

PART IV KISMAYO: PEACE-MAKING

1 BACKGROUND TO THE KISMAYO WARS

Kismayo, the largest of the southern ports, has strategic significance, being half-way between Mogadishu and the Kenyan border. Lying at the mouth of the river Juba, it is also a commercial centre for products from the pastoral and agriculturally rich hinterland. Since January 1991, Kismayo has been relentlessly fought over by the USC, SPM, SNF, and SSDF.

The Jubaland Peace Agreement, signed on 6 August 1993, was heralded by UNOSOM as a breakthrough in the political reconciliation process in Somalia. It was presented to the international community as an example of how the UNOSOM peace-keeping operation was working in Somalia. In mid-August, Kismayo and the Juba valley as far as Jilib were, on the surface, peaceful. It was possible to drive in the valley and Kismayo without armed guards. There are, however, some concerns about the sustainability of the peace accord. There remain some groups who are hostile to it.

The Oxfam agricultural programme in the Lower Juba region is, arguably, Oxfam's most successful programme in southern Somalia to date. It is a programme that has been developed under extremely difficult security conditions. At one time the whole of the national team was forced to evacuate Kismayo, when one military faction took over from another. The success or failure of the peace accord has implications for the future of the Oxfam programme. The following endeavours to document the history of the Kismayo conflict and the UN-brokered peace process there.

1.1 Jubaland

Jubaland is the name coined by the British to describe the land between the Juba river ('the Nile of East Africa') and the Tana river in northern Kenya. In 1924 this land, as far south as Doble and Ras Camboni, was ceded by the British to the Italians.

Jubaland, according to the Addis Ababa Agreement, incorporates Gedo, and the Middle and Lower Juba regions. Up to 1975 the area consisted of two regions, Lower and Upper Juba. In 1975 these were carved into Middle and Lower Juba, Gedo, Bai and Bakool. This move was considered to be politically motivated by Siad Barre, who created Gedo as a Marehan region, including Bardheere town. Under the Addis Ababa agreement, these regions remain in place, so that 'Jubaland' refers to the whole of the area between the Juba river and the Kenyan border.

One factor lying behind the protracted nature of the conflict in Lower Juba is the complex clan composition of the area. The riverine areas of southern Somalia lack the homogeneity of the northern regions. There is a diversity of oral and material culture and a diverse complexity of social organisation not found among the more homogeneous northern pastoralists. It is an area where pastoral, agricultural, and coastal traditions meet.

In the Lower Juba region there are several large clan confederations, practising different economic activities:

Pastoralists:¹⁹

Ogadeni (Awlihan, Muqaabul, Bartire, Mohamed Zubeir)
Marehan
Hawiye (Galjaal)
Biyamal (Dir)

Agriculturalists:

Hawiye (Sheikal, Xawadle)
Bantu

Coastal:

Banjuni
Tuuni
Harti (Majeerteen, Warsengeli, Dolbahunte) businessmen.

The 'Bantu' people (also known by Somalis as *tima-jereer* — 'hard hair' — or *tima-ada* — 'tough-haired' — or by the European term Gosha 'forest') are found along the course of the river Juba. They divide into two main groups:

- Mushunguli or Wa Zugua. They are thought to be descendants of ex-slaves from Tanzania, who arrived during the great drought in 1836. They retain their East African identity, and speak Swahili and *af maymay*. They are found in a fairly contiguous territory between Zunguri and Kamsuma along the Juba.
- Shanbara ('group of five'): These include the Myao, Mkuwa, Mgindu, Mlima, and Nyasa, who are also descendants of former slaves from Tanzania, Mozambique and Malawi. They are found north of the Mushunguli, north of Jilib, and have become more integrated into Somali society as bond groups to Somali clans. Most have taken on Somali names.

1.2 Historical Conflicts

Central to the conflict in lower Juba is a question of territorial ownership and control over resources. The main players are the Hawiye, Ogaden, Harti and Marehan. They all make historical claims to the control of Kismayo and its hinterland. The dispute, as it has developed, is largely between the Darod (see diagram 8), in particular between the Ogaden, Marehan and the Harti, rather than between the Darod and Hawiye.²⁰

Kismayo was originally settled by the Banjuni people and only developed as an urban centre in the 1880s, when the Sultan of Zanzibar held suzerainty over Kismayo.

In 1865 the Ogaden crossed from the east to the west side of the Juba river, pushing out the Oromo, who had been weakened by a smallpox epidemic, and gained control of pastoral lands between the Juba and the Tana rivers. According to the Ogaden, the first inhabitants of Kismayo were Ogaden Muqaabul, who are now concentrated in Badade district south of Kismayo.

The first evidence of Harti settlement in Kismayo dates from the 1880s, when Harti traders from north-east Somalia established a foothold in the town. The main Harti

