

The Case for 'Inclusive Electoral Model' for 2016

As Somalia explores electoral options for 2016, we, the undersigned political parties add our voice to the discourse with substantive input. We present an option we strongly believe offers progress yet realistic approach. We call it the "Inclusive Electoral Model". We crafted this model after exhaustive study of available models and wide consultations with many stakeholders. It is our considerate opinion that the winning model in 2016 will combine a modest leap toward modern political system and traditional mechanisms.

Key to the success of this model are the following four elements:

1. The model is pragmatic to inclusivity. Each of the key national stakeholders has a considerable sway in the process, while no single stakeholder can dominate altogether. This equilibrium significantly increases the legitimacy of the process
2. Political parties are given fundamental role in the Somali political system in order to qualitatively upend the backward clan-based system, all the while retaining the 4.5 power distribution
3. Corruption loopholes are severely restricted, improving the quality of our political process substantially
4. Northern regions (Somaliland) are accommodated handsomely to promote reconciliation and national unity

Taken together, these elements are tantamount to a bold dispensation for Somalia in 2016. We believe that business as usual will not lead to democratic Somalia. At the same time, we believe that traditional roles are necessary to accommodate in 2016. For that reason, we are presenting the 'Inclusive Electoral Model' as a midway option to be considered by all stakeholders.

Sincerely,

THE INCLUSIVE ELECTORAL MODEL FOR SOMALIA'S 2016

We find the few proposed model deficient in major ways as they fail to address the concerns of the Somali people for political advancement per the tenets of the draft constitutions and which is fair to all Somali communities.

We think and believe that this proposal allows all Somali political stakeholders to have a reasonable voice and influence. More importantly, it moves the political process toward the objective of democratic process. As such, this model does several things:

- It retains the 4.5 formula
- It provides a new stake for the federal member states
- It provide an opportunity for the capital city, Mogadishu, to gain representation in the federal system
- The model grants Clan elders to play a significant role for one last time in shaping the parliamentary order
- It provided an opportunity for ordinary citizen to gain a voice and vote for the first in over three decades
- The model creates an opportunity for political parties to emerge mid-way through the process and once the foundational steps are taken national political parties will emerge to compete in a circumscribed fashion which will lead to competitive democratic politics
- The model severely limits the possibilities for corruption and offers the possibility for fair representation. It also advances the transparency of the system.
- Once parliament is elected through political parties , they will elect the president
- The model offers the largest political parties or a coalition of parties to nominate the prime minister.
- Finally, the model is inclusive as it provides political spaces for all groups, i.e., clans, sub-clans, women, youth, religious leaders, intellectuals, politicians, etc.

The Role of the Clan elders in the Inclusive Model.

- By recognizing the legitimacy of traditional elders as was the case of 2012, this time they will not select MPs, but instead, select a total of 40 sub-clan members for each MP. These elders will select the 40 representative from six categories of people within the sub-clan, namely: women, youth, elders, religious leaders, politician, and intellectuals. Each category will have below numbers:
 - Women 8 delegates
 - Youth 8 delegates
 - Elders 7 delegates
 - Religious leaders 5 delegates
 - Politicians 7 delegates
 - Intellectuals 5 delegates
- The grand total number of person selected by all Somali clan elders will be 11,000 delegates (40x275) these people will be a major part of the constituent Assembly that will elect Political Parties.

The Role of Federal Member State in the Inclusive Model

- The federal states will play a commensurate role in selecting members to the constituent assembly.
- The model envisions that each Federal Member State will appoint **372** persons to the constituent assembly (for a grand total for a total of **2232** from all 6 states). Federal Members states must distribute their delegates based on districts.
- The model grants Mogadishu to appoint 200 delegates to the constituent on the basis of 4.5 formula
- The Model also grants the North-west regions (Somaliland) to have allocation of 500 delegates as gesture of reconciliation and unification. The criteria for selecting these delegates is the same as other (women, youth, religious leaders, and on the basis of the district formula).
- The Northern regions (Somaliland) will also have their share of delegates on the basis on 4.5 and districts.

The Role of the National Constituent Assembly and the National Independent Commission

- According to the model, the National Constituent Assembly will consist of **13,932** delegates selected by clan elders, Federal Member States etc.
- These delegates will assemble in Mogadishu and Capital of Federal Members States.
- The National Independent Electoral Commission will prepare biometric system of all NCA members, and will issue voter IDs for the delegates
- The National Independent Electoral Commission will provide civic education for the delegates over a 30 days period prior the election.
- In the meantime, the political parties will be vetted and their political program will be carefully examined and sanctioned after approval of Political Parties law which is in process now.

The Role of Political Parties

- The national parties must have a national political outlook, and submit a fully developed political program and policy orientation.
- Each party provides one day presentation on his/her program and brief biographic/CV of proposed MP
- Political parties submit names of **275** MPs candidates with ranking them list based on 4.5 formula.
- The list submitted by Political Parties should be organized in spiral sequences whereby every 5 candidates should consist 4.5, and every five candidates should have women representation.
All the lists should have presentation of Youth based on quota introduced by NIEC.
- NIEC will allocate fee for each and every Parliamentarian candidate to cover costs of election process and to ensure the ownership of the process.

