

SOMALIA: BALANCE SHEET OF ONE-YEAR ETHIOPIAN OCCUPATION

- MASSS GENOCIDE, DESTRUCTION, DISPLACEMENT AND STARVATION

BY Omar Salad
oselmi@hotmail.com

In this report I gather, narrate, explain and comment about the facts and figures of the balance sheet of the one-year Ethiopian invasion and occupation's war mass genocide, war crimes and crimes against humanity and assisted its pick-aback TFG with military, financial, political, diplomatic and information assistance and support by different international actors (governments, regional and international organisations). The content of the report is made up of the following sections:-

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1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 Ethiopian Occupation of Somalia is Black Page History

As remembered, in blatant violation of the UN Charter and UN Security Council's Resolution 1725 (6 December 2006) and AU Charter, the Ethiopian regime invaded Somalia and conquered its capital Mogadishu in December 2006. After weeks of skirmishes between the Somali Council of Islamic Courts (SCIC) fighters and the Ethiopian piggy-back 'Somali Transitional Federal Government' (TFG) militias along the Buur Hakaba and Daynunay road; from the 20th of the same

month the Ethiopian army, assisted by these militias launched its full-scale aggressive and illegal invasion on Somalia first attacking on the positions of the SCIC fighters at Daynuunay and Idaale (two villages south-east and west of Baidoa). On 23rd the Ethiopian ground forces supported by helicopter and jet-fighters flying from Galkayo airport helped by some pro-TFG militias invaded the SCIC fighters' positions in the central regions along the main Bandiiradley-Beletweyne road. After a week of fierce fighting and heavy casualties on both sides, the SCIC led heroic resistance fighters took a tactical retreat after being outnumbered and out-gunned by the invading army. Thus, on the 28th of the month, with zeal of centuries old vengeance and pride the enemy army marched into Mogadishu - the capital of Somalia, under the cover-name of the treacherous TFG. This was a deeply humiliating, painful, and black day in the history of Somalia. But the worst was still to come, namely, premeditated mass genocide, mass displacement, massive destruction of the city and its economy, and mass collective punishment of starvation of the population to cause the maximum genocide and displacement of the estimated one million and half population of Mogadishu. This black page must have been challenged, erasing from our history and re-written with citations of victory. That was why such challenge or the national resistance against these inimical and humiliating occupation started within a couple of weeks by Somali heroic fighters - a national and patriotic resistance which has been growing from strength to strength during this one year occupation (December 2006 to December 2007) while dealing heavy blows with the enemy and bogging it down in five to six kilometres area in Mogadishu - a defeat and quagmire it never imagined.

In early January 2007 Ethiopian Prime Minister, Meles Zenawi, announced that he would withdraw his troops from Somalia within few weeks and it is now over a year without any troop pullout or timetable for it. In this connection, On 3rd December 2006 before the invasion took place, in my article '**Foreign Intervention Will Unify the Somalis and Widen the Conflict**', I predicated that Somalis would put a fierce national resistance through guerrilla warfare tactics, the enemy would suffer from heavy losses, in response it would destroy the city and economic mainstays (especially the main Barakaha Market - the main financial and stock centre) with bombardments, the conflict would spill over to the whole region, and then the enemy would be defeated. Exactly almost all these predictions have happened or are happening.

1.2 Ethiopian Occupation 'Troop Surge' And New Barbaric Killing Methods

Imitating the American 'Troop Surge' in Iraq, at the end of October and beginning of November 2007 the Ethiopian regime has deployed more thousands of troops with heavy war machinery (tanks, field artillery) to Mogadishu in addition to the 50,000 or so troops already there bringing the total occupation troops to 56,000 men ⁽¹⁾ to choke the city with troops and to replace the displaced population, terrorise and subdue the remaining residents by sheer numbers and brute force. The newly deployed troops came up with new terrorising but efficient tactics of speeding up the mass genocide alongside the daily indiscriminate bombardment on civilian areas, bullet spray on crowds in markets and on the streets, that include breaking into civilian homes and decapitating or slitting the throat with sharpened bayonets or daggers of anyone they find and sniping to kill innocent people at sight from roof tops or windows of the homes they evicted thousands of families. On 8-9/11/2007 over 100 people mostly women, children, elderly, sick and unarmed men in Hawlwadag, Heliwaa, Wardhiigley districts and other parts of the city were slain in such barbaric way ⁽²⁾. Also enemy troops increased the dose of deliberate bombarding on residential civilian areas which never stopped. In these egregious methods hundreds of civilians including the entire members of families have been wiped out. For example, on 9/11/2007 nine family members were exterminated with artillery shelling. The reason they resort to such despicable genocidal methods is out of desperate and sensation of defeat to terrorise the remaining population to give up or flee. Again on 13/12/2007 Ethiopian troops bombarded the main Mogadishu **Bakaraha Market at its busiest hour killing 42 and injuring 55 civilians with mortal wounds. To distort this deadly incident and mislead world opinion, the Ethiopian government responded that they killed 75 seven members of a 'terrorist group' called 'Shabab'**. This is new cheap tactics on the part of Ethiopian government to massacre Somali civilians in the name of some underground elements which they cannot lay hands on. What has been going on before, during these months and after is a calculated Rwanda-style genocide. Reports say that these new butcher troops are those who carried out similar massive war crimes and human rights violations in the Somali inhabited region under Ethiopia (Ogaden).

This predatory, destroyer, killer, rapist, looter and scavenger Ethiopian occupation is a proxy war that the Americans actively support in military, political, economic, diplomatic and legal terms. So the question arises, where do such barbaric genocide and war crimes fit into the democratic freedoms and human rights values that the Americans and the rest of the western world profess and preach to the world? The American Administration and its diplomats dealing with Somali affairs do not obviously care or feel the evilness of these horrendous crimes committed and still being

committed Ethiopian troops and humanitarian catastrophe they created. On the contrary, they are reticent, show no human mercy about that, deny the facts when asked, evade from answering questions, working behind the scenes and conspiring with Ethiopians and others in conducting this devastating war. This is an ostrich-like tactics that convinces none and infuriates the Somalis. The stated US objectives were to find **'three US wanted foreign terrorists hide in Somalia'**, fight alleged **'Islamic terrorism and 'Al-qaeda presence in Somalia'** which **'threaten neighbouring countries'** and **'world security'** and **'help the TFG to establish security in the country'**. What were the declared Ethiopian objectives? While concurring with these US assertions for reasons of political convenience, as I argued in my 12 January 2007 article: **'Ethiopian Dreams to Conquer Somalia Came Through'** the Ethiopian regime's invasion and occupation had and still has ulterior motives: making revenge by carrying out mass genocide mass economic destruction and mass displacement as it did since then; division of Somalia into many weak vassal regions in perpetual conflict and under Ethiopian control and lastly to annex sea outlet from Somali coast (most probably the **Loyado-Zeila-Lughaye-Bulhar-Berbera coastline**). Therefore Ethiopian regime's intention was neither to help Somali TFG to assert its control in the country nor to withdraw its troops in any short and given time nor to cease with its military interventions and exclusive manipulations of Somali politics to the detriment of Somali nation unless the Somalis unite and compel these troops to go home and foil these sinister designs against their country with or without international help.

2. CHANGING WORLD OPINION AND WORST HUMANITARIAN CRISIS

2.1 Changing World Opinion

In the main the western media agencies and reporters are still supportive of the 'War on terror' in Somalia by blocking or sanitising the news about the ongoing war crimes and deflect the blame from the Ethiopian occupation and its TFG piggy-back, and portray the Somali insurgents or freedom fighters as the bogeyman. For example, AFP wrote **'The deadly insurgency has forced hundreds of thousands of people to leave Mogadishu in recent months'** (3). However some of the western reporters, academics, commentators and prominent individuals changed their attitudes and views on such occupation and its gross humanitarian law and human rights violations. Here are a few examples of the many comments and opinions about the horrible crimes and failure of the Ethiopian occupation authorities and their client TFG. The Economist wrote **'Somalia is still a failed state'** (4). The Guardian

revealed 'Britain should reassess its support for a warlord who has brought mayhem and havoc back to the streets of Mogadishu.' 'Eleven months after inviting the Ethiopian army into Somalia, the transitional federal government - which is neither transitional, nor federal nor government - is wreaking savage revenge on a population whether or not it shelters insurgents'. 'People who have fled the Capital this year and it amounts to humanitarian disaster that rivals or exceeds Darfur' The paper continued 'Somalia's transitional president, Abdullahi Yusuf, a British- and US-backed warlord, wants the city to empty (5³).

Pope Paul Benedict 'appealed to those who have responsibility, at the local and international level, to seek peaceful solutions to bring relief to that dear population' (6) **Steve Grawshaw, Human rights law, wrote** 'key governments are ignoring the rampant human rights abuses in Somalia at their own peril. Their inactions is catastrophe for victims today, and it's also likely to radicalise younger Somalis and create tomorrow's fighters.' (7) Former high British official (8) declared 'The core problems is that Somalis were were appalled to see Ethiopians troops in the streets of their capital. What can of government, they asked, needed to the protection of a foreign protection force against its own citizens?' and concluded 'We cannot say we were not warned. Six months ago the UN's head of humanitarian affairs highlighted the deplorable conditions of the displaced. He observed that more people had been displaced from Mogadishu in previous two months than anywhere else in the world, and that a political solution was the only way to resolve the crisis. Otherwise I fear the worst'. The worst has come now come. What are we waiting for?

Dr. David Shinn thought 'a lot people are surprised that the Ethiopians are still trying to figure out how to get out of Somalia. I'm convinced they'd very much like to like but feel they they're sort of suck. ... The situation on the round is very difficult

and has not really improved ... Because I don't think there anyone has very serious about trying to achieve a political solution on any side of the issue' (9).

2.2 Worst Humanitarian Crisis and Concern by Humanitarian and Human Rights Agencies

During 2007, the UN Secretary-General, Security Council, the US, AU and International Contact Group on Somalia remained silent on the Ethiopian invasion and occupation and its war crimes and humanitarian disaster it created in with client Somali TFG collaborators. Only some EU member states, individual officials, local and international humanitarian and human rights organisations spoke about such crimes and humanitarian catastrophe. Some UN agencies of UNICEF, WFP and OCHA have also spoken out about the humanitarian crisis often following the lead, in most cases, of the other Non-INGOs and human rights organisations.

After the March-April 2007 Ethiopian army's massive deliberate and indiscriminate bombardments on civilian built-up residential areas that caused the greatest exodus of IDPs (internally displaced persons) from Mogadishu (**over 500,000**), six INGOs (Oxfam, MSF, Care, UNICEF, etc.) based in Nairobi raised their concern for the humanitarian disaster that had unfolded. In the first week of May

2007, Richard Hands, an EU official based in Nairobi, Kenya, was the first to lift the veil of secrecy off the war crimes going on in Mogadishu by writing to his Nairobi Chief 'there are strong grounds to believe that the Ethiopian government and the transitional federal government of Somalia and the African Union (peacekeeping) Force Commander, possibly also including the African Union Head of Mission and other African Union officials have through commission or omission violated the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court . . . In regard to the above mentioned potential violations of international law there arise urgent questions of responsibility and potential complicity in the commission of war crimes by the European and its partners'.

Prompted by NGOs' alarming reports and this revelation of war crimes by EU official, the UN Under-Secretary-General Humanitarian Affairs after his visit to Mogadishu on the earlier day declared on 13/5/2007 that 'In terms of numbers and access to them Somalia is a worse displacement crisis than Darfur or Chad or anywhere else this year (10). This was the first serious UN disclosure to the world of the humanitarian crisis in Somalia that was deliberately covered up by the Ethiopian government and its TFG collaborators. Since then, the Somali humanitarian situation has been worsening beyond description. John Holmes' breaking statement was coincided by the Human Rights Watch (USA) 131 page Report on 14 August 2007 entitled '**Somalia: shell-Shocked: Civilians Under Siege in Mogadishu**' that meticulously registered on daily basis the facts and figures of the genocide, war crimes committed and human rights violations by the said occupation troops and their client TFG militias. This report was a bomb bombshell which divulged the hitherto closely guarded secrecy of these war crimes and the resultant appalling humanitarian situation.

To give you some idea of the contents of that voluminous report and the awful details of genocide and other war crimes contained therein, the Report displays on its first page a map of the city of Mogadishu with images of rockets and field artillery shells flying over the city: BM-21 Multiple-rocket launchers (Katyusha), M-30 and D-30 field artillery shells, T55 tank shells, 120m mortar shells, etc - types of weapons forbidden by international humanitarian law to be deployed and used on civilian areas and targets which have been rained (and still rain) deliberately and indiscriminately on many built-up civilian residential districts of Mogadishu by the Ethiopian troops. The Report also provides the details of daily human casualties (deaths and injuries) and material damages especially the intentional attacks and destruction on the most modern and well equipped hospitals (e.g. Al-Araft, Al-Hayat, and SOS) which put them beyond use. The Report says 'Many wounded people had to wait until days to even try to access hospitals, sometimes in wheel-barrows, donkeys, or carried by family, friends and neighbours' and 'most patients die when wounded, and the worst of it is that patients can't make it to the hospital after being wounded'. These hospitals cared the health of the majority of the nearly two million Mogadishu residents especially at a critical time when thousands of wounded patients needed them most. It also provides details of wounded civilian

patients either taken out of the hospitals and disappeared or hindered to have access to medical care at the remaining three hospitals (Medina, Dayniile, Keysaney) owing to military interferences and disruption of the work of these hospitals.

The Report bluntly accuses the Ethiopian government and its troops, the TFG leadership and its militias for committing genocide and war crimes while it extends the accusation to the insurgents (national resistance fighters) understandably for reasons of neutrality and balance although the insurgents have every inherent and legal right to resist against Ethiopian occupation troops and their Somali TFG lackeys by defending their national independence, faith, lives, properties, families and dignity. The report details arbitrary arrests and detention of civilians without due legal process, rampant shoot to kill, summary executions, torture, rape, extortion, ransom, looting and robbing and destroying private properties. Finally, the Report made many recommendations to the various parties involved from which I take only one or two short paragraphs for each of the parties concerned for reasons of space:-

a) to the TFG, to 'immediately issue clear public orders to all its security forces to cease attacks and mistreatment on civilians and looting their of civilians properties, and ensure that detainees have access to family members, legal counsel, and adequate medical care while in detention. And 'Ensure humanitarian assistance to all civilians in need, including by facilitating the access of humanitarian agencies to all displaced persons in and around Mogadishu.'

b) to the Government of Ethiopia: to 'cease all attacks that deliberately target civilians and cease using means and methods of combat that cannot discriminate between civilians and military objectives. Civilian objects such as schools, hospitals, and homes must not be attacked unless currently being used for military purposes.'

c) to the Groups comprising the Insurgency: to 'cease all attacks on civilian and civilian objects, including government officials and employees not directly participating in the hostilities. Cease all attacks that cause indiscriminate or disproportionate harm to civilians or civilian objects, including attacks in crowded civilian areas, such as busy roads, village or city streets, markets, or other public gathering places.'

d) to the EU, EC, UN Security Council, AU, AL, and USA: to 'publicly condemn the serious abuses of international human rights and humanitarian law committed by all parties to the conflict in Mogadishu in 2007, and call on the Ethiopian government and the Transitional federal Government of Somalia to take all necessary steps, including public action, to ensure that their forces cease abuses against civilians.' And 'Support measures to promote accountability and impunity for serious crimes in Somalia, including through the establishment of an independent United Nations panel of experts to investigate and map serious crimes and recommend further measures to improve accountability.'

Did any one of these parties heed or take any step about these clear and cut recommendations? No, Absolutely. Contrariwise, the writer of the Report, Mr. Ken Roth, Director of Human Rights Watch (USA), was strongly criticized and his report was denied and dismissed as an exaggeration by the Ethiopian regime, TFG leaders and supporting

powers for divulging the closely guarded secrecy of such horrendous crimes. But on the other hand, his report was so much appreciated by the Somali people, quoted and publicised by the media that have been hitherto supportive or silent about the crimes and humanitarian tragedy. The Report earned Mr. Roth respect and admiration for his clear conscience and courage for standing up and speaking out against such commission and cover-up of such grave war crimes and crimes against humanity. Critically speaking about the UN Security Council's failure of duty the author of the Report said '**The UN Security Council's indifference to this crisis has only added to the tragedy**'.

There are other INGOs which break the silence and lift the veil off this conspiratorial secrecy surrounding this war and its still ongoing horrible crimes and ever escalating humanitarian catastrophe which now reached unheard and untold levels. The courageous and human rights minded INGOs that speak out and alert the disastrous humanitarian situation from time to time include the MSF. On 23/8/2007, Christopher Fourier, President of MSF International, who after having visited and surveyed the medical facilities in Mogadishu and how they were coping with the abysmal medical and healthcare situation in Mogadishu, revealed, among other deplorable things, some hidden facts concerning medical facilities and staff in Mogadishu such as that **there were five hospitals, 53 doctors and 800 hospitals beds before the occupation which have been reduced to only two hospitals, 250 beds and 13 doctors in the capital city⁽¹¹⁾. Because the three main and best hospitals (Al-Arafat, Al-Hayat, and SOS) were bombarded, looted and rendered useless while the doctors and hundreds of nurses and support medical workers fled from the city or went into hiding for their own safety.**

The worst humanitarian situation has been worsening to unprecedented level. On 17 October 2007 the TFG militia (of course under Ethiopian orders) forcibly detained the WFP representative in Mogadishu responsible for feeding the displaced starving families to provoke the WFP to suspend the food distribution which the latter did in protest and later on 23rd the officer was released by UN pressure. During one week of his detention and the following one **75,000** people in acute and severe humanitarian need in Afgooye Road makeshift camps and many other thousands in similar need in Mogadishu went without food while many of them must have died for starvation.

