Registry Section

Trusteeship - Non-Self Governing Territories
Administration of the Non-Self-Governing Territory of French Somaliland. TR 300

1/01/1964-31/12/1967

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Trusteeship & Non-Self-Governing Territories

ADMINISTRATION OF THE NON-SELF-GOVERNING TERRITORY OF FRENCH SOMALILAND

TR 300 FRSO

PART
PARTIE

FILE BEGINS Jan 1964
DOSSIER COMMENCE LE

ENDS
TERMINE LE Dec 1967

DATE	REFERRED TO TRANSMIS A	ROOM BUREAU NO.	P. A. — B. F.	DATE	INIT.	DATE	REFERRED TO TRANSMIS A	ROOM BUREAU NO	P. A. — B. F.	DATE	INIT
	1967 -										
3/1/67	Mr Narasimhan	3800	PA	3/1	AW						
3/1/67	Mr Chacko	3338A	←								
26/1	MR. TANAKA	3327	TT	27/1	TT						
27/1	Mme KUSAGANGA	3571	PA	8/3							
21/6	Mrs BAUM	1114	PA	22.7	MB						

TR 300 FRSO

CR. 49 (3-64)

REGISTRY FILE CLOSURE FORM

[ ] FILE FOR PERIOD OF 1 JAN. 1964
THROUGH 31 DEC. 1967 CLOSED.
A NEW PERIODIC FILE WILL BE OPENED
IF REQUIRED.

[ ] PART _____ CLOSED.
SEE PART _____

[ ] FILE NO. TR 300 FRSO CLOSED.
CORRESPONDENCE CONTINUED UNDER FILE NO.
TR 100 (4) FRSO

New York, le 7 novembre 1967

n° 282 /

RECORDS CONTROL
15 NOV 1967

TR 300 FRSO
origin OR 511 Fr.

La Mission permanente de la France auprès des Nations Unies présente ses compliments au Secrétariat de l'Organisation des Nations Unies et a l'honneur de lui faire savoir qu'en vertu d'une loi publiée au Journal Officiel de la République française le 3 juillet 1967 le territoire connu précédemment sous le nom de "Côte française des Somalis" s'appelle désormais "Territoire français des Afars et des Issas".

La mission permanente de la France saisit cette occasion pour renouveler au Secrétariat de l'Organisation des Nations Unies les assurances de sa haute considération./.

Secrétariat de l'Organisation
des Nations Unies
Nations Unies
New York

S/7992

PERMANENT MISSION OF THE SOMALI REPUBLIC
TO THE UNITED NATIONS
236 EAST 46TH STREET
NEW YORK 17, N. Y.
YUKON 6-5936

G/87(535) 16 June 1967

TR 300 FR 50

Mr. President,

On the instructions of my Government I have the honour to bring the following situation to the attention of the Security Council, pursuant to Article 35(1) of the Charter of the United Nations.

1) As the members of the Security Council are aware, the French Government decided in September 1966 to hold a referendum in French Somaliland regarding the future status of this non-self-governing Territory. However, soon after that decision was taken, the authorities of French Somaliland started on a systematic policy of forcibly expelling inhabitants of the Territory into Somalia. This policy was particularly applied to inhabitants of the capital city, Djibouti.

These expulsions, as well as other indications that the French Somaliland authorities were using pressure upon the potential voters in the referendum, prompted the General Assembly, in its Resolution 2228 (XXI) of 20 December 1966, to set forth certain provisions for the fair and democratic conduct of the referendum under a United Nations presence. Yet, as the date of the referendum - 19 March 1967 - approached, expulsions were carried out at an increased rate, so that on the eve of the referendum over 8,000 persons had been expelled. This is equivalent to almost 4 per cent of the total population of French Somaliland according to official French figures.

These forcible expulsions were carried out with utter disregard for elementary human rights. Parents were separated from their children, husbands from their wives;

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His Excellency
The President
Security Council
United Nations
New York, N.Y.

bread-winners from their families, and many families were taken bodily from their homes, forcibly transported to the French Somaliland/Somalia frontier, and forced to cross that border into Somalia in a destitute condition and often in a state of exhaustion.

2) The authorities of French Somaliland never contacted the authorities of my Government regarding these expulsions, or sought to make any proper enquiry into the status of the persons expelled. They merely claimed that the expellees were not citizens of French Somaliland or, more precisely, claimed that these persons were unable to prove their French Somaliland citizenship by presenting official "identity papers" during raids and mass arrests conducted in French Somaliland.

However, careful investigations conducted by my Government among these expellees who have since been living against their will on Somalia soil, has conclusively shown that the vast majority of the expellees are bona fide citizens of French Somaliland, who were born and raised there. Many of them actually possessed, and still possess, identity papers issued by French Somaliland authorities; the identity papers of a large number were torn up by the French police; others, arrested on the streets, were not allowed to go to their homes to obtain their papers, but were forced into police vehicles which transported them to the border.

It must further be pointed out that the decision on whether to issue or not to issue such identity papers was and still is entirely within the discretion of the French Somaliland authorities, and the reason why some of the expellees are not in possession of such papers is attributed to the fact that those authorities improperly refused to issue them.

Finally, some of the expellees claim to have legally and properly moved from Somalia into French Somaliland many years ago, married and raised families there, and by their labour contributed to the economy of the Territory. However, being people unfamiliar with bureaucratic formalities, many of them failed to apply for identity papers. This fact, of course, did not alter their status as bona fide residents and inhabitants of the Territory, and my Government is not aware of any regulation in French Somaliland which would make the right to residence and to French Somali citizenship dependent upon a request for identity papers.

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All of the expellees are of Somali ethnic background. For centuries, the territory of what is now French Somaliland has been inhabited prevalently by people who were ethnically Somalis. This undeniable fact has even been expressed in the very name given by France to the area, namely, "the French Coast of the Somalis". The charge made by the expellees is that they were expelled from French Somaliland in order to prevent them from casting their votes in favour of independence for the Territory at the referendum of 19 March 1967. This charge is substantiated if the policy of mass expulsions is seen within the context of other measures pursued by the French Somaliland authorities during the period preceding the referendum. These measures had evidently been designed to produce an outcome of the referendum favourable to continued non-self-governing status of the Territory.

3) Because these mass expulsions into Somalia constituted an obvious and serious violation of the sovereignty of the Somali Republic and because those actions also constituted an infringement of the rights of the expellees, my Government saw itself compelled, even before the referendum of 19 March 1967, to bring these developments to the attention of competent United Nations bodies, and especially the Special Committee of 24.

Faithful to its peaceable policies and to the provisions of Article 33 of the Charter, my Government undertook various efforts to induce the French Government to arrange for the orderly return of the expellees to French Somaliland, so that they could go back to their homes, be reunited with their families, and again earn their livelihood. These efforts on the part of my Government have, unfortunately, proven unsuccessful.

4) Even more regrettable is the fact that immediately after the referendum of 19 March, the authorities of French Somaliland, under an "emergency" regime providing for complete administrative and police discretion and for the suspension of legal and constitutional rights in the Territory, started new waves of large scale arrests among the Somali inhabitants of the Territory, again under the pretext that those arrested were not French Somaliland citizens but citizens of Somalia. Since it was obvious that these newly arrested persons were also to be forcibly deported into Somalia, my Government was compelled to make use of its constitutional and international prerogatives;

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that is, to close the border with French Somaliland against further arbitrary expulsions. My Mission advised the Secretary General of this step and of its reasons by a communication of 27 March 1967, which was circulated among all members of the United Nations.

Thereupon, several thousands of the arrested, without trial or even administrative enquiry, were forcibly transported to hastily improvised desert camps outside Djibouti - areas exposed to a merciless sun, and fenced by barbed wires. The world press reported on these inhuman measures in considerable detail.

5) It is to my deep regret that on behalf of my Government I must advise the members of the Security Council that shortly thereafter, the authorities of French Somaliland, faced with the closing of the Somalia border, took a further step which was particularly reprehensible from the standpoint of international law and order.

During the night of 26-27 April 1967, they forcibly transported by military lorries over 2,500 of the internees from those detention camps outside Djibouti to a remote and desolate area on the frontier with my country and, under the cover of darkness, made them cross at bayonet point into Somalia.

When these victims were discovered some time later by the Somalia frontier authorities, many of them, especially the women and children, were suffering from exhaustion, exposure and hunger. That area is waterless and provides no protection against the scorching sun. At that time of the year, the temperature there often reaches 120 F. degrees. According to eye-witness reports, a considerable number of these expellees succumbed before aid could be given to them. The number of survivors who reached safety is 2,260.

It is pertinent to point out that in a communique issued on May 3rd, 1967, the French Minister of Overseas Departments and Territories, General Pierre Billotte, admitted that over 2,000 deportees were taken to the border and left to make their way to the Somali Republic. The Minister attempted to mollify French public opinion at this outrage by claiming that the expellees had been provided with supplies of food and water for the journey over the desert wasteland - but this is a claim which has not been substantiated by the people concerned.

6) The result of these policies of the authorities of French Somaliland initiated since late Summer 1966, is that

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over 10,000 inhabitants of that Territory have been forced into involuntary exile outside their home land. This number amounts to almost 5 per cent of the total population of that Territory, as estimated by the French authorities. It should be added that the authorities of French Somaliland did not, as they could not, question or protest against the entirely proper action taken by the Somali Republic, namely, to prohibit the entry into its territory of persons against their will. Nor did the authorities of French Somaliland indicate formally or informally to my Government, their intention of moving that additional large number of persons into Somalia. On the contrary, those authorities chose instead the method, described above, of stealth and fait accompli, in complete disregard of the sovereignty and sovereign equality of my country and in complete disregard of the elementary human rights of the victims.

7) It may be almost superfluous to point out that all these forcible deportations constitute serious violations, inter alia, of the principles enunciated in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights - Article 3: "Everyone has the right to life, liberty and security of person". Article 5: "No one shall be subjected to ... cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment". Article 7: "All are equal before the law and are entitled without any discrimination to equal protection of the law. All are entitled to equal protection against any discrimination in violation of this Declaration.. .... " Article 9: "No one shall be subjected to arbitrary arrest, detention or exile". Article 10: "Everyone is entitled in full equality to a fair and public hearing by an independent and impartial tribunal, in the determination of his rights and obligations and of any criminal charge against him". Article 12: "No one shall be subjected to arbitrary interference with his .... family (or) home ...." Article 15(2): "No one shall be arbitrarily deprived of his nationality....."

These principles are furthermore elaborated in the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, unanimously adopted by the General Assembly in Resolution 2200 (XXI) on 16 December 1966. For example: Article 9: "Everyone has the right to liberty and security of person. No one shall be subjected to arbitrary arrest or detention ..." Article 10(1): "All persons deprived of their liberty shall be treated with humanity and with respect for the inherent dignity of the human person." Article 12(1): "Everyone lawfully within the territory of a State shall, within that territory, have the right to liberty of movement and freedom to choose his residence."

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8) The Government of the Republic of Somalia does not deny the right of any sovereign country, or of colonial authorities, to expel individual foreigners for legitimate reasons. However, the systematic, mass expulsion by the French Somaliland authorities of their <u>own</u> citizens cannot conceivably be justified by, or compared with, the exercise of the right to expel <u>individual foreigners</u> for serious and weighty reasons.

It is an accepted principle of international law that the right of expulsion lies exclusively against bona fide foreigners. However, this right to expel individual foreigners must, like all prerogatives of sovereignty, be exercised with due concern for the rules of humanity and fairness, and must not be exercised as pretext for revenge against persons who are suspected to hold legitimate political views displeasing to the government.

9) It will be remembered that the strict limitation of the right of expulsion was very throughly debated in the U.N. deliberations preceding the adoption of the Covenant of Civil and Political Rights. First of all, expulsion of citizens is so generally considered to be illegal under international law as well as the constitutional law of individual nations that the Covenant does not even refer to it. Regarding the expulsion of foreigners, the Covenant states(Art.13):

> "An alien lawfully in the territory of a State... may be expelled therefrom only in pursuance of a decision reached in accordance with law and shall, except where compelling reasons of national security otherwise require, be allowed to submit the reasons against his expulsion and to have his case reviewed by, and be represented for the purpose before, the competent authority or a person or persons especially designated by the competent authority."

The harsher and the more numerous any measures of expulsion and deportation becomes, the more its motives become questionable, the more is such policy in violation of the principles of the United Nations, and of general international law.

The United Nations quite recently expressed itself on questions involving the forcible deportation of population. In operative paragraph 5 of General Assembly Resolution 2105 (XX) of 20 December 1965, the General Assembly by an over-

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whelming majority called upon "colonial powers to discontinue their practice of violating the rights of colonial peoples through .... the dislocation, deportation and transfer of the indigenous inhabitants".

10) The actions of the French Somaliland authorities about which my Government is complaining do not fall within the category of the right to expel individual foreigners. They are of an entirely different nature and have an entirely different motivation from that which normally obtains in cases of legal expulsion. Angered by the desire for independence in that territory, the French Government has taken a number of objectionable measures against those groups in French Somaliland which it suspects of harbouring this desire. The systematic expulsion of Somalis is part and parcel of an orchestrated policy aimed at changing the ethnic balance and ethnic character of the country. That policy even led to a recent attempt to change the very name of the Territory - French Somali Coast - as if the character of the area, which through the centuries has remained and still remains predominantly Somali, could be changed or obfuscated by such subterfuge.

11) The policy of the mass expulsion of French Somali citizens to neighbouring Somalia, under the conditions described, constitutes a direct violation of the sovereignty and sovereign equality of the Somali Republic. It has constituted, for almost a full year, high-handed disrespect by a Great Power for a smaller country, which, however, is equally sovereign, and equally entitled to the inviolability of its borders and to respect for its prerogatives in the community of nations.

Nor can the fact be overlooked that the French Government, by forcibly sending these people into the Somali Republic, has caused and continues to cause a considerable economic burden on the resources of my Government, which has had to provide food and shelter for over 10,000 persons in the emergency camps near the French-Somali border and elsewhere.

The Government of the Somali Republic would fail in its duty to the expellees, to its own country, and to the international community, if it failed to draw the attention of the Security Council to the situation that has now been created. The conglomeration of these unhappy and desperate people cannot but create a potentially dangerous situation which, in the language of Article 34 of the Charter, might lead to international friction.

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12) The Somali Government has made various efforts to induce the French Government to find a mutually satisfactory solution, that is, to arrange for the orderly return, without fear of retribution, of that vast majority of the expellees who are citizens of French Somaliland. It has also made known to the French Government its desire for a return to normal relations between Somalia and French Somaliland, and for an agreement regarding the orderly movement of persons and goods between the two countries. It is a matter of regret for me to have to report that none of these initiatives has so far been successful.

My Government is therefore compelled to bring this serious situation formally to the attention of the Security Council. I shall be grateful if this communication is circulated as a Security Council document.

Please accept, Excellency, the assurances of my highest consideration.

Abdulrahim Abby Farah
Ambassador
Permanent Representative
to the United Nations

PERMANENT MISSION OF THE SOMALI REPUBLIC
TO THE UNITED NATIONS
236 EAST 46TH STREET
NEW YORK 17, N. Y.
YUKON 6-5936

G/87(214)

13 March 1967

RECORDS CONTROL
27 DEC 1967

TR 300 PRSO

Excellency,

On the instructions of my Government I have the honour to bring to your attention a copy of a communication dated 21 February 1967, which has been addressed to the Prime Minister of Ethiopia by the Prime Minister of the Somali Republic on the question of French Somaliland.

I regret to inform Your Excellency that, despite the positive nature of the proposal to a joint declaration, the response of the Ethiopian Government has been negative.

I shall keep you informed of developments in view of the potential danger which the situation poses to peace in the region.

Please accept, Excellency, the assurances of my highest consideration.

Abdulrahim Abby Farah
Ambassador
Permanent Representative
to the United Nations

His Excellency
U Thant
Secretary-General
United Nations
New York, N.Y.

C O P Y

5G/6/175/S/67 February 21, 1967

Your Excellency,

I have the honour to send to Your Excellency this message by hand of my special envoy, H.E. Mohamed Hassan Nur, Under-Secretary of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

At the last OAU Summit Conference in Addis Ababa, the operative paragraph of the Resolution on French Somaliland passed by the Assembly of Heads of State and Government,

> "Assures the brotherly people of so-called French Somaliland (Djibouti) of its active solidarity, designed to bring about and consolidate the independence of that people".

The operative part of the subsequent Resolution 2228(XXI) of 21st December 1966, on French Somaliland by the General Assembly of the United Nations:

> "calls upon Administering Power to ensure that right of self-determination shall be freely expressed and exercised by indigenous inhabitants of the territory on the basis of universal adult suffrage and with full respect for fundamental Human Rights and Freedoms".

The last session of the OAU Liberation Committee held in Congo-Kinshasa at the end of January 1967, also called upon all OAU Member States to provide all possible assistance to the people of French Somaliland in their struggle for independence.

Ethiopia like Somalia and other Member States of the OAU has accepted the obligation of supporting the eradication of all forms of colonialism from Africa in conformity with Article II, 1(c) of the Charter of the Organization of African Unity. Furthermore, on its part, the Somali Government has made it quite clear that it welcomes and support the emergence of an independent French Somaliland and will respect the integrity and sovereignty of that territory if its inhabitants opt for independence.

As the immediate neighbours of French Somaliland both Somalia and Ethiopia should naturally have a special

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role of responsibility to play in the events concerning that territory insofar as the inalienable right of self-determination for its people is concerned and the implementation in both OAU and the UNO regarding the emancipation of the people of that territory from colonialism.

It is in this connection that the Somali Government proposes that both Somalia and Ethiopia should issue official statements whereby both countries pledge themselves to fully support and respect an independent French Somaliland. Such an accord would do much to dispel the unfortunate suspicion and distrust which exists regarding each other's intentions towards that territory and it would be construed by world opinion, especially in Africa, as a genuine desire by both Governments to strengthen African solidarity and unity.

In addition, such declarations would undoubtedly create a favourable atmosphere for the settlement of other outstanding matters between Ethiopia and Somalia apart from bringing about an immediate relaxation of the increasing tensions in this part of Africa.

On making this proposal the Somali Government wishes to assure the Imperial Ethiopian Government that it has no motives other than its desire to see a colonised African people attain their freedom and independence, in conformity with the pronounced aims and objectives both of OAU and UNO.

Excellency, it is the opinion of my Government that this proposal affords a unique opportunity for cooperation between our two countries, especially on a subject upon which both the OAU and UNO have expressed their support.

I, therefore, trust that the Imperial Ethiopian Government will give this matter its urgent consideration so that if the proposal of Somalia is accepted in principle by Ethiopia, the date for issuing such declarations may be agreed upon as soon as possible, and preferably during the OAU Council of Ministers' meeting.

Accept, Excellency, the assurances of my highest consideration.

(Abdirizak Haji Hussein)
Prime Minister of the Somali Republic

H.E. Tsehafi Taezaz Aklilu Habte Wold
Prime Minister of the Imperial
Ethiopian Government -
Addis Ababa

A/AC.109/225/Add.1

PERMANENT MISSION OF THE SOMALI REPUBLIC
TO THE UNITED NATIONS
236 EAST 46TH STREET
NEW YORK 17, N. Y.
YUKON 6-5936

action completed 6/7/67 jmalu

G/87(263)

6 April 1967

TR 300 FR50

Excellency,

I have the honour to request that I be allowed to make a statement before the Special Committee of 24 ~~in connexion with the hearing of~~ concerning as soon as ~~the petitioners give their evidence on~~ the question of ~~situation in~~ French Somaliland, referred to in this one hundred and ~~report of~~ following the hearing of the petitioners by the Sub-Committee on Petition (A/AC109/L.390).

Please accept, Excellency, the assurances of my highest consideration.

Abdulrahim Abby Farah
Ambassador
Permanent Representative
to the United Nations

The Chairman
of the Special Committee on the
Situation with regard to the Implementation
of the Declaration on the Granting of
Indpendence to Colonial Countries and
Peoples
United Nations
New York, N.Y.

67/540 JG

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REFERENCE TR 300 FRSO

28 MAR 1967

COPY : COPIE

The enclosed communication dated 27 March 1967 is transmitted ..... to the Permanent Missions of the States Members of the United Nations at the request of the Permanent Representative of Somalia to the United Nations.

28 March 1967

BK

Sent to the Permanent Missions of ... to the United Nations

PERMANENT MISSION OF THE SOMALI REPUBLIC
TO THE UNITED NATIONS
236 EAST 46TH STREET
NEW YORK 17, N. Y.
YUkon 6-5936

G/87(244) March 27, 1967

Excellency,

I have the honour to inform you that the mass deportations now being carried out by the French Government in the territory of French Somaliland, and directed against the Somali inhabitants of the Territory, constitute a flagrant denial of elementary human rights. Already, more than 8,000 people - men, women and children - have been uprooted from their homes and expelled across the frontier. There deprived of all their possessions, they are being catered for as refugees by the authorities of the Somali Republic in emergency camps set up to cope with this acute problem.

Investigations carried out by the authorities of the Somali Republic have revealed that the vast majority of these refugees are bona fide inhabitants of French Somaliland, who are not citizens of the Somali Republic and who have never been domiciled elsewhere than in French Somaliland. They are the true, indigenous people of the Territory whose sole crime appears to be that they have claimed independence from France and protested against the travesty of a referendum conducted by the French authorities on 19th March.

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His Excellency
U Thant
Secretary General
United Nations
New York, New York

In these circumstances the Government of the Somali Republic has decided that it cannot permit further deportations of citizens of the territory of French Somaliland into the territory of the Somali Republic. Equally, the Somali Government cannot accept a position in which the French authorities justify such action by an arbitrary determination that the individuals in question are citizens of the Somali Republic.

The Government of the Somali Republic is acutely conscious of the human suffering now being created by these deportations, and has no wish to add to this suffering. On the other hand the action by the French authorities in expelling citizens of the Territory to the neighbouring territory of the Somali Republic is a clear breach of international law, and the Somali Government is not prepared to facilitate or accept this breach. Nor is the Somali Government prepared to condone or facilitate these expulsions by receiving the refugees when, in the result, the effect of so doing will be to render their return to their homes virtually impossible.

I should be grateful if you would kindly arrange for this communication to be circulated to all Member States of the United Nations.

Please accept, Excellency, the assurances of my highest consideration.

Abdulrahim Abby Farah
Ambassador
Permanent Representative
to the United Nations

68 Members plus 4 non-members

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67/540 JG

REFERENCE TR 300 FRSO

La traduction ci-jointe d'une communication, en date du ..... 27 mars 1967, est transmise aux Missions permanentes des Etats Membres de l'Organisation des Nations Unies à la demande du Représentant permanent de la Somalie auprès de l'Organisation.

Le 28 mars 1967

BSK

COPY · COPIE

Sent to the Permanent Missions of ...

Traduit de l'anglais

MISSION PERMANENTE DE LA REPUBLIQUE SOMALIE AUPRES DE L'ORGANISATION DES NATIONS UNIES

G/87 (244)

Le 27 mars 1967

Monsieur le Secrétaire général,

J'ai l'honneur de vous informer que les déportations massives de Somalis habitants du territoire de la Côte française des Somalis auxquelles le Gouvernement français procède actuellement sont un déni flagrant des droits élémentaires de l'homme. Plus de 8 000 personnes - hommes, femmes et enfants - ont été déjà chassées de leurs foyers et expulsées à l'étranger. Ayant perdu tous leurs biens, elles sont accueillies comme réfugiés par les autorités de la République somalie dans des camps créés d'urgence pour faire face à ce problème douloureux.

Il ressort d'enquêtes des autorités de la République somalie que la vaste majorité de ces réfugiés sont des habitants de bonne foi de la Côte française des Somalis, non des citoyens de la République somalie, et qu'ils n'ont jamais eu d'autre domicile qu'en Côte française des Somalis. Ceux-là sont les véritables habitants autochtones du territoire, dont le seul crime semble être d'avoir réclamé leur indépendance à la France et protesté contre le simulacre de référendum organisé par les autorités françaises le 19 mars.

Dans ces conditions, le Gouvernement de la République somalie a décidé qu'il ne saurait plus permettre que des citoyens du territoire de la Côte française des Somalis soient déportés en République somalie. Il ne saurait non plus accepter que les autorités françaises justifient leurs mesures en décrétant arbitrairement que les personnes qui en font l'objet sont des ressortissants de la République somalie.

Le Gouvernement de la République somalie se rend parfaitement compte des souffrances que provoquent ces déportations, et il n'a aucun désir de les accroître. Cependant, la décision des autorités françaises d'expulser des citoyens du territoire sur le territoire voisin de la République somalie est une infraction

caractérisée du droit international et le Gouvernement somali n'est disposé ni à faciliter ni à accepter cette infraction. Il n'est pas davantage disposé à excuser ou faciliter les mesures d'expulsions en accueillant les réfugiés si, de ce fait, il devient pratiquement impossible à ceux-ci de retourner dans leurs foyers.

Je vous saurais gré de bien vouloir faire distribuer la présente communication à tous les Etats Membres de l'Organisation des Nations Unies.

Veuillez accepter, Monsieur le Secrétaire général, les assurances de ma très haute considération.

L'Ambassadeur

Représentant permanent auprès de
l'Organisation des Nations Unis

Abdulrahim Abby Farah

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La traducción adjunta de una comunicación de fecha 27 de ..... marzo de 1967 se transmite a las Misiones Permanentes de los Estados Miembros de las Naciones Unidas a solicitud del Representante Permanente de Somalia ante las Naciones Unidas.

28 de marzo de 1967

BK

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Sent to: The Permanent Mission of ... to the United Nations

Traducido del inglés

MISION PERMANENTE DE LA REPUBLICA SOMALI ANTE LAS NACIONES UNIDAS
236 East 46th Street
Nueva York 17, N.Y.
YUkon 6-5936

G/87(244) 27 de marzo de 1967

Excelentísimo señor:

Tengo el honor de informar a Vuestra Excelencia que las deportaciones en masa a que procede actualmente el Gobierno francés en el Territorio de la Somalia Francesa, dirigidas contra los habitantes somalíes del Territorio, constituyen una negación flagrante de los derechos humanos elementales. Más de 8.000 personas - hombres, mujeres y niños - han sido desarraigados ya de sus hogares y expulsados al otro lado de la frontera. Allí, privados de todos sus bienes, han sido atendidos como refugiados por las autoridades de la República Somalí e instalados en campamentos de emergencia establecidos al efecto para hacer frente a este grave problema.

