

PDRC ANNUAL PEACE LEARNING CONFERENCE

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PROPOSED BY:
Amina M. Abdulkadir
Researcher (PDRC)

✉ info@pdrcomalia.org
🌐 www.pdrcomalia.org

This report showcases the rich array of knowledge, experience and diverse perspectives brought together by the PDRC Annual Peace Learning Conference in 2023.

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Executive summary

○ **Strengthening Public Institutions for Enhanced Peacebuilding and Reconciliation:**

Majority of the conference participants emphasized the crucial role played by a robust and efficient government in achieving stability and long-term peace. The government is responsible for enforcement of law and order, violence prevention, equality, service delivery, resource management, the justice system, and cultivating political will to resolve conflicts. While other segments of society, such as the Traditional institutional structures can contribute positively towards fostering peace, they alone cannot achieve this goal without formal governmental structures.

○ **Identifying the Root Causes of Major Conflicts in Somalia:**

Before addressing the Somali conflict at large, and community conflicts specifically, it is imperative to comprehend the underlying causes that fuel these tensions. Somalis tend to focus on the symptoms of conflict rather than on its core causes, such as compensation, which inevitably leads to a resurgence of violence.

Some arguments emphasize the necessity for transitional justice in Somalia - whereby victims and survivors receive acknowledgment and reparation post-crime to facilitate reconciliation and sustainable peace. Traditional authorities and law enforcement institutions, such as the police and courts, are disconnected and need more cooperation to implement reconciliation agreements, apprehend culprits who commit crimes violate agreements, and prevent recurrent conflicts, such as revenge killings. Without accountability or consequences for offenders who retain power and freedom, suspension from conflict remains ongoing with no return of government trust. Transitional justice offers a temporary process towards inclusive and enduring peace. Another significant point centers around how new settlements, water sources, grazing areas, and pastures often trigger community disputes; yet there are presently no plans in place regarding water scarcity or legal frameworks.

- **Effective Justice System:** A robust justice system that upholds the principles of fairness and equality is essential for promoting peace in Somalia. To this end,

three distinct legal systems are recognized in the country: Islamic Sharia law, customary law, and secular law. Ensuring the accessibility of these laws to all citizens is crucial for fostering a sense of trust among the public towards their government and its judicial system. With such confidence established, Somalia can make significant strides toward achieving lasting peace and state-building goals.

- **Inclusivity:** For any peacebuilding intervention to accurately reflect the complexities of a given situation and ultimately achieve sustainable peace, it is imperative that all stakeholders be engaged. While inclusivity often

pertains to gender equality, it must also extend beyond simply acknowledging the vital role of women in the peacebuilding and reconsolidation processes. The conference held extensive discussions surrounding the worst-case scenarios in Somalia, wherein elders from two conflicting families would come together to reconcile without involving those on the frontlines - primarily youth and victims' mothers - or compensating victim's families directly if reparations were made between them. As such, the conference recommended that inclusivity become an integral part of Somalia's peace process.

Introduction

In Garowe, from September 21st to 23rd, 2023, the Puntland Development and Research Center (PDRC) hosted its first annual Peace Learning Conference, a distinguished gathering leveraging over three decades of expertise in institutional state-building and peacebuilding. This significant event aimed to foster vibrant discussions, facilitate the exchange of profound ideas, and share invaluable experiences. Its primary objective was to invigorate locally driven methods for conflict resolution and peacebuilding championed by enthusiastic stakeholders, practitioners, and community leaders. This summit provided a unique opportunity to establish vital networks among unsung community heroes and fervent peace-building advocates while serving as a platform for the voices, hardships, and sacrifices that have remained unheard of for decades.

In line with the conference's vision, PDRC extended an open invitation to academics, researchers, dedicated actors, supporters, and seasoned peacebuilding practitioners. They were encouraged to contribute papers,

presentations, and films that spotlighted their experiences and illuminating lessons from the dynamic field of peacebuilding in Somalia. This was in response to the conference's Call for Papers, themed "Building Communal Peace and Reconciliation in Somalia." The event's second day, September 22, featured PDRC-Talks, entailing a thought-provoking address by the esteemed Professor Abdirahman Abdullahi Baadiyow, an expert in conflict resolution and writer of several books and academic papers on the causes and possible solutions for Somalia's protracted conflicts. He delved into "The roots of Somali conflict and comprehensive approach of its resolving." PDRC-Talks26, a captivating interactive platform, invited eminent academics, seasoned politicians, and retired public servants to share their insights.

Over three enlightening days, the Peace Learning Conference sought to acknowledge and amplify ongoing institutional and individual endeavors in the pursuit of peacebuilding and reconciliation within Somali communities. Its specific objectives included:

- *Facilitating the exchange of insights and strategies to resolve conflicts among factions within communities.*
- *Undertaking scholarly analyses to provide empirically supported solutions to the primary factors underlying disputes within Somali communities.*
- *Honouring the unsung heroes and peace practitioners of these communities by sharing their remarkable experiences and best practices.*
- *Strengthening and enhancing community peace structures, imparting valuable mechanisms, and establishing routes for the exchange of experiences among Somali peace-making heroes*

The PDRC's annual Peace Learning Conference symbolizes its commitment to fostering peace and reconciliation in Somalia and beyond, providing a platform for meaningful dialogue, collaboration, and progress.





Ali Farah Ali

PDRC Executive Director

Opening remarks

In the opening remarks, Mr. Ali Farah Ali, the director of PDRC, expressed his appreciation for the participant's acceptance of the PDRC's invitation and commended the speakers for their dedication to sustainable peace and conflict resolution in the Horn of Africa. He noted that this esteemed event would become an annual occurrence, with the 2023 edition receiving crucial support from SIDA's Talo-Wadaag Phase II (A Program aimed at promoting citizens' participation in building democratic systems, nation- and state-building using an inclusive, participatory model where citizens are engaged in governance and conflict prevention & management right from grassroots.)

During his address, Mr. Ali emphasized the significance of arranging this conference with a diverse group of participants and outlined the expected outcomes. He underscored the

central goal of the conference, which is to facilitate the sharing of extensive knowledge on conflict reduction, conflict resolution, and peacebuilding methods and to explore the implications of the annual meeting's results.

Mr. Ali highlighted the importance of the attendees, which included delegates from various UN agencies such as UNDP and UNSOM, researchers from prominent regional think tanks, professors from institutions including Garissa University in Kenya, Jigjiga University in Ethiopia, and Addis Ababa University in Ethiopia, as well as representatives from universities in Somalia. Additionally, senior government officials and dedicated peacebuilding practitioners were in attendance. The director emphasized that the primary objective of bringing together this diverse group was to bridge knowledge gaps, foster networking among Somalis engaged in peacekeeping, and contribute to a long-term and robust resolution to the challenges of peacemaking in Somalia.

During the event, the participants were encouraged to exchange information and experiences about conflict resolution and peacebuilding in their own communities. They highlighted stories of personal sacrifices, dedication, and life-saving efforts that have often gone unnoticed, especially at the grassroots level.

The director stressed that this annual gathering of field experts, armed with effective conflict prevention tactics, would serve as a platform for in-depth discussions on critical regional issues and the root causes of conflicts. This would ultimately contribute to the collective mission of achieving lasting peace among Somalis.

Subsequently, PDRC presented its extensive experience in peacebuilding within Puntland, categorizing conflicts into three primary types: clan conflicts, political disputes at various administrative levels, and disputes over natural resources. . It stressed

the importance of a proactive approach, emphasizing the need to understand the root causes and engage all stakeholders in an inclusive process. PDRC also highlighted the significance of establishing fair and neutral mediation spaces, with PDRC as a trusted platform. Additionally, it emphasized locally driven processes, such as early warning committees and mobile courts, for efficient dispute resolution. A documentary film was also screened to complement their presentation and offer a deeper perspective on their peacebuilding efforts. Lastly, PDRC shared thirty-three (33) years of peace and conflict timeline in Puntland (see annex1).



Ahmed E. Osman Karaash

Vice-President Of Puntland
State Of Somalia

Firstly, I extend my warm greetings to the Somali people and the global community on the occasion of World Peace Day on the 21st of September 2023. Secondly, we express our appreciation to all those who participated. In the past year, Puntland experienced several violent conflicts, with some stemming from internal issues and others occurring in border regions between Somaliland and Puntland. Most of the conflicts within Puntland were successfully resolved through dialogues and mediation, thanks to the support of the PDRC and traditional elders. It is a testament to divine grace that there are currently no ongoing conflicts in Puntland.

