

**Country/entity** Somalia

**Region** Africa (excl MENA)

**Agreement name** Declaration of National Commitment (Arta Declaration)

**Date** 5 May 2000

**Agreement status** Multiparty signed/agreed

**Interim arrangement** Yes

**Agreement/conflict level** Intrastate/intrastate conflict

### **Somali Civil War (1991 - )**

Originally spurred by centre-peripheral tensions, fighting broke out in 1981 between the regime of President Said Barre and the Somali National Movement, a militia primarily consisting of members from the northern Ishaq clan. Fighting intensified in the late 1980s as more clan-based militias arose. President Barre's regime collapsed in late 1991 and as a result the UN intervened. However persistent attacks on the UN's forces forced a withdrawal in 1994. From the mid- to late 1990s, the character of the conflict shifted as warlords fought for access to rents. Also during this period, two different peace agreements arose; the Soderre Declaration, which was mediated by Ethiopia and supported by IGAD, and the Cairo Accord, which was brokered by Egypt. Fighting, already noticeably lessened compared to the early 1990s, decreased and the more amicable environment paved the way for the Transitional Government to be formed in 2000 (replaced in 2004 by the Transitional Federal Government).

Nonetheless, opposition to the TFG arose in the form of the Islamic Courts Union (ICU), which by early 2006 had taken control of most of southern Somalia until they were ousted by an armed intervention by Ethiopia in December 2006. As a result, the ICU splintered. Hard-line ICU members formed the Takfiri organization, Harakat al-Shabaab al-Mujahideen, and launched a guerrilla campaign against the TFG. Another faction of the ICU fled to Djibouti and formed the Alliance for the Re-liberation of Somalia, which was absorbed into the ruling TFG after successful negotiations in 2007.

To deal with the new round of fighting, the UN-mandated AMISOM force was deployed in 2007. Since then, insecurity has fluctuated between the urban and rural areas as the al-Shabaab's territorial gains waver. Local militia leaders maintain de facto governance over communities. From 2009 to 2012, insecurity spilled over into the Gulf of Aden and the Indian Ocean when Somali pirates seized, looted and ransomed ships. In 2014, 'Operation Indian Ocean' was launched and in parallel with infighting among al-Shabaab, the organisation's position in Somalia has diminished slightly. However, as evidenced by large-scale attacks by al-Shabaab in northern Kenya throughout 2013-2015, the lack of security continues to destabilize the region. Al-Shabaab continues to launch surprise attacks with the aim of forcing out foreign military presence in Somalia. Targets include both military forces and civilians. The devastating attack in October 2017 in Mogadishu saw 587 fatalities and resulted in a renewed military offensive by the Somali government and African Union allies. Since 2017, the U.S. has increased its air strikes targeting al-Shabaab militants, and in December 2018 they announced to re-establish a permanent diplomatic mission in the country. Al-Shabaab has been characterized as a spoiler in the Somali peace process and have therefore been placed outside of any negotiations.

Close

Somali Civil War (1991 - )

**Stage** Framework/substantive - partial

**Conflict nature** Government/territory

<b>Peace process</b>	Somalia Peace Process
<b>Parties</b>	The Transitional Government of Somalia
<b>Third parties</b>	IGAD (Intergovernmental Authority on Development) and its member states IGAD Partners Forum (IPF) United Nations (UN) Organization of African Unity (OAU) Arab League Organization of Islamic Conference (OIC) European Union (EU) World Bank
<b>Description</b>	Agreement outlines the responsibilities of the Transitional National Assembly, the election of the Chief Justice, the roles of the President and Prime Minister, particularly, the limitations of power of the President. It includes 17-points of binding principles. The Annexes include a ceasefire; a plan of reconstruction and recovery; and the foundations for representation of the Somali population in the TNA and the national dialogue.

---

**Agreement document** [SO\\_000505\\_Declaration of national commitment.pdf \(opens in new tab\)](#) | [Download PDF](#)

---

#### Groups

<b>Children/youth</b>	No specific mention.
<b>Disabled persons</b>	No specific mention.
<b>Elderly/age</b>	No specific mention.
<b>Migrant workers</b>	No specific mention.

**Racial/ethnic/  
national group**

Groups→Racial/ethnic/national group→Substantive  
[Summary] Contains substantive consideration of inter-group representation in the Transitional National Assembly.

Page 1, • Representation in the Conference and in the "Transitional National Assembly" shall be on the basis of local constituencies (regional /clan mix)

Page 3, TOWARD THIS END WE

... 8. pledge to place national interest above clan self interest, personal greed and ambitions

Page 6, ANNEX IV BASE OF REPRESENTATION IN THE

... WHAT TO GUARD AGAINST

• It must be stressed that representation based on clan affiliations or the assumed strength or importance of certain clan, including the size of territories presumed or traditional belonging to certain clans, would only succeed in perpetuating or reinforcing the division of the nation.

Page 6, ANNEX IV BASE OF REPRESENTATION IN THE

... WHAT TO GUARD AGAINST

... • The division has its genesis in the divide and conquer tactics of the past regime; pitting one clan against another, or elevating one or some over others. The widespread injustices of the 1980s triggered the mayhem and civil strife of the 1990; once again accentuating clan struggle in its most egregious sense. Surely, using clan as the criteria for representation in the conference, or even in the National Transitional Assembly, would be tantamount to institutionalizing the cause of Somalia' woes.