Las investigaciones efectuadas por las autoridades de la República Somalí han revelado que la gran mayoría de esos refugiados son auténticos habitantes de la Somalia Francesa, que no son ciudadanos de la República Somalí, y que nunca se domiciliaron en lugar alguno que no fuese la Somalia Francesa. Son los verdaderos autóctonos del Territorio cuyo único delito parece ser haber pedido independizarse de Francia y haber protestado contra la farsa de un referéndum realizado por las autoridades francesas el 19 de marzo.

Su Excelencia
U Thant
Secretario General
Naciones Unidas
Nueva York, Nueva York.

En tales circunstancias, el Gobierno de la República Somalí ha decidido que no puede permitir nuevas deportaciones de ciudadanos del territorio de la Somalia Francesa al territorio de la República Somalí. Del mismo modo, el Gobierno somalí no puede aceptar una posición en que las autoridades francesas justifican tal acción determinando arbitrariamente que dichos individuos son ciudadanos de la República Somalí.

El Gobierno de la República Somalí se percata claramente de los sufrimientos humanos que se vienen causando con esas deportaciones, y no desea de ningún modo aumentar esos sufrimientos. Por otra parte, la acción de las autoridades francesas al expulsar ciudadanos del Territorio al territorio vecino de la República Somalí es una clara violación del derecho internacional, y el Gobierno Somalí no está dispuesto a facilitar ni a aceptar esa violación. Tampoco está dispuesto el Gobierno Somalí a condonar ni a facilitar esas expulsiones por el hecho de recibir a los refugiados, cuando, en definitiva, el efecto de proceder así será imposibilitar virtualmente su vuelta a sus hogares.

Agradeceré a V.E. que tenga a bien disponer que la presente comunicación se distribuya entre todos los Estados Miembros de las Naciones Unidas.

Aprovecho la oportunidad, para saludarle muy atentamente.

(Firmado) Abdulrahim Abby Farah
Embajador
Representante Permanente de la República
Somalí ante las Naciones Unidas

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ORIGINAL DIRECT

TR 300 FRSO

Le 28 mars 1967

Monsieur l'Ambassadeur,

Je suis chargé par le Secrétaire Général de vous transmettre ci-joint à l'intention de votre Gouvernement le texte d'une résolution relative à la question de la Côte française des Somalis (A/AC.109/234). Elle a été adoptée par le Comité spécial chargé d'étudier la situation en ce qui concerne l'application de la déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux lors de sa 503ème séance le 15 mars 1967.

Veuillez agréer, Monsieur l'Ambassadeur, les assurances de ma très haute considération.

I.S. Djermakoye
Sous-Secrétaire
Département de la tutelle et des territoires non autonomes

Son Excellence
M. Roger Seydoux
Ambassadeur extraordinaire et plénipotentiaire
auprès des Nations Unies
4 East 79th Street
New York, N.Y.10021

PERMANENT MISSION OF THE SOMALI REPUBLIC
TO THE UNITED NATIONS
236 EAST 46TH STREET
NEW YORK 17, N. Y.
YUKON 6-5936

G/87(244) March 27, 1967

29 MAR 1967

TR 300 FRSO

Excellency,

I have the honour to inform you that the mass deportations now being carried out by the French Government in the territory of French Somaliland, and directed against the Somali inhabitants of the Territory, constitute a flagrant denial of elementary human rights. Already, more than 8,000 people - men, women and children - have been uprooted from their homes and expelled across the frontier. There deprived of all their possessions, they are being catered for as refugees by the authorities of the Somali Republic in emergency camps set up to cope with this acute problem.

Investigations carried out by the authorities of the Somali Republic have revealed that the vast majority of these refugees are bona fide inhabitants of French Somaliland, who are not citizens of the Somali Republic and who have never been domiciled elsewhere than in French Somaliland. They are the true, indigenous people of the Territory whose sole crime appears to be that they have claimed independence from France and protested against the travesty of a referendum conducted by the French authorities on 19th March.

./.

His Excellency
U Thant
Secretary General
United Nations
New York, New York

Communiqué aux missions
Permanentes le 28 mars
[TR 300 FRSO]

In these circumstances the Government of the Somali Republic has decided that it cannot permit further deportations of citizens of the territory of French Somaliland into the territory of the Somali Republic. Equally, the Somali Government cannot accept a position in which the French authorities justify such action by an arbitrary determination that the individuals in question are citizens of the Somali Republic.

The Government of the Somali Republic is acutely conscious of the human suffering now being created by these deportations, and has no wish to add to this suffering. On the other hand the action by the French authorities in expelling citizens of the Territory to the neighbouring territory of the Somali Republic is a clear breach of international law, and the Somali Government is not prepared to facilitate or accept this breach. Nor is the Somali Government prepared to condone or facilitate these expulsions by receiving the refugees when, in the result, the effect of so doing will be to render their return to their homes virtually impossible.

I should be grateful if you would kindly arrange for this communication to be circulated to all Member States of the United Nations.

Please accept, Excellency, the assurances of my highest consideration.

Abdulrahim Abby Farah
Ambassador
Permanent Representative
to the United Nations

cc: Mr. Bunche
Mr. Djermakoye
Mr. Narasimhan
Mr. Nesterenko
Mr. Rolz-Bennett
Mr. Lemieux
Registry ✓ ORIGINAL

GLS/eo

RECORDS CONTROL
23 MAR 1967

22 March 1967

TR 300 FRSO

Excellency,

I have the honour to acknowledge receipt of your letter of 21 March 1967, which you sent to me shortly after our conversation of the same day. As I had occasion to indicate to you at that time, I fully understand the concern of your Government regarding the situation in French Somaliland and I have, therefore, given careful consideration to your suggestion that I should send a representative to the area.

As you no doubt recall, the General Assembly in its Resolution 2228 (XXI) of 20 December 1966 requested "the administering Power, in consultation with the Secretary-General, to make appropriate arrangements for a United Nations presence before, and supervision during, the holding of the referendum". On 23 February 1967, I submitted to the Special Committee on the Situation with Regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples a report (A/AC.109/223) concerning my efforts to implement that resolution.

The Special Committee on 14 March 1967 adopted a resolution (A/AC.109/L.383/Rev.2) by which, inter alia, it decided "to maintain the question of French Somaliland (Djibouti) on its agenda." The Secretariat will of course continue to keep the Special Committee informed of developments concerning the territory; its last working paper on the subject (A/AC.109/L.377) was circulated to the Special Committee on 3 March 1967.

His Excellency
Mr. Abdulrahim Abby Farah
Permanent Representative of Somalia
to the United Nations
236 East 46th Street
New York, N.Y. 10017

In these circumstances and bearing particularly in mind that the Special Committee is still seized with the question, I have reached the conclusion that it would not be appropriate for me to send "a special representative to French Somaliland and/or the adjacent area to obtain a first hand account of conditions", as suggested by you in your letter. I will continue, of course, to give the situation in French Somaliland my close attention.

Please accept, Excellency, the assurances of my highest consideration.

U Thant

A/AC.109/233

PERMANENT MISSION OF THE SOMALI REPUBLIC
TO THE UNITED NATIONS
236 EAST 46TH STREET
NEW YORK 17, N. Y.
YUkon 6-5936

G/87(239)

22 March 1967

ACCORDS CONFIDEN
1967

TR 300 FRSO

Excellency,

The conditions under which the referendum of 19 March in French Somaliland was conducted, and the events which followed, leave no doubt, in the view of the Somali Government, that the referendum was not fair and democratic but was manipulated, and that its outcome does not represent the true wishes of the people. The widespread protests of the population which have followed the announcement of the results are a manifestation of their dissatisfaction and frustration in the face of flagrant denials of their political rights.

It will be recalled that the decision by the French Government to hold the referendum followed grave political disorders and bloodshed in the Territory. Paradoxically, the referendum which promised to solve those political ills and which was to be an exercise of true self-determination, has brought in its wake more bloodshed, greater political oppression and a situation fraught with dangerous complications.

The Somali Government is, to its regret, compelled to attribute responsibility for this unhappy situation to the policy of the French Government, and to the vindictiveness with which the local French colonial administration has met opposition to this policy.

In the period preceding the referendum it became increasingly clear to the people of the Territory and to outside observers that France was reneging on its promise to allow the people to choose freely their political future. The administration openly practised political discrimination among the

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The Chairman,
Special Committee on the Situation
with regard to the Implementation of
the Declaration on the Granting of
Independence to Colonial Countries
and Peoples
United Nations
New York, N.Y.

indigenous inhabitants of the Territory, and victimised people for their political beliefs. The arbitrary expulsion of thousands of inhabitants from the Territory was but the most serious aspect of this victimization. In formulating the electoral laws for the referendum, the administration placed unfair limitations on the right to vote. Residence requirements and other qualifications, impossible for nomads to fulfill, prevented a large section of the indigenous people from exercising the vote. This is clearly proven by the fact that of a population now officially stated by the French authorities to number over 125,000, fewer than 40,000 were enrolled in the special voters' lists.

The colonial administration also imposed severe restrictions on the activities of political organizations. Furthermore, the time allotted for political campaigning was excessively short - 12 days - and pro-independence parties were by various means prevented from providing supervisors of the balloting. In addition to these unfair practices, unfair pressure was exerted on the voters by the threat that the French Government would consider all financial, economic and military responsibilities to be terminated in the event of the majority opting for independence. To quote the words of M. Francois Mitterand in the French National Assembly on this point: " ... it is unbelievable that the French Government would exercise a form of moral pressure which constitutes a manifestation of economic colonialism at its worst".

The measures taken in French Somaliland by the local colonial authorities since March 19 give even greater anxiety. Deplorable military methods are being applied in an attempt to cope with what is essentially a political problem of the French Government's own creation. French military units are being used ruthlessly to suppress popular demonstrations against unjust political conditions, with the result that 20 people have been killed and numerous others wounded. Thousands of persons who are not even alleged to have participated in demonstrations, are being rounded up and put behind barbed wire in special detention camps, prior to their expulsion into Somalia. Graphic accounts of the brutal measures adopted by French paratroopers and Legionnaires have appeared in the international press.

The majority of the leaders of the Territory's principal political party have been arrested because they

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intended to contest the outcome of the referendum and continue to oppose colonial rule. They include two men who are probably the most respected and influential figures in the Territory - Mr. Hassan Gouled, a former French Senator and former Minister of Education, and Mr. Moussa Ahmed Idris, President of the People's Movement Party and the Territory's sole representative in the French Chamber of Deputies.

More paratroopers, more arrests and more deportations continue to be the order of the day. But the failure of the referendum to produce a climate favourable to France cannot be hidden by such measures. The only way of remedying the situation is to bring an immediate halt to the harassment of the population, to terminate the improper use of military units, and to normalize the political life of the Territory. Political leaders now under detention must be released, mass deportation and displacement of the population must cease, and those who have been expelled must be allowed to return without delay. At a time when the masses are already incensed by the manipulation of the referendum, it would appear most imprudent to deprive them of their leaders and, thus to cut off their recognized channel of communication with the local administration. Furthermore, the imposition of harsh military and political mwasures against the population can only result in increased bitterness and additional complications.

More than anything else, the deportation of thousands of inhabitants added to the tension and bitterness of the local population. Since the referendum, the expulsion policy has continued unabated. Reports indicate that the French authorities intend to raise the number of this new wave of deportations to 4,000.

This would mean that at least 12,000 persons - or almost one tenth of the officially estimated population - would find themselves in exile outside their own Territory. France cannot hope to retain the confidence and co-operation of the people by such a policy, which is in complete disregard for basic human and political rights.

Apart from these considerations, the existence of an exiled community of thousands of embittered and destitute people, is bound to create difficult problems. Altogether,

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the deportation policy is a shortsighted one, because such a community of expelles on the frontiers of French Somaliland would certainly not secure the political order which the French authorities wish to achieve.

The Somali Government considers that its responsibility, in the face of the whole situation, is to draw the attention of the international community to conditions in French Somaliland so that wise counsels may be brought to bear on a situation which has been allowed to deteriorate unnecessarily. It seems appropriate to recall here that the United Nations General Assembly, by its resolution 2228 (XXI) of 20 December 1966, demanded the creation of a proper political climate for a free and democratic vote in the Territory and for a United Nations presence both before and during the referendum. Regrettably, the French Government ignored these demands.

The events prior to and since the referendum have made it clear that independence is the desire of the majority of the people. The real solution to the problems of the Territory, as expounded by the political leaders, is for the French Government to declare now, in consultation with the elected representatives of the people, the time-table and modalities of the Territory's transition to independence.

The Somali Government on its part has made clear throughout the debates in the United Nations on the question of French Somaliland's future and in direct communications to the French Government that it is exclusively animated by the desire to have the people of French Somaliland freely exercise their right to self-determination. Somalia would fully respect the sovereignty of the Territory should it become independent.

As the situation stands and as the events of the last few days clearly show, French Somaliland is still a non-self-governing territory. The referendum of 19 March has done nothing to alter the status of the Territory within the meaning of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV). The affairs of the Territory are therefore still the concern of the United Nations and in particular of the Special Committee of 24. In view of the seriousness of the developments in the Territory since the Committee debated the question last week, the Somali Government will request the Committee to give the question further consideration. We are confident that the Committee

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shares our apprehensions regarding the situation in French Somaliland. The Somali Government will urge the Committee to establish a Sub-Committee to keep the question under constant review and to arrange for the Sub-Committee to visit French Somaliland and/or the adjacent areas to gain first-hand impartial information about the situation.

I should be grateful if you would kindly arrange for this communication to be circulated as an official document of your Committee.

Please accept, Excellency, the assurances of my highest consideration.

Abdulrahim Abby Farah
Ambassador
Permanent Representative
to the United Nations

PERMANENT MISSION OF THE SOMALI REPUBLIC
TO THE UNITED NATIONS
236 EAST 46TH STREET
NEW YORK 17, N. Y.
YUKON 6-5936

G/87(236)

March 21, 1967

TR 300 FRSO

Excellency,

I sincerely appreciate your courtesy in enabling me to see you at such short notice on the question of French Somaliland.

As I explained to Your Excellency, my Government is gravely concerned about the situation prevailing in that territory and the implications which it may have for the peace and stability of the area.

I enclose for your information an official document published recently by the Somali Government which describes in detail the events leading to the referendum and, in particular, my Government's efforts to persuade the French Government to provide the proper conditions for the conduct of such a referendum. The Somali notes to the French Government at pages 24 - 27 of the document are of particular significance.

With regard to the possibility of your sending a special representative to French Somaliland and/or the adjacent area to obtain a first-hand account of conditions, I have informed my Government that you will let me have your views on the practicability or otherwise of this proposal within the next two days. We sincerely hope, however, that you will find the proposal acceptable in view of the urgency and seriousness of the situation.

Please accept, Excellency, the assurances of my highest consideration.

Abdulrahim Abby Farah
Ambassador
Permanent Representative
to the United Nations

H.E. U Thant
The Secretary General
United Nations
New York, New York

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Would you please file the attached booklet with the correspondence sent to you earlier today - incoming letter from the P.R. of Somalia to the Secretary-General (21/III/67) and reply, dated 22/III/67? The booklet was sent to the Secretary-General with the Somali letter.

Thank you.

Date: 23/III/67

FROM: / DE: Office of Mr. José Rolz-Bennett

CR. 13 (11-64)

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TO: A:	Office of Mr Rolz-Bennett	
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NOTE AND FILE		NOTER ET CLASSER
NOTE AND RETURN		NOTER ET RETOURNER
FOR INFORMATION		POUR INFORMATION

Suggest you address this to a person in a particular Office. Found it in my incoming mail, today.

Lost sleep or stayed? ??!

air.

Date:	FROM: DE:
22/6/67	D. J. Alexander Rm 1125, Ext 118

CR. 13 (11-64)

French Somaliland

A classic colonial case

Events leading to the referendum March 19th 1967

Demonstration in Djibouti August 25th 1966

FRENCH SOMALILAND

A CLASSIC COLONIAL CASE

Events leading to the Referendum
on March 19th, 1967

Published by
The Ministry of Foreign Affairs,
Mogadishu, Somali Republic

MARCH, 1967

"We only want to see them free and independent in unity under one flag of their choice."

September 19th, 1966

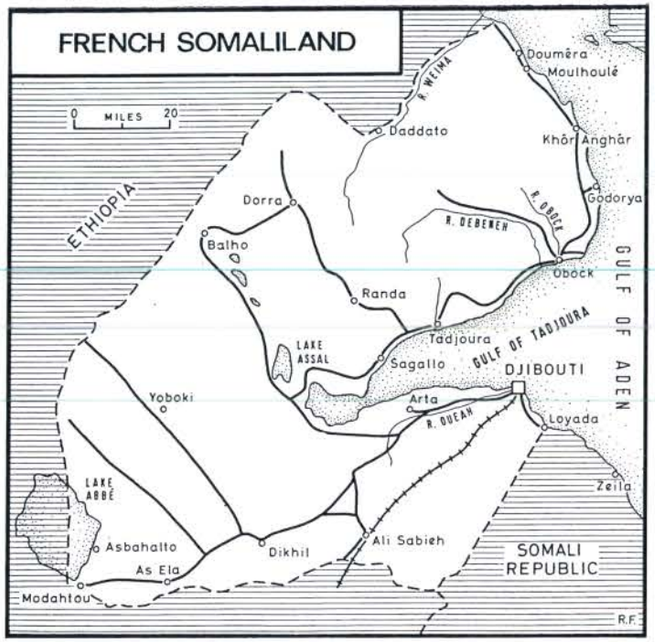
ABDIRAZAK HAJI HUSSEIN
PRIME MINISTER of the
SOMALI REPUBLIC

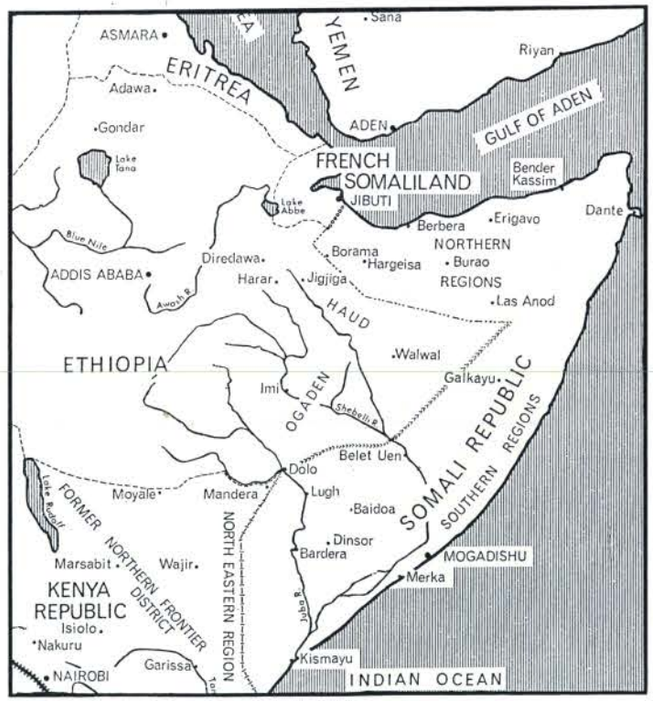
CONTENTS

	Page
COLONIAL POLICY AND PRACTICE	1
ONE PEOPLE	6
THE LAST 200 DAYS	7
SOMALI REPUBLIC'S STAND..	12
CONCLUSION	27

Appendices

		Page
APPENDIX A	Prime Minister's speech to U.N. General Assembly	30
APPENDIX B	French Somaliland — Voting in U.N. General Assembly	31
APPENDIX C	Emperor Haile Selassie's press conference, Sept. 16, 1966	32
APPENDIX D	Prime Minister's reply to Emperor, Sept. 19, 1966	35
APPENDIX E	King Menelik's "Circular Letter"	38
APPENDIX F	Captain Gleichen's sketch map	39





COLONIAL POLICY AND PRACTICE

A small colony outside the maelstrom of international affairs, ignored and forgotten, unprotected because of the remoteness of the liberal and fairminded elements of Metropolitan France, will too easily fall prey to the baneful excesses of colonial officialdom. This has happened in French Somaliland, and, on the evidence of past and present performance, it will happen again on March 19th, 1967, during a Referendum which, held under duress, will attempt to ascertain the territory's political future.

The Fourth Committee of the United Nations' General Assembly, in December last, resolved, after long and earnest deliberation, that an independent United Nations' presence in French Somaliland, before and during the Referendum, was necessary to ensure a free vote and an impartially conducted referendum. No one doubted the good faith of General de Gaulle but there was ample reason to believe that the President's honourable intentions would not necessarily be translated into practice on the ground. France's regrettable rejection of the Fourth Committee's resolutions, endorsed by the General Assembly of the United Nations on December 21st, 1966, has served only to strengthen the suspicions of many nations that the notorious gerrymandering of the past will again become an ugly feature of the forthcoming Referendum.

THE CHOICE

The choice offered to French Somaliland in the Referendum is in itself prejudicial to a fair and reasonable outcome to the people's legitimate dispute with France. They are being asked to choose between remaining under the colonial jurisdiction of France, with limited autonomy (voting **oui**), or becoming a Sovereign Independent State (voting **non**). Not an Independent State like other former French colonial territories in Africa, which have continued to enjoy, since 1960, the closest economic and technical cooperation with France, but an independent status flung at them by France in rage and resentment.

"To leave France will be a risky adventure", said M. Louis Saget, the Governor of French Somaliland, when he announced on September 21st, 1966, that his Government had decided to hold a Referendum. If the people should choose Independence, he threatened, France would discontinue all economic and financial assistance, and would withdraw her armed forces from the territory.

What manner of international conduct is this? If France was offended last August by public demonstrations demanding Independence during General de Gaulle's visit to Djibouti, she should examine more closely the underlying causes of discontent and ignore the superficial wounds inflicted upon her pride, for they were not directed against the French people as such, least of all against President de Gaulle, who is personally held in high esteem. They were directed against the local administration, and it is ungenerous of the French Government to be vindictive because of errors committed by the Governor and his officials.

Although M. François Mitterand said recently in the French National Assembly: ". . . it is unbelievable that the French Government would exercise a form of moral pressure which constitutes a manifestation of economic colonialism at its worst," these and other pressures are being exerted and the results of the Referendum are bound to reflect them.

DELUSIONS OF STABILITY

Consider the conduct of French officials in the territory. They have deceived themselves for years with delusions of colonial stability. The liberation movements, they declared, were artificial because they were "inspired from outside the country". When all the former nationalist leaders, such as the late M. Mohamoud Harbi, had been either deported or imprisoned, officials believed that, what political uneasiness remained, could be neutralised by playing off one ethnic group against the other.

These fabricated, so-called ethnic problems, stimulated and encouraged by French officials, have always served to justify the slow political

development of the territory. Today, the "ethnic problem" is again used as an example of the unwisdom of granting Independence. Yet, the two groups, *Afar* and *Somali*, are both Sunni Muslims, with a common social and cultural heritage. They have worked happily together in the Territorial Assembly since it was established in 1957, despite unceasing foreign efforts to divide the substantial *Somali* urban population of Djibouti from their rural kinsmen, the *Afar*, who predominate in the north.

The presence also in the territory of three thousand French soldiers from the notorious 13th Brigade of the Foreign Legion, and from the 57th Marine Infantry Regiment, has strengthened the belief among local officials that any serious national movement towards Independence could be speedily eliminated. They have always been confident that the people of French Somaliland would not wish to exchange French protection for the "revendications" of the neighbouring states of Ethiopia and the Somali Republic. They have capitalised on the dispute between these two countries in order to explain away the continuity of French suzerainty of an unlimited duration. Even General de Gaulle, at a press conference on October 28th, 1966, referred ominously to an alleged threat to the territorial integrity of French Somaliland from her neighbours.

"I confirmed to the Emperor of Ethiopia", announced M. Messmer, the French Minister for Armed Forces, in March 1965, "that France has decided to stay in Djibouti and that it is with this aim that it has reinforced its military dispositions there."

There has never been so much as a hint from the French authorities that they would welcome the territory's independence which could be founded on mutual respect for her neighbours and with France itself. The authorities have gone out of their way to ignore the Somali Republic whose common frontier with French Somaliland witnesses the seasonal migrations of thousands of Somali nomads under French jurisdiction. Indeed, the only recognition paid to the Somali Republic is one of convenience at the border post of Loyada—a dumping ground for French Somaliland nationals who assert too loudly their legitimate desire for Independence.

CLIMATE OF UNDERSTANDING

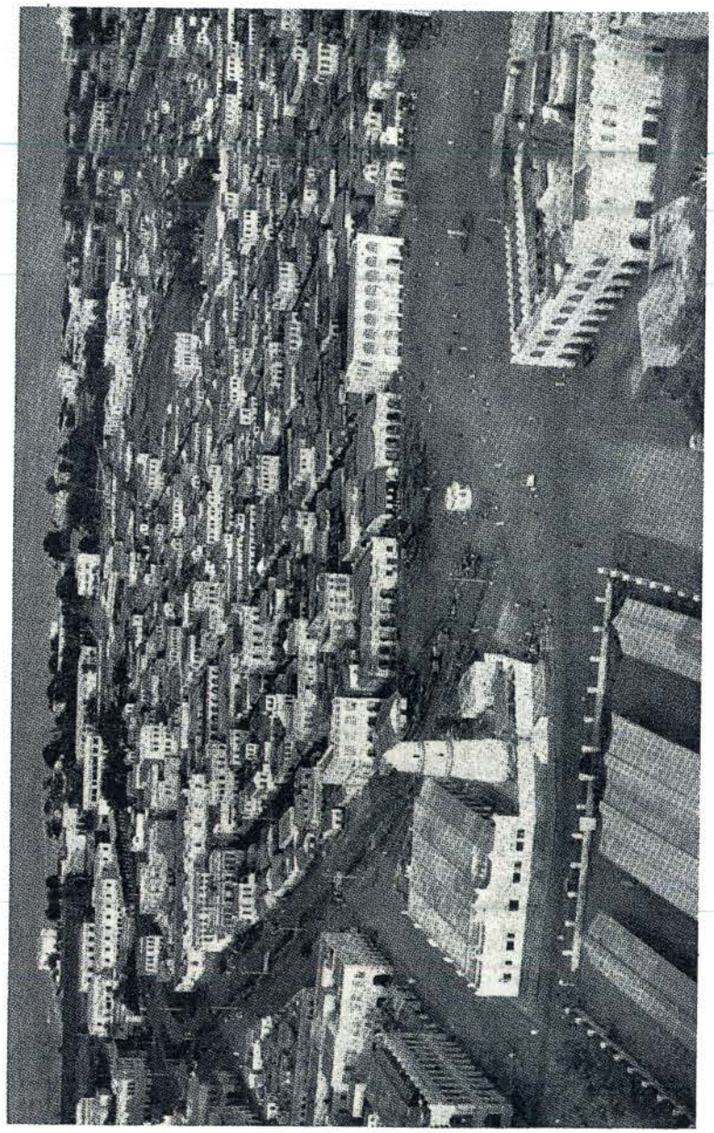
The French also refer to the "weakness" of the territory's frontiers, but the local authorities have done nothing to strengthen the natural bonds between French Somaliland and her neighbours. By this alone stability can be achieved in this region and not by the presence of the French Foreign Legion. "The future of the territory must be faced in a climate of understanding", said M. Mousa Ahmed Idris, the territory's representative in the French National Assembly, and not, he explained, by French officials practising "gangsterism, electoral gerrymandering, and official candidacy".