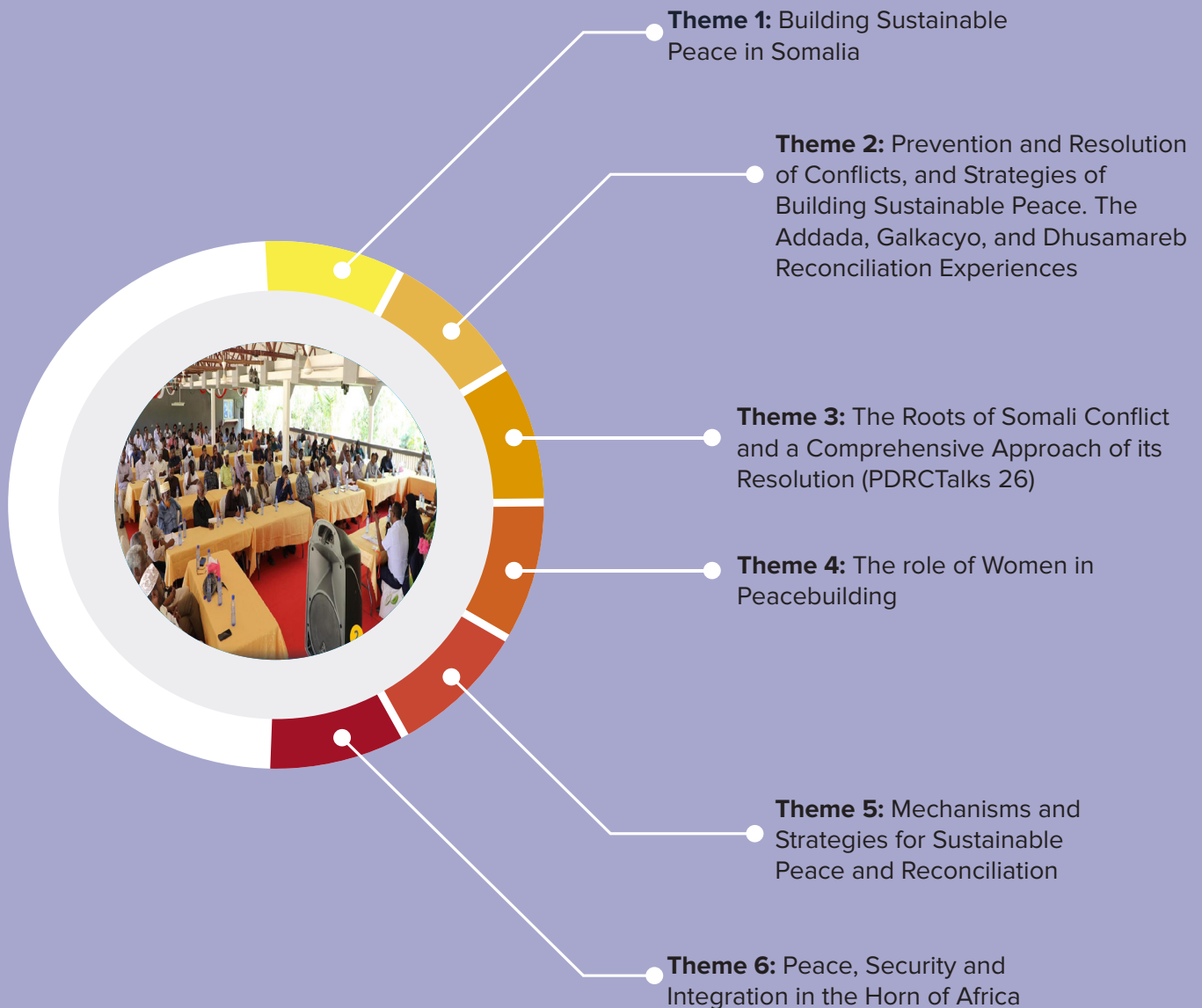
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One significant conflict in Las'anod involving Somaliland resulted in displacement, loss of life, and the depletion of resources. On the 25th of August 2023, the local populace successfully overcame Somaliland troops, reclaiming their freedom. It's essential to clarify that Puntland had no direct involvement in this conflict, as it primarily concerned Somaliland and the local people of SSC regions. We remain steadfast in our commitment to peace and harmonious coexistence among all Somali people.

Conference Design and Approach

The conference design revolved around a comprehensive approach, incorporating six distinct themes as the foundation for organizing and structuring the conference program and related materials. Within each theme, multiple sessions were dedicated to various activities, including research paper presentations, sharing success stories of peace interventions, showcasing films highlighting various peace processes, and engaging in panel discussions.

The conference adopted a participatory approach, ensuring all participants played an active and equal role in the sessions. This encouraged open discussions, sharing of questions and insights, and a collective effort to explore the conference's diverse themes. The outcomes of these sessions, including key activities and results, were meticulously captured and presented in the conference findings section. The following were the key themes around which the conference was centered:



Call for Papers

A call for contributions was extensively published and disseminated, extending an invitation to participants with different backgrounds, including researchers, peacebuilding practitioners, supporters, actors, and academics from across the Horn of Africa region. They were encouraged to submit papers, presentations, and films that would shed light on their experiences and the invaluable lessons they have gained in peacebuilding in Somalia.

This call was prominently featured on the PDRC website and was actively shared with our network of partners. Additionally, it was made accessible to a wide audience through various digital media outlets, bolstered by a robust social media campaign and word-of-mouth. More details can be found on our PDRC web <www.pdrcsomalia.org>

During the call for papers, PDRC received a total of 17 research papers. To ensure a thorough and fair evaluation of these submissions, a dedicated committee was assembled to manage the classification and review process diligently. Given the conference's brief duration, a streamlined review process was employed. Each research paper was subjected to anonymous assessment by a minimum of four members from the Review Committee.

In line with our commitment to inclusivity, reviewers had the option to provide constructive feedback and suggestions for further development of a submission or recommend changes in presentation style, alongside their decisions to accept or reject the submissions.

Ultimately, 15 papers qualified for presentation at the conference. Subsequently, these papers were made available on the PDRC website for wider

access and reference following the conference.

Conference Proceedings

Theme 1: Building Sustainable Peace in Somalia

This theme served as the guiding principle and central focus of the entire event. It summarises the overarching goal and purpose of the conference, which is to address and find solutions to the challenges of peacebuilding in Somalia with a specific emphasis on long-lasting, enduring peace. Participants actively engaged in sharing and discussing their valuable experiences and techniques, underscoring the critical role they play in our collective endeavour to establish and nurture sustainable peace in Somalia. This theme underscores several key elements:

a. Somalia needs a systematic sustainable peacebuilding solution to exist as a nation state.

In his presentation, Mr. Abdisalam Issa-Salwe of East Africa University underscored the critical need for a systematic and sustainable peacebuilding solution in Somalia. The presentation shed light on how Somalis can actively contribute to the cause of peacebuilding and the long-term resolution of conflicts by adopting a bottom-up approach to this endeavour.

This approach holds the potential to not only resolve ongoing conflicts but also to sustain the existence of the nation-state at both the federal and state levels, while safeguarding their precious resources. The primary responsibility for spearheading this peace-sustaining process squarely lies with national governments and authorities, extending to sub-national and local authorities.

A fundamental aspect highlighted in the presentation was the necessity for a profound shift in the mindset of the local population. This shift should entail moving from a reactive mode of dealing with conflicts to a proactive, preventive approach. Furthermore, it involves transitioning from short-term, output-oriented interventions to a more comprehensive, long-term perspective aimed at achieving sustainable and collective outcomes. Importantly, this transformed mindset acknowledges that sustaining peace is a shared responsibility that must be intricately woven into the work of the UN system throughout the entire life cycle of a conflict.

In essence, Mr. Issa-Salwe's presentation made a compelling case for a systematic and sustainable approach to peacebuilding in Somalia, emphasizing the pivotal role of the local population and the need for a fundamental shift in mindset to achieve lasting peace and prosperity.

b. Role of peacebuilding in reinstating the state capacity of the federal republic of Somalia: Challenges and opportunities.

In his research paper, Mr. Abdalle Nadif Muse of Jigjiga University explored the pivotal role of peacebuilding in the context of reinstating the state capacity of the Federal Republic of Somalia. The presentation initiated a constructive discussion on the primary findings of this study.

The primary objective of this research paper was to assess the role of peace in reinstating the state of the Federal Democratic Republic of Somalia. The study comprehensively addressed both the challenges and the opportunities inherent in this pursuit. Mr. Abdalle's presentation brought to light the indispensable connection between peacebuilding and the restoration of state capacity in Somalia. By recognizing the challenges and opportunities at hand, this research paves the way for a more stable and prosperous future for the nation.

The paper highlighted key national reconciliation processes in Somalia since 1991. Somalia's state collapse, which was formally recognized on January 26, 1991, marked the beginning of a prolonged period without an effective central government. This state of chaos was followed by a devastating civil war, leading to the fragmentation of society along clan and sub-clan lines. This became the defining paradigm for both state politics and the peacebuilding process.

In response to this turmoil, more than 13 reconciliation peace conferences were convened, starting with the initial reconciliation conference in Djibouti in June 1991. Eventually, the governance system and state structure of Somalia were re-established in 2000 during the Somali Reconciliation Peace Conference (SRP-Arta) and further refined through the Eldoret conference in 2004.

As of the presentation, nearly 33 years have passed since the fall of the Democratic Republic of Somalia's government. During this time, the nation has faced a profound crisis characterized by the emergence of diverse ideologies and political motivations. This period has been marred by instability, fragile security, and various challenges related to peacebuilding, all of which have had a detrimental impact on state consolidation, state capacity, and by extension, social welfare, and economic development.

The paper recommended that policymakers prioritize state security, infrastructure development, and various developmental projects to enhance state capacity. Furthermore, the study findings underscored the importance of improved coordination and prioritization, as the lack of these elements undermines crucial sectors responsible for strengthening state capacity, peacebuilding, and the rapid reconsolidation of the state.

***c. Pastures across borders are greener”:
Role of biophysical factors and their
management as root cause of communal
conflicts in Northern Kenya.***

Dr. Ahmed presented a study conducted in Isiolo and Garissa counties in Kenya. In Isiolo South, the presence of greener pastures has attracted an estimated four million herds of livestock from Garissa, triggering communal conflicts. To address the challenges posed by these conflicts, FCDC supported GaU's IPSS in conducting a study on the persistent disputes between communities residing along the Garissa-Isiolo border.

This research paper aims to elucidate the role of biophysical factors and their management as a fundamental cause of communal conflicts along the Garissa-Isiolo border in Kenya. The study sought to answer why the counties to the west of Garissa, particularly Isiolo, possess greener pastures. Is this related to biophysical factors and their management, ensuring an abundance of pasture and water?

**The study's findings revealed
several key factors**

- » **Soils:** Soils: Isiolo South boasts diverse, fertile soils of volcanic, metamorphic, and sedimentary origin, in contrast to the sandier sedimentary soils on the Garissa side.
- » **Vegetation (NDVI):** Isiolo South exhibits greener vegetation compared to the Garissa side, signifying more pasture, browse, and plant diversity.

» **Water:** Isiolo has more permanent water sources and higher rainfall due to its elevated terrain, which results in an abundance of groundwater. The elevation in Isiolo is nearly double that of the Garissa side of the border, leading to more than double the mean annual rainfall.

» **Rainfall:** Rainfall in Isiolo is almost twice as much as that on the Garissa side of the border. Prolonged droughts have compelled livestock from Garissa to move into Isiolo and beyond.

