

Security Council

*Measures to Eliminate
Corruption and
Terrorism in Somalia*

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INTRODUCTION

Established in 1945, the United Nations is an international organization in which its member countries discuss and propose solutions to solve international issues. As one of the six main organs of the United Nations, the Security Council is responsible for “the maintenance of international peace and security” (UN, 2018). The Security Council “takes the lead in determining the existence of a threat to the peace or act of aggression. It calls upon the parties to a dispute to settle it by peaceful means and recommends methods of adjustment or terms of settlement.

The Council is composed of 15 members. The five permanent members are China, France, Russian Federation, the United Kingdom and the United States, and the ten non-permanent members are elected for two-year terms by the General Assembly. In some cases, the Security Council can resort to imposing sanctions or even authorize the use of force to maintain or restore international peace and security” (UN, 2018). One of the main actions of the Security Council is that it “establishes a peacekeeping operation by adopting a Security Council resolution. The resolution sets out that mission’s mandate and size” (UN Peacekeeping, 2018).

The Federal Republic of Somalia, located in the Horn of Africa, is known as the most corrupt country in the world as well as a country that is affected by terrorist attacks on an almost daily basis. Since the collapse of the authoritarian regime in 1991, Somalia has struggled to re-establish a functioning state. “The on-going civil war, tensions between traditional clans and recurring famine ensure that the prospects for political stability remain bleak” (Rahman, 2017). “The merely describing characteristics of the Somali government are corruption and criminality” (Teacher, 2013), today the government cannot project authority over its territory and peoples. Consequently, Somalia is recognized today as a failed state, meaning that in the eyes of its citizens and the international community, the government is illegitimate.

Moreover, warlords, the lack of revenue, and the rise of terrorism are factors that have contributed to the absence of a central government, rule of law, security and stability or prosperity in Somalia. The collapse of the government in 1991 caused different clans and warlords to attempt to rise to power and with this attempt, the country fell into a severe instability. “The restoration of Somalia became an unattainable concept and only grew more difficult to achieve as time passed” (Travaglio, 2018).

In addition, the state of Somalia relies on international support and the revenue of tax seaports and tax on airports because the state itself does not have enough income to meet the country's needs. Somalia collects about \$200 million dollars in taxes per year and receives economic aids from different countries but it is mostly spent on members of the parliament and the presidency (Government Revenue in, [n.d.]). Currently, hunger illiteracy, and basic fundamental rights are still nonexistent for most of the people of Somalia.

Furthermore, terrorism is another issue that Somalia faces every day. Al-Shabaab, "The Youth", is a jihadist terrorist group that opposes the Somali government and carries attacks in and around Mogadishu, the capital of Somalia, on an almost daily basis. These attacks have been previously targeted at government officials and institutions, hotels, restaurants and public transport. Generally speaking, the attacks are assaults, suicide bombings, explosions, gun attacks, mortar attacks, improvised explosive devices and bombings of commercial aircrafts.

More specifically, besides previous attempts of the United Nations to build stability in Somalia, during 2017 the federal Government of Somalia endorsed its National Development Plan which will be supported by the UN. In addition, until 2021, the new strategic framework of the United Nations, UNSF, will guide the work of the UN in Somalia (United Nations in Somalia, 2017). The United States of America, among other nations, has been the main contributor of economic resources, granting more than \$250 million for the development of economical, political, and social sectors (Travaglio, 2018). Despite efforts to construct a stable Somalia, Somalia still faces two of the most challenging issues that go hand to hand, corruption and terrorism.

HISTORY OF THE PROBLEM

In 1969, Mohamed Siad Barre, a Somalian politician and soldier, "assumes power in coup after the assassination of the elected president; he goes on to declare Somalia a socialist state and nationalises most of the economy" (BBC, 2018). "He led a bloodless military coup against the elected government, until January 1991" (Britannica, [n.d.]). After seizing power on October 22nd of 1969, Mohamed Siad Barre, a Somalian politician and soldier, "made himself head of a Supreme

Revolutionary Council and imposed autocratic rule through a personality cult and the harsh enforcement of an official ideology called Scientific Socialism” (Britannica, n.d.). He strengthened relations with the Soviet Union, officially outlawed clan loyalties, and promoted literacy with a newly introduced Roman alphabet [...] but allegations of human rights abuses hurt his international standing” (Britannica, n.d.). After Siad Barre’s failed attempt to reclaim Somali territory from Ethiopia, the people of Somalia “expressed their dissatisfaction with Siad Barre, which led to the overthrow of his regime and a civil war in 1991” (United Nations in Somalia, 2017). He was forced out of office in January 1991 and in 1992 went into exile in Nigeria.

