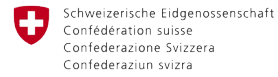




Puntland
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and Cooperation SDC



Sida
SWEDISH INTERNATIONAL
DEVELOPMENT COOPERATION AGENCY

ASSESSMENT OF LELKASE AND SA'AD CONFLICT AND PEACE



ACRONYMS

AS: Al-Shabab

ASWJ: Ahlu Sunna Waljama'a

FDG: Focus Group Discussion

FGS: Federal Government of Somalia

HC: Horn Center for Effective Governance and Policy Development

KII: Key Informant Interview

NGO: Non-Governmental Organization

PDRC: Puntland Development and Research Center

R2P: Road to Sustainable Peacebuilding and Good Governance

SDC: Swiss Agency for Development and Cooperation

SIDA: Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency

SNDU: Somali National Democratic Union

SSDF: Somali Salvation and Democratic Front

UNFPA: United Nations Population Fund

UNOCHA: United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs

USC: United Somali Congress

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INTRODUCTION

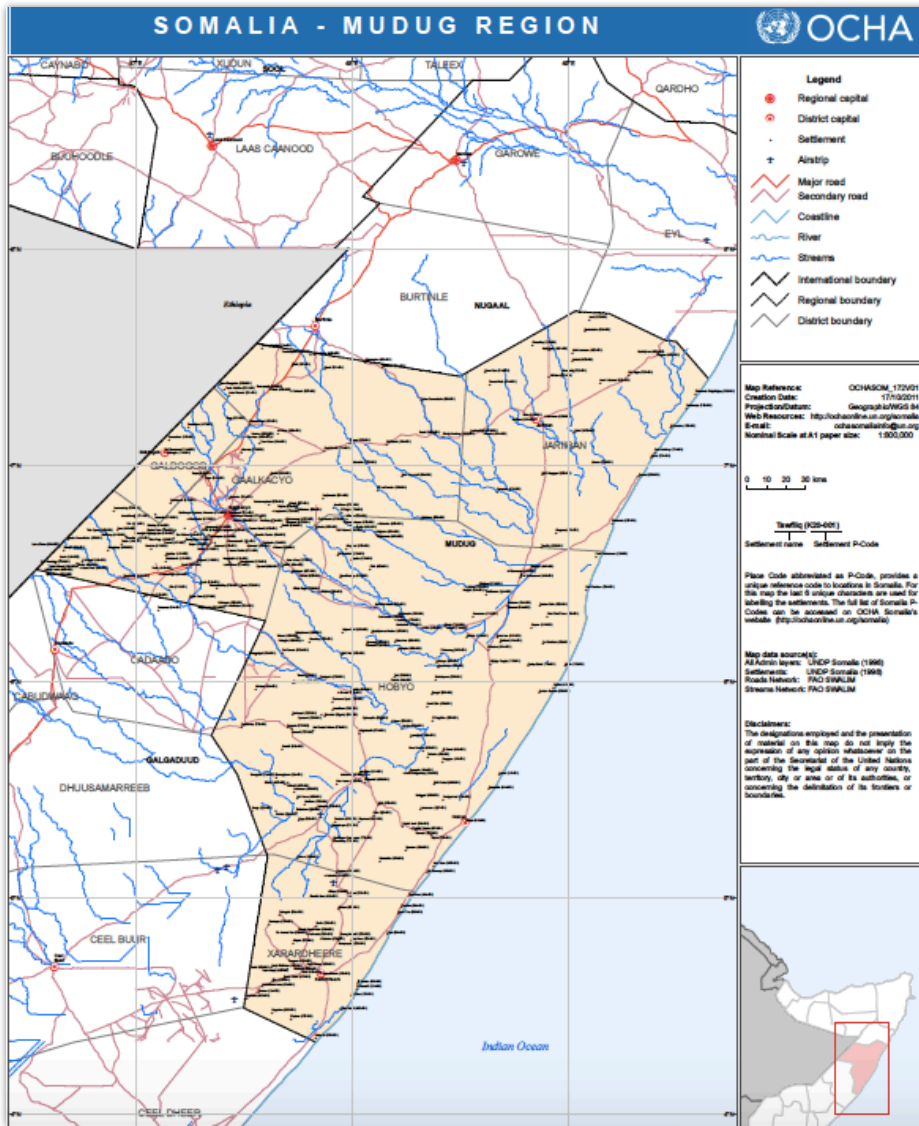
The Mudug region of Somalia, in the years 2015/2016 witnessed extensive conflicts that divided the communities by clan lines between Darod and Hawiye. The killings, destructions of property, injustices and violence led to all peace stakeholders getting engaged in Galka'yo. The renewed interest in solving Galkac'yo conflict led to the December 2016 Peace agreement signed by the administrations of Puntland and Galmudug.^{1 2} As the administrations of Puntland and Galmudug, joint peace committees, local and international non-governmental organizations (NGO), and the broader international community's attention was turned to Galka'yo; the city has experienced relative peace and cooperation between all stakeholders. Galka'yo's conflict is however not limited to the city itself as the periphery significantly influences sustainable peace in Galka'yo and the wider Mudug region. Over the years, the peace interventions in Galka'yo shifted to cooperation in the whole of Mudug region's peace. After many violent conflicts between the two subclans, this led to the convening of Lelkase and Sa'ad subclans (of Darod and Hawiye clans respectively) in a grand reconciliation conferences in Bandiiradley and Galdogob in 2020. These conferences were the first of their kind to take place outside Galka'yo in nearly thirty years and resulted in a successful halt of the protracted conflict and violence between the two communities in the western Mudug corridor. Plans for consolidating peace throughout the region also emerged out of the conferences. It is important to state the vulnerabilities in the peace process that started with the two grand conferences of Galdogob and Bandhiiradley given there had been no research, or informed dialogue around the historical nature of the conflict nor were clear entry points to peace identified.

1 PDRC (2017), Galka'yo Conflict Assessment, <https://pdrcsomalia.org/wp-content/uploads/2020/06/Galka-cyo-Conflict-Assessment-Research-Report.pdf>

2 PDRC (2021), Reassessment of the social, peace and security situation in Galka'yo, <https://pdrcsomalia.org/Publications/re-assessment-of-the-social-peace-and-security-situation-in-galkacyo/>

It is against this backdrop that with the support of the Swiss Agency for Development and Cooperation (SDC), and the Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency (SIDA) under the Road to Sustainable Peacebuilding and Good Governance (R2P), Horn Center for Effective Governance and Policy Development (HC) and Puntland Development and Research Center (PDRC) initiated this study, which focuses on understanding the conflict and peace situation of Galdogob and Bandiiradleey. The aim of this research is to better understand the conflict dynamics and their root causes, thus contributing to informed engagements under which peace and stability can be pursued between the communities. The second aim is to re-assess the situation, the progress made, and the challenges encountered since the grand conferences of Bandiiradley and Galdogob. The intention being to strengthen the gains made during the peacebuilding initiatives, and finalize the process by considering the longer term peacebuilding needs of the two communities moving forward.

