

# Conference Report

## Challenges and Opportunities of Nation Building in Somalia

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**Organized by:**  
Canadian Friends of Somalia

**In Collaboration with:**  
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Prepared by Stephanie Hu and Farah Aw-Osman

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## Challenges and Opportunities of Nation Building in Somalia

### Introductory Words

21 years of Cold War, followed by 18 years of civil war have destroyed all government and civilian infrastructure in Somalia. 600,000 innocent civilians lost their lives, 3 million people were displaced, while others seek refuge in western countries. Somali pirates, the rapid influx of refugees, human trafficking, illegal trading of weapons, and terrorist activities, all are internationalizing Somalia's ordeal, and worsening the situation.

This misery is therefore, beyond the capability of the fragile Somali government or Somali people to resolve alone and that is why Canadian Friends of Somalia (CFS) in collaboration with Partnership Africa Canada(PAC), Somali-Canadian Institute for Research and Development (SomCan) and Centre for Development-Area Studies at McGill University call the international community to recognize the crisis in Somalia and seek their support for an immediate action to stop the daily deadly violence and the shameful humanitarian devastation.

These are some of the many questions that required serious discussion and deliberation. With rapid changes unfolding in the world leading up to a new era of cooperation and globalization, we have to deal with challenges posed by terrorism, humanitarian crisis, genocide, and failed states, Issues which cannot be ignored as we are considering how we envisage our future as a community of Nations.

The **Challenges and Opportunities of Nation Building in Somalia** Conference was our most successful yet, thanks in part to our generous sponsors and fantastic speakers.

Delegates from various countries were able to attend this conference. The conference size was limited to about 250 delegates for reasons of space and logistics, though many more had requested to attend.

To attempt to do justice to the rich discussion that took place in Ottawa, we will publish this conference report.

All of the speaker's presentations are available on our website at [www.canadianfriendsofsomalia.org](http://www.canadianfriendsofsomalia.org)

A sincere thanks to all those involved in this year's conference. We hope to see you at our future events.

Warm Regards,



Farah Aw-Osman  
Executive Director  
Canadian Friends of Somalia

## Challenges and Opportunities of Nation Building in Somalia



## Challenges and Opportunities of Nation Building in Somalia



## Challenges and Opportunities of Nation Building in Somalia



### ***Why this Conference?***

Since the complete collapse of the state in 1991, Somalia has been overwhelmed by political crises for the past 17 years, devastated by drought, flood, famine and harsh poverty. The recent (2006-present) violent conflicts further plunged the country into a full-blown human catastrophe. Some of the United Nations Agencies call Somalia's condition "the greatest humanitarian crisis in recent years". ***"It is the forgotten crisis," Unicef's Christian Balslev-Olesen told the BBC, saying Somalia was "the world's worst place for children."*** The repercussions of this chaos are no longer contained within its borders but have emphatically escalated this calamity into an alarming international disaster...(the UN Security Council has urged its members whose navy ships and military are close to Somalia to help to tackle the piracy. Nato, Russia, Japan, and China offered their navy ships to fight piracy off the Somali coast, a mission that was welcomed by the United Nations.

Somali pirates, the rapid influx of refugees, human trafficking, illegal trading of weapons, terrorist activities, all are internationalizing Somalia's ordeal, and worsening the situation. ***(According to the UNHCR, in 2008 over 50,091 African migrants have crossed the Gulf of Aden this year in boats operated by traffickers operating from Somali ports. while a total of 654 immigrants drowned at the sea and another 654 went missing).***

This misery is therefore, beyond the capability of the Somali government or Somali people to resolve alone and that is why Canadian Friends of Somalia (CFS) in collaboration with Partnership Africa Canada(PAC), Somali-Canadian Institute for Research and Development (SomCan) call the international community to recognize the crisis in Somalia and seek their support for an immediate action to stop the daily deadly violence and the shameful humanitarian devastation by supporting the Transitional Federal Government established by the International community.

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**Transitional Federal Government of Somalia (TFG)** A peace conference held in Kenya to reconcile the warring factions in Somalia ended in 2004 and produced a Transitional Federal Charter. Following the signing of the Charter, a Transitional Federal Parliament was selected and a President elected. In January 2005 the [Transitional Federal Government](#) (TFG) was formed. The TFG returned to Somalia in August 2005 to a temporary seat of government in Baidoa, 150 miles North West of Mogadishu, the capital. The Transitional Federal Parliament (TFP) met for the first time inside Somalia for the first time in 15 years in February 2006. On January 8, 2007, Somali President Abdullahi Yusuf Ahmed set foot in the capital city of Mogadishu for the first time since taking office more than two years ago. His arrival symbolized a victory by Somalia's [Transitional Federal Government](#) (TFG) over a fundamentalist Islamic militia that for the past two year had grown so powerful, it briefly controlled much of the country's territory. With the Islamists routed, international observers hope the TFG can bring stability to the war-torn nation, enabling it to throw off the "failed state" mantle it has worn for the last sixteen years.

Without peace, Somalia cannot move to reconstruction stage. Therefore, it is very critical that the International community pressures both sides fighting in Somalia to cease the daily violent attacks and to engage in dialogue in order to bring peace to the devastated citizens. This is the reason that Canadian Friends for Somalia decided to host this conference in order to find out the best way that the Canadian government and friends of Somalia can contribute to stabilization and the reconstruction of Somalia.

**Canadian Friends of Somalia History (CFS):** Canadian Friends of Somalia is an Ottawa based organization dedicated to fostering a greater understanding of the social, political and economic issues facing Somalia and the Somali Canadians; through effective programs, fundraisings, media campaigns and other innovative community projects, Canadian Friends of Somalia promotes and encourages a mutual understanding and friendly relations between the nations of Canada and Somalia.

**In the past five years CFS has organized high profile events such as:**

- On December 6, 2004, CFS organized a reception that took place at Parliament Hill; the aim was to make the public aware of difficulties that Somalis face within their nation because of civil war and the need of humanitarian aid to help create an opportunity for a better quality of life.
- **Tsunami Fundraising:** It is a sad reality that in 2004 Boxing Day Eastern Somalia was struck by a tsunami. CFS wanted to make a difference by providing humanitarian aid to alleviate human suffering. CFS partnered with Oxfam Canada to raise approximately over \$6000. Oxfam Canada delivered the funds to Eastern Somalia so that those affected could have a better quality of life after the tsunami.
- **Drought Fundraising:** With drought striking Southern and Central Somalia in early 2006 CFS wanted to make a difference and provide humanitarian aid. In collaboration with Oxfam Canada and Somalia Graduate Network CFS was able to raise \$6,000.
- **Educational Development Project:** Building educational institutions can uplift people from poverty and ignorance thus; CFS has led a successful nationwide fundraising activity to collect money needed to develop land for Puntland State University.

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- **Conference on Somalia:** Canadian Friends of Somalia marked 2006 International Human Rights Day with addresses from various concerned Canadians including Jack Layton, federal leader of the NDP, Senator Mobina Jaffer, Ambassador of the Republic of Yemen his Excellency Dr. Abdulla Nasher, Rahim Jaffer, Chair of the national Conservative caucus, Hon. Keith Martin, Official Opposition Critic for Foreign Affairs and other Members of Parliament as well as representatives from the NGO community. CFS wanted to address the challenges that Somalis face within their nation. Attendees assembled on Parliament Hill to call the Canadian government to increase its aid to the region and reassess its approach to the nation. The four actionable recommendations stressed include the implementation of an effective national policy framework for Somalia, and the appointment of a special Canadian envoy for Somalia.

### **The Challenges and Opportunities of Nation Building in Somalia:**

To host this conference, CFS collaborated with Partnership Africa Canada (PAC), SomCan Institute for Research and Development and Centre for Developing-Area Studies McGill University, who have been advocating for the timely direct intervention and support of the Canadian government in Somalia over the past several years.

## Conference Objectives

### **Challenges and Opportunities of Nation Building in Somalia Conference had three objectives:**

1. to update the current crisis in Somalia among the Canadian Government, Diplomatic Corps, NGOs, and the Canadian Public.
2. to discuss the strategic role that the Canadian government, International Community, International NGOs, and Somali can play in the stabilization of Somalia.
3. to share the recommendations of this conference with the Canadian Government, new Somali authorities and the international community.



# Speaking Notes



The Ret. Honourable Joe Clark, Former Canadian Prime Minister

### **Is Africa Falling off Canada's Foreign Policy Agenda? What Does Canada's Policy Towards Africa Mean for Nation Building in Somalia?**

This presentation explores two topics, relating to Canada's role in Africa and the developing world and to Somalis in Canada and their constructive role in the Somalia conflict. Several facts about the Somali diaspora in Canada stand out. It is large, with a conservative figure of 20,000 people in Toronto alone. Its size, along with its active leaders, demonstrates its potential to have an important influence in Somalia and on public opinion in both Canada and the wider world.

Somalis in Canada are also divided. Should these divisions come to define the diaspora, it would greatly limit its potential influence. These divisions likely originated in Somalia and are further exasperated by the distance from the actual conflict. The Somali diaspora is also newer and younger in comparison to diasporas more well-connected to their cultures of origin. As Canadians, Somalis are united in their understanding of the need for peace and order in Somalia in any rebuilding efforts. Their contributions include money sent to immediate and extended family members for food, education, and shelter.

In spite of divisions within the diaspora, leaders are making great efforts to reach out to Canadian allies and to encourage moderation within the diaspora. Somalis need help from other Canadians and to identify means of working with other Canadians to encourage peace in Somalia. In the strong history of African organisations in Canada, it is apparent that government facilitation and individual contributions work better in places where there is order. Somalia is part of a tide of crises that show no sign of improvement. Somalis can look to these comparable situations to learn how to apply these contributions most effectively.

In Canada, it is unrealistic to expect any substantial new commitments from the Canadian government. Canada's available public resources are already stretched and there is a lack of public pressure among Canadians to become involved with Somalia. While there is also good news about Africa, particularly from those countries which have high economic growth and foreign investment, Somalia is unfortunately not among those countries.