Outside Mogadishu, all the main clans with access to the vast stores of military equipment in the country set up their own spheres of influence. Government in the south had largely disintegrated and existed only at the local level in the northeast region controlled by the SSDF (Somali Salvation Democratic Front) (Britannica, n.d.). In 2000, a government of unity supported by international forces failed to establish control and two relatively pacific regions in the north, Somaliland and Puntland declared themselves as independent (BBC, 2017).

After the drought and war triggered by Muhammad Siad Barre’s dictatorship, he was once and for all ousted in 1991 which caused power struggle between Islamist clan warlords (Middle East Policy Council, 2002). As a result, thousands of civilians were killed and/or wounded (Somalia Profile - Timeline, 2018). Mohamed Farah Aideed declares himself President of the Republic and power struggles continue. Somali citizens continue dying of disease, starvation or civil war. US Marines and UN peacekeeping forces are sent to Somalia, the Security Council approves a military mission code-named “Operation Restore Hope” that aimed to protect food shipments from the warlords, restore order and safeguard relief supplies. US Army Rangers are killed and the mission ends in 1994, UN peacekeepers fail to achieve the mission and leave (Somalia Profile - Timeline, 2018).

The threat of Al Shabab and Al Qaeda arised, recurring to violence and recruiting members that opposed to the government (BBC, 2017). Mohamed Farah Aideed is assassinated and his son Hussein Farah Aideed takes over. In 1998 Puntland region declares autonomy. Two years later, in 2000, clan leaders and senior figures elect Abdulkassim Salat Hassan the new president of Somalia and he

establishes a government for the first time since 1991 (Somalia Profile - Timeline, 2018). Later, in 2004 a new president is elected, Abdullahi Yusuf. Al Shabab reaches its highpoint and terrorist attacks begin increasing more and more, in 2007 the Somali refugees hit one million. (Lee Hogg, 2008). Terrorism and corruption in Somalia keep growing each day with more victims and terrorists. Efforts from the United Nations and the US among other countries to find a solution continue but have not yet been successful.

CURRENT SITUATION

Today, Somalia is ranked as the most corrupt country in the world because of different factors. Corruption is both one of the leading causes and also consequences of endemic political instability in Somalia. The Worldwide Governance Indicators assigned the following percentiles to Somalia on a scale from 0 to 100.

- Voice and accountability: 2.96%
- Political stability and absence of violence/terrorism: 2.86%
- Government effectiveness: 0.48%
- Regulatory quality: 0.96%
- Rule of law: 0.00%
- Control of corruption: 0.48%

Due to the absence of a functional government, a lack of resources and administration, weak leadership structures, limited ability to pay public officials, terrorism, among others, different types of corruption such as political corruption, corruption in businesses, and gendered forms of corruption mainly affect the sectors of healthcare, security forces, natural resources management and development assistance (Rahman, 2017).

The Somali 2017 presidential elections were fueled by bribes and threats. Analysts, investigators and diplomats say that the election turned out to be one of the most fraudulent events in Somalia's history. Investigators report that at least \$20 million were exchanged during the presidential elections. Forces like Turkey, Sudan, the United Arab Emirates and Qatar were buying off presidential candidates to land business deals, spread a harsh version of Islam or spy on American forces (Gettleman, 2017).

Interviews with elders were held in which they confirmed receiving or paying bribes due to fear of the “clan”. People also confirmed that they could not deny the bribe or explain the process of it due to threats that left them frightened. “These guys are taking bribes of \$100,000 when most of us can’t afford a plate of spaghetti” said Mohamed, a fish seller. In addition, residents remained indoors and roads were closed because of the fear of a possible strike on the capital by Al Shabaab members (Gettleman, 2017).

