HAS THE US MILITARY IN THE HORN OF AFRICA BEEN A FORCE THAT EMBRACES STRATEGIC KNOWLEDGE AND PERSPECTIVE IN COUNTERING VIOLENT EXTREMISM AND ASSISTING WITH SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT?

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The United States military has demonstrated difficulties in embracing strategic knowledge and perspective in its approaches to countering violent extremism and assisting with sustainable development in the Horn of Africa. This paper examines the efforts of US Africa Command (AFRICOM), the Combined Joint Task Force-Horn of Africa (CJTF-HOA), and civil affairs (CA) teams in their missions to address security concerns, generate good will, promote sustainable development, and strengthen the capabilities of regional militaries. Also discussed are the efforts of the US Department of State which has adopted an indirect, but assertive approach to working with regional governments and organizations against violent extremism, particularly in Somalia.

INTRODUCTION

This research report focuses on the role that the US military has played in the Horn of Africa,[†] especially since September 11, 2001. It answers the following question: has the military embraced strategic knowledge and perspective in its overall approach in countering violent extremism and assisting with sustainable development? In particular, the report examines the civil affairs activities of the Combined Joint Task Force-Horn of Africa (CJTF-HOA) and its efforts to win hearts and minds, generate good will, and build partnership capacity.[1] In the 2000s, well-drilling by US military civil affairs units was partly intended to provide environmental security and sustainable development for Somali pastoralists, win their hearts and minds, and prevent them from sympathizing with violent extremist organizations, particularly Al Shabaab in Somalia.[2] The strategic shortcomings of the hearts and minds campaign led CJTF-HOA in the 2010s to embrace strategic knowledge and shift to an approach that focused on building the partnership capacity and civil affairs capabilities of Eastern African militaries. In particular, CJTF-HOA's strategic focus has been on generating good will and strengthening the

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[*] The opinions expressed in this research report are those of the author and do not necessarily reflect the opinions and policies of the US Air War College, the US Air Force, the Department of Defense, or any other US Government branch.

[†] The "Horn of Africa" consists of Somalia, Ethiopia, Djibouti, and Eritrea. "Eastern Africa" consists of Somalia, Ethiopia, Djibouti, Eritrea, Kenya, Uganda, Tanzania, Rwanda, Burundi, South Sudan and South Sudan. "East Africa" refers to the East African Community (EAC), with Kenya, Uganda, Tanzania, Rwanda and Burundi. The Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD) consists of Djibouti, Ethiopia, Somalia, Kenya, Uganda, South Sudan and Sudan. The "area of responsibility" of the Combined Joint Task Force-Horn of Africa (CJTF-HOA) consists of Somalia, Ethiopia, Djibouti, Eritrea, Kenya, South Sudan, South Sudan, and Seychelles. CJTF-HOA's "area of interest" consists of Uganda, Tanzania, Rwanda, Burundi, Yemen, Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC), Chad, Mozambique, Comoros, Madagascar and Mauritius (See Appendix A).

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capabilities of militaries involved in peace enforcement in Somalia and enabling them to win hearts and minds.

The report also analyzes how the US military has fit into the strategy of the US government towards countering violent extremism in Somalia and the Horn of Africa since the US embassy bombings by Al Qaeda in August 1998 and since September 11, 2001. US strategy has been "indirect," which contrasts with direct intervention in Afghanistan and Iraq. The United States has relied on partners in Uganda, Burundi, Ethiopia, Kenya, and Djibouti as well as Somalis to do the fighting and has helped to rebuild the state of the Republic of Somalia and strengthen states and societies in the struggle against extremism. The United States has conducted "dual track" diplomacy in which support was given for the reconstitution of the Republic of Somalia, as well as negotiations involving non-state actors, such as conflict resolution NGOs from civil society, warlords and the breakaway Republic of Somaliland, which would fight against violent extremists.[3] The United States also conducted special operations against violent extremists. At issue are the lessons that have been learned over the past decade and where the components of US strategy (including military strategy) stand and where they might lead.

Also at issue is US support for sustainable development in the Horn. In recent years, the US Agency for International Development (USAID) has reasserted its leading role as the US entity that assists development, working through nongovernmental organizations (NGOs). The US military has dropped back from an autonomous role to a supporting one. There have been no more independent initiatives by CJTF-HOA to assist sustainable development.

The Department of State (DoS) and Department of Defense (DoD) have had divergent approaches towards the Horn of Africa. DoD has concentrated on counter-terrorism by special operations forces and remotely piloted aircraft (RPA), as well as engagement with Eastern African countries and the building of partnership capacity, with CJTF-HOA playing a prominent role. DoD has been reluctant to become too deeply involved in Somalia partly because of the October 1993 "Black Hawk down" experience (and the death of eighteen US special forces personnel), which led to the withdrawal of US forces from the country. Since then, there has been unwillingness to put "boots on the ground" in large numbers in Somalia again. Also, the invasion and occupation of Afghanistan and Iraq has diverted the attention of DoD since 2001. CJTF-HOA personnel have not been allowed to operate in any part of Somalia, though US special forces have been active there on a covert basis. CJTF-HOA has played a role in determining military strategy in the Horn of Africa and devised the hearts and minds campaign and building partnership capacity approach. Recently, US Africa Command (AFRICOM) has established control over CJTF-HOA and worked to gain a greater say over US security policy in Eastern Africa, and lessen the monopoly of US embassies over security cooperation.

In response to the rise of Al Qaeda, the DoS responded with the East African Counter-Terrorism Initiative (EACTI) and later the East African Regional Strategic Initiative (EARSI). They were launched as interagency efforts to enable African states to strengthen their borders and intelligence and policing capacity and enhance aviation security and safety.[4] Since 2007, DoS has focused on backing African then Somali partners to defeat Al Shabaab and reconstitute a state in Somalia, which it was hoped would put an end to a significant source of violent extremism in the Horn of Africa. This included supporting proxy armies in Somalia, with the hope that they would curb extremist expansion. Initially, DoS supported Somali warlords as a counter against extremists. In December 2006, the United States acquiesced to the Ethiopian invasion of Somalia as a way of defeating the extremist elements of the Islamic Courts Union (ICU).[5]

Since 2007, the United States has spent over $650 million,[6] and DoS has led in arranging a wide range of support for the African Union Mission in Somalia (AMISOM) and the Transitional Federal Government (TFG) in Somalia in the hope that they could defeat Al Shabaab and establish national security and constitutional order. The DoS strategy met with skepticism on the part of those who asserted that the best that could be hoped for in Somalia was "stability" and a balance of power among the clans and sub-clans.[7] However, in 2011 and 2012, the DoS strategy scored significant successes; AMISOM and Somali forces pushed Al Shabaab out of urban centers in Somalia and a new constitution and government of Somalia with a president from civil society was put in place. DoS has entered a new phase in Somalia where it must decide whether to continue to engage indirectly or become more directly involved in rebuilding Somalia and preventing the resurgence of Al Shabaab and violent extremism. DoS is proceeding cautiously in reestablishing a US embassy in Mogadishu, especially after the 2012 attack on the US Consulate in Benghazi, Libya.

Strategic Knowledge and Perspective and Report Methodology

Evaluation of strategic knowledge and perspective in countering violent extremists involve assessment of US interests and goals and the ways and means to achieve them. For example, strategic knowledge and perspective were deficient in the decision to invade Iraq as a way of preventing violent extremists from getting access to weapons of mass destruction. The primary US interest in Eastern Africa is security from violent extremist attacks against US embassies, businesses and citizens and against the US homeland. One threat is from pro-Al Shabaab Somali nationals living in Minneapolis and other American cities and the possibility that they might mount attacks on the homeland. Al Shabaab has links with Al Qaeda Central (AQ-C) along the Afghan-Pakistan border and Al Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula (AQAP) and has issued threats against US interests. However, the threat from Al Shabaab is less serious than the one posed by AQ-C and AQAP, which still have the proven potential to mount attacks on the

United States and its interests. Al Shabaab has carried on attacks outside Somalia but has not yet attacked US interests in Africa or the United States.

Given US interests and the threat, the strategic options have been (1) elimination of violent extremist organizations; (2) containment within the borders of Somalia or (3) marginalization within Somalia. A strategy of elimination would have been too costly and unachievable; Al Shabaab has been elusive.[8] Containment was viable but risky; Al Shabaab still could have attempted to mount an attack on US interests in the sub-region and the homeland. The marginalization of Al Shabaab appeared feasible and the most desirable for US security interests, weakening the organization so that militants could not attack the US homeland and US interests. The strategy involved pushing Al Shabaab out of urban areas.

In regard to the ways that could used to accomplish the ends, the three options for the United States were (1) counterterrorism and securing borderlands in Kenya, Ethiopia and Djibouti; (2) working with African forces and Somalis to marginalize Al Shabaab and reconstitute the Republic of Somalia; or (3) putting US boots on the ground in Somalia to eliminate Al Shabaab. The first option was chosen by the DoD, while DoS adopted the second one.

In regard to means, pursuing an elimination strategy and placing US boots on the ground in Somalia would have cost tens of billions of dollars and dozens if not hundreds of American lives. The means for containment, pursued by DoD, have cost billions of dollars. The means for marginalization were military force to push Al Shabaab out of Somalia's urban areas and the hundreds of millions of dollars that DoS spent on training and equipping Ugandan, Burundian and Kenyan AMISOM forces.

The US military's containment strategy, including plans to generate good will among sub-regional partners and build partnership capacity and win the hearts and minds of Somali pastoralists, did not appear to have been indicative of strategic knowledge and perspective. The strategy addressed peripheral issues with the hope that would have an effect on trends inside Somalia. It attempted to contain Al Shabaab and not to marginalize the movement. Also, the strategy of US Civil Affairs (CA) teams working with African CA teams in order to build their capabilities appears to thus far have had limited impact. In particular, Kenyan CA teams have trained and exercised with US CA teams, but they have not engaged with Somalis as AFRICOM and CJTF-HOA preferred.

In explaining the US military's shortcomings in embracing strategic knowledge and perspective in the Horn of Africa, one hypothesis is that the more a military force is casualty averse, the less it will be able to apply strategic knowledge and perspective to fighting extremists. The Black Hawk down episode in Mogadishu in 1993 set a precedent for casualty aversion. The second hypothesis is that the US military is likely to seek out new roles and missions no matter how detached from strategic knowledge and perspective, producing "mission creep." This is likely to happen as organizations seek to justify their existence.

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The third hypothesis is that the fact that the US military has been constrained by having to operate in a "Title 22 zone" where US ambassadors can veto the plans of combatant commanders and which prevents the military from carrying out anything more robust than a containment strategy. This constraint prevents the US military from demonstrating strategic knowledge and perspective.

The fourth hypothesis is that the short rotations of CJTF-HOA leaders and CA teams prevent organizational learning that is central to developing strategic knowledge and perspective. CJTF-HOA leaders and CA teams rotate every year or less, while diplomacy, development and defense officials in the US embassies usually rotate every three years. Stable and mature organizations with leaders who are held accountable are better able to learn and change in an ambiguous environment, while unstable organizations with constantly rotating leaders are not as capable of learning and developing strategic knowledge and perspective.[9]

The focus in this report is on US military strategy and activities, while the scope encompasses the US government's two different approaches in the Horn. It appears that the DoS strategy and approach were more effective than that of the US military. DoS focused on Somalia and devised plans to push back violent extremists and reconstitute the Somali state, thereby marginalizing Al Shabaab and exhibiting strategic knowledge and perspective. DoS also exhibited organizational learning and adjustment from its failed approaches.[‡] DoD also demonstrated a reluctance to engage with AMISOM and the Somali Transitional Federal Government (TFG) before 2012.

The methodology of the report involves analyzing and comparing DoS and DoD approaches in the Horn of Africa, especially towards the principal problem of Somalia, as well as providing and evaluating the perspectives of US military and civilian personnel in five strategic locations – AFRICOM HQ in Stuttgart, Germany and CJTF-HOA HQ, Djibouti and US embassies in Nairobi, Addis Ababa and Djibouti. The different vantage points provide varying perspectives on US strategy and implementation. Among military personnel, most of the interviews were conducted with senior and mid-level officers in the J2 (intelligence and knowledge development) and J5 (strategic planning and policy) as well as defense officials in the embassies. Among civilian personnel, the interviews were with senior officials from DoS and USAID in the embassies. The viewpoints were representative of the strategic knowledge and perspectives of AFRICOM and CJTF-HOA and the embassies. There were also perspectives provided by officials in Washington, DC.[10] The report lays out the different perspectives and evaluates them, based on the larger strategic aims that the United States has established in Africa and Southwest Asia, especially in countering Al Qaeda, Al Shabaab and other violent extremist organizations. The evaluation also includes assessment of cost-effectiveness and organizational learning.

