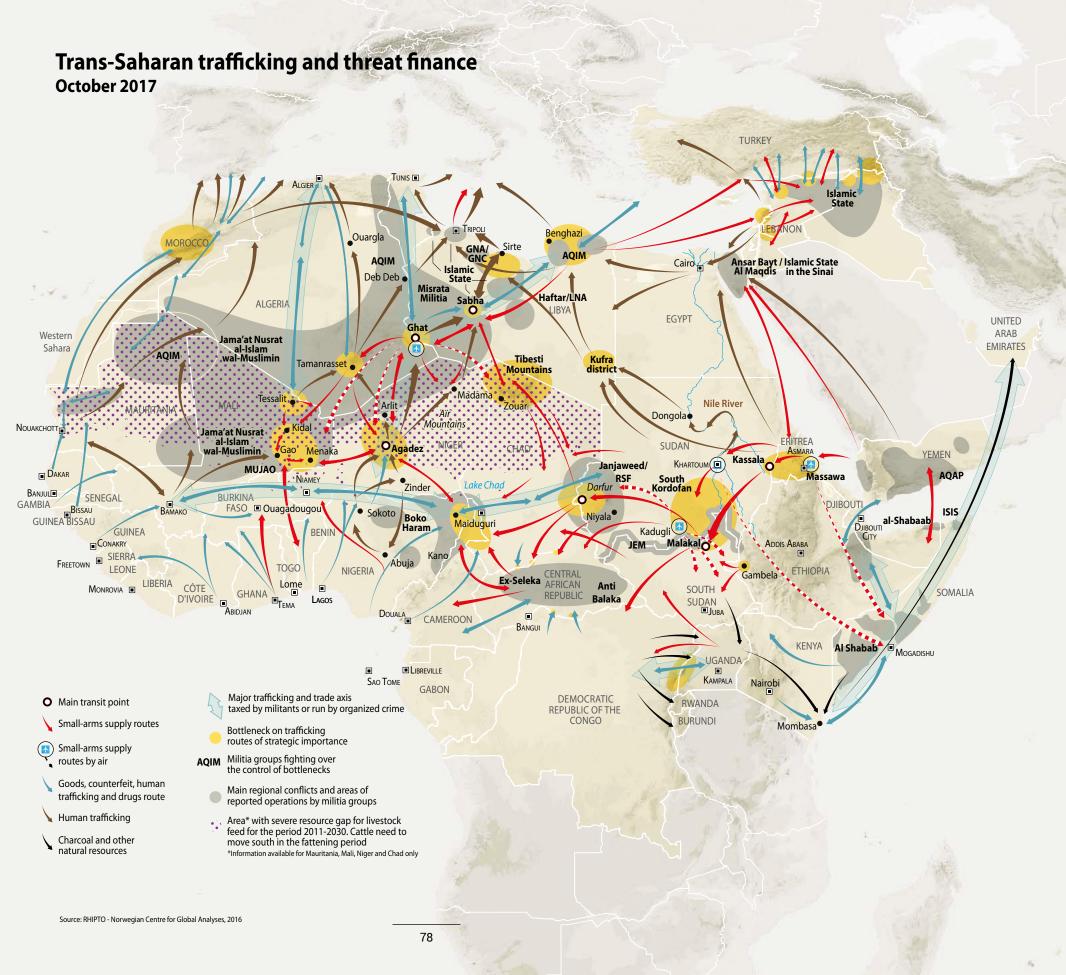


07 The Trans-Sahara

Migrants, drugs and arms





The Trans-Sahara: Migrants, drugs and arms

Armed groups in the Trans-Sahara engage in numerous forms of trafficking, including smuggling cigarettes, drugs and arms. However, their main source of income is from extorting taxes, and through their involvement in supplying the human-trafficking industry, including supply of 4x4 vehicles. Taxes are extorted of between 10% and 30% of the price depending on the commodity and its place in the supply chain. In addition, armed groups invest incomes from cigarette and arms trafficking, ransom and ex-pat finance in improving the logistical base of smugglers, and subsequently tax them 30–50% of their incomes from traditional trafficking.

Drugs are trafficked by ship and air from Brazil and Venezuela, landing in West Africa, especially Guinea-Bissau. Drugs transported in mother ships are consolidated into smaller units in fast boats or sailing vessels at sea, which head north to Cape Verde or the Canary Islands and then onwards to mainland Europe. Those that arrive on the African mainland are trafficked onwards using all manner of transport, but commonly 4x4s that driven by highly organized groups. Much of these flows pass through Morocco and Algeria, as well as Libya. Cocaine also arrives in containers in West Africa, and in East Africa by air via Addis Ababa, Ethiopia.

Al-Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb (AQIM), as well as its splinter groups Al-Mourabitoun (now reformed after a two-year split) and Ansar Dine,

are now increasingly changing how they finance themselves, shifting their attention away from kidnapping for ransom and cigarette smuggling to protection-taxing the trafficking of drugs, predominantly cocaine originating in Latin America, an activity that pays much higher dividends. For AQIM, these illicit protection taxes are charged at a rate of between 10% and 30%. The group has been significantly bolstered by having had access to a steady supply of arms from Libya since 2011, which has strengthened their position to offer 'protection'. AQIM has also invested cigarette smuggling profits in traffickers' infrastructure since the mid-2000s, in return for a cut of trafficking profits. This affords a discreet and hands-off approach to how they make money, earning a possible rate of 5% of the value of drugs trafficked through key hotspots.

The estimated trafficked volume of cocaine in the region is around 18 tonnes per year, and its price rises from US\$1 600-2 500/kg in Colombia to around US\$20 000-30 000/kg as it passes through checkpoints. If, hypothetically, AQIM and Al-Mourabitoun could tax only one in three route segments and only two out of the four major drug routes in the region, one could put an estimate of their likely annual income from these flows at around US\$7.5 million to US\$2.5 million a year, or US\$2.5 million to US\$7.5 million.

Armed groups are also involved in the smuggling and trafficking of migrants. For example, Islam-

ic State in the Sirte region of Libya allegedly operated a vehicle checkpoint near Al Nuwfayah, where receipts were issued for migrants to pass through. With an estimated 150 000 to 170 000 migrants and fees for transit and onward travel at around US\$3 000 to US\$4 500 per migrant, the overall migrant business in the Trans-Sahara, including Libya, is now estimated to be worth between US\$450 million and US\$765 million.

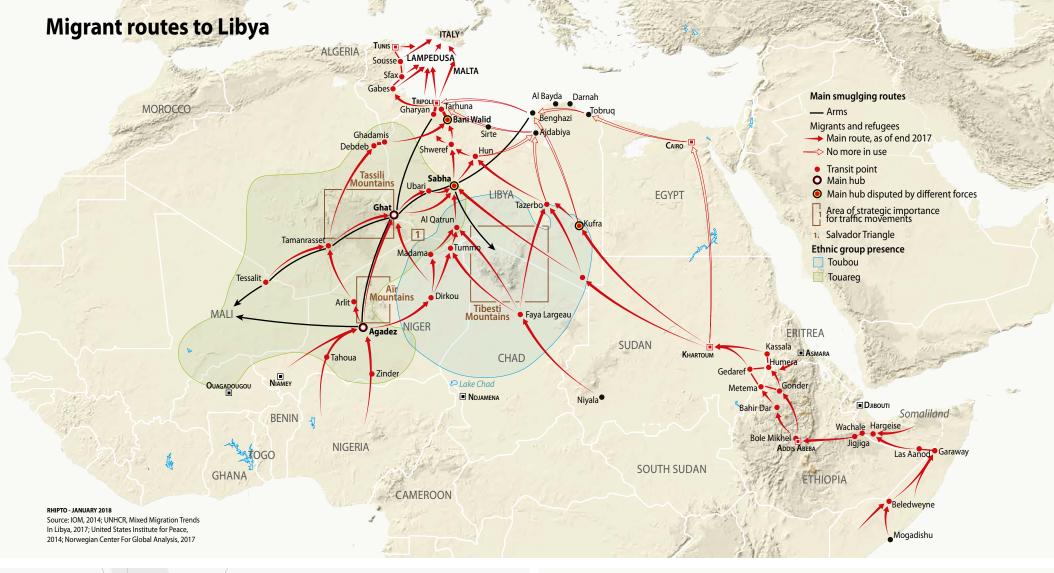
If armed groups tax criminal entrepreneurs or take the commonly used illegal tax rate of 10% to 30%, and less than 5% goes to terrorist organizations, armed groups in the region may make as much as US\$45 million to US\$229 million a year. 93 Meanwhile, terrorist groups, like JNIM, Ansar al-Sharia and, for a time, Islamic State, are likely to make around US\$22 million to US\$38 million. 94

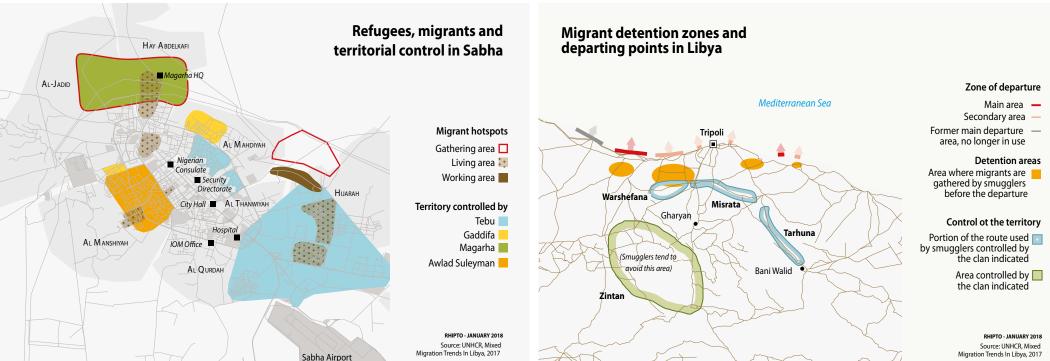
It is believed that smuggling of drugs and cigarettes continues to be a relatively important income mainstay for regional terrorist groups, but it is also evident that migrant trafficking and investing in entrepreneurs and traffickers – irrespective of what they transport – are becoming safer and more common sources of income for terrorist organizations, such as JNIM. This may also explain the aggressive attacks made by JNIM during 2017 on UN forces north and east of Bamako in Mali – seen as an attempt to enable them to exert taxes on the routes from the west to the Gao–Kidal–Menaka–Tessalit 'smuggling highway' to Algeria and Libya.⁹⁵



