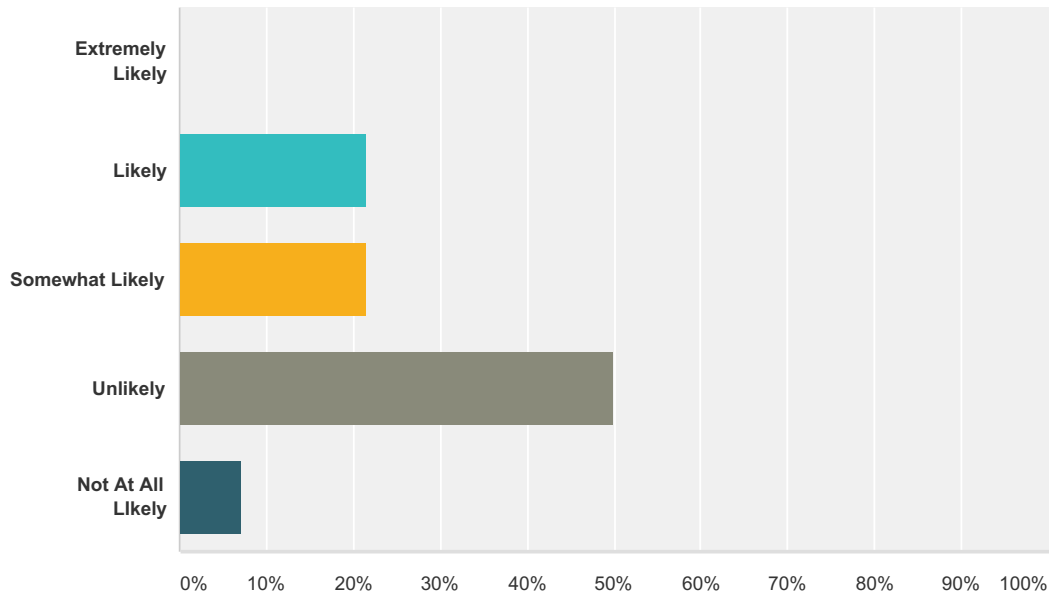


Q2 What is the likelihood that Burundi completely withdraws from AMISOM during the next 18 months?

Answered: 14 Skipped: 0



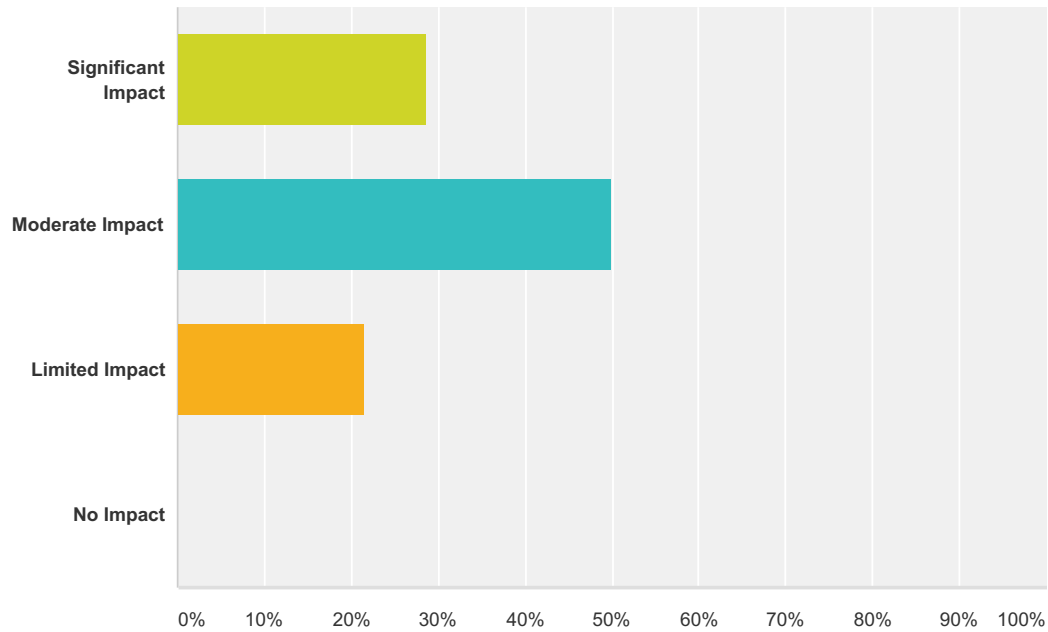
Answer Choices	Responses
Extremely Likely	0.00% 0
Likely	21.43% 3
Somewhat Likely	21.43% 3
Unlikely	50.00% 7
Not At All Likely	7.14% 1
Total	14

#	Reason/Explanation	Date
1	Domestic issues in Burundi	7/18/2016 8:22 PM
2	Because of its obligations to AMISOM and the African Union	7/18/2016 8:19 PM
3	Four reasons: Burundi forces value participation in AMISOM as a "perk"; it provides funding and a forcing function for integration of troops from Burundi's own civil war; it provides national training opportunity for soldiers; the military takes pride in pointing to participation in AMSIOM as giving them a purpose. Want "Africa to take care of its own problems and not depend on other countries to provide peacekeepers through UN".	7/18/2016 7:12 PM
4	Burundi, like the other TTCs, receives significant financial and political benefits from its participation in the mission --- money, training, and diplomatic influence. There are essentially no costs for the political leadership (those shouldering the burden are the troops themselves). They also enjoy significant gains in diplomatic leverage.	7/18/2016 7:08 PM
5	If domestic conditions in Burundi continue to devolve over the actions of President Pierre Nkurunziza, it is possible that the country will withdraw some or all of its troops from AMISOM due to a combination of political and economic factors. The latter is particularly salient if the EU follows through on its plan to stop its funding of Burundian AMISOM forces in a bid to pressure Nkurunziza to the negotiating table regarding domestic issues.	7/18/2016 7:06 PM

6	Burundi is the country furthest from having direct interests in the conflict in Somalia (resembling Sierra Leone in its approach, even though Burundi evidently is in the region and therefore, like Uganda, has a more critical interest in The Horn). Domestic instability in Burundi could lead to two outcomes - withdrawal of peacekeepers because they are needed at home, or maintenance of its current presence as a means of exporting security problems. Overall AMISOM is a quite volatile mission with limited strategic direction, and strong domestic interests of Kenya, Ethiopia and Uganda (the latter has strong monetary interests while the two former have monetary as well as security interests).	7/18/2016 7:03 PM
7	Given the internal challenges that Burundi faces as a country, it may end up withdrawing from AMISOM. This outcome is more likely if the security and governance situation in Burundi deteriorate further. However, given that AMISOM offers incentives to the military and political establishment of member countries, none of the poor troop contributing countries is likely to exit.	7/18/2016 7:00 PM
8	The Somalia deployment brings Burundi important revenues and allows it to keep a greater number of soldiers on the payroll. The government of Burundi would only liquidate this income if it desperately needed the soldiers for internal ethnic fighting.	7/18/2016 6:58 PM
9	There are two ways how Burundi could withdraw completely from AMISOM: Either the government decides it is no longer in its interest to deploy troops to Somalia, or it is forced to withdraw by the African Union. Both scenarios are unlikely. For the government, the peacekeeping mission keeps parts of the army happy and loyal, because it provides an additional income. It also keeps AMISOM dependent on Burundi, making outside intervention to effect regime change in Burundi less likely. One possible scenario in which AMISOM would be forced to withdraw from AMISOM is if funding would stop completely, but given that the EU has already cut funding by 20% without any reaction by the government and EU sources say further funding cuts are not on the table, this won't happen in the foreseeable future. The AU on the other hand will only force Burundi to withdraw, if it can find somebody else to provide the troops necessary for AMISOM to fulfill its mission. Western countries or traditional troop providers like India and Pakistan are unlikely to deploy troops in the frontline capacity Burundi has occupied and African troop providers are already overtaxed with missions in other African countries. The UK has started to deploy a small contingent to support AMISOM with intelligence and planning and may act as a force multiplier, but this is unlikely to completely replace Burundi's presence and is probably not meant to achieve this, either. Burundi may be forced to withdraw by the AU and/or donors, if violence in Burundi escalates dramatically and/or takes on genocidal characteristics triggering heightened international attention and scrutiny of the army's involvement and responsibility.	7/18/2016 6:57 PM
10	Participation in AMISOM provides Burundi with some leverage in its dealings with the international community. As the crisis in Burundi continues, Bujumbura will need this. I think however that if violence spins out of control in Burundi, participation in AMISOM could end.	7/18/2016 6:56 PM
11	money	7/18/2016 6:54 PM
12	Too many problems at home.	7/18/2016 6:53 PM
13	Burundi lacks a national interest in withdrawing from AMISOM. By contrast, continued participation yields diplomatic and financial benefits. Only the collapse of Burundi into civil war would result in the degradation of its contribution to AMISOM.	7/18/2016 6:51 PM

Q3 Regardless of the likelihood that Burundi completely withdraws from AMISOM, what level of impact would Burundi's absence have on AMISOM's ability to maintain pressure against al-Shabaab and other armed opposition groups?

Answered: 14 Skipped: 0



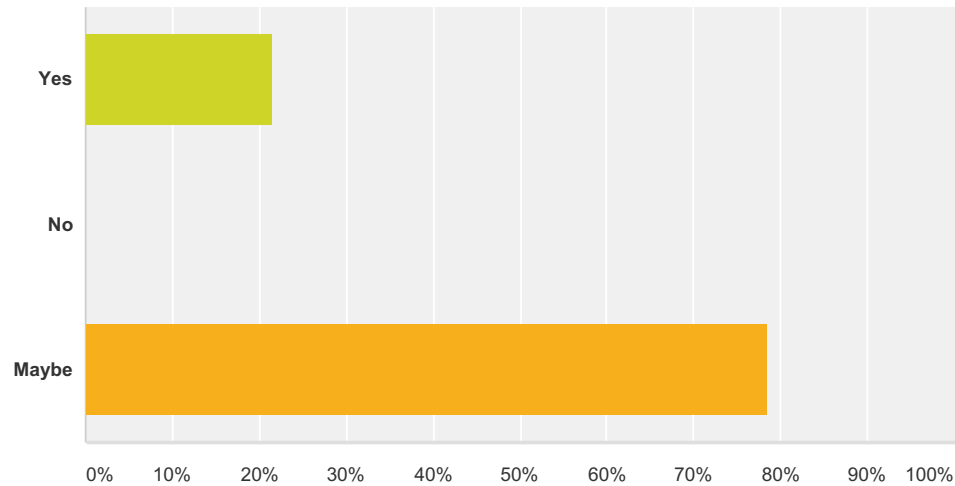
Answer Choices	Responses
Significant Impact	28.57% 4
Moderate Impact	50.00% 7
Limited Impact	21.43% 3
No Impact	0.00% 0
Total	14

#	Reason/Explanation	Date
1	Burundi troops are located in Sector 5 where al-Shabaab is relatively active.	7/18/2016 8:19 PM
2	Burundi forces are known to be less capable than Uganda, but also to "not back down" from a fight and more serious about mission success than Uganda. Burundi is responsible for southern seacoast, which is important for enforcing trade sanctions. Ethiopia and Kenya are not likely to engage Al Shabaab outside of their very localized interests along shared border areas.	7/18/2016 7:12 PM
3	Burundi is the second largest troop contributor to AMISOM. Given that the mission is already significantly under-strength for the purposes of fighting a counterinsurgency campaign in Somalia, losing nearly a quarter of the force would undoubtedly reduce AMISOM's ability to maintain pressure on al-Shabaab.	7/18/2016 7:08 PM