[‡] In fairness to DoD, its mission was to support DoS in security cooperation pertaining to Somalia. CJTF-HOA conducted a considerable amount of training and exercises with Ugandan, Burundian and Kenyan forces.

THE US MILITARY APPROACH IN THE HORN OF AFRICA AN DCTJF-HOA

After the August 1998 US embassy bombings in Kenya and Tanzania, the United States identified the Horn of Africa as one of the areas where Al Qaeda had to be countered. In particular, Al Qaeda operatives were moving back and forth between the East African coast and the Arabian Peninsula. The Defense Department and US Central Command established CJTF-HOA in Djibouti with the aim of interdicting Al Qaeda militants.

CJTF-HOA interdiction of Al Qaeda operatives diminished, leading to a search for other roles and missions. CA activity began in 2003, as CJTF-HOA explored new roles and missions. In 2005, CJTF-HOA CA activity ramped up in a campaign to win hearts and minds in Kenya, Ethiopia and Djibouti. The campaign centered on the drilling of wells for Somali pastoralists living in areas adjacent to Somalia (especially in Kenya's North East Province and Ethiopia's Somali or Ogaden Province) to provide water for sustainable development, especially for their herds. The CJTF-HOA CA teams also they built schools and clinics to help local populations in the provision of education and health care. The strategy to provide Somali pastoralists with water would supposedly win Somali hearts and minds for the United States and Horn of Africa states and lessen support for violent extremists, including Al Qaeda. The aim was to win over Somalis in Ethiopia's Ogaden/Somali Region and Kenya's North East Province and thereby to have an effect inside Somalia. There are clan linkages across borders. Another aim was to build rapport between Ethiopian and Kenyan authorities and their Somali populations.

The problems facing Somali pastoralists have been excess livestock and insufficient water and grazing land. Somali pastoralists move back and forth from Ethiopia, Kenya and Djibouti to Somalia and need water and grazing land. However, the CJTF-HOA teams have had limited knowledge of Somali pastoralists and clan politics and the sensitivities of the Ethiopian and Kenyan governments towards their Somali populations.

The CJTF-HOA campaign was based on the experience of two commanding generals who had served with the US Marine Corps as non-commissioned officers in the Civil Operations and Revolutionary Development Support (CORDS) counterinsurgency program in Vietnam.[11] The CA campaign was launched with the approval of the Ethiopian and Kenyan governments and limited participation by some of their militaries.

The CA campaign experienced some initial successes; for instance, in drilling wells side-by-side with Kenyan drilling teams in the Mandera Triangle, where Kenya, Ethiopia and Somalia meet. CJTF-HOA also began to cooperate with USAID in its CA projects. The "diplomacy, development, defense" (3 D) approach emerged, including cooperation among CJTF-HOA, USAID and US embassies in the sub-region.[12]

The campaign scored some initial successes but experienced serious setbacks in Ethiopia in 2007 and Kenya in 2009. In 2007, CJTF-HOA CA teams were asked to leave the Ogaden/Somali region by Ethiopia after they were perceived to be aiding elements associated with the Ogaden National Liberation Front (ONLF). A particularly important event was when armed US military personnel entered the Ogaden region and, when confronted by Ethiopian security personnel, attempted to deceive them into thinking that they were Red Cross aid workers.[13]

Some officials in US embassies in the sub-region were skeptical about CJTF-HOA and its CA campaign.[14] One major problem was that wells were being drilled that caused conflict among Somali clans and sub-clans. In 2008, a study commissioned by the political affairs office in the US embassy in Nairobi led to the CA teams being asked to leave the Mandera Triangle. Afterwards, CJTF-HOA CA teams were asked by the Kenyan government to leave North East province altogether. Therefore, sensitivities of the two most important states in the Horn of Africa, as well as those of skeptical US officials, circumscribed CJTF-HOA and its CA activities in the most strategic areas. CJTF-HOA was forced to reformulate its approach; it became less focused on Somali pastoralists and winning hearts and minds. Therefore, CJTF-HOA less effective in helping to achieve US security goals.[15]

In 2007, AFRICOM joined CJTF-HOA as a military organization that intended to become involved in promoting sustainable development; plans proceeded until AFRICOM became fully operational in October 2008. However, one problem was the AFRICOM could not attract sufficient civilian personnel from USAID and other agencies that would give it a critical mass of development expertise. In 2009, the Obama administration came to office, and the State Department asserted its lead role in US African policy and advised AFRICOM and CJTF-HOA to play a supporting role to USAID and US embassies in promoting sustainable development, which led to a scaling back of their sustainable development roles. In early 2011, General Carter Ham became commander of AFRICOM and moved the command further away from a development role and more towards making it a more traditional geographical *combatant* command.

Working with AFRICOM, CJTF-HOA has continued to try to locate CA teams in "strategic locations" near Somalia. For instance, there are teams in the vicinity of Dire Dawa and Harar in proximity to Ethiopia's Somali Region. At the same time, CA teams have carried out projects in countries which are supporting US goals in the Horn, including Djibouti, Uganda, and Burundi. Djibouti is the default location where CA teams have been sent when they cannot be placed elsewhere.[16]

The CJTF-HOA commander must deal with the problem of a combined joint task force operating in a Title 22 environment in which the State Department and ambassadors are in charge rather than a Title

10 warfighting environment (see Appendix C: Funding Authorities for AFRICOM and CJTF-HOA).[§] Commanders in Southwest Asia have been accustomed to operating in Title 10 environments where warfighting authorization has allowed them greater power in what they can do and how money is spent. However, in a Title 22 environment, the US ambassador is in charge and can veto or modify any civil affairs projects as well as uses of Title 10 funds.

The other goal of CJTF-HOA has been to influence host militaries so that they become proficient in civil affairs. The hope has been that they can win hearts and minds at home and in Somalia. However, Kenya and Uganda CA teams have engaged with CJTF-HOA, but they have not been applying their training and expertise in Somalia. The Kenyan military's CA teams were split up and embedded in companies.[17] Uganda has not deployed CA teams to Somalia. Burundian troops have engaged with Somalis in Mogadishu, but the military did not have CA teams to accomplish that task. The Ethiopian military claims that it is still a popular-based institution after twenty years in power and has refused to engage CJTF-HOA CA teams.[18] The Rwandan Defense Force has engaged with CJTF-HOA CA teams; however, its CA teams are in Darfur and not in Somalia.

Reports on CJTF-HOA and CA Team Projects

A 2010 Government Accountability Office (GAO) report raised questions about the cost-effectiveness and utility of CJTF-HOA, as AFRICOM was assuming responsibility from CENTCOM.[19] In regard to cost effectiveness, in the 2010 budget, the US Navy provided $80 million for CJTF-HOA; and $238m for Camp Lemonnier operations were pulled from contingency funds. Given AFRICOM's difficulties in persuading Congress to fully meet its own funding requests, attempting to secure another several hundred million dollars a year for CJTF-HOA was called into question in the report.

The GAO report found that civil affairs comprised 60 percent of CJTF-HOA's activities. However, CJTF-HOA CA teams were limited in their funding. Two million dollars in Humanitarian and Civic Affairs funding (see Appendix C) was restricted and tied to military deployment and US military training of African militaries; therefore, CA teams could not use this money unless they were training African CA teams.[20] There were only $2 million in Humanitarian funds which were not tied to military deployment and could be used by CA teams to help civilians. Also, there were problems with multiple funding sources and contracts.

Other issues raised in the report included the fact that there was no follow-up or measurement of CA and other activities. One of the most important drawbacks was the 4-12 month tours for CA teams and other personnel. Therefore, the embassies were always training CJTF-HOA personnel. CA teams had

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[§] Title 10 of the US Code, Armed Forces outlines the roles of the US military particularly in combat operations in which the Department of Defense is the lead US actor. Title 22 of the US Code outlines the role of foreign relations and intercourse in which the Department of State is the lead US actor.

low knowledge of religious customs and cultures. Some CA teams had to find projects to perform in Djibouti after they were not deployed elsewhere in the Horn.

A field study of CJTF-HOA activities in Kenya was produced by scholars at the Feinstein Center at Tufts University.[21] It concluded that tactically, CA work helped CJTF-HOA establish a presence in Kenya's North East Province and Coastal Province. However, they found no evidence that CA infrastructure work won hearts and minds for the United States and Kenya. This was because CA teams lacked the ability to provide the quality of services that might win hearts and minds. Finally, they found that CA activities tarnished the humanitarian image of development work by NGOs and donors.

A joint AFRICOM and CJTF-HOA report 2010 provided a more positive assessment of the work of CA teams and defended them from criticisms,[22] especially from the Tufts report.[23] However, the report was also critical. First, it found CA teams did not articulate mission statements consistently. CA teams did not receive prior training about socio-cultural issues, language, and working with interagency partners, and they felt constrained by the limited time in field to conduct engagements and complete missions. CA teams described success as measures of performance (how the projects were implemented), not effectiveness of the projects they undertook. The report concurred with the Tufts report that CA teams were a visible component of USG policy implementation and that civil-military operations, development, and humanitarian assistance were often seen as overlapping or similar in scope and work. The relations of CA teams with stakeholders were defined by gift-giving and the development and management of expectations and the conducting of assessments. They were not delivering the goods and services that the local populations expected.

In spite of the criticisms, DoD and AFRICOM decided to keep CJTF-HOA because of its strategic location. CJTF-HOA allowed the United States to respond to contingencies within the Horn, supplied in-theater personnel for AFRICOM, and provided additional resources to embassies in the region. The task force had demonstrated that it was able to build relationships and goodwill with officials where CA and other activities were held. Last but not least, CJTF-HOA was positioned to counteract sub-regional terrorist threats. These points are reflected in the CJTF-HOA mission statement:

> The mission of CJTF-HOA involves an indirect approach to counter violent extremism. CJTF-HOA, as part of US African Command (AFRICOM), conducts operations to strengthen partner nation and regional security capacity to enable long-term regional stability, prevent conflict and protect US and Coalition interests. CJTF-HOA builds friendships, forges relationships, and creates partnerships to enable African solutions to African challenges. CJTF-HOA aims, through its combined joint forces, to improve security, increase stability and strengthen sovereignty in the Horn of Africa and Eastern Africa region through being a model for the integration of Defense, Diplomacy and Development efforts.

By 2012, 3,500 troops and representatives from 14 countries were stationed at CJTF-HOA Headquarters at Camp Lemonnier, Djibouti.

The next section deals with the State Department's strategic knowledge and perspective in countering violent extremism in the Horn of Africa. Unlike the US military, DoS focused on taking forceful action to solve the main challenge from violent extremism in the Horn - Somalia.

THE STATE DEPARTMENT APPROACH IN THE HORN OF AFRICA: FOCUS ON SOMALIA

After the 1998 embassy bombings, Kenya and Tanzania were the primary focus for the US campaign against Al Qaeda, and DoS responded with the East African Counter-Terrorism Initiative (EACTI) and later the East African Regional Strategic Initiative (EARSI) in order to disrupt the flow and activities of violent extremists in the sub-region.[24] However, in the mid-2000s, Somalia was becoming an area of increasing concern for the United States with the rise of violent extremists in the country. In response, the State Department (DoS) shifted focus and adopted an indirect, but assertive approach in working with sub-regional governments and organizations (AU and IGAD) and with warlords in Somalia against violent extremists. DoS also supported the Transitional Federal Government (TFG) for Somalia which was formed in 2004.

In 2005, the new Assistant Secretary of State for Africa, Jendayi Frazer, took charge of Somalia policy and led in implementing a more robust strategy of indirectly combating violent extremism.[25] At first, the United States supported the Somali warlords versus the surging ICU, as well as backing the gradual development of the TFG into a governing and military force. The strategy of backing the warlords failed with the rise of the "Islamic courts," which expeditiously tried cases under sharia law, the establishment of the Islamic Courts Union (ICU), and the ICU's armed uprising against the warlords that unified South-Central Somalia.

