

Understanding the Current and Emerging Threat of Terrorism in East Africa

ICPVTR Visit to Kenya, Ethiopia and Somaliland



26 June to 5 July 2012



**S. RAJARATNAM SCHOOL
OF INTERNATIONAL STUDIES**

A Graduate School of Nanyang Technological University

Understanding the Current and Emerging Threat of Terrorism in East Africa

ICPVTR Visit to Kenya, Ethiopia and Somaliland

26 June to 5 July 2012

CONTENTS PAGE

Acknowledgements		3
Executive Summary		4
Session 1	- Meeting with Mr Ahmed Rejab, Freelance Journalist	5
Session 2	- Meeting with Mr Francis Xavier Rwego, Head, Regional Bureau for Eastern Africa, INTERPOL, CID Headquarters	8
Session 3	- Meeting with Mr Simiyu E. Werunga, Director General, African Centre for Security and Strategic Studies (ACESSS)	10
Session 4	- Meeting with Mr Michele Cesari, Resident Representative, Life and Peace Institute (LPI)	12
Session 5	- Meeting with Mr Hassan Ole Naado, Chief Executive Officer, Kenya Muslim Youth Alliance (KMYA)	17
Session 6	- Meeting with His Excellency Said Yousuf Nour, Ambassador to Ethiopia and Permanent Representative to the AU Somali Embassy	21
Session 7	- Meeting with Mr Tu'emay Aregawi Desta, Centre on Global Counterterrorism Cooperation - IGAD Security Sector Programme (CGCC - ISSP) Liaison Officer	23
Session 8	- Meeting with Mr Abdi Rahman, Minister of Information and National Guidance, Somaliland	26
Session 9	- Meeting with Mdm Fatimah Ibrahim, Country Director, The Office for Development and Humanitarian Affairs (ODHA), Somaliland	28
Session 10	- Meeting with Mr Abdullahi Odowa, General Director, Observatory of Conflict and Violence Prevention, Somaliland	31
Session 11	- Meeting with Mr Hussein Ahmed Aideed, Minister of Justice, Somaliland	33
Session 12	- Meeting with Dr Mesfin Gebremichael, PhD Programme Coordinator and Senior Researcher for African Peace and Security Studies, African Union and Institute for Peace and Security Studies, Addis Ababa University, Ethiopia	35
About RSIS		38
About ICPVTR		39

Acknowledgements

The team from ICPVTR has benefitted from the valuable insights from its inaugural visit to East Africa. This would not have been possible without the gracious cooperation and assistance from the members listed below. The team would like to record their sincere thanks and appreciation to:

1. Mr Ahmed Rejab, Freelance Journalist, Nairobi, Kenya
2. Mr Francis Xavier Rwego, Head, Regional Bureau for Eastern Africa, INTERPOL, CID Headquarters, Nairobi, Kenya
3. Mr Simiyu E. Werunga, Director General, African Centre for Security and Strategic Studies (ACCESSS), Nairobi, Kenya
4. Mr Michele Cesari, Resident Representative, Life and Peace Institute (LPI), Nairobi, Kenya
5. Mr Hassan Ole Naado, Chief Executive Officer, Kenya Muslim Youth Alliance (KMYA), Nairobi, Kenya
6. His Excellency Said Yousuf Nour, Ambassador to Ethiopia and Permanent Representative to the AU, Somali Embassy, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia
7. Mr Tu'emay Aregawi Desta, Centre on Global Counterterrorism Cooperation - IGAD Security Sector Programme (CGCC - ISSP) Liaison Officer, Alexander Pushkin Square, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia
8. Mr Abdi Rahman, Minister of Information and National Guidance, Hargeisa, Somaliland
9. Mdm Fatimah Ibrahim, Country Director, The Office for Development and Humanitarian Affairs (ODHA), Hargeisa, Somaliland
10. Mr Abdullahi Odowa, General Director, Observatory of Conflict and Violence Prevention (OCVP), Hargeisa, Somaliland
11. Mr Hussein Ahmed Aideed, Minister of Justice, Hargeisa, Somaliland
12. Dr Mesfin Gebremichael, PhD Program Coordinator and Senior Researcher for African Peace and Security Studies, African Union and Institute for Peace and Security Studies, Addis Ababa University, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia

ICPVTR Team

Rohan Gunaratna, Head, ICPVTR

Jolene Jerard, Manager (Capacity Building) and Associate Research Fellow, ICPVTR

Salim Mohamed Nasir, Associate Research Fellow, ICPVTR

Nur Irfani Saripi, Associate Research Fellow, ICPVTR

Nur Aziemah Azman, Senior Analyst, ICPVTR

ICPVTR VISIT TO EAST AFRICA

26 JUNE – 5 JULY 2012

Executive Summary

With the decentralization of threat from Al-Qaeda, Africa is emerging as a new epicentre of terrorism and extremism. Al-Qaeda's ability to influence associate groups was brought to international attention in the brutal attack on Westgate Mall in Kenya. To counter the threat of terrorism and extremism in Africa, the international community should build African security capabilities and capacities.

A team of analysts from the International Centre for Political Violence and Terrorism Research (ICPVTR) headed by Prof Rohan Gunaratna made a visit to East Africa from 26 June to 5 July 2012 to understand the current and emerging threat of terrorism, particularly in Kenya, Ethiopia and Somaliland.

The delegation had the privilege to meet personnel from diverse backgrounds, ranging from government bodies, non-governmental organisations as well as individuals.

The visit has enabled the centre to get a close up view on the personalities and organisations involved in the propagation of terrorism in Kenya, Ethiopia and Somaliland. The delegation was also briefed on the societal, governmental and international response in the abovementioned countries in light of the current and emerging threat of terrorism. The visit also enlightened the delegation on the possible nexus between transnational organised crime and terrorism, and terrorists' exploitation of the internet in the region – use, capacity and future trajectories. Finally, the visit has heightened the centre's understanding on the ideologies, groups, infrastructure and networks overseas, especially in the diaspora and migrant communities related to Kenya, Ethiopia and Somaliland.



SESSION 1

27 June 2012, 8.30 am

Meeting with Mr Ahmed Rejab

Freelance Journalist

Intercontinental Hotel

Nairobi, Kenya



ICPVTR delegation with Mr Ahmed Rejab, second from the right, at the Intercontinental Hotel, Nairobi, Kenya.

Brief Background of Mr Rejab:

Mr Rejab has been living in Kenya since 2010. Prior to 2010, he was working with the United Nations in Dubai from 2006 to 2009 where he was in charge of the Middle East and Asia desk. He was also the editor for Africa Analysis. Currently, he is the Managing Director for Universal TV in Kenya, covering civic education on the constitution in Somalia. Mr Rejab had worked on the third phase of a UNDP project on civic education. At the time of the interview, Somalia was drafting a new constitution after two decades without law.

Mr Rejab recalled that at the start people did not understand the purpose of the constitution and questioned, "Why do we need a constitution? We have the Quran- it is enough." Although it was very challenging, they managed to make some changes.

Mr Rejab has been in journalism for more than 30 years. He first started by working with the BBC at the age of 19.

Current and Emerging Trends and Threats in Africa

Mr Rejab highlighted a terrorist attack in Mombasa in June 2012. He said that it was fueled by the Kenyan military intervention in Somalia in 2011. These attacks also demonstrated an increased involvement of local people such as Kenyans and Somalis. Previous terrorist attacks in 1998 or earlier years were largely perpetrated by foreigners.

According to Mr Rejab, Al-Shabaab is influential in Kenya and its ideology has permeated into Eastleigh, an area in Nairobi where the occupants are predominantly Somalis, including Kenyan Somalis. Even before 2011, there were radical madrasahs and mosques in Kenya, infiltrated by those with terrorist inclinations and extreme Salafist Wahhabi teachings. These madrasahs and mosques were led by extremist Somali imams. The ideology of Salafism and Wahhabism was brought by those who travelled to Medina. These radical imams come from both local and

Somali communities. Some of the teachings included instructing students to kill their fathers if they did not pray, and prohibiting them from celebrating Prophet Muhammad's birthday and visiting graves.

He added, however, that such classes are rare compared to the many mainstream madrasahs in Kenya that offer both full-time and weekend classes.

On Al-Shabaab's support base and recruitment, Mr Rejab explained that its pool of supporters and recruits comprises youths who are unemployed, feel marginalized and without a sense of direction. Another contributing factor is the prevalence of bribery.

According to Mr Rejab, the local population had diverse views on the Mombasa attack in 2012. Some believed that it was a conspiracy in which the United States was the real perpetrator, some pointed to the Iranians. The two Iranians who were arrested after the attacks were deemed to be agents planted there as a retaliation against the assassination of Iran's nuclear scientists. Some felt that Kenya was being used in a proxy war between the US and Iraq. Others felt that the terrorist attacks were actually a tactic used by local politicians to serve their political agendas as the elections were coming up. So far, the government has been reassuring that everything is under control.

In terms of local capabilities, Mr Rejab surmised that most counterterrorism operations are run by police, not the military. Mr Rejab feels that Kenya could get assistance from the US, France and Britain. In places like Ethiopia and Uganda, the security is very tight compared to Kenya. For example, in Uganda people are searched outside the airport. However, Mr Rejab still considers Kenya a safe place.

Crime-terror Nexus

Mr Rejab opined that there are linkages between terrorism, crime, drug trafficking and arms smuggling. However, this nexus is opportunistic in nature and not because the criminals see themselves as affiliated to Al-Shabaab. He added that Al-Shabaab is internationally supported by Somali and Kenyan diaspora communities in Britain, Canada, Yemen and America. Accordingly, Mr Rejab would not find it surprising if terrorists who are now IT-savvy succeeded in hacking into government systems.

Mr Rejab pointed to anti-Americanism and the genuine belief that they are on the right path as the main drivers for terrorists. Additionally, some youths

may also think that it is glamorous to be a part of Al-Shabaab.

Al-Shabaab finances their movement from the businesses that they run. They also kidnap and target westerners and those from NGOs. Al-Shabaab, similar to its name, consists of many young members.

Mr Rejab added that Boko Haram is a very serious case; "a different sort of animal". He observed that Boko Haram actually fights against marginalization. He added that Somalis tend to be very volatile and reactionary. Therefore, he believes that there are no linkages between Al-Shabaab and Boko Haram as they are both too different in terms of mentality.

Speaking on the Kenyan Muslim community, Mr Rejab said that there is a prominent Kenyan community who are of Somali origin. The Muslim community in Kenya is a significant minority with a strong voice and they are well integrated in Kenya. They are very vocal and quick to react by issuing statements and voicing their disagreement with government policies. There is the Supreme Council of Kenyan Muslim, which is an Islamic body for reference. Although, there is no mufti in Kenya, there is a Chief Qadi who is in charge of solemnizing marriages.

History of Struggle in Kenya and AMISOM

Speaking on the history of struggle in Kenya, Mr Rejab mentioned that the first chapter of armed struggle in Kenya started in the 1950s with the Mao Mao Revolution. In 1981, a terrorist attack hit the Jewish-owned Norfolk Hotel in Nairobi. The next attack was in 1993. Mr Rejab felt that Al-Qaeda chose Kenya as it represented jihad against western capitalism. After Al-Qaeda, Al-Shabaab came into the picture.

