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F I N A L

Comment on Status

DISARMAMENT, DEMOBILIZATION & REINTEGRATION

SOMALIA MILITIA

(With recommendations for possible World Bank, and expanded
TFG and International Community engagement on DDR)

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May, 2005
Nairobi, Kenya

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

CONTEXT OF SOMALIA DDR

Somalia has been plagued by instability most of its 45 years history. After over 14 failed attempts at peace to build a new central government, the current (2002-2005) National Reconciliation and Peace Process, Somalia is still fractured. Multiple militias make the capital, Mogadishu and several key regional centers, insecure. However, there is great pressure to succeed at peace this time. Negotiations of differences continue and self-help is evident.

The transition to a new central government is a fluctuating work in progress. Continued existence of an estimated 53,000 militia constrains state building and sets the requirement for DDR.

WHAT IS DDR IN THE SOMALI CONTEXT? WHY IS A DDR PROGRAM NEEDED, NOW

The usual application of the DDR concept does not fit Somalia's unique situation in regard to militias. Few will be totally disarmed. Important types of militia probably will not be disbanded. Many do not need to be reintegrated into their home communities. New concepts and terms are needed. These are suggested. New planning is needed for a national DDR program. A Mogadishu contingency plan is recommended.

Arms control and alternative livelihoods are more applicable terms than DDR. Planning is needed now to be prepared for DDR actions, which will be required sooner or later.

CURRENT STATUS OF DDR PAPERS

The focus on political negotiations and security predominate in current DDR planning, to the neglect of integrated DDR planning. There are multiple earlier Somali DDR papers, pilots, studies, profiles and small DDR activities. None constitute a workable national DDR plan, integrated with a national security strategy. There is no leadership within the TFG or international community on introducing a national DDR program. There is no agreement on approach or a joint structure to plan a national DDR. Comments on the key DDR documents are offered. The international community driven Somali Demilitarization Planning Unit was just dissolved after being pulled in too many directions to finalize DDR plans. TFG and IC decisions are needed on SDPU recommendations, including deciding on a way forward for DDR in Somalia.

Integrated national DDR planning is a void in Somalia.

STATUS OF INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY VIEWS ON SOMALIA DDR

In the absence of Somali government or international community leadership on militia DDR, the international community is much divided on key DDR issues. Different donor views on the DDR issues are summarized. It will take good leadership and focus on a common security task to compromise the donor differences.

Many donors have been and are willing to be involved in DDR. None appear ready to lead a comprehensive, integrated national DDR program.

WHAT DDR ACTIONS ARE NEEDED, NOW

Peace will break out sooner or later and the DDR component does not now exist to respond to a political breakthrough. If peace stalls, it allows time to prepare for an integrated national DDR, which ultimately will be required. Management and program suggestions are made for immediate action by the TFG and international community. The TFG needs to decide on which transitional structure will 'sponsor' DDR; the organization and staff for planning DDR needs to be established. Vision and principles are needed to guide the planning and ultimate implementation.

Planning must be collaboratively done and synchronized with other restructuring planning. Unique reintegration solutions must be found. Management structures must be established. Raising tens of millions of dollars must start. Training and accountability systems must be put in place. Difficult expectations must be managed before they subvert a DDR program before it starts.

Action must start now on the management and program steps to develop a comprehensive national DDR program.

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR WORLD BANK CONSIDERATION OF DDR

Four options are presented: assist reintegration planning, only; Bank involvement now in the entire DDR process; phased involvement from reintegration assistance to leading on a national comprehensive DDR program; or do not get involved at all.

It is recommended the World Bank get involved in Somalia DDR, on a phased basis of increasing level of involvement if conditions continue to be positive.

Initially, it is recommended the Bank fund technical assistance for planning the reintegration component of DDR if specified conditions are met. Also fund a comparative experience trip to

African DDRs, to build Somali capacity to implement DDR. Reintegration planning involvement will produce insights on political, security, strategy, organizational, program and funding conditions needed for disarmament and demobilization decisions. They should be a part of a comprehensive, integrated DDR process. Justification for the Bank's involvement is suggested along with linkages to other planning for Somalia recovery.

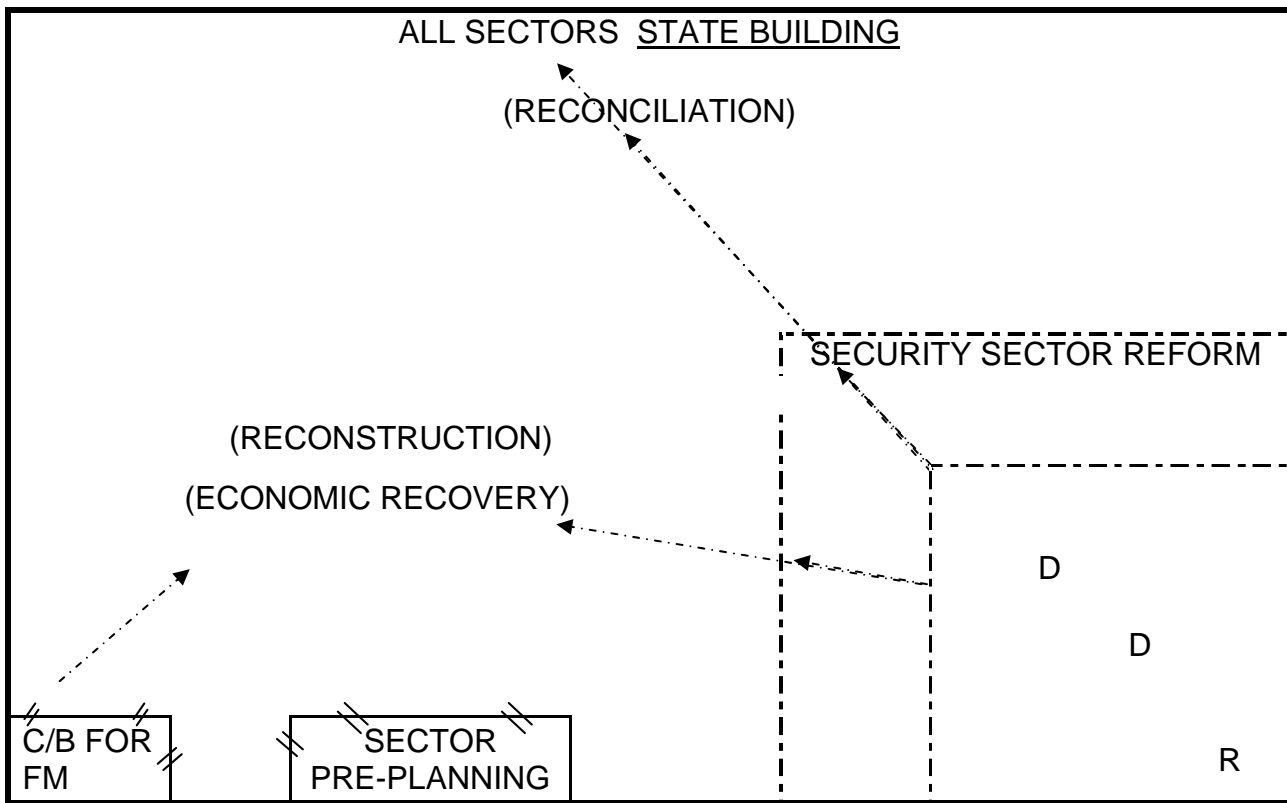
The Bank needs to decide on the type and level of involvement it will support, if at all, in Somalia DDR of militias. Then the DDR work can be synchronized with the Bank's other pre-economic recovery preparations and TFG and international community state building and security sector reforms.

IF SOMALIA DDR FAILS, OTHER RECOVERY WORK WILL FAIL

INTRODUCTION

The terms of reference for this consultancy asks for an understanding on the status of Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration (DDR) for Somalia and recommendations of what, if anything, the World Bank might do in this field. By the security, economic and social character of DDR it is of interest to the Bank in the post-conflict transition to reconstruction and economic recovery. In the context of a broader security and recovery program, this paper concentrates on the Bank's interest in DDR, with an initial focus on reintegration and a recommended phased involvement.

Figure 1: Somali Peace Process and Transition



DDR is only one part of security sector reform. They are only one part of the total state building that must take Somalia from a failed state to a functioning state.

Along with the capacity building for future Somalia financial management, and pre-planning in Somali community development, livestock, fisheries etc sectors, World Bank involvement in DDR of ex-militia can be a learning experience for expected Bank future involvement in Somalia reconstruction and economic recovery. But Bank help in DDR has value for its own sake:

If militias go back to conflict for lack of optional livelihoods, all other peace and recovery efforts will cease.

METHODOLOGY

The methodology used for this report was several steps of inquiry, preliminary findings, cross-checking validity and report drafting.

Before deploying to the field, extensive research was done as background to the assignment. The World Bank provided several current documents on the peace process and DDR to complement the background reading. Consultations were held in Washington and Nairobi and with the Bank conflict manager from Ethiopia to focus the task. An outline of investigation was prepared and reviewed with the Bank oversight officer in Nairobi. This was followed by over thirty meetings with over seventy people in Nairobi and Addis Ababa knowledgeable about different aspects of DDR for Somalia. Insecurity inside Somalia and Somalia's transitional government staff preoccupation with political and security matters resulted in only two meetings with Somali authorities in the Transitional Federal Government (TFG). Multiple DDR papers and reports were collected and analyzed. The line of investigation was to:

1. Determine the current status of DDR for Somalia.
2. Identify constraints and opportunities for Somalia DDR.
3. Listen to suggestions for possible World Bank help, or not, in Somalia DDR.

In every meeting, it was made clear the World Bank did not intend by this consultancy to take a lead on Somalia DDR. There have been no decisions regarding Banks involvement in DDR. The Bank was continuing to focus on financial management and macro-economic capacity building for the day when Somalia's debt arrears might be solved.

The report is prepared for the World Bank. But it is hoped it will be useful to the TFG and international community to raise awareness and result in action on DDR for Somalia.

Two clarifications may be helpful to guide the reader. Because the term "DDR – Disarmament, Demobilization, and Reintegration" is in common use, it is retained in most of this report.

However, Somalia's unique situation requires a more applicable term: "arms control and alternative livelihood" is recommended, but not used here until stakeholders make the decision on acceptable terminology. Second, the words "integrated, comprehensive, and national" are used to describe a future DDR program for Somalia. An effective DDR program must be integrated with the peace process, national security strategy, state building, economic reconstruction, reconciliation, etc. An effective DDR must not be just removal of militias off the

street or removal of intimidating extra government check points. It must encompass every facet of moving war lords and militias into law abiding, reconciled, sustainable alternative livelihoods. There has been, and continues to be, good DDR work by the UN, INGOs, civil society and the international community. But integrated, comprehensive programs must be planned and implemented throughout the country to avoid vacuums and regional insecurities arising from regional differences.

APPRECIATION

Appreciation is expressed to the many people who shared their insights during interviews. (Annex 24 is a list of meetings held.) Special thanks go to Per Wam, Priya Gajraj and Ingo Wiederhofer from the World Bank who guided this effort. The mission would not have been possible without the full support and timely scheduling by Lucy Kangarua and professional report preparation of Peter Ileri.

I. CONTEXT

Somalia has been plagued by instability most of its 45 years history. After over 14 failed attempts at peace to build a new central government as well as the current (2002-2005) National Reconciliation and Peace Process, Somalia is still fractured. Multiple militias make the capital, Mogadishu, and several key regional centers insecure. However, there is great pressure to succeed at peace this time. Negotiation of differences continues and self-help is evident.

The transition to a new central government is a fluctuating work in progress. Continued existence of an estimated 53,000 militia constrains state building and sets the requirement for DDR.

Despite being a relatively homogenous society, Somalia has been an unstable country since independence from Italy and Great Britain in the 1960s. A military coup, three major armed conflicts, a legacy of state corruption and oppression, deep clan divisions and state collapse marked the first 30 years. The next ten years were equally unstable. Armed conflict by clan-based militias, a massive famine, diverted food aid, disastrous US and UN interventions and two failed major peace attempts continued to plague the country. The Northwest and Northeast administrations were reasonable exceptions. Since the mid-1990s, the nature, duration and intensity of warfare in Somalia has changed significantly. That gave opening to the 2000 Arta Peace conference, which resulted in a Transitional National Government (2000-2003). It faced internal and regional opposition and was not dedicated to transparent state building. It ultimately failed. In Mogadishu, central and southwest Somalia, armed militias exercised territorial control through extortion, intimidation and fighting among themselves. Despite set backs, Somaliland (Northwest) and Puntland (Northeast) maintained a modicum of peace and progress. Somalia continues to be the only 'failed state' in the world.

The latest attempt to broker peace and revive a central government in Somalia began in October 2002. It was undertaken by the Inter-Governmental Authority on Development (IGAD), with the Kenyan government hosting and external partners such as the EU, the AU and the UN, providing support. A rather inclusive approach was taken to the cessation of hostilities and drafting a blueprint for a Transitional Charter, Transitional Federal Government and Transitional Federal Parliament. The parliament elected a Transitional President, who selected a Prime

Minister, who in turn appointed a cabinet, which was ratified by parliament in January 2005.¹ The power sharing negotiations behind this process have encountered multiple problems, but the peace process continues to evolve. The reconciliation phase, which required participants to address key conflict issues, has not been successful. The lack of reconciliation is at the core of differences, which split members in the TFG and TFP, and threatens the peace process even today. Those differences have delayed relocating the transitional institutions from Kenya to Somalia. They reflect differences on several issues including the roles of foreign troops in demilitarizing the country, especially the historical capital of Mogadishu. Disarming and controlling the multiple militias is critical to sufficient security to allow the transitional institutions to relocate inside Somalia.