This accusation may sound harsh, even untrue, in Paris, where General Billotte, the French Minister for Overseas Territories, only recently confirmed that "whilst General de Gaulle is Head of State, it is out of the question for the Government of the Republic to have recourse to whatever form of colonial policy". Those who do not doubt the credibility of this statement forget why Paris was brought last August to a hasty reappraisal of the political realities in French Somaliland—until that day described inaccurately by M. Billotte as "a haven of peace in a troubled area". Admittedly, the former French Governor, M. Rene Tirant, was speedily removed from office and replaced by M. Louis Saget, but this has not removed the built-in colonial prejudices that permeate all levels of French officialdom in the territory. Perhaps in Djibouti itself the new Governor could exercise personal supervision, but recent events, as we shall see, do not encourage this hope. Within a short distance from his Residence, his officials have either ignored his instructions or have received his tacit approval of their conduct. What chance is there of honest administration, free of political manipulation, for the rural people in the remote districts of Obock and Tadjoura, Ali Sabieh or Dikhil? If one looks back into the history of broken pledges and other malpractices in French Somaliland, the answer to this question is not hard to find.

PARTIALITY AND PRESSURE

On July 16th, 1957, under a proposal (No. 424) placed before the French National Assembly, 12 Counsellors of the Government Council of French Somaliland had formerly requested the despatch of a Commission of Enquiry into the conduct of the elections of June 23rd, 1957; their proposal contained the following:

"It being understood that the Administration of French Somaliland, from the very beginning of the electoral campaign, has given ample proof of its concealed bias, the attention of the Minister



Djibouti—Capital of French Somaliland

for French Overseas Territories has been drawn, by letters and telegrams emanating from parliamentarians in the territory, to the absolute necessity for the total neutrality of the public services of French Somaliland. . . ."

"It being understood that there have been arbitrary intervention by the administration, numerous irregularities and incompatibilities which have been observed by everyone during the last elections. . . ."

In 1958, the new French Constitution was the subject of a Referendum in which the electorates of both Metropolitan France and the Overseas Territories participated. Overseas Territories which rejected the Constitution by voting "non" would become independent forthwith. The figures for the Referendum held in French Somaliland showed that, out of a total estimated population in 1958 of 70,000, there were only 11,833 registered voters of which 11,579 voted. 8,661 persons voted **oui** and 2,851 voted **non**. Why only 17% of the population were registered as voters has never been explained, and, when it is suggested that 75% of the electorate voted **oui**, account must be taken of 7,000 French servicemen and their wives, to say nothing of the large number of French officials, who were bound to have inflated the **oui** vote.

The French Minister of Overseas Territories admitted the significance of the army vote when he said: "It is evident that if these military personnel had taken part in the voting they could incontestably have changed the meaning of the elections." By Decree No. 59-993 of August 17th, 1959, military and civil personnel were also given a proxy vote, enabling them to vote during their absence from the territory. Surely General de Gaulle cannot seriously claim, as he did in a press conference on October 28, 1966, that the adoption of the 1958 constitution "was voted for with an enormous majority by the French Somali Coast".

A LIBERAL SPIRIT?

Before leaving this significant, but fraudulent Referendum, it should also be noted that when the Territorial Assembly in Djibouti confirmed its position on the vote for **oui**, the Assembly was deliberately influenced by an undertaking of the French Government, dated December 9th, 1958, that this was the beginning of a constitutional evolution and that France was "determined to face, in a liberal spirit, the wishes of the people, and not to oppose any eventual request for a change in status . . .". Seven months after this assurance was given, General de Gaulle, during an official visit to Djibouti on July 3rd, 1959, stated: "France, whatever happens, will never part with French Somaliland, because of its strategic and commercial importance".

Two years later, on November 6th, 1961, M. Hassan Gulaid, then a Deputy in the French National Assembly representing French Somaliland, tabled a Bill seeking greater internal autonomy for his country. The Bill provided for the establishment of a Legislature, a Council of Ministers headed by a Prime Minister, and a French High Commissioner responsible to Paris for the portfolios of Defence, Finance and Foreign Affairs. A constitution similar to the one being voted upon during the forthcoming Referendum on March 19th, 1967. The appropriate Committee of the French National Assembly adopted the Bill in December, 1961, and the President of the Assembly requested the Government to forward the Bill to the President of the Territorial Assembly of French Somaliland. In reply, the French Prime Minister, M. Michel Debré, said that it would not be possible to send the Bill to Djibouti, "not only because of considerations arising out of the situation as it is at present but also because certain provisions of the Bill are not very compatible with the text of the Constitution". So much for the assurances given on December 9th, 1958, that the French Government would not oppose an eventual request for a change in status. This had to await the bloody riots of August 25th, 1966, five years after M. Gulaid had tried, but failed, to present his Bill in the French Somaliland Territorial Assembly.

COLLABORATORS ONLY

Enough has been said to establish conclusively that since French Somaliland's first election, on June 23rd, 1957, which gave the territory its first Territorial Assembly and Government Council, the French authorities in Djibouti have adhered rigidly to one aim, namely, the maintenance of the **status quo**. This has required a deliberate act on the part of local French officials to suppress all manifestations of opposition, on the one hand, and to encourage collaborators on the other. Some examples will serve to illustrate this point.

M. Mohamoud Harbi's party gained all thirty seats in the 1957 election, and as Vice-President of the Government Council (the Governor is President) he campaigned for independence during the 1958 Referendum, urging the people

to vote **Non.** He failed to secure this vote, but the Referendum, as we have seen, was of more than dubious validity. The fact that this Referendum was not an accurate reflection of true opinion is also shown by the rejection, in the Territorial Assembly, of a vote of no-confidence in M. Harbi on October 2nd of the same year. Two days later, several Ministers were suspended from office and on the Governor's order a public meeting at a stadium in Djibouti was forbidden. Nevertheless, four hundred people attended but were dispersed by the police. M. Harbi was wounded, two Ministers were arrested and sentenced to three months imprisonment. On October 21st, the Territorial Assembly was dissolved by the Governor and new elections were called for on November 23rd, 1958. By the massive intervention of French officials and the French army vote, M. Harbi's party, **Parti Mouvement Populaire** (PMP), was defeated, only to triumph again in 1962 during elections for a new Deputy to the French National Assembly. The French authorities evidently did not consider the election of a Deputy vital enough to merit intervention, and the PMP candidate, M. Mousa Ahmed Idris (currently President of the Party) won an overwhelming victory over his seven rivals. Significantly, in his election address, he declared: "French Somaliland is an African country and not an integral part of Metropolitan France". Still a Deputy, he has not shifted from this stance.

THE "BLESSED ONE"

With the unnerving prospect of a threat to the **status quo,** following the 1963 Territorial Assembly elections, the Governor announced to the Assembly on November 28th, 1963, that the electorate had been increased from 10,217 (1958) to 21,408 (1963); and that the 1957 distribution of seats had been rearranged. As Pierre Ménil wrote in **Le Monde** on August 24th, 1966, "in order to avoid possible embarrassment with the newly elected Territorial Assembly, the French Government passed a new electoral law . . . in favour of M. Ali Aref," a leading French collaborator. Predictably, the constituencies in which the PMP were operating (Djibouti) suffered a reduction in the number of seats from 18 to 14 and M. Aref's area of Tadjoura/Obock had an increase of seats from 5 to 11! The **status quo** was maintained, Mr. Aref was appointed Vice-President, and, under the Decree of July 22nd, 1957, once the Territorial Assembly appoints a Vice-President, even a motion of censure cannot remove him without the Governor's consent. The **status quo** was thus assured for a few more years.

In spite of every conceivable form of French political pressure, by no means all the people in the Tadjoura/Obock area can be described as collaborators. A large number belong to the **Union Démocratique Afar** (UDA), formed in 1961 and led by its President, M. Mohamed Ahmed Issa alias "Sheiko", currently in prison following the demonstrations that took place during General de Gaulle's visit to Djibouti on August 25th, 1966. The manifesto of the party was published in July 1966, proclaiming that the UDA would be "more than ever the party of the Youth". As a warning to party members to beware of corrupt electoral practices, the "Manifesto" described a local government election, held in March 1966 at Dikhil. It explained that a government-sponsored candidate participated in the election, but another candidate was excluded on the grounds of illiteracy. Yet another candidate withdrew "because his family, under strong pressure from the authorities, forbade him to run for election". There remained, the "Manifesto" warned, only one candidate—"the blessed one"!

M. Mohamed Ahmed Issa, who is still (February 23rd) incarcerated in Djibouti without trial, has twice been summoned this year before the Governor in Djibouti and offered his release on condition that he lends his support to a **oui** vote. This he has declined to do. No wonder his "party of the youth" are so firmly behind him.

FASTING FOR JUSTICE

On February 21st, this year, the UDA clashed with the police and four were injured as the French Security forces attempted to confiscate privately owned transistor radio sets in Obock and Tadjoura—their only contact with the outside world. An action by the French authorities scarcely calculated to inspire confidence in a "free and fair" election. What, it might be asked, are the French trying to hide? Perhaps the critical condition of the UDA President, M. Mohamed Ahmed Issa, who entered his ninth day of fasting in a Djibouti prison on February 23rd. The International Red Cross have been requested urgently to investigate the state of his health, and that of his eight colleagues, also in prison for political reasons. They include a member of the Territorial Assembly, M. Egeh Buraleh (PMP), and a

former Minister of Interior, M. Ahmed Hersi Liban (PMP); five other members of the PMP and one other member of the UDA, M. Idris Burhan. All of whom were imprisoned, without trial, after General de Gaulle's visit to Djibouti in August, 1966. No member of M. Ali Aref's party, **Rassemblement Démocratique Afar** (RDA), which is centered on Tadjoura, has been arrested on political grounds, because M. Aref, with time-honoured government backing, has declared in advance his dedication to a **oui** vote on the Referendum!

The qualification in the Referendum, that a vote to opt out of French citizenship and to seek independence will result in the withdrawal of all French economic and defence aid, is a cruel form of economic blackmail designed to force the electorate to accept the **status quo**. Other measures adopted by the local French administration to swing the Referendum in their favour will be discussed in the section covering *The Last Two Hundred Days*. During this crucial period before the Referendum, the blatant political manoeuvres by the French authorities in order to maintain the **status quo** were anticipated and rejected by M. Mousa Ahmed Idris when he said, according to an AFP report dated September 22nd, 1966:

". . . since we no longer have a choice, we will take independence. After all, we are not going to ask people to accept the **status quo.** That is impossible."

ONE PEOPLE

Consonant with French policy to maintain the **status quo** in French Somaliland, Ethiopia's ludicrous claim to the territory (Appendix C) was seized upon by the French authorities as a valid reason for continuing their jurisdiction in the role of "protector". It was this factor, President de Gaulle said at his press conference on October 28th, 1966, that militated against the territory becoming independent. A most telling refutation of the claim came from all political parties in French Somaliland which rejected it outright. The fact that Ethiopia has no legitimate claim to the territory and that any attempt by her to annex it would meet with immediate internal and international opposition, is quietly brushed aside. "I ask the responsible politicians", said M. Billotte on August 29th, 1966, "to keep always in mind the dangerous surroundings which are theirs." To use this threat to justify France's permanent hegemony over French Somaliland serves only to illustrate the true nature of France's internal policies in the territory and the sterility of her diplomacy in the Horn of Africa.

The other factor, which again attempts to justify a permanent French presence in the territory, is the deceptive notion that the African indigenous population is irreconcilably divided between two different races; all of whom are claimed by Ethiopia as her subject peoples.

THE FACTS

What are the facts? The facts are that the Amharic, Tigre, and Tigrinya-speaking peoples of the Ethiopian and Eritrean highlands are Semitic in their culture, and thus distinct from the Cushitic-speaking peoples—the Somali, Afar (Danakil) and Galla, among whom the Somali and Afar are particularly closely related.

Even a cursory glance at the grammar of the Dankali (Afar) and Somali languages will show that they are closely related. The verbs are conjugated in an almost identical way, the nouns have very similar structural and declensional features, and the two languages share a large proportion of the basic vocabulary of everyday life and many concepts and linguistic attitudes. Moreover, the sounds of Danakil and Somali resemble each other closely, and the same applies to the use of stress in the two languages. All these similarities make it easy for Somalis and Danakils to learn each other's languages, and bilingualism in French Somaliland is common. This cannot be said, however, of the Danakil and Amharic languages. The similarities between them are so remote that only a linguist versed in comparative methods would notice them, and bilingualism in these two languages among the people of French Somaliland is so limited as to be almost non-existent.

There is no doubt that the Somali and Afar are very closely related; according to Cerulli "they belong, with the Galla and Beja, to the Southern Cushitic peoples. They have traditions of common origin, exhibiting a common culture, the material culture being almost uniform—nomadism is the basic economy with the camel as a burden animal."

VARIATIONS ON A COMMON THEME

On physical type the two peoples are closely similar. They depend for their social cohesion and organisation upon the lineage system. There is generally no overriding centralised political organisation. In essence, the tribal chief is a representative figure who is called upon to play the role of arbiter. Frequently there is a division between hereditary ritual authority and political leadership. What differences there are, are variations on a common theme.

These people have never shared in the development of Ethiopia's social or cultural history which was founded by the ancient Tigre and Amhara people of the Ethiopian highlands. They have always had their own traditions, their own religion, their own culture, language, and social organisations which are common to them, but are entirely alien to the Ethiopian civilisation. When the French arrived in French Somaliland, they did not find a series of vassal chiefs, as the Ethiopian Government now contends, but a collection of small independent chiefdoms and sultanates. Ethiopia has never, in the whole course of her history, exercised any jurisdiction in French Somaliland. Nor did the Horn of Africa form part of Ethiopia, as she asserts (see Appendix C, D and E).

M. BILLOTTE'S ADMISSION

In his statement of August 29th, 1966, M. Billotte admitted that, during his earlier visit to Djibouti in June, he had received complaints that the local Government gave favoured treatment to one "ethnic group" at the expense of the other. To his credit, M. Billotte added: "I gave instructions then to the local Government to exercise equality for all." These instructions were not apparently carried out because M. Billotte, explaining the reason for the demonstrations during General de Gaulle's visit two months later, added: **"I have the impression that the origin of the demonstrations has to be found in the discontent of the local people who wish to protest against injustice, desiring to express their liberty to choose their own destiny".** An accurate analysis of the situation for which the remedy of a Referendum, together with an unequivocal statement that France would grant Independence on the same terms as those offered to her former colonial territories in 1960, would have been acceptable to the leaders of French Somaliland whose chief desire is to build one nation out of one people, without the destructive, divisive influences which are brought to bear by the local French authorities at every new twist in the country's colonial history.

THE LAST 200 DAYS

The contents of the public speech, which President de Gaulle failed to deliver because of riots and anti-Colonial demonstrations in Djibouti's main square, are a matter of conjecture. It is not unreasonable to suppose that he was in fact about to announce a new Constitution for the territory on the lines of the proposed Constitution which was subsequently announced as part of the Referendum to be held on March 19th, 1967. If that had been the case, such an announcement would not have required advance approval by means of a Referendum. The decision to hold a referendum was clearly the result of the worldwide publicity that the people of French Somaliland received, at the cost of several killed and hundreds injured, when they persisted for two days in voicing their dissatisfaction with the colonial regime and demanded Independence. The purpose then of the Referendum, in-so-far as the French Government is concerned, is merely to reassure world opinion that the demonstrations in Djibouti did not reflect the opinion of the majority of the inhabitants who still wish the French Government to remain in the territory. A result which the French authorities are determined to produce. A reasonable person would think that it was important for France also to reassure herself genuinely on this point and if the Referendum had been free of threats, open to all adults, and had offered the territory Independence within a reasonable time-limit, France would unquestionably have received substantial support from inside and outside the territory. As it is, the people's hopes for a just and happy return are no nearer fulfilment today than they were on the day President de Gaulle met the discontented people of French Somaliland.

Some Deportees from Djibouti at Loyada Frontier Post

French identity cards carried by deportees

RESENTMENT AND DESPAIR

The last two hundred days before the Referendum have been characterised by the same actions of the French authorities over the years which gave rise to the demonstrations on August 25-26, 1966: actions that can only produce a feeling of resentment and despair among those who feel that they have been deprived, time and time again, of their legitimate political rights. It is inconvenient for rulers to be forced by the pressure of public opinion to pay attention to the demands of people who are not under their immediate influence and control, but this is the democratic nature of the French Somaliland people and they will revolt against a system of government which is based on patronage and dabbles in hypocrisy. Even their elected leaders have had to yield on matters of principle to the will of the people.

It will be recalled that shortly after President de Gaulle's departure four Ministers resigned and the dock workers stayed on strike until the Governor formed a new Government Council. A co-ordination Committee of the PMP and UDA was then formed under the leadership of Mr. Mohamed Ahmed Issa (Sheiko) until the French authorities imprisoned him (and thirteen others of the Committee) without trial on political charges. Mr. Mohamed Kamil then formed a coalition government after the former Vice President, Mr. Ali Aref, was told by the Governor to leave for France. This government proved popular, as it represented all shades of opinion but broke up as soon as it was learned that Mr. Kamil had accepted, during a visit to Paris, the proposed constitu ion which was to be voted on during the Referendum. The objections to the Constitution, which even Mr. Kamil at first subscribed to, are twofold: the usual functions of a Minister of Interior, as in all other countries which have been granted local autonomy, will not be exercised by an indigenous Minister, and, secondly, there is no provision in the Constitution which will allow the Territorial Council to vote for Independence by a simple majority at a propitious time.

PROPOSED NEW CONSTITUTION

The outline of the proposed Constitution provides for a Governing Council with an elected President. The Council would be composed of Ministers who would be responsible to a Chamber of Deputies. This new Chamber would replace the territory's existing Territorial Assembly. The Governor would be re-designated a High Commissioner and would be responsible for the territory's defence, foreign affairs, finance, immigration and law and order. Under the present Constitution, the Governor is directly responsible for the administration of all "state services" and is President of the Governing Council. The functions which it is proposed that he should delegate to Ministers have not been clarified, but the existing five indigenous Ministers (excluding the Vice-President) already exercise Ministerial functions under the titles Interior, Public Works, Agriculture, Education and Health. Without further information, and this will not be given until after the Referendum, it is impossible to evaluate the degree of political advance that the proposed constitution portends.

On Mr. Kamil's return from Paris, four Ministers resigned because he had gone back on his word not to support the Constitution and to vote **non** in the Referendum. The Executive Committee of his party (UDA) deposed him for the same reason, and, finding no political support, the Governor was forced to replace him as Vice-President of the Governing Council. Mr. Hassan Gulaid was asked to form a new government but he declined to do so and, at the time of writing (less than four weeks from the Referendum) French Somaliland is without a Government.

MASSIVE DEPORTATIONS

During renewed disturbances in Djibouti on September 14th, 1966, causing 24 deaths; a curfew was imposed which was not lifted until September 20th. During this period thousands of Djibouti's indigenous inhabitants were rounded up by police and escorted to the Somali Republic border at Loyada. A large number had cards of identity establishing them as *bona fide* citizens of French Somaliland, yet they were deported without any right of appeal. Identity cards of many others were destroyed by the security forces. The average figure of deportations per day amounted to 350. By September 27th, 3,476 persons had been deported by the French authorities, including 2,686 male adults, 600 women and 190 children. The Somali Government made strong protests to the French Government about these totally unwarranted and cruel deportations (see page 20). The United Nations High Commissioner for refugees provided substantial funds for the welfare of the refugees, a number of whom were in need of urgent medical attention, others were starving.

This vindictive and callous act by the French authorities, like the arrest of 14 political leaders, was designed to suppress the nationalist movement in French Somaliland and to deprive it of voting support in the Referendum. These old tactics had been used before and they have now resulted in an even stronger resolve, by those who have escaped the police net, to vote **non** and be damned to the consequences.

THE REFERENDUM

On January 26th, 1967, a Decree was issued in Paris outlining the broad framework within which the Referendum would be conducted. The electors will have to answer **oui** or **non** to the following question.

> "Do you wish the territory to remain within the French Republic with the renewed government and administrative status, the general outline of which has been made known to you?"

A white ballot paper will bear the answer **oui** and a blue ballot paper will represent the answer **non**.

The following table shows the voting position and the number of polling stations during the 1963 election as compared with the number of polling stations allotted for the 1967 Referendum.

District	1963 LEGISLATIVE ELECTIONS				1967 REFERENDUM
	Approximate Population Figures	Registered Voters	Number of Voters	Number of Polling Stations	Number of Polling Stations
DJIBOUTI	62,000	9,999	5,587	11	12
DIKHIL	12,000	4,129	1,617	4	15
ALI SABIEH	8,000	1,811	1,217	5	9
TADJOURA	17,000	5,699	2,229	8	20
OBOKH	8,000	3,555	595	4	11
Total	107,000	25,193	11,245	32	67

Even allowing for the necessity to establish more polling stations in rural areas than in towns, where the population is highly concentrated, the relative increase in polling stations in the rural areas of Dikhil, Tadjoura and Obokh, on which the French authorities are depending for support, is quite out of proportion to the minor increase in polling stations allotted to Djibouti and Ali Sabieh.

The registration of voters for the African population closed on January 15th, 1967, but remained open until February 15th, 1967, for non-African voters. The French authorities have refused to register about 5,000 African residents of Djibouti all of whom had the necessary residential qualifications. The explanation given by the French authorities for this refusal is that these people did not participate in former elections. In addition, there are also about 3,000 Africans in the Djibouti/Ali Sabieh area who have come of age since the last election but have also been refused permission to register for the same reason. In utter desperation and bewilderment, many of these disenfranchised Africans attacked the Djibouti District Commissioner's office on February 16th, 1967. Moreover, African married women, in possession of valid documents, have been precluded from registering whereas European wives have been permitted to register.

Not only have the many thousands of deportees been disenfranchised but also the nomadic pasturalists who had left French Somaliland for the Somali Republic on their seasonal migration. The novel provision in the Referendum decree, making it obligatory for each registered voter to produce documentary evidence that he or she had been resident in French Somaliland for three years, has automatically excluded a number of the French military forces, but it has also disenfranchised all those humbler people who could not produce "any relevant paper of an administrative nature". This provision might be sensible when applied to Metropolitan France, but it is clearly impracticable among nomadic peoples, and among those urban people who, with perhaps one shirt to their name and no roof over their head, cannot easily retain official papers.

It was to ensure that such laws were fairly applied by officials in French Somaliland that the United Nations requested France to accept observers before and during the election. Past performance and French official action since the announcement of the Referendum, can only leave those who genuinely desire a free and fairly applied Referendum with a feeling of abhorence at the injustice of it all.

Prime Minister Abdirazak Haji Hussein in conversation with U.N. Secretary General U. Thant

SOMALI REPUBLIC'S STAND

Since her Independence in 1960, the Somali Republic has for ever remained vigilant in the cause of liberating French Somaliland from colonialism. No country has given greater support to the African people of French Somaliland in their natural desire to assume their rightful place as equal partners in the nations of the world. The accredited representatives of the Somali Government have called for international support for French Somaliland's freedom at every session of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU), both at summit and ministerial level; at every session of the OAU Liberation Committee; at conferences of the non-aligned group of States in 1961 and 1964; and at all sessions of the UN General Assembly since the Republic became a member of that Organisation. In addition, the Somali Government has urged on many occasions, directly with the French Government, the imperative necessity to advance the political development of French Somaliland so that she can join her sister-nations in Africa as a free and independent state, able and willing to assume the responsibilities of nationhood.

It was in this connection that a Somali Government delegation visited, in the autumn of 1966, New York, Paris, Rome and Addis Ababa in order to make its viewpoint known. The Somali Prime Minister, the Honourable Abdirazak Haji Hussein, had personal talks with the Secretary General of the UN; the Secretary of State of the United States Government; the Prime Minister and Foreign Minister of France; the Prime Minister and Foreign Minister of Italy; the President of the United Arab Republic, in addition to meeting the majority of the Heads of State and Government who attended the OAU Summit Conference in Addis Ababa in November, 1966. These patient, but persistent, efforts have been rewarded by the passage of the following important resolutions:

RESOLUTIONS ON FRENCH SOMALILAND

Second Conference of Heads of State and Government of non-aligned States held in Cairo from October 5–10, 1964.

"The participants of the conference call upon the French Government to take the necessary steps to enable French Somaliland to become free and independent in accordance with paragraph 5 of Resolution 1514 (XV) of the United Nations."

The Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organisation of African Unity, meeting in its Third Ordinary Session in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia from November 5 *to* 9, 1966.

"Conscious of its responsibilities towards all African peoples that are not yet independent.

Having considered the development of the situation in the so-called territory of French Somaliland (Djibouti).

1. **Takes note** of the decision of the French Government to grant the people self-determination by means of a referendum before July 1967;

2. **Expresses** the fervent desire that voting may be conducted on an entirely free, democratic and impartial basis;

3. **Addresses** a solemn appeal to the people of so-called French Somaliland (Djibouti) to unite in confronting its destiny;

4. **Assures** the brotherly people of so-called French Somaliland (Djibouti) of its active solidarity, designed to bring about and consolidate the independence of that people."

The United Nations General Assembly adopted the following resolution on December 21, 1966.