The availability of pasture and water in Isiolo is not solely attributed to biophysical factors. The Borana Community of Isiolo has well-planned land use, with a dry and wet season grazing pattern, thanks to a robust customary governance system known as Dheda. This system includes institutions and bylaws for the sustainable management of pastures. Elder decisions are binding, and bylaws apply to all community members and occasional users, including government officials within the grazing management unit. In contrast, the Somalis of Garissa have either lost or weakened their rangeland governance systems. Their traditional systems, known as “Heer Aji” and “Caatho,” have weakened, resulting in overgrazing, deforestation, and pasture and water source degradation. During dry seasons, Somali households move haphazardly into Boran grazing land without permission, disregarding the Dheda system, which has fuelled communal conflicts.

¹ Frontier Counties Development Council (FCDC)

² Garissa University

³ Institute of Peace and Security Studies (IPSS)

Recommendations

- » Garissa should consider reviving and supporting a traditional system like to the Dheda. Meanwhile, Isiolo County should strengthen the Dheda system further.
- » Efforts should be made to revitalize and legitimize traditional surveillance, early warning systems, resource management and sharing mechanisms, and dispute resolution through intercommunity dialogue.
- » Promotion of pasture production, storage, and marketing should be encouraged.
- » Permanent strategic water sources should be developed on both sides of the border.
- » Development of socio-economic infrastructures is essential.

d. Getting Somali Conciliation and Conflict Resolution Right

In his presentation, Mr. Jama Egal, highlighted the critical need to rectify the errors in the conciliation and conflict resolution processes within Somalia. He expressed deep concern about the prevailing confusion between conciliation and conflict resolution.

Mr. Egal argued that traditional peacebuilding methods and customary approaches have inherent limitations when dealing with the complex conflicts and security challenges of the modern era. These limitations have contributed to the prolonged nature of Somali conflicts, as the existing mechanisms utilized by local communities have proven inadequate in addressing contemporary issues. He noted that conventional reconciliation efforts often focus on reconciling conflict actors without adequately addressing the root causes and underlying

circumstances, thereby fostering a cycle of recurring conflicts.

To truly achieve lasting peace and security, Mr. Egal emphasized the imperative of disentangling these processes and implementing comprehensive conflict resolution strategies that encompass a deep understanding of the conflicts' origins and dynamics.

Egal recommended enhancing local and traditional peacebuilding mechanisms by integrating modern principles of peacebuilding. This transformation would enable these mechanisms to effectively address structural violence and promote equitable justice for all community members, irrespective of factors such as gender, and recognize the rights of minority clans who may have previously been marginalized and denied justice.

e. Understanding Somalia's Complex History of Peace and Conflict

Professor Hassan Keynaan presupposed that the traditional Somali conflict analysis is significantly different from this analytical technique, which is literally called the “**Somali Equation Framework (SEF)**”. Somalis have different traditions, and each has its own rules for resolving disputes. Among these traditions are tribes, religion, and government, tribe is the oldest which existed about 10,000 years. Whereas most of the Somali population are nomads living in rural areas, the nomadism (Reer Guuraa) is a critical issue that has been underestimated by all governments in Somalia. It is important to know about nomadism and its influence on the governance system. It is also significant to understand that modern government system is new to Somalis. For example, territories are a complex phenomenon since nomads have no borders in their culture of work and survival.

However, the initial challenge faced by the basic traditions was refuting the widely held

belief that “Qaran iyo Qabiil Isku Meel Ma Galaan” (Roughly translated as Nationhood and Clannism do not occupy the same space) which propagated the idea that the traditions of the nation and clan were incompatible systems. However, due to its deep-rooted presence as a political myth among the general population, it led to misinterpretation and misunderstanding of the definition and significance of the word “nation.” Instead of focusing on the disparity between the nation and the state, the emphasis was placed on distinguishing between the state tradition and the clan tradition.

Although the phrases “nation” and “state” are often used interchangeably, they possess distinct conceptual meanings and connotations. The term “nation” pertains to “people who share common identities, such as language, religion, culture, or land,” while the core principles and essence of state definitions assume that the state represents “the ultimate legitimate authority in a defined territory.” He identified the persistence of political elites, alongside the establishment of Somali states in the past, as the cause of clan divisions and clannism, which have now become a taboo or unmentionable in the context of state failure. Finally, he concluded with the significance of harmonizing those Somali traditions.

The following were the key points highlighted from above papers:

From Professor Ladan Affi, the perception of peace in Somalia has often been limited to the visible conflicts, particularly those stemming from inter-clan tensions. However, the involvement of politicians, businessmen, and foreign governments behind the scenes is frequently overlooked. In the past, elders believed that they solely held the capacity to resolve issues, but the changing global dynamics demand multi-stakeholder participation. Another pressing issue in

Somalia is the silence surrounding the suffering of victims of conflicts. Their voices remain unheard, and there is lack of accountability for those responsible. To attain genuine peace among our people, we must prioritize profound reconciliation efforts that transcend mere discussions.

Hassan Sheikh Mohamed emphasized that sustainable peace relies on two fundamental pillars:

- » Firstly, reconciliation and comprehensive understanding play a vital role in this process, with a significant responsibility falling on the shoulders of elders and non-governmental organizations. Their efforts in promoting reconciliation and fostering a deep understanding among communities are instrumental in achieving lasting peace.
- » Secondly, adequate governance capacity is indispensable. It ensures, at the very least, the enforcement of law and order. Possessing a robust governmental capacity is also essential for the establishment and maintenance of enduring peace in a region or nation.

Conclusion of the theme

In conclusion, Theme 1 has provided a holistic perspective on the multifaceted challenges and opportunities in pursuing enduring peace in the nation. The presentations within this theme have collectively emphasized the following key points:

- » The importance of disentangling conciliation and conflict resolution processes to address the complexity of modern conflicts effectively.

- » The critical role of peacebuilding in revitalizing the state capacity of the federal republic of Somalia, while recognizing the challenges and opportunities on this path.
- » The imperative of implementing a systematic and sustainable peacebuilding approach is a prerequisite for the nation's existence.
- » The significant influence of biophysical factors and their management as root causes of communal conflicts, particularly along the Kenya-Somalia border.

- » The need to comprehend the intricate history of peace and conflict in Somalia provides a crucial context for our peace-building efforts.

These insights underscore the intricate nature of peacebuilding in Somalia and the necessity for a comprehensive, inclusive, and innovative approach to address the nation's longstanding challenges. Theme1 is the foundation upon which the conference will continue to build, offering a rich tapestry of knowledge to guide our collective efforts toward sustainable peace in Somalia and beyond.



Theme 2. Prevention and Resolution of Conflicts, and Strategies of Building Sustainable Peace. The Adadda, Galkacyo, and Dhusamareb Reconciliation Experiences

This theme explores the prevention and resolution of conflicts, emphasizing the strategies for achieving long-lasting peace. It delves into the valuable lessons learned from the reconciliation processes in Adadda, Galkayo, and Dhusamareb, each involving community

This theme explores the prevention and resolution of conflicts, emphasizing the strategies for achieving long-lasting peace. It delves into the valuable lessons learned from the reconciliation processes in Adadda, Galkayo, and Dhusamareb, each involving community conflicts but with different stakeholders. Adadda dealt with pastoralist conflicts over land, water, and pasture resources, while Dhusamareb was primarily land related. Galkayo's conflict was more intricate, entailing political dimensions. The theme highlights the importance of local community-led peacebuilding efforts in Somalia, illustrating their pivotal role in bringing about and sustaining peace in a region marked by persistent violence and instability. These cases serve as successful examples of community-driven peacebuilding initiatives.

a. Adadda Peace Process: Averting Disputes and Solidifying Peace through the Joint Village Peace Committee, an Early Warning System, and Mobile Courts

Abdirahman Saed Bile representing PDRC and the representatives from early warning committee in Adadda were present at the conference and shared their experiences and techniques of peacebuilding in Adadda. Adadda conflict, a prolonged and recurrent issue spanning over two decades, witnessed numerous attempts at reconciliation, yet it persisted, erupting into severe clan clashes in 2017 following the onset of rainfall in Adadda. Adadda, an enclave with rich pastures but limited water resources, straddles the unmarked border between Ethiopia and Somalia. The leading cause of the conflict in Adadda was the construction of water holes (Berkeds) in the area. In 2018, a significant breakthrough occurred as the two conflicting clans, Baharsame and Omar Mohamoud, came together to sign a historic peace accord, ending their protracted hostilities and initiating a dialogue. A pivotal component of this peace process was the establishment of a Mobile Court to address incidents arising during clashes.



The Mobile Court Committee comprised members from both clans, along with religious scholars selected from outside the conflicted communities, tasked with rendering judgments under Islamic principles. This innovative approach marked a departure from traditional peace-making methods in Somalia. It allowed the committee to reach out to various pastoralist settlements surrounding Adadda, documenting victims' claims whether related to property or loss of human lives.

The success of the Mobile Court Committee served as a pioneering model in traditional peace processes, playing a crucial role in brokering a widely accepted peace agreement between the two clans in the area. Another noteworthy best practice from the Adadda peace process is the establishment of an Early Warning Committee. This component further enhanced the region's capacity to detect and respond to potential conflicts, contributing to the overall stability and resilience of the peace achieved in Adadda. The committee's primary objective is to serve as an intermediary early warning system that proactively prevents the resurgence of conflicts. Their mission extends to educating the public on the intrinsic value of peace and fostering coexistence between the two fraternal groups. As part of their routine activities, the committee consistently visits this volatile area to raise awareness about peace and install in the public the significance of peaceful coexistence between the two communities. This engagement is aimed at deepening people's understanding and cultivating a strong desire for enduring peace.

Furthermore, the committee is dedicated to averting issues that have previously fuelled conflicts and identifying potential conflict risks and emerging trends. Notably, these committees have played a pivotal role in ensuring the sustainability of peace between these communities, effectively ending the recurrence of conflicts. It's worth highlighting that these initiatives have been entirely initiated and sustained by the local populace

external support or interventions. The best practices established through the Adadda peace process serve as a valuable blueprint that can be applied to other regions grappling with similar conflicts, offering a promising path toward lasting peace and reconciliation.

