

# **INTELLIGENCE REPORT**

## ***Intelligence report on the Parliamentary and Presidential election of the Federal Republic of Somalia.***

### **Introduction**

This report will scrutinize the election of Somalia, the general understandings of the electoral process and Incumbent **President Mohamed Abdullahi Farmaajo's** chance of being re-elected, the hope of the **council of the Presidential candidates** and the Puntland President, **Said Abdullahi Deni's** potential hope to run for the President of Somalia. i.e., analysis on **constituencies, federal member states and clans**. This report will emphasise each Federal member state, the amount of votes each candidate could get and a verdict of the results in the conclusion. The council of the Presidential candidates consists of opposition candidates such as: Shariif Sheikh Ahmed, Hassan Sheikh Mohamoud, Hassan Ali Khaire, Abdikarim Hussein Guled, Shariif Hassan Sheikh Aden, Dahir Mohamoud Gelle, Hussien Abdi Halanne, Abdirahman Abdishakur Warsame, Dr Abdinur Sheikh Mohamed, Mustaf Sheikh Ali Dhuhulow, Abdulkadir Osoble Ali, Dr Abdinasir Abdille Mohamed and Mohamed Sirin. The electoral process in Somalia is divergent to similar elections in the

continent and in the globe because of security and economic factors. The Parliament is shared in a formula known as 4.5 which is based on the 4 major clans (**Dir, Digil & Mirifle, Hawiye and Darod**) and 0.5 for the minority clans (**the Fifth community**).

The Prime Minister and the Federal Member State leaders have an enormous role and power because they appoint the electoral committees which conducts the election. The Federal committee is known as the Federal Implementation Electoral Team (FEIT) and the State committee is known as the State Implementation Electoral Team (SEIT). These committees will cooperate with clan elders and members of the civil society to select 101 delegates to elect each of the **275 Members of the House of People**. The Upper House is elected from the Federal Member State Parliament and consists of **54 Senators**. The two chambers will then elect the speaker of each respective house and together will elect the President of the Federal Republic of Somalia. The reason why Federal Member State leaders are vital in the electoral process is because they fully control the election in their state and often manipulate it. This means that most Members of the Parliament are altered by the Regional President and together, they support a candidate to achieve their hankering.

Therefore, the endorsement of the Federal Member States is crucial to the candidates and transforms the result of the Presidential election.

### **Southwest Federal Member State**

This Federal State which was established in 2015 is dominated by the Digil & Mirifle clan. The President of Southwest is **Abdiasis Hassan Mohamed**, commonly known as “Laftagareen”. He is a **close ally of President Farmaajo** and has previously served in

his government as the **Cabinet Secretary of Energy and Minerals**. The politicians who hail from Southwest are not opting for the Presidential seat but prefer Mohamed Abdullahi Farmaajo to be re-elected rather than a Hawiye candidate to take position. The reason is because of a social division between the Digil & Mirifle + Dir and Hawiye clans, mainly on land, grazing and political power sharing. President Farmaajo has empowered the Southwest Federal State during his four-year term in Villa Somalia and enjoyed development projects given by the Federal Government. Nevertheless, there are numerous politicians, clan elders and activists who oppose President Farmaajo's decision in November 2018, which excluded **Sheikh Mukhtar Roboow Abu Mansoor** from the Southwest Presidential election and later imprisoned him. Government officials in the Southwest state substantiated that President Farmaajo and his political lobbying team have an enormous influence in the Southwest State Electoral Implementation Team (SEIT) and have secretly added their close supporters as members of this committee.

***The largest number of Parliamentary seats are in the Southwest State, 77***

***Parliamentarians out of the total 329 will be elected in the two cities of Baydhabo and Baraawe of the Southwest Federal Member State. We will give a prediction on how the candidates will share the proportion of the Southwest MPs.***

- There are **8 Senators** elected from the **Southwest** Federal State Parliament, our prediction is Mohamed Abdullahi Farmaajo to receive 6 votes and the council of the Presidential candidates to receive 2.

- **54 Members** of Parliament represent the **Digil & Mirifle clan**, our predication is Farmaajo to receive 33, the council of the Presidential candidates could receive 18 and Said Abdullahi Deni to receive 3 votes.
- **5 members** of Parliament represent the minority clans (**the fifth community**), our prediction is Farmaajo to receive 4 and the council of the Presidential candidates to receive 1.
- **5 members** of Parliament represent the **Dir clan**, our prediction is Farmaajo to receive all 5 votes.
- **3 Members** of Parliament represent the **Hawiye clan**, our prediction is Farmaajo to receive 1 vote and the council of the Presidential candidates to receive 2 votes.
- **2 Members** of Parliament represent the **Ogaden subclan** of the Darood, our prediction if Farmaajo to receive 1 vote and Said Abdullahi Deni to receive 1 vote.

