



# Security Council

Seventieth year

Provisional

## 7375<sup>th</sup> meeting

Wednesday, 4 February 2015, 10 a.m.

New York

<i>President:</i>	Mr. Liu Jieyi . . . . .	(China)
<i>Members:</i>	Angola . . . . .	Mr. Gaspar Martins
	Chad . . . . .	Mr. Gombo
	Chile . . . . .	Mr. Barros Melet
	France . . . . .	Mr. Bertoux
	Jordan . . . . .	Mrs. Kawar
	Lithuania . . . . .	Ms. Ramoškaitė
	Malaysia . . . . .	Mr. Haniff
	New Zealand . . . . .	Mr. McLay
	Nigeria . . . . .	Mr. Laro
	Russian Federation . . . . .	Mr. Iliichev
	Spain . . . . .	Mr. González de Linares Palou
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland . . .	Sir Mark Lyall Grant
	United States of America . . . . .	Mr. Pressman
	Venezuela (Bolivarian Republic of) . . . . .	Mr. Ramírez Carreño

## Agenda

The situation in Somalia

Report of the Secretary-General on Somalia (S/2015/51)

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*The meeting was called to order at 10.10 a.m.*

### **Expression of thanks to the outgoing President**

**The President** (*spoke in Chinese*): As this is the first meeting of the Council for the month of February 2015, I should like to take this opportunity to pay tribute, on behalf of the Council, to His Excellency Mr. Cristián Barros Melet, Permanent Representative of Chile, for his service as President of the Council for the month of January 2015. I am sure I speak for all members of the Council in expressing deep appreciation to Ambassador Barros Melet and his team for the great diplomatic skill with which they conducted the Council's business last month.

### **Adoption of the agenda**

*The agenda was adopted.*

### **The situation in Somalia**

#### **Report of the Secretary-General on Somalia (S/2015/51)**

**The President** (*spoke in Chinese*): In accordance with rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure, I invite the representative of Somalia to participate in this meeting.

In accordance with rule 39 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure, I invite Mr. Nicholas Kay, Special Representative of the Secretary-General and Head of the United Nations Assistance Mission in Somalia, to participate in this meeting.

In accordance with rule 39 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure, I invite Mr. Maman Sidikou, Special Representative of the Chairperson of the African Union Commission for Somalia and Head of the African Union Mission in Somalia, to participate in this meeting.

On behalf of the Council, I welcome Ambassador Sidikou, who is joining today's meeting via video-teleconference from Mogadishu.

The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda.

I wish to draw the attention of Council members to document S/2015/51, which contains the report of the Secretary-General on Somalia.

I now give the floor to Mr. Kay.

**Mr. Kay:** First of all, I would like to congratulate you, Sir, on assuming the presidency of the Security Council for this month, and to thank you for taking the initiative to circulate many written questions in advance of today's briefing. I hope my briefing in the open meeting will cover a lot of those questions; others will be answered in the closed meeting. I also thank you for this opportunity to brief the Council on Somalia. I am particularly pleased to be doing so with my friend and colleague, Ambassador Sidikou. The partnership in Somalia between the African Union (AU) and the United Nations is unique, strong and essential for success.

I would like to use this briefing, if I may, to take a hard look at the challenges ahead this year. When I look ahead to 2015, I am both excited and worried. I am excited because this year will be decisive in whether and how Somalia can become a unified, peaceful and federal State. I am worried, because the challenges and risks are significant — delays and setbacks will have an even greater impact this year than last.

The year 2015 should be the year of federalism and delivery. The Federal Government's Vision 2016 remains the plan. But timelines have shortened significantly, largely as a result of repeated political crises. First, we need to accelerate the momentum established in 2014 in the federalism process, particularly building the capacity of existing interim regional administrations and establishing new ones where they do not exist. Within the next few months we need to see all the interim regional administrations in place. I welcome the intention to establish without delay an interregional consultative forum in Somalia.