4	The withdrawal of Burundian forces from AMISOM, which currently account for nearly 1/4 of AMISOM's total forces on the ground inside Somalia, will have a significant impact on the ground, particularly if the other regional countries providing troops to AMISOM do not move to make up the difference. AMISOM is already only just able to maintain a semblance of order and security in certain areas of the country and even in Mogadishu, Al-Shabab continues to be able to operate with impunity. Al-Shabab continues to prove itself to be a viable and capable fighting force and rebel/insurgent governing force, albeit over substantially less territory now than a few years ago. However, its leadership continues to demonstrate an interest in territorial rule and strategic thinking including maintaining cordial relations with local clan and sub-clan elders and taking advantage of AMISOM and Somali Federal Government mistakes and shortcomings. Some of the countries providing forces to AMISOM, such as Ethiopia and Kenya, also are also weakening AMISOM's capabilities by actively pursuing their own national agendas inside Somalia.	7/18/2016 7:06 PM
5	It would be a blow to AMISOM's neutrality - or what is left of it - because the mission would have to rely to an even greater extent on Kenya and Ethiopia, something that the FGS is not happy about. It gives a good impression of what led a contributor like Sierra Leone that had no strategic interest in Somalia to engage in AMISOM. Without knowing Burundi very well, I assume that their road to deploying with AMISOM, is somewhat similar.	7/18/2016 7:03 PM
6	Burundi is one of the toughest armies in AMISOM. It is in charge of Middle Shabelle and parts of Mogadishu. Its exit will be felt as Uganda will be the only country in these volatile areas. There is one battalion from Burundi in Kismayo along with Kenyan and Ethiopian contingencies.	7/18/2016 7:00 PM
7	The Burundi soldiers are the weakest among AMISOM. Nonetheless, the mere presence of AMISOM soldiers in an area changes perceptions of the extent of Al Shabab control.	7/18/2016 6:58 PM
8	AMISOM is already not capable of consistently liberating and holding territory, without exposing its supply lines and bases to surprise attacks. This would only exacerbate, if Burundian forces would withdraw without a suitable replacement. The effect's of Burundi's absence could be dampened, if more militarily advanced countries would provide logistical and intelligence capabilities, as well as air support. But even then, Burundi's considerable troop contribution would be sorely missed on the ground.	7/18/2016 6:57 PM
9	Burundi's troops are good fighters and of significant number	7/18/2016 6:54 PM
10	AMISOM would be obliged to replace BDNF in Sector 5 - the smallest AMISOM sector and the one location where SNA forces are sufficiently capable and receive clan support to stabilize key towns (e.g. Jowhar, Mahday, Balad).	7/18/2016 6:51 PM

Q4 Regardless of the likelihood that Burundi completely withdraws from AMISOM, would another country or other countries within or outside AMISOM be able and willing to provide troops that would fill the void created by Burundi's absence from AMISOM?

Answered: 14 Skipped: 0



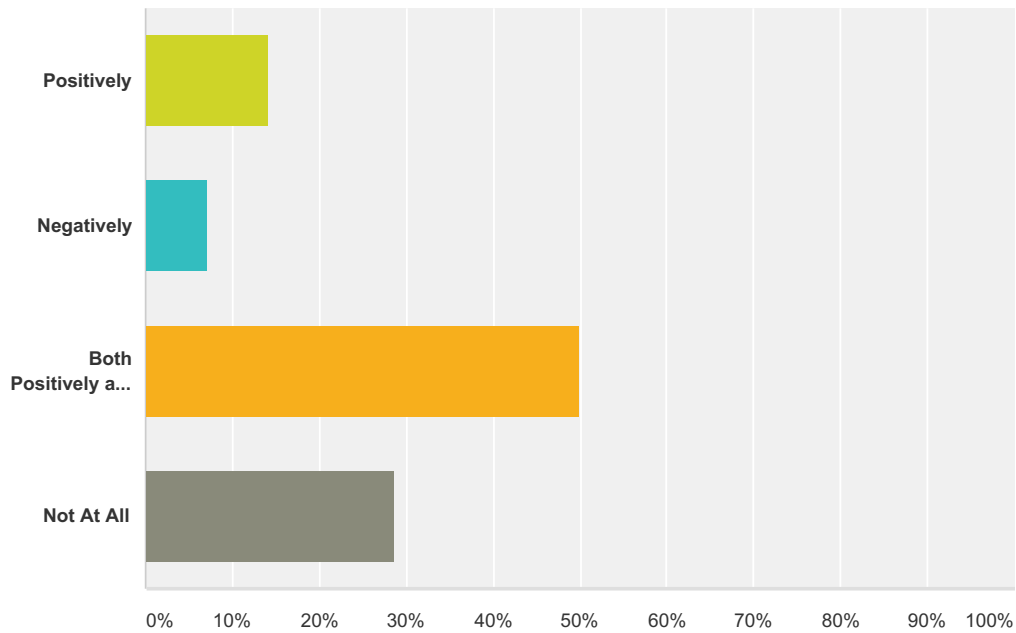
Answer Choices	Responses	Count
Yes	21.43%	3
No	0.00%	0
Maybe	78.57%	11
Total		14

#	Reason/Explanation	Date
1	Another country may not be willing due to adverse nature of state collapse in Somalia	7/18/2016 8:19 PM
2	Al Shabaab is becoming more and more sophisticated and learning in place. Another country coming in could not start from same place of inexperience that Burundi started from in 2008 if they were to be effective now. So, short of engaging one of African's finest armies (which are few - perhaps from Nigeria or South Africa), there would have to be extensive training prior to deployment - more and longer than what is currently done through the ACOTA program. There are few countries in the region that have a capability that are not currently engaged in their own conflicts.	7/18/2016 7:12 PM
3	The "major powers" involved in AMISOM -- Ethiopia and Kenya -- are certainly capable of filling the void left by a Burundian withdrawal. Moreover, they are the two countries that are arguably the most motivated to secure their interests in the country (not necessarily "victory", but continued influence in the border regions of the country and in Mogadishu).	7/18/2016 7:08 PM
4	When Sierra Leone left, they were overtaken by Ethiopia in Kismayo. It is my impression that it is very unlikely that a country with no strategic interest in Somalia (or strong domestic impetus to export security concerns or make money) would send soldiers to the country. Kenya's and Ethiopia's involvement is primarily because there were no other countries that wanted to join.	7/18/2016 7:03 PM
5	Frontline state of Ethiopia is the only AMISOM country that is willing to go everywhere in Somalia for its own political and military reasons.	7/18/2016 7:00 PM

6	The likelihood is not very high. Nonetheless, Uganda may be the most likely candidate for increasing its military presence in Somalia.	7/18/2016 6:58 PM
7	Uganda may have the capacity, depending on its other deployments and military priorities, e.g. in South Sudan. So does Ethiopia. But Ethiopia has shown no willingness to integrate with AMISOM or contribute beyond securing a buffer zone along its own border. And Uganda has so far not indicated any willingness to take over Burundi's responsibilities. Other African countries are unlikely to have the capacity or the risk tolerance to get involved with AMISOM in a frontline capacity.	7/18/2016 6:57 PM
8	Maybe if sufficient money was offered	7/18/2016 6:54 PM
9	It is likely that other current TCCs would be able to replace BNDF in certain critical locations in Sector 5 (e.g. Jowhar). If it was possible to pressure the original TCCs into joining AMISOM, it is also possible to pressure new TCCs to join.	7/18/2016 6:51 PM

Q5 If another country or other countries provided troops to fill the void created by Burundi's withdrawal, how would this impact AMISOM's ability to maintain pressure against al-Shabaab and other armed opposition groups?

Answered: 14 Skipped: 0



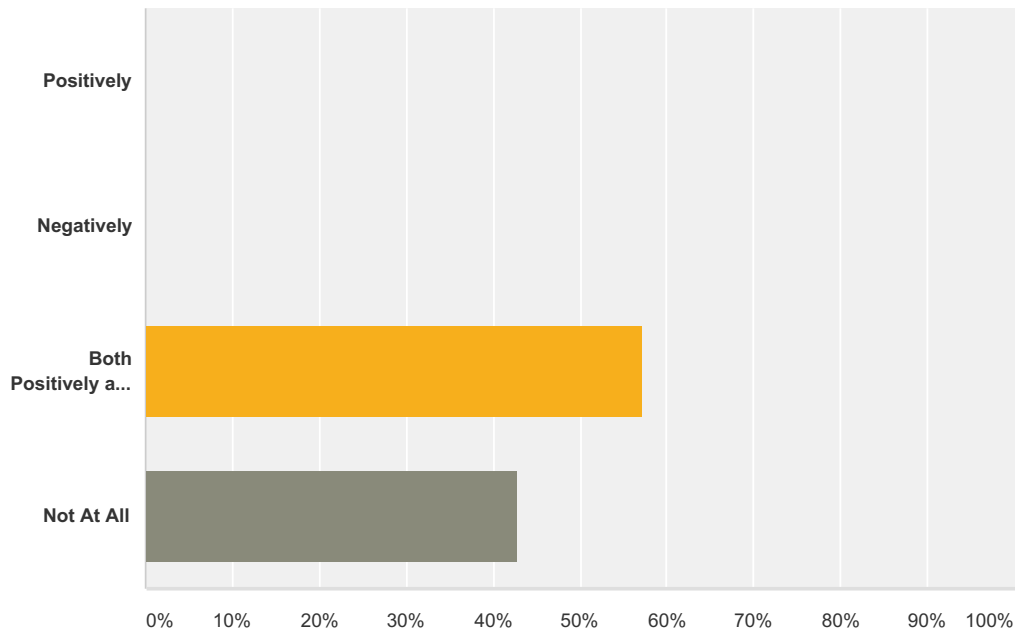
Answer Choices	Responses
Positively	14.29% 2
Negatively	7.14% 1
Both Positively and Negatively	50.00% 7
Not At All	28.57% 4
Total	14

#	Reason/Explanation	Date
1	While there may be initial problems with learning to operate inside of Somalia, it is possible that a new contributing country could be more proactive in taking on Al Shabaab.	7/18/2016 8:22 PM
2	The onslaught in Sector 5 against al-Shabaab would probably be rejuvenated.	7/18/2016 8:19 PM
3	see above - it would depend on who they are and their experience with an increasingly sophisticated enemy.	7/18/2016 7:12 PM
4	The constraints on the AMISOM mission's capacity to pressure al-Shabaab are not driven by the nationality of the troops participating in the campaign. The problems are much more fundamental: insufficient troop numbers, lack of air assets, lack of force enablers, lack of training, failure to train local counterinsurgent forces, etc.	7/18/2016 7:08 PM

5	Whether the replacement of Burundian forces in AMISOM would produce positive or negative results will depend on a number of factors including which country or countries provides replacements and whether this country or countries pursue their own agendas inside Somalia. Kenya and Ethiopia, for example, have actively attempted to develop their own Somali proxy militias and clients in order to further their own national goals inside Somalia. This has enabled Al-Shabab to continue pushing forward a media operations and recruitment narrative of foreign meddling inside the country, a narrative that, while self-serving and exaggerated, has elements of truth.	7/18/2016 7:06 PM
6	Not at all is too strong, because evidently it would impact on the neutrality of AMISOM if Kenya or Ethiopia took over, which is already under considerable pressure.	7/18/2016 7:03 PM
7	Increased Ethiopian military influence will embolden al Shabaab and likely activate Somali nationalists who would pick up arms to stop Ethiopian domination of their country.	7/18/2016 7:00 PM
8	I say positively with reservations. Just about every regional force has more capacity than Burundi. However, the extent of the positive impact would depend on which country provided the troops.	7/18/2016 6:58 PM
9	This completely depends on the quality of the troops, their equipment and training, as well as their willingness to coordinate closely with other elements of AMISOM and the international community.	7/18/2016 6:57 PM
10	It depends who fills in.	7/18/2016 6:56 PM
11	Depends on the nature of the troops	7/18/2016 6:54 PM
12	It depends on which forces, what locations they go to, etc. For example, if ENDF end up in Sector 5, they would be able to exert a strong counter-AS influence. If it is UPDF, then the counter-AS efforts in Lower Shabelle would suffer. If it is a new TCC, it depends on their C2 and fighting skills. For example, a South African deployment would be very different to a Togo deployment.	7/18/2016 6:51 PM

Q6 If another country or other countries provided troops to fill the void created by Burundi's withdrawal, how would that affect the views of the Somali Government and other Troop Contributing Countries towards AMISOM?