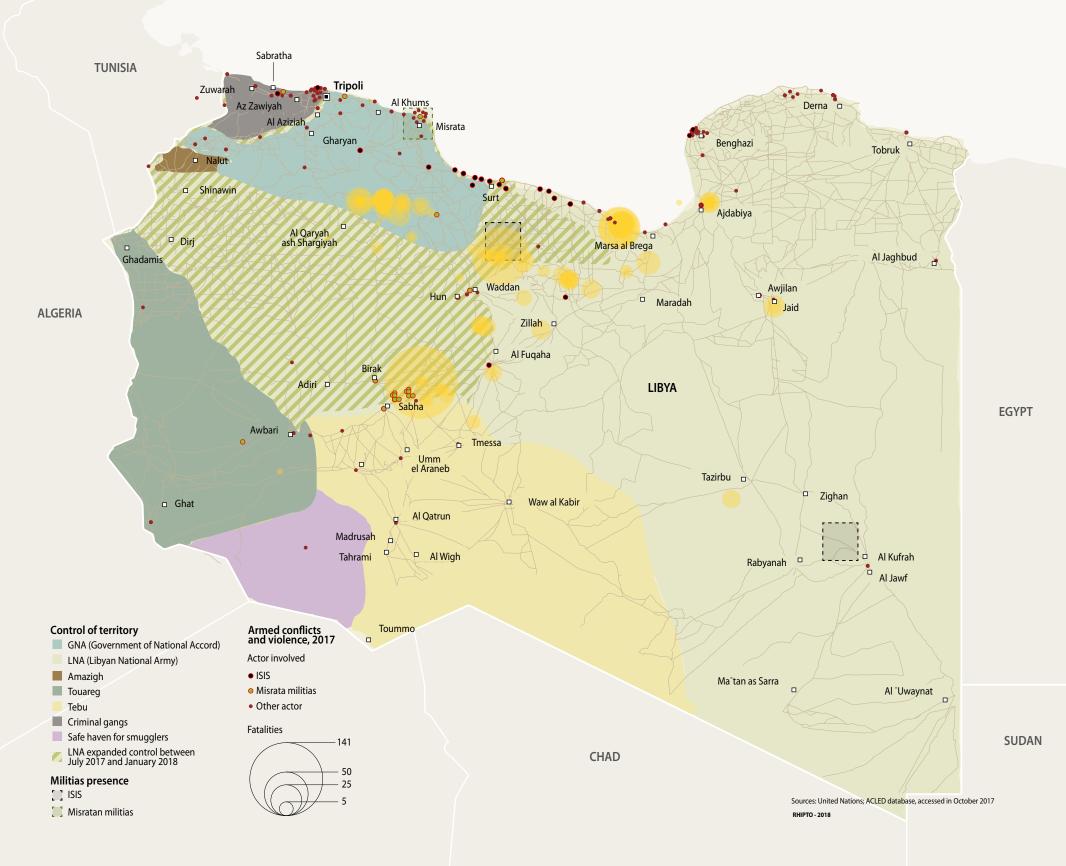


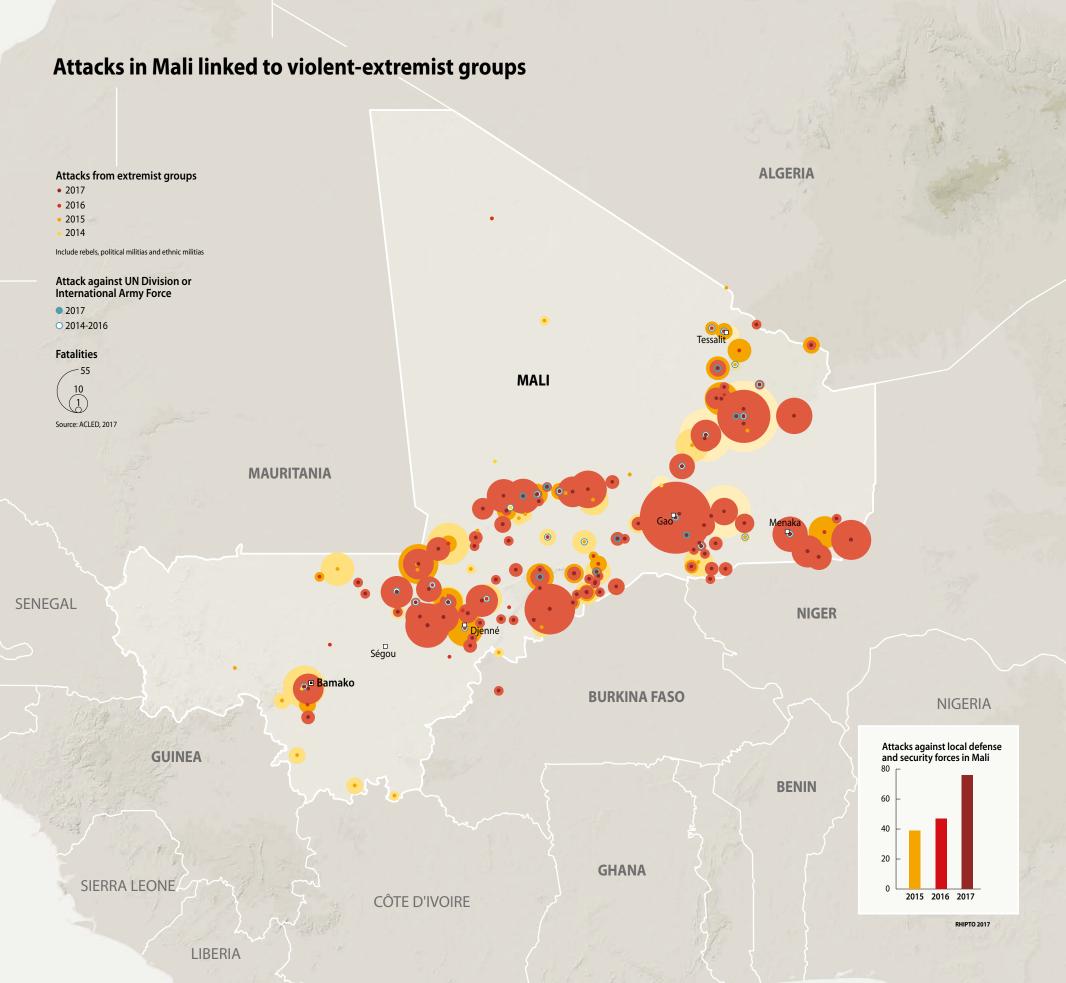






Libya territory control and conflict January 2018

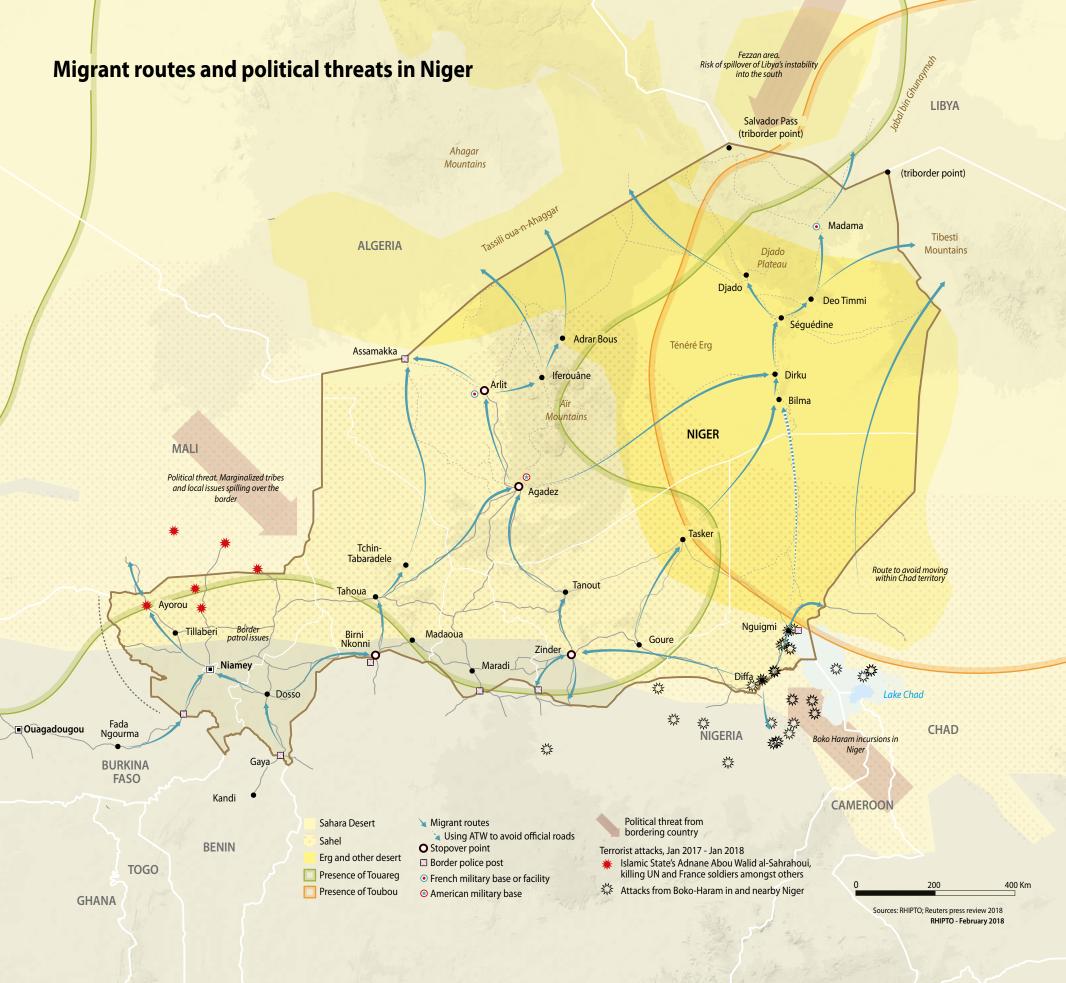














08 Migrant smuggling & human trafficking



Migrant smuggling and human trafficking

Human smuggling and trafficking are now probably, economically speaking, the fourth largest global crime sector — estimated at an annual market value of at least US\$157 billion. Globalization and increasing access to transport from any corner of the planet have made it possible for criminal networks to organize the movement of enslaved victims, and of refugees and migrants at unprecedented levels, even for mass movements.

EUROPOL and INTERPOL estimated the value of migrant traffic from outside Europe to Europe in 2015 to be in the order of US\$5 billion to 6 billion each year. According to various other estimates, human smugglers made revenues of about US\$4.2 billion smuggling people into Europe; US\$672 million from the onward journey inside Europe; total revenues in 2015 of US\$4.9 billion. The profit margins for human smugglers (in the range of 10% to 50%) are US\$42 million to US\$2.1 billion for entry into Europe; US\$67 to US\$301 million for the onward journey; total profits in 2015: US\$489 million to US\$2.3 billion. Se

Nepal: Trafficking networks grew during the civil war and continued post-war

During the civil war in Nepal, many trafficking networks expanded, as is often the case during conflicts. However, unlike with the poaching of rhino horn, the incidence of which was reduced or even stopped as a result of targeted efforts after the war, trafficking of women and children for forced labour and prostitution in Nepal continued, and these activities now fuel organized crime.

