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Jesús Díez Alcalde

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and commitment**

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Abstract:

After decades of civil war, Somalia is moving towards the construction of a national project against a backdrop of political and social rivalry, aggravated by jihadi violence and the residuary struggle between the Somali clans. In this difficult context, security is a priority objective for the national government, but also an essential requirement in guaranteeing the stability and development of the country. Within the framework of significant international cooperation, EUTM Somalia focuses on strengthening defence structures and training military units; and the 22 Spanish military deployed in the mission are a key factor in achieving this objective.

Keywords:

Somalia, civil war, Al-Shabaab, jihadism, clans, international community, European Union and EUTM Somalia.

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Introduction

More than a decade ago, the European Union decided to become directly involved in the future of Somalia and, by extension, in the stability of the Horn of Africa region. Although political and economic cooperation was already very broad and far-reaching¹, it was not until the end of 2008 that the member states – faced with the massive upsurge in piracy in the Gulf of Aden – agreed to deploy the first European maritime mission: EU NAVFOR Operation Atalanta, which started out on its course – with the participation of Spain – in January 2009. Just one year later (April 2010), aware of the need to also address inland security in order to eradicate criminality at sea, the European Union launched the EUTM Somalia training mission. Its objective was to build a national army – initially in Uganda – as a base for the Somali defence sector which, over the long term, would be capable of restoring peace and stability to a country torn apart by a fratricidal war and without any state structure at that time. Two years later, the civilian mission EUCAP Somalia² joined the fray, and since then it has focused on developing national maritime security.

All this civil and military effort, led from Mogadishu by the European Union Delegation, and coordinated through the European Union Strategic Framework for the Horn of Africa,³

¹ "We have supported the Somali people for the past twenty years, and we are committed to staying with them in the future," Spanish Ambassador Nicolás Berlanga, Head of the European Union Delegation for Somalia, Mogadishu 2019. Since 1994, the European Union has provided massive humanitarian aid to Somalia, which became a preferential recipient and partner of European policy in 2008. The European Union is the leading organisation in the approval (2017) and development of the "New Partnership for Somalia (NPS)", endorsed at the London Conference in 2017 and the "Somalia National Development Plan 2017-2020". With a budget of 3.4 billion euros for 2015 to 2020 (EU and Member States), the European Union is the largest donor to Somalia, and its effort focuses on development aid, security, state and peace-building, education and economic development. In addition, the EU is the largest financial contributor to the African Union Mission in Somalia (AMISOM), initially deployed in 2007. Within this overall cooperation, the three missions of the Common Security and Defence Policy (CSDP), Operation Atalanta, EUTM Somalia and EUCAP Somalia, currently represent the greatest tangible expression of Europe's commitment to this country in the Horn of Africa. More information about the EU in Somalia is available at https://eeas.europa.eu/delegations/somalia/1764/somalia-and-eu_en. Date of consultation: 11/09/19.

² Official websites of the civil and military missions in Somalia: *European Union Naval Force (EU NAVFOR) Operation Atalanta*: <https://eunavfor.eu/>. *European Union Training Mission (EUTM) Somalia*: <https://www.eutm-somalia.eu/>-. *European Union Capacity Building Mission (EUCAP) in Somalia*: <https://www.eucap-som.eu/>.

³ *A Strategic Framework for the Horn of Africa*. European Union, 04/11/11. Accessible at: <http://register.consilium.europa.eu/doc/srv?l=EN&f=ST%2016858%202011%20INIT>. For further information on the development of the European Union and Africa cooperation policy: DÍEZ ALCALDE,

has become the backbone of a comprehensive approach to Somalia, "on the basis of active diplomacy, support for political change, improved security, development assistance and humanitarian aid". The main objective is to reintegrate this African country – albeit over the long term – into the international arena as a sovereign, peaceful and stable state, and to help it emerge from the chaos and misrule into which it sank in 1991. At that time, the fall of the dictator Siad Barre - a victim of his own policy of state disintegration and the devastating effects of his persistent fragmentation of the Somali identity – provoked a brutal confrontation between clan militias, warlords and – later on – Islamist movements, which is still very much present in Somali development.

It was only in 2004, with the establishment of an interim government in Kenya, that Somalia began to return to the mainstream. Two years later, the Somali city of Baidoa became the seat of the Somali government until – following the expulsion by Kenyan forces of the Islamic Courts of Mogadishu at the beginning of 2007 and with the support of the United States – it moved to the capital Mogadishu: "Since then, and after the closure of the interim period in 2012, Somalia has made great progress in rebuilding state institutions," observes Colonel Javier Pardo de Santayana, a Chief of Staff of EUTM Somalia⁴, "that can govern its entire sovereign territory; but much remains to be done to make this a reality. Right now the most complicated challenge is the establishment of an effective and integrated Federal Republic; however, as a preliminary step, by means of an autonomous and self-sufficient Somali security sector, we must eradicate the many threats that it still faces, especially that of Al-Shabaab-led jihadi terrorism".