According to Mr Rejab, the local community perception of the Kenyan government's intervention in Somalia is varied. Some were supportive, but there were also those who found it counterproductive and felt that Kenya was inviting trouble. His personal take was that the intervention came too late. Kenya, along with other countries, should have gone in earlier with a concerted effort.

Mr Rejab mentioned the top five countries in the African region facing the challenge of terrorism: Somalia, Nigeria, Mali, the southern part of Algeria and Ethiopia. There is cooperation between East African countries and countries within the African Union in dealing with terrorism. However, cooperation is

impeded by their lack of capacity. Furthermore, there is some tension with Muslims in Ethiopia.

Near-term developments (2 - 3 years)

Mr Rejab viewed that the terrorism phenomenon will grow with linkages in places like Tanzania. He also mentioned a group called Uamsho (Awakening) in Zanzibar. This non-violent and non-political organisation is an umbrella organisation for the association of imams and mosques. Uamsho also provides civic education to the local populace. However, the government fears Uamsho as they are seeking independence. A recent demonstration upon the arrest of a sheikh highlighted the intense support the organisation receives. Such demonstrations also

present an opportunity for demonstrators to perform criminal acts. During this rally, youths stole several bottles of alcohol from convenience stores.

In his assessment, splinter groups will form from Al-Shabaab, even though Mr Rejab has not seen any yet.

The media plays a crucial role. In Tanzania the media is more alarmist, while in Kenya it is more responsible.

Mid-term developments

In the event that there is a spike in terrorism activities in the near future, Mr Rejab believes that Tanzania will be the next to suffer.

SESSION 2

27 June 2012, 2.00 pm

Meeting with Mr Francis Xavier Rwego

Head of Regional Bureau for Eastern Africa

INTERPOL

CID Headquarters

Nairobi, Kenya



At CID HQ, Nairobi, with INTERPOL's Head of Regional Bureau for Eastern Africa, Mr Francis Rwego, second from the left.

Mr Rwego asserted that terrorism trends are based on extremism and radicalisation, and felt that addressing them would help up to 70% of terrorism-related issues. He noted that suicide bombing is a religious cause for which the perpetrators will be rewarded accordingly. Therefore, extremism and radicalisation are a big challenge that needs to be addressed seriously. He remarked that research conducted by institutions such as ICPVTR could assist in addressing extremism and radicalisation.

On the Interpol Regional Bureau, Mr Rwego explained that it is responsible for monitoring 13 countries in Africa that include Kenya, Tanzania, Uganda, Rwanda, Burundi, Ethiopia, Eritrea, Djibouti, Somalia, Sudan, South Sudan and the Comoros Islands. These areas have seen significant terrorist activity since 1998 with the bombing of the US embassies in Nairobi and Dar es Salaam. Rwego mentioned several other terrorist attacks that occurred in Africa such as the bombing of the Israeli-owned hotel in Mombassa, and

the bombing in Kampala, Uganda during the World Cup finals in 2010. Transport terminals are especially targeted by terrorist bombings in Kenya, while hotels are one of the places where kidnappings take place. All the attacks were perpetrated by Al-Shabaab.

Mr Rwego comes from Uganda, the first country to provide troops for peacekeeping in Somalia and start a peace-building programme. Mr Rwego argued that Al-Shabaab, wanting implementation of Sharia law, has gained control over parts of Somalia. According to Rwego, the biggest problem in overcoming terrorism in Somalia is that the country is divided amongst ethnic groups and warlords. Terrorism is used as a tactic to earn money. He noted that some people do not want a peaceful Somalia as terrorism is a means of income for warlords.

Mr Rwego noted that terrorists took advantage of the fact that the numerous vessels especially from Europe and Asia that were coming to trawl in the Indian Ocean

were insufficiently protected. The success in obtaining ransom money from attacking these vessels provided them with motivation to continue being terrorists. Therefore, Mr Rwego opined that terrorism has to be fought differently as it is looked upon as a business.

Mr Rwego affirmed that Al-Shabaab is connected to Al-Qaeda. However, the link between Boko Haram and Al-Qaeda has yet to be established. Nevertheless, Mr Rwego seemed to think that the common denominator between Al-Shabaab and Boko Haram is Al-Qaeda especially when Boko Haram seems to be receiving training from Al-Qaeda. If true, these linkages are very dangerous. Consequently, Rwego suggested that it would be beneficial to research whether these terrorist organisations are operating together or individually.

Mr Rwego attested that peacekeeping in Somalia is generating results. One example is the cooperation of Kenyan forces in October to combat piracy. Piracy is partly used for terrorism financing and mostly business. Because terrorism is rife, Mr Rwego believed that it could be fought by communities. Therefore, it needs community participation and community policing. However, Mr Rwego opined that community participation and policing are easier to achieve in rural areas than in urban areas. With community participation, the public would watch out for one another. Additionally, organisations such as shopping malls, nightclubs and train systems should also share the responsibility by ensuring that security is maintained. Local leadership is also a prerequisite to community policing. As such leaders of each level must be able to identify people of concern in their respective villages. When asked whether this kind of community policing would make people feel discriminated and their freedom curtailed or feel that they were being spied on, Mr Rwego assured that the kind of community policing he meant would not have that effect on people. He maintained that the urban areas are a challenge when it comes to community policing because it is harder to keep track of different

personalities. They seem to lack community spirit and are rather indifferent towards each other. Also, residences in urban areas are transitional as the reason for coming to these areas is often money-driven and for commercial interests.

There are minimal efforts to work on and understand the issues of extremism and radicalisation. To address terrorism, it is necessary to find out the motivating factors and find out how they can be changed. On increasing the capabilities and skill sets of legislation and law enforcement, Rwego explained that there is no specific legislation to combat terrorism. Therefore, it is pertinent to develop strong, non-discriminating legislation to address the problem. In lieu of the transnational nature of terrorism, East Africa, since 1998, has adopted a concerted approach to legislation with countries in the region. The disparity in legislation is evident when comparing Uganda and Kenya. Although both countries are conducting standard counterterrorism training, Uganda has a good approach in training law enforcement officers, while Kenya is still forming its legislation. Acknowledging the importance of training, Interpol organises regional workshops on terrorism for its officers and engages other institutions by providing bilateral assistance and training. Regionally, countries within the region assist each other with training and providing financial assistance for the training.

Mr Rwego asserted that criminality and terrorism are different because the motivation and modus operandi for terrorism is different from criminality. Interestingly the perpetrators of both criminality and terrorism might be the same. However, according to Mr Rwego, it is difficult to separate terrorism and maritime piracy although Mr Rwego claims that there are pirates who do not want to be involved in terrorism.

Mr Rwego said that there are significant investments in security but the challenge is to change people's minds and to develop a community spirit.

SESSION 3

27 June 2012, 7.00 pm

Meeting with Mr Simiyu E. Werunga

Director General

African Centre for Security and Strategic Studies (ACESSS)

Intercontinental Hotel

Nairobi, Kenya



ICPVTR delegation with Mr Simiyu Werunga in front of the Intercontinental Hotel, Nairobi, Kenya

Brief Background

Mr Werunga is a member of the International Institute of Strategic Studies (IISS) and has a background in security. In 2011, ACESSS was developed and consisted of scholars. Discussions with scholars led others, including Mr Werunga, to establish a security training institute within ACESSS called the East-African Institute of Security Studies (EAISS).

ACESSS provides analysis reports, participates in security and safety programmes, and provides assistance to government and private sectors. In ACESSS, Mr Werunga is the head of the organisation. He has been interviewed by BBC, Al-Jazeera and other news agencies to share his insights. He is one of the lead facilitators of police reform, and works with government and institutes. He ran two courses on counter terrorism in 2004 and 2005. He mentioned that China, with which the centre has good relations, has been interested in engaging with Kenya to understand East Africa. Mr Werunga added that he gave a talk to Chinese scholars in 2011 during a two-day discussion. Within a short time, the centre has obtained international recognition. As an independent African centre, ACESSS provides other centres with knowledge and clarification on security matters. However, as an institution, the centre needs

capacity building and assistance in institutional building and framework, which Mr Werunga thinks that ICPVTR can provide.

The centre is a member of the East African Community and Civil Society Forum that brings together civil society organisation in East Africa and the East African community. ACESSS is currently the lead actor in security. It is venturing into training, consultancy and running programmes that are catered specifically to the safety and security of Kenyans. These programmes would address issues like terrorism, piracy and child prostitution. Using the centre's own limited resources, the programme has been going very well, according to Mr Werunga.

The center is also a member of a small forum called the Salama Reform Forum. This forum comprises organisations that are working on police reform. Within that forum, ACESSS is the leading organisation in professionalization and capacity building. Generally, ACESSS focuses on Africa as a whole with its main focus on East Africa. Although the centre is a think-tank, ACESSS became a member of the East African Community and Civil Society Forum to be involved in the region. One of the advantages of the forum is that it is the only recognized civil society forum in the East African community.

As for the East African Institute of Security Studies, its strategic plan is to be an independent organisation within the next five years. It aims to train people in peace and security. The centre is also providing certification for those who want to gain entry into the training market. There is currently a joint venture between the centre and the Kenya College of Accountancy (KCA) University. The joint venture aims to combine conflict and peace studies and to study regional strength in matters of security, peace and international relations. The centre has also been asked to provide the modules for the first counterterrorism course run by the government's counterterrorism centre.

Terrorism in East Africa

Mr Werunga asserted that Kenya is faced with domestic, transnational and international terrorism. There are people inside the country who are planning to cause harm outside Kenyan borders and those planning outside the country to cause harm within the country.

He talked about Somalis who came to Kenya and bought gated estates. In each of these estates there can be up to 40 houses and mosques. Some of these mosques are radical. Most of those suspected of terrorism are Muslim converts who were once Christians. Mr Werunga engages the Kenyan Muslim Youth Alliance (KMYA) to understand radicalisation issues. He also explained that the fighters of Al-Shabaab in Somalia are mostly Kenyan youth, comprising up to 700 members in total. Some of them are killed, while some surrender.

According to Mr Werunga, radicalisation occurs in mosques in the gated estates. Another prevailing issue is the mistrust between Christians and Muslims. He opined that terrorism is the primary security threat in East Africa. He also claimed that there are terrorist cells in Kenya that are perpetrating bombings and attacks in the country. There are over 600,000 refugees and many are affiliated with Al-Shabaab.

The Kenyan government has also implemented rehabilitation programmes for surrendered militants but the government has yet to share how successful the programmes are.

Al-Shabaab is a regional problem and threat. Many Kenyan youths are affiliated with Al-Shabaab and there is an estimated 2,000 members in Al-Shabaab. They have a structured organisation including command structure and leadership, as well as cells and strategy.

Cells are present in Southern Ethiopia, Uganda, Tanzania and Zanzibar, with Kenya as their gateway.

