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Sarah Champion MP, Chair International Development Committee House of Commons, London

Senator James E. Risch, Chairman United States Senate Committee on Foreign Relations Congress of the United States of America, Washington, DC

International Accountability Demand Letter

Dear Parliamentarians and Members of Congress,

On the thirtieth anniversary of the collapse of the Somali state in 1991, the international donor community has spent over USD 60 billion on assistance to Somalia. Yet, today the country is on the brink of civil war. Having abandoned the prospect of universal suffrage through one-person-one-vote, if what is called an "election" is to be convened it may well produce multiple presidents—as has already happened in the Federal Member States (FMS). Now entering its fourth decade as a failed state, Somalia remains trapped in a humanitarian and insecurity quagmire, while the road to development has long since disintegrated into corruption. Corruption was once a Somali business, now it defines the Somali-international interface. Meanwhile, generations of foreign diplomats, United Nations staff and aid workers have constructed the Myth of Somali Progress to advance their own interests. USD 60 billion was spent on international self-interest that tolerated theft, not on ameliorating the suffering of Somalis. Where did the money go?

This question is no longer one only for Somalis, in whose name the money was spent. As recent world events have struck at the home economies of donor governments, their tax paying populations have the prerogative to know where their money went. It is an offensive fallacy that the Western taxpaying worker transmitted funds to the Somali victim of war and hunger. At the best of times, these funds were consumed in the supply chain of middlemen, from the Western tax collectors to the policy makers to the bureaucrats and to the multilateral agencies and private contractors who thrived off the suffering of others. This criminal enterprise was packaged with lies and spin about help from the rich to the poor—deceitful public relations delivered by "communications" specialists paid from the very funds due to the poor.

Worse still is the crime of the use of public taxpayer funds to advance private business interests overseas under the cover of international assistance. Nowhere is this more evident than in the current scramble to control the petroleum resources of Somalia. The patterns of United Kingdom aid in Somalia, including security assistance, correlate to the locations of oil deposits in the country, not to the location of the needs of the Somali people. The United States Government in Somalia—its agencies divided and controlled either by self-promoting bureaucrats or officials on the payroll of an oil company or deliverers of mercenary services—has increasingly redirected its aid and security assets to oil rich areas of Somalia. The increased role of intelligence agencies in programming aid in such a way to secure financial interests has further robbed Somalis of their basic needs. The structuring of security assistance to secure oil interests has similarly undermined any meaningful effort to combat Al-Shabaab. The two countries most aggressively committing public funds to private interests in Somalia are this month suffering the highest coronavirus fatalities in the world, on the scale of thousands of deaths per day.

Even the much-heralded debt relief process, which should be aimed at alleviating poverty of Somalis, has been captured by external interests aggressively seeking to control Somalia's oil wealth through control of the national debt. This aggression extends to purposefully destabilizing oil rich areas of the country, like Lower Shabelle, to depopulate them for ease of access for petroleum exploitation—a situation analogous to other locations along the African coast, like northern Mozambique.

Needless to say, the Mutual Accountability Framework existing between donors and the Federal Government of Somalia has been a complete debacle. Introduced by the United Kingdom, no less, it was sure to undermine accountability and not to genuinely champion it.

Multilateral institutions have equally fallen prey to competition for oil, particularly by the United Kingdom and the oil interests that hijacked the United States Government for the purpose. The United Nations Assistance Mission in Somalia (UNSOM) was engineered and controlled for several years by the United Kingdom to ensure political outcomes supportive of petroleum contracting federally and in the FMS. The takeover of UNSOM by American oil interests that installed US diplomat James Swan as the UN Special Representative in pursuit of their agenda has annihilated definitively any semblance of UN impartiality or neutrality. Instead, the UN has been drawn into a program of methodical division of the Somali political landscape, in the FMS and now in Mogadishu. In this way, Somalia continues to be denied the aid given in its name, while what was left of its political independence has been unraveled to ensure the unavoidable surrender of its national resources to foreign predators.

Africa was in the way. The United Kingdom and the United States spearheaded through the UN Security Council a so-called "independent" assessment of the international presence in Somalia. It was a Trojan horse for the ejection of the African Union Mission in Somalia (AMISOM), which had borne the brunt of fighting Al-Shabaab for more than a decade. With the objective of replacing it with a security arrangement more sympathetic to their economic agendas, the United Kingdom and United States ensured the effort

exclusively focused on AMISOM. They excluded any consideration of the international political presence of UNSOM to avoid exposure of how they had used the UN mission for their purposes. It is unambiguous now that UNSOM has been an instrumental contributor to conflict in Somalia, and the mission should be withdrawn before the country is entirely engulfed in flames.

With the impoverishment of the national economies of what in the past have been the largest donors to Somalia—the European Union, the United Kingdom and the United States—and with their inability to prevent the deaths of their citizens or contribute to their financial needs, what drives the squeezing of these taxpayers for aid to Somalia? Since Somalis do not receive these funds, and since there has been no adequate accountability of such funds, why should the name of Somali suffering be exploited any further for foreign private interests?

