





RE-ASSESSMENT OF THE SOCIAL, PEACE AND SECURITY SITUATION IN GALKACYO

JANUARY 2021





Acronyms

ACLED - Armed Conflict Location & Event Data AS - Al-Shabab AWSJ - Ahlu Sunna Waljama'a CPD- Centre for Peace and Democracy **CPDC - Community Police Dialogue Cooperation CSOs- Civil Society Organizations DRC-** Danish Refugee Council EU – European Union FGD – Focus Group Discussions FGS-Federal Government of Somalia FMS – Federal Member States HC-Horn Centre HD – Center for Humanitarian Dialogue **IDPs** – Internally Displaced Persons IGAD - Intergovernmental Authority on Development JCC - Joint Ceasefire Committee JPC- Joint Peace Committee KIIs - Key Informant Interviews NGOs- Non-Governmental Organizations PDRC – Puntland Development and Research Organization PSA- Puntland Youth and Social Development SNA - Somali National Army SNDU - Somali National Democratic Union SSDF - Somali Salvation Democratic Front SSF - Somali Stability Fund SYL - Somali Youth League TIS+ - Transition Initiatives for Stabilization + **UAE-** United Arab Emirates UN – United Nations **UNDP - United Nations Development Program UNICEF - United Nations Children's Fund UNOPS- United Nations Office for Project Services UNPBF-** United Nations Peace Building Fund UNSOM - the United Nation Assistance Mission in Somalia UNSOM - The United Nations Assistance Mission in Somalia USAID - United States Agency for International Development USC - United Somali Congress USD – United States Dollars

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Executive Summary

The Puntland Development and Research Centre is among the major peace actors in Somalia and has been instrumental in several peace initiatives particularly in Puntland and Galmudug which have resulted in cease-fire agreements and reconciliations on clan conflicts over the years. PDRC has an intricate understanding of the peace and security matrix in Puntland and Galmudug.

After the collapse of the nation-state in 1991, warring clans established separate administrations in the contested and divided city of Galkayo, widening the division between the communities in Galkayo and the larger Mudug region. The violence and atrocities that were committed during this period were never adequately addressed and their impact on communities continues in the form of historical grievances that exacerbate tension and conflict to date. Conflicts in Galkayo have been numerous and even with continued ceasefire agreements, the deep-seated grievances, without being properly addressed, will keep on bringing recurrent violence and conflicts.

Against this backdrop, and as part of the Road to Sustainable Peace and Reconciliation Between Puntland & Somaliland and Puntland & Galmudug funded by the Swiss Embassy and UNDP, implemented jointly by the Puntland Development and Research Centre as the lead organization and the Academy for Peace (Somaliland segment) and the Horn Centre (Galmudug segment) as partners. A research study dubbed the **Reassessment of the Social, Peace, and Security Situation in Galkayo** was conducted from **October** to **November** that sought to find out what had changed or transpired since the last "Galkayo Conflict Assessment Report" conducted by Interpeace and its Somali partner PDRC. The reassessment was necessitated among other things to:

- (i) Shed light on the current social, peace, and security situation in Galkayo based on the new dynamic changes that are taking place in Galkayo since the 2016 peace accord,
- (ii) Find out what has worked and what hasn't in the search for sustainable peace and reconciliation,
- (iii) Re-engage with stakeholders and concerned parties within various platforms and activities to bolster dialogue and further strengthen a culture of peace, trust, and confidence-building between communities in the region, and
- (iv) Maintain the peacebuilding momentum by bridging the communities to keep peace and the dialogue going with the aim of attaining sustainable peace in the region.

In conducting the reassessment, PDRC and HC employed Participatory Action Research methodology that relies on the locals to come up with localized and contextualized solutions to issues bedeviling them. Prior to the study, both PDRC and HC held an Inception session of the project in which the research questions, study tool (developed jointly), and the criteria of the research participants were agreed upon based on the Galkayo Conflict Assessment baseline study.

The study tools comprised of a questionnaire, which was employed in structured key informant interviews and to guide moderated focus group discussions. The data was collected through focus group discussions and key informant interviews. Eighteen (18) Key informant interviews were conducted (9 in north and 9 in south Galkayo) were conducted with key stakeholders who included: government officials; members of the JPC; elders; businesspeople; women peace committees; youth; academics; peace activists and other civil society representatives; and minorities and communities not directly involved in the conflict. Four (FGDs) were conducted two each in the south and the north. The FGD had each 11 respondents drawn from members of the police force, governors, mayors, traditional and religious leaders, media, youth, women, minority groups, and businesspeople.

The key findings showed that among other things, the following (i) the peace and security situation has greatly improved through the efforts of several peace actors though some issues remain which contribute to ongoing instances of insecurity in some areas, (ii) there is an improvement of interaction, integration and movement between Galkayo communities supported by the removal of roadblocks, and reopening of closed tarmac roads (iii) a transition from traditional agreements to political agreements which bring on board a greater role of the political class in the peace and reconciliation process, (iv) mixed security situation in Galkayo and Mudug region with sporadic security incidents, (v) there has been an increased level of support to the peace process with the number of peace actors increasing, whose involvement has been instrumental in bringing back peace in times of insecurity and conflict but also maintaining the momentum of peace, (vi) Galkayo has been able to set up a consolidated list of priorities that include: development, infrastructure, security and rule of law, peace and trust-building measures.

Although many key priorities for peace, stability, and development have been achieved, nevertheless Galkayo and Mudug region require continuous efforts from and Puntland and the Galmudug States and all other stakeholders to work together with sustainable peace in the region. It is also of paramount importance to have Puntland and Galmudug states put Galkayo and Mudug region's peace and stability as part of their national security plan.

Background

The city of Galkayo and its surrounding region have historically experienced frequent violent conflict. Traditionally, sporadic clashes between pastoralist communities arose over resources, such as pasture and water. At the same time, the region has been defined by historical animosity between Hawiye, traditionally dominant in the south, and Darood clans, traditionally dominant in the north: a dynamic that continues to exert a strong influence in the region today. Responding to these tensions, the Italian colonial administration demarcated a boundary between communities in the north and the south named the Tomaselli Line. A semblance of unity emerged between communities towards the end of the 1950s with the emergence of popular nationalistic agendas, led by the Somali Youth League (SYL), and the region enjoyed a modest reintegration of communities in the north and the south, with strong messages about Somali unity that transcended clan boundaries¹. A period of relative calm was thus established by the democratic regimes throughout the 1960s into the 1970s, prioritizing a fair clan composition of administrations. Minor, localized instances of conflict were largely restricted to rural areas.

Conflict re-emerged in the 1980s in the build-up to the civil war. Siad Barre's regime contributed to reigniting conflict between clans to divide and weaken them, and strengthen his position, and prompted a mobilization of armed political opposition through clan-based militias, such as the Somali Salvation Democratic Front (SSDF) and the United Somali Congress (USC), against him². Communities that had not traditionally been implicated in the recurrent conflict in the region were drawn into the fighting, such as the Sheekhal, Mohamed Caagaane, and Samatar Caagaane subclans, and many communities fled the city of Galkayo and surrounding areas. The regime's efforts to divide the clans, as well as the fact that the fighting adopted a heavily clan-based approach, exposed the Hawiye-Darood competition for political ascendancy. Violent attacks during this time led to heavy casualties and consequent revenge attacks.

Following the collapse of the central government in 1991, the country descended further into conflict. The USC, who had played a key role in the victory over Barre's regime in Mogadishu, attacked Galkayo and sparked a deadly clan war in the region, between the Hawiye (Sa'ad/Habar Gedir) and Darood (Majerten and Lelkase). The armed opposition groups that had fought during the conflict aligned themselves (SSDF with Majerten, USC with Sa'ad, and SNDU with Lelkase), in competition for power in the region. The warring clans established separate administrations in the contested and divided city of Galkayo, cementing the division between them³. The

¹ Njoku, Raphael Chijioke, The History of Somalia (2013), pp71-94

² *Ibid*, pp115-136.

³ Adam, Hussein Mohamed, Mending Rips in the Sky (1997), p328

violence and atrocities that were committed during this period were never addressed and their impact on communities continues in the form of historical grievances that exacerbate tension and conflict today.

In June 1993, a peace agreement was signed in Mogadishu between the leaders of the SSDF (Colonel Abdullahi Yusuf Ahmed), the Somali National Democratic Union (Ali Ismail Abdi-Giir), and the USC (General Mohamed Farah Aided), representing an unprecedented breakthrough in ending the bloodshed in the region⁴. Significantly, elders and key civil society actors played a large role in the negotiations leading to the signing of the agreement. A ceasefire was established, IDPs returned to their towns and cities, and a committee of elders was formed to work on inter-clan disputes and conflict resolution. The 1993 Peace Agreement restrained clan competition and limited conflict until very recently. The cohesion and stability that it created even allowed for a unified front militarily against the Islamic Courts Union in 2006-07⁵.