Page 6, ANNEX IV BASE OF REPRESENTATION IN THE

... THE WAY FORWARD

It would be highly imprudent to be dogmatic on representation based on "clans." Flexibility, understanding, serious and hard compromises, and loyalty to nationhood, are of essence. Somalia, as a member of the international community, needs to imbibe democratic principles and practices governing representations.

Page 6-7, ANNEX IV: THE WAY FORWARD

Note: this pertinent view from a Somali politician in the North in 1992: " The clan system is the mainspring of Somali culture and identify. It has been useful in its traditional , pastoral setting and even today it is an instrument of survival during times of deep trouble and provides a safety net for the poorest and most vulnerable. However, it has its negative dark side and is in a sense irreconcilable with modern, democratic state. Clan politicking is playing havoc with ----- security and stability at present."

Page 7, ANNEX IV: THE WAY FORWARD

... • Having considered all possible methods or criteria, it seems fair to say that representation based on local constituency (region, district, precinct, confine, sector, area, zone, etc) appears to yield the most realistic approach as it recognizes people at grassroots level, including minorities.

Page 7, ANNEX IV: THE WAY FORWARD

... • Recognition must also be made of the iniquities inflicted on the people by the previous regime through creation of new regions and new districts to accommodate specific clans. Such grievances are issues certainly that need to be addressed by a future government. For now, however, an attempt must be made to redress the potential imbalance in the representation by providing extra allocation to the affected clans.

**Religious groups** No specific mention.

**Indigenous people** No specific mention.

**Other groups** No specific mention.

**Refugees/displaced persons** Groups→Refugees/displaced persons→Rhetorical  
Page 6, ANNEX IV BASE OF REPRESENTATION IN THE  
BACKGROUND  
In any country, "legitimate representation" represents the will of the people. For a country such as Somalia which has undergone a traumatic breakdown, where basic information on population is woefully lacking, and major population displacement as well as movement has occurred, not to mention there number of people who have left the country to settle abroad or are refugees in neighboring countries, the will of the people is determined only by considerable effort. coupled with this massive population dispersal is the continuing violence and insecurity in certain parts of the country. In most parts of the country, however, relative peace and security prevail, and there are also in existence administrative region with internal governmental structures.

**Social class** No specific mention.

---

## **Gender**

**Women, girls and gender** Page 7, ANNEX IV: THE WAY FORWARD  
• Representatives must be men and women of high integrity, moral character and devotion to community and public service, and whose national interest and loyalty transcends narrow self-interest.

**Men and boys** Gender→Men and boys→Gender neutral wording  
Page 7, ANNEX IV: THE WAY FORWARD  
• Representatives must be men and women of high integrity, moral character and devotion to community and public service, and whose national interest and loyalty transcends narrow self-interest.

**LGBTI** No specific mention.

**Family** No specific mention.

---

**State definition**

**Nature of state  
(general)**

Page 1, • The Somalia people are desirous of reaffirming the sovereign state of Somalia, and of forming transitional mechanisms (transitional national assembly, transitional government, an independent judiciary) which shall prepare the country for a peaceful, permanent and democratic future.

Page 2-3, DECLARATION OF BINDING PRINCIPLES:

The essential purpose of this Somali National Peace Conference is to re-establish the sovereign state of Somalia, and initiate those steps necessary to erect a democratic government and administration which fairly represents and protects the people and values of Somalia, with liberty and justice for all.

Page 3, TOWARD THIS END WE

1. reaffirm the unity, national sovereignty and territorial integrity of Somalia

Page 3, TOWARD THIS END WE

... 6. reaffirm the rightful place of Somalia in the community of nations

Page 3, TOWARD THIS END WE

... 10. resolve to promote friendly relations with all nations, and actively pursue a policy of good neighborliness and mutual cooperation with member countries of IGAD

Page 5, ANNEXE III: Reconstruction and Recovery

... The Somali people are fully conscious of the heavy responsibility confronting them to recreate a state based on democratic governance, and they would therefore, require genuine, flexible and supportive environment, given the highly complex and continually evolving situation in Somalia.

Page 5, ANNEXE III: Reconstruction and Recovery

... This is a welcome commitment for the "UN to play an enhanced role in Somalia", by working with its partners " to help bring about national unity and the restoration of a national government."

Page 7, ANNEX V: THE NATIONAL CAPITAL

... As things stand now, all agree the entire country, including towns and cities, are controlled by various clans, sub-clans, or groups of clan. The concept of " nationhood" is so weakened that "national" entities are in short supply, with the exception of the national "flag" and country's "name"! Mogadishu, since the outbreak of fighting in 1991 has undergone dramatic demographic changes, becoming more and more narrowly identified with a major clan, to the exclusion of other Somalis that worked, lived, owned properties, and businesses in the city. If it is to regain the confidence of all Somalis, Mogadishu must become a truly " national " capital city belonging to all, not to a clan or group of clans. The Somali people, given the harrowing experience they have endured over a longtime, do not feel safe in a Mogadishu claimed by a clan and occupied by an array of armed factions, all sub-clans of one major clan. This is not an ideal environment for multi-clan, multi-cultural , multi-racial co-existence in peace and harmony. Mogadishu could restore its former position, therefore, only by revamping and restructuring both its physical jurisdiction and status, in line with this over-riding concern. This cannot be ignored.