Foodlaan, a member of the committee, said,

“Peace is not just a word; it demands dedication and investment in the safety and well-being of individuals, especially as conflicts persist. I provided shelter in my home for six Bah-hararsame individuals during the clashes between the two clans. My motivation stemmed from the belief that those who are still alive, regardless of their clan, hold greater significance to the community than those who have passed away”.

Finally, the early warning committee mentioned that finalizing pending issues with clan elders, explicitly addressing the decisions regarding the management of waterholes (berkeds) and completing compensation payments for the deceased individuals are essential for having lasting peace in Adadda.

Policy Recommendations

- Develop and enforce robust regulations for managing border conflicts, addressing disputes, and preventing escalation.
- Comprehensive and sustainable natural resource management plan, with a particular focus on pasture and water resources, to ensure their equitable and efficient utilization, reducing potential triggers for conflicts.
- Formalization and support for Joint/early peace Committees. PDRC has been offering technical and financial support since its establishment. However, this is not enough

- » considering how much resources the committee requires to deliver its tasks.

b. Galkayo Peace Process: Local Initiatives

Galkayo, a town nestled in Somalia's Mudug region, has long been a focal point of intricate social and political divisions that have shaped its tumultuous history. The roots of these divides can be traced back to historical, ethnic, and clan-based tensions that have evolved over the decades. Understanding the multifaceted nature of this divide provides insight into the challenges faced by Galkayo and its remarkable journey toward peace and cooperation. During the conference, PDRC shared their experiences in the peacebuilding process of Galkayo. Prof. Abdi Ahmed Baafo, from the Dhalax-reeb Center, presented the insights gained from the Galkayo Peace Process, focusing on the peace process for the interstate conflicts of Puntland and Galmudug in 2016. Ms Ilham Gassar, from Kigs Consulting, also offered perspectives on the role of international organizations in these peace processes, complementing the experiences shared by PDRC and Prof. Baafo.

I. PDRC's Insights: Understanding Galkayo's Complex Divide

PDRC's research and field experiences offer a comprehensive understanding of the multifaceted divide in Galkayo, considering historical legacies and contemporary influences:

- » **Resource Scarcity and Competition.** Galkayo's location in a semi-arid region with limited resources has exacerbated tensions. Competition for water and pasture for livestock, integral to the livelihoods of pastoralist communities, has frequently escalated into conflicts. The scarcity of these resources has been exploited by political actors to rally clan support, deepening the divide along socio-economic lines.

- » **External Influences and Civil War.** The outbreak of the Somali civil war in the late 20th century exacerbated Galkayo's divide. As central authority crumbled, clan-based militias emerged, vying for control over territories and resources. This power vacuum allowed external actors and warlords to exploit existing divisions for personal gain. The town became a microcosm of the larger conflict, with shifting allegiances and alliances adding layers to the already intricate divide.

- » **Evolution of the Divide.** Over the years, the social and political divide in Galkayo evolved from historical animosities into a complex interplay of clan affiliations, resource competition, and external influences. The divisions were not solely confined to political allegiances; they permeated various aspects of life, including education, commerce, and social interactions. The divide hindered development, stifled economic growth, and led to cycles of violence that affected both urban and rural areas. The town is divided into two separate territories: the southern part is under the jurisdiction of the Galmudug administration. At the same time, the northern section falls under the control of the Puntland state.

- » **The First Signs of Peace.** Amidst this turmoil, a glimmer of hope emerged in 1993 when a peace agreement was signed in Mogadishu between conflicting factions. Although this agreement brought relative calm to Galkayo, it was merely a temporary respite from the underlying tensions. The city remained divided along clan lines, and grievances from past atrocities continued to simmer.

» A New Era: The 2016 Peace Agreement Fast forward to 2016, a landmark year for Galkayo. The Puntland and Galmudug administrations, representing rival clans, signed a historic peace agreement, signaling a new chapter for the city.

II. Galkayo's Journey from Conflict to Peace: An Account of 2015-2016 and Beyond

In their presentations, Ilham Gassar and Professor Ahmed Abdi Baafo provided a summary of the recent conflict that occurred in Galkayo in the years 2015 and 2016. They outlined the key factors that contributed to establishing sustainable peace in the region.

What happened in Galkayo in 2015 and 2016?

On November 22, 2015, a conflict erupted in Galkayo, resulting in a standoff between two administrations: Puntland and Galmudug. The conflict began over a road construction project along the border initiated by Puntland. The road extended into Galmudug territory, leading to hostilities between the two states. Both sides heavily utilized heavy weapons, putting the lives of civilians living in the city at significant risk. After a temporary ceasefire, another round of conflict erupted in the city a year later, on October 7, 2016. The conflict that unfolded in Galkayo in 2015 and 2016 left a trail of devastating consequences. A total of 94 lives were tragically lost, leaving families and communities mourning their loved ones. In addition, the conflict resulted in 340 individuals sustaining injuries, their lives forever altered by the scars of war. The city itself was not spared, as around 180,000 people found themselves forcibly displaced from their homes, their lives uprooted by the chaos of conflict. Among the many affected, approximately 20,000 children and young adults were compelled to halt their education, their dreams of a brighter future temporarily put on hold. The toll of this conflict was profound, touching every aspect of life in

Galkayo. Another ceasefire was reached after the second clash.

The heart of Galkayo's transformation lay in the joint peace structures established to facilitate cooperation between rival administrations and clans. The JCC, consisting of representatives from both the Puntland and Galmudug administrations, played a pivotal role in sustaining communication and dialogue during crucial moments. This committee served as a platform for addressing grievances, averting escalations, and discovering common ground. By their presence and actions, the JCC symbolized an unwavering commitment to peaceful coexistence and acted as a bridge between previously divided factions.

The youth of Galkayo, hailing from both sides of the divide, played a crucial role in this journey. They took the initiative to organize numerous demonstrations advocating for the ceasefire and expressing their strong opposition to the continuation of the conflict. The profound determination of the local youth resonated deeply with the community and garnered widespread support. This groundswell of sentiment in favor of peace, particularly among the traditional elders who held a strong desire for it, culminated in the historic agreement reached by the Puntland and Galmudug administrations on December 17, 2017, signaling a new chapter for the city. The youth revolution led to the establishment of the Joint Youth Committee for Peace to pursue and maintain peace actively.

The role of the Federal Government of Somalia: The Federal Government of Somalia played a pivotal role in resolving the Galkayo conflict. Unlike previous administrations that had often politicized regional conflicts, the government's leadership, President Mohamed A. Farmajo addressed the situation with a commitment to impartiality. One of its significant initiatives was the establishment of joint security forces composed of representatives from both Puntland and

Galmudug. This collaborative approach to security, coupled with the unwavering commitment of local authorities and elders, contributed substantially to maintaining peace and security in the region. The Somali National Army (SNA) also played a crucial and impartial role, helping restore trust and facilitating the free movement of people between the two sides.

III. Local Initiatives and Leadership: The driving force behind Galkayo's transformation

Central to Galkayo's remarkable journey towards peace and reconciliation has been the unwavering commitment and determination of its people. A joint Peace Committee consisted of dedicated members from elders of both communities was established to promote peace and coexistence of the communities in Galkayo. These committees shared their experiences during the Conference, shedding light on how the local population from both sides of Galkayo actively sought and wholeheartedly embraced peace.

The heart of Galkayo's transformation lay in the joint peace structures established to facilitate cooperation between rival administrations and clans. A Joint Ceasefire Committee (JCC) was also established during the clashes in 2015 and 2016, consisting of representatives from both the Puntland and Galmudug administrations, who played a pivotal role in sustaining communication and dialogue during crucial moments. This committee served as a platform for addressing grievances, averting escalations, and discovering common ground. By their presence and actions, the JCC symbolized an unwavering commitment to peaceful coexistence and acted as a bridge between previously divided factions.

After the peace agreement in 2017, Joint traditional elders, women's groups, and the business community collaborated under the

umbrella of these joint peace structures. Harnessing their influence and collective dedication, they worked tirelessly to bridge divides and promote dialogue at the grassroots level. The combined efforts of these local actors not only drove Galkayo towards sustainable peace but also vividly demonstrated the transformative potential of community-driven initiatives.

Galkayo's story exemplifies the strength of local leadership and community-led efforts in achieving peace and reconciliation. It is an inspiring testament to the transformative potential of grassroots initiatives in post-conflict regions.

Galkayo's journey from conflict to peace illustrates the impact of community initiatives, such as the Joint Ceasefire Committee and the Joint Peace Committee of Elders, youth, and Women. The power of local communities to drive peace processes is evident, with the youth's determination and the Joint Peace Committee acting as bridges between divided factions. The impartial role of the Federal Government of Somalia and the Somali National Army further supported maintaining peace.

In essence, these experiences underscore the transformative potential of grassroots initiatives in post-conflict regions. They showcase the remarkable resilience of local communities and their ability to address the underlying factors contributing to conflict, ultimately contributing to lasting peace in regions marked by prolonged violence and instability.

c. Dhusamareb: Facilitating the Saleebaan and Ayr Peace Agreement and Its Positive Impact.

Prof. Ahmed Salad and Mohamed Abdullahi, representing the Horn Center, discussed the profound impact of a conflict that has strained the coexistence of the Saleebaan and Ayr clans, who have historically shared the same

territory for generations. These communities, primarily pastoralists, have deep-rooted cultural ties and rely on shared resources in the region. The presenters aimed to evaluate the consequences of the conflict between the Saleebaan and Ayr communities and the subsequent reconciliation efforts in Dhusamareb, Galmudug.

The reconciliation process that occurred from July 14th to July 20th, 2023, focused on mending relations between the Ayr and Saleebaan communities. The initial conflict unfolded in a rangeland near Harardheere district in Galmudug and eventually spread across the region. The tensions between the Saleebaan and Ayr communities can be traced back to a more recent period, mainly around 2019, but reached their peak in 2023. Over time, these tensions escalated, leading to a distressing series of armed clashes and an unending cycle of violence that cast a dark shadow over the entire region. This prolonged confrontation caused immeasurable suffering for the affected communities and had far-reaching implications for the broader Galmudug area.

