“The UN Constitutional” team is pleased to publish the fourth issue of its newsletter featuring articles by constitutional experts, reports from the field, and a digest of recent constitutions-related publications.

This spring issue includes one exclusive interview with the current President of the Libyan Constitutional Drafting Assembly. Our two feature articles deal with the challenges facing constitutionalism in Africa, as well the historical roots of constitutional Sharia. In addition, this issue presents experiences from 10 UN field missions/offices, as well as updates from Headquarters.

“The UN Constitutional” is a manifestation of the collective desire of 6 UN entities to raise awareness of constitutional issues and themes, share information, and strengthen the provision of constitutional assistance.

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RESOURCES ON CONSTITUTIONAL ASSISTANCE
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constitutionmaker@un.org
Q. The CDA published a first draft constitution on its website in December 2014. Congratulations. Can you explain how the CDA conducted its work?

A. There were a number of phases leading to the work that has been produced so far. Shortly after the CDA’s first meeting in April 2014, it elected the office of the presidency, organized its internal regulations and agreed on the constitutional road map.

We then formed eight thematic committees and mandated each to concentrate on developing different chapters. The committee themes were: (i) the form of the state and its basic components; (ii) the form and system of governance; (iii) the judiciary, including the Constitutional Court; (iv) independent constitutional bodies; (v) the army and police; (vi) rights and liberties, plus transitional measures; (vii) local governance; and (viii) the financial system, including natural resources.

In the first few months, in addition to our internal discussions, we wanted to be proactive in reaching out to the public, to encourage their participation and to hear for ourselves their aspirations for the constitution. The CDA travelled across the country to villages, towns and cities, for a number of open town-hall meetings. Unfortunately by July 2014, due to the escalating security situation, the outreach tour and the viability of visiting all parts of the country were no longer possible, as some areas became conflict zones.

To ensure the consultation process continued, we established a mechanism to receive written proposals and direct them to the relevant committee. We have also kept our doors open at our base in Beida, hosting meetings with different groups, engaging with CSOs, community leaders, women’s groups, academics, experts and youth groups amongst others, all of whom were thankfully willing to make the often long journey to give us their input and share their work.

The CDA members also attended workshops in Libya and outside focusing on different topics such as human rights, revenue sharing and local governance, amongst others.

In total, the committees conducted around 300 meetings and published their initial work on the CDA’s website on 24 December 2014.

Following the release of the initial work of the committees on 24 December 2014, CDA members went back to each of their constituencies to discuss the drafts with stakeholders. They conducted different meetings, workshops and social media consultations in order to collect feedback from the public on these outputs.
Q. What has been the most interesting and/or challenging aspect of chairing the CDA?

A. Chairing the CDA has allowed me to feel connected to the whole of Libya, because not only do the CDA members represent the majority of Libyans, but as part of my work I meet Libyans from all across the country who want to share their thoughts on the constitution and the hopes they have for it. They remind me of how much faith the Libyan people are putting in us to deliver and also of the responsibility we the CDA now bear.

The biggest challenge is to keep the institution of the CDA above the current political struggles and ensure we remain focused on the objective of producing a constitution that all Libyans feel represents them and ensures their hopes and dreams of a better future. I’m reminded every hour, every day of how challenging it is to draft a constitution for this country that is divided and in the midst of a civil war.

Q. What were some of the more difficult issues the CDA had to resolve? And how did the CDA go about achieving consensus?

A. Early on, one of the most difficult issues that we worked hard to resolve was how to ensure the participation of the Amazigh, Tebu and Twareg communities, as they initially chose to boycott the constitutional elections. We succeeded in bringing on board the communities of Tebu and Twareg.

We took steps to find a resolution to the Amazigh issue, including meeting with some of their representatives to hear their specific demands. In December 2014, we established a consensus committee, whose main mandate is to define the concept and mechanism of consensus with different representatives of the Amazigh.

However as the CDA must remain non-partisan, and keep itself and its activities separate from the current political bodies, it has had very little engagement with parliamentarians.

Q. The constitutional roadmap calls for the CDA’s draft, eventually, to go to public referendum. Is this possible in the current political climate? If not, what do you think should or will happen next with the constitution-making process?

A. There is still every intention that once the CDA delivers a draft Constitution there will be a referendum. We have great hope that the current political turmoil will not continue much longer and that a resolution will be found. In the meantime, we are continuing on the roadmap we have outlined and focusing on completing our mandate of delivering a draft constitution that is ready for a national public referendum.
INTERVIEW: DR. ALI TARHOUNI PRESIDENT, LIBYA CDA

Q. In what ways can the CDA and constitution making process contribute to positive resolution of the conflict?

A. Libya is going through a difficult period, which has adversely impacted the population at large. People now are looking forward to having a social contract that will govern the political scene, and govern the relationship between the rival parties, as well as regulate the use of force, which would be limited to the state institutions that are defined in the constitution.

By leading the constitution-making process, and including public consultations, the CDA is contributing to bridging the gap between differing opinions. It will hopefully provide a valuable opportunity for Libyans to address their aspirations and concerns, which in turn will create stronger social cohesion.

Once passed, the constitution will become the basis on which issues would be dealt with, as it will equally protect the rights of the population.

Q. How has the UN supported the CDA in its work?

A. The UN, through its Special Support Mission and its agencies, has given support to the CDA by providing expert advisors, coordination and facilitation of round tables discussions with local experts, activists, women groups and civil society representatives and by helping make the process more inclusive and participatory. The UN has also taken a leading role in the co-ordination of the international community’s efforts to support the CDA.