In fact, on balance it is Somali resources, even if limited and unaccountable, that have been sustaining weak Somali institutions in piecemeal fashion more than has external aid. These Somali resources have largely been contributed by one clan, the Hawiye, shattering the notion of 'fiscal federalism'. Shared resources are an ideal Somalis strive for, but it is undermined by geographic clannism, endemic corruption, and the perpetual competition for international aid driving conflict now for thirty years.

Consequently, I am calling on the European Parliament, the Parliament of the United Kingdom and the Congress of the United States to initiate inquiries into their aid to Somalia, and to fully account for that aid with a view to determining whether that aid, drawn from public funds, has served the public interest either of Somalia or of the taxpayers providing those funds.

At present, the people of Somalia and the taxpayers of donor governments are both being exploited by private interests, through captured public institutions—national and international, at a time when neither can afford this.

Therefore, I am also calling on the African Heads of State to demand from Western parliaments an accounting of aid to Somalia, with a view to determining whether this aid has done more harm than good to the African continent.

I thank you for your attention,

Sufcerely Yours,

Abdirazak Fartaag Chief/Exegutive Officer

FRC Fartaag Research & Consulting

cc: African Heads of State

Algeria
Abdelmadjid Tebboune, President of Algeria

Angola João Lourenço, President of Angola

Benin Patrice Talon, President of Benin

Botswana Mokgweetsi Masisi, President of Botswana

Burkina Faso Roch Marc Christian Kaboré, President of Burkina Faso

> Burundi Évariste Ndayishimiye, President of Burundi

> > Cameroon
> > Paul Biya, President of Cameroon

Cape Verde
Jorge Carlos Fonseca. President of Cape Verde

Central African Republic Faustin-Archange Touadéra, President of the Central African Republic

> Chad Idriss Deby, President of Chad

Comoros Azali Assoumani, President of the Comoros

Congo-Brazzaville (Republic of the Congo)
Denis Sassou Nguesso, President of the Republic of the Congo

Congo-Kinshasa (Democratic Republic of the Congo)
Félix Tshisekedi, President of the Democratic Republic of the Congo

Djibouti President – Ismaïl Omar Guelleh, President of Djibouti

Egypt
Abdel Fattah el-Sisi, President of Egypt

Equatorial Guinea
Teodoro Obiang Nguema Mbasogo, President of Equatorial Guinea

Eritrea
Isaias Afwerki, President of Eritrea

Eswatini Monarch – Mswati III, King of Eswatini Ethiopia Sahle-Work Zewde, President of Ethiopia

Gabon
Ali Bongo Ondimba, President of Gabon

The Gambia
Adama Barrow, President of the Gambia

Ghana Nana Akufo-Addo, President of Ghana

Guinea
Alpha Condé, President of Guinea

Guinea-Bissau Umaro Sissoco Embaló, President of Guinea-Bissau

Ivory Coast Alassane Ouattara, President of the Ivory Coast

Kenya
Uhuru Kenyatta, President of Kenya

Lesotho Monarch – Letsie III, King of Lesotho

Liberia George Weah, President of Liberia

Libya Fayez al-Sarraj, Chairman of the Presidential Council of Libya

> Madagascar Andry Rajoelina, President of Madagascar

Malawi Lazarus Chakwera, President of Malawi

Mali Bah Ndaw, Interim President of Mali

Mauritania
Mohamed Ould Ghazouani, President of Mauritania

Mauritius
Pritvirajsing Roopun, President of Mauritius

Morocco Monarch – Mohammed VI, King of Morocco

Mozambique Filipe Nyusi, President of Mozambique Namibia Hage Geingob, President of Namibia

Niger
Mahamadou issoufou, President of Niger

Nigeria Muhammadu Buhari, President of Nigeria

Rwanda Paul Kagame, President of Rwanda

São Tomé and Principe Evaristo Carvalho, President of São Tomé and Principe

> Senegal Macky Sall, President of Senegal

Seychelles
Wavel Ramkalawan, President of Seychelles

Sierra Leone Julius Maada Bio, President of Sierra Leone

Somalia
Mohamed Abdullahi Mohamed, President of Somalia

South Africa Cyril Ramaphosa, President of South Africa

South Sudan Salva Kiir Mayardit, President of South Sudan

Sudan Abdel Fattah al-Burhan, Leader of the Sovereignty Council

Tanzania
President – John Magufuli, President of Tanzania

Togo Faure Gnassingbé, President of Togo

Tunisia President – Kais Saïed, President of Tunisia

Uganda Yoweri Museveni, President of Uganda

Zambia Edgar Lungu, President of Zambia

Zimbabwe Emmerson Mnangagwa, President of Zimbabwe