Answered: 14 Skipped: 0



Answer Choices	Responses
Positively	0.00% 0
Negatively	0.00% 0
Both Positively and Negatively	57.14% 8
Not At All	42.86% 6
Total	14

#	Reason Explanation	Date
1	It could have a negative impact if the Somali government does not have long established relations with the new contributing state. It may also prove difficult if a new partner is not familiar with Somali culture and politics. That being said, it is possible that a new state could be more politically active than Burundi and play a greater role in advancing the political process in Somalia	7/18/2016 8:22 PM
2	It would not affect the FGS and the TCC's as there already several calls for additional TCC's	7/18/2016 8:19 PM

3	<p>from a military standpoint, It would depend on who the country was. If an "impartial" country, as Burundi, and they were well trained and effective, this would increase legitimacy of AMISOM as a military operation. However, the views of Somalia government and other TCCs towards AMISOM are driven as much by political considerations as by military. The self-interests of Ethiopia and Kenya now dominate the political interests. If the new TCC was considered impartial, this could threaten the monopoly that Ethiopia and Kenya have on areas of their own interests - especially if the introduction of another TCC forced AMISOM to act as a unified command. However, if AMISOM continues to operate as independent areas of responsibility and control, there might be little to no impact on other areas of AMISOM control, except as the safe haven of Al Shabaab might be reduced. Even this has ambivalent outcomes where AMISOM troops and Al Shabaab are in economic collusion.</p>	7/18/2016 7:12 PM
4	<p>It depends on which country (or countries) were providing the troops and where they would be located inside the country. For example, Ethiopian troops would be hated by the locals in some areas given the long and difficult history between the two countries. Perceptions of a "foreign occupation" would negatively affect views of AMISOM.</p>	7/18/2016 7:08 PM
5	<p>This is directly dependent on the country that took over. If Sierra Leone was allowed to send troops again (after Ebola), and they got the support to deploy, this would be welcomed. The relative strategic neutrality of SL was acknowledged by FGS. If Ethiopia or Kenya take over, which is much more likely, this would not be welcomed by FGS.</p>	7/18/2016 7:03 PM
6	<p>The Somali government has no coherent policy on anything but increased presence of frontline states in Somalia would discredit it even further.</p>	7/18/2016 7:00 PM
7	<p>It depends on which country it would be. Clearly, more troops by Kenya would not be welcome by Mogadishu. More troops from Ethiopia would generate a love-hate reaction in Mogadishu. Ugandan troops would likely be most acceptable to the majority of Somali actors.</p>	7/18/2016 6:58 PM
8	<p>Again, this would depend on the country that provides these troops and how these troops behave on the battlefield.</p>	7/18/2016 6:57 PM
9	<p>Again, who intervenes to fill Burundi's place matters.</p>	7/18/2016 6:56 PM
10	<p>It depends on which forces. Additional ENDF deployments close to Mogadishu could have a negative impact. However, simply swapping out BPDF for additional FAD or a new TCC would probably have no impact.</p>	7/18/2016 6:51 PM

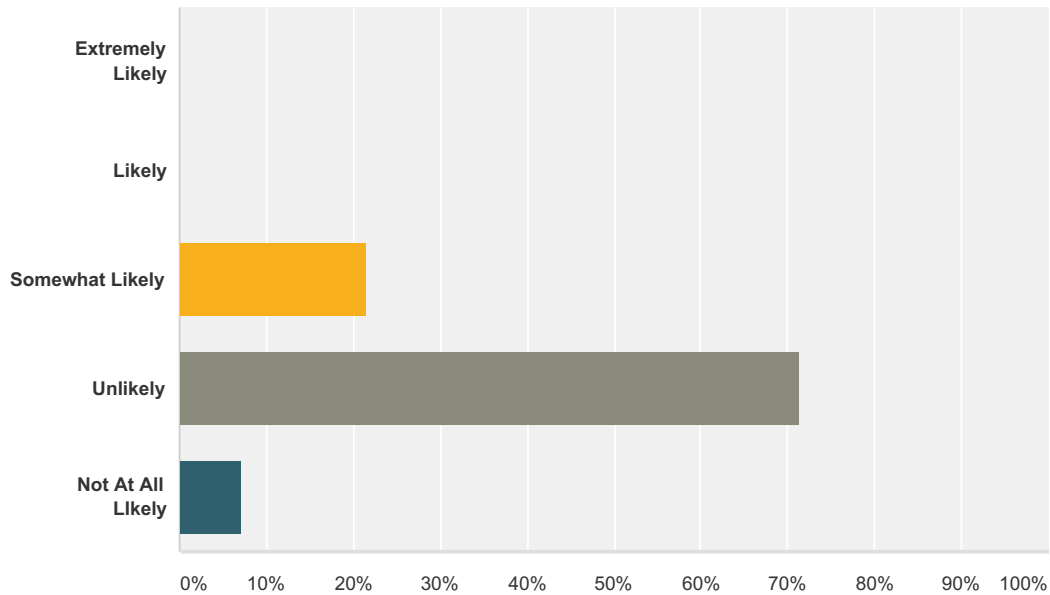
Q7 Please provide any actions or policies that members of the international community could undertake to reduce the likelihood that Burundi removes all of its troops from AMISOM during the next 18 months?

Answered: 13 Skipped: 1

#	Responses	Date
1	Contingency planning in advance of this possibility so that the international community is not left rushing to fill a void should it actually happen.	7/18/2016 8:22 PM
2	There is need to increase not reduce AMISOM's funding as well as provide effective critical military multipliers and enablers	7/18/2016 8:19 PM
3	Concerns of top level decision makers in Bujumbura and those of soldiers on the ground are very different. Military concerns: ensure payment to soldiers on time (an EU issue). Provide additional material and logistic support to military operations (e.g., helicopters) that enable pursuit of Al Shabaab, rather than depending on surrender in place. Soldier - ground level concerns - Improve contingency planning and funding for stabilization after AMISOM takes control of territory that acknowledges specific role for Burundi troops to work within communities across civil-military space. This requires more candid and transparent operations between AMISOM and aid communities that find means of cooperation and builds trust. Political concerns - use of AMISOM as a mechanisms for trying to force political changes within Burundi. These should be kept separate. (E.g., Burundi domestic politics and support to military for participation in AMISOM. Accountability can be enhanced by making the support to Burundi soldiers transparent (and thereby remove mechanisms for corruption and diversion of support).	7/18/2016 7:12 PM
4	If the goal is to reduce the likelihood that Burundi removes its troops, then calls for an AU mission in Burundi itself should be dropped (they essentially already are, but in the future as well). That such a mission has not deployed is evidence of the sort of diplomatic gains Burundi receives from its participation in AMISOM.	7/18/2016 7:08 PM
5	The international community should continue to pressure President Pierre Nkurunziza to negotiate with his domestic political opponents. The needs of AMISOM, while important, should not be used to justify ignoring domestic actions contrary to representative democracy. To do so would not only be hypocritical and contrary to democratic principles and values but will also provide Al-Shabab with ammunition to use in its media operations campaign. International subsidizing of Burundian AMISOM forces should continue but be tied to domestic negotiations by the president. This external funding should also not be allowed to become a private source of revenue for the president and his supporters to use to silence domestic critics and political opponents.	7/18/2016 7:06 PM
6	If they do this, it is not due to what happens in Somalia, but domestic developments. Therefore support to the overall political process back home. But relative to a political collapse in Burundi, AMISOM is not that important.	7/18/2016 7:03 PM
7	Restoring government legitimacy in Burundi would help. Building a credible Somalia security sector is the ultimate response to fighting terrorism and securing Somalia.	7/18/2016 7:00 PM
8	The US or UK governments could engage with the government of Burundi and promise further assistance, or even suggest waving concerns about ethnic violence promoted by GoB within Burundi. Both policies would be wrong-headed.	7/18/2016 6:58 PM
9	Currently it looks like the international community would be happy for Burundi to withdraw its troops, as long as a suitable replacement is found. But for the sake of the argument, securing funding would basically guarantee that Burundi keeps its troops in place.	7/18/2016 6:57 PM
10	Solve the crisis in Burundi.	7/18/2016 6:56 PM
11	Pay them more Give in to Pierre Nkurunziza	7/18/2016 6:54 PM
12	End the problems in Burundi.	7/18/2016 6:53 PM
13	Resolve the current political / security turmoil in Burundi. Offer to pay Burundi more for their continued AMISOM participation.	7/18/2016 6:51 PM

Q8 What is the likelihood that Djibouti completely withdraws from AMISOM during the next 18 months?

Answered: 14 Skipped: 0

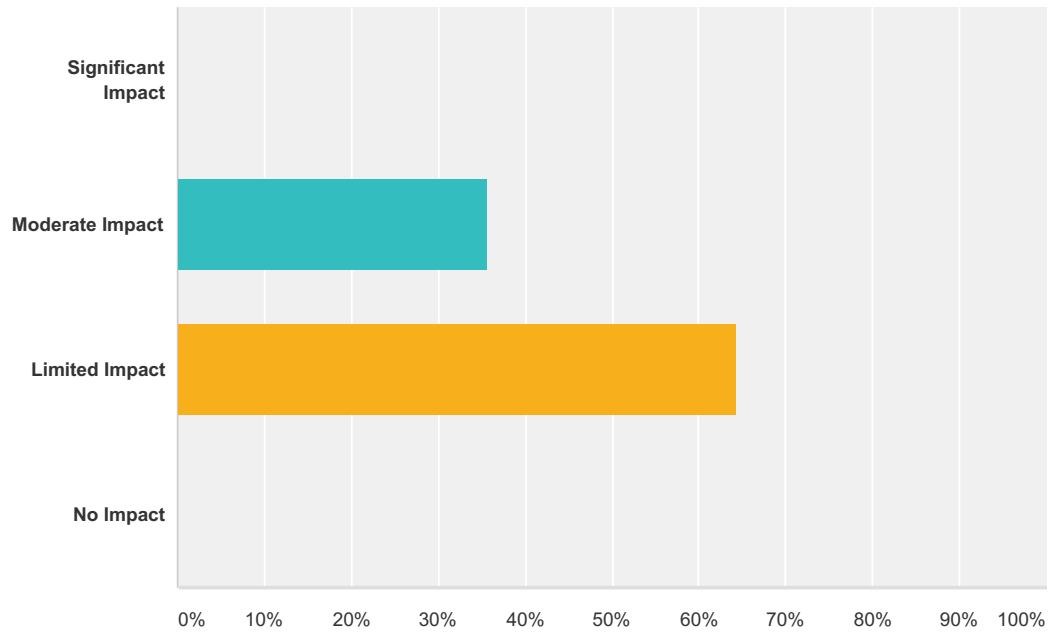


Answer Choices	Responses
Extremely Likely	0.00% 0
Likely	0.00% 0
Somewhat Likely	21.43% 3
Unlikely	71.43% 10
Not At All Likely	7.14% 1
Total	14

#	Reason/Explanation	Date
1	Again, many benefits from participation -- money, training, influence, etc. -- and little cost for the political leadership.	7/18/2016 7:08 PM
2	Due to the affinity of Somalis and Djiboutians culturally that this is unlikely.	7/18/2016 7:04 PM
3	Djibouti enjoys rapport with the local population in Hiiraan and serves alongside Ethiopia. Elections were held recently and there is continuity. I do not see any reason for Djibouti to leave anytime soon.	7/18/2016 7:00 PM
4	Like for Burundi, the income from the AMISOM mission is significant. Djibouti has other sources of income, being courted by both China and the US. Nonetheless, the loss of the AMISOM income would be inconvenient.	7/18/2016 6:59 PM

Q9 Regardless of the likelihood that Djibouti completely withdraws from AMISOM, what level of impact would Djibouti's absence have on AMISOM's ability to maintain pressure against al-Shabaab and other armed opposition groups?