Another round of Ethiopian bombardments on the civilian people triggered new wave of **90,00 IDPS** bringing Mogadishu IDPs number to **850,000** according to UN October 2007 report and country-wide **1.5 million** people in severe need. This led to 40 INGOs involved in Somalia and based in Nairobi to issue on 31 October 2007 this alarming statement warning of the worst humanitarian phase that

Somalia had then entered by stating, among other things, 'There is an unfolding humanitarian catastrophe in South Central Somalia. Tens of thousands of people are currently fleeing violence in Mogadishu adding to the 335,000 people already needing immediate lifesaving assistance in Mogadishu and the Shabelle regions.' 'Given the severe security and access constraints, it is impossible to obtain more precise figures of the magnitude of the crisis. However, all indicators point to a deterioration of the already, dire humanitarian situation. Over 400,000 people fled violence and insecurity in Mogadishu earlier this year. After a relative lull, fighting between TFG/Ethiopian troops and anti-government forces violence has now increased again triggering another mass exodus from the city.' And these INGOs concluded their statement by calling upon the 'international community and all parties to the present conflict have a responsibility to protect civilians, to allow the delivery of the humanitarian aid and to respect humanitarian space and the safety of humanitarian work.'

Again the humanitarian situation developed from worst to the worst level in the whole world when during the first two weeks of November 2007 another spree of Ethiopian troops' deliberate and indiscriminate bombardments on the city displaced **110,000** making **the total IDPs from Mogadishu from February to November 2007 to 1,000, 000 IDPs according to UN report** (that Somalis think an underestimation). The problem that creates this worst humanitarian crisis in the world is not only the numbers of people in dire need but that they cannot be reached and provided the necessary relief aid by the local and international humanitarian agencies due to extreme insecurity and obstruction by the Ethiopian occupation force and its auxiliary client TFG militias. That is why the UN and INGOs officials increasingly raise their voices of concern and frustration about this out-of-hand humanitarian crisis which nothing or little could be done. Worried about this unbearable situation and unable to deliver relief aid to the starving over one million Somalis because of deliberate obstruction and extreme insecurity and bleak prospect for reconciliation and peace in Somalia, John Holmes, the UN Under-secretary-General for Humanitarian Affairs, said 'the window of opportunity seems to be closed' (11). 8/11/2007 Eric Laroche, the UN Humanitarian Co-ordinator for Somalia with other humanitarian officials travelled to Baidoa and met the 'TFG institutions' (president, speaker, cabinet, 'MPS) confined there under Ethiopian guard and control, and begged them 'please have mercy for their own people dying for hunger, take some steps to lift restrictions and create security environment for the aid to reach these starving people⁽¹²⁾ especially for **105,000** children of which **83,000** were 'acutely malnourished' and **13,500** where 'severely malnourished' back in September 2007⁽¹³⁾ who 'needed massive interventions' as they 'were at risk of death' especially in Middle and Lower Shabelle regions. On the Contrary, the 'MPs' criticised and accused the international agencies for doing nothing and ignoring and by-passing the TFG authorities to have a role in the aid distribution. This complaint of the 'MPs' and demand on many occasions by the TFG leaders that the relief aid should come by their consent and through them is nothing else but an intention to feed it with their clannish criminal militias and cash the rest in the market for their personal use while denying of and obstructing the relief aid from the IDPs and other needy people.

Again 18/11/2007 Eric Laroche, outpouring with frustration about the ever spiralling and fast deteriorating humanitarian situation and obstruction of relief aid by the Ethiopian occupation authority and TFG and the inaction by the involved powerful foreign states, lamented 'The worst humanitarian crisis in Africa may not be unfolding in Darfur,, but here' continuing 'The people here are hungry, exposed, sick and dying. And the few aid organisations are willing to brave a lawless, notoriously dangerous environment cannot keep up with their needs, like providing milk to the thousands of babies with fading heartbeats and bulging eyes. Many of these kids are going to die. We don't have the capacity to reach them.' He concluded with this note of complaint about the powers that be 'If this were happening in Darfur, there would be a big fuss. But Somalia has been a forgotten emergency for years (14).'

2.3 Somali Humanitarian Situation Surpasses Darfur.

The Somali humanitarian crisis in Mogadishu and south-central regions surpassed Darfur (in Sudan) humanitarian crisis seven months ago when on 13 May 2007, John Holmes, the UN Under-Secretary for Humanitarian Affairs, declared that 'In terms of numbers and access to them,, Somalia is a worse displacement than Darfur or Chad or anywhere else this year.' The following comparison of facts and figures between the Somali humanitarian crisis and Darfur clearly shows that the worst humanitarian crisis exists in Somalia than Darfur or any where else in the world:-

A) Darfur⁽¹⁵⁾.

- Humanitarian situation in the worst level second to Somalia;
- one billion of annual humanitarian aid budget;
- 10,000 aid workers;
- 26,000 AU/UN hybrid peace-keeping force;
- Malnutrition rate of 13%;
- Strong advocacy, political and moral support powerful western governments, UN and INGOs, think-tanks, superrich celebrates, **etc.**

B) Somalia⁽¹⁶⁾

- Humanitarian situation in the worst level;
- US\$275 million humanitarian aid budget in 2007 of which 72% have received (UN Report 1November -15 December 2007);
- AU Peace keeping of 1,600 (Ugandans) of a projected 8,000 force;
- 56,000 or so Ethiopian killer, displacer, destroyer, rapist, torturer, looter/robber, scavenger and barbaric occupier troops without accountability, transparency and with impunity;
- Malnutrition rate 19% (UN October 2007) to 21.5% (MSF) August 2007); and

- weak advocacy and support by the UN and INGOs and UN Security Council powerful western governments which either support the ongoing war crimes, condone or are silent about them.

3. ONE-YEAR BALANCE SHEET OF ETHIOPIAN OCCUPATION WAR CRIMES AND GRAVE HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS

3.1 Means and Methods Used For The Genocide

During the one year (December 2006-December 2007) the Ethiopian regime pre-planned aggressive and illegal invasion, the occupation force and its Somali client TFG militias have been using deliberately and indiscriminately heavy and medium artillery and small weapons to cause mass massacres, mass destruction of the city of Mogadishu and its economy, mass displacement, mass impoverishment, and mass starvation by obstructing internal and external relief aid as a collective punishment to maximise the revenge driven intent to kill and destroy as much as possible which acts constitute such horrible crimes - as mass genocide, war crimes and crimes against humanity. Below, I present some facts and figures - the 2007 balance sheet of Ethiopian Occupation forces war crimes assisted client the TFG militias:-

3.2 Direct Genocide

Table A shows some of the direct planned and deliberate genocide figures (not all but only those figures I could know from various sources) from 20 December 2006 to 31 December 2007 committed by the Ethiopian troops and their auxiliary TFG militias:-

Table A: Direct Method of Genocide By Deliberate Artillery, Bullets, etc.

Source	Killed	Injured	Disabled
In early January 2007 Ethiopian PM Meles declared that his army illegal and aggressive offensive invasion on Somalia killed from the defensive SCIC fighters totalling	3,000	4,000	N/A
On 31/12/2007 the Mogadishu based Elman Human Rights agency publicly announced Ethiopian troops and allied TFG Militia killed Somali civilians totalling	6,501 (17)	8,516(17)	8,436 (18)
Totals	9,501	12,516	8,436

3.3 First Indirect Method of Genocide

Table B below shows estimated figures of indirect genocide by destruction of the homes, properties and businesses and displacement of **one million (source: UN) from and within Mogadishu and another half million needy people in various regions - all of them at risk to die for lack food and diseases because of the destruction of their properties, homes and basic livelihoods and obstruction of local and foreign relief aid by the Ethiopian occupation forces and the client TFG militias.** Of out this one and half million needy people, the aid agencies (UNICEF, MSF) issued an alarm report in September 2007 that **105,000 under-five-year children were 'at risk to die for malnutrition. 83,000 of them 'acutely malnourished' and 13,500 were 'severely malnourished.'** These Somali under-five children and most of the other displaced needy older children and adults have the highest malnutrition rate in the world - **19% (UN) and 21.5% among the under five children (MSF) while world malnutrition threshold is 15%.** How many of such one and half million people in dire need died for preventable causes of starvation and lack of medical care during 2007 as a result of the Ethiopian occupation? Nobody knows. How many women aborted due to starvation, disease and trauma causes? Nobody knows either. At only one camp, i.e., Dr. Hawo Abdi's Care Hospital compound between Mogadishu and Afgooye which holds 24,000 people, **1,000 (a thousand) abortions** have been recorded in seven months of 2007. Then, how many abortions were there among the one million IDPS from Mogadishu or of the one and half country-wide people who have been denied of relief aid food and medication while **'a in State of Emergency Humanitarian and Acute Food and Livelihood Crisis 1'** (UN). The UN estimated that more than **200,000** people died in **Darfur** mostly for famine but did report how many people died in Somali during 2007 for preventable famine and disease as a result of the lethal Ethiopian invasion and occupation. But you can roughly estimate the annual death rate of this aforesaid **1.5 million** Somalis people in dire need and the **105,000** children 'at risk of death' of whom 'only 20 percent of them were getting the necessary food' as of 19 October 2007 (19) and have not had live-saving rescue plan. If we first take the number of **105,000 children** in such life and death situation in very unsanitary environment, without medical care and highly nutritious food rescue plan, a great number of them must have already died. Let us divide the said children into two categories: **83,000 'acutely malnourished'** children and second category **13,500 'severely malnourished'** children. If you make a low annual estimation rate of **20 per cent death rate** of category one (**83,000**) you get **16,600 deaths** and for a low annual estimation rate of **30 per cent death rate** for category two of **13,500** children you get you **4,050 deaths** with a total of the two categories being **20,650 deaths** during 2007. For the remaining **1,395,000** people 'Emergency Humanitarian and Acute Food and Livelihood Crisis 1' (UN), if you make low annual estimation rate of **10 per cent death rate** you get **195,000 deaths** of

adults and above five-year-old children during 2007. **Now add 20,650 deaths of under-fives children to 195,000 adults and above five-year-old children deaths then you get a total a total of 215,650 deaths** for preventable causes of starvation, diseases, exposure to severe weather elements and trauma created by the Ethiopian occupation troops and its pick-aback TFG militias through a deliberate collective punishment of mass destruction of the wealth of the population of Mogadishu and related regions causing dispossession, loss of basic livelihoods (national and local social and welfare systems, social services, and economic activities), displacement and obstruction of local and international relief aid.

Table B: Shows a minimum estimation of Deaths out of the vulnerable 1.5 million Adults and Children During 2007 as a result of the above said indirect methods of premeditated and planned collective punishment policy by the Prime Minister Meles Zenawi's Ethiopian government with the collaboration of the treacherous TFG leaders during 2007.

Category of people died for severe conditions Forced on them and preventable causes	Possible Death Rate	Estimation of lives Lost
83,000 acutely malnourished under five-year old children	20%	16,600
13,500 severely malnourished under five-year old children	30%	4,050
1,395,000 remaining number of children and adults in dire humanitarian need	10%	195,000
In 2007 out of Somali Boat people 15,698 mostly fleeing from Mogadishu due to the massacres, displace and strangulation policy of Ethiopia and TFG 1,462 drowned and died Yemeni seas* (UN 1 Nov -15 Dec 07 and media)		1,462
Total number of minimum possible estimation of lives lost from the above four categories of extremely vulnerable people due to deliberate destruction of their means of livelihoods, displacement, traumatising, and obstruction inside and outside humanitarian aid from them		215,650

Table C: Shows Totals of Table A and Table of Somali Civilians killed, injured and disabled by Ethiopian Occupation troops and TFG militias direct by direct and indirect methods during 2007 in and around Mogadishu:

Killed	225,151
Injured	12,516

3.4 Incalculable economic and Social Destruction and Grave Human Rights Violations

3.4.1 Massive Economic Destruction

In 2005 despite statelessness Somalia was economically and socially commented as '**Somali success story**' as Somalis successfully '**have addressed large-scale social and economic needs**' and in '**information areas where the country is doing better than its neighbouring countries**' by the extraordinary enterprise of the Somali people and numerous emigrants sending home remittances estimated by US\$1.5 million annually especially in the commercial, telecommunication sector and some to extent in public services such education and health, and Mogadishu was the epicentre of such socio-economic success ⁽²⁰⁾. That socio-economic '**Somali success story**' has been acknowledged by the World Bank has dramatically changed to a deplorable situation in which the UN in 2007 named Somalia as '**the poorest country in the world**' for first time ever due to the one year **Ethiopian Tsunami occupation**.

The inimical Ethiopian troops and the client TFG militias dealt pre-planned and deliberate massive and incalculable economic and social destruction and ruination to the city of Mogadishu. Many thousands of homes have been destroyed completely or partially; countless thriving markets including the **biggest famous Bakaraha Market** (which was a supply source and transaction biggest emporium in all East Africa was almost destroyed with artillery shelling, arson, looting and robbery), other medium equally flourishing Markets like the **Suuqa Hoolaha, Suuq Ba'ad, Suuq Sigaale**, etc., many supermarkets, countless stock stores, shops, restaurants, bazaars, and popular street petty trades on which most people especially the poor masses of the city depended on their daily living and survival. The **value** of such pre-planned and deliberate large-scale economic destruction by the Ethiopian government troops and the Somali TFG collaborators can run into **many hundreds of dollars (if not billions)**. Large part of this lost huge wealth have been looted, robbed, stolen or taken ransom and extortion the occupation forces and their collaborators while the owners have either been killed, illegally detained, maimed and injured, displaced, or deported to Ethiopia or other places (as people talk about many disappeared and unaccounted for people). As a result the majority of the population - one million (mostly women, children, elderly, sick, inured, deeply depressed) - became destitute and displaced ending up in makeshift outside camps, within the city or to far away regions not knowing where they can get the

next meal as most of them do not or hardly get relief handouts from the UN and other humanitarian agencies who complain that they cannot reach and provide aid to these needy people for lack security or obstruction by the Ethiopian occupation forces and their allied TFG militias.

Such economic destruction has been rendered the worst by runaway inflation which almost wiped out the values of the Somali shillings making many well-to-do people bankrupt and poor masses unable to make ends meet or keep their hand to out existence due to shortage of goods and more so floods of valueless paper money printed in Puntland and introduced by the TFG and fraudulent traders to Mogadishu. The US\$ fetched 1,650,000 So. Shs. In January 2007 and US\$1 fetches 2,275,000 So. Shs. in January 2008. This Following Table D which compares the prices of basic stable food items in January 2007 and January 2008 is illustrative of such value decimating inflation and resultant sky-rocketing prices:-

Table D (²¹)

January 2007	Price of Items	January 2008	Price of Items
50 kg. of sugar	200,000 So. shs.	50 kg. of Sugar	650,000 So.Shs.
50 kg. of flour	200,000 So. Shs.	50 kg. of flour	650,000 so.Shs.
50 kg. of rice	250,000 So. Shs.	50 kg. of rice	700,000 So.shs.
Carton of spaghetti	70,000 So. Shs .	Carton of spaghetti	240,00o So.shs.
10 litre eating oil	300,000 So. Shs.	10 litre eating oil	540,000 So.Shs
2.5k.tin of powder milk	200,000 So. Shs	2.5k tin of powder milk	440,000 so.Shs

The Ethiopian occupation authority and the its dependent TFG have never shown concern or said a word about this economic destruction in this country in Mogadishu and the whole country especially the useless paper money which also decimated the economy in Puntland and south-central regions because the occupation troops and the TFG have a stake in the printing of this valueless paper money.

3.4.2 Massive Destruction of Social Institutions and Infrastructures

A) Destruction of Healthcare Institutions and Facilities

Many healthcare centres and medical facilities in Mogadishu have been deliberately attacked and destroyed or disrupted by the Ethiopian occupation troops and allied unruly TFG militias. For

example, on 23 August 2007 MSF reported that only **250 hospital beds and 13 doctors were in the capital city** while six months prior to that date there were **800 beds and 53 doctors** respectively which means that by that time 40 doctors fled from the city. The most **modern hospitals such as Al-Hayat, Al-Arafat, and SOS** and their medical equipments have deliberately attacked and deliberately destroyed by Ethiopian troops (22). **Hundreds of medical and support staff** have fled or went into hiding for their safety.

