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POLICY BRIEF

Securing Somalia's Future

**The Strategic Framework for AUSSOM,
the Post-ATMIS Mission in Somalia**

AUGUST 2024

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The Strategic Framework for AUSSOM, the Post-ATMIS Mission in Somalia

This policy brief seeks to outline policy recommendations for the Federal Government of Somalia (FGS), the Federal Member States, and International Partners as they navigate the complex security landscape during and after the ATMIS drawdown and transition to the new African Union Support and Stabilization Mission in Somalia (AUSSOM).

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Introduction

The African Union Transition Mission in Somalia (ATMIS) is approaching its scheduled conclusion in December 2024 after a four-year tenure. This marks a critical juncture for Somalia, the African Union (AU), and the broader international community. While this was widely expected to be the final AU mission in Somalia, the Federal Government of Somalia (FGS) requested and secured agreement for a post-ATMIS mission. Despite these developments and the shift in expectations, the transition to a new mission, aimed at supporting Somalia’s stabilization and security presents a crucial opportunity. This transition can allow Somalia and its international partners to build on the progress made over the past two decades while addressing persistent challenges that continue to threaten the country’s long-term stability.

The AU missions - first AMISOM and now ATMIS - have played a pivotal role in supporting Somalia’s fight against al-Shabaab while providing a framework for governance and development, particularly in southern and central Somalia. However, these missions have also faced significant obstacles, with al-Shabaab, maintaining its operational capacity, especially in rural areas. Since the gradual drawdown of AU forces began in 2020, the insurgency has escalated its activities across various federal member states, notably in Jubaland along the Kenya-Somalia border and in parts of Galmudug.

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At its peak in mid-2017, AMISOM had 22,126 uniformed personnel, the largest peacekeeping force globally at the time.

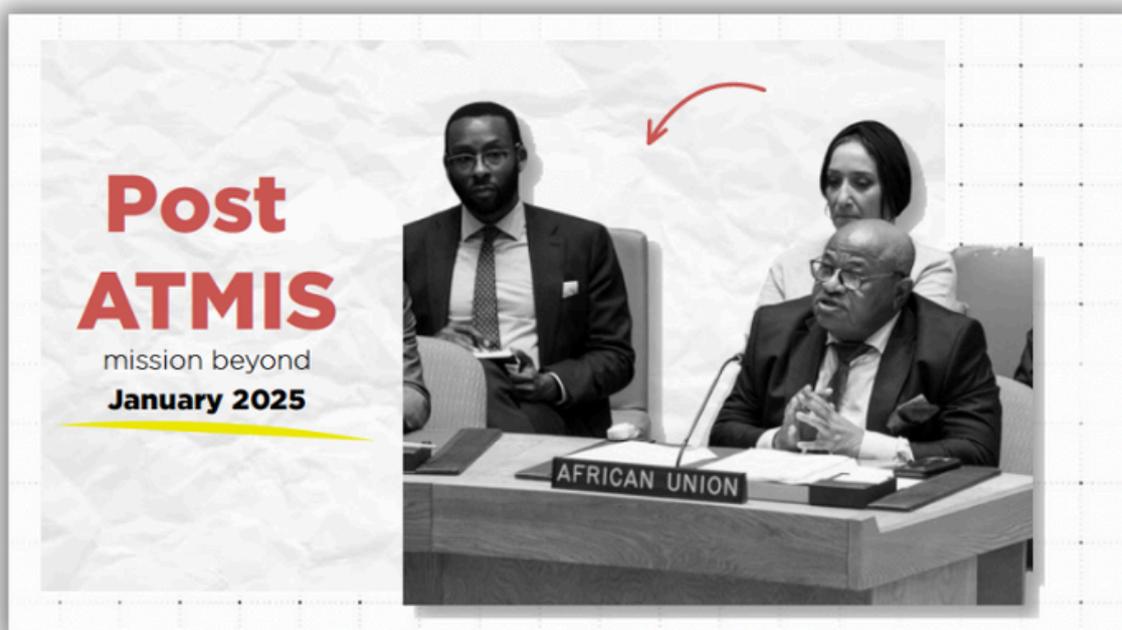
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The most recent phased withdrawal of ATMIS forces has exposed vulnerabilities in Somalia’s security forces, particularly in their capacity to maintain control over territories previously secured by international troops. The military forces currently number around 14,000, down from 18,586 in 2022. This reduction in capacity has created security vacuums, which al-Shabaab has exploited, leading to increased instability. As the transition to a new mission approaches, strategic planning must prioritize preventing a resurgence of violence while supporting Somalia’s long-term goals of stability and self-reliance.