Diagram 8: Darod Genealogy

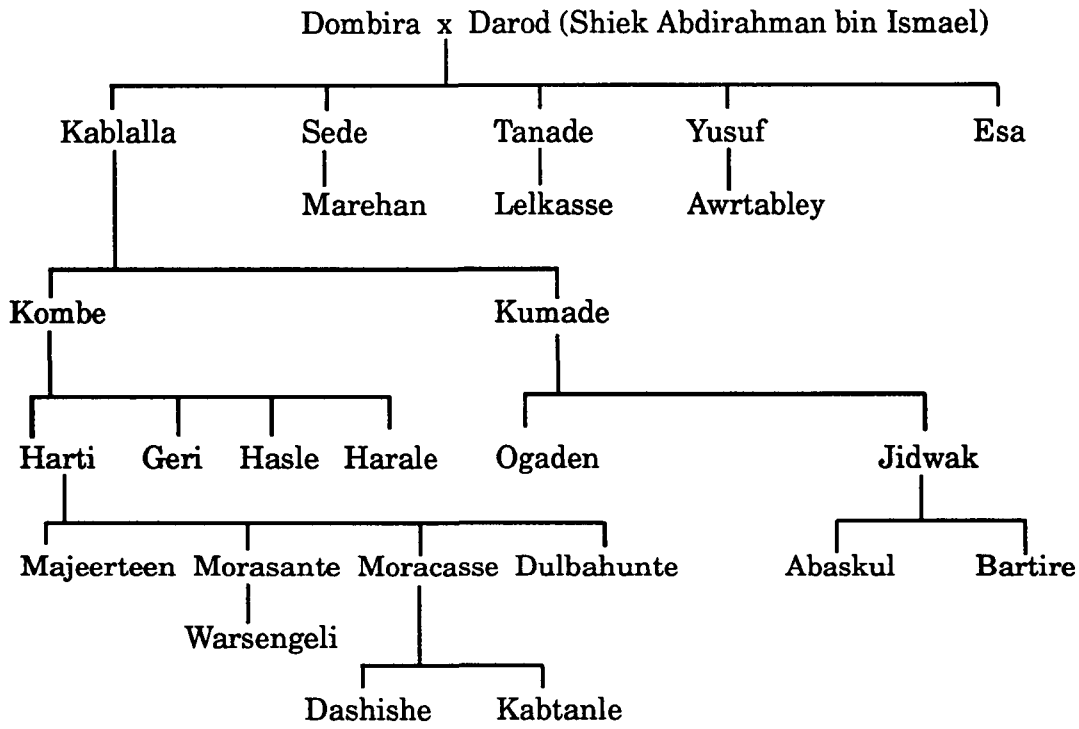
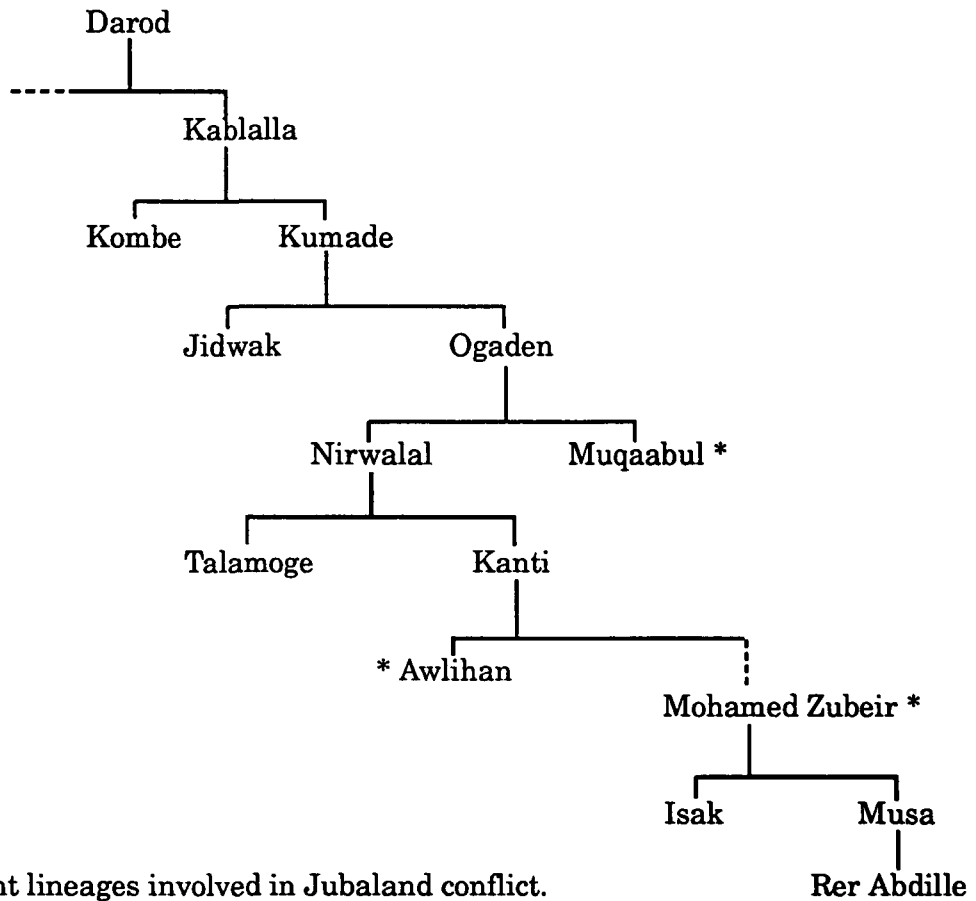
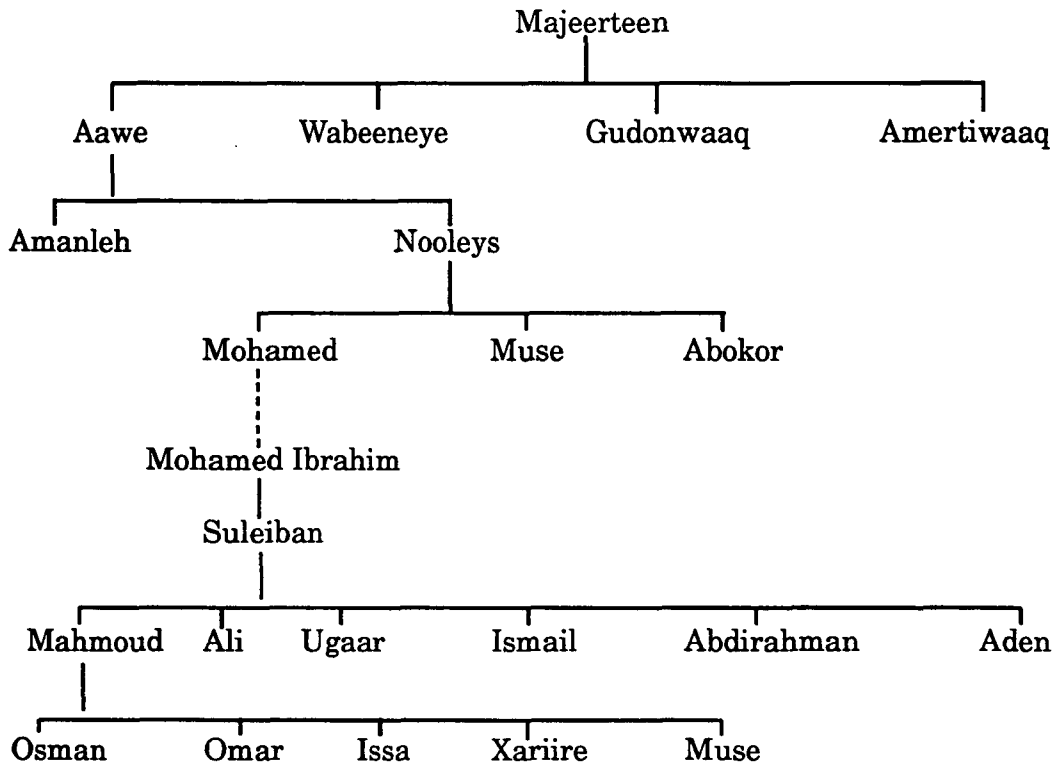


