

MANAGING FAILURE ON THE ROAD TO SUCCESS

Social Restructuring+Economic Building= Better Life

AbdulRehman Sheikh Mohamed Hassan (Gablax)

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FIRST EDITION

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Preface

It was the year 2004, and I was inspired by the embrace of federalism in Somalia. Possibilities for balanced state and federal level governments stood at a reachable distance for the first time in the history of the nation. As the anticipation for normalcy grew stronger, my dreams for a beautiful tomorrow flowed by intuition.

My original aim was not to write a book or to share ideas with the public. Instead, it was to put a process improvement kit together and carry it to the office of the Puntland State Premier - Today known as Puntland State President.

When I began my research, I was working full-time for SONY in Nashville Tennessee as an Enterprise Resource Planner. My spare time was very limited, so it took me six long months to produce the first manuscript of the paper.

Within those six months destiny was also taking its course. Forces of backwardness were getting bolder by the day and pressure against federalism was mounting rapidly. The situation seemed to be heading in a depressing direction in Puntland as well. My attempt to contribute constructive thoughts appeared pointless and so I abandoned the idea.

Several years later, while in Dubai, I casually introduced the draft to Abdirizak Tahalil Samater, a successful entrepreneur and writer who is a close friend. He liked it and immediately encouraged me to complete it. Shortly after, while visiting Cairo, I showed it to Sh. Abdinasir Jama Warsame who was preparing his PhD there. He was also impressed and suggested that I publish the paper for a wider audience and not limit it to the executive branch of Puntland's government.

I still wasn't sure about writing a book, but the word about the paper was already out. A couple of Puntland presidential hopefuls showed interest in the manuscript so I gave them copies. They both lost to President

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Abdirahman Sh. Mohamed and I am hoping that, they do not hold my paper responsible for their defeat.

The manuscript eventually made its way to Abdullahi Dirie Jama, a prominent human rights lawyer, who has a legal services office in Seattle. Like my other friends did, he too encouraged me to publish the script as a book. He reviewed the text thoroughly and suggested some additions most of which I am considering for the next edition.

Finally, using my friend Abdukqadir Jama Musse Islaan as a sounding board, I started to cross the t's and dot the i's. The result is this short contribution to the struggle for a better Somalia.

Written by:

AbdulRehman Sheikh Mohamed – Gablax
Enterprise Resource Planner, USA.

Master of Business Administration in
concentration with Project Management,
Colorado Technical University,
Sioux Falls, South Dakota, USA.

Bachelor of Science Degree in
Computer Science, Bellevue University,
Bellevue, Nebraska, USA.

Computer Programming & Analysis
Diploma, Seneca College, Toronto, Canada.

Business Training Diploma,
Manchester, England.

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Human societies, as they stand today, basically belong to one of two worlds. An organized world and one that is dysfunctional. The organized world is managing success, while the dysfunctional world is managing failure and doing a terrible job at it.

Managing success means dealing with the root cause of problems rather than their symptoms. That is what the advanced world does. Of course, they handle their emergencies as they arise, but they formulate most of their economic, political and social policies with several important things in mind, such as; the constitutional rights of their citizens, long term as well as short term prosperity of their societies, the widely accepted vision for the future held by the majority of their citizens, the shared religious, social and political values approved of by the public, etc.

Managing success requires a constant up front analysis of the issues that are identified as priorities. It involves research, planning, scheduling, and execution of work. Projects and policies do not appear overnight but are methodically planned, budgeted etc. This exercise produces accurate and confident implementation and avoids unnecessary overhead costs or complete project failure in the case of state projects, and negative political or social outcomes in the case of policy. For every project, once the plan is complete, the budget is allocated, and a team with an adequate skill level is assembled, a systematic implementation begins. That is the secret of the success of the organized, and hence, successful world. In fact it is no secret at all! They don't do anything supernatural; rather, they plan methodically and pursue their goals with the confidence level required.

The dysfunctional world, on the other hand, is missing some or all of the above mentioned ingredients, most importantly, a vision and the discipline to strive towards it. As a result policies and projects are put in

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place without a clear long term vision or planning and the result, in most cases, does more harm than good. It is this dysfunctional management that condemns some nations to forever circle around tons of problems without taking the proper steps to fix their source.

It is the collective aspirations, dreams and desire of a society that gives it the drive to strive for excellence. These positive emotions must be widely inculcated in the collective psyche of the society if success is to be achieved. It must be fostered in the hearts and minds of the youth through the family, the education system and other institutions so that tomorrow's leaders are not left without a map. Societies that do not have a common positive vision of what their future should be will soon cease to exist. They are doomed to the dust bin of history for they cannot give any direction to the generations that come after them.

In general, the western world, some Latin American and some Asian nations have succeeded in uniting their citizens behind common goals and, as a result, have set up effective systems with checks and balances although some weaknesses do still exist.

Most third world nations have yet to sort out their organizational priorities or lack the political will and moral leadership to act on them. They are struggling with various levels of dysfunction depending on how far they have fallen off the road to organization. Many of these nations have broken social, economic and political systems that have failed to serve their citizens on many levels. The result is the emergence of crippled economies, morally bankrupt political leaderships and social disorder. So damaging are these problems in some cases that they undermine nationhood itself while corrupting society to the core.

In a dialogue about progress through organization, one nation seems to have fallen completely off the map. It should come as no surprise to the reader as to which nation it is.

Somalia has no political, economic or social system, functioning or otherwise. There is no rule of law governing this nation and from an initial observation one might conclude that there never was. No reliable electricity, running water, sewage system, taxation, customs, coast

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guard, reliable police forces, railway system, roads, modern airports, just to mention a few challenges.

Ceaseless war fueled by inter-clan hatred has relegated important commercial port cities such as Mogadishu and Kismayu to no-go zones thereby crippling commerce. The most damaging impact on the viability of the nation, however, comes from the mass exodus of its citizens that started in late 1990 and continues to date. At the forefront of this mass migration are the elites of all persuasions; doctors, engineers, economists, teachers and practically the entire middle class. Consequently, the least educated and most violent groups have been left at the helm. These groups have collectively thrown Somalia into a modern Dark Age.

The environment has arguably taken the biggest hit in the decimation of Somalia. The once prosperous Somali wildlife has now been totally destroyed. Forests have been cleared and burned for charcoal exports to the United Arab Emirates. The prolonged feeding frenzy over the unprotected waters of Somalia has inflicted almost irreversible damage to the maritime livelihood. At 3025 km, Somalia's coast is the longest in Africa. All along these waters, from the Indian Ocean to the Arabian Sea, there is a bee-hive activity of illegal fishing going on twenty-four-seven. This unlawful fishing practice committed by some foreign fish processing entities with the use of universally prohibited fishing nets have made the Somali marine population all but extinct.

Somali fishermen frequently spot unknown ships sailing along the shore, dumping poisonous chemical and radioactive materials. According to their testimonies which are regularly featured on Somali news outlets, the ships are armed and dangerous. They would fire live rounds at any vessel that gets close enough to observe their activities. This dumping of toxic and radioactive waste in national waters has been linked to the sudden rise in cancer cases, particularly thyroid cancer, and equally sudden increase in babies born with physical and mental defects. The presence of the heavy radioactive emissions and the hazardous chemicals also heralds yet to be realized horrors in the near future as these chemicals find their way into the seafood and seep into the earth thereby corrupting the diet of the whole nation.

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We are well versed in the problems of Somalia. Sensible solutions, however, are much less common. Rational thinking, careful deliberation, courage and trust in The Almighty are the sure way out regardless of the enormity of the problems. To envision a lasting solution for the Horn of Africa nation, one must first come to terms with the reality on the ground. Second, one must think of radical approach to the tasks ahead.

The reality on the ground is very different from one commune to the next. While Somalia should be in our thoughts as a single entity, the real solution can only be found when all efforts are shifted towards a bottom-up approach. In other words, encouraging federally connected state level governments is the way to go.

The North took the decentralization principles to the extreme when they renounced Somalia and have been suffering from identity crisis ever since. The southern states have been in our prayers for a while now but we have yet to see any light at the end of the tunnel. There just seems to be no end to the myriad of warring factions driven by feudal clan leaders, religious extremists and opportunistic anarchists that have plagued southern Somalia since the disintegration of the country some 21 years ago.

With that said, the only Somali state that is proper for my pilot state building hypothesis is the State of Puntland. It wholeheartedly believes in the proposed federalism charter, and has shown a willingness to govern itself within the parameters of a federal mandate. To serve as a positive model for useful membership in a federal system, however, Puntland will have to radically rethink its economic, political and social policies in order to place its citizenry on the path to organization and, therefore, prosperity.

It is worth mentioning that Puntland, because of several characteristics, stands to gain the most from the radical reforms that I propose in this book. The most notable of these characteristics is its strategic geographical location as the actual "Horn" of Africa, at once embracing the Indian Ocean, the Red Sea and the Arabian Sea, playing host to the Gulf of Aden, one of the most important commercial sea routes in the world.

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Benjamin Franklin once said "the definition of insanity is doing the same thing over and over and expecting different results". Expecting positive changes to happen miraculously while making no effort is a loser's game. A struggle towards constructive changes has to materialize and it should start from the bottom. People need to overcome the fear of the unknown that ties them to the status-quo and keeps them prisoners to a miserable past. It's more of a psychological challenge than it is a physical one for the people of this state to get out of their misery. They have to be mentally prepared in order to make use of the changes that are proposed in this book.

The lion's share of responsibility for this change should be shouldered by the state. A broad public information and education initiative would be the most powerful weapon in the states arsenal to accomplish many of the needed societal changes in order to make the public a valuable partner in the struggle for progress.

Communicating with the public, even about seemingly minor issues can yield enormous benefits. In the United States of America, for example, there was a time when people bathed as little as only 10 times a year. As a result diseases would spread effortlessly and quickly turn into epidemics, causing mass deaths because of the lack of common hygiene. To improve the deteriorating public health situation, the United States government launched a public education campaign, encouraging its citizens to take at least one bath a day and it worked well. Because of this, disease levels went down dramatically and the general health of the public improved. This is just one example of many public education and information initiatives that the U.S. government continues to carry out for the benefit of Americans. Governments in the organized world regularly conduct awareness campaigns in order to make their citizens more informed of opportunities and dangers that can affect the common welfare of the nation one way or the other.

Following these examples, the Puntland state government must come up with a radical, but harmonious massive social and economic reform plan and preach to the public about it in an effective way. The state must send well trained, well programmed and loyal delegates to every city and town with its message. The delegates should explain the new nation-

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building program in a positive way and make the people sign on to it. At the end of the education campaign the public at large should have at least an elementary understanding of what the challenges are and how to meet them. They must have a common vision of what their future prosperity should look like. When the time is right and the government is convinced that the public understands the challenges ahead and the necessary sacrifices that will be demanded of them, the government should hold a referendum on its radical restructuring plan. If mandated, the government must unfold its blueprint for nation building and go for it.

I AbdulRehman Sh. Mohamed - Gablax am presenting this new socio-economic development paper for the Puntland State of Somalia. This nation building draft will require great leadership that can implement it. A leadership that is honest, skillful, patient, trustworthy, delegating, and most of all, brave enough to confront mischief. This leadership will have to make a significant effort to make itself appealing to the masses, thereby, cultivating good will and loyalty. This will prove to be the stumbling block in the effort to get started on the way to organization.

It should be noted that Somalis under the age of 40 have never known a government they can be proud of. Moreover, those under 20 have never seen the benefits of a Somali government in their entire lives. If a new, persuasive leadership can present its vision in an organized way and is able to build an image that suggests high standards in people's minds, the masses will believe in it and its mission will become a great success.

Before we start, it should be made clear that this discourse is open to and welcomes criticism. Indeed, my hope is that this work can constitute the genesis of a nationwide dialogue involving students, educators and the intellectual community to identify the challenges that face us as a nation and to prescribe remedies to them. The book's purpose is to draw a sketch for the future possibilities and shed light on the opportunities that exist as well as the futility of staying on the current course. It is by no means a complete work and will certainly need to be improved with a second edition. If this book can have the effect of planting the seeds of progressive thinking that will precipitate a significant turn-around in the way our societies are structured and managed, it will have been well worth my humble effort.



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Section on Strategic Planning for Dependable Security

It is common knowledge that prosperity is carried on the back of a strong economy. A strong economy in turn needs adequate security in order to work. Hence, serious consideration must be given to the security needs of the society in order to take the fear and uncertainty of anarchy out of business. Commerce must occur in a violence-free atmosphere where the law has a strong presence. Because of this, the first restructuring step has to be security.

Many people think more boots on the ground can prevent disorder. This is not true. While some physical presence is indispensable, the permanent solution is a more social one. Much of the societal turmoil in Somalia has more to do with prevalent attitudes that regard violence as an effective tool to settle grievances. The most awful representation of this is the endless cycle of revenge killings among the clans. This is how it works; a young gunman, with the implicit consent of his clan, kills a prominent member of another clan. A gunman from the other clan, in retaliation, kills a prominent member of the first clan. No one goes after the actual killers because the idea is to inflict pain on the enemy clan by killing a valuable member. In this sinister calculation the gunmen, being common thugs, are not worth the bullets. So, in this horrific narrative the victims are doctors, engineers, social workers, philanthropists, etc. and their murderers are left to roam free because their death would not inflict as much pain to their kinfolk. In the absence of retribution, these gunmen kill on a frequent basis.

If a well-trained and disciplined security force can effectively hunt down these criminals and bring them to justice, impunity will end. Also, effective punishment of kinsmen that aid and abet the murderers would detract them from harboring these criminals. Hence, with the prospect of the death penalty and no refuge with fellow clan members, the activities of these gunmen can be drastically curtailed. It would not be

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wrong to state that the biggest obstacle to peace and backbone of Puntland's insecurity is the cycle of revenge killings among the clans. Any significant step in the direction of breaking this cycle will go a long way in the return to peace and civility.

This enforcement stick must, of course, be accompanied by the carrot of economic enfranchisement for young would be gunmen. Due to the state's lack of funds, however, other players will have to step in and take some responsibility to maintain law and order, at least for the time being. I propose the adoption of a Community Sponsorship Strategy as a long term solution to the security issue, and a Community Policing Strategy as a long and short term solution.