Achieving lasting peace in Somalia requires a comprehensive approach that integrates security sector reform (SSR), addresses the root causes of instability through political engagement and socio-economic development, and enhances international coordination and support. While military efforts to counter al-Shabaab and Islamic State – Somalia (IS-Somalia) are essential, they must be part of a broader strategy that addresses the underlying drivers of conflict and strengthens governance.

A key element of the transition to Somali-led security is ensuring continued international support to adequately train, equip, and prepare Somali forces to independently manage national security. Additionally, the AU's most recent Concept of Operations (CONOPS) for the post-ATMIS mission emphasizes a phased, conditions-based withdrawal to avoid the pitfalls of premature exits that could lead to renewed conflict.

International partners, including the United States, the United Kingdom, the European Union, and regional actors such as Kenya and Ethiopia, play a vital role in Somalia's security landscape. However, recent regional tensions—such as the contentious Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) between Ethiopia and Somaliland, a self-declared independent region that is internationally recognized as part of Somalia, in early 2024—threaten to destabilize these partnerships and undermine regional security. Effective coordination and alignment among international actors are essential to avoid fragmented efforts and ensure that all activities align with Somalia's strategic priorities.

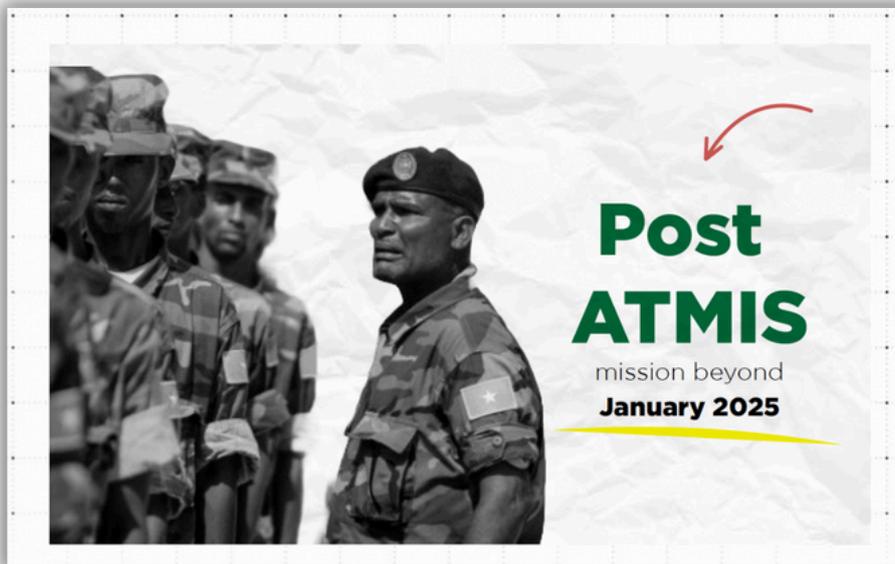


The upcoming AUSSOM mission presents an opportunity to consolidate the gains made over the past close to two decades and lay the foundation for a stable and prosperous Somalia. The AU mission's orderly and successful full withdrawal will however depend on strong Somali ownership at both the federal and regional levels, sustained international support, and a clear, realistic exit strategy. This policy brief focuses on the post- ATMIS mission. It outlines key challenges and recommendations for the Somali government, the AU, and the broader international community to maximize the effectiveness of the mission and achieve its objectives within the stipulated timeframe.