The war in the south and especially in Mogadishu had led to the ousting of most "nonnative" clans and the creation of clan-dominated areas across Somalia, such as Somaliland and North Eastern Somalia (that became Puntland), with the remaining area referred to as south-central Somalia. The creation of these new clan-defined zones and different political agendas saw new government structures develop with different identities and visions. Somaliland was formed, claiming unity and independence from Somalia, by the region's dominant Isaag clan, following which Puntland established its administration to remain within the Republic of Somalia. With the introduction of the federal-state system, Puntland was joined by South West, Jubbaland, and Galmudug and Hirshabelle states. How the present-day federal states evolved from conflictual clan-based entities largely determined the composition of state administrations (often perceived as clan-administrations) and the relationships between them; the current conflict in Galkayo should be understood with this in mind. As such, the creation of these federal states (as well as Somaliland) and the demarcation of boundaries between them have exacerbated, if not created, tensions between different communities. This is the situation in Sool and Sanaag, now claimed by Somaliland, Puntland, and the Khatumo state, in Mudug between Puntland and Galmudug states, and Lower Shabelle between Southwest State and Benadir Regional Administration. As federalism is deepened across Somalia, closer attention will need to be paid to these existing and emerging border conflicts. Galkayo represents an important opportunity to develop the necessary peace and reconciliation processes that may serve as a model across the region.

Following tensions during consultations on the 2016 elections, in which the President of Puntland walked out to protest Galmudug's legitimacy, and in the context of a dispute over landing rights for aircraft in the recently constructed south Galkayo airstrip, in November 2015 conflict broke out between Puntland and Galmudug in Galkayo. Catalysed by anger over the construction of a road by Puntland, the conflict

⁴ See Interpeace-PDRC, *Dialogue for Peace* (2005) p32 for an English translation of the 1993 Mudug Peace Agreement

⁵ Adar, Korwa Gombe and Yoh, John Gay, *Somalia Peace Process* (2006), p107

left 20 dead, 120 injured and over 90,000 displaced⁶. A peace agreement was signed on 2 December 2015 between the two-state administrations, in the presence of the Federal Government of Somalia, leaders from Jubbaland and South-West States, local elders, the UN, EU, and IGAD.

Less than a year later, in October 2016, violent conflict broke out once more, following a dispute over Galmudug's construction of a police station and Puntland's construction of a livestock market in a contested part of western Galkayo. In early November, a ceasefire agreement was signed in Abu Dhabi, however, the fighting did not cease until a second ceasefire agreement was signed by leaders in Galkayo later that month. The agreement established a 2km buffer zone between troops and significantly nominated a Joint Ceasefire Committee (JCC), composed of 18 individuals from Puntland and Galmudug, to ensure the implementation of the Agreement. The Ceasefire Agreement contained three key aims: to disengage forces from both sides and return them to where they were before the recent outbreak of violence; to remove roadblocks to allow movement of transport, goods, and people; and to organize the training and deployment of joint police units. A subsequent press conference and peace communique that was issued in January 2017 by President Abdiwali Gass of Puntland and former President Abdikarin Guled of Galmudug reiterated the need for a joint police force trained by the UN to maintain security in Galkayo and also called for a meeting in February 2017 to find solutions to the Galkayo conflict, which did not subsequently take place. The Joint Ceasefire Committee faced some struggles in meeting, partly as a result of the security challenges, however, following Interpeace, IPT, and PDRC engagement with both sides several meetings were achieved at the beginning of 2017. Despite this, the progress of the Ceasefire Agreement took time to emerge.

Towards the end of 2017, the ceasefire agreement gave way to social agreements, traditional elders and representatives of the business community led by paramount titled elders signed a new peace agreement in December 2017 through which the mandates of the peace committees were renewed followed by the successful removal of roadblocks both in the North and South Galkayo that were impeding the delivery of humanitarian and other critical supplies.

The years 2019 and 2020 brought about challenges and opportunities for the peacebuilding process in Galkayo. Al-Shabab attacks, political instability in Galmudug, and tense relations between Puntland and Galmudug sometimes characterized the dynamics of the city. While those years provided an opportunity for deeper involvement by the Puntland and Galmudug administrations in the politics and security of the city, equally important are the local and international actors who supported the regional peace, stability, and development through their concerted engagements. As the situation seems to be improving, it is against this backdrop that PDRC conducted a re-assessment of the situation in Galkayo after the ceasefire agreement of 2016 but most importantly taking into consideration the changing

⁶ OCHA, Somalia Flash Update: Humanitarian Impact of Fighting in Galkayo, 8 December 2015 <u>http://reliefweb.int/report/somalia/somalia-flash-update-humanitarian-impact-fighting-gaalkacyo-8-</u> <u>december-2015</u>,

dynamics and actors in the city and region and the impact of multiple interventions by different actors.

The objectives of the assessment are:

- + Shed light on the current social, peace, and security situation in Galkayo based on the new dynamic changes that are taking place in Galkayo since the 2016 peace accord.
- + Assess the progress and impact of recommendations made in 2017.
- + Strengthen engagement with the stakeholders and concerned parties within various platforms and activities that will bolster the dialogue and further embed a culture of peace, trust, and confidence-building between the communities.
- + Sustain the peacebuilding process by bridging the communities to keep the peace and dialogue.
- + Inform the ongoing work of the peace actors in Galkayo and Mudug region to ensure it continues to be contextually relevant and driven by current needs.
- + Identify new recommendations based on the study findings to address the gaps and challenges encountered since the last assessment in 2017

Current Political Environment

Since the release of the 2017 Galkayo Conflict Assessment, the peace, security, and political situation has changed for the better. The changes were part of a long process that included intervention from many actors and most importantly from the political leadership. The points below summarise the political and conflict dynamics.

Shortly after the publication of the report, President Abdikarim Hussein Guled of Galmudug was replaced by President Ahmed Duale Gelle (Xaaf). Prior to the assumption of office, there were many political frictions between Galmudug and Puntland that President Xaaf inherited from the previous administrations but also conflicts with Ahlu Sunna Wal Jamaa (ASWJ) and the Federal Government of Somalia (FGS). Despite this difficult start, President Xaaf managed to ease tensions in Galkayo and develop stronger relations with Puntland, inspired by their mutual political perspectives towards the FGS. Despite the fact that nothing had progressed with the Joint Ceasefire Committee and from the peacebuilding plans for Galkayo and more connecting roads (were) blocked after the 2016 ceasefire agreement, still President Xaaf not only refrained from inflaming the matter even further but has also succeeded to de-escalate the tension by changing the narrative from the persistent warfare rhetoric to conciliatory speeches and (community peaceful cohesion) resulting in a period of relative peace and calmness for Galkayo residents. It is worth mentioning that President Xaaf was a peaceful elder who is born from families from both sides of Galkayo. His efforts were further substantiated by General Abdiwali Gorod, then commander of Somali National Army (SNA) who was on an official visit to the region. He bolstered the peacebuilding process by calling upon the paramount chief elders from both sides of the conflict and encouraging them to work together for peace. It should also be emphasized that the General's work was greatly supported by Islan Bashiir, who chaired the initial JPC.

Despite President Xaaf encountering difficulties with the FGS, the peacebuilding process in Galkayo continued to progress. He was later replaced by President Ahmed Abdi Kaariye (Qoor Qoor).

From Puntland's side, President Abdiweli Gaas who signed the ceasefire agreement with Abdikarim Hussein Guled of Galmudug was succeeded by President Said Abdullahi Deni. The administration of Deni first felt that Galmudug's close relationship with the FGS was a threat to its internal stability, but Deni invested time and effort to build on the prior peace agreement in Galkayo made by his predecessors.

Slowly, the two sides started to build a strong working relationship through visits that built confidence, strengthened regional presence, cooperation, and developed

operations between the administrations and communities in Galkayo and Mudug. These stronger relations and the developing trust between Galmudug and Puntland led to the Dhusamareeb national political conference which in turn helped with the political stability of the region and brought the two communities even closer. The two Presidents instructed their respective regional political and security organs to work in close cooperation and jointly serve the two communities to the best of their ability. Relations, interactions, and integration between the two communities have also improved and there have been a series of joint activities, exchanges and celebrations held on both sides of Galkayo without fear. This is a significant improvement compared to 2016 when it was difficult to move across the green line between North and South Galkayo safely.

The FGS also started to be a major actor in Galkayo and Mudug peacebuilding, indeed the federal army patrolled the buffer zone. According to the research participants, without their work, the current improved movement between the two communities would not have been possible. They facilitated cross-communal movement and integration of the communities and administrations in Mudug, they also intervened in communal clashes in rural and remote areas (Afbarwaaqo and Towfiq). Furthermore, Puntland's concern of the FGS did not materialize as they did not create any tensions between the two administrations in Galkayo in their work within the region.

Galmudug

Since 2016, many changes shifted the political landscape of Galmudug and all of them in one way or the other had impacted the peace and stability of Galkayo/Mudug and the relationship between Puntland and Galmudug. President Abdikarin Guleed who was a signatory to the ceasefire agreement between Galmudug and Puntland in 2016 and under whose term of office the 2015/2016 conflicts occurred, resigned from the presidency in early 2017. This resignation came immediately after president Farmaajo's election in February 2017. President Guleed formerly served in different ministerial posts within former Federal President Hassan Sheikh's government, whose government also spearheaded and oversaw the process of establishing Galmudug State in Adado, in which Guleed won its presidential race in 2015. President Guleed's departure from office gave an unprecedented opportunity for the newly elected leadership in Villa Somalia to shape the future of Galmudug State. They first reached out to the leadership of Ahlu Sunna Waljama'a (ASWJ) in Dhusamareeb and upon failing to politically convince ASWJ to unite with Galmudug, the federal ministry of interior spearheaded in Adado a presidential election process in which the Galmudug Parliament elected Ahmed Duale Xaaf for president. Nonetheless the FGS, despite its role in the process, has not been successful in shaping Galmudug's electoral outcome since the resulting president wasn't their favoured candidate in the race towards Galmudug presidency.

