition of *berkedo* began. The following day, the work was interrupted by heavily armed clan militia who destroyed three vehicles and injured a member of the mediating committee. However the elders of the Omar Mohamoud intervened to calm the situation and the demolition was completed. On 20 May the committee proceeded to Ariska, demolished the *berkedo* without incident, and met with the local community to pass messages of peace⁹⁸. On 21 May a celebratory gathering was held by the mediating committee in Adadda to reunite members of the two communities.

An oversight committee comprising five members from each of the communities was established at the Adadda gathering to monitor the proper implementation of the agreement. This was a significant step forward towards the establishment of sustainable peace since the lack of monitoring of implementation in earlier peace accords had been a factor in their breakdown and the resumption of clashes.

The next stage of implementation was due to take place in July with the first payment of camels. In the event, the Omar Mohamoud community was unable to gather the necessary camels in time but by September, they had collected 600 camels at which point their elders asked the mediating committee to allow the balance to be paid in US dollars (rather than live camels). In recognition of the genuine challenges in meeting the imposing *dilya* of over 1000 camels, this was agreed. The camels were handed over at a large ceremony in October with the balance paid in cash (with the cash value per camel estimated at US \$140).

Comparison of Phase I and II of the Adadda conflict in 2007

The two phases of the resolution of the Adadda conflict are contrasted in the table below. Following the failure of the first phase of the mediation, the mediating committee led by the senior *Isim* of the Isse Mohamoud of Nugaal region used traditional conflict resolution mechanisms to reach agreement between the two parties in conflict and address the core issues directly.

⁹⁸ Communications by Mohamed Ismail, PDRC Garowe, 2007

	Phase I	Phase II
Mediation Process	Minister of Justice	Senior Isim (Islan Issa Islan Mohamed)
Chairmanship	Included the parties in conflict	Third party mediators
Mediating committee	Land issue not addressed	Land issue addressed
Agreement	Contested	Agreement addressed group interests and needs Omar Mohamoud acceded to needs of Bah Ararsame Follow-up committee established
Community mobilisation by women	Clan and region-wide Women from Sool region involved	Puntland-wide including 40 women from the five regions of Puntland engaged in shuttle diplomacy and peace mobilisation at all levels of community
Government involvement	Puntland government-led process	Puntland government monitored and facilitated progress; shared responsibility for implementation of agreement.

Analysis of the resolution of the conflict

The significance of the Burtinle Peace Agreement relates primarily to the potential of the conflict in this strategic location to destabilize the security of the region and dynamics within the Puntland government. The parties in conflict are related to the two politically and economically dominant Harti clans - the Majeerteen and the Dhulbahante – that are also interdependent and socially integrated. Escalation of the conflict had the potential to disrupt cohesion within the Harti clan grouping and the political balance within Puntland, as well as compromising security in other parts of Puntland, since the Omar Mohamoud and Bah Ararsame sub-clans inhabit parts of the regions of Nugaal, Sool, and Ethiopian Zone 5. Recognising this threat, the Puntland government responded rapidly to try to end the hostilities and provided assistance for the second phase of the process towards a more sustainable agreement to end the recurring conflict. The Puntland government also played a role in the committee of community elders and leaders assigned to follow up on implementation of the agreement.

The neutrality of the mediating committee, the government’s full backing for the agreement, and the commitment of the elders from the parties in conflict contributed to the success of the peace process, reinforced by the community mobilisation for peace by women activists.

The other significant feature of the agreement is in tackling serious challenges to pastoral livelihoods and the environment in the face of expanding communities, pressures on the nomadic way of life, and – in particular – the detrimental impact of the construction of permanent water reservoirs, *berkedo*, in grazing areas.

Evolution of Harti Customary Law (Harti *xeer*) and Quality of the Peace Accord

During the research on the Burtinle Peace Agreement, the notion of Harti *xeer* (customary law) emerged as a separate system to the wider Somali *xeer* and Darood *xeer*, which exist already for the Darood people regardless of their geographical location. Although Harti *xeer* is already in place historically amongst the Harti communities in the Kismayo and Juba area⁹⁹, it had not previously been conceptualised in Puntland.

One member of the mediating committee, an elder and prominent businessman, Abdisaeed Ali Suuryan, said that the broad participation in the process towards the Burtinle peace agreement established Harti *xeer* as a reality. Although the differences between Darood *xeer* and Harti *xeer* are unclear, the issue generated extensive discussion amongst those who had been part of the Burtinle peace process, which was seen as setting a precedent and establishing a mechanism to manage conflict amongst the Harti communities in Puntland. “One *Isim* can represent all *Isimo*. Therefore theoretically Islan Issa Islan Mohamed represented the *Isimo* who were not present, including the absent Warsangeli *Isimo* and it can be argued that *xeer* Harti was established even though the entire Harti were not present” according to some members of the mediating committee¹⁰⁰. Although Harti *xeer* is conceived with regard to its application for Harti pastoralist communities (Danish Refugee Council, 2007), in principle it could evolve to address issues of concern for the Harti communities in urban as well as rural areas¹⁰¹.

The mediators and stakeholders with vested interests in the success of the Burtinle Peace Agreement encouraged the modernization of *xeer*, notably by setting a fixed timeframe for the payment of *diya*, thus putting pressure on the guilty party to comply with the payment. This is an important development and recognises that the “unfinished business” of peace agreements (typically a failure to complete payment of *diya*) is a common cause of renewed bouts of revenge killings and/ or recurring conflicts in pastoral communities. If members of the “injured” party loses patience with the time taken to pay *diya* or feel they are not being given due respect, they may retaliate by killing some members of the offending party and the conflict may resume.

The use of specific timeframes for completion of *diya* payments in the Burtinle peace agreement was drawn on soon afterwards when violent clashes occurred between Dhulbahante sub-clans in Buhoodle, on the border of Ethiopia, in June 2007. This was, in fact, a case in which the prolonged delay in completing *diya* payments triggered recurrence of a conflict. Some members of the Adadda/ Burtinle mediating committee also arbitrated the dispute in Buhoodle and there were similarities in the negotiated terms to resolve the Buhoodle conflict with that of the Burtinle peace agreement. Firstly, the terms specified the timeframe for completion of the payment of the *diya*. Secondly, because of the background to the conflict, the accord also stipulated a similarly imposing *diya* to that of the Burtinle agreement, of over 1000 live camels by one sub-clan to the other. As indicated above, the collection of live camels (as opposed to mobilising funds, for example through the diaspora) presents significant challenges for the offending party and is seen as indicating the seriousness of the offence. In the Buhoodle case, after further negotiations the recipients conceded to a request by the offending party for cash payment in lieu of 300 of the 1000 camels (as had happened in the Burtinle case) and the payment was completed satisfactorily.

A subsequent example of the use of specified timeframes in peace agreements for the completion of *diya* payments is the Mahas II peace agreement between Hawadle and Murosade clans (Hiran region, April 2008). An example of the threat posed by “unfinished business” to a peace accord is the prolonged delay in payment of *diya* for *birmageydo* in the peace agreement between Sa’ad and Saleman clans (Mudug and Galgaduud regions, February 2007.)

99 Validation workshop, 8-9 December 2007

100 Validation workshop, 8-9 December 2007

101 Validation workshop, 8-9 December 2007

Dissemination, follow-up and impact

The written and audio-visual documentation of the peace process by NGOs (such as the DRC and PDRC) and its dissemination through the media also represents an evolution of *xæer*, which traditionally relies on oral history and the memories of senior elders who were present, rather than written agreements. Accurate documentation can be helpful in addressing contentious issues, although the cost may be a lessening of the authority of the senior elders who are no longer the sole repositories of the community's history.

The local media played an interesting role in disseminating information about the process and calling on the communities for their support, which increased the level of transparency and enabled members of the community to identify and engage potential spoilers.

After the agreement had been endorsed and signed by both parties, the elders of the two communities were required to disseminate its terms to their respective communities. The challenges in getting acceptance of the terms of the agreement by the two parties is reflected in the problems encountered by the committee during destruction of *berkedo* in Adadda, which were nevertheless overcome by the concerned elders.

The destruction of a number of *berkedo* was a central feature of the agreement and fundamental to resolution of the conflict. The rapid implementation of this aspect of the agreement, within two weeks, was an important and visible demonstration of commitment by all concerned, from the owners of the *berkedo* to the senior elders, mediating committee, and government representatives who oversaw the demolition. In a number of specific details (such as the ban on construction of *berkedo* and settlements) the accord also supports preservation of the rich grazing area that lies at the heart of the conflict zone and therefore addresses the core issue in the recurrent disputes in the area.

The lack of implementation and enforcement of peace accords is a common factor in recurring conflicts between pastoral communities. Therefore, the establishment of an oversight committee of members of the two communities to monitor the proper implementation of the agreement was a step forward in sustaining the peace. However, it appears that the ability of the oversight committee to conclude outstanding elements of the accord, such as the return of looted livestock, was compromised by tensions between stakeholders allied respectively with Puntland and Somaliland in the neighbouring area of Laas 'Aanood. In the latter half of 2007 some communities of the Bah Ararsame were mobilising militia in alliance with Somaliland, increasing the potential to reignite the conflict with the Omar Mohamoud communities.

Funding of the process, ownership and legitimacy - the cost of peace

The multifaceted financial, technical, and logistical assistance provided by stakeholders for the process took a great deal of time and coordination, leading the secretary of the mediating committee to comment that "peace costs more in effort, commitment, and money than conflict" (Barre, 2007).