Understanding Somalia's Security Landscape

The primary threats to Somalia's security, and by extension the Horn of Africa, continue to be terrorist organizations, al-Shabaab and IS-Somalia. These groups represent a collective security challenge that has necessitated international intervention, including the deployment of AU troops alongside support from international partners. Despite military operations over the years, the inability to fully neutralize these threats remains the driving force behind the continued presence of international forces in Somalia.

Al-Shabaab, in particular, retains significant control over rural territories and continues to launch deadly attacks in urban centers. The group has proven adept at adapting to military pressures, dispersing its forces, and reverting to its insurgency roots. It employs guerrilla tactics such as improvised explosive devices (IEDs), targeted assassinations, and hit-and-run attacks, allowing it to sustain its operations and maintain a presence in key regions. The persistent existence of these terrorist groups poses a grave threat not only to Somalia's security but also to regional stability across the Horn of Africa.



In countering these threats, the Somali National Army (SNA) and all levels of the Somali Police Force (SPF), with support from the AU and international partners, must lead coordinated efforts to dismantle these organizations and hold liberated areas. Ensuring that the gains achieved through these operations are not reversed is crucial for long-term stability. The upcoming mission under the African Union Stabilization Support Mission in Somalia (AUSSOM) should prioritize close collaboration with Somali forces and focus on conducting offensive operations against these groups with a unified command and control (C2) structure. While international forces transition into a more supportive role, their active participation in counterterrorism operations remains essential to securing and stabilizing critical areas.

Somalia's Security Sector Vulnerabilities

Somalia's security sector faces several entrenched vulnerabilities that pose significant challenges to sustainable progress in the post-ATMIS era. These challenges include a heavy reliance on international support, internal divisions within security forces, and the persistent exploitation of socio-economic grievances by insurgent groups. Addressing these vulnerabilities is critical to establishing a secure and self-reliant Somalia.

1. Sustainability and Autonomy of Somali National Security Forces (SNSF):

The Somali National Army (SNA) and police forces remain heavily dependent on international assistance for funding, training, and logistical support. This dependency not only undermines the autonomy of Somali forces but also presents significant risks as external support diminishes over time. A lack of integration and cohesion within the SNSF—exacerbated by clan-based divisions and political interference—further complicates efforts toward sustainable reform. This challenge is particularly acute at the Federal Member State (FMS) level, where resources are even scarcer, and local security forces are often fragmented and under-resourced.

2. Root Causes of Instability and Insurgency:

Al-Shabaab continues to exploit socio-economic grievances and political marginalization to sustain its recruitment efforts and operational capabilities. Widespread poverty, unemployment, and limited access to essential resources fuel local discontent, making it easier for the group to gain support in vulnerable communities. Addressing these root causes requires inclusive political agreements and targeted socio-economic development initiatives that prioritize marginalized regions. Such approaches are critical for achieving lasting peace and undermining the appeal of extremist narratives.

3. International Coordination and Support:

Effective coordination among international partners is crucial to ensuring a smooth security transition in Somalia. However, past efforts have often been fragmented and poorly aligned with Somalia's strategic priorities, resulting in inefficiencies and missed opportunities. As global funding for Somali reconstruction faces increasing competition from other crises in the Horn of Africa and beyond, it is vital to strengthen international coordination. Aligning support with Somalia's long-term goals should focus on building sustainable security capacities and integrating both military and non-military solutions. Improved coordination will be essential to mitigate the risks posed by decreased international financial commitments.

Challenges in the Existing Policy Landscape

The current policy environment surrounding Somalia’s security is shaped by a complex interplay of national, regional, and international actors. Over the years, Somali stakeholders, with support from international partners, have made painstaking efforts to rebuild state institutions and establish a functional government capable of ensuring security and delivering essential services. However, the Federal Government of Somalia (FGS) operates within a highly fragmented political landscape where its authority is frequently contested by powerful regional and sub-regional actors, complicating efforts to consolidate security gains.