However unfortunately because of the security situation, the UN was forced to evacuate Tripoli and base itself outside Libya. This has meant that the CDA is unfortunately deprived of the day-to-day technical and practical support on the ground here in Beida. This is something that is very much needed and that has accompanied the work of other regional constitutional drafting bodies. We very much appreciate the support being given and hope we can find a way to have even greater access to their expertise.

FEATURED: CONSTITUTIONAL LAW IN THE SHARIA LEGAL SYSTEM

History of Constitutional Law in the Sharia Legal System

By Mohamed AbdelAziz GadelHak Ibrahim

Many States in the Middle East and North Africa are experiencing what Yale Law Professor Bruce Ackerman has dubbed "constitutional moments." In the aftermath of the Arab Spring, many Arab and Islamic countries, including Egypt, Tunisia, Yemen and Libya, began to draft new constitutions or amend existing ones. These new constitutions embrace the aspirations of young generations for freedom, justice, equality, democracy and human rights.

At the same time, citizens expect these constitutions to reflect their unique national identities and Islamic heritage. Having recently removed tyrannical or undemocratic regimes, the people of these countries are demanding the right to participate in constitutional reform processes to establish a sense of ownership over their political destinies. Noting that Islamic law is inherently intertwined with these destinies for many people, this article reflects on the very first constitution in the Sharia legal system, known as the Charter of Medina, including its historical background, the process by which it was drafted and its main characteristics.

After Prophet Mohamed emigrated from Mecca to Yathrib (aka Medina) in 622 CE, he spent the first six months in discussions with various Muslims (including "Muhajirun" (immigrants from Mecca) and "Ansar" (supporters from both Aws and Khazraj tribes)), as well as Jewish clans, polytheist/animist groups, and Christian communities, in Medina. The purpose of these consultations was to end the prolonged inter-tribal conflict in Medina, to re-establish peace and security and to lay the foundations of the first Islamic state.

This inclusive consultation process led to the first constitution in the Islamic legal system - the “Chart of Medina”.

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Some scholars view the Charter of Medina as the first form of social contract between a peoples and their leader. Others perceive it as the Magna Carta of the Islamic world. The Charter of Medina was revolutionary in the way it transformed how communities in the Arabian Peninsula affiliated, by uniting people from a large number of distinct tribes in one multi-religious State (the “Ummah”).

The Charter of Medina consists of 52 articles covering wide ranging aspects of the relations between Muslims and other religions, particularly Jews, Christ-ians and polytheist/animist communities. The document embodies certain core principles and established new systems. These include (1) the notion of the superiority of nations over tribes; (2) social solidarity; (3) social security and the establishment of a tort and insurance system; (4) protection of non-Muslim minorities (dhimmis); (5) respect for pacts and covenants; (6) establishment of Islamic law as a new legal system for resolving disputes between diverse groups living equally within one nation in a peaceful manner (whilst preserving the rights of other religious groups to apply their own laws); (7) freedom of religious beliefs and practices for all citizens; (8) establishment of a tax system to support the community in times of conflict; (9) financial independence of each tribe; (10) mutual defence against any aggression; (11) founding relations between Muslims and non-Muslims on advice and good will; (12) freedom of each faction to establish alliances that did not harm the State; (13) responsibility to protect any oppressed groups; (14) individual responsibility; and (15) the right to safety and security of every citizen. The Charter declared Medina as a ḥaram, or “sacred place”, where no weapons could be carried and no blood spilt.

The Charter of Medina, which is nearly fifteen centuries old, does not include all the elements that we consider central features of modern constitutions (for example, hierarchical judicial review). Nonetheless, this document is an important constitutional precedent for the Arab and Islamic world. It conveys strong moral and religious values that constitute the normative foundation of a multicultural community.

Moreover, the process through which the Charter of Medina was drafted, especially the inclusion of all religious and tribal factions in Medina and the consultative phase through which they consented to this document, could inspire modern countries undergoing political transitions and emerging from conflict. The same could be said for the substantive part, which could be used to demonstrate the importance of provisions which respect fundamental human rights and the rule of law in the text of newly drafted constitutions.

The Author

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Constitutionalism in Africa: The challenge of constitutional reform in pursuit of undemocratic purposes
By Charmaine Rodrigues

In July 2000, African heads of state came together as the OAU and agreed the Lomé Declaration on the Framework for an OAU Response to Unconstitutional Changes of Government, following a review on the state of democracy in Africa. The Lomé Declaration was a groundbreaking statement, elaborating a set of principles underpinning constitutional government, including proper adoption of a democratic constitution, respect for the constitutional rule of law, separation of powers, and the protection of human rights. In the context of democratic renewal, the Declaration also specifically recognized the role of the opposition, the importance of political pluralism, the need for regular credible elections and the "principle of democratic change", meaning that there should be regular turnover of government.

The Lomé Declaration was a direct response to the OAU’s concerns regarding the impact of coups d’etat across the region. In its respect for constitutional government and the rule of law, it sought to discourage the violent and/or unlawful removal of governments. Interestingly, the Declaration went so far as to explicitly describe what might qualify as an unconstitutional change in government, focusing primarily on violent overthrow, but also covering cases where a government refuses to hand over power following defeat at elections.

As the Lomé Declaration celebrates fifteen years, it is worth reflecting on the continuing relevance of the democratic principles which it espoused. Arguably, while its fundamental tenets remain highly relevant, recent constitutional phenomena in the region warrant reflection on the existing principles to assess whether they sufficiently capture the current breadth challenges to constitutionalism in Africa.

Over the last decade or so, there has been a noticeable increase in the number of governments across Africa which have sought to use constitutional processes to extend their mandates to govern and/or to consolidate their powers at the expense of other branches of government. Whereas undemocratic processes such as coups or rigged elections were previously common mechanisms for extending the life of governments, it is notable that the recent trend has seen governments attempting to change the constitutional “rules of the game” through technically legal means.