Libya: Migrant trafficking in conflict

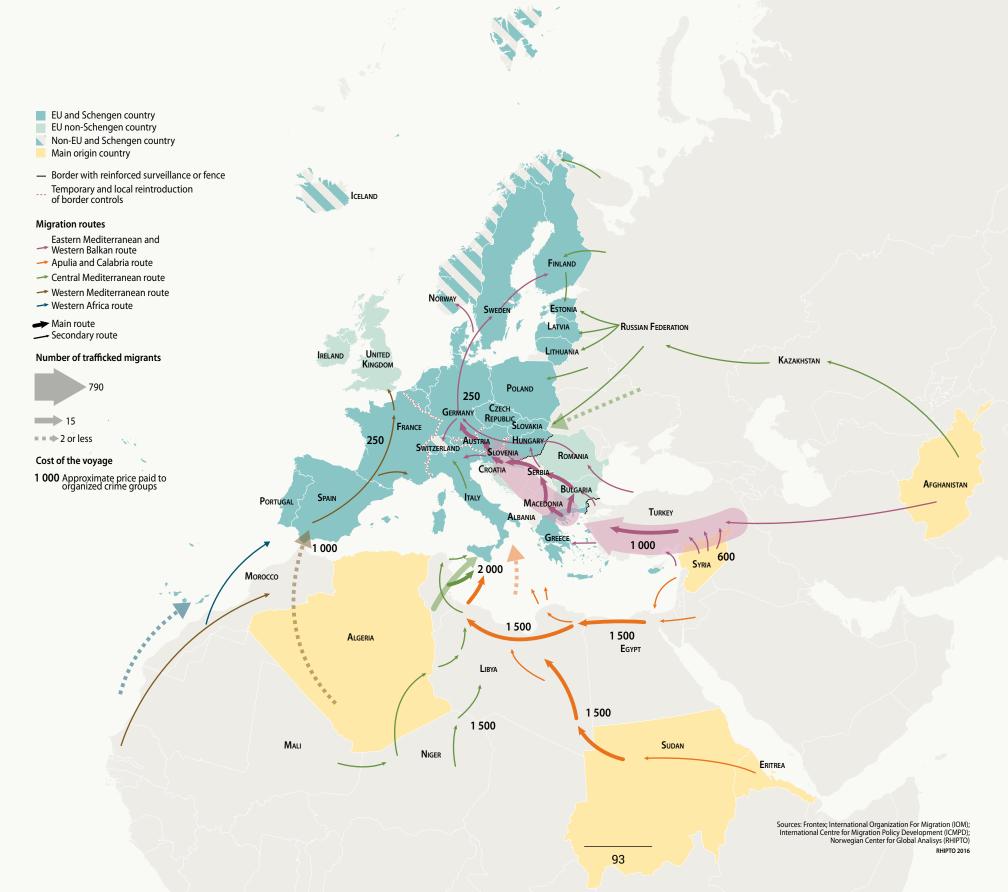
Based on numbers of migrants arriving in Italy in 2016, combined with detailed price levels for the different legs of the journey, it is possible to calculate revenues and profits to armed groups on the various legs. Along the eastern route, there were about 43 000, whereas on the western route the number was between 143 000 and 300 000, with the two flows merging in Sabha. The average prices charged within Libya to the north-west coast is US\$300 to US\$500, with an additional US\$200 to US\$250 for the departure by boat. The traffickers and smugglers may gain a profit of 15% to 30% of the income. With an estimated 186 000 to 343 000 passing through Libya in 2016, and with no indication of a significant decrease in flow, the annual revenue to all armed groups combined is US\$93 million to US\$244 million, with a net profit of US\$13 million to US\$71 million.101

Mali and Niger: Migrants, cigarettes and conflict

JNIM conducted an eastward offensive in 2017, including attacks on forces of the UN mission in Mali, MINUSMA. JNIM also operates from the south-east corner of Mauritania. From there, they advance out, using caches of arms, as far as south of Bamako. Formerly parts of AQIM's Sahara branch, Ansar Dine, Katibat Macina and Al-Mourabitoun merged with JNIM in early 2017. The group is based in the Sahel, its core area being northern Mali. They have been responsible for a large number of attacks on UN peacekeeping forces in Mali, operating out of Mauritania and Mali, and in south-west Libya and Algeria. It is likely that they will increasingly move into Niger to gain control of smuggling networks as income opportunities. Their precise sources of finance are unknown, but it is derived mainly from ransom money, cigarette and drug smuggling, illicit taxation, protection money and return from investments in migrant smugglers (e.g. trucks and finance).

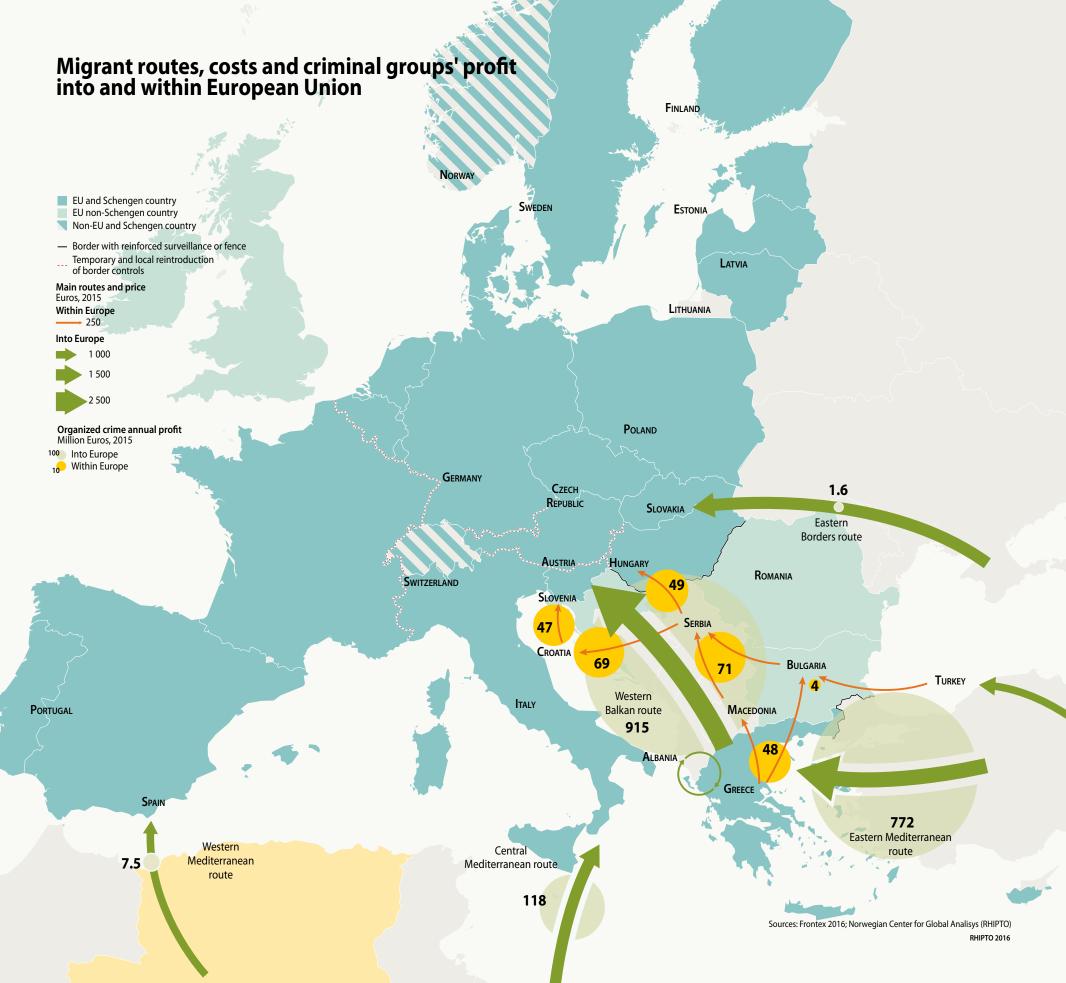
JNIM's income is probably in the range of US\$7 million to US\$20 million for drugs and ransom, and US\$11 million to US\$15 million from return of investments in the migrant trafficking trade, which is largely outside JNIM-controlled areas, apart from some traffic from the south-west. JNIM is the big potential future winner among the Salafist/jihadist groups. Some expat finance is believed to be involved. The group probably has about 3 500 to 4 500 fighters.