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Internationally, the policy framework is largely guided by United Nations Security Council (UNSC) resolutions and African Union Peace and Security Council (AUPSC) directives. These resolutions emphasize a phased, conditions-based drawdown of the African Union Transition Mission in Somalia (ATMIS), underscoring the importance of sustained international support during the transition. This approach is intended to prevent a security vacuum and ensure that the handover to Somali forces is gradual and managed effectively.

Nevertheless, the ongoing drawdown has exposed significant policy gaps, particularly in relation to the long-term sustainability of Somali security forces once international troops fully exit. While the international community remains committed to supporting Somalia, it has not fully addressed the financial and logistical challenges required to maintain a robust security framework without the presence of a large-scale international mission. Concerns persist about the potential relapse into instability if Somali forces are unable to manage security on their own.

Regional dynamics further complicate the policy environment. Neighbouring countries like Kenya and Ethiopia have direct stakes in Somalia’s stability, and their participation in AMISOM/ATMIS has been instrumental in containing the spread of al-Shabaab across borders. However, with the reduction in international military presence, there are growing concerns about the spillover effects of insecurity if regional efforts are not well-coordinated.

The new mission must align with Somalia’s strategic objectives while addressing both regional and international concerns. Success will hinge on bridging the gap between Somalia’s ambition for self-reliance and the practical realities of ongoing security challenges. Establishing a sustainable framework for international support—encompassing both funding and capacity-building—remains essential to preserving the progress made over the past decade.

Policy Options for Strengthening Somalia's National Security Framework

Achieving sustainable national security in Somalia requires a holistic approach that addresses structural challenges within SNSF while tackling the socio-political drivers of instability. The transition to AUSSOM demands careful consideration of capacity building, governance, and international coordination.

Building Autonomous Capacity for Somali Security Forces

For Somalia to achieve long-term stability, developing resilient and autonomous security forces is crucial. A multifaceted strategy aimed at enhancing the operational and financial independence of the SNSF is essential. Increasing domestic revenue collection, particularly funds earmarked for defense, is a key aspect of this strategy. By developing sustainable revenue streams, Somalia can gradually reduce its dependency on external donors. However, implementing these reforms will require significant changes in financial management and taxation systems, which may face resistance from entrenched interests. Strategic planning and targeted international support can make these reforms more feasible.

Standardizing and enhancing training programs across SNSF units is another critical component. This effort must include both Federal and FMS forces, with a particular focus on police forces during this stabilization phase. Consistent, professional-grade training will improve operational efficiency and foster better coordination within the forces. However, aligning the diverse initiatives of various international partners and securing the necessary funding and expertise pose challenges. Integrating existing training efforts into a cohesive national strategy is vital to overcome these obstacles.

Promoting integration and cohesion within security forces is crucial. The current decentralized approach, involving multiple forces such as the SNA, Federal SPF, NISA, FMS forces – both State Police and Darawish – Ma'awisley, and pro-government non-state forces hinders effective coordination during offensive operations. Establishing a unified command structure is necessary to ensure that the formal forces, SNA and Somali Police Forces at both levels, assume full responsibility for both offensive and holding activities, supported by a clear political consensus on command and control. Addressing this issue requires regional integration of forces as a first step, followed by the establishment of a unified national command structure. This effort, supported by both local and international stakeholders, is critical for long-term stability and operational readiness.

Addressing Root Causes of Instability

Sustainable peace in Somalia cannot be achieved solely through military means; addressing the socio-economic and political factors driving conflict is essential. Investing in socio-economic development programs focused on reducing poverty, unemployment, and inequality is critical for tackling the root causes of conflict. Aligning these programs with national development plans is crucial. However, national resources must be prioritized rather than relying solely on donor funding.

Promoting inclusive political processes is equally important for reducing political instability. Ensuring that marginalized groups are fully represented in governance structures strengthens state legitimacy and mitigates the risks of exclusionary politics. Although implementing these reforms may face resistance from entrenched power structures, political will and commitment from Somali leadership are crucial.