Diagram 9: Ogaden Genealogy



*The significant lineages involved in Jubaland conflict.

Diagram 10: Majeerteen Genealogy



group to settle in the town were Majeerteen traders from Ras Hafuun, who were known as 'Hafuuni'. Conflicts between the Osman Mahmoud and the Ali Suleiban Majeerteen, in north-east Somalia, led many of the Ali Suleiban to migrate to Kismayo (see diagram 8). Further migrations by the Issa Mahmoud and the Dolbahunte took place during the wars of the Sayid Abdulla Hassan (the 'Mad Mullah'), in the first two decades of this century.

Under the British administration the Harti became a strong mercantile class in Kismayo. They were also the first Somali employees of the British administration, thereby establishing themselves as an educated urban professional class. They maintained this position under the Italians, when Kismayo was ceded to them in 1926. The Harti therefore claim long-term settlement and trading rights in Kismayo, and cite as evidence the 1968 elections, when the four MPs from Kismayo were all Harti.

Hawiye interests in Kismayo are based on the presence of Galgaal in the area. They were displaced into the area earlier this century, having been driven southwards by the Rahanweyne. Other Hawiye clans, such as the Xawadle and Sheikal, are more recent residents in the region. Frequent land disputes between the Majeerteen and the Ogadenis took place in the early part of this century. In one famous battle some 80 Harti were killed. The Ogadenis refer to the area of the battle as 'lafara ha tiga' ('the bones of Harti'), while the Harti refer to it as 'lafara ha raga' ('the bones of men'). Jubaland was also the scene of frequent fights between the Awlihan/Ogaden and the Marehan in the first two decades of this century.

At the time when Kismayo was ceded to Italy, the British are said to have enforced an agreement between the Harti and Ogadenis. According to the Ogaden, the agreement found in favour of the Ogadenis, giving their Sultan Ahmed Magan overall authority in Jubaland. This has now passed to his grandson Sultan Abdi Ali 'Songkor'. According to the Harti, the agreements stipulated that the Ogaden (mainly Mohamed Zubeir) should stay north of what is now the Liboi-Kismayo road, while the area south of this remained under the control of the Harti. By this agreement the Mohamed Zubeir Ogaden were also given access to the port.²¹

1.3 Uneven Development

As one of the prime sites for agricultural development in Somalia, the Juba region attracted the attention of British and Italian colonial officials. Plans to develop cotton production failed, owing to labour and transport constraints. Instead, during the 1930s the Italian plantation sector was expanded through the use of forced labour.

In the 1950s and 1960s foreign assistance and development projects focused on small-scale agriculture, targeting small-holders, with small-scale cash-cropping (cotton) and the extension of social services (e.g. Jamaame Mennonite School).

In the 1970s and 1980s, foreign technical and financial assistance was invested in large-scale development projects. These included Fanoole Rice Farm, comprising 8,000 hectares, Mogambo Irrigation Project, comprising 2,700 hectares, and Juba Sugar Project, comprising 20,000 hectares. Banana plantations were expanded and a number of large state farms were created. These projects, focused on replacing staple food crops with cash crops (cotton, sugar and bananas), expropriated vast areas of land from small-holders. The effect was to marginalise the small-holders and enhance the value of the riverine lands to outside investors. Wealthy Somalis, especially civil servants from Mogadishu, used land-registration laws to expropriate village plots in the valley throughout the 1980s.

The same process occurred in the pastoral sector, where development projects which increased the number of watering points in the lower Juba attracted powerful pastoral groups from outside the region.

In addition a number of infrastructural, industrial, and service projects were undertaken in the 1970s and 1980s with foreign assistance. These included highway construction from Kismayo to Mogadishu (Italy), bridge construction (EC), a meat factory and tannery in Kismayo (USSR), port rehabilitation (USAID), primary health care (UNICEF, World Concern, CISP), Kismayo hospital (China), hydro-electric power grid to Jilib (China), Juba sugar refinery (Abu Dhabi, Saudi Arabia), and the Kismayo power plant (FINIDA). These infrastructural projects benefited Kismayo and the main urban centres, rather than the impoverished rural population (Menkhaus, 1993).

1.4 A Conflict over Resources

The overt starting point of the conflict in the Juba valley was April 1989, when Ogadeni officers mutinied in Kismayo and formed the SPM. The mutiny was in direct response to the sacking and imprisonment by Said Barre of the powerful Ogadeni

Minister of Defence, Aden Abdallahi Nur 'Gabiyo'. The sacking of Gabiyo was the catalyst for a conflict that had been smouldering over a number of years.