Mr Werunga explained that there is a nexus between pirates and Al-Shabaab. Al-Shabaab forces pirates to work with them and determines how pirates operate. He believes that previously Al-Shabaab did not get any support from Al-Qaeda. Therefore, Al-Shabaab did not have any influence from across Yemen. Currently, Al-Shabaab has taken over the charcoal business in Somalia, the ports of Mogadishu and Kismayo, and extorted business people by 'taxing' them. At some stage, there were also business people who were working for Al-Shabaab. Usually a third of the business profits would go to Al-Shabaab. The group also owns many buildings in Kenya.

However, Al-Shabaab is a diminished force. Al-Shabaab made a mistake in attacking a Kenyan military camp, expecting to take it down before dawn. Although the group killed 60 Burundian forces, Al-Shabaab was overwhelmed as the military contingent resisted until dawn while bringing in reinforcements. Mr Werunga warned that Kenya is a hub to Al-Shabaab as the group believes that if they 'get Kenya, [they] get everything'.

Mr Werunga believes that Al-Shabaab and Boko Haram are working together. Boko Haram does not have the means for international communication and financial prospects while Al-Qaeda is backed by very rich business people from the Arab world.

He mentioned some of Al-Shabaab's capabilities. Al-Shabaab is IT savvy and its capabilities in the virtual world are very good. However, Mr Werunga does not think that it has the capacity to launch cyber attacks. In terms of military capacity, it lacks capabilities and therefore resorts to small attacks. Al-Shabaab used to employ IEDs but stopped using them for a while and turned to grenades. Now, it is using both IEDs and grenades. In addition to its inability to create serious bomb materials, Al-Shabaab is also resorting to suicide bombing, which is a cause for great concern.

With regard to the short and medium term threat assessment of terrorism and extremism in East Africa, Mr Werunga opined that Al-Shabaab is losing control in most of the Somali regions despite the slow movement of the Kenyan military. Initially, Kenya adopted a defensive approach in Somalia. This approach transited to an offensive one upon the involvement of AMISOM. Interestingly, AMISOM's involvement in Somalia was attributed to Kenya pressurizing the African Union.

SESSION 4

28 June 2012, 11.00 am

Meeting with Mr Michele Cesari
Resident Representative
Life and Peace Institute (LPI)
Nairobi, Kenya



ICPVTR delegation with Mr Michele Cesari at the Life and Peace Institute (LPI), Nairobi.

Brief Background on Life and Peace Institute (LPI)

The Life and Peace Institute (LPI) began in 1985 in Somalia. Today, LPI works in the Horn of Africa. The office, visited by the Singapore delegation, is responsible for work in Kenya and Somalia, including South Somalia, North of Somaliland and Mogadishu. Their focus is on non-violent approaches to conflict transformation. The work that they do is a mixture of research and outreach programmes that includes strengthening local capacity and enhancing conditions in the districts. LPI works at grassroots level mediation of conflict. It also works in middle-level, track two leadership where it supports information and work with policy officers at the check point level. However, its focus is not on decision-makers within Somalia, but on foreign decision-makers. The focus is due to LPI's thinking that the war on terror in Somalia is over-simplified and therefore attempts should be made to educate foreign stakeholders on this matter.

LPI on Al-Shabaab

Mr Cesari asserted that LPI views Al-Shabaab as the main actor who controls about 80% of the territory but is excluded from any meaningful form of political engagement. Simultaneously, military pressure is insufficient to resolve the issue. LPI policy work is to stimulate engagement with Al-Shabaab, with a clear intention not to split Al-Shabaab but to work with it. LPI holds discussions with the Shura council of Al-Shabaab with the permission of its leadership. LPI opines that there has been an over-simplification of Al-Shabaab. There is a core leadership of Al-Shabaab, and LPI opines that their agenda is purely nationalistic rather than international. Mr Cesari admitted that such engagements are considered controversial as they are working with an Islamist organisation.

LPI also discussed the issue of Al-Shabaab in Washington, Brussels and Kenya. In addition to

continuing discussions in Washington, Mr Cesari intends to organise meetings with the Secretary of Defense and the State Department.

Mr Cesari opines that the issue of engagement with terrorism, which is the core of policy-making, is changing. Importantly, LPI serves as a conduit for all interests that capitalize on the importance of communication against terrorism. This includes working with Islamist organisations. Their main partner in Somalia is the Zam Zam Foundation which was initiated by Al-Islah Group. The Al-Islah Group is a local offshoot of the Muslim Brotherhood. Providing education and humanitarian relief are the main objectives of the Zam Zam Foundation.

The Zam Zam Foundation, whose main headquarters are in Mogadishu, has officers across Somalia. Mr Cesari emphasised that the foundation is one of two Somali organisations that are able to act across borders and political issues. Therefore, the Zam Zam Foundation has the capacity to work with any group including Al-Shabaab, Transitional Federal Government (TFG) and Ahlu Sunnah wal Jamaah.

By working with an Islamist organisation, LPI attempts to challenge societal assumptions through their unique form of engagement. As such, it is able to offer in-depth analysis of Al-Shabaab. This includes what the group does to advance politically and to win civilian support. According to Mr Cesari, in the last 20 years since the fall of the Siad Barre regime, only two political parties have managed to develop cohesion between different clan structures. The first is the Islamic Court Union, followed by Al-Shabaab. LPI calls for the suspension of judgment while attempting to provide an unbiased assessment. From its assessment, there were only two parties that consistently managed to keep all the different clan structures together. Both of these parties are Islamist political parties.

While attempting to develop a connection with Al-Shabaab in Somalia, LPI intends to understand its political objectives and strategies in the short to mid-term. However, Mr Cesari acceded that obtaining such a deep understanding was very difficult.

Mr Cesari admitted that gaining the trust of Al-Shabaab was not without challenges. The first challenge that LPI has faced has been sanctions. To overcome this, LPI sought to understand what the sanctions encompassed and the area that employees could travel within without committing any criminal

offence. Secondly, Al-Shabaab is suspicious of LPI which is a western agency with a Christian background. LPI members were screened as they were suspected of being spies and having hidden intentions. Consequently, LPI took a year to gain the confidence of the Zam Zam Foundation.

Exemplifying the positive outcomes from such interactions in Kenya, the Jamiah Mosque was receptive to the idea of meeting Kenyan Somalis, members of parliament and Somali presidential candidates. This meeting arose from LPI's principle of participation and inclusiveness. They told the Islamists, "You don't have to agree with us- we just want to talk. Maybe what we have to say can add to your analysis so you can use it to do your work."

Although reactions are varied, LPI's efforts have received a very positive reaction from the members of the Security Council in the United Nations (UN), starting with the British. However, Mr Cesari asserted that the UN still requires a better understanding of the situation.

Due to limited intelligence capabilities, governments have resorted to broad targeted bombing. However, such tactics are highly defective and have garnered a lot of civilian resentment. This consequently leads to the formation of shadow governments in Somalia. In Somalia, the proxies of shadow figures are mostly warlords. Although these warlords have been present for the last 20 years, trust of them within the local population is minimal.

Errant media also confounds the situation by distorting facts. For example, the media reported an Al-Shabaab victory when Al-Shabaab was actually retreating. Mr Cesari challenges how this incident can be proclaimed an Al-Shabaab victory when no shots were fired as the insurgents, within five kilometers, were changing their clothes behind some bushes to merge with the local population. The modus operandi of Al-Shabaab is to maintain a steady rate of attrition. This would include conducting shootings at water resources, placing IEDs and engaging in communication with local businesses.

One example would be the killing of 12 people in a village controlled by the army. Due to logistical reasons they needed to move the bulk of their troops to another village. Prior to the attack, Al-Shabaab understood the precise movements of the army during the routine move to the other village. During

the attack, they proceeded to assassinate 12 people in full view of everyone including the key leaders of the army. Fortunately, these stories are not reported by the media as Al-Shabaab intends to promote such attacks. The mainstream belief is that the army has a tight grip on Al-Shabaab, forcing the leadership to relocate to Yemen. Although this is relatively true with some Al-Shabaab members relocating, the LPI finds that they are still the most organised and effective group in Somalia.

Mr Cesari explained that since Al-Shabaab does not engage in conventional warfare, it has suffered from the government's attacks on several of its fronts. In his opinion, Al-Shabaab's unconventional strategy is to present itself as an alternative to the government by demonstrating to Somalis the ineffectiveness of authority.

Mr Cesari assessed that local proxies are unreliable. Taking Al-Sunnah wal Jamaah as an example, he claimed that it is a coalition of three clans that presents itself as a Sufi traditionalist group. The coalition espouses a very traditional way of practicing Islam. This three-clan militia has always worked with societies in defending its way of living. Similarly, Al-Shabaab does not currently see peaceful options as viable.

Al-Shabaab is a large group with three different layers. At the core, is what Mr Cesari calls 'The Old Boys Network'. Most of them were trained in Afghanistan where they fought and received lessons on ideology. Such training helped facilitate charismatic leadership. This network comprises a small group of all-Somali members who are key members in Al-Shabaab. The key decision makers, comprising of six to seven members inside the Shura council are all Somalis. The second layer is a group of people who are convinced of the ideology. They view fighting and struggling as a viable alternative. The third layer is where the majority of members lie. These are the people whom he classifies as those who "do not have much left".

Al-Shabaab also provides benefits to both members and their family members. Members receive salaries with medical benefits as there is a medical team within Al-Shabaab. Their families will also be supported for many years to come if they lose their capability to work after an injury or if they die. Conversely, in TFG, when a soldier loses the capacity to fight, he is sent back to his family without any proper medical assistance, even if he can no longer work.

Mr Cesari highlighted that in order to be effective one needs to be accurate, and Al-Shabaab is.

As aforementioned, the government's army, on the contrary, uses broad targeting. The utilization of their artillery and air force in such a manner results in the bombing of IDP (internally-displaced persons) camps and villages. Constant broad targeting reduces support for the government. Therefore, accuracy is a prerequisite for effectiveness. Understanding this, Al-Shabaab has assassinated key individuals and conducted exemplary beheadings as a political maneuver.

Mr Cesari added that Somalia is a very weak state. Despite the fact that Siad Barre's regime has weakened in the last few years, particularly in terms of intelligence, the people continue to adhere to the law. Contributing to this is the people's minimal expectation of good governance. He elaborated that any party that is able to provide any means of stability or security is immediately associated with the emergence of a government. It would not matter even if a party intends to impose Sharia law. To the people, justice is defined as being able to cultivate their land or bring their products to market without fear of being robbed or raped.

Mr Cesari disbelieves that the population will kick Al-Shabaab out themselves. Such is the belief of a small group of Somalis who have benefited from the West. Locals will not kick Al-Shabaab out of Somalia without external intervention. This is so even for Somalis who disagree with Al-Shabaab, as the group brings improvement and order. To further garner local support, Mr Cesari explained that Al-Shabaab has adopted a more tolerant approach to the people. Three years ago, the group had been intolerant to sufi shrines and implemented many rigid rulings.

Local perception of Al-Shabaab is varied. A common perception is that Somalia is going to displace Al-Shabaab. However, this perception is formed by secondary data, speculations and interpretations of secondary data. There are also a lot of incentives to keep this narrative. With this narrative, Al-Shabaab is able to boast that it was able to flourish in the region despite being attacked on many fronts. This demonstrates a capacity to shape itself into a form of authority that can be trusted in spite of its use of harsh punishments. There are people who would leave Somalia if they had to live in a territory ruled by Al-Shabaab, but Mr Cesari also believes that there

are many who would not find it much of a problem as long as they were able to take care of their family, cultivate their land and trade.

