TERRORISM IN THE HORN OF AFRICA:
THE LOST GENERATION OF SOMALIA AND AL-SHABAAB

December 2017
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Title</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Al-Shabaab: A Brief History</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Amniyat and Clans - Territory</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>The Lost Generation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- al-Shabaab’s Humanitarian Assistance - Education</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>The Children of al-Shabaab</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Recruitment – Training - Child Marriage and Rape</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Somali National Army and AMISOM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- AMISOM Withdrawal - The Government’s Child Soldiers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>US Involvement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Interests - AFRICOM - Bariire and Mogadishu Attacks - Easing of Combat Rule - Support</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>The Rehabilitation of Children</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Risk Assessment, Detainment and Execution - Facility Standards – UNICEF - Reintegration</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Conclusion and Recommendations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Acronyms</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Works Cited</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The continent of Africa has largely been ignored by the international community, yet it will soon demand to become a primary focus in regard to counter-terrorism measures. While the Islamic State has taken up much of the concern of the media and political analysts, groups like Boko Haram and al-Shabaab have not been taken as seriously due to the lack of immediate impact on the Western world and its interests. Despite ISIS significantly defeating al-Qaeda in Iraq and Syria, it has greatly failed in its attempt to “displace al-Qaeda as the continent’s premier jihadi franchise”\(^1\) and is on a significant decline as it has lost much of its caliphate with the liberation of Mosul and Raqqā.\(^2\) These defeats will further al-Qaeda’s strength as ISIS fighters will be warmly welcomed by factions in their goal of “uniting the ranks,” especially al-Qaeda’s Hayat Tahrir al-Sham in Syria.\(^3\) International affairs and conflicts in Africa are largely ignored despite such groups turning the “continent into global jihad's deadliest front.”\(^4\) African militant groups have become increasingly sophisticated and have greatly benefited from modern technology and information gained by militants from the Middle East;\(^5\) reason to focus our attention and efforts more towards Africa.

While attention has been primarily focused on ISIS activity and terrorism in the Middle East, Somalia attained a position as one of the top ten countries that had terrorist attacks in 2016; four spots above Syria.\(^6\) Additionally, al-Shabaab has become the deadliest terrorist group in Africa,\(^7\) rising above Boko Haram who was considered to be the ‘world’s deadliest terrorist organization’ in 2015.\(^8\) “Somalia continues to be home to the three most active conflict actors in Africa: Al Shabaab, the military forces of Somalia, and unidentified armed groups (UAGs) in Somalia.”\(^9\) In 2016, 71% of terror attacks were committed in five countries: Iraq, Afghanistan, Syria, Nigeria and Somalia.\(^10\) Yet Somalia receives the least amount of attention and news coverage, even with the country’s deadliest attack (and the world’s deadliest attack in several years) this October in
Mogadishu that resulted in 512 deaths\textsuperscript{11} and hundreds injured.\textsuperscript{12} People even turned to twitter to vent their devastation, limited media coverage and the lack of condolences for the victims.\textsuperscript{13}

Spokesman for the International Organization for Migration, Itayi Viriri, was one of those who tweeted frustration about double standards:

Source: Al Jazeera

The issue at the core of Viriri’s sentiment is sadly nothing new in both the media and political worlds. Despite the growing problems of economics, health, education, famine, pollution, piracy, terrorism and overall instability, Somalia does not receive the attention that it should.

Additionally, we should be highly critical and analyze those governments and organizations that participate in the country’s matters, for their tactics may contribute further to the mass complications, no matter how good their intentions may be.

Not only is the dismissal of Somalia’s struggles a humanitarian problem, it is also a major failure at the international security level. Those who have focused primarily on ISIS, the majority of researchers and politicians, have overlooked severe issues that would appear in the long run.

Bruce Hoffman, head of Georgetown University’s security studies program, stated, “I worry that al-Qaida has taken advantage of the past three or four years to very quietly rebuild while ISIS has preoccupied our attention. This is in al-Qaida’s DNA, to either absorb, wait out or forcibly deal with any of their rivals so that they’re the last man standing.”\textsuperscript{14} This is currently developing as ISIS has lost nearly all of their territory with many combatants escaping.\textsuperscript{15} Al-Qaeda and its
affiliates are certain to grow and become more deadly from this disintegration as they will “welcome ISIS members with open arms, those [who] are battle-hardened with potent field experience.”\textsuperscript{16} Al-Qaeda’s current leader, Ayman al-Zawahri, sent an envoy to Syria in order to encourage ISIS combatants to defect and join al-Qaeda.\textsuperscript{17} While many celebrated the recent liberation of ISIS’s de facto capital, Raqqa, al-Qaeda has sat patiently waiting and has “benefited from its prolonged downfall.”\textsuperscript{18}

As al-Qaeda and its factions continue to strengthen and spread throughout Africa,\textsuperscript{19} this will continue to develop and become a severe threat that will have to be dealt with. In Somalia, relentless fighting between groups and drone attacks have led to an increasing state of insecurity. Countries that experience a lack of economical support and education create a “fertile environment for such organizations to take action and start recruiting” people and children who have no other alternative,\textsuperscript{20} which has been occurring with al-Shabaab in Somalia. “A high proportion of young people in volatile and violent countries, plus a dearth of economic opportunities, has long been considered a tinder box for extremism.”\textsuperscript{21}

Disarmament, demobilization and reintegration (DDR) programs that assist al-Shabaab ex-combatants in Kenya and Somalia lack transparency and appear to be dismissive of child soldiers. In addition to a humanitarian standpoint, we should examine the critical security risks in the use of children in terrorist groups and civilian children that are left behind. DDR documents state that persons under the age of 18 are not eligible for participation and “should be handed over to UNICEF or a designated UN agency within 72 hours.”\textsuperscript{22} While it is a good measure to separate vulnerable children from other ex-combatants, little is known on UNICEF’s participation with al-Shabaab’s young soldiers. UNICEF states online that it is involved with children in Somalia yet the information provided is vague and does not mention anything about
DDR or al-Shabaab. Additionally, it is questionable on what their role is or if they are fulfilling it when outside organizations are performing their own DDR programs and rehabilitating children who have been left behind. If the Minister of Internal Security for the Federal Government of Somalia states that UNICEF or a UN agency is to care for al-Shabaab’s youth ex-combatants, then why is there even a necessity for such groups to exist?

In the last year alone, the use of child soldiers has doubled in the Middle East and North Africa. Additionally, over half of al-Shabaab’s forces are children; comprising of at least 60%. While reports acknowledge the ‘lost generation of Somalia’, a population that has seen over 20 years of conflict and a generation that has only witnessed violence, little research has been conducted on the connection between children and their impact on terrorism. With over half of terrorists in the area being children, this lost generation is ever more at risk for being enveloped by conflict.

A UN report of the Secretary-General on children and armed conflict in Somalia stated that “al-Shabaab targeted poor children who lacked opportunities, recruiting primarily in rural areas of southern and central Somalia, frequently at schools, madrasas, mosques and religious events.”

With Somalia just beginning to establish a government and an entire generation only experiencing fragility and war, the continuation and escalation of the most powerful al-Qaeda branch in the continent is very likely with children not having stability, education or economic opportunities.

With an increasing presence of US military, including the first American combat death in Somalia since 1993, and the fight against al-Shabaab intensifying in the horn of Africa, the transnational security threat of this faction is ever more imperative. President Trump recently “approved expanded military operations in Somalia, authorizing unilateral U.S. counter-terrorism ground and air strikes against al-Shabab;” legitimizing the severity of this issue to both Somalia
and its neighbors, along with the United States. Not only has the US already increased its involvement in Somalia, it will most likely continue to increase its presence. This is not only due to counter-terrorism motives but also because of Russia, Turkey and China becoming heavily influential in the region and country. China recently established its first overseas military base in Djibouti in order to assist in peacekeeping and humanitarian missions in Somalia. Russia is planning to assist the country in counter-terrorism along with developing a “greater bilateral cooperation for economic, political and trade relations.” And in September, Turkey opened its largest overseas military base in Mogadishu.

These establishments could create concerns for the US military and affect diplomatic relations, especially if US-Russia proxy confrontations are once again escalated as they were in Syria. Not only do these possible competitions exist, al-Qaeda “remains focused on attacking the United States” and its citizens both at home and internationally. Since 2010, over five American citizens were killed by al-Shabaab in East Africa and continue to recruit foreign fighters, including those from the United States. Therefore, Somalia is increasingly a crucial state that demands recognition, especially in the security sector.

The situation for the lost generation of Somalia continues to be grave. Governments, including the US, are largely ignoring the impact their operations have that can increase terrorist activity, especially in regard to the use of children. This is even more evident when military reports never differentiate child soldiers from other combatants or acknowledge the deaths of children in attacks. Al-Shabaab’s very name translates to ‘the youth’ yet to what extent is that crucial factor being acknowledged and properly addressed by counter-terrorism actors? Since UN agencies lack transparency, it is questionable to what level they are fulfilling their role in rehabilitating child soldiers. Local civilians and nonprofits are filling the gap in order to assist
children while putting their own lives at stake. Investigating the real situation for children in Somalia, their vulnerability to al-Shabaab and analyzing Somali and US military tactics, and whether they properly address the issue of child soldiers, can assist in examining the current and future status of a fragile state.

**al-Shabaab: A Brief History**

Harakat al-Shabaab (the youth) was formed in December 2006 and gained traction after the dismantling of the Islamic Courts Union (ICU).³⁶ Al-Shabaab had been ICU’s military wing that drove out the warlords that controlled Somalia, who were backed by the US.³⁷ The ICU had been comprised of 11 Shia courts and caused alarm within the international community, resulting in the creation of the Transitional Federal Government (TFG) that was formed in exile in Kenya in 2004, lasting until 2012.³⁸ After two years of military operations and failed peace negotiations, the United Nations Security Council authorized an intervention by African Union (AU) peacekeepers.³⁹ This led to the disintegration of the ICU and al-Shabaab becoming an independent military group.⁴⁰

Its name did not become popular until a year later and “came to refer to a populist and militaristic movement.”⁴¹ “In the space of a couple years, al-Shabaab went from obscurity to being the principal anti-TFG and hence anti-AMISOM [African Union Mission in Somalia] force.”⁴² The invasion by Ethiopia, a largely Christian nation, led to a severe animosity towards Ethiopians and the US, who secretly pressured Ethiopia to invade Somalia.⁴³ “Growing resentment at the Ethiopian presence and brutality and all sorts of rumours linking Ethiopia’s
activities to Washington’s nefarious counter-terrorism policies in the region presented al-Shabaab with a huge propaganda victory and its ranks swelled accordingly.”

Al-Shabaab is comprised of three components: “the top leadership (qiyadah), the foreign fighters (muhajirin), and local Somali fighters (ansar).” The qiyadah are primarily veterans from Afghanistan who promote al-Qaeda’s ideology, one of the priorities being against the United States, specifically citing the struggle in Somalia and America as the “spearhead of the Crusader occupation.”

“The purpose of targeting America is to exhaust her and bleed her to death, so that it meets the fate of the former Soviet Union and collapses under its own weight as a result of its military, human, and financial losses. Consequently, its grip on our lands will weaken and its allies will begin to fall one after another.” - Shaikh Ayman al-Zawahiri

Despite the use of ideology, at least 25% of combatants stated that religion combined with economic reasons were their motive for joining al-Shabaab. “These interviewees thought that al-Shabaab membership would become a career, which casts doubt on their ideological commitment to the organisation’s aims.” A report on radicalization and recruitment in Somalia states that if the majority of combatants had access to employment opportunities then they would not have joined.

Additionally, strategist and counterinsurgency expert David Kilcullen stated that a large number of fighters resented Ethiopia’s presence but did not want to invade and did not have strong commitments to the ideology that al-Shabaab promoted.
After significant assaults by AMISOM, Kenyan and Ethiopian forces in 2011, al-Shabaab established an intelligence agency called Amniyat in order to eradicate defections that were increasing.53 “By February 2012 the Somali National [Intelligence and] Security Agency [(NISA)] was receiving on average 3-4 defectors per day.”54 Despite these setbacks, al-Shabaab continues to perform as a ‘shadow government’ in Somalia and has demonstrated that it is resilient and adaptable.55

Since Ethiopia’s withdrawal in 2016, al-Shabaab has increased the number and sophistication of its attacks throughout Somalia and Kenya.56 Additionally, the planned AMISOM withdrawal from Somalia has allotted al-Shabaab to advance and retake territory it previously controlled in southern and central regions and its combatant additions in Puntland and southeast Kenya.57 Because forces are unable to provide sustained security, al-Shabaab has filled the vacuum by “providing more consistent and predictable levels of security for residents, […] which] is no small thing in a country that has known neither for three decades.”58

Amniyat and Clans

Forecasts over the last few years believed that al-Shabaab would decrease and shortly be terminated. Not only were these predictions grossly inaccurate, al-Shabaab has been highly capable of learning from mistakes and “rapidly adapts to shifting political and tactical environments.”59 Former leader Ahmed Abdi Godane significantly reformed and improved the structure and functionality of the group through its implementation of Amniyat and its management of clans.60

Al-Shabaab began to prioritize security within the organization and operations that were smaller and safer since AMISOM was better equipped.61 Godane also was concerned about internal
disputes that had escalated and used Amniyat to suppress and exterminate any who threatened his authority, were found disloyal or deviated from the ideology.\textsuperscript{62} Amniyat afforded al-Shabaab a great deal of security by compartmentalizing the organization; a tactic used to “prevent leaks and, most critically, to ensure that when its operatives are captured by enemy forces, they are only able to reveal limited amounts of information about their particular job or task.”\textsuperscript{63}

This compartmentalization also allowed combatants to remain in locations for monitoring when the rest of al-Shabaab was forced to retreat.\textsuperscript{64} They have formed a significant network of agents and informants throughout the country and have been able to infiltrate the government and AMISOM.\textsuperscript{65} Their coordinated incursions have succeeded at attacking secure compounds, business owners and assassinating government employees and journalists.\textsuperscript{66} While Abdullahi Sanbaloshe, Somalia’s former National Intelligence chief, recently lashed out against Western nations for refusing to share intelligence,\textsuperscript{67} this is quite understandable in light of the government being severely corrupted and penetrated by al-Shabaab.