**State configuration** Page 1, • The Transitional period shall last 24 months.

Page 1, • The Transitional mechanism shall be based on a "Decentralized" system of governance ("regional autonomy" or federal structure"), during the transitional period.

Page 3, TOWARD THIS END WE

1. reaffirm the unity, national sovereignty and territorial integrity of Somalia

Page 8, ANNEX V: SOMALIA REGIONS AND DISTRICTS AS AT 31 DECEMBER 1990

1. AWDALL (Boramo, Baki, Lughaya, Zeylac)
2. GALBEED (Hargeysa, Berbera, Gebiley)
3. TOGDHEER (Burco, Buuhodle, Odwenyen, Sheik)
4. SANAAG (Ceerigabo, Ceelafyeyn, Badhan, Las Qorey, Dhahar)
5. SOOL (Lascaanood, Telex, Xudun, Caynabo)
6. BARI (Bosaso, Qardho, Qandala, Iskhushuban, Bender bayla, Alula)
7. NUGAAL (Garowe, Eyl, Burtinle, Dangoryo)
8. Mudug (Galkacyo, Jeriban, Hobyo, Haradhere, Goldogob)
9. GALGUDUUD (Dhusa-Mareb, Ceelbur, Ceeldeer, Cadaado, Cabudwaaq, Galhareeri)
10. Hiraaan ( Beletweyne, Bulo- Burte, Jalalaqsi)
11. MIDDLE SHABELLE (Jowhar, Ballcad, caadale, Adan Yabal)
12. BANADIR MUQDISHO and its environs (15 Districts: Bondhere, Wadajir, Darkeynle, Karaan , Heliwa, Yaqship, Shibis Waberi, Hara Jabjab, Hawle Wadaag, hamar Weyne, Shangani, Hodan, Wardhiglye, Abdi Asis)
13. BAY (Baydhaba, Burhakaba, Qansadhere, Dinsor)
14. BAKOOL (Hudur, Ceel Barde, Yeed, Wajid, Tiye glow)
15. LOWER SHABELLE ( Mark Afgooye, Wanlaweyne, Qoryoyley, Kurtunwaaq, Sablaale, Braawe)
16. GEDO (Garbaharey, Bardhere, LUuq, Dolow, Beletxawa, Ceelwaaq)
17. MIDDLE JUBA (Buale, Sakow, Jilib)
18. LOWER JUba (Kismayo, Afmadow, Jamame, Badhadhe)

**Self determination** No specific mention.

**Referendum** Page 2, The National Assembly

THE TNA SHALL:

... • establish or appoint various committees, commissions and bureaus on recommendation of the Prime Minister, as required, including a:

... • Organize a referendum on the draft Constitution

**State symbols**

Page 2, THE EXECUTIVE BRANCH  
PRESIDENT

- Shall be the symbol of nationhood and national sovereignty

Page 8, Other Common features, It [Mogadishu] must:

- serve as the set of government for the nation, and as a centre for international representation (Embassies, international organization, etc)

Page 8, Other Common features, It must:

- ... • symbolize the ideals of freedom, unity, peace and reconciliation, as well as soul and diversity of a united nation.
- hold the nation's most sacred monument, artefacts of its history, national art and treasures, national organizations, public buildings, etc.

**Independence/  
secession**

No specific mention.

**Accession/  
unification**

No specific mention.

**Border delimitation** No specific mention.

**Cross-border  
provision**

No specific mention.

---

**Governance**

**Political institutions (new or reformed)**

Governance→Political institutions (new or reformed)→Temporary new institutions  
Page 1, • The Somalia people are desirous of reaffirming the sovereign state of Somalia, and of forming transitional mechanisms (transitional national assembly, transitional government, an independent judiciary) which shall prepare the country for a peaceful, permanent and democratic future.

Page 1, • The form of government shall be parliamentary democracy, with a bicameral national assembly ("Chamber of Elders" to provide legitimacy, stability and assist in the reconciliation process; and a "Chamber of Representatives").

Page 1, The National Assembly

THE TNA SHALL:

- Symbolize power-sharing
- be the sole authority with legislative function during the period in question
- elect an interim President (Head of State ) of the country
- elect a "government" headed by a Prime Minister. TNA shall approve the Cabinet of the Prime Minister. The Prime Minister shall be accountable to the TNA
- establish an independent judiciary
- approve, with the recommendation of the Prime Minister, the establishment of a Somali police force
- establish or appoint various committees, commissions and bureaus on recommendation of the Prime Minister, as required, including a:
  - constitutional review commission to draft a new constitution based on a regional or federal system of government
  - cease-fire and disarmament committee
  - committee to investigate and evaluate the return of properties (private and public) unlawfully taken during the fighting
- National Census Bureau
- National Electoral Commission to prepare for democratic national elections

Page 2, The National Assembly

THE TNA SHALL:

