



Center for Policy Analysis
Peace, Democracy, Human rights



Somaliland Local Councils: the Birthplace of Political Parties is a crossroad

Ordinary citizens who supports the political parties are still waiting that their political leaders to agree when to hold elections, (*in the Picture, one Supporter from the Ruling Party of Kulmiye and other Supporter of the biggest opposition party of Waddani are playing a traditional game, wearing two signs of their political parties.*) - Photo by Yusuf Dahir

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Election Monitoring Office
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About Centre for Policy Analysis

CPA is a think thanks center that was established to help the countries of Horn of Africa region to build, peace, democracy, human rights and effective governance systems where all citizens are equal.

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Abbreviations:

CPA **Center for Policy Analysis**

CSO **Civil Society Organizations**

NEC **National Electoral Commission**

RACA **Registration and Approval Committee of Political Associations**

Executive Summary

19 years ago, when the people of Somaliland approved the current constitution which established a multiparty democracy. During the first circle¹ of the democratization process, Somaliland succeeded to held different elections, including the first local council elections which happened in 15th December of 2002, then within six months (14 April, 2003) the first National Electoral Commission held the presidential election and the sitting president won less than 100 votes from the opposition party that accepted the result and the third election, which was the parliamentary election, occurred within two and half years (29 September, 2005). All those elections happened within three years, without having any previous election experience but the main reason why the elections happened in a short time was that the political leaders were committed to host elections.

The next cycle² of the democratization process faced extensions and election delays, while the third cycle³ of the Somaliland Democracy is in a deadlock road, because the elected officials are not committed to maintain the democratization process as the election laws and constitution require. For those 19 years, there were two bad lessons in Somaliland’s democratization process, which are, Extensions and remaining in office after the term expires, even without having any legal mandate. All political leaders promise publicly that they are ready for elections, but mostly no actions followed.



¹From 2001 up to 2005, Somaliland Approved the Constitution and other election laws, established both National Electoral Commission and Election Monitoring Boards and held nearly 3 elections within 3 years.

²From 2006 to 2017, Somaliland hosted nearly 3 elections, but there were more than 20 extensions happened during this period.

³From 2018 up to present

the President of Somaliland Muuse Bihi Abdi, argued that the Somaliland Democratization process cannot continue as it is now, when the elected officials are not giving an opportunity to the citizens to elect their representatives “... *Somaliland has a constitution. Both Houses of Parliament, the President and local councils are responsible for protecting the constitution and the rule of law. to protect the supremacy of law, those elected institutions must abide the constitution and other laws. The constitution limited their term into five years. so, to avoid the destruction of our constitution, our nation exists longer and to develop our country, it is a must to hold elections. The current barriers of holding elections are very small issues, all political parties and public are agreed to hold elections, also all members of the parliament know that their term ended and they need to be elected, so, why can't we hold elections? who is between us? are there an external actors against our elections or are we crazy [people] who can't solve these simple election disputes?*” said the president of Somaliland H.E. Muuse Bihi Abdi and he promised the solution of the current election disputes as soon as possible “... *the current election disputes are very simple, and we will solve it together, it is not to destruct our constitution such simple election disputes*” added the President during his speech of the 26th Inauguration of Somaliland Army⁴.

Both Opposition leaders, Chairmen of Waddani Party Abdirahman Abdullahi Irro, and UCID Party Faisal Ali Waraabe publicly stated that they are ready for elections, but questioned the commitment of the government, also the speaker of the parliament Baashe Mohamed Farah said that the members of the house of parliament are ready for elections any time, just they are waiting, he said, to hold elections and to elect a new House, to vacate the office.

Every political leader in Somaliland needs elections to happen; everyone is promising and showing publicly a commitment, but no actions followed. the other question is, the election disputes are very simple, for the last two years, the political leaders failed to solve the National Electoral Commission dispute, and still that challenge exists, they met more than 40 times to discuss how to solve, but it is still not solved. So, as the president said many times, the problem is very simple, but the main question is, what is wrong? Why can't the political leaders solve such a simple election dispute? That is the question that Somaliland citizens are asking themselves.