In addition to the contributions from the two parties in conflict and the wider Harti community (including the diaspora), the Puntland government, local and international NGOs, the business community, the women's lobby group, and, to a minor extent, the media, all provided direct or indirect funding for resolution of the conflict.

At a minimum, the cost of resolving the conflict was US \$200,000, excluding the logistical assistance provided by local and international NGOs; business community contributions; and costs for destroying the *berkedo* and providing security. At a maximum, the cost was closer to US \$500,000.

The cost of making peace

Item	Quantity	Cost per item	Total US\$
Camel per head	1070	140	149,800
Dallada <i>Berked</i>	1	8,000	8,000
Addada <i>Berked</i>	1	7,000	7,000
Burial expenses	9	250	2,250
Condolence	8	1,000	8,000
Injured compensation	13	1,500	19,500
Contributions from NGOs	n/a	n/a	n/a
Puntland government including logistics and destruction of <i>berkedo</i>	n/a	n/a	n/a
Donations from business and Harti community	n/a	n/a	n/a

(Source: Danish Refugee Council report on 'Aggare Conflict Resolution, 2007)

A number of NGOs provided logistical and technical support for the process, as detailed below.

Organization	Type of Assistance
Danish Refugee Council (DRC), international NGO with office in Bosaaso	Supply to those mediating the conflict of water, food, blankets, transport and communication (as access to telecommunications is difficult in the remote areas of the conflict zone)
Puntland Development Research Center (PDRC), local NGO based in Garowe	Technical support and consultations with the mayor of Burtinle and elders; facilities for convening of elders; financial and logistical support for women lobbyists, the mediating committee, and elders; production of a documentary film on the second phase of the peace talks.
WAWA, Bosaaso-based women's network of women's organisations from all regions of Puntland	Mobilisation of women peace activists, in partnership with the Puntland Ministry of Women Development and Family Affairs.
Rahan, local NGO based in Laas 'Aanood	Financial and logistical support for meetings between the two clans.

The contributions of the NGOs and civic groups supplemented the efforts of the elders and Puntland government in ensuring that logistical and technical support were available in a timely manner to support the peace process. Although it may be argued that responsibility for this provision lies with the Puntland government, this is not feasible at the current stage of development of the administration.

In terms of ownership of the process, despite the financial support by the Puntland government in terms of compensation payments for destruction of *berkedo*, considerable sacrifices were required from the offending community in gathering a substantial number of camels to cover the *diyya*. The completion of the payment within a reasonable consensual timeframe is a good indicator of ownership of the process and commitment to the peace accord.

The involvement of a range of stakeholders, including not only the traditional and religious leaders but also women, youth, the media, and the local and Puntland administrations enhanced local ownership and increased pressure towards an agreement to resolve the conflict.

Considering the high financial costs involved in resolution of conflicts, one proposal made by those consulted was to establish conflict monitoring systems during the conflict-prone season of the *jilaal* from December to April. For example, semi-permanent bases could be supported at the district level in order to police areas where conflicts over pastoral resources are likely to arise.

Findings and conclusions

A Somali proverb states “*Hal far fool ma dhaqdo*” (“One finger cannot wash the entire face”). The joint efforts of the respected *Isimo* from the respective clans and neighbouring clans and the Puntland government succeeded in resolving the conflict through a complementary process. When the government spearheaded the mediation process in the first stage of the talks, the process stalled and conflict resumed. Effective mobilisation to resolve the conflict required the engagement of the senior respected and influential figures from the clans affected directly or indirectly by the conflict. This was complimented in the second phase of the peace process by broader community mobilisation, led by the group of women peace activists and supported through the media. The local and international NGOs also played a constructive support role, which appeared to be effectively coordinated with the other key stakeholders and undertaken in such a way as to ensure ownership rested with the local stakeholders and government.

Nevertheless, while senior respected elders were able to mobilise an effective peace process with the support of other stakeholders, the involvement of district and regional level government was essential in ensuring implementation of the agreement, particularly in funding the destruction of the *berkedo* and providing the cash compensation payments to the *berkedo* owners. Mobilisation of the compensation payments would have taken considerable time, effort and commitment by the community and the delay could have jeopardised the peace accord in its early stages. The synchronization of traditional peacemaking mechanisms and modern governance, represented by the traditional community leaders and the local and Puntland government representatives provided a more reliable basis for sustainable peace. Through their combined effort, the environmental issues at the root of the conflict were satisfactorily addressed. This was reinforced by the innovative use of clear timeframes set out in the peace accord for completion of the *diya* payments, since failure to make these payments is a common feature of recurring conflicts.

In conclusion, the peace process to resolve the conflict in Adadda provides insights into the potential complementarity between traditional systems of conflict management and modern governance at local and regional level in resolving community-based conflict through addressing the core issues and ensuring clear and harmonious division of roles and responsibilities.

Annexes

Annex 1 Glossary of Somali terms in peace and war

1. Aafti: no man's land/ buffer zone
2. 'Aaqil: (see Caaqil below)
3. Aarsi: revenge/reprisal
4. Adable: black soil
5. Afjar: conclude/bring to an end
6. Afdub: taking hostage, kidnapping, abduction, taking prisoner 2. a terrorizing act against someone
7. Aqabal keen: acceptance of an idea
8. Ardaa: families/ clans share of blood compensation (*mag*)
9. Arrin keen: one who initiates an idea
10. Baad: ransom, extortion, to obtain property from another by intimidation 2. food (usually referring to fodder for livestock)
11. Baadisoo: buffer zone or separating your own livestock from others mixed with it
12. Baanis (Baaniso): boastful/ rhetoric
13. Baaqabadeed: call for peace
14. Bariidin: morning greetings
15. Baraago dumin: destroying water reservoirs, demolishing water reservoirs
16. Barakac: displacement
17. Beel: clan/community
18. Beero gubid: setting on fire for farms, burning agricultural fields
19. Berked sumayn: poisoning water reservoirs, contaminating water reservoirs
20. Billiqo: looting, plundering, robbery, prowling 2. raiding
21. Birmagaydo: preserve the vulnerable from harm, "spared from the spear"
22. Boob: looting, prowling, raiding, pillaging
23. Boog: moral wound
24. Booga dhayid: healing or treating the wounds, recovering
25. Caaqil ('Aaqil): chief
26. Caasikaayn: rebel hide out
27. Cadaawad: hostility
28. Ceel-dumin: destroying water catchments or wells, pulling down water holes
29. Ciidan kala qaadis: pulling [fighting] forces apart
30. Ciribtir: genocide, ethnic cleansing
31. Col: enemy
32. Colaad: enmity
33. Colaad hurin: perpetuating conflict, upholding disputes, organizing hostility, encouraging warring sides to fight
34. Daaqsin: grazing land
35. Daacad: Honest
36. Dabdemis: put off tension or put out fire
37. Dagaal: War
38. Dakharo: injuries
39. Damaanadqaad: guarantee, assurance, promise, pledge, certification
40. Dan: interest/ need
41. Dayday: extorters, freelance militiamen
42. Debecsanaan: flexibility, easygoing, relaxed
43. Dedaal Nabadeed: peace initiative

44. Deegaan: environment/ settlement
45. Deganaan: stability
46. Dhac: robbery
47. Dhaymo: ointment
48. Dhexdhexaadin: mediating
49. Dhul-gubid: set areas on fire, destroy with fire, the act of burning a piece of land
50. Dhir-jarid: tree cutting, deforestation
51. Dib u dejin: resettlement, relocation 2. immigration, movement, journey
52. Dib u heshiisiin: reconciliation
53. Dil: kill
54. Diya: blood compensation (*mag*)
55. Diyo bixin: blood compensation, payment for a person's life
56. Dood: argument/debate
57. Dooy: sun soil
58. Duco: blessing
59. Dulqaadasho: tolerance/ patience
60. Dulxaadis: overview
61. Duudsi: dismiss, forgive and forget (forced to give up one's inheritance or right to compensation)
62. Ergo: delegation/ envoy
63. Ergo Nabadeed: peace delegates/ peace envoy
64. Fadhi: session
65. Faq: private discussion or whispering
66. Faraxumayn: the act of molesting, misconduct against someone
67. Furitaan: opening
68. Gaadiid: transport
69. Gaadmo: off guard, surprise attack, unexpected action against someone, quick raid against unaware person
70. Gablan iyo wiil la'aan: childless, having no baby, without sons
71. Gadood: strike, mutiny, revolt, to become furious
72. Gacansarrayn: having upper hand, being victorious, winning the battle/ game
73. Galad: favour
74. Gammaan: horses and donkeys
75. Ganaax: penalty, fine, sentence, consequence, punishment
76. Gar cadaawe: strict adjudication
77. Gar Sokeeye: flexible adjudication
78. Garsoorid: jury verdict, judiciary system, judgment of a case by a court or group of people
79. Gar: hearing/ verdict
80. Garaad: senior elder (similar to *Ugaas* or *Suldaan*)
81. Garawshiiyo: concession
82. Garnaqsi: defend; to justify or vindicate
83. Gardhigasho: bringing case to the mediators
84. Gar-diiddo: unwilling to accept any ruling
85. Garyigil: willing to accept any rules
86. Garqaadasho: acceptance of a verdict
87. Gawaari dhicid: car hijack, car seizure, car robbery
88. Gebogebo: wrap up/ conclusion
89. Gashi: grudge
90. Geed: traditional venue under a tree
91. Geed'yare': mini conference
92. Geel dhicid: camel looting, robbery of camels
93. Geesi: warrior