It is increasingly common to see presidents utilizing constitutional amendment processes set out in the constitution (most commonly, a super-majority vote in Parliament, without the need for endorsement by popular referendum) to amend the constitution to consolidate their power. Most notably in this regard, in a number of countries there has been a recent push to remove or amend existing term limits.

In early 2014 Burundi’s parliament voted against a constitutional amendment to the existing term limit, but the issue has lingered and continues to be discussed in advance of the 2015 national elections. Likewise in DRC, proposed amendments to the electoral law to delay the national elections were viewed by some as paving the way for further reforms to change term limits, though these amendments were recently defeated, putting the issue on the back-burner. However, Article 220 - which imposes the term limit - also specifies that the Article may not be amended.

This was intended to prevent the extension of an existing president’s term, although it has been recognised.
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FEATURED: CONSTITUTIONALISM IN AFRICA

that drafting a new constitution could be used to avoid this prohibition.

In Rwanda, there has been speculation on the issue as the President’s second term starts to draw to a close.

In Burkina Faso, the threat of a constitutional amendment to extend the President’s term limit triggered mass unrest and the burning down of Parliament. In 2012, the Supreme Court in Senegal issues a decision regarding the retrospective imposition of term limits, which allowed the existing President to still run for an extra term. The increasing tendency of governments to “legally” extend their constitutional mandate to govern is one which bears closer attention. The Lomé Declaration was robust in its efforts to tackle a clear threat to democracy, namely unconstitutional changes of government, through violent or illegal means. However, the situation facing advocates of democratic governance and constitutionalism in Africa is now more complicated.

What does it mean for the flourishing of African democracy that constitutional amendments are being developed and approved through constitutionally legal processes, but where those amendments seek to entrench the consolidation of power in a single party or individual? How does one balance the principles of political pluralism and democratic change against respect for the sovereignty of parliament and the constitutions own amendment processes?

History shows that without regular turnover of political parties via credible elections and/or political leadership within ruling parties, democracies risk slowly morphing into one-party autocracies. This is particularly the case in countries transitioning from conflict, for which peaceful transitions of power may be historically unfamiliar and a genuine cause for concern amongst a populace that may prefer one-party stability to adversarial democracy.

The risk posed by technically legal extensions of presidential mandates poses a subversive threat; while violent conflict may not always be an outcome from such constitutional changes, nonetheless, history has shown that the consolidation of powers into a single governing entity (e.g. the President) most often leads to a narrowing of democratic space and a threat to human rights (in particular, of opposition groups and minorities).

Where to then for constitutional practitioners and the African Union? Recognising that the Lomé Declaration is now 15 years old, it is perhaps time for the AU to reconvene to reflect on constitutional opportunities and threat in the region, with a particular emphasis on transitions of power and term limits. This could be complemented by a broader set of regional and national dialogues across the continent, bringing the voices of ordinary Africans to bear on this core set of questions about what type of democracy people want.

The Author

Between October 2014 and March 2015, Charmaine Rodrigues was as a specialist on constitutional assistance and political dialogue in the UNDP Bureau for Policy and Programme Support (BPPS). She was previously a Crisis Governance Specialist in the former UNDP Bureau for Crisis Prevention and Response.

Burkina Faso. In October 2014, the threat of a constitutional amendment to extend the President’s term limit triggered turmoil in which protesters burned the Parliament building.
What is the United Nations doing in constitutional assistance? This section offers an overview of the latest developments, challenges and lessons in this key area of support sourced directly from our field missions, country offices and other UN entities.

**BURKINA FASO**
**UNDP Country Office**

**UNDP supports the Burkina Faso transition to ensure coherence between the Charter of the Transition and the Constitution**

Over the course of 30 and 31 October 2014, the popular uprising in Burkina Faso led to the resignation of the President of the Republic. Consequently, Burkina Faso was faced with the need to restore constitutional order while balancing the need to avoid maintaining provisions of the Constitution which were no longer appropriate because they would have had the effect of returning to the old regime.

To facilitate a new democratic constitutional order, political actors initiated the formulation of a charter to guide the process of political transition. UNDP Burkina Faso was asked to assist with this process. To this end, UNDP engaged the services of Professor Ibrahima Fall, former Foreign Minister of Senegal and former Deputy Secretary-General of the UN, to provide technical advice and support to: (i) the Constitutional Council in their legal assessment of the situation; (ii) national stakeholders in defining structures and statutes of the transitional organs of the State; and (iii) mediation efforts led by the UN Office for West Africa (UNOWA), Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) and the African Union.

The support provided by UNDP:

- Enabled the Constitutional Council of Burkina Faso to undertake a thorough legal analysis of the vacancy of the Presidency of the Republic following and suspension of the Constitution following the uprising and to identify actions necessary to ensure constitutional continuity (including enabling the Constitutional Council itself to perform its role);

- Supported national stakeholders with the development of the Transitional Charter, including by ensuring its coherence with the Constitution. The Charter calls for the creation of transitional institutions and describes their status, making a plea for limiting the number of organs. It also calls for the Constitutional Council to decide on any cases of conflict between the provisions of the Charter and those of the Constitution; and

- Contributed to the negotiation and mediation efforts of the joint ECOWAS/AU/UNOWA, providing technical advice on the treatment of political and legal issues in general, as well as constitutional issues in particular.

UNDP’s support to national and regional stakeholders has helped to define and identify responses to “aspirations expressed by the people” and to lay the foundation for the preparation of elections which will mark the end of the political transition. In providing support, UNDP was part of a broader group of international partners committed to providing support to ensure an inclusive, stable, peaceful and conclusive transition.
This effort continues through the International Support Group on the Transition, which is co-chaired by the AU/ECOWAS/UN troika, and brings together international and African multilateral institutions, several African countries (including from ECOWAS) and key member states of the United Nations, including the members of the Security Council.