Not only was president Xaaf's election victory unwelcomed in Villa-Somalia but has completed the two years tenure left by the previous president with pressure and conflicts within and from without. Despite achieving what his predecessor and FGS couldn't – calming the hostility and tensions in Galkayo and giving some of his

constitutional powers to ASWJ leadership through a power-sharing mechanism. As a result, he convinced them to merge the two administrations together with him operating from the new official state capital of Dhusamareeb instead of Adado.

President Xaaf's conflict with FGS led to his losing his seat with the election of Ahmed Abdi Kaariye's (Qoor-Qoor), who ostensibly enjoyed the backing of the Federal Government of Somalia, as President of Galmudug in February 2020. The new President Qoor-Qoor was considered a challenge to the Puntland and Galmudug nexus. This was due to the alleged support he had from the Federal Government of Somalia (FGS). Even before he settled into office, he was considered to be more amenable to the FGS than the FMS's, which raised concerns that his election would further exacerbate the federal and political nature of the Galkayo since it is a city under two federal state's administrations and broader Mudug conflict. Nevertheless, Qoor-Qoor moved swiftly to address this simmering discord where he kept the balance with members of his cabinet who were anti-FGS with the FGS, and the President, buoyed by this success, went further in his reconciliatory approach and included members of the opposition into his new cabinet. Through this conciliatory approach, he has been able to secure a good working relationship with the Federal Government of Somalia but also the Puntland administration as he extended his reconciliatory arm. His actions won him admiration among friends and foes, as he's considered a credible, serious, and reconciliatory leader who will be key in bringing peace between the North and the South of Galkayo (Galmudug/Puntland). His actions have led to a restoration of relations between the two states who incidentally share the same region in equal measure in control and administration and have a long history of neighbourliness.

After the formation of the Galmudug State had materialized, culminating in the establishment of both the legislative and executive arms of the government based in Dhusamareeb, the designated state capital under the leadership of the just-elected President Qoor-Qoor. The president soon after his election, reached out to his predecessor President Ahmed Du'ale Xaaf and together they addressed Galmudug citizens in Dhusamareeb during the official hand-over ceremony. This is considered by political pundits and peacebuilders as a successful strategy by an elected president.

The President then led a high-level delegation that toured around almost all districts and communities in Galmudug state territory except a few that are currently controlled by Al-Shabab (AS). His delegation visited and spent time in several areas where he oversaw an improved political and security cooperation between Puntlandand-Galmudug regional communities and authorities in Galkayo. Besides, the Galmudug Ministry of Interior, following the President's instructions, spearheaded communal reconciliation between Sa'ad and Leelkase sub-clans of Darood and Hawiye tribes from Puntland and Galmudug. These communal conferences, which were held in Bandiradley (Galmudug) and later concluded in Goldogob (Puntland) districts resulted for the first time in decades that the two communities crossed to each other's territories. In addition, Galmudug's Minister of Security succeeded in building a better relationship and cooperation between the joint Puntland and Galmudug security apparatus in Galkayo who then through successive joint operations in and around Galkayo succeeded to uproot AS networks in Galkayo, apprehended high target and senior AS operatives and commanders, and confiscated significant amounts of explosives.

The Galmudug's renewed interest and institutional presence in Galkayo restored the balance with mutual partners co-operating and cooperating friendly in Galkayo and further resulted in the disarmament and the demobilization of hundreds of freelance clan militias manning checkpoints in the southern part of Galkayo and Mudug.

Puntland

In 2019, the incumbent President of Puntland (Abdiweli Gaas), a signatory member of the 2016 ceasefire agreement, lost the election to Said Abdullahi Deni who inherited a polarized political context where there was strained relation with the FGS and some FMSs. Puntland, Galmudug, and Jubbaland presidents were in one political camp and resisting the FGS's campaigns to place presidents favourable to them in FMS. The FGS had managed to replace the president of South-West with an ally and persuaded Hirshabelle's President to support their policies and strategies. This allowed the FGS to have control over the affairs of two federal states out of five. Subsequently, they removed both states from their membership in the Council of the Inter-state Cooperation (CIC) council that was established in Kismayo in 2018 by all five FMS presidents.

Galmudug, Puntland, and Jubbaland were the remaining administrations that Villa-Somalia didn't succeed in replacing at that time. As a result of their failure to influence the 2019 Puntland elections, the relationship between the FGS and Puntland did not improve, despite President Deni's conciliatory efforts, which included hosting political dialogues between the FGS and FMS's in March and May 2019.

Later, President Deni aligned with Galmudug and Jubaland presidents, whose official mandate was coming to an end. The fear of holding elections that would favor FGS's allies was palpable. As such, this compelled the newly elected president of Puntland to shift focus from in-house priorities to politically go against FGS' plans for Galmudug and Jubbaland.

Unfortunately, not only did this tiring process allow Puntland and Galmudug leadership the time and space to engage in and continue with peace talks in Galkayo, but it also created in Galmudug a situation that needed the involvement of the JPC members to engage in parallel communal reconciliation and political processes outside Galkayo like Adaado, Hobyo, and Dhusamareeb, resulting in the suspension of JPC peacebuilding work in Galkayo.

Against this challenging political background, there was a significant increase in terror attacks targeting specific individuals which led to the death of more than 8 civilians since January 2020. This was followed by a series of inter-clan clashes between the Sacad and Leelkase of Galmudug and Puntland respectively. To stem the spread of the violence and restore peace, a delegation comprising of members of parliament (Puntland and Galmudug state level), ministers and senators, and members of

parliament (federal level) was dispatched to the area and successfully negotiated a new ceasefire agreement and established a 14 member committee to spearhead dialogue and mediation efforts between the warring clans. A team from Puntland that was in Galkayo for the former governor's memorial also joined the efforts to bring about peace and reconciliation. The presence of these teams in Galkayo offered the committee a rare opportunity to bring together these representatives and hammer out a jointly acceptable peace agreement and create a road map to direct cooperation and promote peace between Galkayo and Mudug regions.

As a sign of goodwill, President Deni of Puntland, with his cabinet, travelled to Galkayo where they met with their Galmudug counterparts. On June 26 and 27, 2020 the administrations held joint press conferences, addressing both Puntland and Galmudug communities emphasizing collaborations between said administrations in a way that concords with the Provisional Constitution of Somalia. The meeting addressed factors that influence Somalia's national interest, in particular those of Puntland and Galmudug, such as: security cooperation, peacebuilding, reconciliation, economic development, and distribution of resources to the citizens.

The statement (Annex 2) emphasized the agreement on protecting and strengthening the Somali unity and implementation of the Federal system in accordance with the Provisional Constitution. Moreover, the two administrations agreed to collaborate in the areas of security, peace, reconciliation, and economic development. In terms of security, they agreed that all security agencies should work together, strengthening the police force and the fight against terrorism. Finally, the two administrations decided to have regular meetings on issues of mutual interest.

The successes of the cooperation between Puntland and Galmudug was just the spark that was needed. This led to Dhusamareeb hosting the leadership of both the FGS and FMS for the first time in nearly two years (the last meeting was in Garowe in May 2019) at a time there were repeated hostilities between the leaders of these levels of government. These conferences dubbed the "Dhusamareeb Conference I, II & III" brought together Somali political leaders and allowed them to discuss the country's political transition and how to successfully and collectively agree upon the upcoming 2020/21 federal parliament and presidential elections in Somalia. It is important to note that both President Deni and President Qoor-Qoor travelled together by road from Dhusamareeb to Galkayo, illustrating the strong relationship between the two leaders.

Research Methodology

Research Team

The reassessment of the Galkayo social, peace, and security situation was conducted by Puntland Development and Research Center (PDRC) based in Garowe, Puntland, and Horn Center (HC) based in Galmudug. The reassessment was supported by the UN-REFS (funded by the UN Peacebuilding Fund) and the Embassy of Switzerland to Somalia based in Kenya. PDRC and HC team worked collaboratively in the planning of the study, data collection from both sides of Galkayo, and the two regional capital cities of Garowe and Dhusamareeb.

The choice in partnership with Horn Center allowed representation from South Galkayo which in turn allowed conversation from both sides to be fair and balanced. PDRC however has the overall responsibility of analysing the data and providing the report. The report will be reviewed and disseminated upon HC's approval.

Data collection

The research methodology was developed through a participatory discussion between Horn Center and PDRC during the Inception of the "Road to Sustainable Peace" project in which this reassessment is the first component. PDRC and HC identified key research questions from the baseline study *Galkayo Conflict Assessment* in September 2020. Target respondents and the qualitative research tool was also developed together.

The research tool comprised of a questionnaire, which was to be employed in structured key informant interviews and to guide moderated focus group discussions. The tool served to address and uncover community perceptions of key issues including: Interaction, Integration, and Movement between North and South Galkayo; Major Insecurity Incidents; Peacebuilding Events; Collaboration between the two administrations in Galkayo and Mudug Region; Overall situation of Galkayo and the Region since the peace agreement; relevant Peace Actors; and finally, actions required to further develop the peace between the communities.

Data collection took place throughout October 2020 by PDRC and HC, in north and south Galkayo respectively. A total of 18 semi-structured interviews (9 in north and 9 in south Galkayo) were conducted with key stakeholders who had a good understanding of the context of dynamics of the conflict or who were implicated in Galkayo and the regions since the 2016 Peace Accord. Interview respondents across the north and south included: government officials; members of the JPC; elders;

businesspeople; women peace committees; youth; academics; peace activists and other civil society representatives; and minorities and communities not directly involved in the conflict.

