

# DIALOGUE FOR PEACE

## Somali Programme



# Peacemaking at the Crossroads

## Consolidation of the 1993 Mudug Peace Agreement



**PDRC**  
**PUNTLAND DEVELOPMENT**  
**RESEARCH CENTER**

**Garowe, Puntland**

Phone: (+252 5) 84 4480

Thuraya: +88 216 4333 8170

**Galkayo**

Phone: (+252 5) 85 4200

Thuraya: +88 216 43341184

[pdrc@interpeace.org](mailto:pdrc@interpeace.org)

[www.pdrc.somalia.org](http://www.pdrc.somalia.org)

## **Acknowledgements**

**Editor: Ralph Johnstone, The WordWorks**

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and Pat Johnson**

*Cover photo: PDRC. Elders at ease at the Puntland Development Research Centre in Garowe, sitting next to one of the mahogany saplings planted by PDRC Director, Abdurahman Shuke.*

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# Dialogue for Peace

How WSP International and its three partners are working to consolidate peace and support better governance across the Somali region

Rebuilding a country after conflict is about far more than repairing damaged buildings and re-establishing public institutions. Fundamentally, it is about restoring the people's trust and confidence in governance systems and the rule of law, rebuilding relationships at all levels, and providing the population with greater hope for the future. These processes are all critical to the consolidation of peace and security in fragile post-conflict situations. When they are neglected, the threat of conflict re-emerging is very real.

In this sense, state-building and peace-building are potentially contradictory processes – the former requiring the consolidation of governmental authority, the latter involving its moderation through compromise and consensus. The challenge for both national and international peacemakers is to situate reconciliation firmly within the context of state-building, while employing state-building as a platform for the development of mutual trust and lasting reconciliation. In Somali region, it goes without saying that neither of these processes can be possible without the broad and inclusive engagement of the Somali people.

WSP International – recently renamed the International Peacebuilding Alliance (Interpeace) – launched its Somali Programme in the northeastern part of Somali region known as Puntland in 1996. It subsequently expanded its programme to Somaliland in 1999, and to south-central Somalia in 2000. Working with highly respected local peace-building institutions established with the programme's support – the Puntland Development Research Centre (PDRC) in Garowe, the Academy for Peace and Development (APD) in Hargeysa, and the Center for Research and Dialogue (CRD) in Mogadishu – WSP has employed a highly successful 'Participatory Action Research' methodology to advance and support interlinked processes of peace-building and state formation. WSP's experience in the Somali region over the past decade indicates that the understanding and trust developed through the PAR methodology can help to resolve conflicts directly, while at the same time building consensual approaches to address the social, economic and political issues necessary for a durable peace.

As well as groundbreaking research throughout the Somali region, the Dialogue for Peace programme has provided unique opportunities for the three partners to engage with each other in collaborative studies and shared projects. In 2004, the CRD and PDRC teams agreed to combine their efforts in a jointly-managed peace-building programme. While managing its component of the Dialogue independently, the APD has continued to collaborate with the other two institutions on key technical and methodological issues. Over the past two years, the three partners have met regularly with WSP's Somali programme team to plan and coordinate their respective activities, as well as with a 'Dialogue Support Group' comprising the programme's donors at the European Commission, DfID, USAID, Switzerland, Sweden, Norway, Finland, Italy and Denmark.

The Dialogue's consultative process has involved extensive consultations with all sectors of society, from national-level political and business leaders to local elders and community leaders, youth and women's groups, NGOs and civil society organisations. Its Participatory Action Research has provided for an inclusive, consensus-oriented dialogue led by local actors and facilitated by Somali research teams based at each of the partner institutions. The discussions have been documented in written and video form, and every effort has been made to engage the local media and disseminate the findings as broadly and objectively as possible.

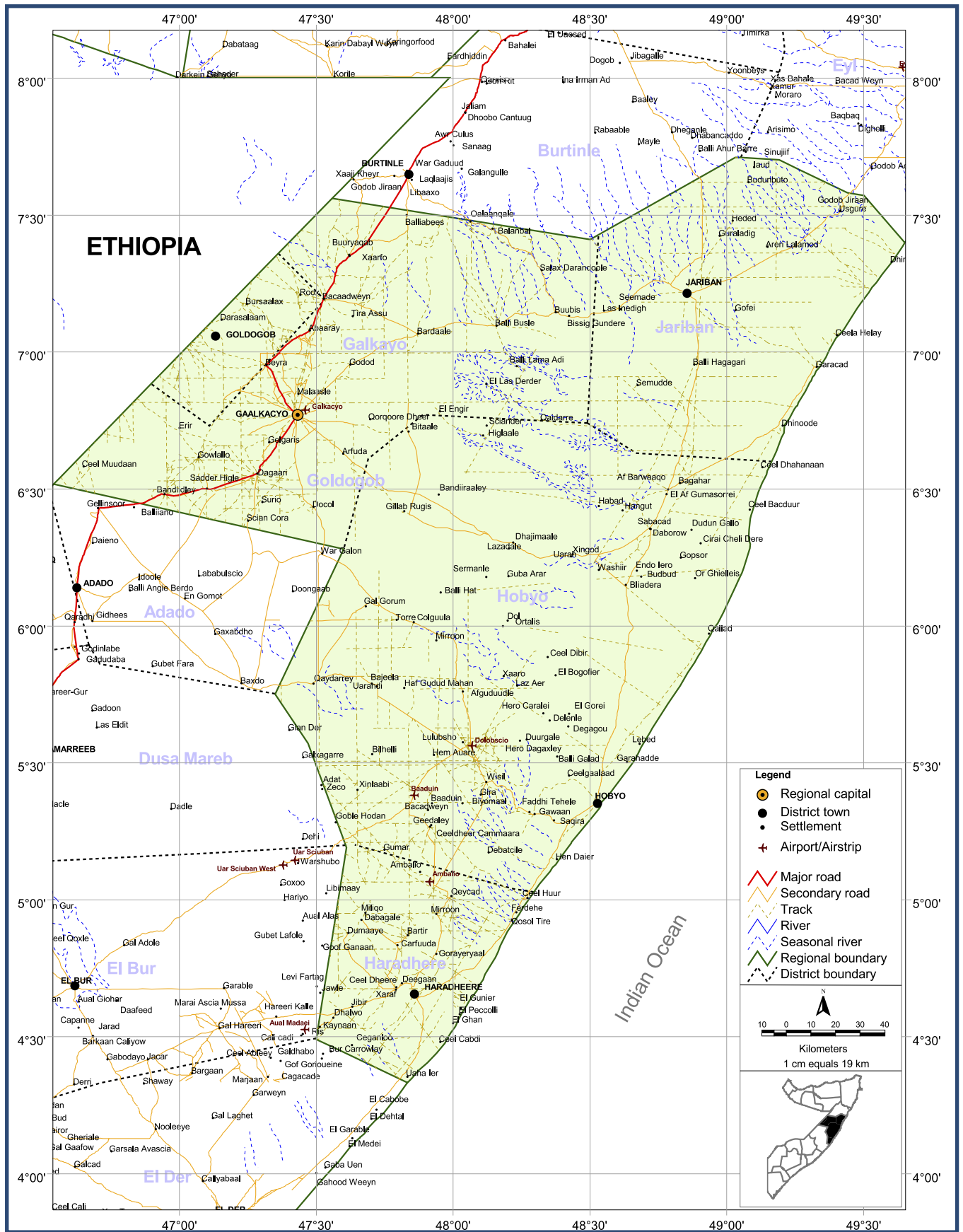
Initial consultations by each partner institution were based upon detailed ‘actor and conflict mapping,’ which enabled the programme to identify local and regional priorities for dialogue, as well as respected leaders to guide and promote the dialogue process. At the Project Group meetings held in November 2004 by PDRC and CRD in Nairobi and by APD in Hargeysa, several areas of focus, or ‘entry points,’ were agreed upon for research and discussion in each area. For APD, the focal areas were: democratisation; decentralisation of governance; and resource-based conflict. The PDRC’s areas of focus were: democratisation; public fund management; consolidation of the Mudug Peace Agreement; and reconciliation. The CRD’s focal areas were: security and stabilisation; the roles of the business sector and civil society in peace-building; and reconciliation.

At the outset of the main ‘consultative phase,’ Working Groups of primary stakeholders were established to guide the work on each focus area and to develop plans of action. The groups’ activities included: information gathering and analysis; the identification of key local, regional and national actors whose views or engagement would be required; consultations through interviews, workshops, informal and formal meetings at local, inter-regional or national levels; and the engagement of resource persons to provide particular expertise on complex issues. Extensive consultations over a period of a year or more were essential to ensure sustained public interest and to raise key issues to the level of political decision-makers. Each of the partners also organised regular forums for public discussion of topical issues of concern, as well as engaging in informal liaison as a means of conflict prevention.