Election Procedure and election of MPS

- Each candidate must get eligibility letter from NIEC indicating that s/he meets all the requirement of NIEC in becoming Somali MP
- National Constituent Assembly will vote for political parties
- Any party that won 10% and above of NCA is recognized as a national political party.

- Any party who failed to grant less than 10% (1393 votes) of NCA will vanish as political party and their votes will be distributed proportionally for winning parties.
- The party that garner the biggest votes of the NCA members will make the selection of MPs first as per its ranking list and also 4.5 rule, then the next biggest part etc.
- This procedure prevents favoritism, controls defection and clannism
- Regardless of the end result (one-part majority or coalition government), the selection of MPs from each party as well as the overall MP selections must meet with the 4.5 rule.

Managing the Election

- The NIEC manages the election
- Voting is transparent and televised (Live coverage)
- The Representatives from Political Parties will be representing their parties in all election centers.
- Tallying starts immediately after last voted is casted
- Result of each centre will be signed by NIEC and Representatives of Political Parties.
- Result is announced immediately after vote count ends
- Result is announced by the chair of NIEC or her/his designate

The Election of the President and appointment of Prime Minister

The first act of the new parliament is to elect its officers. Once this is done, then parliament will turn its attention to election the President of the Republic.

- As per Article 89 of the constitution, the president is elected by the parliament, at least by a simple majority.
- The majority party (if one party gets 50+1 of seats in the parliament) or the coalition of parties will have a full mandate to form the Prime minister.
- The Model encourages politics of accommodation and power-sharing which will be a boon for stability

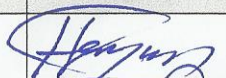


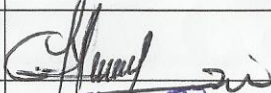
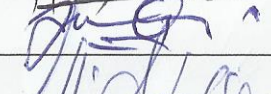
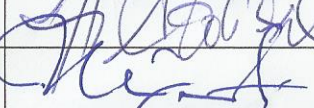
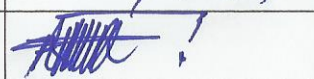
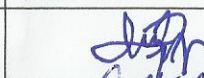

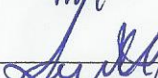

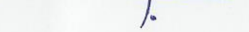
Advantages of the Model:

- The process is relatively cheap and easy to administer
- It recognize the role of all significant stakeholders
- It transforms the country from clan based politics to party politics
- It advances non-sectarian political party agenda
- The model introduces reasonably fair political competition that is transparent
- It advances the democratic agenda and takes major steps to insure that the next change of government will based on one person one vote.
- It significantly reduced the chances for bribery and corruption to determine the outcome
- The model and the process will encourage the emergence of national political figure
- Finally, the implementation of the model will significantly enhance the national legitimacy of the government.

Inclusive Electoral Modal 2016

Somali Political Parties

Signatories

S/N	Name of Political Party	Name Signatory	Title	Signature
1.	Daljir	Hon. Hassan Moallim Mohamud	Chairman	
2.	Unity, Puntland	Dr. Saadiq Eenow	Chairman	
3.	Congress (Kulan)	Abdulkadir Mohamed Osman	Chairman	
4.	Somali Peace and Justice	Nuur Bocor Jeelle	Chairman	
5.	United Somali Republic	Ali Mohamud Nuh (Timo Jilic)	Vice- Chair	
6.	National Salvation (Badbaado Qaran)	Abdulkadir Hussein Jaahweyn	Chairman	
7.	Somali Reformation Alliance	Suufi Abdurahim Mumin	Chairman	
8.	Ileys	Muhyadin Ali Yusuf	Chairman	
9.	Somali Peace & Democratic Union (SPDU)	Abdullahi Sheikh Dahir	Chairman	
10.	Tayo	Abdulkaadir Sheikh Ismaail	Representative	
11.	Hiil Qaran	Mohamed Muse Sh. Hassan	Representative	
12.	Somali People's Party	Mohamoud Mohamed Nur (Biikole)	Chairman	
13.	Somali Citizens Alliance	Mohamed Abikar Maye	Vice-Chair	

S/N	Name of Political Party	Name Signatory	Title	Signature
14.	Justice and Development	Nadifo Abdullahi Abdi	Chairlady	
15.	Personality and Nationalism Party	Dr. Hassan Abdi Khalif	Chairman	
16.	Peace and National Unity	Sa'eed Osman Islan	Chairman	
17.	Sahan Qaran	Ahmed Salad Aden	Chairman	
18.	Somali Youth Party	Sa'eed Ali Mohamed	Chairman	
19.	Umadda (People's Party)	Zakariye H. Mohamud Abdi	Chairman	
20.	Peace and Unity	Mohamud Barre	Chairman	
21.	Somali Democratic Union	Yusuf Ahmed Yalahow	Chairman	
22.	Democratic Party	Wali Magan Diriye	Chairman	
23.	Somali National Party	Farah Salad Dharaar	Chairman	
24.	Somali National Democratic Party	Abdullahi Isack Aden	Representative	
25.	Somali National Union	DR. ALI OMAR ABADI	V/SECRETARY	
26.	Xisbi Somali National Party for change & Development	Prof: Dr. Mohamed Ali Ibrahim	Chairman	
27.	Xisbiga Dawladda Soomaaliga	C/fataax X. Cabdulle	V. Chairman	
28.				
29.				