LPI believes that it is pertinent for policy makers to distinguish between terrorism and insurgency. Insurgency is a phenomenon that takes place in an intra-state war, as is happening in Somalia. There are characteristics that need to be understood in an insurgency. The fact that the term terrorism and insurgency is used interchangeably is a disservice to developing a strategy that aims for success. Success is defined as the stabilization of Somalia. Emphasizing this, Mr Cesari said, "You can't win if you label everything under the label of terrorism". His definition of winning is to perform civil services for the Somali people, to let them have the governance they want, to ensure their security and stability, and to let them develop.

LPI plans to organise a one-day event where Islamic scholars from different places are brought together to discuss issues of representation and justice in Islamic countries. The aim of the event is to build more confidence towards an Islamic state in Somalia governed by Sharia law.

LPI takes the leader representation approach towards society, as opposed to talking about democracy, which is a topic some Islamists find uncomfortable. This is a conversational topic that is happening in many Islamic states. LPI also tries to contrast the phenomena of polarization that is taking place.

Mr Cesari views AMISOM's intervention as achieving unambiguous success in Mogadishu. Al-Shabaab is ubiquitous in Mogadishu and has increased its capacity, for instance by attaining the capability to conduct mortar attacks. It also has teams of 6 to 10 men inside many safe houses in Mogadishu. Although it is not in its interests to be too visible, it still conducts assassinations, targeting journalists and political leaders.

There is a trend that is seeing missionaries from the Arabian Peninsula, especially Saudis, developing an Islamic Renaissance in Somalia. It is developed from a Sufi traditionalist form of religion to a more Salafi form. This happens with friction that comes in the form of political association. Interestingly, this largely occurs in the North. Most of the Salafi influence that has taken root there does not disturb the consolidation and participation of governance. Mr Cesari does not view

this as disruptive but finds it problematic that many see the Islamic Renaissance and Salafism as a negative phenomenon. He said that the path from there to violence is a very long run and Salafism should not be associated with violent engagements.

He opined that engagement with terrorists is changing at the policy making level but is hampered by bureaucracy. Additionally, there are many people who are insistent on keeping the rhetoric. As it is a big system, there is a regional local parochial interest in keeping the rhetoric. The development of bureaucracy and the need to defend parochial interests contributes to the difficulty for people to speak freely and to investigate issues in an academic framework. Most of the military attachés in Western embassies that he knows are very sympathetic to the possibility of having a formal political engagement with Al-Shabaab. This is because they believe that working with Al-Shabaab can lead to the stabilization of Somalia. However, they cannot do or say so as it is outside of their official capacities. The people who are sympathizers primarily come from the Somali diaspora.

Despite some ideological disagreement within Al-Shabaab, Mr Cesari does not think that it will cause the group to split as there is still consistency and uniformity in their communication.

On Al-Shabaab and piracy, Mr Cesari said that Al-Shabaab is the only force that has been able to root out piracy from its territorial control. This is evident as there are no pirate ports in Al-Shabaab's territories. Unfortunately, this is often disregarded when the topic of Al-Shabaab is discussed. Mr Cesari, however, is optimistic that there is a possibility for them to cooperate for pragmatic purposes.

He added that pirate ports can only be found in the south. The authorities have a deep understanding of the piracy network, financiers from the diaspora, and operatives. Ironically, most of the pirates are former Somali army personnel, who have military training.

Incentives should be generated for engagements focused on the stabilization of Somalia. He clarified that he was not an advocate for Al-Shabaab but opines that political Islam is the solution to the current situation in East Africa.

Mr Cesari opined that the situation will generally remain status quo in the next two or three years. There

will be no drastic changes but there is a possibility of an expansion of the territories nominally controlled by AMISOM, Kenya, Ethiopia and proxies. They have very good capacity to absorb casualties by sending more soldiers from remote villages, as the government does not even feel compelled to inform the population of their deaths should they die. He also thinks that the political vision is unclear and is a recipe for disaster. Military means are simply tools for political vision.

Mr Cesari reiterated that it is imperative to start a political engagement with the Shura of Al-Shabaab, which is the core of Somali leadership. Somalia is working towards an Islamic state, something that the world will have to deal with, akin to the Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt.



ICPVTR delegation with Mr Michele Cesari at LPI office

SESSION 5

28 June 2012, 7.00 pm

Meeting with Mr Hassan Ole Naado

Chief Executive Officer

Kenya Muslim Youth Alliance (KMYA)

Nairobi, Kenya



ICPVTR delegation with Chief Executive Officer of Kenya Muslim Youth Alliance (KMYA), Mr Hassan Naado.

KMYA was appreciative that the ICPVTR delegation came to meet with them. Mr Hassan Ole Naado is one of the founding fathers of KMYA, which publishes a newspaper called The New Dawn. Mr Naado explained that KMYA is a supreme council of Kenyan Muslims, but it is considered as more of an umbrella of youth organisations in the country. Currently, it has a membership of 153 Muslim organisations including youth, student and community-based organisations. He clarified that KMYA's philosophy is to conduct social work and not missionary work. One of the core activities of KMYA is countering extremism by providing mainstream Islamic teachings.

Mr Naado explained that Kenya has a history of marginalisation by state agencies and governments since colonial administration. This explains the lack of national identity, and possibly the feeling of being a social outcast in Kenyan society. Therefore Kenyan communities tend to isolate themselves as they feel that there is a barrier between them and the

mainstream. They are impressionable to any reason that explains their current situation. For example, they can easily be convinced that the reason they do not fit in is because they are Muslims.

Mr Naado explained that KMYA's strategy of countering radicalisation cuts across three areas: governance, human rights and the dissemination of information. One of the projects that they are currently working on is peace and human security, which they deem important.

He added that extremism is not new in Kenya. Kenya was one of the countries that Al-Qaeda experimented on to some success. This is because the Muslim community in Kenya has blood relationships with the Middle East and South Asia. Kenya also possesses a large population of people from India and Pakistan. Traditionally, the Pakistani heritage came with the colonial administration about 300 years ago.

History of Islam in Kenya

Mr Naado briefed that the first mosque in Kenya was built by Indians. Building a mosque along the railway line almost a hundred years ago, exemplifies their significant role in spreading Islam in Kenya. Despite a millennium of presence in Kenya, Arabs did not propagate Islam. They merely came as traders and never as missionaries. Instead, the embracing of Islam in Kenya was rather due to the co-existence of Kenyans and Arabs.

Islam is growing fast among locals and foreigners in Kenya. Extremism is seeping into Kenya by those who have overseas linkages. Large numbers of Africans go to Saudi Arabia, where Wahhabism is mainstream, to learn Islam. For the last 25 years, returning students would establish centers espousing Wahhabism while receiving direct support from the Arab world. A majority of youth do not subscribe to Wahhabi ideology, which in Mr Naado's opinion is not far from extremist ideology. However, the dynamics have changed with Wahhabis controlling most institutions and research. Arabs are longer directly involved with the spread of Wahhabism as there are now scholarship schemes to study in Saudi Arabia. Many Somalis have benefited from these scholarships.

Mr Naado added that during colonial administration, the British government segregated indigenous Muslims into settlements. This was done to ensure that Muslims could practice their religion. However, the land in these settlements did not belong to these Muslims. In these settlements, the rejection of secular education was due to the perception that such education promoted Christian teachings. This perception was reinforced when some of those who were educated eventually left Islam. One example is the former Minister of Foreign Affairs of Kenya, Dr Bonaya Godana, who converted to Christianity from Islam. Muslims were therefore caught in a dilemma as without education, they could not fit into the system, or secure employment. Additionally, these Muslims were very religious and did not want to be associated with *riba* (financial interest for e.g. bank interest). Such limitations prevent the community from competing in all fields of life. Exacerbating this is the loss of identity in urban cities when living in these kinds of communal setups.

Kenya is a very political and ethnic society. Not belonging to a particular community prevents an individual from having access to resources and

opportunities. This is because resources in the country are distributed along ethnic lines. Similarly, opportunities are given to those with ethnic ties. Someone who does not subscribe to any ethnicity is ignored, as if they never existed. In Kenya, the distribution of national resources is called the quarter system. Swahili Arabs and those who do not have any indigenous links are classified as 'Others'. When one is classified as an 'Other' in the national system, they do not receive anything. This discrimination is evident in schools and workplaces. Students classified as 'Others' are rejected from good schools despite obtaining high grades, while those in the workforce are denied promotions.

All these factors create a very fertile ground for radicalisation as there are the poor, the unskilled, and a growing population including youths, who do not fit in.

These challenges have to be addressed as there are many Al-Shabaab fighters at Majengo, an area across from Nairobi. An example would be Mohamed Iman, who is a young man from Majengo and is now a senior Al-Shabaab fighter.

In Kenya, there is an area called 'The Flying Toilets'. In this village where no toilets are available, villagers utilize paper bags as a substitute. Once filled, these paper bags are discarded, resulting in the coining of the term 'The Flying Toilets'. Poverty and unsanitary conditions are rife.

This is one of the issues that Kenya has to grapple with. Muslims in rural area, like the northern coastal region, depend heavily on the World Food Program (WFP) which is barely able to sustain them. Such regions are vulnerable to radicalisation. All they need to be told is, "Look, you are in this state because nobody wants you- because of your faith." Extremists support this concept with numerous justifications, including the argument that the capitalist system is inherently hostile towards Muslims.

After 20 years, Muslims now find themselves in a very difficult situation. Due to the porosity of Somali borders, people living on both sides of the borders are Somalis. As such, the borders do not have any significance to them. Taking advantage of Somalia's porous borders and the government's shortcomings, extremist groups can build the necessary infrastructure to advance radical ideologies.

It has been suggested that records indicate that there are over 1000 Kenyan rebels. However, the KMYA believes that the number is higher. There are 300 youths from Nairobi in Somalia alone who go to Somalia for varying reasons. Some go there simply for employment, some intend to perform 'jihad' after being radicalised, and some are 'hijacked'- they end up in Somalia after being told that they would go to a different destination.

Mr Naado said that the AMISOM was not yielding fantastic results. He added that if Al-Shabaab is driven by ideology, it cannot be defeated through military force alone. Al-Shabaab is not a military confined to a single place; it is a movement in a society. He opined that it is imperative to identify the Al-Shabaab network, as nobody knows exactly who is involved. Mr Hassan advised the government that it is important to identify the members of Al-Shabaab in Kenya and find out whether they are sneaking back in. If they are, what actions should be taken? Actions would go beyond simply arresting them.

Increasing military presence will result in more deaths and does not guarantee success because the root cause of the issue is not addressed. Al-Shabaab is no longer a Somali issue; it is now a global problem. Mr Naado added that even though there are those who fight in Somalia on a religious basis, there are also many who stay in Somalia solely because of nationalistic reasons.