94. Gembis: dismissal
95. Go'aan: decision
96. Go'aan qaadasho: decision taking, determination, taking an action/measure
97. Gobanimo: freedom/ boldness
98. Godob reeb: exchange of women for strengthening peace
99. Godob: guilt
100. Godobtir: special price for women being jealous
101. Godobxir: to console the victim by giving something (bride, money, livestock)
102. Go'isu taag: raising a sheet as a white flag in surrender ("wave the flag")
103. Gogol: peace venue
104. Gole fadhiisin: make somebody sit before the traditional court or *Geed*
105. Gole: jury
106. Gorgorton: bargaining; negotiation
107. Guddi: committee
108. Guddida Qabanqaabada: preparatory committee
109. Gumaad: up-rooting, massacre, butchery, mass murder, mass destruction
110. Gunaanad: conclusion
111. Gurmad: cavalry/ reinforcement
112. Gurgurshe Qowrac: killing burden animal as a punishment or in war
113. Guurti: elders' meeting to address an issue, especially pertaining to governance or general well-being
114. Guuxay: appreciate (sound deep in the throat to indicate appreciation or disapproval)
115. Habaar: curse
116. Haladayg: no concession/dare saying
117. Hanjabaad: threatening, intimidating, hostile/ frightening
118. Hantiboob: property looting, robbery, taking by force
119. Hanti celis: property restitution, restoration of property
120. Hayin, Biyo Ma daadshe: humble person/ obedient
121. Heshiis: agreement
122. Heshiis buuxa: agreement accepted by all sides, having the means to implement the peace deal in place
123. Heshiisiin: conciliation/ taking role of reconciliation
124. Hibasho, Hiirtaanyo: reminisce about bad event
125. Hiif: reprimand
126. Hub-dhigis: disarm
127. Hubka-dhig horta Adigu-dhig: disarm after the other disarms
128. Irmaan Qowrac: kill lactating animal as punishment or in a war
129. Is afagaranwaa: disagreement
130. Is afgarasho: understanding
131. Isbaaro: road block
132. Isasaamid: forgiveness, trustfulness, cooperation
133. Isa soo horfariisin: direct talk, convene sides at roundtable for negotiation
134. Isgacan-qaadis: shaking hands with each other
135. Isgacansaarid: shaking hands with each other 2. fit for fighting
136. Is qancin: convince one another
137. Ishkin: camels, cows, horses and donkeys
138. Is mariwaa: deadlock, impasse, stalemate, gridlock, standstill
139. Is nabad gelin: give peace to each other
140. Isu soo dhoweyn: to narrow differences, enable parties to resolve their problems, convince contesting sides into negotiation
141. Isu tanaasul: compromise; give and take

142. Jajuub: pressure, decide without agreement or consensus
143. Jidgooyo: ambush, waylay, lie in wait 2. surprise attack
144. Jifo: family lineage
145. Jiri: extorters, freelance militiamen
146. Joogid: presence
147. Kala bogsi: forgiveness
148. Kala fogaansho: widening differences, complicating procedures to make peace
149. Kala Kac: standoff
150. Khaarajin: unlawful killing, organized murdering, assassination
151. Kicin dadweyne: public agitation/ campaigning
152. Kufsi: rape, a sexual attack
153. Kulan: meeting
154. Laabxaadhasho: try to make somebody forgive you or talk openly without reserve
155. Labadibleyn: restrain one's hands
156. Maato-lays: innocent killings
157. Madal: venue, forum
158. Madaxfurasho: ransom, extortion
159. Majo-xaabin: back stabbing, setback, undermining, destabilizing
160. Mag: blood compensation
161. Magdhow: compensation, paying back the cost of damage done, refund for losses
162. Maqnaansho: absent
163. Maraado: punishment for individuals who will not abide by peace agreement
164. Mudo-Diyo: fixed time to pay blood compensation
165. Marti: guests
166. Martigelin: hosting
167. Milil: secretion from an infection
168. Mooraduug: deprivation, dispossession, denial of properties
169. Mooryaan: extorters, freelance militiamen (same as *Jiri, Dayday*)
170. Muddeyn: give fixed time
171. Muddo: period
172. Murtiyen: rationalize/ summarise
173. Mashxarad: jubilee, ululation
174. Nabad raadis: peace searching
175. Nabad: peace
176. Nabadgelin: give peace
177. Nabadiid: peace rejecter/ anti-peace
178. Nabadoon: peacemaker/ peace seeker
179. Nabad sugid: securing peace
180. Nabadeyn: peace making
181. Odayaal: elders
182. Qaadhaan: material and/ or financial contribution
183. Qaan-sheegad: claim for compensation
184. Qaan: liability
185. Qabanqaabo: preparation
186. Qaybgal: participation
187. Qax: flee, run away, dislocation
188. Qolo: clan X
189. Qoonsad: sceptical, take offense from a comment
190. Qoordhiibasho: giving the mandate to the mediation committee
191. Qorituur: draw lots
192. Raas: sub-sub-clan

193. Rafiso: 20% advance of blood compensation given to the victim
194. Reer: clan
195. Samirsiin: help someone to accept the situation with patience, to be tolerant
196. Samotalis: somebody who works for the sake of goodness
197. Shafshafo: minor compensation for a wounded person
198. Shir weyne: conference
199. Shir: meeting
200. Shirguddoon: chairing committee
201. Shirqool: conspiracy, plot, machination, set-up
202. Soo hoyasho: giving in, surrendering, yielding, giving way
203. Sooryo: food for guests
204. Suldaan: higher in rank than chief ('*aaqil*)
205. Sulux: traditional mechanism of settling disputes, peace making, reconciliation, way of resolving a social dispute through mediation
206. Sumal & Sabeen: ram and lamb paid as apology
207. Tabasho: resentment
208. Tashi: consultation
209. Tol: clans binding together, kinship
210. Tolweyne: the extended clan
211. Toogasho: shooting, shelling, gunfire, assassination, murdering, execution
212. Turxaan bexin: trouble shooting/ problem solving
213. Tusaalayn: examples
214. Ugaas: senior elder rank (similar to *suldaan*)
215. Uurkutaalo: anxiety
216. U kala dab-qaadid: peace shuttling, mediation mission, or coordinating diplomatic message between two parties
217. Wabar: senior elder rank (similar to *suldaan*)
218. Wada hadal: dialogue
219. Wadatashi: consultation
220. Waran sib/ Waranjiifis: lay down weapons
221. Weerar: attack
222. Weer-xidhasho: trouble shooting, expressing grief or calling for revenge
223. Xaal marin: redress for losses for wrong doings
224. Xaal: apology in kind
225. Xabad joojin: ceasefire
226. Xadgudub: transgression
227. Xalay-dhalay: forgive and forget, to cancel grievances (literally: to have given birth the previous evening – no newborn can hold or have caused grievances)
228. Xaq: rights/ entitlement
229. Xasuuq: genocide, mass execution, bloodbath, slaughter, annihilation
230. Xeerbeegti: jury
231. Xeer: customary law
232. Xeerhoosaad: by-laws (internal regulations)
233. Xidhitaan: closing
234. Xidid: in-laws
235. Xigaal: close relatives
236. Xoolo-kala-dhicid: property looting, robbery, taking by force
237. Xul: select (verb), best selection, selected people
238. Xulasho: selection

Annex 2 The Ramada Peace Agreement, 2005

(translated from the original Somali)

The outcome of the agreement can be summarized as follows:

1. In the case of the first killing at the checkpoint, the committee agreed to follow the judgment of the court since the offenders acknowledged the killing and the court ruled on that basis. The committee concluded *diya* payment should be 100 camels, an additional 20 camels as respect and 5,000,000 Somali Shillings for funeral expenses and the handgun, apportioned by the two sub-clans (Reer Mahad and Reer Khalaf) to which the perpetrators belong.
2. In the second case of killings, the committee ordered the sub-clan of Reer Mahad should pay *diya* for the two deceased, 100 camels and an additional 20 camels as reverence, and 5,000, 000 Somali Shillings for funeral expenses plus the two firearms, and offer two *Godobtir* (girls for marriage) to heal the aggrieved party.
3. In case of the killing of the Nabaddoon, who is a *birmageydo* (traditionally protected or “spared from the spear”), the committee ordered the sub-clan of Reer Khalaf to pay *diya* of 100 camels and 20 additional camels as respect, plus 5,000,000 Somali Shillings for funeral expenses and the gun, and offer a *Godobtir* (girl for marriage) to heal the aggrieved party. A further \$ 20,000 is to be paid as reverence to the Reer Mahad sub-clan.

On the first point, the offenders were taken to a court in Gaalka'yo and convicted to 10 years imprisonment and *diya* of 120 camels. The family of the deceased initially refused the ruling and instead demanded capital punishment for the murder but ultimately accepted *diya*.

Annex 3 Representatives at the Garowe Peace and Life Conference, December 1993

Senior *Isimo* and representatives of political organizations at the conference included:

Boqoro Mohamud Boqor Musse, Ugaas Yaasin Abdirahman, BeeldajeHaji Abdulahi Mohamed Ismail, Beeldaje Ali Farah Mohamud (Bari region); Islaan Mohamed Islaan Musse, Suldaan Said Mohamed Garase (Nugaal region); Islaan Abdulle Islaan Farah, Garaad Mohamed Elmi Shirwa (Mudug region); Garaad Saleebaan Garaad Mohamed, Garaad Ismail Duale (Sool region); Suldaan Abdisaaln SuldaanMohamed, Ugaas Mohamed Said (Sanaag region).

Observers included: Gen. Mohamed Abshir (SSDF- Chairman), Abdulahi Boqor Musse (SSDF), Awad Ahmed Ashre (USP Vice-Chairman), Salah Mohamed Salah (USP).