“The Amniyat is also tasked with collecting intelligence on Somalia’s fluid and fraught clan dynamics, […] allowing] al-Shabaab to safeguard and grow its influence in Somalia.”\textsuperscript{68} The failure to establish al-Qaeda in Somalia in the 1990s and al-Shabaab’s expansion efforts in its beginning were both effected by clan politics.\textsuperscript{69} To gain control over this threat, Godane began to expel or execute foreign fighters.\textsuperscript{70} While some were kept due to their technical expertise, Godane realized that these members were a liability and “had alienated al-Shabaab from the local population that they wanted to control.”\textsuperscript{71} Godane also formulated a de-centralized and non-hierarchical structure (not including the Amniyat) to imitate clans.\textsuperscript{72} This permitted commanders and sub-commanders to decide limited operations, recruitments and appointments.\textsuperscript{73} Al-Shabaab’s commanders were encouraged to engage in clan affairs and act as moderators in
disputes. “This outcome was not accidental and has allowed al-Shabaab to build a considerable amount of goodwill in parts of Somalia.”

“Al-Shabaab’s pragmatic and Machiavellian approach to managing and taking advantage of Somalia’s clan dynamics is emblematic of its larger strategy for winning the minds, if not the hearts, of the people it wants to control.” Despite many Somali’s being against radical Islam, the superior level of security provided by al-Shabaab and their consistency surpasses much of society’s detestation. While those within al-Shabaab and under their territorial rule live in fear, the lack of control and predictability of the Somalia National Army (SNA) and AMISOM have given al-Shabaab a “grudging respect” from many.

**Territory**

“Of all the world's countries, Somalia is probably the most complex in terms of actual territorial control, and also one of the most constantly-changing.” Pro-government press releases and media frequently state that the government controls most of the southern region. Yet those on the ground and journalists contradict this information and state that al-Shabaab has “free rein” near cities and maintains control over many villages. Mapping the current territory under al-Shabaab control is difficult and ever-changing. While some portions marked under al-Shabaab may be an exaggeration because it is unlikely that they are consistently patrolling certain areas, the same is applicable to government alliances. Despite territories not being clearly defined, what is apparent is that the government-allied control has significantly declined over the past few years.
The Lost Generation

Over half of the country’s population (approx. 14,742,523)\textsuperscript{83} was born after former President Siad Barre was expelled from Somalia and the country fell to anarchy in 1991.\textsuperscript{84} More than 60% of Somalis are under 25 years old and the country’s fertility rate is one of the world’s highest with nearly six children per woman.\textsuperscript{85} “Despite civil war and famine raising its mortality rate, Somalia’s high fertility rate and large proportion of people of reproductive age maintain rapid population growth, with each generation being larger than the prior one.”\textsuperscript{86} While these statistics can be viewed as developmentally positive, this means that the majority of the population has only ever known violence and conflict.\textsuperscript{87}

Children in Somalia “have suffered disproportionately from the ongoing conflict.”\textsuperscript{88} According to Ahmed Dini, a civil-society activist, the youth of Somalia has never known stability and have limited opportunities to receive education.\textsuperscript{89} In order to cope with such a chaotic environment, “some join the violence by being recruited into the fighting groups; others find drugs, such as khat and narcotics, as a way out; while others undertake very dangerous sea journeys to Europe or the Gulf Arab states.”\textsuperscript{90}

Children continue to be particularly vulnerable to indiscriminate attacks, insecurity, maiming and death.\textsuperscript{91} Somalia’s youth has been subjected to the destruction of services, infrastructure, families and livelihoods.\textsuperscript{92} Decades of conflict that has resulted in displacement, separation and death have severely impacted the peril of children.\textsuperscript{93} “The numbers of abandoned, orphaned, or separated children and children living and working in the streets has skyrocketed.”\textsuperscript{94} Children have also been thrown into being the sole source of income in families when employment is available.\textsuperscript{95}
The conflict has impacted the country so significantly that Somalia has become the fourth largest source country for refugees, behind Syria, Afghanistan and South Sudan. The proportion of displaced persons to the nation’s population is 238 per 1,000. While over 46,000 refugees returned to Somalia, mostly from Kenya, this is unfortunately not a positive development. Kenya’s government has been fighting to close the Dadaab refugee camp, the largest in the world, due to al-Shabaab using it as a recruiting pool and launch base for terrorist activity. While fighting court decisions to remain open, Kenya has forcibly sent Somalis back to their country, calling it a ‘voluntary repatriation program’. The closure would go against the country’s constitution and protests of human rights groups who are concerned over refugees being sent back to an “insecure and drought-ridden Somalia.”

Dini believes that if the conflict is not ended soon then this generation and future ones “would be lost forever, if we have not already lost them.” Those who are displaced continue to be vulnerable to sexual violence, conflict and forced evictions. Al-Shabaab along with government forces and allies are also responsible for these violations. In March of 2015, “government forces forcibly evicted more than 21,000 people in Mogadishu during one operation, beat evictees, destroyed shelters, and left them without water, food, or other assistance.” These evictions have been taking place for years with the government providing little to no notice, violating the African Union’s Kampala Convention on the Protection and Assistance of Internally Displaced Persons. According to the Brookings Institution, “Forcible evictions of displaced persons have increased dramatically as Mogadishu landowners, including government officials, choose to clear out displacement settlements mainly in order to convert rising land values into lucrative economic development.”
al-Shabaab’s Humanitarian Assistance

“Compounding the dire effect of ongoing fighting on civilians is unrelenting drought, famine, al-Shabaab’s severe restrictions on humanitarian aid and ongoing diversion of aid in TFG-controlled areas.” Roughly six million people, around 40% of the population, currently require humanitarian assistance in Somalia. Starvation, malnourishment and disease continue to be rampant and al-Shabaab has used such crises to their advantage.

Al-Shabaab has provided a humanitarian response to drought-stricken areas in the central and southern regions; a change in strategy from when they banned aid distribution in 2011 that contributed to over 250,000 deaths. Areas controlled by the Federal Government of Somalia (FGS) have not been adequate in regard to humanitarian assistance due to the diversion and looting of aid. The group continues to attack aid workers and has implemented roadblocks on major routes in order to conduct its own operation and establish authority. “Al Shabaab aims to usurp the role of humanitarian providers in order to build popular support and undermine the authority of the Somali Federal Government among drought-stricken populations.”

Children are particularly vulnerable to disease and food insecurity. Half of the quarter of a million who died from the 2011 famine were children. Food insecurity is expected to persist, as will elevated prices, in 2018. In the last year there have been approximately 739,000
drought displacements, with 65% being under the age of 18 and over a quarter of the total displaced population being under the age of five.\textsuperscript{117} These children are at the highest risk for disease and malnutrition.\textsuperscript{118} “Some 388,000 acutely malnourished children are in need of critical nutrition support, including life-saving treatment for more than 87,000 severely malnourished children.”\textsuperscript{119}

While al-Shabaab continues attacks and refuses Western aid organizations, they have “allowed non-Western humanitarian groups to deliver aid to local populations in high-risk areas under its supervision.”\textsuperscript{120} In addition to the group’s ability to provide consistency and stability, they have established themselves as a provider of services to build approval and establish new areas of control.\textsuperscript{121} Yet after May of this year, al-Shabaab has implemented more severe practices in order to “extract resources from aid flows into its strongholds” by kidnapping aid workers, destroying food and killing those who attempt to acquire aid outside of controlled areas, forcing civilians to rely on them.\textsuperscript{122}

**Education**

Schools throughout Somalia have fallen victim to conflict, with either al-Shabaab targeting them or being caught in the crossfire between them and government forces.\textsuperscript{123} Explosives have continued to be placed near schools, putting teachers and children at risk and resulting in multiple deaths.\textsuperscript{124} Suicide bombings have also occurred throughout the years at various locations, including the Ministry of Education and Benadir University.\textsuperscript{125} Al-Shabaab and government allies have both overtaken schools in order to use them as forts for military operations or detention centers, occasionally while children were still inside the classrooms.\textsuperscript{126} Al-Shabaab has also taken over schools in order to teach its version of radical Islam; threatening to kill teachers who do not comply.\textsuperscript{127} Additionally, they have restricted women from teaching,
separated girls and boys, instituted a strict dress code for girls and prohibit geography, history and English. “The US State Department reported that, in at least one instance in 2011, Al-Shabaab offered to reward academic achievement with AK-47 rifles.”

In a World Bank report published in 2017, 79% of children and 85% of youth are deprived in at least one welfare dimension. The impacts that al-Shabaab have had on education are disastrous. Many children drop out of school from fear of abduction or because of subjects being cut through al-Shabaab’s control. “The lingering effects of traumatic experiences can continue to hurt children’s ability to get an education even when they reach relative safety outside Somalia, when they associate schools with violence or simply fear leaving their homes.” For those even in Kenya, students continue to hide and not go to school due to fears of recruitment.

Somalia continues to have one of the lowest school enrollment rates in the world. “Education is key to break the poverty cycle, yet nearly half of Somali children and youth do not currently attend school;” 47% children and 45% youth. Children living in impoverished conditions (46%) are less likely to attend school; creating a prime populous for al-Shabaab to use for recruitment.
The Children of al-Shabaab

One young man stated that even those who are not combatants are often accused of being one; “being young in Somalia, especially Mogadishu, is not good.” While al-Shabaab has long used propaganda in order to recruit children, they have increased their use of child soldiers since 2010 in order to “replenish its dwindling ranks.” Al-Shabaab has not only been using over 1,915 children as soldiers, they have also committed sexual violence and use children for suicide bombings. Special Representative of the Secretary-General for Children and Armed Conflict Virginia Gamba stated that “such abuses have a dramatic impact, not only on the lives of children, but also on the social fabric of society in affected countries and on global peace and security.”

Recruitment

While schools have been a primary target for abduction, al-Shabaab has also taken children from play areas and even their homes. Children, family members and teachers who attempt to intervene al-Shabaab taking children are injured or killed. Members of al-Shabaab also approach
mosques, occasionally posing as imams in order to use Islam as a reason to join. Ideology was preached for some time but when it was found ineffective, al-Shabaab began to recruit forcefully.

Businessmen play an influential role in recruitment as they gain from security and stability. In areas controlled by al-Shabaab, businessmen encourage youth to join in order to ensure full ranks and receive protection. Family members are also responsible in some instances for recruiting child soldiers. One woman described how her husband, an al-Shabaab member, took their son:

“My husband was in al-Shabaab. He came and said to my eldest son [who was 10 years old], “You must also join.” He overpowered me and took my son. Later I heard my son died in the war. I went to where my husband was, Horera mosque, and I said, “I heard my son died.” He said, “I am pleased to inform you that our son died a martyr. He went straight to paradise.” He showed me footage he took of my son being killed in the war. His blood. His body. I cried.”

While the majority of children are taken against their will, there are cases where children ‘voluntarily’ join. “The very notion of voluntariness of any child’s decision, particularly in a context of extreme poverty, hunger, and al-Shabaab’s well-known violence against those who refuse, to join an armed group is questionable.” Some child soldiers pointed to the lack of education for joining in order to leave poverty since no other avenues in their future were available. Poverty and starvation is a key driver for children to join armed groups as it is their only opportunity to receive food. In addition to children joining for survival, al-Shabaab also provides incentives to entice children. Many offer cell phones, clothes or cash. Al-Shabaab pays well; offering between $50 and $150 a month, allowing many to support their families. Money is also given in order for child recruits to enroll other boys. Al-Shabaab has been able
to finance such endeavors in a poverty-stricken country through taxation and the control of ports, generating approximately $35 to $50 million per year (half of its revenues) through the port of Kismayo alone.\textsuperscript{155}

“Identity as manipulated by ideology in the trappings of religion, as well as the perceptions of neglect, combine to drive youth to join the Somali group.”\textsuperscript{156} While this cannot be applied to all members, it is important to acknowledge the impact of identity on terrorism in Somalia. Cases of youth “show that the effects of poverty, such as idleness and low self-esteem, cannot be ignored.”\textsuperscript{157} Unemployment diminishes a sense of self-worth when youth are forced to rely on their families, especially in households that struggle to get by.\textsuperscript{158}

Societal views of masculinity are also directly impacting youth and their relationship with al-Shabaab.\textsuperscript{159} Some fear their communities viewing them as weak or victimize them, particularly in areas controlled by al-Shabaab.\textsuperscript{160} “If an able-bodied youth did not join, one could be suspected of supporting the Transitional Federal Government.”\textsuperscript{161} Reputation is used by al-Shabaab in order to attract youth by enlisting them as amirs (rulers) and those who joined in controlled areas were respected and seen as heroes.\textsuperscript{162}

Reputation is enticing for youth because of the promise of rising to importance and strengthens their identity as a “defender of country and religion.”\textsuperscript{163} This is a crucial aspect of Somalis as “the role of religion is especially magnified in the identity of youth for whom clan politics has brought nothing but chaos and destruction.”\textsuperscript{164} This is the reason that many state they identify as a Muslim, instead of a Somali, first.\textsuperscript{165} This advocates the argument that “terrorism represents a confluence of cultural, social, and personal identity.”\textsuperscript{166} The youth who are willing to join are attracted to the sense of collectivism and sacrificing for the good of the whole, their country or religion.\textsuperscript{167}
Children feel that they are powerless as those who refuse or attempt escape continue to be maimed or killed. Many children have had their hands cut off or have been beheaded. One 16 year old was murdered and had his head put in front of his family’s house. Parents who have refused to sign agreements that would permit their children to join have been killed with letters pinned to their bodies, stating that the same would happen to other parents who refused.