KMYA has several modes of intervention. It begins with the recruitment of field officers whom it calls Change Agents. Change Agents work with 20 volunteers (learning circle members) of different localities. The concept is to increase their capacity and to allow the youths to respond to the challenges they face, including extremism. They are also advocates for the community. Their purpose is to give youth a sense of belonging in Kenya.

Secondly, monthly Stakeholders Dialogue Forums facilitated by thematic experts are conducted. Participants include security agencies and ministries. For example, if police corruption is the biggest problem in Mombasa today, it is discussed. The dialogue also creates a form of accountability as state agencies know that they are being watched, not only by the people, but also other stakeholders. The purpose is to build the confidence of young people, as state authorities have approached them and asked them for help in conducting meetings.



ICPVTR delegation at the KMYA office

Thirdly, the Youth Parliament is leveraged as a platform. KMYA targets national leadership to address persistent chronic issues that have been discussed at several levels but are unresolved. KMYA does this by mobilizing the media, youth and other stakeholders while noting the government's preference for non-confrontational dialogue. Additionally, KMYA has also been invited by UNICRI for dialogue.

Mr Naado explained that there are differing views on the composition of Muslims in Kenya. According to government statistics, Muslims make up 10% or four million of the country's population. Muslims themselves opine that they are 30% of the total population. Mr Naado's view is that Muslim composition is somewhere in between these two statistics, at 18 – 25% of the total population.

KMYA builds relationships with senior officers in the government, particularly the security sector. One of the major issues raised with the government has been the challenge Muslims face in acquiring passports and national identity cards. In doing so, KMYA facilitated Muslims in getting identity cards earlier. Through its established SMS system, KMYA will assist in expediting any issues with the relevant office.

Additionally, KMYA’s newspaper, the New Dawn, provides a voice for the Muslim community in Kenya. The New Dawn’s outreach comprises ten thousand printed copies per publication and can also be downloaded via the KMYA or New Dawn website. This newspaper, published fortnightly, is a platform where the Muslim community can communicate on topics involving the government, corruption or issues faced by Muslims. As such, Mr Naado admitted that the New Dawn is considerably controversial.

Despite not engaging directly with Al-Shabaab, KMYA engages with other local extremist groups such as Hizbut Tahrir, the Mombasa Republican Council and Salafist movements. Currently, there are five Salafist groups in Kenya.

Mr Naado opined that it was a mistake for Kenya to join AMISOM and enter Somalia as Kenyans as this had implications for the whole country. Unfortunately, people are now easily suspected of being members of Al-Shabaab just for sporting a beard.



Nairobi city centre

SESSION 6

1 July 2012, 3.00 pm

Meeting with His Excellency Said Yousuf Nour

Ambassador to Ethiopia and Permanent Representative to the AU

Somali Embassy

Sheraton Hotel

Addis Ababa, Ethiopia



With His Excellency Ambassador Said Nour, third from the right, at Sheraton Hotel Restaurant, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia.

During this discussion, His Excellency Ambassador Nour shared his insights on Somalia's situation. Somalia underwent a civil war that lasted twenty years. The ruling Transitional Federal Government (TFG) was scheduled to end in August 2012. Ambassador Nour classified the war in Somalia as ideological in nature because of Al-Qaeda and Al-Shabaab. Despite this, he found most of the country such as Somaliland and Puntland to be stable. Somaliland and Puntland even have their own administration and government. Ambassador Nour was hopeful that the insurgency in Kismayo, on the border of Kenya, would end soon.

By July 2012, a constitution was scheduled to be endorsed by 825 intellectuals, elders and representatives of society. The drafting of this constitution took intellectuals seven years. Upon endorsement, elections were to be conducted for the president and speaker of parliament. 275 members of parliament were also to be selected from the four point five (4.5). This figure refers to the four big clans and half of the small clans in Somalia.

However, obtaining endorsement was not without challenge. Both presidents of the breakaway Somaliland and TFG parties had met to address Somaliland's refusal to embrace the constitution. According to Ambassador Nour, this demonstrates the division within the country and thus the need to integrate. Conversely, Puntland did not break away and wants a federal government. The Ambassador hoped for a federal system for Puntland, Somaliland and Somalia, possibly leading to a united African region.

At the time of the interview, Sharif Sheikh Ahmed was the president of Somalia until he was defeated by Hassan Sheikh Mohamud, in the presidential election in September 2012.

Speaking on the country's resources, Ambassador Nour claimed that about sixty to seventy percent of the African population knows that Somalia is the biggest country in Africa. Somalia has the largest coastline in Africa of about 3,300 km long. As such, it possesses resources from three oceans namely

the Indian Ocean, the Gulf of Aden and the Red Sea. In addition to minerals, Somalia is the provider of some of the best livestock in the world. Puntland also possesses resources such as gold, silver, copper and oil. Oil was discovered by a Canadian oil company and will be declared as commercial.

Ambassador Nour was optimistic that Al-Shabaab would not last for much longer. This is because Somalia is a single country with one religion and language, unlike other African states. Although, Al-Shabaab has initially managed to ideologically mislead the youth in Somalia, youths are beginning to reject Al-Shabaab. He was confident that not only would Somalia come together but Africa would become stable through the defeat of terrorism. Such stability would arise by developing and working on integrating its people.

His Excellency highlighted that the number of foreign terrorists was less than 200. Such was not the scenario five years ago when numbers were as high as several hundred, with bases in Somalia. These foreign terrorists may have also fought in Afghanistan, Pakistan, Iraq and elsewhere. The decrease in number is attributed to the difficulty in residing in Somalia due to physical and linguistic differences, which make them readily identifiable.

According to Ambassador Nour, Sunni Islam is the branch of Islam practiced in Somalia. However, it was Al-Shabaab and Al-Qaeda that brought in the Wahhabi/Salafi ideology from Saudi less than 20 years ago. Today, Wahhabis make up less than 5% of the Somali population.

On Ikhwanul Muslimin (The Muslim Brotherhood), he clarified that though there are many Ikhwan in Somalia they are not violent. As such, Ikhwan is not a security threat there. He reiterated that Wahhabism and Ikhwan are not the same and that Ikhwan also rejects Al-Shabaab.

The Ambassador reckoned the fact that 70% or more of the Somali population is Sufi is beneficial. There are Sufi forces, such as the Ahlu Sunnah wal Jamaah, fighting against Al-Shabaab in central Somalia.

The Ambassador further added that Al-Shabaab has destroyed Somalia with its kidnappings and killings. He highlighted failed peace talks and the rejection of the government's call to discuss a ceasefire.

The Ambassador confirmed the nexus between Boko Haram, Al-Shabaab, and terrorists in Yemen and Maghreb. Their area of cooperation is not only ideological but also operational and financial. The main focal point is in the area of finance.

As for Al-Shabaab and pirates, the Ambassador is doubtful of their connection. In his assessment, pirates are not as brave as Al-Shabaab; instead they are criminals whose motivation is monetary gain. As the two groups do not meet, Ambassador Nour does not see them fighting.

In terms of country development, His Excellency found Somalis to have a natural flair in socializing and business. He was optimistic that by capitalising on this quality, Somalia would be able to progress.



Site visit: The palace of Emperor Menelik II, the emperor of Ethiopia from 1889 to 1913

SESSION 7

2 July 2012, 8.45 am

Meeting with Mr Tu'emay Aregawi Desta

Liaison Officer

Centre on Global Counterterrorism Cooperation - IGAD

Security Sector Programme (CGCC - ISSP)

Alexander Pushkin Square

Addis Ababa, Ethiopia



Meeting with CGCC-ISSP Liaison Officer, Mr Tu'emay Desta, third from the right.

The Singaporean delegation met with Mr Desta at the Centre on Global Counterterrorism Cooperation (CGCC). Mr Desta is a Liaison Officer for both the CGCC and the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD) of the Security Sector Programme (ISSP). IGAD's Capacity Building Programme Against Terrorism (ICPAT) is also under the CGCC.

Mr Desta, an Ethiopian, worked for the CGCC for a year upon his transfer from IGAD where he worked as a researcher. His previous employment included being a police officer, working at customs security for a year and a half, and researching in the academic sector.

Giving an overview of the centre's role and responsibilities, Mr Desta explained that counterterrorism is a joint collaboration between IGAD and CGCC. Previously, this responsibility lay solely with IGAD as it had a capacity building programme against terrorism. ICPAT focused mostly on training and capacity building, including counterterrorism training, border protection, and coordination within states and facilities. IGAD had also drafted a strategy of peace

and security called IGAD's Peace and Security Studies in 2010. Mr Desta asserted that countering terrorism requires expanding capacity building to not only include law enforcement.

The IGAD Security Sector Programme (ISSP) covers counterterrorism, maritime security and transnational affairs crimes. Initially meant to focus on security sector reform, ISSP was hindered by the lack of consensus on what security sector reform was within IGAD. The aim of the ISSP was to build IGAD's capacity on security issues. Currently, ISSP-IGAD is headed by Commander Abebe Muluneh, a retired police officer.

ICPAT is the counterterrorism arm of IGAD. Under ICPAT, IGAD has actively conducted engagements including a series of training sessions on counterterrorism to law enforcement officers using specifically designed curriculum. ICPAT also endeavors to bridge law enforcement and public opinion to create an interesting form of coordination and cooperation. ICPAT also conducts workshops and seminars.

Mr Desta added that IGAD had drafted two conventions on mutual assistance and extradition. The intention of the convention on mutual assistance arose from the concern of counterterrorism and transnational organised crime. Whereas the second convention on extradition is not actively pursued as it has not been ratified by two member states: Ethiopia and Djibouti. North Sudan is expected to ratify shortly.

IGAD also has some cooperation with the Institute for Peace and Security Studies in Addis Ababa University. Mr Desta had given two lectures on community policing, counterterrorism and counter conflict at the grassroots level. IGAD also conducted a three-day workshop on community engagement in counterterrorism. Emphasis was placed on counterterrorism due to its important nature.

Mr Desta explained that CGCC chose IGAD as it is an interlinked body between ICPAT and ISSP and because it creates access to all IGAD member states. Similarly, ISSP also enjoy limited access to IGAD member states. He advised that ICPVTR should develop a partnership with IGAD and engage in the ISSP as a programme.

Mr Desta asserted that CGCC-ISSP has built a strong relationship with the Ethiopian government particularly with the military. They also share a focal relationship in the Ministry of Justice with whom they collaborate on capacity building and training, and assist in drafting certain laws. They also have direct communication with the police for project purposes. Collectively, the Ministry of Justice is responsible for coordinating the legislative aspect, police, intelligence, and police customs.

Mr Desta further explained that structurally, prisons and police are under a new ministry called the Ministry of Federal Affairs, which will coordinate with the Ministry of Justice. CGCC, however, enjoys a direct relationship with the police.

Venturing on the possibility of collaboration, Prof Gunaratna enquired whether the CGCC intended or had any interest in implementing a prison reform programme or rehabilitation for those who adopt extremist views. Mr Desta responded that there were some reform activities under the prison sector. Seven years back, he was responsible for the prison rehabilitation service because it was structured under the Minister of Justice. General training on prisoner rehabilitation was conducted. However, the focus was not specifically on terrorism and insurgency. Mr Desta added that the proper mentality is that prison should

be a rehabilitation centre for every detainee akin to the philosophy of the Ethiopian prison service.