Migrant trafficking into and within European Union and approximate costs in 2015

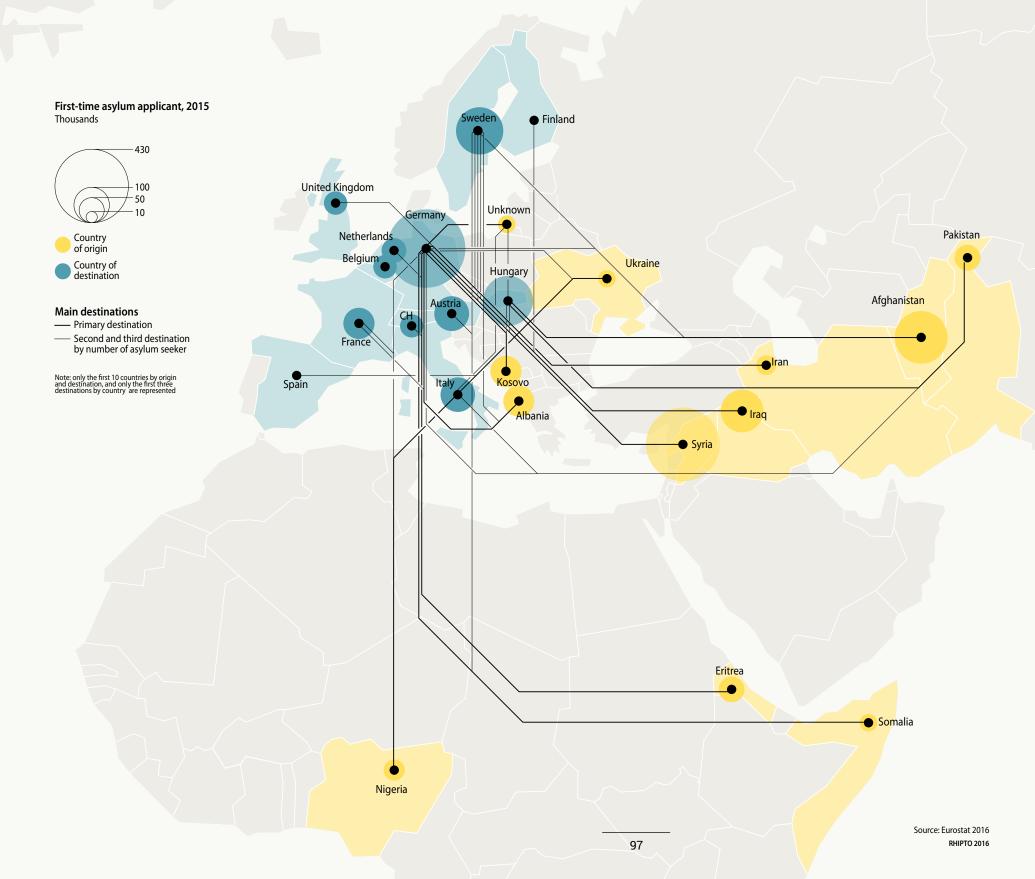




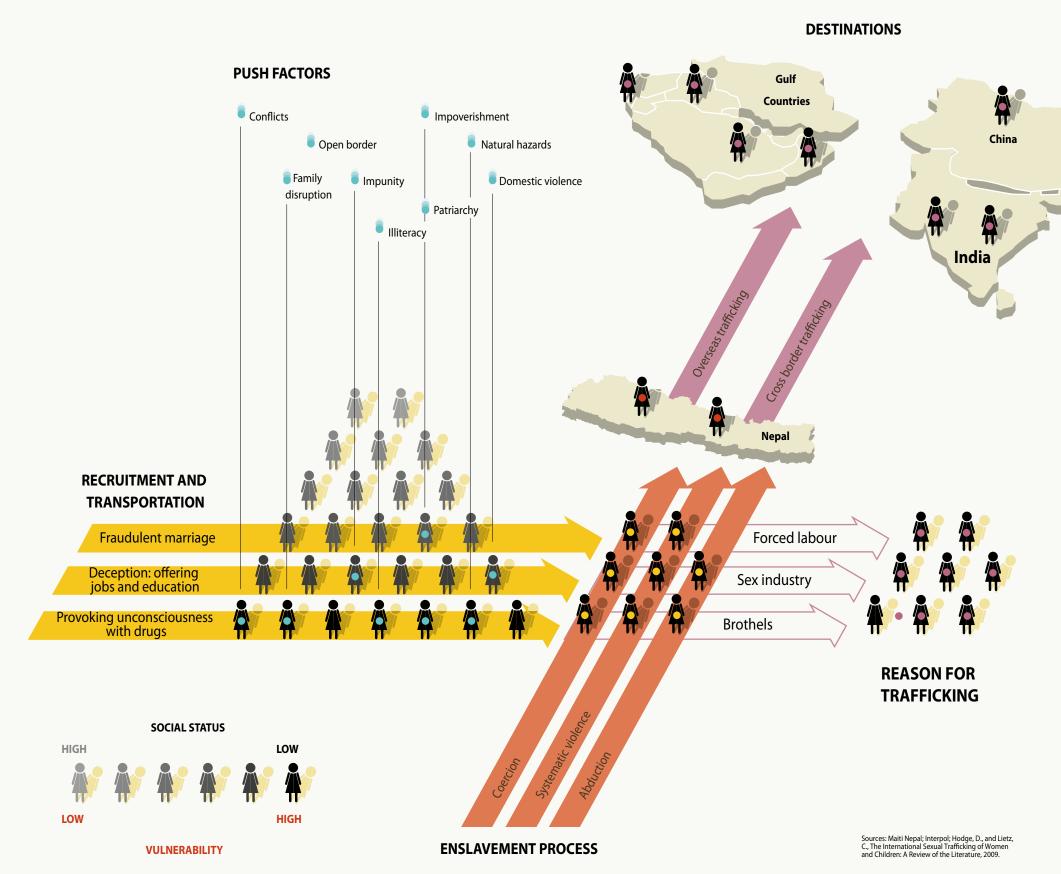


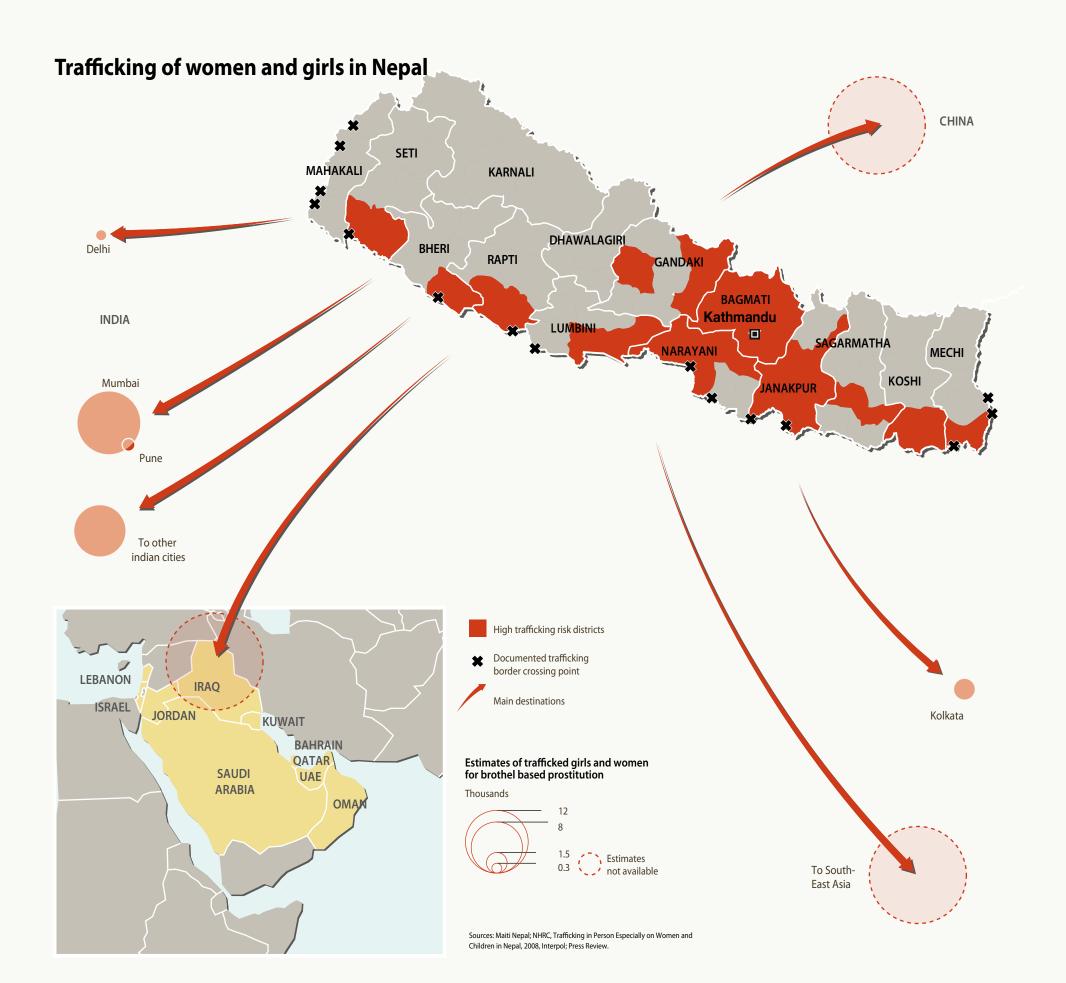


Migrants in the EU: main countries of origin and destination



Human trafficking in Nepal - Patterns



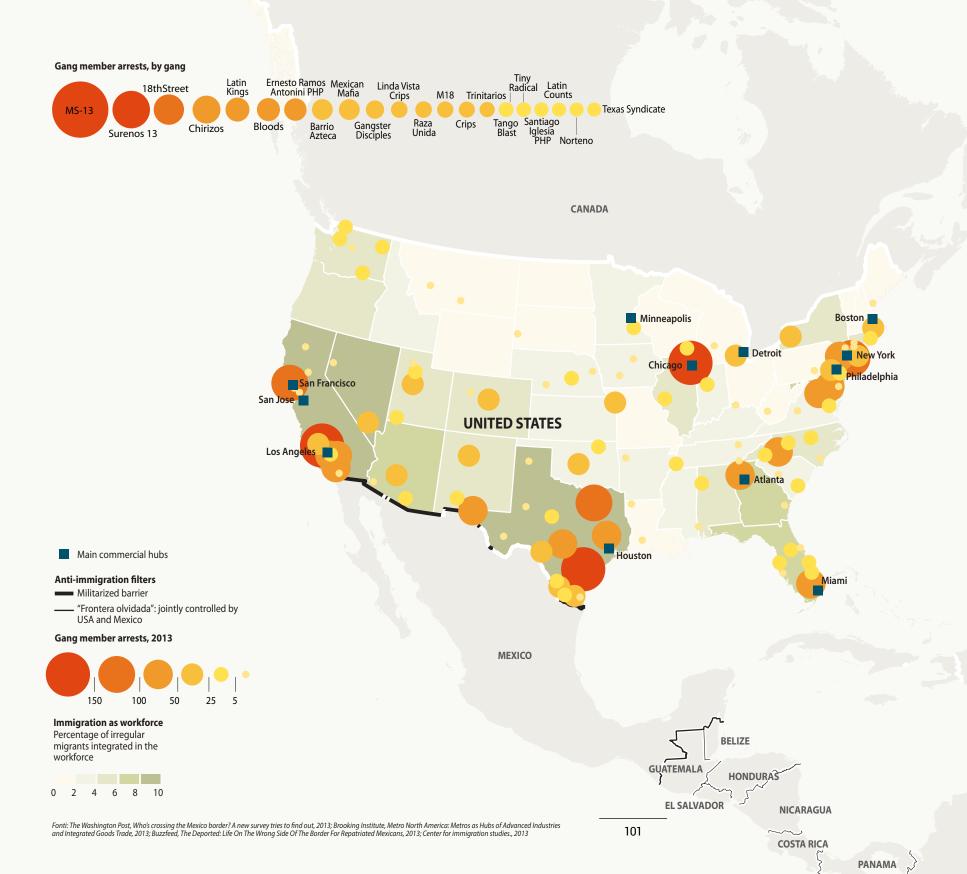


Migrants to the US bypass the Mexican border using multiple entry points

In the Americas, the UNODC estimated that in 2010 there are 3 million illegal entries to the US each year, with 60% to 75% entering secretly, and over 90% paying a smuggler. Of these, between 14 500 and 17 500 are victims of human trafficking.99 Facilitating smuggling across the Mexico-US border has been estimated to generate an income of US\$6.6 billion a year,100 and links to drug trafficking cartels are often insinuated. Meanwhile, US efforts to counter this threat have resulted in the creation of a border patrol of paramilitary proportions, with over 60 000 border-patrol officers. However, smuggling hubs that move migrants into the US are far from confined to the Mexican border alone. Addressing the smuggling networks requires more sophisticated approaches.



Trafficker gang arrests and Latin-American migrant smuggling hubs in the US









Foreign fighters: Travelling along smuggling networks

There are at least 5 600 foreign fighters associated with Islamic State. 102 These combatants move along several routes: from Libya to Egypt, Mali and Mauritania onwards to Senegal and out of the African continent; from Turkey to the Caucasus, especially Azerbaijan, then across the Caspian Sea and via Iran or Turkmenistan to central Asia (Uzbekistan, Pakistan, Afghanistan, Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan); via Turkey to the Balkans, especially Bosnia and Herzegovina. Many have also returned to Western Europe, and to Tunisia and Morocco. Claims of large numbers of Islamic State foreign fighters from Africa's Great Lakes region are false.