In this context, and as one of the European Union Member States most committed to Somalia, Spain is very actively involved. Since 2008, it has become a key supporter of the new European cooperation policy in relation to the Horn of Africa based on a shared interest in the security and development of the region, and this commitment has resulted, among other aspects, in the permanent presence of the two military missions deployed there: Operation Atalanta and EUTM Somalia, which – as indicated in Spain's Third Africa

Jesús. Africa: progress, challenges and its strategic alliance with the European Union. University of La Rioja. Scientific journal R.E.D.S. no. 4, January-June 2014. Pages 30-44. Accessible at: <https://dialnet.unirioja.es/servlet/articulo?codigo=5593383>. Date of consultation: 11/09/19.

⁴ All direct statements contained in this analysis are derived from the author's discussions with members of EUTM Somalia.

Plan – will be maintained in the future, both in terms of "our commitment and leadership in Operation Atalanta and our contribution to the Common Security and Defence Policy missions in the area".⁵ While the Atalanta mission keeps the maritime routes open, free from the silenced but lingering threat of piracy, the EUTM Somalia mission – with its duties and evolution, as well as Spain's outstanding contribution highlighted in this analysis – is focusing its efforts on establishing an integral security sector for the restoration of peace and stability – an essential support for its development – to the entire sovereign territory and the Somali population: a challenge that is still distant, but one that is no longer perceived as a utopia.

The challenging Somali scenario

In 2012, the adoption of an Interim Constitution – under the principles and precepts of Sharia law (Article 2) – ended the period of transition and gave way to Somalia's first Federal Government. At the time, President Hassan Sheikh Mohamud recognised that security was still an insurmountable obstacle to national reconstruction: "it is our primary concern and indeed an essential prerequisite for progress in governance and development. However, our military forces are not operational and suffer from a critical shortage of equipment, which restricts our ability to protect ourselves"⁶. Currently, under the presidency of Mohamed Abdullahi Mohamed "Farmajo" since February 2017, Somali military and police forces are still unable to guarantee the security of the entire sovereign territory: violence, albeit to a lesser extent than in the past; endemic poverty affecting more than six million people – more than half of the Somali population – and persistent

⁵ Third Africa Plan. Government of Spain. Spain and Africa: challenge and opportunity. Ministry of Foreign Affairs, European Union and Cooperation. March, 2019. This document outlines Spain's commitment to Africa's future, as well as our involvement in its construction: "Although the challenges are well known, the opportunities are not so well known. However, all of them affect us. And they will do so more and more because the idea is that Spain and Africa will come even closer together. In this context, our country must look to the future, with an open and creative spirit. We must be willing to become, as far as possible, co-protagonists of a history that is going to reshape our future in the twenty-first century", Minister Josep Borrell. Accessible at: http://www.exteriores.gob.es/Portal/es/SalaDePrensa/Multimedia/Publicaciones/Documents/2019_PLA_N%20AFRICA.pdf. Date of consultation: 11/09/19.

⁶ *Somalia: European Union Training Mission to train Somali forces in Somalia. Somaliland Current*, 15/05/15. Accessible at <https://www.somalilandcurrent.com/2013/05/15/somaliaeuropean-union-training-mission-to-train-somali-forces-in-somalia/>. Date of consultation: 10/09/19.

droughts continue to torpedo the survival of the population. And finally, the limited progress in establishing a so-called federal republic is clearly insufficient to guarantee Somalia's viability today.

At political level, the Somali reality continues to be conditioned by the fragility of the State alliance signed in 2016 between the Federal Government of Somalia and the five Federal Member States: Jubaland, South West State of Somalia, Hirshabelle, Galmudug and, lastly, Puntland, which has not abandoned its self-proclaimed autonomy. Outside this convulsive and fragile agreement is Somaliland, which – despite continuous calls for political dialogue with the central power – still does not accept a way out other than secession. This situation, together with the dysfunctional nature of the national parliament – where today political leaders, heads of the different Somali clans, former "warlords" as well as recognised Islamists converge – is jeopardising the achievement of the two most important political challenges for the future of the country: revising the constitution and holding the first elections with universal suffrage at the end of 2020, which few – both inside and outside Somalia – consider feasible.

Today, with President Farmajo's freedom of action and capacity for leadership at an all-time low, restoring confidence in the political project both domestically and internationally, as well as restoring vital regional support, are urgent requirements in order to progress political, social and economic reforms that can guarantee state stability and progress, and also to eradicate – through an effective security and defence sector – the multiple threats facing the Somali population.

Persistent violence in Somalia

In Somalia, violence continues to play a regrettably major role and is the main enemy of state-building. On the one hand, the militias from the main clans still wield the threat of arms – with less intensity than before – to safeguard their territorial control and thus profit from the vast network of organised crime throughout the territory, propagating corruption among leaders and within State institutions⁷.

However Salafist terrorism undoubtedly represents the greatest threat not only to Somalia, but also to the Horn of Africa region – especially Kenya – and to the entire international community. After its appearance on the Somali stage in 2006, Al-Shabaab – a subsidiary of Al Qaeda since 2012 – has demonstrated an unparalleled capacity for resistance and regeneration in the rest of Africa, despite all too frequent predictions of its final demise. However, on the contrary, it has not only managed to recover part of its cohesion and strength – estimates suggest that it has between 3,000 and 6,000 jihadists in its ranks⁸ – but it has ostensibly improved its increasingly complex attack procedures. Evidence of this was the massacre perpetrated in October 2017 in Mogadishu – the bloodiest in the world in recent years – which claimed 588 lives and for which they never acknowledged responsibility so as to avoid the outright rejection of the Somali people.