Technical improvements in governance, such as enhancing service delivery, reforming government agencies, and strengthening local government structures, are key to fostering trust in the state. These reforms should prioritize social services and the expansion of essential government functions, ensuring that citizens experience tangible benefits from improved governance.

Community engagement and trust-building initiatives also play a key role. Establishing trust between the government and local communities through grassroots engagement and conflict resolution initiatives is essential for creating a culturally appropriate and sustainable security framework. While these efforts require continuous monitoring and adaptation, they are fundamental to achieving long-term stability.

Enhancing International Coordination and Support

Coordinated international support is indispensable for Somalia's security transition. Although various attempts have been made to establish a unified coordination mechanism, effective coordination remains the remit of the FGS, in consultation with FMSs and other stakeholders. This coordination is essential to aligning international efforts with Somalia's strategic priorities and reducing the risk of fragmented interventions.

Developing integrated support frameworks that combine security, governance, and development initiatives is necessary for addressing Somalia's complex challenges. Lessons learned from AMISOM and ATMIS should inform this approach. Flexibility and adaptability are critical for ensuring these frameworks are responsive to evolving security dynamics.

Robust monitoring and evaluation mechanisms are also vital for assessing progress and maintaining accountability. Regular assessments provide insights into the effectiveness of interventions and guide necessary strategic adjustments. This approach enhances transparency and ensures that international support remains aligned with Somalia's long-term goals.

Conclusion and Policy Recommendations

The success of the AUSSOM will depend on a carefully planned, phased approach that aligns the efforts of the Somali government, the AU, and international partners. This approach must be strategic, ensuring that each phase of the mission—from preparation to execution to transition—builds on the previous one, leading to a sustainable and stable security environment in Somalia. Flexibility and adaptability in strategy will be key as the situation on the ground and regional dynamics continue to evolve.

This brief suggests several recommendations to guide a strategic and coordinated transition, focusing on the importance of Somalia setting clear commitments, such as timelines for security force readiness and specific milestones for taking over security responsibilities. Establishing clear benchmarks will be critical for tracking progress.

A well-defined exit strategy, anchored in transparent conditions and triggers for reducing international support, is vital to prevent any reversal of gains. Additionally, securing sustainable financing should be prioritized. These recommendations aim to support a flexible and collaborative approach that strengthens Somali ownership of security and governance. While challenges persist, an adaptive and phased strategy will be essential in ensuring Somalia's successful transition toward lasting peace and self-reliance.

Policy Recommendations for the Somali Government

Somalia is at a critical crossroads, where successfully transitioning security responsibilities from international forces to Somali Security Forces (SSF) is essential for national stability and sovereignty. The policy options proposed emphasize the importance of capacity building, community engagement, and strategic partnerships. The government's ability to unite all stakeholders around a shared vision and to effectively integrate these components will determine the success of its long-term state-building and security goals.

- **The Somali government should undertake a national security review that includes all relevant stakeholders, particularly at FMS level, to identify capability gaps and infrastructure needs. The outcome should be a national security strategy that prioritizes a centralized mission planning unit to streamline coordination across security forces and international partners. This approach will ensure that Somalia's security efforts remain adaptable to emerging threats and changing circumstances.**
- **The FGS should enhance its security architecture by ensuring cohesive operations between federal and FMS security and justice organs. This requires strong political commitment, sustained engagement, and effective resource sharing. Prioritizing integration across all levels of government will enhance operational efficiency and improve response capabilities in the face of evolving security challenges.**