- ... • Organize a referendum on the draft Constitution
- Utilize, during the transitional period, the 1960 Somali Constitution, adjusted as required
- Be bound by the principles of the Charter of the United Nations, the rules of international law and by the objectives of international and regional organizations in which Somalia is a member

Page 2, THE EXECUTIVE BRANCH

PRESIDENT

- There shall be a President (Head of State) of Somalia who shall exercise and perform the powers and functions conferred on the President
- Shall be the symbol of nationhood and national sovereignty
- Shall be chosen from outside and elected by the Transitional National Assembly
- Except for a residual power to run the country temporarily in the event of some of the parliamentary complete breakdown system, the President shall have ceremonial duties and advisory powers
- The President shall not be answerable to the National Assembly

Page 2, THE EXECUTIVE BRANCH

The Prime Minister

- The Prime Minister is chosen from outside and elected by the Transitional National Assembly

• The real Executive authority is in the hands of the Cabinet, under the direction of the

**Elections**

Page 1, The National Assembly

THE TNA SHALL:

- ... • establish or appoint various committees, commissions and bureaus on recommendation of the Prime Minister, as required, including a:
- ... • National Electoral Commission to prepare for democratic national elections

Page 5-6, ANNEXE III: The United Nations and Somalia

The United Nations is committed to assist the people of Somalia, and as the Secretary General of the United Nations pointed out, there must be a reappraisal of the international community's relationship and approach to Somalia in an effort to reestablish a functioning state. Following the peace conference, and assuming a positive outcome, the United Nations will be expected to consider a presence in Somalia, by way of a monitoring/observer mission with both a civilian and a military components, to assist in re-establishing administrative structures, institutions, and systems; to exercise its goods offices to support the transitional government to implement the peace agreement; developing a suitable framework for holding of elections; to monitor, and verify compliance with cease-fire, disarmament, and arms embargo; support of humanitarian activities as appropriate; and investigate violations of human rights. The appointment of a special representative to Somalia becomes, therefore, of crucial importance.

**Electoral  
commission**

Page 1, The National Assembly

THE TNA SHALL:

- Symbolize power-sharing
- be the sole authority with legislative function during the period in question
- elect an interim President (Head of State ) of the country
- elect a "government" headed by a Prime Minister. TNA shall approve the Cabinet of the Prime Minister. The Prime Minister shall be accountable to the TNA
- establish an independent judiciary
- approve, with the recommendation of the Prime Minister, the establishment of a Somali police force
- establish or appoint various committees, commissions and bureaus on recommendation of the Prime Minister, as required, including a:
- constitutional review commission to draft a new constitution based on a regional or federal system of government
- cease-fire and disarmament committee
- committee to investigate and evaluate the return of properties (private and public) unlawfully taken during the fighting
- National Census Bureau
- National Electoral Commission to prepare for democratic national elections

**Political parties  
reform**

No specific mention.

**Civil society**

Page 3, TOWARD THIS END WE

... 16. express our deep appreciation to donor countries, U.N agencies and NGO's for their continued humanitarian assistance to Somalia, and call upon them to assist on the basis of priority in the effort of reconstruction and rehabilitation, including infrastructure

**Traditional/  
religious leaders**

No specific mention.

**Public  
administration**

No specific mention.

**Constitution**

Governance→Constitution→Constitutional reform/making

Page 1, The National Assembly

THE TNA SHALL:

- ... • establish or appoint various committees, commissions and bureaus on recommendation of the Prime Minister, as required, including a:
- constitutional review commission to draft a new constitution based on a regional or federal system of government

Page 2, The National Assembly

THE TNA SHALL:

- ... • establish or appoint various committees, commissions and bureaus on recommendation of the Prime Minister, as required, including a:
  - ... • Utilize, during the transitional period, the 1960 Somali Constitution, adjusted as required
-

**Power sharing**

**Political power sharing**

Power sharing→Political power sharing→Executive coalition  
State level  
Page 2, THE EXECUTIVE BRANCH  
PRESIDENT

- Shall be chosen from outside and elected by the Transitional National Assembly
- ...• Except for a residual power to run the country temporarily in the event of some of the parliamentary complete breakdown system, the President shall have ceremonial duties and advisory powers

Page 2, THE EXECUTIVE BRANCH

... The Prime Minister

- The Prime Minister is chosen from outside and elected by the Transitional National Assembly
- The real Executive authority is in the hands of the Cabinet, under the direction of the Prime Minister

...

- The real Executive authority is in the hands of the Cabinet, under the direction of the Prime Minister

Page 2,

- The Prime Minister chooses Ministers from outside the national assembly, but the whole cabinet, including the Prime Minister must be confirmed by the National Assembly, and are collectively answerable to the assembly
- The Cabinet shall consist of not less than ten and not more than fifteen members including the Prime Minister
- The Cabinet develops government policy and is responsible to the National Assembly

Power sharing→Political power sharing→Proportionality in legislature

State level

Page 1, Preamble

- Representation in the Conference and in the "Transitional National Assembly" shall be on the basis of local constituencies (regional /clan mix)

Page 1,

The National Assembly

THE TNA SHALL:

- Symbolize power-sharing

Power sharing→Political power sharing→Other proportionality

State level

Page 6, ANNEX IV BASE OF REPRESENTATION IN THE

1. National Peace conference
2. Transitional National Assembly

Page 6, ANNEX IV BASE OF REPRESENTATION IN THE

... WHAT TO GUARD AGAINST

- It must be stressed that representation based on clan affiliations or the assumed strength or importance of certain clan, including the size of territories presumed or traditional belonging to certain clans, would only succeed in perpetuating or reinforcing the division of the nation.

