

THE ASPEN INSTITUTE

ASPEN SECURITY FORUM: GLOBAL

SHADOWS ACROSS AFRICA

Lancaster House  
Stable Yard, St. James's  
London, United Kingdom

Saturday, April 23, 2016

LIST OF PARTICIPANTS

CLARK ERVIN  
Director, Homeland Security Program  
The Aspen Institute  
Partner, Squire Patton Boggs

KARIN VON HIPPEL  
Director-General  
Royal United Services Institute

MOHAMED ABDULLAHI MOHAMED  
Founder and Secretary-General, Tayo Political Party  
Former Prime Minister, Somalia

ALEXANDER RONDOS  
Special Representative for the Horn of Africa  
European Union

\* \* \* \* \*

SHADOWS ACROSS AFRICA

(9:50 a.m.)

MR. ERVIN: All right, everyone, two more words of housekeeping before we begin. One, I understand that many of you are tweeting about the forum which we very much welcome and encourage, just want to remind you that it is #AspenSecurity. Secondly, a number of you asked about our forum each summer in Aspen, the dates are July 27 to 30 in Aspen, Colorado, so I hope as many of you as possible will join us for our summer forum in Aspen.

With that on to our next session titled "Shadows Across Africa." There is Boko Haram as I say in the west and Al-Shabaab in the east, as well as of course Al-Qaeda. And so to speak about this issue and to moderate this session we are very pleased to have with us Karin von Hippel, who is the Director-General of the Royal United Services Institute (RUSI). She formally was the Chief of Staff to the then special presidential envoy for the global coalition to counter ISIL. Before that, Karin worked in the state department for nearly six years, before that at the Center for Strategic and International Studies in Washington and also Kings College London. She has also worked extensively for both the United Nations and the European Union. Please join me in welcoming Karin von Hippel who will lead this conversation.

(Applause)

MS. VON HIPPEL: Thank you very much. Welcome everybody and Happy Saturday. I think we are going to try to carry on in the same manner as before, but first I want to thank Aspen for organizing a really interesting event and bringing together a really fascinating mix of participants and speakers.

I think we are very lucky today to have our two speakers on the panel; Alex Rondos and Mohamed Abdullahi Mohamed, real experts not only in the Horn of Africa, Somalia in particular, we will be focusing much more in the Horn rather than the rest of Africa, but we welcome questions from the audience on other parts of Africa.

Really, we've asked the speakers today to focus on the security challenges today going forward, what are we most worried about and how are the governments in the region able to confront some of these challenges, what kind of capacity challenges do they have going forward.

So what I'd like to do is start with Alex, who has not just experience in the Horn but also in the Balkans and elsewhere, so he brings with him a wealth of conflict experience from around the world to start out and frame the challenge in the region for about 10 minutes and then we will go to Mohamed to talk a bit about Somalia. Both of them will be also addressing some of the external challenges that are exacerbating conflicts in the region notably from the Gulf, so there will be some continuity from our previous presentation.

So Alex, why don't we start with you?

MR. RONDOS: Thank you very much, Karin and good morning to you all and my thanks also to Aspen for organizing this discussion. And you will forgive me if I use some short hand in the interest of time and perhaps I will be able to elaborate a bit more later.

I think there are two or three major things, highlights that you will need to bear in mind especially as we move forward. First, the discussion is being focused on what I'd call the sort of "Necklace of Fire" that hangs around Europe; Libya, Syria, Iraq. But beneath it lies another belt, which if we are not careful and attentive to it, will enflame and stoke those fires further. So this is a problem which both spreads southwards into Africa, but also Africa feeds northwards, I am talking about that stretch from Mauretania all the way through now to Yemen, because Yemen is now blowing back into Africa.

The differences that are occurring within Islam right now have spilt over into certainly the Horn, but we are seeing it actually connecting all the way through. Those of you who are involved very -- more operationally on the intelligence side will know that Boko Haram is linked all the way through -- there are links occurring

operationally from Shabaab all the way through to Boko Haram and points beyond up to towards Maghreb.