This report forms part of a final series of publications designed to formally ‘package’ the findings of these consultations – both as a record for those involved, and as a formal presentation of findings and recommendations to the national and regional authorities and their supporters. Together with a short documentary film on each of the focal areas, it is also hoped that these publications will provide a practical platform for the sharing of lessons learned during each of these groundbreaking consultations.

In response to requests from different stakeholders, including members of the different governance structures, the Dialogue for Peace also set out to take its ‘research-for-action’ beyond the stage of recommendations to include more material contributions to peace- and state-building. One example was the reduction of tensions in Sool after a high-profile exchange of prisoners between Somaliland and Puntland, following extensive behind-the-scenes mediation supported by the APD and PDRC. To ensure that such practical hands-on support will continue into the next phase of the Dialogue, WSP has also initiated a comprehensive programme of managerial training, technical capacity building, and fundraising support at each of its partner institutions. And of course, it is continuing to provide practical opportunities for the three institutions to meet together and with other like-minded organisations in order to support other initiatives to foster long-term peace for the Somali people.

# Map of Mudug Region





# Consolidation of the Mudug Peace Agreement

## 1. Introduction

Signed in Mogadishu on June 4th 1993, the Mudug Peace Agreement stands as an historic milestone on the long road to peace in Somalia. The groundbreaking accord, signed by the then leader of the Somali Salvation Democratic Front and current President of the Transitional Federal Government, Abdullahi Yousuf Ahmed, and the late General Mohamed Farah Aideed, Chairman of the United Somali Congress (USC), heralded the end of direct hostilities in one of the most insecure regions of post-war Somalia – and the potential of social and economic recovery for a people devastated by decades of internecine warfare.

As a region of diverse clans and strategic geo-political importance, central Somalia has gained a reputation as an ‘epicentre’ of the country’s civil strife – and of its recent efforts towards reconciliation. Long before the birth of the Somali state, Mudug was a hotspot for clashes between the Habar-Gidir and Majeerteen – sub-clans of the Hawiye and Darood – who traditionally fought over its scarce water and grazing lands. As opposition to the authoritarian rule of Siad Barre increased in the late 1970s, the dictator deployed a ‘scorched earth’



*Loaded camels in Jiriban.*

policy in Mudug to punish an early rebellion involving Majeerteen military officers in Mogadishu. Barre went on to aggravate clan divisions through ‘divide-and-rule’ tactics in an attempt to control trade and population movements between north and south Somalia through the critical central regions. During the 1980s, the rivalry between Mudug’s dominant clans intensified, fuelled by Barre’s continued undermining of their

traditional conflict resolution mechanisms, the growing political ambitions of local leaders, and increasing competition for the spoils of the rich livestock trade passing through Galkayo en route to the northern port of Berbera.

In many respects, Mudug – and its peace – are pivotal to the entire future of Somalia: as a vital crossroads for trade with the Somali regions of Eastern Ethiopia; a commercial ‘meeting-point’ for the nation’s northern and southern regions; and – perhaps most importantly – as a unique melting pot in which the Darood, Hawiye and other clans meet and interact. When it was signed in 1993, the Mudug Peace Agreement cemented an inter-clan truce between the Majeerteen and Habar-Gidir, averting the escalation of war in the region and its likely spread into the northeastern regions. However, the Agreement was never fully implemented – primarily because of rivalries within the Habar-Gidir leadership of the South Mudug clans. While the truce has held, the consolidation of peace – which would allow reconciliation, governance and socio-economic development – has yet to follow.

### A Central Peace-Building Role

Mudug is a strategically vital region of central Somalia, linking Southern Somalia, the northeast (Puntland), Somaliland and the Somali-inhabited regions of Eastern Ethiopia, via the busy crossroads of Galkayo town. With five districts – three in the north and two in the south – Mudug stretches from Burtinle, bordering Nugal

in the north, and Galdogob, on the Ethiopian border, to coastal Hobyo and Harardheere on the border with Galguduud. Despite its strategic importance, however, there are no clearly demarcated boundaries between Mudug's districts, or between its various clans and sub-clans – a problem common to many parts of Somalia.



*Galkayo street scene.*

North and South Mudug are largely inhabited by the Darood and Hawiye respectively, which are predominantly represented here by the Majeerteen and Habar-Gidir sub-clans. Traditional rivals for both political power and pastoral resources, these two groups have observed a truce but have not yet fully reconciled since the signing of the 1993 Mudug Peace Agreement. However, one of the primary functions of the Agreement – to avert an escalation of war into the northeast – has held, and, while not all of its terms and provisions have been fully implemented, the treaty has brought relative stability to the region. The rival communities continue to co-

exist in Galkayo – although divided by a ‘*de facto* line’ – and traditional elders of both clans have attempted to manage the chronic insecurity across the divide. In recent years, the battle-scarred city has emerged as a vibrant and highly successful centre for Somalia's livestock and commodities trades. Nevertheless, the sharp contrast between the establishment of governance and rapid social and economic growth in North Galkayo and the lack of development and ensuing poverty south of the ‘*de facto* line,’ combined with continuing problems of insecurity and crime, reflect the need for a comprehensive resolution of outstanding differences to allow for lasting peace and cohabitation.



*Rebuilding houses in Galkayo. © Interpeace/Ryan Anson*

Over the past few years, Mudug's fragile peace has been rocked by several outbreaks of fighting in South Mudug and Galguduud, which have had the potential for broader repercussions among the parties to the Mudug peace accord. In 2003-04, violent conflict between the Dir and Marehan clans in Xeraale left scores of people dead. In mid-2004, a series of clashes between two dominant sub-clans of the Habar-Gidir, the Sa'ad and Saleebaan, escalated from sporadic conflicts over access to pasture to become a serious threat by the middle of 2005, as the involvement of Mogadishu-based leaders of the rival groups led to several major battles in South Mudug and northern Galguduud (see Timeline on page 22). A peace pact brokered by the leaders in Mogadishu in early 2006 was reinforced by the timely intervention of the Transitional Federal Government (TFG), leading to a formal ceasefire on February 25th.



If anything, the conflict between the Sa'ad and the Saleebaan has served to highlight the fragility of the peace in Mudug – particularly the dangerous potential of conflicts in the south to spill over into the region. The tendency of Mogadishu-based leaders to run these conflicts by 'remote control' also underlines a critical failing of previous efforts to consolidate the Mudug Peace Agreement – namely that the region is an 'epicentre' of Somalia's political battleground not only because of its local clan composition, but also because of political ambitions centred in the capital. The 'Mogadishu pull' on the leadership of the Habar-Gidir has continued to present the communities of South Mudug with a local leadership crisis, aggravated by the loss of virtually all of the senior Habar-Gidir traditional leaders in 1993 when US forces shelled a high-level reconciliation meeting in Mogadishu. In the face of the 'Mogadishu pull,' combined with more general governance challenges in south-central Somalia, very little progress has been made in South Galkayo or South Mudug in establishing the local governance structures necessary to serve as counterparts to those established in the north after 1993.

As well as its vital strategic position between northern and southern Somalia, the city of Galkayo is also the home of Abdullahi Yousuf, president of the TFG and one of the principal architects of the Mudug Peace Agreement. The escalating conflict in South Mudug and Galguduud in 2005, which was disrupting trade and free movement between the north and south and aggravating the effects of a severe drought, thus also posed simultaneous threats to the nascent TFG and the home base of the new president.

Even before the escalation of the intra-Habar-Gidir conflict in South Mudug, their neighbours in North Mudug had recognised the critical importance of revisiting and consolidating the principles of the original peace



Galkayo market scene.

deal signed by their leaders in 1993. As well as criminals escaping justice by crossing the 'de facto line,' revenge killings between communities in the south and north continued to exacerbate insecurity in both urban and rural areas. The protracted nature of the conflict between north and south left elders on both sides bereft of the traditional mechanisms through which they would have addressed such violations in the past. The animosity bred by the civil war, which resulted in mass displacement of the Majeerteen

from their homes in Mogadishu and the south, and the lack of reconciliation since, has disrupted virtually every traditional link between the clans, including inter-clan marriages – which had enabled women to cross clan divides and provide a badly-needed vehicle for mediation and reconciliation.