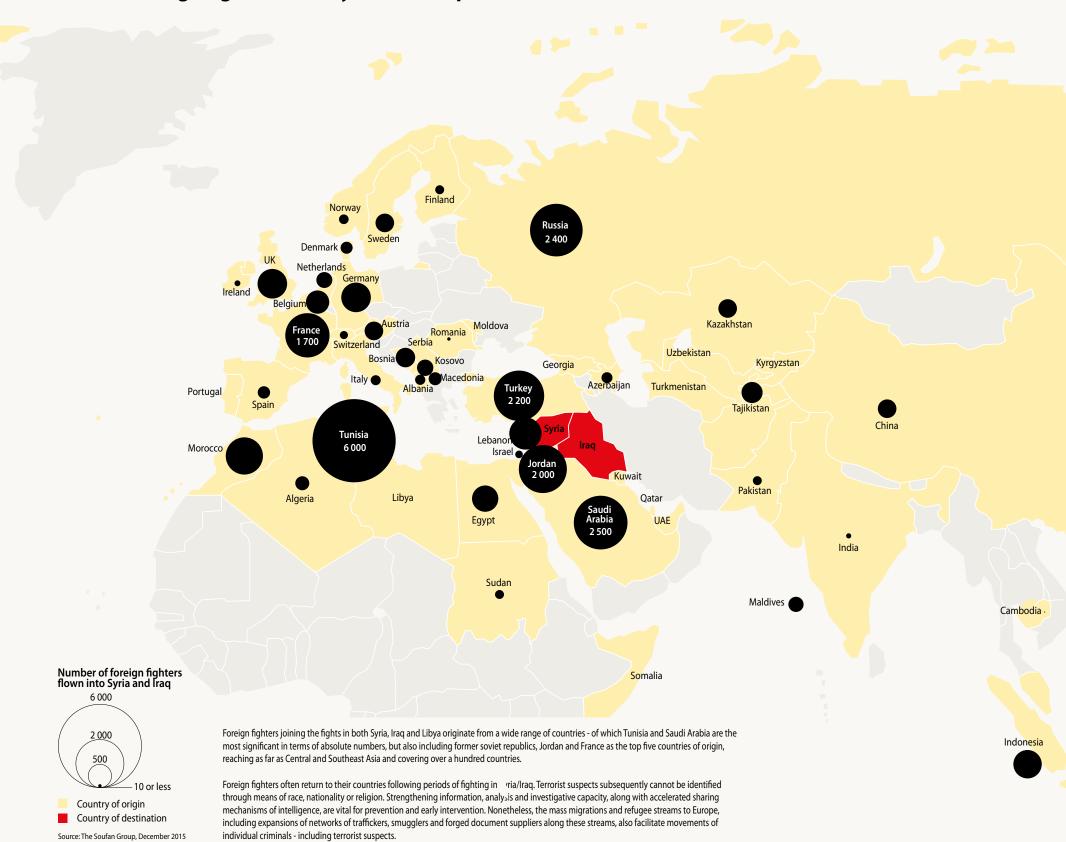
Some 14 900 foreign fighters leaving conflict zones have at least in part used these routes for travel back to their home countries; of these, some 5 395 are imprisoned; 6 837 have returned home but without having been apprehended by the criminal-justice system. This leaves over 2 600 unaccounted for, in addition to some 7 000 killed, mainly in Syria and Irag.¹⁰³

Organized-crime groups use smuggling networks that increasingly enable foreign fighters to move across borders to safe havens, as well as build up or migrate resources through formal and informal networks of financial flows. The over 2 600 unaccounted-for foreign fighters have left Syria and Iraq, and an unknown number travelled via Libya, using these illicit smuggling networks for access to resources such as forged papers, as well as routes to safe havens.

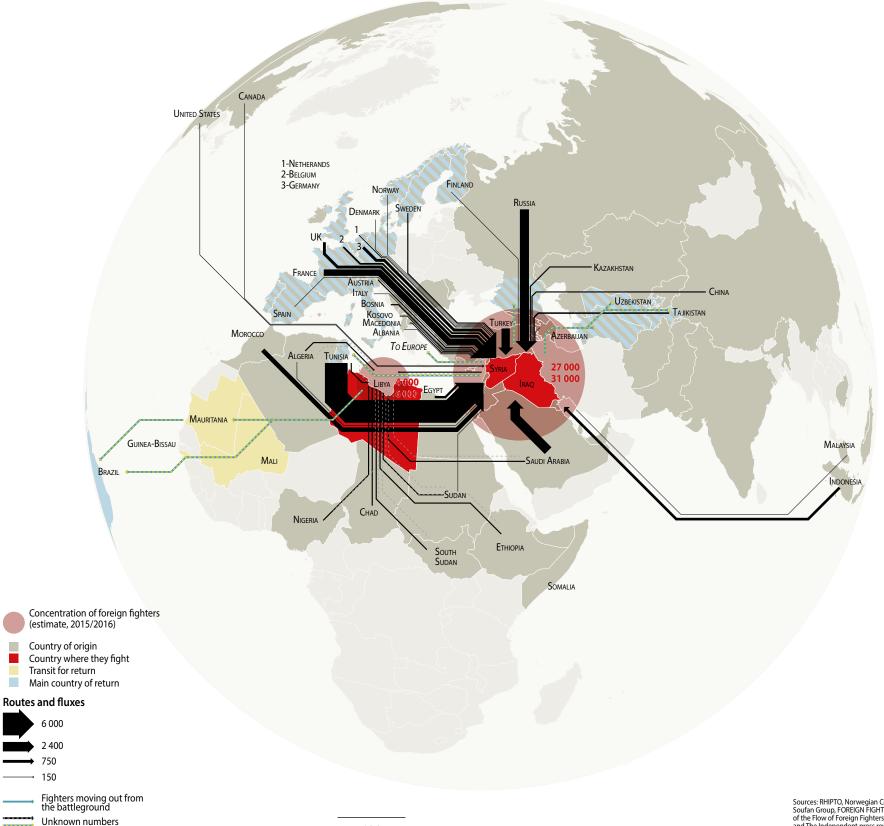




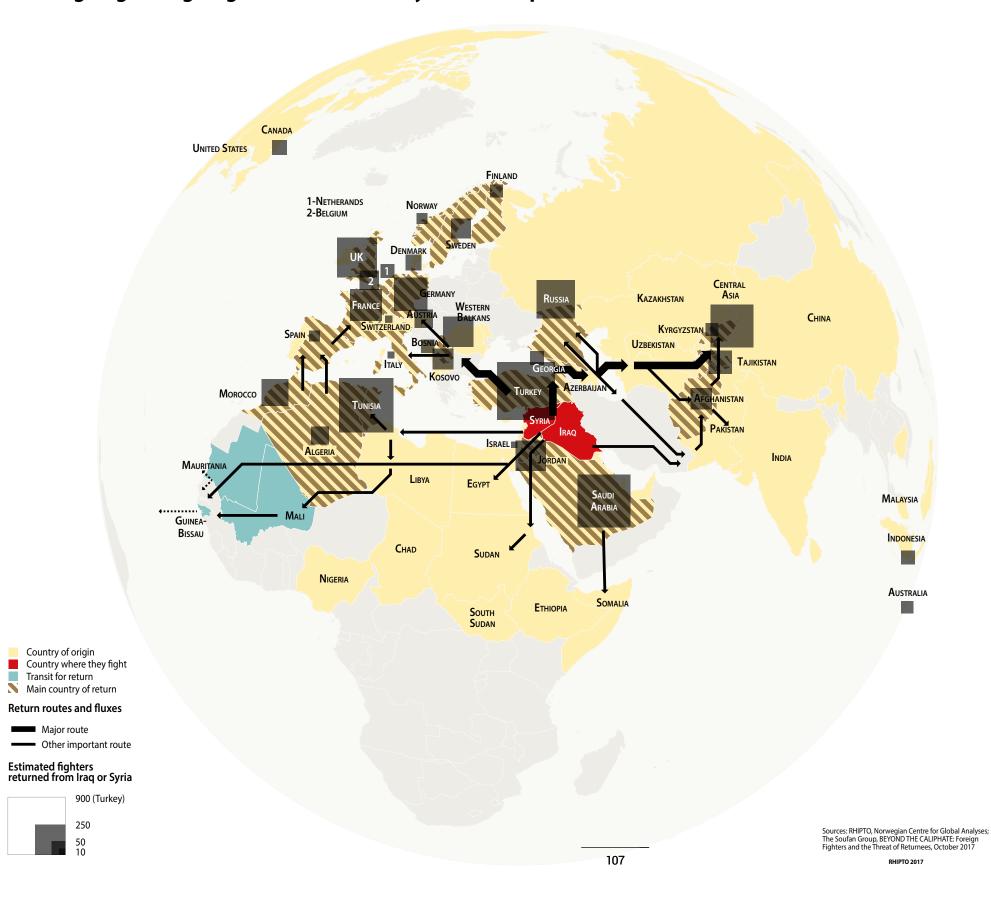
Flow of foreign fighters into Syria and Iraq



Foreign fighters to Syria, Iraq and Libya And their routes out of the fight



Foreign fighters going back home from Syria and Iraq











Drugs and threat finance



of the income of the largest armed groups is derived from production, trafficking and taxation of drugs

The Taliban – opium and heroin

According to the US military and the Afghan government, in late 2017 insurgents were in 'control' of 2.2% of the population and 'influenced' another 9.2%, which, combined, means some 3.7 million Afghans. A further 24.9%, or 8.1 million people, live in contested areas. As of August 2017, 13% of Afghanistan's municipal districts were either controlled or influenced by insurgents, the highest rate in at least two years.

In late 2017, the Taliban claimed to control 34 out of 400 districts, and to contest a further 167 districts (claiming a 40–97% presence in the latter). In practice, the Taliban contest half the country. The group claims to control most of the provinces of Helmand, Nimruz, Urozgan, Ghazni and Zabul, and half of Kandahar.

The Taliban's size has been estimated to be more than 200 000, with a fighting strength of 150 000, of whom about 60 000 constitute a full-time force. Accounting for rotation for leave, and other reasons for absence, the fighting force present in Afghanistan would not exceed, at any one time, 40 000.¹⁰⁴ The full-timers are highly mobile and rely on safe havens, particularly in Pakistan, but also in Iran, when they are not operating in Afghanistan (accounting for a third of the time spent outside the country on rest and recreation). This compares to about 11 000 US troops in present in the country, and well over 300 000 Afghan government security forces (numbers recently classified).¹⁰⁵

There has been recent fighting between the Taliban and Islamic State in the north-western provinces of Jawzjan and Faryab, and at least one case of collaboration between the two in the attacks and killing of over 50 Shias in the Sayyad District of Sare-Pol Province in August 2017, probably attributable to family or tribal affiliation rather than strategic cooperation.

The Taliban carried out eight large attacks in 2017, killing Afghan security forces and civilians, with between 15 and 150 fatalities per attack. Both the magnitude of such attacks and the increase in insurgent control over the population undermine the credibility of the Afghan security forces and the government.