Answered: 14 Skipped: 0

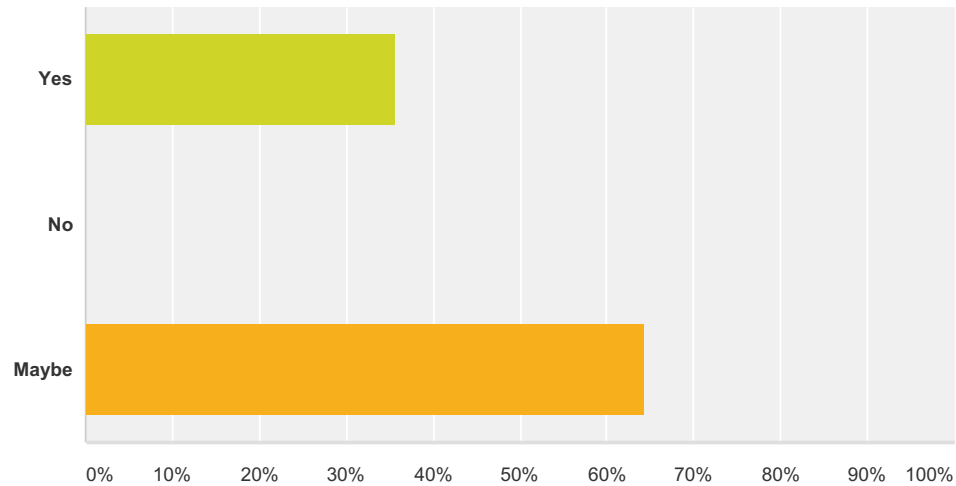


Answer Choices	Responses
Significant Impact	0.00% 0
Moderate Impact	35.71% 5
Limited Impact	64.29% 9
No Impact	0.00% 0
Total	14

#	Reason/Explanation	Date
1	The Djiboutian contingent could probably be replaced by either a different country or an increase in troops from Uganda or Ethiopia.	7/18/2016 8:22 PM
2	Djibouti has many fewer troops in AMISOM. This would still hurt the mission, but not as much as a Burundian withdrawal, for example.	7/18/2016 7:08 PM
3	Although Djibouti has good public relations, its troops overlap with Ethiopia. Their departure will not bring much problem.	7/18/2016 7:00 PM
4	The Djibouti forces are more ethnically/racially acceptable to many Somalis than the African forces. With all their limitations, the Djiboutian forces have been able to establish at times reasonably good relations with the local population and powerbrokers in their sector.	7/18/2016 6:59 PM

Q10 Regardless of the likelihood that Djibouti completely withdraws from AMISOM, would another country or other countries within or outside AMISOM be able and willing to provide troops that would fill the void created by Djibouti's absence from AMISOM?

Answered: 14 Skipped: 0

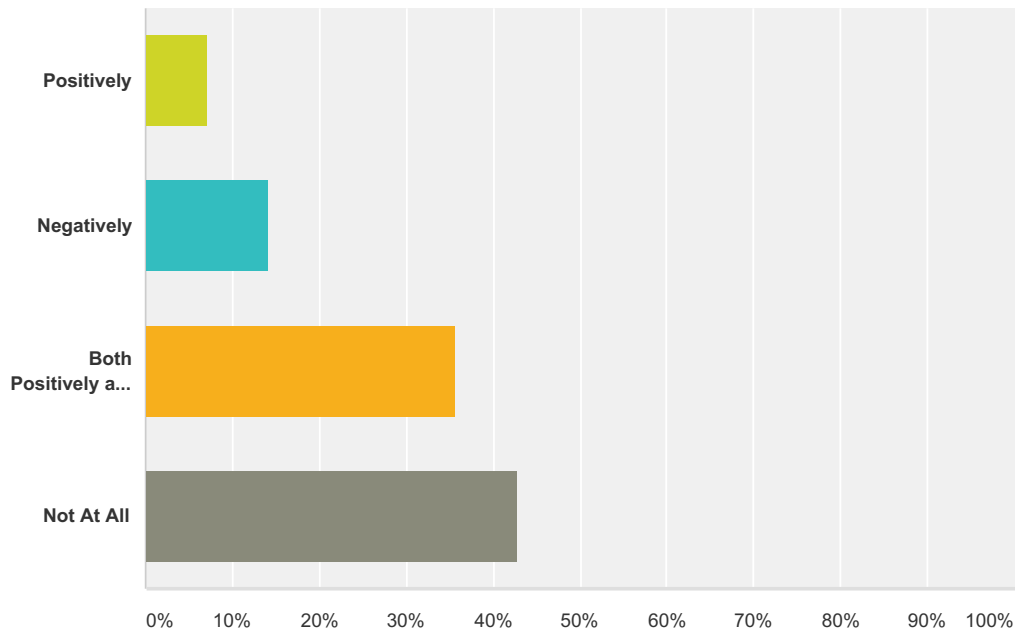


Answer Choices	Responses
Yes	35.71% 5
No	0.00% 0
Maybe	64.29% 9
Total	14

#	Reason/Explanation	Date
1	Ethiopia is already in the sector.	7/18/2016 7:00 PM
2	Uganda most likely	7/18/2016 6:59 PM

Q11 If another country or other countries provided troops to fill the void created by Djibouti's withdrawal, how would this impact AMISOM's ability to maintain pressure against al-Shabaab and other armed opposition groups?

Answered: 14 Skipped: 0

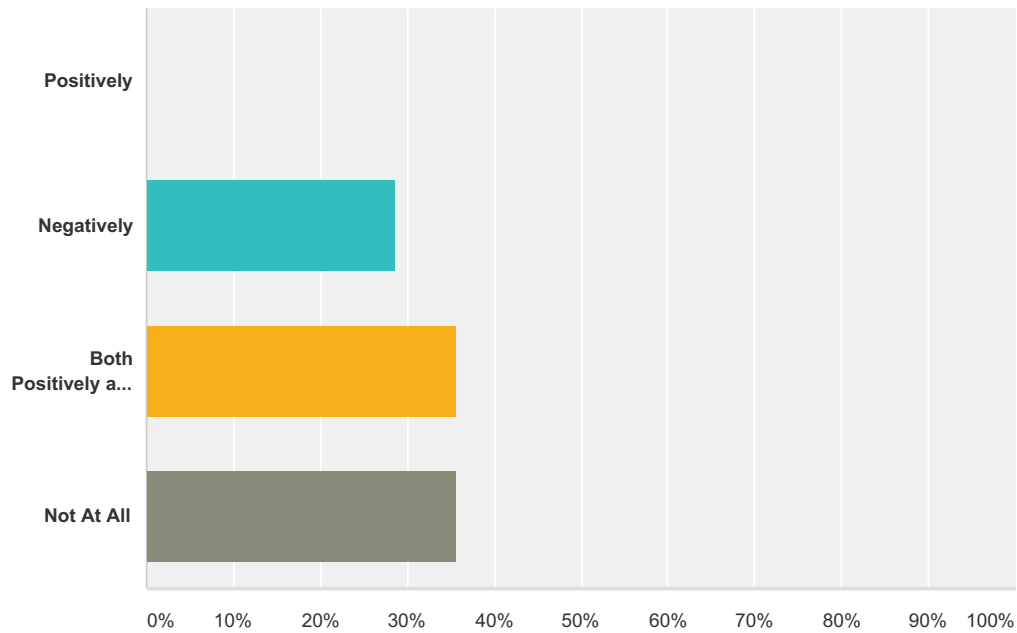


Answer Choices	Responses
Positively	7.14% 1
Negatively	14.29% 2
Both Positively and Negatively	35.71% 5
Not At All	42.86% 6
Total	14

#	Reason/Explanation	Date
1	Exclusive Ethiopian control would raise an alarm.	7/18/2016 7:00 PM
2	It would all depend on who replaced the Djiboutian forces. Uganda or Ethiopia could have heftier forces than Djibouti and Ethiopia has extensive, if skewed, intel networks in Somalia. Both of these factors could enhance the operational capacity of AMISOM in the Djibouti sector. But both come in with political baggage in Somalia.	7/18/2016 6:59 PM

Q12 If another country or other countries provided troops to fill the void created by Djibouti's withdrawal, how would that affect the views of the Somali Government and other Troop Contributing Countries towards AMISOM?

Answered: 14 Skipped: 0



Answer Choices	Responses
Positively	0.00% 0
Negatively	28.57% 4
Both Positively and Negatively	35.71% 5
Not At All	35.71% 5
Total	14

#	Reason Explanation	Date
1	Given the Somali connection between Somalia and Djibouti, the FGS would again have to rely on Kenya/Ethiopia. FGS would have a problem with this.	7/18/2016 7:04 PM
2	The Somali government sees the Djibouti deployment as mostly harmless. Relations with other countries would be more complicated.	7/18/2016 6:59 PM

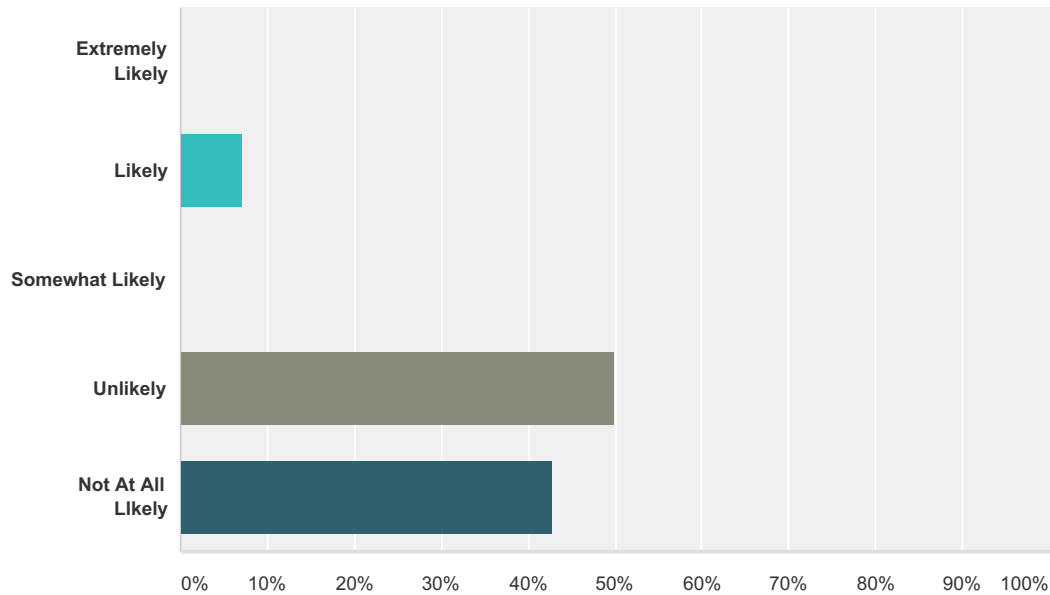
Q13 Please provide any actions or policies that members of the international community could undertake to reduce the likelihood that Djibouti removes all of its troops from AMISOM during the next 18 months?

Answered: 7 Skipped: 7

#	Responses	Date
1	Again, contingency planning to prepare for this possibility.	7/18/2016 8:22 PM
2	Again, I think keeping diplomatic pressure off Djibouti is the main way. The country is already heavily incentivised to stay, but one reason Djibouti might want out would be as a way to punish diplomatic meddling in its internal affairs.	7/18/2016 7:08 PM
3	The fact that the EU is now paying less money to the mission may make AMISOM less of a priority for Djibouti.	7/18/2016 7:04 PM
4	Moving fast enough and building a Somalia security sector.	7/18/2016 7:00 PM
5	The US could Djibouti more financial/ MIL aid/ other aid payoffs. That would not be wise. Already, the US is showering Djibouti with money, contributing to a host of problems of governance and microeconomy in the country.	7/18/2016 6:59 PM
6	Improve the training and equipment of Djibouti's troops.	7/18/2016 6:56 PM
7	Encourage the Somali government to achieve greater progress in reaching an internal political settlement.	7/18/2016 6:53 PM

Q14 What is the likelihood that Ethiopia completely withdraws from AMISOM during the next 18 months?