The General Assembly,

Having considered the question of French Somaliland (Djibouti),

Recalling its resolution 1514 (XV) of 14 December, 1960,

Having considered the chapter of the report of the Special Committee with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples relating to French Somaliland (Djibouti),

Noting the decision taken by the third ordinary session of the Assembly of the Heads of State and Government of the Organisation of African Unity, held in Addis Ababa, from 5 to 9 November, 1966,

Having noted the recent political developments in the Territory and the subsequent announcement made by the administering Power that a referendum will be held in the Territory before July 1967 to enable the people to decide their political future,

1. **Reaffirms** the inalienable right of the people of French Somaliland (Djibouti) to self-determination and independence in accordance with General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) containing the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples;

2. **Calls upon** the administering Power to ensure that the right of self-determination shall be freely expressed and exercised by the indigenous inhabitants of the Territory on the basis of universal adult suffrage and with full respect for fundamental human rights and freedoms;

3. **Urges** the administering Power to create a proper political climate for a referendum to be conducted on an entirely free and democratic basis;

4. **Requests the administering Power, in consultation with the Secretary-General, to make appropriate arrangements for a United Nations presence before, and supervision during, the holding of the referendum;**

5. **Requests** the Secretary-General to transmit the text of the present resolution to the administering Power and to report on its implementation to the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples;

6. **Decides to retain the question of French Somaliland (Djibouti) on its agenda.**

These resolutions, which at first sight may seem only to repeat other resolutions adopted by International organisations in respect of territories still under colonial rule, were not secured without immense effort and against formidable opposition, sometimes unworthy opposition from unexpected quarters. At all the conferences where Somali Government delegations pressed for a debate on the future of French Somaliland, they were admirably assisted by petitioners from French Somaliland and by members of the **Front de Libération de la Côte des Somalis (FLCS).**

FRENCH OBDURACY

The French Government has proved throughout to be obdurate in her attitude towards representations made by the Somali Government. This attitude was notably revealed at the close of the general debate on decolonisation at the plenary Session of the General Assembly on December 20th, 1965. The Somali representative drew the attention of the Assembly to the question of French Somaliland, then described the role which the Somali Government has played in advocating the cause of the territory, and expressed the hope that French Somaliland would be given priority on the Agenda of the UN Committee of 24.

This statement evoked an immediate response from the French representative, M. Gaschignard, who said that the 1958 Referendum in French Somaliland indicated that 75% of those voting "expressed their determination to remain within the French Community" and that the Territorial Assembly "pronounced in favour of maintaining the **status-quo".** The Territorial Assembly, he added, could have chosen the status of a member State of the Community, but did not wish to do so. "Instead of choosing either independence or self-government followed by independence, it freely opted for the **status** which it already had—that of a territorial collectivity of the French Republic, of which it is now an integral part." M. Gaschignard concluded by asserting that any challenge to the status of French Somaliland is tantamount to interference in the internal affairs of a Member State.

SOMALI DELEGATE'S REPLY

The Somali delegate's reply is given in full as it exposes the fiction, maintained by the French Government, that French Somaliland is no longer a colony.

"I am sorry to have to come back to the rostrum at this late hour, but the reply just made by the representative of France leaves me no alternative.

"The Somali Government was responsible for placing the issue of French Somaliland on the agenda of the Committee of twenty-four, and, in view of the remarks made by the representative of France, it is necessary to explain the consideration which led my Government to take that step.

"It will be recalled that the French Government had previously conceded that the territory of French Somaliland was non-self-governing within the meaning of Chapter XI of the Charter. However, in its letter of 23 March 1959 (A/4096, section I) the French Government made the assertion that the territory was fully self-governing and had therefore ceased to be a territory for which France was responsible for transmitting information under Article 73e of the Charter.

"The constitutional change which the French Government elected to regard as having so radically transformed the status of that territory, and to which the representative of France has just referred, was the *loi-cadre* of 23 June 1956, followed in 1958 by the new Constitution for the French Community. The referendum of 1958, which was held under fictitious conditions and was rigged by the Government of France, changed nothing. The constitution remained that determined by the *loi-cadre* of 1956, and the referendum was carefully organised to ensure a result favourable to the Government of France. As an expression of the free will of the people of French Somaliland, it was a cruel joke and a mockery.

"Members will recall that at that time the discussions in the Fourth Committee revealed considerable opposition to the French position. Indeed, the representative of India, at the 981st meeting of the Fourth Committee, on 2 December 1959, made an exhaustive analysis of the provisions of the *loi-cadre* which demonstrated that the territory remained for all practical purposes a non-self-governing territory. The representatives of Czechoslovakia and Poland took the same view."

EVASION OF U.N. INTERVENTION

"I do not wish to repeat all the arguments so ably presented on that occasion by the representative of India; they are on the record for all to read. But members will recall that, precisely because the General Assembly was becoming alive to the possibility that countries like Portugal and France were undertaking constitutional changes intended to eliminate the possibility of United Nations intervention, the General Assembly adopted resolution 1514 (XV) on 15 December 1960. That resolution contains an annex entitled 'Principles which should guide Members in determining whether or not an obligation exists to transmit the information called for in Article 73e of the Charter of the United Nations.' Members have only to read those principles, and then to read any commentary on the effects of the *loi-cadre* of 23 June 1956, to reach the inescapable conclusion that French Somaliland remains a non-self-governing territory to which Article 73e applies and which falls under the jurisdiction of the Committee of twenty-four. The report of the Committee on that score was adopted today by this Assembly.

"The Somali Government submitted to the Committee of twenty-four a memorandum on French Somaliland, of which the second section was entirely devoted to the present constitutional status of the territory. We demonstrated therein that the degree of autonomy granted to the territory was extremely limited: it did not, for example, extend to foreign relations, national defence, the judiciary, inspection of works, external communications, higher education, the treasury, foreign exchange and so forth. Indeed, the degree of internal autonomy is far less than that enjoyed in many of the British Colonies which the United Kingdom has fully accepted as being covered by Article 73e of the Charter.

"The Somali Government supported its thesis by citing French authors on administrative and constitutional law. Small wonder, therefore, that the Somali Government felt confident that the Committee of twenty-four would accept that thesis and reject the French argument of constitutional change as a sham. Small wonder, too, that the Conference of Non-Aligned States, meeting in Cairo in 1964, categorically reaffirmed that French Somaliland was fully covered by the famous Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples, embodied in General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) of 14 December 1960. I had the pleasure of referring to that only a short while ago.

QUESTIONS TO FRENCH REPRESENTATIVE

"The Somali Government therefore feels that the balance of opinion of States, and even of French jurists, is against the French Government. This is not a difficult matter of legal interpretation, but simply a matter of looking at the facts. Let me pose a few questions to the French representative, who sought to deny the rights of the people of French Somaliland, and we shall see how convincing his answers are on the facts.

"Does the French Government allege that the territory is not geographically separate, and

Prime Minister Abdirazak Haji Hussein addressing U.N. Committee of 24 in Mogadishu

distinct ethically and/or culturally, from France? I pose the question in terms of Principle IV of the principles adopted by the Assembly in 1960 under resolution 1514 (XV). Does the French Government suggest that the territory is not 'in a position or status of subordination' to France? I here use the terms of Principle V of that resolution. Does the French Government suggest that the present situation corresponds to the 'free and voluntary choice by the peoples of the territory', in accordance with Principle VII of that resolution?

"The facts demonstrate exactly how absurd is this attempt to show French Somaliland as a fully self-governing territory. Are we really expected to believe that, merely by sending one Deputy and one Senator to Paris, these so-called French Somalis have been placed on a footing of equal partnership with France? Are we really expected to believe that all the people of the territory have a free and equal vote in elections? A comparison of the census figures and the electoral roll would make interesting reading. And what is the French Army doing, sitting there in strength in Djibouti? Are we to understand that these are really the so-called French Somalis, equipped with French uniforms and ready to defend their so-called autonomy against external aggression from a wicked Somalia?

ABSURD PICTURE

"My colleagues in this Assembly will, I trust, appreciate all too readily how absurd this picture is. We know that at the time of the referendum the people of the territory were suppressed, the Somali Prime Minister was exiled with his Cabinet, and the Legislative Assembly was dissolved, simply because they had the nerve to campaign against the position of the French Government to say 'Yes' to the referendum. Everybody knows this. History knows this.

"Indeed, I am tempted to apologise for having wasted the time of this Assembly in demonstrating the obvious. However, I hope that the Assembly will have no difficulty in rejecting the contention of the French representative here.

"I reserve my right to come back to this matter if it becomes necessary for me to do so."

Exercising his right of reply, M. Gaschignard said:

"I shall be very brief, for I do not wish to get into polemics with the representative of Somalia at this very late hour. However, I wish formally to deny and rebut his statements to the effect that the referendum of 1958 and the elections which were held in French Somalia were, as I believe he said, rigged and a cruel hoax. That referendum and those elections were, as I said earlier, organised in precisely the same fashion as those that were held in all other territories of the then overseas France, and the representatives of those territories sitting with us today will attest to the fact that the people voted freely."

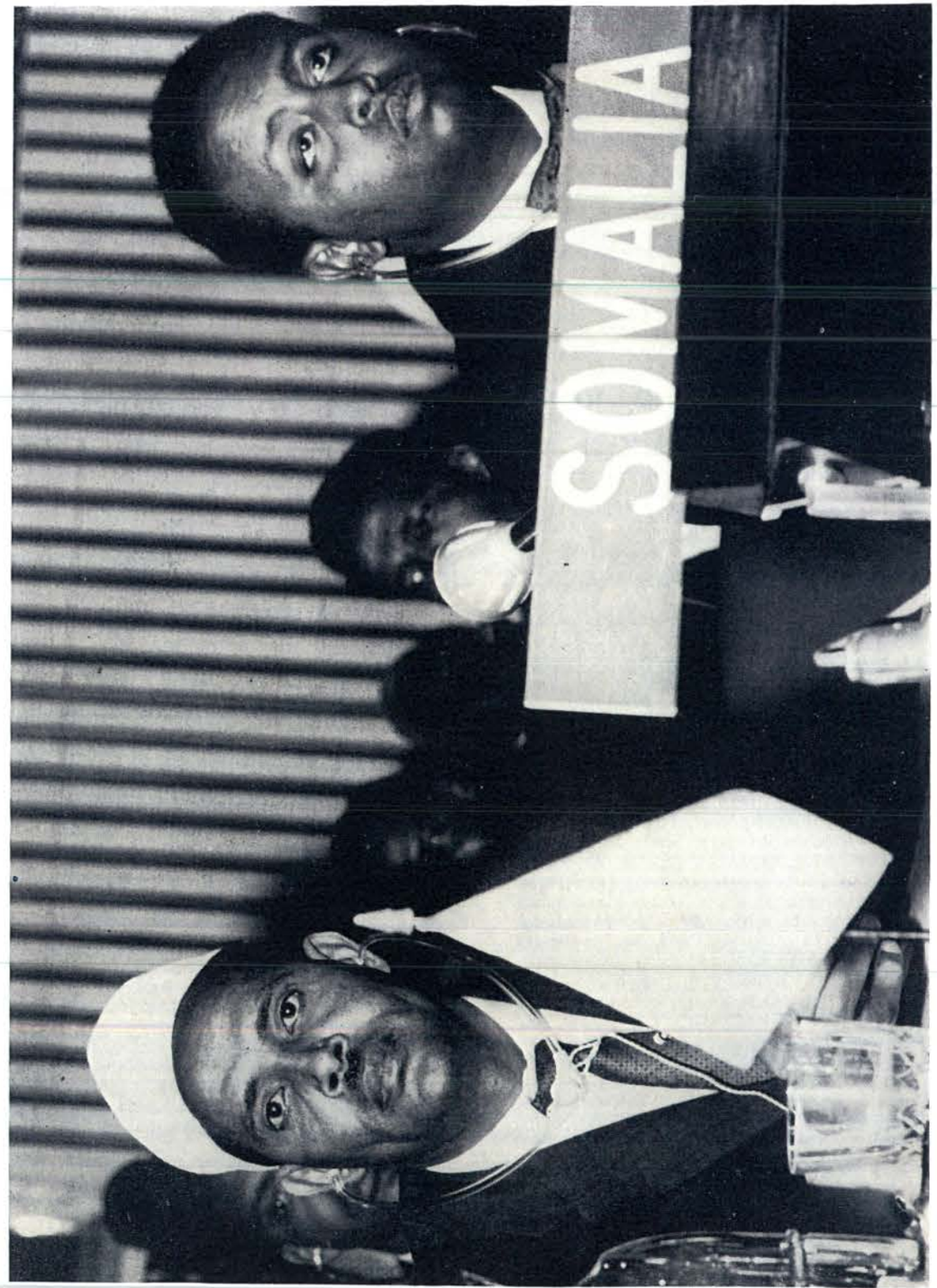
U.N. COMMITTEE VISITS MOGADISHU

This important exchange opened the way to the inclusion of French Somaliland on the Agenda of the UN Committee of 24, and to a visit by the Committee to Mogadishu on June 1st, 1966. Addressing the Committee in Mogadishu on the question of French Somaliland, the Somali Foreign Minister, Mr. Ahmed Yusuf Dualeh, introduced the **Front de Libération de la Côte des Somalis** (FLCS) as a liberation movement, operating independently of the Somali Government, but based in Mogadishu. The Movement, he said, lawfully represented the people of French Somaliland outside that territory. It has regular publications, frequent contacts with the people of French Somaliland and has been represented at conferences of the OAU, of the Non-Aligned States, and it has formally submitted memoranda to the OAU Liberation Committee and to the UN Committee of 24. The Minister warned that Ethiopia was establishing a new liberation movement in Addis Ababa with the aim of destroying the FLCS.

The Minister expressed satisfaction that two of the Somali Government's proposals had already been implemented by the United Nations, namely, the affirmation by the United Nations that French Somaliland is a non-self-governing territory to which resolution 1514 (XV) of the General Assembly applies; and, secondly, that by including the question of French Somaliland on the Agenda of the Committee of 24, "the United Nations affirm the right of the people of that territory to self-determination, in accordance with their freely expressed wishes."

FOREIGN MINISTER'S PROPOSALS

The Somali Foreign Minister urged the United Nations to call upon France to give the Territory



Prime Minister Abdirazak Haji Hussein with Foreign Minister Ahmed Yosuf Dualeh at the U.N. General Assembly, October 1966

immediate independence and also to call upon all other States to abstain from all forms of pressure calculated to distort the expression of the right of self-determination by the people. He stated that, upon granting independence to the Territory, the United Nations should assume the administration of it for two years to allow the formation of political consensus within the Territory as to its future. During its administration, he continued, the United Nations should allow the return of the people exiled in the past 10 years, subject to proper scrutiny of their genuine association with the Territory.

A petition presented by the FLCS stated that the country was in a state of siege. The French were conducting a policy of oppression. He called for total and immediate independence, evacuation of military bases, the release of political and religious prisoners, amnesty for political offenders and refugees in exile, and restoration of democratic liberty so that the national organisations could exercise their functions freely.

Another petitioner of the FLCS said that the French Government was practising a veritable policy of extermination towards his country. He estimated the French military strength in French Somaliland at 40,000 men, for the most part members of the Foreign Legion and gendarmes. Since the Indo-Chinese and Algerian wars, it was well known what such people were capable of. In 1965 the town of Djibouti had been surrounded with an electrified barrier on which several Somalis had met their death. The French Government had claimed, however, that they had died of thirst.

Every day from fifty to a hundred persons were expelled from the Territory. The rare inhabitants who had succeeded in getting the compulsory identity card found it taken away from them. They thus became aliens and were expelled. He cited the case of Mr. Abdillahi Waberi Kalif, Vice-President of the **Parti du Mouvement Populaire** (PMP) who had been arrested, deprived of his identification, beaten and transported unconscious to the frontier. Immigrants, by contrast, and particularly Europeans, were flocking to Djibouti.

In reply to a question put by Mr. Aljubouri (Iraq), a representative of the FLCS said that Djibouti was a very important town from the economic and social standpoint because of its geographical situation. It was a port of transit to the Middle East, with modern facilities, and its dockers had the highest reputation in the world for their work. Some 350 vessels put in there every month.

Unfortunately, the people did not benefit in any way from the economic activity, as the commercial companies, banks and even small businesses were in foreign hands. The two big French banks at Djibouti, for example, did not extend any credit to the people of the Territory but did everything possible to help immigrants, both Frenchmen and others.

U.N. COMMITTEE RE-ASSEMBLES IN NEW YORK

The Committee of 24 resumed discussion on French Somaliland in New York on October 6th, 1966, against the background of the announcement by President de Gaulle that a Referendum would be held in French Somaliland before July 1st, 1967. In a communication addressed to all Permanent Missions to the United Nations, the Somali Permanent Representative to the United Nations, Ambassador Abdulrahim Abby Farah, re-stated the position of the Somali Government in view of the events that had taken place in French Somaliland since the Committee's visit to Mogadishu in June.

Referring to the announcement of a Referendum, Ambassador Farah commented that if it is to have any meaning "it is important that it be held under conditions which will ensure that the people are free from internal and external pressures, calculated to d'stort free political expression". Continuing, the Ambassador demanded that immediate steps should be taken by the French to accord the people their rights and liberties, and the political life of the territory and its institutions should be made to conform with their democratic needs. "This would entail the abrogation of all laws which are politically repressive in character, such as restrictions on political associations, trade union movements, and freedom of the press. All political detainees should be released and political exiles permitted to return to their territory. Finally, it would also help to restore confidence if all the major responsibilities of government were entrusted immediately to those political representatives of the territory who command the support of the people. Unless conditions of this kind are established at this stage the proposed referendum may well become, in effect, 'a cruel hoax'."

In a reference to Emperor Haile Selassie's claim to French Somaliland (Appendix C), the Ambassador asked that the United Nations should consider guaranteeing the present frontiers of French Somaliland should the people decide to become independent, "and should they be faced with threats against their territorial integrity and sovereignty." "My Government has also stated its opposition to the Ethiopian claim and has made it clear that the Somali Republic would never agree to any proposal concerning the territory's political future which did not conform with the freely expressed wishes of the majority of the inhabitants. . . . Ethiopia's interest would best be protected through goodwill and co-operation, and by a scrupulous regard for the rights and aspirations of the people concerned. Under such circumstances there should be no difficulty in the two countries developing existing economic links and concluding commercial or economic treaties which protect equally the interests of both parties."

MEMORANDUM BY FLCS

A Memorandum submitted to the Committee of 24 by FLCS on October 6th also referred to the forthcoming Referendum. "There is no question," the Memorandum stated, "of doubting the good faith of the Government headed by General de Gaulle; but there is no one who has not experienced the enormous gulf which can sometimes be created between the honest and unselfish intentions of a metropolitan government and its application by the agents of the colonial administration bound to the most sordid local interests."

Concluding, the Memorandum demanded:

The immediate and complete independence of the Territory; respect for territorial integrity, the restoration of democratic freedoms; the freeing of political, trade union and religious detainees; an amnesty for all politicians and refugees who are in exile and their return to their native soil; non-interference in the internal affairs of the country and abstention from external pressures, direct or indirect, by other nations; the immediate cessation of all measures of expulsion; and assistance from the Office of the High Commissioner for Refugees and from the specialised agencies of the United Nations for those expelled from French Somaliland.

Addressing the Committee of 24 on October 10th, the Somali Representative, proposed that the Committee of 24 should recommend measures which would remove any doubt or suspicion about three points:

"**first** of all, that the people of French Sômaliland will be able to exercise their inalienable right of self-determination at a specified date and at the latest in July 1967;

"**secondly**, that prior to the referendum and in fact immediately, conditions must be created for the people of French Somaliland to make full use of that right of self-determination. This includes, for example, their right to form, and adhere to, political organisations of their choosing; and the right of all citizens who have been exiled from the territory, to return without fear of retribution; and

"**thirdly** that the referendum itself will be conducted with absolute fairness."

U.N. FOURTH COMMITTEE TAKES UP CASE

Following the representations made to the Committee of 24, the Committee decided not to debate the question of French Somaliland before the item was discussed by the UN Fourth Committee. The report of the Committee of 24 contained only the statements of evidence that it had collected during its visit to Africa and at its hearing in New York. But when the agenda of the Fourth Committee was discussed on November 9th, 1966, the Somali Delegation was able to secure agreement of that body to treat the question of French Somaliland as a separate item on its agenda.

The Somali Under-Secretary of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Honourable Mohamed Hassan Nur, arrived in New York on November 25th to direct the presentation of the Somali position after the return to Mogadishu of the Prime Minister and Foreign Minister. It was decided to direct the efforts of the Somali Delegation towards obtaining general approval for a resolution which would:

(1) carry UN endorsement of French Somaliland's right to self-determination and independence;

(2) emphasise the need for free expression and full respect for the fundamental human rights and freedom of the people of the territory;

(3) request France to agree to United Nations supervision of the referendum to ensure fairness;

(4) call for the establishment of a proper political climate.

These provisions were based on the proposals made by the Somali Prime Minister, the Honourable Abdirazak Haji Hussein, in his statement to the UN General Assembly which can be read in Appendix A.

HARD DIPLOMACY

A few days before the debate on French Somaliland in the Fourth Committee the Ethiopian delegation informed the Somali delegation that they had studied the draft which the Somalis had handed to them and they produced another draft which incorporated the text of the Somali draft with certain modifications. This revised draft added two new elements, namely,

(1) the nomenclature adopted by the OAU resolution, i.e. the "territory of French Somaliland (Djibouti)";

(2) a preambular paragraph which took note of the OAU resolution.

The Somali delegation expressed reservations on both points because the appendage "Djibouti" is not the official title of the territory;[1] but agreed that the resolution should go before the Afro-Asian Group of the Fourth Committee for consideration. The Sudan representative pressed for the exclusion of the paragraph which took note of the OAU resolution on the grounds that it was unnecessary and could lead to a dangerous precedent whereby all regional organisations would seek to include their resolutions in resolutions of the United Nations. By a narrow vote among the Afro-Asian Group, the offending paragraph was deleted. Ethiopia then announced that she would oppose the whole resolution if it did not contain a reference to the OAU resolution and also disclosed their intention to abstain on paragraph 4 concerning the United Nations' supervision of the Referendum.

The Somali delegation was requested by members of the Afro-Asian Group to agree to the reinclusion of the paragraph for the sake of maintaining group solidarity on the resolution as a whole. The Somali Delegation agreed, provided Ethiopia voted for paragraph 4 of the resolution concerning the United Nations' presence and supervision.

Subsequently the Ethiopian delegation informed the Afro-Asian Group that, on instructions from its Government, it would not be able to vote in favour of paragraph 4, but that it would abstain on the paragraph if a separate vote were called for. Ethiopia also gave an undertaking before the Afro-Asian Group, and subsequently the Latin American Group, to do nothing that would hinder or jeopardise the passage of paragraph 4, and, in order to comply with this undertaking, she agreed to explain her vote after the vote had been taken.

[1] Ethiopia objects to the name French Somaliland because it presupposes that the territory belongs to Somalis and she persists in calling it "Djibouti Territory".

THE DEBATE

The debate in the Fourth Committee continued between December 6–12, 1966, and was particularly noteworthy for the contribution made by the representative of Ceylon, Mr Kanakaratne, whose statement, on the proposal of the Representative of Saudi Arabia, Mr Al-Rachach, was included *in extenso* in the record of the meeting.

> Mr. Kanakaratne said that he would like, as one of the sponsors of the draft resolution, to make some remarks and answer some of the points that had been raised before the Committee proceeded to vote. He paid a tribute to the statesmanlike approach adopted by the representatives of Ethiopia and Somalia, countries having common borders with French Somaliland; their attitude had assisted the Committee in its work. It was to be regretted that the French delegation had absented itself from the meetings devoted to the discussion of the question of French Somaliland. All delegations had expressed confidence in the present Government of France, and the sponsors of the draft resolution had stressed that they were not calling in question the motives of the French Government. If the French delegation had been present, it could have conveyed to the French Government the sentiments expressed in that regard by the sponsors of the draft resolution and by all members.
>
> The Committee had a responsibility to ensure the implementation of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV). No one had questioned the right of the people of French Somaliland to self-determination and independence in accordance with resolution 1514 (XV). Some disputed, however, the necessity for arrangements to be made for a United Nations presence before and during the holding of the referendum. The representive of Madagascar had implied that a United Nations presence was unnecessary since France itself had taken the initiative of announcing a referendum, and the representative of the Ivory Coast had suggested that United Nations "intervention" would be untimely. What was proposed, however, was not intervention but merely a United Nations presence, and he could not agree that the proposal was untimely. In that connexion, he would draw attention to the debate which had taken place in the French National Assembly on 2 December 1966. It was proposed that the voters in French Somaliland should be asked whether they wished the territory to remain within the framework of the French Republic under a remodelled Statute regarding its government and administration, the essential contents of which Statute would be stated. The Committee should ask itself whether that was the kind of question which would give the people a genuine opportunity to determine their future and exercise their right to self-determination and independence. In such circumstances, it seemed permissible to ask for a United Nations presence.

FORM OF INTIMIDATION

Continuing, Mr Kanakaratne said that many former French Territories which had opted for limited self-government within the French Community in 1958 were now fully independent States. It was hard to see why French Somaliland should be discriminated against. The French Minister of Overseas Territories had stated in the National Assembly that if the people preferred "an uncertain and probably dangerous path . . . to the path of good sense"—i.e. if they chose independence—they would have to accept the "risks" of such a course. He had gone on to say that "independence would soon bring civil war and foreign invasion". Such statements represented a form of intimidation and he would appeal to those who opposed operative paragraph 4 of the draft resolution to take into account the comments of the French Minister. Mr. François Mitterand, a leading figure in French political life, referring to suggestions that French Somaliland would cease to receive assistance from France if it chose independence, had said that he could not believe that the French Government would exercise a form of moral pressure which would constitute a manifestation of economic colonialism at its worst.

His country enjoyed excellent relations with the Government and the people of France, but that did not prevent his delegation from holding fast to matters of principle. It was noteworthy that the Soviet Union delegation had made a categorical statement of principle on the matter, even though the Prime Minister of the Soviet Union was at that moment in France on a State visit during which he had spoken of the development of closer relations between France and the Soviet Union in all spheres. Delegations need not feel that they must abstain from voting on the draft resolution lest they should offend France. France would respect those who took a stand on principle. On behalf of the sponsors, therefore, he urged all delegations to support the draft resolution.

With regard to the Mexican representative's suggestion that the administering Power should be merely invited to enter into consultations with the Secretary-General regarding a United Nations presence in the Territory, he doubted whether such a wording would make the text more effective. If the French Government had indicated that it would respond to such an invitation, such a suggestion might have been worth considering, but the French delegation had not even been present during the debate.

The representative of Kenya said that his Government considered that the time had come for French Somaliland to be given an opportunity to exercise its right to self-determination and independence.

The United Nations Charter permitted, and indeed encouraged, the formation of regional organisations which could assist the Organisation in solving decolonialisation problems and settling economic and social questions. He therefore welcomed the reference in the fourth preambular paragraph of the draft resolution to the recent decision taken by the Assembly of the Heads of States and Government of the Organisation of African Unity.

The request in operative paragraph 4 to the administering Power, in consultation with the Secretary-General, to make appropriate arrangements for a United Nations presence before, and supervision during, the holding of the referendum, was in keeping with previous practice. That paragraph should not be interpreted to mean that that sponsors had any doubts regarding the good faith of the French Government. In the sponsors' view a United Nations presence would

be an added guarantee of the proper conduct of the referendum.