**Training**

Conditions in training camps are difficult for children and feature arduous physical training and living conditions. Training typically lasts between one week and several months and are held in the outskirts of Mogadishu. “Camps varied in their descriptions, ranging from physical structures, including former government buildings, where children were detained in cells with minimal food and poor sanitary conditions, to open, camp-like settings with children sleeping on open ground.” One combatant stated that children as young as 10 or 11 years old were given pistols, AK-47s or whips.

As part of their conditioning, children are forced to watch graphic videos of suicide bombings and the torture and execution of others. Children who have escaped describe grueling training methods and schedules and are frequently beaten or whipped. “Boys also described witnessing brutal physical punishments and executions of those accused of spying for the TFG, and those attempting to escape or merely failing to obey orders.”

Trainees are also forced to participate in religious education and the teachings of jihad. Videos are shown to children of groups fighting in other countries and are frequently told the importance of martyrdom and that they will go to paradise. Al-Shabaab tells children to not be cowards and that if they participate in suicide bombings, “you will become a martyr.” In cases where
children were not well informed on Islam, the manipulation and ideological indoctrination was easy.\textsuperscript{182}

Children are primarily used in the front lines of battles, often with little training, and as human shields for older combatants.\textsuperscript{183} One child stated that young children were put in the first row during battle, roughly 300, and only two managed to escape while the rest were killed and the adult soldiers ran away.\textsuperscript{184} Children who are too young or small to carry weapons are either given smaller weapons, such as pistols or grenades, or are forced to become suicide bombers; some being as young as eight.\textsuperscript{185} Some boys who have parents that are in the FGS were given the option of being killed or being a suicide bomber.\textsuperscript{186} They responded, “Either way we die so just kill us so we don’t kill others.”\textsuperscript{187}

\textbf{Child Marriage and Rape}

Al-Shabaab targets girls who are walking on the street, en route to school, at school or at their homes.\textsuperscript{188} The reported typical range of those taken are aged 11 to early 20s.\textsuperscript{189} Girls are tasked with domestic duties in camps, including cooking and cleaning.\textsuperscript{190} Girls were also subjected to frequent beatings, especially if they cried.\textsuperscript{191}

While some state that there was no sexual assault in the camps, it is important to understand that rape in Somalia is taboo and others reported that forced marriage and rape are rampant.\textsuperscript{192} Stigma is strong in Somalia and prevents victims and families from reaching out for support due to fears of being ostracized.\textsuperscript{193} “Because perpetrators of rape and other violence in Somalia enjoy almost total impunity, the victims and their families often have very little power to resist, and those who do face great risks.”\textsuperscript{194} Gender-based violence in Somalia is common, underreported and committed by civilians as well as combatants.\textsuperscript{195}
According to Human Rights Watch, a main reason why refugees fled the country was because of fears regarding forced marriage.\textsuperscript{196} Forced marriage has been enforced by al-Shabaab as part of their ideology on Sharia law.\textsuperscript{197} One 19 year old girl said she would not go with al-Shabaab and was shot in the head in front of her class, accused of being a government spy.\textsuperscript{198} Another young girl was taken to be married to an old commander and attempted to refuse:

“He told his men to kill her and they filmed it and sent it to mobile phones. My students saw it. They saw the mutilation. They brought back her head to the school and assembled all of the girls and said, “This is an example of what will happen if you misbehave.” The girl was 16 years old.”\textsuperscript{199}

Gang rapes have also been reported, with many girls becoming pregnant.\textsuperscript{200} Girls have stated that al-Shabaab fighters prefer teenagers for sex and marriage over ‘older women’.\textsuperscript{201} Tragically, girls and women who have been raped by al-Shabaab receive little sympathy from others.\textsuperscript{202} Some people in communities blame victims, laugh at them and force girls to go into hiding.\textsuperscript{203} Some girls have even fled to Kenya because of the lack of security and health facilities.\textsuperscript{204}

“Women who sympathized with al-Shabaab threatened me and said, “We will beat you for saying that al-Shabaab raped your daughter.” They cut me with a knife. They even told me that if I didn’t leave they would kill me for saying al-Shabaab raped my daughter.”\textsuperscript{205}

Children who manage to escape remain at risk and fear being re-recruited by al-Shabaab.\textsuperscript{206} Those who returned to their homes refused to go outside while others would hide in remote areas and try to escape to Kenya.\textsuperscript{207} Yet fleeing to Kenya unfortunately provides no end to their fears or risks. As previously stated, al-Shabaab has a strong presence in the Dadaab camp and goes
searching for escapees. In several cases children’s family members who had remained behind in Somalia were threatened and some killed as al-Shabaab forced the family to inform them of the whereabouts of the child who escaped.

Al-Shabaab in recent months has conducted a forced recruitment campaign in southwestern regions; pressuring clan leaders to ensure teenagers join. Three weeks ago, they called the elders and school leaders and said they want the younger boys. Families have fled the area in order to reach larger towns. Last year the UN stated that there were over 5,000 child soldiers, most of them belonging to al-Shabaab. Those who are running are between the ages of 9 and 18, attempting to reach safety and escape the recent recruiting influx in order to not become part of the youth majority of al-Shabaab.

Somali National Army and AMISOM

According to Transparency International’s 2016 Corruption Perceptions Index, Somalia is the most corrupt country in the world. Both the Somali National Army and AMISOM have been incapable of maintaining security for civilians, are poorly trained and continue to have severe corruption problems. The TFG security forces continue to lack formal command and control mechanisms and are, instead, made up of an array of groups, including allied militia and militia linked to TFG officials that are recruited and integrated in different ways. The government of Somalia continues to greatly suffer from division among leaders and officials, resulting in persistent resignations and firings. After the two attacks that took place in October, the government fired police and intelligence chiefs. Within the same month, the “defense minister and army chief of staff resigned […] amid reports of rivalry between the two and after al-Shabab
stepped up its attacks on army bases.”^219 With Amniyat’s ability to infiltrate the government, along with corruption, incompetency and internal discord, the government’s struggle to obtain structure and stability is colossal.

“There is little coordination, intelligence sharing, or joint planning among the countries folded under the AMISOM heading, with capabilities vastly uneven.”^220 This is discouraging as the AU’s mission in Somalia has been its longest in countering Islamic extremism. ^221 With training, equipment, intelligence and logistical support provided by the US, America’s counter-terrorism policy relies immensely on the SNA and AMISOM. ^222 Yet al-Shabaab is continuing to gain from the FGS’s ineptitude and shortcomings “despite superficial governance improvements.”^223

While al-Shabaab has attacked civilians and infrastructure throughout Somalia, AMISOM and other allied forces have also committed atrocities and are responsible for civilian casualties. ^224 Michael Keating, Special Representative for Somalia and Head of the United Nations Assistance Mission in Somalia (UNSOM), “raised concerns with AMISOM about grave violations […and] further blamed Somali National Army troops for the killing or maiming of 146 children last year.”^225 At least 200 child casualties were committed last year by AMISOM, Kenya Defense Forces (KDF), the SNA and the US. ^226 Clan militias were also reportedly responsible for 625 child deaths, along with 142 cases of sexual violence against girls by South Sudan’s army. ^227

The bombing by AMISOM forces has built an intense animosity towards peacekeeping groups and has pushed people to join al-Shabaab; seeking revenge and the aim to “protect themselves
and their families.” Revenge has also driven people to have hatred towards the TFG/FGS, with al-Shabaab youth describing them as “animals” who touched “our women inappropriately at the checkpoints [… ] it is humiliating and infuriating.” This advocates the view that some have that al-Shabaab’s fight is their fight. “It is not because society is radicalized and has fully embraced jihadist ideology and certainly not due to the debilitating poverty that has riddled Somalia for decades; rather, it is a fight to maintain their culture, language, religion and way of life – it is a fight to safeguard their identity and its important features from foreign “invaders” such as Ethiopia and AMISOM.”

AMISOM Withdrawal

In April of this year, President Farmajo established a 60-day amnesty agreement for anyone belonging to al-Shabaab. Approximately 50 combatants, including high-level individuals, have surrendered. Yet the amnesty deal has not been considered successful. “The organization has survived leadership decapitation, territorial losses and internal splits, and continues to carry out frequent and deadly attacks involving both peacekeeper and civilian targets.”

Since the amnesty deal, al-Shabaab has conducted large-scale, successful attacks. In October, Mogadishu experienced “one of the most lethal terrorist acts anywhere in the world for many years.” A truck bomb that was aimed to attack Somalia’s foreign ministry was stopped at a checkpoint when the driver crashed through a barrier in order to avoid being searched and exploded near a hotel, destroying several buildings, killing 512 people and injuring over 500. Less than two weeks later, al-Shabaab conducted a siege on a hotel that lasted 12 hours and left 29 dead. Twelve officers were killed, along with a woman who was decapitated and her three children shot.
Despite these horrific attacks and the increase of al-Shabaab-controlled territory, the African Union is withdrawing peacekeeping troops, which is expected to be completed by the end of 2020. Withdrawal is beginning December of this year, removing 1,000 soldiers from Uganda, Burundi, Ethiopia, Kenya and Djibouti. Francisco Madeira, Special Representative of the African Union for Somalia and head of the AU mission in Somalia, stated, “This is a process of realignment to effect the reduction numbers and also begin the handover process of national security responsibilities to the Somali national forces.” Madeira also stated that AMISOM will exit “when the SNA is ready to take over.”

Yet given the amount of ineptitude in the SNA, it is perplexing as to why anyone thinks the SNA is ready. As al-Shabaab steps up its attacks, the transfer of security from AMISOM to Somali forces is disconcerting. Despite previous successes against al-Shabaab, AMISOM has “not yet managed to build up and train Somalia’s legitimate security forces to be fully capable of withstanding the threat from a resilient al-Shabaab.” With the lack of control and coherence in the SNA, AMISOM’s withdrawal is extremely premature and is likely to contribute to society’s dissatisfaction with the government and possibly increase al-Shabaab’s vitality and support.

The Government’s Child Soldiers

“Most soldiers who currently make up the TFG forces, including TFG soldiers being paid stipends by the US and Italian governments, have not gone through the Uganda-based training and therefore were not subjected to the same screening standards.” The FGS has continued its failure at instating proper screening procedures of recruits in order to ensure that children are not used. Age screening in Somalia is complex due to the lack of birth certificates and the effects
of malnutrition on children.\(^{249}\) However, these problems should not overshadow the necessity of proper screening and should be addressed in order to eradicate their use of child soldiers.

Unfortunately, many children and parents lack concern about child soldiers in the government as it is a means of survival.\(^{250}\) Money, food and revenge against al-Shabaab are main influences for children enlisting.\(^{251}\) “More vulnerable groups of children who are without care and protections, such as orphans, appear particularly likely to join the TFG.”\(^{252}\)

According to the vice-chairman of the Elman Peace and Human Rights Center in Mogadishu, Ali Sheikh Yassin, “about 20 percent of government troops (thought to number 5,000 to 10,000) were children and that about 80 percent of the rebels were.”\(^{253}\) Al-Shabaab has been producing videos, called *Inspire the Unbelievers*, imploring Muslims from around the world, especially Muslim youth, to come to Somalia and “take part in this blessed jihad which is between good and evil, between light and darkness and between Truth and falsehood.”\(^{254}\)

Somali security forces received training on fighting child recruitment by the AU Mission in Somalia this September.\(^{255}\) The capacity building workshop was to provide forces with information on how to contain the problem of the child soldiers of al-Shabaab.\(^{256}\) However, none of the reports about the workshop address the FGS’s use of children or AMISOM’s own atrocities. British Ambassador to Somalia David Concar, Ambassador Francisco Caetano Madeira, Deputy Special Representative of the Chairperson of the African Union Commission for Somalia and AMISOM’s Child Protection Advisor Musa Gbow all solely pointed to al-Shabaab’s child recruitment and attacks on civilians\(^{257}\) and did not address any training within the SNA or AMISOM to eradicate their own role. Gbow stated that the purpose of the training session was for trainers to “continue to propagate the message and train their counterparts across the country.”\(^{258}\) This is hypocritical and seems implausible for those to be committed to such a
cause when they themselves are a part of the problem and are not held accountable. This is evident by a statement given by a Somali government official who spoke under anonymity, “I’ll be honest, we were trying to find anyone who could carry a gun.”

Accountability remains nonexistent in regard to violations of international human rights and humanitarian law. “The TFG and AMISOM have not taken action against commanders responsible for laws-of-war violations or the conscription of children.” Despite Somalia’s commitment to UN plans to end the use of child soldiers, the government and its allies have not implemented substantial measures, including a systematic screening process and holding those accountable for their use of child soldiers.

The SNA and AMISOM counter-terrorism responses have frequently caused civilian casualties and reinforce a negative perception. SNA soldiers continue to flee at even rumors of incoming al-Shabaab soldiers. “Somalia can become stable only when its own military and police forces can secure their own territory,” yet this appears to be far down the road. Even with US assistance, the SNA has remained inadequate and is “years away from being an effective national military force on its current trajectory.” AMISOM’s withdrawal and handover to the SNA will only put Somalia at risk of a “significant escalation of the conflict and destabilisation of the entire country.”

