

Somaliland No Justice No Power sharing -One Clan Issak

TO:

Hon.Henry Bellingham ,UK MP

Sir,

I am a Somali -Canadian who was born and raised in Western region of Somalia, Awdal Region. Northern Somalia as you know was a British Colony and today it wants to succeed from Somalia. I have been worrying and agonized by Somali people's unfortunate plight caused upon themselves. I have been watching at the death, hunger, diseases, and civil wars talking place in Somalia. There is some form of peace in Northern Somalia. That peace has come with the consultations among the tribal elders. However, today in Northern Somalia, almost 60% of the population is not happy. Some political dissents are formed in outside Somaliland. These dissenters are from Awdal Region(Awdalstate), in the far West of Somalia and Eastern part (SSC). The reason for these dissents is that the power is grabbed by only one tribe, namely Isaak. This particular tribe consists of about 35% of the population. This tribe was killed and tortured by the Regime of the dictator, Siyad Barre. The Somali National Movement which liberated Somaliland is in power.

I won't go into details of the history of that part of Somalia which was British Somaliland Protectorate because as long as you are working with the Foreign Office, I am sure you know the present scenario of Somalia. I am reading from the News Media that the UK Government is hosting a conference on Somalia on Feb.23rd, 2012 in London. I do not know where to send my concerns and solutions for Somalia. There are a lot of stakes to be considered. The number one problem is power-sharing formulas used at the present. The present power-sharing in Southern Somalia and Somaliland is dominated by certain tribes/tribe and that puts other tribes in a minority situation. Today in Northern Somalia 90% of the power is in the hands of Isaak tribe which is 35% of the population in that part of Somalia. I would like to shed light on the power-sharing in Somaliland.

Although Somalia has become a place of tribal enclaves and some parts become a hell on Earth because of civil wars, Somaliland, North Western of Somalia, is a region that the world and the Somali people do not know much about its politics and power grab.

Before 1960, Somaliland was British Somaliland Protectorate. After Independence in 1960, Somaliland has joined the southern part of Somalia which was an Italian Colony. After unification, Somalia was governed by civil and military governments till 1991 after which no central governments has controlled the whole country. The north western part of Somalia, the present Somaliland, has been peaceful and stable under self-declared and unrecognised sovereign state.

The focus of interest of this article is Somaliland. After Bare's regime was

ousted in 1991 by a coalition of clan-based opposition groups, the Somali National Movement (SNM) has severed relations from other groups. SNM and clan elders declared Somaliland as an independent country. Somaliland has been relatively calm and peaceful compared to other parts of the Southern Somalia. The self-proclaimed but unrecognised Government of Somaliland is suffering from lack of fairness in division of power in the Government and in other governmental institutions and this might change the peace in Somaliland.

The power-sharing in Somaliland is based on a coalition of main clans. However, the power-sharing and the ratio used are false and do not come from a reliable statistics based on voter registration or a count of the population in each region. All Government employees, including Government ministries, Supreme Court Justices, General Directors of Government institutions are all hired by the President. The power-sharing in Somaliland is dominated by one tribe in the region. The power has almost exclusively in the hands of that tribe. The other tribes in the region barely have power in the decision making of all Government institutions. The following statistics gathered from the present power-sharing in the country shows the facts and truths about the lopsided powering-sharing:

Government of Somaliland shares of the tribes

Tribes	Ministries/Assistant Ministries	General Directors	Other Institutions & Commissions	Total
Essa	1	0	0	1
Gadabuursi	3 & one Assistant	3	2	8
Harti	3 & one Assistant	4	0	8
Habar Awal	5	6	7	18
Arab	2 & one assistant	3	2	8

Garhajis	4 & 2 assistants	5	7	18
Habar Je'alo	3	3	4	10
Minorities	0	1	2	3
Tolje'alo	0	1	2	3
Ayub	0	2	0	2
Fiqishini	0	0	1	1
Total				75

From the above table, Issaq Clan has an absolute majority of 62 out of 75. That is a percent of almost 83%.