Secondly, with a constitutional referendum expected in early 2016, the bulk of the constitutional review, including important discussions on power and resource sharing, will need to be completed this year.

Thirdly, key decisions and preparations for the 2016 referendum and elections must be made. The long-delayed National Independent Electoral Commission and the Boundaries and Federation Commission need to be established and operationalized urgently. We must continue to support and build the Federal Government's leadership and capacity, but inclusive political processes will be the key. Somalia's regions must play a full part in State-building and peacebuilding processes, and minority and marginalized groups need to be included in them. Women's participation and leadership at the

local and national level must be promoted. I note with concern that words and good intentions have not so far translated into action when it comes to selecting women for senior roles. Traditional elders and political leaders have a responsibility to make sure this happens.

Political infighting of the kind we saw last year could derail the whole project. The most recent crisis has delayed all key Government business for over three months and left Parliament divided and distracted. I welcome the appointment of the new Prime Minister, Mr. Omar Abdirashid Ali Sharmarke, but I am disappointed that it has not yet been possible to reach agreement with Parliament on a new Cabinet.

Once a Cabinet has been approved, future crises need to be avoided. To do this, Federal leaders and institutions, including Parliament, have a responsibility to improve their working practices, transparency and engagement with each other. Those with the greatest power and influence have the greatest responsibility to find workable compromises. They will be held accountable by Somalis and international partners for further instability and delay.

The importance of the political process this year will raise the stakes in Somali politics. I worry that tensions will rise as the 2016 elections get closer. Somalia's people and nascent institutions will be breaking historic new ground this year, as the country moves down the road to federalism and democracy. It is up to the country's political leaders to guide this process responsibly, build confidence among all groups and put aside narrow interests. A spirit of compromise is the hallmark of strength not weakness.

The sacrifice, courage and dedication of the African Union Mission in Somalia (AMISOM) and the Somali National Army have had a decisive impact on security in Somalia. The United Nations Support Office for AMISOM (UNSOA) has played an exceptionally effective part in this success in 2014 and deserves recognition, as does the European Union (EU) for its role in meeting much of the costs of AMISOM and its deployment of the EU Training Mission to Mogadishu.

The campaign against Al-Shabaab will continue to advance in 2015. AMISOM and the Somali National Army will continue to counter Al-Shabaab's asymmetric approach. They need the right capability to defeat this threat. Combating terrorism also requires a more coherent regional approach, both within Somalia and in the Horn of Africa more broadly, to undermine

Al-Shabaab's cross-border capability, finances and intent. Security for Somali civilians must improve. Al-Shabaab is not the only threat they face. Between the United Nations, AMISOM and federal and regional authorities we need to recognize and respond to the continuing potential for local inter-clan disputes to lead to conflict.

I am grateful for the Council's attention to the need to secure main supply routes to liberated areas. A great deal depends on it. Secure access will improve and enable military operations, allow independent and impartial needs-based humanitarian supplies to be delivered and, crucially, allow resumption of normal commercial activity.

Stabilization has to work this year. We need creative ways to accelerate delivery that strengthens the legitimacy of local administrations. Collectively we shall need to accept and manage the risk involved in such programmes. I look forward to greater implementation of the Federal Government's stabilization strategy, particularly local reconciliation and peacebuilding activities. To do this, we need more secure movement within liberated areas.

Promoting the rule of law is an important part of the peace dividend in newly recovered areas and a key part of State-building more broadly. This year we need to help extend basic access to justice sector institutions — police, justice and corrections — to the regions.

In 2015, we also need to set the foundations for a sustainable Somali defence sector. Implementing commitments made in September at the London Security Event will be key. Coherent support to 10,900 Somali National Army personnel in joint operations with AMISOM, the development of a plan for the defence sector, coherent national security architecture and militia integration into national security forces are the challenges. All this must be politically realistic — guided by and with the grain of the federalism process. It must also be financially sustainable.