After the ICU defeated the warlords and united South-Central Somalia under its rule, Frazer consulted with Ethiopian leaders before that country invaded Somalia in December 2006. In the wake of the invasion, US military assistance to Ethiopia increased.[26] Frazer and DoS also backed the African Union's plan to send a peacekeeping force. They led the way in arranging the training and equipping of AMISOM (Ugandan and Burundian) and TFG forces. From 2007 to 2011, the United States continued this policy, even though it did not seem to be bearing fruit. AMISOM forces were bogged down inside Mogadishu.

The top-down security approach of DoS in Somalia can be understood in the context of the Bush administration's "Global War on Terror." In the wake of the US occupation of Afghanistan in 2001 and Iraq in 2003, US officials and policy experts scrambled to find a formula for stabilizing the two countries and for "nation-building." Some pointed to the examples of the US occupation of Germany and Japan in which the reconstitution of the state and top-down security led to prosperity and success.[27] Until 2007, the United States tried reconstituting the state in Afghanistan and Iraq and tended to neglect bottom-up

initiatives. The United States brought such a perspective to its Somalia policy and engaged in the support of top-down security and state-building. Unlike Afghanistan and Iraq, the United States took an indirect approach in Somalia, with the DoS aiding African countries and organizations.

The successor to Jendayi Frazer, Assistant Secretary of State Johnnie Carson, continued the top-down, state-building policy under the Obama administration, as articulated in March 2010:

> U.S. policy in Somalia is guided by our support for the Djibouti peace process. The Djibouti peace process is an African-led initiative which enjoys the support of IGAD, the Intergovernmental Authority on Development. It also enjoys the support of the African Union and the key states in the region. The Djibouti peace process has also been supported by the United Nations, the European Community, the Arab League, and the Organization of Islamic Conference. The Djibouti peace process recognizes the importance of trying to put together an inclusive Somali government and takes into account the importance of the history, culture, clan, and sub-clan relations that have driven the conflict in Somalia for the past 20 years.[28]

As mentioned previously, the United States spent $650 million from 2007-2012 in the top-down security enterprise - training, equipping and supporting AMISOM forces. From 2008-2011, the United States spent $385 million - mainly through the DoS ACOTA program - for training, equipping and supporting Ugandan and Burundian forces - which became the core of AMISOM. DoD provided support, with combined exercises and help in training. CJTF-HOA arranged intelligence sharing with AMSIOM for defensive purposes. In addition, The European Union (EU) and the UN Support Office for Somalia (UNSOSA) spent hundreds of millions of dollars on the Somalia enterprise.[29]

Al Shabaab arose in the wake of the suppression of the Islamic Courts Union (ICU) by a December 2006 Ethiopian invasion. From 2007, the militant organization's forces fought Ethiopian forces and occupied most of South-Central Somalia and much of the capital, Mogadishu and a major port, Kismayo. In 2007, Al Shabaab threatened to attack Western targets, and enlisted supporters in the United States and Europe. In 2009, Ethiopia withdrew its forces, and it seemed that AMSIOM and the TFG were doomed to failure.

It appeared that Somalia would be the most difficult of all failed states to reconstitute with a top-down security and state-building approach. In terms of state security, Somalia has ranked at the bottom of the failed states list, as it has lacked state institutions for more than two decades.[30] The TFG was supposed to pave the way for the reconstitution of government in Somalia, but it has been corrupt and heavy-handed.[31] In regard to state failure and elite corruption, Somalia is comparable to the cases of Afghanistan and the Democratic Republic of the Congo.

Policy circles debated the feasibility of a top-down security approach for Somalia versus a bottom-up "stability" one, which would take into account representation from clans and inter-clan dynamics (See Appendix B: Map of Somali clans).[32] Therefore, DoS was being advised to confine its efforts to a bottom-up peacebuilding approach. However, for more than five years, the DoS and other

entities pursued a policy of attempting to establish nation-state security in Somalia, so that Al Shabaab could be defeated and the process of peacebuilding, renewal, and representation could begin to take hold throughout the country. The argument was that state security was essential before representation and renewal could fully develop.

In spite of the difficulties with state-building and stability in Somalia, DoS and other entities continued to pursue a top-down security approach.[33] They persisted with the Somali peace process that led to the establishment of the TFG and AMISOM and the ultimate goal of reconstituting the Republic of Somalia. The DoS supported the AU, IGAD and concerned African states in the peacemaking, enforcement, and state-building project in the hope that the Somalia problem could finally be resolved and prevent Al Qaeda and other extremists from establishing a base there. Thus, in DoS, there was an inclination towards states and sovereignty as the basis for peace and security and an inherent belief that the establishment of a skeleton state- with some form of representation and a proto-military - would inevitably establish security and bring stability. Also, there was confidence that inter-clan dynamics could be managed by an inclusive government.[34] In that vein, an August 2012 deadline was established to pressure Somali leaders to end the TFG and establish a permanent government in Mogadishu.

Ugandan and Burundian AMISOM peacekeepers (i.e. peace enforcers) and TFG forces fought to gain control of Mogadishu from 2007 to 2011. Contrary to the contention that a top-down security approach by DoS would be a non-starter in Somalia, AMISOM and TFG forces strengthened and went on the offensive against Al Shabaab. Between 2007 and 2011, training and equipping of Ugandan and Burundian AMISOM forces under the DoS' Africa Contingency Operations Assistance and Training (ACOTA) program by contractors, such as Bancroft Global Development Corporation and Pacific Architects and Engineering (PA&E), were important in raising the level of the AMISOM forces to a point where they could fight Al Shabaab and prevail. The Somali TFG troops improved their performance, thanks to training funded by DoS and EU and because they fought alongside their more professional Ugandan and Burundian counterparts.[35]

Leadership was important, especially by a new Ugandan force commander (Major General Fred Mugisha) who arrived in mid-2011 and Colonel Paul Lokech, who led an operation to take strategic areas in Mogadishu. Burundian troops risked death to engage with Somali citizens door-to-door in Mogadishu, which proved important in winning hearts and minds in the capital. These factors led to the 2011 offensive by AMISOM and TFG forces that pushed Al Shabaab out of Mogadishu.

In 2011, the entry of Ethiopia and Kenya into the fray put additional pressure on Al Shabaab. The reinforcements led to the takeover of other Al Shabaab power centers in South-Central Somalia. Of particular significance was the Kenyan intervention that led towards a takeover of the Al Shabaab

stronghold of Kismayo and the surrounding province of Jubaland.[36] Finally, in October 2012, Kenyan forces ended Al Shabaab's lucrative hold on the port city of Kismayo (see Appendix D).

On the political front, in August 2012, a constitutional convention with representation from clan elders adopted a new constitution for Somalia, which paved the way for the election of President Hassan Sheikh Mohamud. In September 2012, the TFG handed over power to a permanent federal government in Mogadishu. While the new president and government came to power through a top-down process, he has been a civil society activist who promised to bring a "bottom-up" approach to peacemaking and peacebuilding. The new government has been working to develop the institutions necessary to run a modern state that could earn the confidence of its people, would be legitimate and democratically elected, and could engage in long-term efforts to provide for a better standard of living for the Somali people.[37]

Therefore, the indirect, top-down security and state-building approach by DoS appears to have been vindicated. Recent donor conferences, including ones in London and Istanbul in 2012, have promised to reinforce the top-down approach. TFG forces have been trained with the goal of forming a new Republic of Somalia army and eventually taking over the lead role in security from AMISOM. However, the degree of commitment of Somalis to state-building and the reconstitution of the Republic of Somalia will remain crucial to the ultimate success or failure of the project. On a positive note, there have been many Somali nationalists who joined the TFG process in order to revive Somalia.

It is still uncertain how much change there will be and how the new government will work, as some of the same old, corrupt faces from the TFG will be players in the political process. The establishment of a new Somali government and Somali security forces presents an opportunity to bring about security, representation and renewal, but the outlook is not encouraging. Thus far, Somali clans and inter-clan dynamics have not been alienated by the AMISOM offensive and the establishment of the new government, though the situation will remain tenuous. The government and its forces are likely to remain weak for some time to come and unable to gain full control over South-Central Somalia.[38] Representation will be exercised through the new Somali parliament, but it will have to develop leverage over the new president and other decision-makers. In regard to renewal, it will be slow and remain dependent on international aid.

There is still considerable evidence that the top-down security enterprise is not likely to succeed in bringing about security, representation and renewal. AMISOM and Somali government forces may eventually defeat Al Shabaab, but clan structures are still in place, and clans still have their militias and will be able to resist top-down measures. Al Shabaab has been disintegrating, though it may manage to survive and morph into a clan-based militia with a nationalist ideology. AMISOM and Somali government forces may still disturb the equilibrium and balance of power among the clans, especially if the government gravitates towards one clan and suppresses others. The TFG was filled with opportunists

who enriched themselves by taking advantage of their positions and a process that was being funded by outsiders. Clan politics were also predictably strong within the TFG. Given the record of the past, corruption and legitimacy will continue to pose problems for the new government. Given the level of corruption and weakness, outsiders have remained engaged in the Somali state-building process in order to prevent the collapse of the project and to provide incentives for Somali buy-in to the project.

Analysis shows that DoS' top-down, indirect approach with a focus on Somalia has brought significant change to Eastern Africa and has been partially validated due to several factors. DoS cultivated Uganda and Burundi, which made a long-term commitment of several thousand troops to the AMISOM mission. DoS led in ensuring that AMISOM forces were properly trained and equipped. The political process moved forward to the point where the United States recognized the Republic of Somalia in January 2013 – the first time in 22 years. In comparison, the US military approach was more indirect and less effective than that of DoS.

In comparison with the DoS approach of trying to reconstitute the state in Somalia, the US military's attempts to win hearts and minds and build partnerships in the Horn of Africa do not appear to have had a strategic effect in advancing US interests against the violent extremist threat. DoS has been accused of being too diffuse in its approach to security challenges, while DoD has been more focused. In this case, DoS and particularly the US Embassy in Nairobi focused on defeating the main threat, while DoD and CJTF-HOA did not.

The next section deals with perspectives from the strategic locations concerning US military activities in the Horn of Africa. It analyzes the lessons learned by CJTF-HOA CA teams and others based on their experiences and what they have done since then. It determines if organizational learning has occurred.

PERSPECTIVES FROM AFRICOM, CJTF-HOA AND US EMBASSIES

AFRICOM Headquarters[39]

AFRICOM is a geographical combatant command that is based three thousand miles (5,000 kilometers) away from Djibouti and the Horn of Africa. In spite of the distance, AFRICOM has been trying to establish greater command and control over US military activities in the Horn. AFRICOM assumed formal control of the Horn of Africa area of operations from CENTCOM in October 2008 but took more than a year to gain a semblance of command and control. In the meantime, CJTF-HOA operated more or less autonomously. In February 2011, General Ham assumed control of AFRICOM and was determined to make it a more traditional combatant command, which would focus on fighting Al Qaeda and other violent extremists. This is clear from the recent AFRICOM mission statement and list of

priorities. Accordingly, CJTF-HOA was to become part of General Ham's vision to make the command more focused on warfighting and related security cooperation activities.[40]

Until recently, seventy percent of AFRICOM's efforts has been focused on Eastern Africa.[41] Therefore, Eastern Africa was the first sub-region for which AFRICOM produced a campaign plan - the 2012 East African Campaign Plan (EACP). The EACP has been generated at AFRICOM headquarters and has laid out how the US military should operate in the sub-region based upon threats to US interests.[42] The EACP is supposed to provide direction for all DoD elements in Eastern Africa, including CJTF-HOA. Accordingly, CJTF-HOA programs and projects are expected to be based on AFRICOM priorities and targets in the EACP. CJTF-HOA and US embassies, particularly in Nairobi and Addis Ababa were not consulted in the formulation of the plan, even though they have been embedded in the region.