One analysis of the conflict in Kismayo identifies its roots in ecological pressures which caused competition over resources in the pastoral rangelands to the west of the Juba river. Gedo region is primarily a pastoral region. The predominant Marehan population there herd substantial numbers of camels. Ecological pressures in Gedo region, caused partly by the influx of Ethiopian refugees into that region in the early 1980s, resulted in a southwards encroachment of Marehan pastoralists into Ogadeni grazing lands (*degaan*). Backed by the thinly veiled Marehan regime of Siad Barre, this led to armed conflicts between the Marehan and Ogadenis around Afmedu in 1988.

A further source of dispute was the proposed construction of the Bardheere dam, which was intended to bring large areas of land under irrigation. At that time Bardheere was divided between the Awlihan on the west bank and the Rahanweyne on the east bank. (Gabiyo's sub-clan, Rer Ali/Awlihan, is from Bardheere.) The dam was never built, because of the war. The project would have reduced the available grazing lands and thus increased land values and competition between the Ogadenis and Marehan. The regional Governor at that time, Abdillahi Wagat (a Marehan recently appointed again as 'governor' in Kismayo by General Morgan), tried to mediate between the Ogaden and Marehan, but with no success. The sacking of Gabiyo, therefore, only accelerated a conflict over resources that was already spreading.

1.5 The SPM and SNF

The first leader of the SPM, General Bashir 'Beliliqo' (Awlihan/Ogaden), was a brother-in-law of Gabiyo. Through his mother's line, he also received support from the Mohamed Zubeir/Ogaden. The SPM was badly defeated in September 1989, in a campaign led by Siad Barre's son General Masleh, and Beliliqo was forced to flee to Kenya.

In June 1989, however, a second SPM (Ogadeni) front had been opened up in the south-west, after Colonel Omar Jess (Mohamed Zubeir/Ogaden) defected from Hargeisa. By January 1990 Jess controlled Bakool region, where he obtained the support of the Awlihan Ogaden. In August 1990, the SNM, USC and SPM agreed to coordinate operations against Barre.

In January 1991, as the USC fought Barre in Mogadishu, the SPM threatened to seal off his retreat south at Afgoi. However, after Barre fled from Mogadishu, USC leaders lost control of the situation and fighting erupted in February 1991 between the USC and the SPM in Afgoi. The defeated SPM were forced to flee south to Kismayo, where they joined up with other disparate Darod who had fled from Mogadishu. The front line between the USC and SPM/SNF passed through the Juba valley three times between February and April 1991. The USC finally captured Kismayo at the end of April 1991, and the SPM/SNF were pushed south of Doble.

When the USC overran Mogadishu, Gabiyo was released from prison. At the time Beliliqo's supporters came from the Awlihan, Mohamed Zubeir and Muqaabul in the Lower and Middle Juba, while Jess's support came from the Awlihan in Bakool, and Mohamed Zubeir in Ethiopia.

Following their defeat the various Darod factions, including the SPM (Ogadeni), SSDF (Harti) and SNF (Marehan), regrouped under the banner of the SPM. Internal Darod conflicts over land were forgotten in the face of the anti-Darod rhetoric from Aideed, who proclaimed his intention of clearing all Darod from Somalia. Gabiyo was appointed the new chairman of the SPM, and Jess the military commander. General Morgan (Majeerteen and Barre's son-in-law) was given charge of the police. The election of Gabiyo as the Chairman led to a rift between Gabiyo and Jess. It is suggested that Gabiyo was elected chairman to ensure the support of his Awlihan clan, who up until then had been supporting Jess.

In June 1991, the SPM recaptured Kismayo and Brava. A second attempt to retake Mogadishu was again defeated by the USC. In December 1991, during the re-election of the SPM chairman, Gabiyo and Morgan combined forces to remove Jess's forces from Kismayo and Brava. Jess then went on to form an alliance with Aideed's USC, which became known as the Somali Liberation Army (SLA). Their combined forces managed to push Gabiyo and Morgan out of Kismayo and in April 1992 forced Barre into exile in Kenya. Following this victory Aideed and Jess formed the Somali National Alliance (SNA), combining together with the SDM and the SSNM.

Following their defeat in Kismayo, there was an attempt by the Majeerteen to replace Morgan as army commander with General Hirani (Awrtabley). Some 40 Majeerteen elders in Kenya signed a letter replacing him, and his supply routes from Kenya were cut. Morgan responded by professing to be fighting, not just for the Majeerteen, but all the Darod. In this way Morgan managed to gather the support of the Marehan. With Marehan support, and allegedly resupplied by the Kenyan military, he was able to move up the Kenyan border to El Wak. From there he was able to recapture Gedo and went on to take Saakow, Bu'aale, and Afmedow (a Mohamed Zubeir town) and Bardheere in October 1992. He also managed to cut the Kismayo-Liboi road and capture Liboi from Jess. At this point UNITAF intervened in Somalia.

It has been suggested that when UNITAF arrived, Aideed's power was in decline, under pressure on fronts in the south and north-east. This is why Aideed is thought to have accepted the US intervention. With the arrival of the UNITAF, supporters of Omar Jess, fearful that they might lose Kismayo, were involved in the assassination of over 100 Harti people in the town between 8 and 10 December 1992.

In January 1993, Morgan attempted to recapture Kismayo but was repulsed by the US military. On 22 February, two weeks before the start of the National Reconciliation Conference in Addis Ababa, Morgan was able to infiltrate fighters into Kismayo, and after some bloody street battles routed Jess's forces and recaptured the town. Jess's forces had been deprived of their heavy weapons by the UNITAF disarmament programme.

Interpretations of the events that enabled Morgan to capture Kismayo vary. The USC/SNA alliance believe that the Belgian UNOSOM forces are not impartial, and Morgan's soldiers were allowed into Kismayo. Some Harti believe that UNOSOM allowed Morgan to re-enter Kismayo, because 'they view it as a Harti town'. This is despite the fact that, when US forces first arrived in Somalia, US Ambassador Oakley refused to meet the 'cold-blooded murderer' Morgan. The other interpretation is that UNOSOM Belgian troops were outwitted by Morgan. Whatever the truth, the

SNA/USC supporters remain extremely bitter. Their cynicism is increased by the fact that since February 1993 the US and Belgian troops have twice repulsed attacks by Jess fighters on Kismayo.