**Central African Republic**

**Linking the CAR peace agreement and the constitutional process**

Since the outbreak of the crisis in December 2012, CAR has been facing the most tumultuous set of socio-political challenges in its history. Indeed, the crisis led to a change of political regime by a coup, which then led to the suspension of the constitution in March 2013. After considerable negotiations, on 18 August 2013, a Transitional Constitutional Charter was put in place. The Charter sets out the current transition process; Article 55 calls for the drafting of a new constitution, which is entrusted to the National Transition Council (NTC).

By exclusively entrusting the design and drafting of the new constitution to the NTC, the authorities wanted to encourage an inclusive and participatory process for development and adoption of the new constitution. Indeed, the new constitution will be adopted by referendum after consultation with various stakeholders from politics through seven steps set out in Article 65 of the Charter.

The NTC has been working for several months now. MINUSCA has provided technical support to the Law Committee of the NTC, which has undertaken discussions and writing assignments. Based on that work, a constitutional proposal was adopted in early 2015 by the NTC, with a majority of 83 members, and was then submitted to the Government for consideration. The submission of the proposal to the Government is one step in a long process, which will include: organization of a validation workshop with the involvement of stakeholders across the political spectrum; consultation with the Constitutional Court for its opinion on the validity of the text; integration of amendments from the workshop based on the opinion of the Constitutional Court; final adoption of a draft text by the NTC; and submission of the constitution to a public referendum.

UNDP support to this process so far has been limited, in advance of the Bangui Forum which will set out next steps in the transition. However, it is envisaged that UNDP will work with MINUSCA to provide technical and financial support to the organization of the constitutional validation workshop, in support of encouraging deeper consultation on the text. As part of the electoral process, UN support will also be provided for the organization of the constitutional referendum, which is envisaged to be held before the presidential and parliamentary elections.

**Grenada works to repatriate its independence Constitution**

Since independence in 1974, Grenada has had its constitutional boundaries rigorously tested, most notably during the turbulent period between March 1979 and December 1983.
After that date, more established and conventional norms of parliamentary democracy have prevailed.

Since that time, Grenada has embarked on four constitutional review processes, aimed at repatriating the Constitution and ensuring it serves the governance and development needs of the populace. The fourth phase of constitutional reform in Grenada was instituted in 2013. The Constitution Reform Advisory Committee (CRAC) was established to review recommendations from the previous three processes, undertake stakeholder consultations and come up with a final package of reforms for consideration by Cabinet and then by Parliament.

Throughout 2014, the CRAC undertook a process of deliberative review, complemented by public consultations. In July 2014, initial recommendations were released, but these were contested by the Opposition party, which wanted deeper political reforms. A second round of consultations were undertaken in late 2014 and an additional set of recommendations put to cabinet in early 2015. Discussion is still underway about the breadth and depth of the final package of reforms which will be put to a public referendum, but the CRAC is now working on drafting constitutional amendment bills to be considered by Parliament.

The UN was invited to support the constitutional review process in late 2014 by the Government and the CRAC. To this end, the UN Multi-Country Office in Barbados, which covers Grenada, supported the Government to hold a meeting with development partners in October 2014, to encourage broad donor support. Subsequently, in December 2014, the UN Barbados, UNDP headquarters and DPA headquarters undertook a constitutional assessment mission, which was followed in January 2015 with an EAD-UNDP needs assessment mission to look at referendum issues specifically.

On the basis of the UN assessment missions, the UN is putting together a package of support. In the meantime, direct technical advice has been provided to the CRAC on issues covered by the constitutional amendment bills. UNDP’s governance and climate change teams provided advice on key aspects of the bills, and the OHCHR reviewed the bills to ensure they reflected international human rights norms, and also undertook a mission to Grenada in March 2015. UN Women has also supported the CRAC to undertake specific consultations on gender issues.

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- With inputs from Robert Husbands, OHCHR

The Road to Gbarnga: Liberians go for the National Constitutional Conference

Three major factors, arguably, gave rise to the current constitutional review process in Liberia. The first was the return of freed slaves from America who – armed with the slogan, "the love of liberty brought us here" – declared a republic and in 1847 adopted the first national constitution. Notably, that declaration would later be countered by indigenous groups who declared, “the love of liberty found us here”. This contestation over the republic has existed since its creation. The second major precursor preceding the current constitutional review is Liberia’s turbulent past, characterized by a 14-year old war that debilitated the country, undermining the foundations of constitutionalism. The third event was the historic democratic election of the first-ever female president in Africa, current President Ellen Johnson Sirleaf.

Cumulatively, these factors gave birth to the current review process whose
aim is to bring lasting peace to the nation and to reflect the present realities of Liberian society.

To this end, the 6-member Constitution Review Committee was appointed by the President in August 2012 to spearhead a review of Liberia’s 1986 Constitution. UNMIL and UNDP worked together to design the UN Constitution Review Support Project, which underpins many elements of the current review process.

Since the constitutional review process began, the CRC has faced many challenges - not least the outbreak of the Ebola virus, which has severely impacted on public consultations as well as delaying the holding of the National Constitutional Conference (NCC) - but it has still achieved a number of milestones. Public consultations have been completed in all 73 electoral districts of the 15 counties, together with five Diaspora consultations in Ghana and the USA (Philadelphia, Minnesota, Atlanta and Maryland). A programme of civic education accompanied these consultations. To inform the CRC’s process, a comparative analysis of the constitution review processes in Kenya and Ghana was also undertaken through study tours.