Somalia remains one of the most dangerous places in which the Council has mandated operations. I pay tribute to the work and sacrifices of AMISOM and Somali troops over the last year. We were all saddened by the loss of life in the 25 December attack inside the Mogadishu International Airport area. I thank the Council members for their heartfelt statements of support and solidarity.

I am also most grateful for the professional work of the United Nations Guard Unit, provided by Uganda. In 2014, it allowed us to expand our presence in Mogadishu. Without it, we could not achieve the mandates the Council set for UNSOM and the United Nations Support Office for AMISOM. But, as we have expanded, the Guard Unit has been stretched to the limits of its capacity. In 2015, the demands on the United Nations will only increase. We shall need to expand our presence in the regions to support stabilization and Vision 2016. That will require a further expansion of the Guard Unit. I hope the upcoming joint African Union-United Nations benchmarking review can address this issue, among other things.

The United Nations, the African Union (AU), the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD), the European Union and other international partners are working ever more closely together to ensure coherent support to make progress in Somalia. IGAD will continue to play a critical role in political processes, particularly at the regional level.

Delivering progress this year will require even closer collaboration and accountability between the Federal Government and international partners. The Copenhagen High-level Partnership Forum, held in November 2014, reaffirmed that the Somali Compact remained the right framework for that purpose. Partnership and mutual accountability need to be translated into concrete actions and must be extended to all areas, including aid flows, human rights and public financial management.

Somalis need to see the coordination and financing mechanisms established in 2014 deliver in 2015. Jointly agreed sectoral flagship programmes must be funded and implemented. I appeal to Member States and other partners to contribute to the United Nations Multi-partner Trust Fund.

Somalis also need to see an improvement in human rights and the protection of women and children this year. I welcome Somalia's recent ratification of the Convention on the Rights of the Child. We must also build the key institutions, particularly the national Human Rights Commission. Promoting and protecting human rights must underpin and become a core part of what existing federal and sub-federal institutions deliver.

Meanwhile, we must not be complacent about the humanitarian situation. In 2014, thanks to early warning

and early action, we were able to prevent a deterioration of one of the most dire and enduring humanitarian crises in the world. But Somalia is still teetering on the edge. In 2015, we must see concerted action by the Federal Government and international partners to pull it back from the brink. That means both an ongoing life-saving emergency response and implementing longer-term, durable solutions.

The year 2014 saw important progress in key areas: the campaign against Al-Shabaab, the State-formation process and the establishment of some key institutions. That progress was the result of partnership among Somalis and between Somalis and the international community. I am heartened that international partners remain united and committed to peace, security and development in Somalia.

Over the past four months, Somalia's increasingly secure return to the community of nations has been marked by an unprecedented series of high-level visits, including by the Secretary-General, along with the Presidents of the World Bank and the Islamic Development Bank; the AU Commissioner for Peace and Security; the Secretary-General and representative of the League of Arab States; and, most recently, the Turkish President. The IGAD Council of Ministers meeting in Mogadishu on 10 January 2015, which was the first since 1985, was a major sign of commitment and confidence. I welcome the recommendation to hold an IGAD summit in Mogadishu in 2015. It is clear that peace and security in Somalia matters to the region, Africa and the world.

Despite all the bumps in the road, I still get a palpable sense from Somalis I meet across the country that progress is both urgent and possible. We now have more work to do this year than last. The Somali Compact and Vision 2016 remain the right frameworks. The High-level Partnership Forum meeting planned for May in Mogadishu will be a critical opportunity to adjust our plans, if necessary, to meet our targets by September 2016.

For Somalis to have lasting peace, they need to build a sustainable and inclusive State. Politics this year must be more inclusive than it was last year, at both the national and regional levels. The main responsibility lies with Somali political leaders in and outside Government, in the regions and in Mogadishu. I pay tribute to their hard work and daily courage. The United Nations and other international partners stand firm in our own commitment. I remain inspired by the

dedication and bravery of the United Nations family in Somalia, and I thank the Council for its unflinching support.