Answered: 14 Skipped: 0



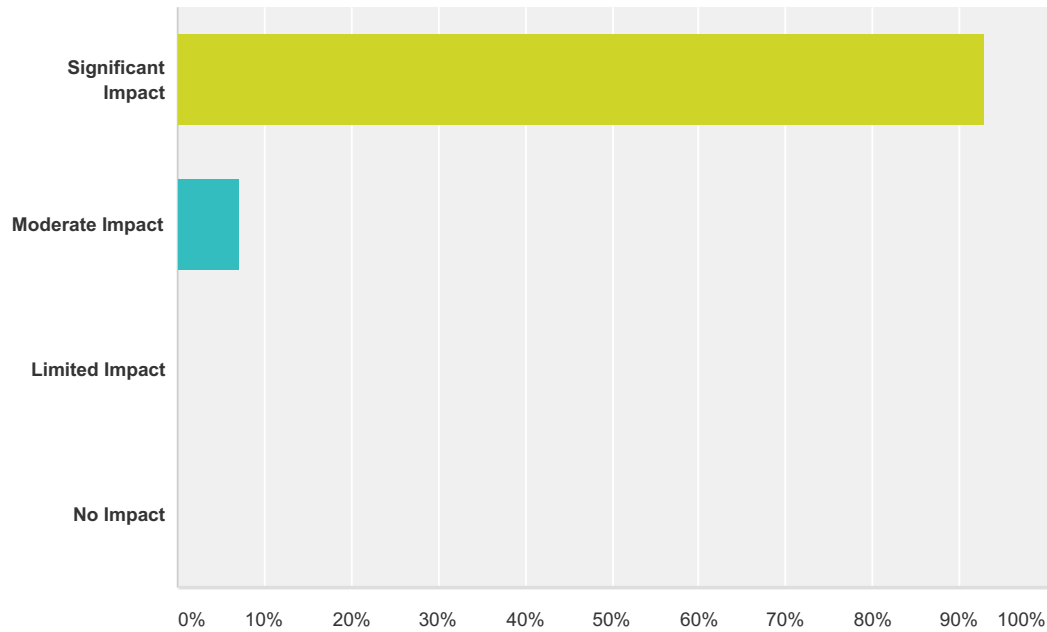
Answer Choices	Responses
Extremely Likely	0.00% 0
Likely	7.14% 1
Somewhat Likely	0.00% 0
Unlikely	50.00% 7
Not At All Likely	42.86% 6
Total	14

#	Reason/Explanation	Date
1	the events in Somalia impact Ethiopia's domestic security	7/18/2016 8:22 PM
2	Ethiopia does not usually consider its forces an occupation force given past historical experiences. It also considers the threats posed by al-Shabaab and the ONLF when making military excursions in the Somalia be it under any peacekeeping mission or as an individual country.	7/18/2016 8:20 PM
3	Same as previous response -- but notable that Ethiopia has much more to gain in Somalia. The Ethiopians will want a buffer zone in the west of the country at a minimum (where is already backs allied militias). It will also want influence over Mogadishu. I see very little chance that Ethiopia would withdraw. And if it did withdraw from AMISOM, its troops would still be very likely to remain in Somalia (operating independent of the mission).	7/18/2016 7:09 PM
4	Ethiopia continues to actively pursue its own national agenda inside Somalia and withdrawing its forces from AMISOM would make it more difficult for it to continue exercising influence over certain domestic Somali actors in western Somalia.	7/18/2016 7:06 PM
5	I don't think it is likely that Ethiopia will withdraw. And even if they do withdraw from AMISOM, they would not withdraw from Somalia (in fact they have always maintained a presence).	7/18/2016 7:04 PM

6	Ethiopia has geopolitical and military interests in Somalia. Its troops were in Somalia even when it was not part of AMISOM and it will remain in Somalia even if the AMISOM mission fails.	7/18/2016 7:01 PM
7	Ethiopia always has a buffer zone/ troops in Somalia. Even if it left AMISOM, Ethiopian troops would still be present on the ground.	7/18/2016 6:54 PM

Q15 Regardless of the likelihood that Ethiopia completely withdraws from AMISOM, what level of impact would Ethiopia's absence have on AMISOM's ability to maintain pressure against al-Shabaab and other armed opposition groups?

Answered: 14 Skipped: 0



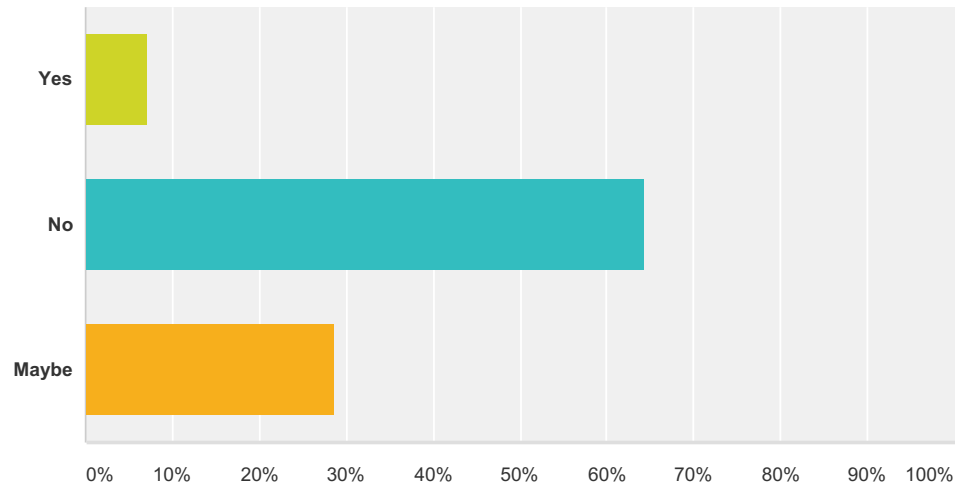
Answer Choices	Responses
Significant Impact	92.86% 13
Moderate Impact	7.14% 1
Limited Impact	0.00% 0
No Impact	0.00% 0
Total	14

#	Reason/Explanation	Date
1	Ethiopia has the most experience of all AMISOM partners operating inside Somalia.	7/18/2016 8:22 PM
2	Ethiopia's contribution towards eliminating the threat of al-Shabaab and other non-state armed actors has been very significant.	7/18/2016 8:20 PM
3	The question of how many Ethiopian troops are in Somalia is one I've consistently been unable to answer. That said, it is undoubtedly a significant number. The loss of these troops would be very consequential for the AMISOM mission given its already painfully low troop count. Moreover, the role that would be played by the militias Ethiopia currently supports would be up in the air.	7/18/2016 7:09 PM
4	The withdrawal of all Ethiopian forces from AMISOM would, given their large numbers, have a noticeable impact on AMISOM's abilities. However, it would also make it harder for Al-Shabab to play the anti-Ethiopia media narrative card.	7/18/2016 7:06 PM

5	Ethiopia is known to be a brutal fighting force, so it would significantly impact AMISOM as a mission, even if Ethiopia would maintain a presence in Somalia.	7/18/2016 7:04 PM
6	Ethiopia's presence in AMISOM discredits the mission, injects much politics, energizes and legitimizes al Shabaab and discourages other countries from going on the offensive. Its departure may usher in some much needed focus on the task of defeating al Shabaab.	7/18/2016 7:01 PM
7	The Ethiopian force is the helfties one, with best intel sources (in relative terms anyway. Its intel networks are heavily skewed toward the Darod.) It also has the greatest capacity to influence Somali subnational actors, such as in the Southwest State.	7/18/2016 6:59 PM
8	Ethiopian troops are highly active against Al Shabaab and have more experience than any other country of fighting in Somalia.	7/18/2016 6:54 PM

Q16 Regardless of the likelihood that Ethiopia completely withdraws from AMISOM, would another country or other countries within or outside AMISOM be able and willing to provide troops that would fill the void created by Ethiopia's absence from AMISOM?

Answered: 14 Skipped: 0

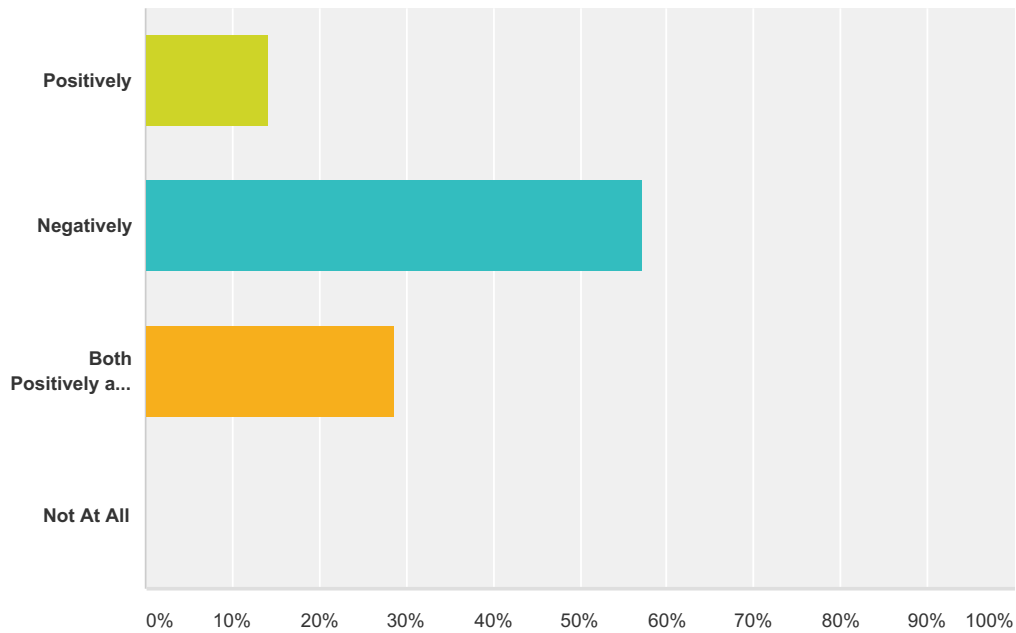


Answer Choices	Responses
Yes	7.14% 1
No	64.29% 9
Maybe	28.57% 4
Total	14

#	Reason/Explanation	Date
1	I think there would be countries that could replace the troops, but it is unclear to me how effectively they could make up for the loss of Ethiopian troops in the western areas of the country where Ethiopia regularly operates (and has had a presence in for many years). I'm also not sure what sort of military capabilities Ethiopia brings to the table, but equipment quality may be lower depending on who the replacement country is. The replacement's ability to get the same level of local intel may likewise be reduced.	7/18/2016 7:09 PM
2	It is highly unlikely that any other country would be willing to fill the void, because of numbers and political interests.	7/18/2016 7:04 PM

Q17 If another country or other countries provided troops to fill the void created by Ethiopia's withdrawal, how would this impact AMISOM's ability to maintain pressure against al-Shabaab and other armed opposition groups?

Answered: 14 Skipped: 0

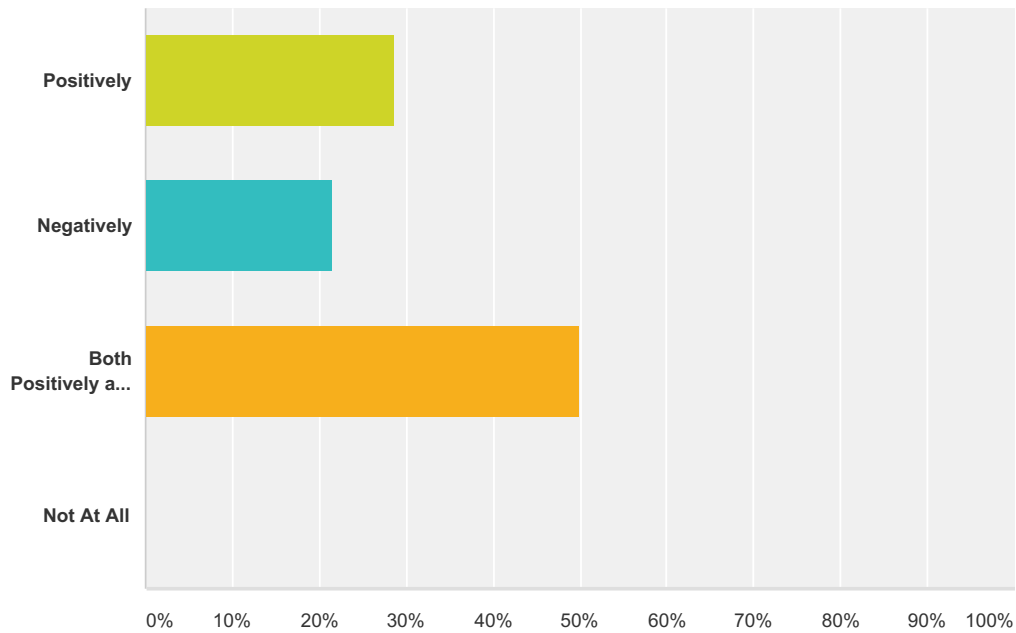


Answer Choices	Responses
Positively	14.29% 2
Negatively	57.14% 8
Both Positively and Negatively	28.57% 4
Not At All	0.00% 0
Total	14

#	Reason/Explanation	Date
1	Ethiopians appear to have learned from their experience inside Somalia over the last ten years and developed local partnerships that would be difficult to replicate in a short period of time and are necessary when countering insurgency.	7/18/2016 8:22 PM
2	Given Ethiopia's track record of effectively dealing with non-state armed actors in Somalia, it would require another country that would perform equally effectively.	7/18/2016 8:20 PM
3	Many Somalis hate the Ethiopians, but Ethiopia backs militias in the west of the country. It's not clear to me how this trade-off would play out in practice.	7/18/2016 7:09 PM
4	As said above, Ethiopia's fighting capability compared to most other forces is strong.	7/18/2016 7:04 PM

Q18 If another country or other countries provided troops to fill the void created by Ethiopia's withdrawal, how would that affect the views of the Somali Government and other Troop Contributing Countries towards AMISOM?