While some countries have maintained aid to Africa as a high priority, Canada is not among them. And while spending on defence is planned to increase over the next few years, foreign aid is expected to fall slightly in terms of dollars spent. Canada's disengagement from Africa is particularly striking under the current Harper government.

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There are three questions we must ask. The first being, what other countries will engage in Africa if Canada won't? Another way of putting that is: as a matter of public policy, does the developed world simply turn away from the most troubled continent?

The second question is: what special attributes does Canada bring to Africa? We have earned respect as a partner in Africa, and generally carry the advantage of not being seen as seeking to impose our views and values on other countries.

The third question is: if there is not much immediate prospect of the government acting, what more might interested Canadian citizens do to make a more compelling case for engagement in Africa? The Somali diaspora can help in answering these three questions.



Ali Jama Jangeli, Somali Foreign Minister

### **Political Situation in Somalia: Role of TFG**

The political situation in Somalia has been one of conflict for close to two decades. An entire generation has never seen a fully functional state, having been either too young to remember such a state or been born after the collapse. In order to bring back some semblance of order and a functioning state, the international community decided to try something new in bringing together community leaders and diaspora leaders. Thus the Transitional Federal Government was born. Since coming into power, the TFG has been rife with problems. The TFG was not formed out of a single policy, but from a conglomeration of different ideas and goals. The extent of its power was most powerfully contested by the ICU which routed the warlords and took control of Mogadishu. The ICU was in mood for compromise. Instead, it sought expansion and threatened peace in North Eastern Ethiopia. When it tried to finish off what was left of the TFG, Kenyan troops came to the TFG's defence. The government moved to Mogadishu, while the ICU formed a loose alliance, called the Alliance for the Re-Liberation of Somalia, or the A.R.S., which still continues today.

The TFG is coming to the end of its mandate and has identified five priorities for Somalia. The first involves the political process. The TFG became involved in a national reconciliation process in 2007, a process that needs to be broadened and deepened. Following government implementation, the Special Representative of the Secretary General (SRSG) has been acting as a facilitator in ongoing talks that are close to conclusion. It is important to note in this political process that there can be no reconciliation without peace and no peace without reconciliation. The second priority is security. Security and peace are intertwined and the TFG is hopeful that activities within the Security Council will lead to peace.

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Somalia also needs to have functioning institutions. These institutions need to be revived or built from scratch. The process of institution building needs support from not only Somalis but the world. These fragile institutions will need time and enormous efforts in order to function fully in Somalia, but luckily that process has begun with the most important institutions. The fourth priority that needs attention is the humanitarian aid that comes from all parts of the world. With hostage takings and road blocks, it is important for all involved to show determination in their efforts and for governments to agree to improve the coordination of humanitarian efforts. Last of all, there needs to be a road map to democratic governance. The charter in 2004 stipulated elections should take place in 2009, but a document outlining the transition of institutions needs to be created by 2009. Attempts at a draft will take place in the coming months, along with submission to the people. However, this process requires input from Somalis in the form of a referendum or by government input. Without a constitution, the political process cannot continue as it has. Somalis need the option to change their own leaders in the future.

The reconciliation process, related to the first priority identified above, can lead to a political agreement and to the creation of a roadmap to democratic governance. The TFG is hopeful that a UN force will be deployed, a necessary safeguard for elections to take place. These priorities must be at an acceptable level before elections can take place. The piecemeal approach to these priorities is not working however, with efforts concentrating separately on terrorism, regional security and humanitarianism. Instead a holistic and strategic approach is needed. The Secretary General has proposed a strategic approach to peace and security which is mutually reinforcing. The report, presented to the UN Security Council, also proposed relocating the UN security office for Somalia to Mogadishu.

These goals can be reached with the help of the Security Council and with renewed interest by the international community. It is time for the government, the community and the diaspora to make difficult decisions while looking to the future and not the past. With such a large community of Somalis, Canada acts as an important link between the rest of the world and Somalis. It is important that divisions within the Somalis are reconciled as well in order for the reconciliation back in Somalia to be meaningful.

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Idil M. Salah (Ladane)

### **The Human Security and Development Situation in Somalia: Update and Options for Action**

The purpose of this presentation is to provide an update on the human security situation in Somalia and to contribute to the discussion of nation-state building by providing recommendations.

*Background on Somalia:* Somalia is one of the least underdeveloped countries in the world. It is located in the Horn of Africa region and covers a total area of 637, 540 square kilometres, with a 3,000 km coastline. Its borders are shared with Ethiopia to the West, Kenya to the South and Djibouti in the North-West. The Indian Ocean is to the East and the Gulf of Aden is in the North-East. Somalia is one of the most homogeneous societies in Africa with a population of 10 to 11 million. The dominant language spoken is Somali, while the Sunni version of Islam is the main religion. The social structure in Somalia divides Somalis into at least four major clans: the Hawiye, the Darood, the Digil and Mirifle, and the Dir, with a number of smaller clans throughout the country.

Nation-state building entails the stabilization of a collapsed state such as Somalia and the rebuilding of the country by finding a suitable political and economic solution in order to offer real choices to the people.

*Human security and human development: the impact of the war:* Basic human security, according to the Human Security Report, “is about freedom from fear of violence as well as the freedom from actual violence” (Human Security Report, 2005:54). In the human development context, the UNDP report refers to health, employment, a lack of violence, and freedom of expression, in a bid to illustrate the human security “is a concern with human life and dignity” (UNDP report, 1994). Human security is a serious concern in Somalia since the central state collapsed in 1991 and the country was plunged into anarchy. With no rule of law, no security and no respect for human rights, the situation calls for cautious and challenging analysis. While it is very difficult to find reliable data in order to measure the death toll, the injured, the displaced and the extent of environmental and infrastructural damage, it can be said that the Somalia civil war is one of Africa’s most deadliest and destructive wars. The human suffering throughout 1988-1989, 1991-1993, 2005-2006, and 2006-present, is estimated at 300,000-400,000 deaths in 1991-1993 (Jackson, 2006:18) and over 7,000 deaths since 2005 and 500,000 displaced. Disputes between Puntland and Somaliland have produced over 50,000 additional refugees

The majority of victims in the civil war today are women and children. Numbers for internally displaced persons are estimated at 1.5 million, while 2.5 million are estimated to be facing hunger due to food shortages. The different militias in Somalia perpetrate crimes of violence and of sexual violence, mainly in the south, in an effort to humiliate and demoralize the civilian population, yet women are still very much the heroes and the hope in the war. A later presentation will address the role of Somali women in the conflict.

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The impact of the civil war on the most vulnerable citizens of Somalia can be further seen in the lost generation of Somali youth and children. Human Development Reports from 1998 and 2001 ranked Somalia lowest for all human development indicators. Figures for the infant mortality rate, the fewer than five mortality rate, the maternal mortality rate are all alarming, along with primary school enrolment and adult literacy figures. The recruitment of child soldiers is another phenomena present not only in Somalia, but throughout Africa, where “wars are characterized by the large number of child soldiers employed by many government and rebel groups,” with more than 120,000 in Africa (Jackson in Furley et. Al., 2006: 17). The recruitment of child soldiers is perpetuated by youth unemployment, abduction, indoctrination, and the availability of cheap, easy to use and light weapons according to the Human Security Report (Human Security Report, 2005: 35). While data on Somali child soldiers is not available, UNICEF has witnessed and documented situations where children were forced out of schools to join the Islamic Courts Union militia, according to UNICEF’s representative in Somalia, Christian Balslev-Olesen, in 2006.

The environment has also suffered physical damage caused by the accumulation of local garbage including plastic waste, which constitute a health hazard to humans, animals and plant life. Anti-personal landmines have also hurt the environment, along with deteriorating infrastructure and the accumulation of toxic waste in the waters. The oceans have been illegally over-fished and the charcoal trade with the Middle East has led to deforestation.

*Food Security:* According to the Food and Agriculture Organisation in 1996, “food security exists when all people, at all times, have physical and economic access to sufficient, safe and nutritious food to meet their dietary needs and food preferences for an active and healthy life” (Food and Agriculture Organization, 1996). The Economic, Social & Cultural Council of the Africa Union (ECOSSOC) concedes that “the principle that everyone has a right to adequate food, to be free from hunger, and to enjoy general human dignity” is enshrined in the International Bill of Human Rights (ECOSSOC, 1999, as cited by the UN Millennium Project, 2005: 206).

Somalia is considered a “food-deficit” country during good seasons. The deadly conflict in southern Somalia undermines the humanitarian efforts trying to counter food shortages. The 2006-2007 drought had serious consequences. Soaring food prices were caused not only by the increase of the world’s oil and gas prices, but also by fake notes printed by greedy businessmen which flowed into local markets. In 1990, \$1 US cost around 903 Somali shillings. In 2001, the cost rose to 14,000 shillings and currently the cost is around 25,000 shillings per \$1 US. This inflation is devastating to a country with severe unemployment and poverty.

The Food and Agriculture Organisation (FAO) estimates that 1.5 million people are in need of assistance and protection, an increase of 50 percent since the start of 2007 (OCHA Somalia). In February 2006, the International Red Cross launched an emergency operation targeting close to one million people with food, seeds, household items, water, sanitation projects and livestock support. The World Food Program assisted 1.47 million people in Somalia during the severe drought in 2006, providing 78,000 metric tons of food, almost three times the amount distributed in 2005. In 2006-2007, the ICRC and the Somali Red Crescent provided over 300,000 people with food, while delivering half a million litres of water a day to around 180,000 people and renovating 123 water supply systems in drought affected areas.