So three major points I want to make to you. First of all, there is -- this is a region, I'm going to focus on the Horn, which is my first area of responsibility. This is a region which if we don't pay careful attention to it, then soon it will come back to bite us in the back side. Please understand this, why.

This is a region which comprises Sudan, Somalia, South Sudan, three wars going on as we speak. It comprises two countries, which we have chosen deliberately to isolate ourselves from Sudan and Eritrea; that is the reality. We know much less than we need to know about these countries, we have much less communication with them than we do. Two of those countries, Eritrea and Sudan, are right on the Red Sea.

Today, the Red Sea from the Gulf of Aden right through up to Sinai and beyond Suez is probably more vulnerable than it has ever been, that if you will, that artery has something of a knife to it. Therefore, we get the larger question of are we really looking carefully at what is happening in this very fragile region, which is a whole mix of both cultures and ethnicities? There is an Arab element and in Africa, there is Christian, Muslim and within it also are tribes. The co-habitation that existed in the past, especially the religious co-habitation is a threat at the moment.

And it is a threat for the following reason. First of all, we have governments, which on the whole don't govern well and that's putting it mildly. Sudan has been survived on 50 years of civil wars, Somalia is a well-known story and my friend Mohamed can tell you much more about it, South Sudan is a catastrophe and it is going to get worse before it gets any better, so let's be careful what sort of bath water of our own we are drinking about that place. Ethiopia is a country that is an old empire trying to manage itself in its own diversity with a fairly heavy hand and it's going to have to learn that persuasion may be better than coercion. Eritrea is just a big black hole.

In this, the game changer I think in the last -- certainly the last two, three years has been the way in which the Gulf, particularly Saudi Arabia and the Emirates, have begun to see this region as part of their backyard. Just as we in Europe would refer to our neighborhood, well the Gulf has a neighborhood and they have gone operational and they don't do it in the way we do it. The result is that you have seen certainly after the Yemen blast in January a year ago the relationship with Sudan has changed. Sudan has flipped, has come out of isolation, has made an arrangement with Saudi Arabia, it is now receiving support -- financial support, but it has come out of its isolation and engaged itself.

Eritrea has done exactly the same where the Emirates have now established a military base in the Port of Assab. These two countries have come out of isolation. As a consequence, it's upset a lot of the balances in a very fragile region where the diplomacy has always been difficult within it, but is now becoming more complicated because there is a whole new system of, if you will, global patronage and clientelism that is emerging, there is a new game.

Somalia, I won't go at length, but frankly I don't think you will take offense Mohamed if I say that your politics is a bit like an auction, isn't it? So depending on who gets the Samsonite with the most money in it from the Gulf is going to be the one who manages to win the elections. And you are engaged in that game, not the game of collecting money but of trying to play a straight game to win an election, okay? So this is the hard realities.

Now behind this, I think the greatest danger that we face in the region as we look ahead is something that has been developing over years' right under our noses but which we never paid attention to. It is the degree to which the traditional Sufi Islam of Africa, but particularly of Eastern Africa and the Horn has now been swamped and taken over by the Wahhabism. It has been years of investment through the mosques and the madrasaas, it has pervaded, it is pervasive and Sufi Islam cannot

keep up, it doesn't have the money, it's much more indigenous, it is a quietest, if you will, form of Islam.

Here what we have now is the inculcation of what I would call a selective literalism that has taken over the religious communities, and people and the government don't know how to deal with it. Today, Somalia has become primarily Wahhabist influenced. In Kenya, the coastline, Northern Kenya, Wahhabist. The Qadiriyya of Eastleigh, the Somali Qadiriyya of Eastleigh, the last Sufi mosque in Eastleigh closed down four years ago and I can go through.

The Ethiopians privately are beginning to admit 40 million Muslims in Ethiopia. This is the apple, this is -- if you are a Jihadi, this is what you are looking for, go after Ethiopia.