**Total predicted votes in Southwest:**

- *Mohamed Abdullahi Farmaajo – 50 votes / 77 votes (64.9%)*
- *The council of the Presidential candidates – 23 votes / 77 votes (29.8%)*
- *Said Abdullahi Deni – 4 votes / 77 votes (5.1%)*

**Galmudug Federal Member State**

**Galmudug**, is a Federal Member State which is in Central Somalia, bordering Ethiopia. It inhabited by many Somali clans, but the Hawiye clan are the majority by

land and population. Its President is **Ahmed Abdi Kaariye**, commonly known as “Qoor-Qoor”. He is a close **associate of President Farmaajo**, just like his Southwest counterpart, he served in Farmaajo’s government and was the State Minister of Public Work. Nevertheless, he is under pressure from most of his clan elders, politicians, many members of his cabinet in the Galmudug region and they are advocating for a Hawiye candidate to be elected in the upcoming Presidential election. However, the Prime Minister of Somalia, **Mohamed Hussein Roble** hails from the Habargidir subclan of the Hawiye who dominate Galmudug, is supporting for the re-election of his President, Farmaajo, and has the largest role in the Somali electoral process. Confidential sources within the Galmudug administration have indicated that President Farmaajo and his lobbying team have added their supporters in the Galmudug State Electoral Implementation Team (SEIT), but minor opposition supporters are still part of the Team which means that Farmaajo’s lobbying team have the largest influence but are not full in control. This indicates that President Kaariye supports the re-election of Farmaajo but at the same time wants to build a close relation with the opposition if Farmaajo is ousted.

***45 seats out of the total 329 Parliamentary seats will be elected in Galmudug. The election will host in two cities, Dhuusamareb and Galkaio.***

- **8 Senators** will be elected from the Galmudug Federal State Parliament. Our Prediction if Farmaajo to receive 4 votes and the council of Presidential candidates to receive 3 votes and Said Abdullahi Deni 1 vote.

- **12 Members** of the Parliament represent the **Habargidir subclan** of the Hawiye, our prediction is the council of the Presidential candidates to receive 6 votes, Farmaajo to receive 5 votes and other candidates 1.
- **7 Members** of the Parliament represent the **Murursade subclan** of the Hawiye, our prediction is the council of the Presidential candidates to receive 5 votes and Farmaajo to receive 2 votes.
- **4 Members** of the Parliament represent the **Marehan subclan** of the Darood, our prediction is Farmaajo to receive all 4 votes.
- **4 Members** of the Parliament represent the **Duduble subclan** of the Hawiye, our prediction is Farmaajo to receive 2 votes and the council of the presidential candidates to receive 2 votes.
- **3 Members** of the Parliament represent the **Abgaal- Mudulood** subclan of the Hawiye, our prediction is the council of the presidential candidates to receive 2 votes and Farmaajo to receive 1 vote.
- **3 Members** of the Parliament represent the **Dir clan**, our prediction is Farmaajo to receive 2 votes and the council of the Presidential candidates to receive 1 vote.
- **2 Members** of the Parliament represent the **Shiikhaal subclan** of the Hawiye, our prediction is Farmaajo to receive 1 vote and the council of the Presidential candidates to receive 1 vote.
- **2 Members** of the Parliament represent the minority clans (**the Fifth community**), our prediction if Farmaajo to receive 1 vote and the council of Presidential candidates to receive 1 vote.

**Total predicted votes in Galmudug:**

- *Mohamed Abdullahi Farmaajo – 22 votes / 45 votes (48.8%)*
- *The council of the Presidential candidates – 22 votes / 45 votes (48.8%)*
- *Said Abdullahi Deni – 1 vote (2.2%)*