UN representatives included: UN Under-Secretary-General for political affairs Mr. James Jonah and acting UNOSOM-II Zone Director for the North-East Regions Mr. Modem Lawson

Annex 4 Representatives at the Garowe Constitutional conference, May-July 1998

("replaced" indicates that the original participant was appointed to a technical committee)

MUDUG REGION

1. Md. Abdulahi Yusuf Ahmed
2. Eng. Ali Mohamoud Ahmed
3. Abdi Warsame Ali
4. Abdullahi Hersi Ali
5. Abdulkadir Mohamed Gulled
6. Abdiwali Mohamed hersi
7. Hassan Mohamed Hassan
8. Abdullahi Mohamed Farah
9. Mohamed Ali Basbas
10. Abdirisak Mohamed Omar
11. Mohamed Farah Warsame
12. Abdirashid Mohamoud Yusuf
13. Abdulkadir Haji Hussein
14. Hassan Farah Elmi
15. Abbas Jama Botan
16. Gelle Jama Farah
17. Sh. Mohamoud Abdullahi Siklan
18. Ahmed Mohamed Yusuf
19. Dr. Abdullahi Hersi Ahmed
20. Mohamed Ali Yusuf
21. Ismail Haji Warsame (replaced Mohamed Abshir Waldo)
22. Aden Jama Bihi (replaced Ahmed Mohamed Loyan)
23. Abdirisak Sh. Osman
24. Ahmed Mohamed Igaal
25. Mohamed Jibril Musa
26. Abdul Warsame koshin
27. Warsame Abdi Shirwa
28. Mohamed Kalif Mohamoud
29. Abdiasis Nor Hersi
30. Osman Yusuf Harare
31. Mohamed Abdi Da'ar
32. Mohamed Omar Salah
33. Oways Abdullahi Jama
34. Mohamoud Yasin Mursal
35. Ahmed Ali Aden
36. Ahmed Mohamed Ahmed
37. Ali Ismail Abdigir
38. Abdullahi Kalif Hashi
39. Abdullahi Ahmed
40. Mohamed Abdi Egal
41. Jama Hassan Ali

42. Hassan Mohamed Kalaf
43. Abdisaid Ali Suryan
44. Mohamed Abdi Kulmiye
45. Abdirahman Haji Salad
46. Mohamed Jama Salal
47. Ahmed Aden Warsame
48. Said Jama Hassan
49. Dahir Mohamed Hassan
50. Mohamed Aden Farah
51. Shakib Nor Dirie
52. Dirie Hersi Farah
53. Ali Mohamed Ahmed
54. Mohamed Ali isahak
55. Mohamed Ahmed Elmi
56. Abdirashid Mohamed Hassan
57. Asha Gelle Dirie
58. Anab Hassan Jama
59. Sahra Mohamed Hussein
60. Mohamed Aden Dhagaweyne
61. Ibrahim Elmi Gab (replaced A/maan Mohamoud Ismail)
62. Yusuf Ali Hersi
63. Abdirahman Salad Dirshe
64. Abdi Awad Said

NUGAAL REGION:

1. Mohamed Abshir Muse
2. hassan Abshir Farah
3. Abdirahman Mohamed Mohamoud Farole
4. Mohamoud Osman Ali (Aydid)
5. Abdiasis Gureye Karshe
6. Ali Abdulle Farah
7. Mohamoud Sh. Hamud
8. Abdi Ahmed Abdulle
9. Abdullahi Mohamed Haji Elmi
10. Kalif Hassan Du'ale
11. Ali Yusuf Ali Hoosh
12. Jama H. Samatar
13. Abdinasir Haji Mohamed
14. Jama Ali Liban
15. Abdirahman Dirie Mohamed
16. Abdulkadir Osman Isse
17. Abdullahi Osman Wa'ays
18. Osman Gamure Farah

19.Dahir Ali Isse
 20.kasim Mohamed Abdi
 21.Jama Salad Mohamoud
 22.Abdulkadir Hassan Egag
 23.Abdiwali Hersi Nor
 24.Yusuf Jama Dagal
 25.Ali Mohamed Hassan
 26.Hersi Bulhan Farah
 27.Abdullahi Muse Aw-ali
 28.Bashir Yusuf Aw-Nor
 29.Abdiasis Jama Warsame
 30.Abdulkadir Karshe Addur
 31.Aden Jama Qodob
 32.Warsame Abdulahi Diriye
 33.Nor Aden Elmi
 34.Kalif Aw-Ali Aw-Ahmed
 35.Dahir Mohamed Garase
 36.Abdullahi Hashi Warsame
 37.Ali Mohamoud Warsame
 38.Omar Ali Said
 39.Osman Awad Ali
 40.Ahmed Mohamed Ei
 41.Abdikayr Yusuf Gulled
 42.Abdirisak Abdi Dad
 43.Hussien Gulled Hanaf
 44.Abdinasir Mohamed Farah
 45.Muhyadin Mohamed hashi
 46.Mohamoud Aynab Abdi
 47.Said Mohamed yey
 48.Abdirisak Abdullahi irday
 49.Duran Heri Isse
 50.Abdiwahid Ahmed Abdi
 51.Abdullahi Haji Ismail
 52.Hassan Mohamed Aden
 53.Abdihakim Hassan Abdi
 54.'Abdihakim Ismail Aw-Osman
 55.Abdiwahid Ahmed Jawo
 56.Da'ar Musse Samatar
 57.Yusuf Mumin Mohamed (Bidde) from Bari
 58.Ahmed Abdilahi Samatar
 59.Halimo Ali biyod
 60.Halimo Abdi Warsame
 61.Madino Jama Gesod
 62.Jaylani Farah Mohamoud
 63.Jama Aydid Warsame
 64.Abdulkadir Jama Adoyo
 65.Hassan Yusuf Karshe

BARI REGION

1. Farah Hayir (replaced A/hi Boqor Muse)
 2. Abdirashid Ali Musse
 3. Abdirahman Said Mohamoud
 4. Abdirisak Said Aden
 5. Abdullahi Said Samatar
 6. Abshir M. Isse
 7. Ali Aden Hassan
 8. Ali Ahmed Ali (Gamute)
 9. Ahmed Mohamed Abdi
 10.Mursal Yusuf Mohamoud
 11.Omar Sadik Shiek Osman
 12.Omar yusuf Mohamed
 13.Dahir Farah Yusuf
 14.Gani Barre Muse
 15.Jama Abdi Barre
 16.Mohamed Abdirahman Sugulle
 17.Mohamed Farah Yare
 18.Mohamed Salah Mohamoud
 19.Mohamed Yusuf Ahmed
 20.Mohamoud Jama Afbalar
 21.Mohamoud Yusuf Weyrah
 22.Mohamoud Aynab Mohamoud
 23.Muse haji Said
 24.Ahmed Shiek Mohamed (replaced Osman Hussein Ali)
 25.Said Abdullahi Deni
 26.Mohamed Hassan Haji (replaced Said Mohamed Rage)
 27.Said Sheik Mohamed
 28.Yasin Farah Artan
 29.Yusuf Jibril Arris
 30.Yusuf Ma'alim Ibrahim
 31.Ardo Said Mohamoud
 32.Mohamed Ismail Mohamed
 33.Mohamed Hassan Musse (replaced Abshir Musse Said)
 34.Bashir Abdi Garas
 35.Abdi Ahmed Abdulle
 36.Eng. Aydarus Osman Kenadid
 37.Said Ismail Mohamoud (replaced Mohamoud Hayir Isse)
 38.Mohamed Haji Said
 39.Eng. Mohamoud Mohamed Hussien "Malfa"
 40.Mohamoud Hirad Hersi
 41.Hassan Gure Hassan
 42.Abukar Mohamed Ali
 43.Botan Barre Samatar
 44.Omar Nor Osman

45. Jama Shire Samatar
 46. Maryan Nor Ali Jama
 47. Mohamed Said Hito
 48. Musse Ali Jama
 49. Said Abdullahi Salah
 50. Abdulkadir Muse Yusuf
 51. Ali Haji Ismail
 52. Farah Beldaje Abdullahi
 53. Hersi Ismail Mohamed
 54. Yusuf Hassan Abdirahman
 55. Omar Mohamed Musse
 56. Mohamed Elmi Musse
 57. Gen. Osman Mohamed Samatar
 58. Mohamoud Mohamed Idris (replaced Ibrahim Omar Muse)
 59. Liban Osman Salah (replaced Barkad Ali Salah)
 60. Said Abdullahi Yusuf
 61. Said mohamed Mohamoud
 62. Mohamed Ahmed Kullan
 63. Mire Amalle Hussein
 64. Abdi Mohamoud Samatar
 65. Mohamed Osman Hassan (replaced Ahmed M. Elmi)
 66. Ahmed Mohamed Geyre
 67. Ahmed Mohamed Warsame
 68. hmed Mohamoud Mohamed
 69. Ahmed Hassan Nor
 70. Bashir Mohamed Hussien
 71. Abdirahman Shiek Musse
 72. Abdi Ahmed Geldon
 73. Abdi Said Hirad
 74. Abdullahi Muse Yusuf
 75. Jama Mohamed Osman
 76. Abdullahi Bile Nor
 77. Ali Mohamed Ali
 78. Ali Moahmed Mohamoud
 79. Ali Sahar Gulled
 80. Isse Ismail Mohamed (replaced Said Jama Abdullahi) Officer
 81. Osman Mohamed Balli
 82. Omar Salah Mohamed
 83. Farah Mohamed Fukyare
 84. Abdirahman Ali Madobe
 85. Jawahir Muse
 86. Kalif Mohamed Farah
 87. Mohamed Asayr Barre
 88. Mohamed Said Osman
 89. Mohamed Siad osman

90. Mohamed Yusuf Salah
 91. Mohamoud Abdi Awad
 92. Mohamoud Abdi Jama
 93. Muse Hassan Isse
 94. Said Dahir Muse
 95. Bashir Dirie Ali (replaced Siad Gulled Sanyere)
 96. Said Ibrahim Arrale
 97. Said Ismail Gonya'ade
 98. Siad Mohamed Muse
 99. Said Mohamed Mohamoud
 100. Salad Mohamed Ali
 101. Said Hassan Ibrahim
 102. Said Salah Ismail
 103. Sh. Naleye Aden Yusuf
 104. Yusuf Mohamed Ali
 105. Fatuma Hor-ujel
 106. Salado Ismail Mirod
 107. hufan Artan
 108. Hawo Isse Dhere
 109. Maryan Mohamud Gudud
 110. Halimo Farah Mohamed
 111. Mohamed Hared Farah
 112. Mursal Mohamoud Nor
 113. Safiyo Ahmed kayr.