The Transitional Federal Government says it cannot enter Mogadishu because it is too insecure. It is made insecure by the intimidation and control of different parts of the city by different militias. It is estimated there are 11-15,000 militia people controlling Mogadishu (out of national estimates ranging from 50,000 to 200,000).² The militia throughout the country periodically fight each other for control of lucrative parts of the cities ports, airports, etc, or control of transport routes where they can demand 'protection money' in exchange for 'safe passage.' Other militia have personal agendas, to assert power and control; the militia have religious agendas – to enforce sharia court interpretations. Other militia have clan agendas, that range from community protection, retaliation or extending clan influence for business, economic, political or territory/land purposes.

Several key Mogadishu-based war lords are members of the TFG or TF Parliament. They have returned to Somalia with an estimated 100 members of Cabinet and Parliament. They have drawn up a Mogadishu Security and Stabilization plan, to pacify the city, to make it possible for the TFG to relocate there. (See section III.E.). The "pre-demobilization" could be a significant DDR self-help measure or a power/turf move. It should be monitored closely.

The two main political factions are negotiating their differences. Soon it will be possible to tell if these differences will stall or abort the peace process, or succumb to the great pressures to compromise, allowing the process to move forward, maybe even quickly. It is within this context of instability, political wrangling and continued militia control, that the consideration of

¹ The World Bank, Conflict in Somalia: Drivers & Dynamics (Somalia: January 2005) pp. 9-14

² See Figure 6, p.43.

disarmament, demobilization and reintegration of militias is taking place. Some good work has been done on disarmament and demobilization, but not to the point of having an agreed, implementable national plan.

The commonly used characteristics of militias are:

- Freelance – Armed Youth
- Factions – Political Warlords
- Business – Businesses Protection/Expansion
- Courts – Enforce religious interpretations
- Clan – Protection, Retaliation, Expansion

Disaggregating types of militia and crafting differing DDR approaches will be essential.

Conceptually, the following could be a basis for discussion:

- | | |
|--------------------------------|--|
| Clan and Court militias | Community based options? |
| Business militias | Convert to Private Guard Services? |
| Faction and Freelance militias | Consider individual treatments? |
| Hard-core/ Technicals | Convert to controlled police back up strike forces or consider individual treatments |
| Mid-level leaders | Separate treatment – leadership roles or send out country? |
| Spoilers/Resisters | Confront or charge as criminals |

It is important to make this distinction: Somalia is a failed state – meaning the failure to have a central government authority. In the absence of central government, Somali society continues to find ways to meet its basic needs and conduct economic activity. Somali society has not failed itself, except to control security in some areas. There is capacity and activity. Great care must be taken during DDR and state building not to override existing, positive activity.

Again, the very existence of militias sets the context for DDR in Somalia.

II. WHAT IS DDR IN THE SOMALI CONTEXT? WHY IS A PROGRAM NEEDED, NOW

The usual application of the DDR concept does not fit Somalia's unique situation in regard to militias. Few will be totally disarmed. Important types of militia probably will not be disbanded. Many do not need to be reintegrated into their home communities. New concepts and terms are needed. New planning is needed for a national, integrated DDR program.

It is recommended the international community prepare a contingency plan in case the Mogadishu Security and Stabilization Plan is jointly agreed to by the parties and goes into implementation.

Arms control and alternative livelihoods are more applicable terms than DDR. Planning is needed now to be prepared with DDR, which will be required sooner or later.

A. WHAT IS DISARMAMENT, DEMOBILIZATION AND REINTEGRATION?

Before describing the current status of DDR for Somalia, it is useful to review what DDR is, especially in the Somali context, and why a DDR program is needed now and will be needed in the future.

The DDR concept did not exist 20 years ago. Now it is a growth industry. It seems every combatant group expects to be rewarded with benefits in exchange for stopping fighting. The term 'DDR' has usually been applied to armed, violent, organized groups such as rebels, insurgents or an opposing army fighting against government forces. Inasmuch as Somalia has no government to oppose, the DDR term has little meaning. Through either military defeat or political settlement, DDR usually calls for disarming the opposition. In Somalia, this term is probably most applicable to collecting, storing, destroying or re-issuing to a government force the heavy weapons in the hands of the militias. It is highly doubtful clan militias, who have historically kept small arms, can or should be disarmed.

Demobilization has usually meant breaking apart the organized anti-government forces, breaking the command and control, separating the commanders from the followers, dispersing the combatant's so they are no longer a unified threat to established authority. In Somalia, the

demobilization term may have meaning to some types of militias, not to others. The clan militias will probably stay together, but hopefully under clan, elder and community control for self defense at most. The business militias may continue to be cohesive units, but redirected as private guard companies. Demobilization may best be applied to breaking apart the freelance and faction militias, to the extent they are not recruited as units into a reconstituted police or army.

Reintegration usually is applied in two contexts: One, to reintegrate the individual ex-militias persons physically back to their original geographic home areas, which they would have left during fighting. Second, reintegration is used to mean acceptance into a law abiding productive civil status, not earning a living or pressing grievances or greed through violent acts. In Somalia, to the extent a militia person is based in a (clan) support setting, reintegrating the person back to their home area may not be applicable. Unless the militia person has committed acts considered against the clan value system, the need for acceptance back home may not be applicable. The reintegration term is too often used as a short-hand to imply 'benefits' given to an individual or community if the ex-militia renounces a life of violence. Somalia, like every post-conflict, is unique. It will require unique, relevant solutions to Somalia's demilitarization. Thus, the usual term DDR may not apply and may even cause confusion or continued violence. In several interviews, it is clear the DDR term is already resulting in preconceptions that will make implementation more difficult.³

B. IS THE DDR TERM APPLICABLE IN SOMALIA?

The catch-all phrase of 'DDR' is being misapplied to different Somali groups in ways to lead to great confusion and misunderstanding. It is obfuscating applicable DDR planning.

Some examples are:

- A UNDP 'first phase DDR of ex-combatants' will reportedly benefit internally displaced people, returning refugees and other minority groups.
- A pilot DDR in Somaliland, Puntland is focusing on retrenching police and military to reduce the size (and budget) of existing security forces.

³ "International Community Interviews," Nairobi, Kenya: April 13-29, 2005

- DDR is a term frequently used to solicit support to retired former SNA, who are not in a conflict posture.
- The DDR term is applied to clan militia, who probably will not be asked to either disarm or demobilize from clan defense, or be reintegrated, into their home communities where they now reside.
- DDR is inappropriately used in discussions to mean weapons reduction.

At this current stage of DDR dialogue, it is strongly suggested that a common lexicon be used to start the process of agreeing on terms more applicable in the Somali context.

It is suggested the terms “**arms control and alternative livelihoods**” may be more applicable in Somalia at this time. The TFG will need to control the use of heavy weapons. Some small arms may stay in the hands of anti-riot or strike forces. They will need to be controlled for the use of protecting TFG authority and public safety. Small arms will need to be controlled for community protection, not used for individual greed or grievance. Illegal importation of arms must be controlled. (UNDP/Somalia has a small arms control person on the staff.) Disarmament of traditional holders of weapons is almost impossible and resistance undermines TFG authority.

Reintegration has many positive connotations. But in Somalia, it may not be a comfortable or specific enough term. Many militia already live in support communities and reintegrating them into their present situation is not applicable. Some have lived militia lives since their pre-teens. Reintegration has less meaning to try to integrate them into a condition from which they did not come. They have known the life of a gun. What would be applicable is to earn a living and live a life with alternative livelihoods. In Somalia, this will take many different options, for different ex-militia in different parts of the rural/urban country at different times.

As pointed out, the term “DDR” is not considered applicable in the present Somali context. It is suggested arms control and alternative livelihoods are more relevant terms. However, because the DDR term has had such wide (even if misleading) use in Somalia for some time it has been retained in the report. The DDR term must be recast in future policy discussions, strategy definitions and planning exercises. Ultimately, the DDR term must change in practice and operations.

This suggested change comes from the possible different treatment of different types of militias. The following table is illustrative and presented as a basis for discussion.

MILITIA	DISARM ⁴	DEMOBILIZE ⁵	REINTEGRATE ⁶
Freelance	Yes	Yes	Yes
Business	No	No	No
Faction	Yes	Partial	Partial
Court	Yes	No	Already There?
Clan	No	No	Already There?

C. THE LEXICON OF POST-CONFLICT DDR AND RECONSTRUCTION IN SOMALIA

The following definitions are offered for discussion and adapting (not adopting) to mutually agreed **concepts** in Somalia.

Reintegration – of ex-militia (formally disarmed and demobilized) back into law-abiding society (with personal and reconciliation counseling) and support to transition into livelihood without a gun).

Reinsertion – A transition package of cash, food, transport, etc to help ex-militia over from militia support to involvement in new livelihood activities.

Relocate – TFG and TFP move from Kenya back into Somalia.

Retrench – Excess members in police, army and custodial services asked to leave their services (as in pilot ‘DDR’ in Somaliland and Puntland).

Return - of refugees from outside Somalia whether assisted or spontaneously.

Returnable – fixed physical property to original owner, as distinct from moveable property.

Resettlement - of internally displaced persons preferably to their home origin.

Rehabilitation – of persons primarily with psychosocial or physical handicap problems (See Figure 2).

Reconstruction – of physical infrastructure to a level of use-ability, not up to previous standards.

⁴ All would turn in heavy weapons. This refers to small arms.

⁵ Demobilize from current coherent character. Business militia members may stay together as private guards in companies. Some in faction militias may go into reconstituted police and army forces.

⁶ Reintegrate back into former home community or into any place of law abiding society; it does not refer to integration into alternative livelihood.

Figure 2: DDR - Psychosocial Identification and Assistance Process

Replace – infrastructure previously damaged replaced with a structure of higher standard than the original.

Remain – ex-militias staying in their present communities provided that is their historical residence.

Recovery – of Somalia economy.

Rapid Assistance – funds requested and committed in advance of a formal pledging conference.

Restructure – every aspect of Somali central government.

Restore – Make a condition like it was previously, restoration of peace, security, rule of law and order in Somalia.

Reform – change for the better, such as all aspects of the security sector.

Reconciliation – settle root causes of conflict through understanding and compromise of differences at personal, clan and national levels.

Reissue – things like arms once collected and then made available to others, Somali forces.

Register – apply and be accepted for entrance in a DDR program or registered for reintegration benefits.

Reassert – exercise authority and control such as central government over regional, district authority or clan authority over their militias.

Realization – awareness of a factual condition such as the need for a comprehensive integrated DDR national plan. Aware of economic and administrative realities in different regions of Somalia.

Relief – humanitarian assistance.

If a common lexicon is not adopted and used in the political peace process down to individual and community level information campaigns, miscommunication will slow and could derail the transitions being attempted.

D. WHY IS A COMPREHENSIVE, INTERGRATED DDR PROGRAM NEEDED, NOW?

1. Negotiators need it as one incentive for militias to disarm and demobilize – to give militias hope in a workable non-militia future.
2. Militias and communities have come to expect it as the reward for political settlement and D&D participation
3. Militia need it to relocate back into their civil communities
4. Militias need it to transition to livelihoods different from violence and intimidation
5. TFG needs it to structure and deliver reintegration and new livelihood services
6. Donors need it as a basis to confidently commit funds and mobilize technical assistance
7. Security needs it to lessen the chance of militias returning to fighting
8. The economic reconstruction process needs it for security as the transition to recovery of the militia population
9. The communities and civil society need it so they know what roles they are to play with the ex-militia
10. Service providers need it as a framework for their help in reintegrating ex-militia
11. State building needs it to assure the ex-militia security building block is firmly in place
12. The DDR process needs it to dampen unrealistic popular expectations, while encouraging popular hope
13. The peace process needs it to counterpart with the disarmament and demobilization components, security reforms and state building

A comprehensive, integrated DDR program should be planned now so it is ready for adaptation to peace, state-building, security, and D&D discussions. It is also needed to forestall last minute crash demands for immediate reintegration actions that are apt to be ineffective and unsustainable if not jointly planned in advance. The unthinkable scenario for reintegration would

be for the Mogadishu disarmament and demobilization to go ahead without a ready reintegration response to the current Mogadishu Security and Stabilization Plan (MSSP).⁷

To achieve synergy in the post-conflict Somali situation, it is useful to conceptualize a CONTINUUM of overlapping efforts during the transition from humanitarian relief assistance to long-term, sustainable development. It is important to conduct relief assistance and DDR in ways which at a minimum will not hinder follow on economic recovery and development efforts. At a maximum, the assistance should be conducted in ways which help build a foundation, capacity for long-term development.

If the post-conflict Somalia situation involves a disarmament, demobilization and reintegration of ex-militias back into productive, law abiding lives, the same continuum formula applies. DDR should not be conducted to hinder post-conflict economic or political recovery and reconstruction efforts. These in turn are part of the continuum into long-term, sustainable development. The World Bank has experience in DDR to build local capacity and learning for the continuum to recovery, reconstruction and development where the Bank is expected to be involved.

⁷ Mogadishu Security and Stabilization Plan: Proposals and Commitments by the Hawiyee Members of (Somali Transitional) Parliament and Cabinet Nairobi, Kenya: March 2005) .Annex 7.

Figure 3: The Continuum in Somalia Post-Conflict Work: Relief through DDR to Reconstruction and Development

E. IS THE REINTEGRATION COMPONENT READY IF PEACE BREAKS OUT IN MOGADISHU?

The people of Somalia and the international community have several times over the last 13-14 years been disappointed by the failure of Somali leaders to agree on an implementable peace arrangement. The international community has said before it moves further with outside help, it wants to see Somalia take the self-help steps towards installing a central government, relocated inside, with a workable peace, security and economic recovery process.