According to Transparency International, countries with no protection for press and NGO’s are likely to be more corrupt. According to the Committee to Protect Journalists, journalists have been attacked, imprisoned and since 1992 at least 64 journalists have been killed. In addition, because of the violence, threats, and flaws in the justice system, Somalia ranks as the second worst nation to combat deadly anti-press violence, the government has suspended more than five broadcasters in the region and more outside, and Somalia ranks as one of the countries from which most journalists flee. The anti-press attacks continue because of flaws in the Somali Justice System (Somalia, 2016).

Freedom of speech has been jeopardized by the law when the government passed a law prohibiting the spread of false and propagandistic news that did not provide clear guidelines. Journalists and the press have also been threatened by Al Shabaab making it impossible to operate in areas under the control of them. Groups like Al Shabaab use corruption and take advantage of the instability to radicalize men and women to join their ranks (Iaccino, 2018).

Insecurity and travel restrictions due to attacks by Al Shabaab resulted in the increase of food prices and drop in supplies which caused more corruption by public officials misusing public goods and requesting bribes in exchange of services. In addition, businesses adjusted their liability and now avoid taxes and sell expired food and drugs. Consequently, the illegal sale of expired, substandard, and counterfeit medicines has resulted in thousands of deaths; the low salaries for soldiers has resulted in them selling their weapons and equipment on the black market and the poor management of natural resources has caused the lack of development (Rahman, 2017).

Currently, Somalia is also a country affected enormously by terrorism. Al Shabaab is a jihadist terrorist group based in East Africa that opposes the Somali

government and carries out attacks in and around Mogadishu, capital of Somalia, on an almost daily basis. “Al-Shabab gained support by promising people security, but its credibility was knocked when it rejected Western food aid to combat a 2011 drought and famine” (BBC, 2017). The attacks are commonly armed assaults, suicide bombings, explosions, gun attacks, mortar attacks, improvised explosive devices and bombings of commercial aircrafts.

The weapon of choice for the Shabab has been the improvised explosive device. It also magnified the potency of its weapons, increasing the average size of bombs. Shabab members “have become increasingly adept at preparing homemade explosives from fertilizer and other commercially available products. To identify and combat the bomb makers, Somalia needs to be able to use intelligence from the crime scene: explosives and explosive residues, detonators, components, SIM cards, fingerprints and DNA” (Mohamed, 2017).

The Shabab was responsible for carrying out a massive attack on a Kenyan military base in Somalia's el-Ade town in January 2016, killing about 180 soldiers. It has also staged several attacks in Kenya, including the 2015 massacre at Kenya's Garissa University, near the border with Somalia. In 2013, its gunmen stormed the Westgate shopping mall in Nairobi, resulting in a siege which left at least 67 people dead. During the 2010 football World Cup final, it bombed a rugby club and a restaurant in Uganda's capital Kampala, killing 74 people watching the match (BBC, 2017). On 14 October 2017, an estimated 512 people were killed, nearly all civilians, in a truck bomb attack in Mogadishu (Military, Political Strategy, 2018). During 2018 there have been approximately 200 deaths in attacks provoked by terrorist groups such as Al Shabaab (Terrorist Attacks, [n.d.]).

Somali troops are poorly trained and equipped to defeat Al Shabab. Somalia's government is still struggling to pay regular salaries for police officers and soldiers and has no futuristic plans of training and equipping specialized bomb units to control this (Mohamed, 2017).

Somalia's institutions are dysfunctional, thus, some institutions contribute to anti-corruption measures such as the Financial Governance Committee, the Judiciary, and the Office of the Auditor General (Rahman, 2017).

Basic services such as street lighting, dry cleaning and rubbish collection have resumed in the capital. But Somalia is still too dangerous and divided to hold democratic elections.

A few years ago, the Shabab, also known as Al Shabaab, controlled almost all of southern Somalia. “Since then, Somali and African Union forces have expelled the Shabab from most major towns; American airstrikes and joint operations between Somali and United States Special Forces have killed dozens of militant leaders. But Al Shabaab retains a presence in rural Somalia, keeping many towns under an effective state of siege and disrupting traffic along major roads” (Mohamed, 2017).