Resulting from its consultations, the CRC has collected and analysed stakeholder views, and used them to inform proposals tabled at the National Constitutional Conference held in Gbarnga City, Bong County, between March 30 and April 2, 2015. The NCC’s objectives were to:

- Present to delegates the process to date and the CRC’s detailed report and recommendations. The report draws on public consultations, submissions, expert opinions and CRC’s own reflections; and
- Enhance national ownership, inclusiveness, transparency and legitimacy of the review process by creating a platform for delegates to build a national consensus around the proposed amendments.

Prior to the NCC being held, the CRC agreed on the conference agenda and on the specific issues to be discussed in detail. This includes contentious issues (such as whether dual citizenship should be prevented, and whether Liberia should be declared a Christian nation), as well as those over which a consensus exists (such as whether the terms in office of senators should be reduced from 9 years to 6, and of the President from 6 years to 4). The CRC also undertook awareness-raising activities, and the NCC agenda was published in advance, to create awareness via the media.

Delegate selection was also undertaken. An imperative was to try to represent the diversity of Liberia’s society. A representative final contingent was seen as important in order to assuage the fears of some sectors that they would suffer discrimination. NCC delegates were encouraged to familiarize themselves with the process and with the CRC report, and to consult with their own constituencies in order to bring a representative perspective to the NCC.

The NCC was a precursor to the next steps that will complete the review process, namely: (i) submission by the CRC of a final set of proposed amendments with explanatory notes to the President; (ii) transmission of proposed amendments by the President to the Legislature; (iii) debate and passage of final proposed amendments by the Legislature; (iv) a one-year process of civic education on the proposed amendments, and (v) a national Referendum on the amendments, to take place in 2016.

**Libyan Women’s Demands for a Constitution**

From mid-2014, UNDP, UNSMIL and UNWOMEN, with later support...
FIELD & HEADQUARTERS UPDATES

provided by the International Foundation for Electoral Systems (IFES), began working with Libyan women activists on articulating women’s demands for a future constitution.

Due to the deteriorating security situation, initial plans to organize consultations throughout Libya had to be changed. Accordingly, the UN facilitated a participatory process engaging Libyan activists through meetings outside of Libya, while informal consultation and advocacy activities were carried out within the country.

In November 2014, the UN convened a meeting of seventy Libyan activists and women members of the Constitutional Drafting Assembly (CDA) in Cairo to formulate an initial set of the demands. These were conveyed to the CDA and discussed at its office in the city of Al-Baida.

A second meeting in January 2015 brought together 35 activists in Tunis. Participants reviewed and analysed the eight CDA’s substantive committees’ preliminary work on 12 proposed new constitutional chapters. Analysis was carried out from a gender perspective, with an emphasis on international good practices and standards. The meeting participants agreed on a set of demands to the CDA and an advocacy strategy. OHCHR and UNSMIL co-organised a workshop in Geneva from 23-25 February for a number of CDA members, and in particular those from the Rights and Liberties Committee, to discuss the human rights part of the draft.

The advocacy process is on-going. The activists involved will liaise directly with CDA members on the inclusion of their demands in the drafting process, and the UN will support further efforts to mobilise civil society groups and individuals to support the demands.

The activists’ demands include guarantees of at least 45% representation of women in elected bodies and within the executive, similar representation in the courts, and equal opportunity to progress in judicial institutions. They also called for criminalization of violence against women and of underage and forced marriage and that the right of women to free movement to be guaranteed.

Their outcomes statement also refers to equality between men and women with regards to nationality, and demands free compulsory education for girls. In all, the demands touched on the constitutional chapters on Form of State and Fundamental Principles, Form and System of Governance, The Judiciary and Constitutional Court, Independent Institutions, Rights and Liberties and Provisional Measures, Natural Resources, and General Provisions.

For the full list of the demands in:
• Arabic (original)
• English (unofficial translation)

For the CDA preliminary works in:
• Arabic (original)
• English (unofficial translation)

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• With inputs from Robert Husbands, OHCHR

SIERRA LEONE
UNDP Country Office

CRC Sierra Leone intensifies stakeholder consultations in the western Area

President Dr Ernest Bai Koroma has extended the constitutional review process by one year, to March 2016. The process, which was inaugurated in July 2013, was slated to end in March 2015. The extension came about as a result of the unprecedented outbreak of the Ebola virus and the subsequent declaration of a state of public emergency which adversely disrupted consultations with national stakeholder groups and the public.
Sierra Leone. USB sticks with information on the constitutional process distributed to citizens in Sierra Leone. Credit: UNDP

In spite of the emergency regulations, the Constitutional Review Committee (CRC) has still made considerable progress. The 8 CRC sub-committees held a number of consultations with major stakeholders in the Western Area of the country, including with parliamentarians, civil society organizations, government ministries and agencies, and various experts on constitutional matters. The CRC also engaged journalists in a Dialogue Forum where they collaborated to develop a strategy to popularize the review process.

The State Policy and Human Rights Sub-Committee and the Legislative Sub-Committee of CRC, together with the Human Rights and Legislative Sub-committees of Parliament, also worked together to undertake a thorough analysis of the recommendations contained in the various position papers submitted to the Committee by stakeholders. Those recommendations first underwent scrutiny and pruning by committee support stuff, such that they could then be easily assessed and endorsed by committee members.

To broaden the horizon of CRC Committee members on thematic issues and to enable deeper discussions, a series of experts selflessly engaged the sub-committees on a range of constitutional issues, resulting in the development of recommendations that would significantly address key constitutional deficiencies in the current constitution. In this quarter, experts advising the CRC sub-committees include: Mr Chernor Bangura, an expert on natural resources; Dr Habib Sesay, a political scientist at the University of Sierra Leone; Mr Floyd Davies, a specialist on local governance; Ms Jane Aspden, an expert on state policy and human rights; and Dr Victor Massaquoi, a communications expert and lecturer at Njala University.