Conclusion of the Theme

Through the insights gained from the Adadda, Galkayo, and Dhusamareb reconciliation experiences, a valuable spectrum of knowledge has been amassed. These cases highlight the resilience and innovation demonstrated by local communities in the pursuit of peace and reconciliation. Key takeaways from these cases include the critical role of community-driven initiatives in achieving and sustaining peace. Local actors, including traditional elders, youth activists, and local leaders, played pivotal roles in advocating for peace and reconciliation, emphasizing the importance of community commitment.

Adadda demonstrated the effectiveness of a Mobile Court Committee and an Early Warning Committee in resolving pastoralist conflicts

over resources. These best practices can serve as a blueprint for addressing similar conflicts in other regions. The policy recommendations, such as enforcing border conflict management regulations and comprehensive natural resource management, contribute to reducing triggers for conflicts.

Theme 3. The Root Causes of the Somali Conflicts and Comprehensive Approaches to their Resolutions

KEYNOTE SPEECH



As part of the PDRC annual peace learning conference, in its second day featured PDRCTalks 26, with a guest speaker Professor Abdirahman Abdullahi Baadiyow on the topic of **“The roots of Somali conflict and comprehensive approach of its resolving”**.

Prof. Baadiyow's stated that in the vibrant Somali community of the 1960s, the government was stable and promising. However, as time passed, instability plagued the nation, and the government's effectiveness dwindled. Deeply intrigued by this predicament, he embarked on a journey of extensive research to unravel the root causes of this conflict and the absence of government.

He delved into the realm of assumptions and pondered the profound relationship between our thoughts and actions. It dawned on me

that if we examine how we perceive our history, politics, government, society, and religion, we might uncover the mistakes we have made. When exploring the Somali mindset, three prevailing notions shape their identity. First, they identify strongly with their clan. Second, they proudly embrace their Muslim faith.

Finally, they consider themselves as Somalis. Remarkably, conflicts rarely arise from these three pillars of identity.

- a. **Clan identity:** As a teacher, I have had the opportunity to engage with many people, leading me to question our understanding of clans. It became apparent our perception of clans is flawed, as they are often viewed with reverence and deemed taboo. Surprisingly, no comprehensive study has ever been conducted to shed light on our culture, tribes, and the misconceptions surrounding them. It is crucial to educate Somali community, particularly in universities to foster an accurate understanding of heritage and the nature of relationships. In my quest for knowledge, he posed a simple question to the community: "What do you mean by clans? How do you define it?" Their responses were enlightening, many regarded clans as inherently negative entities. However, he argued that like patriotism, clans evoke a sense of belonging and can drive both positive and negative actions. It is vital to recognize that rural communities heavily rely on clans to resolve conflicts in the absence of proper judicial structures. On the other hand, urban dwellers often fall victim to manipulative politicians who exploit their opinions for personal gain.
- b. **Religious identity:** He broached the topic of Islam, which holds an integral place in the hearts of all Somalis. I explained Islam, can be divided into three dimensions. I. it is a devout belief in God.

II. guides us to ponder what god expects of us III. it encourages us to strive for moral excellence through acts such as fasting, pilgrimage, and prayer. These practices serve as training grounds for moral development. However, it is important to note that engaging in rituals alone does not guarantee virtuous behavior. Our religion imparts good manners, emphasizing the prohibition of lying, cheating, and stealing from fellow Muslims. These vices have no place in our Islamic teachings, and we must reflect on our actions to ensure they align with our faith.

- c. **Somali identity:** He explored the concept of being Somali which carries into two distinct meanings. First, it encompasses the ethical values associated with Somalia and Second, it signifies holding a position within the government. Pondered the notion of citizenship as the bedrock of a functioning state, who truly embodies the essence of citizenship in the Somali government. A true citizen, he posited, is someone who enjoys equal rights and bears the responsibilities outlined by the constitution and other laws. Place their trust in institutions that protect their rights, maintain peace, and operate in a just manner. A president elected by the people, free from corruption and coercion, embodies the spirit of citizenship. Our understanding of governance and citizenship is flawed. To establish a genuine government, Somalis must wholeheartedly embrace roles as responsible citizens.

Considering all above-mentioned identities, four fundamental issues identified to contribute the Somali conflict:

- 1. Tribal politics serves to attain power rather than genuinely benefiting the clans.

2. A business-oriented approach to politics allows for the unscrupulous purchase of influence and lacks any sense of shame or secrecy.
3. looted politics has plagued our nation since the 1960s, as some unscrupulous individuals tampered with voting boxes and manipulated the democratic process.
4. The reliance on foreign governments and their financial support has compromised our sovereignty. we proudly boast of their assistance, undermining the significance of merit and genuine selection.

Finally, these four factors stand as obstacles on our path to progress. If we fail to address them, it will dismantle not only our fragile foundations but also any potential for a truly developed and prosperous nation.

Panel Discussion Summary



Following the guest speaker's address, a panel discussion offered an interactive platform for participants to engage with the panellists and pose questions. The panellists effectively addressed and clarified the participants' inquiries, leading to an enlightening conversation on the topic. The panellists consisted of key figures, including the Minister of Interior, Honourable Abdi Farah Saeed 'Juxa,' Professor Abdirahman Abdullahi Baadiyow,

Executive Director of the TAG Foundation, Ashe Gelle Dirie, and Hassan Sheikh Mohamed, former CEO of the National Cohesion, and Integration Commission in Kenya. The primary questions and comments raised during the discussion, along with the responses from the panellists are summarized below:

His Excellence, Minister Abdi Farah Juxa

Juxa stated that the journey of the Somali government spans 22 years, encompassing six administrations, with three originating within Somalia and three established in foreign territories. According to his perspective:

- » TNG1 (Transitional National Government), initiated a decade after Somalia had lost international recognition, symbolically reaffirmed the country's presence on the global stage, although its impact on the ground was relatively limited.
- » TFG1 (Transitional Federal Government), established at Mbagathi, marked a significant milestone by adopting a federal charter and reinstating the Somali government in Villa Somalia, thus consolidating central authority.
- » TFG2 (Transitional Federal Government), based in Djibouti, extended the state-building process, further guided by subsequent constitutional developments, including Garowe 1, Garowe 2 agreements, and the country's first elections.

These administrations have collectively contributed to shaping Somalia's post-conflict political landscape and governance structures, each leaving its unique mark on the nation's complex journey towards peace, stability, and self-governance.

The three governments mentioned above initially shared a common direction focused on reconciliation, the development of a federal constitution, and fostering closer ties within the Somali community. However, this alignment gradually shifted after the transition. FGS1, the first government following the transitional period, did not fully implement the federal system, and this trend persisted with FGS2, which maintained a stance against federalism. The current administration, FGS3, faces the challenge of determining its course of action in this regard.

Concurrently, alongside these six administrations, three distinct lines of thought have emerged, and reconciliation between them remains elusive:

- » ***Somaliland' Separation from Somalia:*** The issue of Somaliland's quest for independent governance has persisted since 1991 and remains unresolved.
- » ***Puntland's Federal Belief:*** Puntland has consistently advocated for a federal system of government in Somalia.
- » ***Unitary System:*** There has always been a significant faction supporting a strong central government, a perspective shared by FGS1, FGS2, and FGS3.

The coexistence and reconciliation of these varying ideologies pose a complex challenge for Somalia's political landscape and its ongoing quest for stability, unity, and sustainable governance. It is evident that the enduring debate surrounding the three distinct ideologies and the succession of six administrations, spanning 22 to 32 years, has its origins in the aftermath of the Somali government's collapse. Despite the passage of time, Somalia's governance system remains entangled in these contentious discussions. It is at this juncture that it is suggested to earnestly consider the exploration of new ideas, fresh perspectives, and innovative approaches to move forward. The persistence of these historical debates calls for a revaluation of the existing paradigms and a reinvigorated pursuit of solutions that can break the cycle of discord and promote a more harmonious and effective governance system in Somalia.

Prof Hassan Sheikh (Kenya Experience)

Hassan Sheikh shared the Kenyan experience, emphasizing that in Kenya, they came to realize that clannism was not as important as it might seem. He noted that although there were indeed various clans, they chose

chose to overlook clannism. In Kenya, with its 45 tribes, and even the recent addition of three more tribes in their constitution, an important lesson was learned from the 2007 and 2008 election-related conflicts. When these conflicts erupted, the Kenyan elites convened to understand the underlying causes. Their observations revealed that most government workers were from the Kikuyu tribe, which was dominant at that time. This realization prompted them to ponder how they could address tribalism. The solution they arrived at was to ensure fairness and equal opportunities for all tribes in the country. To implement this approach, they established an organization called the National Cohesion and Integration Commission (NCIC), with Hassan Sheikh serving as the CEO during that period. Their work commenced with a focus on promoting equal employment and developing rules for both public and private institutions to follow.

In Kenya, the separation of the judiciary process enables either support or refusal of presidential orders. This separation is crucial for our survival, as it ensures that clannism does not take precedence, and the paramount focus remains on rule of law. In Somalia, there is a need to establish a robust government capable of rectifying wrongdoings. It is essential to establish a strong government that can reprimand culprits. Our culture places emphasis on self-correction, which, unfortunately, can create opportunities for some individuals to engage in illicit activities. To address this issue, a mindset change is necessary, including challenging detrimental tribal-based thinking.

Minister Abdi Farah 'Juxa', Your proposal to explore new ideas for rebuilding the government in Somalia raises concerns about potential disappointment after 22 years of efforts and the hopes of the Somali people. I am of the belief that, after over two decades, a fully functioning government is yet to be

established. Somalis are exhausted from the ongoing struggles, and I believe it is time to reconsider our approach. Instead of persisting in the same challenging path, we should reflect on what may have gone wrong and seek alternative solutions. The current conflict is rooted in a political war that lacks a mutually agreed-upon resolution, and I have yet to witness effective strategies for reconciliation. Therefore, it is imperative to explore new avenues and envision alternative approaches to pave the way for a more stable and prosperous Somalia.