**The President** (*spoke in Chinese*): I thank Mr. Kay for his briefing.

I now give the floor to Mr. Sidikou.

**Mr. Sidikou:** First, let me apologize, Mr. President, for speaking to the Security Council by video-teleconference. I would have preferred to attend this important Security Council meeting in person, but, as my colleague and good friend Special Representative of the Secretary-General Nicholas Kay has just stated, there is a critical political activity in progress, namely the constitution of a Cabinet of Ministers, which entails real-time diplomatic and political facilitation on our part. Special Representative of the Secretary-General Kay and I therefore thought it prudent that, in the spirit of our growing partnership and collaboration, there was the need for one of us to remain in Mogadishu to support our Somali brothers and sisters as they seek to have the list of Cabinet Ministers-designates endorsed by the Federal Parliament.

As the Council is well aware, in 2014, the African Union Mission in Somalia (AMISOM) and the Somali National Army launched two successful offensives, Operation Eagle and Operation Indian Ocean, resulting in the recovery of 16 towns from Al-Shabaab. Beyond recovering those towns and liberating the population from Al-Shabaab's tyranny, our joint AMISOM and Somali National Army military campaigns have also opened up space for political activities outside Mogadishu. The regional States-formation process is progressing well, as Mr. Kay just mentioned. Dialogue and local reconciliation efforts are under way in many of those recovered areas despite some intermittent violent inter-clan conflict. The need, therefore, to support the Somali political and traditional leadership at both the federal and regional levels as the political process enters an even more sensitive stage, which includes the constitution-making process and the elections, cannot be overemphasized.

While we anticipate that the conventional phase of military operations against Al-Shabaab will be largely completed by the end of this year, we cannot claim that Al-Shabaab will thus have been defeated. As predicted, Al-Shabaab has and will continue to resort to asymmetric attacks. They will continue to seek to disrupt our main supply routes and step up attacks

in the subregion. The Al-Shabaab of today is not the Al-Shabaab of yesterday. We must therefore respond to this new reality accordingly. We simply cannot continue to do business as usual. Yes, we have achieved a lot, but we can do better and achieve even more.

It is in that regard that, early this year, AMISOM and the United Nations Assistance Mission in Somalia held a retreat in Kampala with the Federal Government of Somalia and our partners to reconsider how we are doing business. At the end of the retreat, we prioritized the following actions in addition to continued efforts to degrade the capabilities of Al-Shabaab: first, the urgent need to support the rebuilding of the Somali National Army through the organization and integration of local forces while taking into account their sustainability; secondly, the need to enhance support for effective defence and security services in Somalia and to focus on community-centred approaches to safety and security, including community policing; thirdly, the need to focus on ensuring sustained access to the recovered areas by securing the main supply routes as a key priority; and, fourthly, the need to ensure that all our operations are fully compliant with applicable and relevant international human rights and humanitarian law standards, in line with the Secretary-General's human rights due diligence policy. We have also realized that we need to reconfigure the Mission and resource it appropriately to be able to achieve these priorities.

Using our experience so far in the recovered areas, we have been able to define the critically required resources, including engineering, medical and civilian-military cooperation capabilities. With these capabilities, our military units will carry out basic social service support to local government authorities that will both facilitate the restoration of governance and also win the population. I believe also that our policing efforts have to now involve more community policing. This is critical as we seek to support the Government in realizing the Vision 2016 agenda and the peacebuilding and State-building goals outlined in the New Deal Compact.

In this phase, there is an extremely urgent need for the accelerated development of the Somali security forces to continue enabling stabilization efforts and to avoid reversals of the gains that have been made to date. The integration of militia and the standing up of the Somali National Army requires the concerted efforts of all partners rallying behind a Somali-led process. Let



me seize this opportunity to thank the Security Council for the unprecedented support provided to the Somali National Army. The provision of non-lethal support, as authorized by the Security Council, has contributed significantly to enhancing the operational effectiveness of the Somali National Army.