Development partners, facilitated by UNDP, continue to play an invaluable role in the entire process. The multi-purpose civic education flash disk produced by UNDP has proven a very useful resource, not only to CRC members but also to national stakeholders engaging in the review process. The easy-to-carry device has been distributed across the country, and contains information about the CRC, the 1991 Constitution, the 2008 Report of the Commission to Review the 1991 Constitution, Public Submission Forms and a host of other very important documents.

Briefing prepared by:
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SOMALIA

UNDP Country Office

Somalia Constitutional Process Gains Momentum

Following a protracted political crisis arising from the October 2014 cabinet re-shuffle by former Prime Minister Abdiweli Sheikh Ahmed, a new Somalia Government was inaugurated in February 2015, led by Prime Minister Umar Abdirasheed Ali Sharmake. A new Ministry of Constitutional Affairs, headed by Hussein Mohammed Sheikh Hussein, was created out of the former Ministry of Justice and Constitutional Affairs. An experienced politician who previously held the ministerial portfolios of finance and higher education, Minister Hussein was Deputy Prime Minister during the final stages of the drafting and adoption of the Provisional Constitution in October 2012. He is assisted by a Deputy Minister of Constitutional Affairs and State Minister for Constitutional Affairs.

Somalia. NFP Speaker Mohammad Sh. Osman Jawari meeting with UNDP CD George Conway and CTA Oskar Lehner Credit: Oskar Lehner
Preparations for the constitutional review process were significantly impacted by the crisis, and momentum has only resumed in the last few weeks. From late February 2015, the leadership of the parliamentary Oversight Committee (constitutional committee) the Independent Constitutional Review and Implementation Commission (ICRIC) and the Ministry of Constitutional Affairs held several consultative and planning meetings on the constitutional review process. The discussions focused on the proposed Process Framework for the review and the draft Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) clarifying roles and responsibilities of these institutions. The participants agreed upon a number of changes to the MoU mainly to reflect the process framework and to harmonize some of the activities. The MoU was signed on 9 March 2015.

The UN integrated constitutional support team (ICST) provided support for the consultative/planning meetings, including through a consultant who facilitated the meetings and planning activities. Together with the renewed political will re-stated by the new Government to complete the Vision2016 goals including constitutional review, the signing of the MoU opens the way for sustained engagement and support from the UN and international partners to the Federal Government of Somalia. The UN ICST is now providing support, including capacity development, to set up the ICRIC. The parliamentary Oversight Committee met on 7 February to commence preparing initial instructions to ICRIC; the OC is also finalizing its report on contentious issues in the Provisional Constitution which will need to be considered in more detail.

On March 19, the constitutional review process formally commenced with the parliamentary Oversight Committee issuing instructions to the ICRIC to review Chapters 1 and 4 of the Provisional Constitution. The OC also forwarded to ICRIC a preliminary review of the chapters conducted by the OC at a retreat in Kampala, Uganda in October 2014 with support from the Max Planck Institute.

From 4-6 February 2015, the first meeting of senior federal and regional leaders on constitutional issues was held in Mogadishu. In attendance were the President of Somalia, Prime Minister of Somalia, Speaker of the Federal Parliament, President of Puntland, President of the Interim South-West Administration, and the Leader of the Interim Juba Administration. The discussions focused on building the federal system, centre-state relations, the New Deal Compact, the Vision2016 programme, state participation in key national bodies and the national security forces.

The UN and international partners have encouraged the Government to commence high level political dialogue with regional leaders and enhance the participation of regional authorities in the New Deal Compact processes, including the constitutional review process. The Government has identified the formation of an Inter-Regional Consultative Forum which will formally bring together these leaders as a top priority for 2015.

There was also progress recently on sub-national constitutional processes. The leadership of the Interim Juba Administration (IJA) in southwest Somalia requested UN support for drafting of an interim state constitution as part of the implementation of the August 2013 Addis Ababa Agreement on formation of the proposed Jubaland State. Together with the Electoral Institute for Sustainable Democracy in Africa and the Somalia Stability Fund, the UN ICST is providing support as part of a pilot project on drafting interim state constitutions. A UN consultant is presently in Kismayu consulting with senior IJA officials in order to assist with drafting the interim constitution while EISA will provide support for the public consultations process.

**Briefing prepared by:**

- Ndubisi Obiorah, Political Affairs Officer, UNSNOM

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**TANZANIA**

**UN Women Office**

**UN Women Integrates Gender Equality into Constitutional Review Process**

In 2014, UN Women played a technical, convening and facilitating role in the on-going constitutional review process in Tanzania. As a result, the newly proposed Constitution of the United Republic of Tanzania submitted to the President and which will be put to a referendum is framed by principles of women’s rights and gender equality and incorporates specific provisions to advance gender equality and women’s empowerment.

Beyond the principles of equality and the supremacy of the constitution, the draft Constitution would nullify other provisions that are contradictory to the principle of gender equality. It includes proposals for 50-50 representation of women in parliament, measures to safeguard women’s dignity, protection from exploitation and violence, and the right to access, use, benefit, own and control land and natural resources. It also defines the age of the child at 18 years with important implications for the age of marriage, which now stands at 14 with parental consent in the Law of Marriage Act. If approved by the upcoming referendum, this will represent a significant departure from the present 1977 Constitution.