Opium production in 2017 in Afghanistan was 9 000 metric tonnes (up by 87% from 2016) from an area of 328 000 hectares (up 63% from 2016) – equivalent to a total farm-gate value of US\$1.4 billion, according to UNODC. The largest increase was in Helmand Province, followed by Kandahar, Badghis and Faryab.

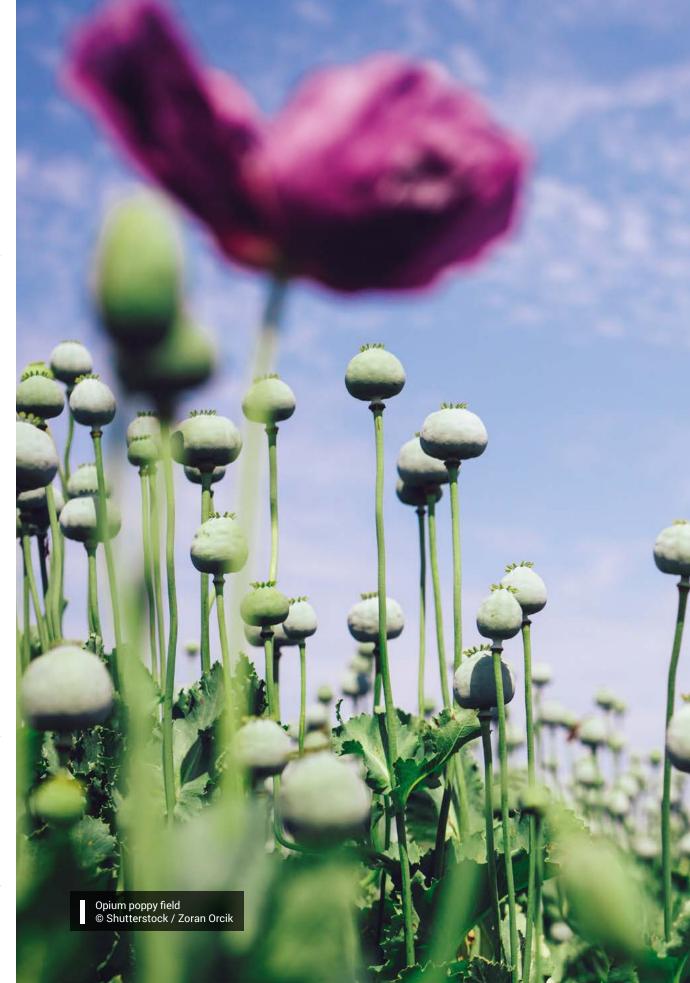
UNODC estimates that non-state armed groups in Afghanistan raised about US\$150 million in 2016 from taxing opium production. The UN Security Council Committee in 2011/12 cited an Afghan government estimate that reckoned that a quarter of the Taliban's income was derived from opium-related activity, in other words US\$100 million out of a total income of US\$400 million. In 2010 the CIA estimated that the group was predominantly funded by non-drug-related taxation, and donations from Pakistan and Persian Gulf countries. As these examples show, agencies with different perspectives and priorities have debated this issue throughout the Afghanistan war.¹⁰⁶

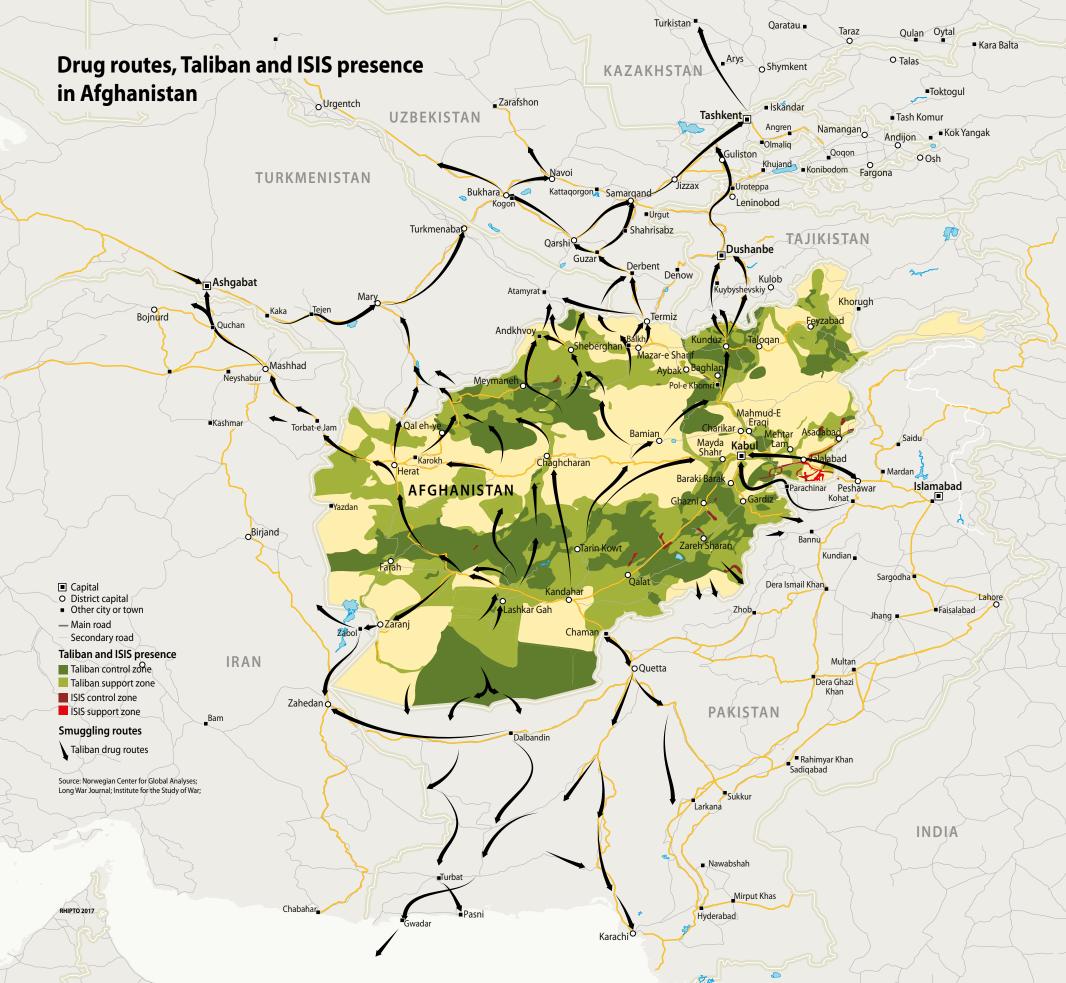
The entire 2017 poppy crop was 9 000 metric tonnes. The price varies between regions, and has been cited as between US\$52¹⁰⁷ and US\$155¹⁰⁸ per kilogram for fresh opium, and US\$182 for cooked opium. The fresh farm-gate price then gives a price range for the crop value of about US\$468 million to US\$1.4 billion. If the Taliban tax three-quarters of the area they control – and there is some evidence they are effectively taxing the rural parts of districts that are supposedly in government control, so about a quarter of those – then this balances out the equivalent of 100% taxation of 60% of the land.

Prices vary by season, year and even by district, not to mention by region. Empirical data is not available to cover these variations (and will probably never be available). In the meantime, by extrapolating from their Helmand tax rate of 1.125 kg per hectare, with a 60% tax coverage, the Taliban earn an estimated 221.4 tonnes of opium from the entire crop, worth a total of US\$11.5 million to US\$34.3 million. In addition to this there is taxation of transportation at checkpoints, but this is very hard to quantify without specific intelligence, since the transported goods do not pass through just a few ports, as is the case in Somalia with charcoal, for example (see Chapter 3).

In the two districts Nad-e-Ali and Marjah, closely studied by David Mansfield in 2016, 66% of the Taliban's income came from tax on opium (US\$2.46 million); 8.2% (US\$305 000) was land tax, and 25% (US\$935 000) was wheat tax. 112 In the case of the Bakwa District, in Farah Province, also in 2016, taxation was based on an altogether different method: the number of tube wells, and totalled US\$287 000–US\$766 000.113

In the two districts in Helmand cited above, twothirds of the Taliban's funding came from opium, whereas in the district cited above in Farah, none of it did. Their funding from Pakistan is also very well documented, although precise figures are difficult to come by.¹¹⁴ Given the expenses incurred by maintaining a permanent force of 40 000, with another 20 000 out of the country, and ambitions to make savings towards future governance expenditure, it is likely that the group's annual funding would need to be in the US\$50 million to US\$100 million range (and probably closer to US\$100 million), where onethird comes from opium, giving an annual funding of US\$75–95 million from all sources.

























FARC – cocaine and illicit mining

The Colombian revolutionary insurgent movement, FARC, who had been at war with the Colombian government since 1964, disarmed itself and transitioned into a political party in June 2017. In the 1980s, FARC were funded by primary commodities, like cattle and other agricultural products, and by oil and gold. They also engaged in smuggling in border areas.115 Until 1981 they had considered cocaine and marijuana counter-revolutionary, but for fear of alienating local farmers, and seeing obvious financial advantages, FARC changed their policy on drugs. Initially their taxation came from gramaje, which is a farm tax. Later this was upscaled to both systematic taxation of coca cultivation, as well as any infrastructure or transportation routes associated with the logistics of moving the product.

The Colombian government assessed in 1998 that illegal paramilitaries, including guerrilla movements like FARC, made US\$551 million a year in drug trafficking, US\$311 million from extortion and US\$236 million from kidnapping for ransom.¹¹⁶

During the last few years of their insurgency, FARC guerrillas moved out of the mountainous areas and established a number of camps in the Colombian Amazon, including areas north of the Brazilian border to the far east of the country, outside drug-producing areas. In recent years, they gained about 20% of their income from illegal mining of gold. The organization's 34th Front allegedly made over US\$1 million a month from extorting miners.¹¹⁷

When the peace process took place, FARC declared their wealth in an inventory as US\$332 million, including assets such as US\$147 million worth of property, US\$10.5 million in cattle, US\$70 million in weaponry and US\$10.7 million in gold. However, InSight Crime calculated in 2015/2016 that FARC at that time had assets worth US\$580 million, mostly income from drugs and illegal mining.¹¹⁸

The peace process was honoured by about 10 000 FARC members, but several thousand rejected it

or did not participate in it, led by the dissident 1st Front. About 2 500 of these dissidents are thought to have formed an ex-FARC mafia, some of whom call themselves the Eastern Bloc, who have become big players in the cocaine trade. They operate a relatively flat business-oriented structure, and have taken control of key choke points bordering Venezuela and Brazil.¹¹⁹