In addition to that tens of outpatient clinics, MHCs, laboratories and countless pharmacies have been destroyed, looted, disrupted, or closed down intentionally by these destructive and predatory occupation forces and collaborating TFG militias. **Such destruction of hospitals and medical facilities is forbidden and punishable by international law.**

B) Destruction of Educational Institutions, facilities and programmes

Bulk of the educational institutions and basic social infrastructures such as mosques and Koranic schools, primary and secondary schools, institutes and universities, welfare institutions and networks have also been destroyed and disrupted by the Ethiopian occupation troops with their client TFG militias. The extent of such damages on these institutions and the resulting enormous negative impact on the educational system have not been yet counted or estimated. But for example 144 schools in six Districts of Mogadishu have been either destroyed, looted, or made military quarters, barracks, or defences by the occupation forces. Consequently, **the education of 48,500 students has stopped during 2007** as they either fled from the city or moved into relatively safer areas without education (23). Another example is that the **Mogadishu University was occupied and made a barrack by Ethiopian troops forcing over 2,000 students to flee and forgo their education in 2007.** The education intake and attendance in the other 11 districts of Mogadishu have been drastically affected by the occupation brutalities with **tens of thousands of students losing their education** by either fleeing or staying at home for reasons of safety or lack of money to pay their fees (due to the general destruction of the economy) though their exact number has not yet been ascertained.

C) Destruction and Muzzling of Free Media and Basic Liberties

The free media especially radio stations such HornAfrik, Shabelle, Simba, Benadir, IQK Radio (Koranic Radio), etc. have intentionally attacked and their buildings and equipments partially destroyed or

closed every now and then. The personnel of these media centres have also been killed, injured, detained or constantly threatened with death or intimidated. Virtual muzzling of the free media, which have flourished in Mogadishu during the last ten years or so, has happened. The Ethiopian troops, TFG militias or so-called National Security service have often rounded up the managers and reporters of these radios and told them not to report about operations of the Ethiopian occupation forces and allied TFG militias, or the casualties they cause, the destruction they make, and the people they displaced. They want to carry out their war crimes in silence in the dark. Not only that, but 8 Somali journalists including the Managing Director of HornAfrik Media group, Mr. Ali Imam Sharmarke, and manager of the Capital Voice Radio of the same media group, Mr. Mahad Ahmed Elmi who were assassinated on 11 August 2007. At the time of writing several journalists are in detention including the manager of the Holy Koran radio, Sheikh Yusuf Ahmed Barrow. Several other members of the Civil society including Madina Mohamud Elmi (alias Madina General), a leading and dedicated social and humanitarian worker who was shot dead on 16 November 2007 while distributing relief food to the Mogadishu IDPS at along the Afgooye Road, for expressing their views and speaking for the plight of the Mogadishu population victimised by the Ethiopian occupation and TF militias.

Such War crimes and human rights violations against the media and journalists began after Ethiopian Prime Minister Meles Zenawi visited Mogadishu on 5 May 2007. On the same date '**media clampdown follows as a surprise visit by the Ethiopian prime Minister aimed at shoring up confidence in the Somali government'** (24). During the occupation **8 journalists have killed and about 70** journalists and vital support personnel have fled the country from the killings, injuries, detentions and death threats by the Ethiopian occupation troops and client TFG.

D) Clan-cleansing in Mogadishu

The Ethiopian government troops and the TFG have premeditatedly and deliberately targeted some districts of Mogadishu inhabited by certain clans and most people killed, displaced, dispossessed and subjected to collective starvation punishment belong to the these clans.

E) Grave Human Rights violations

Extensive and constant acts of killing, injuring and maiming, destruction of properties and Basis of livelihoods, looting, robbery, rape, ransom, displacing, starving and illegal arrest and detention, violation of fundamental liberties and natural human

rights of the civilian population in Mogadishu without due process of law that have been rampant during 2007 and still go on unabated.

After the occupation started, **rape** has been one of the most serious and frequent crimes going on in Mogadishu. The first Ethiopian troops' gang rape occurred in Mogadishu at El-Irfid north-east of the city on 13/3/2007 when 8 soldiers raped Subban Moallim Ali Geedi, a mother of eight children, and since then rape by Ethiopian troops and allied TF militias has been rampant or out of control as these forces embedded themselves with the population in the City and no raped woman or young girls or any other person dares to report about the crimes these forces are doing. Consequently, such rape spree by these forces must have been causing grievous bodily harm, diseases (including HIV/AIDS) and life-shattering for multitudes of Somali women and girls have neither local nor international protection.

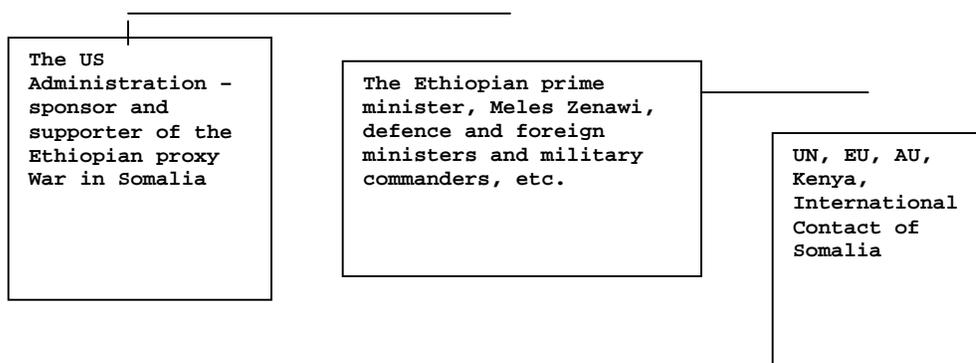
F) Cost of Billions of Dollars

The cost of material damage, if we put aside the above detailed huge loss of lives, suffering and misery, can run **into billions of dollars** given the afore-said massive destruction and burning of homes, businesses, huge stocks of goods in markets, stores, shops, restaurants, bazaars and petty street trade and looting, robbing, ransoming, extortion of movable properties (cash, valuables such good, cars, phones, etc.) which have been done by the Ethiopian Troops with collaboration of TFG militias.

4. THE HIERARCHICAL ORDER OF THE COMMISSION OR OMISSION OF WAR CRIMES IN SOMALIA

4.1 Hierarchical Diagram Commission or Omission of war Crimes

The diagram below shows the hierarchical order of the drivers and supporters of the Ethiopian occupation and its war crimes who are or might be perpetrators and accomplices by commission or omission of such crimes in 2007 which still continue.



Somali TFG president
Abdullahi Yusuf, prime
minister Ali Mohamed Gedi,
ministers, MPS, Mogadishu
Governor Mohamed Dheere and
their militias commanders

To start with, the US Administration - the sponsor and supporter of the Ethiopian invasion has either direct or indirect role in these war crimes. The Ethiopian regime top leaders (prime minister, defence and foreign ministers, and military commanders etc.) and at least the Somali TFG top leaders (president, prime minister, the speaker, deputy speakers, minister of interior, deputy defence minister, commanders of militias in 2007 and onwards) and the whole TFG body, which has been and is a Trojan horse for the Ethiopian regime's invasion and occupation and war crimes, all taken together have first and direct roles in the commission of these crimes.

4.2 Denial of Displacement, Accusation of innocent IDPs and Obstruction of Relief Aid by TFG

At the outset, in January 2007, in premeditated way, president Abdullahi Yusuf, prime minister Ali M. Gedi, interior minister Mr. Mohamed Mohamoud Guled (Gacmadheere) and vice defence minister Salad Ali Jelle all repeatedly warned the Mogadishu population living in about 8-10 sq.kms. area (e.g. in Huriwaa, Heliwaa, Yaaqshid, Wardiigley, Hawlwadag, Hodan Dayniile (the mostly populated districts) to evacuate these districts otherwise they would be military targets. When the people turned deaf ears to such discriminatory or clan-cleansing order, indiscriminate carpet bombing of the Ethiopian forces assisted by the TFG militias began on these areas. The first round of deliberate and discriminate bombardments on civilian built-up in these districts were carried out **in March-April 2007 that resulted in thousands of deaths, injuries, and displacement over 400,000 civilians mostly women and children and massive destruction.** While the UN acknowledged this massive exodus, these so-called Somali leaders dismissed it as only '40,000 who mostly returned'. Again when in May 2007 the UN Under-Secretary for Humanitarian Affairs visited Mogadishu and declared that a humanitarian disaster worse than that of Darfur has unfolded in Somalia. The TFG leaders denied this fact again. On 20 August 2007 Mohamed Omar Habeeb (Mohamed Dheere), the Warlord turned governor-cum-Mayor of Mogadishu went to the extreme and on record he repeatedly labelled against these helpless civilian IDPs (mostly

women, children, sick and elderly) as 'terrorists' and 'Alqaeda supporters' and that 'the international community is feeding terrorists' (25). In addition, the Ethiopian occupation troops in collusion with the TFG top leadership and that governor-cum-mayor have been effectively obstructed any local and international relief aid to these starving IDPs.

4.3 The TFG - a Trojan Horse

It is to be recalled that the Imbagathi government, as the TFG is known, was installed by Ethiopia and Kenya in 2004 with the help of UN and western countries (EU member states, US, etc.) and which Ethiopia meant to be tool or a Trojan Horse through which to invade or control Somalia. Even so, the original and notorious clannish power-sharing formula of Four Point Five (four major clans and minority clans grouped as half) and the task of completing the reconciliation process was completely abandoned and disrupted by the Ethiopian government's excessive interferences and direct orders through the obedient client president Abdullahi Yusuf and prime minister Ali Mohamed Gedi to pave the way for the upcoming invasion and occupation of Somalia. Another Ethiopia trick was to set these two individuals against each other so that they would compete for the Ethiopian Prime Minister's favours and would not agree oppose to any of his plans and orders. In this competition for favours and in response to orders each of these two TFG leaders wrote a secret and separate letter of 'invitation' to the Ethiopian prime Minister to send in his troops to Somalia ostensibly to help the TFG establish law and order in the country. Meles Zenawi himself confirmed the existence of these letters to him (Media). When the invasion occurred, about 30 MPs including the Speaker Mr. Sharif Hassan Sh. Adan deserted the so-called parliament in protest and assumed the name Free Parliament Members seeking political asylum in Eritrea after Kenya arrested and threatened them for deportation to Mogadishu to be handed over the Ethiopian occupation troops. Eventually they have been replaced with pro-occupation unpatriotic and clueless individuals by the TFG and Ethiopian regime. Thereafter, the TFG and its 275 MPs, confined in Baidoa under Ethiopian tanks guard, have become a mere rubberstamp and mouthpiece to support and justify the Ethiopian occupation and its war crimes. See more information about TFG in my article on 3rd August 2006 entitled '**Can TFG and ICC Work Together for Somalia's Supreme Interest?**' and my another article on 12 January 2007 '**Ethiopian Dreams to Conquer Somalia came through** (posted in Somali websites)' about how practically the Ethiopian regime single-handedly manipulated the Imbagathi (a place in the outskirts of Nairobi) 'Somali National Reconciliation Conference', the TFG's formation and its work.

4.4 The Forced Dismissal of Prime Minister Gedi

As noted before, the Ethiopian regime pitted the TFG president Abdullahi Yusuf and prime minister Ali Mohamed Gedi against one another from the very outset to compete for his favours and orders. This Ethiopian divide and rule tactics has also been meant to avoid these two men not to agree to oppose any Ethiopian invasion and occupation and war crimes. Because of this Ethiopian engineered dispute, the TFG president and prime minister have been at logger-heads ever since the formation of the TFG with their personal and working relationship deteriorating from time to time to such situation that they could not meet or discuss any issue or matters relating to their work unless the Ethiopian Foreign minister or the commander of the occupation force brought them together to mediate or shuttled them taking messages from one to another.

The Ethiopian ruler preferred such continuous dispute between his two clients instead of resolving it or allowing the president to sack the prime minister and appoint another he could work with. Over time that bitter relationship between the men has been aggravated by scramble over money, oil deals (the president entered oil prospecting deal with China in Puntland and prime minister with Indonesia & Kuwaiti firms in South-central Somalia), tribalism and nominations on nepotistic appointments of posts, etc. and at last their feud reached its peak and came out publicly. The president's overt argument was that the prime minister's government failed in its tasks, its term was over, and should submit itself to parliament's scrutiny and vote of confidence while the prime minister argued the opposite - that his government fulfilled its tasks, and a year or so left of its term and had no need for vote of confidence. In mid September 2007 the president ordered the arrest of the Supreme Court president Mr. Yusuf Ali Harun and a judge named Mohamed Nur who he believed would support the prime minister in the interpretation of the ensuing constitutional row over these issues although the reason was unbelievably ascribed to embezzlement in government described the number corrupt one in the world by Transparency International index 2007. In return, the prime minister ordered the detention of the attorney-general Mr. Abdullahi Dahir Barre and another judge who carried out the arrest and detention of the supreme court president and judge. Eventually, the president released from detention his supporters, namely, the attorney, Mr. Abdullahi Dahir Barre and the judge with while Mr. Yusuf Ali Harun, the president of the supreme court and another judge, who were supporters of prime minister Gedi, are still languishing in filthy dungeon in Mogadishu without due process of law.

Eventually the bitter dispute the president and prime minister spilled over to the parliament splitting it in the middle in support of the two men. At this point, according to inside source, the president threatened that he would dissolve the TFG institutions - government and parliament unless Ethiopian Prime Minister should cease his support to and restrain prime minister Gedi to stop the challenge or he (the president) take action. This threat was taken seriously by both the Ethiopian Prime Minister and US diplomats because if the TFG was to be dissolved, both would lose their Trojan Horse through which they conduct the '**war on terror**' and pursue their objectives in Somalia. Thus, as usual the Ethiopian Prime minister summoned prime minister Gedi to Addis Ababa telling him to come before parliament in Baidoa for scrutiny and vote of confidence his for cabinet. Gedi came back to Mogadishu with more defiant mood for the first meeting with and showing sympathy the Mogadishu Hawiye Traditional and Unity Council which opposes and criticises both the Ethiopian occupation forces' and TFG militias' war crimes. After this meeting, he went to such an extra length as to call publicly on the population of Mogadishu '**to defend ourselves from our weak government (TFG) and you can defeat us as you had defeated the stronger government of President Mohamed Siad Barre!**' (26). Such seditious statement alarmed both Ethiopians and perhaps the Americans. So, Gedi was summoned once again in a week to Addis Ababa and after meeting with Ethiopian Prime Minister and US diplomats (including the ambassador to Kenya) he was ordered to go back to Baidoa, stop incitement to the public, challenge to the TFG president and resign immediately. Upon return to Baidoa on 29 October 2007 Gedi had tendered his resignation and left the country as part of an undisclosed deal. But there have been no tears shed and love lost between him and the Somali people especially the population of Mogadishu.

Gedi's departure, signalled the beginning of a complete disarray and paralysis of the TFG and its inevitable disintegration emanating not only from his resignation but a total lack of creditability, legitimacy, moral authority, and popular support (if it ever has had any), and for being a traitor entity that has taken (and is taking) part in the following treacherous and horrible acts:

a) 'invitation', consent and collaboration with the Ethiopian invasion, occupation and participation in the commission of war crimes against Somali people;

b) obstruction of relief aid from starving one million people displaced from Mogadishu and many more hundreds of thousands of needy people in other regions by the same occupation and TFG itself, and failure to stop or speak out against the Ethiopian troops

horrendous war crimes against the Somali people or dissociate itself from the participating and justifying the occupation and its crimes;

c) changing and upsetting the original Four Point Five (four big clans and minority clans wrongly assessed as half clan) tribal power-sharing formula on which the TFG was founded;

d) contempt for, abandonment and obstruction of the much needed national reconciliation process;

e) total lack of initiation and implementation of even one project of the badly needed public and social services in the three years and more of its existence;

f) failure to establish minimum peace, security and control in the capital and only spot of the country as a whole or even to be able to protect itself (TFG). **For example, in January 2007 (when the occupation started) there were 130 illegal roadblocks in the south-central regions far from Mogadishu and none in the Capital and nearby regions and in December 2007 there were 336 illegal roadblocks in the south-central regions and in and around Mogadishu (27). In Contrast, during in their six months rule in the capital and most of the south-central regions of Somalia, the Islamic Courts wiped out the worst piracy prevailing in the Somali ocean and sea by Somali pirates who hijacked international and Somali ships carrying commercial goods or international relief aid destined to needy Somalis for huge ransom sums. But during the one year (from December 2006 - December 2007) Somalia has been under the Ethiopian occupation and its client TFG piracy has returned and become rampant in Somali ocean and sea waters with unprecedented rise. In this period there have been 31 attacks on ships and 154 hostages taken off the Somali waters (28); and**

h) indulgence in the highest of degree corruption and misgovernance (financial misappropriation, hasty scramble of giving illegal and secret contractual concessions to foreign firms to prospect and extract Somali's common national wealth of oil and minerals deposits by the TFG president and prime ministr for their personal appropriation, etc.) which earned Somalia, and in this case the TFG, for such dishonourable definition as '**Somalia is the most corrupt country in the world**' by the transparency International Index 2007(29).