All of these factors led to the 'Consolidation of the 1993 Mudug Peace Agreement' emerging as one of the most pressing regional priorities in an extensive public consultation exercise undertaken by the Puntland Development Research Centre (PDRC) and its international partner, WSP International, in early 2004. The consultation, which canvassed everyone from state politicians to local youth groups, identified consolidation of the 1993 Agreement as a critical area for further research and inter-clan dialogue under the partners' Dialogue for Peace programme. The central location of Mudug also provided a unique opportunity for cross-regional collaboration between the PDRC, based in Garowe, and its southern counterpart, the

Center for Research and Dialogue (CRD) in Mogadishu. This 'inter-regional' cooperation also represented a significant symbolic shift in the Somali context from the fragmentation of the civil war towards greater cross-border collaboration and cooperation.

## A Place in History

Long before Somalia was plunged into its current political crisis, Mudug presented major challenges as a crossroads of inter-clan conflict. As long ago as 1930, under Italian colonial rule, skirmishes between the Hawiye and Darood over grazing rights prompted the Italian governor, Tomasselli, to attempt to delineate an imaginary security line, or 'clan border' between the two groups.

The fragmentation of Somalia into clan-based 'fiefdoms' was one of the consequences of the Ogaden war between Ethiopia and Somalia in 1977, which led to the formation of dozens of groups opposed to the Siad Barre regime, each with its own heavily armed militia. Although these 'fiefdoms' emerged as a result of the divided political elite, their leadership drew on their clans for support – including their militia. Following the failed military coup involving Majeerteen officers in Mogadishu in 1978, one of the first groups to establish itself was the Somali Salvation Democratic Front (SSDF), formed by prominent, principally Majeerteen political and military figures from Mudug in 1979. Later other leaders established similar armed groups drawing support from the Isaaq and Hawiye, although their only common ground was opposition to the Barre regime. As Lee Cassanelli writes in *Explaining the Somali Crisis*: "Organised opposition to Barre's autocratic rule began in the aftermath of the abortive Ogaden campaign and continued to grow through the 1980s, until virtually every region and clan had produced an anti-Barre movement."

Across south-central Somalia, including Mudug, growing inter-clan fighting led to huge losses of life, turning neighbours into enemies, and forcing hundreds of thousands of people to flee the country. In his famous 1990 history, *The Warrior Mullah, the Horn Aflame*, Professor Ray Beachey alludes to the hostilities generated by the ancient warrior cultures of Mudug: "In such a harsh and forbidding land, life is hazardous in the extreme and fiercely competitive: there is much rivalry between lineage groups over ancient water rights and ancestral claims to grazing areas, and this frequently flares up into outright hostility and tribal warfare." The divided elite capitalised on these historic clan rivalries to cement their own power bases.

After the formation of the SSDF, many ordinary Majeerteen in Mudug were subjected to detention, torture, confiscation of assets, and systematic intimidation by the Barre regime. Between 1980 and 1982, as part of Barre's 'scorched earth' policy, government troops demolished water-points and *berkads* (catchments) in many of the towns and villages of Mudug and neighbouring Nugal.

This campaign of coercion served to establish even stronger opposition in Mudug which, combined with the results of Barre's 'divide-and-rule' tactics, created deep rifts between the area's clans and sub-clans. Without a unified opposition to systematically challenge the Barre regime, old rivalries between the Darood and Hawiye re-emerged and intensified. Although the Majeerteen and the Hawiye eventually both became part of the armed opposition to Siad Barre, the dictator had effectively exploited the longer-term rivalry between the two clans and there were several outbreaks of fighting between them in the late 1980s and early '90s.

While the SSDF, USC/SNA and other faction leaders were attending the Addis Ababa reconciliation conference in March 1993, General Aideed's USC forces mounted another attack on Galkayo. Despite Aideed's claims that he advocated regional autonomy for Mudug, this resurgence of fighting and the ill-disguised political ambitions of several prominent politicians in the region made it clear that a special agreement would be required to secure the long-term peace of Mudug. In May 1993, Abdullahi Yousuf

and General Aideed travelled to Mogadishu to meet with traditional leaders from the region's warring communities. The result, on June 4th, was the signing of the celebrated Mudug Peace Agreement.



*Traditional elders at a meeting in Galkayo.*

As the late Somali scholar, Ahmed Yousuf Farah, noted in WSP's definitive 2001 study, *Rebuilding Somalia: Issues and Possibilities for Puntland*, the Mudug Agreement not only answered the need to secure a vital trade route through Galkayo, but also to establish joint security structures between the traditional *isimo* authorities of the Majeerteen and other Darood sub-clans and the Habar-Gidir. These joint structures were considered vital to prevent further incidents of looting and camel-rustling from degenerating into all-out clan warfare.

## Building on the Peace

The overriding importance of the Mudug Peace Agreement – not only to peace in the region, but to the broader economic and political stability of the Somali nation – was highlighted in the Dialogue for Peace programme's Consultative Survey in early 2004. Working with local politicians, elders and civil society organisations, the PDRC, with the support of the WSP Somali Programme, spent several months 'mapping' Puntland's most pressing political and social priorities in a comprehensive baseline survey covering Bosaso, Gardo, Garowe and Galkayo. The issues identified were then put to local leaders in a series of high-profile consultative meetings, with a final ranking that identified democratisation of the Puntland political system and public revenue management as the most pressing priorities at the local level, the consolidation of the 1993 Mudug Peace Agreement at the regional level, and national reconciliation at the country level.

Through a comprehensive process of participatory action research, group discussions and training, and cross-regional collaboration, the PDRC/WSP project set itself four primary goals to build upon the initial successes of the Mudug Peace Agreement:

- To continue reducing inter-clan tensions and conflict in Mudug;
- To enable traditionally opposing clans to share natural resources and guarantee a lasting peace;
- To strengthen the flow of trade and commerce through the region; and
- To work towards durable peace- and state-building in Mudug and for Somalia as a whole.

To establish an all-inclusive, consensus-oriented process of consultation, the PDRC aimed to bring a variety of stakeholders from North and South Mudug together in neutral and open discussion forums at the community level. As well as elders and traditional leaders, these included members of the business community, women's and youth groups, and religious leaders, who were invited to attend a series of workshops, training sessions and meetings – primarily in Galkayo. These key stakeholders, together with religious leaders and representatives of local clan militias, were invited to form a principal Working Group to guide and supervise the project activities, while Focus Groups comprising local politicians and civil society representatives were established to examine specific research topics.



At the same time, one of WSP's other partner institutions, the Mogadishu-based Center for Research and Dialogue (CRD), was engaged in broad discussions in the capital with key political leaders and deal-makers from south-central Somalia with regard to the resolution of the enduring conflict in South Mudug.



*Elders at a conflict resolution meeting in Galkayo.*

### **Key Issues**

Early discussions in Puntland on the future of the Mudug Peace Agreement made links with the ongoing IGAD-led peace talks in Kenya on a federal system of administration for the whole of the former Somali Republic. Concerns focused on the future status, under a federal system, of Mudug and Galguduud, as well as the disputed regions of Sool and Sanaag and the district of 'Ain, which are claimed by both Puntland and Somaliland. Many participants in the consultative survey had noted that these two distinct areas of contention present a major challenge to both national reconciliation and federalism. In particular, while North Mudug (traditionally Darood/Majeerteen territory) forms part of the clan-based Puntland State, South Mudug is traditionally Hawiye/Habar-Gidir territory and currently is not part of any federal state. In addition, these divisions along clan lines leave Galkayo as a divided city.

Almost all of the people interviewed agreed that Mudug was and remains an 'epicentre' of political and civil strife in Somalia. The fact that the Darood and the Hawiye share the region gives it a unique position on the country's political map. The clan interests and strong political ambitions of certain local leaders also continue to threaten the precarious peace between the two clans. The main challenges posed to the Mudug Peace Agreement, and the key actors who will ultimately decide their fate, are summarised in the table on the following page.