Page 7, ANNEX IV: THE WAY FORWARD

- Having considered all possible methods or criteria, it seems fair to say that representation based on local constituency (region, district, precinct, confine, sector, area, zone, etc) appears to yield the most realistic approach as it recognizes people at grassroots level, including minorities

**Territorial power sharing** Power sharing→Territorial power sharing→Federal or similar sub-divided government  
Page 1, • The Transitional mechanism shall be based on a "Decentralized" system of governance "regional autonomy " or federal structure"), during the transitional period.

**Economic power sharing** No specific mention.

**Military power sharing** No specific mention.

---

## **Human rights and equality**

**Human rights/RoL general** Page 3, TOWARD THIS END WE  
... 3. urge the international community to give respect for human rights in Somalia high priority, for such abuses lie at the heart of the conflict in this country

Page 3, TOWARD THIS END WE  
... 4. reiterate our firm belief in the principles of democracy, equality, social justice and constitutional guarantees of individual human rights

Page 5-6, ANNEXE III: The United Nations and Somalia  
The United Nations is committed to assist the people of Somalia, and as the Secretary General of the United Nations pointed out, there must be a reappraisal of the international community's relationship and approach to Somalia in an effort to reestablish a functioning state. Following the peace conference, and assuming a positive outcome, the United Nations will be expected to consider a presence in Somalia, by way of a monitoring/observer mission with both a civilian and a military components, to assist in re-establishing administrative structures, institutions, and systems; to exercise its goods offices to support the transitional government to implement the peace agreement; developing a suitable framework for holding of elections; to monitor, and verify compliance with cease-fire, disarmament, and arms embargo; support of humanitarian activities as appropriate; and investigate violations of human rights. The appointment of a special representative to Somalia becomes, therefore, of crucial importance.

**Bill of rights/similar** No specific mention.

**Treaty incorporation** No specific mention.

**Civil and political rights**

Human rights and equality→Civil and political rights→Equality

Page 3,

4. reiterate our firm belief in the principles of democracy, equality, social justice and constitutional guarantees of individual human rights

Human rights and equality→Civil and political rights→Vote and take part

Page 3, TOWARD THIS END WE

... 7. affirm that the people of Somalia have the right to freely express their political views and take decisions on matters, which affect them. This basic principle is an essential component of peace in Somalia

Human rights and equality→Civil and political rights→Thought, opinion, conscience and religion

Page 3, TOWARD THIS END WE

... 7. affirm that the people of Somalia have the right to freely express their political views and take decisions on matters, which affect them. This basic principle is an essential component of peace in Somalia

Human rights and equality→Civil and political rights→Other

Page 6, ANNEX IV BASE OF REPRESENTATION IN THE

... WHAT TO GUARD AGAINST

... • Certain regions may be considered " occupied" by its inhabitants, raising the possibility that they may not feel consulted regarding their representation. In such situations, all concerned are urged , for the sake of future peace and stability, to let the people exercise their legitimate rights, to have a say on the choice of their representatives.

**Socio-economic rights**

No specific mention.

---

## Rights related issues

### Citizenship

No specific mention.

### Democracy

Page 1, • The Somalia people are desirous of reaffirming the sovereign state of Somalia, and of forming transitional mechanisms (transitional national assembly, transitional government, an independent judiciary) which shall prepare the country for a peaceful, permanent and democratic future.

Page 1, • The form of government shall be parliamentary democracy, with a bicameral national assembly ("Chamber of Elders" to provide legitimacy, stability and assist in the reconciliation process; and a "Chamber of Representatives").

Page 1, The National Assembly

THE TNA SHALL:

... • establish or appoint various committees, commissions and bureaus on recommendation of the Prime Minister, as required, including a:

... • National Electoral Commission to prepare for democratic national elections

Page 2-3, DECLARATION OF BINDING PRINCIPLES:

The essential purpose of this Somali National Peace Conference is to re-establish the sovereign state of Somalia, and initiate those steps necessary to erect a democratic government and administration which fairly represents and protects the people and values of Somalia, with liberty and justice for all.

Page 3, TOWARD THIS END WE

... 4. reiterate our firm belief in the principles of democracy, equality, social justice and constitutional guarantees of individual human rights

Page 5, ANNEXE III: Reconstruction and Recovery

... The Somali people are fully conscious of the heavy responsibility confronting them to recreate a state based on democratic governance, and they would therefore, require genuine, flexible and supportive environment, given the highly complex and continually evolving situation in Somalia.

Page 6, ANNEX IV BASE OF REPRESENTATION IN THE

... THE WAY FORWARD

It would be highly imprudent to be dogmatic on representation based on "clans."

Flexibility, understanding, serious and hard compromises, and loyalty to nationhood, are of essence. Somalia, as a member of the international community, needs to imbibe democratic principles and practices governing representations.