SOOL REGION

1. Mohamed Abdi Hashi
 2. Abdirahman Haji Ismail
 3. Hassan Dahir Mohamed
 4. Yusuf Botan Dakar
 5. Hussein Mohamed Dahir
 6. Sulub Ali Gas
 7. Nadif Ali Hassan
 8. Dahir Haji Kalif
 9. Dahir Mohamed Omar
 10. Rashid Sh. Ali Aden
 11. Nor Abdi Dimone
 12. Mohamoud Dhanto Ahmed
 13. Mohamed Ismail Hassan
 14. Abdullahi Ahmed Dabagoye
 15. Harir Gas Guutaale
 16. Mohamed Awale Elmi
 17. Abdikani Ma'alín Farah
 18. Mohamed Hassan Da'ar
 19. Salah Aden Ali
 20. Ali Mohamoud Mohamed
 21. Mohamud Warsame Yusuf
 22. Ibrahim Mohamud Gurre
 23. Hassan Mohamoud Abdiwahid

24. Abdullahi Jama Hersi
 25. Mohamud Yusuf Mohamed
 26. Saleban Bulale Aden
 27. Ali Ahmed Ali
 28. Abdi Jama Ahmed
 29. Hussein Yasin H. Dirie
 30. Mohamed Abdi Ayanle
 31. Ahmed Yusuf Awale
 32. Ibrahim Muse Jama
 33. Jama Hassan Karshe
 34. Yusuf Abdi Farah
 35. Elmi Yusuf Aden
 36. Awil Saleban H. Ahmed
 37. Axmed Ibrahim Warsame
 38. Abdi Haji Ahmed
 39. Muse Yusuf Warsame
 40. Kurushof Mohamed Mohamoud
 41. Mohamed Du'ale Ali
 42. Aden Aw-Muse Isse
 43. Mohamoud Guhad Hassan
 44. Warsame Serar Hussein
 45. Ahmed Haji Mohamoud
 46. Ahmed Hassan Bile
 47. Dahir Farah Jama
 48. Aden Abdi Ahmed
 49. Ibrahim Hussein Farah
 50. Ali Haji Mohamoud
 51. Abdirisak Barud Tarabi
 52. Hussein Bullale Ahmed
 53. Ali Mohamed Farah
 54. Ali Roble Ismail
 55. Mohamed Warsame Gongome
 56. Mohamed Hirsi Hussein
 57. Abdiwahid Abdullahi Jama
 58. Ibrahim Mohamoud Mire
 59. Ahmed Abdi Hussein
 60. Hussein Hashi Hassan
 61. Abdirashid Abbase Sh. Ahmed
 62. Salah Sulleban Ali
 63. Abdi Sheik Mohamoud
 64. Hassan Dahir Af-kura
 65. Du'ale Jama Dalmar
 66. Isse Hassan Abdi
 67. Yusuf Gure Atey
 68. Hussein Ismail Gulled
 69. Mohamoud Fardale Golongol
 70. Abdirahman Mohamed Ali
 71. Ibrahim Yusuf Ali

72. Abdi Dahir Gas
 73. Yasin Ali Abdulle
 74. Abdi Muse Deni
 75. Salad Ismail Mohamed
 76. Sadik Abshir Garad
 77. Abdi Yusuf H. Ismail
 78. Abdi Ali Du'ale
 79. Abdikarin Hassan Salah
 80. Abdisalan Haji Mohamoud
 81. Ahmed Abdi Mohamoud (Haabsade)
 82. Mohamoud Haji Hassan Arab
 83. Mohamed Sh. Bashir Abokor
 84. Asad Warsame Nor
 85. Ahmed Ali Dira
 86. Abdi Mohamed Hashi
 87. Abdiasis Sh. Abdullahi Hashi
 88. Ahmed Hassan Ali
 89. Abdullahi Hussein Ahmed
 90. Abdi Ali Mohamoud
 91. Mohamed Mire Ali
 92. Mohamoud Karshe Hoosh
 93. Mohamed H. Ali Sheal
 94. Mohamoud H. Omar Amey
 95. Mohamoud Sofe Hassan
 96. Saleban Yusuf Dhigane
 97. H. Ahmed Aden Had
 98. Ismail Mohamed Ali
 99. Abdi Jibril Dagaweyne
 100. Abdi Barkad Tahbib
 101. Mohamed Yusuf Abdi
 102. Abdullahi Mohamed H. Aden
 103. Bashir Jama Beydan
 104. Sahra Issa Farah
 105. Saqa Sofe Muse
 106. Run Olujog Awad

SANAAG REGION

1. Abdirahman Jama Abdulle
 2. Mohamed Ali Gulled
 3. Mohamed Osman Hassan
 4. Abdullahi Mohamed Gurrey
 5. Mohamed Ali Jama
 6. Ahmed Mohamed Muse
 7. Mohamed Said Jamus
 8. Omar Liban Arab
 9. Ahmed Salah Mohamed
 10. Farah Ali Muse
 11. Ismail Mohamed Gutale
 12. Salah Jama Farah

- 13.Dahir Saleban Duale
- 14.Mohamed Said Abdi
- 15.Sh. Bihi Sh. Abdirahman
- 16.Abdullahi Ahmed Bulgas
- 17.Abdalle Mohamoud Nahar
- 18.Awad Ahmed Ashare
- 19.Ismail Abdi Hassan
- 20.Abdirisak Haji Hirad
- 21.Ali Osman Abdi
- 22.Bashir Hassan Ali
- 23.Ahmed Ali Jibril
- 24.Abdi Abdalle Jama
- 25.Mohamed Ahmed Osman
- 26.Hassan Aware Arrale
- 27.Ahmed Osman Ahmed
- 28.Salah Mohamed Salah
- 29.Mohamed Yusuf Aware
- 30.Muse Farah Aden
- 31.Abdirahman Mohamoud Ali-beyr
- 32.Abdi Salah Farah
- 33.Jama Hersii Farah
- 34.Jama Arab Anshur
- 35.Ahmed Hassan Mohamed
- 36.Muse Botan
- 37.Mohamoud Ali Elmi
- 38.Abdiasis Mohamoud Jama
- 39.Ahmed Abdi Isse
- 40.Abdulkadir Mohamoud Farah
- 41.Said Ali Hassan
- 42.Ali Abdi Abdille
- 43.Abdille Aden Abdi
- 44.Warsame Mohamed Gair
- 45.Ahmed Farah Ali
- 46.Ahmed Ali Shire
- 47.Mohamoud Muse Aden
- 48.Abdirisak Ali Ayan
- 49.Mohamoud Hassan Mohamoud
- 50.Mohamed Hassan Omar
- 51.Mohamoud Haji Dirir
- 52.Mohamed Abdi Awl
- 53.Abdullahi Farah Abdi
- 54.Ali Omar Ahmed
- 55.Omar Mohamoud Erbad
- 56.Mohamed Jibril Yusuf
- 57.Osman Abdi Shabele
- 58.Ali Jama Farah
- 59.Mohamed Abdi Adde
- 60.Ali Kilwe
- 61.Abdullahi Du'ale Ali

- 62.Ahmed Gure Aden
- 63.Mursal Ahmed H. Gelle
- 64.Ali Mohamed Ali
- 65.Abdirahman Mohamed Said
- 66.Mohamoud Waberi Issa
- 67.Mohamed Said Mohamed
- 68.Abdi Ali Farah
- 69.Ali Abdi Ali
- 70.Said Aden Abdi
- 71.Bashir Hersi Aden.
- 72.Abdullahi Ali Hassan
- 73.Mohamoud Mohamed Kullan
- 74.Hassan Farah Mohamoud
- 75.Ibrahim Ali Shabin
- 76.Mohamed Jama Mohamoud
- 77.Aden Ahmed Ibrahim
- 78.Said Salad Warsame
- 79.Abdullahi Gurhan Gedi
- 80.Ahmed Osman Aden
- 81.Mohamed Ali Abdi
- 82.Abdullahi Farah Odey
- 83.Ahmed Haji Ali
- 84.Mohamed Muse Ali
- 85.Mohamed Ali Shirwa
- 86.Abdikarin Anshur Abdalla
- 87.Ismail Suldan Mohamoud
- 88.Hodan Ismail Mohamed
- 89.Jokha Gelle Foley
- 90.Hayad Ali Farah
- 91.Ali Haji Noh
- 92.Saleban Awad Noh
- 93.Mohamed Omar Abdirahman
- 94.Mohamed Hirsi Geel-laye
- 95.Mohamed Omar Hashi-hash
- 96.Aw-Omar Hassan Naleye
- 97.Abdirahman Ali Said
- 98.Abdirizak Ahmed Warsame
- 99.Deka Jama Olujok
100. Nasir Mohamed Shire
101. Abdirahman Abdullahi Ali
102. Faysal Ega Hassan
103. Mohamud Ali Aden
104. Jama Ahmed Hassan
105. Mohamed Ismail Shabba
106. Mohamed Hamud Abdi