The Community Sponsorship Strategy will be elaborated later in the section on Strategic Planning for Co-operative Companies, but let us briefly cover what is meant by it. The idea of masses of poor, desperate, uneducated, young men roaming the country side without a livelihood is a threat to the stability of any society. Throw an abundance of weapons and the absence of the rule of law into the mix and the result is present day Somalia. Armed young men are making a living through the barrel of a gun. They provide the service of violence to anyone within their respective clans who will feed them and provide them with narcotics. They will also not shy away from violent robbery, kidnapping, and highway banditry if it will cover their needs for the day. The Community Sponsorship Strategy is a program designed to give the various communities ownership and responsibility for their youth with the business community at the forefront of the initiative. The general idea is to enfranchise these young men with limited subsidies from the government.

The Community Policing Strategy should work this way: The size of the state police will be significantly reduced to reflect the limited resources of the state. This leaner force, however, will be better trained and more effective. The force will be divided into three divisions: Investigative Division, Guard Division, and Turmoil Division. This minimal policing will be augmented by community policing. This new and unproven strategy is necessitated by the sheer lack of state funds to maintain a full-fledged police force.

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The Investigative Division will have branch offices in all districts and wherever else necessary. Most of these branches will be operated by a limited number of well-trained crime investigators. Each office will directly report to the police commission at the State Capital. These branches will work closely with the local communities and most of their members will be armed, but may not be uniformed. They will provide an easy and secretive access; by phone or by other means, to anyone who is willing to capitalize on valuable security information he/she has.

Locals will be paid for the crime tips they pass to the Investigative Unit, and they will be assured their identities will remain undisclosed. The investigative value of the tip volunteered to the police will determine what the reward will be. A person found guilty of a felony, misdemeanor, or other misconduct should pay a prescribed fine and the local member who tipped the police with the incident should be rewarded as soon as possible. Fines would be payable to the receiver general of the state and be considered an income from policing work. The bigger the crime, the harsher the fine, and the bigger the reward to the whistleblower. Financial reward for crime tips can go a long way to incentivize a reluctant whistleblower in the current economic condition.

With the level of poverty that exists, some may be tempted to abuse the whistleblower policy by accusing others for offenses that have not been committed; therefore, making a false accusation should solicit stiff penalties including jail time. The Investigative Unit will still do policing work and stay vigilant, but also co-ordinate with members of the various communities. They will be responsible for educating the local communities and preparing them for limited self-policing. They will thoroughly verify the tips they receive, and bring criminals to justice.

A large percentage of new recruits for the investigative division should be made up of women and there is a good reason for this. Women have been largely uninvolved in the continuous cycle of violence that has plagued the nation for the last twenty-plus years. They have been on the sidelines as the clan feuds raged exclusively between male members. Women have, however, become casualties periodically although they are usually not the intended targets.

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Women's contribution to Somali society has been continuously devalued in the backward thinking that has overwhelmed the country for the past two decades. Due to their second class status, women, as a class, are not viewed as a threat by any of the warring factions. This status, curiously, gives women an image of neutrality that is invaluable when it comes to conducting investigations in times of tension. Men who are being interviewed are likely to be less intimidated and more accommodating if they are talking to a woman. They would likely let their guard down in the presence of female investigators precisely because they do not consider women a worthwhile enemy, hence the tension and anxiety is removed from the process and the person of interest will talk more freely.

The guard division will protect the high value government and business targets. Part of their job is to provide security sanctuary for the people in power, foreign dignitaries, and the retired high profile government officials.

The Turmoil Division is a well-trained, well-armed, and less diplomatic component of the security force. Unlike the Investigative Unit which is spread all over, Turmoil Unit will be stationed in designated locations within the State. Squads of the Turmoil Division will be called upon when a show of force is necessary. When the investigative unit in a given locality, after a proper investigation, determines that an individual or group has run afoul of the law and needs to be arraigned, the duty of bringing the suspected party falls on the rural chief first (we will explain this designation later). This is done without the use of force as the chief is unarmed. The chief may seek the assistance of the community, including the suspect's extended family or clan to bring the accused into custody. If these peaceful efforts fail the nearest turmoil squad is sprung to action. Once they are dispatched, they proceed with superior numbers and are authorized to use brute force and inflict serious losses to the offending party. When they move, they move as a regiment and are not allowed to show flexibility or socialize with the society. Their job is to hunt down the armed criminals, especially the tribal thugs, who disrespect the law of the land.

The Investigative Division calls upon the Turmoil Squad if extreme force is required and a court order has been issued for an arrest. This

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squad should always project power and instill fear and dread in the hearts of offenders. The wisdom behind the nature of the turmoil division is in step with the radical proposals in this book that are meant to bring about a paradigm shift in the way that the public relates to the law. The impunity that has been taken for granted by an entire generation can only be halted by a stern, but just, enforcement of the law. When people realize that, the city council, the local court, and the local police sergeant have this unmatched force at their fingertips, they are likely to develop respect and deference for the law.

The Turmoil Division will be the heart of the forces without which there can be no effective enforcement of the law. Their job will also be the most demanding of time, discipline and loyalty. Consequently, the state should be particular in the way it recruits for it. Clan politics must not affect the makeup of this division. The leading criteria, rather, should be such factors as physical fitness, loyalty, integrity, sobriety, etc. Unlike the other two divisions, employment in this division should not be limited to traditional residents of Puntland but should include Somalis from all over the country across all social and tribal divisions.

Whenever possible, squads from the Turmoil Division would be stationed in rural locations. There are two main advantages for this deployment. The availability of cheap milk and meat products in the rural areas will give officers and their families more purchasing power with the salaries that they are paid.

The second advantage has to do with encouraging agriculture, particularly farming, as a way of life in rural communities. An indispensable feature of a nation's prosperity is the ability to feed itself. At present, rural Puntland is entirely nomadic. People constantly migrate with their livestock from one area to another depending on the season and so on. Security is also a factor as people briefly move from areas of tension to more peaceful locations. Under this proposal, the thousands of police families that will eventually accumulate in these rural localities will constitute settled communities that can be perfect candidates for rural agricultural projects and farming co-operatives. Indeed families of the Turmoil Division officers should be given extra incentives to become farmers as a way of further rewarding the officers

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so that they will remain loyal. A shared cooperative system of farming would work best so that different groups of officers will work at the farm on their off days. The proceeds from a particular acreage can then be shared among those that work on it.

Again, in an effort to minimize cost, some law enforcement related tasks could be outsourced to the private sector. For example, convicted criminals and felons, who fail to show up for sentencing could be declared "wanted" by the state and their list be handed over to state approved bounty hunters if the crimes they committed should deserve that. This policy should only be used when the state cannot reach the perpetrators using its own resources. In the case of murderers, rapists and other violent criminals, a bounty hunter may be authorized to deliver the target dead or alive. The bounty hunter's reward will be charged to the convict's estate whenever possible.

To institute a high level of discipline and professionalism in the security force, it is imperative that the state establishes a police academy that teaches the various policing tactics. No less than a respectable establishment that combines basic training with lessons in moral and ethical conduct will do. By the end of the training period, cadets must have a clear sense of duty to the nation and consider themselves as role models for the public that they serve. The academy should also be equipped with some modern tools such as a forensic lab and an I.T. wing.

Enforcing the law in an anarchic nation is a tall order, to say the least, for those at the forefront of the endeavor. Hence, an academy that imparts prestige, discipline, honor and other positive attributes to its graduates is a crucial asset in creating a sense of purpose and unity among officers in the field.

As stated before, security is the most important pillar of stability and prosperity, and the first to be addressed. Therefore the financial needs of members of the security force must be a priority regardless of the constraints on the government's purse. Effort must be made to subsidize officer's families whenever possible. Police housing projects, for example, are one of the best ways to incentivize officers and keep their families stable and grounded. Another way to make policing more

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attractive is to offer free basic education to serving officers and free scholarships to the children of officers if they achieve proper grades.

An individual must be able to retire from the service after twenty years if he/she chooses to do so. At least 50% of his/her last salary adjusted to the inflation must be paid to him/her for life. Thirty years of service followed by retirement with honorable discharge, must also be eligible for full salary of lifetime. This benefit increase should not be retroactive by any means. A well paid force is loyal, energized and determined. A poorly paid force is corrupt and full of apathy.

In order to gain the respect and confidence of its officers as well as the public, significant status should be conferred to the state police. The various chiefs of police, for example, should be given high profiles and media attention. The office of the Commissioner General of Police should have the same status as that of a cabinet minister or better. Also, academy graduations and officer award functions should be full ceremonies televised nationwide. Other police appreciation events must be encouraged among the various communities and the private corporations as well.

The police would function under the auspices of a civilian board. This body is responsible for, among other things, determining the policing budget and procuring it from the state. Similarly it is charged with auditing the force in its use of funds, equipment and manpower. It is this board's task, as well, to ensure adherence to the recruitment policies mentioned earlier and periodically assess the competency and loyalty of the commissioners as well as their subordinates. On a quarterly basis, the three divisions of the force will submit a report to the board which it will examine and follow up with an assessment of its own. At this time, the various commissioners as well as the commissioner general will be required to appear before this board to deliver a general report, articulate the needs of his/her force and address the questions and concerns of the board. The board also has the right to summon any or all of the commissioners at a short notice if it perceives the necessity to do so. Even with fewer officers, the new force might prove to be very costly for the struggling regional government of Puntland. To meet this challenge the state should consider bringing external players on board.

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The business community is the most financially able sector of society in Puntland. They are also the group that would benefit the most from sustained stability. In fact, the business community has been the loudest in the call for better security. At present they are forced to hire gunmen and invest in vehicles and other amenities for these men. Furthermore, businessmen are often dragged into clan disputes whenever there is an incident involving their guards. This state of affairs has proven to be financially taxing and even fatal for businessmen.

The state would invite the business community of Puntland to partially cover the police budget. All the government has to do is explain to the business community the fact that it would actually be less costly and safer for them to pay a fixed amount towards security rather than go it alone as they are doing now. If they sit down and do the math it shouldn't be hard to get them on board.

Another strategy is to make a plea to the sons and daughters of this state living abroad by sending envoys to Europe, America, Australia, and to the Arabian Peninsula. The emissaries would elaborate on the project, remind the Diaspora of the needs of their homeland and explain to them the many business and other opportunities that a safe and stable Puntland can offer them.

A third strategy involves taking advantage of the benevolence of developed nations, should our diplomats succeed in convincing them of the project. More important than financial assistance, developed nations can offer desperately needed expertise in law enforcement and useful training programs. It wouldn't be the first time either. Somalia had received considerable aid and training for the police from Germany in the past.

The proposed drastic personnel cuts will create many unemployed ex-members. These individuals can join Group X. This group is discussed further towards the end of the book. The downsized policemen should have a place in the new economic building mission, but as circumstances dictate, they have to say farewell to policing.

By cutting the useless fat from police force numbers, and properly training and equipping the worthy candidates, the state will be left with a

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small but effective force. Such a force should be able to project power while having a positive impact on the public's perception, thereby increasing security and reducing crime dramatically throughout the state.

This plan doesn't include national defense force. The reason is that, people will defend their state by themselves. The government would open a new armed forces training center where men between 18 to 35 years of age must schedule themselves for 3 to 6 months of extensive mandatory military training. The same would go for women aged between 18 to 22 years. After the completion of their combat preparation, they would all be released, but stay enlisted for recall in case war necessitates their deployment.

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Section on Strategic Planning for Social Leadership

A requisite component of the proposed bottom-up approach to nation building is a basic social inter-connectedness between the different clans that, until now have been mutually estranged. This brings us to another radical proposal; the formation of: The House of Honor. This house will host the most respected, accepted, and recognized clan elders of all the traditional resident groups of the state. They are the Islans, Garads, Ugases, Boqors, and Suldans, etc. of the highest stature. This house will not be involved in government or legislative work. Its role is to connect with the public and construct a sense of citizenship and solidarity among the people.

The importance of including the clan leaderships in the social discourse cannot be ignored. Much of the civil strife that has enveloped Somalia is not about land, economy, ideology or religion but, rather, the shocking inability of the various clans and their leaders to comprehend the very idea of nationhood. There is a failure across the board by the clans to realize that their basic challenges and struggles are mutual among all Somalis; no one group lives in a vacuum and their fates are intertwined. With no two clans being able to identify a mutual concern the same way, the result is utter chaos, mistrust and war. The members of the House of Honor, if chosen wisely, would be at the forefront of a grassroots effort to unite the purpose of the various clans and forge a collective conscience.

This house will hold regular meetings to discuss social issues with the explicit aim of unifying their responses. The idea is to impress upon the various clans that their needs and concerns are mutual and the solutions can only be obtained together as a nation. At the end of these meetings, they will recommend actions to improve inter-clan relations and social cohesion both to the public and the government.

They will assess the government's direction on social issues and produce a statement of approval or disapproval. None of their statements or recommendations, however, will be legally binding on the government. Rather, these publications are meant to call the state's attention to some issues that might not have been adequately dealt with. The government

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should consult with this house about matters pertaining to reconciliation and inter-clan harmony.

Besides regularly meeting with their own clans, the House members will be required to go on regular, collective tours-each time to a different community- to preach unity and brotherhood among the clans. On these tours they would also promote the rule of law and other government initiatives. At the end of their meeting, they would read a prayer asking Allah's forgiveness and protection for the leaders and the public. Seeing the elders of previously warring clans walking hand in hand, campaigning together for mutual issues, will have a radical impact and constitute a paradigm shift in the social discourse in Puntland.

The creation of this house will give the government more legitimacy. It will also give the people a refuge: a place to call home whether they live within the physical boundaries of the state or as far as Gedo and the lower Juba. It will make the status of the genuine clan leaders clearer and more definable too. There will certainly be other good leaders, who will remain respected even if they are not permanent members of The House of Honor. Following a unanimous vote in the House, these good leaders can be called to the house and be consulted, with the final word belonging to the selective group of fifteen to twenty members that make up the House of Honor.

The House of Honor should be able to hold emergency meetings as many times as needed. The state leader or the state legislators may request them to do so, or they may initiate it by themselves. All the expenses of their meetings would be covered by the state.

The government would give monthly salaries to the permanent members of the House and provide them with residence in the Capital city in order to display unity. When they are in the capital, they should be accorded with security entourage if necessary.