BACKGROUND



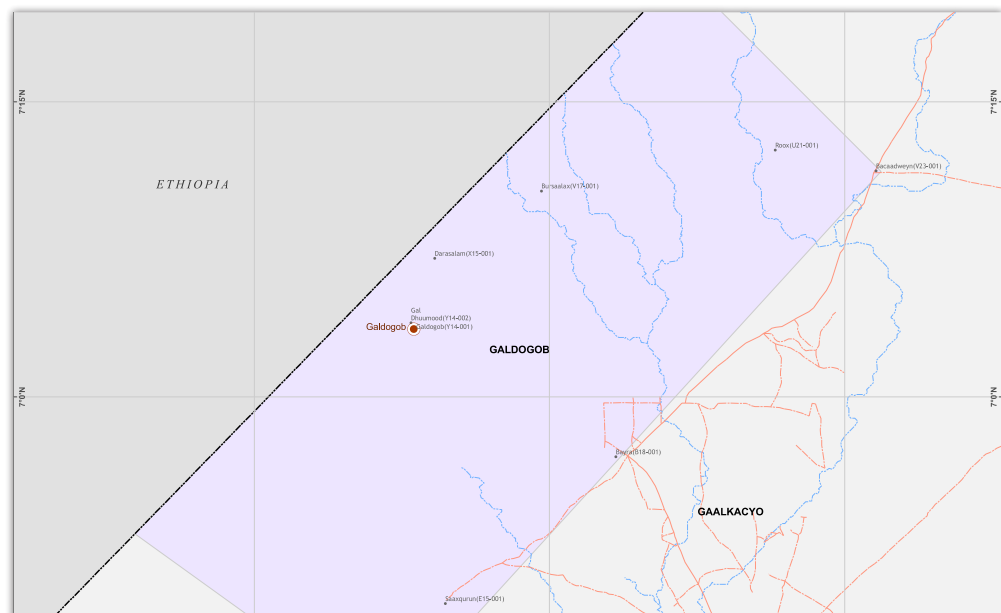
Map 1: UN OCHA, Mudug region

Mudug region is divided between the federal member states of Galmudug and Puntland, with Galka'yo as its traditional regional capital. Galka'yo itself is separate under two administrations, with the north controlled by Puntland and the south controlled by Galmudug. The Mudug region shared borders with the Puntland region of Nugaal and the Galmudug region of Galgaduud, while also having an international border with Ethiopia. Historically, Mudug region was divided into five districts: Xarardheere, Hobyo, Galka'yo, Galdogob and Jariban (UNOCHA, 2017). Following the collapse of the central government, Mudug region was divided by the two administrations of Puntland

and Galmudug. Puntland increased the number of districts to Northern Galka'yo, Galdogob, Jariban, Saaho, Harfo, Bursalah, and Towfiq (KII, Galdogob). While Galmudug also increased the number of districts to Southern Galka'yo, Xarardheere, Hobyo, and Wisil. This redistricting further divided the populations of Mudug region socially, geographically, and politically (KII, Bandiiradley).

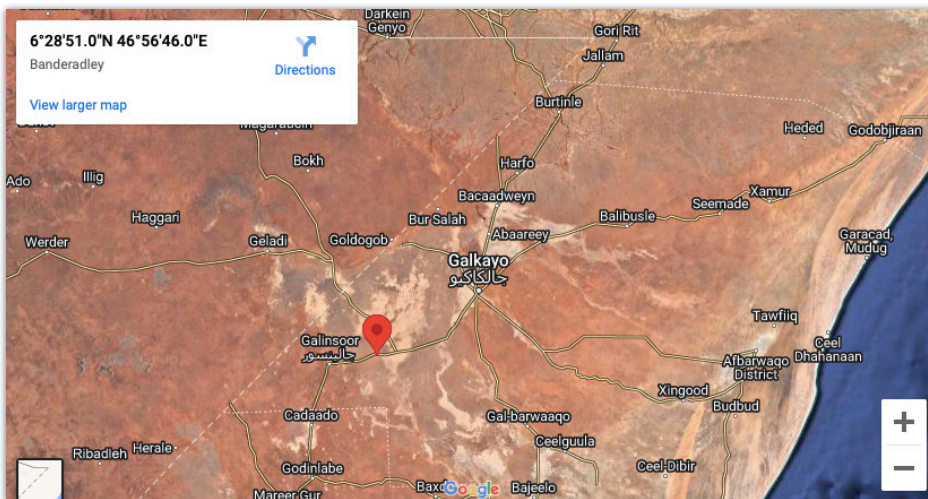
In terms of clan make-up, southern Mudug is largely inhabited by Hawiye, particularly Sa'ad, a Habar Gidir sub-clan; while northern Mudug is inhabited by Darod particularly Omar Mohamud, Reer Beidyahan, and other Majeerteen clans, Arab Salah, Madhibaan, and Lelkase. According to the United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA, 2014) estimation survey, the population of Mudug is 717,869. The northern half of Mudug has seen and is affected by long-standing conflicts between Hawiye/Habr Gidir and Darod/Majeerteen as well as the Darod/Lelkase. The contentions that take place outside Galka'yo usually spillover in the regional capital. Two specific districts, Galdogob and Bandiiradley, have not experience conflict or clan clashes since May 2020 though small incidences do occur on occasion.

The district of Galdogob, as map 2 shows is part of the Mudug region on Puntland state of Somalia, at about 75 km from Galka'yo. It also shares a border with the Somali-majority region of Ogaden, Ethiopia with many buses and tracks passing through the city on a daily basis.



Map 2: UN OCHA, Administrative Map Mudug, Galdogob

Bandiiradley on the other hand, as pined in map 3, is about 70 km south of Galka'yo. It was established in 1964, but recently the city has been further developing and expanding itself. After the collapse of Somalia's central government in 1990, Bandiiradley was under the district of Galdogob, in Mudug region. Yet with the formation of Somalia's federal member states, Bandiiradley is now part of Mudug region in the federal member state of Galmudug. Since the peacebuilding and reconciliations between the communities of both north and south Mudug was revived by the two administrations of Puntland and Galmudug, the communities themselves, and other local/international stakeholders, the region is peaceful with improved security, cross-border movement and integration between the communities.



Map 3: National Geospatial Intelligence, Bandiiradley

While there are currently no active conflicts between the communities of Galdogob and Bandiiradley, the first section of this study aims to understand the drivers of conflict between the communities, their root causes, the aggravating and resiliency factors, as well as the key actors. The findings generated from the key informant interviews (KII) and focus group discussions (FGD) contribute to a deeper understanding of the conflict and allow for the development of recommendations for future interventions.

The relevance of this section is further highlighted by the collaboration of PDRC and HC to provide a balanced and representative data that would serve all peace stakeholders in their engagements in Galdogob and Bandiiradley. Understanding

the root causes, aggravating and resiliency factors as well as the actors will provide important information for peacebuilding interventions that are locally-driven, locally-owned and sustainable in nature. Finally, this assessment aims to contribute to the sustained peace in Galka'yo through understanding and working towards peace in the peripheries of the wider Mudug region.

METHODOLOGY

Research Team

The assessment of the Galdogob- Bandiiradleey conflict was conducted by PDRC based in Puntland, and HC based in Galmudug. This work was funded by SDC and SIDA under the R2P Project. The PDRC and HC teams worked collaboratively in the planning of the study, the collection of the data, and the analysis. PDRC was responsible for the drafting of the final report, which will be reviewed and disseminated upon HC's approval.

The choice in partnership with HC allowed data to be collected in Bandiiradley in Galmudug and for voices of the two communities to be transmitted in a manner both sides feel is fair and balanced. Crucially, these two partners represent the two sides of the conflict. In turn, the local partners' ownership of the study ensured that it originated from and was rooted in the communities central to the recurring conflict. Additionally, the locally rooted process ensured that grievances from both sides of the conflict were acknowledged and analyzed in a balanced manner that ensured both Galdogob and Bandiiradleey communities were fairly represented in the collective research team. Finally, the consolidation of the findings happened through discussions in Galka'yo after the data collection phase, where both partners shared their observations and findings from the two sides of the conflict. The research revealed many differing perspectives, however, the consolidation of these into the final report and the creation of recommendations demonstrates agreement on the steps needed to move towards a long-lasting, sustainable peace. The process reflects a consensus-building exercise between partners on both sides of the conflict. This research reinforces how important it is that all peacebuilding engagement in Mudug regions, particularly Galdogob and Bandiiradleey, which affects peace in Galka'yo, be locally-driven, and locally-owned. It is only through localized processes that appropriate, context-sensitive, and sustainable solutions can emerge that are accepted by all affected communities.

Data collection

The research tool used is comprised of a questionnaire, which was used in both semi-structured key informant interviews (KII) and as a guide for the moderated focus group discussions (FDG). While the format of the interview tool was structured, interviewers were encouraged to deviate when additional relevant information could be obtained through those deviations. The tool was designed to expose community perceptions of key issues including roots causes of conflict, peacebuilding attempts, impediments to peace, peace connectors, the role of different actors, and the overall situation among the communities and within the region. The emphasis was on the period following the peace meetings that took place in both communities in 2016. Finally, this tool, and the analysis that followed, allowed the partners to identify actions that could consolidate and deepen the peace between the communities.