He further clarified that if interpreted directly, the name of the prison Maremia actually means rehabilitation centre in Amharic. It carries the meaning of rehabilitating, training and educating. The philosophy is that the prisoners are to not only serve their sentence, but they need to change their minds and attitude especially upon their release. Mr Desta admitted that prison facilities are limited by their manpower, materials and space; but they try to provide the necessary technical and academic training to prisoners.

Mr Desta advised that IGAD would be an ideal partner if ICPVTR was looking for regional cooperation. However, for national cooperation, cooperating with the ministries or prison services themselves would suffice. Prof Gunaratna expressed his keenness for regional collaboration because insurgent and terrorist rehabilitation is something new for the region. He also expressed his interest to work with IGAD for a regional workshop on insurgent and terrorist rehabilitation.



Addis Ababa city centre

Mr Desta agreed that it was potentially a good idea for collaboration. CGCC has a very good understanding in terms of personal relationships, access to officers in the organisations, the culture and how the criminal justice system and judiciary work. Although he admitted that the issue of prison rehabilitation is not one of their priorities, he offered to help ICPVTR to design the programme. He also admitted that there is no institution in the region that is working on prison rehabilitation specifically for insurgents and terrorists. On ICPVTR's role in building a regional rehabilitation training programme, Prof Gunaratna offered to bring in rehabilitation specialists and experts. ICPVTR is also able to provide literature on conducting

different modes of rehabilitation such as religious rehabilitation, educational rehabilitation, vocational rehabilitation and psychological rehabilitation. Prof Gunaratna opined that Ethiopia is a good and secure location to run such a programme.

On the topic of religious expertise, ISSP has also worked with the Kenyan Muslim Youth Association (KMYA) in Kenya. However, Mr Desta expressed his reservation as the topic of Islamic fundamentalism is novel to the organisation. Ethiopia had similar programmes but not from within Ethiopia itself. Such programmes are important as Ethiopia was facing growing tension from youth from both Muslims and Christians. Previously, most of the teachers brought in by the Ethiopian government to train Ethiopian Muslim clerics came from abroad. This series of training was to facilitate the proper understanding of Islamic teachings.

He also mentioned that governments are very skeptical on this issue due to its sensitivity. Therefore, it will take time to establish government involvement. The Ministry of Federal Affairs is a key institution as it facilitates the key Ethiopian Muslim clerics training.

Mr Desta said that while it would not be easy to predict the emerging regional threat, there were a few things that were of critical importance.

Firstly, the problem in Somalia is in tandem with the problem in Yemen. Both countries are faced with instability and the lack of control by police. This loophole in turn provides access to fundamentalists to do whatever they wish.

Second is the problem of insurgency in terms of political instability and interlocked conflict in the region. The conflict in Sudan affects Ethiopia because of its interlocked nature. He shared that the only two countries with a stable relationship are Ethiopia and Kenya, notwithstanding minor ethnic conflict. These conflicts arose from the nature of their porous borders, which has led to the creation of new communities that are not recognized by the people. Extremists in the region are constantly growing. If governments and civil society are not proactive at efficiently and effectively handling these issues, a significant terrorist threat will develop in this region.

Mr Desta also highlighted the importance of nations solving political conflicts, as they would only worsen if left unresolved. He then highlighted the tension between Sudan and Uganda, and Uganda and Ethiopia. There is also a challenge in tackling these issues as states are simply focusing on physical hard power by bringing in military, which is not a lasting solution.

Mr Desta said that in Sudan, the insurgent issue is well handled. The problem is that Sudan supports the Lord Resistance Army from Uganda while Uganda supports the Sudanese People's Army (SPA). The SPA is now the government of the newly formed state of Southern Sudan. However, issues are developing within the SPA as former members of the SPA are now forming their own groups aimed at toppling the current government. Additionally, Sudan has created new insurgents to oppose the SPA. The scenario will probably take a positive turn. Mr Desta foresees the scenario of South Sudan and Uganda cooperating to assist in the problem of opposition in Sudan which, according to some reports, is already taking place.

Currently, Ethiopia and Sudan are tactfully handling their relationship. Mr Desta recalled when the Egyptian Islamic Jihad attempted to assassinate former Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak in Addis Ababa in 1995, the relationship between Ethiopia and Sudan soured when it was known that the assassins escaped to Sudan.

When asked about the spread of Salafism and Wahhabism in the region, he recommended an article by Abdi Said, a Kenyan, who wrote that Salafism was spreading significantly in the region.

With no other arising matters, the Singaporean delegation thanked Mr Desta for his insightful sharing.



ICPVTR delegation with Mr Tu'ema Desta at the CGCC-ISSP office

SESSION 8

3 July 2013, 12.00 pm

Meeting with Mr Abdi Rahman

Minister of Information and National Guidance, Somaliland

Ambassador Hotel

Hargeisa, Somaliland



ICPVTR delegation with Somaliland's Minister of Information and National Guidance, Mr Abdi Rahman, third from the left.

Prof Gunaratna opened the discussion with a comment stating that Somaliland has enjoyed significant economic and security progress, with the people optimistic and full of hope for the country. According to his assessment, the conflict in Somaliland seems to be diminishing. Minister Abdi Rahman revealed that for 10 years since 1981 to 1991, he was a guerilla fighter fighting against the Siad Barre regime for democracy. He was born in Somaliland but educated in Mogadishu, which was the most developed city in Africa at the time. He completed his education in Mogadishu in 1968.

The Minister affirmed that Somaliland would remain separate from Somalia. There was once the idea of creating a Greater Somalia that encompassed Somalia, Djibouti, Ogaden of Ethiopia and the North Eastern Province of Kenya, but this did not materialize.

The Minister also highlighted that Somalis face the problem of foreign intervention. Unlike Somalia, Somaliland does not face intervention from countries such as Kenya, Ethiopia and Uganda. The Minister claimed that the government of Somalia has its

own agenda, which further confounds the situation. Therefore, the future of Somalia is determined by its geopolitics.

On the threat of Al-Shabaab in Somaliland, the Minister said that the 2008 suicide bombings by Al-Shabaab were exaggerated. The bombings were carried out in three places; the UNDP, the Ethiopian consulate and the Puntland Intelligence Service offices. The Minister described the bombings as an isolated operation with the explosives derived from Mogadishu.

Minister Abdi Rahman also revealed that security in Somaliland is optimal as it is dependent on both the police and the people. For example, if a waiter in a restaurant observed something suspicious, he would not hesitate to report it to the authorities. As ever vigilant, the people may overzealously react instead of reporting their suspicions to the authorities. This quality is attributed to their deep sense of responsibility for communal security. This is unlike the Somali public who fear Al-Shabaab. Speaking of the Somaliland people, the Minister mentioned that they earn their livelihood by raising livestock such as

sheep, cattle and camel, and exporting them to Saudi Arabia.

Traditional democracy is very strong in Somaliland. Minister Abdi Rahman said the people vote for their president. According to him, in order for Somalia to become like Somaliland, reconciliation has to be made first between different political parties, tribes, clans and Al-Shabaab, followed by rehabilitation and reconstruction of the constitution. Initially there was no political party system in Somaliland. This changed in 1997 with the redrafting of the constitution which allowed the formation of political parties. Parties who get 20% of the vote become political parties while the rest have to register as political associations in order to compete. With regard to NGOs, Minister Abdi Rahman affirmed that most of them are international and are definitely playing a productive role.



Prof Gunaratna at a discussion with the Minister of Information and National Guidance, Mr Abdi Rahman

The Minister shared interesting information from a Gallup poll census where according to a happiness index, Somalilanders were found to be the happiest people in the world.

The Minister affirmed that individuals affected by the ideology of Al-Shabaab, Wahhabism or Salafi Jihadism are related to the members of these groups. Although

present in the country, their ideologies cannot spread as followers cannot reveal themselves and preach. According to the Minister, they are a small community of perhaps less than 5% and they are not only under the watch of the security and intelligence but also the community.

One of the roles of the Ministry of Information is to broadcast mainstream religious programmes daily. These programmes include Tafseer Al-Quran, Islamic traditions, and Islam's views on Jihad. They start with the recitation of verses from the Quran and end with Islamic songs. Minister Abdi Rahman informed that occasionally, the leadership of the Ministry of Information would come up with programmes to be broadcasted. The radio programmes were first started in 1942 while TV programmes started in 2005. The Minister asserted that he does not see extremism as a problem as much as it is a reality but with the allegiance and support of the community, extremism can be contained. There are foreign clerics and imams, especially the tabligh group from Pakistan, but they are not causing any trouble.

On the current and emerging threat of extremism in the Horn of Africa, the Minister replied that more serious problems such as hunger and poverty needed to be addressed first. If the people are engaged and given job opportunities, the Minister believed that they would not succumb to extremism.



Somali communal gathering in the desert

SESSION 9

3 July 2012, 2.00 pm

Meeting with Mdm Fatimah Ibrahim

Country Director

The Office for Development and Humanitarian Affairs (ODHA)

Hargeisa, Somaliland



ICPVTR delegation with Country Director of the Office for Development and Humanitarian Affairs (ODHA), Mdm Fatimah Ibrahim, first on the right.

Mdm Fatimah began by explaining that ODHA is 3 years old and works in various humanitarian areas. To protect ODHA's efforts, it takes added precautions of keeping a low profile due to the high level of threat within the community.

Mdm Fatimah opined that there is a lingering threat due to the ideology in use. Al-Shabaab exploits religion through their narrative that the west is trying to eradicate Islam and that Islamic teachings have been distorted. Upon their realisation that such narrative was only garnering support from abroad such as in Pakistan and Afghanistan, they have instead played to the people's sense of nationalism by alleging that Ethiopia and Kenya are invading their country. Such dissemination of information has resulted in educated young boys from the West and all over the world coming back to participate in the conflict. Through the use of traditional and new media such as blogs, twitter and Facebook, they are recruiting intelligent IT specialists.

Mdm Fatimah asserted that there is definitely a

significant shift from politico-religious ideology to politico-religious plus ethno-nationalist ideology. Al-Shabaab is able to sell nationalism in one area as a package for Somalis no matter where they are while using religious ideology to bring in foreigners. Within the last two to three years, they analysed that they could obtain larger funding and recruitment of individuals from Somaliland using both religious and ethno-nationalist ideology.

Speaking about child recruits, Mdm Fatimah said that the children are recruited as young as 14 years old. The younger they are, the easier they are to manipulate. This is the adopted approach of Al-Shabaab, whose name means the 'youth'. Mdm Fatimah added that there are madrasahs that are associated with Al-Shabaab. However, she confirmed that there are two regions, Borama and Burao, that are prone to these kinds of madrasahs.

Mdm Fatimah asserted that there is a lot of infiltration in the government. There are some, for example, from ISAF who will sympathise with Al-Shabaab due to

associations with the clan. Godane who is a Maasai, for instance, is from a tribe called Alab. As such, there will definitely be those from his tribe who are sympathetic and thus protective of him.