How one handles this is the big challenge. We heard just earlier, I thought some interesting ideas which people are trying to see if we can get them going in the whole region. It has to do with the messaging and the counter messaging. We could really scale up, I see a great focus on the places near Europe and the countries we have been talking about earlier, I see less of a targeted focus.

Secondly, and we have got to be very clear about this, it is not good enough to say we are worried about violent extremism and we will deal with it with nice development projects, which may show some results in 20 years time, the issue is now. Because governments are reacting with fear, they need to act with more confidence, more political confidence, if not, they will use policing methods alone rather than political methods to address this issue.

At stake is the fact that this vast region which has always been synonymous with fracture and problem is now threatened by something entirely new, which is that the tradition of co-habitation at the religious level has always been there, politics were tribal and the danger is with this new infection, if you will, of a particular brand and strand of one form of Islam risks rendering the politics of the region sectarian. And that means, it will

not be simply home grown, it will become part of this wider network.

So my message to you, if I may, in brief now is, if we want to look ahead, especially on the issues of this meeting, these last two days have been addressing. This is an area which we need to wake up, understand, get much more operational, be much more realistic and also sweep away the clutter of rather fluffy thinking. Africa is a sort of the paradise of the developmental contractor and NGO, no, it's a front in this war and it needs to be treated as that, but smartly with full understanding of the difficulties and complexities, social, political insecurity that exists in this area. Let me leave it to that.

MS. VON HIPPEL: Okay, wonderful. Thank you, Alex. Lots of food for thought for the discussion period. Mohamed, maybe you could help us and provide -- tell us where Somalia is, Somalia has gone through so much in the last few decades, you have a government now, whether or not it's corrupt, it's a functioning government to a degree, so tell us a bit about that and the challenges for Somalia going ahead.

MR. MOHAMED: Good morning, I am glad to be here today. And when we talk about security challenge in Africa, usually the first thing came to my -- to your mind is that poverty, corruption, tribal-ethnic conflicts, lack of democracy, poor leadership. Now what we have is something bigger than that, which is religious extremism, to be more specific, Islamic extremism. And those two organizations, terrorist organizations are subscribed those -- that ideology is of course Boko Haram in the west and Al-Shabaab in the east.

I believe that Al-Shabaab is more dangerous than Boko Haram because Al-Shabaab definitely is operating in an environment in which you have a very weak government, very volatile government where there is a weak military or army. Also, you have a government that doesn't pay salary to its soldiers, no food rations, no medical care for any soldier who are wounded in the battle -- in the field, or if a soldier dies in the field of course there is no

proper burial and no benefit -- death benefit or compensation to the families, that is the government we are dealing with. So Al-Shabaab definitely has enormous movement and freedom to do whatever they wanted to do in terms of creating chaos and havoc and destroy humanity, of course that is the part that Boko Haram and Al-Shabaab have in common.

Now, I believe they can be defeated, and I am giving you a firsthand experience as a former Prime Minister of Somalia. When I was appointed five years ago, late 2010, definitely Al-Shabaab was in control and dominated much of the capital city, Mogadishu and almost one-third of the country. Of course they controlled the ports and major towns and they had everything. As a matter of fact, when I was appointed and I came to Mogadishu after 26 years living in the United States, they were like about 500 meters away from the government headquarter or my house or my office. So every morning, every day there is maybe three or four attacks, every single day, and they were on the offensive and the government were on the defensive. And thanks to AMISOM at that time who really protected the government from Al-Shabaab.

Again, in those days, the reason that the government soldiers losing ground simply because it's the same situation we have today. That government didn't pay salary, no other benefits and morale was very low and they didn't have no sense of purpose nor a cause to die for. So how the government expects its soldiers to die with empty stomach, so that is not reasonable. And that's why Al-Shabaab was taking territory previously controlled by the government.