His delegation paid a tribute to the delegations of Ethiopia and Somalia, which were directly concerned with the problem of French Somaliland, for their spirit of understanding and co-operation. It hoped that France would co-operate with the United Nations and that the African delegations which might have reservations would see the need for a United Nations presence.

The representative of Ghana said that although the text under consideration was the mildest of all resolutions adopted by the Committee, it was apparently unacceptable to France. If the French delegation could produce any argument against a United Nations presence in the Territory it should come to the Committee and present its case.

AN EASY PREY

The representative of Sudan said that the United Nations had a great responsibility in the case of that Territory, which, with its small population, would be an easy prey to French influence in the voting, as it had been in the past. The threat that the Territory would no longer receive economic and financial assistance from France impaired the atmosphere of freedom in which the people should be able to exercise their right to self-determination and independence. The fact that a number of deputies in the French Parliament had characterised that attitude on the part of France as one of blackmail and punishment was sufficient reason for the United Nations to give the Territory its full attention.

M. Diallo Seydon, representing Guinea, said that he considered that appeals to France were useless; that country had always abstained in votes on questions relating to decolonisation. French Somaliland was not part of France; it was a colonial Territory and was within the competence of the Fourth Committee. All those who opposed a United Nations presence in the Territory would be called to account by posterity.

The representative of Ivory Coast said that both the internal self-government enjoyed by the Territory and the French Constitution of 1958, which in some respects was a genuine declaration of the right of colonial peoples to self-determination and independence, confirmed the voluntary character of the relationship between French Somaliland and France. It was thanks to the good faith and good will of the parties concerned that the people of the Territory were to have another opportunity to express their wishes. In view of the degree of self-government enjoyed by French Somaliland, his delegation had always considered any intervention by the United Nations in the Territory as interference in its internal affairs.

His delegation's position was dictated by two principles, namely, the principle of non-intervention and the principle of the right of peoples to self-determination. It considered, therefore, that the problem of French Somaliland should be settled between that Territory and France and that it should evolve in friendship with France so that its independence would not be jeopardised. United Nations intervention would be untimely, especially as the French Government, aware of its responsibilities, had decided to hold a referendum before July 1967 to enable the people to choose freely and democratically what their future should be.

SUPPORT FOR INDEPENDENCE

The representative for Algeria said that, although his delegation had not taken part in the debate on French Somaliland, it had carefully followed developments concerning that Territory. He hoped that it would move towards self-determination in peace and security. His delegation would vote in favour of the draft resolution, and of all paragraphs put to a separate vote, in order to show its support for the people's right to self-determination and independence.

The Somali delegate said that the Somali delegation had not joined in sponsoring the resolution because it would have preferred a much stronger text. It was also unable to agree with the addition of the name "Dijbouti" in parentheses after the name of the Territory. The name of the Territory was for the people themselves to decide. The people had already, through their representatives, rejected a proposal to adopt the name "Djibouti". Naturally, he disliked the adjective "French" before the name "Somaliland" and that epithet would become superfluous when the Territory attained independence, but it would be for the people to choose the name by which they wished their country to be known. Djibouti was simply the name of the capital and it was an unnecessary

interference in the affairs of the people to seek to change the present name of the Territory.

The representative of Ethiopia recalled that he had expressed 'general agreement with the provisions of the revised text of the draft resolution at an earlier meeting, and, in keeping with that position, had voted in favour of the resolution as a whole. He was glad to note that the resolution was in broad agreement with the decision of the Assembly of the Heads of State and Government of the Organisation of African Unity. He welcomed the recognition given to the Organisation of African Unity in the preamble to the resolution.

With regard to the name of the Territory, the formula adopted by the sponsors represented a compromise. His delegation would have preferred the expression "so-called French Somaliland (Djibouti)"; it had consistently expressed reservations regarding the term "French Somaliland" as used in the past by United Nations bodies because it was a term invested by colonialism and had certain implications to which his Government could not subscribe. He still had some reservations concerning the nomenclature adopted in the resolution.

With regard to operative paragraph 4, his delegation had always supported the principle of a United Nations presence to supervise the process of decolonisation. With regard to the coming referendum, however, the question of timeliness needed to be considered and it was important that insistence on a United Nations presence should not hamper or retard the decolonisation process in the Territory. The administering Power had announced that a referendum would be held by a definite date; in such circumstances the United Nations should avoid laying down pre-conditions and should allow the process to take its course undisturbed. If such preconditions had been insisted on in the past, some countries might have been prevented from gaining independence. His delegation, feeling that operative paragraph 4 could lend itself to misunderstanding and misinterpretation, had abstained in the separate vote on that paragraph.

Although several of the French-speaking African states spoke against the resolution, when a separate vote was requested in the Fourth Committee on operative paragraph 4, the paragraph was adopted by 70 votes in favour, 36 abstentions and only two against. The resolution as a whole was adopted by 87 votes in favour, 16 abstentions and only one against.

GENERAL ASSEMBLY DEBATE

The draft resolution was thus recommended by the Fourth Committee to the United Nations General Assembly which debated it on December 20th, 1966. In a statement to the Assembly the Chairman of the Somali delegation noted the emphasis which the resolution laid on safeguards for the fairness of the referendum but would have preferred that these safeguards had been specifically enumerated. He would also have wished that the resolution had been more precise about the meaning of a "proper political climate".

> "What my delegation regards as a proper climate was outlined by my Prime Minister in this Assembly on 18 October. (Appendix A.) He called for the people of French Somaliland to be given the right to form and adhere to political organisations of their own choosing; for political detainees to be released; and for all citizens who have been exiled from the territory to be allowed to return without fear of retribution, and of course, be allowed to participate in the referendum."

On the important paragraph 4 of the resolution, requesting a United Nations presence before and during the referendum, the Somali delegation expressed satisfaction that the overwhelming majority in the Fourth Committee voted in favour of the paragraph but regretted "that some of our African sister nations found it necessary to abstain on that paragraph".

Continuing, the Chairman said:

> "As it was made clear by several speakers in the debate in the Fourth Committee, the purpose of this paragraph is not to offend the sensibilities or to question the sincerity of the French Government. These are by no means the issues at stake: the matter is simply one of decolonisation.
>
> "The sole aim of operative paragraph 4 and in fact of the whole resolution, as my delegation understands it, is to show the interest and concern of the United Nations in the execution of the referendum in such a manner that the doubts and criticisms and, above all, the dangerous political tensions created by the 1958 referendum in the territory should not be repeated.
>
> "Within the next few weeks, essential decisions regarding the referendum will have to be taken which will profoundly influence its outcome. It should be acknowledged that a United Nations partici-

pation in the preparation of the referendum is, therefore, in the interest of all, including the interest of the administering Power. The same is true of the actual holding of the referendum.

OBJECTION TO NOMENCLATURE

"Finally, my delegation wishes to reiterate that we consider it neither necessary nor proper to introduce at this stage a modification in the designation of the territory by adding the name of the Capital, Djibouti, in brackets after the name French Somaliland. The internationally accepted nomenclature of the territory is 'The French Coast of the Somalis' or in short 'French Somaliland'.

"In the view of my delegation, no outside organ including the United Nations, is entitled to change or modify the name of the territory. This is exclusively the right of the people and action on the part of any other body in this respect is tantamount to an undue interference in the affairs of the people of the territory. If the people of French Somaliland wish to change the name of their territory they will, no doubt, do so after having gained independence.

"In conclusion, Mr. President, it is the hope of my Government that the Government of France will respond to the provisions of this resolution in the spirit in which they have been formulated."

In a separate vote in the General Assembly on paragraph 4 of the resolution 72 states voted in favour, 39 abstained and only 2 voted against; the whole resolution secured 95 votes in favour, 18 abstentions and only one against. A list showing the vote recorded by each country is given in Appendix B. During consideration of the question in the Fourth Committee, France was absent.

RELATIONS WITH FRANCE

France's absence from the Fourth Committee's debate on a resolution, which one member described as the mildest resolution affecting a colonial power that the Committee had ever adopted, was typical of the French Government's inexplicable attitude towards the political future of French Somaliland. Persistent efforts by the United Nations Secretary General, U Thant, to persuade the French Government to comply with the resolution, have failed. The French Government's ridiculous insistence that French Somaliland is an integral part of the French Republic and she will not therefore brook any outside interference in her "internal affairs" ignores all juridical, geographical and political realities. This obduracy has also been reflected by her disdainful silence in response to both the United Nations resolution and to the respectful diplomatic representations made to her by the Somali Government which has had no greater wish than to co-operate with France in the interests of securing a solid and prosperous independence for all the people of French Somaliland, including the minority non-African community.

Examples of the indifference of the French Government towards reasonable and legitimate representations made to that Government by the Somali Government can be seen from the following summary of a selection of formal communications submitted to the French Government during the last nine months:

REPRESENTATIONS MADE BY THE SOMALI GOVERNMENT TO THE FRENCH GOVERNMENT

May 28th, 1966: The Somali Government protested against "arbitary deportations, torture, maltreatment and harsh prison terms carried out by the French authorities in French Somaliland". The note added: "A glaring example of this has been the recent mass imprisonment to terms ranging from 2 to 7 years of all the members of the Central Committee of the Popular Movement Party and the subsequent undignified deportation of the Vice-President of the Party, Mr. Abdullali Waberi to Somalia through the Loyada frontier post".

No reply from the French Embassy in Mogadishu was received.

August 31st, 1966: The Somali Government expressed satisfaction with General Billotte's reported statement that France would quit French Somaliland if it were the wish of the majority of the people. "This viewpoint", the Note added, "coincides with that of the Somali Government which has always been that the people of French Somaliland should be given their independence free from all outside pressures: and in this field Somalia is ready to co-operate with France".

A reply from the French Embassy merely stated that the Note would be passed to the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

September 17th, 1966: The Somali Foreign Minister summoned the French Ambassador and explained the contents of a Note which:

(*a*) welcomed the declared intention of the French Government to give the people of French Somaliland their Independence;

(*b*) expressed the hope that all the necessary steps would be fair and just and solely in the interests of the people themselves;

(*c*) expressed concern over the state of affairs prevailing in Djibouti expecially over reports that many thousands of people have been imprisoned and over 800 persons deported to the Somali Republic;

(*d*) protested that the local French authorities were permitting the armed forces to use their weapons indiscriminately against defenceless civilians, and that armoured vehicles were destroying dwellings and terrorising the people;

(*e*) protested that deportees had arrived in the Somali Republic with serious injuries and that they had been deprived of their possessions and denied food, shelter and medicine;

(*f*) protested strongly against the arbitrary deportations of legitimate citizens of French Somaliland and the brutalities carried out against them in Djibouti;

(*g*) protested against the resumption of violations of the Republic's airspace by French aircraft which had penetrated as far as Zeila;

(*h*) requested an immediate enquiry by the French Government.

No action was taken by the French Government.

September 27th, 1966: The Somali Government advised the French Embassy in a formal note that, following a visit by a Somali Ministerial delegation to Loyada on the French Somaliland border, it had learned that by September 21st a count of deportees in the region numbered 3,476 persons, including 2,686 male adults, 600 women and 190 children. The Note also conveyed to the Embassy the following facts:

(*a*) a substantial number of deportees were in possession of identity cards issued by the French authorities proving their citizenship of French Somaliland;

(*b*) identity cards of many others had been destroyed by the French armed forces when the holders were required to produce them;

(*c*) others were not even given ths opportunity to prove their status but were "bundled into vehicles" and "dumped over the border";

(*d*) the ministerial delegation confirmed press reports that the average figure of persons deported under French armed escort amounted to 350 persons a day;

(*e*) Sheikh Hassan Osman, a leading religious figure who attended the World Islamic Conference in Mogadishu, was shot dead inside the Abdulkadir Mosque on September 16th, 1966, and other similar killings took place in the Ismail Jibarti Mosque.

In consideration of the Somali Government's friendly relations with the Government of France and the objective and realistic attitude of the Somali Government towards developments in French Somaliland, the Somali Government requested the French Government to take immediate and appropriate steps to put an end to these deportations and to repatriate the deportees immediately.

In the same Note the Somali Government welcomed the assurances given by General Billotte that the forthcoming referendum would be "free from force or trickery", but deplored the threat underlying the statement that in the event of the people of French Somaliland opting for independence, France will immediately cease economic, military or technical aid. "Such a threat," the Note continued, "is entirely contrary to the policy of France in giving economic and other aid to its former colonies through co-operation agreements signed after these territories have attained their independence

and it is not understood why such a similar policy cannot be adopted in respect of French Somaliland."

"A declaration by France," the Note continued, "that it will retain its ties of friendship and would continue to provide economic aid, would go a long way in bringing about calm and stability in this part of Africa and would be a generous gesture of goodwill to both the people of French Somaliland and to Africa at large."

Reiterating the Somali Republic's position with regard to French Somaliland, the Note explained that "the Somali Republic supports the principle that the wishes and desires of the majority of the indigenous inhabitants of the territory should be of paramount consideration. It is absolutely essential, and after all equitable, that full guarantees should be given to the indigenous people to ensure the free and democratic exercise of spontaneous expression on their future destiny".

Concluding, the Note expressed the hope that the Somali Government's concern over these developments "will not be underestimated nor will it be construed as interference in the internal affairs of French Somailland as this is a particular situation which directly affects this Republic".

No reply was received to this Note from the French Embassy.

October 7th, 1966: The Somali Government, in a Note to the French Embassy, referred to an earlier request by the Somali Prime Minister, to which there had been no reply, that facilities be accorded him in Paris to exchange views on the French Somaliland question prior to his arrival in New York to address the United Nations Assembly. The Note explained that the Somali Government felt that such an exchange would be of "benefit to the parties directly concerned and to the future stability of this part of Africa". The Note concluded:

"It is hoped that the French Government will recognise the legitimate interests of the Somali Republic in the political future of French Somaliland, and also the usefulness of an exchange of views between France and Somalia in an atmosphere of goodwill and mutual co-operation."

The French Embassy advised that it regretted that the French Government could not receive the Somali Prime Minister because of earlier commitments.

October 11th, 1966: The Somali Government, in a Note to the French Embassy, regretted that the French Government could not receive the Somali Prime Minister but understood from French explanations that the French Government's inability was "in no way ill-intentioned". The Note explained that as the Somali Prime Minister was unable to meet the French Government personally, the Somali Government wished the French Embassy to convey to its Government a summary of the matters which the Somali Prime Minister hoped to discuss with the French Government. The Note proceeded to outline these matters as follows:

The Somali Government

(a) regretted that goodwill and understanding, which had otherwise always existed between the Somali Republic and France, had become strained over the question of French Somaliland;

(b) asserted that there was no need for any contradiction between the policies of their respective countries and the Somali Government had certain proposals to make which could form the basis upon which both countries could work together for the Independence and well-being of the People of French Somaliland;

(c) wished first to receive the following assurances from the French Government in the hope of finding a basis upon which the Somali Republic could support the measures which France proposes to take in relation to their territory:

(i) that all adults resident in the territory will be allowed to vote;

(ii) that French military and administrative personnel will not vote;

(iii) that deportees since 1958, who have their real homes in the territory, will be permitted to return and qualify to vote;

(iv) that further deportations will cease;

(v) that freedom of political expression and freedom to be associated with political parties will be guaranteed;

(vi) that freedom to choose complete independence or independence within the French Community will be granted;

(vii) that aid will continue and will not be made a condition for the Referendum;

(viii) that the territorial and political integrity of the territory, following independence, will be guaranteed;

(ix) that the legitimate economic interests of other states could be safeguarded by a formal international guarantee to which a newly-independent French Somaliland would be invited to accede.

The Somali Government also

(a) is opposed to the Referendum taking place until conditions for a free, democratic vote have been established;

(b) deplored a sudden French withdrawal which would leave the territory economically, militarily and politically vulnerable;

(c) has no aggressive designs on French Somaliland;

(d) will not seek unity with French Somaliland by force and has no desire to use any form of coercion against the people of French Somaliland;

The Somali Government's Note concluded:

"In placing these suggestions before the French Government, Somalia is conscious that there is now an opportunity for co-operation between the two countries on a matter which on the basis of such co-operation, could be satisfactorily regulated in the best interests of all concerned: but also a matter which, if not satisfactorily regulated, could well produce serious conflict in the Horn of Africa. If, hitherto, the Somali Republic's policy in taking up this issue before the U.N. Committee of 24 has seemed unfriendly to France, Somalia can only say that it has seen nothing in the policies of France to give this Republic hope for any other solution."

A meeting between the Somali Prime Minister and the French Prime Minister and Foreign Minister eventually took place in Paris on October 28th, 1966, and the assurances requested in the above Note were repeated. None of the assurances were given by the French Government.

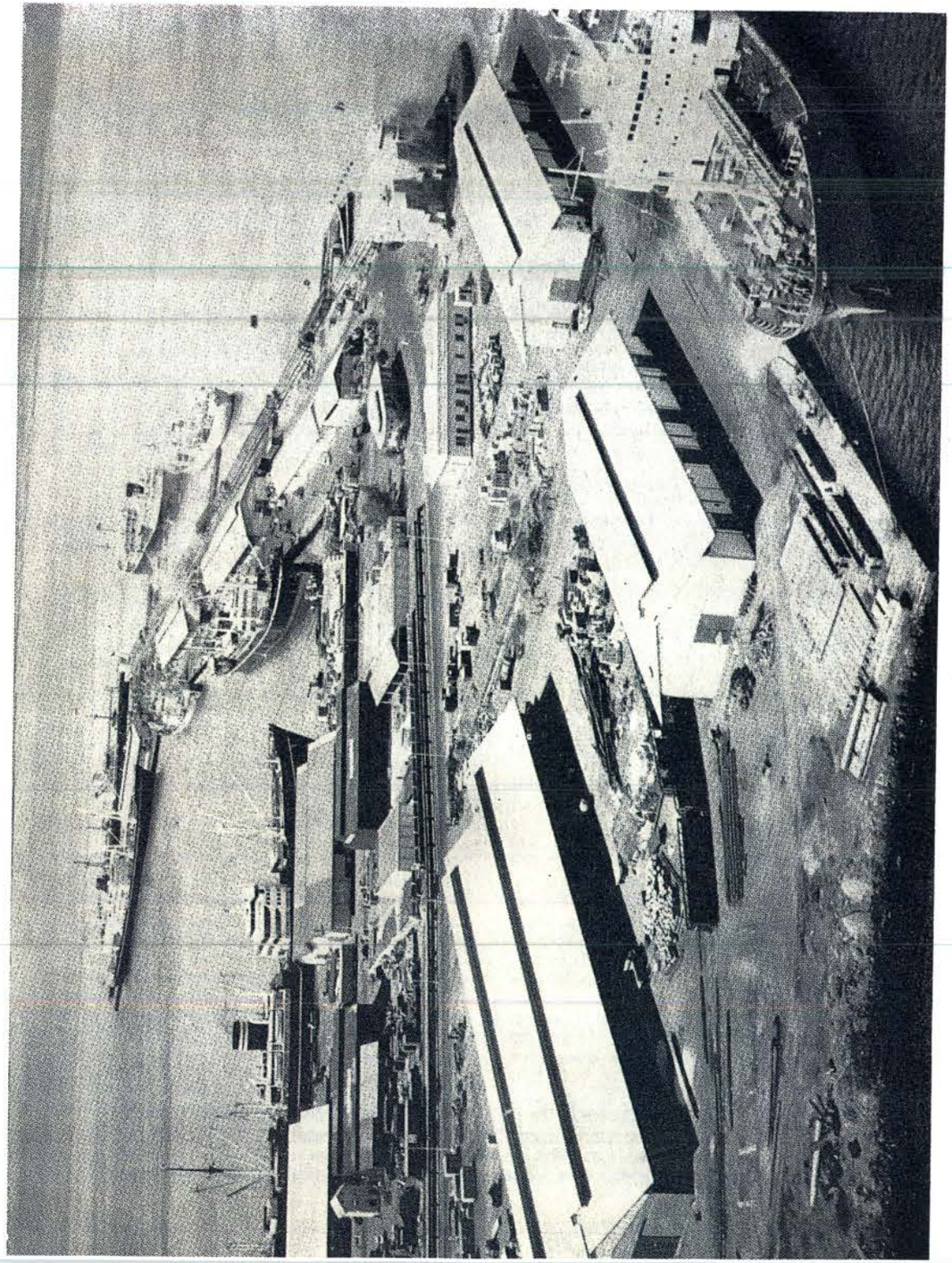
CONCLUSION

No-one who has taken the trouble to read this publication can have any reasonable doubt that the French Government, in pursuance of its policies in French Somaliland during the last decade, deserves to be strongly censured. The criticisms are all based on fact and are untainted by ill-will or prejudice on the part of the Somali Government which has done everything, short of sacrificing its principles, to come to a sensible and honourable accommodation with France.

French Somaliland is a classic colonial case with no redeeming features. The hospitals serve 1/16th of the population, the schools serve one person out of thirty-two, the 16 million tons of traffic at the port, and the 120 million francs of economic assistance a year, serve only that half of the population which is concentrated in Djibouti. Out of the 62,000 people living in Djibouti, the 17,000 prosperous non-Africans, who do not live like the majority in the humble so-called "native quarter", or in the desert, get the lion's share of French assistance and the "fringe" benefits of the port.

The Constitution now proposed for French Somaliland, if the people do not opt, in the Referendum on March 19th, 1967, for Independence, does not even approach the Constitutional arrangements for local autonomy granted to Somalia over a decade ago. To the modern African, this new Constitutional offer, which does not even carry with it a guarantee of eventual independence, evinces most eloquently the tortuous policy of the authorities in French Somaliland and their tardy and criminal neglect of political progress in the territory over the years.

The French Government's threat of leaving the territory, naked and unprepared, should the people opt for Independence, is merely designed to secure a majority vote at the Referendum, confirming that the French Government is no longer a Colonial power, remaining only in



Djibouti Port

political control of the territory by the "will of the people".

The rejection of the very necessary United Nations' resolution that neutral observers should be present before and during the Referendum; the deliberate disinfranchisement of thousands of voters; and time-honoured irregularities at the polls; will all serve to assist the French authorities to maintain, as they have endeavoured to do for a decade and more, France's selfish interests by the continuation of the **status quo**. No-one in French Somaliland will again be deceived by the catch-phrase: "Freedom, Equality and Brotherhood".

It must be asked why France should go to all these lengths to ensure a **oui** vote at the referendum. Governor Saget has toured the Districts of French Somaliland urging the people to continue their association with France as a subject peoples. N. Billote alleged in Paris on February 28th, 1967, with evident pleasure, that the popular trend was in the direction of a **oui** vote. The Ethiopian press has reminded the people of French Somaliland of their so-called "historical associations" with Ethiopia, and has brought up her troops to within a few miles of the territory's border.

The truth is that Djibouti is a military base of strategic value to France. M. Joel le Theulle, Rapporteur of the commission advising on the French military budget, and member of the commission for Natural Defence, stated in Paris on April 16th, 1964:

> "In so far as our military interests dictate that we should remain in Djibouti, we must make a considerable effort in favour of the civilian population as soon as possible. Unless we do so, the military investment will come to nothing."

One might add in parenthesis that this statement hardly squares with France's protestations that her economic aid to French Somaliland is dictated by philanthropic motives. It is also significant that on January 27th, 1966, General Ailleret and thirteen senior French officers visited French Somaliland and Addis Ababa and there met "les militaires Francais charges de la co-operation avec l'armee Ethiopenne" (the French military personnel interested with co-operation with the Ethiopian army—Bulletin d'Afrique 28/1/66 No. 5893).

France's economic co-operation with Ethiopia, particularly the Franco-Ethiopian railway which runs from Djibouti to Addis Ababa, is of course perfectly legitimate, and Ethiopia's economic dependence on the port must always be safeguarded in the mutual interests of both Ethiopia and French Somaliland, but for France and Ethiopia to mortgage the political future of the inhabitants of French Somaliland in order to enjoy the dubious benefits of joint military control over the entrance to the Red Sea, is despicable, and explains why both countries, employing different methods, seek a continuation of the **status quo** without any commitments on either side to the territory's future independence.

In refreshing contrast to these manoeuvres, the Somali Republic's stand has always been clear and unequivocal. She will not dispute the result of a properly conducted referendum providing neutral observers are present. If the majority of people opt to continue as an overseas territory of France, the Somali Republic will not object. If the majority wish to opt for Independence, the Somali Republic will be happy to recognise their Independence immediately. If the majority of the people wish to unite with the Somali Republic, they will be welcomed warmly in the spirit of African unity. This sensible, realistic policy, however, has been thwarted by France's unwise rejection of a sincerely considered and respectful resolution of the United Nations General Assembly, calling upon France to permit a United Nations presence in the territory before and during the forthcoming Referendum. France's rejection of this reasonable resolution has served only to darken an already murky record of electoral malpractices in French Somaliland, and unless the French authorities make an immediate change in their policies the Somali Republic can no longer have any confidence in the alleged impartiality of the Referendum on March 19th.

The Somali Republic does not walk alone with this strong feeling of disquiet which has manifested itself among the people of the territory, at the United Nations and in the Organisation of African Unity. The Liberation Committee of this Organisation at its February meeting in Kinshasa called upon all African states to give active support to the territory's struggle for Independence. The Somali National Assembly has passed a resolution declaring that the Republic will henceforth give all moral and material assistance to the territory's fight for independence, and the people of the Republic have demonstrated up and down the country and in Foreign capitals their solidarity with their brothers in French Somaliland. France should

not deceive herself by thinking that she alone can be the master of French Somaliland's destiny, this is the inalienable right of the people of the territory.

APPENDIX A

EXCERPT FROM A SPEECH DELIVERED BY THE HONOURABLE ABDIRAZAK HAJI HUSSEIN, PRIME MINISTER OF THE SOMALI REPUBLIC, AT THE PLENARY MEETING OF THE UNITED NATIONS GENERAL ASSEMBLY ON OCTOBER 18th, 1966

Across the gulf from Aden lies another non-self-governing territory where recent events have underscored the need for speedy action. This territory is French Somaliland. Its people have clearly demonstrated their desire for independence. Strong proof of their sentiments was given during the visit of President de Gaulle to the territory in August this year. Reports from its capital, Djibouti, clearly indicated that those demonstrations were not directed against the person of that great general and statesman nor his country as such. But they unmistakably revealed the people's pent-up dissatisfaction with their colonial status. As if to prove their point the local colonial administration used brutal police methods against them which resulted, unfortunately, in the death of a number of people and injuries to scores of others. Hundreds have been jailed and many more deported from the territory.