Since March, therefore, Kismayo has *nominally* been under the control of an alliance of SPM/SNF/SSDF forces (in Kismayo known as the SPM), under the overall command of Morgan. *Nominally*, because Morgan himself has not returned to Kismayo and remains in Doble, and also, because his supporters have no visible military presence on the streets of Kismayo. The rise of Morgan, as the 'champion of the Darod', seems to have sidelined Gabiyo, although he was one of the 15 signatories of the Addis Ababa agreement.

2 THE KISMAYO PEACE CONFERENCE

In April 1993, UNOSOM appointed a retired US army officer, Mark Walsh, as Zone Director to Kismayo. He arrived in a situation where Morgan's forces had recently captured Kismayo. Jess's forces had been moved north of Kamsuma, and his supporters were displaced in the Juba valley. The town and the Juba valley were patrolled by a contingent of 850 Belgian peace-keeping forces. The political and security situation remained unstable, as Jess's supporters threatened to attack the town. In addition, there were a variety of other clan-based factions in the region.

Walsh's brief from UNOSOM was to: (1) get Jess's wounded fighters, who were in the valley, to Kismayo hospital for treatment, and (2) 'get the community back together'.²² Two attempts to negotiate the return of the wounded to Kismayo hospital for treatment failed, and they were eventually taken to Jilib and treated by a Belgian team there.

In mid-April, Walsh made his first attempt to bring the sides together, by inviting a small group of elders from each side to meet at Madamato, 2 km north of Kismayo. The objective was to explore whether people were prepared to talk, and if it was possible to get a large number of elders together. The meeting proved a success, as it indicated that people were ready to talk.

The process was disrupted on 6 May, when Jess engineered an attack on Kismayo. The Belgians came out in force in response. On 7 May 1,500 to 2,000 people were seen moving from the valley to Kismayo, having anticipated that Jess would win. In response, a similar number of people went from Kismayo to confront them, many of them women. The Belgians placed themselves between the two sides and prevented a clash. Those from the valley set up camp at Madamato, where a 'green line' was formed, dividing Morgan's and Jess's supporters.

In mid-May, following the Addis Ababa National Reconciliation Conference, the reconciliation process was resumed, with meetings in Mogadishu. A peace initiative by elders in Galkaiyo won the support of Aideed and Abdillahi Yusuf, while Ali Mahadi was meeting in Mogadishu with General Abshir. UNOSOM were uneasy about Aideed's initiative, concerned that he was prepared to bargain over Kismayo in return for a settlement in Galkaiyo. At short notice UNOSOM asked Walsh to send 40 delegates from Kismayo to Mogadishu to reinforce UNOSOM's position. The town elders agreed, but he was initially unable to convince those elders from Jess's side in the valley.

By 26 May, convinced that the two meetings in Mogadishu were not going anywhere, Walsh decided to concentrate on the Kismayo problem. With the help of Omar Moalim, he was able to convince 28 elders from Jess's side to go to Mogadishu, because it was in their interests to be involved in discussions over the future of Kismayo.²³ A peace delegation, comprising Marehan, Harti and Mohamed Zubeir elders, was therefore formed. General Mohamed Abshir, of the SSDF, was asked by UNOSOM to help in mediating in peace talks.

Negotiations culminated in a conference in Mogadishu on 30 May. On 3 June 1993, a Declaration of Peace and Reconciliation was signed by elders and politicians from the Juba region. The Declaration committed them to:

- 1 The complete cessation of hostilities in the Lower Juba Region.
- 2 The reunification of the population of Jubaland in seven days.
- 3 The reopening of the Juba region.
- 4 The establishment of a working committee on the peace process.
- 5 The creation of an interim standing committee of elders to judicially resolve differences arising among parties in the region.

On 20 June more detailed discussions began in Kismayo, with 75 elders from each side. In these negotiations the Ogadeni (Mohamed Zubeir) were bargaining from a position of weakness, because they had broken with Jess. They were living displaced in the valley, while the other side, who had not broken with Morgan, were in town. Once the elders broke from Jess, they lost his 'patronage'. Osman Atto (a major financier of Aideed), who is said to have developed significant investments in the Juba valley during the war, had been supporting the displaced. 'Mama' Dofa (a relative of Aideed and Atto) was also feeding the displaced. Once the elders broke with Jess, this support stopped. There are also 'warlords' other than Jess, such as Ahmed Hashi, vice-Commander of SPM forces under Jess, who had significant influence on the situation. Not surprisingly the Ogadenis called for a broad representation of people at the meeting, including Hawiye.

On the other side the Harti were in little mood for compromise, They were still bitter about the Harti massacre and wanted the meeting limited to the Darod. Morgan was also uncertain whether the elders would undermine his authority.

On the first day of the meeting, the elders from the valley brought three Habr Gedir representatives. This was initially unacceptable to those in Kismayo. After three days of negotiation they were allowed to have observer status. Some groups in the area (such as the Bantu) were not invited to participate, as UNOSOM felt that, if the meeting was too inclusive, this would cause a problem.

Finally, on 23 June, 152 delegates (elders, religious leaders, intellectuals, politicians, business people, representatives of women, youth and other civic organisations) and 50 observers met at Kismayo airport to commence negotiations. Four committees were established to agree upon the following:

- 1 Cease-fire and disarmament
- 2 Reopening of roads
- 3 Reunification of the people and communities
- 4 Return of property.