Data collection took place in April 2022 by PDRC and HC, in Galdogob and Bandiiradleey respectively. A total of 30 semi-structured interviews (15 in Galdogob and 15 in Bandiiradleey) were conducted with key stakeholders who had a good understanding of the context of dynamics of the conflict or who were directly involved in the communities and the region. Interview respondents were from local government representatives, elders, women, youth, media, businesspeople, police officers, and religious scholars.

Building on the data collected through the key informant interviews, focus group discussions were launched in both cities by the research team. In Galdogob, two focus group discussions were carried out with a total of 9 participants representing the police force, the governor, the mayor, traditional and religious leaders, media, youth, women, and businesspeople. In Bandiiradleey, two focus groups were also conducted including 15 participants representing the security sector, elders, religious scholars, youth representatives, women representatives, peace activists, businesspeople, media, and academia. These focus group discussions helped gain greater insights into the communities' understanding of the conflict and allowed for free, uninhibited communication and exchange of ideas.

Challenges

Given the contextual insecurities and sensitivities in which the study was conducted, certain challenges arose in the research

process. These included reticence to participate in the data collection, refusal of video recording, and in many cases photography. Similarly, the research teams themselves were initially reluctant to cross to each other's side and as such divided the tasks geographically. This presented limitations in the team's capacity to document the research process and record findings. Due to the scope of the research, some of the interviews took longer than anticipated leading to the researchers focusing, at times, on only the most important questions.

Another clear challenge was in the efforts to accurately and fairly collect, analyze, and present issues related to a divided, conflict-sensitive region. The establishment of a broad, representative research team with members from both sides of the conflict addressed this yet at the same time presented challenges in ensuring cohesion and consensus within the team which would result in a consensus final analysis and presentation of the research. While gaining consensus on some issues was important, for instance on the recommendations, the fact that the two teams were able to provide diverging perspectives from their side of the conflict represented another strength in the process. The study endeavored to uncover the different attitudes in the conflict and provide a multifaceted and nuanced understanding of divergent views, alongside areas of consensus. It is important to note that, despite the challenges, the two teams were able to meet in Galka'yo following the research phase to share notes and experiences about the assessment, shedding important light on the perspectives of each community.

Next steps

Sustained local ownership of the peacebuilding process is essential to ensure more sustainable peacebuilding gains. The research team will therefore return to the field to convene the key stakeholders that took part in the Galdogob and Bandiiradleey process and present the findings to them, seeking validation of this research and its key findings. The stakeholder meeting will also seek to further prioritize the recommendations identified through the fieldwork and build consensus on the next steps in the peacebuilding process. The aim of this stakeholder meeting, which is planned to take place in Galka'yo, is not only to share the findings but also to jump-start the furtherance of the peace process.

LELKASE – SA'AD CONFLICT

For a period stretching 40 years, there has been a conflict between the two communities of Lelkase and Sa'ad. The conflict has resulted in death and injury, destruction of property, displacement, mental health challenges, disunity and mistrust among the two communities. Poverty, lack of government, lack of education, terror, instability in Mudug region and the whole country of Somalia were inherited from that conflict. The last inter-clan conflict took place in May 2020 in the town of Teerage which took more than 10 lives and wounded over 20.³

As discussed by the participants, the conflict was and continues to be over land ownership, land demarcations, and competition over water and pasture. Other triggers to the conflict are based on historical grievances and revenge killings. It is worth noting that weak governance, lack of demarcations, federalism, the prevalence of arms, and drought act as aggravating factors in this communal conflict; while business, sharing of nomadic lifestyles, intermarriage and culture are the resilience factors that have reduced the conflict when activated. Furthermore, the conflict usually starts at an individual's level before escalating to the subclan level, moving further to major cities such as Galka'yo. Finally, there are many actors in both Galdogob and Bandiiradley that play active roles in both conflict and peace.

3 Bandiiradley Conference Communique, 2020

ROOT CAUSES

Historical Grievances

The conflict between the communities of Galdogob and Bandiiradley is a clan-based conflict, which started in the mid-80s when Somalia's central government was weakening and armed militia opposing the government started launching attacks in the region. The region encompassing Galdogob and Bandiiradley is situated near the border with Ethiopia and was an area that both the military government and armed militia opposing the government used to attack the other side. This created a wedge between the two communities who were drawn in taking sides, which the government and the armed militia also used to their political advantage. Over the decades, this has led to the wider Darod vs Hawiye clan-based conflict. It is also during this period that the expansion towards Galdogob by the Hawiye community was felt, this was further exacerbated by the mobilization of the Sa'ad community against the established opposition of the SSDF. The Bandiiradley community also showed resentment towards Siyad Barre's regime, whom they believed sided with Galdogob community. The military government was believed to have used to clan conflict to divide the communities by supporting one side or the other, thus creating resentment from the side that was not favored. The opposition also contributed to the animosity between clans as a way to create animosity towards the government.

According to the Galdogob community, a Lelkase man was first killed which led to a Sa'ad man being killed as revenge; on the other side they claim that a camel herder from the Sa'ad community was killed in 1986 followed by other killings in 1987, which led to a Lelkase man being killed in 1988 in Bandiiradley, sparking the larger clan conflict. The Bandiiradley community also showed resentment toward Siyad Barre's regime, whom they believed sided with the Galdogob community. According to the interviews, the Galdogob community was armed by his military regime while the Bandiiradley community was disarmed. This is also believed to have led to the larger Hawiye and Darod conflict.

When the Siyad Barre regime collapsed, lawlessness and insecurity prevailed. The vacuum led to the communities arming themselves and forming armed militia that took power and turned clan hostilities into a civil war. These militia rampaged villages and towns, killing people, and extending their aggression into territories outside of their traditional lands. The violence led to increased clan conflicts, particularly in the Mudug region where both Hawiye and Darod lived with Galka'yo at the center

of it all. Different political figures of that time were instrumental in pushing clan narratives, animosity, and conflict to promote their interests and desire to extend their power. The absence of acknowledgement of the crimes committed by both sides, through a formal reconciliation process and an exchange of blood compensation for the numerous deaths left behind a legacy that remains to this day. The trauma, mistrust, and hostility between the communities of Galdogob and Bandiiradeey as well as the communities of the larger Mudug region have never been fully reconciled and continue to put the peoples of this region at risk if and when the next violent outbreak occurs.

Land-related Conflict

The communities in both Galdogob and Bandiiradleeey shared that the biggest and most common cause of violence and conflict between the two sides was over disputes around land ownership. The lack of settlements on the demarcation of borders between their lands, coupled with the perceived expansion of territory by one community or the other all fed into this conflict driver. This type of conflict is not uncommon in rural or nomadic communities. Interestingly, there are no issues for communities to temporarily share land for water and grazing during drought session. The nomads migrate for water and pasture into each others' lands without any immediate retribution. However, the aggressions tend to arise when those communities who left their land in search of water and pasture create actual settlements on the other's land. The need for land expansion can be seen within both communities, as the bigger land they own, the bigger the share they get in any power-sharing mechanism. As such, land-related conflicts are the most common conflicts within Somali communities throughout Somalia.

Most respondents in Galdogob perceived the Bandiiradleeey community as the aggressor in laying claims to territories outside the historical demarcations with an intent to expand their lands to the north. This perception was shared by all participants regardless of gender, age, or position: *"the primary cause of the conflict is the search for new territory by the Sa'ad community into the areas of Lelkase community settled with their designated water reservoirs. They would try to create new settlements in our region"* (FDG 1, Galdogob).

The approach to their land grabs are consistent where nomads or rural communities take the lead by digging a well or building a water reservoir. This is perceived as the first step to the creation of a settlement. When confronted by the other side, the use of force is the most common which leads to casualties. The clansmen of the fallen are then called upon, resulting in a bigger conflict. Understandable that the communities, to begin with, are simply trying to access water and grazing land, especially given the continuous cycles of drought, but it is the land grabbing that follows that drives this conflict dynamic. The lack of a governmental land registry, including full demarcation that is agreed upon by all sides, particularly in border areas, contributes to these recurring land-related conflicts. The borders that were made, based upon historical clan claims and settlements, are disrupted through the creation of new settlements, leading to a sense of violation.

