NEGOTIATING WITH AL-SHABAAB

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INTRODUCTION

- Research commissioned by then-President Hassan Sheikh Mohamud followed by President Mohamed Abdullahi Mohamed of Somalia and the UN Special Representative, Michael Keating
- Conducted by FinnChurch Aid (FCA)
- Presented on 12/13 February 2018 in Mogadishu, Somalia
- Interviews conducted with:
 - > 17 mid-management al-Shabaab members
 - >52 interviews with rank-and-file members

CONCLUSION TO THE CONFLICT

How conflicts ended between 1968 - 2006:

- >43% through a political process
- >7% through military defeat

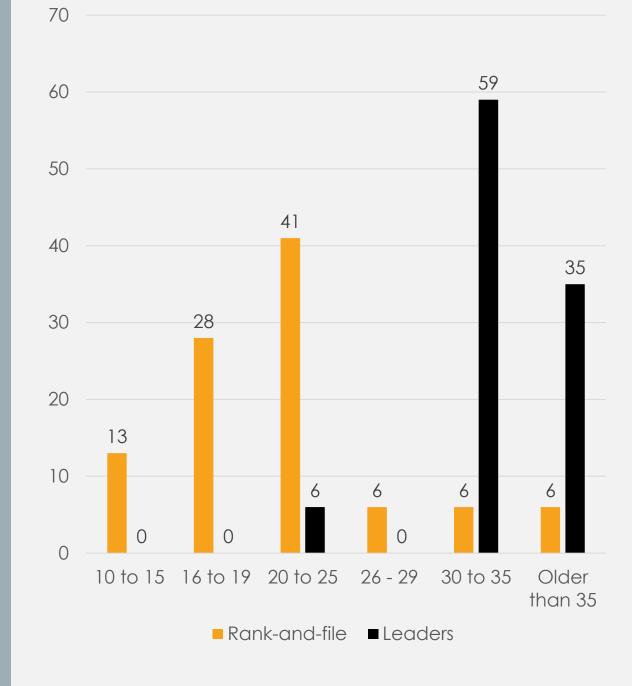
Role players

- Somali Government not formalized (preferred flexibility)
- 2. International Actors
 - No negotiations
 - Modeliation out of position of

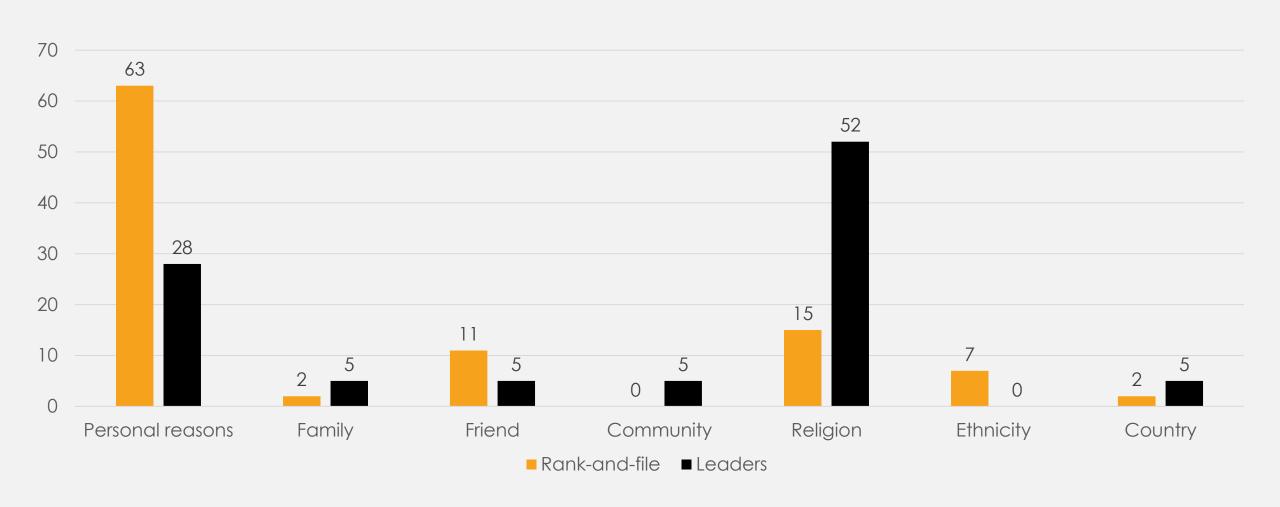
- 3. Al-Shabaab Official position:
 - > Executive Council -
 - NO Negotiations
 - > Foreign fighters vs Somalis
 - > Leaders vs rank-and-file
- 4. Public
 - >24% against military approach
 - >76% negotiated solution