**Table 1: Summary of Resolved and Unresolved Issues Associated with Mudug**

ISSUE	COMMON RESPONSES	KEY POLITICAL ACTORS
<p><b>Political problems in Mudug</b></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Competition for central power by political elites (Darood/Hawiye)</li> <li>• Perception of region as epicentre of Somali political conflict</li> <li>• Absence of key political leaders from South Mudug (based in Mogadishu)</li> <li>• Scarcity of pasture and water have created a permanent conflict area</li> <li>• No shared administration</li> <li>• Fear of clan expansionism trends following the collapse of the State</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Political leaders: M. Farah (Aidid), Abdullahi Yousuf, Abdulahi Ahmed Addow, Osman H. Ali (Atto), Ali Ismail Abdi</li> <li>• Traditional leaders</li> <li>• Business community</li> <li>• Clans</li> </ul>
<p><b>Effectiveness of Mudug Peace Agreement</b></p>	<p><i>Mainly implemented:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Cessation of hostilities, revival of commerce in region, return of Habar-Gidir to Galkayo</li> <li>• Social interaction/sharing of town</li> <li>• No sharing of administration, policing, water or grazing land</li> <li>• Historical grievances not resolved</li> <li>• No sharing of key social services</li> <li>• Agreement still not ratified by all trad. leaders, Puntland parliament</li> </ul> <p><i>Unaddressed issues:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• No sharing of administration, policing, water or grazing land</li> <li>• Historical grievances not resolved</li> <li>• No sharing of key social services</li> <li>• Agreement still not ratified by all trad. leaders, Puntland parliament</li> </ul> <p><i>Consolidation of peace:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Greater awareness required on peace and coexistence</li> <li>• Sharing administration, policing, water-points and grazing land</li> <li>• Strengthening of trad. institutions through community meetings</li> <li>• Reconciliation conferences to address grievances and build peace</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Political leaders: M. Farah (Aidid), Abdullahi Yousuf, M. Ahmed Addow, Osman H. Ali (Atto), Ali Ismail Abdi</li> <li>• Traditional leaders</li> <li>• Business community</li> <li>• Clans</li> </ul>
<p><b>Impact of national level political rivalry in Mudug</b></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Historically many prominent contesting national political figures are from Mudug</li> <li>• The major competing clans of Darood and Hawiye unite in Mudug and their differences are reflected here</li> <li>• ‘Ownership’ of Galkayo is contested between the Hawiye/ Habar-Gidir &amp; Darood/ Majeerteen clans</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Political leaders: M. Farah (Aidid), Abdullahi Yousuf, M. Ahmed Addow, Osman H. Ali (Atto), Ali Ismail Abdi</li> <li>• Traditional leaders</li> <li>• Business community</li> <li>• Clans</li> </ul>



## Key Stakeholders

While every member of the Somali population is a stakeholder to some degree in the future of inter-clan peace in Mudug, the following were identified by the PDRC as the most critical stakeholders and counterparts at the regional level:

- Political leaders belonging to both South and North Mudug communities;
- Traditional and clan leaders;
- Intellectuals and Diaspora members who indirectly participate in clan-based conflicts by raising funds for their kinsmen;
- The local business community – a ‘driving force’ of both peace and war;
- Community members – predominantly camel-herders, mostly illiterate, and often fiercely loyal;
- Religious leaders, dispersed in groups of sects and business/trade;
- Women and youth groups – vulnerable in conflict, key advocates in peace;
- Local NGOs – key peace advocates, but also prone to opportunism;
- Somali communities in Region 5 of Ethiopia.



*Women's involvement is central to peace-building.*

These diverse groups form the majority of the stakeholders invested in peace – and possible conflict – in Mudug. While interaction between many of these groups is sporadic, if not non-existent, it was clear to the researchers that it would be essential to engage them all in dialogue if any clear and consensual progress was to be made.

## 2. Activities

In order to achieve the objectives outlined in the previous chapter, the PDRC set itself a strict schedule of activities to be undertaken over the period beginning in March 2005. In view of the complex and sensitive nature of the subject at hand, the researchers committed themselves to adhere as closely as possible to the following timeframe:

- Initial Working Group meeting for guidance and planning;
- Mission to assess the current situation in Mudug and sensitisation of target groups, March 6th-8th 2005;
- Sensitisation and lobbying of traditional elders, the business community, CSOs and the local administration, April-May 2005;
- Two workshops on peace consolidation in Galkayo, May 28th-29th 2005;
- Follow-up meeting for 80 participants to adopt workshops' actions/resolutions;
- Training workshop for 40 participants from traditional institutions on conflict management, April 16th-17th 2006;
- Working Group meeting to review results, June 24th-25th 2006;
- Publishing of final report, July 2006;
- Establishment of PDRC/CRD follow-up mechanisms and national propagation of 'lessons learned' from Mudug Peace Agreement, April 2006 onwards.

### PDRC North Mudug Assessment Mission - March 2005

Although the schedule of these activities had – inevitably – to be adapted according to unfolding political developments, the PDRC got off to a strong start with a comprehensive assessment of the current situation in Mudug. The assessment, compiled during three days of discussions in Galkayo from March 6th-8th 2005, appraised the current political and military situation, the relevance of the TFG-appointed South Mudug Reconciliation Committee (consisting of a coordinator,



*Group discussion on conflict management.*

Ali Isse Ahmed Dalabey, and four respected elders from Nugal, Mudug and Bari, namely Daahir M. Garase, Osman H. Noor, Sheikh Abdurahman Diirshe and Mohamed Warsame 'Jabhad'), and the nomination of potential members to form the Working Group on the Consolidation of the 1993 Peace Agreement.

The assessment was based upon formal interviews with key informants, including prominent elders, the Governor of North Mudug, the Mayor of Galkayo, the Commander of the Puntland Paramilitary forces, members of the Zonal Project Group (ZPG), and the South Mudug Reconciliation Committee. It also drew upon informal information sources, such as off-the-record interviews, public debates, and personal observations.

On the first day, the mission met with the Puntland-appointed governor of North Mudug, Mr. Mohamed Warsame, who provided a briefing on the latest political and military developments, including fighting between the Sa'ad and Saleebaan in Hobyo, South Mudug. Further discussions with Colonel Abdullahi Ali Mireh, Commander of the Puntland Paramilitary forces and one of the brokers of the 1993 agreement, led to an official invitation to the PDRC to take part in further negotiations between the warring sub-clans. The mission also met with members of the ZPG in Galkayo to discuss the current fighting in Hobyo and to establish a tentative Working Group membership.



*Elders at one of the workshops on conflict management.*

At the end of the meetings, the assessment mission recommended that proposed activities for the Consolidation of the Mudug Peace Agreement be put on hold, awaiting a solution to the conflict in South Mudug. During this period, the mission recommended that:

- I. Urgent solutions/interventions should be sought to the fighting in South Mudug, before it expands to other clans/lineages in the region;
- II. The PDRC and CRD could provide behind-the-scenes facilitation, as well as material and moral support, in efforts to reconcile the Sa'ad and Saleebaan sub-clans;
- III. The CRD should explore the potential for assigning a researcher to the region to monitor and coordinate the provision of peace-building assistance. The PDRC, meanwhile, would monitor the situation from Garowe.

## Ongoing Collaboration between the PDRC and the CRD



*Workshop on conflict management.*

During March, the PDRC team was in regular contact with the Director of the Center for Research and Dialogue (CRD) in Mogadishu, the late Mr. Abdulkadir Yahya, who engaged with prominent elders over the latest round of Sa'ad-Saleebaan mediations. The CRD also held informal discussions with senior politicians from south-central Somalia (including Ali Mahdi, Mohamed Farah Jamale, Mohamed Farah Siad and others), which would become critical to initiatives later in the process. However, at this stage, the negotiations did not bear immediate fruit – due primarily to the continuing fluidity of political conditions in Mogadishu.

As has already been noted, the political and security situations in South Mudug and Galguduud are strongly tied to political dynamics in the capital – and this was a particularly volatile period. In March 2005, a fiercely contested debate by the Transitional Federal Parliament, at that time still based in Nairobi, on the

deployment of peace-keeping troops from frontline states (Ethiopia, Kenya and Djibouti) ended with a vote against their deployment. The second issue of contention, whether the government would relocate from Kenya to an interim seat or directly to Mogadishu, was left unresolved. Key Mogadishu-based ministers returned to the capital, accompanied by the parliamentary Speaker, and a political impasse ensued within the senior leadership of the Transitional Federal Institutions, which continued until January 2006. Over the next six months, efforts to establish the security and stabilisation of Mogadishu fully occupied the attention of those who might otherwise have been engaged in mediations in Mudug and Galguduud.

## North Mudug Consultation Workshop - May 2005

A two-day workshop was held in Galkayo in late May 2005 to inform and encourage communities in North Mudug to support the revitalisation of the Mudug Peace Agreement. The workshop saw 33 participants, including elders, religious leaders, businessmen, intellectuals, women and youth, hold a variety of discussions, which were broadcast on local radio stations, including Radio Galkayo and Daljir, and published in the Yamayska newspaper. The participants broadly agreed that the peace agreement had helped to mitigate hostility between the Mudug communities – particularly in allowing communities from South Mudug to resettle in Galkayo, and in promoting business transactions between northern and southern Somalia through the city. They also believed that the principal elements of the Agreement continue to hold, at least among its signatories – and despite efforts by different interest groups to scupper it.