Mdm Fatimah commented that raising awareness within the community does not raise suspicion. For example, with regard to child abduction and trafficking, the people would be informed of all the different ways a child can be manipulated and abducted. The organisation even goes to schools to talk to the children, informing them that a stranger can take them away by convincing them that he sympathises with their religion, nationalism and problems.

Mdm Fatimah added that the organisation has a youth centre with counselors. It is another venue where the organisation can talk and counsel children while getting information. Apart from counseling, the centre also organises activities such as camping trips and sports events. By providing a conducive environment, a child will be more receptive to sharing information. Fatimah asserted that the youths do not necessarily visit the centre because they have issues and problems. The centre provides the space and facilities for basketball, volleyball, football, gym, library and internet. The centre therefore draws a lot of children from various areas.

Mdm Fatimah elaborated that she is a Somali who grew up in the UK. She used to work with the UN, focusing on security programmes, judiciary and human rights among other issues for many years. Her motivation to establish the organisation came about while working with the UN. She realized that there was a gap in all these talks of reestablishing government, demobilization, reintegration, gender and human rights. This gap arose as there was no youth engagement that is essential in changing the community's perception.

During her time in the UN, Mdm Fatimah said she was only working in Somalia, Somaliland and Puntland focusing on reintegration for people who were coming out of the Islamic Courts Union (ICU) and Al-Ittihad Al-Islamiya (AIAI). This was done by demobilisation first, and subsequently to either place former militias in the military or train them as civilian police officers. By leveraging on their skills, they were shown how to contribute to the security of their country. Mdm Fatimah also added that registration of light weapons was conducted simultaneously. This

was to limit the presence of ammunition and weapons in the community. Currently, for those who do own weapons, they are taught how to register and safely



The road to Hargeisa

store their weapons. Registration ensures that owners are not held responsible if their weapons are stolen and used in a crime.

The reintegration of ICU and Al-Shabaab was done in Puntland and Mogadishu. The programme unfortunately did not work in Mogadishu and only partly worked in Puntland. Mdm Fatimah added that due to the politically sensitive nature, the programme was carried out by NGOs rather than the UN. As for Somaliland, there was no need for reintegration. Instead, programmes that were conducted included the demobilization of former militias who fought against Siad Barre and working with child soldiers. Mdm Fatimah highlighted that she has an intervention programme in place to help channel youths into appropriate programmes. According to her, it is easy to channel locals into different areas and give them the necessary assistance while the children who came from abroad pose a challenge, especially when they are being radicalised or are inclined to radicalisation. The challenge would be how to work with the government of foreign countries and the parents of these children to convince them that their children are in danger.

The local programmes are much easier because the parents are somewhat aware of the danger. When they are informed of their children's problems, it is easier for them to accept and understand. If a specific local madrasah is facing this problem, the children can be put into a different environment. If they have been given the wrong Islamic teachings, credible mainstream Islamic teachers can be recruited to correct the teachings.

On working with experts from outside to engage with extremists, Mdm Fatimah informed that she has not worked with any. She has worked with Al-Shabaab on instances such as returning abducted children to their families. According to Mdm Fatimah, it is only practical to work with the administration in control of a certain area in order to resolve some problems.

Finally, when asked if ODHA is interested in rehabilitating captured members and whether the organisation has the capacity to do so, Mdm Fatimah replied that no such work is currently being done. ODHA does not have the capacity to run a rehabilitation programme but is certainly interested in being able to do so.



Prof Gunaratna with Mdm Fatimah Ibrahim at the ODHA office

SESSION 10

3 July 2012, 8.00 pm

Meeting with Mr Abdullahi Odowa

General Director

Observatory of Conflict and Violence Prevention (OCVP)

Hargeisa, Somaliland



ICPVTR delegation with the General Director of the Observatory of Conflict and Violence Prevention, Mr Abdullahi Odowa, third from the left, and his colleague, second from the left.

Mr Odowa went to Costa Rica to pursue his Masters degree with a scholarship from the University for Peace (UPEACE) in Costa Rica. This scholarship was established as a result of the UN's written proposal to the Dutch government for a programme focusing on the Horn of Africa, the Middle East and Southeast Asia. Mr Odowa and three others were successful in their applications. He also added that he received his secondary school education in Khartoum, Sudan and his first degree in medicine was in Nigeria.

Mr Odowa clarified that the Institute of Peace and Conflict Studies where he was previously a director is a separate institute from the Observatory. The Institute offers a one-year programme for a postgraduate diploma in peace and conflict. The Institute was established through a partnership programme between the University of Hargeisa, and both Eastern Mennonite University, USA and the University for Peace. With regard to Japanese nationals stationed at the Observatory, Odowa clarified that they are not working for the organisation. The Observatory is simply hosting them as they work on their own projects. One of their projects was the UNDP project that was funded by the Japanese government and the EU. The Japanese researchers are from a NGO and do not have many staff members.

On threat development and conflict in Somalia, Mr Odowa opined that the problem in Somalia is that the

20-year conflict will continue to affect social cohesion, local, regional and international interests. It seems that the system in Somalia is not in the hands of the Somalis themselves. Instead, the system has shifted to the hands of the region as well as the international community, thus creating friction and factions. Today, the war is focused on Al-Shabaab and a lot of interest has been put into the group. However, in Mr Odowa's opinion, a new kind of war would emerge if Al-Shabaab was to weaken and disappear. However, the group is now coming back in the South and the people responsible come from a particular clan occupying a particular territory. They are the same kind of people who created chaos in Somalia after the corruption of the state from 1992 until the ICU came into power. However, the conflicts of the past and present are different. According to Mr Odowa, the human abuse then was worse than what Al-Shabaab is doing to the country. Despite this, the present situation became a global issue as the group was identified as terrorist in nature by the international community. In the past, these individuals were viewed as terrorists only by Somalis.

Mr Odowa stated that the current government does not have the capacity to occupy and bring legitimate governance as Al-Shabaab is ceding ground. The issue is not the presence of foreign troops in Somalia but that the government cannot gain legitimacy from

the people. As it is disconnected from the people, the community bestows power to a selected group of people. Such arrangements made corruption rampant. Additionally, there is no system of accountability in the TFG, whose officials are corrupted. Therefore, securing a position in the TFG becomes a way out of poverty. Mr Odowa asserted that anytime a project comes to Somalia or there is a power shift, it is a huge problem as it creates struggle. Every clan, group and individual fights for a piece of the cake. In Mr Odowa's view, the government does not have the willingness or capacity to show the people on the ground that it can be an alternative.

On the perception of Al-Shabaab on Somaliland, Mr Odowa said that the group thinks both Somaliland and Puntland are bad. Al-Shabaab has developed a very exclusive and rigid understanding of Islam and if one does not adhere or agree to it, one is considered to be outside of Islam. It has strong control in certain areas, such as Merca in South Somalia, where people accept its leadership. With regard to Kismayo, according to Mr Odowa, AMISOM is not able to clear the city because the Somali government forces are not strong enough to gain access to the area. This is true for other areas. As AMISOM has limited troops and resources, it cannot stretch its troops because the chances of getting ambushed are very high.



*ICPVTR delegation with Mr Abdullahi Odowa
at the OCVF office*

Mr Odowa added that the UN mission is successful as far as curbing the influence of Al-Shabaab. However, it has not solved the problem because the countries involved have their own foreign policy. So it has now become a geopolitical issue rather than a social issue. One of the factors that brought Somalia to this level of instability was the way the international community approached the Somali problem, particularly after their withdrawal in 1992. They adopted a policy that left Somalis to their own business and let them fend for themselves or kill one another.

On Wahhabism and Salafi Jihadism in Africa, Mr Odowa explained that they differ from one country to another. They are definitely more prevalent in parts where there is a high population of Muslims such as in the north of Somalia, Mali and Senegal. It also depends on the system of governance in a country. In Mr Odowa's opinion, Boko Haram is not a religiously motivated group but more a sociopolitical one. The group is also not working with Al-Shabaab.

Mr Odowa explained that Somalis have traditional laws called *xeer* to maintain peace in the society. They are locally agreed principles created among the different clans and are not recorded in writing but memorized by traditional clan leaders. So, when there is an incident or problem between two clans, the solution to the problem becomes a *xeer*. When similar problems arise again, clan leaders and those who were present during the previous process of problem solving would gather to look up the *xeer* and engage in discussions, which sometimes take days. Sometimes the *xeer* between two clans are different thus making it hard to be generalized and recorded. At times they bring Islamic Sharia into some of the principles, resulting in a mix of *xeer* and Sharia. Traditional clan leaders are those who have extensive knowledge and wisdom of the *xeer* and they are present in every clan and region.

Prof Gunaratna believed that Mr Odowa has built the best research centre in Somaliland, and like the Kenyan Muslim Youth Alliance, the strength of the Observatory is that it is community-oriented, a character that good research centres must always have. Unfortunately most research centres are not community-oriented as they are run by intellectuals who are detached from what is happening on the ground. Mr Odowa agreed that research centres should be in the service of the community.



The OCVF HQ located within the University of Hargeisa

SESSION 11

4 July 2012, 8.00 am

Meeting with Mr Hussein Ahmed Aideed
Minister of Justice, Somaliland

Ambassador Hotel
Hargeisa, Somaliland



ICPVTR delegation with Somaliland's Minister of Justice, Mr Hussein Aideed, third from the right.

In relation to rehabilitation, the Minister affirmed that there are rehabilitation facilities within the prison compounds in Somaliland, with some in operation while others are under construction. There have also been discussions on setting up facilities outside prisons. Since the days of the former regime, the main prisons have had their own rehabilitation facilities, teaching skills like metalwork and sewing. In Hargeisa and Berbera prisons, recently established carpentry and metalwork facilities are now available. Some NGOs go to certain prisons and provide literacy programmes in the prisons for those who are interested. He added that the UNDP community security is starting an initiative directed at youths at risk together with the Justice Ministry.

With regard to spiritual rehabilitation, the Justice Ministry has received assistance and has collaborated with the Ministry of Endowment and Religious Affairs and Telesom, the largest telecommunication company in Somaliland. They have made an arrangement in which religious programmes that are taught at mosques are broadcasted to Hargeisa prison so that the prisoners can listen. These religious teachings, taught in the afternoons and evenings at mosques, have been in operation for one month. There is a group of religious clerics known as 'Al-Amru Bil Ma'ruf Wan Nahy Anil Munkar' that is working to instill the 'commanding right and forbidding wrong' principle throughout the

Somaliland community. The Minister has given them permission to visit prisons to teach prisoners. These are the programmes currently running but the Minister admitted that they need to have an organised system whereby all the prisons in Somaliland could benefit from such programmes. He hopes that more assistance could be provided so that all the prisons in Somaliland can have quality rehabilitation. For this, the Minister would welcome ICPVTR's assistance, suggestions and advice in this respect.

Prof Gunaratna commended the Minister's efforts in setting up rehabilitation programmes. He was particularly impressed with the collaborative effort of the Somali telecommunication system to broadcast programmes to prisons, as there have been some cases where terrorists in prison have used cellphones and loudspeakers to make broadcasts from inside prison. He advised that government resources, the private sector and the community need to be tapped for the establishment of a national rehabilitation programme in Somaliland. He suggested that the Minister recruit a dedicated cleric to be the assistant or even director of rehabilitation inside prisons so that he could manage and expand the programme. According to Prof Gunaratna, 25% of prisoners will return to criminality when they are released but if a very good rehabilitation programme is in place, that rate can be reduced to 10%.