Page 6-7, ANNEX IV: THE WAY FORWARD

Note: this pertinent view from a Somali politician in the North in 1992: " The clan system is the mainspring of Somali culture and identify. It has been useful in its traditional , pastoral setting and even today it is an instrument of survival during times of deep trouble and provides a safety net for the poorest and most vulnerable. However, it has its negative dark side and is in a sense irreconcilable with modern, democratic state. Clan politicking is playing havoc with ----- security and stability at present."

<b>Detention procedures</b>	No specific mention.
<b>Media and communication</b>	No specific mention.
<b>Mobility/access</b>	Page 5, ANNEXE II, Cease-fire, Disarmament and Security ... h. facilitate the uninterrupted flow of people and goods throughout the entire country as a measure of confidence building to the peace process
<b>Protection measures</b>	No specific mention.
<b>Other</b>	<p>Page 2, The National Assembly THE TNA SHALL: ... • establish or appoint various committees, commissions and bureaus on recommendation of the Prime Minister, as required, including a: ... • Be bound by the principles of the Charter of the United Nations, the rules of international law and by the objectives of international and regional organizations in which Somalia is a member</p> <p>Page 3-4, TOWARD THIS END WE 17. urge all countries, organization and individuals not to violate Security Council resolution 733 (199), which demands that "----- all states shall, for the purposes of establishing peace and stability in Somalia, immediately implement a general and complete embargo on all deliveries of weapons and military equipment to Somalia until the Council decides other wise". The proliferation of weapons continues to be a great concern to us despite the existence of the United Nations embargo.</p> <p>Page 5, ANNEXE II, Cease-fire, Disarmament and Security ... i. respect and comply fully with the Security Council Resolution 733 (1992) on arms embargo</p>

---

**Rights institutions**

**NHRI** No specific mention.

**Regional or international human rights institutions** No specific mention.

---

## Justice sector reform

**Criminal justice and emergency law** No specific mention.

**State of emergency provisions** No specific mention.

**Judiciary and courts** Page 1, The National Assembly  
THE TNA SHALL:  
... • establish an independent judiciary

Page 2, THE JUDICIARY  
The representatives to the Conference shall elect a Chief Justice with proven legal credentials and highest integrity. He shall work toward uprooting the culture of impunity and random violence and restoring the confidence of the people in the State.

**Prisons and detention** No specific mention.

**Traditional Laws** No specific mention.

---

## Socio-economic reconstruction

**Development or socio-economic reconstruction** Socio-economic reconstruction→Development or socio-economic reconstruction→Socio-economic development  
Page 3, TOWARD THIS END WE  
... 9. commit to harnessing the skills, resources, and dynamism of the Somali Diaspora in realizing the rehabilitation and reconstruction of Somalia.

Page 5, ANNEXE III: Reconstruction and Recovery  
Given the prolonged paralysis sustained by all the productive sectors of the economy, the international community is called upon to initiate a planning format for the long term reconstruction and recovery for Somalia. The preparation of such a framework should be entrusted to a task force comprising donors, United Nations agencies and NGO's under the coordination of the World Bank.  
The purpose of this structure is to ensure that limited human and financial resources are employed to their fullest potential to support the re-emergence of the country as a stable and economically productive member of the international community. The Somali people must contribute to the design of the framework and eventually take ownership of the planning process.

Page 5, ANNEXE III: Reconstruction and Recovery  
... A major objective of this effort is to establish a common vision and overall priorities for reconstruction.

**National economic plan** No specific mention.

**Natural resources** No specific mention.

**International funds** Page 3, TOWARD THIS END WE

... 16. express our deep appreciation to donor countries, U.N agencies and NGO's for their continued humanitarian assistance to Somalia, and call upon them to assist on the basis of priority in the effort of reconstruction and rehabilitation, including infrastructure.

Page 5, ANNEXE III: Reconstruction and Recovery

Given the prolonged paralysis sustained by all the productive sectors of the economy, the international community is called upon to initiate a planning format for the long term reconstruction and recovery for Somalia. The preparation of such a framework should be entrusted to a task force comprising donors, United Nations agencies and NGO's under the coordination of the World Bank.

The purpose of this structure is to ensure that limited human and financial resources are employed to their fullest potential to support the re-emergence of the country as a stable and economically productive member of the international community. The Somali people must contribute to the design of the framework and eventually take ownership of the planning process.

Page 5, ANNEXE III: Reconstruction and Recovery

... Somalia clearly requires substantial international assistance to begin reconstruction and rehabilitation and essential infrastructure, services, institutions, including the nursing of capacity building on a large-scale.

This will necessitate the creation of proper mechanisms of coordination

**Business**

Page 3-4, TOWARD THIS END WE

17. urge all countries, organization and individuals not to violate Security Council resolution 733 (199), which demands that "----- all states shall, for the purposes of establishing peace and stability in Somalia, immediately implement a general and complete embargo on all deliveries of weapons and military equipment to Somalia until the Council decides other wise".

The proliferation of weapons continues to be a great concern to us despite the existence of the United Nations embargo.