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*Violence and the proliferation of weapons:* In 2003, a study conducted by the European Commission estimated that 64percent of Somalis possessed one or more weapons. The availability of weapons to civilians can be traced back to the Cold War, when in the 1970's the Soviets supplied the Somali army with tanks, armoured vehicles, artillery, small arms, support vehicles, fighter planes, and land mines, worth almost \$500 million (McGrath et. al, 1993: 13). Between 1982 and 1989, Siad Barre's government received \$550 million worth of arms from the United States, while Italy was the single largest arms supplier between 1979 and 1983, providing 600 tanks in 1983 alone (Lefebvre, 1999 in McGrath et. al., 1993: 15).

Personal landmines, cheap and easy to plant, are costly to remove. According to McGrath and colleagues (1993), "almost every mine-manufacturer in the world has its product somewhere in Somalia waiting to claim a victim...such as the Soviet PMN, the American M14 and the Pakistani P4 MK2" (McGrath et. al, 1993: 4).

Today, Mogadishu continues to have the biggest open market for weapons in the country. Over 300,000 militia in and around Mogadishu continue to perpetuate an unsafe environment for society. The physical violations and abuse of human rights in Mogadishu over the past seventeen years have had unbearable implications on the rest of the country. At the peak of the civil war in 1991-1992, thousands of civilians from Mogadishu and surrounding areas were killed and thousands more were uprooted. The current violence in Mogadishu has displaced at least 173,000 to 400,000, with the death toll estimate at over 1,000 people in 2007; it is impossible to measure the destruction to property.

The United Nations High Commission for Refugees estimates 1,200 Somali refugees arrive daily in Kenya, with greater numbers seeking refuge in other countries such as Yemen. This flow of displaced persons has created insecurity in other regions.

*Freedom of movement for refugees and humanitarian aid:* After the collapse of the state, organised young men began kidnapping tankers, fishing vehicles and both commercial ships and ships that carried humanitarian relief in Somalia's coastal areas. Somalia's waters are considered some of the most dangerous in the world, with the estimated kidnapping of over 25 ships in 2006 and 2007. These kidnappings further impede humanitarian agencies trying to deliver food aid in a timely manner. According to Edmund Sanders' description of "the kind of hit-and-run humanitarianism that international relief groups must resort to in this chaotic and lawless Horn of Africa nation," pirate attacks led the World Food Program to request foreign naval aid for the first time in its history in order to continue deliveries to nearly 1.2 million people in Somalia. (WFP, 2007).

Refugees seeking passage through the Red Sea risk succumbing to drowning, as "the tragic incidents of people crossing the Gulf of Eden have increased" (UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs or OCHA, November 2007). In 2007, Jemini Pandya, the spokeswoman for the International Organization for Migration, estimates that more than 1,221 Somalis drowned in the sea during illegal journeys from Bosasso in Somalia's Puntland to Yemen (IOM press release, 2007).

*Positive developments in the midst of the human security crisis:* Progress as noted by the

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UN Development Projects, the World Bank, the CIA, and the World Health Organization includes improvements in the social development sector. Life expectancy at birth has increased from 46 to 48.5, as the number of infants fully immunized against measles also rose from 30 to 40 percent. The number of health physicians per 100,000 of the population has increased from 3.4 to 3 and the number of infants with low birth weight fell from 16 per 1,000 to 0.3, almost none. The infant mortality rate per 1,000 births also fell from 152 to 114.9. Furthermore, the percentage of the population with access to at least one health facility rose from 28 to 54.8 percent, while the percentage of the population in extreme poverty fell from 60 to 43.2 percent.

Education in public and private schools has been revived by international organizations and by local communities. The Community Education Committee has been set up in 89 percent of the schools across the country with 23 percent of its members as women (UNICEF: 8). Today, communities own more than half of the 1,105 operational schools in the country and manage 46 percent of them, with the remaining schools owned and managed by local authorities and by private individuals (UNICEF: 9). Collaboration with communities has helped local organisations and professions establish and run at least four major successful universities, Amoud, Hargaisa, Mogadishu and East Africa in Bosaso.

Economic development has been helped by the private sectors, with the modest improvement in Somalia's economy. The communication services sector provides service from nine private operators to over 160,000 fixed and mobile subscribers in almost every province and town, an improvement from the 17,000 lines provided by the Somali government network services before the civil war (World Bank report, 2006: 61). Radios for every thousand persons rose from 4 to 98.5, while telephones per thousand persons rose from 1.9 to 14.9 and televisions from 1.2 to 3.7 (Leeson, cited by MacCallum, 2007).

Without the financial generosity of the communities, Somalia's human security situation would have been far more devastating. In 2004, remittance and money transfers accounted for at least \$825 million US, or roughly 65 percent of the GNP (World Bank, 2006).

*Remedies to the human security dilemma:* Positive developments at the political front are encouraging. The TFG is attempting to bring back peace to Somalia by initiating dialogue with the opposition forces, while there are also indications of stronger participation by the civil society in peace negotiations. The active role of the media is also encouraging, although the credibility of the information is often questionable. Increasingly significant influence from the community and more commitment from the international community in Somalia's nation-building are also important steps toward peace-building and reconciliation. The fact that Somali society has failed to overcome its deep-rooted clan-oriented divisions and distrust is the fault of politicians, religious, groups, elders, elites, business, and of the civil society as a group. There is a common mindset that Somalia needs to solve its own problems through negotiation amongst the different players in society. The emergence of the Somali Islamic Courts has further contributed to the fear that failed states like Somalia will nurture terrorist organisations. Proxy wars between Ethiopia and Eritrea, and international influences have further complicated the process. However, a third party intervention is a must.

In order to improve the deteriorating human security situation, humanitarian assistance to

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the victims of the deadly conflict in the south, particularly in Mogadishu, is necessary. The cessation of deadly attacks is fundamental to allow any peace dialogue and nation-state building. Ethiopian troops should be replaced as soon as possible with a broader multilateral peacekeeping mission; otherwise, Somalia risks falling back into anarchy. Both the TFG and international agencies need to consider emerging local governance and the vibrant civil society in the peace and reconciliation process. The international community's efforts in humanitarian aid, peace dialogue, peacekeeping and development assistance are critical to Somalia's nation-building and should be harmonized and coordinated. As such, programs should integrate peace-building efforts and development with a human rights perspective kept in mind.

The rebuilding of Somalia has been going on for the past 17 years and has gone through different stages. For the sake of the suffering Somalis, it is time that these endeavours prevail. Peace from within is the solution.



Ahmedou Ould-Abdallah (UN Special Envoy to Somalia)

### The Role of International Community in Nation Building in Somalia

Meeting for talks in Djibouti, the UN Special Envoy to Somalia Ahmedou Ould-Abdallah invited the Somali to understand and support what will happen at these talks in Djibouti. It is important that diaspora be on board for peace. As his compatriots join him Djibouti to hold a conference for peace in Somalia, dignified and respectful dialogue is taking place. They are committed to sovereignty and to peace. The way to settle disputes is by discussion and to resolve to resolve tensions peacefully. The past seventeen years have damaged Somalia's reputation. Somalis need to gain confidence in their attempts at a ceasefire. The international community can help with this confidence by providing peacekeepers and extending troops. Meanwhile, Somalia can ask for the confidence of the international community by ensuring humanitarian access to their people and by addressing impunity with a truth and reconciliation commission. This will demonstrate their commitment and their ability to take charge of their conflict.

It is important that Somalis cooperate with one another and that the international community cooperates with one another. The EU, US, Canada and the AU can all work closely with international organisations. For the sake of stability, Somalis must make peace with their enemies and show their support for peace agreements. There will always be disagreements, but differences must be put aside to reach a minimum peace agreement on a few points in order to work towards the reconstruction of Somalia.



## Challenges and Opportunities of Nation Building in Somalia



**James Swan**, US Deputy Assistant Secretary for African Affairs  
**US Policy for Somalia**

While there are challenges in the implementation of humanitarian assistance, reform and dialogue in the Somali conflict, these elements are important in order to reach out to the international community while isolating terrorist elements within Somalia. As part of a comprehensive strategy to improve governance, Somalis and their government need to work together to overcome these challenges and bring about reconciliation. The Somali government faces challenges in representing all Somalis in their political dialogue. It is important that the diaspora participates seriously in any talks and that Somalis reach a consensus on critical tasks.

This increased political dialogue will lead to improved government capacity in other sectors of nation-building, such as economic. With dialogue and the inclusion of voices within the diaspora, such reconciliation will help in isolating and marginalising terrorists which currently have a safe haven within Somalia. The immediate need for reconciliation, security and a humanitarian response has led to a US contribution of food and healthcare aid. However, it is up to the Somalis to ensure safe access to this aid, by streamlining communications between their government and the aid agencies.

In light of these challenges, the US provides their perspective on three priorities at hand in Somalia's nation-building. In order to rebuild Somalia, national institutions must be built in a climate of justice and security. First, inclusive political dialogue must be encouraged in order to strengthen the charter and to initiate elections in 2009, isolating extremist elements in Somalia. Second, support must be provided to the Somali community, either in the form of contributions to UN led programs, or in the form of assistance to further the government capacity. The third priority is to ensure that all deployments in the region help to stabilize the country. These objectives reflect a consensus among international and regional leaders.

In matters of security, the AU has displayed an admirable performance in its deployment of troops. Since 2006, the US has contributed \$6 million to AU states and it is up to the Somalia to encourage further development. The UN Security Council continues to encourage peacekeeping forces and, with a well-defined mandate, can move quickly. It is important to continue to engage Somaliland in dialogue, although its recognition is a matter for both the region and for the AU. Dialogue will encourage economic and political development vital to the region.

The US will continue to work with Somalis and the international community in order to address concerns over loss of life, human rights violations, the need to apply a concerted effort in order to achieve tangible process according to the timeline, and to encourage and support dialogue between the groups involved.

## Challenges and Opportunities of Nation Building in Somalia



**David Angell**, Director General of the Africa Bureau for Foreign Affairs and International Trade Canada  
**Canadian Foreign Policy towards Somalia**

Somalia emerged in the post-colonial period with good prospects for unity and development, and better positioned than many other new African countries confronted by serious challenges.