**US Involvement**

**Interests**

Stability in Somalia directly impacts the US for several reasons. In addition to affecting regional relations in East Africa and counter-terrorism efforts, issues related to Somali diaspora and trading routes can significantly hurt American interests back home. Somalia is one of the states
that controls access to the Gulf of Aden and the Red Sea. Piracy and al-Shabaab controlled areas can create a choke-hold on international shipping routes. Instability that impacts the Bab el-Mandab, the strait that connects the Red Sea to the Gulf of Aden, could force oil tankers to move transits to around the southern point of the continent.\textsuperscript{268} “Crucially, the EIA [US Energy Information Administration] notes, the vast majority of southbound traffic through the Suez Canal must also pass through the Bab el-Mandab, so the closure of the waterway could have a cascade effect.”\textsuperscript{269} Last year, 4.8 million barrels of oil traveled through the Bab el-Mandab per day.\textsuperscript{270} Instability or closure would increase time and cost, in addition to stopping the most direct route of oil to Asian markets.\textsuperscript{271} Regional dilemmas can cause impacts through the channel, causing security crises in trade.\textsuperscript{272} One example is the shock on oil prices that were a result of the 2013 government collapse in Yemen when Houthis gained control of a base along the strait.\textsuperscript{273}

Somalia also contains oil reserves that have gone untapped for decades since the Somali government signed deals with American oil companies.\textsuperscript{274} According to Conoco Inc.’s former representative, Osman Hassan Ali, the reason why the US sent troops in the 1990’s was due to the “strategic value of the country’s oil reserves.”\textsuperscript{275} Despite the country’s ongoing conflict, some policymakers still see the long-term potential of Somalia in regard to its oil, tourism and strategic positioning for trade.\textsuperscript{276} According to surveys, “Puntland province alone has the potential to yield 10bn barrels, placing it among the top 20 countries holding oil. This is nothing in comparison to Somalia's offshore, as its [sic] estimated to holds [sic] more than 110bn barrels of oil which accordingly makes Somalia the 7th largest oil rich nation in the world.”\textsuperscript{277} The amount of oil in the possession of Somalia could potentially make it the next UAE.\textsuperscript{278} Additionally, the attractiveness of oil in Somalia is furthered by the low cost of drilling, due to significant belts being located near the coastline.\textsuperscript{279}
Ports are critical to economic trade and are a key aspect of al-Shabaab strategy as their finances are mainly generated by taxes on transporters of goods.\textsuperscript{280} As previously stated, half of al-Shabaab’s revenue was generated through Kismayo port, acquiring up to $50 million per year.\textsuperscript{281} The organization has lost much of its port access\textsuperscript{282} but its increase in strength may induce transit disruptions and assist in the group’s revenues. Last year, al-Shabaab regained control of the Port of Merca, a key port in the country to the Indian Ocean that “grants al-Shabab access to a port again and will provide a financial boost to the group’s operations.”\textsuperscript{283} According to Juan Zarate, Deputy National Security Advisor for Combating Terrorism, al-Shabaab has “the most diversified and innovating funding method” of all of al-Qaeda’s branches.\textsuperscript{284} Taxes imposed on ports and goods, such as charcoal and sugar, have allotted al-Shabaab to earn between $38 and $56 million in just 2014.\textsuperscript{285}

While al-Shabaab does not have a direct involvement with piracy in Somalia, they do provide pirates with protection, weapons and logistical support.\textsuperscript{286} “Shortly after taking the port city of Harardheere in late 2010, al-Shabaab made a deal with Somali pirates to take a cut on their revenues from ransomed vessels in exchange for protection.”\textsuperscript{287} Al-Shabaab received a 20% cut of pirates’ revenue, receiving $200,000 per ransomed pirate ship in 2011.\textsuperscript{288} Additionally, ISIS has also taken notice of the logistical advantage of Somali coastline that intersects with main shipping routes as they conducted their first attack in Bosaso, a northeastern port city, earlier this year.\textsuperscript{289} With a significant amount of land being controlled by al-Shabaab and last year’s port victory, al-Shabaab may once again take over crucial ports and can significantly affect oil trade routes with the assistance of Somali pirates.

Al-Shabaab also poses a significant threat to the port of Lamu, an ongoing infrastructural project in Kenya that will be the longest heated pipeline in the world.\textsuperscript{290} The project is set to create an
“oil refinery as well as a pipeline, motorway and railway linking the Lamu Port to South Sudan and Ethiopia.” Al-Shabaab continues to conduct attacks in Lamu County, threatening the security of the oil pipeline project. This port will become over five times larger than the current largest port in Kenya and “will become the main outlet for exporting goods from East Africa and oil from South Sudan,” in addition to becoming a major oil hub in the region. The Lamu project and its security risks directly impact the US as it has expressed interest in the project, which is now 20% complete, likely becoming an investor of the private sector for the remaining 29 berths.

Somali diaspora have an impact on terrorism activity in their homeland as well. “The Somali diaspora sends $1 billion a year in remittances to Somalia, of which an uncertain portion makes its way to al-Shabaab.” Because Somalia does not have a formal banking system, persons cannot directly wire money to the country and therefore transfer funds to UAE-based money clearinghouses. Those clearinghouses then provide loans to traders for imported goods. “When the traders sell those goods in Somalia, they reimburse the local remittance agent. This complex system makes it difficult to track the flow of remittances and identify recipients.” At least 12 Americans have been convicted of fundraising for al-Shabaab by 2013, along with 40 Americans currently fighting in Somalia as of last year. Recruitment and financing are issues of increasing concern to policymakers in the US.

While many reports point to US involvement being focused on crucial trading routes and untapped oil reserves in the country, the use of Somalia as a safe haven for terrorists is a key factor for increasing US presence. According to US counter-terrorism officials, al-Qaeda is becoming “more widely distributed and more geographically and ethnically diversified among affiliates and among those who are inspired by the AQ message.” The relationship between al-
Qaeda and al-Shabaab and their heightened abilities have influenced a revived prioritization by US policymakers on terrorism in East Africa.\textsuperscript{303}

“The region’s porous borders, proximity to the Arabian Peninsula, weak law enforcement and judicial institutions, pervasive corruption, and, in some cases, state complicity in terrorist activities, combined with the almost 20-year absence of central authority in Somalia, have provided an enabling environment for Al Qaeda and other violent extremist groups.”\textsuperscript{304} According to al-Qaeda internal documents, interest in Somalia by al-Qaeda became imperative in order to create a base of operations, alternative to Afghanistan.\textsuperscript{305} This is why Matt Baugh, former UK Ambassador to Somalia, stated that Somalia is a global issue, not only a regional one.\textsuperscript{306} Failed states create regional instability and through al-Shabaab’s dedication in providing a safe haven for international terrorism, it has created an exponential reason for America to refocus on Somalia.\textsuperscript{307} Containing al-Shabaab achieves stability and protection against the spread of terrorism and shipping instability, which is “the US imperative in the region.”\textsuperscript{308} US AFRICOM stated in November, “We are committed to maintaining pressure on the terror network and preventing them from establishing safe haven. The United States will not relent in its mission to degrade, disrupt, and destroy terrorist organizations and bring stability to the region.”\textsuperscript{309}

\textbf{AFRICOM}

Since 9/11, the United States has “sought to minimize the American footprint and investment in Somalia.”\textsuperscript{310} This was heavily influenced by the Black Hawk Down fiasco in 1993.\textsuperscript{311} The Bush and Obama administrations therefore relied on limited engagements, focusing primarily on supporting Somalia’s neighbors, particularly Kenya and Ethiopia, who are ironically “some of the poorest countries in the world.”\textsuperscript{312} Obama later expanded operations in order to target only
senior al-Shabaab leaders. Then in 2016, Obama began to pursue mid and lower-level terrorists, participating in airstrikes and raids. Al-Shabaab’s threats against the US, the deaths of at least five US citizens in East Africa and a laptop computer bomb incident on a Somali airliner influenced these decisions as they created great concern for policymakers. However, limited engagement has drastically diminished in recent months after the Trump administration came to power and has created a strong presence once again.

According to US military documents, US Africa Command (AFRICOM) special ops are involved in as many as 98 missions per day in Africa. “It’s the latest sign of the military’s quiet but ever-expanding presence on the continent, one that represents the most dramatic growth in the deployment of America’s elite troops to any region of the globe.” Captain Jennifer Dyrcz, AFRICOM media relations officer, stated that these operations mainly include trainings and meetings. However, according to the Bureau of Investigative Journalism, the Pentagon’s Joint Special Operations Command (JSOC) has been conducting ground raids and airstrikes over the last decade in Somalia, along with extensive covert operations since 2001.

As this is being written, the US military has conducted at least 30 (confirmed) airstrikes so far this year, compared to 14 in 2016. Drone strikes have resulted between 87-108 casualties,
with only three civilian deaths reported. Yet in any report provided by armed forces there is no differentiation of child soldiers from other combatants. If children are used in the front lines and as human shields, what is the number of child casualties? It is deeply concerning as to how the US military and the SNA acknowledge and combat child soldiers, especially if even those who escape or are captured face abuse, wrongful detention and execution.

Bariire and Mogadishu Attacks

The worry over child victims is exacerbated by the recent raid in Bariire conducted by Somali and US troops on August 25th that resulted in 10 deaths, all civilians, including three children. The SNA repeatedly denied that any civilians were killed and stated that the area was an al-Shabaab camp when in reality it was a farm. Eventually, Somali army Chief General Ahmed Jimale Irfid admitted that civilians were killed by accident during a shoot-out between forces and armed farmers. However, Ali Nur Mohamed, deputy governor of Lower Shabelle region, stated that the farmers were unarmed and could have been arrested but were shot “one by one.”

The FGS’s conflicting statements and the wrongful deaths of civilians led to protests and anger against both governments. Civil society groups advocated for lawmakers to create a bill that would hold troops accountable for civilian deaths, yet nothing has progressed. One protestor responded, “God will avenge our dead against the Americans and the government.”

Resentment towards armed forces in such tragedies are understandable, but the US government should take heed in what faulty operations can lead to.
On November 29th, AFRICOM released a statement that declared that their ‘thorough assessment’ “concluded that the only casualties were those of armed enemy combatants.” This not only completely contradicts reports given by witnesses but also photographs taken that clearly show the bodies of three young children, reported to be aged eight to 10. This US-led operation that resulted in the deaths of civilians became “the largest stain on U.S. ground operations in the country since the infamous Black Hawk Down incident in 1993.” Survivors of the farm refused to bury those killed until the government “recanted its allegations that they were members [of] Al Shabaab, and offered an apology.”

The Daily Beast investigated the event by interviewing survivors, a SNA commander in charge of the operation, Somali intelligence officers, analysts, and various local and government officials. Their report declared that US Special Ops “fired upon unarmed civilians, using human intelligence from sources widely considered untrustworthy […] and instructing their Somali counterparts to collect weapons that were being stored inside a home – not displaced on the field in the course of the firefight – and placing them beside the bodies of those killed prior to photographing them.” Based on the most recent statement by AFRICOM, which provided no evidence or clarification, it is quite apparent that the SNA and US forces are covering up a botched operation. This is most likely not only because it resulted in the deaths of innocent civilians and children but also because the Bariire tragedy is directly related to the catastrophe in Mogadishu that took place less than two months later.

While most reporters and officials attribute the Mogadishu bombing that left over 500 dead to al-Shabaab, the organization has yet to claim responsibility. Director General of NISA stated there was “no doubt about the Shabab […] being the perpetrator.” This only further confirms contradictions and poor intelligence within the FGS. “Investigators believe the attack […] may in
part have been motivated by a desire for revenge for the botched US-led operation in August” in Bariire.\textsuperscript{339} The bomber was not only from the same village where the raid took place but was also a former SNA soldier.\textsuperscript{340} While thousands peacefully protested in Mogadishu after the bombing, displaying anti-al-Shabaab sentiments, the Somali government responded by opening live fire upon civilians.\textsuperscript{341} Such actions are deplorable and certainly not the way a government that is struggling to gain the support and trust of its people should respond to a display of unity and anti-violence. “A recent United Nations study found that “a majority of cases, state action appears to be the primary factor finally pushing individuals into violent extremism in Africa.””\textsuperscript{342}

**Easing of Combat Rules**

Civilians, especially children, are now at even further risk in the conflict due to President Trump lessening combat rules in Somalia that prevent civilian casualties.\textsuperscript{343} The measure has permitted commanders to conduct airstrikes, campaigns and ground raids for 180 days.\textsuperscript{344} This decision has undone the Presidential Policy Guidance (PPG) that was initiated under Obama.\textsuperscript{345} PPG dictated that “the president and his counter-terrorism adviser at the National Security Council played a substantial role in approving life-or-death strikes on suspected terrorists on undeclared battlefields.”\textsuperscript{346} Critics of counter-terrorism operations grew concerned that such activities would increase terrorist recruitment and erode support among local partners in areas of conflict.\textsuperscript{347} The Pentagon’s new measure now lowers the bar on safeguarding civilians from such attacks.\textsuperscript{348} The standard has changed from “near certainty that civilians would not be harmed to reasonable certainty.”\textsuperscript{349}

Mary Ellen O’Connell, a University of Notre Dame international law professor, states this measure neglects the War Powers Resolution of 1973, a law “that permits presidents to launch military hostilities for 60 days before needing congressional approval.”\textsuperscript{350} Dismantling the PPG
could produce severe consequences in counter-terrorism activities. In a country already experiencing angst against its own government and Western forces, lowering the protections of civilians will most likely be detrimental. This could increase civilian support of al-Shabaab in order to receive protection under their control.