The workshop came up with the following recommendations to protect and consolidate the Mudug Peace Agreement:

- I. Complete and ratify the incomplete portions/provisions of the original Agreement;
- II. Constitute a conciliation committee to resolve inter-clan/community disputes;
- III. Extend and sustain current peace-building initiatives;
- IV. Establish a shared (proportional) administration for the communities residing in North and South Galkayo;
- V. Increase community mobilisation and public awareness-raising campaigns on the achievements and benefits of the Agreement, particularly in rural areas;
- VI. Ensure the full involvement of South Mudug communities in all discussions pertaining to the Agreement;
- VII. Support local elders in ongoing peace-building initiatives, and provide training to elders and businesspeople in conflict management;
- VIII. Ensure that approval is sought from both sides on any additions to the Agreement, or related developments.

As regards the potential contribution of the PDRC and CRD to the peace-building process in Mudug, the participants made the following suggestions:

- As culture and tradition provide the foundation for all peace-building in Somalia, the PDRC and CRD should align future peace meetings and missions with the peace-building efforts of local imams, such as the meetings organised by Islaan Bashir Islaan Abdulle in South Galkayo in 2005;
- The Dialogue for Peace programme should support events that bring together competing groups and communities, without becoming formally involved in areas of policy or legislation;
- Efforts should focus on positive new initiatives, and wherever possible avoid discussions of past hostilities or outstanding grievances;
- A 'joint workshop' could be held for the communities of South and North Mudug to discuss peace-building procedures and promotions at the grassroots level.



## Joint PDRC/CRD Support for a South Galkayo Mediation Initiative - September 2005

In September 2005, during a joint visit to Galkayo by the audio-visual units of the PDRC and CRD, together with a photographer working with WSP International, an unexpected opportunity arose for direct engagement with some of Mudug's warring parties. Disaffected South Mudug militia from Hobyo were threatening to occupy Galkayo airport in a resource-based dispute, resulting in high tensions that were threatening to escalate into armed confrontation with the Puntland army. The presence of both CRD and PDRC researchers enabled them to cross the 'de facto line' dividing the northern Darood/Majeerteen and the southern Hawiye/Habar-Gidir sections of Galkayo. The team travelled to the heart of Baraxley, a quarter in the south of the city that was at the time usually only accessible to outsiders in the company of security escorts, where they took part in a series of groundbreaking meetings with elders, militia leaders and key decision-makers from South Mudug.

These mediation efforts succeeded and the majority of the South Mudug militia returned to their base in Hobyo. Furthermore, the South Mudug elders showed their willingness for further



PDRC & CRD staff in discussion with elders. © Interpeace/Ryan Anson

engagement with the North Mudug community and – for the first time – for formal dialogue with the Puntland administration. This joint PDRC/CRD initiative led to a wider recognition of the centres' unique peace-building roles, which would bear further fruit in subsequent negotiations in South Mudug in early 2006. The fortuitous presence of the two teams also resulted in pioneering footage for the forthcoming Dialogue for Peace documentary on the Mudug Peace Agreement. And it provided a practical precedent for the historic crossing of the 'de facto line' that would be made by members of the Transitional Federal Government and the Puntland administration less than five months later.

## The Ramada Peace Agreement, North Galkayo - December 2005

Signed at Galkayo's Hotel Ramada on December 4th 2005, the Ramada Agreement signalled an historic truce between two Majeerteen sub-clans – the Reer Mahad and Reer Khalaf – which had brought murder and mayhem to the city's streets for much of 2005. Brokered by a third Majeerteen sub-clan, the Reer Biciid-yahan, the agreement received strong support from the Puntland administration and the PDRC, which hosted a high-profile 'concluding ceremony' at Galkayo's Taar City Hotel after the agreement was signed.



Commander of Puntland Daraawiish Colonel 'Arrays' in discussion with PDRC researcher, Mohamed Ismail.

The Ramada Agreement involved a complex process of 'score-settling' between the two sub-clans, which had been meting out continuous acts of revenge since a prominent Reer Mahad businessman was killed at a city checkpoint in February 2005. After a



thorough and exhaustive examination of the facts, the Mediating Committee of Bi'id-Yahan elders made the following resolutions:

- In the checkpoint murder, the committee endorsed the verdict of a court that had convicted three culprits of the crime. The committee ordered the killers to pay *Diyah* compensation of 100 camels, plus an additional 20 camels to cover the funeral expenses, and to surrender the rifle with which the crime was committed
- In a second murder case, Reer Mahad was ordered to pay *Diyah* of 100 camels and an additional 20 camels for each of the two victims. The sub-clan was also ordered to cover the costs of the funerals, surrender the guns used in the killings, and make arrangements for two inter-marriages according to tradition (*Godobtir*) with the families of the victims.
- The most complicated case was the killing of a prominent elder (*Nabaddoon*), for which the committee, after intensive consultations with the relevant parties, ordered Reer Khalaf to pay *Diyah* of 120 camels and the funeral costs, together with an additional 'apology' to Reer Mahad of US\$ 20,000 and an arranged marriage.



Ramada peace agreement ceremony.

The two sub-clans willingly accepted the committee's resolutions, which were also endorsed by the senior traditional leader, Islaan Bashiir. The Islaan also pledged to personally contribute US\$ 20,000 to the peace deal, part of which would go to the family of the deceased *Nabaddoon*. Other community groups also offered funds to consolidate the deal.



Signing the Ramada agreement.

The signing of the Ramada Agreement marked a new chapter of hope for the residents of Galkayo – not only in the north of the city, where most of the fighting had taken place, but also in the south, where warring parties would often seek refuge. The agreement was signed by 34 *Nabaddoons* – 17 from each sub-clan – who personally committed to ensuring the end of violent attacks between Majeerteen groups in Galkayo. The success of the deal ultimately reflected the high levels of local support for traditional channels of dispute resolution. At the concluding ceremony, community and local authority

representatives unanimously endorsed a decision by the mediating committee that any murder committed after the agreement had been signed would incur the death penalty and a 'deterrent' fine of US\$ 50,000. (This arrangement is limited to these two sub-clans and will not affect the traditional mode of *diyah*-paying for other sub-clans.)

Having successfully addressed internal disputes according to traditional practices, the senior elders and other prominent figures in North Galkayo were also arguably in a better position to work towards reconciliation with their neighbours in South Galkayo. In addition, those south of the '*de facto* line' were aware of this satisfactory conclusion to a bitter dispute, which indirectly offered encouragement to their own mediation efforts.

## **PDRC/CRD/WSP Joint Assessment Mission and Launch of Mudug/Galguduud Peace Process - February 2006**

As part of the strategy to strengthen the coordinated efforts of the PDRC, CRD and WSP, the three organisations met together in Galkayo in February 2006 to explore possibilities for greater cooperation and collaboration in the field. The PDRC director was joined by the CRD research coordinator and a representative of WSP for the ceremonial opening of the Galkayo House of Peace satellite office, and made joint speeches at the consultative workshop that followed with the North Mudug community on strengthening peace.

The PDRC/CRD/WSP mission coincided with the historic meeting – for the first time on Somali soil since the TFG’s inception – of the President, Parliamentary Speaker and Prime Minister in Galkayo on February 7th 2006. The PDRC brokered a critical meeting between the TFG President and the WSP, and a series of meetings followed between the teams and the President, the Prime Minister, the Speaker and other TFG ministers present in Galkayo.

This was a crucial period in terms of both the broader political dynamics and the conflict in South Mudug and Galguduud. The President and Speaker had met in January 2006 in Yemen and, as encapsulated



*The Transitional Federal Parliament Speaker, Sharif Hassan Sheikh Aden, meets with PDRC Director Abdurahman ‘Shuke’ in Galkayo, February 2006.*

in the Aden agreement, found ways to move forward from the political impasse that had crippled the TFG and Parliament since March 2005. At the local level, a preliminary peace pact had been brokered in Mogadishu on January 21st 2006 between the political leadership of the parties in conflict and the TFG ministers, Osman Hassan Ali (‘Atto’) and Mohamed Mohamoud (‘Gacmadheere’). As a result of this initiative, hostilities between the Sa’ad and Saleebaan in South Mudug and Galguduud had begun to ease. These two prominent leaders responded positively to the President’s request to join him in Galkayo, together with other key figures including the minister, Mohamed Jama Furuh, and MP Ahmed Duale Geelle ‘Heef’. The presence in Galkayo of all the key leaders of the parties in conflict was welcomed by communities on both sides of the ‘de facto line’ as heralding a new chapter for peace in the region.

On February 13th 2006, a new initiative for a permanent resolution of the conflict in South Mudug and Galguduud was proposed jointly by the elders and politicians of the conflicting parties in collaboration with the TFG. The unified approach comprised a three-phase peace process with specific support at each stage. Phase One, to be implemented by the political leadership and elders of the parties in conflict, comprised a comprehensive ceasefire, the disengagement of militias, the clearing of checkpoints, and an agreement to initiate dialogue. For the first time, the political leaders of the warring parties visited the frontlines to inform their militias of the peace process and urge them to stand down.