It seems that Somaliland elected officials failed to abide the law, promote democracy, listen the concern of the citizens, fulfill the political commitments and to vacate the office when their term ends. Somaliland people elected 487 officials in public offices, all of them, except the president and his vice president, are in the office beyond their elected term. Only the President and his vice president have a legitimate term. Guurti members have been in office nearly 23 years, House of Representative members have been in office nearly 15 years and Local councilors have been in office nearly 7 years. These elected officials have enough justification to remain in office.

Somaliland Local Councils are the birthplace of political parties and they are responsible all social services as article 112 (1) of Somaliland Constitution mentions that the local councils and regional administrations are responsible for providing social services including Health, Education, Electricity, Livestock, Water, local security, telecommunication, etc. So, they are the bridge between the central government and citizens. So, it seems that most of the current local councils failed to deliver their promises and to provide the services to their constituencies, also they are preventing the citizens to elect a new local councils, since they remained in office after their term expired without having any legal mandate. This is against the constitution, the rule of law, the principles and democratic process.

⁴February 2nd, 2020 in Hargeisa

Most of the political leaders of Somaliland are agreed that something is wrong in Somaliland democracy and it needs to be fixed, but the political elites have different opinions about the solution, responsibility and the way out. So, it is the time that Election stakeholders, led by the president office, Political Party leaders, parliament, National Electoral Commission office, Universities, CSO who are involved in elections, grassroot voices including women and youth activists and international partners including the donors who invested in the Democratizations system to come together, reviewing the lessons learned from the past 19 years, the main challenges faced for the Somaliland's democratization process and the way forward. That way forward will need a political commitment, implementation and financial support from Somaliland government, Political Leaders and the international friends. That is one of the best ways to renew the stuck democratization process. The outcome of that high-level conference can focus on a reform of electoral system, having some sort of accountability if elected leaders fail to leave office, clear responsibility of holding elections, more democratic and transparent political parties, strong and more independent judiciary system that citizens and pressure groups can use to challenge when elected officials violate the constitution, more inclusive governance system that youth, women and other marginalized groups are included, since citizens elect a political party to lead the country.

INTRODUCTION OF SOMALILAND LOCAL COUNCIL ELECTIONS:

Somaliland's first Local Council Elections was held at 15th December of 2002, candidates from six political associations⁵ participated. According to the election law, the highest three political associations were recognized to be the official three main political parties of the country.⁶

The official 5 years term of the first local councils was supposed to expire at December 2007, but on December 11th, 2007, the Second National Electoral Commission (NEC) and the Political Parties agreed to postpone the Local Council Elections till 1st July of 2008, the House of Elders (*Guurti*) accepted the recommendation of the Political Parties and NEC and extended the term of Local Council Elections till 1st July of 2008.⁷

On 9th April 2008, three months before the extended term expired of local councils, The National Electoral Commission and Political Parties agreed a second postponement of local council elections, both sides agreed the voter registration to be completed at 5th October 2008 and the local elections to happen 06 October 2008. One day after that agreement between the political parties and NEC, *Guurti* extended the term of the president but did not extended the term of local council elections.⁸

On July 9th, 2008, **NEC and the three political parties** have reached an eight points agreement, including to postpone the local council elections **indefinitely**, but to hold the Presidential election and to suspend any article of Voter Registration Act which prevents from holding the presidential election. NEC and Political Parties agreed to hold the presidential election before 6 April 2009, another time the presidential election was postponed and finally it happened on 26 June 2010. The Local Councils remained in office without extension till the 2012 Local Council Elections.