Donations from the native clans of the state would be used to build a unique and historic structure where the House members can congregate. Each member should have his seat and desk decorated, named, and titled. The state should assign a professional meeting planner for them,

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because keeping appearances matter does matter in their duties. The place should symbolize the unity and harmony that it sponsors.

Aside from their ceremonial role, this House may rightfully be called upon by the government, following a positive vote in Parliament, to render their judgment on a given social issue to break an impasse in the legislature. In this case the House's ruling will be legally binding on the government and any legislative opposition to it will be deemed null and void.

In consultation with the House of Honor, the government should ordain one or two rural chiefs for every county. These chiefs cannot come from the existing tribal leaders as they have no legitimacy. They should be appointed on a geographical, rather than clan basis. They will represent fresh change and accountability. Their job is to help the counties communicate with the rural communities better. The rural chiefs should be seen as an important pillar of the county level administrations. They would be paid well and be required to attend all the significant county meetings. These chiefs will play a tremendous role in connecting the government to the pastoral communities.

Functions of the rural chief are primarily social. They are individuals with a nomadic background which gives them a thorough understanding of the geography of their county as well as the migratory patterns of its inhabitants. The rural chief would constantly be in touch with countryside inhabitants, particularly the nomads in order to keep the county administration in step with.

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Section on Strategic Planning for Fire Arms Registration

A crucial factor that affects the enforcement and maintenance of peace is the way guns are controlled. The registration of fire arms is another bottom up initiatives which will be done with the help of local communities state wide. The work will start at the grassroots level and move upwards in synergy. With the assistance of the rural chiefs discussed in the previous section, the local authorities will register all the armaments that people have. Gun ownership tags should then be issued.

This registry has a unique feature that is not common in gun registry programs in other countries: In times of peace, people will be asked to bring their weaponry to the closest county arsenal and keep their ownership tags with them. However, if the security of any rural community is threatened by out-of-state forces, the members of this community will receive their arms back and leave the gun ownership cards behind. When the period of tension passes and the county makes a call for the return of the released fire arms, all the weapons must come back within a three months period or arrest warrants carrying stiff fines and jail terms are issued for the defaulters.

All the registered weapons collected from the public will remain the property of the individual citizens and the government has no right to confiscate or use them for any other purposes without their knowledge.

Each gun owner must pay a slight yearly tax fee on his/her gun permit. A fee for gun storage and inventory control must also be paid to the county superintendent. If one year passes and the fees still not paid, the fire arms will be considered abandoned, and will automatically become the property of the state. Gun safety procedures should be drafted by the government and passed by the parliament.

The state must forbid carrying or keeping of weapons in all the urban neighborhoods and at least, ten miles radius surrounding them. The local authorities should enforce the gun safety laws and yank the rights to carry or own fire arms from those, who violate the state gun laws.

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Section on Strategic Planning for Information Services

The government needs to ask the private entrepreneurs to create at least one or two information services company(s) in the state. It has to issue practice license(s) of this kind and protect them from hostile competition.

These entrepreneurs must have the skill, experience, and the professionalism required so as not to disappoint. This should not be "On the job training" experience for them, because the state and the businesses will depend on them for many critically important project deliverables.

These companies will provide all the information technology services that the government projects require. They will offer advice for to government and businesses for their needs in this aspect and will be paid for their consultation and services in return.

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Section on Strategic Planning for Public Registration

In an organized society, nearly every citizen is accounted for. A fixed address and documented identification is the surest way to accomplish this. A person with a fixed address is, first and foremost, identifiable. A person with a fixed address is a constituent. Constituents can vote thereby having some say in how they are governed. Constituents can receive health, educational, social and other benefits intended for them because they are easily located, as well as classifiable, through their fixed addresses. People with fixed addresses form neighborhoods and can easily convey their concerns through elected representatives to their local and state governments. This allows the government to deliver services more efficiently as it is able to draft one general solution for an entire neighborhood or city instead of dealing with disparate individuals.

People with no fixed address have none of these advantages. They are constituents of nowhere and, as a result, are unidentifiable, cannot vote, voice a concern to representatives, or adequately receive government services. In short they are non-entities. Because of this, they are generally indifferent, even hostile, to government initiatives and have little respect for the law.

At the moment, most people in Puntland have no fixed address, cannot adequately receive government service and, because they are anonymous drifters, are beyond the reach of the law. Under these conditions, even a well-meaning administration will fail utterly to deliver basic services and be rendered useless. Fixed addresses would allow the various levels of government to serve the public efficiently and dispense justice throughout the state. Proper residency must be established for the public before any meaningful interaction can occur between citizens and their government.

With the help of the information technology service enterprises mentioned in the previous section, the state should develop databases that host names, addresses and other relevant statistics. We can call it the Public Address Book (PAB). In this address book, every family including the father, mother, and unmarried children, will share one

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Address Book Number (ABN). All their names will appear in the address book database under this number.

When one of the children gets married, a new ABN is generated by the database software and assigned to the new family. If divorce takes place, the family's ABN will remain with the mother and children and the father's name will default to his childhood Address Book Number. If there are no children in the marriage, each will retreat to his/her origin and their common ABN will be erased. Whenever there is a birth, death or other change in a family unit, the information under their ABN should be edited to reflect the new family make up. There will be courtesy address book numbers available at a premium for anyone who wants to depart from his/her family address book. A proof of five years of residence in another county should constitute a change of address book box to the new residence if requested by the individual.

In every county there will be secure address book facilities similar to post offices. These facilities will house Public Address Book boxes made of steel. Whether they live in towns or drift with their herds, every family will own a box with their name and Address Book Number in their home county which will serve as their permanent address. With keys in hand, each family will be able to receive various communications and be accounted for. Each family box should cost a onetime fee of only \$25. The premium boxes should cost \$100. There will also be \$5 annual fee for service and maintenance. Proceeds from box sales would help to cover most of the cost for this project.

The government should introduce the PAB policy to parliament as a bill and have it passed into law. The new law would require all county governments to enforce the address book policy after the project is complete.

Registering the public and issuing identifications should be easy after the address book database is successfully created. All that the government would have to do is create social security numbers for the people in the address book database. During this process, every individual must have their picture taken and fingerprints obtained by the authority. This will be the central identification which people will use to

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obtain other types of I.D. such as driver's license and health card. It's a doable project and it should cover its cost from the social security ID sale.

The benefits to registering the people and offering them permanent addresses are immeasurable. Effective voting is one of the first that come to mind. Everyone will have the chance to vote once, and only from their domicile county where their address book box is located. The Public Address Book, if implemented properly can eventually become the postal system. It can serve as a model for the reconstruction of the now defunct Somali Postal Service. An example of an address format for Ciise Carraale of Nugaal County, address book box number 12345, should appear like this:

Ciise Carraale
Nugaal, 12345, PL*
Somalia.

*PL stands for Puntland

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Section on Strategic Planning for Land Registration

In the organized worlds, land is properly classified and its custody is well defined. In Somalia, people are under the impression that the land is a free-for-all. This is partly due to the pastoral attitude of the majority of Somalis that comes from centuries of nomadic culture. There is no thought of permanence in the approach to land use.

In the not-so-distant past our nomadic families and their herd would enjoy the fresh growth in an area temporarily before moving on to greener pastures only to return in the next spring to find new grass once again. This kind of relationship with land precludes any notion of custody, maintenance, planning or responsibility. This attitude persists to the present day. The post-colonial period saw no major shift towards land organization. Regrettably, the governments that ruled Somalia from its independence to its disintegration did not adequately address the issue of land custody, nor did they institute land regulations such as zoning laws in any meaningful way.

There is nothing to stop someone from building homes on land with heavy mineral deposits, or dumping waste on land above aquifers simply because these lands have not been classified as such, therefore, no regulation exists to protect them or put them to proper use. A landfill in the middle of a neighborhood or a gun shop adjacent to an elementary school wouldn't raise an eyebrow in today's Somalia!

What needs to take place is a change in perception. Land has to be accounted for. Part of it should be conserved. The government should introduce a legislation that puts land registration and property rights on the fast track. Most of this topic will be covered in the section on Strategic Planning for Urban Restructuring. Land ownership must be taken seriously and have its guidelines effectively enforced by the state. Once land is properly classified, regulated, its custody well established, and ownership adequately protected we can begin to realize its potential. The government will be able to generate desperately needed income from the sale, lease, taxation and regulation of land. The public in turn, with their ownership protected, can finally attach value to land.

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Land classification is the first thing that needs to take place. The public needs to know which land can be developed, which is conserved, and so on. What rights does the public have over public land? Private land? What can one do or not do with one's own property? What structure may be built on a particular piece of land? All these issues need to be sorted out. Various professionals such as geologists, surveyors, agriculturalists and other land specialists need to be consulted in order to categorize land so the full potential of every hectare may be realized.

There is no universal blueprint for land classification, distribution or regulation. What works for Italy, for example, might not necessarily work for Japan. Hence, any framework for land policy in Puntland will have to be tailored to the unique circumstances on the ground.

Land registration is one of few areas that do not require an enormous financial investment to implement in Somalia. Concise land surveys and proper classification, on the other hand, are imperative. The first step in the classification of land is to determine what regional authority it falls under as the next section will show.

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Section on Strategic Planning for State Restructuring

We will start this section with a rudimentary description of government structure. The engine of the government is the leader, the cabinet (ministers) and other government agencies. They are the executive branch of government and their job is to run the state. Passing new laws and amending existing ones is the job of parliament, also known as the legislature. It is the legislative branch of the government. These two branches work under the watchful eye of an independent judiciary.

Once a law is passed, it is the Judiciary's duty to pass judgments according to it. An independent judiciary usually has interpretive authority and other discretionary powers that allow it to administer law in a just and reasonable manner. Thus, of the three branches, the judiciary is the most important in dispensing justice to the public while protecting it from government excess. The nature of the three branches of government, the extent of their powers and how they relate to each other is defined by the constitution.

A constitution is a collection of essential values and established norms of a society by which it governs itself. It defines the rights, privileges and responsibilities of the individual, the public and the state. By the same token it outlines the nature of these rights, privileges and responsibilities and sets the limits for them. One of the most crucial functions of a constitution is to limit the power of the state over its citizens.

A constitution may be codified i.e. contained in a single document from which all constitutional law flows. Most of the world's states have this kind of constitution; the United States of America is an example. Other nations such as the United Kingdom, have uncodified constitutions.

An uncodified constitution is not written in a single document, but consists of a variety of sources. This kind of constitution may derive its laws from constitutional statutes enacted by parliament as well as unwritten sources such as historic legal precedents, constitutional conventions, societal norms and other traditions.

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In general, a codified constitution is entrenched. This means it cannot be lightly altered or amended. To amend or change this kind of constitution various processes have to take place such as; an overwhelming or unanimous legislative vote in a special constitutional convention, a nationwide referendum and majority votes from all provincial legislatures in the case of a federal system. In a state with a codified constitution, constitutional law supersedes ordinary statute law (laws passed by the legislative body i.e. Parliament).

By contrast, uncodified constitutions such as that of the U.K. and Canada may be amended by a simple majority in the legislature. Countries with this kind of constitution rely on a long history of judicial practice, a treasure trove of legal precedents and well established societal values when tackling constitutional issues.

Based on the above analysis, I believe that Puntland, indeed Somalia, needs a codified and well entrenched constitution. An uncodified constitution which is easily altered will not do for us. This is because we do not have the jurisprudential history of an advanced nation like the U.K. or Canada. An uncodified constitution can be manipulated by a leadership with authoritarian tendencies to extend its power over the people. Our legal institutions, much like those of other third world nations, are not strong or established enough to counter the ambitions of a would be dictator, hence, the need for a strong, codified and well-entrenched constitution.

Among others, the following features must be firmly entrenched in Puntland's constitution if it is going to be of any use to us:

Islam: We are a homogeneously Muslim nation and that should be explicit in the document. The first article must establish deference to the laws of Allah and all the constitutional laws must be compatible with the Quran and Sunnah.

The Extent of government Power and responsibility: An effective constitution clearly defines where government authority ends and the rights of the citizen start. This is essential in combating authoritarian tendencies that are all too common in African administrations.

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Similarly, when government power and responsibility is well defined, the various branches and institutions of government can properly assess their equipment and personnel needs and submit a concise budget to the legislature for approval. As a result, and more importantly, the legislature has a clear idea of how much tax to levy in order to cover government expenditure.

Another important reason for clearly demarcating the borders of government is to create an understanding among the citizens of how much of their lives the government is responsible for. For example the state may be constitutionally obliged to provide free education for your children through the public school system, but making sure the children attend school and excel is your responsibility and not the government's. Our constitution has to establish clear limitations on the power of the state over its citizens in order to protect the citizens from government excess and to make government more efficient, focused and accountable.

Fundamental Freedoms: The above mentioned limitations to government power should be set around certain inalienable rights and freedoms of the public, minorities and individuals. Chief among these are:

- Freedom of thought, speech and opinion.
- Freedom of movement.
- Freedom of assembly.
- Freedom of religion and association.
- Freedom of political affiliation.
- Freedom of information (government transparency).
- Freedom from persecution.
- Freedom from unwarranted detention, searches and seizure of property.
- The right to a fair and speedy trial.
- The right to peaceful protest.
- The right to vote.
- The right to privacy.

These rights and freedoms must be enshrined in the constitution of Puntland to the point that it would take a serious state-wide dialogue to

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amend or alter them. If this is not done, there is little to stop an authoritarian regime from rolling back the rights of citizens and eroding their freedoms.

Separation of Powers: Governance in Somalia, whether regional or federal, is a synonym for chaos. Ministers are leading militias into battle and members of parliament are flying around the world making unauthorized declarations to the diaspora about government policy. The president of the TFG and his prime minister are endlessly rebuking each other in a political turf war while the speaker of the parliament is in non-stop talks with foreign governments without consulting anyone else. There is a fundamental lack of understanding within the various branches and institutions of government about the nature and limits of their authority.

An effective constitution confers specific powers and responsibilities to the three branches of government as well as institutions within these branches. For instance, the constitution would set the hierarchy of the executive branch by dividing it into head of state, ministries, executive agencies and bureaucracy (civil service) and may set term limits for certain positions such as the head of state. It also lays down the rules for the interaction between the legislature, the executive and the judiciary. For example, the document would make it clear that the legislature has the power to set the budget for the executive and pass laws while the judiciary has the power to take action against members of both branches if they exercise powers beyond the constitutional limits of their office. By the same token, the legislature may nullify court judgments that explicitly contradict the constitution. Thus the three branches are relatively independent while acting as checks and balances for one other.