The decision to withdraw AMISOM troops came around the same time that Trump declared Somalia an ‘area of active hostilities’, easing restrictions on counter-terrorism airstrikes. 351 “The US involvement in Somalia intensified in the later years of the Obama administration but has increased significantly since Donald Trump became president, with greater latitude given to local commanders to order airstrikes or take part in raids.” 352 Critics continue to state that US actions put civilians at greater risk, which can create resentment and revenge attacks. 353 Commentators have warned that al-Shabaab might gain new recruits joining primarily for defense or revenge as a result of Trump’s directive that gives the US greater latitude in attacking suspected militants.” 354

The United States’ foreign policy operations should be mindful of risks that include “angering local populations whose support is critical, picking untimely or counter-productive fights and neglecting the vital role diplomacy and foreign aid must play in national security policy.” 355 Strikes that kill or injure civilians are clearly detrimental, especially in the case of Somalia where a terrorist organization was born out of resentment. Former national security officials wrote to Defense Secretary James Mattis, warning him that “even small numbers of unintentional civilian deaths or injuries – whether or not legally permitted – can cause significant strategic setbacks;” possibly diminishing the desire of allies wanting to collaborate with the US. 356 Counter-terrorism measures conducted by the SNA and allied forces should not inadvertently “deepen the disorder that both ISIS and al-Qaeda exploit.” 357
“Unlike his two immediate predecessors, who had signature initiatives on the continent,” US President Trump “has shown little interest in Africa and had minimal contact with its leaders.” Trump has still not made any comments on democracy or human rights in Africa and his administration immensely lacks expertise on the continent. Trump has yet to assign a permanent assistant secretary of state for African affairs and “has shown little respect for the expertise that resides at the departments of State and Defense, within the intelligence community, and within the academic and policy communities.” In addition to these significant setbacks, Trump initiated a travel ban that includes Somalia which has been viewed as a Muslim ban; supporting al-Shabaab ideology that the West is anti-Muslim. According to Alex Nowrasteh of Cato Institute, “Nationals of the seven countries singled out by Trump have killed zero people in terrorist attacks on U.S. soil between 1975 and 2015;” with only two Somalis being convicted for attempting acts of terrorism. “If African elites perceive Trump’s immigration and refugee policies as part of a larger “war on Islam,” then a general hostility to the United States is likely to grow.”

While current budget proposals would support an increase in the Defense Department and therefore support a larger presence in Africa, the State Department may receive a 30% cut which will affect USAID by eliminating developmental and health assistance programs. “Africa would be disproportionally affected; at present roughly one-third of USAID funds go to the continent.” Additionally, this budget proposal would halve contributions to the UN peacekeeping operations, “more than half of which are in Africa.” If these cuts are approved, it will certainly only appease groups like al-Shabaab and allow them to take an even more prominent role in providing services and security. Republican Senator Lindsey Graham, who
also serves on the Armed Services Committee, stated that such a budget cut on the State
Department would never allow the US to win the war on terrorism and “as a matter of fact, ISIL
will be celebrating.”

The lack of diplomacy between the Trump administration and African countries is detrimental in
fighting terrorism. Budget cuts and insignificant staffing of the State Department only hurts US
security. “Multilateral engagement matters too, whether to back UN mediation, enlist its help
for reconstruction and stabilisation or use UN and other multilateral frameworks for counter-
terrorism cooperation.” Former United States Ambassador to the United Nations Samantha
Power stated that “The most spirited advocates for the civilian side of the foreign policy
apparatus in our government is the US military” that include efforts such as demining and
conflict resolution. However, in regards to counter-terrorism measures in the current
administration, Power stated, “The short answer is there’s nothing all that positive one can point
to.” According to Power, Secretary of State Rex Tillerson has “prided himself not on what the
military and everyone who knows how conflict works want, which is more diplomacy, but prided
himself on cuts to the State Department budget. He’s not doing much to retain the lifeblood of
diplomacy and the lifeblood of the department.” Power added that Tillerson remained silent on
crucial events currently taking place in Africa and expressed hope that someone would increase
relations with leaders. “Trump is making our military even more sacred, […] reifying their
wisdom and their judgement. Hopefully that will extend into reevaluating diplomacy.”

Other countries, such as Turkey, the Gulf states, India, China and larger African states, are trying
to fill the void left by the US in regard to diplomatic and economic relations. This should
concern US policymakers as “few of these countries share America’s commitment to democracy,
human rights, or security.” Trump is primarily increasing military operations in Africa,
focusing on counter-terrorism strategies. Mattis “indicated that the U.S. military presence in Africa is set to increase, with continuing training, reconnaissance, and air support missions.” The US has assisted in training Somalia’s special forces, called Gashaan (lightning), who accompany US troops on direct operations. “The rest of the SNA is much less combat-ready, despite the continued efforts of AMISOM, the US, and other Western partners.”

In August of this year, the Minister of Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation in Somalia, Yusuf-Garaad Omar, wrote a letter to US Mission to Somalia Ambassador Stephen Schwartz stating that AMISOM is incapable of assisting the fight against al-Shabaab and that a US military intervention is necessary as they are the “only” party who have the capacity to “identify and smash al-Shabaab elements operating within” the country. “The time for surgical strikes and limited engagement has passed, as Somalia’s problems have metastasized into the World’s problems.” While the US should be more involved with counter-terrorism operations and development in Somalia, it is concerning what environment would actually be created from such measures. As has been seen in the past, a US full intervention or takeover could create a more hostile environment, put civilians at further risk and enhance al-Shabaab’s rhetoric and enlistment.

US strikes in Somalia can confound al-Shabaab tactics, “but do not alter the balance of power on the ground.” Losing territory to al-Shabaab is harmful to US strategy in counter-terrorism globally. Al-Qaeda factions are also expected to gain combatants as ISIS disseminates. Al-Qaeda has been more adaptable and patient, which will be to their benefit as a shift in power develops among jihadists. “With the opportunity to resurrect its movement from the ashes of ISIS’s crumbling caliphate in Iraq and Syria, Al-Qaeda may utilize its grassroots support and
anti-imperialistic rhetoric to develop a new fighting force capable of once again striking at the heart of its enemies around the world.\textsuperscript{387}

“Counterterrorism legislation, and most notably the US Office of Foreign Assets Control (OFAC) sanctions that seek to prevent support reaching designated terrorist organizations, have also negatively impacted humanitarian operations in Somalia, resulting both in a significant decrease in US funding of humanitarian organizations since 2008 and the imposition of burdensome measures on those receiving US support.”\textsuperscript{388} Recently, it was discovered that the US State Department may have been inadvertently funding al-Shabaab.\textsuperscript{389} A recent report conducted by a watchdog for the State Department’s Africa Bureau stated that $66 million was paid in cash stipends to the SNA over the past seven years but was not properly oversighted.\textsuperscript{390} The report suggested that this could allow al-Shabaab to siphon off some of this money.\textsuperscript{391} The State Department’s Office of Inspector General stated, “The bureau had not established policy and procedures for identifying, assessing and mitigating terrorist financing risks for its programmes in countries where terrorist organisations, such as Al-Shabaab and Boko Haram, operate.”\textsuperscript{392}

This finding also brought up another important fault within the Africa Bureau: the State Department continued to pay SNA stipends despite human rights violations.\textsuperscript{393} This does not comply with a “US law that prohibits State Department assistance to foreign military units that have not been screened for human rights violations.”\textsuperscript{394} Just last year the US government reported that the Somali government was abusing its civilians and that “a culture of impunity was widespread.”\textsuperscript{395} This means that Somali soldiers would be ineligible for assistance according to the Leahy Law, yet the US State Department has lacked compliance in 2014, 2016 and 2017.\textsuperscript{396}
“Key international actors, including the UN, the US, the EU, and, more recently, Turkey and members of the Organization of Islamic Countries (OIC), have continued their support for the Transitional Federal Government despite significant internal political wrangling since late 2010.”

The FGS has not been able to achieve crucial transitional tasks, which has impeded the human rights dilemma and the country’s security situation.

“The US Child Soldiers Prevention Act of 2008 prohibits certain categories of military assistance to governments involved in recruiting or using child soldiers. In June 2011, the US State Department identified Somalia as one of six governments implicated in such use.”

Yet military assistance continues. Somalia’s military is “substantially armed and financed by the United States,” which uses hundreds, if not more, of children as young as nine. Because the US is assisting in paying Somalia’s soldiers, American taxpayers are inadvertently funding the wages of child soldiers. The Somali government continues to use children in its rush to create an army. Former Somali defense minister Sheik Yusuf Mohamed Siad stated that international training has only trained soldiers for al-Shabaab and that the president has accomplished nothing over the last year.

Despite some US officials expressing concern over Somalia’s use of child combatants, when asked “how the American government could guarantee that American money was not being used to arm children, one of the officials said, “I don’t have a good answer for that.”
Despite reports that DDR in Somalia has improved in recent years, it is still noted for having significant shortcomings, being frequently referred as having a ‘carrot and stick’ approach. Persistent errors lie in the conditions of facilities, clarifications on eligibility and categorization, how voluntary the program is, denial of legal rights and human rights abuses. For those who are captured, and especially those who escape, the DDR process can be deplorable or even dangerous. The “general lack of trust in the TFG is an important reason why many who escape do not turn to the TFG for protection.”

Risk Assessment, Detainment and Execution

Upon entering DDR facilities, participants go through a screening interview in order to be classified as high, medium or low-risk. According to the National Programme for the Treatment and Handling of Disengaged Combatants in Somalia report produced by the Ministry of National Security (MONS), those who are medium or high risk are transferred to specialized or civilian courts while low-risk persons are taken to rehabilitation centers. However, these conditions and laws continue to be violated. “There are, at present, no suitable legal conditions for a coherent DDR programme within Somalia;” a major contention with international donors. Additionally, these categorizations are poorly defined. There is no standard definition and DDR officials have proven unable to articulate criteria consistently as it varies greatly between workers, facilities and officials.

During the screening process, combatants are analyzed on their history with al-Shabaab and views on ideology. Approximately 70% of former fighters were classified as low-risk at the Serendi center, showing how ideology has a minimal impact. Yet religious re-education is a
core component of DDR in Somalia, demanded by the government.\textsuperscript{415} All participants are forced to go through this religious process, even those who do not have radical ideology or just fled from controlled areas and were sent to camps by AMISOM.\textsuperscript{416} Other forms of significant radicalization that have contributed to joining al-Shabaab, such as clan-based grievances or angst towards the FGS and AMISOM, are not addressed.\textsuperscript{417} “Somali government officials – and their DDR programmes – by and large do not recognize these other drivers of radicalisation, Al-Shabaab recruitment, and violence.”\textsuperscript{418}

In February 2014, the FGS adopted a standard operating procedure entitled the \textit{Reception and Hand Over of Children Associated with Armed Conflict}.\textsuperscript{419} The report acknowledged that “there is no adequate and transparent process of handling disengaged combatants, the risk of Human Rights (HR) violations and ill-treatment remains very high.”\textsuperscript{420} According to the UN Security Council’s \textit{Report of the Secretary-General on Children and Armed Conflict in Somalia} (S/2016/1098), former child combatants are to be referred to UNICEF or other child protection agencies within 72 hours,\textsuperscript{421} along with the Ministry of National Security being notified.\textsuperscript{422}

Minors are supposed to be categorized as low risk and transferred to a separate rehabilitation track, separated from adults and determined by UNICEF.\textsuperscript{423} The MONS report states, “Any minors who arrive at the centres will be immediately removed.”\textsuperscript{424} Despite these adoptions, at least 931 children were detained by Somali agencies between January 2014 and July 2016.\textsuperscript{425} Detention periods ranged from several days to several years “without legal redress.”\textsuperscript{426} Additionally, classifications of risk cannot be challenged, which has led to arbitrary detention.\textsuperscript{427} Children who are merely suspected as al-Shabaab were wrongfully detained, many without having any contact with family members.\textsuperscript{428}
The FGS’s National Intelligence and Security Agency frequently interrogates children who have escaped or have been captured and also uses children to gain military intelligence.\textsuperscript{429} NISA forces detained children to act as spies, including having them identify al-Shabaab soldiers by ‘finger pointing’, putting them in even more danger.\textsuperscript{430} Children who are used for intelligence are at high risk from their communities retaliating against them and face the possibility of compromising their reintegration back into society.\textsuperscript{431}

**Facility Standards**

FGS camps and detention facilities have also been reported to fail at meeting basic international standards.\textsuperscript{432} Conditions were reported by a Somali NGO to be dire, with children being malnourished and imprisoned alongside adults.\textsuperscript{433} “However, the number of children held in TFG detention facilities is unknown, in part due to limited access and lack of independent monitoring of the prisons.”\textsuperscript{434} Minors are frequently not informed of their charges and what process they would be put through.\textsuperscript{435} All DDR facilities lack consistency and transparency on the number of participants, training offered, who enters and who is released.\textsuperscript{436} Additionally, access to NISA detention facilities is prohibited, reportedly due to the presence of the United States CIA.\textsuperscript{437} Transparency is lacking to such a degree that even a Somali DDR director was denied access to facilities, stating, “They only allowed me here when white people are here with me.”\textsuperscript{438} NISA is charged with the transferring and monitoring of released combatants, yet they have “no known oversight of the process or procedure implemented by the Agency.”\textsuperscript{439} AMISOM has also detained children that they capture, handing them over to NISA instead of UNICEF.\textsuperscript{440} Some of the worst abuses against children who have been put into custody of NISA or the SNA include the rapes of young girls. In 2014, “an 8-year-old girl was raped in custody by Somali National Army elements before being released the following day.”\textsuperscript{441} Five SNA soldiers also abducted a
girl aged 16 from her home, gang-raping her and stabbing her in the breast. A report was filed with the authorities but no action was taken. The MONS report states that the DDR process is voluntary, adding that disengaged combatants are permitted to leave the program at any stage. Yet even participants who complete the DDR program are often not released, with torture during interrogations also being reported. Exit conditions are not clarified, with NISA making decisions based on “opaque evaluation[s] of whether someone continues to be a threat.”