My Government has understandably been perturbed by these events, but our anxieties have been somewhat allayed by the French Government's announcement that the people of the territory will be allowed to decide their own political future through a referendum to be held before July 1967. However, in view of the unsettled political conditions in the territory, certain basic measures must be implemented if the referendum is to have any meaning at all.

Firstly, steps must be taken to ensure that the vote in the referendum is confined to the indigenous people of French Somaliland on the basis of universal adult suffrage.

Secondly, prior to the referendum conditions must be created for the people to make full use of their political rights. This should include, for example, their right to form and adhere to political organisations of their own choosing, the release of all political detainees, and the right of all citizens who have been exiled from the territory, to return without fear of retribution.

Thirdly, the referendum itself must be conducted with absolute fairness.

Fourthly, should the people of the territory decide by a majority vote to become independent, arrangements should be made to guarantee the territorial integrity and sovereignty of their state. France, because of her century-old association has a special **role** in this respect.

Mr. President, I do not want the representations which my country is making on behalf of the territory to be misunderstood. My Government has made it perfectly clear that however old and close may be the ties between Somalia and French Somaliland, the wishes of the people of French Somaliland regarding their future must remain paramount. Our policy in respect is based on the principles which underlie the Declaration of Independence for Non-self-Governing Territories.

The people of French Somaliland are united by ties of blood and religion, by culture and history. The recent demonstrations have shown that they are united also in their desire for independence. Efforts are continually being made in certain quarters to divide the population by attempting to create differences which in reality do not exist. We are certain that all such outside endeavours to sow discord among them are destined to fail. The Somali Government, on its part, does not have the desire nor is it interested in dividing them. We want them to gain freedom in unity under one flag of their own choice.

Our concern about the future of French Somaliland stems from the fact that its people are bound by the closest possible relationship with our people. This relationship manifests itself in common ties of kinship, cultural heritage, religion, and history. In addition both our peoples have been victims of colonial policies and machinations. We in the Somali Republic have been fortunate enough to regain our independence, but having gained that independence it is natural that we advocate the same for all colonised peoples in the Horn of Africa and elsewhere. Our interest in this matter, therefore, is plain. We wish to see French Somaliland emerge as an independent state through the freely expressed wishes of its inhabitants. The statement made by the French Government indicates that this is also the aim of its policy towards the territory. We trust that we can take this as a firm commitment on the part of France.

In this context I must refer to certain statements made in this General Debate by the distinguished representative of Ethiopia on 29th September. He expressed Ethiopia's support for self-determination of the people of French Somaliland.

My delegation welcomes this statement because it acknowledges the right of the people of the Horn of Africa to self-determination. However, we regret that almost in the same breath, Ethiopia contradicts her own position. In the same speech of 29th September her distinguished representative claimed that the territory was, until the second half of the 19th century, "an integral part of Ethiopia"; that its people are the kith and kin of the Ethiopians, or in short, that they are Ethiopians. Does all this add up to the position that Ethiopia favours self-determination for French Somaliland provided that it becomes part of Ethiopia, or that French Somaliland should exchange its dependence on a European power for some sort of dependence on Ethiopia?

The arguments advanced by Ethiopia are not only factually incorrect but irrelevant. They resemble embarrassingly the shop-worn arguments against independence of colonial people which, we thought, have been discarded forever. There is no need for me to dwell on these arguments here as they were dealt with in detail by the Somali representative in the meeting of the Special Committee on Decolonisation on 10th October.

The assertions made by the distinguished representative of Ethiopia can be easily refuted. If my Government feels apprehensive about these statements, it is because of the motives behind them. The question which this Organisation must ask is: to what end are these claims made? What, in short, have Ethiopia's claims to do with the right of the people of French Somaliland to self-determination and independence?

The answer, I regret to say, is on record. On 16th September the Emperor of Ethiopia spoke in a press conference in Addis Ababa about the strategic importance of the territory for Ethiopia, and asserted that such an area could not be separated from Ethiopia. In the present Assembly, the distinguished representative of Ethiopia also referred to the exigencies of his country's security with regard to the territory.

This attitude is fundamentally incompatible with the whole principle of self-determination, and with the efforts of the United Nations to liberate peoples who, with their territory, were subjected to alien rule for precisely such reasons as the national security of outside countries. I cannot believe this Organisation will tolerate such an attitude. For what will we have struggled in Angola, Cyprus, Suez, Aden, Malta and elsewhere if we allow one member state to deny a people's right to independence under the pretext of its own security?

The basic point is that there is no reason to assume that French Somaliland, once independent, would be unfriendly to Ethiopia. As my delegation pointed out a few days ago in the Committee of 24 there is every reason for the people of French Somaliland to establish close and reciprocal ties of friendship after independence with all African countries.

Mr. President, the issue of French Somaliland must not be viewed as a dispute between Somalia and Ethiopia. The issue is purely and plainly decolonisation and self-determination for French Somaliland. We wish to impress upon this Assembly that French Somaliland must not become a new danger spot in a world already beset with all too many explosive issues. It would be a parody if the promise of liberation for that territory were to become the signal for discord and for new claims of annexation. It is essential that France carry out her pledge to enable the people of the territory to exercise their right to determine their political future in a climate of complete freedom.

APPENDIX B

FRENCH SOMALILAND VOTING IN THE UNITED NATIONS GENERAL ASSEMBLY ON DECEMBER 21st, 1966, RESOLUTION 2228 (XXI)

Operative paragraph 4 of the resolution was adopted by a recorded vote of 72 to 2, with 39 absentions. The voting was as follows:

In favour: Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian S.S.R., Cameroon, Ceylon, Chile, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Finland, Ghana, Greece, Guinea, Hungary, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lebanon, Lesotho, Liberia, Libya, Malawi, Malaysia, Maldive Islands, Mongolia, Morocco, Nigeria, Norway, Pakistan, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Rumania, Saudi Arabia, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Sudan, Sweden, Syria, Thailand, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Uganda, Ukrainian S.S.R., U.S.S.R., United Arab Republic, United Republic of Tanzania, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zambia.

Against: Portugal, South Africa.

Abstaining: Australia, Austria, Belgium, Canada, Central African Republic, Chad, China, Colombia, Congo (Brazzaville), Congo (Democratic Republic of), Costa Rica, Dahomey, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Gabon, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Israel, Italy, Laos, Luxembourg, Madagascar, Mali, Mauritania, Mexico, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Nigeria, Rwanda, Senegal, Spain, Togo, Turkey, United Kingdom, United States of America, Upper Volta.

The draft resolution as a whole was adopted by a recorded vote of 95 to 1, with 18 abstentions. The voting was as follows:

In favour: Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Argentina, Australia, Bolivia, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian S.S.R., Cameroon, Canada, Ceylon, Chile, China, Colombia, Congo (Brazzaville), Congo (Democratic Republic of), Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Dominican Republic, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Finland, Ghana, Greece, Guatemala, Guinea, Honduras, Hungary, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Laos, Lebanon, Lesotho, Liberia, Libya, Malawi, Malaysia, Maldive Islands, Mali, Mauritania, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Nepal, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Nigeria, Norway, Pakistan, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Roumania, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Spain, Sudan, Sweden, Syria, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, Ukrainian S.S.R., U.S.S.R., United Arab Republic, United Republic of Tanzania, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zambia.

Against: Portugal.

Abstaining: Austria, Belgium, Central African Republic, Chad, Dahomey, Gabon, Haiti, Israel, Italy, Luxembourg, Madagascar, Netherlands, Nigeria, Senegal, South Africa, United Kingdom, United States of America, Upper Volta.

APPENDIX C

EMPEROR HAILE SELASSIE'S PRESS CONFERENCE OF SEPTEMBER 16th, 1966, CONCERNING FRENCH SOMALILAND

Gentlemen of the press: I have asked you to assemble here today because I have an important announcement to make to you. The matter that I will be considering this afternoon affects the vital interests of both the people of Ethiopia and the Djibouti Territory.

The question of Djibouti Territory has come to the forefront, as you know, recently. But we must not be mistaken in the fact that the Djibouti Territory is an integral part of Ethiopia. This is not a fictitious claim; it is based on facts.

As it is well known, the frontiers of Ethiopia had stretched from time immemorial to the shores of the sea and the area that is today known as Djibouti Territory formed an indisputable, integral part of Ethiopia. It was only during the latteral part of the 19th century that outside forces intervened in this part of the world to cause dismemberment of certain parts of Ethiopia. It is also well known that the Ethiopian people had heroically resisted this dismemberment throughout history; but our efforts, however heroic, were of no avail. The dismemberment took place as it took place in many other parts of Africa. The accuracy of this statement is clearly attested by the annals of history of this part of the world.

It is also well known that prior to the era of freedom in Africa the Ethiopian people resisted

invasion and resisted dismemberment and slavery of the people. We also know that when the fascists had occupied our country the whole world sympathised with the fact that a heroic people were victimised by the forces of evil.

When we say that the Djibouti Territory has always historically formed part and parcel of Ethiopia and that we are not claiming somebody else's territory, we are fortified by the memories of recent history and by historians who seek the truth. We do not seek what belongs to others. However, we will continue impressing people that are concerned in this matter that the Djibouti Territory had always formed, prior to the last part of the 19th century, an integral part of Ethiopia. This fact is well known to the people of Djibouti themselves and many other peoples throughout the world are aware of it. It is also known to France. The French Government and people know that the Djibouti Territory and the people there cannot survive without the vital links with Ethiopia.

We must also remember, in addition to the fact that the Djibouti Territory has always formed an integral part of Ethiopia, there is an important economic link between the territory and Ethiopia. Djibouti forms the terminus for the Franco-Ethiopian rail-road. Economically speaking, Ethiopia has always been in the service of the Djibouti Territory and vice versa the Djibouti Territory forms an important vital port for Ethiopia.

When we consider the situation from the ethnic point of view, it is also clear and indisputable that out of the 80,000 people inhabiting that area, 40,000 are Danakils, the large segment of the Danakil tribe being in Ethiopia, thus being Ethiopians. 20,000 out of this 80,000 people constitute the Issa tribe, again the large body of whom are Ethiopians living within the territorial jurisdiction of Ethiopia. These, I say, are the real inhabitants of the Djibouti Territory. These are the peoples whose interests we should hold uppermost in mind when thinking in terms of the fate of the people concerned.

For instance, I pointed out that the Danakils are Ethiopian nationals; they are within Ethiopian territory. Similarly, the Issas form part of Ethiopia. I do not believe that members of the Issa tribe who are Ethiopian citizens would wish part of their tribe to be dismembered and to have its fate disjoined from the fate of the main stock and the people of Ethiopia.

There are additional considerations, such as the geographical location of the territory, which cannot be ignored. The territory forms an important strategic area for Ethiopia. We know that out of the 500 kilometres frontier of the Djibouti Territory, 400 are with Ethiopia and only 100 kilometres with Somalia.

All these considerations—historic, strategic, ethnic and the economic factor which form the vital interests of the Ethiopian people and of the inhabitants of the Djibouti Territory—compel us to resist forces that would put apart the destiny of the people of Djibouti from that of Ethiopians.

In so far as the Somalia Government is concerned, we have openly in the past expressed our desire to live in peace. It is also well known that the Ethiopian Government has done in the past all it could to see to it that there is better accommodation of interests, that there is less acrimony and that there is peaceful co-operation. However, unfortunately, we have not been able to attain that to the full extent. The difference in policy that we pursue and that of Somalia is quite clear. We resist the dismemberment of our country while they stand for dismemberment of others.

I pointed out the strategic importance of the Djibouti Territory to the Ethiopian people and such an area particularly inhabited by a people whose sole means of survival and viability is based on the Ethiopian economy and whose composition of citizenship derives from Ethiopia and whose historical links with Ethiopia have been affirmed by history, cannot be separated from Ethiopia herself.

In so far as self-determination is concerned we have advanced that principle to the people of the Djibouti territory. We have no opposition to the application of the principle of self-determination to the people because we are aware and we know for sure that the large majority of the inhabitants of the Djibouti Territory know their vital interests and they will make decisions in accordance with these, were they to be asked to express themselves in the form of a plebiscite. I am confident that the people in the Djibouti Territory are fully aware of their vital interests, where their freedom lies, their prosperity is located and will take decisions in accordance with those interests that are dictated by necessity as well as by the desire to acquire significant freedom.

We have heard of the recent demonstrations in the Djibouti Territory. These demonstrations affirmed the desire of the people to be free to decide their own destiny. And when that chance is given to the people of the Djibouti Territory we have no doubt as to where the answer would

lie and what association they would wish to create for joint prosperity of this region.

I know that certain forces—I mean outside forces—have attempted to take advantage of the demonstrations of the people who are in quest of an opportunity to make a vital decision for themselves. I know certain evil doers have attempted to blacken the motives of that quest of the people by inserting matters that do not directly relate to the interests of the people concerned but to ideas that would serve alien interests.

I know, for instance yesterday, the property of Ethiopians in Djibouti had been damaged by certain unruly groups who do not speak for the majority of the people in the Djibouti Territory. I hope appropriate compensation for the destruction of the property belonging to Ethiopians will be arrived at through a discussion which we have in mind of conducting with the French Government. When we think in terms of the future of the Djibouti Territory, I believe we must always keep in mind the interests of the people themselves and not the interests of the alien powers or alien agents.

We must take into account the interests and the needs of the Ethiopian people too. We must recall historical facts. We must also think in terms of the strategic consideration and the ethnic affinity of the Djibouti Territory and the people. The Ethiopian people and Government will never accept a solution to the Djibouti problem, which is in contradiction to the interests of the people concerned and in violation of the rights of the Ethiopian people.

(The Emperor's statement was followed by questions from pressmen.)

Ato Tegegne Yeteshawork: Your Imperial Majesty, you have correctly stated that the Ethiopian Government does not oppose the application of the principle of self-determination to the inhabitants of the Djibouti Territory but we have witnessed recently that some efforts are being made by foreign interests so that the people there would be diverted from their real interests. What do you think would be the remedy to the situation?

Emperor: I had pointed out earlier that the Adal and Issa people in Djibouti, who constitute the real and original inhabitants, will not seek separation from their real interests which is association with Ethiopia. Since we have confidence in the vast majority of the people there we have very little to fear.

Ato Assefa Yirgu: In your long reign we all know that you have taken several historical and decisive actions and we also know that if the Djibouti Territory falls into the hands of aliens, the Ethiopian people and the people concerned would be harmed. But, supposing the Djibouti situation takes a different turn and supposing the interests of the people of the Djibouti Territory and Ethiopia are harmed, what action will the Ethiopian Government take?

Emperor: At the present, the Djibouti Territory is in French hands. We have continued to affirm that the Djibouti Territory forms an integral part of Ethiopia. However, the future should be decided with this basic principle in mind: Dismemberment or alienation of the Djibouti Territory from Ethiopia is like dismemberment of a vital part of the human body. What would a human being do if there is a threat to serious dismemberment of his body or an actual dismemberment takes place? That we will leave for a future decision. There is no point in making speculation.

We know that many countries had historical experiences such as the one we are facing and I am confident that the attitude of the French Government and people of France would not be in variance with the interests and desire of the people of the Djibouti Territory. Under the circumstances, I do not believe the French Government and people would act in a manner contrary to the interests that are involved.

Mr. John Talbot: How does Your Imperial Majesty foresee the future—voting for independence and then association with Ethiopia?

Emperor: We realise that the independence of the Djibouti Territory is not far off. I draw the conclusion from General de Gaulle's recent statements. I also know that France gave freedom to many other territories in the past. However, under the situation we are facing today in Djibouti, I would emphasise the strategic considerations and ethnic factors from which the Ethiopian Government views the problem. I would also emphasise the vital interests that are linking the Ethiopians with the inhabitants of the Djibouti Territory. No matter in what form a decision is made, these realities must be maintained.

The French people and the Ethiopian people have maintained friendly relations for a long time. I believe friendship implies a commitment on each other's part that the vital interests of our respective peoples should not be endangered.

Ato Teklu Tabor: Your Imperial Majesty, since the Djibouti Territory constitutes a vital interest for Ethiopia, instead of urging that the territory be free and subsequently joined with

Ethiopia why does not the Ethiopian Government make an outright claim to the territory?

Emperor: That was a good question. We must remember that Ethiopia's affirmation that the Djibouti Territory forms an integral part of Ethiopia is not of recent origin. The documents of Menelik II, Emperor of Ethiopia, and my own father Ras Makonnen testify clearly that Ethiopia long ago had asserted the necessities as they existed in the relations between Ethiopia and the Djibouti Territory and the people there.

Ato Yareed Gebre-Michael: Your Imperial Majesty, about 43 years ago, in 1916 Ethiopian Calendar, you had visited Europe and in particular, France. Agreement that was signed at the latter part of the 19th century merely postulated that it was to have duration of 99 years without fixing a definite time limit. In that visit you were able to come to an agreement with the French Government to have a time limit for the expiration of the agreement concerning the Franco-Ethiopian rail-road. Did you have any further discussions with the French Government otherwise concerning the Djibouti Territory?

Emperor: It is quite true that the agreement for the construction of a rail-road from Addis Ababa to Djibouti was to have the duration—the contract was to have the duration—of 99 years. This was conceived to be in accordance with the interests of Ethiopia, the Djibouti Territory and the French people who were assigned to undertake construction of this rail-road. It is also logically clear that we were to understand that after 99 years we were going to dismantle the rail-road from the area and from the section in the Djibouti Territory we certainly would not have accepted the agreement that would have divorced us from such vital interests after a certain period of time. The logic of events points to the fact that Ethiopia has continued to assert the fact that the Djibouti Territory forms an integral part of Ethiopia.

APPENDIX D

SOMALI PRIME MINISTER'S REPLY TO EMPEROR HAILE SELASSIE AT A PRESS CONFERENCE HELD ON SEPTEMBER 19th, 1966

In his recent Press Conference, Emperor Haile Selassie claimed that French Somaliland was, historically, geographically, economically and ethnically an integral part of Ethiopia. I should like to stress that this claim is without any historical foundation whatsoever. History records that Abysinnia was a small primitive kingdom confined to the Shoa area and it was only the rise of Menelik II, better known as the father of modern Ethiopia, who began and almost completed the process of Ethiopian expansion with unholy means into the neighbouring territories. Harar, that great seat of Islamic learning and culture, was an independent Somali state as late as 1887. To understand fully Ethiopia's expansionist ambitions and designs one should read carefully Menelik's circular letter to the European powers (Appendix E) in which he claimed the whole territories of Somalilands, including the Somali Republic, and a large part of Kenya up to the whole Nyanza Province. The history to which Ethiopia so often appeals is nothing but these fantastic and groundless claims, made by Menelik II in this circular letter in 1891. If you will refer to the map that was attached to the circular in question, you will observe that French Somaliland was not included in these claims. In addition, it must be emphasised that under the Franco-Ethiopian Treaty of 1897, a part of the territory belonging to the French Somali Coast of not less a measure was ceded to Ethiopia. Not only that, but by virtue of an agreement concluded between France and Ethiopia in 1954, another part of the territory of the Coast in question, was given to Ethiopia, without the knowledge of the people, including their leaders. When this agreement became public to the leaders of the people concerned, and particularly their representatives in the French National Assembly, they lodged a strong protest to the French leaders, but in vain. Even this historic exposure put in evidence that the territory in question was not ever ruled by Ethiopia, but, on the contrary, Ethiopia had received what did not belong to her. And, this was not the only case such a thing had happened.

Moreover, the growth of Ethiopia from a small Shoan kingdom to a large Empire was due to her ignoble conspiracy with the European colonial powers in the partition of East Africa. With the exception of some strongholds of colonialism in Africa such as Rhodesia, where Ethiopia has failed to honour the historic decision taken by the OAU in the very heart of Addis Ababa, European colonial rule has either disappeared or is in the process of disappearing from the African scene. Yet Ethiopia takes pride in

retaining large territories and peoples she has been given as a reward for her collaboration in the tragic dismemberment of the African continent during the "Scramble for Africa".

As for Ethiopian claims based on geographical considerations, they are too absurd to merit our serious attention. The areas bordering the territory are inhabited by Somali and Afar, not by Amharas. These are lands which Abyssinia (now Ethiopia) has acquired by force and which are still in serious dispute.

We realise that there are economic ties between Ethiopia and the French Somali Coast. But here also, Ethiopia twists the facts to suit her purpose. It is Ethiopia, not French Somaliland, as she so mischievously maintains, which gains more economic benefits from this relationship. For authoritative statistical data prepared by a French source please refer to Annex I.

But even if Ethiopia's contention were true, it could by no means justify or excuse her deplorable opposition to the independence of that territory as she also did on the eve of the independence and union of the Somali Republic in 1960. To seek the subjugation of a territory on the basis of economic interest or exploitation is the very definition of imperialism and its more subtle and equally deadly variant neocolonialism. Economic relations do exist among many countries but they do not and cannot necessarily dictate or justify any kind of threat for the absorption or the occupation of one by another.

Concerning Ethiopia's strategic arguments, I wish to express our serious apprehension of the emphasis made by Emperor Haile Selassie on the strategic importance of the area. We have reason to believe that if Ethiopia's ambition for annexation is realised, it would undoubtedly establish another foreign military base in that country. Ethiopia desires to obtain financial and military advantages from such a development and secondly it will help strengthen and hold together through force and fear the disintegrating feudal Empire. We feel confident that Ethiopia's evil designs will fail to materialise because they are in direct contradiction to the historical trends of our times.

In the first place the people of that territory will not accept any tutulage or domination from any foreign nation and they are well aware that Ethiopia has always been the traditional enemy of their freedom and welfare. If they wanted to stay under alien rule they would not have asked to obtain complete independence from France which is able to give them greater advantages and benefits than the backward and feudal Ethiopian regime can offer. Secondly, President de Gaulle's policy against the maintenance and the establishment of foreign military bases in any country runs counter to Ethiopia's strategic objectives.

We are at a loss to understand what Emperor Haile Selassie meant by his claim of ethnic ties with the people of that territory. The people of the French Somali Coast have no affinities with the Amharic ruling oligarchy in Ethiopia as far as ethnic, religion, traditions, culture, language and the general way of life are concerned. What other characteristics, I wonder, could lend substance to the Emperor's untenable claim? Moreover, we have very strong evidence that the recent demonstrations in that country were just as strongly against Ethiopia and its policy of aggrandisement as they were for the attainment of total independence. In this connection I would like to refer to the statement made by the Afar leaders of the R.D.A. Party categorically denying that the territory was even an integral part of Ethiopia.

Emperor Haile Selassie's contention that Somalia does not want to live in peace with Ethiopia is utterly groundless and cannot be substantiated by any concrete evidence. It is sheer propaganda designed to impugn the motives and the behaviour of the Somali Republic. It has even become a favourite game of some Pro-Ethiopian circles in certain countries to depict Somalia as an aggressive, expansionist country building a powerful army to achieve by use of force its objective.

The truth is so well known to all of you who know our country, its military strength, its government and its national aspirations that we do not want to dignify these baseless assertions with any serious refutation.

In anticipation of any decision that France may take about the future of French Somaliland, the Emperor said that, in his view, "there is a commitment on each other's part that the vital interests of our respective peoples should not be endangered". We believe that this statement is a tactical manœuvre designed to win French sympathy for Ethiopia's demand for the maintenance of the **status quo** which is contrary to the overwhelming wishes of the people. My government places greater confidence in the statements repeatedly made by President de Gaulle and by his Cabinet Minister, General Billotte, to the effect that France will truly respect and abide by the wishes of the people of the territory. This is not the age of secret agreements and we have absolutely no reason

to doubt that General de Gaulle sincerely means what he says.

I am happy to say that on one point we are in complete agreement with the Emperor Haile Selassie. That is that the people of French Somaliland know very well where their economic political and other interests lie. They will ask or accept no dictation from any foreign government or people. We only trust that Ethiopia bear this particular consideration in mind in her efforts to divide and weaken the struggle of these people for independence.

Yet Ethiopia's lack of concern in the welfare of these people is evident from the fact that she only talks about Djibouti where she has economic interests but conveniently forgets about the rest of the country. Obok, a town of historical significance, Tajura and other towns are totally ignored by the Ethiopian authorities who always refer to the whole country as Djibouti, the name of the capital of the country.

Let me now touch upon the deeply contradictory nature of Ethiopia's policy toward French Somaliland. During General de Gaulle's visit to Addis Ababa, Ethiopia came out openly in favour of continued French stay in that country. Here are the very words used by the BBC quoting Radio Paris to describe the Ethiopian position: "If the Somali Government drop its idea of claiming French Somaliland, Ethiopia prays to Almighty God that the French Colonial Power should maintain its rule forever in the French Somaliland."

But Ethiopia quickly discovered that she committed an inexcusable blunder by siding with colonialism in Africa and thereby damaging the false image she has so easily gained with assistance of some powers who have vested interest in feudal Ethiopia. To her credit, immediately she sought to rectify her mistake by giving half-hearted support to the idea of self-determination for the people of that territory. The Ethiopian Minister of Information said in this respect: "The Ethiopian Government has steadfastly striven for the right of the territory to decide their own future through the principle of self-determination." But the new policy was soon superseded by a supreme declaration made by the Emperor himself to the effect that French Somaliland constitutes an integral part of Ethiopia.

This lack of coherence in Ethiopian policy, inexplicable though it seems, stems from one central, overriding fact: Ethiopia could not secure any objective foundation upon which to build a sound practical approach towards the destiny of the French Somali Coast. Her policy of megalomania is as much an object of hatred and opposition as the European colonisation. These vacillations represent desperate moves to find some basis for the illegitimate claims that Ethiopia has been directing towards that country. Nevertheless, recent events in French Somaliland have exposed the true colour of the Ethiopian regime, its colonial designs on the neighbouring African territories and its imperialistic aims in the Eastern part of Africa.

Out of sheer desperation the Emperor has even issued an unveiled threat against the security of that territory. He said, in his Press Conference, "The Ethiopian People and Government will never, never accept any solution to the Djibouti problem which is a contradiction to the rights of the Ethiopian people". What rights, one is entitled to ask, does Ethiopia have in that territory? The future and the destiny of the French Somali Coast should only—and I repeat only—be decided by the interests and wishes of the people of that country, not by any regard to external considerations.

We earnestly hope that Ethiopia will not attempt to carry out her threats against the security of a free and Independent African state. But if that eventuality occurs, the Somali Republic cannot be expected, be it clear, to remain a mere passive spectator. Any Ethiopian military venture against the independence of that territory will surely spark a dangerous armed conflagration in Eastern Africa with far-reaching consequences.