At issue are the degree of command and control that AFRICOM will exercise over CJTF-HOA and the level of strategic knowledge and perspective that AFRICOM staff will be able to bring to bear in the sub-region. In particular, the EACP is seen as a test of AFRICOM's strategic knowledge and perspective. A question is how a more assertive AFRICOM and subordinate CJTF-HOA with the EACP will work with DoS and the embassies, as well as with USAID, CIA and the Justice Department. At AFRICOM HQ, personnel expressed awareness that CJTF-HOA could direct kinetic forces and civil affairs teams in the Horn of Africa but that it also had to coordinate with the US embassies and defense offices and that permission was needed from Ethiopia, Kenya and other states and US ambassadors to stage operations in the area. In addition, the perception was that CJTF-HOA needed to develop deeper relations with the African Union in Addis Ababa as well as with AMISOM forces in Somalia and in Uganda and Kenya and Burundi.[43]

In regard to countering violent extremists in Somalia, coastal Kenya, and Eastern Africa, there has been an ongoing debate in DoD about the most effective method – through civil affairs (CA) or military information support operations (MISO). The view was that AFRICOM and CJTF-HOA could have an indirect effect on violent extremist organizations in Somalia and Kenya by trying to dissuade young people from joining or sympathizing with them. One suggestion was that a model of countering violent extremist recruitment by preventing the obscuring of facts and using small focus groups could be used in the Horn of Africa, including inside Somalia, now that Al Shabaab has been pushed out of urban areas. This model was developed at Arizona State University and being tested in a program in Tunisia. However, there was a serious need for metrics and testing to determine what programs were having the greatest effect.[44]

At AFRICOM HQ, in mid-2012, there was still skepticism about AMISOM and the TFG and pessimism about Somalia, especially on the J2 and J5 staff. This negativity contradicted the optimistic

perspective of General Ham, who in early 2012 expressed the belief that the advance of AMISOM and TFG forces would shortly lead to the transformation of the situation in Somalia. Subsequent events proved that General Ham's view of Somalia was correct and was indicative of a commander who was staying on top of the situation and absorbing the intelligence.[45] In regard to AFRICOM and CJTF-HOA's contribution to the forward momentum in Somalia, there has been sharing of intelligence on the part of AFRICOM and CJTF-HOA with Ugandan and Burundian forces in AMISOM, as well as with Kenyan and Ethiopian forces; however, this intelligence has been mainly for self-defense and not for offensive operations against Al Shabaab.[46]

Given the positive turn of events in Somalia in 2011 and 2012, most AFRICOM staff members interviewed (especially in the J-2) were not attuned to the evidence of change and could be judged to be somewhat deficient in strategic knowledge and perspective and flexibility.[47] Their pessimistic perspectives were based on the long-established narrative about Somalia being deeply divided by clan, sub-clan and violent extremists and about AMISOM being ineffectual.[48] The most pessimistic AFRICOM intelligence official felt that there was no hope for the new government in Somalia and that the situation would be much worse in the coming years due to formidable problems of food insecurity and demographics. In fact, a J2 report on Somalia was quite pessimistic. In addition, several J2 personnel pointed to the approximately one million Somalis living in Kenya and the possibility of an Al Shabaab attack in Nairobi and elsewhere in the sub-sub-region.

In regard to CJTF-HOA CA projects, a former USAID official who was working for the AFRICOM J5 commented that the law restricts much CA activity. For instance, most CA projects that were aimed against violent extremists had to have an effect through host militaries in order to be funded (see Appendix C). Also, he observed that it is now clear that USAID is in charge of planning and executing development programs forces and that the military is in support.[49] In regard to the 3D concept, CA teams are in a limited and supporting role. As for engaging inside Somalia, the thinking was that CA teams and other AFRICOM and CJTF-HOA units (besides special operations forces) could not enter the country but could only continue to engage indirectly with Somalia through CA teams operating in the surrounding sub-region. Somalia had to be safe and secure first.

In sum, AFRICOM perspectives on the Horn of Africa and on CJTF-HOA reflect a struggle to gain strategic knowledge and perspective about the area of operations and to gain command and control over CJTF-HOA and over security cooperation in embassy defense offices. The combatant commander was ahead of his staff in awareness about Somalia. The distance between AFRICOM HQ and Eastern Africa and the limited knowledge and perspective of key staff make command and control in and planning for the area of operations problematic. Also, DoD's reluctance to engage inside Somalia may

affect the willingness and ability of AFRICOM and CJTF-HOA to assist in stabilization and reconstruction.

CJTF-HOA[50]

The perspective of most personnel interviewed is that of a task force occupying a geo-strategic position between the Arabian Peninsula and the Horn of Africa and executing civil affairs projects and special forces operations in the "arc of instability" with extremism in Eastern Africa over a decade.[51] Among the leadership interviewed in mid-2012, there was a sense of pride in the accomplishments of the CA teams, special operations forces and other units. There was a perception of worthwhile 3D cooperation in Djibouti and Kenya, while CJTF-HOA and USAID were seen to be working well together in Ethiopia. While leaders believed that much had been achieved over the decade, they also commented that considerable changes needed to be made. CJTF-HOA perspectives on the changing situation in Somalia were that the task force had contributed to the success of AMISOM and that nothing more could be done as long as the task force was not allowed to operate inside Somalia. Once diplomatic relations were reestablished and the US Embassy in Mogadishu reopened, CJTF-HOA could consider engaging directly.[52] One question is whether or not CJTF-HOA will assist in developing CA teams for the military of the Republic of Somalia.

The recognition of the shortcomings of CJTF-HOA and the need for change were based on the perspective that the leadership had been focusing at the tactical level, concentrating on the deployment and activities of CA teams and keeping tabs on each of them in the field to ensure desired results were achieved and to ensure that problems were avoided. Now that CJTF-HOA has been tasked by AFRICOM to operationalize the EACP and undertake combined and joint activities, the task force needs to move from the tactical to the operational level in order to be able to implement AFRICOM's EACP. The EACP was causing uncertainty among CJTF-HOA leaders and staff, because of deficient structures to implement the plan and also about the future of CA activities, which were to be more closely tied to the EACP and its goals of counterterrorism, defeating Al Shabaab, and building partner defense capability.[53]

In regard to security cooperation, there was a proposal that security cooperation officers work directly for the AFRICOM commander rather than for the AFRICOM J5, which would bring them more in line with the EACP. Such an arrangement would help with manning at AFRICOM HQ and mil-to-mil cooperation. However, there was also recognition of the legal difficulties involving Title 22 (foreign relations and intercourse).

There were plans for shifting to a Joint Interagency Task Force (JIATF) by 2015 and bringing in civilian agencies to deal with violent extremist organization financing and illegal trafficking – the Horn's major challenges. Command and control was problematic for CJTF-HOA in 2012 and would be more so

if a JIATF were to be established. However, a JIATF would make it easier to navigate the issues of Title 10 authorities in a Title 22 environment.[54]

A broader and longer term view at the CJTF-HOA J5 was that the embassy-oriented approach of DoS and defense attaché offices was reflective of the Westphalian system of state sovereignty and the Cold War. Such an approach was not appropriate for regions, like Eastern Africa, with porous borders and weak sovereignty. Accordingly, the geographical combatant command, task force, and USAID regional office were more appropriate to meeting cross-border challenges. Therefore, the argument was that security cooperation should be under the control of AFRICOM and CJTF-HOA.[55]

Another recognized problem was turnover and instability in the task force. In regard to short rotations, there was a proposal for CJTF-HOA personnel to spend one year at AFRICOM HQ in Stuttgart and then one year at Camp Lemonnier and the final year at AFRICOM HQ. A particularly bothersome problem has been the shift from an activist commander of CJTF-HOA to a more passive one and back again each year. This has caused problems for the staff and for other entities that had to deal with CJTF-HOA, who have to totally start over each year and could not always rely on templates that had been established in the previous year. The short tours and wide swings in commanders' perspectives have proved difficult for the accumulation of strategic knowledge and perspective as well as for organizational learning. For the first five years, the commander was a US Marine one-star and for the next five, a US Navy one-star. Now the command has shifted to a US Army two-star who wants to advance US security interests, counterterrorism, and building relations with heads of state in the sub-region.[56] Major General Ralph O. Baker was also expected to undo some of the engagement activities that previous commanders had authorized and were subsequently deemed to be inappropriate. He was seeking to align every action to push towards fulfillment of CJTF-HOA's mission, including the placement of CA teams in the Ogaden and the Kenya coast.[57]

Some CJTF-HOA personnel, particularly in the J5's Socio-Cultural Research Advisory Team (SCRAT), defended the task force's CA activities, with criticism of reports that were seen as unbalanced.[58] Defenders of the CA teams in Kenya pointed to field research that demonstrated that they had achieved good results.[59] CA teams had shifted from trying to win hearts and minds to building partnerships and goodwill of host militaries. CJTF-HOA CA teams were working with the Kenyan and Djiboutian militaries to develop their CA capabilities. As a result, Kenya was now training three levels of civil-military operations (CMOs). Kenyan CA teams had achieved some successes in Somalia.[60] Kenyan CA teams had started to win the respect of populations within their own country. Ugandan CA teams were bringing about a shift in perception of the local population, especially in the pastoral Karamoja region. CJTF-HOA CA teams were not allowed by the Ethiopian military to establish partnerships, but they managed to work well with Ethiopian civilians at the local level.[61]

CJTF-HOA CA team officers pointed out that some CA teams in Ethiopia were operating in a relatively strategic area in the vicinity of Dire Dawa and Harar, the gateway to the Ogaden (or Somali Region). They were working in an area near to where Al Shabaab militants were found to be moving from South-Central Somalia to the seam between Puntland and Somaliland (see Appendix B - where the Dolbohanta Somali sub-clan of the Darod clan is located). There was a veterinary project near Dire Dawa in which CA teams engaged Somalis who had traveled long distances (approximately 1,000 kilometers). Also, female CA personnel were engaging with female Somalis; this was found to be quite useful in building relationships with Somalis in Ethiopia.[62]

CA teams were providing survival training and other services for fishermen and others in Mombasa, Malindi and other points along the Kenyan coast, which was supposed to counter the Mombasa Republican Council (MRC) and other militant groups.[63] There were efforts to enable CA teams to have access to Samara in northern Ethiopia (near the border with Eritrea) for a sustainable development project and Garissa, Kenya for an education project. There was recognition that the CJTF-HOA Commander needed to develop a plan to work with the Ministry of Education in Kenya to ensure the Garissa project was implemented. CA teams in the Comoros had to be withdrawn in December 2011due to a lack of support from the local military and the US embassy and USAID. One CJTF-HOA official opined that CA teams should move away from building infrastructure (wells, schools and clinics) and towards English language training and MEDCAPS and VETCAPS (medical and veterinary assistance).[64] Another official saw CJTF-HOA in more mil-to-mil engagements with sub-regional militaries in trying to help to develop their civil engineering capacity and combat engineering capability and repairing their heavy equipment.[65]

An officer in the J5 who was brought in to strengthen assessment and evaluation of CJTF-HOA was critical of CA activities. Many CA teams ended up in areas that were not impactful due to host country restrictions or the CJTF-HOA commander's concerns, and this raised questions about their utility.[66] Often, CA teams made promises that could not be fulfilled as Commander Emergency Response Program (CERP) funds were not available. AFRICOM, in a case of micromanagement took a thousand dollar fund away from one team that was deemed not to have been using it properly. The extra layer of command was making funding and implementation of CA projects problematic. Another problem was the surplus of CA teams that were looking for projects to do and not necessarily what the communities needed. A Djibouti city CA team teased out their mission based on their activities rather than starting with a general idea of what should be affected. There were numerous problematic cases in which projects that were supposed to be locally controlled were stalled by delays in repairs and funding.[67]

Furthermore, there was no evidence that military information support operations (MISO) were any more effective than CA projects in countering violent extremism or even building partnerships and

goodwill. It was uncertain what MISO teams were supposed to do or what they were supposed to convey. One example was when a woman accused a shop-owner of being Al Shabaab (when he was not); this was misreported by the MISO team as a success in outing terrorists.[68]

An example of problems with CJTF-HOA Civil Affairs activities was in the building of a bridge near Awasa, Ethiopia, which was "over-engineered" by the Seabees (Naval engineers) and built to US standards which called into question its cost effectiveness. The Seabees asserted that the CA teams had overpromised to the local population and did not understand the need for soil and load-bearing analyses. CA teams were promising $8,000 latrines to local populations, and the Seabees found that they were unsustainable. Also, it was difficult to alter CA projects that had been in the chute for several years and passed through the hands of a number of different CA teams.[69] There was difficulty spending the Commander Emergency Response Program (CERP) funds as well as Title 10, Section 1206 (Global Train and Equip) and Title 10, Section 1207 (Security and Stabilization Assistance) funds (see Annex C) due to the restrictions that have been placed on how the money can be used. Similar difficulties apply to spending Title 10, Section 401, Humanitarian and Civic Assistance (Provided in Conjunction with Military Operations) funds.[70]

In sum, CJTF-HOA lacks strategic knowledge and perspective due to the high turnover of personnel, though there are some pockets of excellence. One CJTF-HOA official commented that there was a need for self-criticism and the need for evaluation of the impact of CA projects and that the commander and leadership needed to ask what the task force was doing and why.[71] Greater strategic knowledge and perspective were needed at CJTF-HOA regarding the uses of CA teams, now that they are no longer being used to counter violent extremism and sustainable development. "Generating goodwill" among African partner nations is not a compelling strategy. A concerted effort is needed if CJTF-HOA intends to build the CA capacity of African partner militaries and see African CA teams perform in Somalia and other places where civilians need to be reached.