In recognition that the persistent sensitisation efforts of the PDRC and CRD in Mudug and Mogadishu had played some part in this paradigm shift in the conflict, the TFG leadership approached WSP and its two partners to facilitate Phase Two of the peace process – a formal reconciliation between the Saad and Suleiman, to culminate in a peace conference and be followed by a second reconciliation meeting with other clans in the central regions. The Third Phase would involve the formation of district administrations in South Mudug and Galguduud, with the support of UNOPS.

The Galkayo meeting in February 2006 marked a crucial turning point in Somalia's reconciliation process. As well as placing national reconciliation firmly on the agenda, it was seen as apposite that the top leadership of the TFG should choose Galkayo – often regarded as the 'epicentre' of Somalia's troubles – to host their first major conference. In a symbolic gesture, the TFG leaders and rival ministers walked arm in arm across the so-called '*de facto line*' dividing North and South Galkayo. At a rally at South Galkayo Stadium, President Abdullahi Yousuf called upon the people of Mudug to embrace the consolidation of the 1993 Mudug Peace Agreement, and to support "a unified administration [or] at least establish common security forces." The event heralded a new chapter in the multiparty reconciliation of Mudug, with the President and other leaders urging the continued collaborative involvement of the Transitional Federal authorities, the Puntland administration, and ministers belonging to the region's feuding groups.

## Progress with Reconciliation in South Mudug and Galguduud - July 2006

Since the Galkayo meeting in February, the reconciliation process in South Mudug and Galguduud has continued to make considerable progress and receive support from a broad variety of political and civic players, including the Puntland administration, which has provided material and financial assistance to the disengagement of the militias. The WSP/PDRC/CRD partnership has made the conflict a specific focus of its peace-building activities under the Dialogue for Peace programme. In late March, following a series of meetings by WSP and the CRD in Nairobi with a number of political actors involved in Mudug, the CRD director visited



Dialogue amongst elders in South Galkayo, September 2005. © Interpeace/Ryan Anson

the PDRC in Garowe before proceeding to Galkayo and 'Adado in Galguduud for further consultations with senior elders and politicians. Based on the close collaboration between WSP, the CRD and PDRC, further funding was provided by Sweden and Norway to support the reconciliation process in South Mudug and Galguduud as a 'spin-off' from the Dialogue for Peace.



After extensive preliminary research and consultations, the first peace conference between the Sa'ad and Saleebaan sub-clans was held in El Huur, a village in Hobyo, in late June, followed by a 'peace caravan' of senior elders and opinion-makers to Darder, on the Ethiopian border, to publicise the conference's successful conclusion. A number of prominent business figures from Mogadishu also joined the caravan, as well as providing resources for the process. The second conference to consolidate the agreement is due to be held in Adado in late July. The reconciliation process was partly marred by a number of incidents involving certain vested interests, which have been compromised by the reconciliation process. Nevertheless, the strong commitment of the public, the militias, and key community leaders – backed by prominent members of the Diaspora in Nairobi and elsewhere – ensured that nothing could stand in the way of the powerful momentum towards lasting reconciliation and inter-clan peace.

### **Timeline: South Mudug and Galguduud Conflict between Sa'ad & Saleebaan Sub-Clans**

<b>DATE</b>	<b>EVENT</b>
Mid 2004	Tension between the militias of Sa'ad and Saleebaan increases with sporadic fighting
March 2005	Local initiative brokered towards a cessation of hostilities
March 5 <sup>th</sup> 2005	Serious fighting erupts between militias at Saqiuro village, 14km south of Galkayo
June 7 <sup>th</sup> 2005	Fighting resumes at Xin-dheer, 50km south of Galkayo: a) 10 dead and b) over 20 wounded
August 8 <sup>th</sup> 2005	Heavy fighting reported at Bajeela village, northwest Hobyo a) 10 dead and b) over 50 wounded
December 7 <sup>th</sup> 2005	Conflict spills over to Galguduud, as fighting erupts at Gellin-soor town a) 21 dead and b) over 100 wounded
January 12 <sup>th</sup> 2006	Renewed escalation of fighting at Gellin-soor a) 31 dead and b) over 100 wounded
January 21 <sup>st</sup> 2006	TFG ministers of Sa'ad and Saleebaan sign a preliminary peace pact in Mogadishu
January 22 <sup>nd</sup> 2006	Lack of engagement with militias on the ground by those brokering the peace pact leads to serious fighting at Dac-dheer, 5km west of 'Adaado in Galguduud a) 30 dead and b) 18 wounded
February 4 <sup>th</sup> 2006	A reconciliation committee is nominated by the parties in conflict
February 13 <sup>th</sup> 2006	TFG President, Prime Minister and Speaker call on members from its executive and parliament representing the Sa'ad and Saleebaan to pacify their communities. A three-phase peace process for South Mudug and Galguduud is agreed: WSP, PDRC and CRD are asked to support Phase Two on reconciliation.
February 25 <sup>th</sup> 2006	Ceasefire agreement between the Sa'ad and Saleebaan is signed at Baxdogaabo, north Galguduud

### **Consultative Meeting for North Mudug - April 2006**

Given the developments in South Mudug during this period, the original timeline for joint discussions between the communities of North and South Mudug on a variety of issues clearly had to be adapted to unfolding realities on the ground. Outstanding issues for local nomadic communities involved such vital livelihood

concerns as sharing water-points and grazing land, and ending the cycle of revenge killings. However, it was clear that these issues could not be comprehensively resolved by the communities of North and South Mudug until a lasting peace had been brokered within the communities of South Mudug.

In the meantime, a consultative meeting was held in Galkayo, on April 15th 2006, with community leaders from North Mudug on the impact of the conflict in the south. The three primary objectives were to sensitise North Mudug's leaders about the conflict in South Mudug, to encourage them to continue the dialogue for peace, and to support them in establishing a conflict resolution committee. The meeting also enabled the leaders to personally meet PDRC director Abdurahman Abdulle Osman (Shuke) and the CRD programme coordinator, Hassan Sheikh, and to learn more about their goals and aspirations in supporting the consolidation of the 1993 Peace Agreement. In examining the impact of the South Mudug conflict on other communities, it became clear that, in addition to the more obvious political impacts, the conflict had severely disrupted social services and trade flows, increasing the costs of living, accelerating migration and displacement, and threatening ongoing efforts to rewrite and revitalise the 1993 accord.

The meeting participants duly resolved to undertake the following actions to contribute to peace in the wider region:

- Consult TFG ministers and MPs from South Mudug to convince their community leaders to pursue the dialogue for peace with North Mudug;
- Initiate discussions for the equal sharing and distribution of power and natural resources between the two areas;
- Encourage the TFG, the Puntland administration, and the North Mudug regional authority to take part in and support peace negotiations;
- Establish a committee with equal numbers of elders and religious leaders from North and South Mudug to mediate between the conflicting parties in the south;
- Establish a community police force to pursue and prosecute warring groups.

## Conflict Management Training - April 2006

Following the consultative meeting, the PDRC hosted a two-day training workshop in Galkayo on conflict management for the communities of North Mudug on April 16th-17th 2006. Forty participants,



*Working session on conflict management.*

including traditional and religious leaders, businesspeople, intellectuals, youth and women's group members, were introduced to various conflict management tools and techniques, including negotiation strategies that recognise the legitimacy of both sides' interests, the appointment of adjudicating authorities and legal mechanisms, and other structures and procedures for governing – and ultimately avoiding – violent confrontation.

The participants also received detailed information on the two 'driving forces' that guide most conflict situations –

assertiveness and cooperation – and the five 'managing styles' for resolving them: avoiding, accommodating, compromising, competing and collaborating. The training, held at the Galkayo House of Peace, was well received by all the participants.



## The Galkayo Satellite Office ('Galkayo House of Peace')

The Galkayo satellite office – the 'Galkayo House of Peace' – was established as one of the first 'concrete' offspring of concerted efforts towards consolidating the Mudug Peace Agreement. The House of Peace is one of five satellite offices envisioned in the Dialogue for Peace programme to strengthen the peace- and state-building efforts at regional and local levels. Many of the areas covered by the satellite offices suffer the effects of clan-based revenge killings and inter-clan confrontations. The House of Peace, which was operating from November 2005 but officially opened in February 2006, serves as a base for all WSP, PDRC and CRD activities in Mudug and the adjacent regions, in cooperation with the satellite office in Belet Weyne.



Working group member Dr. Bihi leads a group session on conflict analysis.