This culminated in the signing of the Jubaland Peace Agreement on 6 August 1993.²⁴ The accord (reprinted in Appendix C) repeats the format of the Addis Ababa agreement, with conditions on the four issues listed above. In addition, there were a number of General Provisions, which call for the dissemination of the peace message, establishment of district sub-committees, reactivation of trade, restoration of essential services, reestablishment of police and the judiciary, and deployment of UNOSOM forces in each of the 14 districts mentioned in the agreement.

It is significant that UNOSOM are seen as an integral part of the agreement, in matters of security and humanitarian assistance, as the onus is now on the UN to provide the financial and material assistance to build upon the peace agreement. Despite the efforts of the Zone Director, UNOSOM provided no resources for the meeting, until the signing ceremony. It was left to the Belgians, UN agencies, NGOs, and some Somalis to provide shelter, food and blankets.

Having secured an accord, UNOSOM Mogadishu then made a major blunder, by inviting Ali Mahadi to speak at the conclusion of the peace talks. UNOSOM said that Jess and Aideed were also invited but, given the warrant on his head, Aideed was not going! Although Morgan was not invited, Howe publicly accepted a gift from him. To the USC/SNA this was seen as a symbol of rapprochement between UNOSOM and Morgan, and a further sign of UNOSOM's partiality.

3 A FRAGILE PEACE

The Jubaland Peace Agreement was signed at a time when UNOSOM was involved in a war of attrition with Aideed in Mogadishu. A success was sorely needed, to show that their policies were working. The Jubaland Agreement appeared to signal a break-through in the political reconciliation process. The agreement has brought to many people in Lower Juba a period of relative peace for the first time in years. In August 1993 the Zone Director reported that the committees set up by the accord were still meeting, which is a positive sign. Although the green line remains, trade has increased between the town and the valley. It is possible to drive around Kismayo and in the valley without armed escorts.

The credibility of the agreement, however, was undermined by UNOSOM inviting Ali Mahadi to address the signing ceremony. Not only did it further legitimise Ali Mahadi, and indicate a bias in UNOSOM's policies, but it also had the effect of turning a local peace agreement into something national. As a result the USC/SNA supporters give little credence to the agreement. There is scepticism at the binding nature of the agreement. As one Somali commented, 'What the elders say and think are two different things.' Some of those closely involved in the peace process, including the Zone Director and Omar Moalim, also admit that the agreement is fragile. Although the shooting has stopped for the moment, a number of factors continue to make the situation delicate.

3.1 The Marehan and Morgan

The main source of instability lies within the Darod, and disputes within the Darod lost them control of Kismayo in 1991. For the Darod, Kismayo provides a place to wait for those urbanites displaced from Mogadishu. It is even possible that Kismayo

could be developed as a new capital, given its port and agricultural hinterland. The stakes therefore remain high. In August 1993 Morgan's Marehan and Harti appointees controlled the town. If reunification of the city occurs, they will lose their monopoly of control. This is critical, for if economic recovery happens (and UNOSOM are developing an economic recovery plan for the region), they stand to increase their power base. For this reason they continue to block the formation of a unified police force.

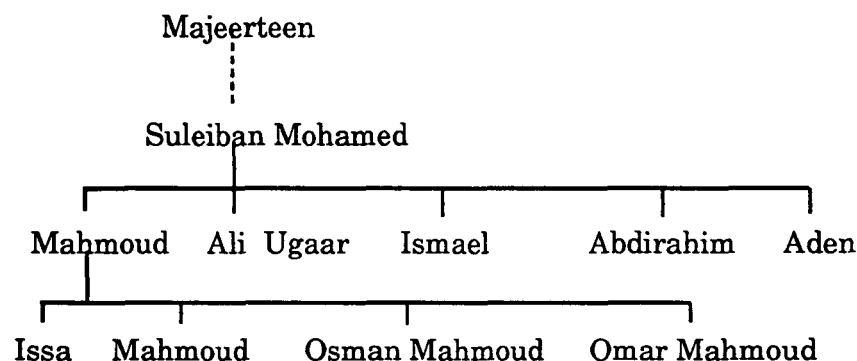
Kismayo was never a home base for the Marehan. The use of the name 'Jubaland' in the agreement, which includes Gedo, gives the Marehan undue significance. They presently retain a position of power in Kismayo through Abdillahi Wagat (Marehan, and former Barre appointee) as Morgan's regional governor. The issue of Morgan himself has not yet been settled. Up to August UNOSOM were still refusing to talk to him. However, he still wields a great deal of influence and would resist plans to marginalise him. Some in UNOSOM believe there is a need to involve a broader group of businessmen and religious leaders in the peace process to off-set the influence of Morgan's appointees. WFP reported that these people have already tried to control of some of the aid resources coming into the town.

3.2 The Harti

The Harti, and in particular the Majeerteen, have been key players in the Kismayo conflict and the reconciliation process. The Chairman of the SSDF, General Mohamed Abshir, is Majeerteen (Issa Mahmoud/Majeerteen), as is Morgan. General Abshir played a central role in brokering the Jubaland agreement, investing some of his own finances in the conference. General Abshir's involvement in the Kismayo meeting angered supporters of Aideed and Jess.²⁵

Since 1991, the Majeerteen-controlled north-east of Somalia has remained largely peaceful and, in places, has prospered during the war. Now that the Jubaland Peace Agreement has been signed, it is likely that division will resurface, not only within the Darod (Harti-Ogaden-Marehan) alliance, but also within the Majeerteen.

Diagram 11 : Ali and Mahmoud Suleiban Majeerteen Genealogy



In May, divisions became evident between the Chairman of the SSDF, General Abshir, and the military commander, Colonel Abdillahi Yusuf, when Abdillahi Yusuf was involved in negotiations with Aideed over Galkaiyo. In Kismayo it is said that the

majority of Harti support Morgan rather than Abshir, while some Harti are suspicious of Morgan's relationship with the Marehan. At one level these divisions represent differences of opinion over whether Majeerteen interests are best served, at present, by a military strongman or 'warlord', or a politician. They also represent different economic and political clan interests within the Majeerteen.