Could it be this is about to happen with a MSSP endorsed by all parties, including the TFG? Could it be the outside world cannot see this because of historical disappointments? What if a substantial measure of peace is about to break out, is the reintegration component of DDR ready to respond in the time-frame, in the magnitude, with relevant options, so as to support the self-help move? The answer is NO. And the opportunity to solidify the first DDR steps would be lost to inadequate belief in the Somali self-help process.

The comprehensive, African-led Somali peace and reconciliation process appears once again to be bogged down in factional differences. But is it? Two years ago, the factions numbered in the dozens. Today, they have coalesced into two major factions, the Speaker and Mogadishu based ministers and parliamentarians, and the President and the Prime Minister and their backers. The MSSP needs both factions to succeed and both realize this. While there are real concerns and hopes in the MSSP, the differences have not derailed the peace process. This is a promising step to monitor.

The next step in the peace process calls for a relocation of the TFG inside Somalia. The President and Prime Minister, representing one of the two factions, says it is not safe to return to the capital city Mogadishu. They have called for foreign troops (from IGAD and AU) to be deployed to demilitarize the estimated 11-15,000 militias who make the city insecure. The AU has agreed to provide troops, but lack of funding delays their deployment. The other major faction, the Speaker, ministers, and members of parliament who themselves are Mogadishu based warlords are countering and say:

- “We do not want foreign troops in Mogadishu: we will demilitarize ourselves.” The MSSP does have a framework for disarmament and demobilization in Mogadishu.
- “The international community wants to see meaningful self-help: we will demilitarize ourselves.”
- “We will demilitarize the capital. The TFG can then relocate there safely. **The international community must fund the reintegration** of ex-militias into productive livelihoods.” (But there is no reintegration component to the MSSP).

There is possibly only one major remaining area of disagreement - the use of front-line foreign troops in pacifying Mogadishu. Behind the scenes, compromises are being hammered out. One faction, the Mogadishu based Ministers and Members of Parliament, says it will demilitarize Mogadishu. They are the warlords who control the major militias in Mogadishu. They are doing what the MSSP says they will do—pre-mobilization and creation of anti-riot squads. They could make disarmament and demobilization happen. They have drafted the Mogadishu Security and Stabilization Plan (MSSP) and say they are changing it to accommodate the views of the other faction and the international community core group. On April 29, the Prime Minister flew to Mogadishu to discuss these views (face to face). The trip reportedly went “very well,” according to one person on the trip, despite an explosion where the Prime Minister was speaking.⁸

The parliament Speaker told this consultant, “Reintegration is the donor responsibility.”⁹ And to a large extent this is true. The businessmen and civil society in Mogadishu reportedly are ready to fund the D&D first part of the Mogadishu plan. They do not have the resources to fund much of a D & D or reintegration components. The MSSP, the self-help effort at demilitarization of the capital city, the relocation of the TFG and the peace process could fail for the lack of a meaningful reintegration ready response by the war lords, TFG or international community. Somalis must lead. In the MSSP, TFG, and TFP that is happening, even if not yet on a unified basis. The leadership should be recognized and supported.

⁸ Conversation with AU Representative, May 3, 2005

⁹ Conversation with Somalia TFP Speaker, Nairobi, April 21, 2005.

What is the implication of this scenario for members of the international community interested in the Mogadishu/DDR and peace process?

Humanitarian assistance should be pre-positioned to reinforce self-help supplies.

1. It is recommended an urgent contingency fund for initial public safety be organized.
2. An immediate DDR planning effort should be organized.
3. A DDR plan that would be responsive to a jointly agreed Mogadishu Security and Stabilization Plan should be prepared with flexibility to be adapted to other parts of the country.
4. International assistance should only be offered if it is supported by both Somali factions.
To do otherwise tilts the political balance from outside.

Even if the MSSP does not go forward, the luxury of time afforded by a fluctuating peace process must not be wasted. A national DDR and reintegration plan will be ultimately needed.

III. CURRENT STATUS OF DDR PAPERS

The focus on political negotiations and security predominate in current DDR planning, to the neglect of integrated DDR planning. There are multiple earlier Somali DDR papers, pilots, studies, profiles and small DDR activities. None constitute a workable national DDR plan, integrated with a national security strategy. There is no leadership within the TFG or international community on introducing a national DDR program. There is no agreement on approach or a joint structure to plan a national DDR. Comments on the key DDR documents are offered. The international community driven Somali Demilitarization Planning Unit was just dissolved after being pulled in too many directions to finalize DDR plans. TFG and IC decisions are needed on SDPU recommendations, including deciding on a way forward for DDR in Somalia.

Integrated national DDR planning is a void in Somalia.

To determine the status of DDR, broad papers on DDR for Somalia in current circulation were identified and reviewed (See Annex 8). Comments on these main documents follow. In addition, studies, papers, pilots and projects relative to DDR in Somalia over the last 4-5 years were reviewed. Key points have been extracted and included in this report. Those documents are included in the attached bibliography, Annex 8. To further understand the status of DDR, thirty-three meetings were held in Nairobi, Addis Ababa, and Washington, D. C., with over seventy members of the international community, involved NGOs and two senior TFG leaders. A summary of their views, donor consultations held by SDPU and the conclusions from a recent SDPU meeting with civil society inside Somalia is presented below.

A. SUMMARY COMMENTS ON THE STATUS OF DDR

The only current active DDR project going on in Somalia is the UNDP/DDR project (See Section III J below). It plans to disarm, demobilize and reintegrate 4,400 estimated excess police and army in the 18 months ending June 2006. The work has been and will be primarily in Somaliland and Puntland with planned incremental moves to the central, south and Mogadishu regions of Somalia. Because the project focuses primarily on retrenching government personnel, not disarming anti-government combatants, which threaten government authority, it is not quite a DDR model for a national program.

The methodology of “mapping” militia locations and numbers and organizing community support using local NGOs and contractors, is good. The incremental approach runs the risk of creating public safety voids (to be exploited by spoilers), but may be a function of limited access, limited funds, and limited implementation capacity to do simultaneous “bottom up” preparations. In addition, some of the NGO and UN specialized agencies are including these retrenched forces in their labor intensive, community development, education, training, house building, etc. projects as part of helping the wider community. The UNDP community based approach to DDR in Somalia has much validity especially if integrated into national DDR and security programs.

This consultancy was not an evaluation of previous DDR work for Somalia. However, in understanding the current status one is impressed by the amount of work on DDR for Somalia that has gone on before – especially in the period to support the movement towards peace under the ultimately failed TNG. This included pilots and preparatory phases for expanded demobilization beyond the pilots. There has been a lot of research work on DDR that forms a base for planning. Some of this is excellent participatory workshops on the broader security sector.¹⁰ Some is inclusive seminars on DDR approach. Some is focused only on Somaliland and Puntland.¹¹

The problem with much of the earlier work is it is not part of a coherent national strategy or national program of DDR. Much of the works will need to be updated to current circumstances. As the DDR work continues to be needed, prior efforts will be helpful inputs to new planning efforts.¹²

Planning for DDR must re-start. Many of the earlier involved Somali participants have drifted away. The same is true of key members of the international community. Much of the earlier research will be helpful insights for planning, but not current, on which to base DDR operations. Some will say, ‘don’t do DDR planning again until after you are sure the plans will be immediately used. Otherwise, the effort and money will be wasted without follow through.’ There is validity in the position. It reinforces the ‘preconditions’ recommended take place before providing planning assistance or capacity building training. The validity reinforces the recommended “phased approach” to possible World Bank involvement. (See Section VI, C).

¹⁰ Mogadishu Workshop on Security Sector Building and DDR in Somalia,” June 4, 2003

¹¹ Hinkel, Harald, First Ceasefire Disarmament and Demobilization, Fact Finding Mission to Somalia: Preparations of DDR of ex-combatants (Hargeisa, Somaliland: GTZ, March 2004)

¹² See List of Annexes

To summarize the conclusion upfront, there is no comprehensive workable National DDR plan for Somalia.

B. SUMMARY COMMENTS ON THE SDPU PAPER ON DDR

The SDPU advisor on DDR prepared a paper entitled: “Proposals for a DDR Framework/ Strategy.”¹³ It is the basis for what the TFG has included on DDR in the Rapid Assistance Program and the TFG Relocation Plan (and funds appeal). It is the same document the TFG Deputy Minister of National Security identified as ‘The government’s DDR plan.’ The commonality of the one paper used in four contexts shows the usefulness of the original paper, and the lack of further planning beyond it. Comments on this original paper are presented here as a necessary lead to the following TFG papers as it is basically the same document as the TFG papers.

The detailed comments on the SDPU proposal paper are in Annex 1. The comments are summarized here.

1. It is the best attempt to lay out the D&D components for a general discussion.
2. Inasmuch as there are only two sentences, repeat two sentences, on reintegration in the common paper on DDR, it can again be concluded that no reintegration plan has been developed.
3. The paper seems overly ambitious regarding what D&D can be accomplished in the planned six months.
4. The staff and organization is underestimated, even for the D&D phase.
5. Identification of who will do the D&D (the militias themselves versus AU Troops versus a non-established DDR commission) is not spelled out.
6. No role is spelled out for external weapons verifiers.
7. Sequencing is very confused
8. Assembly and reinsertion payments are asserted and need to be questioned.
9. There is no disaggregation for treatment of different types of militias, and needs to be.

¹³ Somalia Demilitarization Planning Unit (SDPU), Proposals for a DDR Framework/ Strategy (Draft) (Nairobi, Kenya: Technical Working Group on DDR of (Somali) Ex-combatants, January 2005)

C. COMMENTS ON THE RAPID ASSISTANCE PROGRAMME (RAP) (WITH REFERENCE TO DDR)

(All of the comments on the SDPU prepared paper on DDR above and Annex 1 apply here. The RAP section on DDR is from that common source paper).

The RAP is an initial package of projects/ activities designed to address the most immediate needs of Somalia in the first 12 months of establishing the transitional government, parliament and institutions.

Within the section titled 'Improved Security Environment' is a paragraph on disengagement arrangements and another on 'Security Sector Review and DDR.' They note that the process of demobilizing the (five types) armed militias (est. 50,000) 'will be critical to the return of security in Somalia.' They also recognize the 'clear need for DDR strategies and short-term disarmament programs but accepts that reintegration is a long-term process.'¹⁴

The sole paragraph on DDR identifies reintegration as formal and on the job training, job creation, recruitment programs and labor-intensive programs. It states the TFG will prioritize activities such as fishing, farming, livestock activities and basic infrastructural rehabilitation (really reconstruction). The anticipated DDR results are:

- a. A Strategy
- b. An institutional framework
- c. Mechanisms established for militia registration and small arms collection
- d. Pilot DDRs
- e. 3,000 militia reintegrated into civilian life (in 12 months?)
- f. Initial literacy and vocational skills launched

It is encouraging the RAP recognizes the links between DDR, security and sufficient stabilization for the TFG to begin re-structuring and state building. It is also encouraging that DDR is addressed in the immediate Relocation Plan. But the sole paragraph on DDR is not the basis for planning DDR activities let alone immediate operations. It does call for an institutional framework

¹⁴ "Edited Draft: Rapid Assistance Programme (RAP) in Support of Reconciliation and Peace in Somalia," p. 8

to develop DDR. But to date, neither a structure nor planning has begun. These must be immediate priorities.

D. COMMENTS ON THE TFG RELOCATION PLAN (WITH REFERENCE TO THE DDR SECTION)

(All of the comments on the SDPU prepared paper on DDR apply here. The Relocation Plan section on DDR is from the same SDPU common source paper).

Component III of the Relocation Plan is the DDR component. The one-quarter of a page on the DDR states the program is to run 6 months countrywide at a cost of Euro 15.6 Million. It is to be executed by an inter-ministerial committee in parliament with the international community (AU/IGAD/LAS/UNDP). The first phase is to reintegrate 7,000 of the estimated 53,000 ex-militias.

The focus is to be on regular and irregular militias, not identified. If the regular forces refers to the downsizing of police and army in Somaliland and Puntland, it should be part of a force reduction in a cease-fire agreement, not only a budgetary exercise as is purported to be the case.

The DDR is to be in coordination with the efforts to re-establish security forces. In other documents, this means setting up a new police force. Close synchronization is critical to avoid a security vacuum between D&D of militias, and the readiness of a new police force to provide public safety. Similar synchronization is critical to avoid a frustratingly long wait by disarmed militia to go into police training. None of these and other coordination steps are defined.

A high level TFG/ international parties committee will be formed to advise on DDR strategy. That committee has not been formed, nor T/A requested for it. The Minister of Planning told this consultant that he recognized the DDR gap in the MSSP, Relocation and Rapid Assistance Plans. He stated he was prepared to call a technical meeting of TFG, donors and NGOs to produce such a plan. He has tasked the Deputy Minister of National Security to do this. In the meeting with the consultant, the Deputy Minister said he would propose such an inter-ministerial meeting to the Minister of Planning.¹⁵

¹⁵ Conversation with Somalia Deputy Minister of National Security; Nairobi, April 28, 2005.

The document does not recognize the implementation modalities on donor funds will need to be jointly worked out to achieve accountability and financial transparency. There is no Somali counterpart to work this out with as of today.