Finally I would like to clarify the position of the Somali Government with respect to thefuture of French Somaliland. Somalia's support and sympathy for the cause of independence in that country are firmly based upon strong ethnic, historic and cultural and religious bonds with the people of that country. The inhabitants of that territory are largely Afar and Somali with Arab and French communities. The Somali and the Afar are brothers in blood and religion and no efforts to sow discord and disunity among them will ever succeed. The Somali Government has neither desire nor interest to divide them or to support one against the other; we only want to see them free and independent in unity under one flag of their choice. I am confident that our Afar brothers will pay no heed to the malicious propaganda that the Somali Republic does not recognise the identity of the Afar people.

The prospect for independence appears to be brighter than it ever was in the past. General

de Gaulle has solemnly promised that France will act in accordance with the wishes of the people of that territory. As a leader of Free France during the Second World War, General de Gaulle was a valiant fighter for freedom. In recent years he has won the respect and friendship of Africa through his liberal policy of granting independence to the former French territories. He is a man of high courage as is evidenced by his solution to the thorny Algerian problem, despite the danger of civil war in France and frequent threats to his life. In view of his record we have great confidence that he will honour his words and thus grant these people the independence they so overwhelmingly desire irrespective of relentless pressures being exerted by the present Ethiopian regime.

In conclusion I wish to draw your attention to a joint Kenya-Ethiopian action which is significantly related to the struggle of the Somali people for unity and independence. Since the establishment of a military pact between these two countries they have been issuing threats against the annihilation of the Somali nationalists.

In accordance with that inhuman spirit the two governments have been carrying out secret military consultations and high-level delegations, composed of ministers and top military officers, have exchanged visits at various times. A Kenyan delegation consisting of high officials of that country are now staying in Ethiopia and both Radio Kenya and Radio Addis Ababa have commented on the significance of such a delegation for the military cooperation between the two countries.

I want to make it quite clear that this crude show of military force will not frighten the Somali people into renouncing their legitimate national aspirations for unity and independence.

APPENDIX E

TRANSLATION OF KING MENELIK'S "CIRCULAR LETTER"*

Being desirous to make known to our friends the Powers (Sovereigns) of Europe the boundaries of Ethiopia, we have addressed also to you (your Majesty) the present letter.

These are the boundaries of Ethiopia:

Starting from the Italian boundary of Arafalé, which is situated on the sea, the line goes westward over the plain (Meda) of Gegra towards Mahio, Halai, Digsa, and Gura up to Adibaro. From Adibaro to the junction of the Rivers Mareb and Arated.

From this point the line runs southward to the junction of the Atbara and Setit Rivers, where is situated the town known as Tomat.

From Tomat the frontier embraces the Province of Gedaref up to Karkoj on the Blue Nile. From Karkoj the line passes to the junction of the Sobat River with the White Nile. From thence the frontier follows the River Sobat, including the country of the Arboré, Gallas, and reaches Lake Samburu.

Towards the east are included within the frontier the country of the Borana Gallas and the Arussi country up to the limits of the Somalis, including also the Province of Ogaden.

To the northward the line of frontier includes the Habr Awaz, the Gadabursi, and the Esa Somalis, and reaches Ambos.

Leaving Ambos the line includes Lake Assal, the province of our ancient vassal Mohamed Anfari, skirts the coast of the sea, and rejoins Arafalé.

While tracing today the actual boundaries of my Empire, I shall endeavour, if God gives me life and strength, to re-establish the ancient frontiers (tributaries) of Ethiopia up to Khartoum, and as far as Lake Nyanza with all the Gallas.

Ethiopia has been for 14 centuries a Christian island in a sea of pagans. If Powers at a distance come forward to partition Africa between them, I do not intend to be an indifferent spectator.

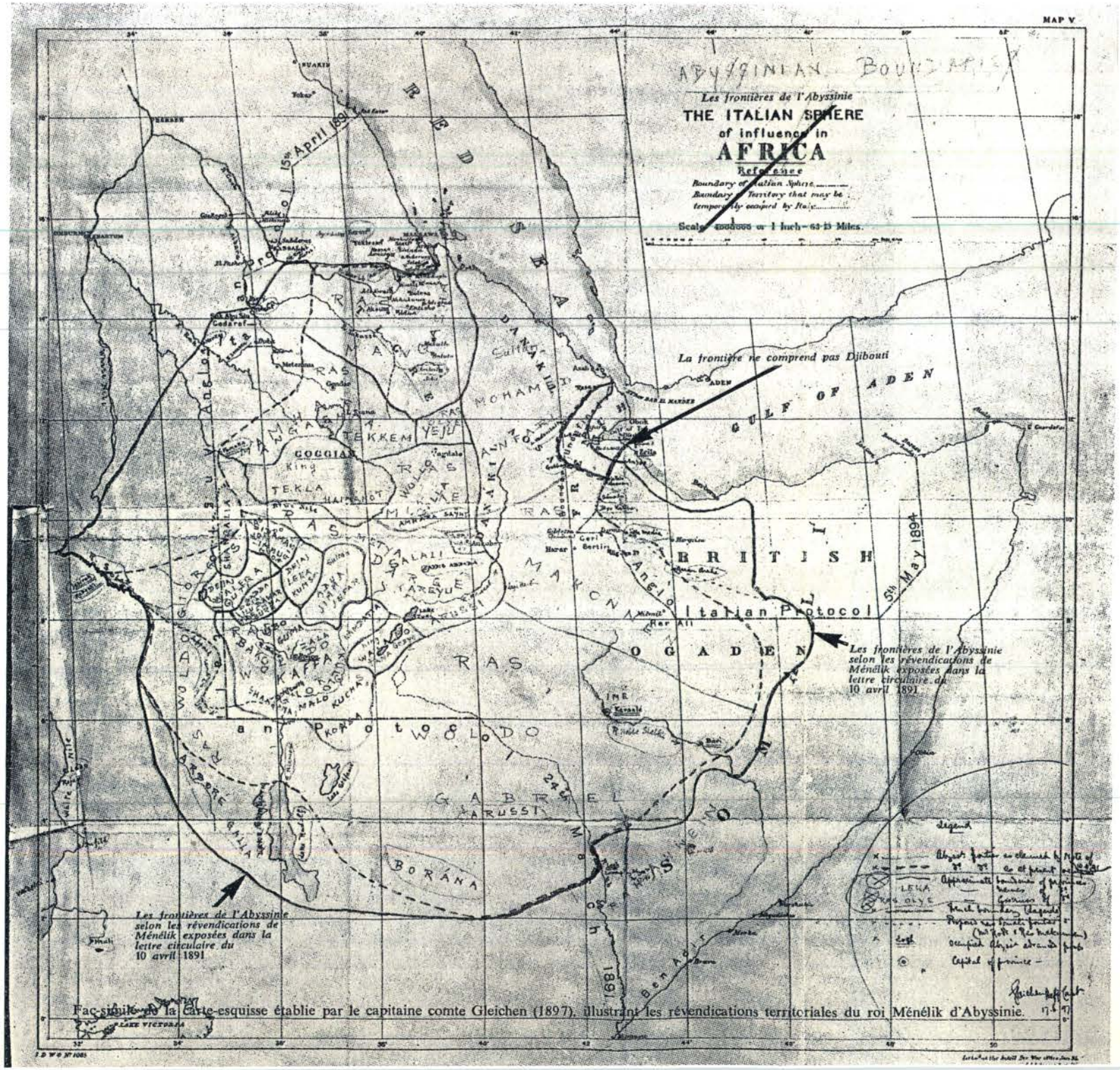
As the Almighty has protected Ethiopia up to this day, I have confidence He will continue to protect her, and increase her borders in the future. I am certain He will not suffer her to be divided among other Powers.

Formerly the boundary of Ethiopia was the sea. Having lacked strength sufficient, and having received no help from Christian Powers, our frontier on the sea coast fell into the power of the Mussulman.

At present we do not intend to regain our sea frontier by force, but we trust that the Christian Power, guided by our Saviour, will restore to us our sea-coast line, at any rate, certain points on the coast.

Written at Addis Ababa, the 14th Mazir, 1883 (10 April, 1891). (Translated direct from the Amharic.)

*Addressed to Britain, France, Germany, Italy and Russia.



Fac-similé de la carte-esquisse établie par le capitaine comte Gleichen (1897), illustrant les révendications territoriales du roi Ménélik d'Abyssinie.

APPENDIX F

CAPTAIN GLEICHEN'S SKETCH MAP

At the time that Captain Count Gleichen made the tracing of this map (1897) he was an intelligence officer with Rennell Rodd's British mission to Addis Ababa and Harar.

During this visit, Rennel Rodd secured Ethiopia's recognition of the boundaries of the former Somaliland Protectorate without recognising any Abyssinian rights beyond the Protectorate's frontier.

Rodd was shown Menelik's circular letter of 1891 to European Heads of State (Appendix E) and Captain Gleichen attempted on this map to sketch in the frontier claimed by Menelik.

As for the areas actually occupied by Abyssinia at this time, Lieut.-Colonel Wingate, who was also attached to Rodd's mission, explained in a Memorandum written in Addis Ababa on May 7th, 1897, that "there is considerable difficulty in procuring accurate information on this subject, as the Abyssinian officials observe great reticence when asked questions on these matters".

As a further illustration of this difficulty, Wingate said that it was "Impossible to define the actual limits of Menelik's authority" because "raids on a large scale from the mountainous districts into the maritime plains would appear to be the usual methods by which the Abyssinians maintain their influence".

Wingate added: "It is difficult to procure accurate information as to the extent of Abyssinian influence over the powerful Danakil countries lying to the north of the French sphere, described in Menelik's Proclamation as 'the province of our ancient vassal Mohamed Anfari' " (Appendix E).

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The enclosed communication dated 20 March 1967 is ..... transmitted to the Permanent Missions of the States Members of the United Nations at the request of the Permanent Representative of Ethiopia to the United Nations.

21 March 1967

BK

Sent to the Permanent Missions of ...

ETHIOPIAN MISSION TO THE UNITED NATIONS

801 SECOND AVENUE, NEW YORK, N. Y. 10017

P 110/1(14)

The Permanent Representative of Ethiopia to the United Nations presents his compliments to the Secretary-General and has the honour to refer to the note of the Secretariat contained under reference no. TR 300 FRSO by which the Secretary-General circulated a letter from the Permanent Representative of the Somalia Republic of March 16, 1967 together with copy of a letter addressed to the Prime Minister of Ethiopia from the Prime Minister of the Republic of Somalia on February 21, 1967.

It will be noted that in the covering note of the Representative of Somalia referred to above, the reply given at the time by the Prime Minister of Ethiopia was described as being a "negative response" from the Ethiopian Government. As can be seen from the full text of the reply of the Ethiopian Prime Minister of March 1, 1967 herewith enclosed, such a conclusion is a deliberate mis-interpretation, and, as such, completely unwarranted.

The reply of the Ethiopian Prime Minister, which is self-explanatory, stands on the contrary as testimony to Ethiopia's good-will and shows also in very clear terms Ethiopia's desire to live in peace and harmony with all her neighbours. It is not the attitude of Ethiopia that stands as threat to peace and harmony in that region of Africa but rather the avowed design of one Government for territorial expansion at the expense of all of its neighbours

The Permanent Representative of Ethiopia regrets the fact that the Permanent Representative of Somalia has thus seen it fit to misrepresent Ethiopia's well-known position for purposes of propoganda.

With the view to correcting and completing the record, the Permanent Representative of Ethiopia has the honour to request the Secretary-General to circulate to all Member States of the United Nations this communication together with the enclosed reply of the Prime Minister of Ethiopia.

The Permanent Representative of Ethiopia avails himself of this opportunity to renew to the Secretary-General the assurances of his highest consideration.

New York, March 20, 1967

The Secretary-General
United Nations
New York, N.Y.

C O P Y

1st March 1967

Your Excellency,

I have the honour to acknowledge receipt of your message of February 21st, 1967 which was delivered to me by your Deputy Foreign Minister on Saturday last, February 25th.

I must confess, Your Excellency, that I am somewhat confused by the suggestion which you have advanced that the Government of Ethiopia and Somalia proceed to the issuance of official statements wherein both countries would pledge themselves to the full support and respect of an independent state comprising the present territory of Djibouti.

First, as far as Ethiopia is concerned, such a declaration is not only unnecessary but completely uncalled-for. Ethiopia voted for the Resolution of the last OAU Conference of Heads of States and Governments which you have quoted in your message. The same is true with respect to Resolution 2228 (XXI) adopted on December 21, 1966 by the General Assembly of the United Nations. I fear that in reaffirming the intention and import of these Resolutions, some suspicion might be raised concerning Ethiopia's original adherence to their terms. Let me assure you that Ethiopia remains today, as she has always been, committed to the concepts embodied in the Resolutions in question.

This noted, let me state in all candor that, unfortunately, I do not believe as much can be said for the Republic of Somalia. Let us review, briefly, the record.

Under the Constitution of the Republic of Somalia, your country is pledged to seek the union of the so-called Somali territories. So far as I am aware, this remains the foundation of Somalia's foreign policy. To cite but one example, on May 23, 1965, in a memorandum submitted to the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity, your Government stated that: "The Somali Republic's intentions are the reintegration of all territory inhabited by the Somali people into one nation state..." The so-called Somali-inhabited territories referred to previously include not only the present territory of Djibouti, but, as well, portions of Ethiopia and Kenya. I further note that on February 13th, less than three weeks ago, the Somalia Parliament adopted a motion recognizing the so-called Somali Liberation Fronts alleged to be operating within Ethiopia and Kenya and calling on the Government of the Republic to give full support to these Liberation Fronts. Such a step is hardly calculated to contribute to the lessening of tentions in the Horn of Africa, and this motion appears wholly at variance with the proposal which you have now submitted to me.

./...

Your Excellency, you have spoken openly and frankly to me, and I propose to respond in the same fashion. Not only Ethiopia, but all observers of the African scene are disturbed at the implications of the expansionist policy which the Somalia Republic, since the very day of its independence, has pursued in the Horn of Africa. It has been apparent to all that your country has followed a policy aimed at the dismemberment of neighbouring states. The annexation of the territory of Djibouti has been declared to be an integral part of this policy. If relations between Ethiopia and the Republic of Somalia are today tense and strained, it is not because of the absence of any declaration such as that which you now propose, nor is it because of any lack of good-will or willingness on Ethiopia's part to cooperate in the settlement of outstanding disputes between Somalia and Ethiopia. Put in the simplest terms, the causes for such tensions are rooted in the provisions of Somalia's Constitution to which I have referred above, in the daily policy pronouncements of Somalia's highest officials, in the taking of formal acts such as the adoption by your Parliament of the motion referred to above, and in the Republic of Somalia's unabated efforts at her own territorial aggrandizement at the expense of her neighbours.

In such circumstances, it seems to me that a statement by the Somalia Government that it supports the principle of independence for the territory of Djibouti is meaningful only if it is accompanied by a larger declaration wherein the Somalia Republic renounces any and all claims to the territory of others, including the so-called Somali-inhabited territories, and pledges herself to the taking of all measures required or calculated to place such a renunciation into effect.

Is the Somalia Government prepared to undertake this course of action and to issue a joint declaration with Ethiopia to this effect?

A jointdeclaration along the lines which I have suggested would, in my opinion, constitute a real and not merely an imaginary step towards the resolution of the difference between us. It would constitute a solid and meaningful contribution towards the cause of peace, not only in our corner of the world, but everywhere. It would constitute irrefutable evidence of the devotion of our two nations to the cause of African unity and the United Nations Organization. It would provide the basis upon which future relations between Ethiopia and Somalia may grow and fructify in the future years.

I shall be happy to have your reactions.

Please accept, Your Excellency, the assurances of my highest consideration.

Tsehafi Taezaz Aklilu Habte Wold
Prime Minister of the Imperial Ethiopian Government

H.E. Abdirizek Haji Hussein
Prime Minister of the Somalia Republic
Mogadiscio

COPY

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Tsehafi Taezaz Aklilu Habte Wold
Prime Minister of the Imperial Ethiopian
Government

H.E. Abdirizek Haji Hussein
Prime Minister of the Somalia Republic
Mogadiscio

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REFERENCE TR 300 FRSO

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La traduction ci-jointe d'une communication, en date du ..... 20 mars 1967, est transmise aux Missions permanentes des Etats Membres de l'Organisation des Nations Unies à la demande du Représentant permanent de l'Ethiopie auprès de l'Organisation.

Le 21 mars 1967

BR

Traduit de l'anglais

Mission de l'Ethiopie auprès de l'Organisation
des Nations Unies
801, Second Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10017

P 110/1 (14)

Le représentant permanent de l'Ethiopie auprès de l'Organisation des Nations Unies présente ses compliments au Secrétaire général et a l'honneur de se référer à la note du Secrétariat portant le No de référence TR 300 FRSO par laquelle le Secrétaire général a distribué le texte d'une lettre du représentant permanent de la République somalie, datée du 16 mars 1967, ainsi que celui d'une lettre adressée au Premier Ministre de l'Ethiopie par le Premier Ministre de la République somalie, le 21 février 1967.

On remarquera que dans la lettre d'envoi susmentionnée du représentant de la Somalie, la réponse fournie à l'époque par le Premier Ministre de l'Ethiopie a été qualifiée de "réponse négative" du Gouvernement éthiopien. Comme on le verra d'après le texte complet de la réponse ci-jointe du Premier Ministre éthiopien, datée du ler mars 1967, cette conclusion est une interprétation délibérément erronée et en tant que telle complètement injustifiée.

La réponse du Premier Ministre éthiopien, qui ne nécessite aucune explication, constitue au contraire un témoignage de la bonne volonté de l'Ethiopie et montre aussi en termes très clairs le désir de l'Ethiopie de vivre dans la paix et l'harmonie avec tous ses voisins. Ce n'est pas l'attitude de l'Ethiopie qui menace la paix et l'harmonie dans cette région d'Afrique mais plutôt l'intention avouée d'un gouvernement d'étendre son territoire aux dépens de tous ses voisins.

Le représentant permanent de l'Ethiopie regrette le fait que le représentant permanent de la Somalie ait jugé bon de donner, à des fins de propagande, une fausse image de la position bien connue de l'Ethiopie.

Afin de rectifier et de compléter ce qui a été dit, le représentant permanent de l'Ethiopie a l'honneur de demander au Secrétaire général de faire distribuer à tous les Etats Membres de l'Organisation des Nations Unies le texte de la présente communication, ainsi que celui de la réponse, ci-jointe, du Premier Ministre de l'Ethiopie.

Le Représentant permanent de l'Ethiopie saisit cette occasion pour renouveler au Secrétaire général les assurances de sa très haute considération.

New York, le 20 mars 1967

Le Secrétaire général de
l'Organisation des Nations Unies
New York, N.Y.

1er mars 1967

Monsieur le Premier Ministre,

J'ai l'honneur d'accuser réception de votre message du 21 février 1967, qui m'a été remis par votre Ministre adjoint des affaires étrangères samedi dernier, le 25 février.

Je dois avouer que je ne comprends pas très bien la proposition que vous avez faite tendant à ce que le Gouvernement éthiopien et le Gouvernement somali publient des déclarations officielles par lesquelles ils s'engageraient à appuyer et à respecter un état indépendant comprenant l'actuel territoire de Djibouti.

D'abord, en ce qui concerne l'Ethiopie, une telle déclaration est non seulement inutile mais inopportune. L'Ethiopie a voté pour la résolution de la dernière Conférence des chefs d'Etats et de Gouvernements de l'OUA que vous avez citée dans votre message. Elle a également voté pour la résolution 2228 (XXI) adoptée le 21 décembre 1966 par l'Assemblée générale de l'Organisation des Nations Unies. Je crains que le fait de réaffirmer l'intention et la portée de ces résolutions ne rende suspecte l'adhésion initiale de l'Ethiopie à leurs dispositions. Je puis vous assurer que l'Ethiopie demeure aujourd'hui, comme elle l'a toujours été, fidèle aux principes énoncés dans les résolutions en question.

Ceci dit, qu'il me soit permis d'ajouter en toute sincérité que malheureusement je ne crois pas qu'on puisse en dire autant de la République somalie. Repassons brièvement les faits en revue.

Aux termes de la Constitution de la République somalie, votre pays se doit de rechercher l'union des territoires somalis. Que je sache, cela demeure la pierre angulaire de la politique étrangère de la Somalie. Pour n'en citer qu'un exemple, le 23 mai 1965, dans un mémorandum communiqué aux Nations Unies et à l'Organisation de l'unité africaine, votre gouvernement a déclaré que : "l'intention

de la République somalie est d'intégrer de nouveau tous les territoires habités par des Somalis en une seule nation..." Ces territoires dits habités par des Somalis comprennent non seulement l'actuel territoire de Djibouti, mais aussi des parties de l'Ethiopie et du Kenya. Je note en outre que le 13 février, il y a moins de trois semaines, le Parlement somali a adopté une motion reconnaissant les Fronts dit de libération somalis qui agissent prétendument en Ethiopie et au Kenya et demandant au Gouvernement de la République de donner son plein appui à ces Fronts de libération. Une telle mesure n'a certainement pas pour but de diminuer les tensions dans cette partie de l'Afrique et cette motion semble se situer aux antipodes de la proposition que vous me soumettez maintenant.

Vous m'avez parlé ouvertement et franchement et je me propose de répondre de même. Non seulement l'Ethiopie, mais tous les observateurs de la scène africaine sont préoccupés par les incidences de la politique expansionniste que la République somalie poursuit dans la région depuis le jour même de son indépendance. Nul n'a pu manquer de voir que votre pays suit une politique visant au démembrement des Etats voisins. L'annexion du territoire de Djibouti a été déclarée faire partie intégrante de cette politique. Si les relations entre l'Ethiopie et la République somalie sont aujourd'hui tendues et difficiles, ce n'est pas faute d'une déclaration telle que celle que vous proposez maintenant, non plus que par manque de bonne volonté ou de volonté de la part de l'Ethiopie de coopérer au règlement des différends existant entre la Somalie et l'Ethiopie. En termes simples, les causes de ces tensions ont leur origine dans les dispositions de la Constitution somalie que j'ai mentionnée plus haut, dans les déclarations politiques quotidiennes de très hauts fonctionnaires somalis, dans les mesures officielles telles que l'adoption par votre Parlement de la motion susmentionnée, et dans les efforts sans relâche de la République somalie pour agrandir son territoire aux dépens de ses voisins.

Dans ces circonstances, il me semble qu'une déclaration du Gouvernement somali disant qu'il appuie le principe de l'indépendance du territoire de Djibouti n'a de sens que si elle est accompagnée d'une déclaration plus large dans laquelle la République somalie renoncerait à toutes ses prétentions sur les territoires des autres, y compris les prétendus territoires habités par des Somalis, et s'engagerait à prendre toutes les mesures nécessaires ou utiles pour donner effet à cette renonciation.

Le Gouvernement somali est-il prêt à suivre cette voie et à publier à cette fin une déclaration commune avec l'Ethiopie?

Une déclaration commune allant dans le sens que j'ai suggéré constituerait, à mon avis, une mesure réelle, et non pas simplement imaginaire, vers la solution du différend qui nous sépare. Elle constituerait en outre une contribution solide et significative à la cause de la paix, non seulement dans notre partie du monde mais partout. Elle serait la preuve irréfutable du dévouement de nos deux nations à la cause de l'unité africaine et de l'Organisation des Nations Unies. Elle fournirait la base sur laquelle les relations futures de l'Ethiopie et de la Somalie pourraient croître et fructifier dans les années qui viennent.

Je serais heureux de connaître vos sentiments à cet égard.

Veuillez agréer, Monsieur le Premier Ministre, les assurances de ma très haute considération.

Le Premier Ministre du Gouvernement
impérial éthiopien
Tsehafi Taezaz Aklilu Habte Wold

S. E. Abdirizek Haji Hussein
Premier Ministre de la République de Somalie
Mogadiscio

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La traducción adjunta de una comunicación de fecha ..... 20 de marzo de 1967 se transmite a las Misiones Permanentes de los Estados Miembros de las Naciones Unidas a solicitud del Representante Permanente de Etiopía ante las Naciones Unidas.

21 de marzo de 1967

BK

Traducido del inglés

Misión de Etiopía ante
las Naciones Unidas
801 Second Avenue,
Nueva York, N.Y. 10017

P 110/1(14)

El Representante Permanente de Etiopía ante las Naciones Unidas saluda muy atentamente al Secretario General y tiene el honor de referirse a la nota de la Secretaría que lleva el número de referencia TR 300 FRSO, en virtud de la cual el Secretario General distribuyó una carta, de fecha 16 de marzo de 1967, del Representante Permanente de la República de Somalia, junto con una copia de una carta dirigida al Primer Ministro de Etiopía por el Primer Ministro de la República de Somalia, el 21 de febrero de 1967.

Se habrá advertido que en dicha nota de envío del representante de Somalia, se dice que la respuesta dada en esa oportunidad por el Primer Ministro de Etiopía es una "respuesta negativa" del Gobierno etíope. Como puede verse por el texto completo de la respuesta, de fecha 1º de marzo de 1967, del Primer Ministro etíope, que se acompaña a la presente, dicha conclusión es una deliberada tergiversación y, como tal, no se justifica en absoluto.

La respuesta del Primer Ministro etíope, que se explica por sí sola, es, por el contrario, un testimonio de la buena voluntad de Etiopía y muestra también, muy claramente, el deseo de Etiopía de vivir en paz y armonía con todos sus vecinos. No es la actitud de Etiopía lo que constituye una amenaza a la paz y armonía en esa región de Africa, sino más bien el designio confesado de un Gobierno en pro de la expansión territorial a expensas de todos sus vecinos.

Por lo tanto el Representante Permanente de Etiopía lamenta que el Representante Permanente de Somalia haya considerado apropiado, con fines de propaganda, tergiversar la bien conocida posición de Etiopía.

Con el propósito de corregir y completar los hechos en este asunto, el Representante Permanente de Etiopía tiene el honor de solicitar del Secretario General que se sirva distribuir entre todos los Estados Miembros de las Naciones Unidas esta comunicación junto con la respuesta del Primer Ministro de Etiopía, que se acompaña.

El Representante Permanente de Etiopía aprovecha esta oportunidad para reiterar al Secretario General el testimonio de su consideración más distinguida.

Nueva York, 20 de marzo de 1967

Secretario General
Naciones Unidas
Nueva York, N.Y.

1º de marzo de 1967

Excelentísimo Señor:

Tengo el honor de acusar recibo del mensaje de Vuestra Excelencia de fecha 21 de febrero de 1967, que me fue entregado por su Ministro Adjunto de Relaciones Exteriores el sábado pasado, 25 de febrero.