Somaliland's second Local Council Elections happened on 28th November 2012. More than 2088 candidates contested from seven political associations⁹ including 135 female candidates. 323 Local Councilors including 10 female councilors from 20 Electoral Districts were elected to serve a five years term and they elected nearly 20 Mayors who execute the day to day of all districts in Somaliland. On June 3rd, 2017, *Guurti* extended the term of local councils from December 2017 to 28th April 2019. The extended term of local councils expired at 28th April 2019, but they did not receive any further extension and still they are executing the day to day activity without having any legal mandate.

⁵The Six Political Associations who participated the 2002 local council elections were, UDUB, SAHAN, UCID, Kulmiye, ASAD and Hormood.

⁶UDUB, Kulmiye and UCID become the national Political Parties who won the highest votes in December 2002 local council elections

⁷Guurti's Extension of local councils does not have any legal basin in both the Election laws and the constitution.

⁸ <https://cpahorn.net/facts-and-figures-about-somaliland-elections/>

⁹The Seven political associations who was attended the second local council elections were Kulmiye, UCID, Wadani, Xaqsoor, Dalsan, Rays and Umadda.

CURRENT STATUS OF SOMALILAND LOCAL COUNCILS

The current status local councilors were elected in November 28th, 2012 in a five years term, but the House of Elders extended their term¹⁰ from December 2017 to April 28th, 2019. After that date, their term was never extended and they don't have any legal base to collect tax, provide services, etc.

On January 28th, 2020, CPA hosted a consultation meeting about the status of local councils and established a pressure groups. Experts, Activists, CSOs and Political leaders attended the consultation meeting including panel members who have more knowledge on Somaliland Election cycle including Suad Ibrahim a *Prominent Civil Society leader*,¹¹ Abdirahman Adami, *former mayor of Hargeisa* and Abdi Ali, *former member of the local councils and former director of ministry of planning*. also, political parties attended the consultation meeting including the Chairman of UCID Party Faisal Ali Waraabe.



Hibaaq Ibraahin Gamuute¹² explained the status of local councils and the number of extensions that they recieved for the last 17 years. “... *the term of local councils was extended at least three times. former Local Council members remain in office without extension nearly 4 years and 11 months, while the current local councils are in office nearly 8 months without having any legal mandate ...*” said Hibaaq Gamute. It seems that it is normal for the local councils to remain in office after their term ends without facing any pressure from the president, the parliament, the political parties, civil society or the ordinary citizens. It seems that no one challenged them enough with their normalization of staying in office after their term ends.

¹⁰June 3rd 2017

¹¹a *Prominent Civil Society leader, former country director of Progressio and former chair of Election Monitoring Board*

¹²*Lanyer, lecturer of Hargeisa University and member of CPA*

Professor Abdi Ali, *former Local Councilors*, argued that local council elections are broader than how people think, he described it as the birthplace of political parties and the mother of democracy, but he said, that the elected leaders are failing to leave the office when their term expired. He mentioned that there are political and technical challenges which are causing the local election delays:

- **Politics Interest:** elected officials are not going to leave the office, so they create any obstacle to get an opportunity to stay in office.
- **Negligence of Responsibility:** When the highest elected leaders are unable to perform their duties, there must be some sort of accountability, but now there is no public accountability and it is one of the main reasons for causing the election delays.
- Also, Institutional Capacity, financial and technical issues are other challenges which are causing the election delays.

Abdirahman Adami, *former Mayor of Hargeisa*, claimed that the current local councils accountable to no one, either their constituencies or other institutions. Other problems of Somaliland democratization are the hybrid democracy of mixing the traditional system and the multiparty democracy. Abdirahman Adami said “... *every elected official has a fixed term to stay in office, when that term ends, he must vacate the office because the legal term ends Somaliland’s political class including the political parties have failed to hold elections, it is their responsibility...*” said Abdirahman Adami. Abdirahman added that the current local councilors did not get an extension and now they are executing the daily tasks of local government without having legal mandate, he said it is unacceptable that elected officials remain in office when their mandate expire, but he suggested to review any possible legalization of their status including extension.