Those who are allowed to leave have to endure being supervised by NISA and face the possibility of being detained again. The entire DDR process is claimed to be voluntary, yet “many potential participants may fear imprisonment or even execution if they refuse to join the DDR programme,” showing that consent is not the standard that is reported by MONS.

“Clan elders or well-connected politicians could also vouch that a defector was low-risk, further compounding problems of arbitrariness and introducing elements of clan favouritism and individual patronage into the eligibility criteria.” While the positive side of this is that some can help reintegrate former members into communities, third party influences should be limited, especially in cases of clan favoritism. If these parties can be highly persuasive, then the same can be said of clan elders and politicians who may want to falsely accuse one of being higher risk.

Trials have also brought increased risks for former combatants. Those who are classified as high-risk enter a judicial process instead of entering rehab, but al-Shabaab has conducted assassinations against several judges. “The solution of the authorities was to bring in military tribunals,” but they have quickly implemented the death penalty for convictions, consisting of a high percentage. A military court sentenced 12 children to death last year for being
associated with al-Shabaab. “Twenty-eight other children, aged between 15 and 17 years, were sentenced […] to between 10 and 20 years of imprisonment.” Like many other countries, those who are imprisoned are at risk for becoming radicalized or increasing their extreme ideology. Because international support and funding has been lacking, some Somali government actors, including a former director of NISA, have openly threatened to execute detainees and defectors if funding is not increased, whether they are low or high-risk.

The involvement of children with DDR programs continues to be “one of the most visibly controversial and contentious issues.” “When children “defect” or escape from al-Shabaab into the hands of the TFG or AMISOM, or are captured on the battlefield, they face interrogation by the TFG security services, detention, and an uncertain future instead of being protected as children.” It should be unnecessary to advocate that children should not face detainment solely because of their association, primarily a forced one, with al-Shabaab. Children who have either escaped or are captured by government forces have few opportunities for rehabilitation and protection. “As Somalia is a signatory to the Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC) and CRC Optional Protocol on children in armed conflict, the TFG should refrain from acts that would defeat these treaties’ object and purpose.” The FGS continues to detain and imprison children, including sending children to Mogadishu Central Prison without being convicted.

Reintegration

Some DDR participants do not want to leave centers, “fearing retaliation from Al-Shabaab, rivals, aggrieved communities, or the Somali government.” Many released participants are left to either return home, which can be an al-Shabaab controlled area, or venture through such areas in order to reach their communities. In order to not have to face such risks, those in fear asked the government to assist them with finances for housing and business startups in order to stay in
safer areas. However, Somali authorities lack the resources to distribute for such endeavors and have other financial priorities.

DDR programs also raise concerns on how capable former combatants are trained in order to reintegrate and survive. “Programming focused on providing defectors economic opportunities consists largely of the provision of primary school-level education, such as basic counting and literacy lessons.” Vocational training focuses mostly on “small carpentry, masonry, brick-making, welding, and electrical skills.” However, these skillsets do not reflect what is economically available in Somalia. Systematic assessments are lacking in order to find employment opportunities for participants and what training is best suited. Training decisions are the “result of an eyeball assessment that such skillsets will be needed in a country destroyed by decades of war,” instead of what is available. Additionally, DDR officials, government workers and businesses frequently hire based on clan affiliations.

The UN Security Council has mandated that DDR programs are delivered, but are vague and have remained inexplicit on the allocation of responsibilities between various Somali and UN departments. “The lack of precision in the Council’s mandating of support to DDR in Somalia is indicative of the limited attention it has paid to this issue, and may contribute to confused and limited authority enjoyed by UN actors over the various DDR programmes that have emerged.” The UN continues a position that DDR programs are not related to counter-terrorism; a confusing view as DDR and counter-terrorism objectives overlap in their effort to diminish al-Shabaab. Additionally, the FGS has shown little interest in creating DDR programs for armed militias outside of al-Shabaab. “Somalia is unlikely to achieve peace unless the DDR programme becomes more broadly cast and focused on other armed actors in Somalia and the insecurity they generate.”
As a local elder stated, “there have to be enough centres and they must be able to cater properly for the former fighters. If someone is hungry and you say come and eat, but there is no food, will they come? The answer is no.” If centers provide decent living conditions, safety, adhere to legal and human rights and provide training that can actually assist in their future, more members of al-Shabaab are likely to defect. However, encouraging defection could produce unforeseen consequences. “Encouraging Al-Shabaab defections could, for example, provoke Al-Shabaab violence against communities no longer supplying recruits or where many ex-Al-Shabaab fighters are being reinserted into the community. Similarly, defection efforts could inadvertently strengthen recruitment for rival armed actors […] and foster those groups’ proclivity toward revenge or violence.” These effects should be greatly considered and pushes the need even further for the SNA and allied forces to become consistent and responsible in order to reduce these chances.

The Somali government at first resisted in releasing children in their custody to any UN agency, with some DDR facilities refusing to admit children, until eventually transferring them over a year later. “The Somali government, including NISA, does not appear to fully accept the premise that minors lack full capacity for informed consent and decision-making in matters such as joining Al-Shabaab or engaging in violence – and consequently considers the minors […] as criminal detainees.” The FGS does not consider humanitarian needs or rights of children and only views them through a security threat perspective, ignoring them as victims.

Attitudes such as these “prove problematic not only from a human rights standpoint, but also from a national security perspective.” Ineffective DDR programs and the refusal of assisting children can have detrimental results in counter-terrorism and security. Somalia “lacks the infrastructure, expertise, and resources to effectively disengage and reintegrate many of those
who end up in DDR camps. The failure to meet proper standards and provide the needs of children is even more problematic.

**UNICEF**

For those who manage to get into the care of UNICEF, several options are available depending on a child’s situation and needs. All who either manage to escape or are handed over by government allies go through a screening process in order to identify individual profiles, medical and mental health assessments and an orientation to inform children on reintegration options.

Additionally, children are assessed on gender, age and cultural sensitivity issues in order to provide an appropriate course. While some are permitted to reenter into communities immediately, others enter a variety of paths. Children are provided legal services, life skills education (civic responsibility, participation, leadership skills, etc.), mental health support, referrals for basic services and a reinsertion package that includes clothes, sanitary items and a cash incentive (current amount is unknown). For those who are orphans or are not able to locate their families, they are provided with special protection needs and arrangements are made for emergency alternative care. Some are returned to communities with consideration of clan kinship, others enter foster care and those who are in their late teens are able to enter independent, supervised living. All participants are provided with basic needs, such as food, clothing and shelter, in addition to access to learning and an assessment of where they would like to reintegrate to.

Children under 15 return to school and are linked to their families, when available. These options are also available for all vulnerable children in communities, not just child soldiers. For those who are over 15 years old, they receive training in vocational skills (similar to those provided for adults), functional literacy (taught only what is necessary for the job they will
perform) and links to employment based on market analyses. Families who are poor are connected to livelihood reinsertion programs in order to assist them financially.

According to a field report conducted by Dr. Vanda Felbab-Brown, it was unknown how many children were received by UNICEF since 2014 but were suspected to be extraordinarily low. “This raises serious concerns as to whether minors might be disappearing into problematic, undisclosed processes or holding arrangements, potentially facing serious risks.” Programs for the rehabilitation of children lack security constraints and “provide limited financial support to the children involved and lack medium and longer-term opportunities.” Some children even choose to stay enlisted with the FGS instead of participating in limited vocational trainings due to financial reasons.

According to the latest numbers that were reported last year, 1,317 child soldiers are in the care of UNICEF; 171 girls and 1,146 boys. Child Protection Specialist at UNICEF Ibrahim Sesay is well informed on the complications with child soldiers and the use by all parties involved in Somalia. Working with inept parties and those who violate the rights of children pose additional challenges in assisting children. While these numbers may seem low and it is difficult to measure how many child soldiers are currently active, Sesay acknowledges that it is difficult to measure success. “The biggest hurdle is reintegration in a conflict environment.” Security is extremely strenuous and limits humanitarian access. Additionally, assisting children in a war zone is an expensive enterprise and donations are finite.

Nonprofits in Somalia who also assist in child rehabilitation were unable to be reached for comment, so it is unknown as to what their perception is on UNICEF’s role and how well they are fulfilling it. However, UNICEF is working alongside with various organizations on the ground and is versed on the complications they must overcome in order to fully provide a safe
haven and opportunities for children. Measuring success is dependent on “enrollment, retention and completion rate,” according to Sesay. UNICEF plans to expand their programs in the oncoming year and will hopefully be able to increase these numbers despite ongoing hindrances on funding. This is coming at an ever crucial moment when the United States is proposing drastic budget cuts that would greatly harm child rehabilitation, reinsertion and, overall, greatly be a detriment to the war on terror in East Africa.

**Conclusion and Recommendations**

- Desist impunity, improve and ensure accountability and transparency with all government entities
- Increase diplomacy between US and African countries, especially to work with Kenya in order to not close Dadaab refugee camp
- Cessation of child soldiers by the SNA. Implementing and enforcing effective vetting measures with SNA recruits
- Amend the Child Soldiers Prevention Act of 2008 in order to include peacekeeping assistance under categories of US military assistance prohibited to governments using child soldiers
- Increase and reform trainings, especially for military forces
- Reinstate Presidential Policy Guidance and fill crucial State Department vacancies
- Instate proper monitoring of State Department funds in order to cease siphoning by al-Shabaab
- Monitoring permitted of DDR facilities and prisons by international and local organizations
- Create and implement standard criteria for categorizing DDR participants and their treatment, including desisting of imprisonment and death penalties on children
- Expand DDR programs for other armed forces to ensure security
- Make diplomacy, humanitarian aid and development key priorities in order to assist in security policies and diminish exploitation by al-Shabaab
- Postponement of AMISOM withdrawal
- Engagement with clans, assisting in moderation of conflicts and the ceasing of clan favoritism
- Increase funding to UNICEF programs that can ensure security and opportunities for children
Most paramount to ensure security and prosperity is that the government establishes faith within the people of Somalia. Al-Shabaab has taken advantage of the government’s inability to provide services and their ineptitude in providing consistency and security. Al-Shabaab is also effectively using humanitarian assistance, along with more consistent and stable operations, to gain the trust of Somalis. President Formajo’s belief that al-Shabaab would be defeated in two years\textsuperscript{510} is incredibly shortsighted and shows that the leader of Somalia does not have a full grasp of the situation. Government officials continue to ignore the angst of its people, the main root of joining al-Shabaab, and focus on de-radicalization efforts despite many reports that show ideological influence was minimal. “A testament to this is the fact that most of them gave up violent extremism when given the chance for a better life.”\textsuperscript{511}

Al-Shabaab “will strengthen the regional and global al Qaeda movement, already expanding as American and Western attention has become riveted on ISIS over the past few years.”\textsuperscript{512} The group has recovered from prior territorial losses and has achieved strategic positions in order to continue attacks in Mogadishu and Kismayo.\textsuperscript{513} “The US should leverage members of the AMISOM coalition to continue their operations in Somalia and should assist in improving how AMISOM contingents operate on the ground.”\textsuperscript{514} “Al Shabaab’s ability to govern terrain and local populations enables the group to pursue a broader insurgent campaign against U.S. allies in the Horn of Africa and present Somalia as a refuge for Salafi-jihadis fleeing Iraq and Syria.”\textsuperscript{515}

Groups fighting terrorists only militarily is ineffective and counterproductive. A strategy of sustained bombardment is not strong enough to end the threat of al-Shabaab.\textsuperscript{516} Allowing al-Shabaab to continue to gain territory will create a significant safe haven for al-Qaeda, granting them the ability to move throughout the Middle East and Africa.\textsuperscript{517} This can also create a
jumping point for them to commit attacks against Western states and interests.\textsuperscript{518} It is time for America to realize that their national security interests are directly tied to Somalia’s fate.\textsuperscript{519} 

Besides looking at terrorist groups as an enemies, allied forces should analyze what makes them successful and employ tactics that can produce similar and better results. Relationships between government allies and clans should become a priority, as group identity is crucial and some have been pushed to leave al-Shabaab due to their clan severing ties.\textsuperscript{520} Al-Shabaab has taken advantage of clan rivalries, seeing the opportunity to become moderators and gain sympathy. They also have supported clan minorities, a profound tactic that counters favoritism practiced by the government.

Former National Intelligence chief Sanbaloooshe stated the necessity of “a new paradigm of cooperation between Somali security services and our international partners.”\textsuperscript{521} While cooperation is mandatory for success, this flued communication cannot begin until Somalia’s government and AMISOM forces are rid of corruption and al-Shabaab operatives who have infiltrated. The government’s inability to provide security is further exacerbated by internal disagreements and frequent change in prominent positions. The US and other allies are pragmatic in their decision to withhold crucial intelligence. International collaboration will likely advance if the FGS can become more effective and eliminate Amniyat infiltration.

US tactics are primarily reactive instead of proactive. Often counter-terrorism measures focus solely on security operations, yet it is apparent that in order to truly combat terrorism in fragile states security must work alongside with development. The growth of terrorism in East Africa has been developing for decades yet actors who could have made a difference at the onset have been fairly passive. If the majority of al-Shabaab consists of children and both children and adults have been recruited due to poverty conditions and angst, then it is obvious that financial
and political stability should have been at the forefront of objectives. One in three children and youth live in extreme poverty in Somalia. Since al-Shabaab is targeting poor children for recruitment, education and poverty issues are ever more crucial to be a part of counter-terrorism objectives.