Building on the data collected through the key informant interviews, focus group discussions were launched in north and south Galkayo by the research team. In the north, 2 focus group discussions were launched, including a total of 11 participants who were members of the police force, governor, mayor, traditional and religious leaders, media, youth, women, minority groups, and businesspeople. In the south, 2 focus groups were also conducted including 11 participants representing local authorities, elders, women, youth, academics, businesspeople, minority groups, and the cultural committee. Often, discussion groups were organised to include one type of respondent, for instance, elders, youth, or women, to gain greater insight into their particular understanding and promote free uninhibited communication and exchange of ideas.

Furthermore, the research team met with the Joint Peace Committee, that PDRC had been supporting, in order to understand the challenges they face and which have hampered their work. These interactions contributed to the overall reassessment.

PDRC's Audio-Visual Unit (AVU) team visually documented both the research proceedings as well as the overall situation in Galkayo to create retrievable archives and reference during the research writeup as well as put together a storyboard featuring the research themes.

Findings

Overall situation since the 2016 Peace Agreement

In November 2016, the leaders of Puntland and Galmudug i.e. President Abdiweli Mohamed Ali and President Abdi Karim Hussein Guled signed a ceasefire agreement in Dubai, United Arab Emirates (UAE) which committed them to establish a committee to find a solution to the conflict. However, this agreement was breached, and the conflict continued. On 18th November, the same leaders met in Galkayo and reached a cease-fire agreement led by former Prime Minister Omar Abdi Rashid Ali that established a two kilometre-wide buffer zone between their security operatives stationed in the city, and to work toward removing roadblocks between North and South Galkacyo. Following this agreement, eighteen community members known as the Joint Ceasefire Committee (JCC) of Puntland and Galmudug was formed with the responsibility of ensuring the implementation of the ceasefire agreement, reconciling the two states, and building confidence and hope among people. An international ceasefire team led by IGAD and supported by the UN was deployed in Galkacyo to work with the JCC and monitor the implementation of the 2016 agreement. Since then, there has been economic recovery due to the safe access of people across the two sides and the fact that businesses were boosted by the stability, and are steadily operating, increased trust and cooperation among communities, and communities' involvement in enforcing security. In addition, youth and women village committees have been established and are actively conducting peace campaigns. The stability allowed seemingly borderless movements and cross border business transactions between north and south Galkacyo and many other positive developments have been vielded from the treaties.

Presently, peace prevails in Galkacyo with improved social relations among people. It is now possible for movement of people to take place between the North and South. This is attributed to efforts devoted in stepping up reconciliation initiatives among the communities. Since 2016, peace dialogues have been perpetually conducted between the two regions and hence apparently security is improved. Interestingly, people from these regions collaboratively celebrate parties and come together on social ceremonies like weddings which was previously highly discouraged. There is crossborder trade among these communities where merchants dealing in different businesses are operating freely without restrictions on boundaries. The economic status has improved in the last four years since businesses immensely resumed in the region. The standard of living of the people is steadily improving.

However, despite the positive changes, some issues still remain unresolved and contribute to the ongoing instances of insecurity in some areas. Alshabab is the single most threatening factor to peace and security in Galkacyo. The group is not only

targeting peacebuilders, security officers, civil servants and the business community through targeted assassinations and explosions, they are also against any political and economic development in the region which flourish the instability and chaos they thrive in. Second comes clan conflicts in rural areas and its ramification on urban peace and security order. Indeed in Mudug there is shortage of pasture and water for livestock especially in the rural areas. Farmers therefore resort to nomadism for their animals to survive. Consequently, this creates competition for resources among nomads and as a result conflicts continue to arise in this corridor. Many of the rural conflicts spill over into the shared town of Galkayo where incidents of revenge killing take place. The insecurity in the region subsequently affects the whole country, given the many different layers of the conflict up to and including the ongoing federalisation process. Another challenge that fuels the continued rural conflicts is AS whose attacks pose on peace/security of Galkacyo. AS are quick to exploit the lack of meaningful presence and cooperation between the two authorities and succeed in creating fear and tension through targeted assassinations, extortion and intra-clan conflicts.

On a positive note, residents are yearning for restoration of peace in their region.

"We call for combined efforts to continue to strengthen the current peace situation in Galkacyo. It is pragmatically possible for peace to prevail in this region if reconciliation and peace dialogues are robustly supported and embraced since the people in this region are related and they practice intermarriages. In order to register peace, everyone has got to be part and partial in working towards attaining it."

Noticeably, the current on-going trade in the region has been possible due to the state of relief brought about by co-operation between the two regional state administrators of Puntland and Galmudug. It has also created positive communal competition through improved services such as hotels, restaurants, and the implementation of big developmental projected such as ports and roads constructions.

Interaction, Integration and Movement between Galkacyo communities

After the 2016 agreement, interaction and movement between the communities of north and south Galkacyo was still limited as there were many restrictions that remained in terms of security, checkpoints, roadblocks, and more. According to both communities, beyond the 2017 agreement and the community-led renewed peace agreement of 2017, they said that starting from the political agreements that were reached, the situation has improved drastically. The political understanding brought about actionable understanding between the two communities, this understanding can be seen through the interactions, integration of communities coming from any side for business, pleasure or education, and most importantly from the freedom of movement that started to occur. Apparently both communities from North and South of Galkacyo move freely with no restrictions.

"You realize a change has happened when people from Puntland started living in hotels in south Galkacyo, and when youth from south Galkacyo started going to cafeterias and restaurants in the north" (Youth Umbrella, FGD, Galkayo North)

The opening of the closed tarmac roads that connected the two sides, removal of checkpoints, and improved security allowed businesses to resume operating effectively. First, public transport has greatly improved as vehicles can now commute from one region to another and cross the buffer zones with ease. In addition, businesses are gradually expanding and resuming across the North and South, with businesses working together and partnering. The hotel and restaurant sector provide opportunities for interaction between the two communities, as they interchange, and they spend time and money where they feel like regardless of where they live. Ceremonies such as weddings, peace conferences, and other functions are held in hotels on either side depending on the wishes of the organizers and can be conducted until late at night without security threats. Furthermore, there is a great deal of economic cooperation. Both communities are economically inter-reliant. The integrations and interactions of the two communities have yielded peace and economic development

The current prevailing security and peace situation in the regions is within the first sustained period of stability in the last thirty years. The education sector has also been a connector between the communities as learners including pupils and students at every academic level i.e. primary, secondary, and university can study from any region more so from the north to the south. Moreover, higher education students have been able to study in their preferred universities which provide further opportunities for integration through friendship and sometimes marriage.

Interaction among youth from North and South has also gained momentum through sports competitions organized by civil society organizations (CSOs), wedding ceremonies, and leisure activities.

"We recently had an interactive sports match with players and fans coming from both sides" (CSO, KII, Galkayo South)

Finally, it was perceived that the leaders and authorities from both north and south of Galkayo, including traditional elders, women's groups, mayors, governors, and police commanders work together to fight against those who disrupt peace and pose security threats in Galkayo and Mudug at large.

Peace and Security in Galkayo and Mudug region

Major security incidents

Afbarwaaqo / Towfiq Conflict

On December 5, 2019, heavy fighting broke out between militias from the Sacad subclan of the Habar Gidir clan and their Dir counterparts in Garbacad village near Towfig town. At least 23 people were killed and dozens more injured.⁷ It is believed revenge killings and disputes over grazing lands fueled the clashes.

"Mudug region has experienced disputes over lands between clans from Puntland and clans from Galmudug for a long time, this conflict, however, is believed to be one of the deadliest since the peace agreement" (FGD, Galkayo North)

The authorities in Puntland and Galmudug together with the elders from both sides; and with the support of international and local actors, began the reconciliation process by first calling for a ceasefire and then bringing together different community segments i.e. women, men, elders, and the youth to a peace conference. Furthermore, the consortium supported peace outreach activities where both Governors of the Mudug region and elders went to Towfig and Afbarwaago towns for mediations between clan elders from the warring sides. A group from the Federal government, including representatives from the Ministry of Interior and two commanders from the Somali National Army, later joined the process.⁸

The efforts bore fruits when elders from both sides agreed that there will be no more conflict and on December 14, 2019, three signatory traditional elders from Afbarwaaqo and Towfig villages of Mudug region reached a preliminary peace agreement and ceasefire as well as withdrawal of militia from the villages and other frontlines.⁹ The most important and critical role was played by the Federal government – particularly SNA.

"This decision was signed with the witness of the community and federal delegation" (PSA, KII, Galkayo North)

Targeted Killings

In May 2020, a suicide vehicle filled with explosives hit the car of the governor of the Mudug region. Ahmed Muse Nuur, his two bodyguards as well as his brother died in the attack that was later claimed by the terror group Al Shabab.¹⁰ The governor was the last of many officials killed in Galkayo, as they previously killed the commander and deputy commander of the joint security forces of Galkayo. The most recent attack took place on December 18 in south Galkayo stadium where Prime Minister Rooble was expected to come; this attack took the lives of army commanders, colonels, and the former mayor of Galkayo North Mohamud Yasin Tumey.

⁷ Golberg, 23 people killed in Inter-clan Clashes in Towfiq and Afbarwaaqo Villages in Mudug Region, https://intelligencebriefs.com/23-people-killed-in-inter-clan-clashes-in-towfiq-and-afbarwaqo-villages-inmudug-region/

⁸ CPD and PSA, Brief report on recent Afbarwaaqo conflict, December 16, 2019 ⁹ ibidem

¹⁰ Harun Maruf, Suicide Bomb Kills Somali Governor, May 2020 <u>https://www.voanews.com/africa/suicide-</u> bomb-kills-somali-governor

Al Shabab has been perpetrating attacks in the city and region. They have a presence in at least four cities in Galmudug as well as a presence in Puntland.