This table below also shows the shares each clan gets from the Senate (House of Elders)

Tribe	Number of Elders in the Senate
Isaaq	52
Gadabuursi	9
Essa	4
Harti	14
Madigan	1
Gabooye	1

Akisho	1
	Total: 82

On the basis of the above table, Isak has 52 out of 82. This is a quite majority for one tribe in the region.

The table below highlights the members of Parliament based on regions:

Hargeisa region	20 seats
Togdheer Region	15 seats
Awdal Region	13 seats
Sanaag Region	12 seats
Sool Region	12 seats
Sahil Region	12 seats

Isak has also **more than two-third** majority in the Parliament which is based on regions and not on registered voters.

Besides all of the above, the security agencies and the military of Somaliland are completely controlled by Isak officials. Also there are 10 representatives as ambassadors in the world and all of them are from Isak.

The power in Somaliland lies in the hands of only one tribe (Isak) and the other people in the region are losing patience and hope and are suffering brutality from some of the clans from Isak. Some clans (Gadabuursi & the Harti) are feeling the heat and becoming restless because of the Isak domination of all institutions. The executive branch, the Military, the Justice System, and the security Systems are all dominated by Isak. Other peoples are marginalized and are not included in all important decisions.

When the power of the all Government institutions lies in the hands of the members of one tribe, the danger of being the country destabilized is becoming real. The other peoples have no choice except to reject the domination and seek a fair balanced power-sharing. The statuesque cannot continue in the same manner. The flood gates of that domination have opened up and the other peoples are avoiding to be taken away by those floods. Some have taken the road to Somalia and formed exile governments which represent their own regions. Awdalstate and SSC are becoming more visible in the international arena. These two political groups are the outcome of the domination of Isak in the political and governing institutions. The frustrations from lack of justice and having no power in the government systems have taken a deep root in some parts of Somaliland. Those frustrations are beyond repair and causing Somaliland to disintegrate into tribal regions and possibly to inter-clan wars. Where there is no justice, the Government officials are hostages to the murderers, and an absolute

majority lies in the hands of one tribe, the other peoples have the right to seek other alternatives.

The right for publicly denouncing the power grab has become a crime. The right for justice is ignored. To question about power-sharing has become irrelevant at this stage of the game. Innocent people are being killed on the roads, in their houses, and in their fields. The murderers are not brought to justice. Some communities are fleeing their ancestral homes and fields and becoming refugees among their tribes. The western and eastern part of Somaliland are absent from security discussions and high political agendas. This power grab is happening every day and in the eyes of the marginalized clans. Brutality and imprisonment have become the rule of the law.

If you happen to be in the Conference on Somalia, I would like to contribute how I think that every Somali would be better off if the UK and other Western Countries contribute or even dictate solutions to the problems and tell the war lords to quit and present a road map for the peace process. Because I live in Canada and I know what a democracy is all about, I would like to suggest a Federal Government for Somalia. The reason being is that during the civil wars, every Somali person sought refuge in where its clan lives in order to be safe. Today Somalis are separated along clan lines and each tribe's people are in a particular region. Federalism would give them security and peace. I put to gather the following system of Federal government System for Somalia. I cannot come to the conference. I do not know in which channel to trust with my ideas and solutions for Somalia except you.

There were 18 United Nations recognized regions in Somalia as the map below shows. However, they have created so many regions that some of the tribes in the country are disadvantaged through this land grab. In the federal system those many regions would not work for all Somalis because may be one tribe could have several regions while others wouldn't. Federalism would be ideal for Somalia so that people would feel secure:

Federal Government of Somalia.

In the days of the regime of Siyad Barre, there took place several ceremonial burials of tribalism in the Sports Stadium in Mogadisho. It was only a drama staged for some audiences who have no knowledge of the political stakes at the time. Despite burying it with emotions, it did not stay in the grave. Siyad Barre knew that tribalism does not die and that it has deep roots in the Somali communities and that it survives longer than any Government or a dictator. Siyad Barre also knew that tribalism is a kind of a circle where people feel much closer than they do to the people outside the circle. It was told that Siyad Barre said in his last days of power that only Somaliland as a country would survive him but people not. Somaliland people have now understood the truth of that statement.