After Somaliland citizens approved the constitution and moved from clan based to a constitutional multiparty democracy, the citizens were expecting that they will have the power to elect their representatives every five years. Suaad Ibraahin, former chair of National Election Monitoring Board, said it seems that election process is failing because that elected officials are preferring to remain in office, and no one is respecting the election law but political interests are preferred.

Suaad Ibraahin said that the biggest problem of our democracy is the political parties “... *our political parties are not perfect, both how they were established and how they function now, they don’t have the capacity to solve these problems because political parties are not democratic [internally], they don’t have fixed term, their selection criteria is not clear, so how can they solve the challenges of Somaliland’s Democratization when they are not perfect and their decision making is limited to few people, how they can obey the rule of law, when the political party itself is not democratic. The challenges we see now in our democratization process are the result of that, because political parties are the ones who produce the presidents, the parliament, local councils etc, when they win elections ...*” said Suaad Ibraahin.

Suaad also questioned the commitment of election stakeholders, if they are really ready to solve the repeated extensions and election delays. *“when I am alone, I ask myself, who is responsible to hold elections? As Abdi Ali said, it is the president who is responsible to hold elections, but there are other stakeholders. Also, there must be pressure groups that can advocate to hold elections when the political elites are not going to hold elections”* added Suaad Ibraahin, former Chairman of National Election Monitoring Commission Board. The other important points that Suaad highlighted were, missing of public accountability when elected officials and political parties neglect their responsibilities in the constitution and election laws.

The Chairman of UCID, Eng. Faisal Ali Waraabe argued that current local councils are not accountable to the political parties whom they represent *“... Local Councils were supposed to be accountable to their political parties, in order to implement the party political program, but the current local councils joined the government when they won elections, for example the current mayors of Berbera, Gebilay, Deputy Mayor of Hargeisa and others are members from UCID Party, now they are not listening to us, they joined to the ruling party, so the local councils are accountable to no one...”* said the Chairman of UCID Party Eng. Faysal Ali Waraabe.

The chairman responded a concern from the panel members, criticizing the opposition parties, that they don't focus enough on the illegitimacy of local councils *“...As UCID party, we raise this issue every time, it seems that the public accepted the normalization of ignoring the rule of law ... the current local councils are in office without any legal basis, we suggested the president to nominate a caretaking local councils ...”* said the Faisal Ali Waraabe.

Participants also raised two important issues, which are needed to focus, the first issue they pointed was, that the role of civil society is missing, and the other important issue is that citizens are not aware enough of their rights and responsibilities in the constitution to challenge the political class who is not willing to leave the offices.

SOMALILAND POLITICAL PARTIES:

a. *The History of Somaliland's Political Party Establishment*

According to article 9 of the constitution, Somaliland's political system is based on multiparty democracy and the political parties are limited to three. Local councils are the base of Somaliland democracy and the birthplace of the political parties.

On 10th February of 2001, the late president of Somaliland (1993-2002) H.E. Mohamed Haji Ibrahim Egal nominated the first ten member¹³ of the committee for Registration and Approval of Political Parties (RAC). On 25th September 2001, RAC announced that seven political associations were registered to participate to the upcoming local council elections. The seven political associations registered were UDUB, UCID, SAHAN, Hormood, Ilyaska, and Birsol. On January 2002, the first National Electoral Commission (NEC) was formed.

On 18th March 2002, the Committee for Registration and Approval of Political Associations (RAC) announced that five of the 7 registered political association passed the conditions and criteria of eligibility of establishing a political association. Also, the Committee announced that they reopened the registration of political associations for another two months to give an opportunity for any political leader who is willing to establish a political association, the extended registration time ended on 18th May 2002. During that extended registration period of political associations, ASAD and Kulmiye were registered. Later on, RAC announced that only six political associations passed the final requirements for being a political association, and those approved can take part to the upcoming local council elections of December 2002. UCID, Kulmiye and UDUB won the highest votes of December 2002 local council elections and became the main three political parties of Somaliland. These three political parties attended the 2003 Presidential Elections, 2005 Parliamentary Elections and 2010 Presidential Elections.