Instead of speaking for the plight of their people, the TFG leaders collaborate with the Ethiopian inimical collective punishment policy of genocide through bombardments bullets, destruction of the economy and basic livelihoods of the people, displacement and obstruction of local and international relief aid. During the year of occupation,

the TFG leadership, who act on Ethiopian orders especially those by occupation force commander, have been systematically intentionally and obstructing the local and international agencies relief aid to reach the displaced and starving million and more people. As already noted earlier, Mohamed Omar Habeb (Mohamed Dheere) - the warlord turned to governor-cum-mayor of Mogadishu, has been timely and again labelling these starving population who are of over 85 per cent composed of women, children, elderly and sick as **'terrorists'** and **'Alqaeda supporters'** and accusing humanitarian agencies that **'they are feeding 'terrorists'**. The TFG president has the same view about these starving IDPs and he competes ignores the existence of such million and more starving IDPs and the mass destruction of the economy of the Mogadishu let alone the mass genocide. ON 13 November 2007 At press conference in Nairobi, President Abdullahi Yusuf, when asked about the UN declared one Somali million IDPs and the humanitarian catastrophic situation which developed to **'the worst in the world'**, evasively and arrogantly replied **'when two elephants fight, the grass suffers'** and then assessed the current Somali situation as **'Today, it is the best time that Somalia has seen in the last 17 years'**. That tells you everything about him and the rest of the TFG leadership.

Therefore, the TFG is totally paralysed, dysfunctional, traitor and Ethiopian piggy-back entity under confined to Baidoa under Ethiopian troops guard after more than three years of its existence and undoubtedly in the rest of its remaining less than two years term. One TFG high-ranking security officer admitted publicly that the **'TFG does not control 80% of the country'** (Dayniile.com). New York Times quotes one western diplomat who said **'This government doesn't control one inch of the territory from Kenya border up to Mogadishu'** (30). The TFG security officer's estimation suggesting it controls 20 per cent of the country is absolutely fictitious and the western diplomat's insinuation that TFG has jurisdiction somewhere in the country between Kenyan border and Mogadishu is also a guess but not reality. The unarguable truth is that, of the whole country, the TFG has not jurisdiction and control even over three square kilometre area. Its president, prime minister and ministers are guarded by in and ferried to and from Baidoa and Mogadishu by armoured Ethiopian cars and troops. The Mps confined in Baidoa are also guarded by Ethiopian troops assisted by some militias.

This is the sort of TFG that the international accords unqualified recognition and support and expects to be able enter serious and credible talk with the opposition to undertake a broad and inclusive genuine reconciliation dialogue to resolve the protracted crisis and the current Ethiopian driven out-of-hand conflict in order to bring about a national political settlement in Somalia. On the part of the international involved actors, does not this position seem a wishful

thinking based on dangerous ill-advice by someone (e.g. Ethiopia) and/or complete lack of the real reading and pertinent perspective of what is going in Somalia, if not conscious neglect of it and its people?

4.5. Appointment of New prime Minister

In late November 2007, in ex-premier Gedi's place, president Abdullahi Yusuf appointed Mr. Nur Hassan Hussein (alias Nur Adde - Nur the white one) as prime minister. Mr. Nur Hassan, a former police colonel with vast police and judiciary experience, who has stayed out the quagmire of the civil war during the 17 years after the collapse of the Somali central government, and has been the General Secretary of the Somali Red Crescent Society during that period. For his long career Mr. Nur Hassan has been known as decent man who has kept himself out of controversial issues and political limelight as well. First he formed a cabinet made up of 32 ministers and similar number of deputy ministers but for fear of not securing approval for it from the parliament, and reportedly, advice from the international donors countries, he disbanded that cabinet and appointed new leaner made up of 18 ministers and with similar number of deputy ministers for which he obtained approval from the parliament on 9 January 2008 owing to support by international community whose delegation has travelled to Baidoa to get that approval from the MPs in exchange that they would be paid regularly.

Prime Minister Nur Hassan has publicly announced that his government immediate priority policies are to undertake measures of establishing security of the country, humanitarian delivery to the IDPs and other needy population, and national reconciliation political talks by talking with the opposition (whether they are the Alliance for Re-liberation for Somalia, fighting insurgents, the Hawiye Transitional and Unity Council, civil society, etc.) to resolve the crisis and the way for national political settlement. But whether the new prime minister will be able to deliver these important promises will depend on a number of factors, namely, he has the courage and determination to pursue these set of policies, if or not he gets support and cooperation from the Ethiopian government for programme, and if the international community proactively and concertedly supports him while especially persuading Ethiopia to give way to the new to move forward to carry out its programme. But I think the biggest constraint to Mr. Nur Hassan's government and its declared programme will be the Ethiopian government and the TFG president who unlikely to give chance to this new prime minister given their dictatorial mentality and pre-planned policies to crush and subdue Mogadishu and particularly to cleanse and settle accounts with sections of the population in south-central regions for their in-compliance of such

policies against them. If bit elaborated, such constraints can be the following:

a) Ethiopian regime's objection to any genuine national reconciliation (as it has its own tested Somali politicians in the TFG) and as such tried and trusted leaders in the TFG cabinet and the MPs with continued presence of Ethiopian occupation troops and barring armed opposition from political participation which points when combined can be the best guarantee for Ethiopia to prevent any investigation of their war crimes and ensure achievement of their real objectives of avoiding viable and united Somali central government but vassal regions under the behest of Ethiopian rulers;

b) the TFG president, Mr. Abdullahi Yusuf's vehement objection to any talk with the armed opposition especially with the Alliance for Re-liberation which includes the Islamic courts and his illness give room for speculation and uncertainty that further may weaknesses accelerate the disintegration of the TGF as a whole of the situation has already one of stead deterioration and paralysis;

c) absence of Somali security forces on which the new prime minister and his team can rely on and total dependence on Ethiopian occupation troops for their own security personal let alone to establish security for Mogadishu or the country; and

d) international community unrealistic proposition that the TFG should move forward to general elections in 2009 which presupposes marginalisation or exclusion of the armed and unarmed opposition including the Alliance for the Re-liberation for Somalia, the insurgents, the Hawiye Traditional and Unity Council, the Civil society, etc.

Given these formidable constraints and uncertainty, it is quite difficult, if not impossible, for the new prime minister and his cabinet to make a breakthrough politics and succeed in the international community's unrealistic plan to restore normalcy in the country and hold general elections in 2009. Therefore, any unrealistic plan of forceful pacification of the country and then proceeding to a final stage of holding democratic elections would be doomed if a genuine national political reconciliation conference and inclusive political settlement vigorously and concertedly supported and pursued by the international community would not precede that.

6. INVOLVED FOREIGN COUNTRIES: US, UN, AU, AND EU INACTION AND COMPILCITY

From day one to-date, the UN and its Security Council has failed to mention such Ethiopian illegal and aggressive invasion and occupation of Somalia that among other international laws, violated the UN Charter and UN Security Council Resolution No. 1725 (November 2006) let alone to take action on the afore-said mass genocide, war crimes and crimes against humanity committed unabatedly by this inimical occupation forces. So are the rest of the international community including the US - the sponsor and staunch supporter of the Ethiopian occupation and its war crimes, AU, EU, and the International Contact Group on Somalia. These states and organisations can be accomplices in their political, financial or military support for the Ethiopian occupation or its client TFG -primary perpetrators, and for failing to stop this occupation, recognise these crimes and hold the Ethiopian government and the TFG accountable. In contrast, the political leaders and officials of these countries and organisations speak out against and recognise the genocide and human rights violations in Darfur (Sudan) which are proportionally lower and less severe than those in Somalia or they even hastened their condemnations and sanctions against Burma authorities where a mere ten people were killed in recent demonstrations while none of these leaders raised an eyebrow about such heinous crimes and humanitarian catastrophe prevailing in Somalia for a complete year. What a travesty of justice and poverty of morality and humane conscience!

Below I outline the positions taken by the various foreign governments, regional and international organisations, how they have been helping Somalia in its hour of need or contributing to the prolongation of its agony and plight of its people, for all to know and for historical record.

6.1 The US Wages 'War on Terror' in Somalia

The US Administration has been obviously waging ('War on Terror') in Somalia rather than helping the TFG or Somali people to come out the of this protracted turmoil. For this end it has sponsored and supports the Ethiopian aggressive and illegal invasion and occupation of Somalia with finances, military logistics, air and sea cover and reconnaissance, political, diplomatic and propaganda. This multisided support not only enables the Ethiopian occupation to continue and commit grave war crimes and human rights violations but also gives it effective covered-up as something that never happened or exists in Somalia. 'The wire services do not talk about a Ethiopian occupation of Somalia, and they refer to the local Somali collaborators - as the transitional federal government. This is mainly in deference to the United States, which organised and backed the Ethiopian invasion of Somalia'.(31) The piggy-back TFG serves both the US and Ethiopian governments as a tool and cover-name for this dirty 'War on terror' in such a way that Ethiopian troops are called '**friendly forces invited by the Somali government to help establish security and**

stability in Somalia' while there has never been legal invitation nor the least of security and stability established since the occupation started except creation of unprecedented insecurity, destabilisation and mayhem.

This US-backed Ethiopian proxy war in Somalia is yet another foreign policy adventure of the current US administration's 'war on terror' in the Muslim world. The proof is that there are no US discernible and concrete political, security and economic commitment for Somalia except strong support for the barbaric and predatory Ethiopian occupation and defence of its crimes. Such lack of constructive and peace promotion policy and commitment in Somalia on the part of the US Administration is further evinced by the provocative, non-reconciliatory, and non-committal statements by its diplomats dealing with Somali affairs. To begin with the US ambassador to Kenya, he often makes unhelpful and provocative statements such as 'terrorism', 'Al-Qaeda presence' in Somalia and a couple of months ago he remarked that 'people fighting Ethiopian troops are those do not want establishment of government in Somalia' (32). Jendayi Fraser's, Assistant Secretary of State for Africa, (some say she is Rastafarian adherent biased to Ethiopia vis-à-vis Somalia), statements on Somali crisis and attitudes to the Somali opposition are often equally offensive and non-reconciliatory. For example, she called 'a bunch of terrorists' the anti-Ethiopian occupation Somali opposition that was meeting in Asmara in September 2007 and in regard to the UN declaration that Somali humanitarian crisis has been worse than Darfur and the worst in the world, Fraser denied that by saying 'I think that it isn't like Darfur. I think what needs to be done is we need to put as an international community, we need to address the fact there are still extremists and terrorists, sitting in Asmara, spoilers, the extremists and insurgents' (33). when asked about the drivers of the fighting in Somalia, she replied 'The insurgents are responsible' without mentioning the Ethiopian occupation and depicting the TFG as blameless legitimate government to be obeyed (34) and on another occasion she thought 'Somalia became haven for terrorists' (35), about the Somali critics of the July-August 2007 deceptive and fraudulent 'Somali National reconciliation Conference' in Mogadishu, she termed them as 'spoilers of Somali peace process'. Also Robert Gates, the Defence Secretary, said 'My biggest concern about Somalia is the potential for Al-Qaeda to be active there' adding that the US is 'very interested to in helping the African and Ugandans to try and exercise some constructive influence on the Ethiopians' (36) as if these countries brought Ethiopian troops in Somalia or have any leverage on them. The US Envoy for Somalia, John Yates, is silent but seems to be somewhat frank by once describing the Somali situation as 'fairly dismal' and recognising the 'lack of confidence in the transitional federal government in its capacity to carry forward' (37). At the 5 January 2008 Horn of Africa and Great Lakes region conference in Addis Ababa, Condoleezza Rice, US Secretary of State, without coming up any concrete proposals on the Somali crisis that reached its worst peak and daily inches to the worst of the worst, stated 'We do believe the Ethiopian forces should not have

to stay in Somalia past a certain point, and that will require peacekeeping forces, very robust force, and so that will be part of any discussions here' (38). What certain point the Ethiopian occupation should not pass? Or should there be genuine inclusive political dialogue and peace conference before deploying such peacekeeping robust force? These are, of course, matters known only to her and the Ethiopian Prime Minister on behalf of the Somalis.

These non-reconciliatory, unconstructive and non-committal remarks and statements are obviously in justification and defence of the '**war on terror**' and proxy force rather than helping resolve the Somali crisis and suffering. Yet, without positive policy and measures to create hope and make space for the Somali people and its real stakeholders, these diplomats speak about Somali '**moderates**' and vainly call '**it is time for Somali moderates to come forward and work to end chronic violence**' (39) in a country whose people have been impoverished and radicalised even more by the deadly and destructive effects of the Ethiopian occupation. A question begs, could the Americans help Ethiopian troops to withdraw without conditions, stop non-reconciliatory language, and take concrete and positive steps to restore hope for Somali people and space to breathe in so that moderation could return? One has to wait and see that if Americans have a will to do that or not.

back in October 2007 the US House Committee of Foreign Affairs, having seen the humanitarian and human rights violations in Somalia reported by the Human Rights Watch (USA) and other sources and heard US State Department officials, concluded that '**Ethiopian troops indiscriminately bombarded insurgent strongholds with barrage of 'Kayuusha' rockets, mortars and artillery, making no apparent distinctions between civilians and insurgent targets**' and recommended to the US Administration to '**abandon its current policy of what amounts to 'silent diplomacy' on human rights issues, which has yielded to no tangible dividends. Press for full, independent investigations of human rights abuses in Ethiopia's Somali region (Ogaden) and violations of the laws of war in Mogadishu and other parts of Somalia**' and '**publicly call for Ethiopia to support independent investigations into and accountability for on going human rights abuses committed by the Ethiopian military in Somali region and Mogadishu**' (40). But so far, the US Administration obviously has not heeded these damning judgement and recommendations by the House, and Ethiopia does not relent its war crimes commission in Somalia, or Ogaden either, which the same House dealt with and made similar recommendations to the US Government and that of Ethiopia.

6.2 The US Serial political Follies and Failures in Somalia

a) The US policy Towards Somalia in recent years has been haphazard one fraught with Serial follies and failures. The **first US folly** was in 1992-1995 when US led military intervention - first unilateral '**Operation Restore Hope**' and later turned to UNISOM - avowedly for humanitarian reasons ended in failure due to ill-advised political

bias of antagonising General Aideed and his SNA faction and hunting him down as the only wrongdoer instead of showing neutrality and winning them as the 1992 US Special Envoy Robert Oakley and UN Special Representative Mohamed Sahnun were successfully trying before they were dismissed for their good diplomatic tactics which were yielding tangible results. Unnecessarily at least 18 US marines and thousands of Somalis were killed in that bungled intervention. President Bill Clinton was so smart enough to pull US forces out and wind up the entire peacekeeping programme to avert unnecessary further blood shed and destruction by a misguided mission. The 'Black-Hawk Film' captures that unfortunate episode as **the first US failure** in Somalia.

b) The second US Folly was the ill-advised CIA's March-June 2006 'Operation Dung Beetle' that assembled the brutal and hated Somali warlords, who for 16 years massacred and terrorised the Somali people and ruined the country, into what was called 'The Council for Restoration of Peace and Counterterrorism - CRPCT - a great misnomer) and funding them to fight the hitherto weak and low profile loose network of Somali Islamic Courts Union (ICU) in Mogadishu. The population of Mogadishu, which were provided with basic social and welfare services by the ICU, instantaneously supported it as they perceived the warlords and the CIA plan as one against Islam. Suddenly, the weak and divided ICU emerged united, strong and victorious defeating the warlords and taking over Mogadishu and expanding their jurisdiction to many other regions in south-central Somalia - Lower Shabelle, Middle Shabelle, Hiiraan, Galgaduud, Lower Jubba, Middle Jubba, and parts of Bay region and parts of Galmudug. They quickly established law and order, security and justice which were unknown in these regions during the previous 16 years or so. They also began rehabilitation programmes including repairing and reopening Mogadishu Port and Airport which had been closed since 1991. Unfortunately, Islamic Courts' six months long rule and its positive gains of returning the elusive law and order in Mogadishu and most of the south-central regions of the country, the equally long lacking justice and functioning public services and rehabilitation of economic infrastructures, were ended by the US-backed Ethiopian invasion which toppled the Islamic Courts rule in late December 2006. This was the **second US failure** in Somalia which most Somalis still resent.

c) The third US folly was when the US turned to its Plan B to open another 'war on Terror' front in Somalia using Ethiopia as proxy force to fight misconceived '**Islamic terrorism**' here. According one Ethiopian political commentator the assertion of "**jihadist menace in the Horn of Africa - 'the New Talibans'**- is a figment of Zenawi's imagination." (41) for which he had campaigned three years prior to persuade the US to open

a new front of 'War on terror' in Somalia and draft him as a junior partner in such war. Undoubtedly, Meles Zenawi was pursuing Ethiopia's centuries old traditional enmity and territorial claim over Somalia. Eventually, the two conspired Somalia - the first pursuing its '**war on terror**' policy and geopolitical interests, and the second its old dreams to annex Somalia or part of it (e.g., a sea outlet) and/or carve it into vassal regions controlled from Addis Ababa. The illegitimate Ethiopian pick-aback TFG was the tool that both Ethiopia and the US used and still use to achieve these respective objectives. After one year the result of the **US-backed Ethiopian occupation is - Mogadishu city physically, economically and socially lies in ruins; one million residents displaced; and 225,51 civilians mostly of women and children killed directly and indirectly, and 12,516 injured, and 8,436 disabled (See Tables A, B, and C under sub-sections 3.2 and 3.3 above) making the Somali capital Mogadishu a ghost city inhabited by 56,000 Ethiopian troops replacing the population they killed or displaced by force of arms looting and robbing whatever remained their money and movable properties, raping women and girls by the dozen to with impunity in and in complete silence as nobody can report to the outside world as these victims fear for their lives and families. The result is unarguable third US failure in Somalia.**

d) What about the new US shift of policy to Somaliland? On 3 December 2007 while visiting Djibouti the Defence Secretary, Robert Gates, said 'My concern about Somalia is the potential for Al Qaeda to be active there'(42). Other Pentagon officials also expressed desire to have ties with Somaliland as '**Somaliland is an entity that works**' which '**should be independent**' so that '**we should build up parts that are functional and box in**' volatile south-central Somalia in contrast to '**Department's failed policy to fix the broken part first.**'(43). Is this new policy shift and sudden love with Somaliland a genuine gesture to help Somaliland to achieve recognition and development, or is it just to exploit Somaliland's desperation for recognition taking advantage of South Somalia's turmoil to acquire the strategic and important Berbera Port and Airport facilities as US military base to carry on the ill-advised and counterproductive '**war on terror**' in the Horn especially Somalia? Given the above failures in South-central Somalia, if the Pentagon's new-found love Somaliland is supported by the State Department it may also backfire to the US and bring about a **US fourth folly and failure in Somali politics?** But that remains to be seen.