⁷ Since 2006, according to the organisation *Transparency International* – as reflected in its Corruption Perceptions Index 2018 – Somalia has topped the list of countries with the highest level of corruption in the world. Added to endemic national corruption has been the lack of commitment of the new leaders – not to mention their direct involvement – to deterring the greatest obstacle to generating trust in the Somali political class: "The country's institutions remain extremely dysfunctional, and the mechanisms to curb corruption are very limited; among other things, the National Anti-Corruption Commission provided for in the Constitution has not yet been established". RAHMAN, K. *Somalia: Overview of Corruption and Anti-corruption*, 22/12/17. Accessible at: <https://knowledgehub.transparency.org/helpdesk/somalia-overview-of-corruption-and-anti-corruption>. Date of consultation: 11/09/19.

⁸ FELTER et al. *Al Shabaab. Council on Foreign Relations (CFR)*, 31/01/19. Recommended analysis, biography and current situation of the most violent jihadi group in Africa. Accessible at: <https://www.cfr.org/backgrounder/al-shabab>. Date of consultation: 11/09/19.

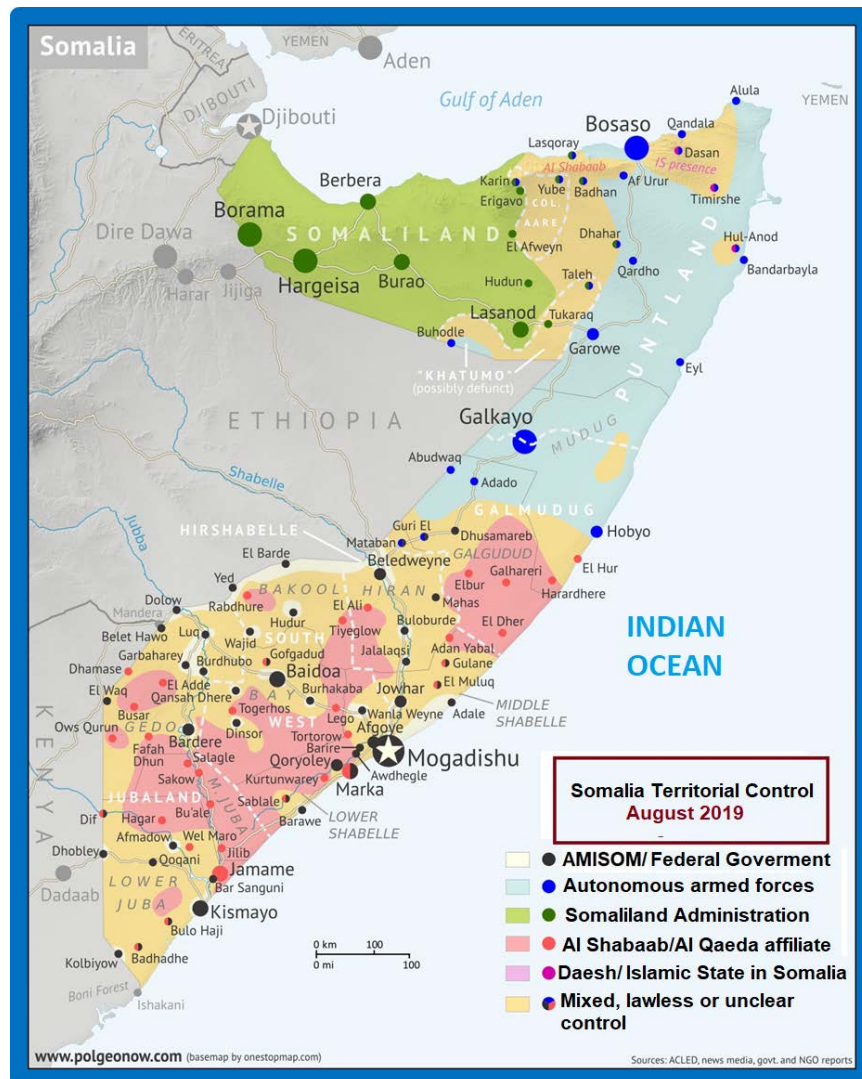


Figure 1. Somalia Territorial Control, August 2019. Author

Source: <https://www.polgeonow.com/2019/08/somalia-control-map-timeline-august-2019.html>

Al-Shabaab currently carries out attacks on an almost daily basis with improvised explosives and assassinations in the Somali capital targeted mainly against political officials and security forces, while holding absolute power in many rural areas in the centre and south of the country. There they operate as a shadow government and rely on colossal funding: racketeering, humanitarian aid or trafficking in drugs, arms and charcoal. Yet, even at the cost of paying the toll of extreme injustice and the rigorous imposition of Islamic law, many Somalis, faced with the virtual absence of the state, perceive the *modus vivendi* imposed by the jihadists as a tolerable survival option. Nevertheless, as an added complication to the security framework, Al-Shabaab's

dominance is threatened by the self-proclaimed Islamic State in Somalia (ISS), which has been attempting since 2016 to seize leadership of the local jihad⁹. With a much smaller organisation, its terrorist attacks and its fight against Al Qaeda's henchmen are focused on the state of Puntland, where they are fighting for the control of the commercial port of Bosaso, and on the southern region of the country, although its presence in Mogadishu is already notable.