US Embassy, Djibouti[72]

The US embassy and USAID in Djibouti have assumed a similar perspective as CJTF-HOA on the US military's mission of countering violent extremism in the Horn of Africa. The 3Ds (diplomacy, development, defense) are operational in Djibouti in that the embassy and USAID continue to work and harmonize with CJTF-HOA and the CA teams in generating goodwill with Djiboutian. The Defense Office in the Embassy is satisfied with placing security cooperation is in the hands of the CJTF-HOA J5.[73] The USAID director has been working closely with CA teams that are in the field in Djibouti. A development aid expert asserted that education and English language training were the most effective programs run by CJTF-HOA CA teams in the rural areas.[74] CA teams reported to the USAID director and

the CJTF-HOA liaison at the embassy on the progress of their projects.[75] USAID funded several capacity-building projects to the tune of $3.6 million.[76]

According to the USAID director in Djibouti, a problem for CJTF-HOA CA teams has been the non-sustainability of well-drilling in Djibouti, given that pump parts were breaking. Also, there has been widespread salinity in the water table that was affecting the wells. Therefore, well-drilling had been suspended, which meant that a principal way of winning hearts and minds through sustainable development projects was off the table.[77] The Djiboutian government needs to develop a sustainment plan for water.[78]

The US Embassy (with twelve to fifteen personnel) assists CJTF-HOA in maintaining good relations with Djiboutian President Ismail Omar Guelleh and his regime and in ensuring CJTF-HOA's presence in the country and extensions of the lease at Camp Lemonnier.[79] There are allegations that the president has been diverting the money for the lease as well as the proceeds from the port. Subsequently, Djibouti has not progressed in the way that many expected. Other major problems include very high unemployment (estimated at eighty percent) and widespread khat-chewing, which debilitates the population. In regard to the Djiboutian military, it has not been developed into a professional force and is not as capable as others in the sub-region. The United States had been trying to persuade the military to deploy to Somalia as part of AMISOM. However, there has been reluctance to do so due to a lack of capability and unwillingness to fight and kill fellow Somalis.[80]

US Embassy, Nairobi, Kenya[81]

The embassy is the largest in sub-Saharan Africa. It is where Eastern African sub-regional policy and Somalia policy have been made (in coordination with DoS in Washington, DC) and implemented. Also, USAID has a regional office in Nairobi that deals with sustainable development in the Eastern Africa. In contrast to the US Embassy in Djibouti, the embassy in Nairobi works well in some areas with AFRICOM and CJTF-HOA and does not in other areas.

From the perspective of several interviewees in the US Embassy in mid-2012, Kenya and AMISOM were continuing to make strides in Somalia against Al Shabaab.[82] The United States had played a role in encouraging the Kenyan Defense Force (KDF) to enter Somalia and advance on Kismayo. Initially, the KDF was reluctant to intervene. However, Kenya decided to act after tourists were kidnapped in coastal Kenya near the Somalia border in mid-2011. However, some international legal experts viewed Kenya's action as an invasion, which caused problems until June 2012 in inducting Kenya into AMISOM.[83]

An official in charge of security sector reform in Somalia over the years asserted that DoD and the US military were not as forward-leaning and active as they should have been in supporting AMISOM

and Somali forces and stabilization efforts in Somalia; this was partly due to the 1993 Black Hawk down experience.[84]

Given that the embassy was the center of US efforts to prepare South Sudan government officials and security forces for independence, an interviewee believed that the same should be true in Somalia. Therefore, it was deemed important to keep security cooperation efforts for AMISOM countries and Somalia under control of the ambassador and embassy (and not to place it in the hands of AFRICOM). Embassy officials asserted that they would the most effective force in securing training for Republic of Somalia forces and helping to develop a ministry of defense.[85]

The perspectives of officials interviewed at the embassy (and USAID) were mostly skeptical of CJTF-HOA's civil affairs activities. A USAID official who had been in Nairobi for more than five years saw the CA teams making the same mistakes as they had in the previous five years.[86] The regional USAID director was mixed in his evaluation of the work of CJTF-HOA CA teams throughout the sub-region.[87] A DoD official in the Kenya-US Liaison Office (KUSLO) made the point that the CJTF-HOA leadership and its CA teams have been limited by their one-year rotations. He questioned the costs and benefits; civil affairs teams are expensive, averaging about $700,000 per team. There was also a lack of sustainment of their projects, given their six-month rotations.[88] In addition, CJTF-HOA encountered the problem in Kenya of spending Title 10 funds in a Title 22 zone (especially Title 10, 1206 and 1207 funds; see Appendix C).[89]

In regard to developing the capacity of African CA units, Kenyan CA teams were trained at the International Peacekeeping Institute in Kenya and achieved three levels of training in civil-military operations.[90] However, the CA teams were broken up with one CA person per company in Somalia; therefore, Kenyan CA personnel were not as effectual in Somalia as they could have been.[91]

USAID was focused in the region on implementing the Feed the Future program which was essential to long-term sustainable development. In the past decade, USAID-backed programs had assisted Somali pastoralists and others in the Horn of Africa in improving their livestock marketing, especially in times of drought. The programs had also aided young people - who were unable to carry on the pastoralist practices of their forebears - to develop alternative livelihoods. The perception was that these programs had helped to diminish the pool of disaffected pastoralists. [92] USAID officials in Addis Ababa echoed the views of their counterparts in Nairobi concerning the success of efforts to assist sustainable development for pastoralists.[93]

US Embassy, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia[94]

Ethiopia has been a partner with the United States in countering violent extremism in the Horn since September 11, 2001. The US Embassy has been an important post and is now the second largest in sub-Saharan Africa (due partly to US representation at the African Union). The Bush administration was

close to the regime in Ethiopia because of the "war on terror" and anti-Islamist positions regarding Somalia. The Obama administration has distanced itself somewhat from Ethiopia because of Ethiopia's poor human rights record. In 2012, Ethiopia transitioned from Prime Minister Meles Zenawi (who had dominated the regime since the 1991 revolution) to Hailemariam Dessalegn.[95]

There were differences between DoD officials in the embassy defense office and CJTF-HOA liaisons in the embassy over security cooperation. One embassy official asserted that AFRICOM and CJTF-HOA could not legally exercise authority over security cooperation. CENTCOM had tried to do something similar in 2006 and failed. The argument was that Ethiopia and Kenya were sovereign states, with no war, and with ambassadors, defense attachés and security cooperation officers who are in charge of US activities in the countries. AFRICOM could only shape the area, it could not combat anything. The embassy official found that the EACP was poorly conceived and legally questionable in that AFRICOM and CJTF-HOA were trying to conduct Title 10 warfighting operations in a Title 22 diplomatic area. For example, AFRICOM and CJTF-HOA do not have Title 10 command and control over remotely piloted aircraft (RPA) operating from a base in Arba Mench in southern Ethiopia into Somalia. Instead, they remain under US Air Force command and control, with permission to operate from the US ambassador.

A DoD official in the embassy asserted that the DoS was holding back on support for AMISOM. State Department lawyers were arguing that the arms embargo on Somalia placed a block on weapons transfers to the TFG, Ethiopia and Kenya. In this respect, DoS was hindering US efforts to improve the security situation in Somalia. Also, DoS has barred AFRICOM and CJTF-HOA from operating in Somalia.[96]

The perspectives of USAID officials in Addis Ababa were that CJTF-HOA CA teams support projects that USAID contracts out to NGOs. The US Ambassador has not allowed CA teams to operate on their own, given the problems that were encountered in previous years.[97] One CJTF-HOA CA officer asserted that CA teams working in the vicinity of Dire Dawa and Awasa were paying dividends in two strategic locations;[98] the former is close to the Ogaden and the latter is on the road to Kenya.[99] The CJTF-HOA Liaison Officer commented that there was a problem in Ethiopia of spending Title 10, Section 1206 and Section 1207 funds in a Title 22 zone (see Appendix C).[100] There were restrictions on how the money could be used that prevented CA teams from operating more effectively in Ethiopia.[101] The Ethiopian National Defense Force (ENDF) was ordered by the chief of staff (General Samora Yenus) not to drill wells and conduct other civil affairs activities. However, US CJTF-HOA CA teams continued drilling and conducting CA activities on their own in parts of Ethiopia, which demonstrated a rift between the two partners.[102]

In sum, the strategic knowledge and perspective of the military in the US embassies in Nairobi and Addis Ababa were mixed. The senior defense officials in the embassies had deep strategic knowledge

and perspective. However, their views were considered somewhat outdated by AFRICOM and CJTF-HOA leaders and not always helpful in countering violent extremism. CJTF-HOA representatives in the embassies lacked depth but were more in tune with US military objectives of countering violent extremism in the Horn of Africa. In regard to non-military personnel, USAID officials in Nairobi and Addis Ababa had long experience in Eastern Africa and knew what could and could not be accomplished in the sub-region in regards to sustainable development, whereas the US military did not.

CONCLUSION

The US military - in the form of AFRICOM, CJTF-HOA and civil affairs CA teams - has demonstrated difficulties in embracing strategic knowledge and perspective in its approach in countering violent extremism and assisting with sustainable development. The mistakes that continue to be made by CA teams in Kenya, Ethiopia and elsewhere reveal a deficiency in strategic knowledge and perspective in assisting with sustainable development, generating good will, and helping to build African CA units.

The Obama administration placed the State Department (DoS) and USAID in charge of diplomacy and sustainable development in the Horn. DoS continued with its lead role in countering violent extremism and reconstituting the state in Somalia, which paid dividends. The military adjusted its role and became a supporting actor in the sustainable development field and in Somalia in countering Al Shabaab and building a state and military. However, AFRICOM's East African Campaign Plan (EACP) and efforts by AFRICOM and CJTF-HOA to become more operational in the Horn have been causing friction with DoS and USAID in the embassies.

The US military still experiences difficulties in designing and executing activities in the Horn and modifying them over the years. There is still not enough strategic knowledge and perspective to meet the challenges of the Horn. The constant rotation of CJTF-HOA commanders and the annual swings between active and passive commanders tend to prove the thesis from contingency theory that organizations lacking stable and knowledgeable leadership are likely to be less effective. The longer tenure of leaders in the embassies has been accompanied by greater strategic knowledge and perspective in dealing with security challenges in the Eastern African sub-region and specifically Somalia (and Sudan/South Sudan).

In regard to organizational learning, CJTF-HOA and its CA teams rotate every year or less, while diplomacy, development and defense officials in the US embassies rotate every three years. The hypothesis that unstable organizations with constantly rotating leaders are not as capable of learning has been upheld and applies to the US military in the Horn of Africa. In contrast, relatively stable and mature organizations, such as the embassies, with leaders who are held accountable are better able to learn and change in an ambiguous environment. However, officials in US embassies tend to be separated from the

operational world and have not always kept up with US strategy and operations in countering violent extremism.