Also, another observation I made that time was there was disconnection between the government and its people, its population. Because there was a perception that government was corrupted -- was corrupt, incapable, indifference to provide services and of course Al-Shabaab played that by using very proactive media system and portrayed the government just a puppet of westerns and western has no intention to help Somalia, but to impose that type of corrupt leadership. And that is why the

population -- Somali population and the government were disconnected, there was no relationship whatsoever.

Again, on the other side, the population, Somali people did not support Al-Shabaab or Al-Qaeda. Every family wanted their children to go to school and have a proper education and have a better future. So people decided to stay neutral, on one side they see the government is corrupted, on the other side they see Al-Shabaab was really harsh and interpreting Islam in a very wrong way and killing human being every day. So that is why people lost confidence in their people and the reality is this, if you are fighting with any type of insurgents you have to have the people on your side because that's how insurgents or terrorism get their funding, their support, their intelligence, their place to hide. So that government so as this current government really have no contact and support from the people and that's why Al-Shabaab is more dangerous than Boko Haram because they have an environment in which they can operate freely.

Lastly, Al-Shabaab was winning and of course gaining momentum. The reason being because they have a very tough leadership, very skillful leadership, using the media well, they were well disciplined and of course well financed by Al-Qaeda. And also they had two persuasive argument that of course Somalia -- they used to say that we have moral high ground to protect Somalia, which is not true. Also they say that this famine, of course starvation, Somalia had several starvation in the past, caused by westerns because western doesn't allow to have a good leadership in this country and that's why we have that corrupted leadership because they are getting support financially, politically and diplomatically from the west. So the western countries have no intention to help Somalia; that was their argument. And both are not true but of course to gain support from the public.

So when I took office and I find out this was the reality that I have to work with, then I have to turn the table against them to find a way that to show that the people have a new government, credible government, honest government that is here to provide services. As soon as we do that, of course we reach out to the population, I am

talking about late 2010, which was the most difficult time in the history of Somalia because it was very close that Al-Shabaab to overthrow the government. If there is no AMISOM definitely they would overthrow. Of course, I don't want to forget that European Union and the United States of course provide the financial support that AMISOM need and a lot of AMISOM soldiers died and of course their sacrifice will not go in vain.

We start to define Al-Shabaab, of course they used to define the government as a corrupt, as a puppet of foreign countries, so we start to define who Al-Shabaab is. First, who are they, where they come from and why are they here in Somalia? Who are they? They are foreigners. Of course their leader was Osama bin Laden, and al-Zawahiri and the one who is in Somalia who also responsible for Africa was Fazul Mohammed who was killed under my administration in Somalia.

So that -- those are the people and they are not Muslim, they are not Islam. What they -- the way they interpret is not Islam, Islam doesn't allow to kill innocent people, okay? They have a political objective to reach their goal and of course their goal was to take over the whole Africa, and if they can, throughout the world through violent means, okay? So they are not Islam, that's exactly how we define them, they are not Islam and they came here to Somalia to destroy our culture, to destroy our heritage, our Sufism Islam, the real Islam that is based on peace, peaceful coexistence.

Where they are from? They are from all over the world. They come from all over the world. And why they are here? They are criminals, they cannot stay where they come from, they come from all over the world; Europe, some of them come from the United States, Al-Amriki came from Tennessee, some of them come from Asia, many come from Africa. So they are criminals, they cannot stay where they are and they have to find a safe haven in which they can protect themselves. So that's how we define and that is how we communicated effectively with our people.

Then of course we have to show result that the government that I put in place should be a credible

government and work as a team. In the past, before I came, any government that came before me was government that was always fighting inside between the Prime Minister or the President. And as a result, there is no work, if you have a deep conflict within the government, definitely there is no work. Of course Alex knows that this current government you have three prime ministers in three years, in three years, three different governments, also you have three chief of staff for the past three years, three chief of military -- chief of intelligence, also you have three police chief. So there is no continuity. If you have no continuity, then there is no functioning government. And if there is no functioning government, of course Al-Shabaab will take advantage to organize itself in order to plan attacks, and that is exactly what they are doing right now.