## Puntland Federal Member State

**Puntland** is a Federal Member State in north-eastern Somalia and was the first Federal state that was established in Somalia. Its President **Said Abdullahi Deni** is a potential Presidential candidate for Somalia. He and his Jubaland counterpart, **Ahmed Madoobe**, have been **Farmaajo's main opponents** for the past two years and had a strain relationship with the central government. Said has the support of his fellow Puntland politicians and enjoys a full power within the government. Nevertheless, he is under pressure from civil society advocates, clan elders and other public figures who favour President Farmaajo to be re-elected. **Deni and Farmaajo belong to the same Darood clan.** The Puntland State Electoral Implementation Team are dominated by Said Abdullahi Deni's supporters and will certainly produce Members of Parliament which are loyal to the Puntland President. Even though he has not officially announced his candidacy for the State House, confidential sources have confirmed he will run for the country's highest office for the second time. Deni believes if he doesn't run for the Presidency, Farmaajo will take advantage of the Members of the Parliament who are elected from Puntland and hail from the Darood clan. His strategy is to be elected as President and if not, at least split the votes of the 78 Parliamentarians who represent the Darood clan.

***48 Members of both chambers, Upper House (the Senate) and the House of the People will be elected in two cities in Puntland, Garowe and Boosaso.***

- **11 Senators** are elected from the **Puntland** Parliament in Garowe. Our Prediction is Said Abdullahi Deni to receive 9 votes, Farmaajo to receive 1 vote and 1 vote for the council of the Presidential candidates.
- **10 Members** of the House of People represent the **Majeerteen subclan** of the Darood. Our prediction is Said Deni to receive 8 votes, Farmaajo to receive to 1 vote and 1 vote to be received by the council of the Presidential candidates.

- **8 Members** of the House of People represent the **Dhulbahante subclan** of the Darood. Our prediction is Said Deni to receive 5 votes, Farmaajo to receive 2 votes and 1 vote for the council of the Presidential candidates.
- **5 Members** of the House of People represent the **Leelkase subclan** of the Darood. Our prediction is Said Deni to receive 4 votes and Farmaajo to receive 1 vote.
- **5 Members** of the House of People represent the minority clans (**the Fifth community**). Our prediction is Said Deni to receive 3 votes, 1 vote for Farmaajo and 1 vote for the council of the Presidential candidates.
- **4 Members** of the House of People represent the **Warsangeli subclan** of the Darood. Our prediction is Said Deni to receive 3 votes and Farmaajo to receive 1 vote.
- **3 Members** of the House of People represent the **Awrtable subclan** of the Darood. Our prediction is Said Deni to receive 2 votes and Farmaajo to receive 1 vote.
- **2 Members** of the House of People represent the **Dashiishle subclan** of the Darood. Our prediction is Said Deni to receive 1 vote and Farmaajo to receive 1 vote.

**Total predicted votes in Puntland:**

- Said Abdullahi Deni – 35 votes / 48 votes (**72.9%**)
- Mohamed Abdullahi Farmaajo – 9 votes / 48 votes (**18.75%**)
- The council of the Presidential candidates – 4 votes / 48 votes (**8.33%**)

**Hirshabelle Federal Member State**

**Hirshabelle** is the youngest Federal Member State in Somalia. Its capital Jowhar, lies 90kms along a major road north of the national capital of Mogadishu. Its President **Ali Abdullahi Hussein**, commonly known as “Gudlawe”, just like his Galmudug and Southwest counterparts, is a **close ally of President Mohamed Abdullahi Farmaajo**.



Hirshabelle is dominated by the Hawiye clan, but social division is still present within this small state. The President of Hirshabelle Gudlawe hails from the same Mudulood subclan of the Hawiye to the two former Presidents of Somalia, **Hassan Sheikh Mohamoud** and **Shariif Sheikh Ahmed**. Two of Gudlawe's predecessors hail from the Hawadle subclan of the Hawiye and many political analysts argue if a President who hails from the Mudulood subclan wins the seat in Villa Somalia, he will be removed from office due to clan political power sharing. So, for this reason, President Gudlawe of Hirshabelle purportedly prefers President Farmaajo to stay in office. In addition, the Hirshabelle State Electoral Committee is hegemonized by the supporters of Farmaajo and are inclined to help the President to be re-elected.

***46 Members of the two chambers, the Upper House (Senate) and the House of the People will be elected in two cities in Hirshabelle, Jowhar and Baladweyne.***

**Total predicted votes in Hirshabelle:**

- **8 Senators** are elected from the **Hirshabelle** Federal Parliament in Jowhar. Our prediction is Farmaajo to receive 5 votes and the council of Presidential candidates to receive 3 votes.
- **11 Members** of the House of People represent the **Mudulood subclan** of the Hawiye. Our prediction is the council of Presidential candidates to receive 8 votes and Farmaajo to receive 3 votes.
- **9 Members** of the House of People represent the minority clans (**the Fifth community**). Our prediction is Farmaajo to receive 7 votes and the council of Presidential candidates to receive 2 votes.
- **8 Members** of the House of People represent the **Hawadle subclan** of the Hawiye. Our prediction is the council of the Presidential to receive 4 votes, Farmaajo to receive 3 votes and Said Abdullahi Deni to receive 1 vote.

