



August 6, 2019

The President
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Mr. President,

I am writing to you from one of those countries in Africa.

In August 2019, Jubaland—a Federal Member State of Somalia—is due to hold elections for a new Governor (often referred to as the President). I am writing to you both as a candidate for the position of Governorship of Jubaland State, as well as a defender of some semblance of a process that could be regarded as democratic under the current conditions in Somalia.

Few may actually disagree with your characterization of Somalia as one of those “countries whose governments are a complete and total catastrophe, the worst, most corrupt and inept anywhere in the world (if they even have a functioning government at all)”. We would agree with you that Somalia is “totally broken and crime infested”.

Today, however, I wish to inform you that it is two American individuals who are contributing more than any Somalis to the catastrophe, corruption, ineptitude, dysfunction, breakage and infestation of crime in Somalia.

Despite Western colonialism and then foreign intervention, manipulation, and coercion, Somalis must accept full responsibility for the state of their country. If Somalis are pitted one against the other to the benefit of outsiders, they have allowed this to happen and therefore have no excuse. It is equally true that if there are Americans aggressively disordering an already failed state, then those Americans are also responsible. Otherwise, it would be like turning Somali politics into a blood sport and blaming the contestants for bestial behavior.

As bad as conditions have been for nearly three decades, suddenly the country has taken a turn for the worse—if that was even possible. Why?

At present, it is the fixed perception of Somalis generally, inside the country and throughout the global diaspora, that the current United States Ambassador to Somalia, Donald Yamamoto, is a rogue actor operating outside of any stated policy and pursuing a separate agenda. More quickly than any diplomat in recent memory, he has earned the loathing of Somalis across all clans, whose hearts and minds are unified in nothing but opposition to this man. His word is the antithesis of trust, because he has pitted the Federal Government against the Federal Member States, the Federal Member States against the Federal Government, clan against clan, and Somali against Somali. His aim is not peace, but oil, even if it means more war, in Somalia or across international boundaries.

It is a similarly fixed perception amongst Somalis everywhere that his accomplice, James Swan, the United Nations Special Representative of the Secretary-General and a former United States Government official, is a wholly illegitimate actor in Somalia. A UN veneer does not cover his role of delivering American threats on behalf of the American ambassador. Instead, any semblance of UN neutrality and good faith is shredded. Perhaps mercifully the ambiguous role of the UN Assistance Mission in Somalia is finally laid bare as an umbrella under which to manipulate politics to facilitate oil concessions.

Together, these two American individuals are employing all measures to prevent a political process that could in any way be labeled an "election", let alone a free and fair one, in Jubaland. The model has already been deployed in elections in the South West State of Somalia last year, in which a President was installed by military force. It is looking like the same model will be used in Jubaland.

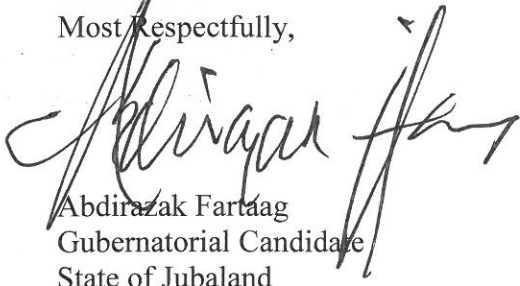
Meanwhile, Al-Shabaab is on the rise. In recent weeks, and indeed as I write this letter, the number and scale of attacks have increased dramatically. More significantly, these attacks have become tools of political violence and correspond to the locations where the contest for control of Somalia's oil deposits is playing out. We are no longer in a war of terror or a war on terror, but a competition for resources, plain and simple, in which terrorism has become one of many orchestrated tactics.

Whereas the US was once against corruption in Somalia, now it is using corruption at the American taxpayers' expense for the sake of political manipulation. Whereas the US was dedicated to fighting terrorism in Somalia, now US forces at the American taxpayers' expense are deployed to influence Somali political outcomes and to secure the shape of oil deposits in Somalia. Whereas the US provided aid in Somalia to ameliorate suffering, now that aid at the American taxpayers' expense is a tool for fueling factional competition that causes ever more suffering.

It is obvious now, Mr. President, that the role of the United States, and with it the United Nations—or you might say a "failing United Nations"—has changed not for the better of Americans or Somalis, but for the worse. It is not clear to anyone if, Mr. President, this has been at your direction.

Therefore, on behalf of other candidates standing for Jubaland elections, on behalf of Somalis of all clans, and frankly on behalf of the American taxpayer, I appeal to you to recall your Ambassador to Somalia and send American representation that is a constructive force for Somalia, the region, and the genuine interests of the American people.

Most Respectfully,



Abdirazak Fartaag
Gubernatorial Candidate
State of Jubaland

cc: **Mohamed Abdullahi Mohamed**, The President of the Federal Government of Somalia
Vladimir Putin, The President of the Russian Federation
Xi Jinping, The President of the People's Republic of China
Recep Tayyip Erdogan, The President of Turkey
Abdel Fattah el-Sisi, The President of Egypt and The Chairperson of the African Union
Yoweri Museveni, The President of Uganda
Uhuru Kenyatta, The President of the Republic of Kenya
Pierre Nkurunziza, The President of Burundi
Ismail Omar Guelleh, The President of Djibouti
Paul Kagame, The President of the Republic of Rwanda
Hassan Ali Khaire, The Prime Minister of the Federal Government of Somalia
Narendra Modi, The Prime Minister of India
Abiy Ahmed Ali, The Prime Minister of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia

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