I do not like to see the people in Somaliland to remain an indefinite limbo and isolation without international development assistance pending recognition as they have been in the last 17 years. During that period the southern-central Somalia has been in

endless conflict and turmoil while Somaliland has been in peace and security as well as practising experimental political democratisation through local, parliamentary and presidential elections on several occasions that so far have been considerably successful. I think it would be good and wise idea on the part of the international community to grant socio-economic development assistance funds for Somaliland which greatly benefit its people without tying political strings such as that it is not internationally recognised state. In today's world where international law is so easily breached by major powers, why are not giving developmental funds to be provided to Somaliland without attaching the conditionality of recognition or South Somalia for lack of functioning government? Why the international aid is applied in international law whereas it is breached in invading and destroying whole countries (e.g. Iraq, Somalia)?

As for Somaliland's separation and independence from the rest of Somalia, I think the unity of a nation should not achieved by force of arms but through voluntary, democratic and legal means. The 1960 Union between British Somaliland and Italian Somaliland or Somalia (as it was variously called) came through voluntary, democratic and legal means. First, immediately after the independence the two parliaments sat down and decided that the two territories should unite and later in 1961 a popular referendum was held for the population of the two territories in which their union and new unity constitution was voted and approved. Therefore, I think that in a similar way that the people in Somaliland and the people in the rest of Somalia be given a chance to express their opinion in popular a referendum to decide the issue of secession of Somaliland, whereby if the majority of the people in both parts of Somalia, or at least the population within Somaliland vote either separation or in a decentralised unity could satisfy the necessary voluntary, democratic and legal requirements to resolve this issue that has paramount importance for the future destiny of the Somali Nation rather than in unilateral secession or forced unity. In the eventuality of secession of Somaliland or any other parts of Somalia, small and weak 'independent' Somali mini-states in the Somali Peninsula would be vulnerable prey to Ethiopian expansionist infringement and inevitable absorption.

The above narrated US policy towards Somalia could be seen by Somalis that the US intends to help create a cantonization concurring with the Ethiopian sinister designs intentionally or unintentionally. One US acknowledged US academic and analyst of Somalia who closely follows and writes about Somalia's crisis, wrote **'As a political community, Somalia has disintegrated. The country has now reached the limit of its devolutionary cycle, which began in December 2006, when Ethiopia mounted a military intervention that ousted the Islamic Courts Council (ICC) from control over most southern**

and central Somalia. As strategy, the outlines of which have been floated by some strategists in the US military, would be to cantonize Somalia in order to isolate and encircle its most unstable regions, that would involve as its central feature diplomatic recognition of Somaliland and an abandonment of the TFG and of any possibility of a Somali state'. Cantonization is a simply return to pre-Courts Somalia, as are continued support for a collapsed T.F.G and pulling back. There is no present actionable strategy that does not lead back to devolution.'(44) Because as the author of this quotation truly says Somalia returned to the pre-Islamic Courts cantonization under the US-backed and supervised Ethiopian occupation during 2007.

Why such US serial follies and failures in Somalia? Because, I think that in all these cases of intervention, the US have been ill-advised and/or driven by global geopolitical strategic imperatives which are put before the interests of Somalia. Consequently, it is common knowledge that in the end such interventions deconstructs but not constructs. **But what about such values as morality, human rights and democracy which the US establishment professes and preaches?** In the current US Neo-Con policy these social values which underpin the very foundations of the Western capitalist liberal democracy matter only at the domestic level but in foreign policy it seems that they are evoked just as pretext slogans for intervention and afterwards these slogans are forgotten (e.g. Iraq, Afghanistan, Somalia, etc.) Despite that the US-backed Ethiopian occupation and its TFG collaborators left no stone unturned in Somalia and so many war crimes and human rights violations committed, **the three US wanted alleged terrorists Fazul Abdullah Mohamed, Abu Taha Al-Sudani, and Saleh Ali Saleh, accused of the bombing of US embassies in Nairobi and Dar es Salaam in August 1998, have not yet been found.** The first was reported killed and again reported that he was not killed by the Americans themselves. How one can explain that these tree individuals who were pretext for or motivated the US-backed Ethiopian invasion and occupation were not caught or their whereabouts still unknown after so much combing search in the country, and collective punishment of mass massacres, destruction, displacement and starvation?

6.3 UN position, Views and Role in Somali Crisis

As already noted, the UN Security Council has absolutely failed to condemn and stop the Ethiopian invasion, occupation and war crimes in Somalia which breaches the UN Charter and the international law or hold Ethiopia and TFG accountable. Instead it collaborated with this occupation and its horrible war crimes through the TFG - a Trojan horse of the Ethiopian troops. Why? Because the UN has become a rubberstamp of the wishes of the most powerful states in the Security Council especially the US. The Secretary-General who is the highest official of the UN has not dared to put his firm proposal to the Security Council to condemn and stop such invasion and occupation or investigate its war crimes. Nor he suggested to the same Council a UN

peacekeeping force to replace such illegal and killer/destroyer Ethiopian occupation. Instead, since April 2007 he has been advocating for the strange idea that Somalia needs 'a coalition of the willing' and that UN peacekeeping force is not 'realistic and viable' which can only be interpreted that interested countries, besides Ethiopia, should come forward and bring the Somali people to their knees whether the cost. On 20 December 2007 when the UN Security Council was discussing peace-keeping force for Somalia, the Secretary-General defiantly re-iterated his alone proposal for 'coalition of the willing' but the Council overruled and instructed him to prepare a plan for UN peace-keeping for Somalia. Could he differ from or defy the UN Security Council unless he has not a green-light and backing from powerful members in it? No, absolutely. Will he prepare in time and support strongly the UN peacekeeping force as instructed to make it happen or not? That remains to be seen. In a word, the UN has been funding and staunchly supporting the TFG of which the name Ethiopia occupied Somalia and committed the above described horrendous crimes. So the question is, are the UN Chief and Security Council members accomplices of these war crimes or not? Since nobody is above them, it depends on their conscience to judge their mistakes and rectify them and at least to hold the Ethiopian and TFG culprits accountable or not.

Since his recent appointment the Special Representative of the UN Secretary-general, Ahemdou Ould-Abdallah, unlike his predecessor, François Fall, has shown frankness and a lot of good-will and as well as less leaning on the TFG. For example, he admitted that a million civilian people have displaced from and within Mogadishu, 6,000 killed in Mogadishu and crimes committed against the Somalia civilians which annoyed the Ethiopian prime minister to call those UN statements as '**exaggerated**' and '**hype**' about the situation in Somalia. Most importantly Mr. Ould-Abdallah called that Somali war crimes suspects should be prosecuted at the International Criminal Court in order to end impunity in the lawless Somalia '**people perpetuate crimes and violence are not being challenged before the International criminal Court.**'(45). He also called for the Somali opposition sides - the TFG and armed and unarmed opposition to come together and talk about peace and reconciliation and Saudi Arabia to take a role to make these talks happen and succeed. Mr. Ould-Abdallah went to Asmara to meet with the leaders of the Alliance for Re-liberation of Somalia. But the question is, does Mr. Ould-Abdallah have the backing of the UN Secretary-general and Security Council? If he has their backing then there is glimmer of hope that the UN is moving to do something to resolve the Somali protracted crisis. But if not, it then would be the usual UN or international community lip-service. Let us wait and hope for the good.

6.4 The European Union Position and Views

The EU has been major a funder of the two-year-long Imbagathi conference in Kenya in which the TFG was formed and during its three-year or so years existence. However, the EU and most of the individual member states (except Britain) have either been reticent or spoken out against the Ethiopian invasion, occupation of and war crimes in Somalia. The EC and several member states (Italy, Germany, Sweden, Belgium, Holland, etc.) have been calling the withdrawal of the Ethiopian troops from Somalia. But neither the US nor the UN Security Council have been heeding of these calls or coming up with their own clear initiatives about the withdrawal of these troops from Somalia except lip-service tying such withdrawal with the deployment AU forces which are not forthcoming, which if they come could not make an difference in keeping peace unless the Somali people are allowed and assisted to exercise their genuine political dialogue and reconciliation by the international community taking a concerted and sincere approach.

The EU has also shown a concern about the war crimes and human rights violations committed by the Ethiopian occupation troops and the TFG and initiatives to investigate such crimes. Back in May 2007, Richards Hands, the security officer of EU office for Somalia based in Kenya was the first who disclosed and warned the war crimes ongoing then (still continue) in Mogadishu by writing the following alert message to his chief in Kenya 'I need to advise you that there are strong grounds to believe that the Ethiopian government and the transitional federal government of Somalia and the African Union (peacekeeping) Force Commander, possibly also including the African Union Head of Mission and other African Union officials have through commission or omission violated the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court . . . In regard to the above mentioned potential violations of international law there arise urgent questions of responsibility and potential complicity in the commission of war crimes by the European and its partners.' It was unknown to the Somalis whether the EU headquarters took steps about the report or not.

But eventually the EU Parliament passed a resolution on 22 November 2007 condemning 'the serious violations of international humanitarian law and human rights law committed by all parties to the conflict in Somalia.'). In this resolution, the EU parliament called for 'the cessation of all foreign military intervention in Somalia', and for 'an independent panel to investigate war crimes and human rights violations'(46). Affected Somalis are eagerly waiting that these European resolutions and proposals about the investigation of the war crimes committed by Ethiopian government and TFG be moved forward and made a reality so that the perpetrators be brought before the International Criminal Court.

6.5 The AU Position and Views

The AU as a collective body and most of its member states have no power or independent positions and views in world affairs in general and the Somali issue in particular. The African Commission (AC) office is based in Addis Ababa and it is heavily influenced by Ethiopian Government. The AU delegated the six IGAD countries for the Somali issue and as a result Ethiopia and Kenya - two countries with vested interests control Somali political and security affairs with the support of some powerful western states for their own political convenience. Only Uganda, a country without vested interest in Somalia, but closely allied with the US, has fulfilled its duty of the AU duty to contributing peace keeping troops to Somali by sending 1,600 troops under AU AMISOM name. The other three IGAD members, namely, Djibouti, Eritrea and Sudan, being disappointed with Ethiopian and Kenyan sinister plans and the latter's invasion and occupation of Somalia, disassociated themselves from the IGAD committee on Somalia. But AU has neither intervened to mend the rift between the IGAD members over Somalia nor has spoken out against the Ethiopian invasion and occupation of Somalia and war crimes. Contrariwise, the AU and its secretariat the AC have officially supported the invasion and occupation and often make such lame excuse that 'if Ethiopian pulls out of Somalia there will a security vacuum and disaster' while Ethiopian occupation forces are the primary source of insecurity and mayhem in Somalia. Therefore, the AU and its AC based in Addis Ababa, so being supportive of the Ethiopian occupation and war crimes in Somalia, can only be regarded accomplices of such crimes and lost the trust of the Somali people.

These countries and organisations (US, EU, UN, AU, etc) have neither clearly understand the complexity of the Somali crisis and how to approach it nor have they honest and principled policies to address these crises except succumbing to or believing the US and Ethiopian pretext slogans of 'Islamic terrorism' and 'Al-Qaeda haven' meant to justify the 'war on terror' Somalia is unjustly subjected to. Richard Bowden understands better than the involved international actors the causes and complexity of Somali crises and defines them 'It's religion . . .It's clannism. . .It's nationalism. It's strategic. The war in Somalia is all these things and more.' I add that the Somali crises are also caused by **excessive, interested and harmful foreign interferences and interventions and poverty that radicalise and drive Somalis into desperation and violence.** It is all these factors combined that complicate the Somali turmoil and make the solution harder.

7. US-ETHIOPIAN-KENYAN TRIPARTITE ALLIANCE AGAINST SOMALIA

Apart from the involvement of the above-mentioned international actors, this deadly and destructive war in Somalia is jointly run by

a US-Ethiopian-Kenyan Tripartite. As is known under Ethiopia and Kenya there are Somali ethnic populations and territories, and in the 1960s both countries entered a political and military pact against Somalia and in all these years the US and other western powers have shown bias to these two countries at the expense of Somalia. But this time the US has gone an extra length to enter an open hostile tripartite alliance with Ethiopia and Kenya especially sponsoring and fully backing the former to invade and occupy Somalia and commit above said war crimes. Given their words, actions and known vested interests in Somalia, this tripartite alliance have the following separate and joint objectives and roles in this war:-

7.1 The US Interests in Somalia

The US at least pursues these three main objectives in Somalia:-

- a) targeting Somalia as one of its 'war on terror' theatres with the voluntary partnership of the Ethiopian regime which has its own sinister designs and objectives in Somalia.
- b) geopolitical interests (military bases);
- c) Economic objectives since Somali has identified but not yet exploited large oil deposits and minerals.

7.2 Ethiopian Interests in Somalia

Ethiopia has long been seeking the following interests in Somalia:-

- a)centuries old territorial expansionist claims over Somalia which are either to conquer sits doing today or annex parts primarily to acquire a sea outlet for itself by occupying coastline.
- c)revenge for past wars with Somalia especially the 1964 and 1977-8, that is why its occupation troops are committing mass genocide, mass destruction, mass displacement and starvation to maximise the genocide; and
- d) if not succeed for such territorial annexation ambitions to destroy Somalia as nation-state, carve out of it vassal regions controlled from Addis Ababa and then to seize a sea outlet.

To rule Somalia and consolidate its objectives and interests, Ethiopian foreign minister Mesfin Seyoum opened Ethiopian Embassy in Mogadishu on 27 May 2007 with tanks imitating the US gunboat policy in Iraq. Is this a diplomatic embassy? No, a diplomatic embassy is not opened or guarded with tanks. So, the occupant of such embassy is intended to be the governor of Somalia.

These Ethiopian revengeful and territorial expansionism policy towards Somalia have been proven by its massive war crimes and inimical behaviours during the year of its illegal occupation of Somalia. The following symbolic pride and inimical acts of revenge have been shown in Somalia by the Ethiopian occupation troops. Video tapes have been made of the invasion and occupation, Ethiopian flag flown or hoisted over important places in Somalia such as Somali ex-ministry of defence building, Mogadishu Airport and Port, other main government buildings; surrounding with and threatening hundreds of Somali ex-army men who remained and stayed in Mogadishu and disbanding them and killing, maiming and detaining many according to reliable inside reports; Ethiopian soldiers washing in or swimming Mogadishu and Kismayo beaches; and Somali TFG leaders summoned every now and then to Addis Ababa and given orders either in Ethiopia or inside Somalia are also a regular features shown in the Ethiopian TV and media in Addis Ababa and watched in other parts in Ethiopia. Also messages of greetings and pride are regularly broadcast in Ethiopian TV and Ethiopian language Radio in Germany.

Equally significant for the Ethiopian regime and painfully disturbing for the Somali nation is that on 22 November 2007 the Ethiopian troops with officials from Addis Ababa and embassy officials in Mogadishu organised and held a big celebration marking the end of the Ethiopian Second Millennium and beginning of the Third Millennium in Mogadishu. The holding of this millennium celebration signified as to say **'after so many centuries we have been seeking to conquer the Somali homeland, now the Somali capital is under Ethiopian control and Ethiopian remembrance days are observed here.'** Also in December 2007 two celebrations - the 30th anniversary of the Ethiopian victory over Somalia in the 1877-8 War Ogaden (supported by Russia, Cuba and North Yemen) and first anniversary of the Ethiopian conquest of Somalia in December 2006, have been simultaneously celebrated in Addis Ababa with medals given to 1997-8 war Ethiopian and foreign veterans, and for Ethiopian soldiers and officers who conquered Somalia a year ago and decimated its people, ruined its capital and economy. The celebration for victories over Somalia and commission of such horrible war crimes by the Ethiopian troops are clear testimonies of the Ethiopian regime's inimical policy of revenge and territorial ambitions over Somalia.