Failures in democratic governance, internal clan and sectarian conflict, poor management of regional relations, recurrent problems of drought and food insecurity, and deficient long term development planning and support led to the breakdown of a functioning national government by 1991 and a long period of internal conflict and of increasing humanitarian challenges. The failure of the UN operation in Somalia in 1992/93, in which Canada participated, seemed to doom Somalia to an even darker fate. The situation in Somalia has been prolonged and dramatic.

The goal for Somalia is to overcome these challenges and to return to a fully functioning, viable and peaceful state. This is the challenge to all Somalis, wherever they live, and for the international community. This is why this conference, sponsored by a prominent Canadian Somali organization, is so important. It brings members of the Canadian Somali community together with Canadian, UN and other international officials, NGOs and other interest groups to consider how to move forward.

The recent news from Somalia is worrisome, with high levels of conflict prevailing, particularly in Mogadishu, between the Transitional Federal Government and Ethiopian forces and the Islamic opposition. The targeting of civilians and reports of human rights violations by all parties are of great concern. The humanitarian situation in Somalia has deteriorated to the point where the UN reports it to be the worst in the world with nearly 2.6 million people (35% of the population) in need of assistance. As a result, many Somalis are trying to find better prospects - often by attempting dangerous outward migration.

But there is reason now to be more hopeful about prospects for Somalia. Greater and more focussed support of the international community, including the key coordinating roles of the UN and the AU, will be crucial for progress in Somalia. Through the mediation of the sub-regional organization, the Inter-Governmental Authority on Development (IGAD), supported by the United Nations and the African Union, the past two years has seen a time-bound Transitional Federal Government emerge and a National Reconciliation Conference held.

## Challenges and Opportunities of Nation Building in Somalia

This renewed consensual commitment to political reconciliation on the part of the TFG led by President Yusuf and Prime Minister Nur Hassan Hussein, is welcome positive developments also include preparation by the TFG of an integrated plan of action that could provide the basis for a viable political road map for Somalia, renewed diplomatic initiatives centred on the new Special Representative of the UN Secretary-General for Somalia (SRSG), Ahmedou Ould Abdallah and a new African Union Special Representative for Somalia, Nicolas Bwakira, and approval by the UN Security Council of the mandate for an African Union Mission in Somalia (AMISOM) - notwithstanding the fact that AMISOM's implementation has, unfortunately, been slow and incomplete. Now, there is a possibility that the UN Security Council will consider a UN peace-keeping mission to succeed AMISOM, which could help improve the difficult security situation, and facilitate the withdrawal of Ethiopian troops.

The Hon. Maxime Bernier, Minister of Foreign Affairs, reaffirmed Canada's concern in a statement on February 1 with regard to the humanitarian and security situation in Somalia. This statement points both to the difficulties and immutability of the Somalia situation and to consistent Canadian policy engagement despite the changing circumstances and past set-backs. The key elements of the statement are as follows:

First, Canada is engaged in international diplomatic efforts to bring peace and assistance to Somalia and supports the efforts of the UN in Somalia as enunciated in Security Council resolutions and as coordinated by the SRSG. The efforts of the African Union are very significant and must be strengthened at all levels, along with those of the Arab League, as Somalia holds membership to both. Canada also participates in the work of the International Contact Group on Somalia (ICG), which acknowledges improvements to the political, peace and security, and humanitarian situations.

Second, the current efforts for political reconciliation through inclusive dialogue between the TFG and the opposition initiated under the auspices of the SRSG in Djibouti in mid-May have the full support of Canada and the international community. The TFG action plan in preparation for a democratic transformation through elections, as provided for in the Transitional Federal Charter, is essential. Canada will continue to look for ways of giving support to this transformational political process.

Third, respect for human rights is an essential component in advancing matters in Somalia. Canada is supportive of many areas of improvement including remedial measures including the ongoing work of the Independent Expert on Somalia reporting to the Human Rights Council, as well as women's rights and media freedom, both essential to good governance. Of particular importance is the role of media freedom and the protection of journalists in Somalia. The death of the owner of Horn Afrik - a Canadian Somali, Ali Sharmarke - last August was most unfortunate and the efforts of the current Minister of Information, who was Mr. Sharmarke's partner, to improve conditions for media actors in Somalia has Canada's support. Canada also maintains a fund for local initiatives in Somalia that supports various organizations on the ground, especially in the development of human rights in Somalia including those of women, press freedom, and the role of civil society.

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Fourth, the humanitarian situation in Somalia has been declared by the UN to be one of the most serious in the world. Since December 2006, Canada has provided nearly \$23 million for needs-based food and non-food humanitarian assistance for Somalis, through UN agencies, the ICRC and Canadian NGOs. This includes \$13 million for emergency food aid through the World Food Programme. Reports that the number of people in need of assistance could reach 3.5 million, or half the population, by the end of the year are concerning. Cereal prices have increased by 110-375% to record levels and drought is deepening after a harsh dry season, all of which adds up to a tremendous food security challenge. Massive displacement as a result of fighting in Mogadishu and other areas compounds these challenges. With all this in mind, the targeting of humanitarian aid workers who are there to assist those most in need is unacceptable. Reports of extortion at roadblocks, looting of aid supplies and indiscriminate use of force resulting in civilian deaths are most troublesome. International humanitarian law must be respected. The reports of serious human rights violations by all parties in the conflict and the culture of impunity are also unacceptable. All parties are urged to ensure that aid workers have full, safe and unhindered access to affected populations. Canada supports a TFG focal point for the humanitarian situation, along with the International Contact Group, and urges the TFG and other parties to work with the UN, donors and NGOs to immediately establish a mechanism to address humanitarian access.

Fifth, the peace and security dimension is paramount in Somalia. Canada favours the full and effective deployment of AMISOM and commends troop contributing countries such as Uganda and Burundi. Given involvements in other areas, most notably in Afghanistan and Sudan, Canada is not able, at this time, to contribute to AMISOM, but such commitments are under constant review.

Sixth, and finally, piracy off the Somali coast is also of great and growing concern. Canada supports efforts in the UN Security Council to give broader authority for intervention against piracy with the consent of the TFG.

Through the engagement of the large Somali Canadian community and encouragement of ongoing collaboration of international efforts, Canada hopes to help Somalis build a better future for their homeland.

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Ambassador Howard Wolpe (W. Wilson Centre in Washington)

### The Post-Conflict Process

The peace-building process is missing the human dimension in the mindset of key leaders within all sectors of society. Without a sense of communal interest in the peace-building process, disillusionment seldom leads to sustainable results. Four emerging challenges must be overcome for peace to be achieved.

In a divided society, people operate on a zero-sum mentality, with no interest in the interconnected links between members of society. Survival or success comes at the stake of the opposition. There is no recognition of interdependence or of the value of collaboration. This mindset must be transformed to an enlightened self-interest in order to satisfy the interests of all parties involved.

The fractured trust among key leaders must be rebuilt. The relationships between these key leaders are vital to ensuring the confidence of all sides in the agreements negotiated between the parties and they must be rebuilt.

There must be a consensus on the rules of the game. Important processes such as decision-making and power-sharing are subject to the agreement of all the players involved in order to allow for the proper organisation of post-conflict processes.

Negotiation and communication skills of leaders must be established. With such a lack of real listening, it is inevitable that the peace-building process will be stymied by more confrontation and not progress.

Examples in alternative approaches to peace-building can be seen in cases such as Burundi, a central African nation in the Great Lakes region. It is one of the most polarized societies in the world in ethnic conflict, experiencing genocide in the 1970's. Wolpe assisted in the experiment in Burundi for an in which one hundred leaders of society were targeted for leadership training. While half were political leaders, from the government or from rebels, the other half were from the civil society, members of NGO's , women's groups, or religious leaders. Their society faced challenges in the form of cleavages that led to the manipulation of ethnic ties and a gap between the political elite and the people in the rest of society. This long term process in rebuilding a common vision has since involved military leaders and has led to an expansion in training. Through a series of workshops with trainers in conflict transformation, the collaborative capacity of the society's leaders were built inspiring greater cohesion in the society and the state-building process in Burundi. The key to this post-conflict process is building a foundation of collaborative techniques between all the players.

## Challenges and Opportunities of Nation Building in Somalia

### Panel #1: Making a Difference in the World: Canada Can Do Better for Somalia

Panel Chair: **Bernard Taylor**, Executive Director



Borys Wrzesnewskyj

#### **Canadian Constituency and the Canadian Friends of Somalia in Nation Building**

Somalis in Canada are making a positive difference in the Somali conflict, highlighting the few degrees of separation between Canada and Somalia. The Canadian government, however, has revised its foreign aid policy to focus more on Latin America rather than Africa.

Canada can extend a hand of friendship and offer resources to make a difference in the process of reconciliation. Canada has a track record of patient diplomacy and multilateral talks. By naming an ambassador and providing resources to engage in the process of reconciliation, Canada can bring its experience of federalism to Somalia's process of nation-building.

Canada can also offer other expertise. Experience in the coast guard service can lend to securing the Somali coastline. In public administration, Canada can help establish the necessary relationships between local administrative structures and the national offices. To kick-start this process of nation-building, Canada can announce a donor's conference for contributions of expertise in these areas of nation-building. This expertise would be the most valuable direct resource for Somalia. Until now, there have been virtually no direct resources going into Somalia. Canadian politicians speak with empty actions. One can only hope that Canada will engage with the political will to act in the Somali conflict. Perhaps one day, children in Somalia will enjoy the same opportunities as the children in the Somali in Canada.



Prof. Lee Cassanelli

#### **Role of Somali Diaspora**

In outlining a suggested role for the Somali, this presentation also highlights the challenge to the diaspora in ensuring the continuing support and contributions of the next generation of the, such as the flow of revenue. There is particularly vital to Somalia because foreign travel and emigration has led to a lack of a home grown movement.