Questions Raised by Participants:

Mr. Abdisalam inquired about the main obstacles to overcome in Somali conflict resolution. In response, Prof. Hassan Sheikh stated that Somalia relies on power-sharing rather than a unified approach to effectively address past concerns. He emphasized the importance of transitional justice to hold individuals accountable for their actions, as those responsible for killings often merged back into their respective clans, obscuring individual accountability. Prof. Hassan Sheikh highlighted that Somalia currently faces unresolved issues, with no valid reason behind the causes of the conflicts, and victims often unable to identify the perpetrators.

Mr. Mahamed Osman posed questions about who can solve Somalia's problems, the pathways to resolving these issues, and the potential duration of these problems. Prof. Hassan Sheikh asserted that the problems would persist until Somali leaders exhibit wisdom. He outlined two possible paths: the black road leading to a government vacuum and the white road symbolizing a government-led path. While he believed the government was on the white road, Prof. Hassan Sheikh noted that the prevailing trajectory appeared to involve merely changing the driver of the vehicle without altering the route. He highlighted the need to transition to the government road, signifying power to the people, to effect real change.

In response to Mr. Abdinasir Yusuf's question about whether he agreed with Juxa's proposal to explore new ideas for rebuilding the country, Prof. Badiyow emphasized the importance of assessing what went wrong and what was done correctly. He believed that welcoming such proposals would help the community discern between right and wrong. Prof. Badiyow stressed that the public and tribes themselves are not inherently bad; it's a matter of distinguishing right from wrong and choosing the correct path.

Mr. Abdiladif Nuur asked about solutions to the four main problems in Somalia as outlined by Prof. Baadiyow. Prof. Badiyow recommended a transition to a one-person-one-vote election system, utilizing proportional representation. He highlighted that many Somali politicians seek support from foreign countries and subsequently engage in corruption once in power. Prof. Badiyow suggested that democratic elections would empower the public to exercise their political rights. He also pointed out the existing discord between federal member states and the central government, emphasizing the need to harmonize these systems to unite Somalia's governance and move beyond traditional leadership structures.

Conclusion of the Theme

In conclusion, this theme has highlighted that the Somali conflict is a deeply entrenched and multifaceted issue that has had profound and enduring consequences for the nation. To develop a comprehensive approach to understanding and ultimately resolving this complex conflict, it is imperative to delve into the historical, political, and social factors that have fuelled its persistence. Somali society's social fabric is intricately woven with a complex tapestry of clan-based affiliations, traditional norms, and historical processes. This society is marked by diversity and has undergone significant transformations, resulting in distinctive features that define its social structure.

Central to Somali society is the clan system, serving as its foundational social structure. Clans, expansive familial units, or lineages, hold immense cultural significance and play a pivotal role in shaping Somali identity and societal organization. These clans are further subdivided into sub-clans and wield substantial influence over the political, social, and economic dynamics within Somali society. Gaining a nuanced understanding of this intricate clan system is imperative for addressing the conflict and working towards a sustainable resolution. The theme has shed light on the multifaceted nature of the Somali conflict, emphasizing the vital role that cultural and social factors play in its evolution and, by extension, its potential resolution.

Theme 4: The Role of Women in Peacebuilding

The Conference also considered the role of women in peacebuilding processes in Somalia. This theme emphasized the importance of amplifying the voices and leadership of women in Somali society to enhance their influence and contributions to peacebuilding. Like many other countries, Somalia has grappled with challenges related to cultural norms, limited opportunities for women, and gender inequality. Prioritizing the perspectives of Somali women is a fundamental step toward promoting gender equality, driving societal transformation, and achieving sustainable peace and progress. This section of the conference highlighted the significant roles played by women in various peacebuilding initiatives, including the Rako and Galkayo peace processes.

a. Rako Women's Experience:

During the conference, a representative from Rako Women, Abdirisak the former mayor of Rako, together with the Puntland Development and Research Center (PDRC), delved into the pivotal role of women in the Rako peace process. As the wounds of conflict continued to fester, the women of Rako realized that traditional means of



communication were stifled by bitterness and mistrust. In response, they turned to an age-old tradition that had long served as a conduit for conveying emotions: lyrical verses.

Armed with ink and parchment, these women composed verses that transcended mere rhythmic lines; they became bridges that spanned the chasm between the Ali Saleban and Muse Saleban clans. Their verses were filled with the sorrow of loss but also carried dreams of unity and peace. The rhythmic cadence of their words resonated across villages and settlements, akin to gentle ripples evolving into powerful waves.

Through gatherings dedicated to poetry and intimate recitals, these women ventured outside their comfort zones. They shared their compositions not only within their own communities but also with the “other side.” The potency of their verses lay not solely in the words themselves but in the vulnerability of their delivery—the quiver in their voices, the tears that flowed, and the raw, heartfelt emotion that resonated with all who listened.

The impact of women’s poetry during the Rako Peace Process extended far beyond immediate reconciliation efforts. It etched an indelible mark on the collective memory of

The community. These verses became an integral part of communal folklore, passed down through generations as a reminder of the potential of human connection and the strength of peace. The women who had once stood at the center of conflict had transformed into symbols of unity, using the power of their words to heal wounds.

In the annals of history, the role of women in the Rako Peace Process stands as a profound testament to the impact of human connection and the art of poetry. Their verses served as more than just a means of exchanging messages of peace; they wrapped the community in a comforting embrace of mutual understanding. These women demonstrated that even in the face of deep divisions, shared humanity can discover a way to repair, to heal, and to harmonize. Through the delicate language of poetry, the women of Rako eloquently conveyed what often words alone struggle to express.

The PDRC’s Mobile Audio-Visual Unit (MAVU) introduced a transformative dimension to the reconciliation process. Armed with the power of film, this innovative initiative broke down communication barriers and ignited community engagement. Through compelling film screenings, the PDRC showcased stories of successful reconciliations from across the region. This visual journey of hope touched the heart of the matter, inspiring thousands to embrace the path of peace. Villagers, nomads, and grassroots communities came together, united by a shared vision to heal their fractured societies.

As Former Mayor Abdirisak apply noted,

"Many peace agreements were reached, but most often, they went unfulfilled because they were typically negotiated by clan elders who were not vested in the implementation process. Those who were either victims or on the front lines were excluded from the negotiations, leading to the failure of many agreements."

Therefore, we formed a committee of youth and women dedicated to implementing the agreements, particularly in terms of raising awareness. We also established a telephone hotline for the public to report any issues they might witness. PDRC played a crucial role in disseminating peace messages during a challenging time when communities were divided."



Case Study: Ms. Nura Mohamed explained that she hails from the Ali Saleban clan, while her mother and children belong to the opposing Muse Saleban clan. She described her situation as extremely challenging, being caught between the two conflicted parties. She expressed her determination not to give up and recounted how she decided to join the women who were leading the peace campaign. Leveraging her proficiency in Buraanbur, Ms. Nura thanked the Puntland Development and Research Centre (PDRC) for providing a platform that allowed their voices to reach their neighbours despite the security challenges.

During those difficult times, she shared that many members of her family lost their lives, causing her great distress. However, she couldn't abandon her children. Being someone who had always used Buraanbur as a means of self-expression, she narrated how she had a two-month-old son during

the conflict. She told her son, "Maxamuudow, reer tolkaa waan ka sii socdaa, soortii waan ka go'ay, oo sabarku waa i maran yahay, ee caano hayga sugin". Ms. Nura expressed her strong desire to witness the day when her two families would come to an agreement.

b. Galkayo conflict: insights and lessons of women's role in peace process

The Executive Director of the TAG Foundation, Honorable Asha Gelle Dirie, delivered a presentation on the role of Somali women in peace and reconciliation, focusing on the Galkayo conflict.

Galkayo, a city divided between the Puntland and Gal-Mudug States, has been the epicentre of numerous inter-clan conflicts, that resulted in the loss of thousands of lives, including militia and civilians. Despite multiple attempts at mediation by Somali elders, intellectuals, politicians, businesspeople, and international communities, sustainable peace remained elusive, women played a pivotal role in organizing various activities aimed at preventing conflict, promoting peace, and settling disputes. They actively engaged in conducting meetings, workshops, and conferences dedicated to peace and healing the scars of war. Their contributions were instrumental in maintaining peace and stability in Galkayo.

The people of Galkayo harnessed their indigenous knowledge of peacebuilding, including their traditional dispute resolution system, known as "Xeer." They initiated their own peace and reconciliation processes, which included the formation of joint peace committees and joint police units, with the support of local, regional, and state governments. Women were integral to all these processes.

The joint peace committees consisted of traditional elders, business representatives, youth, and women, working together to collectively address incidents related to clan conflicts.

Women, in particular, played a significant role in promoting the integration of the two communities, facilitating the removal of checkpoints, raising awareness among the population, and most importantly, actively participating in the peace process during armed conflicts, especially at the ceasefire stage.

Questions raised by the participants:

» Mr. Caaqil Abdirisak inquired whether there were notable women who supported warlords instead of peace, considering women's often-recognized role as peace agents. In response, Hon. Asha acknowledged that there were indeed a few women who had supported conflict but stressed that the same applied to a significant number of male figures. She suggested the compilation of a list that included both male and female warlords in Somalia who had acted against peace.

» Mr. Abdiqafar Ahmed asked about the strong women's organizations and umbrella groups that existed during the formation of Puntland, including We are Women Activists (WAWA) – a women organization based in Puntland. He wanted to know whom Hon. Asha Gelle had trained to advocate for women's issues in Puntland. Hon. Asha responded by stating that many young females had received training, emphasizing that the younger generation of women needed to exert effort to assume responsibilities and attain political positions.

Asha concluded her presentation by emphasizing the pivotal role of women in Somali societies, considering them the cornerstone of any peace and reconciliation efforts. She highlighted the informal roles women often play, such as cooking, organizing venues, accommodating guests, and raising awareness during challenging situations. She pointed out the significant challenge of women not being allowed to

participate in formal processes or sit at decision-making tables. Nevertheless, Asha emphasized that peacebuilding should be a collective responsibility, with Professor Ladan Affi underscoring that while credit for peace is typically attributed to elders and politicians, it's crucial not to overlook the contributions of all individuals, especially women who frequently contribute significantly but remain underrecognized in public.