The two largest lineages in the Majeerteen are the Mahmoud Suleiban and the Ali Suleiban (see diagram 11). Many of the Majeerteen politicians and military have come from the Mahmoud Suleiban. In the 1960s the Mahmoud Suleiban dominated Somali politics, with Ali Sharmarke (President 1967), Abdirizak Haji Hussein (Prime Minister 1964), and General Mohamed Abshir (Police Commander). In the 1970s Colonel Abdillahi Yusuf (Omar Mahmoud Suleiban) formed the SSDF and led a guerrilla campaign against the Barre regime. Barre's retribution against the SSDF in the early 1980s forced many Majeerteen, particularly from Mudug, to flee to Kenya and the Gulf states, where they later established substantial business interests. These interests have been important sources of finance for the SSDF and the SNF/SPM at different times.

The Ali Suleiban, in contrast to the Mahmoud Suleiban, are known more as businessmen. Coming from Bari region in north-east Somalia, they have access to the port of Bosasso and financial trading links with the Gulf. In the 19th century many Ali Suleiban traders migrated to Kismayo and are now the largest Majeerteen group in Kismayo.

The rapprochement between Aideed and Abdillahi Yusuf in May 1993 caused a division with the Majeerteen.²⁶ Abdillahi Yusuf is supported by his own clan, the Omar Mahmoud (except for Rer Hersi, which has a strong lobby in east Africa). He is also said to have the support of the Ali Suleiban and the Awtabley and Lelkasse (non-Majeerteen Darod). One of the wealthiest Majeerteen in Kismayo, called Unlaye (Ali Suleiban), is said to support Abdillahi Yusuf.²⁷ The Ali Suleiban are said to be supportive of Abdillahi Yusuf, because they need security for their businesses. General Abshir is said to have the support of the Isa Mahmoud and Osman Mahmoud. One of his main sources of financial support, however, comes from a member of the Rer Mahad of the Omar Mahmoud, the particular sub-clan of Abdillahi Yusuf. He is the owner of a large bus transport company in East Africa (Ohan). The concern expressed to me by some Majeerteen is that conflicting political and economic interests may lead to a dispute within the Majeerteen, which could upset the peace agreement in Kismayo.

3.3 The Ogadeni

The Ogadenis, particularly the Mohamed Zubeir, have the most to lose if the Marehan and Harti retain control of the city, as they are left with nothing. There remains a great deal of bitterness among those who have been displaced from Kismayo into the valley. They feel that UNOSOM is keeping them out of their town. On the other hand, those in town accuse UNOSOM of doing nothing to clear 'gunmen' out of Madamato. The Madamato displaced are mainly from two Ogadeni groups, one originally from Ethiopia who moved in with Jess (Rer Abdille), and the other Mohamed Zubeir Ogadeni from within the region.

In the words of one, 'We defeated them before UNITAF put them in Kismayo, and when we try to retaliate, the Belgians stop us. We will wait until UNOSOM leave.' In response to a comment that the Harti and Ogadeni used to live together, the reply was: 'Will last night come back again?' It will take a major psychological change to bring people back together and to reshape the thinking of people, away from conflict.

3.4 The Refugees and Displaced

The issue of the displaced remains very sensitive. The Tuni, Harti and Banjuni make up a large number of the refugees in Kenya. Their inclusion in the peace agreement means that they should be able to return. With few economic opportunities, this will place pressure on the region's damaged infrastructure and resources. The Harti are also nervous that the return of refugees from Kenya may undermine their trading monopolies.

3.5 The Land Issue

The focus of the peace talks was Kismayo, because of its strategic importance. However, it is the agrarian areas along the Juba and the pastoral areas which provide the wealth of the region. Issues of land ownership were not dealt with in the conference, and therefore disputes over agrarian land rights and pastoral rights still have to be settled. The Marehan are more concerned with pastoral areas, and there are indications that the old Marehan-Ogadeni conflict is re-emerging around Afmedu.

The Bantu groups, who suffered most in the war, and for whom agricultural land is the critical issue, were not represented at the peace conference.

3.6 Impact of the Mogadishu Conflict on Kismayo

The conflict in Mogadishu between UNOSOM and General Aideed has an impact on the situation in Kismayo, and the resolution of that conflict will have repercussions on the Lower Juba. Aideed and Omar Jess were both marginalised from the Kismayo peace conference. Depending on the outcome of their conflict with UNOSOM, they will continue to oppose the Jubaland agreement and are likely try to influence the situation there.

The concentration of UNOSOM in Mogadishu necessarily diverts resources from elsewhere in the country. In Lower Juba, for example, there are only 850 soldiers covering a region 36,000 sq km, compared with 13,000 in Mogadishu. During the Kismayo peace conference, the Zone Director complained that he was not able to obtain a mere \$7,000 from UNOSOM for food and shelter for the participants.

UNOSOM Kismayo are also critical that policies made in Mogadishu may not be appropriate for the regions. In August 1993 the Zone Director was still uneasy about the peace agreement and tried to forestall the Political Division from establishing the District Councils. He felt there was a need to allow more time for local reconciliation processes to work. In an area which has suffered such massive displacement, there are questions over the legitimacy of any District Council formed now. For example, at a meeting in Jamaame in mid-August, elders read out a list of 23 clans whose representatives had come to meet UNOSOM. The list did not include Bantu or

Ogadenis, who made up a large part of the pre-war population of the town. The Zone Director, however, was unable to stop the Political Division from pursuing its programme, as per schedule.²⁸

A further problem for UNOSOM is that most of the UNOSOM team in Kismayo will leave in September at the end of their contracts. UNOSOM will lose the knowledge and experience which these people have developed over the past year.