The Ethiopian Government, despite its commission of above detailed war crimes and crimes against humanity in Somalia, as an occupation authority has neither exercised the obligation of an occupying authority for the welfare and protection of the Somali civilian population. For example, they do not show concern or provide care and relief aid to the one million people they have displaced and

many other hundreds of thousands they reduced to absolute destitution - even a class of water or one biscuit for a starving child. On the contrary the occupation troops have only the orders to kill, destroy, impoverish, displace and subdue the Somali people. The behaviour of the Ethiopian government and of its occupation force perfectly translates into the Somali proverb '**Nin ku dilay hadh kuuma jiido**' (who he killed you, does not drag your body into shade). In June after one month when the UN declared that Somali humanitarian situation was '**worst than Darfur**', after finishing his visit to Mogadishu the Ethiopian Prime Minister Meles Zenawi hailed '**the situation in Somalia is very encouraging.**' Reacting to the Human Rights Watch (USA) Report on 13 August 2007 that disclosed and condemned the Ethiopian war crimes, the Ethiopian Prime Minister's adviser gave this absurd response '**actually and morally repugnant.**' (47). Who is morally repugnant, the Human Rights Watch reporters revealed the war crimes or the Ethiopian leaders who committed the crimes? On 13 December 2007 when their troops killed 42 civilians and wounded 55 others at Bakaraha Market of Mogadishu at its busiest hour with deliberate artillery shelling, the Ethiopian government responded that they killed '**75 Al-shabab terrorists**' - new tactics to decimate the innocent civilians in the name of some underground resistance group they cannot lay their hand on. On 20 December 2007 in response to the UN declaration that one million Somalis have been displaced and the humanitarian situation in Somalia as the '**worst in the world**', Meles Zenawi fiercely attacked the UN by saying '**exaggeration**' and '**hype**', and as if he was saying '**why the UN is making such futile noises, don't they know that the most powerful country is on my side?**' and arrogantly denied that his troops indiscriminately bombarded civilian areas in Mogadishu by saying '**There has not been any indiscriminate firing on our side because it would be completely suicidal for us**'. But indeed he has done moral and legal suicide by committing such horrendous crimes he that did in Somalia.

7.3 Massive Similar Genocide and Human Rights Violations in Ogaden

The Ethiopian government has been carrying out in Ogaden similar operations of scorched-earth policy and genocide through methods such as the deliberate mass killings, destruction of properties, forced displacement and collective punishment of obstructing commercial food and humanitarian aid to reach millions of innocent civilians forced to starve so as to maximise the genocide as it was simultaneously carried out in Mogadishu during 2007. On 31st July 2007, ten US Congressmen and Congresswomen sent a letter to the Ethiopian Prime Minister Meles Zenawi and urged him to stop these atrocities and allow the people in the region to have access to commercial food and humanitarian relief aid. In recent months there

have been many alarming reports and news headlines about the famine in the Ogaden such '**Ogaden Ethiopia's Darfur**', '**African Genocide is unfolding in Ogaden**', etc. At least **200,000 people** (48) have been forcibly displaced from their farming and pastoral settlements, villages, and towns with their homes burned, properties confiscated or looted while trade supply food and humanitarian aid were blocked from these starving population. As a result it has been reported that **953,000 were displaced and forced to be in Emergency situation of need** (49a). The Under-Secretary-general for Humanitarian Affairs, Mr. John Holmes himself visited the region and confirmed such humanitarian catastrophe obtaining there and negotiated the Ethiopian government to stop these genocidal collective methods of indiscriminate killings, displacement and starvation punishment. These similar and simultaneously military genocidal campaigns in Somalia and Ogaden indicate Meles Zenawi's real hostile policy towards the Somali ethnic people in the Horn of Africa.

7.4 Kenyan interests in Somalia

Although it had signed a pact of alliance against Somalia with Ethiopia in the 1960s, Kenya maintained near normal and non-interference relations with Somalia before the Ethiopian invasion and occupation in December 2006. During the civil war in the early 1990s Kenya rightly allowed hundreds of thousands of Somali refugees fleeing from that conflict at home and during the six months rule of the Somali Council of Islamic Courts (SCIC) in Somalia, Kenya allowed 30,000 refugees into its territory (49). But since the Ethiopian occupation of Somalia, Kenya has taken a belligerent stance towards Somalia and its people by collaborating with the Ethiopian occupation authorities and war crimes by taking the following steps as part of the tasks and objectives of the afore-said Tripartite:-

a) deportation from its territory and handing over to Ethiopian occupation troops in Somalia more than 100 civilian Somalis and foreign residents fleeing from the same occupation forces and seeking safe haven;

b) closing its borders and turning away 5,000-7,000 Somali refugees mostly women and children fleeing from the persecution and human rights violations of the Ethiopian occupation troops in the early months of 2007 (50);

c) From January to July 2007 Kenya obstructed international humanitarian agencies for Somalia based in its territory from reaching and providing aid relief to 200,000 Somalis (mostly women and children and vulnerable people) who were emergency starving

situation in Gedo Region of Somalia bordering Kenya in defiance of the calls of these agencies during which time (seven months) many thousands of these people in dire need must have died as a result of this hostile and cruel act;

d) in another instance '2,000 children from Somalia who attended schools in the Kenyan border districts Mandera, Ijara, Wajir, and Garisa were forced to drop out when the border was closed' (51); and

e) deportation of more than 450 Somali civilian refugees who enter its territory to unknown destinations in November 2007 (52) and in the same month Kenya deported 50 Somali civilians who ran from the deadly Ethiopian occupation in Somalia; who went on hunger strike and refused visit by UNHCR doctors and relatives, and they were deported to unknown destinations while UNHCR and human rights agencies have great concern about their whereabouts and safety (53).

UNHCR maintains that these human rights violations by Kenya run counter to Article 33(1) of the 1951 UN Convention relating to the Status of Refugees (the UN Refugee Convention) to which Kenya is party provides for this:- 'No contracting State shall expel or return ('refouler') a refugee in any manner whatsoever to the frontiers where his life or freedom would be threatened on account of his race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion'.

Kenya interests in Somalia are:

a) to prevent the re-emergence of a strong Somali government in Somalia as former Kenya president Daniel Arap Moi disclosed several years ago when lecturing at an American University;

c) in relation that policy Kenya wants to influence and assert some control on the Somali neighbouring regions of Lower Jubba and Gedo for security reasons at least if not to annex them if Somalia is again dismembered by foreign powers;

d) continued Somali turmoil so that the diplomatic missions and humanitarian organisations for Somalia which are based in Kenya remain there as long as possible because the bulk of the development and humanitarian funds allocated for Somalia are spent in Kenya and help its Kenya to grow.

To pursue and consolidate the above described anti-Somalia policy in collaboration with Ethiopia, Kenya opened an embassy in Mogadishu under the Ethiopian occupation guarded by Ethiopian forces.

This wrong policy pursued by Kenya in association and collaboration with the Ethiopian occupation has apparently backfired. The landside

election victory by the opposition at the end of December 2007 in the parliamentary and presidential elections; the alleged rigging of the presidential vote by the incumbent president; and ensuing serious turmoil and civil strife, among other factors, have much to do with the spill-over effects of the US driven '**War on Terror**' in Somalia and Kenyan Muslim's fury and backlash (who gave most of their votes to the opposition) about the '**terrorism**' witch-hunt and human rights abuses they have been subjected to during the last one year.

8. SOMALI NATIONAL RESISTANCE AGAINST THE ETHIOPIAN OCCUPATION

The unprovoked, aggressive and illegal US-backed Ethiopian invasion and occupation of Somalia from 19 December 2006 to-date has not been accepted and will never be accepted by the Somali people. That is why Somali people and especially those Mogadishu in their diverse social groups (Followers Islamic Courts, nationalists, organised youth and students, tribesmen, etc.) unite in a national resistance front fight against the inimical Ethiopian occupation troops who trampled upon our national sovereignty, independence, and dignity, ruined our capital city of Mogadishu, massacred and maimed thousands of our people, destroyed the wealth of our nation, displaced over one million of our people, meted out collective punishment of starvation to these IDPs and other remaining masses.

In a daylight dream the Ethiopian Prime Minister hoped to conquer easily and rule our capital and country as a whole. But that sinister and mad ambition have been dashed by the Somali National Resistance and his forces are bogged down in 8 or so Sq.kms. in and around Mogadishu with hundreds of losses of life, if not thousands, in deep demoralisation and utter failure while they are being hunted by the gross war crimes they have committed. The world has realised this failure of the Ethiopian occupation force and abhor their war crimes. That is why the international community is finding ways to make exit and face-saving for this defeated occupation force and their leader.

Social upheavals such as civil wars, revolutions and wars, despite their and painful and destructive effects and misery they bring upon societies, they teach people lessons to refrain from or prevent similar adverse events to happen again. These social convulsions also carry with them the germs of progress in terms of new ideas or better alternative system that replaces the old faulty or unjust system causing the social upheavals. It means such social strives are pregnant with not only negative things but also with positive ones. One relevant example at hand is that the Ethiopian invasion

and occupation in our country and its heinous war crimes have not only triggered the centuries old enmity in the Somali sub-consciousness but also reawakened the Somali nationalism and patriotism dormant under the surface of mounds of selfishness and tribalism which have accumulated in the Somali social mind for over 20 years. All Somalis inside and outside the country and even all those Somali speaking people in the Horn of Africa have been deeply startled and pained by this occupation of Somalia especially the capital city of Mogadishu by Ethiopia. The effect was not only so instantaneous and pervasive that the minds of Somalis everywhere have simultaneously been gripped by profound feeling of hatred for the Ethiopian occupation and a flame of nationalistic and patriotic sentiment that the existence and destiny of their country and nationhood has been deeply threatened by falling under traditional enemy's occupation. Hence a permeating grief coupled with spontaneous flurry of activities by Somalis of all walks of life and everywhere in the country and in the Diaspora organising themselves into fighting resistance groups in Mogadishu and elsewhere in the country and solidarity groups collecting and sending donations to their brethren in the insurgents, the displaced, the wounded, the children orphaned and women widowed by the occupation forces, those whose properties and means of livelihood destroyed, the abandoned disabled people, etc. in Mogadishu, other regions, and in the Diaspora. Even Somalis in Somaliland and Puntland and Somali ethnic populations in Djibouti, Ethiopia and Kenya have been deeply saddened by the Ethiopian occupation of Somalia and they have been boiling with anger and nationalistic sentiments with profound sympathy of solidarity for their occupied and massacred and displaced brethren in Mogadishu in diverse ways in words and deeds (e.. speaking out, giving advise and solace, hosting, donations, etc) in ways that the Ethiopian regime and the supporting Western and African governments can not imagine.

Such spontaneous reaction of bitterness about the occupation and nationalistic and patriotic sentiments and solidarity among the Somalis have turned into an organised and steadily growing main stream National Resistance movement. For example, about 500 Somali delegates from various social groups (Islamic Courts, the Free Parliamentarians defected from TFG, Civil Society inside the country, and the Somali Diaspora) who either led or support the National resistance converged in a conference held in Asmara (Eritrea) on 6-14 September 2007 and formed the Alliance for the Re-liberation of Somalia (ARS) made up of 191 Council, presidium and executive committee. The ARS unites, co-ordinates the activities of the National Resistance and speaks on its behalf. Countless Somalis in the Horn of Africa either sympathise with, or associate with, or support, or become members of this newly reborn Somali nationalist

and patriotic National Resistance spirit speared by the ARS and other networks around the world.

The most important of this National Resistance movement is the armed wing which has been so heroically fighting against the Ethiopian occupation force and the client TFG militias since the beginning. Thousands of martyrs sacrificed their lives, families, and interests for the liberation of our occupied motherland. This anti-Ethiopian occupation heroic resistance has been growing from strength to strength and spread into the regions outside Mogadishu such as Lower Shabelle, Middle Shabelle, Hiiraan, Galgadud, Bay, Bakool and other places. During the last months of 2007 and in January 2008 the heroic resistance fighters, apart from Mogadishu, have ambushed Ethiopian military convoys or conducted brave operations in Kala-Bayr, Cento Quindici (Junction 115) (both in Hiiraan Region), Balli-doogle military base and Afgooye (in Lower Shabelle Region) inflicting heavy losses on the occupation forces and dependent TFG militias. As a result Ethiopian troops, unable to withstand the onslaught of the resistance fighters, withdrew from a number of places they occupied before such Gura-El town (in Galgadud Region), Beletweyne city and its environs and several areas inside Mogadishu where the Somali inhabitants in these places breathe in freedom air and fee pride whatever misery they have undergone or they still suffer from.

The Ethiopian regime and its discredited and dysfunctional client TFG call the National Resistance as 'terrorism' and the freedom fighters 'terrorists'. But in actual fact, the Ethiopian invader and occupier troops and the TFG lackeys are the real terrorists. The National Resistance fighters have every natural, inherent and legitimate human right to defend their country's independence, sovereignty, lives, families, homes, properties and dignity from the invaders and the TFG traitors. Even the calls of jihad against this illegal and occupying foreign enemy in our homeland by Somali certain religious movements are part of the legitimate means in resisting foreign invasion according to Islam or any other religion and culture.

The Ethiopian regime invaded and occupied our country for a false pretext that the Islamic Courts threatened their country security which was not true. It is known that the Ethiopian Prime Minister, Meles Zenawi, has been hatching his pet project for so many to years in militarily interfering in parts of Somalia (e.g., Dolow Luuq, Balad Hawo, etc. in Gedo region), arming Somali warlords against one another fragment Somalia and keep the civil war alive. Meantime, that regime has constantly been portraying Somalia as a '**haven for Islamic terrorists**' with the dual aim of distracting his internal

opposition to an imaginary external threat and to win over American Administration's attention which he succeeded in having the green-light and support for the invasion and occupation of Somalia. I have already spelled out above Ethiopian regime's objectives for doing this.

But if Ethiopian regime wants security, peace and friendship with the Somali nation as it claims, it must withdraw its troops completely from Somalia without further delay and conditionality. The Ethiopian occupation troops have no right whatsoever to stay and rule Somalia or support the illegitimate and treacherous TFG entity which is a Trojan horse and mouthpiece for the justification of Ethiopian occupation and its war crimes.

For such Ethiopian troops withdrawal, the international must quickly arrange exit for them by replacing them with UN troops from Muslim/Arab/African/-Asian/European countries while helping the Somalis for the convening of a genuine all-inclusive national dialogue and reconciliation conference in which delegates have been chosen by the diverse social groups (Islamic courts, Free Parliamentarians defected from the TFG, civil society from inside the country and from the Diaspora as represented in the ARS); some selected members from the TFG for clans that have no trustworthy or inadequate representation in the ARS; and genuine and titled traditional leaders and religious leaders who should be selected and delegated by their communities but not the TFG or any other body. The objective of such broad-based and genuine national conference owned and freely managed by the Somalis would be to replace the present discredited TFG institutions which are largely in form and content defunct and irreparable to give way to a new representative, credible and trusted government and commissions shared by all these groups to pave the way for future peaceful and democratic politics practised and implemented through free and fair elections. Otherwise the National Resistance will go on and there will be even more radicalisation of the Somali masses and spread of the conflict in the entire Horn of Africa of the symptoms are already there.

8.1 Remembrance and commendation of Somali National Resistance Martyrs and Heroes

8.2 Since December 2006 and during 2007, and this to day, thousands of gallant Somalis have either martyred or become maimed for the liberation of our motherland while fighting against the invader-occupier Ethiopian troops. These are national martyrs to be honoured and remembered in the history books of our nation. May God bless their souls!

There are also many Somalis of all walks of life who did not carry guns but have been showing extraordinary courageous solidarity and deeds in the national resistance efforts in many and diverse forms such speaking out against the ugly and lethal Ethiopian occupation and its horrible war crimes; speaking for the voiceless masses killed, displaced and strangled and letting the world know their these crimes and plight of the over one million civilians (mostly women, children, elderly, sick and wounded) who have been displaced and denied of local and external relief aid; and raising funds for these victims, etc. etc. in and outside the country. These brave and patriotic people, who have made great sacrifices in many ways and put their lives in harm's way, must acknowledged, honoured and remembered. To my knowledge and unbiased judgment, there countless Somali nationalists and patriots who have shown exemplary courage and heroism in opposing and condemning the Ethiopian occupation and its war crimes, leading the National Resistance effort, and speaking for the voiceless and starving IDPs and our endangered nation as a whole. Since the Ethiopian invasion and occupation started up to this very hour, the following leading personalities include those Somali national heroes who made, and still make, such principled decision and extraordinary courage and heroism in defence of their nation's independence, sovereignty, existence and dignity and I call them either the 2006-2007 years or 2007 year national heroes:-

A) **Sheikh Sharif Sheikh Ahmed** - for Chairman of the National Executive Council of the Alliance for the Re-liberation for Somalia (ARS) and Executive Chairman of the Somali Islamic Courts Union (SICU), who led the SICU's war with the invading Ethiopian troops in December 2006 and after losing that war led his forces into retreat and then helped organise and led a national resistance in guerrilla warfare tactics in Mogadishu and other parts of the country - a heroic resistance which he still leads.



Sheekh Sharif Sheikh Ahmed
-Executive Chairman of the ARS and Executive Chairman
of the SCICU -Person of the Years 2006-2007 in the National resistance effort.

B) **Sharif Hassan Sheikh Adan** - former Speaker of the TFG parliament, leader of the Free parliamentarians group, and Chairman of the Central Council of ARS who strongly oppose and exposed the illegal and aggressive invasion and occupation of Somalia from the outset and sacrificed his post of the speaker of the TFG with other parliamentarian colleagues who took similar noble and principled stand against such occupation and led them into opposition and exile. Mr. Sharif Hassan leads this ex-parliamentarian groups who are now called the Free parliamentarians.