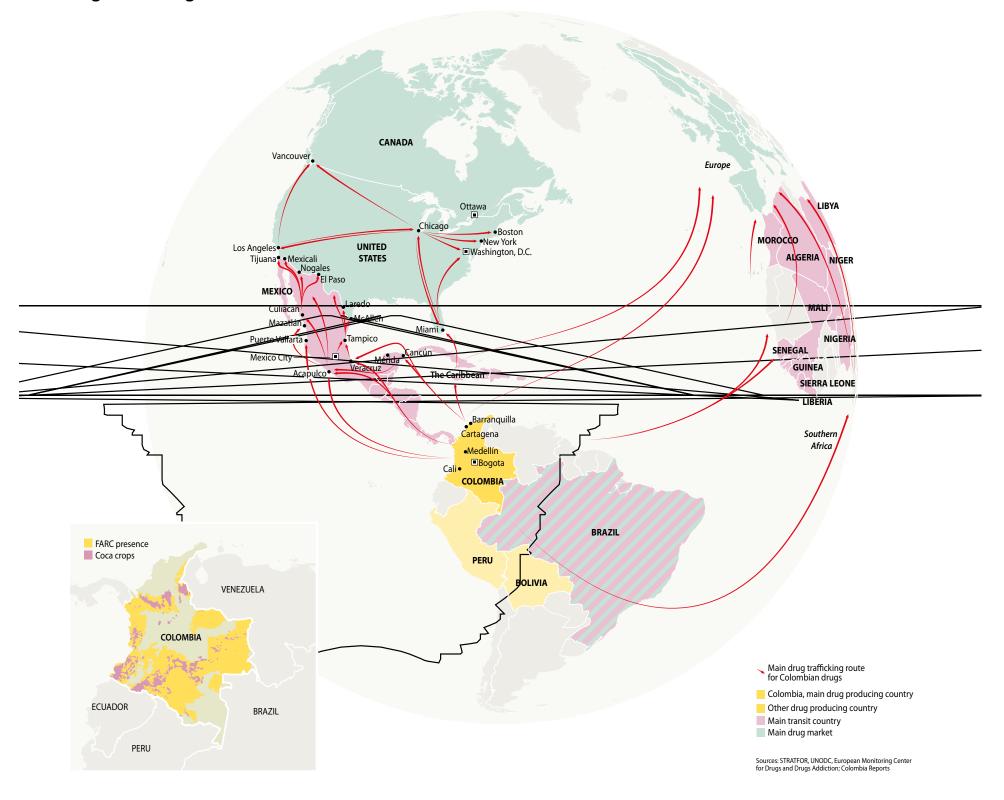
A significant degree of corruption in the chain of command, as well as thousands of FARC members or their part-time support cadre leaving or ignoring the peace process, or simply going rogue and joining criminal groups, could explain some of the discrepancy. In addition, assets kept abroad are not included in the inventory.¹²⁰

FARC controlled about 60% to 70% of the coca-producing areas, and were the biggest single player. Their income largely came from taxing - varying between US\$35 and US\$150 per kilogram of coca base.121 They were also to some extent involved in production, and widely taxing of labs and transportation. 122 In 2016 the coca crop - over 188 000 hectares, with an average production 7 kg of cocaine per hectare - could have produced a max crop of 1 200 tonnes, according to InSight Crime. The actual cocaine production for 2015 was about 646 000 kg, according to UNODC.123 The price of coca base was US\$621 per kilogram in 2016, and US\$1 633 for cocaine. 124 The total cocaine value for the entire crop would be US\$1.05 billion, given UNODC production numbers. InSight Crime has calculated FARC's earnings from the cocaine trade alone to be in the region of US\$267 million, where US\$67.9 million was from cocaine base taxation, US\$169.5 million from cocaine production and US\$30 million from other taxes. Other earnings came from heroin (US\$5 million), marijuana (US\$30 million), cattle taxation (US\$4.5 million), extortion of businesses (US\$76.8 million a year) and illegal mining (US\$200 million), giving a total of US\$580 million in 2015, of which about US\$200 million was taken by corrupt commanders. 125





Drug trafficking routes from colombia







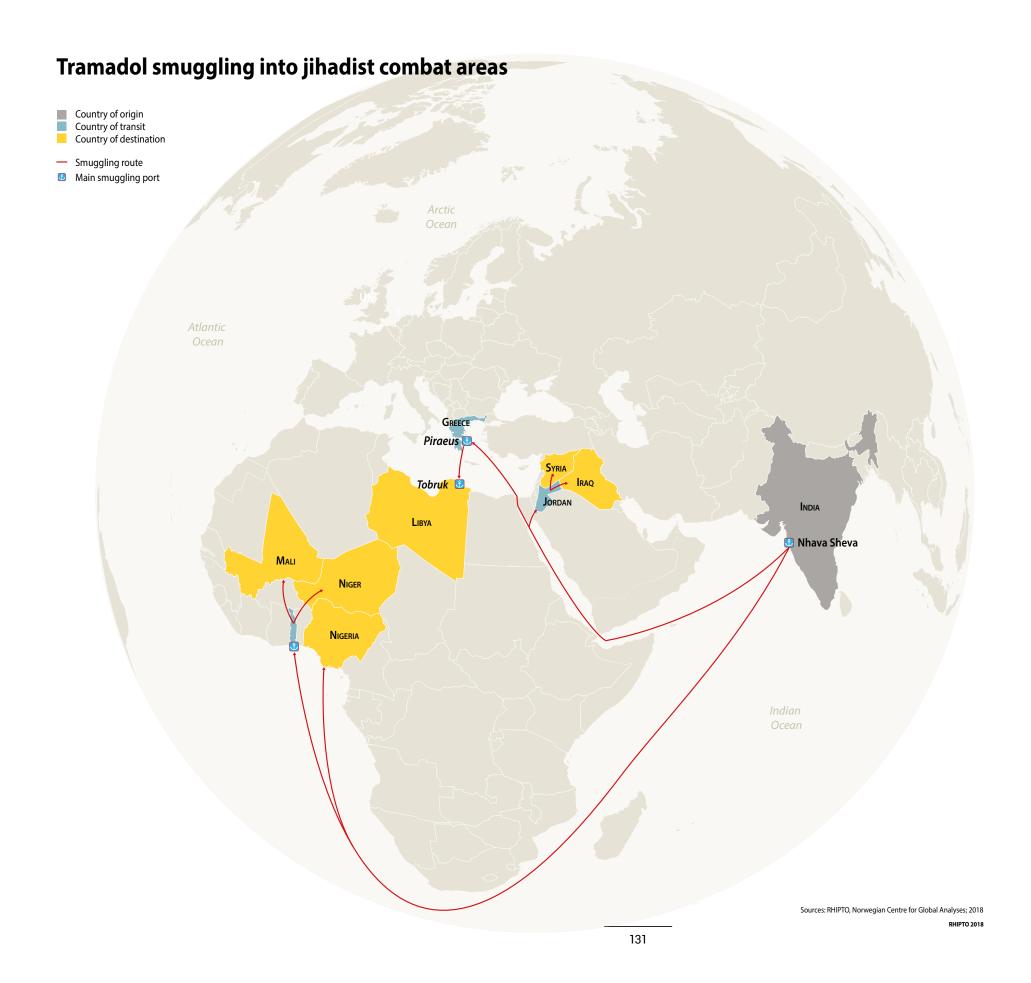


The new 'jihadist drugs'

Since 2015 there has been an increasing number of intelligence reports regarding extensive smuggling and use by jihadist fighters, especially Islamic State, of tramadol, an opioid pain reliever, as well as Captagon, a psychostimulant for increased alertness. Both often called 'jihadist pills' or 'courage pills'. Captagon is a brand name for the drug fenethylline, a combination of amphetamine and theophylline, which increases alertness. Tramadol provides pain relief and can also allegedly reduce fear and stress during battle by in some cases releasing serotonins, creating a feeling of wellbeing or happiness. Captagon stimulates alertness and reduces exhaustion, and the need for sleep.

This kind of drug use is predominantly seen in the Middle East, is very prevalent in Syria and Iraq, including by Chechen fighters, but is also becoming increasingly common in the Trans-Sahara, including Mali, Niger, Nigeria, Chad and Libya. Islamic State has been directly involved in the smuggling and sale of jihadist drugs, and not only to their own fighters. Pills are entering the region from Greece and Tobruk, Libya, as well as via Lomé (Togo), Cotonou (Benin) and Nigeria. Most originates from India. The rising use of this drug by jihadist fighters in the Trans-Sahara, Libya and Nigeria most likely points to increased smuggling activity by Islamic State and related jihadist groups.













Terrorist and rebel finance: Taxation, drugs, counterfeits, natural resources and migrants

	Incomes to seven armed groups + groups in DRC	
	US\$ millions	%
Drugs	330	28
Charcoal	15	1
Antiquities	15	1
Kidnapping for ransom	36	3
External funding and donations	36	3
Confiscations and looting	99	9
Taxation and extortion (not drugs)	197	17
Illegal mining	203	17
Oil and gas	230	20
Total	1 160	100

For the seven main terrorist/rebel groups that comprise a mix of insurgents and terrorists – al-Shabaab, Boko Haram, FARC, HTS, JNIM, Islamic State and the Taliban – as well as a number of groups operating in the eastern DRC, the combined funding is about US\$1 billion–US\$1.39 billion a year. Taxation of natural resources and drugs is the most important, commonly available and accessible source of income. This ranges from taxation of transport at vehicle checkpoints, to agricultural produce, protection money targeting commercial activity and religious taxes.

The numbers given here represent updates on a body of work accumulated over the last few years featuring best estimates based on official reports, academic assessments and criminal intelligence. ¹²⁶ Insurgent groups primarily finance their activities by illegal taxation of the populace, illicit commercial activity, whether in drugs, minerals, gold, charcoal, timber, or through taxation of migrants. If they do not exert territorial control,

which is typical for terrorist groups, incomes more typically involve mobility, such as kidnapping for ransom, or smuggling of high-value goods, like drugs.

The seven major non-state armed groups here all feature elements of insurgency and terrorism. None is either a pure terrorist or pure insurgent group, but the motivational characteristics of terrorism or insurgency can be plotted on a continuum between the two. They are insurgents,127 in that they seek political change over a ruling regime, and hold or aspire to hold territory. These dimensions apply particularly to FARC and the Taliban, but also in considerable measure to al-Shabaab and Islamic State as well. They are all terrorists¹²⁸ too, in that they use fear generating violence and coercion without legal or moral restraint against civilians, for its effect on various audiences. This applies particularly to JNIM, HTS, Boko Haram and Islamic State, but also to the Taliban and, to some extent, FARC.



Islamic State remains the most serious threat because of the organization's international reach and suspected financial reserves. As of May 2017, the group was making up to US\$10 million a month in revenues. In mid-2018, its funding in Iraq and Syria is likely to be a tenth of that — a total of US\$6 million to US\$24 million a year. A large, unknown amount, but possibly over US\$100 million, has been funnelled out of Iraq and Syria, and some of this has been laundered in investments in Iraq, Syria and neighbouring countries. The group's estimated strength is currently around 15 600 including 5 600 returned foreign fighters, with a remaining force in Syria and Iraq of 5 000 active fighters — and probably at least a similar amount laying low.

HTS is a merger of what used to be al-Qaeda groups, which for a time took the name 'Jabhat al-Nusra' in Syria. Their relationship with the al-Qaeda central command is currently under much debate, but should not be underestimated. They are about 10 000 strong, funded by taxation, donations and kidnap for ransom, but are underfunded at about US\$8 million a year. With expenses of US\$19 million, they are dependent on expat finance from organizations to the tune of about US\$11 million.