Page 5-6, ANNEXE III: The United Nations and Somalia

The United Nations is committed to assist the people of Somalia, and as the Secretary General of the United Nations pointed out, there must be a reappraisal of the international community's relationship and approach to Somalia in an effort to reestablish a functioning state. Following the peace conference, and assuming a positive outcome, the United Nations will be expected to consider a presence in Somalia, by way of a monitoring/observer mission with both a civilian and a military components, to assist in re-establishing administrative structures, institutions, and systems; to exercise its goods offices to support the transitional government to implement the peace agreement; developing a suitable framework for holding of elections; to monitor, and verify compliance with cease-fire, disarmament, and arms embargo; support of humanitarian activities as appropriate; and investigate violations of human rights. The appointment of a special representative to Somalia becomes, therefore, of crucial importance.

**Taxation** No specific mention.

**Banks** No specific mention.

---

## **Land, property and environment**

**Land reform/rights** No specific mention.

**Pastoralist/  
nomadism rights** No specific mention.

**Cultural heritage** Land, property and environment→Cultural heritage→Tangible  
Page 8, Other Common features, It must:  
... • hold the nation's most sacred monument, artefacts of its history, national art and  
treasures, national organizations, public buildings, etc.  
Land, property and environment→Cultural heritage→Promotion  
Page 3, TOWARD THIS END WE  
... 5. commit to promote the cultural values, traditional wisdom and tolerance of the  
Somali society

**Environment** No specific mention.

**Water or riparian  
rights or access** No specific mention.

---

**Security sector**

**Security  
Guarantees**

Page 7, ANNEX V: REQUISITES OF THE FUTURE CAPITAL

... • in the case of Mogadishu, the clans there must strive hard to restore security and safety in full compliance with the desire of the Somali people to enjoy their capital city and to live in peace and harmony: to work and invest, without fear or anxiety. Numerical superiority or majority of one clan in Mogadishu is not the issue. The issue is the "ownership" claim of Mogadishu by a clan, and this is incompatible with the notion of "national" capital. The sooner this critical matter is fully and satisfactorily resolved by the majority clan there, the better.

## Ceasefire

Security sector→Ceasefire→Ceasefire provision

Page 1, The National Assembly

THE TNA SHALL:

- ... • establish or appoint various committees, commissions and bureaus on recommendation of the Prime Minister, as required, including a:
- ... • cease-fire and disarmament committee

Page 3, TOWARD THIS END WE

... 15. affirm that cease-fire and disarming by all factions are key to real and tangible peace and security in Somalia

Page 4, ANNEXE II, Cease-fire, Disarmament and Security

The desire of the Somali people for peace and security through disarmament is unambiguous. This call is heard repeated throughout the country from all segments of the Somali society, who have consistently demand an end to violence. Unless this is realized, the entire process of reconciliation, rehabilitation and reconstruction would be jeopardized, if not stillborn. One of the first responsibilities of Somalia's new transitional government will be to insist on an immediate and comprehensive cease-fire, together with binding, complete and simultaneous disarmament of all militias throughout the country consistent with the agreements they signed from 1991 to 1997, but never implemented. Representing the will of the Somali people, the representatives to the conference hold the faction leaders to their own word, and hereby demand that they recommit themselves to:

- a. a viable and verifiable cease-fire throughout the entire country
- b. undertake to disengage their forces and refrain from all hostilities
- c. refrain from further deployment or action to extend the territory under their control
- d. affirm the termination of banditry and crime as a necessary condition for peace, security, stability and reconciliation

Page 5, ANNEXE II, Cease-fire, Disarmament and Security

- ... e. affirm that disarmament shall be comprehensive, impartial and transparent
- f. disarm all militias under their control, including armed bandits, and to facilitate the rehabilitation and reintegration of demobilized militias into the civil society
- g. cooperate fully with the transitional government, including mechanisms that may be put in place to disarm, demobilize and disband the militias
- h. facilitate the uninterrupted flow of people and goods throughout the entire country as a measure of confidence building to the peace process
- i. respect and comply fully with the Security Council Resolution 733 (1992) on arms embargo

Page 5-6, ANNEXE III: The United Nations and Somalia

The United Nations is committed to assist the people of Somalia, and as the Secretary General of the United Nations pointed out, there must be a reappraisal of the international community's relationship and approach to Somalia in an effort to reestablish a functioning state. Following the peace conference, and assuming a positive outcome, the United Nations will be expected to consider a presence in Somalia, by way of a monitoring/observer mission with both a civilian and a military components, to assist in re-establishing administrative structures, institutions, and systems; to exercise its good offices to support the transitional government to implement the peace agreement; developing a suitable framework for holding of elections; to monitor, and verify compliance with cease-fire, disarmament, and arms embargo; support of humanitarian activities as appropriate; and investigate violations of human rights. The appointment of a special representative to Somalia becomes, therefore, of crucial importance.