Puntland must adopt a comprehensive constitution that limits the extent of government to make it more effective and goal oriented. The lines of government power have to be drawn around the fundamental rights and freedoms of the citizens. Similarly, the lines of authority between government branches and institutions must be well defined. It is imperative, in the case of basic rights and freedoms and the division of powers, that the constitution is well entrenched and has supremacy over statute law. Entrenchment would go a long way to thwart the efforts of a

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power hungry leader who seeks to abolish term limits or consolidate power by undermining the legislature and weakening the judiciary.

Some authoritarian practices will have to be left in the past. In a representative government, it is illegal for the head of state to produce what is called "Wareegto" (to rule by decree). If the leader can write a letter and then signs it to law, and at the same time has the power to enforce that law, then there is no separation of powers and the government is totalitarian.

If the leader wants to enhance the existing laws, he has to put it in writing and present it to the parliament as a new bill. The parliament should schedule the bill for a reading, amend it if necessary and then vote on it. Remember, the parliament should act as the representatives of the public. They have to make sure, that the leader's proposal is fair to the people and not intended to serve the interests of a few. The bill should not be politically motivated and should be free from conflict of interest. Bills may also be introduced by a member of parliament. If it gets the necessary majority vote then it is signed into law by the head of state and it becomes law.

In accordance with the constitution, all laws should be compatible with the Islamic Sharia. Consequently, if a law which runs afoul of the Sharia is passed it may be deemed unconstitutional by the Sharia Council and overturned. This council is a wing of the judiciary made up of five top jurors that are specialized in Islamic jurisprudence. Remember the judiciary is the guardian of the constitution.

Appointing an effective Sharia Council will necessitate wisdom and deliberation on the part of government. The appointees must be highly educated and hold Sharia majors while demonstrating an ability to understand the circumstances and judge based on the realities of the particular case. It is indispensable that the vetting process for the judges be fair and thorough in order to avoid conflict between the government and the public. Due to the opposing faith groups within the state, the process of selecting this council would have to walk a fine line. To minimize the unnecessary hurdles that may flare up, the government is

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obliged to consider the candidates with the highest academic qualifications.

The leader of the state would nominate the members with parliament having the power to accept or reject the nominations. Once this Sharia committee is in place, the parliament will be able to seek their judgment on complicated issues involving Sharia related matters.

The Sharia judges could be partnered with other constitutional judges to comprise a Supreme Court which would double as a Constitutional Court.

Under the theory of "Distribution of Authority", land and authority are divided into known jurisdictions. Below, we will examine the distribution of land and authority in the United States before we discuss the best alternative for the state of Puntland.

There are fifty states in the United States of America. Each state is divided into a number of counties, and each county is sub-divided into a number of wards. Counties are not cut out in equal sizes. The size of each county is fixed and never changes unless there are disputes. Each county has its police forces, courts, jails, vehicle registration and licensing offices, schools, sheriff and fire departments, business bureau, etc. The county provides nearly all the governmental services to its residents.

The county leader is elected by the people of the county. His/her title is CEO (Chief Executive Officer). Also, counties have elected commission members, each of which is elected from one ward or, as it's sometimes called, school district. The CEO and the commission, who are elected by the people of the county, conduct most of the government's services in the county.

The county administration follows up with almost everything in the county. For example, an investor wants to construct a fast food restaurant at a street corner. In this case, the investor will first put together his/her complete design papers for the projected building and present them to the county administration for approval. The county administration will then set a date for hearing. The county will announce the news of the new

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restaurant and inform all the businesses and residents in the vicinity of the proposed building.

On the hearing day, the commission will determine if the zoning is correct for the proposed fast food service. That is because, the county has areas that are designated for light industries, heavy industries, worship, entertainment, parks and recreation, schools, office buildings, food services, and residential purposes, etc. If the piece of real estate that is being developed for the fast food restaurant is located in food services section, then the county commission should not raise any zoning issues. If not, they will easily reject the developer's request for construction permit.

The commission also examines if the developer's blueprint is approved by the county engineers. The county engineers verify if the sewage system, electric power system, water system, wall materials and thickness/height, ceiling and roofing materials, safety system, air system, emergency exits, sidewalks, planted trees, etc. are compliant with safety and other relevant standards. The county engineers are responsible for the quality standards and will keep rejecting the developer's construction design before it even gets to the county commission till he/she satisfies their expectations. Their good work is what made the United States so beautiful in design and organization.

In the United States, most of the US highways were built for defense purposes. You will find these highways in almost every city, but even today, they are under federal control. If your property is located on US highway, you should also get approval from the Army Corps of Engineers, so that they examine the volume of the traffic your business may create and also the safety of the entries and exits to your facility. This step should take place before you face the county commission during the hearing.

When the hearing begins, the commission first examines if the developer has passed their test. For example, they check if the developer can get enough water, electricity, telephone and waste lines. If the water company doesn't have any excess water, they will hold the approval of the new construction till there is surplus of water and same for the other

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resources. In that, the citizen will not waste money on a structure that will have problems down the road and not provide his/her needs in the future. Also, the commission verifies what percentage of the property the actual building will occupy and what percentage will be left for sidewalk and vegetation. After being assured of everything, the commission then asks the public if anyone has objections to the new neighbor. If not, the commission issues the construction and hoarding permits for the developer.

This was to demonstrate some highlights of county level government roles in the United States. In some cases, you may find overlapping county and city administrations. City administrations are privately created corporations, whereas all counties are created by the government of United States.

Any group of citizens can get together and incorporate a city, provided that they meet the requirements. For example, the new city should have an open land that can be used as a park. It should have enough businesses that can provide employment opportunities for a certain number of people. The city should also have enough tax payers registered in its corporation, so that it can cover its expenses. If the city creates its police and sheriff departments, the county will reduce the number of police that is dedicated to the area.

The city leader is called Mayor or City Manager and is elected by the people registered within the city. The city also has an elected council that acts as its legislature. The city government will also be responsible of the schools, fire department, and many other things. The distribution of roles and responsibilities between county and city governments vary from one state to another. In general, the bigger the city controls gets, the smaller the county influence becomes and vice-verse. The reason is; if there are no cities incorporated within a particular county, the county government takes all the local taxes and, therefore remains strong. By the same token when there are many cities in a county, municipal governments get a substantial share of the local taxes of their respective residents since it is they that provide most of the services, thereby decreasing the authority of the county administration. County administrations do not always favor city incorporations, but usually, have no authority to block the will of the majority.

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There are various reasons why residents of a certain area might opt to quit the county administration and privately create their own city administrations. People choose to incorporate their own cities mostly for better school systems, but also for other service upgrade purposes or having the opportunity to pass tougher laws and setting higher standards for their area. The incorporation of a new city, however, is not always in the best interest of everyone as we shall see in the following example: Imagine a city divided along economic lines. Imagine that the wealthy residents who pay 80% of municipal taxes live in the south of the city while the poor residents who pay only 20% of the taxes live in the north. It would not surprise anyone if the rich south decided to secede and incorporate its own city; after all, their enormous municipal taxes would benefit only their area instead of subsidizing the poorer neighborhoods. This would mean better schools, transit, roads, police, etc. for their new city because services paid for by their taxes would benefit their area only. The new city's improved services would advance its quality of life and attract new residents. Thus, property values would sky rocket, making its wealthy residents even richer.

The poor northern side, however, would suffer significantly because, without the rich southern residents who had previously paid 80% of all taxes, their meager taxes would only be able to fund a very limited budget. Consequently, municipal services such as schools, policing, water, sewerage, garbage collection, etc. would shrink considerably, thereby, resulting in unemployment, lower education and high crime rates. Property values would also plummet, robbing home owners of their equity.

When a new city emerges, property owners have the choice to remain in their old city or join the newly incorporated city. As a result it is not uncommon to see two adjacent homes registered in two different cities, sending their children to different school districts.

As we have seen, the American system of distribution of authority is generally good and could serve as a model in Puntland except in the case of city incorporation. The way cities are incorporated in the U.S, opens the door to selfishness, class conflicts, and pure capitalism. There are many economic, social and legal dilemmas in large urban

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areas in the U.S. that could be attributed to the way the cities are incorporated.

The U.S. system for the distribution of authority, with some exceptions, would work very well for the state of Puntland. Puntland would be divided into ten counties of equal size. County administrations would be set up, copying the United States county system described earlier. For the near future we would have to forgo city administrations due to the sheer lack of funds. Moreover, some services such as policing will remain in the hands of the state as mentioned before for the sake of efficiency and effectiveness.

The distribution of authority allows the public to have more say in how they are governed. Local bylaws can be enacted by local administrations to meet the concerns of the residents of a particular county instead of forcing sweeping nationwide laws on them. It returns some power and authority to the grassroots and that is a healthy antidote to the public disloyalty and government ineffectiveness that prevails throughout Puntland.

So far in this section, we have illustrated the overall picture of how authority and land can be successfully distributed within the state. The county grid should only be implemented after the Public Address Book project is fully established in order to avoid sudden migrations or undesirable strategic voting by the various clans. Every citizen should have already been assigned Public Address Book (PAB) boxes in their freely chosen locality before they find out which jurisdiction they will come under in the distribution of authority. By now the new, albeit basic, geographical and demo-graphical view of the state of Puntland will have been complete. The next step is to establish the political lay of the land.

It is of the utmost importance that the state has a freely and fairly elected legislature. The source of legitimacy should literally be the people themselves. A leadership that has a questionable validity can't lead effectively. Each member of the state's parliament body must be elected from one single electoral constituency or riding. There should be no validation of overlapping representational consents. When an individual or group of people have an issue to communicate to government, they

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will write to their MP and through him/her their voice will be heard. It's the job of the MP's to keep the government and the constituents connected. The days when a few tribal actors would sit at the table and bargain with the fate of entire clans without seeking consent should be over for good.

There are about sixty six seats in the house, therefore, the state should be divided into sixty six electoral constituencies, or, if you will, electoral districts. After elections are complete, each electoral district should send one winner candidate to the Capital.

The electoral district data should be maintained by the elections committee. This committee would know the number of citizens registered in each county and where their address boxes are located. If there are for example, three million registered addresses within the state, and there are sixty six seats to fill during in an election, each electoral constituent will be comprised of roughly fifty thousand addresses. The committee should count the first fifty thousand address boxes and call it electoral district one, count the next equal number of address boxes and call it electoral district two, and so on. They don't have to go and physically count the address boxes, because they can access the already established address book database maintained by the department of postal services.

This database should provide enough information for the elections committee, so that they can pull off fairly accurate polls. This will close the door on unfair elections, perpetual tribal disputes over the seats of the parliament, and the constant attempt to parachute unworthy individuals into positions of power.

To summarize the potential milestones covered in this section, we have put forth a basic geographical, demo-graphical, and political outline of the state. In this, we have divided the land and authority along county lines. We have divided residents and firmly put them on the map in county bases. Finally, we have divided the state level politics into electoral ridings and solidified the connection between the representatives and their home bases.

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Section On Creating Society of Laws

Law, as it relates to society, is a collection of enforceable rules that regulate the relationship between the primary authority i.e. the state and its subjects. It also referees the conduct of the subjects towards one another and the relationship between different institutions of the state. In a free society the primary function of law is the same as that of the constitution; to regulate and limit the power of government over the governed and to protect the general public from the activities of non-compliant and harmful elements within society.

A representative legislature, an accountable executive, an independent judiciary (courts), the armed forces of the state (military and police), the legal profession and civil society are all institutions of law. Each one of these players contributes to law, formally or informally, whether in its formulation, enactment, interpretation, or enforcement.

The Judiciary: The courts are where judgments based on the law are passed. If one of the parties in dispute is not satisfied with a judgment, they may take their case to a higher court of appeal which may reject the appeal, overturn the initial ruling or let the ruling stand, but adjust the damages awarded to a plaintiff or the punishment of the guilty party. Thus, an independent judiciary allows a variety of interpretations of the law within it. This flexibility allows judges a degree of discretion in how law is administered. For instance, in a legal system that has the death penalty, a court may commute a death sentence to life imprisonment. The presiding judge would normally explain the wisdom behind that move in his/her ruling. A landmark ruling in a particular case may set a "legal precedent" which would affect how similar cases are argued in the future, or cause the legislature to revise or repeal the concerned law. Thus, the power of interpretation allows the judiciary to become a significant source of law over time as a line of legal precedents slowly influences the legal system.

In many developed countries the judiciary has the power of Judicial Review; the highest court or a constitutional court would review a particular law's constitutionality i.e. whether or not it infringes on the

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rights of citizens as provided for by the constitution. If the law is found to be unconstitutional, it would be struck down. In this regard, the judiciary's duty is to check the power of the legislature and executive by keeping their activities within constitutional limits.

The Executive: The executive proposes the majority of the laws since it is the branch that actually runs the state. As a result, the executive has a strong influence on the making of laws, although it needs the legislature's approval to get laws passed. In many parliamentary systems (e.g. Canada) there is not much separation between the executive and the legislature because, usually, the political party with the majority of seats in the legislature also runs the state and the cabinet is normally made up of members of the legislative assembly. In presidential systems like that of the U.S.A, however, the separation is clearer because the president is elected independently and his party may not have a majority in congress. Moreover, the secretaries (ministers) are not members of congress so the executive branch has less influence over congress's decisions.

The executive is charged with the important duty of setting government policy, both domestic and foreign. Policy should not be confused with law as laws are standardized rules which are binding while policy consists of political decisions by the ruling administration for implementing programs to achieve societal goals. A marked difference between law and policy is that the executive branch can create, implement, revise and enforce policy, something which it cannot do regarding law. The executive formulates a policy and then seeks the help of legislature to enact laws that support that policy.

In the area of checks and balances, the executive, via the office of the head of state, may have the power to veto laws that have been passed by the legislature. By the same token, to minimize the abuse of this power, an executive veto can be overturned by a supermajority vote in the legislature. To gain that supermajority, however, proponents of the vetoed bill would often be forced to alter or amend it in order to get the support of the opposing members i.e. those who sided with the executive. Thus, even though the executive veto has been overturned and the leader is forced to sign the bill into law, the executive would not go empty handed as some of its objections will have been removed from the final bill.