Somaliland Political Parties seems they are failing to be democratic parties, because party members and central committee have limited influence on the leadership and party decision making. On April 05, 2007, independent politicians announced a new political association called QARAN, justifying that the existing three National Political Parties become undemocratic because a few political elites have the ultimate decision making.¹⁴ Three months later, the chairman and his deputies of Qaran who announced the new political association were arrested, and the government accused them that they launched a political association which is against the state laws, also they carried out political activities which are threat to the national security.¹⁵ After 144 days in jail, leaders of Qaran Political Association

¹³1 Mohamed Jama Bodle (Guun) Chairman

2 Adan Geedi Qeyd Vice Chairman

3 Saleeban Yusuf Cali (Kore) Secretary

4 Mohamed Jama Bodle Member

5 Hassan Ahmed Nur Member

6 Ali Yusuf Ahmed Member

7 Yusuf Omer Mohamed Member

8 Mohamed Ahmed Dualeh Member

9 Abdillahi Bokh Kunshe Member

10 Adan Gedi Qayad Member

¹⁴<https://www.somaliaonline.com/community/topic/25094-urur-siyaasdeed-cusub-oo-lagu-dhawaagay/>

¹⁵https://www.bbc.com/somali/news/story/2007/07/printable/070728_somaliland.shtml

were released from Prison¹⁶, later on the Qaran political leaders joined to Kulmiye Party, months before the 2010 presidential elections¹⁷. After Kulmiye Party won the 2010 Presidential Election, both the chairman and his deputy chair of Qaran Mohamed Abdi Gaboose and Mohamed Hashi Elmi became the Ministers of Interior and Finance.

On June 7th, 2011, the President of Somaliland Ahmed Mohamed Siilaanyo appointed a national consultative committee from the Parliament, Political Parties, Professionals and Civil Society Organizations, assigned to visit all regions of Somaliland to ask the people and other stakeholders, if they are in favor of reopening the Political Parties registration. After they visited all regions of Somaliland, the 18 members committee, finally announced that 57% of the people they interviewed supported to reopen the registration of the political parties. The committee recommended to hold the local council elections within 18 months and to finalize all election related acts.

After three months, the president of Somaliland Ahmed Mohamed Siilaanyo nominated a seven members of the Committee for the Registration and Approval of the Political Associations/parties (RACA), and he submitted their names to the House of Representatives, three weeks later (26 September 2011) the House of Representatives approved the newly nominated committee.

On December 29th 2011, RACA announced that 15 Political Associations were registered to take part to the upcoming local council elections, those 15 Political Associations were Wadani, Dalsan, Nuur, Jamhuuriya, Nasiye, UDHIS, NDP, Umadda, Gurmada, Damal, Horyaal, Badbaado, Rays, SSCD, Xaqsoor, and also the registered three political parties. On April 20th, 2012, after vetting and examining the registered political associations, RACA announced that only five political associations met the conditions and requirement of eligibility to take part to the upcoming local council elections. One of the main existing national political party, UDUB¹⁸, failed to pass the registration process. So, only five new political associations and two national political parties attended the November 2012 local council elections. On December 26th, 2012, RACA announced that UCID, Kulmiye and Waddani have succeeded to become the new three political parties of Somaliland in the coming 10 years.

b. *The Status Political Parties*

Somaliland's formation of a multiparty system was seen by many as a transition from the clan-based selection process to a popular voting modern democratic system. Somaliland constitution limits the number of political parties into three. The purpose of limiting the political parties is to restrict that clans to compete for establishing a political party and to avoid fragmented numerous parties that divide the society. But now, the clan leaders are gaining more power. They are able to gather support for candidates, fundraise and mobilize voters¹⁹. No candidate has shown strength to directly reach voters without the facilitation of clan leaders. Such force of the clan leaders has further divided the public. The narrative is no longer service delivery and performance, but rather power-sharing measured with how many positions each clan has in the government.