The gains in the revised Constitution...
Are the result of UN Women support to the creation of the "Wanawake Na Katiba" or "Women for the Constitution" Coalition and their successful advocacy and outreach, both to the grassroots and to Parliament. The Coalition of 50 civil society organizations includes women from grass roots organisations and leaders from political parties.

Additional collaboration with the Tanzania Women Parliamentary Group further strengthened their advocacy. The coalition was among the few constituencies which set aside religion, political affiliation, social status and ethnicity to work together to represent the women of Tanzania in the deliberations on the revised Constitution both inside and outside of the Constituent Assembly.

Support provided by UN Women enabled coalition members to engage effectively in advocacy throughout the process of the Constitutional Review. Furthermore, UN Women’s engagement supported a review of the proposed second draft, which equipped the coalition with evidence to highlight key gains and gaps in the proposed document, further supporting their advocacy. In addition, fact sheets on key topics, supported by UN Women, helped to animate Constituent Assembly discussions. It is useful to note that OHCHR also provided comments on a wider range of human rights issue addressed in the draft Constitution.

**Briefing prepared by:**
- **UN Women Tanzania Country Office**
- **With Inputs from Robert Husbands, OHCHR**

**Yemen Constitutional review**

Following a ten-month process, the 17-member Yemeni Constitutional Drafting Commission (CDC) submitted its first draft of the Constitution on 22 January 2015 to the National Body, an entity mandated to review the draft to ensure that it is not ‘significantly inconsistent’ with the National Dialogue Conference (NDC) Outcomes. The CDC, formed in March 2014, was tasked with transforming the NDC Outcomes into a constitution, to be submitted to a referendum following a review and revision process.

Working with the Secretariat of the CDC, the UN played a significant role in supporting the CDC with these and other challenges to complete its first draft. The core UN expert team was composed of the Standby Team of Mediation Experts, Christina Murray and Hassen Ibrahim, and other experts supported through the Yemen National Dialogue and Constitutional Reform Trust Fund and staff of the Office of the Special Adviser to the Secretary-General on Yemen. UNDP, through its Multi-Partner Trust Fund Office, is the Trust Fund Administrative Agent, and programmes and projects funded by the Trust Fund are executed by UNOPS, and the UN Special Adviser to the Secretary-General on Yemen and the Secretary-General of the Secretariat for the National Dialogue serve as the co-chairs. The Trust Fund has been generously supported by several member states.

Several other UN agencies also provided advice within their respective mandates: UNDP on election issues, UNICEF and OHCHR on human rights and fundamental freedoms, including rights of children, youth and minorities, social and economic rights, and, along with UNFPA, advice on women’s rights and gender equality. UNHCR supported the CDC on rights of refugees and IDPs and OCHA provided maps to
help inform discussions on electoral constituencies. In addition to providing background papers and, at times, draft text at the request of the CDC, all experts provided comments on the CDC drafts.

From the outset of the CDC’s work, experts provided both substantive and process advice. At the first CDC retreat, the agenda was largely designed by UN constitutional experts, with Secretariat and CDC input. UN experts also facilitated the CDC’s efforts in formulating a work plan, drafting its rules of procedure, preparing an outline of chapters in the constitution, and classifying the approximately 1,800 NDC Outcomes into constitutional elements, and legislative or policy principles. UN support continued throughout the process with the production of more than 180 papers (memoranda in response to particular questions, specialized topic papers, and comments on draft text) and presentations on specific topics. Process support was also provided to the Secretariat in the development of their outreach plans.

A CDC retreat was scheduled for the end of the drafting process, to enable intensive final consideration of issues. In the last quarter of 2014, the UAE generously hosted the CDC for ten weeks to complete the first draft, in a venue free from the political and security instability in Sana’a.

The UN expert team assisted the CDC to discuss various complicated and politically controversial issues, such as the allocation of authorities among the tiers of government in the new federal state, finance and judicial structures in a federal system, special status for the cities of Aden and Sanaa, transitional provisions, and guarantees for vital Southern interests, a constitutional requirement stipulated in the NDC Outcomes. MSU expert Hassen Ibrahim provided process advice at a critical time, to response to the need for a fundamental change in the CDC’s working methods if it was to complete the draft within its projected time.

As the CDC was drawing near to completing its first draft, it was deadlocked on key political issues, such as the question of Southern guarantees, whether to include the number and details of the six proposed federal regions in the constitution or a federal law, and the structure of governments at the sub-national level. The Special Adviser to the Secretary-General and the Secretary-General of the Secretariat of the National Dialogue helped to facilitate agreement on text within the CDC on these issues over a three-day period of intense negotiations within the last two weeks of the CDC’s work.

Today, the constitution-making process has stalled temporarily, due to the political impasse that has seized the country. While the political transition progressed, Yemen experienced dramatic changes since October 2013, when ongoing conflict between the Houthis, other armed groups and government forces escalated. In September 2014, the Houthis seized control of the capital, Sana’a. In January 2015, the President and Prime Minister tendered their resignations and were placed under house arrest, precipitating a political crisis. The decision by the CDC to include the number and details of the six regions in the draft constitution also contributed to the crisis because the Houthis seek to redefine the regional boundaries.

Against this background, the Special Adviser has been facilitating inclusive negotiations to resolve the political impasse and to find a consensus solution in accordance with the Transition Agreement, the NDC Outcomes, and the Peace and National Partnership Agreement, to enable the completion of the political transition. Following a review by the National Body and a public consultation period, the CDC will undertake necessary revisions to the draft, prior to its submission to a popular referendum. The Mediation Standby Team and other UN experts are reviewing the draft and contributing with expert papers in preparation for the coming review period by the National Body.