A few comments on the budget (Figure 4) are offered (in part because there is no DDR program to analyze). The text has a \$20.3 Million Relocation budget; the attached matrix has a \$ 23.3 Million budget. The \$ 3 Million difference is in the 'reintegration, screening, reinsertion' assistance line item. The budget shows that \$3 Million as already contributed / pledged for 'various DDR activities.' Donors are identified as EC, Italy, Sweden, UNDP, USA, and UNESCO.

Figure 4: Militia DDR Budget by the TFG

The \$ 313,000 to establish an institutional framework, capacity building and operations, will prove to be totally inadequate.

The \$15.2 mil for registration and screening is ballooned up by the reinsertion assistance. Worldwide experience should be analyzed to see if reinsertion assistance is required in the Somali context, and what the implication of providing it or not providing it may be. Other documents call for this at \$60/month for four months. At that rate roughly, \$12.2 (actually \$12.7) would be required for re-insertion assistance. That would leave the roughly \$3 million for registration and screening, which is high.

The first phase (7,000 persons) reintegration cost at \$ 5.9/5.6 Million seems about right at \$850/person. So is the weapons assembly at \$1.2 Million if it is done by the militias themselves and verified by a small monitoring group.

The assessment and monitoring of DDR is grossly under-funded. **Already militias expect a job and income from DDR.** This is very costly even if possible. This expectation must be dampened into reality by a continuing information program. (There are already reports of increased armed men on the Kenya and Ethiopia borders. They reportedly have moved there to escape the rumored TFG collection of weapons from all militia. In fact some in the TFG make that gross “weapons collection” assumption, when in fact, it will be impossible to disarm clans who historically hold arms, and especially feel insecure now after 14 years of lawlessness). In the absence of an amnesty, an effective and costly information program must be mounted to counter these rumors and the chaos they are already creating.

There is in the RAP D&D section a sentence on progress reports by an implementation agency collaborating with an inter-ministerial committee and international partners, with a fund report to the CMC. These relationships are not clear.¹⁶

The \$23.3 Million budget shown in the Relocation Plan is an increase from the \$18 Million budget in the original SDPU document on DDR, even though the period of implementation is shorter.

An attempt has been made to extrapolate from the SDPU paper, the RAP and the Relocation sections on DDR a conceptualization of a DDR management and coordination structure for DDR in Somalia. This is a hypothetical rendering for DDR by the consultant (See Figure 5).

¹⁶ Figure 5 is an attempt to diagram this out, and to add a suggested organogram for a DDR Commission. Other diagram inputs are derived from the DDR discussions.

Figure 5: Extrapolations for a Conceptualization of a DDR Management and Coordination Structure

During the last afternoon of this consultancy, the Deputy Minister of National Security shared two draft laws he has submitted for legislation. The first establishes in the TFG a high level National Security Council. This is an excellent first step. It will provide the structure for a security sector review so important to the public safety and national defense context for DDR. (The proposed NSC structure is a good replacement for what Figure 5 called for as a TFG Inter-Ministerial Committee on Security).

The Transitional Charter already authorizes a DDR Commission. It has not been created. Its establishment should be a condition precedent to Bank involvement in DDR. It would be an appropriate body to lead DDR planning if properly staffed and linked into related peace processes.

The second piece of draft legislation is the legal framework for arms control, including disarmament of militias. It would form the basis of action by the D&D unit (outlined in Figure 5). The Deputy Minister stated disarmament is the responsibility of his ministry; reintegration is the responsibility of the international community.

What is **missing is any structure for reintegration planning**. The SDPU recommended workshops on reintegration. They could be initial ad hoc structures. Either the sought after National Security Council, or authorized DDR Commission, would need to establish an inter-ministerial, joint with international community, (including NGOs), reintegration planning structure. It would produce plans for a possible reintegration implementation unit. Many in the international community lament the absence of the Somali government as the implementing agency for an effective DDR. In the absence of central government authority over the past 14 years, a large number of local NGOs/ INGOs and civil society organizations have grown up. They represent considerable local capacity that could continue to engage community reintegration options. TFG leadership and central planning structures are essential. But they must not ride over existing regional and local capacities.

E. COMMENTS ON THE MOGADISHU SECURITY & STABILIZATION PLAN

The Mogadishu Security and Stabilization Plan (MSSP) appears to be the most serious and potentially most active step in DDR for Somalia. The TFG have said they cannot relocate into Somalia's historical capital now because of the insecurity there. The MSSP is a proposal and commitment of the Hawiyee members of parliament and cabinet to immediately restore law and order to the city (which most of them control through their various militias).

Some believe this move, separate from the TFG, is a power play among rival clans to control the seat of the TFG and thus control the TFG itself.¹⁷ Others believe it is a Hawiyee move to accomplish the following:

- a. Respond to international calls for self-help measures prior to commitment of significant relocation/ reconstruction funds.
- b. Disarm and demobilize their own militias to head off deployment of unwanted foreign troops, especially front-line state troops which support the rival clans represented by the President and Prime Minister versus the Speaker of Parliament.

While the MSSP was originally dismissed as a unilateral action, the TFG has subsequently engaged in discussions with the Mogadishu based members of the cabinet and parliament to try to resolve the differences. One press article states the Prime Minister and Mogadishu warlords and commanders 'approved' the MSSP the day before the May 3, 2005 explosion where the Prime Minister was speaking.¹⁸ Several in the international community, and this consultant, **believe the MSSP has a 70% chance of being implemented.** Political jockeying is still intense and that outcome will set the context for the MSSP. But it has not aborted the peace process.

From the narrow point view of reintegration, MSSP implementation could result in short-term chaos if it goes ahead immediately. There is no reintegration component to the MSSP. There is no previously prepared reintegration plan that could applicably respond to this D&D move. This will be the chaos scenario regardless of whether the MSSP is unilaterally implemented by the Mogadishu warlords or whether it is changed and embraced as a joint plan with the TFG. It may

¹⁷ "Somali PM flies to Mogadishu over disputes," Daily Nation (Nairobi: April 30, 2005) p.14

¹⁸ Press Reports, May 1, 3 & 4

be possible to get some indications of how the MSSP is moving from the Somali Prime Minister's early May and June trips to Mogadishu.

- The MSSP is essentially a disengagement and pre-demobilization plan. It is not a DDR plan. If it is implemented it will demonstrate the all-important political will to disarm and the command and control by the warlords to demobilize. But because it is totally de-linked from political reconciliation, security sector reforms, and any ready reintegration response, it would confront eventual DDR planners and reintegration managers with extremely difficult tasks.
- The MSSP plans to encamp 15,000 militias at 6 camps. The camp preparations (water, food, shelter, sanitation and security) are not in place. While business warlords could finance this immediately for a short period, donor funds would be needed in a magnitude and time frame for which no one has planned.
- Security at the camps would reportedly be kept by 600 former policemen (equals a 1:25 ratio) over 15,000 militia. This is a workable ratio if political agreement, command and control and satisfactory living conditions exist. The plan calls for an additional 700 police to be located in 14 police stations (x50 policemen each). That implies they will be charged with public security in the predictable lawlessness that will exist in the vacuum left by cantonment of militia. This is an inadequate public safety arrangement without new police training, organization, equipment, communications, or backup.
- Militias from different groups (Faction, Courts, Businessmen, Clans, and Freelancers) supposedly are to be encamped together. Without reconciliation and counseling, this will spell insecurity in the camps.
- It appears registration and screening will be done by the warlords only for the militia commanders not the militia themselves. By setting a 15,000 ceiling, competition to increase persons entering DDR from different militias and clans from different service times, will be intense, probably unmanageable.
- The police are to be responsible for weapons collection and safe-keeping. That will make them identifiable and easy targets for eventual "spoilers" to exploit. But they do not yet exist as an authorized force.
- 684 men with 42 weapons-mounted vehicles ('technicals') will be selected to form anti-riot squads based in the 14 city police stations. Control of these considerable powers may prove

impossible by only a few lightly armed police without their continuing control by Mogadishu warlords. Their loyalty to the TFG is essential.

- The members of parliament and cabinet behind the MSSP request the international community to ‘speedily render financial assistance, without which implementation of the MSSP becomes quasi-impossible.’¹⁹ There is no recognition of how long it takes to solicit, pledge and disburse donor funds. They suggest the same demilitarization process be undertaken simultaneously in all regions of the country. This is highly desirable from a security point of view. But the discussions with non-Mogadishu based warlords have not taken place nor an organization established to accomplish this. As stated above, the international community should only support the MSSP if it is a joint plan, with the approval of the TFG.

The March 22 SDPU comments on the MSSP are in Annex 4. The former SDPU advisor on DDR states the “**reintegration strategies are severely underdeveloped (in the MSSP).**” Training cannot address the entire case load in the MSSP, which may lead to bottlenecks or even a breakdown in the peace process.²⁰ A concept paper on phased demilitarization of Mogadishu was also prepared by the SDPU Steering Committee to comment on the MSSP (Annex 4). But the three phase, three month suggestions are on demilitarization, not disarmament. They do not address reintegration at all.

F. COMMENTS ON THE CONCEPT NOTE ON DDR

The most helpful general paper on DDR developed for Somalia is the ‘Concept Note’ done by the SDPU and developed with inputs from GTZ, UNDP and ILO.²¹ It covers the ‘why’ of reintegration; the challenge; general approaches, the requirement for planning and preparations and a disaggregation of possible short- and long-term reintegration activities.

The paper takes a stand on encampment (‘avoid it’), reinsertion package (‘limit it to while awaiting reintegration assistance’), and large-scale public works (‘temporary employment, not

¹⁹ Mogadishu Security and Stabilization Plan: Proposals and Commitments by the Hawiyee Members of (Somali Transitional) Parliament and Cabinet, Nairobi, Kenya: March 2005. Key members are reportedly the TFG Minister for Internal Security Quanyare, Muse Sudi, Governor Indhe Adde, Omar Finish, Osman Atto, Botan and the business militias.

²⁰ Annex 5, page 5.

²¹ Somalia Demilitarization Planning Unit (SDPU), Concept Note: Reintegration of Militia in Somalia, Nairobi: March 31, 2005

reintegration'). It is one of the very few papers that recognizes the important link between DRR and settlement of land/property rights which have been disturbed by force over many years and political transitions.

As the title implies, this is a Concept Note. The note would be very useful to start a dialogue to identify goals, strategies and principles of an integrated national DDR plan of action for Somalia. It is not such a plan itself; nor was it intended to be.

G. COMMENTS ON THE REINTEGRATION REFERENCES IN THE SDPU DRAFT FINAL REPORT

The SDPU Draft Final Report recommends, 'prioritize the reintegration and review the DDR sequence. There is a pressing need for new thinking and preparatory actions on re-insertion (reintegration?) in the Somali context beginning with mapping existing and potential militia, training and employment opportunities, and self-help possibilities with participation of business leaders.'²²

There is a tremendous amount of work to be done ahead of a national DDR program. If time permits (a) operational research, (b) planning, (c) capacity building and (d) and an extensive information campaign should be carried out before a DDR program is launched. This work is most urgent for a national, integrated DDR. Much of the earlier work must be redone, given the uniqueness of the Somalia context, its complexity and the lead time needed to organize actual DDR. It is not unrealistic to think these steps will take 6-9 months, even if the steps are taken simultaneously. Will the on-off political process allow this much time? (It will not if the MSSP moves ahead quickly under TFG endorsement.) Even if the political process stalls again, the DDR planning steps should be taken now so they can positively influence the political negotiations with realistic DDR plans, and be prepared to implement when these negotiations culminate.

²² Annex 6: Somalia Demilitarization Planning Unit (SDPU), SDPU Draft Final Report (Nairobi: April 25, 2005) p. 23-25.

The SDPU Draft Final Report recommends: “Insure readiness to hit the ground running (with reintegration programs) by insuring job availability (not simply training) for militias, even while negotiations continue.” Insuring jobs is almost an impossible task. To do it, the government, donors or local community would need to pay ex-militia for doing a job – pay in cash or in kind. None of these three groups would be willing to do so in the large numbers needed to employ all the potential militias. Years of militia preconditioning have built up a total expectation for jobs and income as a condition to disarm and demobilize. The pre-conditioning has been reinforced by the international community because of inadequate technical staff work on reintegration options. How to meet or change these expectations for jobs in the context of high general unemployment in the economy is a huge challenge facing all involved in Somali DDR and peace process.

The SDPU report correctly concludes: ‘existing international training, placement and capacity to provide DDR packages are entirely INADEQUATE relative to existing militia numbers. Those estimates range from 50,000 to 100,000 and conceivably could run as high as 200,000, (See Figure 6).

Figure 6: Differing Militia Numbers

Multiple estimates of the number of ex-militia who potentially will participate in a Somali DDR. These are:	
SDPU DDR¹ paper (This is the paper most often repeated by TFG)	50-53,000
TFG estimates: RAP, Relocation and DDR paper	53,000
Estimated militia strength by region ¹	45,500 – 78,800
GTZ Discussion Paper by H. Hinkel ¹	70,000-80,000
Technical Working Group (January, 2005) ¹ MDDR	100,000
Footnote to above estimate (100% turn-over every 5-years) of present and former militia	200,000
Estimate of former SNA and retiring police (additional to above)	?

These wide variations of who is in the militia target group for DDR shows the **urgent need for entrance criteria** to be developed and accepted in a DDR plan. The criteria must be by an urgent information campaign, before these numbers become possible to distinguish from general unemployment soon after a DDR plan is written and approved.