Now, good governance was another way that we have to attract our people and to gain their confidence. So good governance meaning that to fight corruptions, Somalia is known as a corrupt countries -- one of the corrupt countries, and so I have to remove everyone who is tainted with previous corruption history, so I have to remove them in order to build confidence in our people.

National army, we have to build a national army and to reorganize it and to provide what they need, including salary, food, medicine, and of course for those who died in the line of duty we start to provide benefits for their families in order the current soldiers to fight effectively with Al-Shabaab.

Reconciliation was another area because Somalia has been fighting in a clan or tribal conflicts, so we have to work together to bring everybody together under or on one front, which is Al-Shabaab. Our major -- our main enemy was Al-Shabaab, so we have to bring all clans together in order to defeat this foreign ideology. Also, a part of reconciliation we offered amnesty to the young Al-Shabaab who is being brainwashed.

There is two Al-Shabaab, one who is hardcore, hardliners, who are ideologue and they have to go, okay. Also, there is another part of Al-Shabaab who is Al-

Shabaab because of opportunity, economic opportunity. As you know that almost 70% of Somalia population happen to be youth and that 70% are unemployed and that's another area that Al-Shabaab is trying to attract more youth on their side. So we call them, we give them amnesty, we provide opportunity and we build facility to re-educate them, and within six months -- within five months time, we received about 300 Al-Shabaab. And after I resigned, June 2011, I heard that by the end of 2011 there was 1,000 defectors from Al-Shabaab came to that program because we have to give alternatives and incentives, otherwise then of course they will stay with that criminals.

As a result of that, within six months time when we have a clean government, credible government, with the support of the Somalia people, high morale of the soldiers, as a result of that we remove Al-Shabaab from Mogadishu. I want to just go back to one story that I want to share with you. When I came to Somalia after 26 years and I came into the Villa Somalia, Alex knows that, that is the headquarter of the government. Before I was appointed, there was a gentleman who was showing me around in the compound and suddenly there was a bullet flying like two feet away from me and then I was shot, I stopped immediately. And the guy who showed me around said that keep walking, you are a target because there is a sharp shooter somewhere probably maybe 200 meters or 300 meters.

MS. VON HIPPEL: He said walk, don't run?

MR. MOHAMED: Yes. So we keep walking. The next day of course when I was appointed, 6 o'clock in the morning I was in the bathroom and suddenly there was gun shots on my window, about 10 of them, okay? I was really shocked also. And when I find out that I am okay that I didn't get hit, and I opened the window I find -- no one told me the window was bullet proof, so if there wasn't a bullet proof window I wouldn't be here today. So that was the situation I was in. But we turned in -- we that situation into a real hope for a lot of people.

MS. VON HIPPEL: Okay, great. Well, thank you for talking about the enormous challenges and the progress that you were able to make during that period. And it is

interesting that Somalia is slowly seems to be trending in the right direction despite a lot of big challenges that both our speakers addressed.

Mohamed, maybe I could start with you with a question I have been struggling with for some time, which is why Al-Shabaab hasn't signed up yet with ISIL and they are sticking with Al-Qaeda for now. It could -- is it just a question of money? I was in America recently and some of the people working with the Somalis in Minneapolis were mentioning that actually that they asked for youth for signing up now for ISIL and not Al-Shabaab, they were joining, so some of the Somalis in America anyway, maybe not elsewhere. What is it -- or do you think that Al-Shabaab will at some point join with ISIL or do you think they will stay with Al Qaeda?

MR. MOHAMED: I believe there is a debate within Al-Shabaab. Of course they lost a lot of cities and towns that they used to collect their revenue. So I heard that there is a debate between them, there are still some people who are moving towards that direction to join ISIL because of funding opportunity since Al-Qaeda is no longer very, very active. So there is a debate I think going on, and I heard -- and there is also some conflict within them in-fighting because some of the Al-Shabaab movement wanted to stay with Al-Qaeda and some probably becoming more pragmatic and thinking that maybe we have to change our alliances and to join ISIL. I think that debate is still ongoing.

