



European Somalia Association
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LETTER OF REQUEST

September 20, 2018

Mr. Abdirazak Fartaag
CEO, Fartaag Research & Consulting

Dear Mr. Fartaag,

On behalf of concerned Somalis anywhere and everywhere, and as requested by Somali communities in Finland, Kenya, Ethiopia, Uganda, Tanzania, Rwanda, Zambia, South Africa, Malaysia, the United Kingdom, the United States of America, Canada, France, Germany, Sweden, Norway, Denmark, and Australia, and across the European Union, I am writing to seek your assistance.

We write as taxpayers of the principal donor countries to Somalia, with full appreciation of the taxpayers in these countries not of Somali origin who make daily sacrifices without awareness of high expenditures in Somalia, and therefore we write with a special responsibility for ensuring accountability of such financial flows.

We write to follow up on the Open Letter of July 14th, 2018, sent to Ms. Federica Mogherini, the High Representative of the European Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy, regarding “No Money Without Accountability”, and in an effort to ensure concrete actions on accountability commitments undertaken in the Final Communiqué of the Somalia Partnership Forum of July 17th, 2018. We do so in the context of a country labeled the most corrupt in the world and in advance of the 18th International Anti-Corruption Conference to be convened in October 2018 in Copenhagen, Denmark.

We write as direct contributors to the Somali economy through remittances on the scale of billions of dollars, pounds and euros, to beneficiaries without the added costs of an aid machinery.

We write as holders of resources that are being mobilized for the next (s)electoral cycle in Somalia, which in scale dwarfs the kind of donor contribution given in 2016/17, but which is being mobilized again at the cost of universal suffrage and for an “inclusive” process that is a code word for the national Somali and international abandonment of One-Person-One-Vote. Anti-democratic donor assistance is no longer acceptable to us as taxpayers, and will now affect politics both in Somalia and in donor countries concerned

with such threats as criminal terrorism and illicit migration. We are in the process of engaging with our respective elected representatives and parliaments to revisit aid commitments to Somalia by informing a reordered set of priorities.

To this end, we wish to chart a critical path from our current financial and political investments to a more satisfactory outcome for the Somali population, in terms of accountable Government, accountable elections, accountable federalism, and accountable donors. A healthy Somalia is in the national interest of donor country taxpayers. **Yet, the national and international project in Somalia is failing.** The gap between falsehoods about progress projected by self-interested diplomats, bureaucrats and politicians, and the basic realities on the ground has become, quite honestly, surreal and laughable.

We have seen how a modest investment in your ongoing work as a champion against corruption, Mr. Fartaag, in the form of your latest documentary, "*White Elephant, White Feather: Patterns of Abuse of Western Aid in Somalia*" (at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=p1EgKt9YYxM>), has had a significant impact on awareness about mismanagement of taxpayers' money in Somalia, both inside the country and outside.

We have lost faith with far better financed organizations, like the United Nations (UNSOM, SEMG), World Bank, and IMF, who have all been willing to support and finance political exclusion and exchange a disingenuous debt clearing process for genuine public financial performance. We had little hope, and in retrospect rightly so, for the toothless Financial Governance Committee (FGC). We recognize, therefore, that in the absence of functioning and independent Somali national integrity institutions, we turn to you, Mr. Fartaag, for a reliably informed opinion about the Somali situation.

Therefore, if you are willing, we concerned Somalis, are formally requesting you to undertake investigations into the matters listed below:

- (1) We are alarmed by the emerging practice of the Somali Government undertaking "fake" anti-corruption campaigns as cover for attacking political opponents on the one-hand, and as misleading encouragement for foreign investment on the other. It is a matter of public record that the Somali Government has engaged the services of the U.S.-based Sonoran Policy Group. Other governments, including in Kenya, for instance, have also engaged Sonoran and are also engaging in the same dual-front practice. Therefore, we ask you to determine the nature and origin of the Somali Government's anti-corruption campaign, and what at this stage should be the shape of a genuine anti-corruption campaign.
- (2) In the context of the state of corruption in the Somali Government and the status of integrity of institutions, we ask you to update us on any non-disclosure agreement between the winner of the 2016/17 (s)electoral process and external interested parties, and to indicate what types of manipulation by these parties may have determined the outcome of the process, and what risks they pose in 2020.
- (3) An Economic Council has been established, and yet the members of this Council have all been named in the past for involvement in egregious cases of national

corruption. We ask that you provide a profile of the members of this Council and the cases of corruption with which they are publicly or otherwise associated.