Conclusion of the Theme

In conclusion, this theme highlights the exceptional experiences and invaluable lessons drawn from the Rako and Galkayo peace processes, showcasing the pivotal roles of women.

In the case of Rako, women's lyrical verses emerged as a transformative force, acting as bridges between feuding clans. Through their poignant poetry, these women transcended bitterness and distrust, conveying messages of unity and peace. Their verses have become ingrained in communal folklore, a timeless reminder of the potential for peace through shared humanity and connections.

The Galkayo conflict case study reveals active female participation in organizing events, workshops, and conferences aimed at promoting peace and healing war-induced wounds. Amidst the backdrop of clan conflicts in this divided city, women weren't just present in the peace process but were instrumental in resolving conflict-related incidents. They contributed to community integration, checkpoint clearance, and the ceasefires during armed conflicts.

These experiences underscore the need to acknowledge women's informal yet vital peacebuilding roles. While often working behind the scenes—organizing events, cooking, and providing support during difficult times—women are frequently excluded from formal decision-making processes and peace negotiations.

Theme 5: Mechanisms and Strategies for Sustainable Peace and Reconciliation

a. The Role of Sharia in Preventing and Resolving Conflicts

In his presentation, Sheikh Mohamoud Haji Yusuf, from Puntland Culima, the role of Sharia in preventing and resolving conflicts is significant, with religious scholars (referred to as 'Culimo') playing a vital role in the reconciliation process among conflicting groups. Islamic principles provide solutions for various forms of conflicts among human beings. This process is characterized by fairness and neutrality, leading people to accept the judgments delivered by the Culimo. The Culima primarily engages in addressing political and land conflicts, which are prevalent in the region, particularly in Puntland. In contemporary times, an increasing number of conflicts are related to drug-related issues, particularly the trade and use of substances like Qaat (khat) and alcohol.

Three methods are commonly used within Islamic jurisprudence for resolving disputes. They offer options for individuals and communities to seek justice and reconciliation in accordance with Islamic principles.

1. **Formal Court:** This is a court of law recognized by the government, which applies Sharia law. Such courts have legal authority and government backing to enforce judgments. They operate under the framework of established legal systems.
2. **Qaadi or Qaadiyaal:** In areas where formal Islamic courts may be absent or when individuals prefer an alternative to the formal legal system, they often turn to Qaadis. A Qadi is a Muslim judge who specializes in interpreting and applying the Sharia law. Within the Islamic scholar community (known as Culima),

the Qadi is often the most knowledgeable about Sharia law in the area. When individuals or parties come to Qaadis seeking resolution to their disputes, they are required to enter into a formal agreement known as a "Taxkiim" or "Qoordhibasho." This agreement signifies their commitment to accepting any verdict or judgment that the Qadi renders, regardless of whether it is in their favor or not. Qaadis have jurisdiction over a range of matters, including both civil and criminal cases. Their role is to render judgments in accordance with Sharia law, ensuring that these judgments are consistent with Islamic principles and values. The preference for seeking resolution from Qaadis, as opposed to the formal courts, can be attributed to several factors. Individuals often lack confidence in the formal courts due to concerns about fairness, neutrality, corruption, and nepotism. As a result, they turn to Qaadis for a more trusted and just alternative for dispute resolution within the framework of Sharia law.

3. **Sulh or Suluh (Pacification):** This process emphasizes reconciliation and is backed by several verses in the Quran. The Culima, including Qaadis and Islamic scholars, play a significant role in facilitating reconciliation, especially in clan-based conflicts. Sulh is a process aimed at restoring harmony and resolving disputes between parties through mediation and peaceful agreements.

Questions raised by participants:

- Mr. Hassan: When ordinary individuals are in conflict, Culimo often steps in to resolve and reconcile their disputes. However, the question arises: who facilitates reconciliation when conflicts emerge within the community of Culimo themselves? What is the position of the Culima as regards Al-Shabaab?

What is the role of scholars in achieving peace and stability in Somalia? In response, Sheikh Mohamoud Haji stated that Somali scholars do not engage in violent conflicts but may have ideological disagreements within the Culima. He emphasized that Al-Shabaab's ideology lacks a foundation in Islam, and the Somali Culima strongly disapproves of the group's violent actions against the Somali people. The Sheikh further emphasized that the Culima do not support Al-Shabaab's cause. He highlighted the Culima's integral role within the broader community, where their religious expertise guides the ethical and moral dimensions of peace and reconciliation in Somalia. Scholars provide guidance and offer religious interpretations to promote peace and stability, aligning peace initiatives with Islamic principles and values.

- » Mr. Ismail inquired about the Sheikh's opinion suggesting that religion and the current modern government cannot coexist and should be separated? In response, the Sheikh noted that this perspective is not new and has been present since the inception of modern states. However, he emphasized that Islam allows for integrating modern government systems and religious principles to function together. For example, he mentioned the close collaboration between the government of Puntland and the Culimo. The Puntland Culimo has played a significant role in the review and validation of the Puntland Constitution. Both state and federal constitutions are aligned with Islamic principles, ensuring that nothing fundamentally contradicts Islam.

Mrs. Asha: Somali conflicts seem endless. Do you think this is a consequence of our failure to obey God's commands, as our politicians often swear to act in a certain way when

elected and then act contrary to their promises? In response, the Sheikh acknowledged that this was indeed a reality, and he emphasized the negative consequences it had on the communities and the whole country.

- » Mr. Jama Egal: The effectiveness of the Culimo in conflict prevention appears to be limited. Despite their efforts to raise awareness, preach peace, and discourage violence, conflicts continue to persist throughout the country. Does this indicate that their methods of preaching may need reconsideration? In response, the Sheikh stated that this point of view is indeed valid. While the Culimo primarily convey their message within the mosque, it is essential for everyone to actively disseminate the message of peace and impart these valuable teachings to individuals in various settings, including their homes. Furthermore, incorporating peace education into the curriculum in educational institutions, alongside civic education, can contribute to fostering a sense of love for one's people and country among students.

b. Transitional Justice and Peacebuilding

This topic provided a platform to delve into the nuanced dynamics of post-conflict societies, particularly focusing on the Somali context. Our discussions have illuminated the critical relationship between transitional justice and the quest for lasting peace, echoing the sentiment that peace and justice are inextricably intertwined. During the conference sessions, we navigated through the transformative potential of transitional justice initiatives, exploring their impact on protracted conflicts, with a specific case study of Galkayo, Somalia. Our journey has led us to discover the emerging prominence of traditional, informal, and local mechanisms in transitional justice, revolutionizing the discourse in academic and policy circles.



Transitional Justice Initiative as a Panacea for the Protracted Conflicts in Somalia. The case of Galkayo

In his presentation, Mr. Anwar Abdifatah Bashir, representing East African Institute for Peace and Governance, explored the potential of Transitional Justice Initiatives in resolving protracted conflicts in Somalia, focusing on the case of Galkayo. The role of traditional, informal, or local mechanisms in transitional justice has gained prominence in academic discourse and policy discussions (Peacebuilding Initiative). The presentation emphasized two significant transitional justice initiatives and offered policy recommendations.

One of these initiatives is the Galkayo Community Trials (GACOT). GACOT represents a locally driven approach to address ongoing conflicts in Galkayo. Given the challenges faced by the formal court system in Somalia, an alternative mechanism is required to address numerous cases effectively. GACOT envisions the active participation of respected individuals within local communities, including religious leaders, traditional elders, and individuals with strong moral standing, who would serve as judges or mediators.

The other initiative is the CAFIS (Forgiveness Program), a ground-breaking effort that took place in 2018. This program was organized through media campaigns and led by

Somali-Finnish journalist Wali Hashi, with the support of other prominent journalists, including Abdalla Ahmed Mumin, an award-winning freelance journalist and human rights defender.

The initiatives discussed in this paper, including GACOT and CAFIS, illustrate the resilience and collective determination of the Somali people to heal wounds, bridge differences, and work toward a brighter and more harmonious future.

Policy Recommendations:

Promote Reconciliation and Healing:

Following the timeless wisdom of the old Somali proverb, "The Best Bed That a Man Can Sleep on is Peace," our efforts in Galkayo should prioritize reconciling the divided communities on both sides of the city. To achieve this, local authorities and community leaders should actively engage in dialogue and reconciliation processes.

Promote Community-Based Trials:

Encourage localized trials conducted within affected communities, where community leaders and respected figures participate as mediators and judges. This approach fosters community ownership and engagement in conflict resolution processes, contributing to sustainable peace and reconciliation in Galkayo.

The Relationship between Peace and Justice in Post-Conflict Societies: The Case of Somalia

In his presentation, Mr. Jama M. Jabiri, representing PDRC, delved into the intricate relationship between peace and justice within post-conflict societies, using Somalia as a pertinent case study. His central argument revolved around the notion that lasting peace and reconciliation could not be achieved without addressing the complex issue of assigning responsibility for crimes and acts of political violence committed in the name of specific individuals or institutions. He asserted that unless this issue was effectively tackled, the Somali people would remain burdened by the painful legacy of their history.

Mr. Jama's presentation introduced the concept of Xalay Dhalay (metaphorically meaning "born last night"), a term signifying 'complete forgiveness of past crimes,' a central element of transitional justice. He emphasized that while this concept is a valuable tool in the process of post-conflict recovery, it should not be viewed as a singular, magical solution to the deeply ingrained scars of past atrocities and the persistent, unresolved grievances that continue to plague Somali society.

Mr. Jama's talk underscored the multifaceted nature of post-conflict peacebuilding, which necessitates a comprehensive approach that combines transitional justice, reconciliation efforts, and ongoing dialogue among all stakeholders. His insights shed light on the challenges facing Somalia and other post-conflict societies in their quest for a harmonious and just future. The following highlights the discussion that came after the presentations:

In 1991 the Somali people fought, without questioning what was fought for, they came back and established a government, so don't the Somali people need to reconcile and forgive each other? Again, the documentation

of the problems cannot be done until it is together recognized who did the problems and the problem itself, because someone who is a killer at a side, maybe a hero in his family. There are some documented human rights violations in Somalia. The problem in Somalia is that those who fight or make violations are sometimes part of the government and have representatives in the system, making them shielded.