In explaining the US military's shortcomings in embracing strategic knowledge and perspective in the Horn of Africa and fighting extremists, casualty aversion has been a significant factor. The DoD has been reluctant to commit to programs or projects that might lead to a repeat of the 1993 Black Hawk Down experience. After more than a decade, the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan seem to have reintroduced a reluctance by DoD to get involved. DoD's wariness of quagmires and aversion to casualties provide an explanation of the reluctance of DoD to engage in the stabilization of Somalia, as evidenced by a lack of engagement with AMISOM and the TFG until recently.

The hypothesis that the US military is likely to seek out roles and missions - no matter how detached from strategy - producing "mission creep" has been upheld in this case. This reference to mission creep does not pertain to escalating force but, instead, expanding the mission into areas where there is little strategic knowledge and perspective in order to keep the force actively engaged and to continue to justify its existence. CJTF-HOA charged into attempting to win hearts and minds through CA teams. Afterwards, CJTF-HOA switched to generating good will and assisting with the development of the CA teams of African militaries.

The Obama administration has put forward a strategy for Africa, including security against violent extremism and sustainable development.[103] However, the different perspectives and actions of the US embassies, CJTF-HOA and AFRICOM are indicative of the "stovepipe" orientations of US agencies and the difficulties of forging interagency cooperation to achieve that strategy. The larger strategic aims that the United States has established for Africa have been hampered by AFRICOM's determination to implement its own campaign plan and the autonomy of the embassies from DoS control. US national security policy will continue to be hampered by this structural problem.

APPENDIX A: CJTF-HOA'S AREA OF RESPONSIBILITY AND AREA OF INTEREST[104]
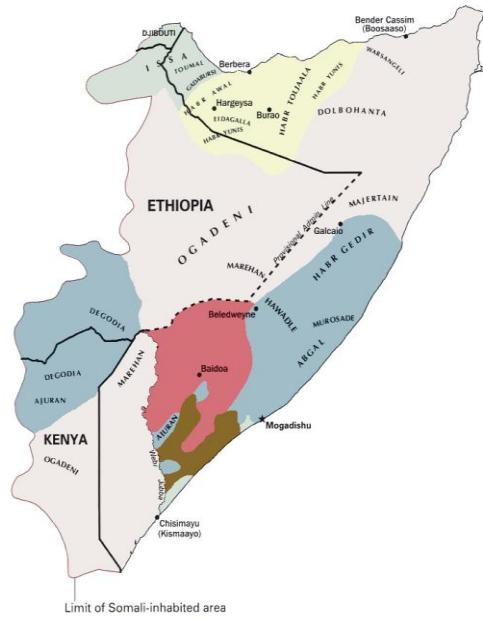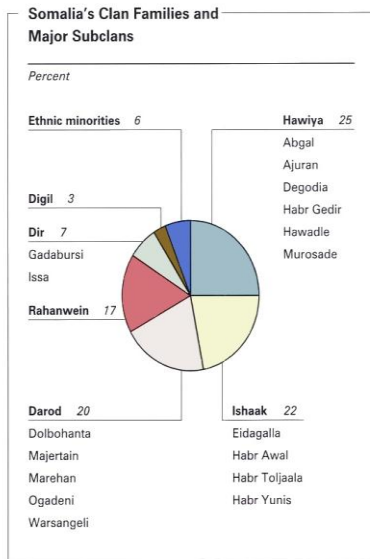
Area of
Responsibility

Area of
Interest
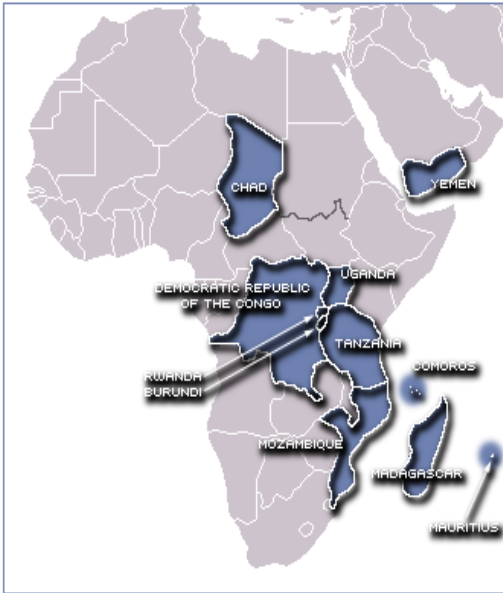
APPENDIX B: SOMALI CLAN MAP[105]

Ethnic Groups

Somalia's Clan Families and Major Subclans

Percent

Ethnic minorities 6

Digil 3

Dir 7
Gadabursi
Issa

Rahanwein 17

Darod 20
Dolbohanta
Majertain
Marehan
Ogadeni
Warsangeli

Hawiya 25
Abgal
Ajuran
Degodia
Habr Gedir
Hawadle
Murosade

Ishaak 22
Eidagalla
Habr Awal
Habr Toljaala
Habr Yunis

Limit of Somali-inhabited area

APPENDIX C: FUNDING AUTHORITIES FOR AFRICOM AND CJTF-HOA[106]

Title 10, Section 401 Humanitarian and Civic Assistance Provided in Conjunction with Military Operations: The assistance must promote the national security interests of both the US and the beneficiary country. It must promote the specific operational readiness skills of the US forces who participate. The Secretary of State must approve all such assistance. The assistance shall complement, but may not duplicate, other US social or economic assistance to the beneficiary nation. It must serve the basic economic and social needs of the beneficiary nation. The assistance must not be provided to any individual, group, or organization engaged in military or paramilitary activity.

Title 10 USC, Section 2561- Humanitarian Assistance (HA): Authorizes DoD to provide transportation of humanitarian relief and for "other humanitarian purposes worldwide." The transportation programs are funded transportation of excess US government property that is being donated and NGO materiel. However, the authority continues to be used for rudimentary construction and renovation of public facilities such as schools, hospitals, clinics, and orphanages; digging water wells and other sanitation and drinking water projects; and repairing and building rudimentary infrastructure such as roads and bridges. HA funds do not have to be provided in conjunction with military operations.

Title 10, Section 1206 (Global Train and Equip): Section 1206 of the FY 2006 National Defense Authorization Act (NDAA) authorized the Secretary of Defense, with the concurrence of the Secretary of State, to conduct or support programs globally that build the capacity of a foreign country's military and maritime security forces. The FY 2009 NDAA authorized $350 million for Section 1206, authority which expired at the end of FY 2011. The Obama Administration requested an increase in Section 1206 funding levels to $400 million for FY 2010, stressing that combatant commanders consider Section 1206 programs as the single most important tool in shaping the environment and counter terrorism. The HASC bill viewed Section 1206 and traditional foreign assistance-related authorities as distinct, noting that the execution and growth of Section 1206 represents the Secretary of Defense's assessment of a combatant commander's need to build certain capacities in partner nations to satisfy specific security requirements. The HASC supported the current "dual key" approach that gives DOD the lead on Section 1206 but requires the Secretary of State concurrence. The HASC underlined the importance of DOD in generating Section 1206 requirements and the lack of capacity at the Department of State to execute such authorities. The committee emphasized that Section 1206 authority is temporary and funds are intended to address emerging needs and should not be used in ways that duplicate or substitute for funding under FMF authority. Section 1206 Global Train and Equip authorities allow AFRICOM to complement and reinforce State Department ACOTA training and meet the operational requirements of AMISOM forces.

This dual key funding authority also allowed AFRICOM to put small unmanned aircraft systems (UAS) in the hands of deployed Ugandan forces. These UAS have had a direct positive impact on AMISOM's capacity to conduct operations in Somalia by targeting enemy locations, clearing routes, and identifying IEDs.

Title 10, Section 1207 (Security and Stabilization Assistance) of the FY 2006 NDAA authorized the Secretary of Defense to transfer defense articles and funds to the Department of State for the purposes of providing reconstruction, security or stabilization assistance to a foreign country. HASC stressed that Section 1207 was meant to be temporary and urged State to build its own capacity to make such transfers unnecessary. The SASC authorized $100 million for Section 1207 and extended the authority through FY 2010. The SASC cited increased coordination between the DOD and State one valuable aspect of Section 1207 authority. Like the HASC, the SASC also noted that Section 1207 was meant to be temporary and urged State to develop the internal capacity to provide such a program. **The 1207(n) Global Security Contingency Fund (GSCF) Transitional Authorities** provided in the fiscal year 2012 NDAA allowed USAFRICOM and CJTF-HOA to reinforce AMISOM's success in Somalia and focus on readiness and independent sustainability by enhancing intelligence, engineer, and sustainment functions. AFRICOM and CJTF-HOA collaborated with the Department of State and Embassy Country Teams to plan activities and programs to support not only AMISOM, but also the program goals and objectives for the US Partnership for East African Counterterrorism (PREACT), which aims to defeat terrorist organizations by strengthening regional counterterrorism capabilities and enhancing and institutionalizing cooperation among the region's security forces.

Title 10, Section 1208 (Support to Foreign Forces) of the FY 2005 NDAA authorized DOD to reimburse foreign forces, groups, or individuals supporting or facilitating ongoing counter-terrorism military operations by U.S. special operations forces (SOF). The FY 2009 NDAA authorized $35 million a year for this authority through FY 2013. The Obama Administration did not request a change to Section 1208. The HASC bill increased the annual budgetary authority to $50 million in order to limit funding restraints during the planning of Section 1208-funded operations. The HASC was generally supportive of Section 1208 programs and was pleased with more effective reporting of Section 1208-related activities. The HASC voiced concern, however, that Section 1208 should not to become a "train and equip" program managed by Special Operations Command (SOCOM). The HASC also expressed uneasiness over the use of private contractors to carry out Section 1208 activities and thus required additional reporting requirements to track such contracting. The SASC bill did not raise the Section 1208 funding level, and the committee expressed dissatisfaction with current reporting. SASC voiced concern that SOCOM may be using 1208 funds to leverage long-term engagement with partner nations rather than exclusively for

supporting military operations by US special operations forces to combat terrorism. The SASC asked SOCOM to review their Section 1208 execution to eliminate such leveraging.

Combatant Commander Initiative Fund (CCIF): Supports unforeseen contingency requirements critical to the combatant commanders' joint warfighting readiness and national security interests. The CCIF enables Combatant Commanders to fund short-term, low-cost projects that meet the requirements of unforeseen situations. The FY 2007 NDAA expanded CCIF to include programs that provided "urgent and unanticipated humanitarian relief and reconstruction assistance." CCIF has permanent authority established by Title 10, Section 166a and is a $25 million a year-program. In recent years CCIF has received supplemental appropriations which have roughly doubled this amount. The administration, the HASC and the SASC did not change the $25 million amount provided by permanent authority. The HASC did increase, however, the CCIF purchase authority from $10 million to $20 million. The US Code currently limits the purchase of items with a unit cost in excess of $15,000 to not more than $10 million. The HASC required "coordination" with the Secretary of State when the funds are to be used for humanitarian or civic assistance purposes; the SASC offered no such addition. The SASC bill increased the unit cost threshold for CCIF items, from $15,000 to $250,000; the HASC bill also increased the unit cost threshold but did not specify an amount. The HASC and the SASC viewed both the stability and special operations requests as activities to be conducted within Section 1206. Both houses expressed that they would consider using Section 1206 to build the capacity of NATO and other coalition partners in stability and special operations in which the United States is a direct participant. To limit the potential impact of such multi-year programs the SASC placed a $75 million ceiling on Section 1206 funding that can be used to support stability and special operations.

Commanders Emergency Response Program (CERP) is distinct from CCIF and enables a commander (such as the commander of CJTF-HOA) to disburse funds for humanitarian needs, which may have the purpose of winning hearts and minds. However, the funds cannot be used to benefit US or coalition military forces.

Title 22 Africa Contingency Operations Training and Assistance (ACOTA): AFRICOM works with the Department of State, Embassy Country Teams, and Offices of Security Cooperation to improve and adapt the State Department-run 22 ACOTA programs to prepare AMISOM forces for the operating environment in Mogadishu. Over time, applying training and operational insights from Iraq and Afghanistan, and input from AMISOM forces, ACOTA training has expanded to include force protection, patrolling, convoy operations, cordon and search, base security, and counter-IED training. AFRICOM military mentors participate directly in ACOTA training alongside State Department-contracted trainers

and shape collective and individual training efforts at locations in Uganda and Burundi. Funding from Title 10, Sections 1206 and 1207 supports training and exercise activities that follow ACOTA training.