- (4) Similarly, since you have admirably mapped the role of corrupt advisers to Somali authorities and the international community in Somalia, we request that you provide us with an update on the activities of individuals, such as the Canadian Hodan Osman, and Americans Mohamed Abdirizak and Abdusalam Omer, who have done such a public disservice to the country as to be considered “spoilers”. These individuals can no longer be allowed to exploit the space between Somali authorities and the international community for their personal benefit. This is the antithesis of public service. Public goods cannot be delivered without true public servants, and we further ask you to identify individuals with integrity that we can actively support for public appointments.
- (5) Like the “fake” anti-corruption campaign of the Somali Government, we are deeply troubled that the “New Partnership for Somalia Mutual Accountability Framework (MAF)” is continuing to divert attention away from genuine accountability in Somalia. It is known to be a device for self-promotion of a single individual. While it captures the word “accountability”, it occupies space and is purposefully obscuring real accountability of vested interests. It has profoundly failed any test of accountability. As if nothing had been learnt from the exclusion of the Somali population from the New Deal process, the MAF replicates an exclusive relationship between the international community and Somali Government officials. The MAF itself has not been subjected to public scrutiny to determine if its priorities resonate with the Somali population. The MAF is irrelevant at best, it masks the real interests at play, and is an obstacle to a genuine accountability agenda in Somalia. Therefore, we ask you to help us identify the steps towards a more meaningful accountability framework for the country.
- (6) Finally, we ask that you identify the critical issues that we should be considering as we move forward in terms of identifying the best financial and political investments we and all interested parties can make in the coming months and years.

Mr. Fartaag, we thank you for your consideration, and look forward to your response. Should you accept the scope of this Letter of Request, we will be in further contact, but would like to receive your substantive responses by October 2018.

As a matter of financial and other support to political projects in Somalia, we expect the Somali President, Prime Minister, Senate Speaker, and Parliamentary Speaker, not only to personally cooperate with your efforts, but where appropriate to instruct Government to extend all necessary assistance to you as well.

Sincerely Yours,

Mahamad Caalim
Former Diplomat, Chairman and Founder of the
European Somalia Association



Cc: H.E. Mohamed Abdullahi Mohamed, **President of Somalia**
H.E. Hassan Ali Khayre, **Prime Minister of Somalia**
Hon. Abdi Hashi Abdullahi, **Speaker of Somali Senate**
Hon. Mohamed Mursal Abdirahman, **Speaker of Somali Parliament**

Council of Inter-State Cooperation (CiC)

H.E. Abdiweli Mohamed Ali Gaas, **Puntland President**
H.E. Mohamed Abdi Waare, **HirShabelle President**
H.E. Ahmed Mohamed Islam, **Jubaland President**
H.E. Sharif Hassan Sheikh Adan, **South West President**
H.E. Ahmed Duale Geelle, **Galmudug President**

H.E. Paul Kagame, **President of Rwanda & Chairperson of the African Union**
H.E. Moussa Faki, **Chairperson of the African Union Commission**
H.E. Amb (Eng) Mahboub Maalim, **IGAD Executive Secretary**

Ms. Federica Mogherini, **High Representative of the European Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy**

António Guterres, **Secretary-General of the United Nations**
Nicholas Haysom, **United Nations Secretary-General Special Representative for Somalia**
Ms. Huguette Labelle, **Chair of the International Anti-Corruption Conference Council**

Ms. Tarja Fernández, **Finnish Ambassador to Somalia**
Maj. Gen. (Rtd.) Lucas Kyonze Tumbo, **Kenyan Ambassador to Somalia**
Prof. Sam Turyamuhika, **Ugandan Ambassador to Somalia**
Mr. Jamaludin Mustafa Omar, **Ethiopian Ambassador to Somalia**
Mr. Dayib Dubbad Roble, **Djiboutian Ambassador to Somalia**
Mr. David Concar, **UK's Ambassador to Somalia**
Mr. Donald Yamamoto, **US Ambassador to Somalia**
Mr. David Angell, **Canada's Ambassador to Somalia**
Mr. Antoine Sivan, **French Ambassador to Somalia**
Ms. Jutta Gisela Frasch, **German Ambassador to Somalia**
Mr. Andreas Von Uexküll, **Swedish Ambassador to Somalia**
Mr. Victor Rønneberg, **Norwegian Ambassador to Somalia**
Ms. Mette Knudsen, **Denmark Ambassador to Somalia**
Mr. Geoff Tooth, **Australian Ambassador to Somalia**