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Somalis can empower themselves in taking the lead in initiatives in building reconciliation within both the diaspora and the homeland. However, three obstacles remain in mobilizing the diaspora.

The first is the Somali political culture. The relationship of power-sharing impedes problem-solving. An institutional system should be put in place with problem-solving teams and those with skills can be mobilized. The second obstacle is the visualization of ideas. Too often attention is diverted to figures behind the ideas rather than to the ideas themselves and their usefulness. The third obstacle lies with the focus on personalities as the key to good government when the focus should be on the institutions that are being built. Everyone in the community should focus on security as a development that everyone in the community can benefit from. Without security, it is extremely difficult to build proper and enduring institutions.

Those members of the Somali with particular professional experiences ought to be encouraged. Three suggestions to do so include both government and non-governmental groups, business members, and religious or civil groups. First, the government, along with NGO's, must explore ways of employing Somali engineers and professionals for projects back in Somalia. This will integrate foreign with domestic support.

Secondly, Somali businesses have been able to start despite the uncertain climate in Somalia. By having conferences around specific problems, such as creating a business climate or delivering health care, they will be able to lead the way and gain assistance for projects based on their own needs and on those of Somalis. Within the diaspora, as Somali professionals communicate, they can create teams and projects to take small concrete steps towards development. Lastly, it is important to include Islamic organisations in planning. Especially since 9/11, working with other groups is important to reaching goals. Cooperation with other groups can lead to the achievement of educational goals, thinking development and to the creation of more space for women's initiatives.

The diaspora should be asking themselves how the revenue flow to Somalia will continue with the newer generation and what percentage of the new generation will be returning home to help rebuild the country. As well, they can ask themselves what they can do in the absence of an effective government. With the government taking a backseat, professionals can tackle the issues beyond politics, such as the issue of creating a regional economy. Yet they still face the greatest challenge of politics getting in the way of progress.

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Nimao Ali

### **The Role of Somali Women in Peace-Building and Development**

This presentation discusses the role that Somali women play in their society. It describes the changes that have taken place because of the war and the triumphs and challenges that Somali women endured in that role.

Before the civil war, there was a significant lack of pressure on Somali women of what to do aside from seeing to the proper education and nurturing of their children. Seen as mothers, wives, sisters, and daughters, Somali women either worked or stayed at home. After the civil war, Somali women in Somalia took initiative in areas concerning aid and humanitarian work. They established NGO's and became organized in order to help the community and to assert themselves in social and political ways.

Successful female activists in Somalia include Hawa Aden Mohamed who worked to improve the quality of life for Somali women and girls and received the 2008 Roger N. Baldwin Medal of Liberty Award in New York. Farhiyo Farah Ibrahim, a young Somali woman in a refugee camp in Kenya, worked tirelessly on behalf of women, girls, and refugees to campaign against practices like female genital mutilation and violence against women. She was among the recipients honoured at the International Women of Courage Awards in Washington, D.C. Fatima Jaba Jibril won the 2002 Goldman Environmental Prize, the world's largest award for grassroots environmentalists. Along with the environment, she is also pursuing change with parenting and education programs, to promote health, nutrition, education, and women's rights awareness.

In developed nations, the first generation of Somalis abroad is benefiting from education and health opportunities, and from immigration and settlement programs. Women such as Shoon Omar, Sahra Habane, Sadia Nuh, and Shukri D'Jama in Ottawa, Canada, are ensuring a vibrant community that is being built by the youth and the younger generation in Ottawa.

At the heart, Somali women are peace promoters, educators, and providers of security. Somali women have the potential to promote peace by promoting dialogue at conferences and in the media. They are able to mobilize, organize and encourage men to reconcile. They act as mediators in conflicts between the men in their family, in their clans, in civil disputes and in their communities. Somali women use education to promote the importance of peace among the family, the community and the country. They promote and initiate projects in health and education and provide a supportive network for other women. Somali women have organized themselves to provide security in their day-to-day lives. They have held demonstrations to promote a stable peace and provide financial support when they have the means.

Today, Somali women are the main caregivers of children. They are the backbone of the family and install morals, culture, heritage and values in their communities. They strive to better



## Challenges and Opportunities of Nation Building in Somalia

their family's situation, in some cases, providing for their families financially. Yet today, Somali women face many challenges abroad, as new immigrants or as established citizens. New immigrant Somali women carry with them the recent memory of the war in Somalia. They face language barriers and have little knowledge of Western culture. With little financial resources and services at their disposal, adapting to a new country, a new life, and a new climate all combine to challenge the new immigrant Somali woman. Most importantly, cultural barriers are a significant challenge to new immigrants in Canada.

By starting a new life in unhealthy neighbourhoods, Somali women are helpless in the seemingly insurmountable challenges and struggles presented to them. Established Somali-Canadian women face just as many challenges in their community, always feeling like a second class citizen despite supposed equal opportunities. They are torn between two worlds, between their desire for health, security, opportunities and education, and the emotional strain that ties them back home to relatives in Somalia. They are affected by issues within Somalia indirectly and directly, while they are also saddened by Canadian foreign affairs regarding Somalia.

The following recommendations based the challenges mentioned above are meant to promote progress towards peace and harmony in Somalia. Somali women must be actively involved in conflict prevention and resolution. Any initiatives, progress or decision-making must include women. Though many are not highly visible, many still play a large role at home and can help to bridge the generation gap. Somali women deserve to be made a part of peace-seeking delegations in any part of Somalia. Skilled Somali women especially should be encouraged to fill the gaps and women's programs should be supported.

In conclusion, this is one world and one family. Canada must act as a friend to Somalis in their struggle for peace. The Canadian government must take an active role in Somalia with peace-keeping and humanitarian needs.



Prof. Mohamed S. Togane

### **Somali Poetry reading**

Professor Mohamud Siad Togane is a Somali poet currently residing in Quebec. His polemical poems address political and social issues affecting Africans. At the conference, Prof. Togane read his poem "The Prayer of the Aussie Aid Worker." His speech primarily addressed the falsity of aid. His main concerns were that aid organisations and aid workers turned African problems into permanent problems. By acting as agents of subversion, conflict is perpetuated while foreign aid workers live off Somalis. Quoting Nixon, Togane pointed out that aid in reality is not for the benefit of Somalis and their development, but for the benefit of the contributing nation. African problems are problems that only Africans themselves can solve and Togane urges Somalis to help themselves with this realisation.

## Challenges and Opportunities of Nation Building in Somalia

PANEL #2: Federalism, Development and Global Security

Panel Chair: Idil Salah



Dr. Aristide Nononsi

**Engaging With Somalia: Challenges and Opportunities of Nation Building in Somalia and how the international community can contribute to Somalia's nation-building process: the need for long term stability**

When addressing the challenges and opportunities of nation-building in Somalia, there are four issues the international community must keep in mind. The first issue addresses the characteristics of collapsed states or fragile states, the second deals with how development is vital for nation building, the third addresses the need for support of nation building in Somalia, and the fourth issue is the role of the international community and of Canada in Somalia's nation-building process.

### Issue one : What are the characteristics of collapsed states or fragile states

States are fragile when governments are unable to deliver basic social services, to protect people from internal and external threats, and to provide institutions that respond to the legitimate demands and needs of the population. Its effect may reach beyond national boundaries and can lead to devastating humanitarian crises and untold human miseries. There is no agreed global list of collapsed or fragile states, even though there is a consensus on some clear-cut example. All states are fragile in some respects and states move in fragility (Moreno Torres).

There is also disagreement about what constitutes fragility and no states like to be labelled as fragile or collapsed by the international community. However, it is widely accepted that states are collapsed when governments and state structures lack capacity and/or political will to deliver safety and security, good governance, and poverty reduction to their population. The breakdown of law and order which exposes civilians to harassment and abuse are also associated with collapsed states.

Additionally, people from collapsed states are less likely to go to school or have access to essential health care - two of the most fundamental tools for poverty reduction or poverty alleviation initiatives. As a result, none of those states are in a position to deliver core functions to the majority of its people including the poor without strong support of the international community.

## Challenges and Opportunities of Nation Building in Somalia

The solution to the problem in Somalia is in re-establishing the collapsed Somali state by promoting:

- The rule of law and human rights;
- Peace, security and stability
- Development and prosperity

Promoting the rule of law, peace security and development in this situation is challenging, especially in a conflict state like Somalia, which has been without a central government for 17 years. But denying the populations of Somalia to such services perpetuates the cycle of poverty, violence and insecurity for future generations.

### Issue two: How development is vital for nation building process

According to the fourth Global report published by the World Bank, development efforts and good economic conditions can help to halve global poverty. To that end, it is important above all to stabilize states threatened by disintegration.

Development is important for nation building process because it prevents affected countries from sliding back into conflict. Development comes hand in hand with the establishment of the rule of law, stability, and transparency in public sector governance. As we know, those are some prerequisite for sustainable development. Economic development depends on both national and foreign investment, which will only be consistent and on-going in a country where the security and legal environment are favourable, secure, simple and clear, in another words, where a set of rules allow investors to operate with a reasonable degree of serenity. Therefore, effective and sustainable economic development is not possible without good financial and trade justice, which enable the establishment of regulations in a defined area and provide individuals, investors, manufacturers and consumers with the best legal conditions for founding companies, making personal investments, and using their resources. (Abdou Diouf)

In the light of this, international engagement for development will need to be sustained and focused on providing resources for resuming development activity and building the relationship between state and society, through three main areas:

- Firstly, re-establishing the collapsed Somali state by supporting the legitimacy, human rights, civil society engagement and peace building;
- Secondly, furthering the reconciliation process; the reconciliation can only be achieved through a encourage inclusive political dialogue with a broad-based political reconciliation, a reconciliation which includes all Somali political forces that renounce violence and are ready to take part in a political process.
- Thirdly, stabilizing and providing security by strengthening the capability of Somalia to fulfil its core functions in order to reduce poverty

## Challenges and Opportunities of Nation Building in Somalia

### Issue three : Why we need to support nation building in Somalia

The problems of Somalia are closely inter-linked and the situation remains at best volatile. While conflict in Somalia has particular characteristics, there is also the cross-border and sub-regional dimension which brings about important commonalities that need to be addressed. Therefore, the regional perspective is another area that deserves our attention as we address the challenges and opportunities facing Somalia. This commitment should be made because of the importance of lasting peace and stability in Somalia to the stability in the horn of Africa and the African continent as a whole.