DIASPORA MEMBERS

1. Mohamoud Abdullahi Shirwa (Canada)
2. Mohamed Abdirashid (Canada)

3. Abdulkadir Farah Nor (Holland)
4. Saynab Jama Nor (Masar)
5. Yasin Abdi Samatar (UAE)
6. Abdirashid Ismail Habibo (Kenya)
7. Mohamed Aden Abdillahi (Pakistan)
8. Dr. Yusuf Haji Said (Sweden)
9. Mohamed Farah (Denmark)
10. Hussein Abshir Farah (Australia)
11. Abdirahman Mohamed Hassan (Kenya)
12. Nor Abdi Hashi (UK)
13. Kalif Isse Yusuf (UAE)
14. Abdirashid Ahmed Egag (Sweden)
15. Asha Jama Hirsi (UAE)

Diaspora representation for 30 delegates with voting rights was assigned as follows:

USA 3, Canada 4, UK 2, Holland 2, Italy 1, Scandinavia 2, Kenya 3, Uganda 1, Tanzania 1, Ethiopia 1, Zambia 1, Saudi Arabia 2, UAE 2, Egypt 1, Kuwait-Qatar 1, Yemen 1, Australia-New Zealand 2 (Dr. Kinfe Abraham, 2002)

The following **Traditional Elders** signed the outcome of the Garowe consultative Conference:

North Mudug Region

1. Islan Bashiir Islan Abdulle
2. Garad Mohamed Elmi Shirwa
3. Suldán Mohamud Elmi Alas
4. Ali Ugas Mohamed
5. Suldán Abdulkadir Omar Shabele

Nugaal Region

1. Islan Mohamed Islan Muse
2. Suldán Said M. Garase.
3. Suldán Abdulahi Haji Nur
4. Ugas Omar Ghele Mohamed

Bari Region

1. Abdulahi Boqr Muse Representative
2. Beldaje Yasin Ali
3. Beldaje Ali Farah
4. Beldaje Ahmed Beldaje Mohamed

5. Suldaan Said Irbad
6. Ismail Beldaje Abdulahi
7. Hassan Ugaas Yasin
8. Beldaje Ali Bin Jael

Sool, southern Togdheer and eastern Sanaag

1. Garad Abdikani Garakad Jama
2. Garakad Salebakan Garad Mohamed
3. Garad Abdilahi Garad Sofe
4. Sultan Said Osman Ali
5. Garad Abshir Salah Mohamed
6. Ugas Abdilahi Isse Nur

Delegates from eastern Sanaag Region

1. Ismail Sultan Mohamud Ali Shire
2. Islan Husein Abdisalan Diif
3. Abdilahi Gurhan Gedi

Chairing committee and secretariat for the conference

The chairing committee and the secretariat of the conference were selected according to region, allocating one chairperson, secretary, and assistant secretary to each.

Chairing Committee:

- | | | | |
|------------------------------|-------------|--------|--------------|
| 1. Islan Mohamed Islan Musse | Chairman | Nugaal | Titled Elder |
| 2. Dr. Ahmed Mohamed "Gonle" | Co-chairman | Sool | |
| 3. Dr. Bashir Yusuf Nur | | Nugaal | |
| 4. Dr. Abdulahi Hashi Khalif | | Mudug | |
| 5. Mr. Botan Barre | | Bari | |
| 6. ----- | | Sanag | |

Secretariat of the Conference:

- | | | |
|------------------------------|-----------|--------|
| 1. Mr. Mohamed Aynab Abdi | Secretary | Nugaal |
| 2. Mr. Abdulkadir Osman Isse | Assistant | Nugaal |

3. Mr. Ali Ahmed Mohamed	Secretary	Mudug
4. Mrs.Asha Gelle Diriye	Assistant	Mudug
5. Mr. Mohamed Farah Yare	Secretary	Bari
6. Mr. Ahmed Hassan Nur	Assistant	Bari
7. Mr. Abdurahman Sheikh Ismail	Secretary	Sool
8. Mr. Mohamud Sofe Hassan	Assistant	Sool
9. -----	Secretary	Sanaag
10. -----	Assistant	Sanaag

The Technical Committee was selected by region as follows:

Mudug Region:

1. Mohamed Jibril
2. Shakib Farah
3. Abdulahi Nur Abdulle

Nugaal Region:

4. Ali Haji Abdulle
5. Dahir Ali Isse
6. Abdirashid Abdi

Bari Region:

7. Ali Sahar Guled

8. Said Mohamed Musse

9. Said Salah Mohamed

Sool Region:

10. Harir Gas

11. Mohamed Sheikh

12. Yusuf Gure Ateye

Sanaag Region:

13. Omar Mohamed Irbad

14. Faysal Ige Hassan

15. Abdurahman Jama Abdalle

Ten “wise men” (a traditional elder and an intellectual from each region) to guide the process

1. Garad Mohamed Elmi	Mudug	6. Dr. Hassan Ismail	Sool
2. Mr. Ibrahim Elmi	Mudug	7. Garad Abdulahi Ali Id	Sanag
3. Suldan Said Mohamed	Nugaal	8. Deeq Ol-Ujoog	Sanag
4. Eng. Abdirizak Abdi	Nugaal	9. Abdulahi Boqor Musse	Bari
5. Ugas Abdulahi Isse	Sool	10. Osman Mohamed Samatar	Bari

List of Parliamentarians by region, 1998

Name	Region	Name	Region
1 Abdilahi Farah Ali	Bari	34 Ahmed Sead Muse	Nugaal
2 Abdilahi Sead Arshe	Bari	35 Bashir Abdilahi Nur	Nugaal
3 Abdirashed Hassan Firdhiye	Bari	36 Mohamud Ali Hassan	Nugaal
4 Abdiweli Ahmed Jama Bari	Bari	37 Mukhtar Ahmed Mohamed	Nugaal
5 Ali Ahmed Mohamoud	Bari	38 Muse Hersi Mohamed	Nugaal
6 Ali Sahar Guled	Bari	39 Muse Warsame Omar	Nugaal
7 Hassan Ahmed Guled	Bari	40 Abdkani Ismail Osman	Nugaal
8 Jama Salad Yusuf	Bari	41 Ahmed Jama Dirie	Sanaag
9 Mahdi Mohamed Muse	Bari	42 Bashir Farah Mohamud	Sanaag
10 Mohamed Omar Abdirahman	Bari	43 Jookho Gelle Farah	Sanaag
11 Mohamed Osman Hassan	Bari	44 Mohamed Abdi Naleyey	Sanaag
12 Mohamed Yusuf Ahmed	Bari	45 Mohamed Ali Guled	Sanaag
13 Mohamud Mohamed Farah	Bari	46 Osman Dalmar H. Yusuf	Sanaag
14 Mohamud Mohamed Idris	Bari	47 Yusuf Botan Isse	Sanaag
15 Omar Ismail Mohamed	Bari	48 Abdirahman Ali Bulshale	Sanaag
16 Qasim Yusuf Ismail	Bari	49 Abdirashed Ahmed Warsame	Sanaag
17 Salad Hared Ali	Bari	50 Abilahi Ali Hassan	Sanaag
18 Said Ali Mohamed	Bari	51 Ahmed Ali Shire/ Hashi	Sanaag
19 Zeynab Ugas Yassin	Bari	52 Abdi Jama Ahmed	Sool
20 Abdilahi Waberi Mohamed	Bari	53 Abdi Jibril Dhible	Sool
21 Sheybe Sheikhs Mohamud	Bari	54 Aden Haji Hussien	Sool
22 Abdilahi Khalif Hashi	Mudug	55 Ali Ahmed Osman	Sool
23 Abdirashed Mohamed Hersi	Mudug	56 Ali Jama Farah	Sool
24 Bashir Abdiziz Omar	Mudug	57 Farah Sulub Jama	Sool
25 Hassan Abdulle Sead	Mudug	58 Harir Gas Gutale	Sool
26 Hassan Hange Mohamed	Mudug	59 Hussien Yasin H. Dirie	Sool
27 Hersi Abdi Og	Mudug	60 Ibrahim Mohamud Gure	Sool
28 Ibrahim Elmi Warsame	Mudug	61 Jawahir Ahmed Mohamud	Sool
29 Mohamed Ahmed Koshin	Mudug	62 Mohamud Hersi Aden	Sool
30 Said Gelle Dirie	Mudug	63 Sadiq Abshir Garad	Sool
31 Ahmed Egal Awalle	Mudug	64 Saleban Yusuf Ismail	Sool
32 Abdilahi Hashi Warsame	Nugaal	65 Sead Abdi Mohamed	Sool
33 Ahmed Hersi Arab	Nugaal	66 Warsame Serar Hussien	Sool

Annex 5 Details of Peace Agreements relating to the Adadda conflict, 1997-2007

1997 Agreement

(Translated from the original Somali)

The mediating committee proposed the following:

- Immediate dismantling of forces at Kur'aad
- Management of resources (in this case water) through *xeer*, or customary law
- Formation of *berkedo* in common grazing areas are prohibited
- For environmental reasons, deforestation is prohibited