MS. VON HIPPEL: Okay, thank you. Alex, I want to ask you about the Gulf. You mentioned this is recent but obviously you are also saying it's not recent because if Wahhabi influence obviously takes time to really permeate society, Somali women now are black much more than they used to. So and obviously the Gulf states were funding various iterations of the Somali government in the late '80s and '90s and '00s. So what do you think is different this time or do you think they are ramping up much more, do you think they see China as a threat, what do you think is going on?

MR. RONDOS: Yeah, well first of all, I discount

China, except to watch very carefully what really they plan to do in Djibouti and what the implications are for Djibouti, because that's a massive presence that they are acquiring there. The issue first was scale because on following Yemen, in the last 18 months, there has been a tremendous influx of both political interest, security interest and therefore financial interest. So it's scale and it's regional, it's not just Somalia. There is a competition then among some of the Gulf states, the UAE wants the ports, Turkey is present. So they are trying to outbid each other. And this gets you in to the whole question who tries to influence the politics for place like Somalia.

Let me just parenthetically build on something that Mohamed was saying and on your earlier question. Don't forget that a lot of the coastline of Yemen now is controlled by Al-Qaeda and from ports like Mukalla and the like we are seeing a real uptick of movements of small boats across the Gulf of Aden into Somaliland, Puntland mainly. And it's not clear because none of us has really the capacity to interdict on the scale that's needed to know what's really going on, but there are all sorts of people of strange provenance, money, guns moving. That's just what we have to really watch out for. The religious sides been there, but it's just growing and accelerating.

MS. VON HIPPEL: Yeah. I suppose that one thing to be thankful for is that Al-Qaeda and ISIL are still split. So well let me open the floor to questions. Yeah, in the back. Please introduce yourself. How long do we have for Q&A, we have 10 minutes? Okay.

MS. SMITH: Hi, my name is Ruth Smith and I am Consultant for the US Department of Defense on countering WMD. I wanted a follow-up on your comment about fluffy development thinking in the continent. And I ask a question that's a little bit more cross cutting across Africa. For those of us who are there for security reasons, but the activities we do look a lot like capacity building, what would you recommend in terms of order of operations when you are focused on stability as well as sort of long-term sustainment?

MS. VON HIPPEL: Good question.

MR. RONDOS: Should I take that?

MS. VON HIPPEL: Yeah, why don't you go ahead, will take a few minute?

MR. RONDOS: Yeah. I think, first of all let's begin -- someone made a comment earlier this morning which I think was very pertinent. We need to start really addressing and almost forensically where are the flash points of grievance. It isn't all of Nigeria that's a problem. It started in Maiduguri, okay? Where are the future Maiduguris, which are the current ones, how do we deal with which part of the coast of Kenya, which of the particular communities? But then it is not a question of going there and say, 'Oh! well let's get consultant into do a nice little project and perhaps we will do some vocational training, this sort of stuff.' You got to go right it. And this is something else that I believe we don't do nearly enough of those who deal in government like we all do. We think of development projects, we think security, we are not mobilizing the private sector properly.

The private sector will flip, it will go with whoever gives them the opportunity of the protection. Al-Shabaab as well as being ideological is a massive financial protection racket, for example. The private sector wants to know where is the choice of getting more profit especially in a country like Somalia or Kenya, which are incredibly entrepreneurial, we are not addressing that. So I think you need to look and bring more parts and people can have more of a stake. That's one.

I think two, we are not looking politically enough. A lot of the governments don't think through how to do the politics, both local politics, let alone national politics and I think that needs much more attention.