### Issue four : The role of the international community, and Canada in nation building process in Somalia

As mentioned earlier, international engagement will need to focus on issues such of democratic governance, human rights, civil society engagement and peace-building, and strengthening the capability of states to fulfill their core functions. Some of the priority functions include: ensuring security and justice; mobilizing revenue; establishing an enabling environment for basic service delivery, strong economic performance and employment generation.

The role of the international community is to address these challenges by supporting for example, the full and timely deployment of the African union Mission in Somalia (AMISOM) and also providing more effective assistance to Somalia in its transition from fragility, support risk countries in its effort to prevent slippages and to promote political stability and economic development. Support to these areas in a concerted and sustained manner will tremendously assist in transforming Somalia into capable states. In addition, it is important for the UN and international agencies to increase their aid and assistance to Somalia. Such an aid could be seen as a signal to the Somali people that the international community cares.

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Shawn Houlihan

### Federalism in Somalia

The Forum of Federations in 1999 was a Canadian organisation created in response to the Quebec referendum. Consisting of a network of practitioners working with academics, the organisation has expanded to include global programs in order to look at comparative experiences in the balance of unity, diversity, and shared resources. Programs have looked at Ethiopia, Sudan and Nigeria, as well as all the federations of the world. No longer strictly a Canadian organisation, it now also includes global partners such as Mexico, India and Australia.

A federation generally refers to a divided sovereignty and is antithetical to elite political interests. There are roles that are shared between the sovereign spheres as well as regional roles that are solely the responsibility of one sovereign sphere. Federalism is often a necessary force which protects certain qualities of a society. It ensures that the needs of others are respected as there is more than one sovereign entity within a country. Federalism is necessary to balance the variable forces working against each other, such as the centripetal forces that bring a country together, and the centrifugal forces that pull a country apart.

Somalia can look to the six common characteristics of a federation for inspiration in its nation-building process. First, there are at least two levels of governance. It may be difficult to draw the borders to allow for the different levels of governance in Somalia. Second, there is a division of powers. Most commonly, one level of government handles matters related to the nation's defence and its foreign relations with other nations. Powers are then further distributed to the sub-national units. Third, there is a division of resources. There is much more variation in this division although resources usually tend to be more centralised with a process set in place which provides resources to the sub-state. Fourth, there must be a role for constituents in the centre. These constituents act as a counter-weight to ensure an equal system working for both the centre and for the sub-state. Fifth, there should be a referee for the constitution. Last of all, there must be effective intergovernmental relations.

The experiences of federalism have shown that there must be a vision in the consensus of nation-building, along with an ongoing process of internalisation of this consensus. There is also the issue of capacity in basic administration. There is a need for a strong centre, which remains powerful in certain areas and yet stays small enough to not exceed these limited areas. In Sudan, the civil service has been overloaded with expectations. It is important that expectations are managed so that citizens realise that services cannot be restored overnight. However, at the same time, it is important to begin training those civil servants in public administration now, so that once investment of resources begins again, the creation of institutions can quickly follow suite.

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Dr. Mohammed Osman , Educator and Former Dean of Somali National University

### The Richness and the Poorness of Somalia

Somalia is a country which has great richness and at the same time, its people have been in dire circumstances for many years. This unimaginable contrast of being rich and at the same time poor exists in Somalia. The level of development of any given society can be measured by the availability of two main basic resources without which the development of any nation cannot be achieved: its natural and human resources. Some countries may have more natural resources than human ones or vice versa. Also, there may be other countries that have both resources and are better than those with only one. However, a human resource can be more invaluable to a country as it is more dynamic. Natural resources cannot be developed alone unless human resources are engaged to tap into and develop the natural resource. With respect to this, Somalia is very rich in natural resources; yet, its human resources are ineffective. That is why, regardless of its rich natural resources, it has remained backwards for so many years.

Somalia's natural resources include:

#### 1. Agriculture:

- Report made in 1980s estimated Somali livestock as 7 million camels, 5 million cattle, 14 million sheep, 20 million goats;
- Farming: Crops like Corn, Sorghum, Rice, Sugar, Tropical fruits (banana, mango, papaya, grape fruits, lemon, guava, oil from sesame, sunflower, coconuts);
- Water resources: from rivers, rain, and underground water;
- Poultry: Chickens, Ostriches, and many other unique species of wild chickens the need to be domesticated. All poultries are good for meat and eggs;
- Forestry: Frankincense, Myrrh, and many other gums.

#### 2. Marine resources:

- Plenty of different types of fish. The Somali ocean and sea water has the best breeding environment for marine lives, that is why there are always fishing fleets from all over the world in the Somali coast;
- Salt: thousands of lagoons that is suitable for salt production. One of the best is the huge Hafun/Hurdia lagoon which once was the salt industry for the colonial government of Italy in Somalia. Please see the map of Hafun Peninsula on the map of Somalia.
- Long beautiful beaches with clean and all year round warm water in both Indian Ocean and the Gulf of Aden coasts for tourist attraction.

#### 3. Mineral resources: petroleum, copper, manganese, gypsum, iron, marble, coal, tin,

- Zinc, Uranium, and many semi and precious stones.

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### 4. Energy:

- Solar Energy: Tropical and arid land,
- Wind Energy: Plains with strong winds monsoons
- Hydroelectric Power: two rivers in the south and countless dry valleys that take strong streams of rain water directly pour to both Indian Ocean and the Gulf of Aden continuously in the two rainy seasons. These valleys catch the water from the high mountains of N. E. & N. W. regions of Somalia

### 5. Less population:

- The area of Somalia is 637,657 Sq. Km., and the population as estimated by the U. S. Dept of State in May 2008 is about 8.8 million though it may be less than that due to continuous exodus of Somali people to other countries and the high death rate. Also the strategic location of Somalia is considered resources.

Regardless of the richness of natural resources, a lack of central government has led to inefficient human resources for societal development and the impoverishment of the Somali people. But if a capable central government is re-established with appropriate political, economic, and social infrastructures, Somalia will become an ordinary nation of the world that can benefit from its natural resources and appropriately develop its country to become wealthy and well advanced.

# Closing Remarks

by **Farah Aw-Osman**

**Executive Director of Canadian Friends of Somalia**

Let me say that the Canadian Friends of Somalia and its partners are committed to the concept of Nation Building in Somalia and perhaps now more than ever. We will continue to talk about how we can move this agenda forward and how we can work to sensitize our governments and Canadians generally to this important concept. There is a strong commitment from our organizations to continue these discussions and to move forward and the enthusiasm and resolve that we feel coming out of this conference will be a powerful reminder to follow through.

In closing, I must thank those who have contributed to the successful outcome of the conference. In this regard, I would like to thank our presenters and chairpersons who all performed admirably. At the risk of being invidious, I would like to single out those from outside Canada who have traveled from great distances to present and to participate with us including **Hon. Ali Jangeli**, the Somali Foreign Minister, **His Excellency Ahmadou Ould-Abdallah**, UN Special Envoy on Somalia, **Ambassador Howard Wolpe**, Director of Africa Program & Director, Project on Leadership and Building State Capacity (W. Wilson Centre in Washington) , **James Swan**, US Deputy Assistant Secretary for African Affairs, **Prof. Lee Cassanelli**, Director of African Studies at University of Pennsylvania and **Dr. Mohamed Hassan**, Educator and Former Dean of Somali National University.

Special Thanks goes to our Former Prime Minister **Hon. Joe Clark**, **David Angell**, Director General of the Africa Bureau for Foreign Affairs and International Trade Canada, **Prof. Togane**, Poet and Former University lecturer, **Dr. Aristote Nononsi**, an Associate Director, Centre of Development Area Studies at McGill and Boulton Senior Fellow in Law and International Development, Faculty of Law. **Idil Salah**, Senior Consultant in International Development and Employee of CIDA, and Naimo Ali, Educator and women activist.

I would also like to thank the Planning Committee and to single out the work of **Bernard Taylor**, Executive Director of Partnership Africa Canada, Ms. Farhia Abdi, Stephanie Hu of McGill University and Mohamed Sofa for their contributions in all aspects of the conference planning and coordination.

We also owe a debt of gratitude to our funder IDRC and other individuals and organizations to make this great conference possible.

Finally, a very special thanks to each of you for coming out to make this as successful and fulfilling a conference as it has been. Thank you all for participating in what has been a very successful conference.

Thank you and good evening.



### Key Conference Recommendations:

The focus of the recommendations were toward; Canada, Somalia community including diasporas and the International Community.

#### Government of Canada:

- ❖ Canada can extend hand of friendship to Somalia by:
  - offering resources that can actually make a difference in the process of reconciliation
  - naming an ambassador
  - bringing its experience of federalism in Somalia's process of nation-building
  - offering other expertise and experience in the coast guard service that can lead to securing the Somali coastline
  - helping establish the necessary relationships between local administrative structures and the national offices
  - organizing a donor's conference for contributions of expertise in these areas of nation-building
  - as a matter of public policy, Canada's development should not turn away from the most troubled Continent African , and particularly "Somalia"
  - Canada with such a large community of Somalis, must acts as an important link between the rest of the world and Somalis

#### Somali Community including the Diaspora:

- ❖ Somalis in the diaspora and homeland should empower themselves by taking the lead in peace-building and reconciliation initiatives
- ❖ Somali women must be actively involved in conflict prevention and resolution, thus any initiatives, progress or decision-making must include women.
- ❖ Reform and dialogue are important elements of nation building in Somalia in order to reach out the international community while isolating spoilers of peace within Somalia.
- ❖ As part of a comprehensive strategy to improve governance, Somalis and their government need to work together to overcome all challenges and bring about reconciliation and lasting peace.
- ❖ Canada appreciates the engagement of the large Somali Canadian community and encourages the ongoing collaboration through which better coordination of international efforts can help Somalis build a better future for their homeland.