Answered: 14 Skipped: 0



Answer Choices	Responses
Positively	28.57% 4
Negatively	21.43% 3
Both Positively and Negatively	50.00% 7
Not At All	0.00% 0
Total	14

#	Reason Explanation	Date
1	There would be serious concern about AMISOMs ability to maintain operations without this key partner.	7/18/2016 8:22 PM
2	That country would have to be as effective as Ethiopia	7/18/2016 8:20 PM
3	Probably positively -- again, because of the difficult relationship between Somalia and Ethiopia and the latter country's role in the overthrow of the Islamic Courts Union that ultimately led to the birth of al-Shabaab and the current phase of the war.	7/18/2016 7:09 PM
4	FGS-Addis relations are ambivalent, to put it mildly, due to the relationship between the two during the past 50 years. There is also a grudging acceptance that AMISOM plays an important role, and that Ethiopia is an important player in this regard. AMISOM has a lot of problems, but if Ethiopia (or Kenya) were to withdraw completely the mission would be unmeasurably weakened.	7/18/2016 7:04 PM

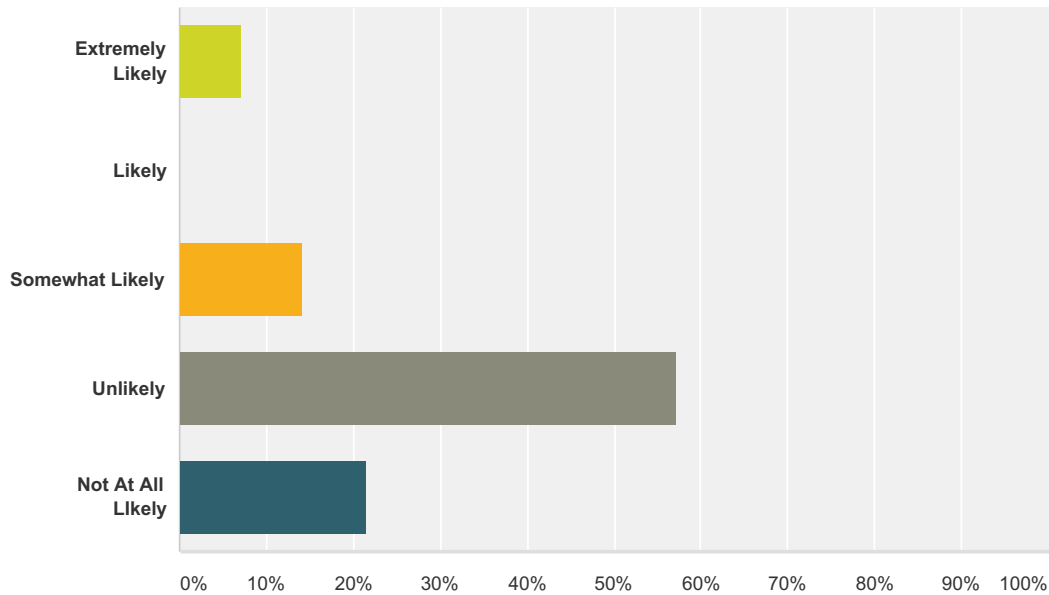
Q19 Please provide any actions or policies that members of the international community could undertake to reduce the likelihood that Ethiopia removes all of its troops from AMISOM during the next 18 months?

Answered: 3 Skipped: 11

#	Responses	Date
1	I think it is highly unlikely that Ethiopia will remove troops from AMISOM while this mission is operational.	7/18/2016 8:22 PM
2	Ethiopia will not leave - and in any case the IC is not in a position to alter Ethiopia's position on this, especially since it is a matter of national security, not least with respect to the Ogaden region. If the IC continues to cut funding for AMISOM, Ethiopia might at some point think it's not worthwhile operating through the mission. Ethiopia will not, however, leave AMISOM.	7/18/2016 7:04 PM
3	Encourage more political progress by the government of Somalia.	7/18/2016 6:53 PM

Q20 What is the likelihood that Kenya completely withdraws from AMISOM during the next 18 months?

Answered: 14 Skipped: 0



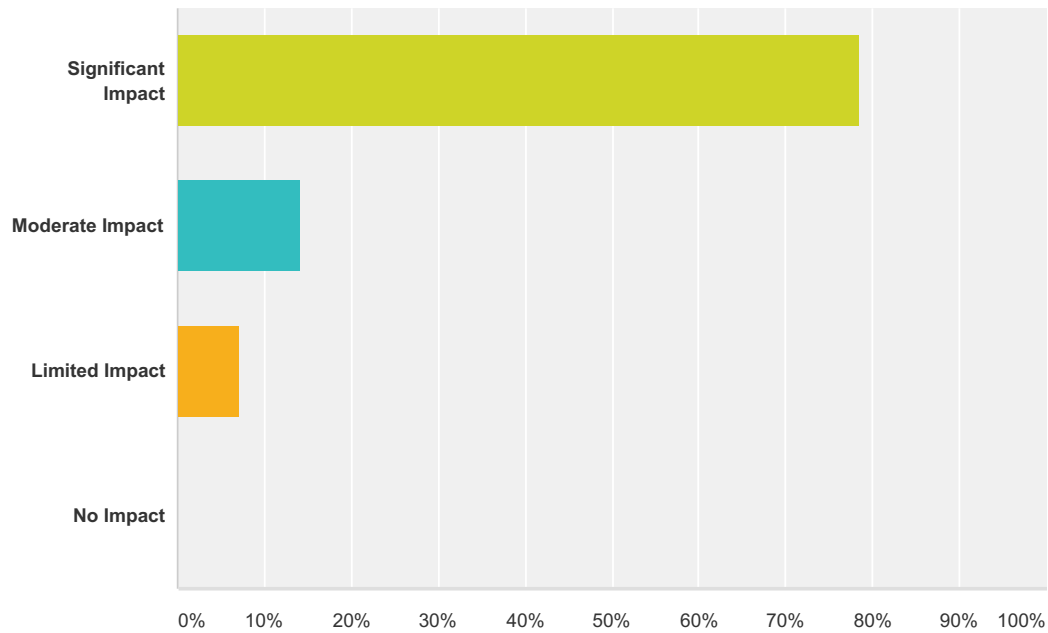
Answer Choices	Responses	
Extremely Likely	7.14%	1
Likely	0.00%	0
Somewhat Likely	14.29%	2
Unlikely	57.14%	8
Not At All Likely	21.43%	3
Total		14

#	Reason/Explanation	Date
1	Domestic security concerns	7/18/2016 8:22 PM
2	Kenya still considers al-Shabaab a grave threat to its national security.	7/18/2016 8:20 PM
3	Like Ethiopia, Kenya has much more to gain in Somalia. The Kenyans have a major problem with al Shabaab attacks inside their country. They also enjoy influence in the south of the Somalia (as in Kismayo, for example). There is little doubt that Kenya will also continue to exert influence over the regime incumbent in Mogadishu.	7/18/2016 7:10 PM
4	Kenya continues to pursue its own agenda inside Somalia and in order to continue to do so, it is unlikely that it will withdraw from AMISOM. Al-Shabab's increasing operational capacities inside Kenya also make it harder for Kenya to withdraw its forces, though their presence arguably has exacerbated Al-Shabab activities inside Kenya.	7/18/2016 7:07 PM
5	Despite domestic pressure, Kenya has too many interests in Somalia (monetary in Kismayo; security with respect to northern border). I would think it's unlikely that Kenya completely withdrew.	7/18/2016 7:05 PM
6	If Odinga wins the 2017 elections or in the aftermath of another El Adde incident.	7/18/2016 7:01 PM
7	GoK & KDF have geostrategic, CT, and economic interests in Somalia. KDF has grown quite accustomed to income obtained from illegal charges on goods in Kismayo and Juba. But KDF has also taken some significant casualties, and within Kenya, the public opinion is torn about the CT usefulness of the war involvement in Somalia.	7/18/2016 6:59 PM

8	Kenya needs to keep its buffer zone of Jubaland in order to try to protect itself from increase Al Shabaab attacks.	7/18/2016 6:54 PM
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Q21 Regardless of the likelihood that Kenya completely withdraws from AMISOM, what level of impact would Kenya's absence have on AMISOM's ability to maintain pressure against al-Shabaab and other armed opposition groups?

Answered: 14 Skipped: 0



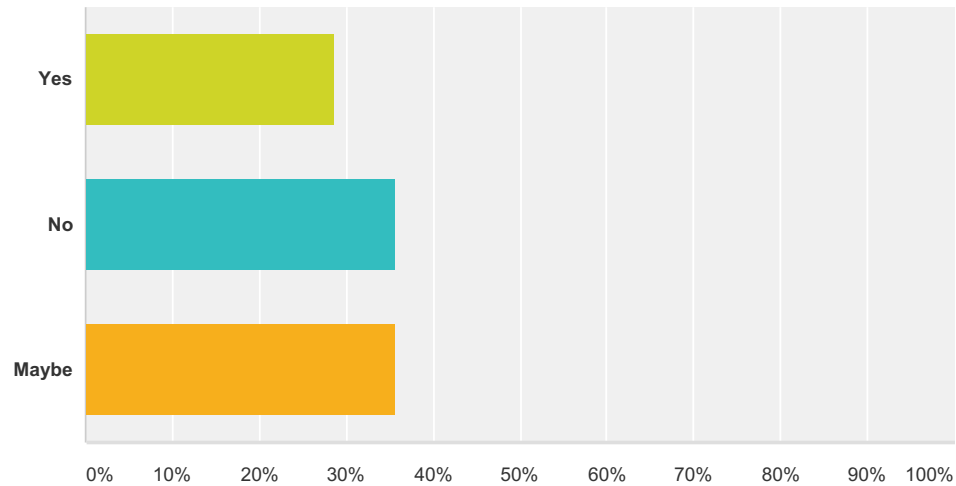
Answer Choices	Responses
Significant Impact	78.57% 11
Moderate Impact	14.29% 2
Limited Impact	7.14% 1
No Impact	0.00% 0
Total	14

#	Reason/Explanation	Date
1	Kenyan withdrawal would be viewed as a victory by extremists in Somalia and may increase terror attacks in Northern Kenya.	7/18/2016 8:22 PM
2	Kenyan forces operate in Sector 2 which is considered as al-Shabaab's territory. Kenya has managed to reduce the threat posed by al-Shabaab in Sector 2 including the capture and control of the port city of Kismayo.	7/18/2016 8:20 PM
3	Kenya is arguably the most capable TTC participating in AMISOM and probably the largest troop contributor. If Kenya left, it would be a major loss to the AMISOM mission. I would guess al-Shabaab could regain a lot of lost power in the south of Somalia.	7/18/2016 7:10 PM
4	The absence of Kenya would have a particularly strong impact in southern Somalia where its forces operate. Important urban and economic centers such as Kismayo would likely descend into infighting and chaos between competing local factions and groups, such as those of Ahmed Madobe and Al-Shabab as well as clan militias.	7/18/2016 7:07 PM

5	Difficult to say, because it requires a good understanding of what Kenya's strategy in Somalia is. Kenya has taken heavy losses, and the KDF is not known to be a robust fighting force (unlike Ethiopia). That said, they clearly play an important role in the fight against AS.	7/18/2016 7:05 PM
6	Madobe would struggle far more in Juba.	7/18/2016 6:59 PM
7	Kenya troops are responsible for such a significant part of the territory - it would not be easy to find a replacement.	7/18/2016 6:54 PM

Q22 Regardless of the likelihood that Kenya completely withdraws from AMISOM, would another country or other countries within or outside AMISOM be able and willing to provide troops that would fill the void created by Kenya's absence from AMISOM?