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- **FMS's must actively contribute to building a unified Somali-led security framework by participating in consultative mechanisms that align local efforts with national priorities. Establishing stronger mechanisms for collaboration among FMSs will be critical for addressing regional security disparities and ensuring a coordinated national strategy.**
 - **The Somali government should focus on enhancing SSF capabilities through targeted, context-specific training and mentorship programs that reflect local realities and security challenges. Standardizing training across all security forces, while integrating international support into these programs, will help build a resilient and capable national force that can operate independently as international forces drawdown.**
 - **Integrating community-led security initiatives into the national framework is essential for managing security at the grassroots level. Empowering local governance structures to take ownership of security matters will foster trust and cooperation between communities and security forces, creating more sustainable stability in liberated areas. This approach must remain flexible, allowing for continuous adaptation to evolving local dynamics.**
 - **The Somali government should lead genuine reconciliation and peacebuilding efforts, prioritizing inclusive dialogue among clans, political groups, and other stakeholders. Security forces should play a supportive role by safeguarding peace talks and enforcing agreements, ensuring that these initiatives translate into tangible and lasting results. This approach must be responsive to political developments and shifts in local power dynamics.**
 - **Strengthening accountability and transparency within the security and justice sectors is vital for building trust among citizens and international partners. Clear benchmarks and accountability mechanisms will track progress, enabling continuous improvement and ensuring that the transition is both credible and sustainable.**

Policy Recommendations for the African Union (AU)

The African Union has been instrumental in supporting Somalia's stabilization efforts. As the transition from ATMIS to AUSSOM progresses, the AU must adopt a more adaptive approach that reflects the changing realities on the ground while continuing to prioritize capacity building, regional cooperation, and governance support. AUSSOM's posture must be forward-looking, ensuring that it drives transformative outcomes rather than simply replicating past strategies.

- **The transition to AUSSOM should be more than just a rebranding. Stabilization should be embedded as the core focus of the mission, prioritizing the restoration of governance, basic services, and local security in newly liberated areas. Early stabilization interventions should be flexible, allowing the mission to respond quickly to shifting local conditions.**
- **The AU's role should continue the gradual evolution from direct military operations to a supportive capacity-building function. Mentorship and logistical assistance for Somali forces should remain the priority, ensuring that Somali forces are fully prepared to assume responsibility as international forces phase out. The AU's support should be adaptable, focusing on areas where Somali forces require the most help, whether in technical skills, command structures, or logistics.**

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- **The AU should resume the lead efforts to unify Troop Contributing Countries (TCCs) around joint operations, intelligence sharing, and coordinated responses to cross-border threats. This collaboration is critical not only for the success of the mission but also for addressing broader regional security dynamics, including emerging threats that could destabilize the Horn of Africa.**
 - **The AU should promote community-led security initiatives, such as local security councils and community policing programs, supporting Somali authorities to integrate these efforts into the national security framework.**

Policy Recommendations for International Partners

International partners, including the United Nations, the European Union, and key donor countries, are integral to Somalia's transition toward self-reliance. Support from these partners must be strategic, focused, and aligned with Somalia's evolving priorities to ensure a gradual reduction in external assistance while facilitating a smooth handover of security responsibilities.

- **International support should be contingent on the Somali government's progress in achieving specific security and governance benchmarks. A results-driven approach that tracks milestones will promote accountability, drive meaningful progress, and help manage long-term dependency.**
- **International partners should commit to long-term investments in SSF training programs, infrastructure, and advanced equipment. Embedding this support within Somali units through mentorship programs is essential for building operational readiness and enabling Somali forces to maintain security autonomously.**
- **Recognizing the inextricable link between security and economic stability, international partners should prioritize targeted development projects in conflict-prone areas. Job creation and infrastructure development initiatives can mitigate the socioeconomic drivers of conflict and reduce the appeal of insurgent groups.**
- **International partners should continue supporting national reconciliation and peacebuilding efforts by providing technical expertise, funding, and facilitating dialogue among Somali stakeholders. Emphasizing locally driven processes that are inclusive and reflective of Somali realities is key to ensuring sustainable peace and stability.**
- **International partners should address the risks posed by regional tensions, such as those from the Ethiopia-Somaliland MoU, to prevent destabilization in Somalia. Given Somalia's fragility and the global focus on other priorities, fostering regional harmony through sustained diplomatic efforts is crucial to safeguarding security gains and preventing a reversal of progress.**

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