APPENDIX D: SOMALIA GOVERNANCE OVERVIEW[107]
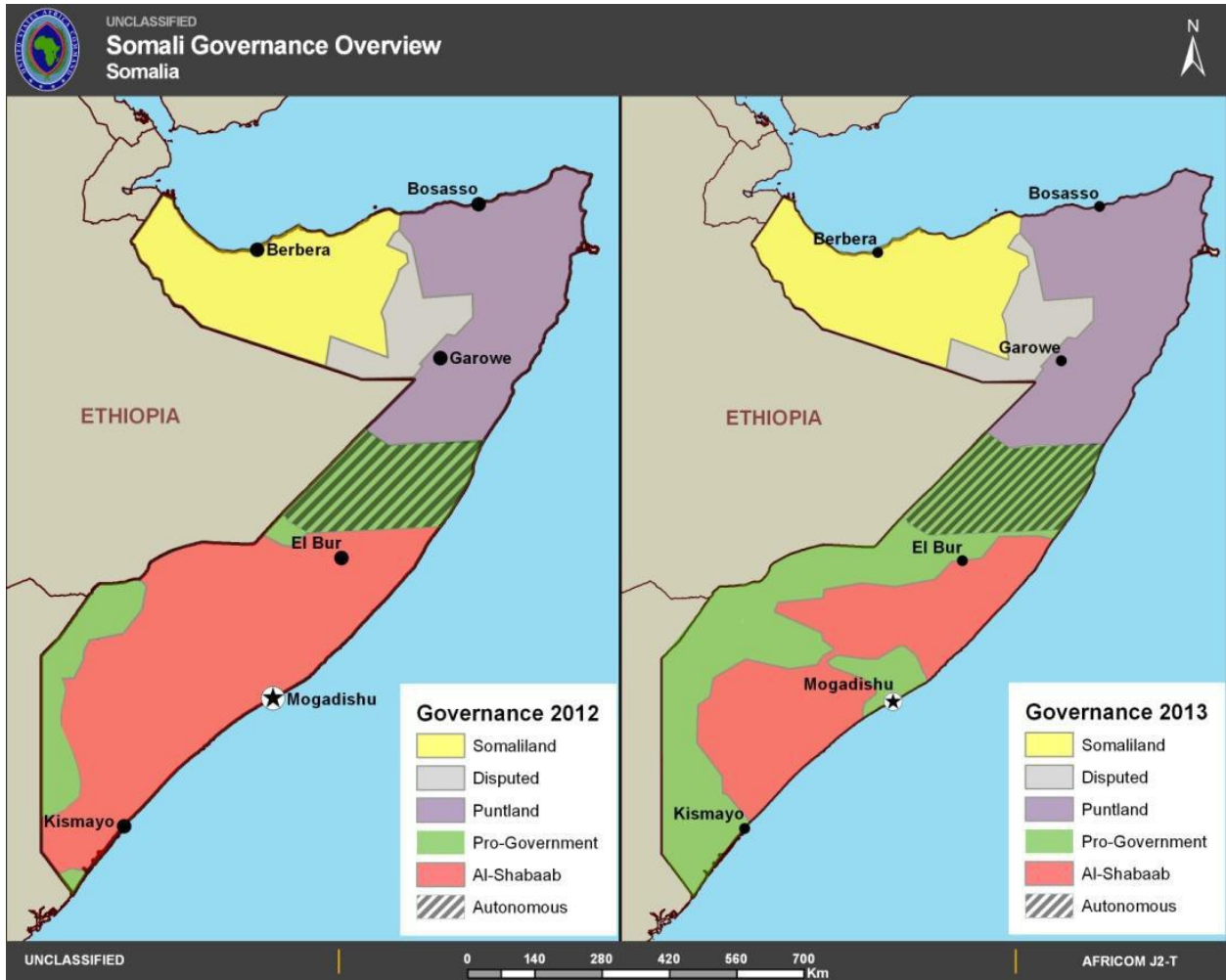
ENDNOTES

[1] US Government Accountability Office, "DOD Needs to Determine the Future of Its Horn of Africa Task Force," GAO-10-504, Apr 15, 2010 http://www.gao.gov/products/GAO-10-504 (accessed May 15, 2012).

[2] Stephen Burgess, "Sustainability and Stabilization Assessment of the Horn of Africa," USAF Institute of National Security Studies, October 2007. Stephen Burgess, "Environment and Human Security in the Horn of Africa," *Journal of Human Security,* August 2008.

[3] Johnnie Carson, "A Dual Track Approach to Somalia," speech at Center for Strategic and International Studies, Washington, DC, October 20, 2010, http://csis.org/event/state-department-dual-track-approach-somalia (accessed March 14, 2013).

[4] Lauren Ploch, *Countering Terrorism in East Africa: The U.S. Response,* Congressional Research Service, November 3, 2010, http://www.fas.org/sgp/crs/terror/R41473.pdf, accessed September 13, 2012.

[5] Sean D. Naylor, "The Secret War: Tense ties plague African ops," *Army Times*, November 28, 2011, http://www.army times.com/news/2011/12/army-tense-ties-plagued-african-ops-112811w/ (accessed July 6, 2012)

In December 2006, Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, Jendayi Frazer, and other US officials claimed that they had warned Ethiopia not to invade Somalia. Subsequent evidence shows that Frazer and other US officials actually had gone along with Ethiopia's decision to invade, and the United States even provided limited military support.

[6] "Hope, and Lessons, in Somalia, *The New York Times,* January 25, 2013, http://www.nytimes.com/2013/01/26/opinion/hope-and-lessons-in-somalia.html?_r=0

[7] Andre Le Sage, "Somalia's Endless Transition: Breaking the Deadlock," *Strategic Forum,* No.257, June 2010, p.1. http://www.ndu.edu/inss/docuploaded/SF%20257.pdf. (accessed July 1, 2012). Ken Menkhaus, "The Challenges of Ending Somalia's Transition," in *Brenthurst Discussion Paper 4/2012: Somalia 2012: Ending the Transition?* by Knox Chitayo and Anna Rader, June 2012, pp.9-11.

[8] David Ochumi, "Military exposes tricks used by elusive Somali militia," *Standard Digital* (Nairobi), January 3, 2102, http://www.standardmedia.co.ke/?articleID=2000049350&pageNo=1

[9] W.R. Scott, *Organizations: Rational, Natural, and Open Systems*. Englewood Cliffs NJ: Prentice Hall Inc, 1981. Contingency theory holds that organizations should be structured based on the environment they encounter and that leadership qualities are significant in determining the success or failure of an organization.

[10] Presentations of research findings at Africa Center for Strategic Studies, Fort McNair, Washington, DC and at the Center for Army Analysis, Ft. Belvoir, Virginia, September 19, 2012.

[11] Interviews in Djibouti, February 2005, and at Macdill Air Force Base, Florida, May 2007. Karsten Friis, "Peacekeeping and Counter-Insurgency: Two of a Kind?" *International Peacekeeping* 17, no. 1 (March 2010): 49-66. In 2007, US adoption of the "surge" and counter-insurgency (COIN) strategy in Iraq led to a change of course, and COIN strategies and winning hearts and minds became more prominent. COIN focused on engaging from the bottom-up with local populations and securing them and providing services.

[12] Burgess, "Sustainability and Stabilization Assessment of the Horn of Africa," 2007.

[13] Sean D. Naylor, "The Secret War: Africa ops may be just starting," *Army Times*, December 5, 2011, http://www.army times.com/news/2011/12/army-africa-mission-may-be-just-starting-120511w/ (accessed July 6, 2012)

[14] Burgess, "Sustainability and Stabilization Assessment of the Horn of Africa,"2007.

[15] Interviews with US defense officials, US Embassy, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, June 2012.

[16] Humanitarian Affairs Coordination Meeting with CJTF-HOA Civil Affairs teams, US Embassy, Djibouti, June 5, 2012. At that time, there were 15 projects in Djibouti that were in various states of completion and 9 waiting funding.

[17] Officer in the Kenya-US Liaison Office (KUSLO), US Embassy, Nairobi, Kenya, interviewed June 12, 2012.

[18] Officer in the US Defense Office, US Embassy, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, interviewed June 4, 2012.

[19] GAO, "DOD Needs to Determine the Future of Its Horn of Africa Task Force."

[20] Section 401 of US Code Title 10. See Humanitarian and Civic Assistance (HCA) Activities ... authority in DoD Directive 5111.1, *DoDI 2205.02,* December 2, 2008 http://www.dtic.mil/whs/directives/corres/pdf/220502p.pdf

[21] Mark Bradbury and Michael Kleinman, *Winning Hearts and Minds? Examining the Relationship Between Aid and Security in Kenya,* Feinstein Center, Tufts University, 2010. http://www.humansecuritygateway.com/documents/FEINSTEIN_WinningHeartsAndMinds_ExaminingTheRelationshipBetweenAidAndSecurityInKenya.pdf

[22] Jessica Lee and Maureen Farrell, *A Study of U.S. Civil Affairs in East Africa, November 2009-July 2010,* US AFRICOM Knowledge Development Division, September 2010.

[23] Maureen Farrell, *Garissa Wells Assessment Report,* CJTF-HOA Socio-cultural Research and Advisory Team (SCRAT), July 2010.

[24] Ploch, *Countering Terrorism in East Africa: The U.S. Response.*

[25] Jendayi Frazer was confirmed by the US Senate as Assistant Secretary of State for Africa in June 2005.

[26] Briefing, US Embassy, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, March 14, 2012.

[27] James Dobbins et al, *America's Role in Nation-Building: From Germany to Iraq*, Rand, 2003. James Dobbins et al, *The UN's Role in Nation-building: From the Congo to Iraq*, Rand, 2005. James Dobbins, et al, *Nation-Building for Beginners*, Rand, 2006.

[28] "U.S. Policy in Somalia," Special Briefing by Johnnie Carson, Assistant Secretary, Bureau of African Affairs, and Ertharin Cousin, Ambassador to the UN Mission in Rome, Washington, DC, March 12, 2010, http://www.state.gov/p/af/rls/rm/2010/138314.htm

[29] "Senior State Department Official Previewing Conference on Somalia," February 22, 2012, http://www.state.gov/r/pa/prs/ps/2012/02/184480.htm

[30] "The 2012 Failed States Index," *Foreign Policy* with *Fund for Peace,* http://www.foreignpolicy.com/failed_states_index_2012_interactive (accessed July 20, 2012).

[31] A UN report on TFG corruption was released on July 16, 2012. See also "Somalia: Piracy incidences dip amid reports of corruption," Institute of Security Studies, Conflict Prevention and Analysis, Pretoria, South Africa, 23 July 2012. http://www.iss.co.za/pgcontent.php?UID=31653. "In addition to the reports on the link between some pirate kingpins and members of government, reports of massive corruption have emerged alleging that key leaders of the transitional federal government (TFG) are involved in misappropriating $7 out of every $10 received by the TFG in 2009/2010. These findings are not new, as a World Bank report released in May 2012 found that $131 million – 63% of total recorded revenue – was unaccounted for in the TFG revenues in 2009/2010. The UN report suggested that a further $40 million could be missing in 2011. Although there has been increased international attention concerning the levels of corruption in Somalia, it is not a new phenomenon. With the period of political unrest and the lack of state structures and oversights frameworks, corruption could only increase."

[32] Le Sage, "Somalia's Endless Transition," 2010, p.1. The main clans in South-Central Somalia are the Hawiye, Darod, and Rahanwein. Other major Somali clans are the Issak in Somaliland and the Ogadeni in Ethiopia (who are also in Jubaland straddling the Kenya-Somalia border).

[33] Autesserre, *The Trouble with the Congo,* pp.255-259.

[34] Interviews with US, African Union (AU), European Union (EU), and Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD) officials, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, June 2007 and June 2012.

[35] Interviews with US Embassy officials, Nairobi, Kenya; Addis Ababa, Ethiopia; and Djibouti, June 2012.