Revenge Killings

The historical grievances discussed above are closely linked to revenge killings, a result of the grudges, fear, and lack of confidence each has in the other. On the one hand, during the Siyad Barre regime, the Hawiye community believed that the Darod community were privileged and gain more representation in the government. On the other hand, the Darod community, in this case comprised of Lelkase (SNDU) and Majerteen (SSDF) began opposing the military regime which led to the government casting them as enemies of the State. In turn, the regime allowed the Hawiye community to fight against Darod. The fall of the government also led to community conflicts and mass killings.

The revenge killings are historical, noting between the years 1986 – 1989 the Lelkase and Sa'ad communities both suffered from them and until the 2020 reconciliation the killings continued happening sporadically. The reconciliation efforts of 2020 have resulted in a limited the number of revenge killings, but the risk is still high since the formal process has not been finalized with what was to be a third Galka'yo meeting. Minor clashes have taken place between the two communities in the several years that have passed. Because revenge killings are practiced by the nomadic communities particularly, and these can come in the form of planned or unplanned revenge, the escalation of a killing, revenge or not, can trigger much wider-spread violence between the two feuding subclans. Since the recent Galdogob and Bandiiradleey meetings, however, the elders have been quick to solve individualized issued before they extend to larger conflicts.

AGGRAVATING FACTORS

Apart from the root causes for the Lelkase and Sa'ad conflict that included historical grievances, land-related conflicts, and revenge killings, there are other aggravating factors that contribute to the conflict recurrences in this area of Galdogob and Bandiiradleey, these factors include the following:

Weak Governance

Puntland and Galmudug are both federal member states of the Federal Republic of Somalia, though the two member states were established years apart. Puntland was established on 1 August 1998 '*as an entity representing clans belonging to the Harti clan collective*'.⁴ Most of Puntland's population comes from the Darod/Harti clan group, with the political base of Puntland being Hartinimo (*Harti* meaning solidarity). Basically, the Darod/Harti clan collective comprises the Majerteen, the dominant clan in Puntland, the Dhulbahante (prevalent in the Sool region), and the Warsangeli (prevalent in the Sanaag region).⁵ 'Its borders are, therefore, genealogically defined, and extend to where Harti and some smaller Darod groups, such as Awrtable and Lelkase, reside in the north-east'.⁶

With over two decades of formal governing existence, Puntland has developed significant institution-building and governance mechanisms. It has managed to ratify its constitution, have a peaceful transfer of power between presidents, and has worked towards greater decentralization of power. Puntland has also had its first one person, one vote democratic elections, although so far only in 3 districts in October 2021. However, it is still challenged by a number of significant issues, including security, humanitarian, political, and socio-economic challenges.⁷ Galmudug as a relatively new federal member state has a constitution that was agreed upon by its main clans in 2015.

4 Hoehne M., *Between Somaliland and Puntland*, Rift Valley Institute – Contested Borderlands, 2015, url, p. 36

5 ISS, Mahmood O., *Overlapping claims by Somaliland and Puntland – The case of Sool and Sanaag*, November 2019, East Africa Report No. 27, url, pp. 3-5

6 Hoehne M., *Between Somaliland and Puntland*, Rift Valley Institute – Contested Borderlands, 2015, url, p.36

7 HIPS, *The State of Somalia Report*, February 2021, url, p. 9

Currently it is comprised of fourteen districts with Adado and Galka'yo being the two that are fully established. Galmudug has been facing issues that have prevented it to strengthen its governance ranging from clan conflicts, poor economy and AS attacks, and the power struggles between the Galmudug administration and ASWJ. The biggest threat to Galmudug and, more broadly Somalia, is posed by AS, which controls three districts in Galmudug. AS has been the strongest deterrent to the creation and development of an effective Galmudug administration. ASWJ on the other hand, despite having a strong ideology, has been defeated on different occasions and lacks the political and military clout to reassert itself. All in all, the government of Galmudug has managed to secure some gains and continues to strengthen itself in the face of these challenges.

The cooperation between Puntland and Galmudug on the Mudug region peace and security has allowed Galka'yo and other Mudug cities to enjoy relative peace, a peace that the region has lacked for decades. But the lack of strong institutions and security presence has allowed some of the cross-border cities open to drug groups, armed groups, and AS to gain influence. The full-time engagement of both administrations, particularly in the security sector, is an important key to lasting peace. It is only when the two administrations are able to maintain their agreements as well as provided a coordinated countering to the groups that threaten the two members states, that the current tensions in the region will abate.

Federalism

After the collapse of Siyad Barre's government, a contracted Somali civil war, and over two dozen failed peace processes, federalism as a system of governance was introduced as a possible way forward during the Mbagathi peace conference in Kenya in 2004. The logic behind the consideration was that it would allow Somalis to rebuild their government in a way that was less centrally dominant. The idea took form in 2012 with the Provisional Constitution and the formation of federal member states was initiated. Puntland, as a pre-existing federal state, started devolving power and strengthening districts with hopes of stability and economic development, including districts formerly of northern Mudug. The Somali federal constitution mandates that two or more regions can combine to form a federal member state, however with Galmudug the member state was established with one and a half regions, namely the southern half of Mudug and the whole of Galguduud. The establishment of Galmudug itself created tensions and sour relations with neighboring Puntland because of overlapping administrative jurisdiction particularly Galka'yo.

Moreover, the Bandiiradleey community saw federalism as a problem as the city came under the Galdogob district, which is Puntland's administration which heightened the grievances between the two communities. The formation of the Boundaries and Federation Commission, an independent body tasked with assessing the legality and viability of new states before certifying them, was missing and the formation of the member states was rushed without a proper process of demarcation. This led to tensions, continuing to today, regarding borders in many of the federal member states, including Galmudug. The lack of common understanding and cooperation between federal member states, the relationship with Mogadishu, and disagreements on federal issues have not eased the tensions that exist between Bandiiradleey and Galdogob.

Prevalence of Arms

Disarmament is key to the stabilization and peace of the Mudug region, as well as Somalia in general. Strategies to disarm have been taken by both Puntland and Galmudug at different levels. These strategies have been based on consultation, negotiations, and ultimately confidence-building with the communities at stake. Puntland introduced a level of disarmament whereas community members are not allowed to carry weapons. This has led to an improvement in the security of this member state. Galmudug also carried out disarmament of some militias in the state with the retrieval of illegal firearms as a security priority. This was followed by the training and mobilization of said militia to join their formal security sector. It is worth noting that this is not the case for all militias or other groups and forces within Galmudug. Indeed, the prevalence of arms in the hands of militias, particularly youth, has had a significant impact on the security of the region as many clan-based conflicts continue to occur.

The lack of a comprehensive disarmament as well as the lack of confidence by the communities in the two administrations has further exacerbated the prevalence of arms, as both the desire by the clans to be armed, and the Somali communities trafficking arms contribute to the growing arms problem. The participants of the study believe that without a security strategy that provides confidence and reengages the militias, disarmament will be difficult.

Drought

The communities of Galdogob and Bandiiradley share bloodlines and grazing land. In times of drought, the movements of the pastoralists increase as they seek grazing areas and water for their livestock. This brings different, sometimes feuding communities, into one place. The limited resources can, at times, trigger or exacerbate conflicts. Furthermore, pastoralist communities raid each other's livestock which further increases the tensions and violence. The nomadic communities from both sides are armed to protect their livestock and families, as such when tensions arise they easily create situations where violence and death occur. Clan-based communities in the cities often time send munitions and reinforcement, which further escalates the conflict leading to more death and destruction.

As mentioned previously, the movement of nomads in times of drought is not an issue that leads to conflict, however when those nomads decide to settle on others' land by building settlements or water reservoirs, conflict is very likely to follow.

RESILIENCE FACTORS

The Galka'yo peacebuilding process and Galmudug's state-building are clear demonstrations of the resilience both sides have to conflict as elucidated below.