SDPU recommends 'local business leaders can be enlisted and the World Bank could be engaged in this respect (See proposal).' Note: the proposal referred to is for "Reintegration Strategies for the International Community – a Strategy Workshop."²³ It is recommended the two proposed workshops on economic reintegration of the militias and armed youth should be supported by the World Bank. If the recommended World Bank reintegration planning technical assistance is present when the workshops are held, the T/A would be the right representative. If the T/A has not arrived, short-term consultancies should be arranged to participate in the workshops. It is not recommended the convening of the workshop be a pre-condition for the reintegration technical assistance. Both of these actions can feed into each other's exercises, so flexibility in sequencing is urged.

The above SDPU conclusion on the inadequacy of existing approaches to reintegration and national DDR must stimulate original and applicable solutions to the Somali requirement. Inter-discipline analysis may find new cultural and economic approaches to rural and clan controlled DDR. Security and business interests may recommend conversion of business militias to private guard services. Political, anthropological and security analysis may take the nascent neighborhood watches into a public safety option. Reasserting traditional authority may lead to clan control of their militias through community development and reconciliation efforts. Accepting impressive private business and service realities that have grown up in Somalia in the absence of central government services may lead to many SMEs using the extensive mobile phone coverage to start businesses, to identify and transport spare parts from multiple sources, etc.; infrastructure reconstruction could employ thousands at the reopened Mogadishu port and airport. Exploring non-traditional reintegration options should reduce the case load needing individual integration benefits.

It is not clear what organization will consider action on the SDPU Final Report recommendations, now that the SDPU has been dissolved. But actions should be taken.

²³ Somalia Demilitarization Planning Unit (SDPU), SDPU Draft Final Report (Nairobi: April 25, 2005) p. 5 , 22 & 26

H. SDPU/ CIVIL SOCIETY CONSULTATIONS

One of the most relevant inputs to future Somali DDR of ex-militia was the SDPU consultations with Somali civil society on demilitarization. The consultations were held April 11-12, 2005 in Bossaso, Somalia. (See Annex 10).

The very first summary point emerging from these consultations was ‘the need for further knowledge on the nature of the militias.’²⁴ The fundamental starting point in development has long been the principle to carefully understand a present condition before attempting to change it. This definitely applies to Somali DDR. There are some useful profiles, research, reports, etc done earlier on militias.²⁵ Most of these helpfully focus on the individuals in the militias. What is missing is a better understanding of how the militias operate; their relations to their “sponsors” (if they exist); the internal structure of the militias – especially the command and control structure; the living conditions in rural areas or militia clan relations in urban; the control and use of weapons; the tradition of self defense versus exploitation for livelihood; clan perceptions of different militias; differences between clans, court, business, factions and freelance militias and ‘armed youth;’ reconfirmation of age, education, family dependence and income disaggregated by types and locations of militia; individual self perceptions and identities projected into post-conflict alternative livelihoods, etc.

It is premature for this consultation to design the research and interviewing instruments. They must be crafted by trained Somalis familiar with the militias, their social and economic contexts. It is clear that the knowledge from this type of research is critically needed to guide DDR strategies and plans. Some of the questions that should be answered include:

- a. By disaggregating the types of militia, will different DDR approaches be relevant?
- b. If community based reintegration options are offered, can the community or clan control the militia members, their actions and weapons?
- c. If clan, court, business and factions’ militias continue as structured, will the lawless command and control be broken? If they are turned into private guard services, clan defense units, etc for their livelihood and security, will the new command and control risk remobilization?

²⁴ Somalia Demilitarization Planning Unit (SDPU), Report on SDPU Civil Society Consultation (Bossaso, Somalia: 11-12 April 2005) p. 1

²⁵ Somalia Demilitarization Planning Unit (SDPU), Annexes SDPU Draft Final Report (Nairobi: April 25, 2005) Annex 24

- d. If individual, community and private benefits are structured for different militias, can this be made acceptable or will it be perceived as unequal treatment and rejected by some?
- e. Who is living in a support relationship that is threatened by DDR, or will continue, verifying the need for a re-insertion transition assistance?
- f. Besides individual need for income, what does demilitarization mean to clan, community, warlord income and disbursements to militias?
- g. By understanding more about the top and mid-level commanders, what DDR options for them may be required which must be different from the militiamen?

It may not be possible for the Bank to fund this research, and possibly others with closer militia or clan relations should do the research. It is recommended the Bank approach other international community organizations to encourage one or more of them to urgently undertake this research to assist Somalia with greater community and militia insight relative to DDR. WSP and NOVIB-Somalia are first rate NGOs with the right connections to assist in the understanding of this work.

Should the peace process proceed so fast as to preclude the above-recommended research, it will be very important that the ensuing DDR planning be joint enough to gain insight into these types of questions to guide DDR implementations.

I. TECHNICAL WORKING GROUP

In January 2005, a Technical Working Group on DDR of ex-combatants was convened by SDPU. It is an excellent starting point for the above-recommended research. See the one-page description of target groups, Annex 1 of that report.²⁶

The ten person-working group had police, military and security inputs, but not development or reintegration expertise. While the working group recommended \$72m (out of a \$90.8m DDR budget) be earmarked for reintegration, the one paragraph devoted to 'assistance packages' is not the basis for reintegration strategies and planning. The working group estimated a potential target group of 100,000 ex-combatants requiring DDR assistance. There was no explanation for this estimate, which is twice as high as the most often repeated estimate of 53,000 in militias. The working group report attempts to schematically represent the core-combatants, part-time

²⁶ Somalia Demilitarization Planning Unit (SDPU), SDPU Draft Final Report (Nairobi: April 25, 2005) p. 10

militia and recruiting ground for both these.²⁷ The recommended criteria for defining a combatant is as follows:

- Be a legitimate member of a militia
- Provide proof of membership including militia color or uniforms
- Be a permanent or full-time combatant
- Hand in a small arm or light weapon
- Be associated with a 'technical.'

Note the criteria does not limit selection to those currently serving in a militia. If the 100% turnover of militia in five years is close to accurate, this criteria could open participation of ex-militia members of up to 200,000!

J. UNDP SOMALIA DDR PROJECT

UNDP Somalia has a 'DDR project.' In the first 18 months phase (January 2005-June 2006), the project will support an initial DDR for 4,400 individuals in Somaliland, Puntland, Central and Southern Somalia. In the first two regions, the aim is to reduce the excessive members of forces and the resultant drain on finances. The project recognizes that the number and structure of armed groups across Somalia requires a differential approach to DDR. The approach is very much 'bottom-up' – developing local ownership and involvement in the DDR process. This includes community and civil society identification of militia members, conduct of security reviews, registration, psychological screening, arrangement for economic and social economic studies, surveys, profiles, pilot projects and development of fledgling management systems and rudimentary local capacity building. Registration of forces in NE Somalia is complete. Registration in Somaliland will be complete in mid-2005. Then registration in Central and South Somalia can begin when security prevails. There is one DDR project manager.

Several UN specialized agencies have plans related to potential economic reintegration of ex-militias. The ILO, for example, has a labor-intensive public works project, funded by the EU and UNDP. It plans to employ 2,000 in Mogadishu and 2,000 elsewhere in Somalia. The project seems well organized with competent leadership and good planning. ILO staff reported they are ready to expand this project to organize additional temporary economic reintegration

²⁷ Somalia Demilitarization Planning Unit (SDPU), Annexes SDPU Draft Final Report (Nairobi: April 25, 2005) Annex 20

opportunities. They are also ready to expand into house building, education, and agriculture, in cooperation with Habitat, UNESCO, and FAO. Several donors already fund limited projects in these areas. Contributions by UN specialized agencies, along with multiple bilateral, donors, LNGOs, INGOs, contractors, civil society, local institutions, etc., would greatly benefit from comprehensive DDR plans and greatly increased funding for DDR. Somali and international community leadership on a sustained basis is needed.

The UNDP project calls for national expansion. Separate documentation on this was not available. Inasmuch as the present project will only reach 8% of the estimated militia in 18 months, this broader effort is critical. The project 'will continue to build and support the operations, capacity and national/regional coordination structures, including the TFG National (DDR) Commission.'²⁸ UNDP sees itself in leadership roles on all aspects of the peace process and restructuring of Somalia including DDR. However, they recognize their own staffing and funding limitations and feel there is room for others to take the lead in specific sectors and issues.

The UNDP reportedly would welcome the Bank involvement in DDR, especially on reintegration, which the UNDP recognizes as a gap. Bank involvement in the broader DDR is seen as possible so long as there is no conflict between the UNDP community driven approach and the expected Bank's national approach. The UNDP and this consultant see these as potentially complementary. The UNDP especially urged World Bank leadership in following up on the SDPU recommendations for reintegration workshops. Other international community views are included in the following section.

²⁸ Page 2 UNDP DDR Project Paper

IV. STATUS OF INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY VIEWS ON SOMALIA DDR

In the absence of Somali government or international community leadership on militia DDR, the international community is very divided on key DDR issues. It will take good leadership and focus on a common security task to compromise the donor differences.

Many donors have been and are willing to be involved in DDR. None appear ready to lead a comprehensive national DDR program.

As mentioned above, an attempt to understand the status of DDR was made by reviewing the foregoing DDR plans, sections of plans dealing with DDR, papers and reports relative to DDR. Another approach included reviewing key DDR related activities previously undertaken. These have been charted out by SDPU and cover UNOSOM/ UNITAF, TNG, GTZ/EC, UNESCO, UNDP activities and left room for TFG and other works (Figure 7). The SDPU chart does not attempt to capture recent DDR consultations between SDPU and civil society organizations, nor consultations with select donors between December 2004 and January 2005 (see Annexes 10 and 11).

Figure 7: Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration Activities

To this information is added insights gained from the consultant's interviews with important donors, international organizations and non-governmental organizations in April-May 2005. Due to the absence in Mogadishu of key Somalis, a Somali Transitional Government not yet fully functional and a pre-occupation with political negotiations by the TFG, it was possible to only interview two influential Somalis in the TFG/TFP. This report must be read in that light, which violates the first principle of development – consult all the stakeholders. However, there is in almost every international community office, a senior, knowledgeable, competent, involved Somali. These professionals generously gave their insights into multiple questions regarding the status of DDR in Somalia. These various views on the status of Somalia DDR are summarized below.

A. DIFFERENT DONOR APPROACHES TO DDR

1. Donor strategies to Somali militia DDR:

- a. Address 'Mogadishu first': Deal first with spoilers, the most dangerous militias (Freelance, Warlords).
- b. Incremental: Continue in relative stable Somaliland and Puntland. Move incrementally to other major population centers when they are secure.
- c. Bottom Up: Work to scale-down the easiest militias to deal with (clan or court controlled militia?). Start in rural areas and work towards Mogadishu last.
- d. Simultaneity: Treat all militia at same time. Do it country-wide to avoid creating security vacuums.

2. Donor approaches to 'reintegration' of ex-militias:

- a. Create individual jobs/ employment/ income. Undertake massive labor intense public works if necessary.
- b. Train and educate individuals, it is more sustainable
- c. Mount community-based reintegration. Clans can control militia and should receive benefits for doing so.
- d. Craft unique reintegration solutions for different types of militia.

3. Donor funding for DDR:
 - a. Several donors have some funding of their own. Others must raise contributed DDR money.
 - b. Others have potential funding for reintegration, but not for D&D.
 - c. Some have small funds available now, but not enough to meet DDR needs
 - d. Most want unified Somali action before committing funds.
4. There are no workable National DDR plans for Somalia:
 - a. There is no active structure for DDR joint planning.
 - b. There are no Somali counterparts on DDR.
 - c. There is no international leadership solely on DDR.
 - d. There is little realization of what DDR is, and what needs to be planned and prepared ahead of time.
5. How to treat reintegration for Somali militias:
 - a. Treat them all the same to avoid discrimination.
 - b. Different categories of militia will need different reintegration benefits.
 - c. Somalia will need unique, applicable regional solutions.
6. Leadership for DDR action:
 - a. Responsibility is with Somalis.
 - b. Transitional Somali institutions are too weak to lead.
 - c. No donor is presently leading integrated DDR; most will support other's lead.
 - d. No obvious comparative advantage by anyone to lead.
 - e. UN might lead DDR but as just one component of Somali transition and with lots more money and staff.
7. Is prior and existing DDR related work applicable now?
 - a. Somaliland and Puntland are not applicable national DDR models – they are retrenching police/army to save money.

- b. There are extensive related activities, but no consolidated lessons-learned from them.
 - c. There are useful reintegration examples, but none at a magnitude equal to the numbers expected in a national program.
8. Links of DDR to security to reconciliation to peace to state-building to reconstruction:
- a. There is no management structure to integrate them all.
 - b. There is no national DDR strategy to link outward to all others.
9. What structure exists for national DDR planning/ operating – None at present.
- a. Create a TFG Inter-Ministerial Council on National Security
 - b. Activate a DDR planning unit under CMC.
 - c. Establish the TFG Charter mandated DDR Commission.
 - d. Empower and expand UNDP Somalia office.
 - e. Mandate the AU Advance Mission.
 - f. Staff the TFG Ministry of Militia or Ministry of National Security to operate.
 - g. Leave it to civil society – INGOs, LNGOs, and civil society.
 - h. Agree on whoever can raise the money for DDR to take responsibility to lead and implement DDR!
10. Is reintegration needed? – Yes:
- a. To give militia alternative livelihoods.
 - b. Some of those living in home communities do not need reintegration.
 - c. We do not know how to do it.
 - d. Plan now, so reintegration is ready when peace comes.
 - e. Plan later when D&D agreements are known.

The conclusion to be drawn from the above summary of views is the international community is very divided on key DDR issues. It will take good international community leadership, focused on a sustainable security and common DDR task and willingness to follow Somali leads to compromise the differences.