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Legislature: The legislature (also known as parliament, congress, assembly, house of commons etc.) is where all proposed laws are read, analyzed, debated and finally endorsed or rejected. It is also where existing laws are amended or abolished. In a representative government, every geographical jurisdiction has an elected representative in the legislature. Members of the legislature collectively enact statutes (laws) and set the budget for the state.

The legislature enacts primary laws, many of which it delegates to the executive which derives secondary laws and rules from them and in turn delegates some of them to its departments. The various departments and institutions within the executive then derive tertiary laws and rules from what is passed down to them. Similarly, the legislature delegates some aspects of law making to regional and municipal governments such as the making of local bylaws like speed limits, waste disposal and property laws.

Other powers of the legislature include the power to ratify international treaties, remove the head of state from office through impeachment, approve or reject the appointment of high court judges, presidential appointments and other department appointees and annul court rulings that clearly run contrary to the law.

As stated before, most bills (before a law is enacted, it is called a "bill") are proposed by the executive but members of the legislative body can also table a "private member's bill". \

For the purpose of checks and balances, the legislative branch has auditory powers over the executive. It would usually empower an institution of audit such as the office of the Auditor General to independently report on the government's use of the budget, how the various institutions within the executive branch are upholding and enforcing the laws of the land, the level of misuse of executive powers if any, etc. In theory, the ultimate checker of the legislature itself is the public that elects them, although, as mentioned earlier, the executive and the judiciary do have some limited ability to check its powers.

The importance of a functioning and empowered legislative branch

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cannot be overstated. In free societies, the legislature sits at the heart of governance and, because it is an elected body, its job is to impose the citizens' wishes and demands on their government through the enactment of statutes. A legitimate and representative legislative branch might be able to successfully reign in a delinquent administration or rehabilitate a broken judiciary. On the other hand, if the legislature is dysfunctional or corrupt, it loses its legitimacy and the other two branches are powerless to reform it except through a dictatorship of the executive. Often in these cases, a power hungry executive branch, with the defense and security apparatus at its disposal, fills the power vacuum and the legislature becomes nothing more than a rubberstamp for the wishes of an authoritarian regime.

The Armed Forces: The military and police along with the penal system are enforcement arms of the law and are synonymous with the term "law and order". These institutions, particularly the police, are the most physical manifestation of law in a society.

The various law enforcement agencies i.e. police deter crime by apprehending those suspected of crimes, carrying out education campaigns to familiarize the public with the laws in order to raise awareness and by sheer physical presence through routine patrols. In advanced countries, law enforcement agencies contribute to law making in a significant but less visible way; records. A law enforcement agent (police officer) is required to record and report every incident encountered in the line of duty. These daily reports contribute to nationwide statistical data which is useful to the legislature when amending criminal laws. In fact police records are the most reliable indicators of the levels of various crimes in a society as well as how well anti-crime laws are working.

The military is utilized only in cases of a major breakdown in law and order such as when civil disobedience turns violent, the sovereignty of the state is threatened through invasion or in the aftermath of major disasters to restore calm and civility.

History and commonsense tell us that it is wise to keep the military and law enforcement agencies as far away as possible from the legislative

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process and that they should have no direct input into law making. These institutions as well as the penal system are the coercive instruments of the state i.e. the stick that the state wields over its citizens to secure their obedience. For this reason, it is imperative that they are put on a short leash and not allowed to have undue influence over the laws that limit their powers.

Civil society: In the last century, the public itself has been a useful contributor to the law making process in advanced nations. As citizens have become more engaged, their opinions have gained value. This has resulted in laws that are less draconian and more in tune with the moral and ethical views of the governed. The public engages the government through what is commonly called civil society. Civil society includes any association, organization, movement, partnership or other affiliation outside of government, business, and family that a group of people form in order to advance a common interest.

Civil society encompasses everything from associations formed around hobbies such as cars, sports, camping, fishing and various arts and crafts to organizations that tackle more serious issues such as human rights, health, education, poverty and social justice. There are also associations built around profession (e.g. engineering and teaching), ethnic affiliation, religious identity, gender and so on. Activities of civil society may be as benign as a neighborhood picnic or as aggressive as nationwide acts of civil disobedience. The overwhelming majority of civil society activities, however, are peaceful, organized and methodical depending on the age and experience of the organization involved.

Populations that have an active civil society are usually more informed and tolerant of dissent. This is a direct result of how various organizations engage the public. Civil society usually contributes to the process of law making in the following manner:

When a law is proposed in the legislature, opposed citizens may organize and mobilize efforts to scrape it or remove some of its more objectionable provisions. Usually, the first step is to raise the awareness of the public about the proposed law and explain why it would be harmful if it is passed. This can be accomplished by getting on the

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various corporate and social media such as radio, TV, newspapers, internet, etc. and presenting arguments against the bill. Also, pamphlets may be physically distributed in busy areas of town by volunteers. At the same time, all those who oppose the bill would be encouraged to write to their representatives in the legislature in the hope that a critical number of letters may sway the legislators; after all it is the voice of the people whose votes they will need for re-election. Academics who are opposed to the bill would also take part in the effort by trying to influence and mobilize the energetic university students across the country. In some cases, demonstrations would be held in public squares, in front of the legislature and other government buildings to draw national and international attention to the cause.

The citizens that are actually in favor of the bill in question may also organize themselves and campaign in support of it. They would basically use the same methods described above in the hopes of getting the bill signed into law. Thus, the public would hear both sides of the argument. On many occasions, the lobbying from both sides results in a compromise which creates a more balanced law.

The advantage of civil society involvement in the law making process is threefold; first, it underscores the message that the government belongs to the people and those in power serve at the pleasure of the people. In this regard, the actions of civil society give average citizens access to power and the ability to contribute to the laws that govern them while familiarizing them with the process of law making. Secondly, the efforts of those on either side of a particular issue to convince the public of their point of view results in an informed public that has a reasonable comprehension of the issues at hand, and informed people make better decisions at the voting booth. Thirdly, it provides a civil and lawful platform for ordinary people to express their concerns, iron out their differences and advance their social and political views without the need for an armed revolution or violent confrontation with one another.

The emergence of an active civil society would contribute significantly to the deconstruction of the current group dynamics in Puntland. At present, clan affiliation is the only form of identity in Puntland and Somalia as a whole. Clan politics in Somalia is less concerned with

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advancing common goals and more obsessed with how many government positions are given to which clan. No clan has any agenda beyond putting one of their members in a government office in the hope that he will practice nepotism and hire a few of his kin. If groups of citizens can unite around common issues such as education, civil rights, reducing poverty etc. the strangle hold that clan politics has over public discourse can finally be broken. As a result, constructive political discourse would gain preeminence and the myopic clan rhetoric would be relegated to irrelevance.

The ability of people to associate outside of the coercive influence of government and the profit-focused business world in order to work towards a common vision is one of the main pillars of the organized world's success. In these developed nations, civil society is a platform for independent thinking and a factory for new social and political ideas. For Puntland, a vibrant civil society that connects people to the issues of their time and gives the public a voice will be a priceless companion on the road to organization.

The Legal Profession: The legal profession consists of individuals who are trained in law and licensed to practice it. Legal practitioners such as attorneys, prosecutors, barristers and solicitors work within the legal system and have intricate knowledge of the laws.

Whether on the side of prosecution or defense, or in the case of civil litigation, legal professionals test the limits of legislative statutes in a spirited effort to represent the interests of their clients and to secure a favorable ruling. As they argue their cases, these legal professionals put the enacted laws to the test, bringing to light both the strengths and weaknesses of these laws and exposing loopholes that may help to circumvent the laws. Thus, they constitute a litmus test for the usefulness, fairness, compatibility with existing statutes, etc. of new laws. An Incomplete or poorly written law can be easily exposed, by the abstract reasoning and clever articulations of experienced lawyers. This may result in the law being amended or repealed altogether since it does not serve its original intent. Through this indirect process, the legal profession contributes to law making.

In developed countries, most or all legal professionals belong to a

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formally and legally recognized Bar Association. A Bar Associations or Bar Society, as it is called in some countries, is an independent body made up of legal professionals which tends to the needs of the profession. In many countries membership in a Bar Association is mandatory for legal practitioners. Among the important functions of a Bar Association are:

- Licensing new legal Practitioners.
- Regulating the profession (setting rules of conduct etc.) and standardizing the practice across the state.
- Establishing ethical boundaries for its members.
- Processing public complaints and disciplining errant members (fines, license suspension, expulsion from the profession, etc.).

A Bar Association also keeps its members abreast of new legal developments and helps them navigate the legal system. It holds informative seminars and distributes useful literature to its members through periodic journals. A crucial factor in the credibility and effectiveness of the legal profession is its ability to keep the state at arm's length from its processes thereby preserving its independence.

In developed nations law permeates all levels of society. Law affects everything from major government decisions (constitutional law) to crossing the street (traffic law), from buying a train ticket (contract law) to dissolving the union between husband and wife (family law). Dispute resolutions, government actions and international treaties are all regulated by commonly accepted laws enacted by legitimate bodies that have been elected by the governed for that specific purpose.

The opposite of this is chaos and feudalism which is what Puntland is suffering from. We need to construct a society of laws in which the rule of law is supreme and other processes such as clan initiatives are subordinate. To make laws more sensible and fair, the welfare of the citizens, the expertise of the legal profession and the concerns of government institutions should all play a part in the deliberations of thoughtful parliamentary committees.

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Without a strong legal system which is built on fair and practical laws, all our good intentions, social activities, political actions, economic ideas and development projects are futile. We must channel all our progressive activities, especially governance, through a sound legal system that strengthens stability and the rule of law while protecting the rights of our citizens.

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Section on Strategic Planning for Urban Restructuring

Urban planning is not a new phenomenon. It is a practice that has been around since ancient times. Except for very limited projects during colonialism, however, Somalia has not benefited from urban planning of any significance. The objective of this section is not to discuss the details of urban planning and its how-to fabric. Rather, we will mention some basic guiding principles.

When the state is ready to regulate urban planning practices and the need for civil engineers arises, the major cities of this state should be able to attract highly certified and experienced city planners. However, what needs to be identified in this section is the best approach to a new paradigm shift that creates possibilities for the adaptation of urban planning application in particular, and structured life in general.

First of all, this should be a government effort all the way through and does not require much public discourse. The government must have the will, the, creativity, and tenacity it takes to make a positive impact on people's lives. This is going to be a huge success if seriously undertaken and followed through to full implementation.

Here are the series of events that should take place chronologically:

1. Introduce zoning; before distributing land to individuals and real estate developers, partition it based on the following categories. Business offices, residential, parks, government, education, industries, food services, worshiping, department stores, highways, and open areas that should not be touched. The reason why this is important is that, communities need more than houses in order to have a good quality of life. They need Mosques to do their prayers, schools to educate their children, roads to drive on, stores to buy from, city parks to relax in, etc. and these should be integrated into neighborhoods.
2. Hire a private company to develop the land, beginning with the residential zone. This company will divide the land into blocks and units. It will build all the roads needed in the sub division. There should be no gravel roads. All must be covered either with cement or asphalt. The

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county engineers should be responsible in keeping eye on the performance levels of the private companies and the quality standards in general.

After the roads are complete and before the sidewalk bricks are laid, the developer company should yield for the service companies like electricity, water, telephone, cable TV, cooking gas, and sewer pipeline installers. These service providers should not be paid for their work as they are investing in the potential customers who will call the new subdivision home.

3. The land developer company should now start selling ownership papers to the public. A 400 sq. meter known in Somali terms as 20 by 20 should be sold at a fair premium. The largest portion of this money should go to the state. Part of it should be reserved for maintenance, and the rest should go to the city developer company. This company should be a publicly traded company. The company should enjoy a guaranteed 40% yearly profit margin. It should be 100% locally owned and also sold in small shares, so that prosperity is spread among all.

4. Once the ready-to-build land is sold to individuals and real estate developers, the government needs to step in and regulate the next phase vigorously. For residential and office buildings, no less than 10 to 12 story building should be issued for construction permit during the first five years or so. This has several advantages such as; it slows down urban sprawl thereby reducing the kilometers of roads needed to cover the city, which would mean less construction and maintenance costs. It also reduces the cost per unit to families. For example, a 10-story tower with two wings on each level should accommodate 20 families. They would have tarmac roads and sidewalks in front of them. They would have a sewage system, water, electricity, phone lines, cable lines and, maybe, even gas pipelines, all ready to use.

After the county engineers are satisfied with the real estate developer's design and the construction permit is issued by the county board, the land owner should be able to sell units in advance and use the money for the construction project. In order to minimize fraud, the government should forbid real estate developers from unit sales before this stage. The end

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result should be livable, affordable neighborhoods and subdivisions with vital amenities such as schools, parks and shops nearby.

Introducing high-rise construction will require courage and strong regulations accompanied by effective enforcement. Compact housing, no doubt will have its detractors in the beginning. Once its potential advantages are properly understood it will not be hard to garner popular support. With their meager budgets the county administrations of Puntland would ill afford to run fast expanding, horizontally flat cities. Imagine if the twenty families in the above example opted to build twenty separate houses side by side; how many meters of road construction, sidewalk bricks, electric and TV cable cores, water and sewage pipelines, and cooking gas pipelines would they need, not to mention their subsequent maintenance over many years.

Another key step in reducing rapid urban expansion would be to freeze the distribution of undeveloped land properties to the public. It is up to the government to show leadership and courage in this important matter.