Building security: a priority objective

In May 2017, the London Conference on Somalia marked a turning point in the development of national security sector reform and further strengthened international coordination in cooperation with Somalia. With the adoption of the Security Pact¹⁰, the Federal Government and Federal Member States committed themselves for the first time to implementing a National Security Architecture supported, in global figures, by 18,000 army personnel and 32,000 police officers; and to carrying out a profound reform of the national security sector in order to "globally promote the necessary changes in the structures related to the governance and security of the country in the fields of Defence, Internal Security and Justice", according to Lieutenant Colonel Javier Núñez Escorial, head of the EUTM Somalia team that advises the Somali authorities in this area. It also envisaged the progressive withdrawal of the African Union Mission for Somalia (AMISOM) a force of over 20,000 troops, which since 2007 has led military operations against Al-

⁹ WEILLS, C. *Reigniting the Rivalry: The Islamic State in Somalia vs. al-Shabaab*. Combating Terrorism Center, West Point (US), April 2019. According to this report, the ISS has no more than a few hundred jihadists, although with an annual record of 66 terrorist attacks throughout Somalia since 2018 – the largest since its founding – it has considerably increased its offensive capacity. In December 2018, Al-Shabaab officially declared war on Daesh's followers in Somalia, urging its supporters "to cure this disease with effective medicine, and to confront it with strength and wisdom. Accessible at: <https://ctc.usma.edu/reigniting-rivalry-islamic-state-somalia-vs-al-shabaab/>. Date of consultation: 11/09/19.

¹⁰ Security Pact. London Conference Somalia, 11/05/17. For the time being, the Security Pact has been the greatest success in political negotiations between the federal government and member states. Through a comprehensive approach, it focuses on the development of a phased security sector reform within ten years, with the demise of AMISOM in four years (December 2021) as a key milestone in the process, and contemplates international cooperation as an essential factor to ensure its full implementation. Accessible: https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/613720/london-somalia-conference-2017-security-pact.pdf. Date of consultation: 11/09/19.

Shabaab in much of Somali territory with notable success until 2016 and with increasing support from the United States. With a deadline set for December 2021, the African force will have to hand over full responsibility to the Somali Government for the protection of its sovereign territory which, according to the Somali authorities, is an essential condition for progress in the country's political, social and economic development.

In terms of international support, the *Comprehensive Approach to Security* (CAS) conceptual framework was established in London, "whose objective," as underlined by Lieutenant Colonel Germán Facenda, head of EUTM Somalia's J5 planning cell, "is to ensure external coordination in order to cooperate more effectively and comprehensively with Somalia in all aspects of its security. Forum S2A was set up specifically in relation to defence development – the central focus of the EUTM – and has meant that the international actors present in Somalia – the United Nations, the African Union, the European Union, the United States, the United Kingdom and Turkey – all share their often concurring initiatives and objectives, with the aim of avoiding duplication or an overlap of effort".

Arising from the agreements reached in London, the Transition Plan, approved in March 2018 by the Federal Government of Somalia and ratified by the Peace and Security Council of the African Union one month later,¹¹ has become a detailed road map and a primary objective to guarantee AMISOM's strategic exit – difficult to achieve on schedule – and thus complete the transfer of responsibility for security to the Somali security forces. "A plan," according to national security adviser, Abdisaid Ali, "that differs from previous strategies because it has a broader vision of what contributes to security. Military operations alone will not sustain the national transition process or build lasting peace. Our emphasis is on strengthening the rule of law, governance and youth employment as key factors in Somali security"¹².

¹¹ *Communique of the 769th meeting of the PSC on the Somalia Transition Plan. African Union, 08/05/18. Accessible at: <http://www.peaceau.org/uploads/769-psc-comm-30-04-18-somalia-eng-.pdf>. Date of consultation: 11/09/19.*

¹² *Somalia and international partners discuss progress on comprehensive approach to security. United Nations Assistance Mission in Somalia (UNSOM), 26/04/18. Accessible at: <https://unsom.unmissions.org/somalia-and-international-partners-discuss-progress-comprehensive-approach-security>. Date of consultation: 11/09/19.*

Principal areas of the Transition Plan. Federal Government of Somalia. March 2018¹³.

1. **Military operations:** Identification and prioritisation of the populations and zones that should be under the responsibility of the Somali security forces after taking over from AMISOM; as well as the deployment of these forces under the National Security Architecture 2017.
2. **Institutional capacity:** Implementation of programmes and plans to generate institutional capacity, including the National Security Architecture 2017, as well as recommendations for assessing the operational readiness of the forces, and the reform of the police force, the judiciary and the civil service
3. **Support activities:** Alignment of non-military forces to foster, in close coordination with local communities, the conditions for sustainable peace, including support for stabilisation, local governance, reconciliation, mediation, rule of law, socio-economic activities and the prevention and combating of violent extremism.