B. REGIONAL STATUS OF DDR

Somalia has long been a victim of geopolitical divisions in the sub-region. It is obvious Somalia's peace process, including DDR are greatly influenced by the Horn of Africa and Gulf regional contexts. The US and UN roles in earlier Somali relief and peacekeeping are well documented. Officially, the US says it has no policy on Somalia. Unofficially they have real interests in a stable government in Somalia to help counter terrorism. The UN has a Somalia Liaison Office that is very active in some development and humanitarian sectors. They are expanding the UN staff working on Somalia and upgrading the representation. Frontline states roles in Somalia stability and instability go back dozens of years. All purport to strongly back a stable Somalia but several engage in bilateral agendas. The current peace process has been led by IGAD and AU. The UN and LAS are active participants to help find political solutions. Gulf state governments would like a stable Somali government to increase legitimate trade and decrease illegal trade in weapons and counterfeiting. The Kenya host for the TFG/TFP is pressing for Relocation back into Somalia. All this amounts to continued regional pressure on Somali factions to compromise and implement the peace process. This pressure, along with enlightened Somali interests and conflict weariness, are what may eventually bring a new functioning central government to Somalia, which is also in the interests of regional security.

One of the most contentious issues for DDR is the use and role of regional front-line state troops in Somalia. The AU and IGAD have authorized African troops to be peacekeepers, monitors and verifiers of disarmament and demobilization. But lack of funding and adequate security constrains deployment right now. The TFG/TFP and key warlords are split on this deployment, along lines of who has front-line support and who is confronted by front-line states and which state is willing or unwanted, to deploy how many troops, to perform what services, for how long, changes almost monthly. Recently, Ethiopia and Djibouti troops were not acceptable to opposition groups. Uganda and Sudan troops were acceptable, but in more limited roles. Kenya and Eritrea have not offered troops. If the warlords and factions demonstrate the political will and command and control to disarm and demobilize, and if this is coupled with public safety moves and a reconstituting police force, outside troops from Uganda and Sudan could be limited in numbers and roles to protecting the TFG and destroying weapons. Disarmament, demobilization, peacekeeping and public safety roles for African troops are desired by the President and his supporters. They are presently unacceptable to the Speaker and the warlords who back him. These differences must be resolved by Somali leadership.

Uganda had recently decided to postpone deploying its troops, supposedly in reaction to the May 3, 2005 explosion in Mogadishu.²⁹ It insists on larger deployments to confront that insecurity. Neither Sudan nor Uganda are in the position to increase the size of their pledged forces. This could derail the peace process. Or it could press the TFG to accept a variation of the MSSP, which calls for the militias to disarm and demobilize themselves. At the moment, the one security sector reform step being discussed in a regional context is a possible training of reformed Somali police in Uganda.

Outside the front-line states, regional commitment to TFG success is uneven. Yemen has extensive business interests, including arms sales in Somalia, and links to TFG President Yusuf. Saudi Arabia and the Gulf States may be less forthcoming with aid to the TFG after getting 'burned' in backing the earlier TNG. Their flexible and direct help in funding disarmament, demobilization, and reintegration may be necessary. Libya and Egypt will probably play more political roles than DDR funders, unless African interests give way to Arab interests.

In summary, the international community is aware of the need for a DDR in the Somali peace process. But there is less agreement on what that should be, or who should lead it with the Somalis. The following section suggests what DDR actions are needed now.

²⁹ Ryu, Alisha, "Uganda Delays Peacekeeping Mission to Somalia," Voice of America (Nairobi: May 4, 2005) p. 1

V. WHAT DDR ACTIONS ARE NEEDED, NOW

Peace will break out sooner or later and the DDR component does not now exist to respond to a political break through. If peace stalls, it allows time to prepare for an integrated DDR, which ultimately will be required. Management and program suggestions are made for immediate action by the TFG and international community.

Planning must be collaboratively done and synchronized with other security and restructuring planning. Unique solutions must be found. Management structures must be established. Raising tens of millions of dollars must start. Training and accountability systems must be put in place. Difficult expectations must be managed before they subvert a DDR program before it starts.

Action must start now on the management and program steps to develop a comprehensive National DDR program.

To review: the peace process is still fluctuating and the militias still breed insecurity that restrains TFG relocation and moving the peace process forward. A DDR is needed to deal with the militias, but it must be unique to Somali requirements. Despite lots of previous DDR related work, integrated Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration national plans do not exist. A reintegration contingency plan is needed now, in case joint agreement is reached on the Mogadishu Security and Stabilization Plan, or be ready to respond with a comprehensive DDR plan when the peace process dictates. Lack of understanding what a DDR should be in Somalia and little realization of the complex work and extensive time needed to prepare for DDR constrains actions. Lack of leadership in the TFG and international community on preparing a national DDR is a major constraint.

Below are suggested management and program steps to overcome these constraints to help move the DDR forward. It is recommended these suggestions be briefed to the involved TFG Ministers, representatives of the relevant civil society organizations, and the international community most likely to be interested in the DDR. Recommend they assign action on the suggestions they believe worthy of support.

A. MANAGEMENT STEPS

First, raise awareness of the need to do comprehensive integrated national planning now for the DDR of ex-militia. It does appear the recent discussions, reports and interviews have started this. But if the awareness is still not embraced to the point of action now on DDR planning, then it is suggested a power point presentation to decision makers would be in order. Robert Scharf, Alejandro, Ingo Wiederhofer or Ted Morse could do this fairly soon.

Second, work with key decision makers in TFG/TFP and international community to decide on what structure will be used to sponsor and guide total DDR planning. A single leadership structure for the TFG and IC should be empowered. Separate this from the important coordination structures and agencies, but build that necessary coordination into the DDR and broader planning structures. Monitor TFG/TFP action on the two laws proposed by the Deputy Minister of National Security to setup relevant security structures.

Third, ask the TFG to objectively select technically qualified Somali planning and potential managers as counterparts to the joint DDR planning. Perceived neutrality is important.

Fourth, after verifying the first three steps have been taken, offer technical assistance in reintegration planning as a first step in total DDR planning process. Early on, jointly prepare the purpose statement for the exercise and draft guiding principles. Some good work on this has already been done by UN's Robert Scharf in the Concept Paper.

Fifth, if the workshops recommended in the SDPU draft final report (Economic Reintegration of the Militias and Armed Youth) are moving ahead rapidly, the DDR planning team should either lead or participate in these. If action on the SDPU recommended workshop is stalling, proceed to plan (above) DDR for militia reintegration. If the proposed workshop to develop a National Security Council and strategy are being held, offer to provide a DDR resource person to that effort. Open dialogue with the TFG sponsoring structure to link interactively reintegration planning with appropriate questions to stimulate planning on comprehensive security, state-building, and DDR. Keep the coordinating bodies informed.

Sixth, do capacity building. Task the DDR T/A to 'train while doing.' Production of a plan is urgently needed. But Somali capacity to implement the plan must be built at the same time. Somali ownership and management must grow from the weak status of a failed state and a transition government. Offer to organize a trip for the Somali staff to learn the successes and

failures of DDR in Sierra Leone, Uganda and Great Lakes that could be adapted (not adopted) to the Somali requirements.

Seventh, Coordination. Be sure the initial reintegration planning and then full DDR planning is inter-actively linked into the political peace process, the security sector reforms, the establishment of new police and military forces, reestablished public administration, state-building, economic recovery and reconstruction, social rehabilitation, reconciliation efforts, needs assessments and of course, fund raising. But do not let the DDR planning be held hostage to the pace of these.

Eighth, if an agreed DDR plan for Somalia is moving quickly, review existing funds for DDR with donors. If need be, organize startup, bridging funds for DDR to keep pace with the magnitude and location of DDR, until more comprehensive fund raising is complete. Create a separate MDTF if DDR is moving faster than a comprehensive donor meeting.

If militias go back to conflict for lack of reconciliation and optional livelihoods, all other peace and recovery efforts will cease.

B. PROGRAM STEPS

1. Lessons-Learned Research. There are many lessons to be learned from the studies, profiles, pilots, small projects, consultations, seminars and reports on DDR related matters in Somali over the last several years. There is a useful proliferation of these. If time permits, consider funding research into the lessons-learned from these documents. Structure the findings to present the policy and program options suggested by the very differing approaches in these documents.
2. 'Community Driven' Operations Research. The assumption that clans will control militias for law-abiding purposes only, as part of a community based approach to reintegration or development should be tested. This is critical information also to the Bank's 'community driven approach' to economic recovery, a possible parallel to militia reintegration into alternative livelihoods at community level.
3. Militia research. If the peace process and DDR allows, an immediate survey of each militia, their location, and number and aspirations of members is crucial to the DDR program planning. Plans cannot be prepared on estimates that vary from 50,000 to 200,000 militia members.

However, do not hold up planning in the absence of agreed absolute numbers. This will change over the course of planning/ implementation with tighter criteria and additional insights borne of progress. If the above is not immediately possible, research into the structures and operations of differing militias is also crucially needed information. There is some earlier profiling that can guide planning in the absence of new data. What is missing is information on the root causes of conflict engagement; command and control of differing militias; the existing and possible future support relations, between militias and the clan, court, business or faction sponsors or TFG; the past turn-over rates and reasons therefore for leaving the militias (which tell us about previous members expecting DDR benefits); gross funding for militias from sponsors that might be saved or redirected as self-help contributions to DDR.

4. Identification of 'spoiler' interests. Who is getting what power or money from the status quo and what options could offset these with financial, political, cultural, social or coercive steps. There will be people/ groups who resist the peace process and DDR. Plan for this resistance.
5. Disaggregate militias and conceptualize differing reintegration approaches appropriate to the Somali militia characteristics. Conceptualize different 'benefits' (treatment) for sponsoring groups, warlord organizer, high and mid-level commanders (who could lead remilitarization if not satisfactorily treated) and the current and previous militia persons.
6. Criteria analysis, for qualification for DDR participation, and analysis of level and types of differing benefits is needed as early as possible to dampen inevitable expectations and guide future operations.
7. Operations Plan must emerge quickly to guide building the DDR delivery system, synchronized actions, timing, costs, staffing, logistics, financial management, information and sensitization, reintegration programs, reporting, etc. Figure 5 is a hypothetical organization chart extrapolated from various documents and discussions. An ops plan is also needed to factor in the organization and training of community (rural and urban) reintegration, economic recovery and public safety committees, and for synchronizing parallel planning.
8. Reconciliation. The national peace effort continues to experience difficulties, in part because power sharing was equated with reconciliation. National reconciliation is needed to set the policy and tone for state-building and restructuring. At the individual ex-militia person and the community levels, a clear reconciliation strategy must be built into the DDR plan.

9. Registering, Screening, and transition processes and forms must be developed. This is detailed work that can spell frustration if not carefully done early, adjusted and constantly communicated to the ex-militia.
10. Reintegration Options. The obvious education and training options may not fit many older, uneducated ex-militia. Unique options for individual livelihoods and linked community benefits must emerge from the present free-market conditions in different regions of Somalia. Careful surveying existing and constantly developing new options will be key to reintegration success.

C. THREE BROADER DDR CHALLENGES FACING SOMALIA ACTION

Separate from the above specific DDR management and program steps are three broader DDR challenges:

1. There is a huge, unrealistic and potentially explosive EXPECTATION on the part of the militia that they will be 'given jobs and incomes' if they participate in DDR.

An immediate and continuing INFORMATION campaign must be mounted to restrain that expectation with the reality that 'opportunities' will be offered under DDR, not jobs and incomes.

2. The NUMBERS of people expecting to participate in DDR may be four times (400%) more than people are discussing if all the ex-militia over the last 14 years apply.

The CRITERIA for participating in DDR needs to be spelled out quickly before the numbers become unmanageable. Apply the criteria. Don't wait for absolute numbers.

3. If a peace agreement should be reached soon, including on implementing the Mogadishu Plan, DDR is not sufficiently PLANNED to respond rapidly.

Contingency plans will be needed to quickly respond to any jointly agreed implementation of the MSSP and application of that "pre-demobilization" model in other cities/regions.

Disaggregating types of militias and crafting differing DDR approaches is essential; so is recognition of different types of insecurity in different regions.

The above recommended DDR related actions could be taken, with Somalis, by a number of organizations. What follows are recommendations for World Bank involvement in Somali DDR, even though this goes beyond the TOR for a status report.

VI. RECOMMENDATIONS FOR WORLD BANK CONSIDERATION OF DDR

It is recommended the World Bank get involved in Somalia DDR, on a phased basis of increasing level of involvement if conditions continue to be positive.

Initially, it is recommended the Bank fund technical assistance for planning the reintegration component of DDR if specified conditions are met. Also fund a comparative experience trip to African DDRs, to build Somali capacity to implement DDR. Reintegration planning involvement will produce the insights on political, security, strategy, organizational, program and funding conditions needed for disarmament and demobilization decisions. They should be a part of a comprehensive national security and DDR process. Justification for the Bank's involvement is suggested along with linkages to other planning for Somalia recovery.

The Bank needs to decide on the type and level of involvement it will support, if at all, in Somalia DDR of ex-militias. Then the DDR work can be synchronized with the Bank's other pre-economic recovery preparations and TFG and international community state-building and security sector reforms.

IF SOMALIA DDR FAILS, OTHER RECOVERY WORK WILL FAIL

A. WORLD BANK INVOLVEMENT IN DDR/ REINTEGRATION

There is a sizeable gap in the Somali transition plans. There have been practically no integrated national plans developed for DDR to move the ex-militia into a productive life not dependent on a gun/violence. Somalis and the involved international community have rightly focused on the big picture. Inclusive political arrangements and immediate security has predominated. There is basically one current DDR paper, written by SDPU and often repeated in TFG documents. It contains only two sentences on reintegration. That dramatically demonstrates the reintegration planning gap. There is one UNDP/S DDR project. It is small and not a model for a national integrated DDR program. There are pilot programs, profile of earlier militias, experience from the TNG period, manuals on how to address reintegration by specialized agencies, etc. None of these add up to a national DDR with a comprehensive reintegration plan.