Sharif Hassan Sheikh Adan -Person of
the Years 2004-2007 in the Anti-Ethiopian
Occupation national Resistance effort.

C) **Jama Mohamed Ghalib** - Former General and police commander, minister of interior and now first Vice chairman of the Central Council of ARS who strongly opposed the Ethiopian occupation of Somalia and he has elegantly been exposing its sinister designs against Somalia and its war crimes in the Somali and international media, forums and human rights and legal community.



Jama Mohamed Ghalib - Person of the year
2007 in the Anti-Ethiopian Occupation National
Resistance Effort.

D) Zakariya Haji Mohamud - first vice Chairman of the National Executive Council of ARS and leading member of the Free Parliamentarian group which denounced and opposed the Ethiopian invasion and occupation of Somalia from the very outset and together with his colleagues went into exile. Zakariya takes very active role in the intellectual campaign against the Ethiopian occupation and war crimes in Somalia through the Somali and international media including Al-Jazeera and debates international forums and diplomatic contacts and briefings as well.

-Photo not available - person of the year 2007 in the Anti-Ethiopian Occupation National Resistance Effort.

E) Yusuf Hassan Ibrahim (Yusuf Dheeg)- former General and Air-force commander, ambassador, minister and now Foreign Affairs Secretary for the Alliance for Re-liberation of Somalia and member of the Free parliamentarian Group which strongly denounced and opposed the Ethiopian invasion occupation of Somalia and its war crimes and from the very outset he and together with his colleagues went into exile. He takes very active role in exposing Ethiopian occupation and crimes and lobbying among Somalis to unify their ranks against this occupation well as making diplomatic contacts and briefings in support for this anti-Ethiopian Occupation National resistance.

-Photo not available - Mr. Yusuf Hassan Ibrahim (Yusuf Dheeg) -person of the Years 2006/2007 in the Anti-Ethiopian occupation national Resistance effort.

F) Mohamed Abdi Yusuf - Ex-prime Minister of the Somali TNG and Minister member of the central Council of ARS and leading member of the Free parliamentarian Group which strongly denounced and opposed the Ethiopian invasion occupation of Somalia and its war crimes and from the very outset he and together with his colleagues went into exile. He takes very active role and tirelessly campaigns to unite

the Somalis inside and outside the country and to support the anti-Ethiopian Occupation National resistance.



Mohamed Abdi Yusuf - Person of the years 2w006-2007 in the Anti-Ethiopian Occupation national Resistance Effort.

G) Omar Hashi Adan - Secretary of Interior for the ARS and leading member of the Free parliamentary Group which strongly denounced and opposed the Ethiopian invasion occupation of Somalia and its war crimes and from the very outset he and together with his colleagues went into exile. He takes very active role and tirelessly campaigns to unite the Somalis inside and outside the country and to support the anti-Ethiopian Occupation National Resistance.

- Photo not available - M. Omar Hashi Adan - Person of the year 2007 in the Anti-Ethiopian Occupation National Resistance Effort.

H) Mohamud Haji Nur (Tarsan) -Secretary of Planning and Trainin for the Executive Executive National Executive Council of ARS. He is very active in organising demonstrations against the Ethiopian occupation and exposing war crimes in Somalia in the UK and other European cities and raising awareness of the Diaspora to support the Anti-Ethiopian Occupation National Resistance Effort inside and outside the country and especially through the Somali and international media including interviews with Al--Jazeera and making diplomatic contacts and briefings.

-Photo not available -Person of the year 2007 in the Anti-Ethiopian Occupation National Resistance effort .

I) Prof. Abdiraman Ibbi - former minister and member of the Free parliamentary Group which strongly denounced and

opposed the Ethiopian invasion occupation of Somalia and its war crimes and from the very outset he and together with his colleagues went into exile. He takes very active He takes very active role in exposing Ethiopian occupation and crimes and lobbying among Somalis to unify their ranks against this occupation well as making diplomatic contacts and briefings in support for this anti-Ethiopian Occupation National Resistance Effort.

-Photo not available -Prof. Abdirahman Ibbi -person of the Year 2006/2007 in the Anti-Ethiopian National Resistance Effort.

J) Dr. Fowsiya Mohamed Sheikh (one of the executive secretaries of the ARS). She is very active in organising demonstrations against the Ethiopian occupation and war crimes in Somalia in the UK and other European cities and raising awareness of the Diaspora to support the Anti-Ethiopian Occupation National Resistance Effort inside and outside the country and especially through the Somali and international media and diplomatic contacts and briefings.



Photo (right) Dr. Fowsiya Mohamed Sheikh -Person of the years 2006-2007 in the Anti-Ethiopian Occupation National Resistance Effort (flanked on the left by Amina Ahmed Warsanme -another active lady in the Resistance- who's in this heroic series).

K) Dr. Mohamed Dheere -Secretary for Health of the ARS - was a doctor working in Mogadishu in caring for the civilians wounded by the occupation forces and their dependent TFG militias. He was one of the many doctors who fled after their hospitals and practices were attacked and destroyed and he sought asylum in a European country where he takes very active role in organising the Diaspora and raising their awareness against the occupation and to support the National Resistance Effort.

- Photo Not available - Dr. Mohamed Dheere - Person of the Year 2007 in the Anti-Ethiopian National Resistance Effort.

L) Suldaan Mohamed Suldaan Garyare - Secretary for Social Affairs and Human Rights of the ARS. He takes very active role in organising demonstrations against the Ethiopian occupation and war crimes in Sweden, other Scandinavian countries and in the UK and raising awareness of the Diaspora to support the Anti-Ethiopian Occupation National Resistance Effort inside and outside the country.

- Photo not available - Suldaan Mohamed Suldaan Garyare - Person of the year 2007 in the Anti-Ethiopian Occupation National Resistance Effort.

M) Mohamud Mohamed Gure - member of the national council of ARS and deputy Executive secretary for foreign Affairs and has been very active in organising demonstrations against the Ethiopian occupation and war crimes in Somalia in the UK and other European cities and raising awareness of the Diaspora to support the Anti-Ethiopian Occupation National Resistance Effort inside and outside the country and especially through the Somali and international media including interviews with Al-Jazeera and making diplomatic contacts and briefings.

-Photo not available -Mohamud Mohamed Gure - person of the Year 2007 in the Anti-Ethiopian Occupation National Resistance Effort.

N) Sheikh Bashir Dhoolayare - He takes very active role and tirelessly campaigns to organise demonstrations for the Somalis in the Diaspora, unite them and raise awareness to oppose the barbaric and lethal occupation and its war crimes, demand its withdrawal, and collect donations for the IDPs. Mr. Sheikh Bashir Dhoolayare has made outstanding contribution in the anti-Ethiopian Occupation National Resistance during 2006-2007.

-Photo not available - Sheikh Bashir Dhoolayare -Person of the Years 2006-2007 in the Anti-Ethiopian Occupation National Resistance Effort.

O) Amina Ahmed Warsame - Chairperson of the Human Rights Committee of the ARS and she is very active in organising demonstrations against the Ethiopian occupation and war crimes in Somalia in the UK and other European cities and raising awareness of the Diaspora to support the Anti-Ethiopian Occupation National Resistance Effort inside and outside the country and especially through the Somali and international media and diplomatic contacts and briefings.

-Photo (on the left of Dr. Fowsiya above) Amina Ahmed Warsame -Person of the Year 2007 in the Anti-Ethiopian Occupation National Resistance Effort.

P) **Abdeweli Sheikh Mohamed Mohamud** - member of the Central Council of the ARS and he is very active in organising demonstrations against the Ethiopian occupation and war crimes in Somalia in the UK and other European cities and raising awareness of the Diaspora to support the Anti-Ethiopian Occupation National Resistance Effort inside and outside the country and especially through the Somali and international media and diplomatic contacts and briefings.

-Photo not available - Mr. Abdiweli Sheikh Mohamed Mohamaud - Person of the year 2007 in the Anti-Ethiopian National Resistance effort.

P) **Ambassador Mohamed Sharif** - is one of the few senior Somali diplomats have strongly denounced and opposed the Ethiopian invasion occupation of Somalia and its war crimes and from the very outset. He takes very active role in exposing Ethiopian occupation and crimes and lobbying among Somalis to unify their ranks against this occupation well as making diplomatic contacts and briefings in support for this anti-Ethiopian Occupation National Resistance Effort.

-Photo not available - Mr. Mohamed Sharif - person of the 2007 in the Ethiopian national resistance effort.

q) **Mohamed Amin Alhadi** - member of the ARs and he has been taking very active in organising demonstrations against the Ethiopian occupation and war crimes in Somalia in the UK and other European cities and raising awareness of the Diaspora to support the Anti-Ethiopian Occupation National Resistance Effort inside and outside the country and especially through the Somali and international media including interviews with Al--Jazeera and making diplomatic contacts and briefings.

-Photo not available- Mr. Mohamed Amin Al-Hadi - Person of the Year 2007 in the Anti-Ethiopian occupation national resistance Effort.

P) **Mohamed Amin Osman** - he has been very active role in organising demonstrations against the Ethiopian occupation and war crimes in Somalia in the UK and other European cities and raising awareness of the Diaspora to support the Anti-Ethiopian Occupation National Resistance Effort inside and outside the country and especially through the Somali and international media and diplomatic contacts and briefings.

-Photo not available - Mr. Mohamed Amin Osman - Person of the Year 2007 in the Anti-Ethiopian occupation national resistance Effort.

P) **Mohamed Hassan Haad** - chairman of the Hawiye Traditional and Unity Council (HTUC), who since Mogadishu (with other

parts of the country) was occupied by Ethiopian troops in 28 December 2006 has been courageously opposing and speaking out against the grave war crimes by these occupation forces and allied TFG militias against the population and has been letting the world know the daily crimes inflicted on the population of the city and the plight displaced over million civilians while calling the world to come to the rescue of the starving millions and withdrawal of these inimical forces. Mr. Mohamed Hassan, after his colleagues were kidnapped and taken to unknown destination by Ethiopian troops, and he and rest of the Council members being hunted, he has gone into hiding inside Mogadishu and has courageously continued fighting on regularly basis to speak to the media continue to make the voices of the voiceless and helpless Somali masses languishing and starving under this barbaric and predatory occupation to be heard by the world. His courageous, principled and nationalist stand against this hostile and lethal occupation has not only been great solace and hope for the neglected and desperate Somali people but also has earned him their admiration, love and fame. Mr. Mohamed Hassan Haad has emerged from a simple traditional leader to a nation hero in this anti-Ethiopian Occupation National resistance Effort. In this Anti-Ethiopian Occupation National Resistance Effort he has emerged from a simple traditional leader to national hero.



Photo Mohamed Hassan Haad Chairman of Hawiye Traditional and Unity Council - Person of the Years 2006-2007 in the Anti-Ethiopian Occupation National Resistance Effort.

Q) Ahmed Diiriye Ali - spokesman of the HTUC who has been kidnapped from his house in Mogadishu and detained in incommunicado in an unknown military camps in Bay Region for 80 days by the Ethiopian troops before he and some other members of the HTUC were released on 27/1/2008 by intervention of the new TFG Prime Minister Nur Hassan

Hussein. Like his chairman, Mr. Mohamed Hassan Haad, Mr. Ahmed Diiriye strongly opposed and exposed the Ethiopian invasion and occupation of Mogadishu (the Somali capital) and other parts of Somalia and its grave war crimes and those of the allied TFG militias. He has, as spokesman of the Hawiye Traditional and Unity Council, been letting the world know the daily crimes inflicted on the population of the city and the plight displaced over million civilians while calling the world to come to the rescue of the starving millions and withdrawal of these inimical forces. Mr. Mohamed Hassan, after his colleagues were kidnapped and taken to unknown destination by Ethiopian troops, and he and rest of the Council members being hunted, he has gone into hiding inside Mogadishu and has courageously continued fighting on regularly basis to speak to the media to make the voices of the voiceless and helpless Somali masses languishing and starving under this barbaric and predatory occupation to be heard by the world. His courageous, principled and nationalist stand against this hostile and lethal occupation has not only been great solace and hope for the neglected and desperate Somali people and but also has earned him their admiration, love and fame. Mr. Ahmed Diiriye Ali has emerged from a simple traditional leader to a nation hero in this Anti-Ethiopian National Resistance Effort.



Ahmed Diiriye Ali - member and Spokesman of the Hawiye Traditional and Unity Council - person of the year 2007 in the Anti-Ethiopian Occupation National Resistance Effort.

R) Sheikh Ahmed Ali Gees - a member of the Hawiye Traditional and Unity Council took, like his colleagues in the Council, he has taken courageous, principled and nationalist stand against the Ethiopian invasion and occupation and its war crimes in Somalia. One the same day,

as Ahmed Diiriye, he was kidnapped from his house in Mogadishu and detained in incommunicado in an unknown military camps in Bay Region for 80 days by the Ethiopian troops before he was released on 27/1/2008 with Ahmed Diiriye by intervention of the new TFG Prime Minister Nur Hassan Hussein. His courageous, principled and nationalist stand against this hostile and lethal occupation has not only been great solace and hope for the neglected and desperate Somali people and but also has earned him their admiration, love and fame. Mr. Sheikh Ali Gees has emerged from a simple traditional leader to a nation hero in this Anti-Ethiopian National Resistance Effort.

-Photo not available - Sheikh Ahmed Ali Gees -person of the Years 2006-2007 **in** the Anti-Ethiopian Occupation National Resistance Effort

P) Dr. Hawo Abdi Diblawe, who selflessly dedicated most of her career as a doctor for the care of the helpless poor and the sick and who has shown extraordinary courage and sacrifice in caring for thousands upon thousands of Mogadishu IDPs, poor and sick masses at her Hospital Camp in the outskirts west of Mogadishu. Dr. Hawo Abdi Diblawe has been cited and honoured as the 2007 person inside and outside the country by both Somali and foreign organisations including the UN and international humanitarian organisations.



Dr. Hawo Abdi Diblawe – dedicated selfless humanitarian worker who cares the helpless Mogadishu IDPS, poor and the sick especially women and children. – Person of the Year 2007.in the national Rseistaance effort.

S) Madina Ahmed Elmi (alias Madina General) – dedicated social and humanitarian worker and member leading member of the Civil Society was killed on for her outspoken views in defence of and helping the Mogadishu IDPS and other entire population of victimised by the occupation forces and

collaborating TFG militias. Madina was shot dead on 16/11/2007 when distributing relief aid to the IDPs suffering on the road between Mogadishu and Afgooye. Her noble and humane role was acknowledged not only by the Somalis but also by the international community including the UN and her death was mourned by all.

Photo not available - MS Madina Mohamud Elmi (Madina General) was shot dead while distributing relief food for Mogadishu IDPs at Afgooye Road - Person of the Year 2007 in the National Resistance effort.

S) Ali Iman Sharmarke and Mahad Ahmed Elmi - respectively Managing Director of HornAfrik and Manager of Radio Capital Voice were shot dead on 11 August 2007 in Mogadishu under the Ethiopian occupation for the free speech and dissemination of free and fair news reporting and presentation of diverse views through their HornAfrik Media group letting the world know such barbaric and lethal occupation and its war crimes.



**Ali Iman Sharmarke - senior journalist
Slain on 11 August 2007 - Person of the
Year 2007 in the Anti-Ethiopian Occupation
National Resistance Effort.**

Photo of Mahad Ahmed ELmi

Among the Diaspora there are countless Somali men, women and young people who have shown extraordinary efforts in the National Resistance campaign against the Ethiopian invasion and occupation in Somalia and war crimes through the local and international media and forums and especially organising demonstrations in Europe and North American cities to raise awareness about these war crimes among the Somali Diaspora and galvanise their humanitarian support for the one million Somali and more IDPs from Mogadishu as well as appealing to the governments and peoples of these countries to get informed and do something about this barbaric occupation and its crimes. I could not know and observe all the outstanding activities of tens of thousands of Somalis in the Diaspora who have enourmously contributed in the nationalist and patriotic Anti-Ethiopian

Occupation National Resistance Effort in Europe, America, Canada, Australia, and Arab countries especially to let the world know the war crimes of this occupation, highlighting the plight of the displaced over million civilians (mostly women, children, elder and fraile, sick and wouded) and raising funds for starving population as well as feeding and medications for helpless thousands of wounded civilians starving and rotting in hopistals and in makeshift camps. But I cannot help the temptation to mention some outstanding inndividuals in the diaspora campagns such **Somali peerless youth such as Sakariya Haji Mohamed, Abdisalam Mohamud Qurux, ,** etc. in London and the **Dhaqdhaqaaqa Group** (fore-runner of the Alliance for the Re-liberation of Somalia) whose active members live in Sweden, Norway, Italy, Denmark, Filand, Holland, USA, Canada, etc. Also I cannot miss to mention and acknowledge the unparalalled valubale contribution to the Anti-Ethiopian Occupation National Resistance Effort by **Dr. Amina Said**, a resident of Sweden, **member of the Dhaqdhaqaaqa**, with her extraordinary ideas and intellectual contribution by composing anti-Ethiopian occupation and patriotic poems almost on weekly basis and distributing them via the emails of the National Resistance movement participants and internet websites to raise patriotic awareness and consciousness among the Somali diaspora and those inside the country. Also worthy mentioning and acknowledging are the outstanding courageous role and enormous sacrifices of Somali journalists and support staffs, who have been killed, maimed, intimidated, threatened, and detained while their media agenncies' centes, facilities, equipments have atacked and destroyed and looted wholly or partly, muzzled and closed down especially those inside Mogadishu in exposing these horrendous war crimes by the Ethiopian occupation troops and its dependent TFG militias and letting the world to know them; speaking for the voiceless one million or more Mogadishu IDPs and the other victimised general population in the city. Those who are still alive deserve commendation and respect, and those who lost their lives deserve remembrance and tribute from the Somali people. I sincerely apologise to my Somali comptariots whose activities and contributions in the Ant-Ethiopian Occcupation National Resistance Effort have not been cited here. As said before I could not observe and gather all the information and contributions by the National Resistance movement as my information has been limited by geographical barriers and lack of necessary resosurces. I can only hope that other observers could see and record what I missed and could inform and acknowledge in this report.