DIFFERENCE IN SAMPLES: LEADERS VS. RANK-AND-FILE

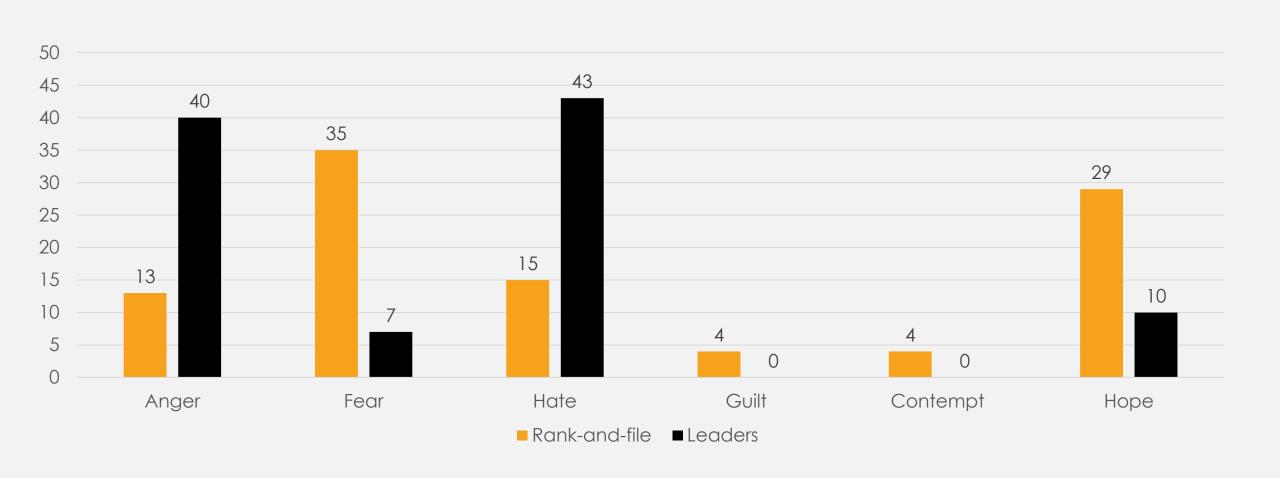
AGE



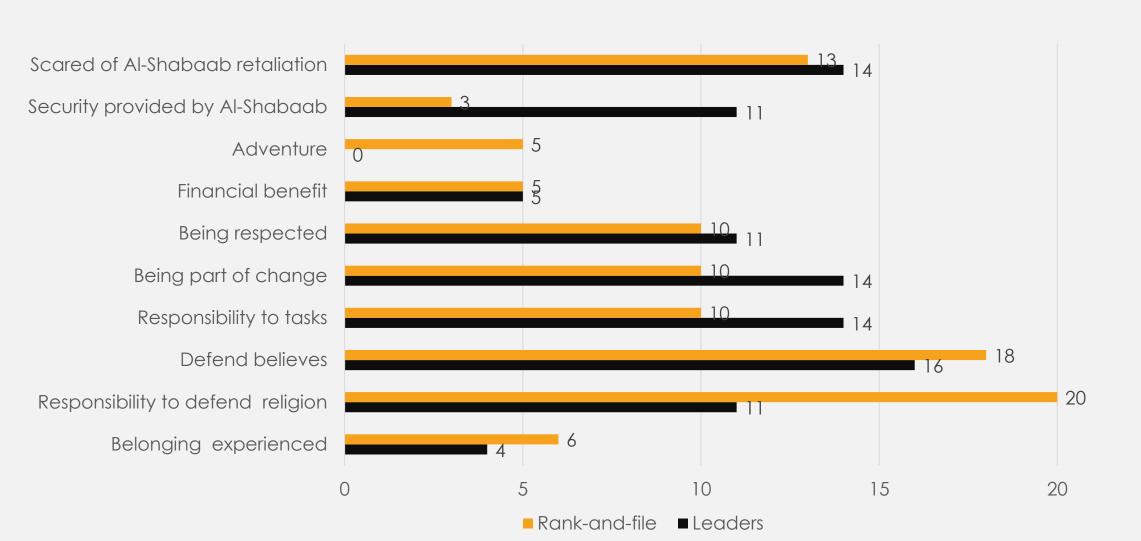
REASON FOR JOINING AL-SHABAAB



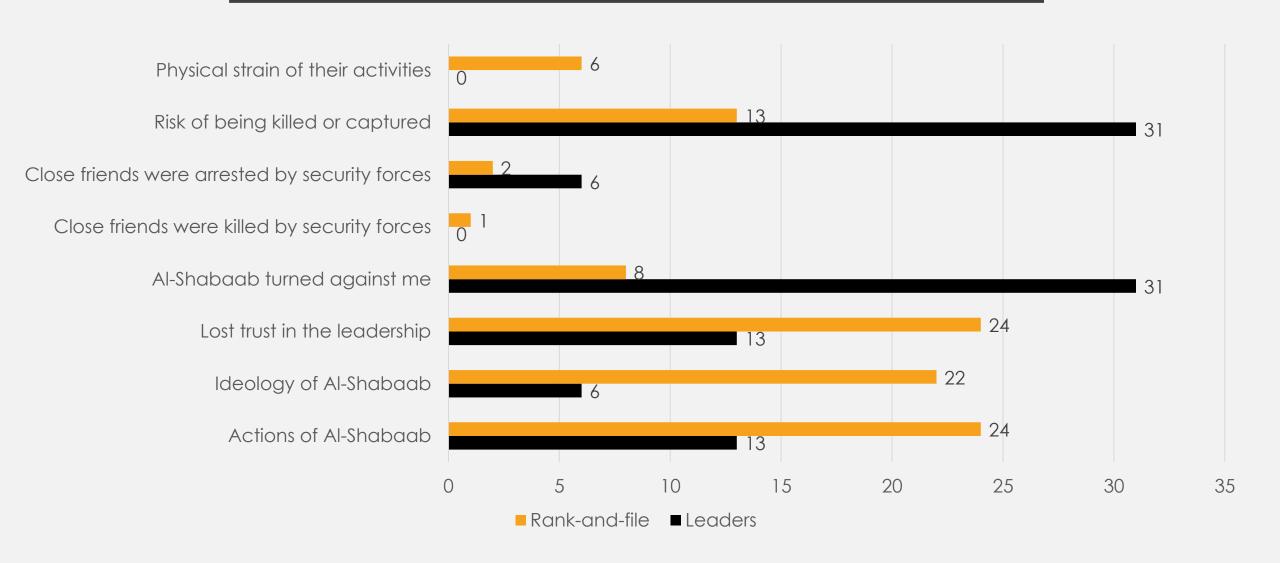
EMOTION AT TIME OF JOINING



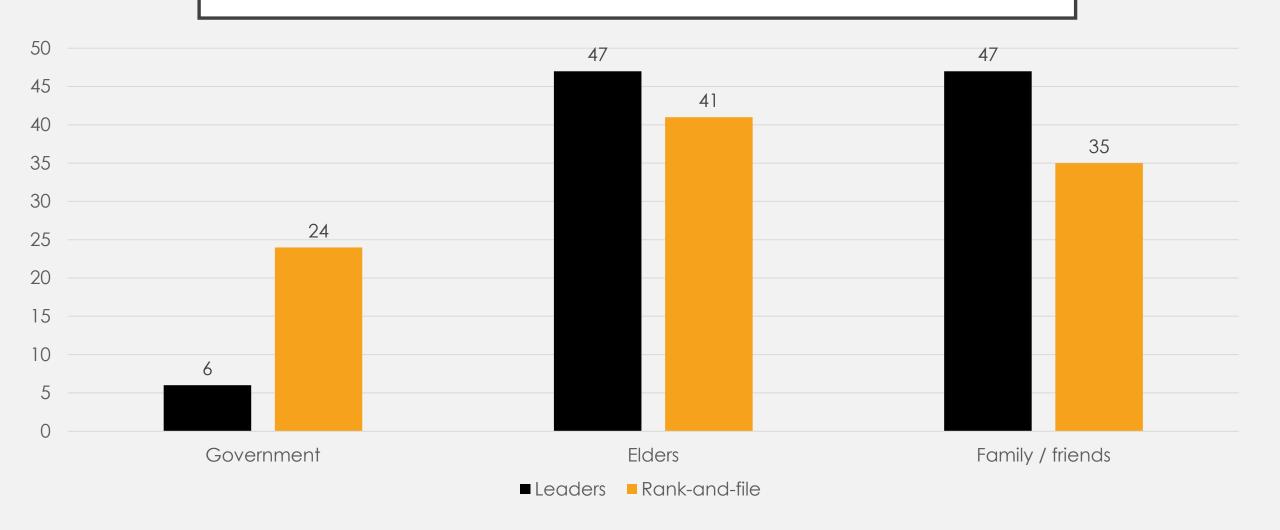
STAY IN AL-SHABAAB



REASON FOR DISENGAGING

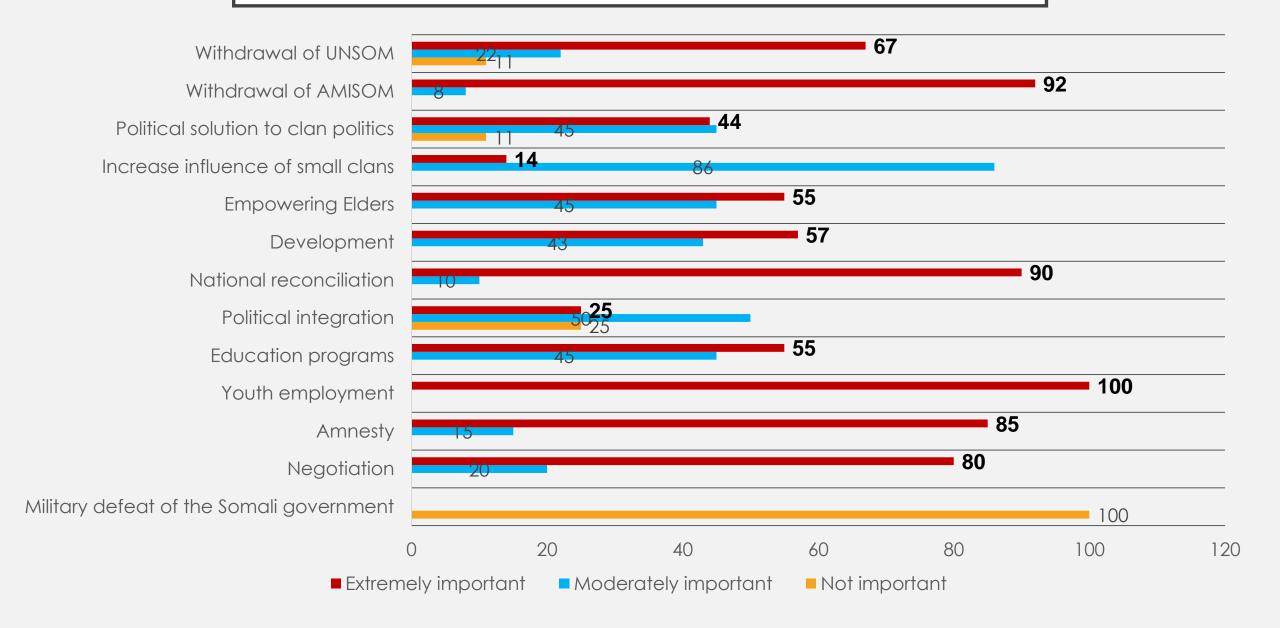