- Use of movable plastic reservoirs will substitute construction of [permanent] *berkedo*
- Nugaal authorities will monitor and regulate the building of new *berkedo* in Tukaale as well as other nearby common grazing land;
- Nugaal authorities are also responsible for reimbursement for destruction of *berkedo*;
- Community elders shall administer the implementation of the mediating committee's recommendations;

First phase of the 2007 agreement

The following terms were agreed upon:

- Payment of one-hundred and twenty camels for each of the deceased persons from the Bah Ararsame; 50,000,000 Somali Shillings (So.sh) for funeral costs; \$1000 for the family of deceased; and one *godobtir* girl per deceased;
- The wounded are to be examined in Garowe—four from the Bah Ararsame and five from the Omar Mohamoud;
- Destruction of three *berkedo* in Adadda and one in Daladka;
- Construction of new waterpoints is prohibited in the geographical zone between the Bah Ararsame and Omar Mohamoud. That includes the villages of Qoriley, Magacley, Maygaagle, Carris and Gumbur;
- Those who defy the aforementioned agreements will be held accountable; they will be fined 50,000,000 So.sh and one year imprisonment;
- Building of impermanent settlements are prohibited; violators will be fined 10,000,000 So.sh and imprisoned for six months;
- Puntland government will reimburse the owners of the *berkedo* a sum of twenty-six thousand dollars (\$26,000); ten-thousand dollars (\$10,000) for Ina Habsade's *berked*, six thousand dollars (\$6000) for the *berked* in Daladka, and ten thousand dollars (\$10,000) for two other *berkedo*

Following the appeal of the Bah Ararsame the mediating committee revised the above agreement by adding the following:

- Increasing the value of Ina Habsade's *berked* to twenty thousand dollars (\$20,000);
- A buffer zone of 25Km between the two communities is demarcated; this draws back the *berked* of Ina Habsade 7Km

Appeal by the Bah Ararsame community to the mediation committee

(Translated from the original Somali)

To: the Elders of Darood who were present as witnesses

Subject: Appeal on the verdict of the committee

We are here to submit our appeal on the verdict of the mediation committee concerning particularly the land dispute. We accept the ruling of the mediation committee concerning the death and the wounded, but submit the appeal on the issue of land. The reason we have to appeal on the land issues is that the Omar Mohamoud tribe dug *berkedo* in more than 25 places all in Dhulbante areas, while we are accused of digging *berkedo* only in 4 places.

We have asked the committee to investigate all these violations and visit all those places, but they refused to accept our request. We also object to the compensation price for the *berked* which ignited the dispute between the two communities.

We are appealing to the Darood elders as a last resort to intervene in the case and take into consideration all perspectives on the issues.

The Bah Ararsame Committee

Aw-Daahir Haji Hassan Abdille
Abdirahman Mohamed Ali
Mohamed Abdi Haabsade
Yusuf Haji Mohamud Ali
Abdirahman Saleeban Mursal
Abdulah Hasssan Ali
Jama Yacqub Osman
Mohamud Gurre Ali

Haji Mahad Haji Yusuf aw-Abdi
Ali Abdi Galayr
Abdi Aden Ali
Ali Mohamed Kaarshe
Ahmed Mohamed (Dheganalow)
Ibrahim Bulhan Mohamed
Mohamed Abdulqadir Ileeeye
Mohamed Ahmed Dheere
Mohamud Ahmed Ibyan

Burtinle Peace Agreement May 2007

Go'aamadda Guddiga Dhexdhexaadinta Beelaha Harti.

6 May 2007

Ku: Beesha Bah-hararsame	Burtinle
Ku: Beesha Cumar Maxud	Burtinle
Og: Garaad Jaamac Garaad Cali Garaad	Fadhigiisa
Og: Islaan Bashiir Islaan Cabdulle	Buurtinle
Og: Isimadda P/land	Buurtinle
Og: Madaxweynaha DGPL	Fadhigiisa
Og: Maxkamadda Sare ee DGPL	Garowe
Og: Dhamaan Masuuliyiinta & Waxgaradka Sool, Cayn, Mudug & Nugal	Fadhigoda

Ujeedo: Go'aan Guddi

29-kii April 2007-da waxaa shir uga furmay degmada Burtinle Guddiga dhexdhexaadina beelaha harti kaasoo lagu dhexdhexaadinayo labada beelood ee bah-hararsame & Cumar Maxud, shirkaas oo ku saabsanaa xallinta iska-Hor-imaadkii ka dhacay deegaanka Cadaadda ee keenay dhimashada & Dhawaaca, waxaa shirkaas laga qabtay guddi ka kooban 15 xubnood oo go'aan ka soo gaara xallinta dhibatadii dhacday.

Fadhigii Koowaad Guddigu waxay la kulmeen labaddii belood waxayna dhegeysteen dooddoodii waxayna kala wareegeen cadaymihii ay keeneen, markaas ka dib wuxuu guddigu gudagalay go'aamaddiisii wuxuuna ku dhisay arrimahan hoos ku qoran:-

- ✓ Guddigu Markuu uu dib u raacay dhibaataadda soo-jireenka ka taaganeyd deegaanka xoolo-daaqeenka ah ee u dhexeeya labada beelood.
- ✓ Guddigu markuu tixgeliyey heshiisyaddii horay loo gaarey ee uu ugu dambeeyey shirkii ay ka qaybqaateen Isimada, Waxgaradka & Maamulka

(translated from the original Somali)

To: Bah Ararsame Community
To: Omar Mohamud Community
Cc: Islan Bashir, Islan Bashir, Islan Abdulle,
Islan Farah
Cc: Elders of Puntland

Cc: Garaad Jama Garaad Ali Garaad Jama
Cc: Puntland Minister of Justice & Religious Affairs
Cc: President of Puntland
Cc: Puntland Minister of Interior
Cc: All officials of Nugaal, Sool and Mudug regions

Subject: Committee verdict

Verdict is made on the basis of careful analysis and evaluation of the issues related to the pastoral areas and the disputes over water, such as digging *Berkedo* which creates environmental degradation. All the concerns and complaints of both communities were listened to. It is also based on the related references and previously reached agreements about the area such as the May 15th 1997 agreement which forbids digging any *Berkedo* or cutting the trees of the areas.

1. *Berkedo* at Daladka and the *berked* owned by Abdimalik Haji Hussein at Adadda shall be demolished.
2. The two *berkedo* of Hassan Abdi Haabsade family shall remain in place, provided that new *berkedo* shall not be established beyond this point southwards within the grazing area.
3. The terrain between the existing villages is designated as grazing zone for the livestock: therefore it is prohibited to construct new *berkedo*, develop new townships or establish temporary makeshifts camps that could lead to further erosion and damage to the environment.
4. At the location of God-Dhurwaa and Kal-belebo, there shall not be any further extension by establishing new *berkedo*. In the event that any new *berkedo* are constructed, both the new and the old shall be demolished.
5. Any party that violates the above four articles shall be liable to a fine of Somali Shilling 100 million and one year imprisonment.
6. The above resolutions shall be overseen by a committee composed of the two communities. The committee can seek assistance from the regional authorities of Sool and Nugaal.
7. The owners of the *berkedo* that are to be demolished as agreed here shall receive:
 - a. Daladka \$8.000
 - b. Adadda \$7.000
 - c. Compensation to be paid in cash by Puntland administration through the *Isimo*
8. Representatives from Puntland administration, the mediating committees and elders from both communities shall execute the demolition of the above mentioned *berkedo*.
9. Regarding the deceased men:
 - a. For each of the 8 men killed during the latest fighting, the committee has ruled:
 - A *diya* of 120 camels
 - An additional US \$1000 as exoneration (plea for forgiveness).
 - Funeral expenses of Somali Shilling 5 million
 - b. The committee has also ruled a *diya* payment for a man as:
 - 110 camels as *diya*
 - Funeral expenses of Somali Shilling 5 million
10. The *diya* payment shall be completed as follows:
 - a. 467 heads [live camels], which corresponds to the *Fiffi* shall be paid within 2 months.
 - b. 603 heads [live camels], which is the *Mag-Dheer* shall be paid within 6 months.
11. The cash compensations of funeral expenses, exoneration and the weapons shall be handed over on the date of signature of this agreement and are: funeral expenses totalling Somali Shillings 45 million, and exoneration \$8.000, and 6 guns.
12. Regarding the injuries, the *Isimo* ruled that each wounded member of both communities shall receive US \$1.500 as medication/healing compensation to be brought to the venue of this conference.

13. The *Isimo* shall be the sole reference body for any changes that may be done to this agreement.
14. After signature of this agreement, either of the reconciled sub-clans that initiates actions that causes death or injury shall be fined Somali Shilling 200 million before the case is examined.

Gudoonka Isimadda Shirka Buurtinle Gudoominaya

7 May 2007

Ku: Beesha Bah-hararsame	Buurtinle
Ku: Beesha Cumar Maxud	Buurtinle
Ku: Maamulka DGPL	Fadhigooda
Og: Beelaha Deegaanka Sool, Cayn, Mudug & Nugal	Fadhigooda

Ujeddo: Gudoonka Isimada.