"This is organised crime, you have the ones that pay, the sympathizers, and the ones who radicalize. They are anti-development and anti-peace. As Puntland, we always have to take into consideration the places where they have influence in Galmudug. They control four districts there and this can affect the security in Puntland also." (Government Authority, KII, Garowe)

With the help of the federal military, Galmudug should come up with a strategy to fight the group in the regions they control. Puntland will support the resources and logistics that are required as the two administrations believe it is a collective responsibility. According to Puntland's regional police commissioner for Mudug, there are joint offensive plans between Galmudug and Puntland forces to fight AS.

Insecurity trends in Galkayo and the region

The period between 2018 and 2019 saw the stagnation of the peace-building efforts in Galkayo as there was a wave of targeted AS assassinations resulting in the killing of Puntland's Mudug Governor, the deputy commander of the Somali National Army unit in Galkcayo, and many security officials and prominent peace activists. According to the Armed Conflict Location & Event Data (ACLED)Dashboard, from January to November 2019, a total of 63 security incidents happened in the Mudug region. These security incidents were comprised of violence against civilians, explosions, remote violence, and conflicts which took the lives of 92 people. In Galkayo alone, 38 of the 63 incidents took place. Still, according to ACLED, the Galgaduud region registered 27 security incidents (12 in Dhusamareeb, capital of Galmudug administration) with 31 fatalities.¹¹

The following are a few of the insecurity trends in the city of Galkayo and the broader Mudug region;

- After what was reported as a "revenge attack" connected to the murder of a security official by Al Shabab, nine civilians were killed in southern Galkayo by a local militia.¹²
- + In northern Galkayo, some unidentified gunmen killed civilians when they opened fire on a vehicle.¹³
- + In May 2020, clan militias clashed over a land dispute in the rural areas. Puntland tried to remove said armed militias that were looting land that belonged to some community members, therefore the armed tried to fight

¹¹ACLED Dashboard, November 2019, <u>https://acleddata.com/dashboard/#/dashboard</u>

 ¹² East African (the), Nine civilians killed in Somalia revenge attack: police, 15 June 2019, https://www.theeastafrican.co.ke/news/africa/Somalia-attack/4552902-5158766-11klh3t/index.html
 ¹³ ICG, Tracking Conflict Worldwide, Somalia 2019, https://www.crisisgroup.org/crisiswatch/database?location%5B%5D=12&date_range=custom&from_mont
 h=01&from_year=2019&to_month=12&to_year=2019

with the security but they were removed. At least eight people died during that fighting.¹⁴

According to the participants from the two focus group discussions that were held in South Galkayo, numerous historic and new reasons cause insecurity in the region. These include:

- 1. Clashes between clan militias have continued since 2016 but were reduced after the political agreement.
- 2. Illegal drugs are a new factor in play. Some of the security personnel and citizens use illegal drugs (Khat/Qaad, alcohol, and other drugs) and commit crimes that could potentially lead to revenge killings.
- 3. Revenge killings between the clans.
- 4. Livestock lootings: deliberate and forceful theft of animals, especially camels.
- 5. Galkayo suburbs or rural militia killings that spread to the cities.
- 6. Behind the scenes agents who cause insecurity in the regions that need further investigation: assassinations, terror attacks
- 7. Al Shabab, a serious threat to government personnel, security officials, and peace activists including members of the joint peace committee in Galkayo.
- 8. When water and pasture are scarce, drought occurs, and communities start in search of water and pasture, then due to this, conflicts may occur in the newly settled areas.
- 9. The political rift between the two administrations of Puntland and Galmudug has also led to insecurity, but in recent months this issue has been resolved.
- 10. The business was also a source of insecurity because if you were taxed on one side, then the other administration will do the same, which eventually will be double taxation on the same business.
- 11. Weapons in the wrong hands this was one of the causes of insecurity in the region Galmudug managed to disband clan militias and merged them into the regular security forces, providing them basic training prior to joining the force.
- 12. Pasture: individualistic view of land ownership and harsh dealing with trespassers.

Peace Actors

During the interviews and focus group discussions, the participants were asked about peace actors that support the Joint Peace Committee and the peace process in Galkayo and Mudug region. From the discussions, a number of different categories of peace actors emerged that play different roles to support or help to strengthen joint committees and promote peace in Galkayo and Mudug regions. These include:

(i) In the 2017 *Galkayo Conflict Assessment*, the role of the local authorities was understood as promoting resilience and peace in the city. It is worth noting that the biggest change observed since the 2016 peace agreement,

¹⁴ ICG, June 2020

especially since the new **administrations of Puntland and Galmudug**, is the political agreement (annex 2), collaborations in peace, security, and development that has been reached. It is believed that this new working relationship at the highest political level has significantly contributed to stabilizing and maintaining peace in Galkayo.

"Politics is the heart of everything, once agreements have been reached between the two administrations, implementing measures become easy." (Government Authority, KII, Garowe)

- (ii) The Federal Government of Somalia was previously largely absent from the peace and security-building in the region. It seems that their role has increased since 2016 as participated in community reconciliations, they did not politicize the conflict between Puntland and Galmudug, and finally, they deployed neutral security forces of SNA who had an unparallel role in restoring peace and the peoples' confidence in moving freely between sides.
- (iii) The Somali army and regional police have joined efforts to foster security in these regions. This is done through patrolling on roads, safeguarding imperious places like government offices, conferences, hotels, markets, rural and urban areas. The SNA was seen as neutral and enjoyed equal support from and access to communities and authorities on both sides of the region and in Galkayo. Their role is much appreciated across circles.
- (iv) The Joint Peace Committee (peace committees and elders as a whole) has been assisting the peace process almost constantly through reconciliation efforts, awareness building, establishing a coherent system of early-warning exchange of security-related situations, and intervention and resolving of conflicts.
- (v) **The self-organized political elite group of Habargidir and Majeerteen** worked jointly in community peace and bridging the gap between the two administrations through shuttle diplomacy.
- (vi) The Business community has benefitted from the peace efforts made in the region since 2016, more so since political agreements have been reached between the two administrations. As such, they have been contributing to peacebuilding projects such as awareness building, reconciliations, hosting events through financing but also providing moral support.

"The Global Hotel is the meeting place for youth from both sides as we provide them

Safe space and time when where they can have friendly interaction interact" (Businessman and Hotel Owner, KII, Galkayo South)

(vii) **Women** have been a source of resilience and creators of commonalities in Galkayo. Their role continues to connect and promote peace and reconciliation. The women's peace committee holds peacebuilding activities when they receive support from local authorities, or NGOs. There

are also women organizations from both regions that equip women with skills to enable them to start-up small and medium scale enterprises. According to women peacebuilders in the region as well as the UN¹⁵, youth and women's participation in reconciliation and peacebuilding activities are increasing. While it is hard to assess if their increased intervention is impacting the overall situation, there is no doubt however that their presence and contribution was noticeable in the interventions leading up to the Afbarwaaqo/Towfig reconciliation, for example.

- (viii) The respondents in the interviews and focus group discussions insisted on **Youth** actively taking part in peace through joint interaction events, intermarriage, and daily social life events such as schools and universities. They move from one side of the border to the other to get together in cafes and hotels. Youth are key contributors to the integration, interaction, and movement between the communities that foster understanding and a shared identity. They represent the essence of a "community" physically divided as a result of political and clan disagreements, but in a constant attempt to synergize their effort in attaining a brighter future.
- (ix) Many **local and international NGOs** have been directly supporting the peace and reconciliation process. Their contribution cannot be measured as respondents insist that their support should continue until the situation normalizes totally.
- (x) Finally, the **International Community** particularly through UN agencies such as UNDP, UNSOM, UNOPS, and others.

"I would like to ask the international community to continue its work to strengthen the current peace in Galkayo so that there is no recurrence of conflicts in Galkayo." (Woman Peace Committee, KII, Galkayo South)

(xi) While previously the **media** was considered an aggravating factor, they have since 2016 received training and have been active peace promoters. In October 2017, the media of the Mudug region signed an agreement to mark the media's support towards peacebuilding in the Mudug region, particularly Galkayo. As recently as the 14th of October 2020, Radio Galkayo in the north and south signed an agreement that was a landmark for the media's support for peace and coexistence between the communities of the Mudug region.

"Media has been instrumental in all the efforts from different sectors who contributed to the peace in Galkayo. We certify that three years later, the agreement is still the document we follow, we still stand to produce a conflict-sensitive reporting to the citizens, we stopped many programs that were viewed as fueling conflicts. We thank USAID Somalia – TIS+ who has contributed greatly to the quality of our work as well as the achievements the media made in peacebuilding in Galkayo" (Media, KII, Galkayo North)

¹⁵ Peacebuilding Fund, Supporting Reconciliation and State-building Processes, Progress Report, June 2020

Peacebuilding events

Galkayo peacebuilding is a process, a long one, that requires commitment from government authorities, civil society, citizens, business community, (I)NGOs, and finally the IC.

Since 2016, all the above-mentioned actors have been engaged in the region through reconciliation events, awareness-raising, training for different sectors such as media, women, youth and elders, advocacy, political meetings, and more. This has been instrumental in bringing back peace in times of insecurity and conflict but also maintaining the momentum of peace.

Most of the participants from the focus group discussions and interviews could name specific peacebuilding events or activities that happened in the city or region. They stressed the importance of these continuous efforts for the interaction and integration of the communities. More importantly, these events are reminders that peace in the city is an on-going journey.