Despite the significant delay in meeting the deadlines set out in the Plan, significant progress has been made¹⁴, especially in the ability of Somali security forces to free and maintain localities controlled by Al-Shabaab: "On April 4th," says Commander David Martin Zubillaga, adviser to the generation of Somali EUTM Somali forces at the S2A forum, "Operation BADBAADO was launched in Lower Shabelle, led by the Somali National Army with ongoing support from AMISOM. Once the settlements have been freed, one of the main requirements is to provide support to the people, so that they immediately receive the benefits of a state presence. To this end, and thanks to a Spanish initiative involving the international community, a stabilising structure has been

¹³ *Federal Government of Somalia. Transition Plan*, 22/03/19: "Following the security conference of December 4, 2017, held in Mogadishu, the Federal Government of Somalia and the international community agreed on the need for a realistic transition plan to enable Somalia to take full responsibility for its security (Introduction)". Official document not available on the internet.

¹⁴ MADEIRO, F. *Somalia transition plan on track as Amisom begins exit*. *Mail & Guardian*, 21/06/19. Accessible at: <https://mg.co.za/article/2019-06-20-somalia-transition-plan-on-track-as-amisom-begins-exit>. Assessment of the Transition Plan by the Special Representative of the African Union Commission for Somalia and head of AMISOM. Date of consultation: 11/09/19.

implemented, coordinating aid for the population, with public information developed within the Ministry of Defence and the Somali Armed Forces. It is of crucial importance that the Somali people become aware of the government's effort not only to regain territorial control, but also its growing commitment to guaranteeing protection for the liberated populations as well as access to basic resources.

EUTM Somalia: current situation, Spain's outstanding contribution

With African AMISOM forces deployed in Somalia since March 2007¹⁵, the European Union was the first international player to deploy a military mission on the ground in support of Somali security¹⁶. In April 2010, the European Union launched its first training mission, EUTM Somalia, to help strengthen Somali security institutions. Under the command of Spanish Colonel González Elul, the individual training of Somali soldiers began in Uganda and continued until 2014, when the mission finally moved to Mogadishu. "Over these almost 10 years, the EUTM has evolved in a very significant way", acknowledges Colonel Pardo de Santaya, "and with increasingly ambitious and comprehensive tasks. We are currently in the middle of our sixth mandate¹⁷ that authorises our deployment until December 2020. During this time, we must contribute to the consolidation of democratic, operational armed forces, subordinate to the civilian power of the Federal Government of Somalia".

¹⁵ Following its approval by the Peace and Security Council of the African Union, the United Nations Security Council (UNSC Resolution 1744/2007) authorised the deployment of AMISOM, for an initial period of six months, which "will evolve into a United Nations operation that will support the long-term stabilisation and post-conflict restoration of Somalia". Nevertheless, to date, the United Nations has never agreed to this development, and there is no longer any scenario other than the definitive exit of AMISOM, scheduled for the end of 2021. At its peak, AMISOM deployed more than 22,000 African military and police personnel on the ground until it began its gradual withdrawal in 2019. To date, AMISOM has been the largest, most ambitious and most dangerous mission deployed by the African Union – although no official data exist, it is estimated that close to 3,000 military members of the mission have died in Somalia since 2007. Official website: <http://amisom-au.org/>

¹⁶ Currently, together with EUTM Somalia, they are deploying training missions from the United Kingdom, the United States and Turkey. In 2017, as a consequence of the diplomatic crisis in the Gulf countries, the United Arab Emirates closed its training mission in Mogadishu.

¹⁷ *Common Security and Defence Policy. European Union Training Mission - Somalia. Factsheet, August 2019.* Accessible at https://www.eutm-somalia.eu/wp-content/uploads/2019/08/FACTSHEET-2019_G.B.-DE-SIO.pdf. Date of consultation: 11/09/19.

To this end, EUTM maintains its three-pillar approach: advising the Ministry of Defence and the Headquarters of the Armed Forces on the reform of the Security and Defence Sector (SSR); contributing to the development of an autonomous military training system, with the training of Somali units and instructors – more than 6,000 Somali army personnel have already been trained by European military personnel – in addition to the development of a military training programme; and providing mentoring and advisory services to the Mogadishu training camp to make it a centre of excellence for Somali military training.



Figure 2. EUTM Somalia Headquarters and Command Support Team.

Source: Spanish PAO EUTM Somalia

Under the command of Italian General Antonello de Sio, out of a total of 203 posts included in the EUTM official workforce, there are currently 147 military staff members drawn from only seven European Union member states: Italy, Spain, Finland, Norway, United Kingdom, Portugal and Romania, in addition to a medical contingent from Serbia. Spain, with 22 military personnel deployed in the Mission, is the second largest contributor after Italy, "but over and above these significant numbers", adds Colonel Pardo de Santayana, "our contribution is all the more noteworthy because we hold key positions in

all aspects of the mission: HQ, advisory team and training team. As head of the mission staff and a senior member of the Spanish contingent, I feel especially proud when I see these Spaniards giving their very best to the mission, because they too are convinced that their continued efforts will have an impact on the security of Somalia and Africa, but also on Europe and Spain”.

Aside from Somalia, and as a sign of its global commitment to external security, Spain is the only member state that has been and is present in all European military operations and missions since 2003; and its contribution – which currently exceeds 25% of the total number of troops deployed abroad – has for many years been the most significant from the European Union.