The Minister asserted that under the criminal justice and prisons system inherited from the old system, if a prisoner behaved well, his sentence could be reduced. He also added that the parole system has been introduced particularly for youths, and he expects that UNICEF and Save the Children would help establish this system. Prof Gunaratna advised that the Ministry could also extend the custodial rehabilitation system to the community rehabilitation system by bringing in community institutions, elites, leaders, mosques, and NGOs. The Ministry could talk to selected private companies in Somaliland to offer employment to those who have been released from prison as this would reduce the chances of them going back to criminality. Unfortunately, the Minister revealed that unemployment has been a problem in the large part of the community so employing prisoners in the near future is unlikely.



Linear settlements in Somaliland

The Minister informed that in Somaliland, the custodial court, which falls under the purview of the Ministry of Justice, is responsible for managing the prisons while central or regional prisons can assign officers to any prisons. However, there seems to be a lack of resources and guidance for rehabilitation programmes. The Minister believes that ICPVTR could assist in this respect. He also mentioned that the problem for most prisons is that they are old, the oldest being in Berbera which was constructed in around the 18th or early 19th century by the Ottoman Empire. Other prisons were constructed during the British colonial period in the 1920s. There are seven major prisons in Somaliland and six or seven smaller ones in districts. Despite lacking in many facilities the Minister affirmed that rehabilitation facilities would be constructed outside the prisons. Additionally, the construction of new prisons is pertinent as there is an increase in crime rates.

The Minister said that rehabilitation centres are important particularly for youths. The reality is

that children are affected by the circumstances around them and thus require longer periods of rehabilitation for their own security, at least until the age of 16. Unfortunately, Somaliland has yet to build such centres. These children are, therefore, kept in prisons. Currently, Somaliland is seeking assistance in establishing these centres. There is also a need to develop a special programme for prisoners with extremist ideologies. The Minister assured that these prisoners such as Al-Shabaab members are kept away from other criminals.

On his background, the Minister studied law but became a police officer. He also went to the naval staff college in Rhode Island.

Prof Gunaratna advised that it is pertinent that Somaliland build closer relations with Asia as the region is rapidly developing. According to his assessment, in the next 10 to 20 years, Africa will develop so rapidly because of its abundant natural resources. Although there is conflict, Prof Gunaratna believed that Africa's future is very bright because the indicators of conflict in China in the late 80s and 90s were very similar to the continent of Africa. The potential for growth in Africa is big. As long as there are big developments, in Prof Gunaratna's view, the potential for conflict will also go down because economic development is the key to dampen pressures of conflict.

With regard to security intelligence in Somaliland, the country has an independent security agency that comes under the President's directive.

Prof Gunaratna suggested that listing terrorist resources is more important than listing terrorist finance. With the new trend in Africa and other countries, terrorist resources must be criminalized more than terrorist finance because they may use properties and commodities. The Minister informed that the British government is assisting Somaliland with counter terrorism laws.



Prof Gunaratna at a discussion with the Minister of Justice, Mr Hussein Aideed

SESSION 12

5 July 2012, 9.00 am

Meeting with Dr Mesfin Gebremichael,
PhD Program Coordinator and
Senior Researcher for
African Peace and Security Studies
African Union and Institute for Peace and Security Studies
Addis Ababa University
Addis Ababa, Ethiopia



With Dr Mesfin Gebremichael, third from the right, at Addis Ababa University.

Dr Gebremichael introduced the Institute for Peace and Security Studies (IPSS) as an institute within Addis Ababa University. It was established in 2006 and its main purpose is to conduct Masters and PhD courses in peace and security studies. IPSS is affiliated to the University for Peace by the United Nations which is located in Costa Rica.

The first pillar of IPSS is its teaching programme. Its Masters degree is endorsed by both Addis Ababa University and the University for Peace. There were approximately one hundred Masters graduates since 2006 until the time of the interview. In 2010 it started a PhD programme in peace and security studies. Overall, the purpose of IPSS is to train Masters and PhD level experts and conduct research primarily in the Horn of Africa. This is an aspect that has been going well. So far, they have trained many leaders who are working at government institutes and other facilities.

Dr Gebremichael pointed out that the contribution of IPSS's teaching programme is significant. IPSS also has another programme in collaboration with the African Union (AU) called the African Peace and Security Programme for both masters and PhD level. This programme, which commenced in 2009, is specially designed to teach practitioners working in the AU and other regional and international organisations.

Presently, they are teaching a fourth batch of students. He took pride that a number of senior government officials from countries like Kenya, Uganda, South Africa and Nigeria had graduated from this Masters programme. The Masters programme is a combination of residential and online courses. Students will stay at the university for two weeks while the rest of the programme is conducted online. The programme is delivered by well-known scholars who come from different universities such as the University of South

Africa. There were 31 Masters students and another 20 students taking the Masters course online.

IPSS offers three masters and two PhD programmes. The latest programme started in October 2012 is on global peace and security studies.

He shared that IPSS just recently received autonomy from Addis Ababa University and said that having financial autonomy was important.

The second main pillar of IPSS activities is the research component. IPSS has worked with the AU to be a centre of excellence in researching peace and security issues. For the purposes of research in this field, AU has provided sponsorship for IPSS. The main theme of IPSS research is: African solutions to African problems. They have started some research activities focused in the Republic of Congo, Somalia and South Sudan as these areas are viewed as the most volatile areas with a number of problems.

Dr Gebremichael further elaborated that in Somalia, much research has been done at both the international and regional levels. The difference with IPSS research is that it is focused on action-oriented research that explores the positive experiences at the grassroots. The perception in Somaliland, which is part of Somalia, is that everything has collapsed, but he is not convinced that that is the reality. He reiterated the significance of development that must be explored, even in the context of Somalia.

IPSS also organised a conference in December 2011 in Hargeisa, Somaliland. The findings were to be published in an edited volume. The aim of the conference was to explore how the formal state institute and the traditional ways of conflict management integrate and how they contribute to the stability of the country. The research was very extensive as it was done by people who worked in different institutes in Somaliland.

The same activity was done in South Sudan but the research was focused on supporting government to establish a mechanism for conflict mapping. They also ran some activities in the Republic of Congo in 2011. Dr Gebremichael informed that the research is still ongoing.

The third pillar of IPSS is its outreach activities. This includes organising conferences that bring together African scholars and statesmen to discuss African

related issues. One of IPSS's major activities was conducting a forum on security in Africa. This forum will now be conducted annually. The forum, called the Tana High-Level Forum on Security in Africa, was attended by the Somali president, the Ugandan president, the former Nigerian president along with several prime ministers. The agenda of the conference was state stability and diversity in Africa. It is an informal discussion that could influence African security in different areas.

Dr Gebremichael recalled that IPSS started off with just six staff members, but now has nearly 30 members from all around Africa. It also has staff stationed in several African countries. The reason IPSS has administrative staff in the university is because of the students who are taking online courses sponsored by the AU. IPSS supports these students by providing accommodation and other administrative matters. There are also staff members stationed in the areas where case studies are being undertaken. One staff member is working in Congo, two in South Sudan, and two or three working as consultants in Mogadishu.

Dr Gebremichael credited IPSS's rapid development over the last 6 years to the fact that IPSS is the first institute in Ethiopia focusing on peace and security studies. There was also a high demand for this kind of institute from international and regional organisations.

Some of the issues IPSS attempts to address are related to specific African solutions to specific African problems. Africa is a vast continent and each region has its own unique characteristics.

IPSS attempts to bring these issues into debate. Dr Gebremichael opined that there are religious issues across the East and the West of Africa. Extremist ideology is causing a problem and East Africa is highly influenced by the Middle East.

IPSS focuses on African issues and the issues that influence Africa. It is also trying to establish collaboration with China.

Prof Gunaratna shared some input on Africa. He opined that Asia is now on the rise. ICPVTR, which is located in the heart of Asia, is training a new generation of leaders at RSIS. ICPVTR is keen on building knowledge and understanding in Africa as many people have a negative image of Africa, thinking that it is a place for genocide and famine. However, he reckoned that

Africa may be the next continent to rise after Asia in the next ten to twenty years.

Prof Gunaratna suggested that Africa train good leaders, who will be able to guide Africa in the coming years.

ICPVTR has expertise in a few areas. One is related to insurgency, extremism and terrorist rehabilitation. He offered to collaborate with IPSS in providing training

for capacity building in the above. Prof is keen to help Africa build its capacity to provide rehabilitation to insurgents.

The second area of collaboration is the Masters programme. ICPVTR could offer scholarships for IPSS masters graduates to take second masters at RSIS. Recipients would then be more familiar with Asia.



Visit to IPSS, Addis Ababa University

About The S. Rajaratnam School Of International Studies (RSIS)

The S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies (RSIS) was established in January 2007 as an autonomous School within the Nanyang Technological University (NTU). RSIS mission is to be a leading research and graduate teaching institution in strategic and international affairs in the Asia-Pacific. To accomplish this mission, RSIS will:

- provide a rigorous professional graduate education in international affairs with a strong practical and area emphasis
- conduct policy-relevant research in national security, defence and strategic studies, diplomacy and international relations
- collaborate with like-minded schools of international affairs to form a global network of excellence

The RSIS teaching programme consists of Master of Science (MSc) degrees in Strategic Studies, International Relations, International Political Economy and Asian Studies as well as The Nanyang MBA (International Studies) offered jointly with the Nanyang Business School and the NTU-Warwick Double Masters Programme which seeks to provide an educational platform articulating the economic, political, social and strategic influences impacting Asia and the western world.

Research at RSIS is conducted by five constituent institutes and centres: the Institute of Defence and Strategic Studies (IDSS), the International Centre for Political Violence and Terrorism Research (ICPVTR), the Centre of Excellence for National Security (CENS), the Centre for Non-Traditional Security Studies (NTS) and the Temasek Foundation Centre for Trade & Negotiations (TFCTN). The focus of research is on issues relating to the security and stability of the Asia-Pacific region and their implications for Singapore and other countries in the region.

For more information on RSIS, please visit www.rsis.edu.sg

About the International Centre for Political Violence and Terrorism Research (ICPVTR)

The International Centre for Political Violence and Terrorism Research (ICPVTR) is a specialist centre within the S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies (RSIS) at Nanyang Technological University, Singapore. ICPVTR conducts research, training and outreach programmes aimed at reducing the threat of politically motivated violence and at mitigating its effects on the international system.

Its core objectives are:

- To conduct sustained research and analyses of terrorist, guerrilla, militia, and extremist political groups and their support bases. To identify the strengths and weaknesses of international, state and societal responses in managing the threat of political violence.
- To provide high-quality instruction and training for officials and future leaders engaged in combating terrorism and other forms of political violence.
- To advise governments and inform societies affected by political violence on how best to manage the current and evolving threat.

For more information on ICPVTR, visit: www.pvtr.org.



S. RAJARATNAM SCHOOL OF INTERNATIONAL STUDIES

A Graduate School of Nanyang Technological University