As well as providing a formal location for all conflict mitigation and peace-building efforts towards consolidating the 1993 Mudug Peace Agreement, the office also offers an informal and neutral meeting place for any dialogue or negotiations between conflicting parties and communities in the region.

In its first four months of operations, the 'House of Peace' has played host to several important regional, national and local peace-building efforts and meetings, including:



At PDRC's ceremonial opening of the Galkayo "House of Peace", CRD Research Coordinator Hassan Sheikh addresses the gathering of dignitaries.

- Enhanced collaboration between the PDRC and CRD, including their joint development of Phase Two of the South Mudug peace-building proposal;
- Establishment of a 'Consultation Group' of respected and prominent figures from Galkayo to advise on conflict mitigation issues and facilitate local mediation efforts;
- Organisation of two youth and women's peace rallies in Galkayo during May 2006;
- Hosting of a conflict management training workshop for North Mudug community members;
- Hosting of regular monthly forums on peace and conflict prevention, which have attracted the attention of intellectuals and community leaders as a useful platform for public awareness campaigns. Some of the debates have also been broadcast on local radio stations;
- Hosting of a meeting of the newly established Galkayo District Council;
- Hosting of the annual meeting of the Mudug Women's Organisation.

### 3. Achievements and Impacts



*PDRC researcher Hassan Aden in informal discussions with local leaders during the ceremonial opening of the Galkayo "House of Peace".*

At the time of writing, in July 2006, the peace process in South Mudug and Galguduud is making strong progress towards a sustainable resolution of the persistent violent conflicts that have rocked Somalia's central regions. Such a peace agreement, and the establishment of local administrative structures that would follow, can be expected to contribute fundamentally towards efforts to consolidate the 1993 Mudug Peace Agreement – not just for the benefit of the communities in North and South Mudug, but for the entire country.

Even during this period of uncertainty and change in Mudug itself, the Dialogue for Peace process has achieved notable impacts on a variety of levels. Significant in-roads have been made in supporting the efforts of Mudug's communities to intensify peace-building initiatives in

the region. Through the collaborative efforts of WSP's partners, the PDRC and CRD, bridges have been reinforced between the divided neighbours of North and South Galkayo and opportunities presented to encourage them to work together towards a more harmonious future. The prolonged period of sensitisation and consultations carried out by the teams have been critical in preparing the ground for the reconciliation process in South Mudug and Galguduud, with the support of the TFG, the Puntland administration, and key figures from Mogadishu, and for the future consolidation of the Mudug Peace Agreement. Specifically, the PDRC and CRD teams have been engaged in:

- Helping to break down long-standing antagonism and physical barriers between the communities of North and South Mudug;
- Undertaking a broad-based sensitisation campaign on the importance of inter-clan tolerance, forgiveness and coexistence among traditional and community leaders and other influential members of the North Mudug community;
- Providing practical tools, mechanisms and forums for further engagement between the divided communities;
- Lobbying for immediate intervention to avert further conflicts in South Mudug and Galguduud at both Puntland and TFG levels, as well as in Mogadishu and among local leaders in South Galkayo;
- Supporting implementation of the reconciliation process in South Mudug and Galguduud regions;
- Lobbying for the support of the Transitional Federal Institutions, the President, Speaker and Prime Minister, and the Puntland administration to pursue the revival and consolidation of the 1993 Mudug Peace Agreement.

## 4. Analysis and Lessons Learned

The rapid changes in the political dynamics and the security situation during the project period have served to underline the continuing vulnerability of the peace in Mudug to broader political forces. Nevertheless, significant progress towards resolving the crisis in South Mudug and Galguduud may yet provide a vital catalyst for the consolidation of the peace accord signed more than 13 years ago for the whole of the Mudug region.

Political shifts within the senior Somali leadership in the latter half of the project period unexpectedly enabled the WSP/PDRC/CRD partnership to contribute to progress in the resolution of the Mudug-Galguduud conflict. The ground for this assistance had been well prepared over the previous year through a consistent process of sensitising and motivating community leaders in North Mudug to engage in further dialogue with their southern neighbours. The Dialogue for Peace partners were also instrumental in supporting a significant reconciliation initiative with traditional elders and opinion-makers in North Galkayo, and in engaging key deal-makers in Mogadishu and south-central Somalia in the South Mudug peace process.



*PDRC and CRD staff with participants during a discussion on conflict management.*

At this stage, significant challenges still remain in consolidating the principles of the 1993 Mudug Peace Agreement and in implementing the outstanding elements of the accord. While the original Agreement successfully suspended hostilities between the communities of North and South Mudug, and facilitated their resettlement in separate sections of Galkayo and the wider region, and while both communities continue to show considerable tolerance in averting further conflicts, the accord remains threatened by the looting of property, subversive ‘acts of revenge,’ and the absence of mechanisms to ensure safe access to shared water-points and grazing lands in the rural areas. Such threats serve to demonstrate the need for comprehensive reconciliation, including the settlement of past grievances, as well as outstanding issues relating to ‘shared governance’ systems for the two communities. It is clear that both social and political reconciliation will be required in order to truly consolidate the peace in Mudug.

### **A Lesson in Cooperation: The Puntland-Somaliland Prisoner Exchange, December 2005**

When the Dialogue for Peace launched its initial baseline survey in July 2004, it was no surprise that continuing conflict in the regions of Sool, Sanaag and Mudug emerged as one of the Somali people’s most pressing priorities for long-term peace. Mudug was historically a troubled region long before the collapse of the Somali state in 1991. Sool and Sanaag are territories that remain disputed between Somaliland and Puntland.

Within two days in December 2005, two events took place in very different settings – one in Galkayo, the other in Sool – which both hold important lessons for the future of peace-building in Mudug and across the Somali region. The Ramada Peace Agreement on December 4th settled serious outstanding disputes within the Majeerteen of North Galkayo and Mudug, enabling them to work together more effectively towards reconciliation with their neighbours south of the ‘*de facto* line.’ At the same time, the successful outcome of these negotiations is likely to have given encouragement to elders in South Galkayo and South Mudug in their own efforts towards internal reconciliation.



The following day, on December 5th 2005, an exchange of prisoners between Somaliland and Puntland at the small border-town of Ariadaye demonstrated not only an ability to negotiate in politically challenging circumstances – but also the crucial role that women can play behind the scenes in peace-building (see box on page 28).

Traditionally inhabited predominantly by the hardy nomadic herders of the Harti sub-clan, the sun-scorched mountains and arid plateaux of Sool and Sanaag are fiercely contested between Puntland and Somaliland.



*The joyful exchange of prisoners of war between Somaliland and Puntland.*

When fighting erupted in these border areas in October 2004, 36 soldiers were taken as prisoners by the two sides. Although holding ‘prisoners of war’ is contrary to Somali custom, enduring political tensions between Somaliland and Puntland appeared destined to preclude any immediate resolution of the problem.

However, after more than a year of complex and sensitive negotiations, representatives of Somaliland and Puntland came together on December 5th for a short but highly significant exchange of prisoners at the town of Ariadaye.

The exchange ceremony, facilitated by the

PDRC and its Somaliland counterpart, the Academy for Peace and Development (APD), represented the fulfilment of over four months of intensive efforts between the Commander of the Puntland Daraawiish, Colonel Abdullahi Ali Mire (‘Arrays’), and the Commander of the Somaliland army, General M. Nooh Hassan Tani. In an evocative speech at the frontline, Colonel Arrays said he was “delighted to shake hands on this former battleground – and today’s peace field.” In speeches broadcast by the BBC’s Somali Service, the two commanders expressed a shared willingness to build upon the goodwill of this successful collaboration in resolving the long-standing territorial dispute that has so long stymied any hope of development in the border region.



*Commanders shake hands at the prisoner exchange ceremony.*

Negotiations leading to the prisoner exchange had been strongly supported by the two WSP partners, the PDRC in Garowe and the APD in Hargeysa. They coordinated support to provide material assistance to the prisoners during their 14 months of captivity and, later, gave logistical and material support, including transportation, to the negotiators. The groundbreaking deal represented a new level of collaboration for the two institutions in support of cross-border cooperation. As well as monitoring developments in Sool and Sanaag and ensuring an effective flow of information



between the different stakeholders and authorities, the PDRC and APD remain well placed to play a crucial facilitation role in the long-awaited disengagement of troops in the area.

In addition to these new levels of institutional collaboration, the prisoner exchange underlined the importance of individual commitment in efforts to break down the mistrust generated by years of inter-clan hostility. In particular, the process exemplified the powerful role that women often play in mediation between opposing clans. The efforts of Colonel Arrays and General Nooh and their senior officers were supported by several individuals who played important behind-the-scenes roles in bringing about the events of December 5th. One of these ‘hidden heroes’ was Mrs. Safiya Mohamed Islaan.