JNIM is the al-Qaeda central merger in the Sahel of the former AQIM Sahara branch, Katibat Macina, and Ansar Dine and Al-Mourabitoun. They have been very active recently, attacking UN forces in Mali from neighbouring countries. JNIM are funded by revenue from cigarette smuggling, drugs and other taxation forms, extortion, possibly migrant taxation and kidnapping for ransom. Their income range is likely to be in the range of US\$18 million to US\$35 million. Kidnapping for ransom provides the major chunk of their funding, at US\$8 million in 2017 alone. Their strength is estimated to be at about 3 500 to 4 500 fighters.

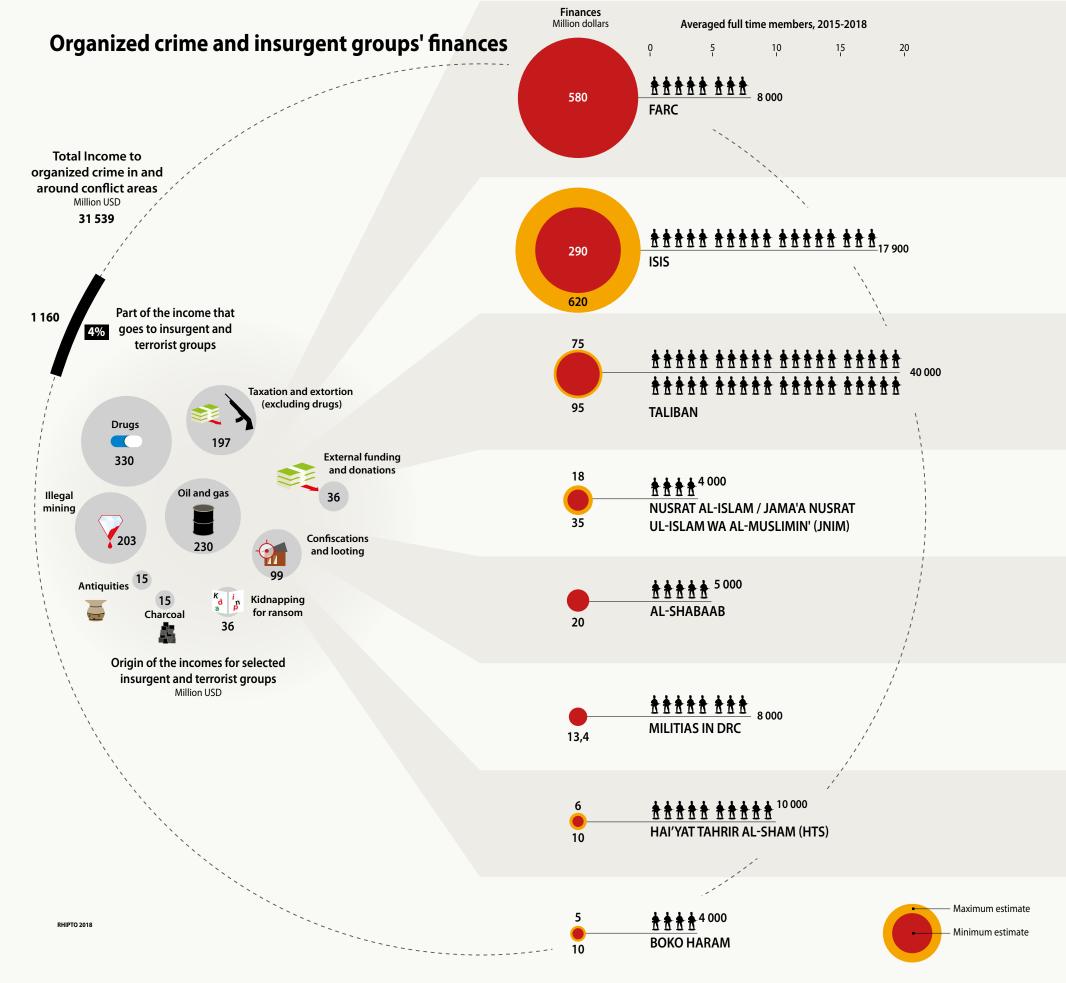
The **Taliban's** roughly 40 000 full-time members control or influence at least 13% of districts in Afghanistan (see Chapter 10). Their funding sources are highly disputed but are believed to include taxation of the biggest cash crop in the country, opium. The 2017 poppy crop was 9 000 metric tonnes. The Taliban are able to tax 60% of this crop at rate of 1.125 kg per hectare and US\$52-US\$155 per kilogram for an estimated 221.4 tonnes of opium from the entire crop, worth a total of between US\$11.5 million and US\$34.3 million. In addition, they are funded by taxation of transportation at checkpoints, but this is very hard to quantify without specific intelligence. Their funding from Pakistan is also very well documented, although precise figures are difficult to come by. 129 Given the expenses incurred by maintaining a permanent force of 40 000, with another 20 000 out of the country, and ambitions to make savings towards governance in future, it is likely that the group's annual funding would need to be in the US\$50 million to US\$100 million range (and probably closer to US\$100 million), where one-third comes from opium, amounting to a total annual funding of US\$75-95 million.

Boko Haram has suffered serious setbacks following Nigerian military offensives supported by a joint task force from neighbouring countries. Their fighting strength has dwindled to about 4 000, which is further weakened by their split into two factions in 2016, one led by Abubakar Shekau and the other by Abu Musab al-Barnawi. Shekau is on the run and is striking back against civilian targets using suicide bombers, increasingly children. Barnawi is based around Lake Chad and is slowly building up military capacity and attacking military targets. Barnawi remains loyal to Boko Haram's allegiance to Islamic State. The group's income is reckoned to be no more than US\$5-10 million a year, mainly from extortion, donations made by individuals, charities and groups like AQIM, kidnapping for ransom and bank robberies, as well as taxing migrants and human traffickers.

Al Shabaab remain a significant threat in Somalia, with their most violent attack to date happening in Mogadishu in October 2017, which killed over 300. They were responsible for killing over 4 500 people in 2017. Their current strength (as of 2018) is about 5 000 fighters, compared with about 250 Islamic State combatants in Somalia. Their estimated revenue from charcoal is currently about US\$10 million per year, but this is down dramatically from 2012 when they were making US\$38-56 million. 130 Al-Shabaab for various reasons imposed their own ban on the trade in charcoal in their own area, but after about a year they returned to charcoal as a revenue source. The shift back was possibly due to their having found that alternative income sources proved both resource-intensive to collect and less fruitful. In addition to their charcoal income, al-Shabaab probably make another US\$10 million from other forms of illicit taxation. Just over 40% of their income is spent on salaries, and the rest for other costs, including transportation, ammunition, food, training camps, religious education and bribes.

FARC, now officially disbanded, numbered about 8 000 at the time they disarmed and became a political movement, but also had a very large number of part-time supporters in various functions. Today. about 10 000 of them have accepted the peace process, whereas about 2 500 did not or went roque and joined various criminal activities, including an ex-FARC mafia network running drugs. Their income, calculated in 2015, but likely to be similar in 2017 at the time of the disbandment, was made up as follows: about US\$267 million a year from the cocaine trade, heroin (US\$5 million), marijuana (US\$30 million), cattle taxation (US\$4.5 million), extortion of businesses (US\$76.8 million a year) and illegal mining (US\$200 million), giving a total of US\$580 million in 2015, of which about US\$200 million was taken by corrupt commanders. At the time of their disbandment, the group had declared assets of US\$332 million, believed by some to be as high as US\$580 million if one includes drugs and illegal mining. This figure excludes the group's overseas assets.













Conclusion: The cost of war – environmental crime surges as threat finance for war profiteers

If one looks beyond groups designated as terrorist organizations to include regular organized crime that occurs in and around conflict, the scale of criminal economies is in the range of US\$24 billion to US\$39 billion by turnover, although profits are far lower. Threat finance revenue to terrorism and major insurgencies represents only about 4% of the total illicit finance in or near areas of conflict. 131 Despite their high profile, such armed groups operate within an environment where exponentially higher incomes go to transnational organized crime. The armed groups take part in these activities, and feed off the income streams, but they are not the dominant financial players.

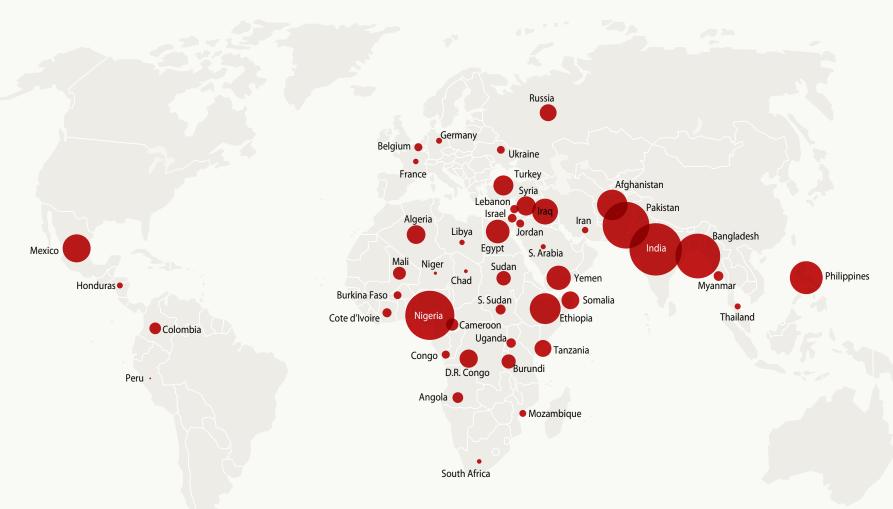
Powerful elites engaged in organized crime gain from sustaining conflicts and fund non-state armed groups, which undermines the rule of law and good governance. This, in turn, enables criminal elites to benefit from instability, violence and lack of enforcement and, hence, subsequent exploitation of illicit flows during conflict.

Strengthening information and analysis is essential to be able to prevent, disrupt and defeat, before it is too late, both violent armed groups and the organized-criminal actors that provide these armed groups (and themselves) with an environment of impunity and instability.

In order to ensure early prevention and intervention in conflict, it is therefore imperative to forcefully address the role of organized crime and illicit flows in benefiting non-state armed groups and the powerful elites engaged in criminal activity.

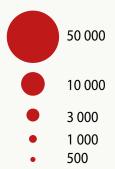


Children living in conflict



Number of children living in conflict zones

Thousands, by country, 2016



Conflict and disasters impact 535 million children and a total of over 2 billion people



One in four children in the world live in countries affected by conflict or disaster, often without access to medical care, quality education, proper nutrition and protection

Footnotes

- Taxation of migration is not included here because the empirical basis is too thin to be able to accurately calculate what portion it forms of the seven big groups' funding. Other armed groups, particularly in Libya, are making very large incomes from this, but that is largely outside the realm of the seven.
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