[36] Ken Menkhaus, "After the Kenyan Intervention," Enough Project, January 2012, pp.1-15. http://www.enoughproject.org/files/MenkhausKenyaninterventionSomalia.pdf

[37] Interview with Ambassador Anthony Holmes, Deputy Commander, US AFRICOM in "Africa: U.S. Military Steps Up 'Sustained Engagement' With Africa" All-Africa.com, July 13, 2012 http://allafrica.com/stories/201207131248.html (Accessed July 20, 2012).

[38] Jason Straziuso, "US, UN concerned over corrupt Somali transition," *Stars and Stripes,* August 14, 2012, http://ap.stripes.com/dynamic/stories/A/AF_SOMALIA?SITE=DCSAS&SECTION=HOME&TEMPLATE=DEFAULT&CTIME=2012-08-14-12-36-46 (accessed August 15, 2012).

[39] Interviews in Stuttgart, Germany, May 29 and 30, 2012.

[40] Interview with J5-9 Officer, AFRICOM HQ, Stuttgart, Germany, May 30, 2012

[41] Since May 2012, there has been a shift in AFRICOM's attention towards Mali, the Sahel, and the Sahara.

[42] Interview with Somalia Desk Officer, J5-4, AFRICOM HQ, Stuttgart, May 30, 2012.

[43] Interview with J5-9 Officer, AFRICOM HQ, Stuttgart, Germany, May 30, 2012

[44] Interview with J3-93 Officer, AFRICOM HQ, Stuttgart, Germany, May 30, 2012

[45] Interview at the Air War College, Maxwell AFB, Alabama, February 2012.

[46] Interview with SOJ5-6, about SOCOM activities in HOA, AFRICOM HQ, Stuttgart, Germany, May 30, 2012

[47] Interview with J2-9 Officer, AFRICOM HQ, Stuttgart, Germany, May 30, 2012

[48] AFRICOM officials, interviewed May 29 and 30, 2012, referenced the academic work of Ken Menkhaus, Roland Marchal, Andre LeSage, and Matt Bryden that fostered a pessimistic perspective on the top-down peacemaking approach and promoted a bottom-up perspective on peacemaking and stability for Somalia.

[49] Interview with J5-87 officer, AFRICOM, Stuttgart, May 30, 2012.

[50] Interviews at CJTF-HOA, Camp Lemonnier, Djibouti, June 6 and 7, 2012.

[51] Commander (O-5), US Navy, CJTF-HOA J5, Camp Lemonnier, Djibouti, interviewed June 6, 2012. A number of interviewees mentioned a larger "arc of instability" (and extremism) throughout Eastern Africa when questioned about the future of engagement with Somalia.

[52] Somalia expert, Socio-Cultural Research Advisory Team (SCRAT), CJTF-HOA, Camp Lemonnier, Djibouti, interviewed June 6, 2012.

[53] Terrence K. Kelly, Jefferson P. Marquis, Cathryn Quantic Thurston, Jennifer D. P. Moroney, *Security Cooperation Organizations in the Country Team: Options for Success*, Rand, July 27, 2012, http://www.rand.org/pubs/technical_reports/TR734.html.

[54] Interview with CJTF-HOA Chief of Staff, Djibouti, June 6, 2012. Counter-piracy will be one of CJTF-HOA's lines of effort but mainly in a supporting role to the Six Fleet operating out of Bahrain and NAVCENT which are responsible for most of the international waters off the coast of Somalia.

[55] Captain (O-6), CJTF-HOA J5, Camp Lemonnier, Djibouti, interviewed June 7, 2012.

[56] Interview with CJTF-HOA Chief of Staff, June 6, 2012. Somalia expert, CJTF-HOA J5's Socio-Cultural Research Advisory Team (SCRAT), Djibouti, June 6, 2012.

[57] Base commander, CJTF-HOA, Camp Lemonnier, interviewed June 7, 2012. Formerly based at the International Peacekeeping Training Center, Karen, Kenya

[58] Bradbury and Kleinman, *Winning Hearts and Minds?* Tufts University.

[59] Farrell, *Garissa Wells Assessment Report*.

[60] Commander (O-5), US Navy, CJTF-HOA J5, Camp Lemonnier, Djibouti, interviewed June 6, 2012

[61] Interview with leader of CJTF-HOA J5's Socio-Cultural Research Advisory Team (SCRAT), June 6, 2012. Also, CJTF-HOA SCRAT Somali specialists were familiarizing Kenya, Ugandan and Burundian military personnel with Somalia before they deployed to AMISOM.

[62] US Army Civil Affairs officer who had worked on a project near Dire Dawa, Ethiopia, interviewed at AFRICOM HQ, Stuttgart, Germany, May 30, 2012.

[63] Interview with Commander (O-5), US Navy Reserve, CJTF-HOA, Camp Lemonnier, Djibouti, interviewed June 7, 2012. The utility of CA activities along the Kenyan coast were questioned by officials at the US Embassy, Nairobi, Kenya, interviewed June 12, 2012.

[64] Interview with Chief Master Sergeant, CJTF-HOA command section, Camp Lemonnier, Djibouti, interviewed June 6, 2012.

[65] Commander (O-5), US Navy Seabees, CJTF-HOA, Camp Lemonnier, Djibouti, interviewed June 7, 2012

[66] Commander (O-5), US Navy Reserve, CJTF-HOA J5, Camp Lemonnier, Djibouti, interviewed June 6, 2012.

[67] O-5, USNR, CJTF-HOA J5, June 6, 2012.

[68] O-5, USNR, CJTF-HOA J5, June 6, 2012.

[69] Commander (O-5), US Navy Seabees, CJTF-HOA, Camp Lemonnier, Djibouti, interviewed June 7, 2012

[70] See Appendix B, Funding Authorities for AFRICOM and CJTF-HOA. Rebecca Williams, Stephen Abbott, and Gordon Adams, *DOD Authorities for Foreign and Security Assistance Programs: A Comparison of the FY 2010 House and Senate Armed Service Authorization Bills*, Stimson Center, July 20, 2009. (accessed September 30, 2012) http://www.stimson.org/images/uploads/research-pdfs/DOD_security_assistance_authorities.pdf

[71] O-5, USNR, CJTF-HOA J5, Camp Lemonnier, Djibouti, June 6, 2012.

[72] Interviews at US Embassy, Djibouti, June 5, 2012.

[73] Commander (O-5) , CJTF-HOA, Djibouti Country Coordination Element OIC and Colonel, US Army, CJTF-HOA Liaison Officer to US Embassy, Djibouti, interviewed June 5, 2012.

[74] USAID Director, US Embassy, Djibouti, interviewed June 5, 2012.

[75] Humanitarian Affairs Coordination Meeting with CJTF-HOA Civil Affairs teams, US Embassy, Djibouti, June 5, 2012.

[76] Colonel, US Army, CJTF-HOA Liaison Officer to US Embassy, Djibouti, interviewed June 5, 2012.

[77] Water Resource Manager, Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD), interviewed June 8, 2012.

[78] Colonel, US Army, CJTF-HOA Liaison Officer to US Embassy, Djibouti, interviewed June 5, 2012.

[79] CJTF-HOA Liaison Officer, US Embassy, Djibouti, interviewed June 5, 2012.

[80] Colonel, US Army, CJTF-HOA Liaison Officer to US Embassy, Djibouti, interviewed June 5, 2012

[81] Interviews at US Embassy, Nairobi, Kenya, June 11-13, 2012. The Kenya-US Liaison Office (KUSLO) is headed by a senior defense official and includes a security cooperation office and defense attaché office and liaison from CJTF-HOA.

[82] LT COL, US Army, Defense Attaché, US Embassy Somalia Affairs Office, Nairobi, Kenya, interviewed June 11, 2012

[83] Base commander, CJTF-HOA, Camp Lemonnier, interviewed June 7, 2012. Formerly based at the International Peacekeeping Training Center, Karen, Kenya.

[84] Security Sector Reform in Somalia expert, US Embassy Nairobi, Kenya, interviewed June 11, 2012.

[85] Officer in the Kenya-US Liaison Office (KUSLO), US Embassy, Nairobi, Kenya, interviewed June 12, 2012.

[86] USAID-Kenya official, US Embassy, Nairobi, Kenya, interviewed June 12, 2012.

[87] USAID Regional Director, US Embassy, Nairobi, Kenya, interviewed June 11, 2012.

[88] Officer in the Kenya-US Liaison Office (KUSLO), US Embassy, Nairobi, Kenya, interviewed June 12, 2012.

[89] See Appendix C, Funding Authorities for AFRICOM and CJTF-HOA. Rebecca Williams, Stephen Abbott, and Gordon Adams, *DOD Authorities for Foreign and Security Assistance Programs: A Comparison of the FY 2010 House and Senate Armed Service Authorization Bills*, Stimson Center, July 20, 2009. (accessed September 30, 2012) http://www.stimson.org/images/uploads/research-pdfs/DOD_security_assistance_authorities.pdf

[90] Base commander, CJTF-HOA, Camp Lemonnier, interviewed June 7, 2012. The base commander was formerly based at the International Peacekeeping Training Center, Karen, Kenya.

[91] Officer in the Kenya-US Liaison Office (KUSLO), US Embassy, Nairobi, Kenya, interviewed June 12, 2012.

[92] USAID Regional Director, US Embassy, Nairobi, Kenya, interviewed June 11, 2012.

[93] USAID-Ethiopia Director and Project Development Officer, US Embassy, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, interviewed June 4, 2012.

[94] Interviews at US Embassy, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, June 1-4, 2102. The DoD office is headed by a senior defense official and includes a security cooperation office and defense attaché office and liaison from CJTF-HOA

[95] Ethiopia expert, Socio-Cultural Research Advisory Team (SCRAT), CJTF-HOA, Camp Lemonnier, Djibouti, interviewed June 6, 2012

[96] Officer in the US Defense Office, US Embassy, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, interviewed June 4, 2012.

[97] USAID-Ethiopia Director and Project Development Officer, US Embassy, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, interviewed June 4, 2012.

[98] US Army Civil Affairs officer who had worked on a project near Dire Dawa, Ethiopia, interviewed at AFRICOM HQ, Stuttgart, Germany, May 30, 2012.

[99] Interview with Africa Center for Strategic Studies representative in Ethiopia, US Embassy, June 1, 2012.

[100] Lt Col USMC, Ethiopia Country Coordination Element OIC for CJTF-HOA, interviewed June 1, 2012.

[101] See Appendix B, Funding Authorities for AFRICOM and CJTF-HOA. Rebecca Williams, Stephen Abbott, and Gordon Adams, *DOD Authorities for Foreign and Security Assistance Programs: A Comparison of the FY 2010 House and Senate Armed Service Authorization Bills*, Stimson Center, July 20, 2009. (accessed September 30, 2012) http://www.stimson.org/images/uploads/research-pdfs/DOD_security_assistance_authorities.pdf

[102] Commander (O-5), US Navy Seabees, CJTF-HOA, Camp Lemonnier, Djibouti, interviewed June 7, 2012

[103] *U.S. Strategy toward Sub-Saharan Africa,* The White House, June 2012. http://www.whitehouse.gov/sites/default/files/docs/africa_strategy_2.pdf. The four pillars of the strategy are to (1) strengthen democratic institutions; (2) spur economic growth, trade and investment; (3) advance peace and security; and (4) promote opportunity and development.

[104] Combined Joint Task Force – Horn of Africa official website: http://www.hoa.africom.mil/hoaAORAOI.asp

[105] Source: Perry-Castaneda Library Map Collection, University of Texas at Austin
 URL: http://www.lib.utexas.edu/maps/africa/somalia_ethnic_grps_2002.jpg

[106] This appendix is drawn from the USAFRICOM website and from Rebecca Williams, Stephen Abbott, and Gordon Adams, *DOD Authorities for Foreign and Security Assistance Programs: A Comparison of the FY 2010 House and Senate Armed Service Authorization Bills*, Stimson Center, July 20, 2009. (accessed September 30, 2012) http://www.stimson.org/images/uploads/research-pdfs/DOD_security_assistance_authorities.pdf

[107] U.S. Africa Command 2013 Posture Statement, March, 2013. U.S. Africa Commander's formal report to the U.S. Senart and U.S. House Armed Services Committees, p. 11 http://www.africom.mil/Content/CustomPages/ResearchPage/pdfFiles/2013%20AFRICOM%20Posture%20Statment.pdf