4 CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

In mid-August 1993, the Somali Red Crescent expressed concerns at continuing armed theft and rape in Kismayo; banditry was still a problem north of Jilib, and there have been questions about the behaviour and activities of the Belgian peace-keeping troops (African Rights, July 1993). However, the situation in Kismayo and Lower Juba in mid-August was as peaceful as at any time since January 1991.

This peaceful appearance does conceal a number of problems, which arise from several sources: bitterness among the Ogadenis and supporters of Jess displaced from Kismayo; the impact of returned refugees from Kenya; unaddressed land-ownership issues; political and economic divisions within the Marehan-Ogadeni-Harti alliance; the continued presence of large quantities of weapons within the region; the unknown effects of the District Council formation; and unresolved conflicts suspended due to the conflict in Mogadishu. Some or all of these are to some extent being held in abeyance by the presence of Belgian troops, and could re-emerge to destabilise the region in the future.

Economic interests are intrinsic to the war in Somalia. All the warlords have their financial backers, the 'godfathers'. Osman Atto, one of Aideed's main financiers, is one example. Many other Hawiye in Somalia and abroad have undoubtedly helped finance Aideed's campaign, both to protect their own kin, but also as a future investment. The same is true for all the other clan factions. The SNM, for example, were dependent on remittances from abroad to sustain their campaign against Barre. The brief description of the Harti factor in the Kismayo conflict and their financial networks in East Africa and the Gulf only begins to hint at the complex range of factors and invested interests that can influence political reconciliation and peace-making.

Economic interests, however, can be as much a driving force for peace as they are for conflict, as will be seen in the description of the Sanaag peace meeting in Somaliland, in Part V. The challenge is to look for ways in which conflicting interests can be transformed into common interests.

UNOSOM should receive some credit for helping to restore a semblance of peace to the Juba region. This achievement probably has more to do with the individuals involved in the process than with UNOSOM's own policies. One can draw out the following elements that contributed to the success of the reconciliation process to date:

- The Zone Director, Mark Walsh, was able to win the confidence and respect of the elders on both sides.
- He was able to draw on the support of Ken Menkhaus, a social scientist with a good

knowledge of the Lower Juba region. He is the only foreigner in UNOSOM with specialised knowledge of Somalia.

- The presence of elder 'statesmen', Omar Moalim, Mohamed Abshir, Aden Abdille Osman, and particularly Omar Moalim, who is from the area, acting as mediators, helped the process.
- While their own behaviour has come under criticism, the Belgian UN troops have been able to stop the fighting, and therefore break the cycle of violence. Restrictions on the movement of heavy weapons (technicals) have helped to keep the peace. This improved security environment has helped to encourage the resumption of trade.
- The negotiations took place within Somalia, and more specifically within Kismayo.
- The negotiations were primarily between 'elders'. It was possible to marginalise the influence of the military warlords. That committees have continued to meet since the conference indicates that there was an interest on the part of the participants to see the process through.
- The negotiations took place over a period of two months, thus allowing time for some confidence building.
- Financial interests on the part of some members of the business community may also have been an important factor.
- The inter-marriage among clans in that region may also have helped the process. While Lower Juba is heterogeneous in its clan composition, many of those clans are linked through marriage. As seemed apparent in Galkaiyo, and can be seen more clearly in Somaliland, it may be easier for those groups linked affinally and with common *xeer* to reconcile their conflicts.

RECOMMENDATIONS:

Expanded programmes: Agencies should consider ways of expanding their work to cover both sides of the 'green line'. This would provide the opportunity to avoid accusations of bias and the chance to understand the context and issues from different angles.

Refugees: The return of large numbers of refugees to the region will place a lot of pressure on damaged infrastructure and resources, and could be a major source of tension. Agencies might consider ways of scaling up their programmes to assist in the resettlement and reintegration of these people. Many will be destitute and will have become dependent on HCR rations.

Staff Training: Agencies may be called upon to mediate, or support local mediation or peace meetings. They might therefore consider a pilot training programme for staff in conflict resolution/mediation. Local resources are available in Nairobi through the Nairobi Peace Initiative.

Land Ownership: Land ownership is an unresolved issue in the region. It has been suggested that the conflict such as that in Kismayo can only finally be resolved through agrarian reform. Agencies might consider commissioning research to look at the issue, to help both their own understanding of the nature of the problem, and to inform future UN strategies in the region.

Research on the Jubaland Agreement: This report has been able to provide only a brief sketch of the peace-making process behind the Jubaland Agreement. Agencies might consider commissioning a thorough piece of research in order to understand better the successes and potential obstacles of this peace process. Such a study is necessary, in order to be able to anticipate future scenarios and to be able to plan for the future. In particular it is important to know the extent to which the agreement is based on a solid foundations of inter-clan agreements. Preferably a Somali should be commissioned for this work.

Trauma: Much bitterness remains among people on both sides of the 'green line', as a result of the trauma of years of war. MSF Belgium, World Concern, Somali Red Crescent, and the WAMO Women's Organisation have all identified psychological trauma and post-traumatic distress as a problem among the population in Kismayo. This needs to be addressed. Rape has also been identified as an on-going problem. Agencies might consider ways in which they could support a trauma programme for the victims of war.

Agencies might consider commissioning such bodies as the Medical Foundation for the Victims of Torture, with experience in this field, to assess the issue professionally and provide some detailed recommendations. Particular attention should be given to indigenous healing practices.

UNHCR Kenya are presently implementing a rape-counselling and protection programme in Somali refugee camps in Kenya. Some of the victims may return to Kismayo and require further assistance. Information from the Somali Red Crescent and others suggests that it is an on-going problem in Kismayo. Agencies should consider linking up with the UNHCR on this and, in particular, with Fauzia A. Musa, who has pioneered their work.

Disability: This problem is not yet being addressed in Kismayo. Agencies might consider jointly commissioning a study to look at the extent of the problem. The Chairman of the former Association of Physically Disabled of Somalia, Abdulkadir Abdillahi Farah, is in Nairobi and would be a suitable person to do such an assessment.