Galka'yo Peace Process

The Galka'yo peacebuilding process has come a long way since the 2016 agreement. The role of the elders, women and youth was undeniable in providing reconciliation, interactions, and integration between the two communities. The peace and security of Galka'yo have improved significantly with the support of Puntland and Galmudug authorities, joint police, as well as close collaboration between the local councils of Galka'yo North and South. The ensuing stability has also led to an increase in movement and business between the Galka'yo communities. Removal of roadblocks and the reopening of closed tarmac roads are both physical evidence of the success of the process and what it has led to. The key elements, which strengthened the gains of the past and complimented the ongoing efforts by the once divided communities structures are the political and security agreements and follow-throughs made by the administrations of Galmudug and Puntland.

This process in Galka'yo had a positive impact on the larger Mudug region, including the communities of Galdogob and Bandiiradleey who are starting to reach out for peace. Strengthened peace in Galka'yo contributes to peace in Mudug, moreover, peace in the peripheries of Galka'yo is key to sustainable peace within Galka'yo and across the whole Mudug region.

Galmudug State-building Process

A strong federal member state of Galmudug is key to any peacebuilding process in the Mudug region to ensure, along with Puntland, that peace agreements are upheld, security forces collaborate and sustainability of peace is supported and has the support and legitimacy of the people. The Galmudug administration, led by Ahmed Abdi Kariye "Qoor-Qoor", had reached agreements with opposition candidates from the beginning of his administration, complimented by his engagement of diverse politicians in his cabinet, thus providing the inclusivity that the administration needed. The fight against Ahlu Sunna Waljama'a (ASWJ) militia, and AS, leading to the opening of roadblocks, not only show-cased that the Galmudug state-building process is on track but it also contributing to peacebuilding in the region. As they were evicted from Dhuusamareeb on May 13, 2022 after having attacked the city on that day, ASWJ is no longer considered a big threat to the state-building of Galmudug.

ACTOR ANALYSIS

Focus group participants and interviewees were asked who in their society has a role in peace and reconciliation, what role authorities play in building and maintaining peace and security, and what/who are the main impediments to peace and stability in Mudug Western Corridor. The participants shared several actors which were then broken down into those who contribute to peace and security (resilience actors), those that benefit from or instill conflict (aggravating actors), and those in the middle who either have a limited roles or fall into both categories. Finally, the aggravating actors and their actions were analyzed by PDRC and HC team, allowing them to assess from the analysis what changes can be made to shift their roles and transform them into actors of peace. The team also discussed ways to strengthen the actors in the middle so that they shift towards resilient actors. The following are the actors currently playing a primarily aggravating actor or resilience role, as perceived by study participants:

Resilience Actors: Elders, Religious Leaders, Puntland and Galmudug Administrations, Local councils, Security forces (local and federal), I(L) NGOs

Middle: Business Community, FGS, Women, Media, and International Community,

Aggravating Actors: Militia, Armed youth, Drug groups, and consumers, Clan/Tribes, Politicians (federal and state level), and AS

RESILIENCE ACTORS

Elders have been playing a significant role in building peace in the Mudug region for the past decade. Their role includes urging for a ceasefire in times of conflict, mediating the conflicting parties, chairing the reconciliation process, and ensuring blood compensations and judgments are honored. During the different reconciliation processes between the communities of Galdogob and Bandiiradleey they were the leading forces urging for peace. The current drought situation and economic hardships have limited their role as they have not had the means to support the agreed-upon Galka'yo meeting, nor were they able to secure the blood compensation from their fellow clansmen. It is worth noting, that some elders have also played a role in aggravating conflicts through the support of clan militia, aggressive rhetoric on social media, and weaponized poetry.

Religious leaders, while not having as active a role as the elders, have been at the forefront of advocating for peaceful resolutions to the conflicts as per the way of Islam. Nevertheless, there are some religious leaders who are also elders, thus assuming two roles, who contribute to calling for peace and reconciliation.

The administrations of **Puntland** and **Galmudug**, since 2019, have been collaborating on Galka'yo's peace, and to a larger extent on Mudug region's peace. This collaboration extended from information sharing to joint-security operations and a hands-on fight against crime in the region. Indeed, **security forces (local and federal)** have been active in bringing a sense of peace and stability. This can be witnessed by the operations against unlawful checkpoints by militia in Galmudug as well as extraditions/exchanges of criminals.

Finally, through the peacebuilding work in Galka'yo, **I(L)NGOs** have contributed to peace in the whole region. However, there are noticeably fewer engagements in the peripheries of Galka'yo such as Galdogob and Bandiiradleey where conflicts often arise.

AGGRAVATING ACTORS

The limited engagements and presence of both Galmudug and Puntland administrations in Galdogob and Bandiiradleey have allowed **militias** to establish a presence and gain ground. These militias from both sides are engaged by the clans in times of conflict.

Most of the literature places **youth** in the category of spoilers of peace, while there is growing literature that provides an understanding of their role in peace and integration. In the case of Galdogob and Bandiiradleey, those youth who aggravated peace efforts, according to the participants, were either unengaged youth who have little to say on the situation or armed youth who are mobilized by clans and militias.

Drug groups and drug consumers benefited from the lack of governance in the region to gain a strong hold on youth, security, and men in general who consume either Khat, alcohol or other substances. When induced with those substances, they are trigger-happy, which often leads to casualties and starts another cycle of revenge killings and violence.

As mentioned previously, the engagement of **clan/tribe** by feuding actors leads to an increased proportion of conflict; while elders of the clans play a key role in peacebuilding; they are also the ones who are engaged in times of conflict to raise men and arms.

The **politicians** from both sides include some that have been categorized as aggravating forces by the participants. They mentioned that these individuals because of grievances, politics, or personal interests have been spreading hate, and calling for conflict. No one was named during the data collection process, however, it was alluded to that some politicians benefited from the conflict.

Finally, the biggest aggravating actor is the terrorist group **Al-Shabab (AS)**. Not only have they used the tensions and conflicts to expand their territory, but they have also taken advantage and furthered communities working against each other. AS has capitalized on the weak governance of Galmudug, imposing taxes and serving justice to meet their own needs.

IN-BETWEEN ACTORS

The economic development of Galdogob and Bandiiradleey is limited, and conflict hinders any development on that front. The **business community** there is mostly neutral with limited involvement in conflict or peace. Cross-border activity is a critical part of their revenue streams, and as such more awareness within the business community is arising as they start to recognize the opportunities that a peaceful region would bring to them.

Women and **media** both have a limited roles in conflict or peace in Galdogob and Bandiiradleey, as they are rarely engaged by other stakeholders. Both could play a significant role in shifting the narrative, informally and formally, from one of division to one of commonalities, integration, business, friendship, and family bonds. According to the participants, there are limited intermarriage between the two communities in recent years but as is seen in other peaceful areas of Somalia, intermarriage could be an important key to peacebuilding as it creates strong relations.

Finally, the **international community** has not fully recognized the importance of this region nor has it put enough emphasis on Mudug western corridor. The participants believe that peace there is paramount to peace in Galka'yo and as such urge the IC to support all stakeholders who are engaged.

LELKASE – SA'AD PEACE

Different attempts have been made to solve the 40-year-old conflict such as the 1993 peace agreement that was signed in Mogadishu between the leaders of the SSDF, SNDU led by the late Colonel Abdullahi Yusuf Ahmed, and Ali Ismail Abdi Giir; the USC with the late General Mohamed Farah Aidid at its head. This agreement paved the way for dialogues between the wider communities of Hawiye and Darod with traditional elders and religious leaders from both communities leading the efforts. In 2007, an intercommunal peace agreement was signed between Lelkase and Sa'ad under which Sa'ad pastoralists were allowed access to grazing land and water points but forbidden from building settlements or water points in the villages that come under Galdogob district. This agreement was unsuccessful as the terms were not honored.