The key peacebuilding actions can be separated into three categories:

Developmental Agendas

- + Construction of three new tarmac roads constructed by DDG which connect the north and south.
- The local initiatives such as the construction of Garacad port which is almost completed as well as the Hobyo port project that could strengthen business, trade, and employment opportunities for all.
- Solar street lights were installed along the roads both in the north and south and this played a tremendous role in peacebuilding.
- + In terms of promoting recreation, Awale stadium construction started with community voluntary initiative and involvement but later Puntland state and Somali federal government through football association promised 30000 USD. The stadium is now almost complete.
- + Construction of youth peace center in north Galkayo.
- + Construction of elders' peace center in south Galkayo.
- + Garacad and Hobyo ports, success stories as community-sponsored projects that show that the region is developing since the 2016 peace agreement.

Political Meetings

- + 100 people from the Galdogob district came in search of refuge and they were welcomed.
- + The two presidents travelled from Dhusamareeb to Galkayo using road transport and this was a gesture of peacebuilding. On the way, they met communities settled along the roads that connect Dhuusamareeb and Galkayo and there was interaction. This enhanced the integral relationship between the regions.
- The two presidents reached a peace agreement and decided to collaborate in the peace and development sectors.
- + Mayors and line Ministries from Puntland and Galmudug have good working relations.

- The two administrations work together through the joint police and military. They decided to reinforce security. Cases can be followed from one side to the other.
- + Members of the Federal Government of Somalia started participating actively in the peacebuilding and reconciliation efforts in the region.
- Puntland and Galmudug Ministries of Finance have reached an agreement of cooperation and address challenges on taxation matters (Annex 3)

Reconciliation/Peace Events

- Youths from the north and south play football matches such as friendly matches and tournaments from the stadium and this unite them and in doing so they promote peace in the region.
- + PSA conducted workshops for joint peace committees on conflict management and resolution and also carried out peace awareness campaigns to preach the gospel of peace.
- + Bandhiiraleey reconciliation: This conference attracted over three hundred people and it was on the theme of peacebuilding in Galkayo. Eventually, a preliminary peace agreement was reached, and a ceasefire as well as withdrawal of militia from the villages and other frontlines. The talks are still ongoing up to the end of 2020.
- As confirmed to the research team during the assessment by representatives from both traditional and government institutions, there was a case where owners of looted camels following the Sacad-Leelkase peace accord, have resorted to reporting their complaints to elders and authorities in Galkayo avoiding the traditional way of settling things with rivalry clans through violence and revenge. Upon reporting, the case was communicated between/by respective authorities, perpetrators were identified by their closest family members and got detained and camels were then resituated along with monetary compensation.
- Afbarwaaqo/Towfiq reconciliation: The conference concluded when the two brotherly communities had agreed to reconcile. It was furthermore agreed that any conflict that arises could be resolved through dialogues and in case a consensus is reached and any party violates the peace agreement, stern actions could be executed by the Somali government.
- ✦ Balibulse conference: The conference was requested by the elders but was not attended by members from south Galkayo due to a political crisis in Galmudug at the time. It was thus postponed and has yet to be organized.
- + Media from both sides reaching agreements to collaborate in media for Galkayo peace.
- + Commemoration of International Peace Day:

"Recently, we commemorated the International Day of Peace, and it continued up till 11 pm, 111 people attended, 50 of them came from the state of Puntland, 50 are from the other side of the Galmudug State, 11 were guests from different organizations, and the ceremony was held in the global hotel in the south of Galkayo" (Youth KIL Galkayo South)

(Youth, KII, Galkayo South)

From Traditional Peacebuilding to Political Agreement

Presently, cooperation between Puntland and Galmudug in security, political, and social perspective is very good and promising. In 2020 a peace and co-operation agreement was reached between the two regional states of Puntland and Galmudug led by Presidents Said Abdullahi Deni and Ahmed Abdi Kariye "Qoorqoor".

The political agreement has opened doors to many opportunities in terms of peacebuilding in the region. The participants of the reassessment perceive inclusive politics as a major element in the process. This shows that the level of involvement has been enhanced with local, regional, and federal administrations and members being involved in Galkayo and Mudug region as a whole.

"Politics is the heart of everything, once agreements have been reached between the two administrations, implementation measures become easy." (Government Authority, KII, Garowe)

"Collaboration between Puntland and Galmudug at the state level is very high. The President of Galmudug went to Garowe and the President of Puntland arrived in Dhusamareb, and they travelled together to Galkayo." (Government Authority, KII, Dhusamareeb)

The FGS has a close relationship with Galmudug's administration while its relationship with Puntland is comparatively rocky. Their presence is felt in the region, especially in Galmudug where they assist the security forces, especially by having federal police and army on the ground. They also participate in reconciliation efforts and support and promote peacebuilding activities in the region. Their involvement has added another layer of seriousness and political will to maintain and strengthen peace in the region.

Collaboration in the security sector is the biggest advantage of political agreement. The joint forces formed in compliance with the agreement terms are successfully working together in maintaining peace in the regions and are backed by the federal government. Security meetings are held on a weekly basis comprising of security operatives from both communities. The Puntland side provides technical and handson assistance since the security agencies from Galmudug have never worked with Puntland in direct offensive operations against AS.

"We want to collaborate with our counterpart over the security in Galkayo, we also agreed to carry out joint operations against AS strongholds in Galmudug part of Mudug" (Police Commander, KII, Galkayo North)

Their political will has also been felt during reconciliation meetings where not only elders and citizens from both sides are active, but also the members of the various administrations are more and more involved. During the first and second Dhusamareb conferences, the President of Puntland arrived in Dhusamareb, the capital of Galmudug, and made his way peacefully. Both states facilitated a conflict resolution

conference organized by traditional elders in Galdogob and Bandhiiraley. Cross border roads that had been closed during clan conflicts were opened in both states.

"The two security ministers of Galmudug and Puntland took part in the peace process. So, since there is goodwill, the integration is easier, as no obstacles are coming from the two regional administrations." (CSO, KII, Galkayo South)

There are no formal policies in place as yet that are aimed at improving community development, but there are many unwritten and agreed-upon policies and programs that do exist. Efforts are being made to draft policies and programs to improve the sharing and management of the common resources and community development. Talks are ongoing and policies are in the pipeline that will streamline common resources sharing and management. The country's constitution is being amended and if the federal government and member states reach a consensus, the laws will start to work.

The state presidents agreed to jointly establish projects that benefit people from both regions such as the construction of roads that link the north and south, installation of solar street lights to illuminate the city and promote security, the establishment of joint elders center, the establishment of joint police base and starting joint general and voluntary cleaning campaigns. There are administrative and cultural level rules that govern everyone. The two regional state administrations worked together and agreed on the tax rate and it was resolved that no taxes were to be levied.

Finally, community development policies and programs are new to people and they do not vividly understand them. Therefore, there is a need for intensive and massive sensitization on community policies and programs.

Status of the Galkayo consolidated priorities¹⁶

During the Galkayo Peace Annual Review Meeting that took place on 8-9 December 2018, a consolidated list of priorities was set. This final list was built on the following priorities that emerged throughout the year 2018 and were validated during the second day of the Review Meeting:

- (i) The Mayors' Joint Priorities for Galkayo (July 2018);
- (ii) The Youth Priority Needs for Galkayo Settlement (Int. Peace Day, September 2018);
- (iii) Priorities identified by the Women's Peace Committee (September 2018); and
- (iv) Focus group discussions with a cross-section of 120 community members, conducted by Interpeace and PDRC (June 2018).

¹⁶ Drawn from Galkayo Peace Annual Review Meeting on 8-9 December 2018

It is worth noting that the following information might not cover all the organization and activities done in Galkayo within these priorities during the years 2019 and 2020. However, the aim is to assess what has been done and what remains in order to incorporate them in future priorities.

Infrastructure projects in Galkayo town for the following: Solar street lights – immediate repair for 400 poles and extension to new thoroughfares;	By SSF, CPD17 , and PSA The Centre for Peace and Democracy CPD and Puntland Youth and Social Development (PSA) has received support from the Somali Stability Fund for the design and implementation of the Joint Peacebuilding Initiative Project in Galkayo town, Galmudug, and Puntland States Somalia. The project's objective is to enable communities residing in both north and south Galkayo to coexist peacefully and harmoniously. The project will support community-based activities that promote peace and will see the Streets of Galkayo town relighted and communities mobilized to get engaged in the protection and maintenance of solar lights to reduce violence and crime. In an effort towards the fulfillment of the above, CPD and PSA now invite bids from eligible bidders for rehabilitations of 329 solar street lights in Galkayo North and South through Supply, Delivery, Installation, Testing, Commissioning of 61 solar panels,46 solar lamps,339 solar batteries, 339 solar charges controller/timer in Galkayo north and south respectively.
Roads – construction and rehabilitation of vital feeder roads, including those that connect the north and south Galkayo, and those on the "green line";	By SSF 3 roads that connect the north and south Galkayo has been constructed. Goes through Bulabaclay Goes through the salt market The third is called 'Jidka Sodonka" All of them are tarmac roads.