8.3 The Need for Future Peaceful, Moderate and Pluralistic Politics for Somalia

Today our country is under illegal, aggressive and inimical Ethiopian occupation which is unacceptable. This occupation imposed the worst lethal violence on the Somali nation and Somalis have no any other choice been but to wage a legitimate national resistance or liberation war. Here the law that violence breeds violence is in action. Simply, we are responding to an occupying enemy using of unrestrained and highly disproportional force in terms of his troops training, numbers, diversified heavy weaponry, logistics supplies and international support. But we also have our own strengths and advantages - our legitimate and just cause to defend our independence, sovereignty, people and dignity and this just cause plus the battle being fought in our soil gives us advantage over such well-trained and equipped enemy army and international support it has got. But the stupidity of the Ethiopian regime and its client TFG is that they call resisting Somali people as '**terrorists**' and their legitimate resistance as '**terrorism**' while their occupation and use of violence on the Somali people is illegal and pure terrorism because the Somali people or their representatives have neither invited the Ethiopian invasion and occupation nor elected the Ethiopian piggy-back TFG.

Having said that, I want to remind my Somali compatriots that the mass murdering violence today used by the Ethiopian occupation force and its auxiliary Somali TFG militias on our people is product of previous violence. I mean that all those violent and painful episodes our country and people have undergone in the last couple of decades (dictatorial violence, civil war, or you may call it tribo-political war, warlords wars, Islamic Courts, etc.) - successive and accumulated violence not only caused hundreds of thousands of deaths but fragmented our nation into feuding groups. And precisely, it is that violence of our making that has made our country so weak and vulnerable for Ethiopia to invade and occupy it using such revengeful and merciless violence and humiliation on us. In other words, the Ethiopian occupation and its violence is a legacy our factional or sectarian politics devoid of any sense of moderation, rationality and compromise for the common good of public interest.

But as I described above, one benefit we have got from this lethal Ethiopian occupation is that it awakened our dormant nationalism and patriotism and our people united their ranks under a umbrella of Anti-Ethiopian occupation national Resistance. This revived sense of nationalism and patriotism which has griped most Somalis must also enable and lead us to repudiate the lowly and anti-national and divisive e socio-political mentality and practice of violence-mongering and rivalry sectarianism serving tribal politics, self-seeking warlordism and/or politico-civilian elitism,

and religio-political militancy - the very pernicious behaviours that have destroyed our central national government and poisoned the harmony and cohesion of our Nation. They are the same behaviours that led us the intractable senseless violence and national turmoil during the last five years or so and finally paved the way for the current Ethiopian occupation.

While liberating our nation from the current predatory yoke of the Ethiopian occupation and we must simultaneously learn hard lessons from our bitter past and present which means to abandon the violence-ridden culture of political factionalism and sectarianism while replacing these divisive and nation killing politicking behaviours with the following national political programme and policy:

A) Peaceful, Moderate and Pluralistic political Programme

From now on, we Somalis (opposition and those who claim to be government) must put aside tribo-factional, foreign clientele, and religio sectarian politics by replacing it with **national politics pursued and practised through peaceful, legal, pluralistic, inclusive, moderate, rational, tolerant, and compromising means that give absolute priority the sole and best common interest of our nation - the restoration of our fallen state, independence and prosperity of our country and people.**

B) Policy internal and External Policies

i) Internal policy

Once the Ethiopian troops withdrew and the AMISOM or UN peacekeeping are in place, the Somali factional political groups including the TFG, the Alliance for Re-liberation of Somalia, and other stake-holder groups such the genuine and titled traditional leaders, civil society inside the country, Diaspora civil society, the etc. must come together in some sort of gathering inside the country to:

-negotiate a deal of political power-sharing and meaningful settlement of establishing an inclusive and viable interim central government;

-demobilise and rehabilitate the militias while starting to raise training of Somali national security and defence force (police, army, marines, air-force, etc.) because without rebuilding these forces there will not a Somali government;

-launch a proactive and robust humanitarian aid programmes for Mogadishu the IDPs and other needy people while returning and helping the IDPS to resettle their homes;

-start rebuilding civilian state pillar institutions such courts, ministries and other organs;

-demand investigate of the Ethiopian genocide, war crimes and crimes against humanity in Somalia and reparation of the human and material damages it caused;

-rehabilitate and resume basic public services -health care and public hygiene, education, clean water supply, care for orphans, the poor and disabled, etc.

-rehabilitate communication and infrastructures

-restore national central bank and put in place monetary and economic policy

-lay down socio-economic reconstruction and development programme for the short, medium and long terms; and

- Dissolving and outlawing tribo-factional, warlordism and religio-political militant groups and prepare national constitution and electoral law drawing up realistic table for the formation of conditionally limited political parties, registration of votes and elections at both district, regional, and national levels while carrying out research and ascertainment of population census in order to identify and determine the number of districts and regions as well as number of national deputies for each district which are agreed upon by all before hand.

ii) Foreign Policy

The Somali foreign policy must be one with the following hallmarks:

- neutrality, respect for sovereignty and non-interference; and
- good and mutually beneficial security and socio-economic cooperation with all countries especially the neighbouring ones.

Of course, the development, funding and implementation of these security, social, political, and economic programmes and policies will need the international community's good-will, funding, technical and expertise assistance under the co-ordination or auspices of the United Nations Organisation.

9. URGENT NEED FOR INTERNATIONAL INDEPENDENT PANEL FOR THE INVESTIGATION OF WAR CRIMES IN SOMALIA

The only way that the involved international actors (UN, US, AU, EU, Norway, etc.) can do justice for the Somali people and absolve themselves from real or perceived direct commission and omission of these crimes, deliberately and directly committed by Ethiopia and the TFG top leadership and militia commanders, is to act now to constitute a genuinely independent international panel of legal experts investigate these crimes and hold accountable these perpetrators. It is a duty of the UN Security Council and primarily the powerful member states to take urgent steps to set up such panel and to see early start and implementation of its work.

10. RECOMMENDATIONS TO ALL INVLOVED ACTORS

10.1 To the Somalis: The TFG, Alliance for Re-liberation and All Somalis

The opposing Somali sides (TFG, Alliance for Re-liberation -ARS, Civil Society/Diaspora in and outside the ARS, all stakeholders and the Somali people in general) must learn from their foolish and destructive mistakes and gear themselves for peaceful, mainstream middle of the road, tolerant, compromising, talo-wadag (Somali-style democracy) and inclusive politics founded on the Somali core social values: Islam, nationalism, patriotism, and Somali Xeer (traditional customary law) while abandoning once and for all the divisive and destructive so-called politics of tribalism, warlordism, opportunism, foreign clientele, religio-militant sectarianism, and hard-line and extremist uncompromising positions.

This new kind of politics seeks and achieves its objectives in peaceful, legal, and talo-wadag (Somali version of democracy which can borrow best elements from other democratic systems worldwide) means which boil down in theory and practice a periodically elected representative government and good governance in the best interest of reconstructing and developing country and society and to have mutually beneficial respect and non-interferences, security, and economic cooperation relations with all countries and especially the neighbouring ones.

10.2 To the US Administration

- To end its '**war on terror**' chapter in Somalia and the use of Ethiopia as proxy force and its assignment and reportedly its status as an '**anchor state in the Horn of Africa**' - a biased idea that puts Ethiopia above Somalia (as the US-backed proxy invasion and occupation have proven), and for that matter, to the prejudice of any mutually beneficial good future relations between Somalia (and its people as well) and the

United States let alone the relations of the other states in the region and its security and stability in general.

- To review and abandon (in connection with above point) its policy of equating the largely home-grown (though many of them were trained in Arab countries) Somali religious groups with 'terrorism' and 'Alqaeda links' providing 'safe haven' for the latter. As is known this has been originally a figment of the imagination of the Ethiopian Prime, Mules Zenawi, who propelled and exaggerated that idea of Somali 'Islamic terrorism and 'Alqaeda connections' in order to kill one stone with two birds - to distract his people's attention from the internal problems to neighbouring Islamic enemy (a traditional political arsenal for many an Ethiopian ruler to turn the eyes of their people away from the oppression and injustice at home); and to jump on the bandwagon of the current US Administration's '**War on Terror**' so that the pressure for human rights abuses and stagnation of the democratisation process in Ethiopia be relaxed or stopped by the US and other western liberal democracies.

-To help the earliest complete withdrawal of Ethiopian occupation from Somalia while speeding the AMISOM and UN troops deployment (drawn from African, Islamic, Arab, Asian countries, Canada, Europe, etc.) because the Ethiopian occupation is both destructive and obstructive to any peace and political settlement in Somalia (as could be seen since it started) and the more the occupation and its atrocities continue the more many more people in all the Somali inhabited areas of the Horn become radicalised, infected with Anti-Americanism, and frustratingly resort to extreme actions resulting in to ever more chaos and humanitarian crisis that destabilise the whole region and the signs are already there.

- To take serious and concrete steps to help bring together the opposing Somali sides and all stakeholder groups to reach a political settlement deal while Ethiopian and Kenyan direct or indirect involvement has to be excluded from this process.

-To promote a positive policy of socio-economic development programmes in Somalia to tackle the grinding poverty which drives most people especially the jobless and unschooled young generation to desperation, extreme attitudes and politics while at the same time showing in words and deeds fair and balanced relations between countries in the Horn of Africa. Only then the current tide of radicalisation of Somali popular attitudes and actions in Somalia and their bitter feeling towards the US in relation to the support of Ethiopian occupation could change favourably, and peaceful, moderate and democratic politics and development in Somalia could stand a chance.

10.3 To the UN

- To review its policy of unequalled support to the weak and dysfunctional TFG which is heavy dependent on and controlled by Ethiopia as well as its condoning or indirect support to the Ethiopian occupation and inaction of its ongoing systematic war crimes and gross human rights on the Somali people changing this counterproductive policy a with positive and neutral approach to all Somali sides while taking speedy pro-active measures of addressing the humanitarian catastrophe prevailing in Somalia and removing the Ethiopian and TFG authorities' deliberate relief aid obstructions and continuous displacement of people and destruction of their livelihoods and properties.

- To take simultaneously equally urgent steps and make arrangements for the withdrawal of the Ethiopian occupation troops replacing with UN peacekeeping forces agreed by all Somali sides in the conflict. Because occupation troops and the allied TFG are the main sources of the conflict and suffering prevailing in Somalia especially Mogadishu and realisation of any successful talks between these opposing Somali sides to reach real peace and political settlement.

- To help organise a well-thought and genuine national reconciliation dialogue and conference with all important stakeholders participating to sort out the current complicated issues that prolong the Somali crisis and can lead to a last political settlement while making sure that countries with vested interests like Ethiopia and Kenya are kept away this process reconciliation.

- To appoint a truly independent panel of human rights experts to investigate the war crimes and crimes against humanity committed by the Ethiopian government troops and the TFG and any other party involved and make eventual appropriate reparations to the victims.

- To give absolute priority for the implementation of the demobilisation and rehabilitation of militias while simultaneously starting raising and training of Somali national security forces (police, army, marines, and air-force) because no foreign forces alone (even UN peacekeeping ones) can re-establish peace and order in this shattered and anarchy-prone country unless its trained forces can share the responsibility and burden of returning the country to normalcy.

- and lastly but the least to send a fact finding mission to Mogadishu to find out what the Ethiopian occupation troops have done in Somalia - the massacres, destruction, displacement and all sort of gross human rights violations which make the city busting with life and thriving economy.

10.4 To the EU

- To similarly review its policy of condoning or indirectly supporting the Ethiopian occupation and direct unconditional support to the Ethiopian pick-aback and dysfunctional TFG and take neutral approach to help bring together, conjunction other UN, US AU and Arab League, the opposing Somali sides and all stakeholders to a peace and dialogue conference to resolve their differences and reach a negotiated settlement without leaving this formidable task to the weak Ethiopian controlled and intransigent TFG which is absolutely not free and capable to face and talk to the opposition especially the Alliance for Re-liberation, the insurgents, the Hawiye Traditional opposition leaders, the civil society, and other opposition and stakeholders.

-To make extra efforts in addition to the EU Parliament's resolution for the investigation of the war crimes and serious human rights violations committed (and still being committed) by the Ethiopian troops and TFG by appointing an independent panel of human rights experts to start and carry through these crimes investigations so that the culprits could be brought to justice and reparations made to the victims.

-To take urgent measures for allocating enough funds for humanitarian aid and its timely delivery to the IDPs of Mogadishu and the general starving population and their early return to their homes in Mogadishu with the necessary security and material arrangements for their resettlement.

10.5 To the AU

-To its review pro-Ethiopian occupation and to realise, however, late, the stark fact that Ethiopia illegally invaded and occupied Somalia and committed grave war crimes contrary to the untrue argument that Somali government invited Ethiopian troops to help it establish security in the country that does not hold water. First of all, the TFG was made of 275 so-called parliamentary members including president and cabinet members illegitimately listed and officiated by Ethiopia and Kenya with international funding and encouragement without being elected or even selected by the Somali people or their representatives, a an illegitimate entity incapable to perform the least functions of a government (e.g. to provide body-guards to its members) not elected or even selected by the Somali people or their representatives without underpinning national security forces, civil personnel and institutions. The purpose of the international community's funding and political was that the TFG had to be a starting and reference point for a whole process of national reconciliation in order to broaden representation and seek for legitimacy and support from the Somali people and its various stake-holding leaders excluded in the Imbagathi conference.

But Ethiopia hijacked the TFG and such purpose it was formed by extracting written 'letters of invitation of Ethiopian troops' to Somalia from the TFG president and then prime minister - two individuals installed by Ethiopia itself, to invade and occupy Somalia. Even the so-called parliament have rejected in vote that the deployment of troops from the frontline countries to Somalia. From then on TFG became an Ethiopian Trojan horse to occupy and play havoc with Somalia. Then where is the basis for the legitimacy of the 'friendly invitation for Ethiopian troops by Somali government'? What contribution Ethiopian troops has made and is making to the Somalia other than more insecurity and violence, extensive gross war crimes, ruination of the Somali capital and displacement of over one million its people? What AU is not realising these hard facts and is blindly supporting TFG which has become much more weaker, fragmented, isolated, hated and dysfunctional than when it was installed three and half years ago?.

Also the plain fact is that the AU either failed to bring the 8,000 African peacekeeping forces (except Uganda's share of 1,800 and Burundi's advance party of 192 troops) or at least condoning deliberately with Ethiopian occupation to take its course and do its own work in Somalia.

Now my recommendation to the AU leaders and heads of its commission is to review its policy towards the dysfunctional, irreparable and Ethiopian controlled TFG and Ethiopian occupation and its war crimes by stopping the unqualified military, political and diplomatic support to them and take a critical and constructive approach of studying and re-appraising the whole situation of the Somali political spectrum. Then the first thing, the AU needs is to question the Ethiopian occupation of Somalia and its immediate end as well to recognise or acknowledge its war crimes working with the UN, Arab League, EU, and other major countries as US to speed UN peace-keeping forces which could replace the Ethiopians, and the AMISOM which cannot do any difference in terms of peacekeeping and normalisation in the country. The AU must also help bring together the Somali opposing sides to effect genuine political reconciliation and settlement in Somalia.

AU must send a fact finding mission to Mogadishu to find out and report what Ethiopia did to Mogadishu, its population and wealth.

10.6 Recommendations to the Arab League

- To change the passive position and come forward and actively to engage the Somali crisis to help solve it with the rest of the international community enable the Somalis to reach peace and durable political settlement while making necessary and timely financial contributions to the deep and extensive humanitarian crisis to the Somali people while working with the rest of the international community the rapid withdrawal

of the Ethiopian occupation troops with the replacement of UN peace-keeping troops and arrangement of genuine national reconciliation and political settlement in Somalia. At this hour of their profound distress Somali people need desperately proactive involvement and urgent help of their fellow Arabs and Muslims.

11. One General Final Reminder for the International Community

To succeed in any effort in Somalia the international community must:

a) ensure early and complete withdrawal of Ethiopian troops and speed up replacement of UN peace-keeping forces first securing consent of all opposing Somali sides;

b) pressurise and ensure that Ethiopia it stops its interferences and avoids any meddling into Somali affairs because the trust between the Somalis and Ethiopian government have completely been evaporated after the invasion and occupation; and

c) harmonise and coordinate their efforts for peace, humanitarian aid, political reconciliation and settlement, institution building with the security forces as a matter of absolutely urgent priority, and rehabilitation and developmental programmes for Somalia.

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