Such a plan is urgently needed. If the current negotiations between the two major power cliques regarding security in Mogadishu are successful, disarmament and demobilization by the warlords themselves will start and move quickly. If pre-demobilization works in Mogadishu, it should be anticipated it will be tried in other regions by other war lords, businessmen and civil society. A reintegration strategy, plan, staff, organization and budget will be needed immediately. These do not exist today and are not in preparation by either the Somalis or the international community. There is also no leadership or a focal point for this. Even if the present negotiations stall, reintegration plans will be needed eventually when the talks result in implementing the transition, relocation, security and state building of a Somali government. We may have the luxury of time to do the planning and build the capacity that ultimately will be needed to implement the reintegration component of a DDR, as part of security reforms and part of state building needed to re-establish a Somali government. That luxury should not be squandered. (In mid-May, the government of Ivory Coast and rebels reached a political and security agreement after three years. As so often happens, they expected DDR to begin immediately and finish in four months. It could not. That takes advance planning!).

Five points on reintegration were repeated in most of the local discussions held during this consultancy:

1. We have been busy with political and security arrangements.
2. We have not looked ahead to reintegration requirements.
3. We understand the requirement for reintegration, but we do not understand how to do it.
4. We are involved in some aspects that could be incorporated into a comprehensive reintegration, but we do not intend to lead the effort.
5. There is no structure or leadership on national, integrated reintegration of ex-militia.

During these consultations, there was almost unanimous appreciation for the World Bank raising the issue and stimulating thinking about reintegration, which was off almost everyone's screen. This was done without raising expectation of the Bank's leadership in this field.

The UN could provide this leadership. They have done this elsewhere, including in Afghanistan currently. But the UN is focused both on the bigger transition picture and implementing incremental, limited DDR pieces in select regions. Specialized agencies could do it but would need an integration of specialized effort rarely seen in the UN. Other donors could provide DDR

leadership. But none saw this as their specialized niche. Civil society has good ideas and capacity, but not the stature to lead it. The host government usually leads this, with technical assistance. But Somalia has not had a central government and the TFG does not now have the capacity to lead it alone. The TFG has written and said reintegration is a donor responsibility. The Deputy Minister of National Security asked for World Bank leadership on DDR “to bring fresh ideas.”

The World Bank has a comparative advantage in Somalia, in helping to plan ex-militia reintegration at this time, and engagement on the linked continuity of DDR.

- It has extensive, successful comparative experience with DDR and practices the continuum into economic recovery in post-conflict situations, especially in Africa.
- It is professionally neutral of specialized competing interests that distort many other approaches to ex-militia reintegration.
- It is backed by expertise and pre-planning in conflict resolution, state building, social development, employment creation, and economic recovery, all related to DDR reintegration.
- It understands the breadth of fields and organizations that may be needed to design alternative livelihoods in the business, community, training, vocational, rural, NGO, security, and development sectors.
- It understands the links to poverty and a restarting economy.
- It has an interest in community driven development, livestock and fisheries, education and health, reconstruction and economic recovery, which would be important reintegration outlets for some militias.
- It has a commitment to building local capacity, which is where reintegration planning must start in this failed state.
- The Bank has the stature to be listened to which is critical for technical assistance to be helpful and funds to be contributed.
- It has credible experience raising grant funds for DDR and accountably managing MDTFs.
- Somalis and the international community would greatly appreciate the Banks’ technical assistance on reintegration planning if not full leadership on DDR.

B. OPTION 1: WORLD BANK TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE AND TRAINING IN REINTEGRATION

The first recommendation is for World Bank initial involvement to help plan a national Somali reintegration program for ex-militias. The Bank would do this through funding short-term technical assistance and a capacity building comparative DDR experience trip in Africa.

World Bank Technical Assistance in reintegration planning is not an implied commitment to fund actual reintegration in Somalia. It will create the hope of Bank lending for recovery and reconstruction – which must include ex-militias. But all understand the debt arrears constraint on any immediate lending and reintegration planning must start immediately with D&D probably before debt considerations. It is doubtful any single donor would be willing to fund DDR. The political profile and magnitude is too great. A general fund for recovery or a specific MDTF for DDR may evolve. Could the Bank funding ex-militia reintegration planning lead to a Somali and donor request for the bank to manage a multi-donor grant Trust Fund, as it has in other post-conflict situations? That would be a Bank policy decision to ‘fence off’ that option even before committing Technical Assistance, or leave it open to see if others would organize a MDTF for reintegration or move in a phased manner to lead DDR, which could include Bank management of a MDTF for DDR. Parallel and competing donor funding is chaos for even well managed states, which transitional Somalia is not. This should not happen with DDR funding.

The technical assistance in reintegration planning is needed immediately to respond with applicable approaches should the present D&D negotiations in Mogadishu culminate in jointly agreed immediate disarming, which this consultant believes has a 70% chance of happening. The technical assistance is still needed if the peace process stalls to prepare for when a national reintegration plan will ultimately be needed. It is estimated the T/A would be needed for 6-8 weeks after certain pre-conditions are met to make effective use of the T/A:

1. An inter-discipline, technical level Somali reintegration planning team should be established and is ready to work.
2. The reintegration planning is clearly sponsored by a high level Inter-Ministerial Council under any one of the credible joint planning structures under discussion: these include a CMC sub-working group on DDR; a proposed National Security Council within the TFG; the transitional Charter authorized Disarmament, Demobilization or Reintegration Commission, or an Inter-Ministerial Task Force on DDR.

3. Agreement to do the reintegration planning now, and not wait for the TFG to relocate, AU troops to be deployed, the start of D&D, completion of a security reform, acceptance of the Needs Assessment findings, nor a donor's conference. All of these will be greatly helped if an operational plan for reintegration is drafted, which can be used to inform these exercises, or adjusted to conform to any of the other exercises as they come along.

In addition to the T/A, it is recommended the Bank fund a comparative experience trip for Somali counterparts. If the T/A agreed, the trip would be a helpful foundation for exploring Somali solutions to Somali DDR problems to understand how DDR was addressed in other African countries. Only technically qualified, prospective DDR managers would be considered to make the trip. Many forms, procedures, directives, decisions could be picked up and ADAPTED (not adopted) to the unique Somali situation. This would be a critical a capacity building outcome along with the technical assistance.

The SDPU Draft Final report recommends two workshops be held on reintegration of ex-militia and armed youth. The above recommended Bank technical assistance in reintegration planning could be the Bank's contribution to an international community workshop. Alternatively, the bank could organize those workshops, including provide a reintegration expert to facilitate the workshops.

Additional recommendations for World Bank involvement in the ex-militia reintegration component of Somali DDR are presented below as high and low involvement under option one. These actions could be exercised in conjunction with the above recommended reintegration technical assistance, independently from that technical assistance or passed on as suggestions for others in the international community. The work needs to be done.

1. Lobby TFG and the international community for immediate action to prepare for reintegration:
 - a. Hi-profile – Ask TFG/CMC to receive World Bank briefings on Reintegration needs.
 - b. Low profile – Show parts of the DDR Status Report to TFG and IC.
2. Support the SDPU recommended Reintegration Planning Workshops:
 - a. Hi-profile – Fund and organize the Reintegration Workshops
 - b. Low profile – Contribute a Reintegration expert if someone else takes the lead on the Reintegration Planning Workshops.

3. Help build knowledge base for DDR planning and operations:
 - a. Hi-profile – Fund research on militia operations.
 - b. Low profile – Encourage others to fund research on militia.
4. Support Community Based Reintegration options:
 - a. Hi-profile – Fund civil society, NGO (WSP/ NOVIB/ LINGO) organized community based reintegration efforts.
 - b. Low profile – Fund research to underpin Community Based Reintegration and economic recovery interventions, including community driven development.
5. Help build Somali capacity to manage DDR implementation:
 - a. Hi-profile – Provide T/A on organizing joint TFG/IC structure for DDR implementation and train staff to manage through the structure.
 - b. Low profile – Send Somalis to learn lessons from other African DDR structures.
6. Support funding for Reintegration actions:
 - a. Hi-profile – Lead creation of a MDTF; do fund raising for it; manage it.
 - b. Low-profile – Fund small discrete Reintegration activities as Bank’s entry into economic recovery and reconstruction that will follow.

C. OPTION 2, 3 AND 4: FULL, PHASED OR NO INVOLVEMENT

The fundamental issue for Bank decision is the level and type of involvement in Somalia DDR, if at all. This section spells out Option 2 and Option 3 for Bank full involvement at each step of a comprehensive national DDR program. It would build on the earlier preparatory work by GTZ, UNDP, specialized agencies, EU, DFID, bilaterals, NGOs, SDPU. But it would provide Bank leadership to the entire DDR process. Option 4 is No involvement.

OPTION 2: BANK FULL INVOLVEMENT IN SOMALIA DDR

While the intensity of involvement varies depending on policy decisions, Bank management will understand the limits of isolated involvement in only a single DDR step, such as reintegration or economic recovery of ex-militias. This limit is set by the linked, interactive relationship of each step in the peace negotiations – through DDR – to development along the entire continuum. Reintegration of Somali ex-militia must be closely coordinated on the continuum all the way back to peace negotiations, security sector reforms and disarmament. It must be coordinated forward in the continuum to reconciliation, reconstruction, economic recovery and long-term development (See Figures 3 and 9). The continuum is rarely sequential. It is almost always simultaneous, with the magnitude varying along the continuum of inter-related actions.

Figure 8: Possible Levels of Involvement in DDR Continuum

For example: IGAD/AU/UN core group peace negotiators must not make reinsertion and reintegration commitments that cannot be fulfilled in DDR implementation. DDR planners must inform peace negotiators of the need for Somali militia commander commitments on DDR and offer realistic reintegration incentives for negotiators to use. Disarmament can be spontaneous or directed or verified: if submission of a gun is also understood as eligibility for reintegration benefits, the AU/IGAD/militia weapons collectors must be trained by DDR operators so misinterpretation of eligibility does not happen allowing in many more people than can be accommodated. Many donors restrict their funds to non-combatants; demobilization of Somali militia must take place in a sequence which does not preclude use of donor funds. Screening and processing of ex-militias during demobilization must be done in close coordination with reinsertion planning, reintegration opportunities and realistic timing. Decisions on encampment of demobilized Somali ex-militias must be put into a security reform strategy. This includes close integration of plans to possibly integrate some (and not other) ex-militia into new Somali police and army forces, and encamp some for an extended period; the cost, frustration and insecurity of encampment must be factored into integrated plans. Integration of the 'up and down stream' steps in DDR continuum takes purposeful leadership.

In the Somali context, different reintegration options will need to be crafted for different ex-militias and ex-combatants, in different parts of Somali which are in different stages of insecurity. This will take close coordination of the many linked steps in the total DDR process.

Reintegration cannot be managed in relative isolation from other parts of the peace-DDR-development continuum. Reconciliation must be fostered at the political and national levels if it is to set the positive context for reconciliation among individual ex-militia and the community/society into which they should be reintegrated, accepted. Multiple opportunities for ex-militias to find alternative livelihoods will need extensive coordination with reconstruction jobs and economic recovery employment opportunities to avoid them becoming the explosive unemployed. The reintegration must be conducted in ways that "it does no harm" to evolving economic, social and political development. The reverse is equally true.

Option 2 is for a Bank decision to become fully involved in the entire, comprehensive DDR, right from the start, now.

OPTION 3: PHASED INVOLVEMENT BY THE BANK

To plan and implement an effective nation-wide DDR for an estimated 53,000 Somali militias requires a holistic approach to all steps of DDR. In the absence of an established, well managed TFG, this holistic approach will need to come as leadership by some organization in the international community in close coordination with a strengthening TFG and multiple stakeholders. Help in reintegration planning (Option 1) is needed to create momentum, test capacity and do actual reintegration planning. But this is too limited and delinked from the other DDR steps to be the ultimate strategy for Bank involvement or to be the basis of national DDR program development. On the other hand, it is considered premature to commit now to Bank full involvement in leading the necessary comprehensive DDR program for Somalia (Option 2). TFG is not united enough to be the expected host-country partner. The institutional framework is not established to do capacity building now. The professional, technical staff with whom joint planning must be done have not yet been appointed. Time and effort is needed to work out with the international community, NGOs and donors respective interests in different parts of a national DDR program. The Bank full involvement in a national DDR program would be the objective immediately. But the conditions are not right to move to that objective now. Thus a phased involvement is recommended as Option 3.

Under this option, the Bank would start with limited involvement by contributing a reintegration expert to work on reintegration plans. Then test the ability of the TFG to move to comprehensive DDR planning and operations, test international community willingness to coordinate and contribute to full DDR operations and test the status of the peace process to use an integrated DDR program. If the conditions are right for probable success, then staff up and commit to World Bank leadership to organize the integrated, comprehensive DDR program along the continuum to economic recovery and development. If conditions are unfavorable, stop Bank involvement after supplying only reintegration planning assistance.

This is the consultant's recommended option.

The purpose of a phased involvement is to test (a) if the minimum conditions exist to proceed to the next step and (b) give expectations for ultimate success. In the dynamic, changing situation of DDR/Somalia, many variables are outside the control of the World Bank. Therefore, it is prudent to proceed cautiously, but expeditiously. Below is a suggested matrix of five factors which could be monitored to help decide whether to proceed or not proceed with Bank leadership in Somali DDR (See Figure 8).