- **5 Members** of the House of People represent the **Gugundhabe subclan** of the Hawiye. Our prediction is the council of the Presidential candidates to receive 3 votes and Farmaajo to receive 2 votes.
- **4 Members** of the House of People represent the **Galje'el subclan** of the Hawiye. Our prediction is Farmaajo to receive 2 votes and the council of the Presidential candidates to receive 2 votes.
- **1 Member** of the House of People represents the **Dir clan**. Our prediction is Farmaajo to receive that 1 vote.

**Total predicted votes in Hirshabelle:**

- Mohamed Abdullahi Farmaajo – 23 votes / 46 votes **(50%)**.
- The council of Presidential candidates – 22 votes / 46 votes **(47.8%)**.
- Said Abdullahi Deni – 1 vote / 46 votes **(2.2%)**.
- Other candidates – 0 votes / 46 votes **(0%)**.

**Jubaland Federal Member State**

**Jubaland** is Federal Member State in Southern Somalia dominated by the Darood clan and borders both Ethiopia and Kenya. Its President is **Ahmed Mohamed Islam**, commonly known as “Sheikh Madoobe”, is the longest serving Federal Member State leader. He had political feud and a strain relation with the Federal President Farmaajo during their time in office and it is believed that his political hankering and motive on the election is for Farmaajo to be ousted from Villa Somalia and be replaced with his ally, **Said Abdullahi Deni**. There are 51 Members of the two chambers elected from the Jubaland Federal Member State, however 16 out of those 51 are elected in the Gedo region which is controlled by the Federal Government troops under President Farmaajo and has an administration which is antagonistic to Ahmed Madobe’s Jubaland administration based in Kismayu. This means that President Madobe has a minimum influence in the election which scheduled to take

place in the Gedo region. However, the Jubaland State Electoral Implementation Committee is administered by the supports of Ahmed Madobe and therefore has the leverage on the conduction of the election.

***51 Members of the two chambers, the Upper House (Senate) and the House of the People will be elected in two cities in Jubaland, Kismayu and Garbaharey.***

- **8 Senators** are elected from the **Jubaland** Federal State Parliament in Kismayu. Our prediction is that Said Deni to receive 5 votes, the council of Presidential candidates to receive 2 votes and Farmaajo to receive 1 vote.
- **10 Members** of the House of the People represent the **Marehan subclan** of the Darood. Our prediction is Farmaajo to receive 8 votes, Said Deni to receive 1 vote and 1 vote for the council of the Presidential candidates.
- **10 Members** of the House of the People represent the **Absame subclan** of the Darood. Our prediction is Said Deni to receive 8 votes, Farmaajo to receive 1 vote and the council of Presidential candidates to receive 1 vote.
- **7 Members** of the House of the People represent the **Digil & Mirifle clan**. Our prediction is Said Deni to receive 4 votes, the council of the Presidential candidates to receive 2 votes and Farmaajo to receive 1 vote.
- **7 Members** of the House of the People represent the **Dir clan**. Our Prediction is Farmaajo to receive 3 votes, Said Deni to receive 3 votes and the council of the Presidential candidates to receive 1 vote.
- **4 Members** of the House of the People represent the minority clans (**the Fifth community**). Our prediction is Said Deni to receive 2 votes, Farmaajo to receive 1 vote and the council of the Presidential candidates to receive 1 vote.
- **3 Members** of the House of the People represent the **Harti** (Majeerteen, Dhulbahante, Warsangeli and Dashiishle) subclan of the Darood. Our prediction is Said Deni to receive all 3 votes.

- **2 Members** of the house of the People represent the **Hawiye clan**. Our prediction is the council of the Presidential candidates to receive the 2 votes.

**Total predicted votes in Jubaland:**

- Said Abdullahi Deni – 26 votes / 51 votes **(50.9%)**.
- Mohamed Abdullahi Farmaajo – 15 votes / 51 votes **(29.4%)**.
- The council of the Presidential candidates – 10 votes / 51 votes **(19.6%)**.
- Other candidates – 0 votes / 51 votes **(0%)**.