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Section on Strategic Planning for the Environment

The environment includes everything from people and animals to the land, vegetation, water, and the air. The state must consult with environmental health engineers and do something to stem the onslaught against our fragile Eco system. Chief among the destructive practices is the cutting of trees for charcoal which has become a huge industry during the last twenty years. This has caused massive soil erosion, turning large areas Puntland and Somalia into desert wastelands. This is why the first government act involving the environment should be to legislate a ban on charcoal making, sales and usage in urban areas after a specified period of time during which it would fast-track an alternative. Some of the initiatives that need to be taken to respond to this dilemma and others are as follows:

1. Register a private, but government regulated Gas Company. This company will be part of the economic building companies like the land development company we discussed earlier. This company will be licensed to import and sell cooking gases. They will fill cooking gas in cylinders and distribute to the residents. The company should be allowed to make 40% profit margin and no more than that. It should be 100% locally owned and publicly traded. No single shareholder should be allowed to own more than \$5,000 of its shares. The purpose is to spread wealth among as many citizens as possible since this company will operate under profit guarantee pact. Once the gas company is in operation the charcoal ban should be vigorously enforced and stiff fines levied against violators. Permanent, affordable electricity which we will discuss shortly will also be an alternative to charcoal.
2. Set up strict conservation laws for fragile Eco systems and forbid all forms of usage of it including grazing, hunting, forestry, farming etc. Trespassers on these lands should be heavily fined.
3. Commission a unit of park rangers for the protection of wild animals. A small contingency of officers should be sufficient for this task. Laws against hunting and animal cruelty in general should be legislated. Shooting wild animals should solicit heavy fines.

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4. The parliament should pass a bill which specifically targets trees. Cutting trees of any kind must totally be outlawed. Weighty fines should apply here too. In addition, the law should also require a certain number of trees around every residential, commercial and public structure depending on the size of the structure and the plot.

5. Disposal of chemical waste such as used lubricants, and other chemicals should be carefully monitored and regulated. Auction a company license for petroleum waste handling. Whoever ends up getting this contract should be responsible for oil disposals. All the oil change service providers as well as the individuals, who choose to do their oil changes should keep the oil residue in containers, deliver it to the prescribed petroleum waste management company and pay a disposal fee to it. The oil waste pay-per-liter works in the USA and it should work in this state as well. It's good environmental practice and it keeps the city clean.

6. Sand, soil, rocks, gravel and dirt used in construction should be monitored and regulated right from the quarry site through to the construction site and after construction. This is an environmental protection step. At the moment any piece of land can be quarried or excavated regardless of the negative environmental, economic or social impact it may have. The result is that there are too many rock quarries and excavation sites that are situated in what would have been prime residential areas, productive farm land or are ecologically sensitive regions. The state should enfranchise one or more private companies to manage and deal in rock, sand, dirt etc. for construction. For example, the company would collect leftover sand, soil, gravel and dirt from construction sites, gather them at its yard and re-sell them to other customers, thereby, increasing efficiency which in turn reduces the environmental damage caused by the quarries.

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Section on Strategic Planning for Government Restructuring

To realize the many changes proposed by this book the government's work should be divided between two separate departments; Projects and Operations. The Projects Office will report directly to the head of state and may be audited by the parliament. For the time being the Projects Office should be independent from the bureaucratic hurdles of the ministries.

This office will be responsible for all the development projects, their progress and performance level checks. For example, when the go ahead is given to create the address book database mentioned in the previous sections, the Project Office will prepare a feasibility study and present their proposal to State House which will present it to parliament for a vote. When contract work is to be auctioned by the state, the project office will distribute the contract information to the businesses, do the vetting process and eventually award the contract to the winning company.

The Projects Office will be led by highly skilled professionals who can properly visualize a project and formulate sensible implementations.

The Operations Office will comprise of the existing ministries and will remain doing what they do now till the new county based system kicks in. By then, some of their operations will be transferred to the county administrations and the rest will remain as is.

The parliament should form committees within it. Parliamentary committees could be formed for education, health, transportation, armed services, ethics, taxation, finance, trade, etc. Each committee would monitor their area of responsibility and introduce regulatory reform bills to the house floor if necessary. They should also be able to open investigations on departments suspected of mismanagement and call department heads to task.

To engage in development projects, the government should establish checks and balances within its bureaus. An audit office that reports to State House and parliamentary sub-committees should be created. This

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office will keep an eye on the conducts of all the government departments. The office will shine a light on suspicious hiring practices, misappropriation of funds, incompetence, lack of due process, accountability gaps, and lack of clearly defined goals within the departments.

To prevent corruption the state should compensate high government officials adequately. Parliamentarians and other government executive members should be entitled to adequate salaries, appropriate housing, medical coverage, transportation, and favorable hospitality in general. In return, they should serve the public passionately and take the state's economy to the next level.

In all government initiatives the moral fortitude, ethical disposition and managerial capabilities of the highest executives must be apparent and beyond reproach. The upper echelons of the government are no place for an inexperienced novice or apprentice either, no matter how morally astute. The sheer magnitude and historical nature of the proposed paradigm shift will require considerable experience and wisdom from those at the top. A leader of questionable moral character should be censured and dismissed if need be. When it comes to projects, the government should contract out work to the private sector and stay at arm's length, limiting its role to facilitation and guidance.

A respectable private accounting firm should be set up to institute accounting controls for government and businesses. This firm should also train new college graduates for book keeping and managerial accounting jobs. They should be able to place these trained professionals in different private and government sectors as consultants working for them. The accounting firm would charge a fee for the work of its professionals. The government would also use this company audit the books of companies that are being considered for government contracts. A company's book keeping speaks volumes about its ethics and the level of its competency. A company that is suspected of tax evasion or other accounting malpractices should never be awarded a government contract.

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Just as violators are punished and non-performing individuals and companies are sidelined, so should good corporate citizenship and innovation be valued and rewarded. To set the right tone the state must set up a registrar's office where individuals can register their business names, trademarks, copy rights and patents. The protection of intellectual property rights is the best way to foster human ingenuity and harness the energy of the creative component of society. It encourages original thinkers and innovators from the various industries to strive to their potential. With their patents, trademarks and copy rights well protected from imitators, they can confidently attach monetary value to their ideas.

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Section on Federalism

At the moment, the Transitional Federal Government of Somalia is far from what its name suggests. It is hardly "federal"; in fact, it epitomizes the disunity that is tearing the country apart. Nor does the term "transitional" apply anymore; after many years of utter failure on all fronts, it is increasingly becoming a permanent feature of our dysfunctional politics. If it does not immediately undertake radical restructuring, the TFG will join the infamous list of ethically and intellectually bankrupt leaderships of the past that only contributed to this nation's misery.

Integrity is the first thing that the TFG has to work on. The credibility issues of the TFG and their likely solutions are too numerous to cover in this short discourse. The most glaring of these is the ridiculously huge size of the parliament relative to the size, population and economy of Somalia. To put this in perspective, the richest and most powerful nation in the world, the United States of America, with an area of 9,926,675 km², and a population of 312,664,000 (third in the world) spread over 50 states, is run by a congress comprising of 435 members of the house of representatives and 100 senators. Somalia, on the other hand, with an area of only 637,657 km² (43rd in the world) and a population of 9,925,640 (86th in the world) has an incredible 550 member parliament.

This begs the question; how does this poor government pay for such a huge legislative body? The answer is; it doesn't. Rather, the members of parliament simply use their status as legislators to solicit personal financial favors from neighboring states, Somali communities in the diaspora, NGO's and anyone else who will empathize with them. The same is true for other government officials. Indeed, this civilized begging is so lucrative that it is the sole reason that most of the members of the TFG jealously guard their positions. As a result, the TFG has been accorded an undignified status among Somalia's neighbors and is a source of embarrassment for its citizens. The prime minister can hardly get half of the legislators to attend a session because the majority of them do not live in Somalia at all. The entire parliament is made up of clan appointments and the overwhelming

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majority is unqualified in many ways. Some cannot even read or write and the list goes on.

To look even remotely credible, the TFG has to reduce the parliament to one fifth of its current size and make attendance mandatory. The oversized cabinet must also be reduced to 15 ministries and no deputies. Throughout this downsizing, effort must be made to weed out the unqualified and retain or import competent academics. If the parliament and the cabinet can demonstrate resolve and cohesion in the formulation and implementation of even one policy, the TFG might just put itself on the path to credibility.

The TFG should immediately put the four-state plan back on track as it is the only sensible solution to stabilize Somalia in the short term. The states should be divided in the following manner:

The Northern State would include Awdal, Woqoyi-Galbed, Togdheer, and part of Sanaag. The Eastern State would be made up of Sool, Bari, Nugal, two parts of Sanaag and Mudug. The Southern State would include Hiiraan, Galgaduud, Upper-Shabelle, Banadir, and a portion of Mudug. Bay, Bakool, Gedo, Lower-Shabelle, Lower-Juba and Upper-Juba would make up the Western State.

Somaliland is the stumbling block in the four-state negotiations. The northerners are not opposed to the four-state solution in and of itself. Their contention, rather, lies with the 1960 terms of reunification.

Renegotiating these terms and making some concessions will go a long way to keep Somaliland at the negotiating table. Other steps may be taken to bring Somaliland closer. For instance, in a radical move to endear the North the national capital could be moved to the northern city of Erigavo permanently. This is a gesture aimed at recognizing the respectable effort that Somaliland has made in the direction of self-reliance, good governance and stability. Furthermore, the northern state could be given one of the two top posts in the country for the first 20 years of the four-state republic. Other gestures such as asking the Hargeisa administration to advise in the development of rules and procedures for the various Federal Government bodies could be made.

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This combination of positive overtones and tangible concessions should win over the majority of northerners and take the wind out of the sails of the secessionists.

As mentioned earlier in the book, Puntland would offer the least resistance to federation. The question of Sool and Sanaag, however, is nonnegotiable as far as Puntland is concerned. With all the concessions made to the North, it would behoove the Hargeisa administration to abandon its colonial era claim to Sool and the eastern part of Sanaag whose inhabitants have long sought union with their kinfolk in Puntland.

On a more general note, the TFG, in order to fulfill its federal calling, must come out of its cocoon in Mogadishu and engage the rest of the nation. It must build credibility by fighting the more obvious forms of corruption and nepotism within its ranks. The four-state solution should be the corner stone of its dialogue with the nation. Showing some vital signs in the above mentioned areas is the only thing that can differentiate the TFG from the myriad of illegitimate regional authorities that have cropped up in Somalia over the last two decades.



Part II: Economic Building

Part II: Economic Building

Section on Strategic Planning for Permanent Electricity

Secure energy is essential to the economic wellbeing of the State and the quality of life of its inhabitants. Stable electrical power is at the epicenter of this energy need. Stable power would do a lot to attract investments to the State. This raises the need for a clear and meaningful energy policy. A concise plan has to be formulated by the government to bring permanent electricity to Puntland.

While there might be other alternatives, in my opinion the private sector offers the best solution at the present time. Following a public announcement by the government of the need for a long term electric power service provider, Town Hall meetings should be held with the business community for a more detailed discussion and to raise the interest of would-be shareholders. Eventually a RFP (Request for Proposal) would be produced by the government and published in the media. A three month response period would follow after which interviews of willing investors will start. The contract terms should include, but not be limited to the following:

#	ISSUE	TERMS	REMARKS
1	Contract length	25 year	Must meet the standards described in the SLA (Service Level Agreement)
2	Reviews	Every one year	The state will conduct review on the service delivery

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3	If review finds the service level unacceptable	1 year to upgrade	The service provider should be given one year to fix its problems. If nothing changes, other companies should be allowed to compete, but for this to become legal, two- third of the legislature must vote in favor
4	Ownership	Public	This company must be owned by the public
5	Starting share value	\$100	One hundred US dollars
6	Share limits	500	In order to spread wealth among people, no one single person should own more than 500 shares, which amounts to \$50.000. This is with the exception of the company
7	Profit guarantees	35%	This company is allowed to make no more than thirty five percent profit margin

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8	Competition	None	This company will be the sole energy provider for the state of Puntland
9	Priorities	Existing small energy providers	If they can get united and are able to meet the requirement standards, the existing energy dealers should be given priority for winning this contract.
10	Managemen	High level of professionalism	To win this contract, strategy for very high level of professionalism and management experience with good accounting practices must be part of the acceptable proposals to the RFP.
11	Capital	Forecast budge	Responders to the RFP must present their feasibility study with complete cost/benefit analysis and project payback dates.

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12	Growth	Gradual	The project progression should be addressed. For example, where the service will start and what percentage should be completed per year? How long it will take to wire up the whole state?
13	Priceh	Low	To keep the energy cost low for homes and businesses, this company should be listed in the “Group X” companies. We will talk about “Group X” companies later. These companies are a special class of companies.
14	Audit	Annually	This company should be audited by one of the entrusted private accounting companies, and the information services company discussed in the earlier sections as well as the parliamentary committee responsible for oversight of the energy sector.

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15	Asset	Third party	The entrepreneurs willing to take on this project must submit properties and or cash to third party financial institution which will only release the property with the valid signature of the project sponsor (the state).
16	Penalties	Heavy	If the contractor company fails to deliver, it should lose the contract and pay serious penalty fees for the delay in the state development project caused by its actions.
17	The environment	Protection for The environment	Bidder's method of generating power should have great consideration for the environment.
18	Benefits	The CEO and the president	In order to merit creativity and entrepreneurship the founders of this company should be entitled to significant bonuses. That is if they provide good leadership for the company and manage effectively.

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The selected service-provider must put a large sum of money in a savings account that it cannot access without the knowledge of the state government. This is to make sure that the project has enough cash to operate on. Also, the leadership of this company must demonstrate professionalism and skill-level that matches its promises. If it is an existing company it must present a good book keeping record or, if new, a well formatted accounting, and as a result, present well-controlled accounting standards.

During the selection process, priority should be given to the established local merchants who are currently involved in this industry. That is only if they can unite their resources under one name and equal their peers in capital, skill, and discipline. The service provider must accept a heavy non-compliance penalty payable to the state in case the terms of the contract are violated or under delivered. Aside from the non-compliance, the service provider must also compensate the state for what is called "An opportunity or economic cost".

Even though this company is private, it is still important that their books be open to government scrutiny since they will not have any competition whatsoever after they get selected. The government represents the public and has a duty to make sure that the decisions made by this company are fair and balanced.

These are just highlights of how things should look like, but for this relation, a specific charter needs to be drafted by the government. The construction of this charter should be attended by highly-skilled business administrators, engineers, and lawyers. The charter should then be passed by the house and signed into law by the leader. The charter should limit the profit earnings of this firm, so that the electricity generated by the winner company will remain affordable to manufacturers, small businesses and the public at large.

This project, while not cost the State much, will contribute significantly to the well-being of the people of the state of Puntland. Permanent, adequate electricity will attract various industries, thereby creating desperately needed jobs. Once proper taxation methods are instituted, these industries and their employees will generate revenue for the state,

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which will then be able to give permanence to the prosperity by investing in health, education, infrastructure, etc.