On Development, Infrastructure, Security, and Rule of Law

¹⁷ <u>https://cpd-africa.org/download/tender-for-supply-delivery-installation-testing-and-commissioning-of-11-micro-enterprise-solar-kits-mesks-of-1-5kw-each-with-a-top-freezer-refrigerator-280l-for-women-group-owned-small-scale-reta/</u>

Police facilities – construction of a joint police force station;	By SSF, DRC The initial plan was to construct one police station for Galkayo, the discussion between the two administrations (Galmudug and Puntland) agreed that it is less conflict-sensitive if the police station was divided into two equal police posts one in for each administration. The donor accepted the idea, that how the two police posts constructed one in the North under Puntland and one in the south under Galmudug. The separation never changed the objectives of the project, both are in coordination.
The market – construction/ rehabilitation of Darhumo market, as a shared asset;	By SSF The construction of the Darhumo market as a shared asset has not happened yet. There are some disagreements in terms of the law, as the majority of the business people hail from south Galkayo, northerners fear what their share will be in the market. An agreement has not been facilitated yet.
Sewage system – construction of a drainage system, as a shared asset.	Not yet
Full implementation of the ceasefire agreement, including the removal of all remaining roadblocks and disarmament of militias.	By FGS The roadblocks have been moved, there is no disbarment of militias done in Galkayo yet. Action: the need for a lot of awareness building
Support to the joint security forces, including training and provision of necessary resources, and their communication and relations with communities improved.	By UNDP Trained 150 JPPU officer on policing, patrolling and community-policing Trained 20 police station commanders and deputies on police station management Increased social interaction between communities, business continuity at the intersection point (number of workshops were conducted), Reduction of crime rate– looting and clashes at rural areas, organized crimes and sighting small armies in the city, Increased social acceptance of policing
	particularly JPPU,

	Apprehended culprits who crossed sides. An SOP defining structure of JPPU and interrelated work with regional police of Galmudug and Puntland was developed By DRC Safety and security promotion project in Galkayo, Saxo and Tawfiiq The formation of CPDC (community police dialogue cooperation) joint committees of community representatives and police officers comprising of sub-committees of procurement, responsible of procurement processes of constructions of the police posts, constructions of the community block grants and office police post equipment including vehicle purchases in which the generatives in worked in the
	which the government was involved in the bidding processes. The applied bottom-up approach was an essential step removing any leeway of conflict a side that it also had the dual achievement of the future sustainability of the projects outputs and stakeholders empowerment.
	Puntland Mobile training team facilitated the police officers' training on right based policing and station commanders training on station management. DRC staff first training the MTT and provided them Somali translation of the training manual that the MTT used for facilitating the training for the police post officers and station commanders. The two ministries of security agreed with Puntland MTT to facilitate the training for all the areas including South Galkayo.
An independent judiciary and court supported to serve the whole community.	Not yet
Capacity building for the local authorities to support harmonization of, and	HD did a study with the elders from both sides while SSF through DDG facilitated meetings.

collaboration on, local	
government services, and the	
development of a joint	
development plan.	
UN Joint Programme for Local	Not yet
Governance (JPLG) expanded	
to south Galkayo.	
Support to livelihoods and	Care working to provide training for IDPs:
income generation for young	Electrician, engineering, plumbing, etc.
people and women, including	
training in fields, such as: beautician; carpentry;	
electrician; plumbing; mobile	
repair; cookery; tailoring; and	
brick making.	
The specific needs of nomadic	Not Yet
and rural communities around	
Galkayo were assessed and	
responded to, such as the	
construction of drinking wells	
for livestock or support to	
health and education.	
Support to, and improvement	UNICEF
of, the education system in	Camp with the school. Pay the salary of 6 teachers
Galkayo, as well as education assistance for vulnerable	
populations, e.g., provision of	Construction of 200 (2 rooms each) houses, solar systems, mosques, wells
free education for IDPs.	systems, mosques, wens
nee caacation for ibility.	

On Peace and Trust-Building Measures

 A joint peace center for use of joint community peace groups, including the Peace Committee, the Women's Peace Committee, the integrated youth group, and religious leaders. 	The construction of the Joint Peace Center was agreed upon between the two communities to be erected in Bitaale, and the community is asking for assistance.
	SSF : Establishment of a Youth Resource Center in South Galkayo ¹⁸ .
 Support to key stakeholders in peacebuilding in Galkayo: 	

¹⁸ http://stabilityfund.so/about-us/

 The local authorities should be supported, and their capacity strengthened, to participate in peace and reconciliation processes in Galkayo. 	Sometimes by HD and SSF
 The Joint Peace Committee should be supported, and their capacity strengthened, to participate in peace and reconciliation processes in Galkayo. 	 By UNDP Supported peace committee to keep up the message of peace enabling Peace Committee to reach Afbarwaaqo and Bandiradlay in time to assess and mediate the warring sides The awareness campaign was led by the peace committee to villages and rural areas. The committee began making a regulatory guideline – the first restraining directives between both communities, based on the customary and Islamic Sharia.
 Other joint local peacebuilding structures should be harmonized, and their capacity strengthened, to enable their effective representation and participation in, and to enhance the inclusivity of, the peacebuilding process. This includes the Women's Peace Committee, the integrated youth group, and others that emerge. 	September 21, 2018 International Peacebuilding Commemoration UN-sponsored youth groups from federal member states – all brought to Galkayo under the sponsorship of an integrated youth group. Women's Peace Committee also joined – sanitation, dialogue, and forums. Most peacebuilding organizations involved in Galkayo were also present. There is no harmonization of the structures yet. 2019 and 2020 didn't
 Support to the Joint Peace Committee to develop and enforce conflict prevention norms and procedures, under the framework of the December 2017 peace agreement. 	PDRC and Interpeace supported the JPC to develop conflict prevention norms and procedures.

	HD took the responsibility of finalizing said norms and procedures. They also wanted to bring everyone for validation however this wasn't possible as it was too early to implement some of the norms such as the controversial death penalty.
+ Further capacity building for the	TIS +
media to work as effectively as peace actors and a joint media code of conduct developed.	 1.1 Trainings for the media (8 radios) 1.2 Peace messages (2 months) same programs both sides 1.3 Mudug Media Committee No negative messaging that could increase the conflict. Social media and radio peace messaging 2.1 Youth Interactions
	Training separately then jointly. Also supported May 15 th as a joint event.
	All the activities are inclusive, through a consultative process, and conflict-sensitive. Having a buy-in is necessary and looking into clan dynamics also.
 Outreach efforts and workshops in rural areas in the Mudug region to increase awareness of, support for, and capacity to participate in ongoing and emerging peacebuilding and reconciliation processes. 	Interpeace – PDRC
 Social integration and trust- building activities and initiatives, engaging all of the communities in and around Galkayo, including IDPs and host communities. Examples include: 	
 Awareness-raising campaigns through billboards, posters, etc. in key areas to promote social cohesion and decrease the use of divisive terms, such as the "green line"; 	Not yet

Re-assessment of the Social, Peace and Security Situation in Galkacyo

0	Public debates peace.	5	e and promote	Interpeace – PDRC Supported the sensitization of East Galkayo by 7 PC members from each side for 5 days from November 2018- 4 December 2019. The objectives were to assess the security situation, document key concerns, share updates, and information. The team also alerted the communities of planned outreach, dialogue, and debate programs. However, it didn't
				The team also alerted the communities

Conclusion

After the collapse of the nation-state in 1991, warring clans established separate administrations in the contested and divided city of Galkayo, cementing the division between north and south of the city. The violence and atrocities that were committed during this period were never addressed and their impact on communities continues in the form of historical grievances that exacerbate tension and conflict today. Conflicts in Galkayo have been numerous and even with continued ceasefire agreements, the deep-seated grievances, without being addressed, keep on triggering repeated violence and conflicts.

It should be noted that however, relations between Puntland and Galmudug have greatly improved under the leadership of President Said Abdullahi Deni and President Ahmed Abdi Kaariye's (Qoor Qoor) for Puntland and Galmudug respectively. These two leaders have been able to rise above the rhetoric and encouraged their respective security and political organs to work closely for the betterment of their communities. Buoyed by the relative peace and co-existence of these communities, the FGS also stepped and continues to support the peace-building and reconciliation efforts.

The success in the establishment of good working relations between Puntland and Galmudug and the subsequent peace among the communities and clans in both states is a clear indicator of the possibility of achieving lasting peace and security. These successes brought Galmudug to the limelight to the point that it became the bedrock of the reconciliation efforts between the Federal Government (FG) and Federal Member States (FMS) in handling the upcoming 2020/21 elections.

However, despite the positive changes, some issues remain which contribute to ongoing instances of insecurity in some areas. Notable among them competition for pasture to graze their animals, insecurity, sporadic and frequent attacks by Al Shabab which take advantage of the lack of meaningful presence and cooperation between the two authorities and succeeded in creating fear and insecurity through targeted killings, extortion, and intra-clan conflicts.

Major peace actors that need to be involved in the peace building process to ensure that sustainable peace is achieved in Galmudug and Puntland, include the following: the administrations of Puntland and Galmudug which have been instrumental in the current state of affairs in both states, the Federal Government of Somalia which has now opted to be actively involved in the peace process after taking sides previously,
the Somali army and regional police who have a role of patrolling on roads, safe guarding imperious places like government offices, conferences, hotels, markets, rural and urban areas, Joint Peace Committee, through reconciliation efforts, awareness building, and intervention in and resolving of conflicts, the business community that has been instrumental in providing financial and moral support, women who suffer the greatest and also p lay the greatest role in reconciliation, the youth who at time are perpetrators of the violence of agents of change, the media whose reporting is critical is spreading certain narrative that may reduce or escalate the violence and finally, both local and international actors including UN agencies such UNDP, UNSOM, UNOPS.

Fundamentally the peacebuilding efforts have both succeeded and failed in some instances, nevertheless, sustainable peace is no longer a mirage but a real possibility. With all the concerted efforts by all actors ranging from traditional, religious, and political leaders, presidents of both Galmudug and Puntland, men, women, youth, media, the FGS, the international community, civil society organizations, and the community members the prevailing peace and security situation in Galmudug and Puntland has greatly improved. Over the last thirty years with the changing dynamics, the situation on the ground is currently encouraging and positive that could be built upon .