## Challenges and Opportunities of Nation Building in Somalia

### International Community:

- ❖ International Community must provide support to Somalia, in the form of development and humanitarian assistance to further the government capacity.
- ❖ Somalia risks falling back into anarchy. Both the TFG and international agencies need to consider emerging local governance and the vibrant civil society in the peace and reconciliation process.
- ❖ The international community's efforts in humanitarian aid, peace dialogue, peacekeeping and development assistance are critical to Somalia's nation-building and should be harmonized and coordinated. As such, programs should integrate peace-building efforts and development with a human rights perspective kept in mind.
- ❖ International Community and donors must explore ways of employing Somali professionals in the diaspora for projects back in Somalia; this will integrate foreign with domestic support.
- ❖ The peace-building process in Somalia is missing the human dimension in the mindset of key leaders within all sectors of society. Without a sense of communal interest in the peace-building process, disillusionment seldom leads to sustainable results. Four emerging challenges must be overcome for peace to be achieved.
  - In a divided society, people operate on a zero-sum mentality, with no interest in the interconnected links between members of society
  - The fractured trust among key leaders must be rebuilt.
  - There must be a consensus on the rules of the game.
  - Negotiation and communication skills of leaders must be established.
- ❖ When addressing the challenges and opportunities of nation-building in Somalia, there are four issues that the international community must keep in mind:
  - I. one of the solutions to the problem in Somalia is to re-establish the collapsed Somali state by promoting:
    - The rule of law and human rights;
    - Peace, security and stability
    - Development and prosperity
  - II. commitment should be made because of the importance of lasting peace in Somalia is to stabilize the horn of Africa and the African continent as a whole
  - III. international engagement to Somali's development will need to be sustained and focused on providing resources for resuming development activity and building the relationship between state and society
  - IV. it is important for the UN and international agencies to increase their aid and assistance to Somalia. Such an aid could be seen as a signal to the Somali people that the international community cares

## Challenges and Opportunities of Nation Building in Somalia

### Appendix 1 - Complete Conference Program

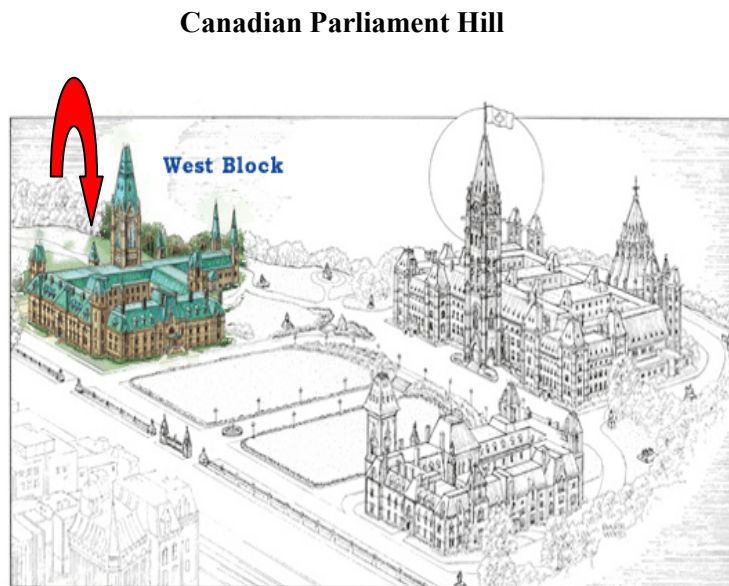
Challenges and Opportunities of Nation Building in Somalia May 22, 2008. Ottawa, Canada	
08:30 - 09:15 am	Registration and Networking
09:15 – 09:30 am	<b>Welcoming Remarks</b> – Farah Aw-Osman – Executive Director, Canadian Friends of Somalia
09:30 - 10:00 am	<b>Is Africa Falling off Canada’s Foreign Policy Agenda? What does Canada’s policy towards Africa mean for Nation-building in Somalia?</b> Keynote Speaker 1 : Hon. Joe Clark, former Canadian Prime Minister
10:00 - 10:30 am	<b>The political Situation in Somalia and the role of the Transitional Federal government (TFG)</b> - Keynote Speaker 2 : Hon. Ali Jama Jangeli, Somali Foreign Minister
10:30 - 10:50 am	<b>The current Human Security and Development situation in Somalia: Update and Options for Action</b> - <b>Idil M. Salah (Ladane)</b> – Senior International Development Consultant and Co-founder of Som-Can Institute for Research and Development
10:50 - 11:00 am	Morning Break
11:00 - 11:30 am	<b>The Role of International Community in Nation Building in Somalia</b> - Keynote Speaker 3: HE. Ahmedou Ould-Abdallah, Un special envoy to Somalia via teleconference.
11:30 - 12:20 am	<b>The US Policy for Somalia</b> - Keynote Speaker 4: James Swan, Deputy assistant secretary of state for Africa Affairs  <b>Canadian Foreign Policy towards Somalia:</b> - Speaker David Angell, Director General, Africa, Foreign Affairs and International Trade
12:20 - 12:40 pm	<b>Ramarks by: Ambassador Howard Wolpe</b> , Director of the Africa Program at the Woodrow Wilson Center for International Scholars in Washington
12:40 - 2:00 pm	Lunch/prayer

## Challenges and Opportunities of Nation Building in Somalia

2:00 - 2:30 pm	<p><b>Panel 1: Making Difference in the World: Canada Can Do Better for Somalia:</b></p> <p><b>The Role of Somali-Canadian Constituency and the Canadian Friends of Somalia in Nation Building:</b> Speaker: Borys Wrzesnewskyji, MP, Etobicoke Centre</p>
2:30 - 3:30 pm	<p><b>The role of the Somali Diaspora – Speaker 1:</b> Prof. Lee Cassaneli, Director of the African Studies Center at the University of Pennsylvania</p> <p><b>The Role of Somali Women in Peace-building and Development – Speaker 3:</b> Nimao Ali- Muslim Association of Canada(MAC), Ottawa</p>
3:30 - 3:40 pm	<b>Coffee Break</b>
3:40 - 4:20	<p><b>Federalism, Development and Global Security – Somalis Perspective:</b></p> <p>Speaker2: Prof. Aristide Nononsi, Associate Director for Centre for Development Areas at McGill University and Boulton Senior Fellow in Law and International Development, Faculty of Law</p> <p>Speaker3: Shawn Houlihan, Director, Africa Region, Forum of Federations</p>
4:20 - 4:45 pm	<b>Question Period</b>
4:45 - 5:00 pm	<b>Closing remarks</b>
5:00 – 8:00 pm	<b>RECEPTION DINNER</b>

### MAP of Conference Location

### Map of Conference Location



#### What you should know before you arrive

- **Vehicles on the Hill:** Only authorized vehicles are permitted on Parliament Hill.
- **Parking:** There is no parking available on Parliament Hill. Numerous municipal and public parking lots are located nearby.
- **Security:** All visitors to the Parliament Buildings are required to go through security scanning stations.
- **Special Needs:** All facilities are wheelchair accessible. We can accommodate most special needs. Please call (613) 239-5000 for more information.

#### Where you should go when you arrive

- All participants to the Conference should go to (West Block) and must go through security scanning stations located at the main visitor entrances. Please see the [map of Parliament Hill](#) .
- Check-in with the constable(s) on duty at the security kiosk in west block building. They will direct you to the proper location or contact us at (613)878-1960.

### Appendix 2 – INTRODUCTIONS OF SPEAKERS AND SPECIAL GUESTS

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**The Right Honourable Joe Clark** was elected eight times to the House of Commons of Canada, retiring in June 2004. He was elected as Prime Minister of Canada in May, 1979, and later also served as Secretary of State for External Affairs (Foreign Minister), Minister of Constitutional Affairs, and Acting Minister of both National Defence and Justice. He served twice as Leader of Her Majesty's Loyal Opposition, and as National Leader of the Progressive Conservative Party of Canada.

Mr. Clark is president of Joe Clark and Associates, an international consulting firm based in Canada, and Executive Chairman of Clark Sustainable Resource Developments Ltd, a Canadian company harvesting the forests beneath Lake Volta in Ghana. He is also Professor of Practice for Private-Public Sector Partnerships in the Centre for Developing-Area Studies at McGill University in Montreal.

He has served most recently as co-chair of an initiative to involve the private sector in education in Haiti, and as co-leader of the NDI Election Observation team in the 2007 presidential election in Nigeria. In 2006 he led the Carter Center Election Observation team in the first elections in 42 years in the Democratic Republic of Congo.

Mr. Clark serves on the board of the Canadian Council for Africa, the Canadian Foundation for Latin America (FOCAL), and the International Advisory Board of Governors of the Canadian Institute of Governance Innovation (CIGI). He is a member of the Global Leadership Foundation, the Inter-American Dialogue, the Council of Presidents and Prime Ministers of the Americas, and the Panel of Senior Advisors to the Auditor General of Canada.

He was a founding board member of the Pacific Council on International Policy and has been a visiting scholar at the University of California, Berkeley, and American University in Washington, DC, and a Public Policy Scholar at the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars. Mr. Clark served as Special Representative of the Secretary-General of the United Nations for Cyprus.

He is author of the book *"Canada: A Nation Too Good To Lose"*.

Mr. Clark is a Companion of the Order of Canada, a member of the Alberta Order of Excellence and l'Ordre de la Pleiades, and has been awarded several honorary degrees. He was the first recipient of the Vimy Award. Joe Clark is married to the Canadian author and lawyer Maureen McTeer, who specializes in law and public policy respecting health, science, and reproductive technologies. Their home is in Ottawa, Ontario and Brennan's Hill, Quebec, Canada.