<b>Police</b>	Page 1, The National Assembly THE TNA SHALL: ... • approve, with the recommendation of the Prime Minister, the establishment of a Somali police force
<b>Armed forces</b>	No specific mention.
<b>DDR</b>	Security sector→DDR→DDR programmes Page 3, TOWARD THIS END WE ... 15. affirm that cease-fire and disarming by all factions are key to real and tangible peace and security in Somalia  Page 5, ANNEXE II, Cease-fire, Disarmament and Security ... e. affirm that disarmament shall be comprehensive, impartial and transparent f. disarm all militias under their control, including armed bandits, and to facilitate the rehabilitation and reintegration of demobilized militias into the civil society g. cooperate fully with the transitional government, including mechanisms that may be put in place to disarm, demobilize and disband the militias
<b>Intelligence services</b>	No specific mention.
<b>Parastatal/rebel and opposition group forces</b>	Page 5, ANNEXE II, Cease-fire, Disarmament and Security ... f. disarm all militias under their control, including armed bandits, and to facilitate the rehabilitation and reintegration of demobilized militias into the civil society. g. cooperate fully with the transitional government, including mechanisms that may be put in place to disarm, demobilize and disband the militias.
<b>Withdrawal of foreign forces</b>	No specific mention.
<b>Corruption</b>	No specific mention.
<b>Crime/organised crime</b>	No specific mention.
<b>Drugs</b>	No specific mention.
<b>Terrorism</b>	No specific mention.

---

**Transitional justice**

**Transitional justice general** No specific mention.

**Amnesty/pardon** No specific mention.

<b>Courts</b>	No specific mention.
<b>Mechanism</b>	<p>Page 1, The National Assembly THE TNA SHALL: ... • establish or appoint various committees, commissions and bureaus on recommendation of the Prime Minister, as required, including a: ... • committee to investigate and evaluate the return of properties (private and public) unlawfully taken during the fighting</p> <p>Page 3, TOWARD THIS END WE ... 13. condemn the forcible acquisition of properties (private and public) and demand their immediate return to their rightful owners, be they local, regional or national entities, private organizations or individuals.</p> <p>Page 7, ANNEX IV: THE WAY FORWARD ... • Recognition must also be made of the iniquities inflicted on the people by the previous regime through creation of new regions and new districts to accommodate specific clans. Such grievances are issues certainly that need to be addressed by a future government. For now, however, an attempt must be made to redress the potential imbalance in the representation by providing extra allocation to the affected clans.</p>
<b>Prisoner release</b>	No specific mention.
<b>Vetting</b>	No specific mention.
<b>Victims</b>	No specific mention.
<b>Missing persons</b>	No specific mention.

## Reparations

Transitional justice→Reparations→Material reparations

Page 1, The National Assembly

THE TNA SHALL:

- ... • establish or appoint various committees, commissions and bureaus on recommendation of the Prime Minister, as required, including a:
- ... • committee to investigate and evaluate the return of properties (private and public) unlawfully taken during the fighting

## Reconciliation

Page 1, • The form of government shall be parliamentary democracy, with a bicameral national assembly ("Chamber of Elders" to provide legitimacy, stability and assist in the reconciliation process; and a "Chamber of Representatives").

Page 3, TOWARD THIS END WE

... 11. are determined to confront our responsibilities to replace the era of suffering, destruction and bloodshed that has turned Somalis against Somalis, with one of healing and rebuilding where cooperation and trust overcome hatred and suspicion

Page 2, DECLARATION OF BINDING PRINCIPLES:

Today there is a great cause for optimism. The huge attendance of this historic conference by all segments of our society, heralds a fresh new resolve to put an end to armed conflict and to reconcile our differences through peaceful means. It is a unique occasion that is indicative of our overwhelming desire for the restoration of peace and national governance. In conformity, therefore, with the clearly expressed wishes of the people of our nation, we who are assembled here, collectively pledge our commitment to lasting peace and reconciliation.

Page 2-3, DECLARATION OF BINDING PRINCIPLES:

The essential purpose of this Somali National Peace Conference is to re-establish the sovereign state of Somalia, and initiate those steps necessary to erect a democratic government and administration which fairly represents and protects the people and values of Somalia, with liberty and justice for all.

Page 4, V. CONCLUSIONS

... We appeal to our neighbours, IGAD, the United Nations, members of the OAU, the Arab League, the OIC and EU, to stand with us at this crucial moment in our long tribulations. We fully recognize their unswerving commitment to the promotion of peace, unity and national reconciliation in Somalia.

Page 4, V. CONCLUSIONS

... Our deep appreciation goes to all member states of IGAD for their long perseverance and relentless sacrifices, and for their collective and individual efforts in promoting peace and reconciliation in Somalia.

## **Implementation**

**UN signatory** No specific mention.

**Other international signatory** No specific mention.

**Referendum for agreement** No specific mention.

**International mission/force/similar** Page 5-6, ANNEXE III: The United Nations and Somalia  
[Note: does not commit to international mission]  
The United Nations is committed to assist the people of Somalia, and as the Secretary General of the United Nations pointed out, there must be a reappraisal of the international community's relationship and approach to Somalia in an effort to reestablish a functioning state. Following the peace conference, and assuming a positive outcome, the United Nations will be expected to consider a presence in Somalia, by way of a monitoring/observer mission with both a civilian and a military components, to assist in re-establishing administrative structures, institutions, and systems; to exercise its goods offices to support the transitional government to implement the peace agreement; developing a suitable framework for holding of elections; to monitor, and verify compliance with cease-fire, disarmament, and arms embargo; support of humanitarian activities as appropriate; and investigate violations of human rights. The appointment of a special representative to Somalia becomes, therefore, of crucial importance.

**Enforcement mechanism** No specific mention.

---