Although the principle of federalism had been agreed upon during the Mbagathi Peace Process between 2002-2004, the seal was only forged in 2012 with the Provisional Constitution, requiring two or more regions to join together to form each federal member state. The constitution also stipulated the need for a Boundaries and Federation Commission that would be tasked to assess the legality and viability of the state formations before certifying them. However, given the urgency of getting the states established, and the lack of authority that the Federal Government had outside of Mogadishu, this was not realized. From 2014 – 2018, Galmudug's formation renewed tensions and conflicts with neighboring Puntland over Galka'yo. Galmudug's president Ahmed Duale "Xaaf" negotiated with Puntland's president Abdiweli Gaas and an agreement was reached regarding the splitting of the city of Galka'yo and the region of Mudug, splitting both into what is now parts of the two separate administrations.

That period was characterized by many conflicts and violences between the two main clans inhabiting the region, Darod and Hawiye, but the Galka'yo peace agreement of 2016 led to peace, stability and renewed security in Galka'yo and the broader Mudug region. The interest in Galka'yo further extended to the other conflicting communities in Mudug such as in Afbarwaaqo and Towfiq as well as Galdogob and Bandiiradley.

The conflict of May 2020 in Teerage was followed by cease-fire efforts led by politicians, leaders and officials of the federal government and the member state governments of Galmudug and Puntland. Moreover, an agreement was reached that beyond ceasefire, both militia forces would leave the area and that a large peace meeting should be held to end the recurring conflicts in Mudug Region. It was decided that the meeting would be comprised of 3 sub-meetings with the first one taking place in Bandiiradley.

From the 5 to 13th of June, 2020, the Bandiiradley meeting took place and was attended by close to 300 delegates from the two communities of Lelkase and Sa'ad. The delegations were comprised of members of society such as: status, leaders, scholars, politicians, businessmen, academics, women and youth. The meeting was also attended by officials from Puntland, Galmudug and the Federal Government of Somalia (FGS) with the aim of finding a "sustainable peace that is inherited from fathers to sons"⁸. The two communities signed an agreement containing nine points to prevent any future conflicts. They also agreed on a process to monitor the ways to maintain peace between the two communities. The communique from the meeting also stressed that the implementation of the agreement and the maintenance of lasting peace is a collective responsibility of all governments, communities, and anyone who is interested in lasting peace.

The agreement reached stipulated that: (i) "orphan-rearing" payments of USD \$10,000 be paid for the 25 victims of both sides, (ii) set up a 13-member joint religious council that would work on the question of widespread arms within youth and (iii) the council would judge any offenses between the two clans,

8 This was the moto of the meetings

(iv) the decisions reached by the council to be executed by regional authorities of Puntland and Galmudug, (v) the council would determine the conviction, (vi) the punishment would be limited to the offenders, and (vii) anyone who incites, helps, organises, or is involved in any other ways in a criminal act to be sentenced to a prison term and fine proportionate to the criminal act being committed.

The second phase of the meeting was agreed to take place in Galdodob, with the same participants of the Bandiiradley meeting. The agenda was the completion of key points which were the basis for sustainable peace in the region. From 29 June to 07 July 2020 Galdogob hosted the second phase reconciliation conference between Lelkase and Sa'ad subclans of Mudug region. The attendance was over 500 comprising members from the different communities. During those 9 days, the following points were discussed:

- The payments of the compensations agreed upon during the Bandiiradley meeting: the “orphan-rearing” compensation was paid and the women of Lelkase subclan gifted the women of Sa'ad subclan gold.
- The date of payment for the blood compensations: it was agreed upon that the blood compensation should be paid within 60 days with the amount decided at USD \$13,200 per person.
- The disputed deaths and injured men: with the help of religious scholars, a decision was reached to set aside this issue and review it when the blood compensations were paid.
- Inspection/visits of the communities: the main conference members from both communities visited the towns and villages along the main road where the communities of Lelkase and Sa'ad live. This visit was to assess the situation on ground and to create awareness regarding the conferences outcomes. It is during this visit that the need for a separate committee on land issues was seen.
- Decision-making on land-related issues: the meeting called for the appointment of a technical committee who would present sustainable solutions to environment and land issues within 45 days.
- The Galdogob meeting decided on the venue of the third meeting which was to take place in Galka'yo, and it was agreed that no new settlements would be established until the third conference, which would conclude land-related issues.
- Finally, the conference also called for joint-security deployments in the area to maintain security and strengthen stability.⁹

⁹ All information of the meetings of Bandiiradley and Galdogob was drawn from the communiques, as well as interviews with members of PDRC who attended, facilitated and filmed both conferences.

These reconciliation efforts led to the present-day relative peace and neighborly cohabitation between the two communities. Prior to the agreement, the conflicts would take many lives but since the agreement, there were a few clashes with two deaths due to the establishment of water beds by the Bandiiradleey community, in Xigle Ceele village under the Galdogob district. The tensions were reduced through dialogue. Today there are no ongoing tensions, moreover, community integration is apparent, where they are working together side by side for peacebuilding and reconciliation. However, a big gap appeared when the third planned meeting in Galka'yo did not take place. The failure to hold that third meeting is creating obstacles to peacebuilding and reconciliation. Indeed, the root causes of conflict were to be addressed during the conference, the blood compensations would have been paid by then, and the technical committee would have been established to provide solutions for land issues in the region. The reason for this failure was not a lack of willingness by the stakeholders but the onslaught of the COVID 19 pandemic, the failure to hold federal elections, a lack of funding and the drought. The participants of the study from both Galdogob and Bandiiradley stressed the importance of holding the 3rd conference for peacebuilding and strengthening the gains made from the previous conferences. Without the continuation of the process, the communities might easily fall into conflict and violence, particularly when drought, lack of grazing land and water is affecting the nomadic communities.

PROPOSED SOLUTIONS

Through the focus group discussions and interviews, the views of participants were gathered on what solutions that could bring an end to the conflict and violence between Lelkase and Sa'ad communities, and provide sustainable peace. These are the propositions that emerged and that will be transformed into entry points for actionable peace.

- There is a greater need for an effective and functioning government where the rule of law is supreme and equal justice for all, and criminals are put in jail. So the role of the government at the federal level and state level, is critically needed for lasting peace in the region.

- The agreed terms during the Galdogob and Bandiiradleey meetings should also be executed by all sides, the Ministry of Interiors from Puntland and Galmudug with the support of local councils and security sectors need to enforce the agreements.
- Border demarcation is also needed where the communities know the boundaries of their settlements. Although communities share the grazing land during time of drought, nevertheless, once the rainy season starts, they should be going back to their land.
- The blood compensations must be paid, if the communities cannot afford it because of the continued drought, the governments of Puntland and Galmudug as well as the FGS should support them.
- A demarcation for grazing land should be made between the two communities, where none of the two communities can establish settlements
- The holding of the planned meeting with Galka'yo is paramount to understanding the root causes of the conflict and addressing them. The first two meetings focus on calling for peace and allocating the compensations such as orphan-bearing and blood compensation. The third meeting is to focus on the deeper layers and find permanent solutions.
- The two administrations of Puntland and Galmudug currently do not play a vital role in the peace-building process in the region, but can cooperate more, as they did in Galka'yo, and install peace connectors, so that these peace connectors can then do their part in the two areas of Galdogob and Bandiiradleey. Thus, there is a need to revive the agreement with the support of the FGS, the two administrations of Puntland and Galmudug, and other local and international peace partners.
- The local actors need financial support to proceed with the peacebuilding process. The gap since the Bandiiradleey meeting cannot happen again as it will hinder the gains and would allow space for conflicts.

CONCLUSION

The protracted conflict between the Lelkase and Sa'ad communities of Galdogob and Bandiiradley districts, is part of the larger Mudug regional conflict. Nevertheless, there has not been proper research done to better understand the conflict dynamics and to assess the opportunities and threats between the communities of Leelkase and Sa'ad. Thus, this assessment carried out by PDRC and HC in April, 2022, is the first attempt to shed light on the conflict between the two communities and put forward some recommendations to address it.

The conflict between the two communities stems largely from land disputes and the establishments of new settlement following the nomadic communities' search for water and pasture. Since there is no agreed demarcation that divides between the two communities, it is easy for both sides to make conflicting claims that support their interest. Furthermore, political motivation that exploit clan affiliations are being pursued to further their own agenda, at times allowing for the profiting from the lawlessness.