Advisory services: a key pillar of Defence

"My first priority as Minister of Defence", stated Hassan Ali Mohamed on his first visit to European troops in July 2018, "is to establish a functional ministry, ready to interact at government level and structured to exercise the civil supervision required to lead and support the implementation of an organised, capable and sustainable defence force"¹⁸; a proposition that reveals the main obstacle to be the country's historical background, where since independence the real power has been in the hands of the military and where the clans are striving to maintain their former strength; the very limited capacity of the civilian structure to generate the trust and commitment of the military authorities; and, finally, the high levels of corruption within Somali military bodies, which in 2017 led to the withdrawal of direct funding (fuel and food) from the United States to the national army¹⁹. These are conditions that Somalia must reverse in the context of the operational challenge of "building the Somali National Army during the war in the absence of a peace process and until very recently (2017), without an agreed architecture, strategy and structure for the national security forces", according to Professor Paul Williams²⁰.

¹⁸ Speech by the Minister of Defence during his visit to EUTM Somalia, July 10, 2018.

¹⁹ Exclusive: U.S. suspends aid to Somalia's battered military over graft. Reuters, 14/12/17. Accessible at: <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-somalia-military-exclusive/exclusive-u-s-suspends-aid-to-somalias-battered-military-over-graft-idUSKBN1E81XF>. Date of consultation: 11/09/19.

²⁰ WILLIAMS, P. *Building the Somali National Army: Anatomy of a failure, 2008–2018*. *Journal of Strategic Studies*, 27/02/19. In-depth analysis of the reform process of the Somali National Army, as well as the



Figure 3. Advisory team EUTM Somalia. Source: Spanish PAO EUTM Somalia

“The challenge is considerable, without a doubt, but it is also the main incentive for continuing our work with a view to consolidating an effective national defence structure,” says Lieutenant Colonel Justo Vijande, head of the EUTM Somalia defence policy advisory team. “The new organisation of the Ministry of Defence (proposed by the EUTM, agreed by the international community and financed by the World Bank) has enabled roles and responsibilities to be clearly and evenly distributed, and has ensured that the Director General can effectively manage and administer human, material and economic resources, both in terms of routine activities and providing guidelines for long-term policies, embodied in a range of laws, plans and programmes.

The main duties of the European advisers with a view to improving the effectiveness of the headquarters of the Somali National Armed Forces focus on four core competencies: command and control, operational planning, logistics and intelligence. Within the Transition Plan, military operations – and their subsequent replacement with police forces

challenges it faces in order to increase its decimated effectiveness and operability. Accessible at: <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/01402390.2019.1575210?journalCode=fjss20>. Date of consultation: 11/09/19.

– are a key aspect in the fight against Al-Shabaab and, in addition to the preparation of military units, their success depends on the planning and coordination of all combat functions. Among them, intelligence and knowledge of the jihadi threat are fundamental for the Somali forces: "in this area, our advice is geared towards the creation of a specialised structure – through EUTM training courses – in the different phases of the intelligence cycle, while emphasising the need to up-date the situation, not only in human terms but also in the study of the terrain and the environment", states Commander José Carlos Pascual, intelligence adviser to the European mission.

Finally, it is imperative to develop the logistical functions of the Somali Army, which are still "entirely dependent on the support provided by the various international players and organisations", acknowledges Lieutenant Colonel José Luis Descalzo, EUTM logistics advisor, "as they are not yet capable of logically forecasting their needs or of sustaining the units which are deployed in operations on their own. However, our objective is to increase their awareness and logistical capacities (transport, supply and health) as an essential factor in the success of any operational activity".

Training: teaching and mentoring the Somali Army

Assisting in the operational training of Somali military and units was the main reason for the deployment of EUTM Somalia in 2010, and even today this is an essential aspect of European support for Somali security. It is a question of regaining the will to win, the effectiveness and the confidence of an army – known as *the Lyons of Africa* during the Siad Barre dictatorship, and destroyed after his overthrow in 1991 – that still faces too many challenges in relation to safeguarding national sovereignty and protecting the population. For the time being, Somali military forces have not reached the required levels of performance, nor do they have the necessary equipment to carry out their tasks effectively. This is a logical consequence of the historical, political and operational factors that have marked their transformation and that continue to condition international effort and cooperation.

Even today, in order to form an effective army in Somalia, it is necessary to overcome decades of state collapse and persistent inter-clan rivalry – and for the clans to have maximum representation in integrated security forces – in order to eradicate endemic corruption and to replace the leadership with loyal and reliable military, something that is already a reality thanks to international pressure; to resolve the differences between the central and regional political elites and reach agreement on a strong security structure; and, finally, to reduce its persisting enormous deficiencies at operational level, namely: arms and equipment, military barracks and healthcare. Only in this way, once the structural and organisational difficulties have been overcome, will the Somali forces be able to make the most of international military training and devote all their efforts to the long-term aspiration of definitively defeating the jihadi forces.