Briefing prepared by:
• Stephanie Koury, Political Affairs Officer, OSASG Yemen
UNDP launches Guidance Note on Constitution-Making Support

For the first time, the UNDP Strategic Plan 2014-2017 explicitly recognises constitution-making assistance as a key plank of UNDP’s support for inclusive governance, peace-building.

In response to the demand of Country Offices working in this area, UNDP launched a new Guidance Note on Constitution-Making Support. The Guidance Note is a first step in developing a stronger knowledge platform to guide UNDP country offices on good-practice constitutional assistance approaches.

The Note provides advice and tips, as well as sharing good practice, case studies, and lessons learned, to assist UNDP practitioners who are designing and implementing support to constitution-making. Guidance is provided on working with a range of partners, including UN Missions, members of the UNCT and NGOs. A range of technical entry points which Country Offices may wish to consider are also explained.


DPA-UNDP online portal ‘UN Constitutionmaker’

The UN Department of Political Affairs (DPA), in close partnership with UNDP, has launched the UN Constitutionmaker online resource centre on constitutional assistance.

UN Constitutionmaker draws on years of UN field experience and provides access to a wide range of sources, including materials produced by expert practitioners, academics and constitution-making bodies from around the world. The portal offers:

- **Resources, tools, templates and guidance** on substance, process and programming in the area of constitution-making;
- **A repository for the UN’s experiences** in providing constitutional assistance, collecting together strategic, technical and project-related documents from UN Missions and Country Teams in a number of countries.

Access at: [constitutionmaker.un.org](http://constitutionmaker.un.org)

The website is only available to United Nations personnel. Create an account using your UN system email: [constitutionmaker.un.org](http://constitutionmaker.un.org)

**Expert Group Meeting on the revision of the UN Women Constitutional Database**

An Expert Group Meeting was held by UN Women from 17-18 February 2015 in New York. The purpose of the meeting was to review and validate the revised provisions of the **UN Women Constitutional Database**, a global constitutional database on gender equality-related provisions which was launched by UN Women in December 2013. The scope of the database extends to 195 constitutions of Member States and Territories of the United Nations.

A number of amendments have been made by UN Women to the Constitutional Database since its inception in 2013. The initial 16 categories of the database were extended to 25 categories. Notably, new categories include provisions on Affirmative Action and Temporary Special Measures, Gender Quotas, Constitutional Adjudication and Review, Gender Equality Machineries and Commissions, Sexual Orientation and Gender Identity, among others.

Prior to finalization and uploading the revised database, UN Women brought together a group of experts from academia, civil society organizations, governmental bodies and UN agencies to assess its quality and ensure that it is robust, intellectually sound and of high utility value. Subsequently, a number of substantive amendments were made in order to improve the quality, usefulness and effectiveness of the database.

The revised UN Women Constitution Database is expected to better respond to the needs of constitutional practitioners and scholars working on constitution-making, gender equality and/or comparative constitutional studies, by including provisions on important aspects of gender equality as set out in the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women, and the general recommendations and concluding observations of the CEDAW Committee. UN Women will also produce a User’s Guide to provide details about the criteria and reasoning for the selection of the provisions, in order to assist users in navigating the database.

Visit: [constitutions.unwomen.org](http://constitutions.unwomen.org)
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READER’S DIGEST

Oil and Natural Gas: Constitutional Frameworks for the Arab States Region
International IDEA, Center for Constitutional Transitions NYU, UNDP
The report focuses on the relationship between oil and gas and constitutions and is of particular importance to the MENA region because of its significant natural resources. It addresses possible design options for the regulation of oil and gas resources through constitutional provisions to enhance accountability, transparency, fair distribution, and efficiency. (English) (Arabic)

Combating Corruption: Constitutional Frameworks for the Middle East and North Africa
International IDEA, Center for Constitutional Transitions NYU, UNDP
The report delves into the relationship between constitutional law and the struggle against corruption. It considers the constitutional frameworks and mechanisms available to prevent and reduce corruption, with particular reference to the transitional states of the Arab region. (English) (Arabic)

Decentralization in Unitary States: Constitutional Frameworks for the Arab States Region
International IDEA, Center for Constitutional Transitions at NYU, UNDP
The report explores the important issue of how decentralization can be implemented in unitary countries to deepen democratic values and improve the quality of life and human security in neglected communities. The report addresses the benefits of decentralization to the MENA region and how constitutional incorporation of various principles can increase opportunities for decentralization and help improve standards of living throughout the region. (English) (Arabic)

Participatory and Inclusive Constitution Making
Jason Gluck, Michele Brandt, USIP
The report draws from the work of scholars and constitution makers who have been exchanging ideas about how to ensure that modern constitutions incorporate the needs and aspirations of the citizens they are intended to govern. As the countries of the Arab Spring transition from authoritarian regimes and overcome ethnic and sectarian divisions, they can learn lessons from comparative constitution-making experiences—including most recently that of Tunisia—about how to achieve more consensus based social compacts and lasting peace. (English)

Rule of Law and Constitution Building - The role of Regional Organizations
International IDEA
The publication discusses the initiatives and actions in the field of rule of law and constitution building by regional organizations. It highlights their achievements, their limitations and the challenges they face, and puts forward policy recommendations for consideration. (English)

Marginalized Groups and Constitution Building
International IDEA
The report highlights the key conclusions and recommendations emerging from an expert roundtable conference around some of these questions organized by International IDEA in October 2013. (English)

VIDEO PRIMERS

International IDEA presents a series of animated videos to complement its constitution-building primers (click on title to watch). They are now also available in Arabic.

What is a Constitution? (English) (Arabic)
How are Constitutions Made? (English) (Arabic)
Why do Constitutions Matter? (English) (Arabic)

*The text on this page generally follows the original summary provided by the publisher.

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