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**Idil M. Salah** is a Senior consultant who has over 15 years of extensive experience in International Development. She has been involved in programs that contribute to human security, integrated rural development (food security, water, health and education), peacebuilding, economic justice, good governance, institutional and community capacity building, gender equality and environmental sustainability.

Academically, Idil Salah is completing her PhD thesis on "Local Governance in Failed States: The Role of Non-state Actors in Somalia" at the Department of Public Affairs and Management, Carleton University, Ottawa, Ontario, Canada. She also extensively wrote about Somalia. Some of her work include: Peace and Development in Northern Somalia: Opportunities and Challenges (1999). This report was based on a three weeks mission to Northern Somalia. It was published by Partnership Africa Canada and Som-Can Institute for Research and Development, Ottawa, Ontario; She also wrote about Somalia women; her work includes her Master's Thesis on Gender Planning within NGOs in Somalia (M.A. Thesis), 1997, Department of Anthropology, Carleton University, Ottawa, Canada; Somali Women's Education and Development Under Siad Bare, 1969-1990 (B.A. Honours Research), 1994, Sociology Department, Carleton University, Ottawa. Idil Salah is an active member of Somali community in Canada. Currently, Idil Salah is an employee of Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA).

## Challenges and Opportunities of Nation Building in Somalia

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**James Swan** was sworn in the Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, with responsibility for Central Africa and East Africa. Mr. Swan was previously the Director of Analysis for Africa in the State Department's Bureau of Intelligence and Research (2005-2006).

A career member of the Senior Foreign Service, Mr. Swan has devoted most of his professional life to countries facing complex political transitions, notably in Africa. His overseas assignments have included service as Deputy Chief of Mission at the U.S. Embassies in Kinshasa, Democratic Republic of the Congo (2001-2004) and Brazzaville, Republic of Congo (1998-2001). Earlier in his career he was the Somalia Watcher in Nairobi, Kenya (1994-1996) and Chief of the Political Section in Yaounde, Cameroon (1992-1994). In Washington, he was the Desk Officer for Zaire (later Democratic Republic of the Congo) from 1996 to 1998. He has also served in Port-au-Prince, Haiti and Managua, Nicaragua.

Mr. Swan holds a Bachelor of Science in Foreign Service from Georgetown University, a Master of Arts in International Relations from Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies, and a Master's degree in Security Studies from the National War College, where he was a 2005 Distinguished Graduate.

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**David Angell** (BA [Political Science], Yale University, 1986; MA [International Relations], University of Toronto, 1987; MPhil [International Relations], University of Cambridge, 1988-89) joined the Department of External Affairs in 1989 and served abroad in Washington, in Belfast as a member of the senior staff of the Northern Ireland peace process, and at the United Nations in New York, including as Alternate Representative on the Security Council. In Ottawa, he undertook a variety of assignments, including Director, G8 Summit Africa Action Plan Office, and Deputy to the Personal Representative of the Prime Minister to Africa. Since 2002, he has been Director, Eastern and Southern Africa Division. He and his wife Katherine have two children. Mr. Angell succeeds Howard Strauss.

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**Ahmedou Ould-Abdallah** has devoted himself to African development and conflict management throughout his career. Between 1969 and 1984 he held several posts with the Mauritanian government, including foreign minister, ambassador to the US and the European Union. In 1984 he began work within the UN as the special coordinator for Africa and the least developed countries, and from 1993 to 1995 was the special representative of the UN secretary-general in Burundi. He has authored many publications, including 'La Diplomatie Pytomane' (1996) and 'Burundi on the Brink' (2000). He has been executive secretary for the Global Coalition for Africa, a forum for promoting political and economic reforms. He is a Member of the International Advisory Board, Center for Ethics, Justice and Public Life, Brandeis University. He has served as currently the special representative of the UN Secretary-General in West Africa based in Dakar and now holds the position for special representative in Somalia.

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**Dr. Howard Wolpe**, a former seven-term Member of Congress and former Presidential Special Envoy to Africa's Great Lakes Region, is currently Director of the Africa Program and the Project on Leadership and Building State Capacity at the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars.

A specialist in African politics, for 10 of his 14 years in the Congress Dr. Wolpe chaired the Subcommittee on Africa of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, where he was instrumental in effecting many changes in U.S. policy on Africa, including the ending of military assistance to Gen. Mobutu in Zaire (Congo) and enabling the passage of the Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act of 1986. He also chaired the Investigations and Oversight Subcommittee of the House Science, Space and Technology Committee. His other roles in the Congress included the co-chairmanship of the bipartisan Northeast-Midwest Congressional Coalition and the Congressional Energy and Environmental Study Conference.

## Challenges and Opportunities of Nation Building in Somalia

Prior to entering the Congress, Dr. Wolpe served in the Michigan House of Representatives and as a member of the Kalamazoo City Commission.

Dr. Wolpe has taught at Western Michigan University (Political Science Department), Michigan State University, the University of Michigan (Institute of Public Policy Studies), and has served as a Visiting Fellow in the Foreign Policy Studies Program of the Brookings Institution and as a Woodrow Wilson Center Public Policy Scholar.

Dr. Wolpe received his B.A. degree from Reed College, and his Ph.D. from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

Dr. Wolpe is a member of the Council on Foreign Relations, and a member of the Board of Directors of the National Endowment for Democracy (NED) and of Africare. He co-directed (with Ambassador David C. Miller, Jr.) the Ninetieth American Assembly on "Africa and U.S. National Interests" held in March 1997. He has written extensively on Africa, American foreign policy, and the management of ethnic and racial conflict.

Currently, Dr. Wolpe is working on a book based on his diplomatic experience with the Burundi peace process and is directing several post-conflict leadership training programs in Africa.

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Borys Wrzesnewskij has had the privilege of serving the riding of Etobicoke Centre since 2004. Over these past four years he has brought the dedication, hard work and compassion that he feels for public service to the constituents of Etobicoke Centre in working with them in the riding by making himself available through Saturday constituency hours, organizing seniors' tax clinics, and working for them in the House of Commons with Private Members Motions, such as M-16 which calls for the elimination of night flights out of Pearson Airport.

A proud son and grandson of Ukrainian and Polish immigrant refugees, Borys is a native of Etobicoke. He attended Humber Valley Village Public School and Upper Canada College during high school. He received a Bachelor of Commerce degree from Trinity College at the University of Toronto. Borys is conversant in French, Polish, Spanish and Ukrainian.

Since his election in 2004 Borys has served as a member of numerous House of Commons' Standing Committees, notably the Standing Committee on Public Accounts on which he served since September 2004. Recently, Borys' yearlong determined investigations into the RCMP on the Public Accounts Committee led to the Conservative government's reluctant agreement to an inquiry which published the report "A Matter of Trust: Report of the Independent Investigator into Matters Relating to the RCMP," as well as a finding of contempt of Parliament and removal of some of the senior-most members of our federal police force. Through his perseverance, and the support of the selfless members of the RCMP that worked so diligently with him, together they successfully challenged corruption at the top echelons of the federal police force, and helped to set the RCMP on a new and better course.

Borys is married to Lina Fedko and on August 25, 2008 they were blessed with the birth of their first child, a daughter, Viktoria.

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**Dr. Aristide Nononsi** is Associate Director of the Centre for Developing Area Studies in the Faculty of Arts and Senior Boulton Fellow in International Development and the Law. He served as Executive Secretary of the Staff Appeals Committee and Head of the Appeals Committee Unit in the African Development Bank (AfDB). He has worked for the International Labour Office (ILO) on Child Labour and Children's Rights, International Labour Standards, and Maritime Labour Law in Switzerland, Côte d'Ivoire and Algeria.

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## Challenges and Opportunities of Nation Building in Somalia

**Shawn Houlihan** [director, Africa] has an MA in Public Administration from the Kennedy School of Government at Harvard University, USA, and a BA and Master of Development Economics from Dalhousie University, Canada. He spent five years in Ethiopia (1993–1998) working on governance and civil service reform. He also has extensive experience in Sudan, working for Canada and for the United Nations Development Programme. He worked as a consultant for the Canadian International Development Agency on matters of governance, capacity development and conflict management, including on the Middle East, Horn of Africa, Pan Africa and Southern Africa.

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**Dr. Mohamed Osman** is a freelance consultant, educator and a former dean of Lafole College, Somali National University. He is the founder of several striving community organizations and educational institutions including: the Confederation of Somali Community in Minnesota, Somali Parent Teacher Association of Minnesota, Dugsi Academy Charter School, Twin cities, MN, and Somali-American Education Program, Minnesota. He has worked for USAID and Philips Petroleum Corporation. He has written several books on parenting, youth issues and social justice. Mr. Osman is best known for his novel ``Adeegto`` Domestic Servant.

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**Prof. Mohamud Siad Togane** a native of Somalia and a 1969 graduate of Eastern Mennonite College, poet Togane is a rare breed of believer, an amalgam of many roots and influences. His urgent and sometimes profane essays - many of them cast as long polemical poems - address political and social issues that remain volatile for Somalis and other Africans. Clannism, political corruption and religion are frequent topics when Togane addresses his countrymen.

Mohamud Siad Togane has been living in Canada since 1973. He has become a Canadian citizen in 1978 and now resides in Quebec. Togane's works include: *The bottle and the Bushman: Poems of the Prodigal* (1986), *Eternal Conversations* (2003), *Fifty years, fifty stories* (2003), *Bridges: Literature Across Cultures* (1994) *Quebec Suite: Poems for and about Quebec* (1995) Togane has also written articles for several newspapers and magazine including *The Globe and Mail*, *Zymergy: A Literary Montreal Magazine*, *African Art* (University of California) and *African Canadian*.

Professor Togane has also taught and lectured at universities of Waterloo, Hamburg, Concordia , Rutgers, McGill, and Toronto. Togane's new book **News from Home** will be published soon.

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