## Hailing a Hidden Heroine

### One Woman’s Tireless Campaign for the Prisoners of Puntland and Somaliland



*Safiya Islaan at the exchange site*

Historically, women have been able to play a unique role in mediation and peace-making in Somali region. Inter-marriage between clans and sub-clans is often a feature of reconciliation after fighting (as seen, for example, at the conclusion of the Ramada Peace Agreement in North Galkayo). Women who are married into another clan have, in effect, dual clan identity and therefore have access across clan lines in ways that are not available to men. In times of trouble, they are thus able to pass goods and messages across territorial borders – often paving the way for more open channels of communication and, eventually, for more informed mediation and reconciliation efforts.

One of the problems in areas of prolonged and politicised conflict, such as Mudug, is that these traditional mechanisms for negotiation often break down over time. In the absence of marriages between clans, these crucial ‘first lines’ of communication are subsequently lost. That is why, in discussing the problems presented by the prolonged conflict, the elders will say: “We have lost our maternal uncles.” By contrast, the story of Mrs. Safiya Mohamed Islaan provides an illuminating example of the historical peace-making role played by women.

Mrs. Islaan is a Harti – a Majeerteen from Puntland who moved to Somaliland after marrying an Isaaq man in Hargeysa. As a member of the Harti clan through her family and an Isaaq by marriage, she was able to use this ‘dual identity’ to undertake a unique ‘shuttle diplomacy’ between Hargeysa and Garowe – carrying messages, letters and information to both groups of prisoners from their respective families. Soon after the prisoners were taken captive, Mrs. Islaan contacted senior figures in both Puntland and Somaliland to report on the conditions in which their prisoners were being kept, and she continued to press for their release during the entire period of their incarceration. She also raised funds for both groups of prisoners, providing them with clothes, medicines and badly-needed cash. From her home in Hargeysa, Mrs. Islaan visited the Harti prisoners in Mandera on nine occasions, as well as travelling three times to Garowe to deliver messages and money to the Isaaq prisoners.

Mrs. Islaan was present as an honoured guest at the December 5th exchange ceremony in Ariadaye, to where she travelled with the Harti prisoners from Mandera. During the ceremonial exchange, she was acclaimed by the military commanders and elders for her tireless work on the prisoners’ behalf – and her critical peace-making role for both her kin by birth (tol) and by marriage (xedid). After the ceremony, the indefatigable mother-of-16 completed her journey by returning to Somaliland with the prisoners freed from Garowe.

## 5. Recommendations

The following are the most significant recommendations, resolutions and political statements issued during the project on the consolidation of the Mudug Peace Agreement as part of the Dialogue for Peace programme since March 2005:

- I. New political and security dynamics should be considered in designing and implementing means to consolidate the 1993 Mudug Peace Agreement;
- II. Multi-faceted peace-building efforts should be linked and coordinated between North and South Mudug;
- III. Efforts should be intensified to involve local traditional elders and influential religious leaders in the peace-building process, and to empower them to utilise traditional conflict management mechanisms;
- IV. Efforts to promote dialogue between the conflicting parties should endeavour to develop and maintain a strong sense of ownership in the process;
- V. Local-level dialogue should be maintained within the communities of both North and South Mudug in order to prevent flare-ups of local conflicts that might hamper regional level peace processes;
- VI. Coordinated support should be provided for the final phases of the South Mudug/Galguduud peace-building process, including: methods to combine traditional conflict resolution with more systematic and scientific conflict management techniques; training in demobilisation, militia reintegration, and the control of weapons; the establishment of local administrations; improved social service delivery, including urban water for South Galkayo; and joint mechanisms for coordination and continued dialogue to resolve outstanding issues between North and South Mudug.
- VII. Lessons learned from the Mudug peace process should be shared with neighbouring regions and communities, particularly cross-border clans whose internal problems of revenge killings and conflict could spill over into other areas.

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## Translation of the original text of the 1993 Mudug Peace Agreement

IN THE NAME OF ALLAH  
THE BENEFICIENT  
THE MERCIFUL

Mogadishu, June 4th 1993

### CONCILIATION AND PEACE CONFERENCE OF THE REGIONS OF BARI NUGAL AND MUDUG

SNA

SNDU

SSDF

#### PEACE AGREEMENT

In execution of the Peace Agreements signed in Addis Ababa by the Somali factions on January 15th and March 27th 1993

In reference to the advance peace talks among clan representatives of the central regions held in Addis Ababa in March 1993

On the basis of political speeches addressed by leaders of SNA, SSDF and SNDU, and other respected clan leaders and delegates from the central regions

Considering the democratic debates and broad analyses emanating from confidence and fraternity among the peoples of Bari, Nugaal and Mudug, which were held in the capital city of Mogadishu in the period between May 28th and June 3rd 1993, with 227 delegates attending

Considering the views and resolutions passed by the delegates and bearing in mind the immense necessity of peace, co-existence and cooperation at every level

#### Conference delegates reached this agreement:

**Art.1:** Implementation of a complete and lasting peace in the region and denunciation of the use of force and violence.

**Art.2:** Resolution of conflicts within the concerned communities through peaceful means and avoidance of solving conflicts by force and the use of weapons.

**Art.3:** The Somali territory belongs to the Somali state and citizens have the right to live, reside and work anywhere in Somalia. However, clan areas will remain under the jurisdiction of the clans living traditionally in that territory.

**Art.4:** Co-existence and cooperation among the communities of the concerned regions shall be achieved gradually and step by step.

**Art.5:** The Islamic religion, Somali culture and norms shall be respected, strengthened and adhered to.

**Art.6:** Fixed assets and other assets looted shall immediately be handed over, without any condition, upon declaration of the claimant as the rightful owner.

**Art.7:** Clan elders of the communities will discuss and decide upon payment of blood money (Diyah) for the non-combatants killed in Mudug region.

**Art.8:** A technical committee will be appointed, composed of the signatories of this agreement, with the task of returning looted assets and Diyah blood compensation to the rightful persons.

**Art.9:** Fighting armed militias shall be disengaged at a distance of 70km, with Galkayo the capital as the centre point, and deployed in the following locations:

- |         |                   |
|---------|-------------------|
| a) SNA  | Wargalo Dawgaab   |
| b) SSDF | Buuryaqab (Xarfo) |
| c) SNDU | Galdogob.         |

- Art.10:** Towns and tarmac roads are restricted to militias, small arms and heavy weapons. Bandits and thieves should be fought without mercy by the security forces of the region.
- Art.11:** A military committee will be appointed to oversee the disengagement of militias and their deployment to new locations with their weapons, which will be completed within 45 days. For logistics, welfare and training of the militias, the committee will cooperate with UNOSOM II as stated in the Addis Ababa Agreements of January 15th and March 27th 1993.
- Art.12:** All heavy and mechanised weapons shall be collected and, in collaboration with UNOSOM II, stored in an appropriate place. These weapons will be handed over to the Somali state or a central authority.
- Art.13:** This agreement will be implemented by a central coordinating committee, comprising the following sub-committees (Giddi-Hoosaad):
- Militias and regional security forces sub-committee;
  - Elders and religious leaders peace sub-committee;
  - Sub-committee for the return of appropriated physical assets
  - Relief, reintegration and reconciliation sub-committee.

These sub-committees will comprise of various community representatives, including religious leaders, local politicians, intellectuals, armed forces officers, elders, women and youth members. They will assume responsibilities under the oath of the Holy Qur'aan that they will fulfil their duties honestly.

**Art.14:** All involved parties are to repent of their bad doings, which brought about great suffering in neighbouring communities, in order to avoid such conflict from reoccurring.

**Art.15:** This agreement is signed by the political leaders, clan leaders and various delegates of clans and factions whose signatures appear below.

**IN THE NAME OF PEACE, RECONCILIATION, REBUILDING, JUSTICE, DEMOCRACY, UNITY AND PROGRESS**

**Signature of SSDF delegate**

**Signature of SNA delegate**

**Signature of SNDU delegate**





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International Peacebuilding Alliance  
Alliance internationale pour la consolidation de la paix  
Alianza Internacional para la Consolidación de la Paz

Interpeace Regional Office for Eastern and Central Africa

P.O.Box 28832 00200 - Nairobi Kenya

T: +254(0) 20 375 4166

+254(0) 20 375 4167

F: +254(0) 20 375 4165

E: eca@interpeace.org



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[www.interpeace.org](http://www.interpeace.org)



*Nabad waa lagu hirtaa, colaadna waa laga haajiraa (Peace inspires you, war scatters you) - Somali proverb*

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