“In May, Somalia’s minister of internal security assigned high priority to the detection and disruption of the bombers’ network and production cells. The National Intelligence and Security Agency, the agency that I head, was given the responsibility of analyzing and exploiting collected evidence in terrorist attacks, developing a strategy to disrupt bombing operations, and preventing attacks. We tightened the security cordon around Mogadishu to curb the flow of fighters, weapons and explosives. We approached international partners, [...] for the training and technical assistance that we lacked [...]. We received no response. Vital information and evidence of crimes committed on Somali soil continue to be exported and analyzed abroad, denying us the opportunity to protect our own citizens and to hold the perpetrators to account.” (Mohamed, 2017).

The United States has carried out a wave of air strikes, which led to the killing of the group's leader, Aden Hashi Ayro, in 2008 and his successor, Ahmed Abdi Godane. In March 2017, US President Donald Trump approved a Pentagon plan to escalate operations against al-Shabab. The US has more than 500 troops in Somalia and conducted 30 airstrikes in 2017. Although the military operations are weakening al-Shabab, the group is still able to carry out suicide attacks and has regained control of some towns (BBC, 2017).

UN ACTIONS

The United Nations has been helpful in problems regarding Somalia since a long time ago. However, warlords in Somalia have led the ambush of UN troops, driving them away and keeping them from helping more. “Since the civil war,

Somalis and the international community have made fifteen attempts to help Somalia establish an environment of peace and stability. In 2013, despite insecurity and other issues, Somalis and the International Community developed a New Deal for Somalia. The New Deal emphasized Somali-owned and Somali-led development and effective aid management as well as delivery that mirrors these development needs among other principles for the 2013-2016 period” (United Nations In Somalia, 2017). In 2017, the federal Government of Somalia endorsed its National Development Plan and there will be support from the UN to achieve the goals of its plan.

“Somalia is one of the dozen countries or so yet to sign or ratify the United Nations Convention against Corruption (UNCAC), which is the most comprehensive anti-corruption convention, covering a wide-range of corruption offences, including domestic and foreign bribery, embezzlement, trading in influence and money laundering. The UNCAC provisions also obligate state parties to take a number of public and private anti-corruption measures” (Rahman, 2017).

The United Nations Assistance Mission in Somalia (UNSOM), provides support for state- and peace-building in the country. UNSOM as contributed to different issues in Somalia, including political affairs, child and women protection, donor coordination and others. Regarding donor coordination, the organization promotes an enabling environment for the effective delivery of international assistance in Somalia by supporting the Federal Government of Somalia. Structures such as the Somali Development and Reconstruction Facility and the Peacebuilding and State-building Goals Working Groups bring together the FGS and “existing and emerging federal member states to provide strategic guidance and oversight to the allocation of international assistance across the country” (UNSOM, 2018). “During the first two years of UNSOM’s mandate, Somalia made significant progress on both security and the political process, with the formation and initial consolidation of a number of emerging federal member states” (UNSOM, 2018). The lack of institutional capacity is one of the biggest challenges along with the much-needed continued reconciliation to ensure that state-building is rooted in societal reconciliation, convergence and inclusion (UNSOM, 2018).

The United Nations Strategic Framework, UNSF, has a strategic plan to guide the UN’s work in Somalia. It presents a collective commitment to a strategy and

actions in support of Somalia's national development priorities and the global Sustainable Development Goals. In 2017, the Federal Government of Somalia endorsed its National Development Plan, which represents an important step in the Somali government since it is the first time in 30 years the government itself designs its own development priorities. The UN will support the government achieving the goals of its National Development Plan along with the UNSF which will guide the work of the UN in Somalia from now on until 2021 (United Nations in Somalia, 2018).



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POSSIBLE SOLUTIONS

- A. Develop a Somali-owned strategy to defeat corruption and terrorism by providing the resources for them to conduct forensic investigations in Somalia and the access to use the intelligence from the crime scene. Somalia will be able to use intelligence from the crime scene including, explosives and explosive residues, detonators, components, SIM cards, fingerprints and DNA
- B. Improve the training and machinerie of Somali Soldiers and request financial support from developed countries to support the AMISOM (African Union Mission in Somalia) to continue the recruitment of soldiers
- C. Implement safe zones in countries willing to give asylum to refugees and provide safe transportation
- D. Set educational systems that will teach and strengthen citizens to demand anti-corruption policies by informing them about the different ways to report and demand their rights as citizens
- E. Promote transparency and access to information by protecting local and international reporters by providing technologies to strengthen security.

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