The Trump administration must “find the right balance between military action against jihadists and policies aimed at tackling the conditions they exploit.” Ignoring such necessities would play into the will of al-Shabaab. Al-Qaeda has been thriving due to US focus on ISIS and learning from ISIS’s mistakes, such as largely refraining from alienating locals via extreme violent tactics. Professor and terrorism expert at Haverford College Barak Mendelsohn stated that al-Qaeda has “put a more friendly face on their actions and are embedding themselves within insurgencies so they’ll be more welcomed by the people.” Yet it is apparent that the US continues to look over these key adaptations and nuances.

Ensuring measures and reforms that would greatly increase security and stability seem very common sense, yet stubbornness, ignorance and corruption stand in the way. All parties are guilty of repeating the same practices that do not produce positive results. The Trump administration has dismantled the PPG and initiated tactics similar to those in Iraq and Afghanistan; tactics that continue to not bode well. Budget cuts are also detrimental to counter-terrorism goals. Reducing US investments would be a mistake and would allow al-Shabaab to build and gain more strength. While there may not be a direct threat on US national security interests at home as of now, they significantly affect US regional interests as proven by ongoing Kenyan relations, US investment and oil trade routes that impact Americans. If al-Shabaab continues to gain key ports or affect the Lamu pipeline project, it may produce a powerful blow to international trade and oil prices. “The US must recognize that al Shabaab’s success has come
from its ability to hijack local grievances and provide a semblance of stability in a fractured
country. It must further recognize that the UN, EU, and African Union are not willing or able to
lead or pay for the efforts required to defeat al Shabaab, let alone to stabilize Somalia.”

“The TFG has come under too little pressure to improve its record on children’s rights, or
human rights more generally, by key international actors who, by offering political and financial
support to Somalia, are in a position to demand progress.” The United States is in a particular
advantage as they are a key partner in military efforts. Agreements signed by the Somali
government discuss ending child recruitment but fail to establish clear benchmarks that would
enable monitoring compliance. While the UN Security Council, UNICEF and the US have
called upon the FGS to cease child recruitment, they have not properly addressed the FGS’s
failure to comply to end the use of child soldiers and should provide consequences, such as
sanctions or withholding military assistance, in addition to implementing accountability for those
who violate laws. The US as a primary partner with Somalia has immense leverage and should
“ensure that the TFG meets international standards regarding the treatment of children formerly
associated with al-Shabaab”.

The line between DDR and detention needs to cease being blurred. DDR programs must be
voluntary, as is stated in the MONS report, and criteria needs to be standardized and practiced
consistently throughout all facilities. “The UN Security Council should enhance the capacity of
the UN Monitoring Group on Somalia […] to enable it to fulfill its extended human rights
mandate.” Additionally, conditions in DDR centers, transfers and releases should be
determined with the collaboration of UN staff.

If the youth population continues to increase and security measures are not taken, then a larger
populace and future generations are at severe risk. Enhancing not only security measures and
government stability but also access to education and employment would provide Somali’s youth with a sense of identity and self-worth, which would in turn greatly reduce their voluntary enrollment in terrorist organizations. “The main reasons these youth cite for joining al-Shabab are not deeply held religious beliefs, but rather factors that revolve around their sense of identity and perceptions of neglect that stem from their frustration with clan politics, lack of opportunities to improve the quality of their lives, and other difficulties that come with war.”

These are not only humanitarian issues but are more so human security issues. It is a harsh reality that the various push and pull factors that are deteriorating the lives of Somalia’s children are a direct impact on the terrorism situation in East Africa. Conducting indiscriminate attacks is not only futile, but is also significantly counter-productive. Crossfire between forces is the cause of the majority of child casualties in Somalia. These tactics not only put innocent lives at risk but directly feed the insecurity of an extremely fragile state; not just through fear but by also bringing truth to al-Qaeda propaganda and amplifying resentment of Western forces.

Child soldiers do pose a legit security concern for Somalia and other nations. However, the majority of these soldiers are victims and should therefore be treated as such; not only because of human rights and standards mandated by international humanitarian laws, but also because of security concerns. The Somali government and allied forces continue to ignore the repercussions for indiscriminate and disproportionate attacks and abuses on civilians, especially children. Grievances with government failure and atrocities are met with denial and impunity; allowing for the possibility to increase al-Shabaab sympathy and enlistment. Counter-terrorism and DDR measures need to understand that the majority of al-Shabaab combatants do not see their organized violence as politics by other means, but as an existential struggle.

Virginia Gamba
stated, "Such abuses have a dramatic impact, not only on the lives of children, but also on the social fabric of society in affected countries and on global peace and security."  

Atrocities committed by the Somali National Army and AMISOM, haphazard attacks by allied forces, lack of education and economic opportunities and limited rehabilitation and protection efforts have not only left youth vulnerable, but are directly contributing to the escalation of al-Shabaab. Military operations and reports fail to differentiate child soldiers from other combatants despite over half of al-Shabaab being comprised of children. The fact that domestic and foreign governments and militaries see children as terrorists is not only a human rights problem but it is a catastrophe in counter-terrorism that will only enhance international security threats.

Continuing the inability of deciphering child soldiers from terrorist organizations not only turns a blind eye to those children, who are victims, but also ignores the struggles and needs of Somalis, Africans and any populace that continues to see our youth and futures robbed and destroyed.

Solving the complex problems that Somalia faces is no easy task, yet “key actors involved in Somalia should begin to prioritize the issue of children’s rights, child protection, and education on the political and security agenda.” The failure to protect and provide children stability will result in future generations lost to conflict. Children and youth are the core of al-Shabaab’s strength and the future of Somalia’s security; an outcome to be determined by current international actors.

By examining counter-terrorism tactics that are failing and putting children at further risk for being recruited, whether voluntarily or by force, we can analyze the future of security and how current counter-terrorism measures may backfire if reforms are not implemented. Continuing to dismiss the fragile relationship between children and terrorism will only promote international conflict. These deficiencies and complications in counter-terrorism efforts and their impacts are...
not limited to Somalia. There is much truth in a statement by Abdiweli Gass, Puntland’s president: “This is not a Somali problem, this is not a regional problem, this is a worldwide problem.” 538
**Acronyms**

AFRICOM - United States Africa Command

AMISOM - African Union Mission in Somalia

AU – African Union

CRC - Convention on the Rights of the Child

DDR - Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration

EIA - US Energy Information Administration

FGS - Federal Government of Somalia (2012-Present)

ICU - Islamic Courts Union

JSOC - Pentagon’s Joint Special Operations Command

KDF – Kenya Defense Forces

MONS – Ministry of National Security

NISA, NSA - National Intelligence and Security Agency

OFAC - US Office of Foreign Assets Control

OIC - Organization of Islamic Countries

PPG - Presidential Policy Guidance

SAF, SNA, SNAF - Somali National Army / Somali National Armed Forces


UAGs - Unidentified Armed Groups

UNPOS - UN Political Office for Somalia

UNSOM - United Nations Assistance Mission in Somalia
Works Cited


—. Somalia bombing may have been revenge for botched US-led operation. 17 October 2017. 17 October 2017. <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2017/oct/17/somalia-bomber-was-ex-soldier-whose-town-was-raided-by-us-forces>.


Citations

1. Hansen
2. (BBC)
3. (Lister)
4. (Trofimov)
5. (Trofimov)
6. (Chou)
7. (Shaban)
8. (Institute for Economics and Peace)
9. (Moody)
10. (Chou)
11. (Guled, Final Death Toll in Somalia’s Worst Attack Is 512 People)
12. (Al Jazeera)
13. (Al Jazeera)
14. (Mroue and Abdul-Zahra)
15. (Mroue and Abdul-Zahra)
16. (Mroue and Abdul-Zahra)
17. (Mroue and Abdul-Zahra)
18. (Mroue and Abdul-Zahra)
19. (Crone)
20. (Simon)
21. (Ahmed)
22. (Ministry of Internal Security Federal Government of Somalia)
23. (McVeigh)
24. (Lederer)
25. (Y. Omar)
26. (Lederer)
27. (Ryan)
28. (Ryan)
29. (Al Jazeera)
30. (Middle East Monitor)
31. (Hussein and Coskun)
32. (Dejevsky)
33. (Humud)
34. (Humud)
35. (Williams)
36. (Stanford University)
37. (Stanford University)
38. (Masters and Sergie)
39. (Stanford University)
40. (Stanford University)
41. (Williams)
42. (Williams)
43. (Prince)
44. (Williams)
45. (Williams)
46. (Williams)
47. (Zawahiri)
48. (Zawahiri)
49. (Botha and Abdile, Radicalisation and al-Shabaab recruitment in Somalia)
50. (Botha and Abdile, Radicalisation and al-Shabaab recruitment in Somalia)
51. (Botha and Abdile, Radicalisation and al-Shabaab recruitment in Somalia)
52. (Williams)
53. (Williams)
54. (Williams)
55. (Humud)
56. (Horton)
57. (Horton)
58. (Horton)
59. (Horton)
60. (Horton)
61. (Horton)
62. (Horton)
63. (Horton)
64. (Horton)
65. (Horton)
66. (Horton)
67. (Sanbaloshe)
68. (Horton)
69. (Horton)
70. (Horton)
71. (Horton)
72. (Horton)
73. (Horton)
74. (Horton)
75. (Horton)
76. (Horton)
77. (Horton)
78. (Horton)
79. (Political Geography Now)
80. (Political Geography Now)
81. (Political Geography Now)
82. (Political Geography Now)
83. (UN DESA, Population Division)
84. (Y. Omar)
85. (Central Intelligence Agency)
86. (Central Intelligence Agency)
87. (Y. Omar)
88. (Human Rights Watch)
89. (Y. Omar)
90. (Y. Omar)
91. (Human Rights Watch)
92. (Human Rights Watch)
93. (Human Rights Watch)
94. (Human Rights Watch)
95. (Human Rights Watch)
96. (UNHCR)
97. (UNHCR)
98. (Bloom, Clarke and Sevenzo)
99. (Bloom, Clarke and Sevenzo)
100. (Bloom, Clarke and Sevenzo)
101. (Bloom, Clarke and Sevenzo)
102. (Y. Omar)
103. (Human Rights Watch)
104. (Human Rights Watch)
105. (Human Rights Watch)
106. (Human Rights Watch)
107. (Drumtra)
108. (Human Rights Watch)
109. (Carpowich, Indermuehle and Barker)
110. (Carpowich, Indermuehle and Barker)
111. (Human Rights Watch)
112. (Carpowich, Indermuehle and Barker)
113. (Carpowich, Indermuehle and Barker)
114. (Human Rights Watch)
115. (Relief Web)
116. (Relief Web)
117. (Relief Web)
118. (Relief Web)
119. (Relief Web)
120. (Carpowich, Indermuehle and Barker)
121. (Carpowich, Indermuehle and Barker)
122. (Carpowich, Indermuehle and Barker)
123. (GCPEA)
124. (GCPEA)
125. (GCPEA)
126. (GCPEA)
127. (GCPEA)
128. (GCPEA)
129. (GCPEA)
130. (Pape)
131. (Human Rights Watch)
132. (Human Rights Watch)
133. (Human Rights Watch)
134. (Human Rights Watch)
Children and Armed Conflict)

(Human Rights Watch)

(M. Hassan)

(Human Rights Watch)

(M. Hassan)

(Human Rights Watch)

(M. Hassan)

(Human Rights Watch)

(M. Hassan)

(Human Rights Watch)

(M. Hassan)

(Human Rights Watch)

(M. Hassan)

(Human Rights Watch)

(M. Hassan)

(Human Rights Watch)

(M. Hassan)

(Human Rights Watch)

(M. Hassan)

(Human Rights Watch)

(M. Hassan)

(Human Rights Watch)

(M. Hassan)

(Human Rights Watch)

(M. Hassan)

(Human Rights Watch)

(M. Hassan)

(Human Rights Watch)

(M. Hassan)

(Human Rights Watch)

(M. Hassan)

(Human Rights Watch)

(M. Hassan)

(Human Rights Watch)

(M. Hassan)

(Human Rights Watch)

(M. Hassan)

(Human Rights Watch)

(M. Hassan)

(Human Rights Watch)

(M. Hassan)

(Human Rights Watch)

(M. Hassan)

(Human Rights Watch)

(M. Hassan)

(Human Rights Watch)

(M. Hassan)

(Human Rights Watch)

(M. Hassan)

(Human Rights Watch)

(M. Hassan)

(Human Rights Watch)

(M. Hassan)

(Human Rights Watch)

(M. Hassan)

(Human Rights Watch)

(M. Hassan)

(Human Rights Watch)

(M. Hassan)

(Human Rights Watch)

(M. Hassan)

(Human Rights Watch)

(M. Hassan)

(Human Rights Watch)

(M. Hassan)

(Human Rights Watch)

(M. Hassan)

(Human Rights Watch)

(M. Hassan)

(Human Rights Watch)

(M. Hassan)

(Human Rights Watch)

(M. Hassan)

(Human Rights Watch)

(M. Hassan)

(Human Rights Watch)

(M. Hassan)

(Human Rights Watch)

(M. Hassan)

(Human Rights Watch)

(M. Hassan)

(Human Rights Watch)

(M. Hassan)

(Human Rights Watch)

(M. Hassan)

(Human Rights Watch)

(M. Hassan)

(Human Rights Watch)

(M. Hassan)

(Human Rights Watch)

(M. Hassan)

(Human Rights Watch)

(M. Hassan)

(Human Rights Watch)

(M. Hassan)

(Human Rights Watch)

(M. Hassan)

(Human Rights Watch)

(M. Hassan)

(Human Rights Watch)

(M. Hassan)

(Human Rights Watch)

(M. Hassan)

(Human Rights Watch)

(M. Hassan)

(Human Rights Watch)

(M. Hassan)

(Human Rights Watch)