¹⁶<https://saylicipress.wordpress.com/2007/12/18/madaxdii-ururka-qaran-oo-la-sii-daayay/>

¹⁷One of the main points that Kulmiye party and Qaran Political Leaders agreed was to reopen the political parties, if Kulmiye won the presidential election.

¹⁸UDUB was founded by the second president of Somaliland Mohamed Haji Ibrahim Egal, and was the ruling party of Somaliland from 2003-2010.

¹⁹<https://cpahorn.net/somaliland-is-clan-based-politics-inevitable/>

At the first stage, Somaliland Political Elites seemed to be interested on the implementation of the multiparty democracy system, the Government, Opposition Parties and the independent civil society leaders fully participated the realization of being a democratic nation that citizens have the ultimate power to elect their leaders. The best example was, the 2003 presidential elections, when the opposition party lost the election less than 100 votes, which is very close margin, but they accepted the result and congratulated the elected president.

Unfortunately, the elected leaders failed to deliver services and fulfil promises. Somaliland's Political Elites reversed the multiparty democratic system into a clan alliance based political system, and they used the clans to protect their political interests and to seek votes from the public. It became a normal culture that politicians to seek clan alliances to win during the election season and clan leaders gained more influence within the political parties.

c. How Clans are still gaining more power in Somaliland Democratization?

This is one of the main questions that most of the citizens are asking themselves, even when Somaliland moved from clan-based power sharing governance to multi-party democracy system. Between February to April 2018, CPA conducted a research about the sources of campaign financing of Somaliland Political Parties, during the 2017 Presidential Elections.²⁰ CPA has interviewed 30 individuals, whom 21 of them were from the three political parties in Somaliland, namely KULMIYE, UCID and WADANI. Seven (7) key informants were selected from each party, including senior party members, some of the presidential candidates and other individuals who were responsible for party finance units. Moreover, 9 other individuals from civil society and the international organizations were also interviewed; those individuals were independent from the political parties.

The result of that report shows that one of the main contributions of political parties come from clan members. In 2017 Presidential Elections, the two main political parties of Kulmiye and Waddani, relied on clan contributions in getting votes and mobilizing resources. A money collected by either clan committees, or individual businessmen directly contribute to the party leadership. These contributions were not channeled in an official party financial system.

Most of the participants of that research agreed that the political parties have no strong financial policies and regulations. During the election season Money is managed by the party leaders and parallel clan committees or supporters without official process, transparency or proper financial system. Such lack of transparency and regulations give a room to corruption and mismanagement and un-ethical or illegal sources. Only the national budget allocations to parties are reported.

Article 23 of Somaliland Political Party Act (Law No.14), “requires the political parties to submit their yearly budget to the National Electoral Commission no later than 31st of March of every year, and that Financial Report must be verified by independent auditor.” As CPA found, no political party has ever submitted to the National Electoral Commission, the financial report required by the Law.

Political parties receive less than \$10,000 every month from the national budget, which cannot cover the overall expenses of the national political parties, also the member of political parties did not pay membership fee as required, so the leadership of political parties pay most of the running cost of the party. During the election season, political parties need huge amount of money to reach their audiences

²⁰cpahorn.net/wp-content/uploads/2019/01/Sources-of-campaign-financing-in-2017-presidential-election.pdf

in different areas of the country. So, they current allocated budget for the political parties cannot empower the political parties and in general the democratization process of Somaliland.

Since Clans are one of the main contributors of the political parties, their influence will remain, and it will be difficult to totally move from clan-based democracy to real multiparty democracy. The monthly budget that political parties receive from the national budget is very limited and members are not organized to support the parties, so, if needed to move the dependency of political parties to the clan contributions, government must increase the budget of the political parties and also the international friends who invests the Somaliland democratization system must support through experience sharing and capacity building of the political parties to enable them to create sources of income to strengthen their independency.