Answered: 14 Skipped: 0

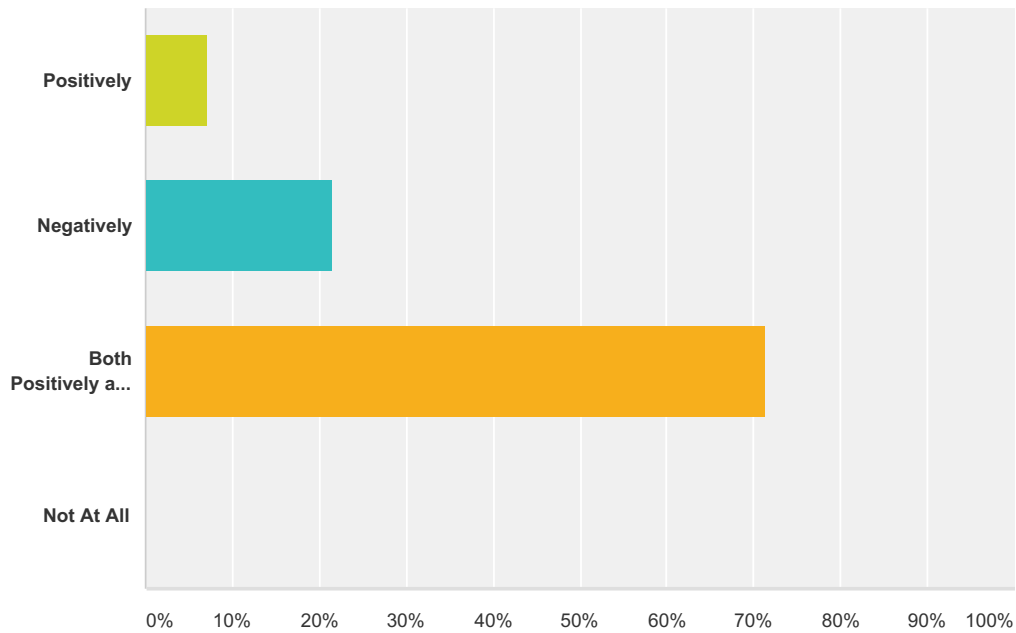


Answer Choices	Responses
Yes	28.57% 4
No	35.71% 5
Maybe	35.71% 5
Total	14

#	Reason/Explanation	Date
1	It's possible that either Uganda or Ethiopia could provide extra troops to cover this gap.	7/18/2016 8:22 PM
2	Probably not due to Kenyan's more advanced military capabilities. Troop numbers could probably be maintained with replacements from countries within AMISOM, but the level of training and sophistication of the force would be more difficult to replace. Of course, countries outside AMISOM would certainly be capable of filling in the role -- but I doubt any of those states would be willing to jump into Somalia.	7/18/2016 7:10 PM
3	Possibly.	7/18/2016 7:05 PM
4	ENDF	7/18/2016 6:52 PM

Q23 If another country or other countries provided troops to fill the void created by Kenya's withdrawal, how would this impact AMISOM's ability to maintain pressure against al-Shabaab and other armed opposition groups?

Answered: 14 Skipped: 0

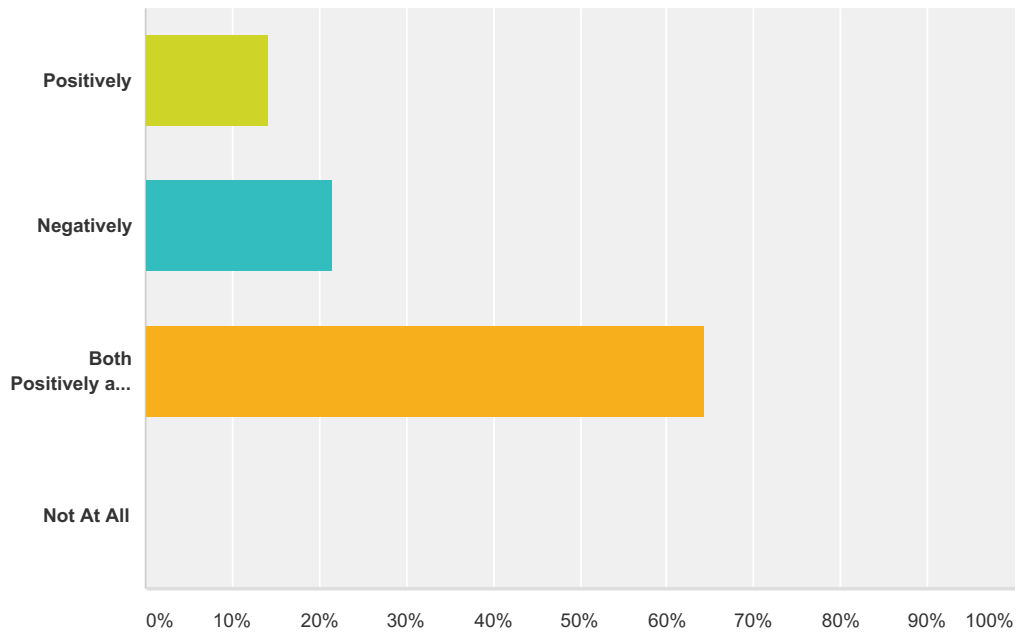


Answer Choices	Responses
Positively	7.14% 1
Negatively	21.43% 3
Both Positively and Negatively	71.43% 10
Not At All	0.00% 0
Total	14

#	Reason/Explanation	Date
1	Kenyan has gained experience and built relationships in Southern Somalia that may be difficult for another country to replicate in the short term.	7/18/2016 8:22 PM
2	It would be unlikely that the replacement force would have the same military capabilities enjoyed by the Kenyans.	7/18/2016 7:10 PM
3	No other country - maybe with the exception of Ethiopia - would be willing to fill the void of Kenya.	7/18/2016 7:05 PM
4	Supported by Kenya, Madobe currently enjoys a free hand in clan discrimination and land theft in Juba. While he is in the short-term keeping Shabab, his thuggery also alienates clans and pushes them into Shabab's hands, thus breathing a second life into Shabab.	7/18/2016 6:59 PM
5	It depends who takes over.	7/18/2016 6:52 PM

Q24 If another country or other countries provided troops to fill the void created by Kenya's withdrawal, how would that affect the views of the Somali Government and other Troop Contributing Countries towards AMISOM?

Answered: 14 Skipped: 0



Answer Choices	Responses
Positively	14.29% 2
Negatively	21.43% 3
Both Positively and Negatively	64.29% 9
Not At All	0.00% 0
Total	14

#	Reason Explanation	Date
1	Kenyan withdrawal would be viewed negatively by Somali government and troops, particularly in Jubbaland.	7/18/2016 8:22 PM
2	Kenya has been at loggerheads with the Somali Government especially with regard to the control of revenues generated from the port city of Kismayo as well as participating in clan politics. It's withdrawal would, likely be most welcome by the Somali Government. It's withdrawal would likely boost or rejuvenate al-Shabaab's activities given that the non-state armed group has consistently called for the withdrawal of Kenyan troops from Somalia.	7/18/2016 8:20 PM
3	It would depend on who was replacing and where they were located.	7/18/2016 7:10 PM
4	Ambivalent. the FGS is not happy about the role of Kenya in Kismayo. As in the case of Ethiopia they also know that Kenya is an important player in AMISOM.	7/18/2016 7:05 PM
5	Kenya and KDF are not liked in Somalia -- for many reasons, including the revelation of the Kismayo port racket involving KDF.	7/18/2016 6:59 PM

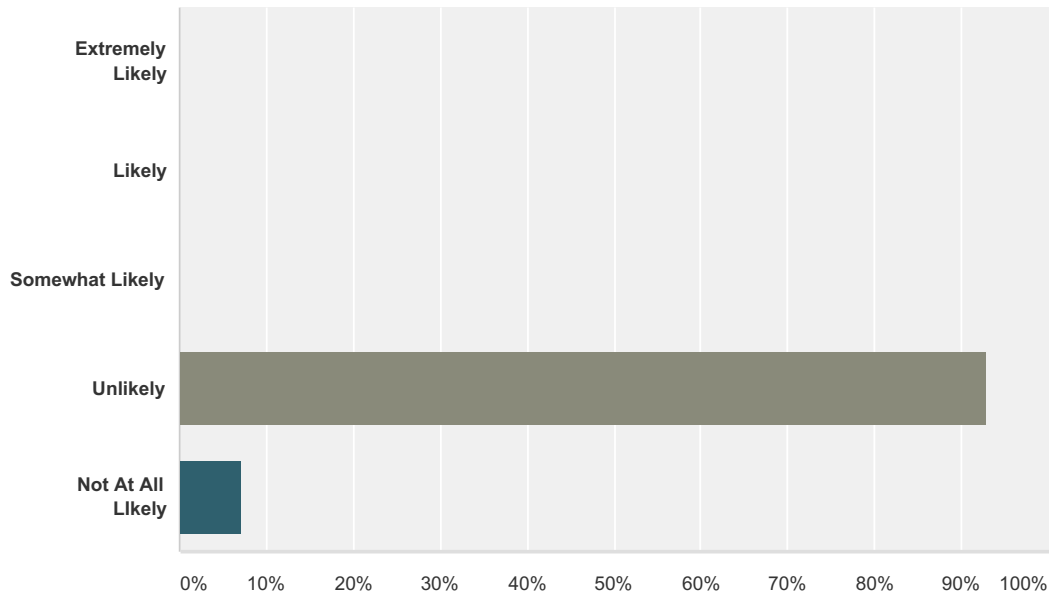
Q25 Please provide any actions or policies that members of the international community could undertake to reduce the likelihood that Kenya removes all of its troops from AMISOM during the next 18 months?

Answered: 2 Skipped: 12

#	Responses	Date
1	I think Kenya is highly unlikely to leave the mission. But previous responses to this question would still hold. Also, the international community could bump up the financial compensation to Kenya, promise other goodies (more training, better arms deals, etc.).	7/18/2016 7:10 PM
2	Encourage the Somali government to make political progress.	7/18/2016 6:53 PM

Q26 What is the likelihood that Uganda completely withdraws from AMISOM during the next 18 months?