After 40 years of conflict, the two communities have agreed to pursue peace and reconciliation with traditional elders and different segments of the communities leading the effort. The grand conferences of Bandiiradley and Galdogob allowed dialogue and understanding between the communities with specific action points coming out of each grand meeting.

The peace agreements that emerged still stand, as there currently are no new conflicts or clashes between the Galdogob and Bandiiradley communities. During the second meeting in Galdogob, some compensation payments were made an advance which brought the idea of peace closer than ever. However, there was supposed to be a third/final meeting in Galkacyo in which the agreed resolutions would be implemented and land issues addressed. But that has yet to take place for various reasons even though the commitment to that meeting remains on both sides.

ROAD MAP TO PEACE

This assessment has provided an opportunity to understand and analyze the communities' perceptions of the conflict and path to peace in Galdogob and Bandiiradley. This in turn has allowed the PDRC and HC researchers to draw up a proposed road map to peace divided in two phases: phase one focuses on the steps needed to reach the planned Galka'yo meeting, while phase two focuses on short-term and long-term entry points to actionable peace. The following steps in each phase will not only serve as a basis of interventions by PDRC and HC through the R2P programme, but will also serve as potential steps for the federal members states', CSOs, and L(I)NGOs and other actors involved in Mudug region's peacebuilding.

Phase 1 implementation is key for the rest of the short-term and long-term steps to happen. It is worth noting that these steps are based on community members' desire, but also the capitalization of the two previous peacebuilding meetings in Galdogob and Bandiiradley that opened the door for peacebuilding in Mudug Western Corridor.

Phase I

Validate this report among key stakeholders to build consensus and strengthen local ownership of the peacebuilding process. This research was carried out in an inclusive and participatory manner through focus group discussions and key informant interviews that included a wide segment of society in Galka'yo. However, to ensure that any peacebuilding gains are sustainable, it is essential that there is also local ownership of the process through the validation by the stakeholders of this report which will also allow for those stakeholders to remain engaged in the steps that follow.

Communities of Galdogob and Bandiiradley to select the committee members who will take the lead on this peace process. After selection of members, they need to get broad-based validation within their communities and the mandate to move the peace process forward by the different stakeholders from a federal level to council level. This will be the occasion to build relations and trust with all stakeholders.

Support the selected committee with induction training on peacebuilding. Prior to the engagements and the peacebuilding work of the committee, there is a need to provide them trainings and experience-sharing through other committees such as the different Galka'yo Committees as well as the Ceeriyaan Committee. This will allow them to gain experience and better plan their interventions.

Support the committee to re-assess the previous Galdogob and Bandiiradley meetings. This will allow them to share notes on what elements have been accomplished from the two previous agreements, what hasn't been accomplished, the challenges that hindered some points from being met and finally the committee should write recommendations specifying what type of support they need to finalize the outstanding points.

Support the committee in finalizing the previous agreement. Before engaging in the last planned meeting in Galka'yo, there is a need to finalize the earlier process. The Galka'yo meeting only focused on the

high-level political and addressing the root causes of conflict between the committees. All other minor agreements need to be finalized before the final meeting takes place.

Support the committee in the preparations of the Galka'yo meeting. They will discuss the areas of interventions of the meeting, compile the list of needed stakeholders, the budget and date of the meeting. This will then be shared with all Mudug peace stakeholders (Federal Ministry of Interior, Puntland and Galmudug Ministries of interior, Mayors, Governors, elders, CSOs, INGOs, and the international donor community) who will review, and provide budget support.

Prior to the Galka'yo meeting, the committee will be supported with an awareness tour in both locations. The aim is to engage the communities in the process, when the process is locally owned it can be sustained, as such having everyone onboard is key. The committee will also take this opportunity to meet and extend the invitation to the Galka'yo meeting.

Media for peace engagement in both locations and Galka'yo. The media will stress the importance of this process, provide peace messaging, and call upon all stakeholders to participate in and support the process. Since the media has been silent about the conflict between Galdogob and Bandiiradley, the need to engage them early on is key for the success of the process.

Engagement of Mudug business sector. It is important to share the opportunities for development that are present in Mudug region, and to stress the importance of peace in gaining meaningful employment for youth but also the development of the region.

Galka'yo Meeting. Envisaged as a multiple-day meeting as was the case in Galdogob and Bandiiradley, this third meeting of the peace process will bring together all the stakeholders from the previous meetings of Galdogob and Bandiiradley, and will address the root causes of conflict building on the previous meetings, the successes that have followed and the challenges yet to be overcome. The question of settlements and grazing-land had been postponed for the Galka'yo meeting; political issues will also be the focus of this meeting.

Beyond Galka'yo. After the Galka'yo meeting, actionable steps forward as well as complimentary additional steps will be developed and pursued.

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ANNEXES

Annex 1: Communique from Bandiiradley Meeting (in Somali)

SHIRKA NABADEYNTA GALBEEDKA GEBOLKA MUDUG

"BEELAHA LELKASE IYO SACAD"

BANDIIRADLEY

13 June 2020

Warmurtiyeed

Horudhac:

Mudo ku dhow 40 sano ayaa waxaa socday colaad u dhaxaysa labada beelood ee Leelkase iyo Sacad. Colaadaas waxay dhalisay dhimasho iyo dhaawac badan, burbur hantiyeed, qax iyo in dadka wallalaha ay kala irdhoobaan oo la is aamini waayo. Waxaa colaadaas laga dhaxlay fakhri, dawlad la-aan, waxbarasho la-aan, argagax, xasillooni darro Gobolka Mudug iyo guud ahaan dalka Soomaaliya oo khal-khal ku dhacay.

Si colaadaas loo joojiyo ayaa waxaa Degmada Bandiiradley lagu qabtay shir nabadeed oo soconayey mudadii u dhaxaysay 5-13 June 2020, Waxaa shirkaas ka soo qayb galay ergo iyo wafuud ka socda labada beelood ee Leelkase iyo Sacad oo tiradoodu gaarayo 300 oo ergay oo ka kala yimid adduunka daafihiisa, ergadaas waxay ka koobnayd dhammaan qaybaha kala duwan ee bulshada sida: isimo, cuqaal, nabadoono, culumo, siyaasiyiin, ganacsato, aqoonyahan, haween iyo dhallinyaro.

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 ee mudadaas socotey soo af jarta. Waxaa hadda u 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 hormuud u ahaayeen siyaasiyiin, 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 ciidamada la kala qaado iyo in la qabto shir nabadeyn oo ballaaran si loo soo afjaro colaadaha soo noqnoqday ee Gobolka Mudug. Shirkaas 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.

Shirka Nabadaynta Bandiiladlay waxaa ka soo qaybgalay siyaasiyiin ka socotay DF, Puntland, iyo Galmudug, hogaanka dhaqanka, culimo, haween iyo dhalinyaro, waxaana looga wada hadlay sababaha dhaliya colaadda labada beelood iyo sidii loo soo afjari lahaa loona gaari lahaa nabad waarta waxaana hal kudheg looga dhigay: **"Nabad Waarta oo wiilka wiilkiisu uu dhaxlo"**

Mudadii uu socday shirku Labada beelood waxay isla meel dhigeen: arrimaha Dhiiga, Dhaawaca iyo Hantida ku kala maqan labada beelood iyo arrimaha deegaanka, waxaana laga soo bilaabay sanadkii 2007 oo ku aadan markuu dhacay shirkii ugu horeeyay ee nabadeynta labada beelood arrintaas oo loo arkay inay keeni karto nabad waarta.

Labada beelood waxay wada saxiixeen heshiis ka kooban 9 qodob oo looga hortagayo curinta colaado horleh waxaana la sameeyay hannaan lagu ilaalinayo nabad waarta iyo xeer heshiish ay ku yihiin labada beelood.

Hirgalinta heshiiska iyo illalinta nabadda waarta waa masuliyad wadareen saaran dhammaan dowladaha, beelaha, iyo cidkasta oo danaynaysa nabad waarta, heshiikaas waxaa dul-jooqtayn iyo fududayn doona guddi ka kooban siyaasiyiin heer Federaal iyo maamul Goboleed ah.