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Section on Strategic Planning for National Cash Registration

Some of the desirable features of organized societies such as stability, infrastructure, health and education are easily identified by the average observer. Others, however, need a closer look by a trained eye. These include regulation, checks and balances, oversight, etc. These techniques are central to the implementation of ideas in a successful and balanced way. One of these indispensable features is a set of financial controls and regulations. This allows the government and the business community to correctly assess the value of money at any given moment because they know how much of it is in circulation, where it is concentrated, and so on. In this regard, the first step is to establish a national cash registration.

In the developed countries, taxes are the most significant source of income for the State and the effectiveness of the tax regime often determines the success or insolvency of an administration. All businesses and individuals of a certain age are required to record and declare every business transaction. From these records the country's revenue agency determines what taxes, if any, may be levied and how much. Audits are carried out on selected businesses and individuals on a random basis in which their declared transactions and incomes are checked against their overall revenues. Penalties for evading taxes are stiff enough to keep the majority of the population honest.

The Sales Tax could provide potentially significant revenue for the State but it is also one of the most evaded taxes. If Puntland is to capitalize on this tax we would need some sort of point-of-sale technology to be introduced and then declared mandatory by government.

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Section on Strategic Planning for Recruiting and Training

People make a living from their employment, and through it, provide for their families. Hiring leads to this essential financial security, therefore, the recruiting procedures used for the State's workforce must be consistent and fair.

Anything less than complete evenhandedness in this matter is totally unacceptable and should never be taken lightly by the government. Unfairness is a backbreaker for unity and nation building. Once fairness is abandoned and trust is lost, a remedy is hard to come by. Prevention is always the best medicine.

Women make over 50% of our population. They should get 50% of government jobs, especially at the managerial level.

The state must outline a firm labor policy. This policy should be unfolded only after the address book and the public registration projects are complete. By that time, people can be traced using their social ID numbers, which will also be used as their tax ID.

Businesses are standalone entities and are required to register with the state to obtain tax identification numbers before they start operating. Every business must fill employment papers for the state when hiring a worker. The papers must show the social ID number of the hire as well as the company tax ID number. In addition, the employment type, length, industry type, regular and overtime pay rates, and the address information the employer and employees should be collected.

If the hiring entity is either one of the group X chartered companies (subsidized or protected) or a government funded entity, more information about the recruiting process should be collected. Information about job posting, interviewing, and selection processes should be attached in this case.

The labor department should promote impartiality in hiring, and heavily punish favoritism and nepotism. Chartered companies and government departments must publicly announce their job openings. After the

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position is filled, they must send the names, qualifications, work experience, contact information, as well as the job description, title, and duties performed by the individual to the department of labor. The department will use this information for combating hiring irregularities and tax dodging, as well as for statistical reasons. This information will also help the state leaders understand the economic trend. The departments will possess a reliable analytical data that can greatly contribute to the accuracy of the short as well as long term societal development goals.

The department of labor should not hire people. It should only oversee the process of hiring. Making the department a hiring czar while, at the same time, it is responsible for regulating the labor rules is a recipe for corruption and nepotism. It's like putting the hyena in charge of the flock and then litigating it for making poor judgment.

The department should envision the best way to deal with the influx of labor force pouring into the state without unnecessary screening. A plausible strategy would be to divide workers into state natives, nationals and foreigners.

State natives should gain permission to work through their state ID cards showing their tax ID numbers. If the state natives are from areas outside the jurisdiction of the State of Puntland, they should still be given work permits. This does not imply immediate voting rights in Puntland since they have no fixed address boxes established within the state. In my view, the residents of Gedo, Lower Jubba, and Ogadenya are considered natives and should maintain full rights in this state.

The country is divided into fiefdoms and the federal government has no power to do its job at the moment, thus, it is hard to determine the status of the Somali nationals coming from other anarchical states. A reasonable policy would be that they should be given temporary, but renewable work permits and be assigned temporary tax ID's. Internationals should only be allowed to invest. Having said that, the State's policies must encourage people from other parts of Somalia to settle here. Building a sound economy requires people. This state is currently too under-populated for a healthy economy to take its roots.

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When federalism is fully implemented and legitimate state level governments are established, Somalis carrying valid ID's from other Somali states should be granted rights equal with the Puntland natives after a proven five years residence within the borders of Puntland State.

The Labor Department should also undertake a comprehensive job training program funded by the state. That is if the state can afford it. The program would teach basic entry level skills that would make it easier for an unskilled worker to gain employment in the private sector. Employers would then take over from there and offer more specific training.

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Section on Strategic Planning for Credit Records

Accountability is the bedrock of a sound financial system. A Credit reserve of five points should be granted everyone by default. Those, who break the rules of the state, should have their credit downgraded according to the severity and the frequency of their delinquency. As a result, some might end up with a credit reserve of four, three, two, one, or perhaps none.

Getting government jobs or government sponsored contracts should require a clean credit of five. Both individuals and businesses should have their credits maintained. A company that departs from a sound credit standing or fails to deliver on its contracts must lose points. Outstanding achievements from individuals and businesses must also mark credit balances with distinction. Distinguished credits should put their bearers at higher priority for consideration for employment, contract, trade license, and other opportunities.

To manage this important, but sensitive information effectively, every county must constitute a credit bureau office. This office should update its records from the rulings of the judiciary. Also, reports should willingly be made to this department when companies dishonor their contracts, disappoint their consumer, or fail to show professionalism and good conduct in business. This in and of itself should not necessarily take points away from a company

Records of complaints entered against an individual or organization would be accessible to the public. This information should not necessarily take away credit points, but it has the effect of keeping would be offenders honest since numerous complaints would discourage potential clients and result in revenue loss for the company. If the accused files complaint against unfavorable statements entered by a third party which ends up in its credit record, the credit bureau should hold an arbitrary session and listen to both sides (bear in mind that the onus is on the plaintiff to produce contractual evidence of misconduct by the accused). The loser of the two sides should incur calculated expenses from the credit bureau office and from the winner side. Finally, the

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statement would either be cleared from the record or confirmed with the necessary proof and reattached.

If confirmed, a credit loss must take place, because there is a judgment passed by the credit bureau and the allegations were authenticated.

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Section on Strategic Planning for Proper taxation

Most of the struggling governments in today's world have problems with their tax revenue generating procedures. On the other hand, the most effective states in the globe have developed a working tax management mechanism.

Tax money should not be wasted. It should serve the nation in many ways. If there is an accountability problem in the State's administration, then taxes, no matter how efficiently collected are of no value to the people because these taxes will not benefit the society at large but rather contribute to corruption. If a tax cannot be properly spent or accounted for by the government, it should not be collected in the first place.

Every exchange of goods or services should be recorded and taxed. The state must forbid people from making unrecorded business transactions. Every business transaction must generate a remittance evidence document called a 'receipt' that is given to the consumer. The receipt must clearly state the total sale and total tax paid.

This is not an easy task, but it is doable if permanent electricity is restored. The good thing is that, once it gets established, it will be the only way, and will operate smoothly. People will start appreciating it. The state must make money when the corner store sells a bottle of powder milk to aunt Suuban, when the barber next door gives Liibaan a haircut, and when son Farxaan sends a hundred dollars to mama Asli. Taxing per transaction is the solution.

Sales Tax: Sales Tax can be earned on finished goods at the point of sale if locally sold. This should apply to both the imported and domestically produced goods. Transit goods and materials with foreign destinations can be taxed at the port of entry. To bring the movement of finished goods and materials entering the state under control, the government must issue import licenses for credible businesses only.

These importers must demonstrate meticulous book keeping and inventory control management skills married with process automation

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and application software usage. If their consignments pass through the customs for local distribution, then they have to return copies of their invoices, and the records of all the payments made to them by the local buyers. Both the Department of Trade and the Revenue Authority should keep a close eye on the activities of these major importers. Whether they are middle tier wholesalers or retailers, the buyers will return their tax registers to the revenue services and their records can be easily scrutinized. By comparing the information reported by the importers with the information captured from the buyer records, the state can detect if there is tax evasion perpetuated by the importers and if the import license is being abused. If a shipment is declared as transit cargo at the point of entry, then documentary evidence of exit will be required once the shipment has passed the point of exit.

One may raise the question: is it not easier to collect all the taxes at the point of entry (custom)? The answer is; it is not that simple. First of all, you don't want to tax transit products as highly as the locally consumed products. That is because, you want to gain market share from consumers in neighboring states by offering less levy. Whatever tax you gain from this market share is a plus for you, because, this is not your base consumer. Second, you will figure out if the out of state producers and importers are dumping smuggled-goods to your local retail market. You will recognize this from their monthly or quarterly sales tax returns. Last, but not the least, the citizens of the state will sell their goods to a much wider customer base and make more money as a result.

If imported goods are to remain affordable to the majority of the public the government would have to create disincentives for importers that buy from second and third-hand suppliers such as those in Dubai because every middleman adds to the cost of the goods. Buying directly from the manufacturers would eliminate most of the middlemen and bring down the total cost to the end user.

Service tax: All manner of paid service should be taxed. These include, but are not limited to; passenger transportation (tickets for bus, airline, train, etc.), cargo transportation, communication (phone, internet, etc.), hospitality (hotels, restaurants, tourist attractions, etc.), personal care (hair salons, fitness centers, health spas, etc.). Almost all service that is

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paid for should be taxed except for essential services such as medical care.

Highway tax: Roads cost money to build and to maintain. A fee must be imposed on every vehicle registered out of state. This fee can be collected at the point of entry to the state.

Gas tax: In the United States, all the highway construction and maintenance cost comes from highway taxes paid at the pump. The state has to license a few companies for the fuel businesses and force them to sell fuel only through regulated gasoline stations where transactions can be recorded and taxed. Naturally, it is motorists who should pay for the bulk of road construction and maintenance since it is they that use the roads. The amount of Gas tax paid by a motorist depends on the number of liters bought which, incidentally corresponds to the number of kilometers that particular motorist travels on the nation's roads and highways. Thus, those that use the roads the most pay the most tax.

It would be prudent for the state to use the Gas tax for the construction and maintenance of roads to the exclusion of anything else. American states that have adopted this approach boast the finest roads in the country while those states that are not as disciplined in how they spend their Gas tax struggle to keep their transportation infrastructure in step with the ever growing demand.

Property tax: Government spends money on protecting private properties while also providing neighborhoods with other essential services, such as fire departments and libraries. It also provides infrastructure needs, such as street lights, parks and recreational spaces. All these are not offered by the private sector. It is, therefore, necessary to levy a property tax on each and every private property owner who enjoys these privileges. Property tax for undeveloped urban land should be very high. This is to discourage real estate speculators from hoarding land in order to drive up the price. Prohibitive land prices that result from real estate speculation makes it difficult for a family to own a home or a business to establish itself in a prime location. This negative practice must, therefore be combated with heavy taxation and other property laws if we are to attract investment and residency to Puntland.

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Tax on gain: A capital gains tax should be levied on profits realized from investments made by individuals and corporations alike. The capital (the invested amount), however, is tax exempt. Also, a significant percentage, if not a majority, of Somalis receive monthly stipends from family members abroad. These remittances make up a substantial proportion of the money in circulation in Puntland and should not go untaxed. For this to happen, the state should make use of the department of postal services once it is established.

As it does in some other countries, the Postal department will act as a mini-bank. All the xawaala branches in the state will deposit their distribution money to the nearest post office. The department will print personalized draft check books for every xawaala. The xawaala clerk will issue checks payable to his/her customers instead of paying them cash. Customers will present their checks to the post office after which the post office will run balance checking and if there is enough money available in the account of the xawaala that issued the check, the postal clerk will honor the check. In addition, the post office will deduct 2% government tax and its own minor service fee from the money sent.

If the money transferred is for investment purposes, only the department service fee will be applied. That is if the business name being used has business tax ID issued by the state, and has reliable book keeping practices. The department of postal services should report this money to the department of revenue services. All the companies receiving the non-taxed investment money from outside should specifically be audited by the state at the end of the quarter, and be penalized if proven unfaithful.

Payroll tax: No individual or business should be allowed to receive a minute of paid service from others without proper employment papers filled and sent to the Department of Labor and the Revenue Authority. Not a penny should be rewarded or paid as a wage or salary without the State's knowledge. No one should be allowed to work without a working-permit issued by the department of labor. The government should ask employers to deduct taxes from wages and salaries earned by their employees and directly remit them to the revenue Authority.

Yearly income tax: All businesses and individuals with valid work

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permits must declare their yearly income to the Revenue Authority by the end of each taxation year. This has to be done even if there is no income to declare. The revenue services department will verify people's claims and assess whether the individual or business in question have paid all the taxes due on their incomes. In case of overpayment, the Revenue Authority will pay back the overpaid amount immediately. If there is an under-payment however, the remaining balance will have to be paid to the Revenue Authority within a specified period of time after which the government will consider punitive measures. False information on the Income tax file should solicit disciplinary actions such as heavy fines, loss of credit, or, in serious cases, incarceration.

Accuracy in the Income tax file is critical for several reasons other than the need to protect the state's revenue. The information provided in the Income tax file is important in measuring the prosperity and general wellbeing of the population by giving us an idea of the Per Capita income of the different genders, age groups economic and social classes, and so on. The statistical data contained in these files is also useful when the government is formulating economic, fiscal and monetary policies. All these different layers of taxation can be instituted if we can create the conditions that are being proposed in this book such as; peace and stability, adequate law enforcement, a strong judiciary, reliable electricity, public registration, proper distribution of authority, and reliable computer information and financial services. The government would prepare a tax code. In other words, it would decide what needs to be taxed and how much.

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Section on Strategic Planning for Incorporating Small Business

In general, Somalis are adept at commerce and are active in the import/export business throughout East, Central and South Africa. It is not uncommon to see Somalis scouring the markets of Dubai in search of goods for export to Mombasa, Djibouti, Bosaso and Dar-es-salaam among others. Most of our commercial practices, however, are decades old and need to be revised. As globalization increases businesses are more interconnected than ever. In this information age, entrepreneurs have developed techniques to take advantage of the many choices available whether it be dealing with the manufacturers directly or consolidating the orders of several entrepreneurs into one large consignment to get a discount.