After the removal of Siyad Barre, premeditated killings and kidnappings happened in Mogadisho. People of all calibre fled the city and sought refuge in the regions where his/her clan lives for safety of their lives. We see today that every clan lives in one particular region or regions. Some neighbouring regions came together to form some form of governments to live together in peace. Somaliland and Puntland are good examples. It is now over twenty years in which Somalis have been living in limbo and in civil wars.

Some Somali scholars argue that tribalism is a hindrance to peace, democracy, and a disaster to the well being and survival of Somalis. Those people focus on the disadvantages of tribalism. They view that tribalism is the cause of hate, hunger, diseases, corruption, and civil wars. They believe that tribalism has to be gotten rid off and freed from its shackles and handcuffs. These scholarly and pretty thoughts are not all true. Off course tribalism has far reaching affect on Somalis and on system of Governments. It is true that all Somalis would have been better off if tribalism does not exist. These intellectuals are not telling us that they themselves are from tribes and they give their loyalty to those tribes and depend on their tribes in many ways and also know that the most organizational unit in the Somali society is the extended family and the clan. To many Somalis, tribe is so important than the nation. The Somali thinks himself/herself as Jones (EEFAAN) tribe, rather than, say, a Somali. Today the influences of the tribes and tribal chiefs are increasing drastically. Nowadays Somalis are more loyal to the tribe than to the nation.

According to the Somali view of life, a person can only achieve happiness by being part of a tribe. From birth to death the Somali is always part of a tribe. Tribalism has more advantages in Somali society. A person who belongs to a tribe or a clan feels that he/she is not alone. In bad times, we know that we turn to other members of the tribe and feel confident that they will help. Somalis knew all along that tribalism is a sense of identity, community, cooperation, family, belonging, and tool for problem solving and mediation. Many Somalis would not have been in the positions they are in today. So many Somalis who now despise tribalism could not have the opportunity to get the good life they are enjoying today. Many Somalis were brought from the nomadic and farming life, and helped by a relative in the cities. Many orphans have been raised by a far relative in the tribe. Tribalism in Somalia is equivalent to sharing and/or insurance. Without tribalism, many Somalis would have been perished for a long time particularly in the last two decades. As long as Somalis are devastated by poverty, we need each other through tribalism.

Tribalism works where there is good will and better understanding of the issues. However, In Somalia, power-sharing is done through the worst, irresponsible, and unfair processes based on tribalism and unfounded statistics and ratios that are not based on facts and correct count. In Somaliland, tribalism worked when it was needed most. The tribal dialogue

and negotiations made Somaliland possible and worked for a while. However, the ratio of 2.5 based on colonial divide-and-rule- power-sharing has given Isaak tribe the utmost power of a government that we can ever imagine. This ratio has put Isaak in precarious position too but Isaak politicians are either aware of this or do not want to hear. Today's Somaliland resembles a Colonial Empire because all power lies in the hands of Isaak. They have a majority that the whole world has never experienced. They have almost 90% of every government institution. When you have that majority and almost every head of a ministry and General Directors and other positions of authority are filled by one tribe, we do not call that a democratic Government. It is just the same as a dictatorship. Somaliland has survived for twenty years because of the good will of non-Isaak tribes in the region. The non-Isaak clans' good faith and efforts have been blundered and screwed by Isaak politicians who think that they are above all. There is a false representation of every circle of power-sharing in Somaliland. The government in Somaliland has become a one clan government which encourages murder. The non-Isaak peoples are becoming restless and fear is filled in their hearts and minds. When the level of trust reaches its minimum and people start to fear, anything is possible. Regional dissent has begun and the Government is in full gear to discredit these uprisings by silencing the media through warnings, imprisonment of News Media personal and News Makers and shutting down Media Sources. Non-Isaak peoples have started shivering for fear of reprisals from the Government. As the result of the policy of Isaak Politicians and unsubstantiated power-sharing, Awdalstate and Khatumo State are now hot issues facing those ungrateful and short sighted politicians. The Isaak politicians have made the greatest miscalculation and broke the trust of the peaceful people. They do not have the guts to call for a grand jury to correct the mistakes they have created intentionally through believing that they can rule Somaliland by an iron fist. Generally the individual has the right to do what he or she wants to do providing that no one is hurt. In Somaliland it is vice versa. The individual is less important. In Southern Somalia, innocent people have been dying daily from civil wars, draughts, diseases, and hunger just because of selfishness and love of power of individuals. Only Puntland has survived from the onslaught taking place in the south. Al-Shabab is the creation of the warlords who are struggling for the power vacuum in the south. Some of those individuals are hiding behind a religious ideology in order to grab power. The past negotiations helped by the neighbouring countries and UN were based also on unfounded and incorrect ratio of 4.5. This is the worst process of power-sharing in the world. It is based on majority-defeats- the minority policy. The minorities have been compromised. When you divide the power-sharing on this ratio, the same old differences will stay and even more sensitive issues would arise.