(M. Hassan)

(Human Rights Watch)

(M. Hassan)

(Human Rights Watch)

(M. Hassan)

(Human Rights Watch)

(M. Hassan)

(Human Rights Watch)

(M. Hassan)

(Human Rights Watch)

(M. Hassan)

(Human Rights Watch)

(M. Hassan)

(Human Rights Watch)

(M. Hassan)

(Human Rights Watch)

(M. Hassan)

(Human Rights Watch)

(M. Hassan)

(Human Rights Watch)

(M. Hassan)

(Human Rights Watch)

(M. Hassan)

(Human Rights Watch)

(M. Hassan)

(Human Rights Watch)

(M. Hassan)

(Human Rights Watch)

(M. Hassan)

(Human Rights Watch)

(M. Hassan)

(Human Rights Watch)

(M. Hassan)

(Human Rights Watch)

(M. Hassan)

(Human Rights Watch)

(M. Hassan)

(Human Rights Watch)

(M. Hassan)

(Human Rights Watch)

(M. Hassan)

(Human Rights Watch)

(M. Hassan)

(Human Rights Watch)

(M. Hassan)

(Human Rights Watch)

(M. Hassan)

(Human Rights Watch)

(M. Hassan)

(Human Rights Watch)

(M. Hassan)

(Human Rights Watch)

(M. Hassan)

(Human Rights Watch)

(M. Hassan)

(Human Rights Watch)

(M. Hassan)

(Human Rights Watch)

(M. Hassan)

(Human Rights Watch)

(M. Hassan)

(Human Rights Watch)

(M. Hassan)

(Human Rights Watch)

(M. Hassan)

(Human Rights Watch)

(M. Hassan)

(Human Rights Watch)

(M. Hassan)

(Human Rights Watch)

(M. Hassan)

(Human Rights Watch)

(M. Hassan)

(Human Rights Watch)

(M. Hassan)

(Human Rights Watch)

(M. Hassan)

(Human Rights Watch)

(M. Hassan)

(Human Rights Watch)

(M. Hassan)

(Human Rights Watch)

(M. Hassan)

(Human Rights Watch)

(M. Hassan)

(Human Rights Watch)

(M. Hassan)

(Human Rights Watch)

(M. Hassan)

(Human Rights Watch)

(M. Hassan)

(Human Rights Watch)

(M. Hassan)

(Human Rights Watch)

(M. Hassan)

(Human Rights Watch)

(M. Hassan)

(Human Rights Watch)

(M. Hassan)

(Human Rights Watch)

(M. Hassan)

(Human Rights Watch)

(M. Hassan)

(Human Rights Watch)

(M. Hassan)

(Human Rights Watch)

(M. Hassan)

(Human Rights Watch)

(M. Hassan)

(Human Rights Watch)

(M. Hassan)

(Human Rights Watch)

(M. Hassan)

(Human Rights Watch)

(M. Hassan)

(Human Rights Watch)

(M. Hassan)

(Human Rights Watch)

(M. Hassan)

(Human Rights Watch)

(M. Hassan)

(Human Rights Watch)

(M. Hassan)

(Human Rights Watch)

(M. Hassan)

(Human Rights Watch)

(M. Hassan)

(Human Rights Watch)

(M. Hassan)

(Human Rights Watch)

(M. Hassan)

(Human Rights Watch)

(M. Hassan)

(Human Rights Watch)

(M. Hassan)

(Human Rights Watch)

(M. Hassan)

(Human Rights Watch)

(M. Hassan)

(Human Rights Watch)

(M. Hassan)

(Human Rights Watch)

(M. Hassan)

(Human Rights Watch)

(M. Hassan)

(Human Rights Watch)

(M. Hassan)

(Human Rights Watch)

(M. Hassan)

(Human Rights Watch)

(M. Hassan)

(Human Rights Watch)

(M. Hassan)

(Human Rights Watch)

(M. Hassan)

(Human Rights Watch)

(M. Hassan)

(Human Rights Watch)

(M. Hassan)

(Human Rights Watch)

(M. Hassan)

(Human Rights Watch)

(M. Hassan)

(Human Rights Watch)

(M. Hassan)

(Human Rights Watch)

(M. Hassan)

(Human Rights Watch)

(M. Hassan)

(Human Rights Watch)

(M. Hassan)

(Human Rights Watch)

(M. Hassan)

(Human Rights Watch)

(M. Hassan)

(Human Rights Watch)

(M. Hassan)

(Human Rights Watch)

(M. Hassan)

(Human Rights Watch)

(M. Hassan)

(Human Rights Watch)

(M. Hassan)

(Human Rights Watch)

(M. Hassan)

(Human Rights Watch)

(M. Hassan)

(Human Rights Watch)

(M. Hassan)

(Human Rights Watch)

(M. Hassan)

(Human Rights Watch)

(M. Hassan)

(Human Rights Watch)

(M. Hassan)

(Human Rights Watch)

(M. Hassan)

(Human Rights Watch)

(M. Hassan)

(Human Rights Watch)

(M. Hassan)

(Human Rights Watch)

(M. Hassan)

(Human Rights Watch)

(M. Hassan)

(Human Rights Watch)

(M. Hassan)

(Human Rights Watch)

(M. Hassan)

(Human Rights Watch)

(M. Hassan)

(Human Rights Watch)

(M. Hassan)

(Human Rights Watch)

(M. Hassan)

(Human Rights Watch)

(M. Hassan)

(Human Rights Watch)
(Mahmood, Al-Shabaab holds its ground against Somalia’s amnesty deal)
(Voronkova)
(Voronkova)
(Human Rights Watch)
(Human Rights Watch)
(Human Rights Watch)
(Human Rights Watch)
(Human Rights Watch)
(Gettleman)
(EIA)
(EIA)
(Fanusie and Entz)
(Totolo)
(Fanusie and Entz)
(Winsor)
(Fanusie and Entz)
(Totolo)
(Fanusie and Entz)
(Fanusie and Entz)
(AFP)
(Zirulnick)
(Totolo)
(Akwiri)
(Totolo)
(Mwita)
(Lapset)
(Fanusie and Entz)
(Fanusie and Entz)
(Fanusie and Entz)
(Fanusie and Entz)
(Fanusie and Entz)
(Fanusie and Entz)
(Ploch)
(Ploch)
(Ploch)
(Ploch)
(Baugh)
(McIntyre)
(Fedirka)
(McIntyre)
(Zimmerman, Kantack and Lahiff)
(Zimmerman, Kantack and Lahiff)
(Zimmerman, Kantack and Lahiff)
(Zimmerman, Kantack and Lahiff)
(Bender)
(Bender)
(EIA)
(EIA)
(Bender)
(Bender)
(Curiel)
(Curiel)
(Reuters)
(East Africa Business Journal)
(East Africa Business Journal)
(Hodgson)
(Fanusie and Entz)
(Totolo)
(Fanusie and Entz)
(Fanusie and Entz)
(Totolo)
(Fanusie and Entz)
(Fanusie and Entz)
(M. O. Hassan)
(M. O. Hassan)
(AFRICOM Public Affairs)
(Goldbaum)
(Goldbaum)
(Goldbaum)
(Goldbaum)
(Guled, Final Death Toll in Somalia’s Worst Attack Is 512 People)
(Burke, Somalia bombing may have been revenge for botched US-led operation)
(Sanbalooshe)
(Burke, Somalia bombing may have been revenge for botched US-led operation)
(Burke, Somalia bombing may have been revenge for botched US-led operation)
(The Guardian)
(Burke, Somalia bombing may have been revenge for botched US-led operation)
(Savage and Schmitt, Trump Eases Combat Rules in Somalia Intended to Protect Civilians)
(Ackerman)
(Ackerman)
(Ackerman)
(Savage and Schmitt, Trump Administration Is Said to Be Working to Loosen Counterterrorism Rules)
(Ackerman)
(Ackerman)
(Ackerman)
(Voronkova)
(Burke, Somalia bombing may have been revenge for botched US-led operation)
(Burke, Somalia bombing may have been revenge for botched US-led operation)
(Voronkova)
(International Crisis Group)
(Savage and Schmitt, Trump Administration Is Said to Be Working to Loosen Counterterrorism Rules)
(International Crisis Group)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Page</th>
<th>Text</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>358</td>
<td>(Campbell)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>359</td>
<td>(Campbell)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>360</td>
<td>(Campbell)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>361</td>
<td>(Campbell)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>362</td>
<td>(Friedman)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>363</td>
<td>(Campbell)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>364</td>
<td>(Campbell)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>365</td>
<td>(Campbell)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>366</td>
<td>(Campbell)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>367</td>
<td>(Savage and Schmitt, Trump Administration Is Said to Be Working to Loosen Counterterrorism Rules)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>368</td>
<td>(International Crisis Group)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>369</td>
<td>(International Crisis Group)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>370</td>
<td>(Power)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>371</td>
<td>(Power)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>372</td>
<td>(Power)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>373</td>
<td>(Power)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>374</td>
<td>(Power)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>375</td>
<td>(Campbell)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>376</td>
<td>(Campbell)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>377</td>
<td>(Campbell)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>378</td>
<td>(Campbell)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>379</td>
<td>(Zimmerman, Kantack and Lahiff)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>380</td>
<td>(Zimmerman, Kantack and Lahiff)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>381</td>
<td>(Y.-G. Omar)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>382</td>
<td>(Y.-G. Omar)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>383</td>
<td>(Felbab-Brown, Why are efforts to counter al-Shabab falling so flat?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>384</td>
<td>(Zimmerman, Kantack and Lahiff)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>385</td>
<td>(O’Connor)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>386</td>
<td>(O’Connor)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>387</td>
<td>(O’Connor)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>388</td>
<td>(Human Rights Watch)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>389</td>
<td>(Kelley, Watchdog warns Somalia funds may trickle to Shabaab)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>390</td>
<td>(Kelley, Watchdog warns Somalia funds may trickle to Shabaab)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>391</td>
<td>(Kelley, Watchdog warns Somalia funds may trickle to Shabaab)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>392</td>
<td>(Kelley, Watchdog warns Somalia funds may trickle to Shabaab)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>393</td>
<td>(Kelley, Watchdog warns Somalia funds may trickle to Shabaab)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>394</td>
<td>(Kelley, Watchdog warns Somalia funds may trickle to Shabaab)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>395</td>
<td>(Kelley, Watchdog warns Somalia funds may trickle to Shabaab)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>396</td>
<td>(Kelley, Watchdog warns Somalia funds may trickle to Shabaab)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>397</td>
<td>(Human Rights Watch)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>398</td>
<td>(Human Rights Watch)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>399</td>
<td>(Human Rights Watch)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>400</td>
<td>(Gettleman)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>401</td>
<td>(Gettleman)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>402</td>
<td>(Gettleman)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>403</td>
<td>(Gettleman)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>404</td>
<td>(Gettleman)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>405</td>
<td>(DDR – A Bridge Not Too Far: A Field Report from Somalia)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>406</td>
<td>(Gaffey)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>407</td>
<td>(DDR – A Bridge Not Too Far: A Field Report from Somalia)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>408</td>
<td>(Human Rights Watch)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>409</td>
<td>(Ministry of National Security)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>410</td>
<td>(Ministry of National Security)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>411</td>
<td>(Ministry of National Security)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>412</td>
<td>(DDR – A Bridge Not Too Far: A Field Report from Somalia)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>413</td>
<td>(DDR – A Bridge Not Too Far: A Field Report from Somalia)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>414</td>
<td>(IRIN)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>415</td>
<td>(DDR – A Bridge Not Too Far: A Field Report from Somalia)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>416</td>
<td>(DDR – A Bridge Not Too Far: A Field Report from Somalia)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>417</td>
<td>(DDR – A Bridge Not Too Far: A Field Report from Somalia)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>418</td>
<td>(DDR – A Bridge Not Too Far: A Field Report from Somalia)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>419</td>
<td>(Ministry of National Security)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>420</td>
<td>(Ministry of National Security)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>421</td>
<td>(United Nations Security Council)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>422</td>
<td>(Ministry of National Security)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>423</td>
<td>(Ministry of National Security)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>424</td>
<td>(Ministry of National Security)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>425</td>
<td>(United Nations Security Council)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>426</td>
<td>(United Nations Security Council)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>427</td>
<td>(United Nations Security Council)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>428</td>
<td>(United Nations Security Council)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>429</td>
<td>(Human Rights Watch)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>430</td>
<td>(United Nations Security Council)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>431</td>
<td>(United Nations Security Council)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>432</td>
<td>(Human Rights Watch)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>433</td>
<td>(Human Rights Watch)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>434</td>
<td>(Human Rights Watch)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>435</td>
<td>(DDR – A Bridge Not Too Far: A Field Report from Somalia)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>436</td>
<td>(DDR – A Bridge Not Too Far: A Field Report from Somalia)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>437</td>
<td>(Human Rights Watch)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>438</td>
<td>(DDR – A Bridge Not Too Far: A Field Report from Somalia)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>439</td>
<td>(United Nations Security Council)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>440</td>
<td>(United Nations Security Council)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>441</td>
<td>(United Nations Security Council)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>442</td>
<td>(United Nations Security Council)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>443</td>
<td>(United Nations Security Council)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>444</td>
<td>(Ministry of National Security)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>445</td>
<td>(DDR – A Bridge Not Too Far: A Field Report from Somalia)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>446</td>
<td>(DDR – A Bridge Not Too Far: A Field Report from Somalia)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>447</td>
<td>(DDR – A Bridge Not Too Far: A Field Report from Somalia)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>448</td>
<td>(DDR – A Bridge Not Too Far: A Field Report from Somalia)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>449</td>
<td>(DDR – A Bridge Not Too Far: A Field Report from Somalia)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>