In the eyes of ordinary Somalis, liberation from Al-Shabaab will only translate into peace if and when they begin to see its dividends. The Government, with the support of the international community, has to redouble its efforts to provide basic services to the areas under its control. We need to provide food, sanitation and clean drinking water. We need to rehabilitate medical facilities and educational institutions. We need to generate employment for the Somali youth in order to wean them away from the conflict and divert their energies towards more productive activities.

Clearly, our political or military approaches can fully succeed only if they are underpinned by a reconstruction and development plan to support them. The Somali business community and diaspora are vibrant, contributing at least \$1 billion dollars to Somalia in remittances. Their involvement and support is critical as Somalia moves into a post-war economy. That is why we are supporting the Government to engage the Somali diaspora to help generate more economic activities in Somalia and to contribute to early recovery activities.

Please allow me to thank all stakeholders and partners of Somalia, including the Intergovernmental Authority on Development, the European Union, the League of Arab States and individual Member States for their continuing support to the Federal Government of Somalia and to the African Union. I wish to encourage all of us to continue in this partnership to achieve peace, stability, recovery and development in Somalia. As we continue to work more closely, we will become more effective on the ground. This is what ultimately will also enhance the integrity of the international community as an honest broker in the peace process for Somalia.

**The President** (*spoke in Chinese*): I thank Ambassador Sidikou for his briefing.

I now give the floor to the representative of Somalia.

**Mr. Kullane** (Somalia): I thank the Council for the opportunity to address it today on behalf of the Federal Government of Somalia.

I acknowledge the statements provided to the Security Council by the Special Representative of the Secretary-General Mr. Nicholas Kay and Ambassador Sidikou of the African Union Mission in Somalia (AMISOM). The Federal Government remains appreciative of the support for political progress and stability provided by the Special Representative of the Secretary-General and the United Nations Assistance Mission in Somalia, as well as the support provided by AMISOM, which is a backbone for Somalia at the moment.

There can be no escaping the fact that Somalia has had an eventful few months across the spectrum in terms of politics, security and development. Commentary on Somalia has focused on political instability and disunity for the past few months. We are hopeful that the political situation is fast approaching resolution. The new Council of Ministers was announced by Prime Minister Sharmake on 27 January. It will be presented to Parliament for a vote on Monday, 9 February.

While there can be no denying that the political instability has tested the patience of all domestically and internationally, it would be wrong to presume that this has completely stifled all progress. It has made progress more difficult, but not impossible. In fact, while political stability and unity is, of course, optimal, it is the lack of capacity of the federal institutions that is the more pressing issue faced by Somalia. Somalia is not alone in facing political instability, but other countries weather political storms because they have robust institutions in place that continue with the business of the Government, despite politicians. Somalia does not have this luxury. If our political situation is exposed, then our institutions are also exposed. The President and Prime Minister have called attention to this and encouraged the new Council of Ministers to exercise restraint in replacing civil servants within ministries, instead advocating that senior civil servants, if they have been performing, remain in their positions so that the Government work continues apace.

Despite the situation, progress has been made. The legal framework required for the implementation of Vision 2016 advanced; the Independent Constitutional Review and Implementation Commission law was passed by the Council of Ministers and endorsed by the Parliament; and the Executive Commission was appointed by the Speaker. The Parliament passed the Boundaries and Federation Commission law and the decree for its establishment was signed by the President on 31 December 2014. It is the intent that several other

outstanding pieces of legislation, including the National Independent Electoral Commission law, the Human Rights Commission and the Political Parties Law, will be approved by the Parliament in this sitting.

The process of federation continues with improved cooperation with Puntland and the Interim Juba Administration and the agreements reached for the establishment of the south-west and central interim regional administrations. Technical committees are in the early stages of establishment and discussions are ongoing for the establishment of an interim regional administration covering the remaining southern and central regions of Somalia.