Somalia can become a nation through fair power-sharing and a government system based on Confederation of regions which in turn becomes a Federal Government where the legislative abilities are shared by the Federal and the Regional Governments. The regional governments will be autonomous and be responsible for their policing and their own legislative bodies and local councils. In order the Federal System works, the 18 regions recognized by the UN and existed prior to the departure of Siyad Barre has to be considered. The following ideal power-sharing system based on regions and Federal Government structure for Somalia would be preferable for most of the Somalis:

STRUCTURE OF GOVERNMENT IN SOMALIA

GOVERNMENT	Federal Government MOGADISHO	Regional Governments Regional Capitals	Local Government Local Cities
HEAD OF STATE	The President	Premier	
CONTROLS THE DISCUSSION	SPEAKER	SPEAKER	
LEADER	The President	PREMIER Elected from the Region	MAYOR Elected from the city
STRUCTURE	Member of Parliament (MP's) From ridings of the regions	LEGISLATURE Elected from the Region	COUNCIL Councillors Elected from the City
	SENATE Process to be determined	EXECUTIVE COUNCIL Elected from the Region	

	CABINET MINISTERS		
ELECTIONS	Every 5 years	Every 5 years	Every 4 years
LAW JUDICIARY	THE SUPREME COURT	THE COURT SYSTEM	

**Number of Regions to be considered: 18, United Nations'
Regional Map of Somalia**



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How to apply this system in Somalia:

1. There will be 3 levels of Federal Government:
 - I. Head of State or the President: Belong to a political party (like in USA). Elected by all regions. The Party having the majority would have the President
 - II. Federal parliament: Somalis elect representatives in the Parliament through general election and the party that the majority would form the Government
 - III. The Senate: Will come from across Somalia in Equal representation from the provinces so that complaints will be less effective
2. Regional Governments:

- I. The Premier: Comes from the party which gets the majority from regional elections
- II. Regional Parliament: Regionally elected where the party with the majority form the Regional Government. The regional parliamentarians would be called RMP
3. Municipal(Local) Government:
 - The Regional Government defines the structure, finances, and management of the local governments of cities
 - Residents in the Municipality elect the Mayor and the Council

Responsibilities of Governments:

Level of Government	Responsibilities
Federal	Things that affect all Somalis: this includes National Defence, foreign Policy, Citizenship, etc.
Regional	Education, health, Highways, etc.
Local Governments	Policing, Firefighting, city roads, water & sewerages, Garbage, etc.

Instead of the hectic and unfair processes based on false ratios and representation and the unwarranted killings, hunger, and daily deaths, a Federal Government combined with autonomous regions could be the only option in order to save Somalia from further civil wars. This will work for all Somalis if implemented in few Political Party systems. The political Party which gets the majority will form the Federal and Regional Governments. By using a federal system, decreases the influence of tribes and tribal chiefs. Loyalty to the tribe is replaced by loyalty to the Nation and the tribal conflicts, civil wars, and massive slaughter of peoples are diminished. Only a Federal System similar to above will work for the Somalis.

I would like to apologize to you for being intrusive if I am in the wrong channel of putting my ideas on the table at the Conference. Please consider my poor ideas if you happen to be in that Conference.

Yours Sincerely

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