Third, we need -- I won't sort of spread it pretty much further out, we've got to start talking to

people like the Gulf and have a very honest debate. Here is the reality, we do development and think that's the solution and yes, there is security operations that go on. We talk elections, Somalia is a perfect example. We are the west, we preach elections, we talk about process and in the meantime someone else is buying the politics. This equation doesn't work, certainly we are interested or concerned. So the time has come for a real discussion there. If not, and we sit there and spend our time trying to be too polite or looking at broader equities, we will lose our stake in this area of the world. And the stake of people like Mohamed who've got -- who've had the guts to be try to present a secular or liberal future for a society which is actually becoming more and more close. Those are the big ticket items I'd be talking about. So this smart security, focused economic work -- economic cum political work and then do serious diplomacy, widen the angle of the lens.

MS. VON HIPPEL: Mohamed, did you want to comment, I mean, a government that has scarce resources, donors have scarce resources, how do you prioritize them, what matters and what matters now versus what might matter down the road?

MR. MOHAMED: Well, you know, it's really important that the security and economic development should work hand in hand. You cannot only work security where people have no jobs. For example, as I said earlier that most of the youth have no jobs and that's why they may be attracted to join these type of criminals, terrorist organizations, simply because they want to make a living, unfortunately. So -- but I believe that if in order to bring this two together, you have to have a visionary leadership, okay, who brings security at the same time promoting economic development.

Now as Alex said that Somali people are entrepreneurial, wherever they go, if you see in the United States or Minnesota -- Minneapolis, Minnesota or Ohio, anywhere they go, or else live in Kenya, they immediately establish their own shop, their own businesses to be self sufficient. And I mean so any leadership in Somalia should promote to bring those people back to their

homeland and create jobs or job opportunities for youth. But those people will never come unless there is a security, unless you have a security environment in which they can do business in.

MS. VON HIPPEL: Okay, great. Thank you. The gentleman there, right over there and then you. Should we take maybe the two, how much time do we have?

MR. ISHII: Five minutes.

MS. VON HIPPEL: Okay, why don't we take the two questions together, you guys have to remember the questions.

MR. ISHII: Masafumi Ishii, Ambassador of Japan to NATO. In my mind prosperity comes only after the minimum stability is secured, so from that viewpoint what should we do more in terms of realizing stability? And let me push the China point a little bit more. Are you ready or do you feel like using the help coming from Chinese side, not only what's happening in Djibouti, we are seeing the environment in the peace keeping operations in South Sudan which is excellent, I mean 700 of them next to Japanese 350 continue.

MR. MOHAMED: Yeah, exactly.

MR. ISHII: So I mean are you ready to do that, that kind of a thing, are you going to ask China to do more because if they want to be a part of the solution that's so much better for us. But I worry the most is if we do not do anything decisive now, we end up calling up the traditional member, which is the United States.

MS. VON HIPPEL: Okay, great question. China including Kenya as well, what is the investment in Kenya? Okay. Please, sir?

MR. GRIFFITHS: Hi there, Richard Griffiths, Squire Patton Boggs. My question actually is focused on Somalia, it's about remittances issue, cross border remittance. It's come up as a pretty major issue, Kenya, the UK, the US and you know the question I guess to both

of you from a policy side from the EU and to you Mohamed is the effect of cutting off the remittance, and the sort of knock on? And from the EU sir, maybe just what's the plan for that and how do we resolve that issue?

MS. VON HIPPEL: Okay, time for one more, if anyone else? Okay, yeah, add on. Okay, let's just take these two questions then.

MR. RONDOS: On the first, China, but the broader question of -- you are absolutely right, who is going to invest or really put up their own private money if there isn't a sense of security. Two or three things, let's start with a place like Somalia where in fact ground is being gained and we are not coming in and following up with what in the business is called real stabilization. We are not doing it on the scale and the speed that is I think equal to the challenge. This we've always been a bit behind the curve on that and you have known about this because you were watching and dealing with this before. I think we are well behind the curve, there is an issue there.

We are now colliding with different constituencies, the NGOs who could be doing it don't want to because they don't want to be seen to be coming in on the back of some military trucks. My own view is, well, just get a contractor, I don't care who deliver services now so that people in Somalia can see that if whatever has replaced Shabaab brings dividends, and I mean immediately. I mean that's one and it's clear cut and it may apply elsewhere.