District-level administrations are being established. Following the Local Governance law, interim and permanent administrations are being established in several districts and caretaker administrations have been put in place in all recovered districts. Gains made are fragile and will need consolidation to become sustainable. The formalization of the Government system must now extend outward to regional-level governments. This process must be overseen by the centre, but be responsive to local demand and mindful of local contexts. Time must be allowed for change to take root and due process to be followed by all agents of change.

Accompanying these political and governance processes, reconciliation activities are taking place, ranging from social to civic dialogues and political reconciliation activities at the district and national levels. Reconciliation conferences have been initiated in Kismaayo and Baidoa, and there is a commitment to holding one such conference in each newly formed interim regional administration. The political progress in reaching out to the regions is commendable. Making progress on the Somali Compact objectives hinges on the resolution of political challenges, with ongoing close and regular monitoring required. It was agreed at the High-level Partnership Forum in Copenhagen that the political progress would be reviewed within six months.

Somalia signed the Convention for the Rights of the Child in January, making the United States and South Sudan the only remaining countries in the world not to have signed. The Federal Government will now work on drafting and adopting child-friendly policies and systems, and implementing measures to target child survival, development, participation and protection,

and provide regular reports on its progress to the Committee on the Rights of the Child.

Security remains critical for political, social and economic progress. Establishing capable, accountable and inclusive Somali security institutions remains vital. The integration of existing security forces into a cohesive structure is a priority that goes hand in hand with the progress on political inclusiveness. The integration of local armed groups into the Somali National Army and the federal and regional security structures is a critical part of the political benchmark and constitutes a cornerstone of a mutual accountability framework between the federal Government and the states. There has been progress on the Federal Government's road map on the integration of forces and an agreement to rapidly develop a concept note and detailed plan setting out integration principles.

The Somali National Army, in joint operations with the African Union Mission in Somalia, has successfully accomplished two joint offensive operations, recovering 80 per cent of southern and central regions of Somalia from Al-Shabaab. The Government's policy of offering amnesty for defections from Al-Shabaab extremist groups was highly effective, with a steady stream of foot soldiers defecting. Several high-value defections were also recorded — the senior Al-Shabaab commander, Sheikh Mohamed Said Mohamed, "Atom"; Zakariya Ismail Ahmed Hersi; and the commander Hussein Dhubi. We acknowledge the cooperation of the Security Council in delisting those individuals from the United Nations Sanctions List.

Progress has been made in meeting the requirements of the resolution 2142 (2014). Weapons and ammunition management has progressed with the establishment of a defined institutional framework for oversight. The Somali Federal Government also signed a maritime interdiction letter in compliance with the Security Council's most recent resolution on the matter.

We acknowledge the constituting of the new United Nations Monitoring Group and we look forward to establishing a respectful, robust professional working relationship with it. To that end, we remind the Council of our joint commitment to convening twice-yearly meetings to discuss the progress made in Somalia within the framework of the Committee's guidelines for the conduct of its work, with the goal of improving the effectiveness of our Government's engagement with the Monitoring Group, the Security Council and the

Sanctions Committee. The last such meeting was held in August 2014 in Mogadishu. We therefore urge the Council to consider convening a meeting in Mogadishu soon.

The President has been clear that 2015 must be the year for delivery. Somalia is at a critical juncture in its efforts to achieve security and stability. We are winning the war but must win the peace. As we look towards the next two years, we must urgently deliver on priority legislation, establish commissions and ensure the

public consultations that will enable us to achieve the three intertwined strands of the Vision 2016.

The Federal Government of Somalia appreciates the Council's consideration of the matters raised today. I am available for any questions the Council may have.

**The President** (*spoke in Chinese*): There are no more names inscribed on the list of speakers. I now invite Council members to informal consultations to continue our discussion on the subject.

*The meeting rose at 10.45 a.m.*