Wajiga Labaad ee shirka nabadeynta waxaa lagu qaban doonaa degmada Goldogob dhammaadka bishan June 2020 waxaana ka soo qeybgali doonaa dhammaan ergooyinka ka soo qaybgalay shirkaan, waxaa lagu dhamaystiri doonaa qodobo saldhig u ah nabad waarta oo ka hirgasha deegaanada labada beelood iyo wada noolaansho.

Labada beelood waxay isla garteen muhiimadda ay leedahay nabad waarta oo ka dhalata dhammaan Gobolka Mudug saa awgeed, markuu soo dhammaado wejiba labaad waxaa xigi doona wajiga saddexaad ee nabadeynta oo ka dhici doona bariga Gobolka Mudug, waxaana lagu xalliidoonaa colaadda gaamurtay ee beelaha daga Gobolka Mudug.

Beesha Leelkase waxay mahad ballaaran u soo jeedisay walaalahood beesha Sacad oo u fidiyay gogoshaan nabadeed, isla markaana muujiyay soodhaweyn iyo martisoor aad u sarreeya mudadii ay ergada beeshu ku sugnayd Magaalada Bandiiradley, waxaa shirka mudadii uu socday hareereyay niyadsami, farxad iyo hilow walaaltinimo.

Beesha Sacad waxay uga mahadcelisay beesha ay walaala iyo ood wadaaga yihiin ee Leelkase sida muga iyo maqaamka leh ee ay u soo ajiibeen gogoshii iyo casumaadii loo fidiyay xilli ay jirtay colaad muddo dheer socotay.

Ergada labada beelood waxay u mahadceliyeen dhammaan dadkii iyo hay'adihii ka qayb qaatay gogoshaan nabadeed ee horeseedka u noqotay nabad waarta oo ka hirgasha Gobolka Mudug.

Gunaanadkii iyo gabo gabadii waxaan ugu baaqaynaa dhammaan beelaha walaalaha ah ee wadadaga Gobolka Mudug inay nala qaataan nabadda ilaaliyaana xasilloonida iyo wada noolaanshaha beelaha walaalaha ah, kana shaqeeyaan horumarka, iskaashiga iyo xasilloonida Gobolka.

-Dhammaad-

Annex 2: Communique from Galdogob Meeting (in Somali)



Puntland State of Somalia



Galdogob Peace Conference



Galmudug State of Somalia

7 July 2020

War-murtiyeed

Shirka Nabadeynta Gobolka Mudug ee Beelaha Sacad iyo Leelkase

Wajigiisa 2aad ee Galdogob

Waxaa ka furmay Magaalada Galdogob Shirka Nabadeynta Gobolka Mudug ee Beelaha walaalaha ah ee Sacad iyo Leelkase Wajigasii 2aad taariikhdu markay ahayd 29 June 2020, shirkaas oo horey loogu ballamay in lagu qabto Galdogob si loo dhamystiro wejiga labaad ee heshiiskii Bandiiradley ku dhexmaray labada beelood ee walaalaha ah (Sacad iyo Leelkase).

Waxaa ka soo qayb galay shirka Galdogob ergo kor u dhaaftay 500 oo ka kala socota labada beelood, matalayana dhammaan qaybaha kala duwan ee bulshada sida: Culimadda, Siyaasiyiinta, Isimada, Nabadoonada, Aqoonyahannada, ganacsatada, dhallinyarada iyo haweenka oo dhammaantood u heellanaa nabadda Gobolka Mudug, gaar ahaan tan labada beelood ee kor ku xusan.

Wajiga 2aad ee shirka oo si rasmi ah u furmay 29 June 2020 wuxuu socday ilaa 7 July 2020 oo ah mudo dhan 9 cisho, mudadaas waxaa looga arrinsaday shirka Qodobada hoos ku qoran:

- 1- Kala Qaadashada Qaybta koowaad ee Magahii horey Bandiiradley looga soo heshiiyay.
- 2- Mudaynta wajiga 2aad ee kala qaadashada magta Rafisada ah
- 3- Go'aan ka gaarista dhaawacyada kala gaaray labada beelood
- 4- Go'aan ka gaarista dhiiga iyo dhaawaca lagu muransanaa
- 5- Kormeerka goobaha deegaanka labada beelood
- 6- Go'aan ka gaarista arrimaha dhulka iyo Deegaanka.

Mudadii uu socday shirka waxaa la kala qaatay qaybtii koowaad ee magta oo loogu magacdaray "Agoon koris" oo dhan \$10,000 dad gaaraya 38 rag ah iyo 1 dumar ah, waana markii koowaad ee xafad ballaran loo sameeyo mag kala qaadasho tiradaas dhan.

Ergada ka soo qaybgalay shirweynaha waxay isku raaceen in mudo dhan 60 casho oo ka bilaabanaysa maanta ay labada beelood ku kala qaataan qaybtii labaad ee magta "Rafisada oo ku qiimaysan 13,200 qofkiiba.

Shirweynuhu wuxuu go'aan ka gaaray dhiiga iyo dhaawaca lagu muransanaa iyadoo kaashanaya guddiga Culimada ee labada beelood waxaana muddo loo qabtay eegista iyo simidda dhaawacyada labada beelood oo ku beegan xilliga la bixinayo Rafisada.

waxaa xusid mudan mudadii uu socday shirka in guddi ballaaran oo ka kooban culimada, Nabadoonada iyo siyaasiyiinta labada beelood ay booqasho kormareen ah ku mareen jiidda dheer ee ay wada dagaan beelaha walaalaha ah si loo ogaado xaaladda ka jirta deegaanadaas, dadweynaha labada beeloodna lagu wacyigeliyo go'aanada nabadda ee ay gaareen labada beelood mudadii lagu jiray kormeerkaas waxaa caddatay in lagama maarmaan ay tahay in guddi farsamo loo saaro xal ka gaarista arrimaha deegaanka, iyadoo laga ambaqaadayo heshiisyadii horey ay u wadagaareen beelaha walaalaha ah.

Odayaasha iyo waxgaradka labada beelood waxay ku heshiiyeen in la magacaabo guddi farsamo oo muddo dhan 45 casho ku soo bandhiga xalka waara ee ku aadan arrimaha deegaanka, waxaana lagu ballamay ka hor mudada la kala qaadanayo Rafisada in go'aan laga gaaro arrimaha deegaanka iyadoo laga duulayo heshiisyadii hore iyo xaaladda deegaanka, shirka wajigiisa 3aad wuxuu ka dhici doonaa magaalada Gaalkacyo. Sidoo kale waxaa la isku raacay, inaan deegaameyn cusub la samayn karin inta shirka wajigiisa saddexaad ee Gaalkacyo looga ballamay lagu gunaanadayo arrimahaas.

Sidoo kale shirweynuhu wuxuu ku heshiiyay in la howlgeliyo ciidamada xasillinta iyo ciidanka booliiska ee horey loogu heshiiyay si loo ilaaliyo amniga loona xoojiyo degenaanshaha.

Beesha Sacad waxay mahad ballaaran u soo jeedisay walaalahood beesha Leelkase oo u fidiyay gogoshaan nabadeed, isla markaana muujiyay soodhaweyn iyo martisoor aad u sarreeya mudadii ay ergada beesha ku sugnayd Magaalada Galdogob, waxaa shirka mudadii uu socday hareeyay niyadsami, damaashaad, farxad iyo martiqaad aan kala go'lahayn oo lama ilaawaan ah.

Beesha Leelkase waxay uga mahadcelisay beesha ay walaalaha iyo ood wadaaga yihiin ee Sacad sida muga iyo maqaamka leh ee ay u soo ajiibeen gogoshii iyo casumaadii loo fidiyay dhamystirka wajiga labaad ee shirka nabadeynta beelaha walaalaha ah.



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ABOUT PDRC

Puntland Development & Research Centre (PDRC) is a successor body of former War-torn Societies Project International (WSPI), which operated in Puntland during 1997-99. On October 30, 1999, the center was founded as an independent, nonpartisan, nonprofit research institute dedicated to peacebuilding, promotion of democracy and respect for human rights.