**Somaliland + Banadiri**

**Somaliland**, which is in Northwest Somalia, declared independence on **17 May 1991** from the rest of Somalia. Since that **secessionist** declaration, its Members of the Federal Parliament are elected in the **national capital Mogadishu**. Similarly, the representatives of the **Banadiri community** which is part of the fifth community (the minority clans) are also elected in the capital. Unlike other Federal Member States, these two don't have a regional President or administration and for that reason, their election is conducted by the Federal Government, consulting with local clan elders and prominent civil society members. In particular, the Chairman of the Upper House **Abdi Hashi Abdulahi** and the Deputy Prime Minister **Mahdi Mohamed Gulleid** who both hail from Somaliland, take the main role in naming the electoral implementation committee and monitoring the election. The Somaliland State Electoral Implementation Committee consists of 11 members. 4 members are named by the Speaker of the Upper House (a member of the opposition team), 4 members by the Deputy Prime Minister and 3 members are named by the Prime Minister. This means that 7 members out of the total 11 members are in favour of the incumbent President and the Chairman which will conduct the Somaliland election will be chosen from those 7 members and that gives them grip and an advantage in the electoral race.

***The capital Mogadishu hosts the election of 62 Members of the two chambers, the Upper House, and the House of the People. Somaliland is represented by 57 members and the Banadiri are represented by 5 respective members.***

- **11 Senators** represent the **Somaliland** region and are elected in Mogadishu. Our prediction is Farmaajo to receive 7 votes, the council of the Presidential candidates to receive 3 votes and Said Deni to receive 1 vote.
- **5 Members** of the House of the People represent the **Banadiri community** which are part of the minority clans (the Fifth community). Our prediction is Farmaajo to receive 4 votes and the council of the Presidential candidates to receive 1 vote.
- **28 Members** of the House of the People represent the **Isaak subclan** of the Dir clan. Our prediction is Farmaajo to receive 17 votes, the council of the Presidential candidates to receive 10 votes and Said Deni to receive 1 vote.
- **9 Members** of the House of the People represent the **Samaroon subclan** of the Dir clan. Our prediction is Farmaajo to receive 6 votes, the council of the Presidential candidates to receive 2 votes and Said Deni to receive 1 vote.
- **8 Members** of the House of the People represent the **Issa subclan** of the Dir clan. Our prediction is Farmaajo to receive 5 votes and the council of the Presidential candidates to receive 3 votes.
- **1 Member** of the House of the People represents the minority clans (**the Fifth community**). Our prediction is Farmaajo to receive that 1 vote.

**Total predicted in votes in Mogadishu (Somaliland + Banadiri):**

- Mohamed Abdullahi Farmaajo – 40 votes / 62 votes **(64.5%)**.
- The council of the Presidential candidates – 19 votes / 62 votes **(30.6%)**.
- Said Abdullahi Deni – 3 votes / 62 votes **(4.8%)**.

**Predictions of the results : Round 1**

- 1. Mohamed Abdullahi Farmaajo - 159 votes / 329 votes (48.3%).**
- 2. The council of the Presidential candidates – 100 votes / 329 votes (30.3%).**
- 3. Said Abdullahi Deni – 70 votes / 329 votes (21.2%).**

### Conclusion

- Indicating a winner in the Somali general elections is unfeasible due to the fluidity of the politics, the lack of inclusion and the fact that an incumbent President has never been re-elected. Nevertheless, the 2017 Presidential election enlightened that the odds a new individuals or unpopular politicians would be elected is nanoscopic because the four candidates who grossed the largest votes were an incumbent President, former President, incumbent Prime Minister, and former Prime Minister. Mohamed Abdullahi Farmaajo has high hopes on being re-elected because 15 of the current Presidential candidates hail from the Hawiye clan, while 3 other candidates hail from the Darood clan. Political analysts argue that these numerous Hawiye candidates will split their vote and shrink their chance because the Darood will distribute only 3 main candidates. Three of the five Federal Member States who have all been backed by Farmaajo in their election are perturbed on the race for President because of the possibility of a new President to come into office and overthrow them from their positions and this is the reason why they are congenial in bidding for the return of Mohamed Abdullahi Farmaajo. It is to be noted that previous regional Presidents have been overthrown by President Farmaajo's administrations. Nevertheless, this all depends on the Members of Parliament elected, their doctrines and how his political campaigners interact with them.