In this context, EUTM Somalia continues with its ambitious and improved training project to "progressively implement an autonomous military training system for Somalia", says Lieutenant Colonel Antonio Gómez, head of the Training Team, "where Somali instructors are becoming increasingly involved in the training of infantry companies, although always under the close supervision of the European military. We are now finalising the preparation of the 4th company, which in October will join in the military operations against Al-Shabaab and other armed militias. In the next cycle, we intend to train two companies simultaneously, always seeking to strike a balance between the creation of forces and the real capacity to use them. At the same time, Commander Fidel Aguinaco and Captain Manuel Herrero are heading up the mentoring activities –administration, logistics and security, among other aspects– of the General Dhagabadan Training Camp (GDTC) in Mogadishu, with the "increasingly feasible" aim, "thanks to European funding and support", of consolidating a training centre of excellence for Somali soldiers.

Figure 4. Training team EUTM Somalia. Source: Spanish PAO EUTM Somalia

Since 2014, after four years of individual training of Somali soldiers in Uganda, military training at the GDTC has become the focal point of European support for the Somali Army. "We have never ceased to evolve, and to adapt our work to their priority needs," says Captain Francisco Lisbona, head of instruction at the 4th company, "in order to provide efficient and useful training for their future. We have trained thousands of soldiers, we have given command courses, courses for sappers and courses on dealing with improvised explosive devices (C-IED), but, above all, we have prepared – through *Train the Trainer* programmes – their own instructors, who will be the best European legacy for the Somali army. We know that it is feasible for Somalia to become self-sufficient in the training of its military units, and that is our primary objective and our greatest satisfaction today". Captain Andrés Frías and Second Lieutenant Fernández Monés complete the group of Spanish instructors in charge of monitoring the company's daily training with a view to creating well-trained, cohesive units that are truly representative of the Somali social reality: "This is an essential factor in ensuring that the Somali Army is truly national and inclusive," says Captain Frías. "We have always had soldiers from different clans, but there have never been problems of coexistence between them: a clear sign that, when

faced with a common threat, they know that they must join forces and fight shoulder to shoulder without any differentiation from their compatriots".

In conclusion: a viable future for Somalia

Within the international collective consciousness, Somalia is still looked upon as a paradigm of the "failed state". The security situation – marked by decades of civil war, state collapse and lack of government – is still very precarious and subject to the wanton violence of jihadi groups and armed militias, which continue to hold a firm grip on much of the territory. Faced with this situation, the Somali authorities have reinforced their commitment to moving towards a peaceful, sustainable and prosperous future, which will only be achieved if other reforms in the political, social and economic spheres are combined with the consolidation of an effective security sector – through the pragmatic and complex road map included in the Transition Plan. In this context, and within the framework of sustained international cooperation, EUTM Somalia, with the key contribution of 22 Spanish military personnel, will continue to be decisive in strengthening defence structures and training the Somali army. "Much remains to be done", concludes Commander Martín Zubillaga, "but we know that this country and its population deserve and justify all our efforts".

*Jesús Díez Alcalde**

Lieutenant colonel. IEEE analyst

* The author served with EUTM Somalia as head of the Defence Policy Advisory Team from November 2018 to July 2019.

ANNEX I

PROFESSIONAL AND PERSONAL COMMITMENT TO SOMALIA

In EUTM Somalia, the 22 Spanish military personnel from the Air Force, Army and Navy play a leading role in directing the mission, advising and training Somali units, as well as managing the facilities of the training centre in Mogadishu. Their participation in the mission is a key factor in achieving the mission's objective, and a clear demonstration of Spain's commitment to Somalia's future.

MOGADISHU (SOMALIA)

Headquarters

Colonel Javier Pardo de Santayana y Gómez de Olea (Army),

EUTM Somalia Chief of Staff

"We are the second largest contingent, but our contribution is particularly noteworthy because we fill the vacancies in all elements of the mission: many important staff positions, training and advisory teams are all Spanish".

Lieutenant Colonel Germán Facenda Sarda (Army), planning cell chief J5
Headquarters

"In my opinion, the main shortfall is the low level of staff coverage. With current staff levels, we are partially fulfilling our mission, but a greater contribution from member states is needed to achieve all our tasks".

Frigate Captain Jesús F. Sánchez Ferragut Guelfo (Navy), planning cell J5
Headquarters

"The support of my colleagues from the Army and Air Force has been fundamental. To contribute a single grain of sand to the reconstruction of Somalia; to work, participate in and experience this mission is an honour and a magnificent professional and personal experience".

Commander Javier Veá Camacho (Air Force), Intelligence Cell J2 Headquarters

"The most important achievements of the mission are the result of putting together small triumphs and big hearts. The work of Spaniards, without a doubt".

Captain Emilio Aguilar González (Army), Military Assistant Chief of Staff Headquarters

"Being part of this European military mission is an extraordinary opportunity to learn about how an international HQ works. As a member of the Spanish Army in EUTM Somalia, I feel a great responsibility to give more than my best. Undoubtedly, an honour to serve in Somalia and an experience I would repeat".

Second Lieutenant Luis María de Goya García (Army), Logistics cell J4 Headquarters

"We are responsible for ensuring that everything works logistically: life in the camp, vehicles, building the new headquarters and advising the mission staff, among other tasks. Supporting colleagues must always be a priority; and, because of its importance to the mission, this does not allow you to relax for a second".

1st Sergeant Santiago Sánchez Cordero (Army), Communication cell J6 Headquarters

"From a professional point of view, this mission has been a real opportunity to test my knowledge, but little by little I have taken control. Adversity allows you to expand in all areas, and this would not have been possible without the support of my colleagues, of my "Somali" family, to whom I am very grateful".