CONCLUSION

Somaliland's democratic process is failing because elected officials are not leaving the office when their term ends, for example,

- the 82 Members of the House of Elders were selected SIX years term which expired at February 2003, but still they are in office and still they did not approve their election bill
- the 82 Members of the House of Representatives were elected in 2005 and their term expired at October 2010, but still they are in office, and they did not approve their election bill
- 323 Local Councilors were elected at 2012 and their term expired 2017, and their extended term ended April 2019 but still they are in office.

Somaliland citizens elected 487 political leaders, only the president and his vice president are in their elected term. All other 485 elected leaders are in office beyond their 5 years. So, lack of public accountability become a problem to Somaliland's democratization Process.

It is the second time that local councils remain in office without having a legal mandate. This is a very critical issue when it comes to the rule of law, since an entire institution, which was elected five years term, have no legal mandate and still carrying out their daily activities, collecting tax, providing service, while article 111 of the constitution obligates to transfer the power to the executive secretaries.

CPA Election monitoring office was closely watching the election activities in general, and in particular, the current prolonged election disputes. We believe that there no full commitment from the election stakeholders to solve the current prolonged election disputes, but some of them are using it as a political opportunity to delay elections or to remain in office.

Political Parties are the birthplace of the political elites, including the president, cabinet ministers, parliament, local councilors, etc. Somaliland Political Parties are not fully democratic internally, It is normal to postpone their periodic meetings, they don't host their general assembly, central committee and executive committee meetings on-time, they don't have enough capacity to oversee the government because of the limited resources, their transparent financial system is not open as laws required, since they never submitted to National Electoral Commission their financial budget as article 23 of law No. 14 just required.

In Somaliland's democracy, the role of civil society and international partners are missing, grassroot voices are not able to reach the international partners and most of international donors focuses on projects instead of investing the capacity of the grassroot advocates in the regions including the youth, women and minorities advocates.

Women are marginalized from all democratization process of Somaliland, including the local councils and the political parties. For example, 11 women are among the 485 elected officials who remained in office more than their elected term. Also, the highest 21 decision making persons of the three political parties, only one woman is included.

RECOMMENDATION:

To the Government

The term of all 487 elected leaders expired, except the president and the vice president, only both of them are in their legitimate elected term, So, we are calling the president of Somaliland to take the lead of reviewing the challenges faced the Somaliland Democratization Process and why Elected Leaders are not leaving the office when their term expire.

Since the President has the responsibility of holding Elections, we are calling to hold Elections and to take the lead of solving the current prolonged election dispute as he promised several times.

In most of his public speeches, the President advocates the supremacy of law other than anything else, now we see practically that our local councils have no legal basis to remain in office, we are calling the president to take an action against the local councils using article 111 of the constitution.

To have a strong Political Parties who can promote the democratization process, we are calling the government to increase the budget of the political parties.

To the Political Parties:

Political Parties are the factory of the Somaliland's Political Elites including the Presidents, Cabinet Ministers, the Local Councils, the Parliament etc. According to a data collected from the political parties and Election Stakeholders, CPA Found that no Political Party has ever submitted his financial report to the National Electoral Commission as required article 23 of Law No. 14²¹. We are calling the political parties to use a proper financial system with transparency, accountability and auditing, and submit to NEC annually to the financial documentations that the election law requires, when election disputes are finished.

Since the local councils are the birthplace of political parties, we are calling the main three political parties to stand against the illegitimacy of local councils.

International partners

Since International Partners helped the Somaliland democratization system, we are calling to support the political parties, both technically and experience sharing, since they are the base of Somaliland Democratization system.

We are recommending to host a high level conference to review the lessons learned and challenges of Somaliland Democratization for the last 19 years, including to reshape the Somaliland Electoral Cycle, Election Funds and Somaliland Justice system to promote more accountability when elected officials ignore the public voices.

To the Civil Society

Somaliland Civil Society must focus enough on the threat of the failing democratization system and to represent on the voices of the citizens.

²¹Article 23 is obligating to the Political parties to submit their financial budget to the National Electoral Commission, by the end of March of every year.