Two, I think Somalia remains very interesting because we've sort of turned everything on its head there, the neighbors are the ones who are engaged in the fighting with the exception of Uganda, okay? This is very unusual. We've got to stick with it, but come up with a proper plan quickly to do both the stabilization and establish security system.

Third, there are a series of flash points in this particular region which have to do with history among the countries. These are very porous, they are not

contested frontiers, but they are deeply porous and inhabited by what tends to be the marginalized communities of each country. These are the flash points and they are used as proxies the whole time by each country, that's the way -- we have cooperation through deterrence in the Horn of Africa, that's the way the game is played. We've got to start working that around so that it becomes less deterrence and more cooperation, but every single frontier has this and this could blow up.

On the Chinese, I think it's very interesting lately, my own view is and having talked a lot with the Chinese indeed to encourage them to become more engaged, they are discovering that the myth that they are mainly a trading or a commercial presence doesn't work, as is true of every trading company beginning with the East India Company. Sooner or later they got mugged by politics, okay, and this is what's happened I believe to the Chinese and they are digesting it in their own time and in their own way. And the indication that they've engaged now in the peacekeeping in Southern Sudan is to my mind a very interesting indication of they are now beginning to put their foot in the water.

The financial question, yeah, this is tough because whether it's the hawala or Dahabshiil, all these money -- people who move money, until we can be absolutely sure that the recipients, the majority of whom are just people who are getting their remittances, but among them we cannot be sure and have not been sure as to who actually is the beneficiary and it could be Shabaab. I mentioned earlier, Shabaab runs a really smart protection racket. That's one.

The bigger question in a place like Somalia, and I've been looking at the whole of the region is the telephone system, all payments are made by telephone. Now, in Kenya today a farmer can get insurance against drought through an app on the telephone. The flip side of it is that someone can get paid to either influence the elections or whatever in Somalia, it's the telephone system that works. And the whole issue of how money moves, what technology is used to move them, we forgot to jump ahead of the curve on this because it's evolving the

whole time.

Your point about remittances, yes, I don't do the -- I am not good on all this -- the detail of it. One is going to have to find something that begins to be able to be very, very targeted, the recipient is clear who it is and he is not someone who may be linked to Shabaab.

MR. GRIFFITHS: The problem is --

MS. VON HIPPEL: Sorry.

MR. GRIFFITHS: Which (inaudible) --

MS. VON HIPPEL: Yes, it's a lot of money.

MR. RONDOS: Yeah, yeah.

MS. VON HIPPEL: Sorry about this, but we have one minute. So Mohamed, you have to deal with prosperity, security, China and remittances in one minute.

MR. MOHAMED: Okay.

MS. VON HIPPEL: So see what you can do.

MR. MOHAMED: Wow, okay, let me try this way. Of course, now people -- Somali people in the diaspora send \$2 billion, \$3 billion a year to Somalia and without that money, without that help from Somali diaspora I don't know how Somalia would look like. So basically, we need that money to continue to flow into Somalia in order to people to survive.

Now for China, definitely Somalia needs investment. But of course which one comes first, like chicken and egg, the investment or the security, let's work on the investment -- let's work on the security first. We all know that Somalia basically privileged to be located in one of the most strategic locations in Africa and of course China was really interested, India, Turkish was also interested to use Somalia as a gateway to Africa. So I believe also that Somalia is a wealth in terms of natural resources. I mean there is tons of

different natural resources that's available in Somalia besides, I mean, the location you have almost 8 million hectares that can be used as farming to provide food security in Middle East. Also fishing, we have 1,300 square, that basin can be produce almost \$1 billion a year for fishing business opportunities. So the country is rich, but first we have to get security in place.

MS. VON HIPPEL: Okay, well, thank you very much. Well done. Just I'd like to take this opportunity so we can stay on schedule to thank both of our speakers and look forward to a really interesting day. So thanks again.

(Applause)

\* \* \* \* \*