Answered: 14 Skipped: 0

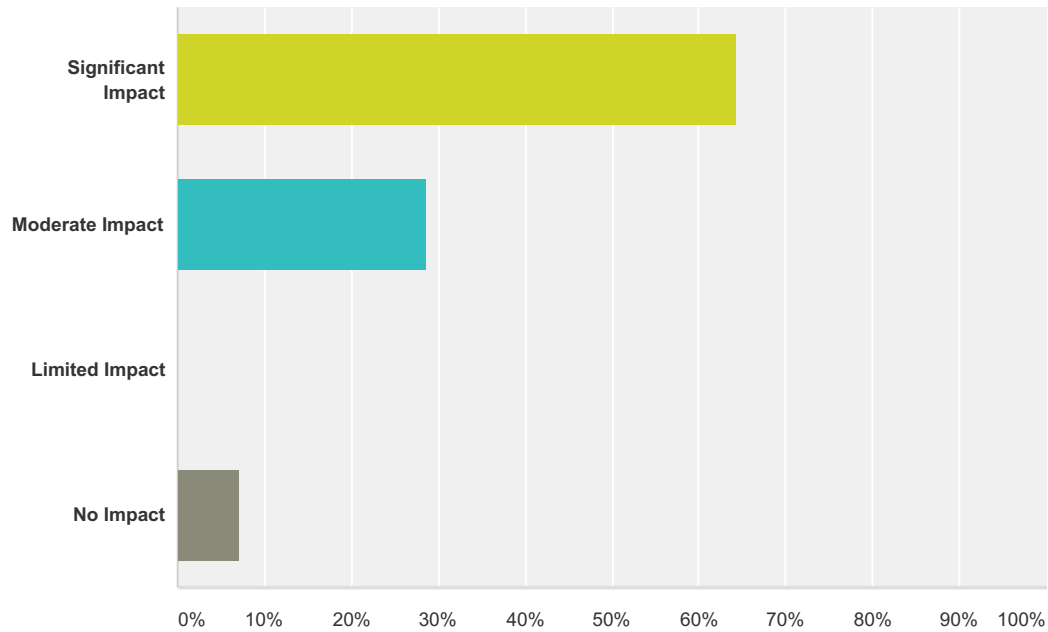


Answer Choices	Responses
Extremely Likely	0.00% 0
Likely	0.00% 0
Somewhat Likely	0.00% 0
Unlikely	92.86% 13
Not At All Likely	7.14% 1
Total	14

#	Reason/Explanation	Date
1	Uganda has staked part of it's military reputation on participation in AMISOM and countering Al Shabaab. Uganda also receive substantial international support for its troop contribution.	7/18/2016 8:22 PM
2	Lots of gains from participation, little political cost. On the diplomatic leverage gained, consider how Uganda threatened to withdraw its contributions to AMISOM over UN charges that it was aiding Congolese rebels.	7/18/2016 7:10 PM
3	They are heavily engaged, make a lot of money and do not face domestic challenges that would lead to their withdrawal.	7/18/2016 7:05 PM
4	Mousseveni needs the income and the legitimation the deployment brings him.	7/18/2016 6:59 PM
5	Gives Uganda prestige Money	7/18/2016 6:54 PM

Q27 Regardless of the likelihood that Uganda completely withdraws from AMISOM, what level of impact would Uganda's absence have on AMISOM's ability to maintain pressure against al-Shabaab and other armed opposition groups?

Answered: 14 Skipped: 0

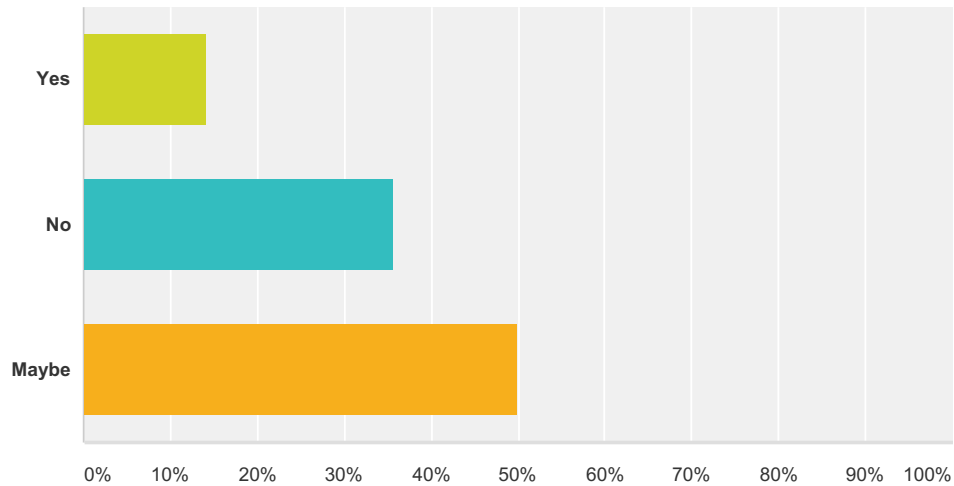


Answer Choices	Responses
Significant Impact	64.29% 9
Moderate Impact	28.57% 4
Limited Impact	0.00% 0
No Impact	7.14% 1
Total	14

#	Reason/Explanation	Date
1	Given the number of Ugandan troops, this would be a big blow -- roughly a quarter of the force gone. Given the existing troop level problem, this would definitely undermine AMISOM's ability to maintain pressure on al-Shabaab.	7/18/2016 7:10 PM
2	They were part of the beginning of the mission, and it would remove a relatively neutral player (relatively compared to big contributors like Kenya and Ethiopia).	7/18/2016 7:05 PM
3	Uganda contributes so many troops so this would have a significant impact.	7/18/2016 6:54 PM

Q28 Regardless of the likelihood that Uganda completely withdraws from AMISOM, would another country or other countries within or outside AMISOM be able and willing to provide troops that would fill the void created by Uganda's absence from AMISOM?

Answered: 14 Skipped: 0

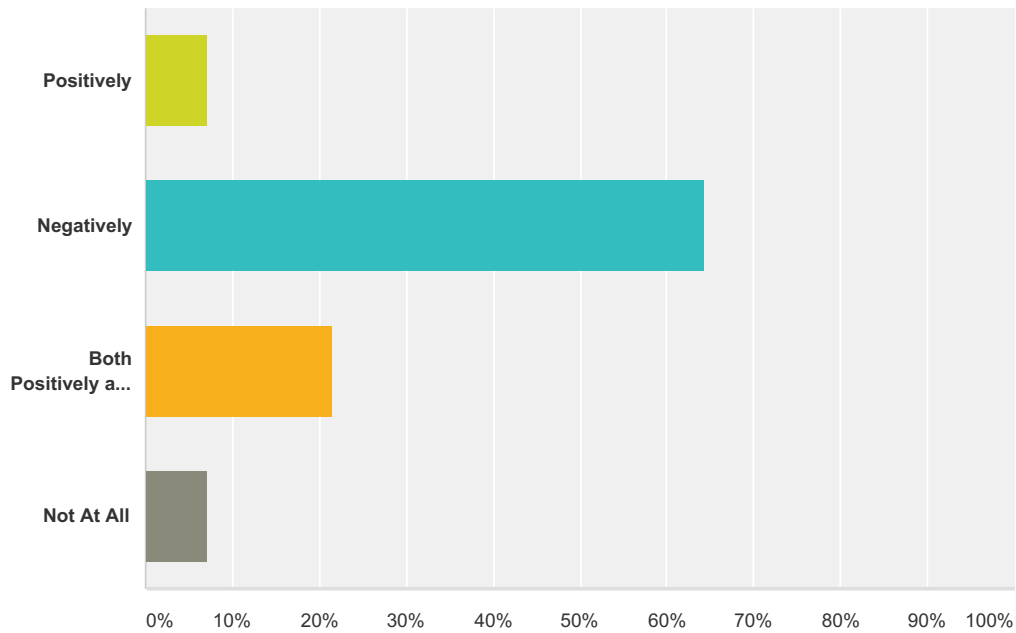


Answer Choices	Responses
Yes	14.29% 2
No	35.71% 5
Maybe	50.00% 7
Total	14

#	Reason/Explanation	Date
1	Not in the short term. It has taken Uganda several years to build relationships and operate in Mogadishu. It is unlikely that this experience could be duplicated by an inexperienced replacement in the short-term.	7/18/2016 8:22 PM

Q29 If another country or other countries provided troops to fill the void created by Uganda's withdrawal, how would this impact AMISOM's ability to maintain pressure against al-Shabaab and other armed opposition groups?

Answered: 14 Skipped: 0

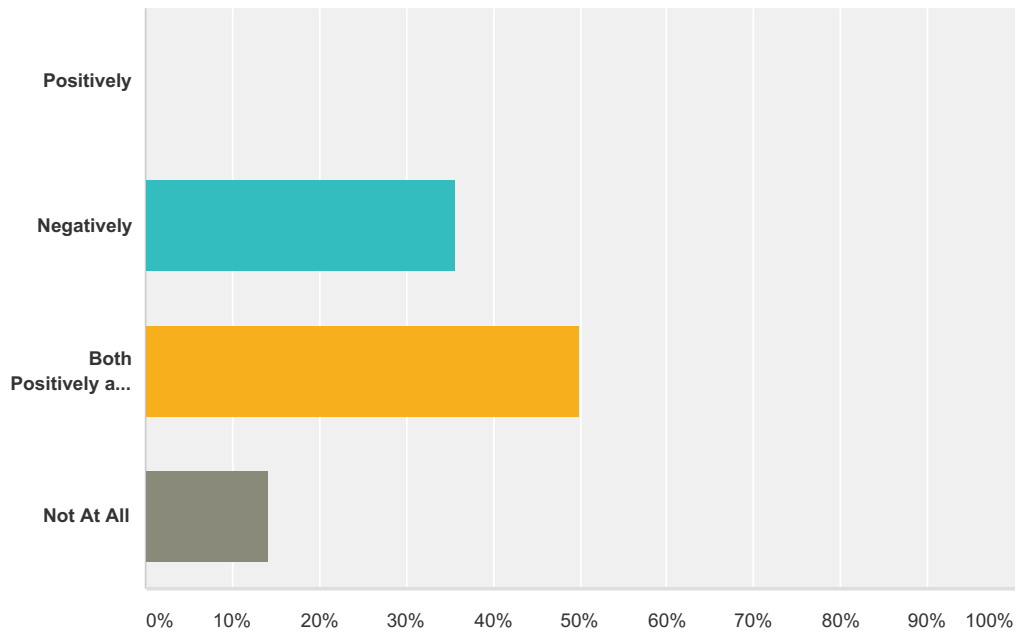


Answer Choices	Responses
Positively	7.14% 1
Negatively	64.29% 9
Both Positively and Negatively	21.43% 3
Not At All	7.14% 1
Total	14

#	Reason/Explanation	Date
1	Unless either Kenya or Ethiopia provided a matching troop level contribution to fill the void, which is unlikely, then AMISOM operations would likely suffer from a Ugandan withdrawal.	7/18/2016 8:22 PM
2	Again, I think the problems facing AMISOM are not all that related to the nationality of troops per se (somewhat of an exception being Ethiopia), but the fundamental manpower shortages, equipment shortages, lack of air assets, training, local troop participation, etc.	7/18/2016 7:10 PM

Q30 If another country or other countries provided troops to fill the void created by Uganda's withdrawal, how would that affect the views of Somali Government and other Troop Contributing Countries towards AMISOM?

Answered: 14 Skipped: 0



Answer Choices	Responses
Positively	0.00% 0
Negatively	35.71% 5
Both Positively and Negatively	50.00% 7
Not At All	14.29% 2
Total	14

#	Reason Explanation	Date
1	Ugandan withdrawal would likely be perceived within Somalia as an overall decrease in commitment to AMISOM	7/18/2016 8:22 PM
2	It would depend on who was replacing and where they were located.	7/18/2016 7:10 PM
3	It would leave the FGS with the choice of Ethiopia/Kenya or nothing.	7/18/2016 7:05 PM
4	It would depend on which country provides the replacement forces.	7/18/2016 6:59 PM

Q31 Please provide any actions or policies that members of the international community could undertake to reduce the likelihood that Uganda removes all of its troops from AMISOM during the next 18 months?

Answered: 2 Skipped: 12

#	Responses	Date
1	The international community should be prepared to deal with threats from Uganada to withdraw troops in order to gain concessions or to deflect criticism of domestic policies/politics.	7/18/2016 8:22 PM
2	Encourage political progress by government of Somalia.	7/18/2016 6:53 PM

Q32 If you have any additional comments or policy recommendations, please provide them below.

Answered: 2 Skipped: 12

#	Responses	Date
1	The Somali federal government continues to rely on AMISOM to provide security, particularly in Mogadishu and it is unclear to what degree they expect AMISOM's Somali counterparts to contribute to this effort. Within Mogadishu, AMISOM could provide a strong example by openly expecting a certain level of functionality from Somali security forces in countering Al Shabaab attacks/threats. Increased responsibility for providing security in parts of Mogadishu on the part of the Somali security apparatus will be a basic requirement for AMISOM drawdown.	7/18/2016 8:23 PM
2	AMISOM needs to revise its mandate, hence its strategic concept of operations and rules of engagement so as to make it militarily more effective as well as to reduce its casualties.	7/18/2016 8:21 PM