To account for what happened, do we go back and build a system of government without asking anything about what happened, or do we need transitional justice? Rwanda and South-Africa are among the countries where transitional justice has been practiced, the only difference is that they didn't need state-building while the Somali state was destroyed, and it is the government that is supposed to lead the justice system.

Hassan Sheikh Mohamed: "If Transitional justice is agreed to be practiced in Somalia, the first thing that will be discussed is when did it start? Is it in 1991, because some people think that during the early days of the Somali government of Siad Barre, there was injustice, investigations are quite difficult. So, sometimes it is possible to let go of what has happened or to be forgiven to avoid further problems.

Conclusion of the Theme

In conclusion, this theme has reaffirmed that the pursuit of peace and justice is a shared endeavor. It is a comprehensive journey that demands the unwavering commitment of all stakeholders, continued dialogue, and a deep dedication to building a more just and peaceful future for post-conflict societies. The knowledge and experiences shared in this theme will undoubtedly contribute to the national discourse on transitional justice and its critical role in the pursuit of enduring peace.



Theme 6: Peace, Security, and Integration in the Horn of Africa

Within the context of this theme, the Peace, Security, and Integration in the Horn of Africa, an exploration into the regional dynamics of government and their historical backgrounds reveals a compelling narrative. The regions, particularly in the Horn of Africa, have distinct historical trajectories with varying degrees of success and challenges.

The theme underscores the significance of regional integration as a means to foster reconciliation, overcome fear, suspicion, and mistrust, and to pave the way for a shared vision that holds appeal for the entire region. Ethiopia and Kenya serve as prominent examples of countries that have established well-defined visions for their regional integration efforts. Their progress in this regard demonstrates a tangible commitment to working together for the betterment of the region. However, the case of Somalia tells a different story. The nation, grappling with internal issues and complexities, has yet to find resolution and chart a cohesive vision

vision for regional integration. This contrast between the different nations in the Horn of Africa emphasizes the urgent need for Somalia to address its internal challenges and strive for a unified vision that can foster regional cohesion.

Discussions on the Horn of Africa's Peace and Integration

The participants engaged in a fruitful discussion on the topics of peace, security, and regional integration in the Horn of Africa countries during the conference. The major points raised during the discussion included:

- » Mr. Anwar Abdifatah put forth the viewpoint that Somalia's readiness for regional integration is currently compromised by several pressing factors. Somalia continues to grapple with its fight against Al-Shabaab, a conflict that remains unresolved. Furthermore, Ethiopia is undergoing a complex period of transition, making it essential to address these protracted challenges before venturing into regional integration. The perspective underscores the need to first prioritize addressing

internal conflicts and transitions as a prerequisite for participating effectively in regional integration efforts. By addressing these pressing issues, Somalia can position itself more favorably for successful integration and play a constructive role in regional cooperation.

- » However, Professor Badiyow presented a contrary viewpoint, arguing that Somalia has long aspired to unite the Somali regions across different countries, dating back to the 1943 vision of a Greater Somalia. This idea proposed the unification of the Somali region in Ethiopia, the Somali region in Kenya, and Somalis in Djibouti with Somalia as one cohesive nation.
- » Professor Badiyow strongly advocated for regional integration, emphasizing that it aligns with Somalia's historical aspirations of rebuilding a Greater Somalia. He asserted that the regional integration process can bring the missing Somali regions in Ethiopia, Kenya, and Djibouti closer to Somalia. Moreover, the process would facilitate cultural integration among these Somali populations and promote trade and business activities. Professor Badiyow's perspective encourages embracing the regional integration process, highlighting the numerous potential benefits it could bring to Somalia, particularly in terms of cultural exchange and economic opportunities.
- » Minister Abdi Farah 'Juxa' approached the matter from a different angle. He underscored the internal disintegration within Somalia, emphasizing that Somaliland claims to be a separate entity and has been in a state of secession from Somalia for the past three decades. This unresolved issue remains a significant challenge. Furthermore,

Minister Juxa pointed out the fragility of the federal system within Somalia, which has contributed to the country's status as a fragile state. Given these internal challenges and divisions, he raised the critical question of how Somalia, with its current internal fragmentation, could achieve successful regional integration. He also questioned whether the current generation has the necessary capacity and institutional framework, particularly within Somalia, to effectively pursue this ambitious goal. While acknowledging the positive aspect of regional integration, he highlighted the substantial hurdles and uncertainties that must be addressed.

- » Mr. Ahmed Macalin, from Garissa University, provided an optimistic perspective, stating that the time is right for integration. He encouraged a positive outlook and urged against pessimism regarding the integration process. Mr. Macalin emphasized that regional integration benefits people in the Horn of Africa who live in countries such as Ethiopia, Eritrea, Djibouti, Somalia, and extending up to Kenya. He believed that these communities take pride in being industrious and innovative. His viewpoint centered on the idea that integration could unlock vast potential and opportunities for these regions, fostering a sense of pride and achievement among the people.
- » Minister Mohamed A. Dhamancad highlighted the importance of regional cooperation and the evolving nature of regional factors that are shaping integration in the area. He noted that Somalia is poised to participate actively in regional integration. Minister Dhamancad pointed out the significance of regional factors that are not de jure but may lead to an integration framework. One of the key areas he

counterterrorism efforts are no longer confined to individual countries but have become regional and global concerns. In the realm of security and counterterrorism, Minister Dhamancad emphasized the need for regional frameworks, although these may not be fully institutionalized. He cited the example of Ethiopia and Kenya as frontline countries that have come to Somalia to support the government in its fight against terrorism. Additionally, he highlighted Somalia's role in providing information to neighboring countries regarding terrorist activities and movements. The Minister's perspective underscored that regional cooperation and the evolving regional landscape play a crucial role in integration efforts.

» Dr. Mohamed expressed viewpoint that it might be more practical and meaningful for each country in the Horn of Africa to focus on resolving its internal issues rather than striving for integration of inter-governmental organizations. He drew a comparison with regions like the European Union (EU) and Scandinavia, noting that these regions have well-defined roadmaps for integration that require specific standards to be met. He mentioned that countries in these regions often seek approval from their citizens through referendums before deciding to join a union like the EU. Dr. Mohamed cited the examples of

Norway and Switzerland, which are not part of the EU, and highlighted that both countries held referendums where their citizens chose not to join the EU. He concluded by suggesting that regional integration in the Horn of Africa may not be an immediate goal but rather a milestone that can be achieved as a result of resolving conflicts and addressing internal issues within each country.

» Professor Yeshtila Wondemeneh, representing Addis Ababa University, emphasized the significant role of inter-governmental organizations such as IGAD (Intergovernmental Authority on Development) and the AU (African Union) in promoting peace and security in the Horn of Africa and the broader African continent. He acknowledged IGAD's substantial contributions to peace processes in Somalia and South Sudan. However, he noted that the current regional crises and mounting pressures have stretched IGAD's capacity. Professor Yeshtila provided examples of ongoing conflicts in Sudan, the fight against terrorist organizations in Somalia, and internal challenges in Ethiopia, all of which are straining the region. He emphasized the need for additional inter-governmental organizations and closer collaboration among the countries in the region to address peace, security, and development issues more effectively.

Conclusion of the Theme

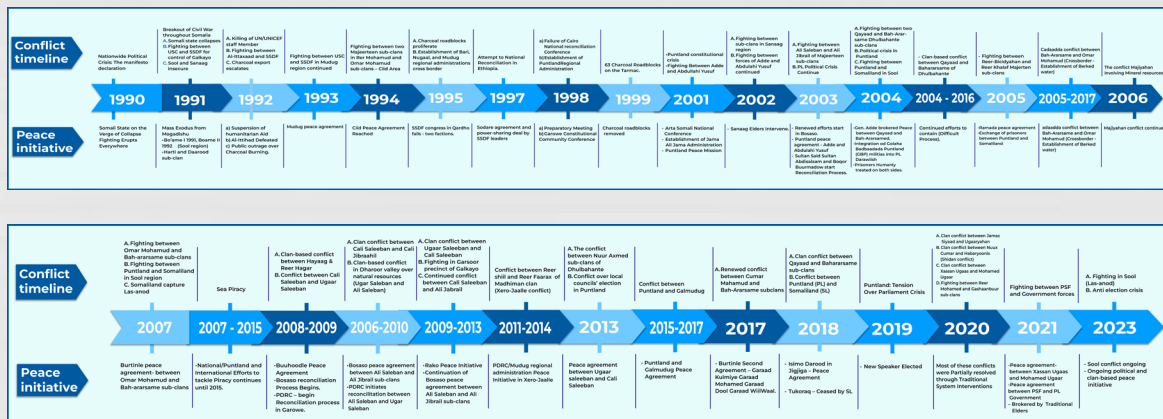
In conclusion, the conference provided invaluable insights into the intricate web of historical legacies, challenges, and aspirations that define the peace, security, and integration landscape in the Horn of Africa. Despite the persistent hurdles, the beacon of hope for the region lies in the promise of regional integration. This collective endeavour holds the potential to usher in lasting peace, shared prosperity, and enhanced unity among the nations of the Horn of Africa. The conference underscored the imperative of regional integration to effectively tackle the escalating security challenges that individual countries cannot address in isolation.

Recommendations:

1. It is crucial to provide financial and logistical assistance, particularly in the form of transportation, to support local peace committees.
2. Government regulations and laws pertaining to land tenancy and new settlements must be effectively enforced.
3. It is imperative to enhance the proficiency of local committees by improving their expertise and abilities.
4. The state and federal government's role should be strengthened in enforcing peace agreements while addressing actions that undermine stability.
5. Collaborative community-based peace committees should be established in all regions affected by inter-clan conflicts as a means of promoting peaceful coexistence.
6. Establishing legal frameworks within Somalia's governmental structure - including both the federal government and member states - is essential for managing and resolving persistent community conflicts within the nation.

Annex1:

thirty-three (33) years of peace and conflict timeline in Puntland



Annex2: Communique



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