Figure 9: Factors in Incremental Decision-Making on S/DDR

It is highly unrealistic to expect sequential satisfaction of these factors. Minimum versus complete standards should be applied in judging the application of these factors prior to World Bank leadership. Constant adjustment to on-the-ground realities must be allowed in defining the factors to consider in deciding Bank involvement. The goal should be to decide if Bank leadership of Somalia DDR can be successful and sustainable in removing the Somalia militias as part of a national security and public safety effort.

The critical path for the World Bank decision through this matrix is as follows:

1. If the SRSG convenes a national security committee of the TFG, check to see if the World Bank is able to participate effectively as the DDR resource person, as the NSC addresses “removing the security threat posed by different militias.” Check to see if the NSC endorses a technical planning process for addressing this issue that appears workable.
2. Determine if the TFG is ready to officially request World Bank international leadership on Somalia DDR. (This would validate the earlier oral request by the Deputy Minister of National Security.)
3. Test to determine if SRSG/S-UNDP/Key Core Group members agree in principle that the World Bank can move beyond a DDR reintegration emphasis to exercise the international community’s leadership for DDR in Somalia. This should be done in close coordination with SRSG political lead, DFID lead on Security Sector Strategy and Police reconstitution, and integration of the UNDP/S DDR project and related UN specialized efforts.
4. Assuming the TFG/NSC planning process calls for a subsequent detailed technical planning meeting on DDR (militia arms control and developing alternative livelihoods for the militias), see if a World Bank offer (crafted with other parties) to organize and fund the technical DDR meetings/workshop is fully accepted. If so, provide the technical assistance and funding and conduct this planning. Do so only if the TFG designates professional, technical people to participate in the DDR meetings.
5. Determine if the MSSP and self-help security efforts in Mogadishu and other regional centers are resulting in an interim, safer environment in which to collaboratively consult and plan DDR.
6. In concert with related security sector institutional moves, check if the TFG appoints professional full-time staff to a government DDR unit, designates office space and begins to work (using bridge funding from donors). Determine if the DDR unit has the political

authorizations of the TFG. Determine if the war lord-militia leaders have designated representatives to participate in the DDR unit.

7. Using Bank “bridge” funding, contract for research to (a) map locations, size, command and control relationships, updated demographics, aspirations, etc. of key militias and (b) identify implementing partners, and (c) survey institutional and private reintegration opportunities and assess capacity to expand.
8. Using acceptable plans and budget from the above technical planning effort, in coordination with other immediate fund raising efforts, determine if key donors are willing to contribute to a World Bank managed MDTF.
9. If political, policy, security, institutional, programmatic and funding factors are moving in a generally positive direction, seek World Bank decision to lead implementation of DDR in Somalia. Determine if World Bank headquarters and the Bank Field Director agree to WB DDR lead in Somalia.

OPTION 4: DO NOT GET INVOLVED IN SOMALI DDR

This must be a realistic option. Option 1 is a useful contribution to help develop the reintegration plans that should be started now if the extensive preparation will be ready when needed. But this involvement is limited by it not being linked to the other DDR steps, as it must be ultimately. Both conceptually and operationally, the DDR steps are linked, interactive and reinforcing. Options 2 and 3 require Bank commitments that risk failure as much as hold hope of success. The Somali transition will take place, sometime and someday. But that is far from clear now. There are probably a dozen international organizations and many dozens more local Somali organizations involved in pieces of a DDR. The situation requires a holistic approach. It is not now happening because the conditions, agreements, cooperation, leadership, structures and funding are not now in place. It can be argued that the Bank would do well not to be involved in DDR and stick to sustainable development. Let someone else lead DDR.

PERSPECTIVES ON POSSIBLE BANK INVOLVEMENT IN SOMALIA DDR

In addressing the issue of the Bank's possible role in Somalia DDR, many internal Bank considerations beyond the consultant's purview will be needed. These include legal, policy, management and funding considerations. But three perspectives are offered.

First, it appears the AU, IGAD, LAS, UN, and a Core Group of power brokers will continue to lead the overall peace process. It appears the AU troop deployment will focus on security for the TFG and its transitional institutions, and may help on heavy weapons verification, storage and disposal. It is doubtful they will lead or implement DDR. The UN most likely will want to lead the broad overall transition to state building and recovery process. The UN specialized agencies will want funding for their special contributions. The question will be the extent to which the UN will want to lead and implement the comprehensive DDR, versus coordinate a DDR lead by the World Bank. The UN accepts a British lead in security sector review and police reforms. Would they do the same for a World Bank lead in DDR? The UN sees itself with a DDR strategy of continuing their DDR project in Somaliland and Puntland, and when funding and security permits, incrementally expanding this work into the south, central and Mogadishu. In the next year, that project will only impact 8% of the militias. (The retiring of excess police and military in Somaliland and Puntland does not represent a model for the DDR of militias and ex-combatants in the rest of the country). No bilateral organizations appear interested in leading the DDR, although many have expressed willingness to contribute to DDR, as have several NGOs. All parties are expecting the World Bank to play major roles in the reconstruction, economic recovery and long-term development. They hope the same from African, Arab and European development organizations.

Key to the Bank's decision should be what the Somali Transitional Federal Government wants in regard to international community DDR leadership, and who the TFG wants as counterpart to their own Somali DDR implementation structure, which must be inevitably setup. At the moment they have not been given options and probably do not have the background to decide this without additional information. But the Deputy Minister of National Security has said the TFG would want World Bank involvement in the total DDR process and program.

The second perspective offered on the Bank decision is what might be needed to fulfill leadership on DDR. Certainly, a clear policy decision to get involved, coupled with institutional support would be required. Secondly, staff will be required to manage Bank involvement in

Somalia DDR. A full-time DDR assistant to Priya will be necessary, with administrative support. Consultancies on developing and training Somali DDR implementation capacity would be necessary. Periodic consultants on DDR planning, especially demobilization and reintegration would be necessary. Specialists in Management Information Systems, Financial Management and Information should be anticipated. A multi-donor Trust Fund for DDR would be critical. This will be needed regardless of whether UN or World Bank or someone else leads DDR. A full-time Trust Fund Manager would be needed. Involvement would take a minimum of two years for the estimated 53,000 militia, and could run for four years if the numbers balloon to 200,000. In the absence of a strong, well functioning TFG lead on DDR, significant numbers of contract staff will ultimately be required.

Donors will have a say in who they prefer to manage a MDTF and lead DDR. That has not been probed in any depth. Based on experience elsewhere, and limited conversations in Nairobi, there is reason to believe some donors would welcome Bank leadership on the comprehensive DDR program. The World Bank now has extensive experience in DDR. Bank management will need to decide if it wants to apply this experience to leading Somali DDR.

The third perspective is, if Bank management agreed to support Bank leadership in Somali DDR, four preconditions are recommended for options 2 and 3:

1. A TFG request to the Bank to lead DDR, agreement on a sponsoring body (National Security Council?) and establishment of a (professionally staffed) DDR implementing organization.
2. International community agreement to work with a DDR lead by the World Bank and contribute to a Multi-Donor Trust Fund.
3. AU/UN agreement to coordinate and integrate World Bank led DDR into the broader continuum of state building work.
4. Militia leaders agree to cooperate and engage on DDR with Bank leadership.

Lastly, if option 2 or 3 is chosen, it should be exercised in concert with a judgment on the pace with which the TFG is coalescing into a workable central government.

D. LINKAGES OF SOMALI DDR AND EX-MILITIA REINTEGRATION WITH ECONOMIC RECOVERY

There is a fair base of research and some profiling on Somali DDR. Not surprisingly is the strong links found between willing participation in DDR and the high expectation of employment/income in return for DDR participation by militia.

This is the dilemma facing most Somali proposals for ex-militia reintegration in education and training programs: additional skills and knowledge can help prepare a person for employment, but the training programs cannot guarantee (unsubsidized) employment after the training. The classic answer is that employment opportunities will increase as the post-conflict economy recovers. This is rarely good or soon enough to encourage DDR participation, nor reduce the chance of return to violence to earn a living.

What are some of the opportunities for World Bank to link ex-militia reintegration and economic recovery work in the Somali transition context?

1. Analyze the most likely employers in the near term reconstructed sectors of the economy: construction; transport; port and airport operation; expansion of current (including illegal) exports and imports; expansion of current private business sector; expansion of social and essential services now provided by small-scale entrepreneurs and NGOs – like education, health care, electricity, water, garbage, sewage, business and public safety, etc. Do the same for the ‘traditional’ sectors, like livestock, fishing, and agriculture.
2. Identify and evaluate the formal and informal training institutional capacity ability to expand their intake-output, in the sectors, and geographic areas, and level of training, in the time-frame needed by the reintegration component of DDR.
3. Prepare the pre-departure counseling of ex-militias to stress these employment and training opportunities, and inform the ex-militias of real choices. Match these as close as practicable to self-selected choices shown in recent assessments of militia aspirations. This could lead to an employment referral service later.
4. Setup a pre-reconstruction vocational, technical education and training grant program to increase local capacity to match the above identified reintegration, reconstruction, and economic recovery needs.

5. Another pre-economic recovery capacity-building link to reintegration of ex-militia could be creation of an employment referral and information service. While this often falls prey to corruption and frustration, it is one essential link for ex-militia people who have rarely worked in the civilian private commercial sector. Investing in that capacity simultaneously with DDR can add a measure of employment success for both ex-militia and the large unemployed population.

These could conceivably lead later to an education sector and informal training or poverty reduction loan by the World Bank. Inasmuch as 70% of militia people reportedly have had no formal education, the reintegration and recovery programs will need to cater to both this large group and the 30% with 4-8 years of formal education. Inasmuch as the average age of militia people is 28-30, few will be able to enroll in formal education and may need work-oriented adult education to reintegrate.

The average number of people directly depending on the wages of each militiaman is estimated to be seven (7). It is critical to their participation in DDR-reintegration program that they realistically envision income to off-set their current average income of \$60 per month. These should become the general targets for reintegration and post-conflict employment.

If the opportunities to link ex-militia reintegration and economic recovery are not picked up under DDR, it will be important that these and similar ideas for linkage be picked up in the Needs Assessment. Synchronization of planning is needed to make these linkages operable.

E. INTEGRATED PLANNING

Planning DDR and reintegration for ex-militias is a very important step but only as a part of a much larger set of planning exercises that must go on simultaneously for Somalia. The synchronization of DDR planning with the other planning exercises is absolutely necessary. The continuum 'from relief through DDR to development' is a basic principle.

The continuum will take on new meaning in the Somali transition. Those planning monetary and fiscal reform will need information from the DDR planners regarding the role counterfeiting currency plays in payments to militia and arms purchases. Those planning macro-economic reforms will need information on the militia roles in 'revenue collection' at check points. Those

planning continued humanitarian food aid will need information about any food-for-work that may be built into ex-militia reintegration plans. Those planning security reforms will need to synchronize plans with DDR reintegration plans to put ex-militia in the reconstituted policy/military services. Those planning demobilization and disarmament will need close coordination with reintegration planning for operational reasons. Those planning community based development will need coordinated strategies with any community-based reintegration of ex-militias. Those planning revitalization of education and health will need information on ex-militia reintegration in those sectors. Those planning the economic recovery will need to understand the militia roles in the present economy, legitimate businesses or smuggling, khat sales, etc. Interdiction in illegal arms sales will need joint planning with disarmament (See Annex 3).

The integration of planning will be complicated by the challenge to transition from the informal to the formal, without destroying the productive private sector that has grown up in the absence of Somali central government. It will be complicated by the status of regional differences and resistance. It will be complicated by the autonomy of regional and district authorities now accustomed to operating outside central authority. The extensive presence and good works of international and local NGOs will probably expand and their plans must be factored into ex-militia plans. Those planning the ex-militia reintegration must structure themselves to manage the needed two-way, multi-dimensional, constantly changing, coordination requirement. This requirement to integrate all plans will undoubtedly be factored into the Joint Needs Assessment by the World Bank and United Nations. The Ministry of Planning will need everyone's full support to make it happen.

The planning of a total restructuring of a failed state that has operated without central authority will be a challenge unparalleled in post-conflict recovery. It will take leadership of extra-ordinary vision and management. It will take cooperation and coordination rarely seen in development work.

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ACRONYMS

AU - African Union. (formerly Organization of Africa Unity)

C/B - Capacity Building

CMC - Coordination Monitoring Committee (for Somalia)

DFID - (British government) Department for International Development

DDR - Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration

EU - European Union

GTZ - German Technical Cooperation Agency

IGAD - Inter-Governmental Authority for Development (of Horn of Africa sub-region)

ILO - International Labor Organization

LAS - League of Arab States

L/NGO - Local Non-governmental Organization

MDTF - Multi-Donor Trust Fund

Militias - Organized, non-formal combatants; (types see page 9)

MSSP - Mogadishu Security and Stabilization Plan

NGO - Non-Governmental Organization

NOVIB - Somalia Branch NGO

NSC - National Security Council

RAP - Rapid Assistance Programme

SDPU - Somalia Demilitarization Planning Unit

SME - Small Micro-Enterprise

SNA - (former) Somalia National Army

SRSG - Special Representative of the (UN) Secretary General

TFG - Transitional Federal Government (of Somalia)

TFP - Transitional Federal Parliament (of Somalia)

TNG - Transitional National Government (formerly in Somalia)

UNDP - United Nations Development Programme

WB - World Bank. (International Bank for Reconstruction and Development)

WSP - War Torn Societies Project