ACTORS FACILITATING DISENGAGEMENT

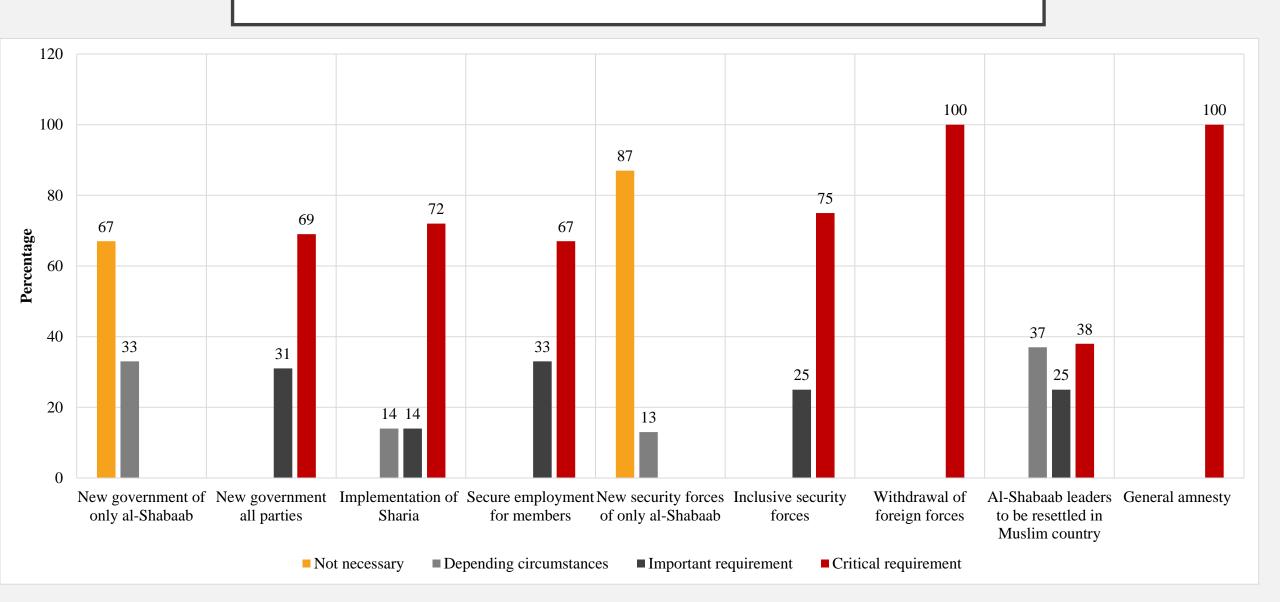


POSITION OF LEADERS ON NEGOTIATIONS

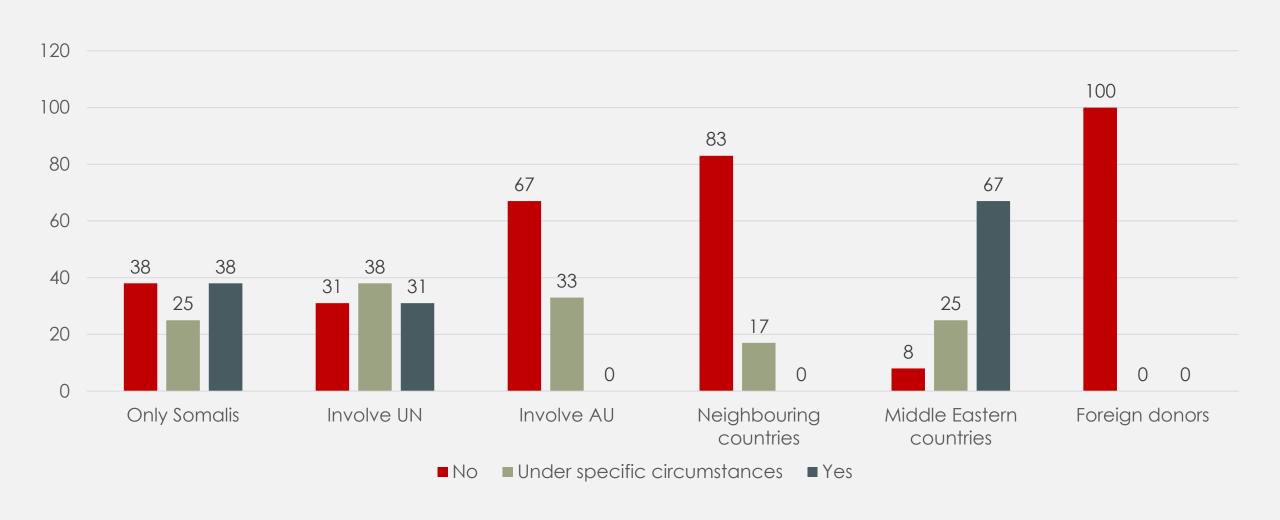
SOLUTION TO THE CONFLICT (LEADERS)



CONDITIONS FOR NEGOTIATIONS



EXTERNAL ROLE-PLAYERS



POSITION OF SOMALIS

Interviews conducted by Saferworld in Gedo (Upper Juba Region) and Afgoye (Lower Shebelle):

- 1. Al-Shabaab provided justice that is:
 - i. Free
 - ii. Much fairer than statutory / customary systems
 - iii. Not linked to clan affiliation
- 2. Eradicate the use of khat
- 3. Less corrupt and more structured tax collection
- 4. Even wanted al-Shabaab to return to areas liberated by government forces

CONCLUSION

Lessons from previous negotiation attempts:

- Khartoum talks in 2006 between the TFG and ICU Refusal of regional actors to accept the deal
- 2. Djibouti 2008/2009 Alliance for the Re-Liberation of Somalia consisted to 'moderates' and 'hardliners' negotiations exclusively with 'moderate' faction

Amnesty (60-days)

Classification and treatment of defectors

Funding for AMISOM - UNSC Resolution 2372 (August 2017) phased withdrawal program: +/-21,000 AMISOM troops to leave Somalia by the end of 2020