Recommendations

- 1. Puntland and Galmudug states must put Galkayo and Mudug region Peace and Stability as part of their national security priority plan to achieve a sustainable peace.
- 2. Puntland and Galmudug States with the support of international partners must continuously evaluate the security on the ground in Galkayo and Mudug region, support and empower the Joint Peace Committee and other civil society organizations working the achievements of sustainable peace.
- 3. Establish an early warning system to mitigate and address a potential outbreak, resurgence of violence, and conflict to formulate the best response options
- 4. To continue and strengthen the public awareness campaigns and peace messaging on trust, and confidence-building measures between communities in Galkayo North and South and the larger Mudug region for the sustenance of culture of dialogue and non-violence;
- 5. Strengthening the developmental programs such as businesses and infrastructure projects that include roads to ensure the integration and cohesion of the communities through trade, business, and employment opportunities and growth of the economy for sustainable peace and reconciliation.
- 6. The Joint Peace Committee (JPC) should be supported, and their capacity strengthened, to participate in sustainable peace and reconciliation processes in Galkayo.
- 7. Establish a parallel peace committee from the local authorities -Puntland and Galmudug States that includes governors, mayors, and city councils that will strengthen, support, and work with the Joint Peace Committee on sustainable peace and stability in Galkayo and Mudug region
- 8. Religious leaders have to take an active role in peacebuilding initiatives and should ardently preach against incitements, hate, violence, clan conflict so that the communities live as brothers and sisters and desist from clan conflict and shedding blood.

- 9. The media should take a leading role in peace, as peace actors, conflictsensitive reporting, peace journalism, positive storytelling, creativity, and culture for peace.
- 10. There should be a budget allocation from both Puntland and Galmudug States with the support of international partners for the promotion of youth integration, economic empowerment, and employment opportunities.
- 11. Women, youth, and marginalized groups should be largely included in peacekeeping operations in the region particularly in Galkayo, multistakeholder meetings, and reconciliation efforts beyond small activities and training to have meaningful involvement in peace and security.
- 12. Since it seems that conflicts usually start from rural areas therefore security in these areas has to be strengthened. The mandate and capacity of the joint police and military should be strengthened for them to operate both in rural and urban settings and they should also have outposts along rural borders.
- 13. Continue mainstreaming the do-no-harm principles across peace and programmatic engagements in the region and Galkayo in particular

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Annexes

Annex 1: Interview and Focus Group Questionnaire

Focus Group Questions:

- 1. What is your assessment of the overall peace in the Galkayo and Mudug region at the present time?
- What is your assessment of the role played, the commitment and support provided to the Joint Peace committees, and the overall Galkayo peace agreement by the:
 a) Puntland government

b) Galmudug government

c) Federal Government

- d) International Community and/or organization and local/national NGOs
- 3. How is the current level of interaction, integration, and movement between north and southern communities/clans of Galkayo?
- 4. Following the signing of the 2016 peace agreement, what are:
 - a) the peacebuilding events that took place in Galkayo and the region at large
 - b) the major insecurity incidents?
- 5. Are there any initiatives and progress made after the Galkayo peace agreement to support youth integrations and economic empowerment?
- 6. How do you evaluate the work done by the Joint Police Patrol Unit and the deployed Somali National Army in maintaining peace/security in Galkayo/Mudug (both in urban and rural areas)?
- 7. Are there any immediate measures that you suggest to improve/strengthen the Galkayo peace agreement?

Interview Questions:

- 1. Since the 2016 Galkayo peace agreement, what progresses has been made to establish and strengthen peaceful relations and sustainable co-existence between communities in Galkayo and Mudug region?
- 2. How do you see the collaboration between Puntland and Galmudug particularly on social, political, and security fronts at State and District level?
- 3. How is the current level of interaction, integration, and movement between north and southern communities/clans of Galkayo?
- 4. Following the signing of the 2016 peace agreement, what are:a) the peacebuilding events that took place in Galkayo and the region at large

b) the major insecurity incidents?

- 5. Are there peace actors that support and strengthen the work of the Joint peace committees and peace in the Galkayo and Mudug region?
- 6. Are there any effective policies and programs to improve the sharing and management of common resources and community development?
- 7. Are there any initiatives and progress made after the Galkayo peace agreement to support youth integrations and economic empowerment?
- 8. Are there any immediate measures that you suggest to improve/strengthen the Galkayo peace agreement?

Annex 2: Statement from the Cooperative Meeting Between Puntland and Galmudug





Annex 3: Puntland and Galmudug Finance Ministers Communique



6.	Decisions on tax exemptions eligibility for Galmudug government owned equipment and vehicles imported into Puntland ports will be determined by the ministers of finance of Puntland Galmudug
7.	Concerns related to tax burden, particularly from Galmudug traders whose goods are imported through Puntland customs will be addressed separately after receiving adequate information from the Galmudug government
8.	The Puntland Ministry of Finance to assist Galmudug in the areas of taxation laws, tariffs and other fields that Puntland is ahead
9.	To improve the tax-payer awareness for the citizen of two states so that they understand their obligations of complying with the laws/regulations of taxation and its benefits
10	In collaboration with security agencies, to promote security and trade integration between the two states
11	. Integration of public transport and vehicle permits implemented once the government of Galmudug introduces license plates with modern functionality
12	Establishment of a ministerial level committee to coordinate the implementation of the provisions of this agreement. The technical committee whose members will be selected from within the two finance ministries will convene their meetings on a regular basis
13	. The agreement will take effect after signing by the two finance ministers
	End

Annex 4: Bandhiiraley Peace Communique

SHIRKA NABADEYNTA BEELAHA GALBEEDKA GOBOLKA MUDUG BEELAHA LEELKASE IYO SACAD

12 June 2020

Warmurtiyeed

Horudhac:

Mudo ku dhow 40 sano ayaa waxaa socday colaad u dhexaysa labada beelood ee Leelkase iyo Sacad. Colaadaas waxay dhalisay dhimasho iyo dhaawac badan, hanti burburta, qax iyo in dadkii kala cararaan oo la is aamini waayo. Waxaa colaadaas laga dhaxlay faqri, dawlad la-aan waxbarasho la-aan, argagixiso, nabaddii gobolka Mudug iyo guud ahaan dalka Soomaaliya oo khal-khal ku dhacay. Si colaadaas loo joojiyo ayaa waxaa Degmada Bandiiradlay lagu qabtay shir nabadeed oo soconayey mudadii u dhaxaysay 5-12 June 2020, Waxaa shirkaas ka soo qayb galay ergo iyo wafuud labada beelood ee Leelkase iyo Sacad oo tiradoodu gaarayso 300 oo nin oo ka kala yimid adduunka daafihiisa.

Waxaa xusid mudan in horay ay u jireen isku-dayo nabadeed sanadihii 2007 iyo 2012 inkasta oo dadaaladaasi aysan keenin nabad waarta oo colaadii labada beelood ay mudadaas socotey ayna ugu dambeysey dagaalkii ballaarnaa ee ka dhacay tuulada Teerage/Taaroge dhamaadkii bishii May 2020 dagaalkaas oo ay ku dhinteen dhawr iyo toban qof ayna ku dhaawacmeen in ka badan 20 qof.

Dabadeed waxaa la bilaabay dadaalo xabbad joojin oo ay hormuu u ahaayeen madaxda iyo masuuliyiinta Dowladda Federaalka iyo dawlad goboleedyada Galmudug iyo Puntland ee ka soo jeeda labada beelood waxaana la isla qaatay in xabadda la joojiyo ciidamadana la kala qaado iyo in la qabto shir nabadeyn oo ballaaran oo soo afjara colaadda Gobolka Mudug. Shirarkaas waxaa lagu go-aamiyey in la dhigo saddex goglood oo gogosha ugu horeysa ay tahay gogoshaan qiimaha badan ee ka dhacday degmada Bandiiradley ee maanta noo soo gabagabowdey ee ay fidiyeen walaalaha Beesha Sacad.

Waxaa ka socday Degmada Bandiiradley 5-12 June 2020 shirka Nabadeynta Galbeedka Gobolka Mudug ee beelaha Leelkase iyo Sacad waxaana ka soo qaybgalay ergo gaareysa 300, ergadaas waxay ka koobnayd dhammaan qaybaha kala duwan ee bulshada sida: isimo, cuqaal, nabadoono, culumo, siyaasiyiin, ganacsato, aqoonyahan, haween iyo dhallinyaro.



WAKBLADA U SAXIIXAY HESHIISKA BEESHA SACAD			
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2) G'Aussigeen Cabdulahi Xasan Istakiin	12 Allen and		
3) Nabadoon Cabdi Cilmi Madoobe	caledi		
4) Nabadoon Jaamac Maxamed Xalane			
5) Nahadoon Cabdikariin Sheikh Axmed Xasan	CHAR-FT		
6) Nabadoon Cabdullahi Xasan Guntuale	water		
7) Nehadoon Abdiraxman Axmed Kaarshe	the		
S) Nahodoon Xuseen Maxamed Gayre			
9) Nabadoon Maxamed Axmed Cumar	_ Cuer		
 Nahadoon Cali Crimzan Xaashi 	- Celi		
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 Nabadoon Abdiraxman Xasan Cawaale (Layle 	ergande		
13) Nabadoon Abdulqadir Sahal Guere	194000		
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