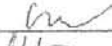
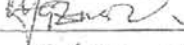

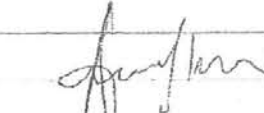
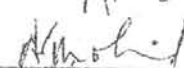

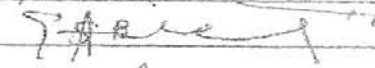
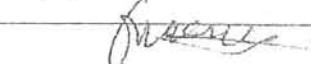
- Ka dib markii aan aragnay go'aankii gudigga dhexdhexaadinta labada beelood ee Bah-Hararsame & Cumar Maxud, & Kalsooni dhiibashaddii labada dhinac.
- Markii aan tixgeliney qaabkii wanaagsanaa ee niyadsamida lahaa ee labada dhinacba u qaateen go'aanka.
- Markii aan tixgeliney baahida loo qabo in la helo nabad waarta oo dhexmarta beelaha walaalaha ah, & sida loogu baahan yahay in looga illaaliyo deegaanka xaalufka & Nabaad-guurka.

Waxaan Gudoominey:-

1. In go'aankii guddiga dhexdhexaadintu gaareen sida uu yahay loo dhaqan-geliyo.
2. In Maamulka DGPL bixiyo dhamaan wixii kharaj ah ee laga xukumay Baraagaha & Xurfadaha la duminayo, si dadkii lahaa loogu cawilo.
3. In la wadaago xoolo-daaqeenka dhulka, cid gooni u saaregan kartaana aanay jirin lana wada xanaaneeyo.
4. In laga hortago wax allaale & wixii keeni kara dhibaato hor leh, ama tii hore sii hurin kara.
5. In waxgaradka labada beelood-ba ay tagaan deegaankii iska-hor-imaadku ka dhacay si dadka loo gaarsiiyo Heshiiska la gaarey.
6. In ciidamadda si deg-deg ah loo kala qaado.
7. In Ismimadda DGPL & Gudigga dhexdhexaadintu dabagal ku sameeyaan sidii go'aankani u fuli lahaa.

Gabogabo: Waxaan hambalyo & Bogaadin u soo jeedinaynaa dhamaan waxgaradkii ka qaybqaatay raadinta nabadda & Islaaxa Beelaha walaalaha ah.

1. Islaan Ciise Islaan Moxamed
2. Islaan Bashiir Islaan C/dule
3. Garaad C/laahi Garaad Soofe
4. Ugaas C/laahi Ciise
5. Garaad Abshir Saalax
6. Garaad maxud Cismaan Mashqare
7. Garaad saleebaan Buraale
8. Ugaas Faarax maxud Cali

(translated from the original Somali)

Decisions by the elders chairing the Burtinle conference

To: Ba Ahararsame committee
To: Omar Mohamoud communities
To: Puntland government
Cc: Communities in Sool, Eyn, Mudug and Nugaal

Subject: Elders Decisions

- Having seen the decisions by the committee mediating the Bahar arsame and Omar Mohamoud communities and submission of both sides
- Having seen the good will of the two sides by accepting the decisions
- Considering how important it is to bring a lasting peace between the related communities and how imperative it is to protect the environment from deforestation and erosion.

We have decided that:

1. The verdict reached by the mediation committee be duly implemented
2. The Puntland government settles all expenses charged regarding the water reservoir and water catchments to be demolished
3. The land be shared among all with no one not able to claim it particularly as their own
4. To proactively prevent anything that may cause problems or reignite previous conflict
5. Intellectuals from both communities communicate the signed peace agreement to their communities in the conflict area
6. Relocation of the forces should happen as soon as possible
7. The elders of Puntland and the mediation committee jointly monitor the implementation of the agreement

Conclusion: We compliment all the intellectuals who participated in the creation of peace and harmony among the communities.

Islan lise Islan Mohamed
Islan Bashir Islan Abdulle
Garad Abdullahi Garad Sofe
Ugas Abdullahi lise
Garad Abshir Salah
Garad Mahamoud Osman Mashqare
Garad Saleban Burale
Ugas Farah Mahamoud Ali

The mediation committee

1. Dahir Mohamed Farah-Sanwaylod (chairman)
2. Aqil Mohamoud Haji Omar (vice-chairman)
3. Nabadon Kaliif Aw Ali
4. Nabadon Abdulahi Jama Areef
5. Nabadon Abdiasiis Jama Warsame
6. Abas Ali Dhere
7. Mohomed Abshir Nur
8. Ali Yusuf Ali Hoosh

9. Amiir Jama Mohamed Mire
10. Yusuf Jama Alas
11. Dalmar Haji Mohamoud
12. Haji Ahmed Adan Haad
13. Bihi Hirsi Farah
14. Ibrahim Abade Burale
15. Awil Ismail
16. Ahmed Barre Siad Muse (secretary)

The witnessing Elders

1. Ugaas Hassan Ugaas Yaasiin
2. Ugaas Abdullaahi Ugaas Soofe
3. Garaad Abdullahi Ali Ciid
4. Garaad Abdissalam Hassan
5. Suldán Said Mohamed Garaase
6. Suldán Abdissalan Suldán Mohamed
7. Suldán Bashir Muuse Keente
8. Ugaas Faradh Haji Mohamud
9. Ugaas Omar Geelle Mohamed
10. Suldán Ali Ismail

Representatives of the authorities

1. Abdirizaq Yasin Abdille 'Geessod' Puntland Minister of Justice and Religious Affairs
2. Abdirahman Jama Boorre [Mayor of Laas 'Aanood]
3. Hussein Guuled Hanaf [Mayor of Burtinle]
4. Bedel Khalaf Jaama [representative of Federal Government of Ethiopia, Bookh District]

Bah Ararsame Committee

1. Aw-Daahir Haji Hassan Abdille
2. Abdirahman Mohamed Ali

Annex 6 List of Interviewees

Interviewees for research on the Garowe consultative and constitutional conferences

1. Mohamed Abshir Waldo
2. Abdi Said Soryaan
3. Suldaan Said Mohamed Garaase
4. Ugaas Hassan Ugaas
5. Beeldaje Ali Farah
6. Dr. Yasin Farah Artan
7. Prof. Khalif Mohamed Barre
8. Attorney Ahmed Barre
9. Mrs. Asha Gelle
10. Mrs. Hawa Isse Mohamud (WAWA)

3. Mohamud Abdi Haabsade
4. Yusuf Haji Mohamud Ali
5. Abdirahman Saleeban Mursal
6. Abdullahi Hassan Ali
7. Jama Yacqub Osman
8. Mohamud Guure Ali
9. Haji Mahad Haji Yusuf aw-Abdi
10. Ali Abdi Galayr
11. Abdi Aden Ali
12. Ali Mohamed Kaarshe
13. Ahmed Mohamed [Dheganalow]
14. Ibrahim Bulhan Mohamed
15. Mohamed Abdulqadir Ileeeye
16. Mohamed Ahmed Dheere
17. Mohamud Ahmed Ibyan

Omar Mohamud Committee

1. Abdullahi Hasan Baalee
2. Nuur Mohamed Ahmed 'Sandheere'
3. Abdirashid Ahmed Jama
4. Abdullahi Kooreeye Elmi
5. Abdi Budeeye Hassan
6. Jama Omar Dhagad
7. Mohamed Hassan Samatar
8. Abdul Dalmar Ali
9. Jama Bihi Nuur
10. Isse Haji Jama
11. Mohamud Abdi Daahir
12. Muuse Haaji Jama
13. Mohamud Khalif Hersi
14. Osman Ahmed Omar
15. Mohamud Isse Ahmed
16. Bashir Mohamud Dalmar
17. Ahmed Osman Warsame

11. Mrs. Salado Ismail Mirood
12. Mrs. Maryan-noor Ali Jama
13. Mohamed H Barre (Shimbiralaye)
14. Abdulahi A'rahman Ahmed (Ayrow)
15. Ahmed Abbas Ahmed
16. Abdigafar Haji Mohamed Abdulle
17. Abdisalaan Ali Farah Biligsay
18. Walid Musa, EC political affairs
19. Mohamed Abdulkadir Barre (accountant, financial committee)

Unnamed interviewees

- Community and clan leaders, October 2007
 Elders and militia leaders in Gaalka'yo, November 2007
 Senior diplomat, Nairobi, 30 November 2007
 Senior elders, November 2007
 Several senior Somali figures, August 2008

Interviewees for research on the Burtinle Peace Agreement

1. Abdisaeed Ali Suuryan
2. Abdulrahman Aden Jama "Interview with Mayor of Las Anood at PDRC", *unpublished film; interviewers Abdinasir and A. Nur*, Garowe, November 2007
3. Abdurahman Abdulle Osman 'Shuke', PDRC director, Garowe, November 2007
4. Ahmed Saeed Musse (Barre)
5. Ahmed Sheik Jama
6. Aisha Gelle Diryire "Interview with Minister of Women Development and Family Affairs at MOWDAFA", *unpublished film; interviewers Abdinasir and Amina Nur*, Garowe, November 2007
7. Bashir Abdiaziz Omar (Lilen), *unpublished filmed interview; interviewer Muctar Hersi*, PDRC Garowe, November 2007
8. Daarhir Mohamed Sanwaaylood
9. Hawa Isse Mohamud, WAWA women's group, Bosaaso, November 2007
10. Hussein Gelle Hanaf
11. Ladan Abdifarah
12. Mohamed Ali Daad, "Interview of member of diaspora", *interviewer Amina Nur*, San Diego, 1 January 2008
13. Mohamed Abshir Nur and D. M. Farah, "Interview with Chairman of BPA Mediating Committee at PDRC", *unpublished film; interviewers A. Nur and Abdinassir*, Garowe, November 2007
14. Salado Ismail Meiraood
15. Weris Ali Warsame and L. Abdifarah, "Interview with Sool Women at PDRC", *interviewers A. Nur and A. M. Abdulkadir*, Garowe, November 2007

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Haani salka ayeeey ka unkantaa

A milk container is built from the bottom up



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