Somali traders, by and large, have yet to tap into these new potentials. Trade is carried on in the same manner as it has been for the past century i.e. the Somali merchant would personally travel to a trading city such as Dubai, shop for several weeks accumulating, at best, one container of goods, and then follow it home in order to sell.

There are several things wrong with this scenario. First, the Somali merchant is buying goods from secondary and tertiary suppliers, which means that they are more expensive as every middleman adds his own margin to the cost of the goods. Secondly, because the merchant is not buying large quantities, he loses the advantage of worthwhile discounts. Thirdly, our merchant has bought an airline ticket, slept in hotels, eaten from restaurants and incurred other expenses for several weeks only to purchase a small consignment of goods.

In order to turn a profit our merchant will have to download all the unnecessary cost resulting from his inefficient trading on the final consumer. As a consequence, the average consumer can ill afford these products and, to compensate, the government prints more money and drives up inflation which, in turn, destroys the value of assets, salaries, etc. Furthermore, if the merchant wishes to ship these goods further afield to a neighboring country, his over-priced goods cannot compete in

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the marketplace which means he will be stuck with them for longer than is financially beneficial to him.

Trade is the single largest source of income in Puntland and is the main driver of the economy. Efficient trade practices will increase the volume of trade by Puntland's merchants and benefit consumers, merchants and government alike. Consumers will buy at lower prices and traders, armed with competitive prices, will profit from the increased volume of sales in Puntland and neighboring states. The State will also see a rise in tax revenues due to the increased volume of exchanged goods.

To achieve this, government needs to regulate imports and exports in favor of bulk shipments and direct trading with manufacturers. One way is to institute an import tariffs code that rewards high volume and direct-from-factory imports, and discourages low volume and goods from secondary sources.

Another plausible idea, which I prefer, is to consolidate the procurement (i.e. import) sector under a handful of publicly traded companies. The Department of Trade would create a business office which would divide imports into categories such as food/medicine, textiles, fuel, automotive, etc. For each category of imports the business office would license two or three of these large companies.

These companies must be publicly traded and not privately owned. In other words, their shares should be open for the people of this state to buy. Shares of these companies would only be sold to non-residents if there is a dire need for cash and with the approval of the legislature.

Each of these corporations will form a five member board of directors made up of major shareholders with the top shareholder as the CEO (chief executive officer). The CEO and the board will appoint a president for the company who will run it under the auspices of the board.

The corporation must accumulate enough shares and produce adequate capital for the import license pursued. For example, to be licensed for food and drug importing, a newly incorporated company must gather up to thirty million US dollars' worth of cash. This figure may be less, or

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more, for other import categories. The bottom line is that, they must show full financial capability to undertake global trade. These companies will also be required to demonstrate solid accounting and computing procedures. They must pursue and hire seasoned business and IT professionals to lead their core business units.

Prior to being licensed the various applicants will present their procurement strategies to a committee from the Business Office. They would have to explain, to the satisfaction of the committee, their blueprint for delivering goods that are competitively advantageous in both price and quality. The three main determinants that would make or break the applicant's case are:

1. Direct-from-factory supply with Bosaso being the first stop.
2. Adequate capital for the desired import category.
3. Solid organizational assets such as long term strategic goals, strong corporate structure, good bookkeeping, transparency, etc.

As a protection from price gauging, price fixing and other unfair business practices, antitrust laws would be put in place prohibiting the import companies from discussing their cost and pricing information with their competitors. Because of the sheer size of these giant companies, their actions will have an impact on the population. Hence, the need of the state to keep an eye on them and intervene whenever the interest of the public is at stake.

The government strategic relations with the outside world may also play role here. The state government may contribute to the decision making as to what country to make business with. For example, if Italy has close alliance with Punland state or China appreciates more business relations with this state, the government can mark these nations as preferred business partners with the state of Puntland and the licensed importer companies should follow suit.

These corporations, if run properly, would be expected to have distribution and warehousing facilities in major cities, particularly the port city of Bosaso. In keeping with modern practices, they would have galleries throughout the state showcasing their commodities. Here, the

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wholesalers can view the products and make orders that would be delivered to them.

The business office should also limit the number of wholesale and retail licenses issued. The current copycat culture among entrepreneurs has given rise to a proliferation of wholesalers and retailers that is disproportionate to the population they serve. The outcome is a saturation of wholesalers and retailers lined up in small towns, all selling the same things. Because of the resulting stiff competition, these traders resort to cheap, poor quality products in order to win the price war. Some of these tactics, when used in food and medical products have proven to be dangerous for public health. Even a cursory glance at the inventory of any pharmacy in Puntland will reveal a shocking amount of counterfeit drugs, expired medicines and fake placebos.

Local business bureaus can be set up in each county to award a limited number of wholesale and retail licenses and regulate their holders. This would help eliminate unhealthy competition and make the wholesale and retail business more organized and profitable. The local business bureau and the Business Board would do a market survey and issue licenses based on the interest of both the consumer and the business community. In this, every county will reassess its retail market capacity and eliminate the overflow of shops and kiosks.

By consolidating the import industry as mentioned and reducing the number of wholesalers and retailers in order to eliminate the necessity of poor quality products, the public can enjoy premium products at affordable rates.

The current small consignment trading would not be stopped immediately. Time would be given for the newly established importers to gain a foothold while the small, inefficient traders are gradually phased out. After the new import system is established, complete with rules and regulations, the state would start the process of outlawing illegal traders and institute stiff penalties.

The owners of the closed retail stores would not be left without options. They could invest in the newly formed big import companies or pool

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their resources and establish small and middle-sized manufacturing industries that would be protected from competitive imports. Cooperatives, which I will discuss shortly is another worthwhile route. In addition, since the restructuring program has adversely affected them, they might be eligible for government-negotiated employment with the Group X companies along with ex-soldiers and others who lost out in the various restructuring programs.

The Group X companies would also benefit from prison labor. Inmates would work and gain skills that would earn them a living legally once they are released. The companies would pay comparatively small salaries for the prisoner's directly to the state which would divert most of it to the corrections department. The prisoners, however, would retain a small percentage of the proceeds of their labor which would be given to them as a head start upon their release.

After bringing the import goods under control, the state government should immediately start urging the business community to focus on industrialization. To protect newly established industries the state should guarantee market shares for their products. For example, if local beverage manufacturers can supply 50% of the state's demand for juices, then juice import quotas should be reduced by as much. In addition, tariffs on the imported juices must be enough to make them more expensive at the retail shop. If this policy is enforced vigorously, industrialization will proliferate throughout the state. From there on the possibilities are limitless. Goods manufactured in Puntland would easily penetrate markets all over Eastern Africa through the already well-established Somali business community in the region. A healthy manufacturing sector regulated by a competent authority in a stable environment will undoubtedly attract substantial foreign investments.

An organized transportation sector is crucial to both the import/export and manufacturing sectors. The state can initially license a handful of large companies and regulate them properly. Major transportation contracts should only be given to these companies at first. The smaller fleets would then be sub-contractors to the licensed firms and be regulated through them.

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Section on Strategic Planning for 2nd Commercial Base

In the introduction, I briefly mentioned the blessings of Puntland's strategic location. Within comfortable reach of Puntland's Red Sea and Indian Ocean towns is one of the most populous countries in Africa. With a population of 83,000,000, Ethiopia has a long border with us and no ports. Just beyond her lies the newly created state of Southern Sudan, another landlocked country with oil and little else, in other words, a consumer nation.

In addition to seriously upgrading the port of Bosaso, I propose the transformation of Galkacyo into a regional distribution hub and a resolution to establish a proper port in Garacad to ease the burden on Bosaso in the long term.

Galkacyo is at the center of Somalia and is equidistant from Mogadisho, Hargaisa and Bosaso. It can easily become the cargo distribution center as well as the passenger commercial airliners hub for Somalia and for the neighboring Ethiopia. Building a small jetty (later to become a full port) around the town of Garacad, allocating shipment distribution quarters around Galkacyo, and building railroad connection between Garacad and Galkayo (a distance of only 240km) will set the stage for massive economic performance in the region. Building railroads in a flat dry-land is much cheaper than building highways. The transit of goods through Galkacyo will provide tremendous opportunities for local service providers and workers alike.

A modern airport that can accommodate large jets is indispensable if Galkacyo is to become a true trading city. It should have security that is adequate enough to satisfy the insurers of international carriers. I am not suggesting a billion-dollar investment here. What I have in mind can be done privately if Puntlanders in the diaspora and the business community pool their resources. Once a project like this comes to fruition, the returns for the investors are enormous and may last generations.

I am optimistic about the affordability of this airport because the land

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around Galkacyo is naturally flat and would not need as much grading or leveling as other types of land. In addition, it is very dry most of the year so there are no soft or swampy areas to fill with soil and compact. With those advantages the bulk of the cost will be spent on the tarmac and construction of the main airport building itself.

The main building does not have to be glamorous but it does need the essentials such as arrival, transit and departure sections, a cargo and luggage department, customs facilities, space for airline offices, restaurants, washrooms, etc. The flow of human and cargo traffic must be organized with security in mind. Adequate security and a sufficient number of passengers are the two most important features needed to attract international carriers.

If this project is successfully implemented, it will catapult the state economy into a regional pillar. Travelers converging from Europe and North America will land at this airport and then continue their journeys by land to their final destinations.

The airport will create sea waves of business opportunities in the state and will connect Somalia to the world. With the subsequent rise in hospitality and other services, hard currency will be abundant, and that is good for economic stability.

The port, railroad, airport and distribution hub will change the dynamics of the economy of Somalia. The fixation on Mogadishu due to the decades long centralized dictatorship will finally come to an end. The same goes for the obsession with the Southern provinces, as Somalis realize that their nation has potentials other than our war-torn Capital and the fertile south. The pointlessness of spilling blood over these territories will finally become apparent for all to see.

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Section on Strategic Planning for Co-operative Corporations

Co-operative franchises have benefitted many nations around the world for decades. When properly organized and executed, co-operative ventures have the potential to eliminate poverty and bestow a sense of dignity on participating communities. There are unlimited opportunities around every community. However, the road that leads to these opportunities is littered with imaginary obstacles. In order to unveil, touch, and feel these opportunities, the government needs to combat its own weakness and challenge the status quo. It needs to lead a radical change.

Although it was a failure in the end, Mohamed Siyad Barre's "ISKAA WAX U QABSO" program was as brilliant as it was radical. The idea of communities relying on themselves for their livelihood and unifying their purpose is something we badly need. The social benefits and cohesion that would result are as valuable as any economic gain. As excellent as "ISKAA WAX U QABSO" was, in the end it failed because of bad execution. Siad Barre's biggest mistake was to value loyalty above knowledge. He entrusted the implementation of the program to army devotees whose only qualification was their deference to him.

The State should not force anyone to perform unpaid labor. It should instead create co-operative corporations where the disenfranchised elements of the society can earn their basic needs and establish an essential economic base.

Co-operatives should be formed around skills and industries that are intuitive to the residents of the state. The following is a list of skills, trades and industries that are native to Puntland and would flourish in a co-operative setting:

- Fishing
- Fish processing
- Sea salt mills
- Livestock herding

Part II: Economic Building

- Farming (crop and tree)
- Boat building
- Wood and furniture masonry
- Weaving (our rural women have the skills to weave beautiful baskets and other traditional Somali items such as shash, abjad, karbaash etc.)
- Shoemaking (bring nobility to this valuable industry)
- Leather tannery (sadly undervalued by a livestock rearing society)
- Ironsmith work and metal fabrication (finally recognize the importance of Tumaal!)
- Sewing and tailoring
- Rock and brick masonry (for the construction industry)

The skills needed for the above industries are all indigenous to Puntland. There are many families involved in these industries at present, but they struggle individually to market their trade, get fair pay for their expert services or find proper markets for their products.

In a co-operative setting, those of the same craft would pool their resources and improve their products or services. By co-operating, they would also set uniform prices and rates in order to decently profit from their trade.

To improve the skill level of co-operative communities, the government and NGO's can provide basic education on how to run co-ops and make them profitable.

Some Co-operative entities will have to be dictated by the government for a limited period i.e. forced co-operatives. These would constitute ex-gunmen of the various clan militias who have by now been disarmed by the security apparatus but remain unruly and unwilling to conform by not seeking employment or committing repeated minor offences.

This process is the Community Sponsorship Strategy that I had mentioned earlier in the book when writing about disarming the gunmen.

Part II: Economic Building

These young men would be placed in these co-operatives as an alternative to incarceration. The only choice they would have in this matter is the craft they wish to engage in. After one of these men is placed in the co-operative community of his choice, he will immediately start receiving job-specific training while doing his share of physical work.

These co-operatives will work almost like penal colonies in the sense that the participants will not have complete freedom of movement. The participants will have to display adequate skill levels and a positive attitude before they are released, provided that they can be placed in an ordinary co-operative or with a Group X company.

Conclusion

In this book I have identified the general malaise that has befallen the Somali nation to which Puntland belongs. I have then proposed, without going into much detail, some remedies for Puntland. These remedies are not specific to this state. On the contrary, they would work even better in some of the other regions of Somalia that have better infrastructure such as ports and airports, bigger populations, more water and fertile land, etc.

Much of what is discussed in this book is general and elementary. Some of my discussions on the need for, and functions of, various government institutions may appear to the learned reader as a case of stating the obvious. But the intended target of this discourse is the average Somali, living in Somalia. Bear in mind that the majority of Puntland's and, indeed, Somalia's population has come of age in the present era of anarchy. Many may have never heard of a Judiciary or Revenue Authority, much less comprehend their functions or benefits.

Allah does not change the condition of a people until they change that which is in themselves. This is a common wisdom handed down to us by the best generation of our faith and it is time that we took it to heart. The radical changes that I am proposing in this book are practically unattainable in the current environment of ignorant leadership, heartless corruption, apathy and mistrust. To give these changes a chance we need to radically change that environment, starting with ourselves and our leaders. Tzu Lao, a Chinese philosopher from 2,500 years ago, once wrote, "A journey of a thousand miles starts with one step". A visionary leadership and an involved public is our first step in a challenging but achievable journey from anarchy to stability, dysfunction to organization, poverty to prosperity, and that is why we have to manage failure on the road to success.

END