EUTM Somalia Advisory Team

Lieutenant colonel Javier Alberto Núñez Escorial (Army), head of the Security Sector Reform advisory team

"The Spanish officers of the Security Sector Reform section are the permanent EUTM representatives in the S2A forum. Our main task is to draw up and coordinate European proposals in this field, present them to the international community and mentor their implementation in Somali institutions".

Lieutenant colonel Justo Vijande Galvez (Army), Defence Policy Advisory Team Leader

"Our main task is to contribute to the effective functioning of the Ministry and to guarantee the exercise of civilian control over the Defence Sector. Collaborating with these institutions in the development of the Transition Plan is a big responsibility, seeing to it that they become responsible guarantors of national security, and in doing so, that Somalia grows as a nation.

Lieutenant colonel José Luis Descalzo (Army), Logistics Advisor to the Somali Armed Forces

"In 2021, Somali security forces are expected to take the lead in the fight against Al-Shabaab. For this reason, the commanders of the existing logistics units are requesting instruction in the planning, support and maintenance of current and future operations; and this is now our most important challenge".

Commander David Martín Zubillaga (Army), S2A Force Generation Advisor

"Spanish advisors, together with the civil authorities of the Ministry of Defence and military authorities of the SNAF, have developed an initiative for the approval of a stabilisation and public information structure in the Ministry, with the civil authorities spearheading these activities at political level and coordinating their implementation at strategic and operational level with the military organisation. Spain is very visible in the EUTM".

Commander José C. Pascual Morales (Army), Somalia Armed Forces Intelligence Advisor

"The operations and intelligence advisory team provides comprehensive advice on military planning so that SNAF staff can plan, lead and coordinate their operations. We are aware that its functionality is the best guarantee of success, and we are aware of its importance for the security of this great country".

Training Team EUTM Somalia

Lieutenant colonel Antonio Gómez Ramos (Army), EUTM Somalia Training Team Leader

"This experience will give me the opportunity to meet and work with personnel of other nationalities that make up the General Staff, different representatives of international organisations, and –above all– with the Somali Armed Forces, who are, after all, the very reason why we are here".

Commander Fidel Aguinaco Parejo (Army), mentor EUTM Somalia Training Team

"Professionally speaking, it is an extraordinary satisfaction to be able to offer my experience and knowledge in the interest of improving security in Somalia; and, from a personal perspective, it involves constantly learning from my compatriots, from my national and international colleagues, and from the Somali people. I feel tremendously fortunate to be part of this great project and in bringing Spain to Somalia".

Captain Francisco A. Lisbona Muñoz (Army), EUTM Somalia Training Team Instructor

"Spanish instructors provide years of experience in the training of units; but a hallmark of our Spanish identity is that we add "soul" and enthusiasm to the daily training and this increases the Somali soldiers' morale and will to win. I feel proud conveying to my Somali soldiers Spain's commitment to their country and people so that they can live their lives free of threats".

Captain Diego Andrés Frías (Army), instructor of the EUTM Somalia Training Team

"Somali soldiers are totally receptive to the instruction we give them. In addition, the immediacy of training and the personal links created between all of us greatly facilitate their learning, as they almost consider you to be one of their own: undoubtedly, a great honour and the best possible acknowledgement that we will bring home with us to Spain".

Captain Manuel Herrero Perucha (Army), EUTM Somalia Training Team Mentor

"In this mission there is a very cohesive group of Spanish soldiers who provide very valuable aid to Somalia, especially in view of its complicated situation. We are all aware that our work has an impact on changing this situation, and we will continue totally committed to achieving it".

Second Lieutenant José Ramón Fernández Mones (Army), EUTM Somalia Training Team Instructor

"As a soldier, the possibility of transmitting acquired knowledge and professional experience is always an incentive; but also having the opportunity to represent Spain in a mission such as EUTM Somalia, which is instructing the next generation of Somali military, is an honour".

Brigadier Antonio Montero Gaño (Army), Auxiliary EUTM Somalia Training Team

"Coordinating support for mentors and instructors – both Spanish and international – is essential to ensure the formation of Somali companies. I am aware of the importance of my role, because it directly affects the efficiency of my team".

National Command Support Team

Second Lieutenant Sergio García Riveira, head of the Command Support Team

"Directing and coordinating all the necessary steps – both in Somalia and in Spanish national territory – is a necessary task for the Spanish contingent in fulfilling its duties, and that is the focus of my daily effort".

BRUSSELS (BELGIUM)

EU EUTM Somalia Cell

Frigate captain Manuel Calvar Cerecedo (Armada), EUTM Somalia support cell chief

"This mission is essential if we are to achieve a secure environment on which to build Somalia's future. The general mood and camaraderie among all the components of the mission is really good; and better still, if indeed that is possible, among the 22 Spaniards who represent Spain's contribution to EUTM Somalia".

Captain Álvaro Giraldo (Army), accounting officer EUTM Somalia Headquarters

"As Quartermaster, managing all the financial transactions, implementing the necessary payments and the EUTM Somalia mission's correct allocation of expenses and investments from EU countries is an enormous responsibility and a way of demonstrating the value, professionalism and experience of the Spanish military".