Debo confesar, Excelentísimo Señor, que me confunde un poco la sugestión que V.E. ha hecho de que el Gobierno de Etiopía y el Gobierno de Somalia resuelvan formular declaraciones oficiales en virtud de las cuales ambos países se comprometerían a apoyar y respetar plenamente un Estado independiente que comprendiera el actual territorio de Djibouti.

Ante todo, en lo que se refiere a Etiopía, tal declaración no sólo es innecesaria sino totalmente injustificada. Etiopía votó a favor de la resolución de la última Conferencia de Jefes de Estado y de Gobierno (OAU) que Vuestra Excelencia citó en su mensaje. Cabe decir lo mismo con respecto a la resolución 2228 (XXI) aprobada por la Asamblea General de las Naciones Unidas el 21 de diciembre de 1966. Temo que al reafirmar la intención y el significado de esas resoluciones, se haya podido suscitar cierta sospecha en lo concerniente a la adhesión que Etiopía prestó originalmente a sus términos. Permítame asegurar a Vuestra Excelencia que Etiopía continúa sosteniendo hoy, como lo ha hecho siempre, las disposiciones de dichas resoluciones.

Aclarado ese punto, permítame Vuestra Excelencia decir con toda franqueza que, por desgracia, no creo que lo mismo pueda decirse de la República de Somalia. Describamos, brevemente, los antecedentes.

En conformidad con la constitución de la República de Somalia, el país de Vuestra Excelencia se ha comprometido a gestionar la unión de los territorios llamados somalíes. Que yo sepa, ese sigue siendo el fundamento de la política exterior de Somalia. Para citar un solo ejemplo, el 23 de mayo de 1965, en un memorando presentado a las Naciones Unidas y a la Organización de la Unidad Africana, el Gobierno de Vuestra Excelencia declaró que: "Las intenciones de la República de Somalia son reintegrar todos los territorios habitados por el pueblo somalí a fin de formar un Estado nacional ...". Los llamados territorios habitados por somalíes, a que se hace referencia, incluían previamente, no sólo el actual territorio de Djibouti, sino también partes de Etiopía y Kenia. Señalo asimismo que el 13 de febrero, hace menos de tres semanas, el Parlamento de Somalia aprobó una moción por la que se reconocieron los llamados frentes de liberación somalíes que, según se afirma, están operando dentro de Etiopía y de Kenia, y en que se pidió al Gobierno de la República que prestase su pleno apoyo a esos frentes de liberación. Difícilmente se puede esperar que dicha medida contribuya a atenuar la tirantez en el "Cuerno de Africa", y esta moción parece que está totalmente reñida con la propuesta que Vuestra Excelencia me ha presentado ahora.

Vuestra Excelencia me ha hablado abierta y francamente, y me propongo responder en la misma forma. No sólo Etiopía, sino todos los observadores de la escena africana están preocupados por las consecuencias de la política expansionista que la República de Somalia ha seguido en el "Cuerno de Africa", desde el día mismo de su independencia. Ha sido evidente para todos que el país de Vuestra Excelencia ha seguido una política encaminada a desmembrar los Estados vecinos. Se ha declarado que la anexión del territorio de Djibouti forma parte integrante de esa política. Si las relaciones entre Etiopía y la República de Somalia son hoy tensas y tirantes, ello no se debe a la falta de una declaración como la que Vuestra Excelencia propone ahora, ni tampoco a una falta de buena voluntad o de disposición, por parte de Etiopía, de cooperar en el arreglo de las controversias pendientes entre Somalia y Etiopía. Dicho en los términos más sencillos, las causas de esa tirantez surgen de las disposiciones de la Constitución de Somalia a que antes me referí, de los pronunciamientos políticos diarios de los más altos funcionarios de Somalia, de actos formales tales como la aprobación por el Parlamento de Vuestra Excelencia, de la moción antes mencionada, y de los esfuerzos ininterrumpidos de la República de Somalia encaminados a agrandar su territorio a expensas de sus vecinos.

En tales circunstancias, me parece que una declaración del Gobierno de Somalia de que apoya el principio de la independencia para el territorio de Djibouti tiene sentido sólo si va acompañada de una declaración más amplia, en virtud de la cual la República de Somalia renuncia a toda aspiración a los territorios de otros, incluso los llamados territorios habitados por somalíes, y se compromete a adoptar todas las medidas necesarias o posibles para poner en práctica dicha renuncia.

¿Está dispuesto el Gobierno de Somalia a emprender ese curso de acción y a formular una declaración conjunta con Etiopía a ese efecto?

Una declaración conjunta siguiendo las pautas que he sugerido constituiría, a mi juicio, un paso real, y no simplemente imaginario, hacia la solución de las diferencias existentes entre nosotros. Constituiría una aportación sólida y significativa a la causa de la paz, no sólo en el rincón del mundo que habitamos, sino en todas partes. Constituiría una prueba irrefutable de que nuestras dos naciones están consagradas a la causa de la unidad africana y de la Organización de las Naciones Unidas. Ofrecería la base sobre la cual las relaciones futuras entre Etiopía y Somalia podrían ampliarse y fructificar en los años venideros.

Me complacería conocer la reacción de Vuestra Excelencia al respecto.

Ruego a Vuestra Excelencia se sirva aceptar el testimonio de mi consideración más distinguida.

Tsehafi Taezaz Aklilu Habte Wold
Primer Ministro del Gobierno Imperial Etíope

S.E. Abdirizek Haji Hussein
Primer Ministro de la República de Somalia
Mogadiscio

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ETHIOPIAN MISSION TO THE UNITED NATIONS

801 SECOND AVENUE, NEW YORK, N. Y. 10017

RECORDS CENTRAL

P 110/1(14)

TR 300 FRSO

The Permanent Representative of Ethiopia to the United Nations presents his compliments to the Secretary-General and has the honour to refer to the note of the Secretariat contained under reference no. TR 300 FRSO by which the Secretary-General circulated a letter from the Permanent Representative of the Somalia Republic of March 16, 1967 together with copy of a letter addressed to the Prime Minister of Ethiopia from the Prime Minister of the Republic of Somalia on February 21, 1967.

It will be noted that in the covering note of the Representative of Somalia referred to above, the reply given at the time by the Prime Minister of Ethiopia was described as being a "negative response" from the Ethiopian Government. As can be seen from the full text of the reply of the Ethiopian Prime Minister of March 1, 1967 herewith enclosed, such a conclusion is a deliberate mis-interpretation, and, as such, completely unwarranted.

The reply of the Ethiopian Prime Minister, which is self-explanatory, stands on the contrary as testimony to Ethiopia's good-will and shows also in very clear terms Ethiopia's desire to live in peace and harmony with all her neighbours. It is not the attitude of Ethiopia that stands as threat to peace and harmony in that region of Africa but rather the avowed design of one Government for territorial expansion at the expense of all of its neighbours.

The Permanent Representative of Ethiopia regrets the fact that the Permanent Representative of Somalia has thus seen it fit to misrepresent Ethiopia's well-known position for purposes of propoganda.

With the view to correcting and completing the record, the Permanent Representative of Ethiopia has the honour to request the Secretary-General to circulate to all Member States of the United Nations this communication together with the enclosed reply of the Prime Minister of Ethiopia.

The Permanent Representative of Ethiopia avails himself of this opportunity to renew to the Secretary-General the assurances of his highest consideration.

New York, March 20, 1967

The Secretary-General
United Nations
New York, N.Y.

Communiqué aux Missions permanentes le 21 mars [TR 300 FRSO]

C O P Y

1st March 1967

Your Excellency,

I have the honour to acknowledge receipt of your message of February 21st, 1967 which was delivered to me by your Deputy Foreign Minister on Saturday last, February 25th.

I must confess, Your Excellency, that I am somewhat confused by the suggestion which you have advanced that the Government of Ethiopia and Somalia proceed to the issuance of official statements wherein both countries would pledge themselves to the full support and respect of an independent state comprising the present territory of Djibouti.

First, as far as Ethiopia is concerned, such a declaration is not only unnecessary but completely uncalled-for. Ethiopia voted for the Resolution of the last OAU Conference of Heads of States and Governments which you have quoted in your message. The same is true with respect to Resolution 2228 (XXI) adopted on December 21, 1966 by the General Assembly of the United Nations. I fear that in reaffirming the intention and import of these Resolutions, some suspicion might be raised concerning Ethiopia's original adherence to their terms. Let me assure you that Ethiopia remains today, as she has always been, committed to the concepts embodied in the Resolutions in question.

This noted, let me state in all candor that, unfortunately, I do not believe as much can be said for the Republic of Somalia. Let us review, briefly, the record.

Under the Constitution of the Republic of Somalia, your country is pledged to seek the union of the so-called Somali territories. So far as I am aware, this remains the foundation of Somalia's foreign policy. To cite but one example, on May 23, 1965, in a memorandum submitted to the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity, your Government stated that: "The Somali Republic's intentions are the reintegration of all territory inhabited by the Somali people into one nation state..." The so-called Somali-inhabited territories referred to previously include not only the present territory of Djibouti, but, as well, portions of Ethiopia and Kenya. I further note that on February 13th, less than three weeks ago, the Somalia Parliament adopted a motion recognizing the so-called Somali Liberation Fronts alleged to be operating within Ethiopia and Kenya and calling on the Government of the Republic to give full support to these Liberation Fronts. Such a step is hardly calculated to contribute to the lessening of tentions in the Horn of Africa, and this motion appears wholly at variance with the proposal which you have now submitted to me.

./..

Your Excellency, you have spoken openly and frankly to me, and I propose to respond in the same fashion. Not only Ethiopia, but all observers of the African scene are disturbed at the implications of the expansionist policy which the Somalia Republic, since the very day of its independence, has pursued in the Horn of Africa. It has been apparent to all that your country has followed a policy aimed at the dismemberment of neighbouring states. The annexation of the territory of Djibouti has been declared to be an integral part of this policy. If relations between Ethiopia and the Republic of Somalia are today tense and strained, it is not because of the absence of any declaration such as that which you now propose, nor is it because of any lack of good-will or willingness on Ethiopia's part to cooperate in the settlement of outstanding disputes between Somalia and Ethiopia. Put in the simplest terms, the causes for such tensions are rooted in the provisions of Somalia's Constitution to which I have referred above, in the daily policy pronouncements of Somalia's highest officials, in the taking of formal acts such as the adoption by your Parliament of the motion referred to above, and in the Republic of Somalia's unabated efforts at her own territorial aggrandizement at the expense of her neighbours.

In such circumstances, it seems to me that a statement by the Somalia Government that it supports the principle of independence for the territory of Djibouti is meaningful only if it is accompanied by a larger declaration wherein the Somalia Republic renounces any and all claims to the territory of others, including the so-called Somali-inhabited territories, and pledges herself to the taking of all measures required or calculated to place such a renunciation into effect.

Is the Somalia Government prepared to undertake this course of action and to issue a joint declaration with Ethiopia to this effect?

A jointdeclaration along the lines which I have suggested would, in my opinion, constitute a real and not merely an imaginary step towards the resolution of the difference between us. It would constitute a solid and meaningful contribution towards the cause of peace, not only in our corner of the world, but everywhere. It would constitute irrefutable evidence of the devotion of our two nations to the cause of African unity and the United Nations Organization. It would provide the basis upon which future relations between Ethiopia and Somalia may grow and fructify in the future years.

I shall be happy to have your reactions.

Please accept, Your Excellency, the assurances of my highest consideration.

Tsehafi Taezaz Aklilu Habte Wold
Prime Minister of the Imperial Ethiopian Government

H.E. Abdirizek Haji Hussein
Prime Minister of the Somalia Republic
Mogadiscio

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The enclosed communication dated 16 March 1967 is transmitted ..... to the Permanent Missions of the States Members of the United Nations at the request of the Permanent Representative of Somalia to the United Nations.

17 March 1967

BK

PERMANENT MISSION OF THE SOMALI REPUBLIC
TO THE UNITED NATIONS
236 EAST 46TH STREET
NEW YORK 17, N. Y.
YUKON 6-5936

G/87(215)

The Permanent Representative of the Somali Republic to the United Nations presents his compliments to the Secretary General of the United Nations, and has the honour to forward the attached copy of a communication dated 21 February 1967, addressed to the Prime Minister of the Imperial Government of Ethiopia by the Prime Minister of the Somali Republic on the question of French Somaliland.

Regrettably, a negative response to the proposal contained in the communication has now been received from the Ethiopian Government. In view of the unsettled political conditions in the area, the Somali Government requests that this communication be circulated to all Member States so that they may be kept informed of these developments.

The Permanent Representative of the Somali Republic avails himself of this opportunity to present to the Secretary General of the United Nations the assurances of his highest consideration.

New York, March 16, 1967

Permanent Mission of Somalia to the United Nations

C O P Y

5G/6/175/S/67 February 21,1967

Your Excellency,

I have the honour to send to Your Excellency this message by hand of my special envoy, H.E. Mohamed Hassan Nur, Under-Secretary of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

At the last OAU Summit Conference in Addis Ababa, the operative paragraph of the Resolution on French Somaliland passed by the Assembly of Heads of State and Government:

> "Assures the brotherly people of so-called French Somaliland(Djibouti) of its active solidarity, designed to bring about and consolidate the independence of that people".

The operative part of the subsequent Resolution 2228(XXI) of 20 December 1966, on French Somaliland by the General Assembly of the United Nations:

> "Calls upon the Administering Power to ensure that the right of self-determination shall be freely expressed and exercised by the indigenous inhabitants of the territory on the basis of universal adult suffrage and with full respect for fundamental Human Rights and Freedoms".

The last session of the OAU Liberation Committee held in Congo-Kinshasa at the end of January 1967, also called upon all OAU Member States to provide all possible assistance to the people of French Somaliland in their struggle for independence.

Ethiopia like Somalia and other Member States of the OAU has accepted the obligation of supporting the eradication of all forms of colonialism from Africa in conformity with Article II, 1(c) of the Charter of the Organization of African Unity. Furthermore, on its part, the Somali Government has made it quite clear that it

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H.E. Tsehafi Taezaz Aklilu Habte Wold
Prime Minister of the Imperial
Ethiopian Government -
Addis Ababa

welcomes and support the emergence of an independent French Somaliland and will respect the integrity and sovereignty of that territory if its inhabitants opt for independence.

As the immediate neighbours of French Somaliland both Somalia and Ethiopia should naturally have a special role of responsibility to play in the events concerning that territory insofar as the inalienable right of self-determination for its people is concerned and the implementation in both OAU and the UNO regarding the emancipation of the people of that territory from colonialism.

It is in this connection that the Somali Government proposes that both Somalia and Ethiopia should issue official statements whereby both countries pledge themselves to fully support and respect an independent French Somaliland. Such an accord would do much to dispel the unfortunate suspicion and distrust which exists regarding each other's intentions towards that territory and it would be construed by world opinion, especially in Africa, as a genuine desire by both Governments to strengthen African solidarity and unity.

In addition, such declarations would undoubtedly create a favourable atmosphere for the settlement of other outstanding matters between Ethiopia and Somalia apart from bringing about an immediate relaxation of the increasing tensions in this part of Africa.

On making this proposal the Somali Government wishes to assure the Imperial Ethiopian Government that it has no motives other than its desire to see a colonised African people attain their freedom and independence, in conformity with the pronounced aims and objectives both of OAU and UNO.

Excellency, it is the opinion of my Government that this proposal affords a unique opportunity for cooperation between our two countries, especially on a subject upon which both the OAU and UNO have expressed their support.

I, therefore, trust that the Imperial Ethiopian Government will give this matter its urgent consideration so that if the proposal of Somalia is accepted in principle by Ethiopia, the date for issuing such declarations may be agreed upon as soon as possible, and preferably during the OAU Council of Ministers' meeting.

Accept, Excellency, the assurances of my highest consideration.

(Abdirizak Haji Hussein)
Prime Minister of the Somali Republic

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La traduction ci-jointe d'une communication, en date du ..... 16 mars 1967, est transmise aux Missions permanentes des Etats Membres de l'Organisation des Nations Unies à la demande du Représentant permanent de la Somalie auprès de l'Organisation.

Le 17 mars 1967

BK

Traduit de l'anglais

MISSION PERMANENTE DE LA REPUBLIQUE DE SOMALIE
AUPRES DE L'ORGANISATION DES NATIONS UNIES

G/87 (215)

Le Représentant permanent de la République somalie auprès de l'Organisation des Nations Unies présente ses compliments au Secrétaire général de l'Organisation et a l'honneur de lui faire tenir ci-joint copie d'une communication datée du 21 février 1967, adressée par le Premier Ministre de la République somalie au Premier Ministre du Gouvernement impérial éthiopien, concernant la question de la Côte française des Somalis.

Le Gouvernement éthiopien a malheureusement repoussé la proposition figurant dans ladite communication. Etant donné l'instabilité de la situation politique dans la région, le Gouvernement somali demande que la présente communication soit distribuée à tous les Etats Membres pour les tenir au courant de ces faits nouveaux.

Le Représentant permanent de la République somalie saisit cette occasion de renouveler au Secrétaire général de l'Organisation des Nations Unies les assurances de sa très haute considération.

New York, le 16 mars 1967

SCEAU

5G/6/175/S/67 Le 21 février 1967

Monsieur le Ministre,

J'ai l'honneur de vous faire remettre le texte de la présente communication par mon envoyé spécial, Monsieur Mohamed Hassan Nur, Sous-Secrétaire aux affaires étrangères.

Le paragraphe du dispositif de la résolution sur la Côte française des Somalis, adoptée par les chefs d'Etat et de gouvernement lors de la dernière Conférence au sommet de l'OUA qui s'est tenue à Addis Abéba

"Assure le peuple frère du territoire dit 'Côte française des Somalis' (Djibouti) de sa solidarité active, visant à amener et à consolider l'indépendance de ce peuple."

Le dispositif de la résolution 2228 (XXI) que l'Assemblée générale des Nations Unies a adoptée ultérieurement, le 20 décembre 1966, sur la question de la Côte française des Somalis

"Demande à la Puissance administrante de faire en sorte que le droit à l'auto-détermination soit libre exprimé et exercé par la population autochtone du territoire sur la base du suffrage universel des adultes et dans le plein respect des droits et des libertés fondamentales de la personne humaine."

Lors de sa dernière session, tenue au Congo-Kinshasa à la fin de janvier 1967, le Comité de libération de l'OUA a également demandé à tous les Etats membres de cette organisation d'apporter toute l'aide possible au peuple de la Côte française des Somalis dans la lutte qu'il mène pour son indépendance.

Comme la Somalie et d'autres Etats membres de l'OUA, l'Ethiopie a accepté l'obligation qui lui est faite par le paragraphe 1 c) de l'article II de la charte de l'Organisation de l'unité africaine de contribuer à l'élimination de toutes les formes de colonialisme en Afrique. Le Gouvernement somali, pour sa part, a indiqué clairement qu'il souhaitait et encourageait l'accession à l'indépendance de la Côte française des Somalis et qu'il respecterait l'intégrité et la souveraineté de ce territoire si ses habitants optaient pour l'indépendance.

Son Excellence
Monsieur Tsehafi Taezaz Aklilu Habte Wold
Premier Ministre du Gouvernement impérial
éthiopien
Addis Abéba

En tant que voisins immédiats de la Côte française des Somalis, il est normal que la Somalie et l'Ethiopie assument certaines responsabilités particulières dans les questions qui intéressent ce territoire dans la mesure où elles concernent le droit inaliénable de son peuple à l'autodétermination et l'application des résolutions de l'OUA et de l'Organisation des Nations Unies tendant à le libérer du colonialisme.

C'est dans cet esprit que le Gouvernement somali propose que la Somalie et l'Ethiopie s'engagent, par des déclarations officielles, à appuyer et à respecter pleinement l'indépendance de la Côte française des Somalis. Outre qu'elles contribueraient grandement à dissiper les soupçons et la méfiance regrettables qu'entretiennent nos deux gouvernements quant à leurs intentions respectives vis-à-vis de ce territoire, pareilles déclarations conjointes seraient considérées par l'opinion mondiale en général, et par l'opinion africaine en particulier, comme un témoignage sincère de leur volonté de renforcer la solidarité et l'unité africaines.

En outre, ces déclarations ne pourraient que créer une atmosphère favorable au règlement d'autres questions pendantes entre l'Ethiopie et la Somalie et atténueraient immédiatement les tensions croissantes dans cette partie de l'Afrique.

Le Gouvernement somali tient à donner au Gouvernement impérial éthiopien l'assurance qu'il n'a, en faisant cette proposition, nul autre souci que celui de voir un peuple africain colonisé conquérir sa liberté et accéder à l'indépendance conformément aux buts et objectifs déclarés de l'OUA et de l'ONU.

J'ajouterai, Monsieur le Ministre, que, de l'avis de mon gouvernement, cette proposition offre à nos deux pays une occasion exceptionnelle de coopération, en particulier dans un domaine qui bénéficie de l'appui de l'OUA et de l'ONU.

Je compte donc que le Gouvernement impérial éthiopien voudra bien étudier cette proposition dans les meilleurs délais afin que, si le principe en est accepté par lui, nous puissions nous entendre au plus tôt, et de préférence pendant la réunion du Conseil des ministres de l'OUA, sur la date de nos déclarations respectives.

Veuillez agréer, Monsieur le Ministre, les assurances de ma très haute considération.

Le Premier Ministre de la République somalie

Abdirizak Haji Hussein

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La traducción adjunta de una comunicación de fecha 16 de ..... marzo de 1967 se transmite a las Misiones Permanentes de los Estados Miembros de las Naciones Unidas a solicitud del Representante Permanente de Somalia ante las Naciones Unidas.

17 de marzo de 1967

VBK

Traducido del inglés

MISION PERMANENTE DE LA REPUBLICA SOMALI
ANTE LAS NACIONES UNIDAS

G/87(215)

El Representante Permanente de la República Somalí ante las Naciones Unidas saluda muy atentamente al Secretario General de las Naciones Unidas, y tiene el honor de remitir con la presente una copia de una comunicación de fecha 21 de febrero de 1967 dirigida al Primer Ministro del Gobierno Imperial de Etiopía por el Primer Ministro de la República Somalí, sobre la cuestión de la Somalia Francesa.

Lamentablemente, se ha recibido ya del Gobierno etíope una respuesta negativa a la propuesta contenida en la comunicación. En vista de la situación política inestable en la región, el Gobierno somalí pide que esta comunicación sea transmitida a todos los Estados Miembros para que estén informados de estos hechos.

El Representante Permanente de la República Somalí aprovecha la oportunidad para presentar al Secretario General de las Naciones Unidas las seguridades de su consideración más distinguida.

Nueva York, 16 de marzo de 1967

SELLO

5G/6/175/S/67 21 de febrero de 1967

Excelentísimo señor:

Tengo el honor de enviar personalmente este mensaje a Vuestra Excelencia por conducto de mi enviado especial, S.E. Mohamed Hassan Nur, Subsecretario del Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores.

En la última conferencia de alto nivel de la Organización de la Unidad Africana, celebrada en Addis Abeba, la Asamblea de Jefes de Estado y de Gobierno aprobó una resolución sobre la Somalia Francesa, uno de cuyos párrafos dispositivos dice:

"Asegura al pueblo hermano de la llamada Somalia Francesa (Djibouti) que puede contar con la activa solidaridad de la Asamblea para el logro y la consolidación de su independencia."

Con posterioridad, el 20 de diciembre de 1966, la Asamblea General de las Naciones Unidas aprobó la resolución 2228 (XXI) sobre la Somalia Francesa, uno de cuyos párrafos dispositivos dice lo siguiente:

"Pide a la Potencia administradora que adopte las medidas necesarias para que los habitantes indígenas del Territorio puedan expresar y ejercer libremente el derecho a la libre determinación, sobre la base del sufragio universal de los adultos y con pleno respeto de los derechos humanos y libertades fundamentales."

El Comité de Liberación de la OUA, en su último período de sesiones, celebrado en Kinshasa (Congo) al final de enero de 1967, pidió también a todos los Estados miembros de la OUA que proporcionasen toda la asistencia posible al pueblo de la Somalia Francesa en su lucha por la independencia.

Etiopía, como Somalia y otros Estados miembros de la OUA, ha aceptado la obligación de apoyar la erradicación de todas las formas de colonialismo existentes en Africa, de conformidad con el inciso c) del párrafo 1 del artículo II de la carta de la Organización de la Unidad Africana. Además, el Gobierno somalí, por su parte, ha dejado claramente sentado que acoge con agrado y apoya la creación de una Somalia Francesa independiente y que respetará la integridad y soberanía de ese Territorio si sus habitantes optan por la independencia.

S.E. Tsehafi Taezaz Aklilu Habte Wold
Primer Ministro del Gobierno Imperial Etíope
Addis Abeba

Como vecinos inmediatos de la Somalia Francesa, Somalia y Etiopía deberían naturalmente tener una responsabilidad especial en los acontecimientos concernientes a ese Territorio, en relación con el derecho inalienable de libre determinación para su pueblo, y a hacer efectivo, tanto en la OUA como en la ONU el hecho de que el pueblo de ese Territorio se emancipe del colonialismo.

Atendiendo a ello, el Gobierno somalí propone que Somalia y Etiopía formulen declaraciones oficiales por las cuales ambos países se comprometan a apoyar y respetar plenamente una Somalia Francesa independiente. Un acuerdo de esa índole contribuiría mucho a despejar la sospecha y la desconfianza que, por desgracia, existen en cuanto a las intenciones de uno y otro país con respecto a ese Territorio, y sería interpretado por la opinión mundial, especialmente en Africa, como un deseo auténtico de ambos Gobiernos de afianzar la solidaridad y unidad africanas.

Además, esas declaraciones crearían sin duda una atmósfera favorable para resolver otras cuestiones pendientes entre Etiopía y Somalia aparte de que traerían consigo un alivio inmediato de la tirantez creciente en esa parte de Africa.

Al hacer esta propuesta, el Gobierno somalí desea asegurar al Gobierno Imperial etíope que no le anima nada más que el deseo de ver que el colonizado pueblo africano alcanza su libertad e independencia, de conformidad con los propósitos y objetivos de la OUA y de la ONU.

Excelentísimo señor: a juicio de mi Gobierno, esta propuesta ofrece una oportunidad excepcional para que nuestros dos países cooperen, especialmente en una cuestión con respecto a la cual tanto la OUA como la ONU han expresado su apoyo.

Confío, pues, en que el Gobierno Imperial etíope examinará urgentemente esta cuestión, de modo que si Etiopía acepta en principio la propuesta de Somalia, se pueda convenir lo antes posible la fecha de publicación de dichas declaraciones, que convendría fuese durante la reunión del Consejo de Ministros de la OUA.

Ruego a Vuestra Excelencia que acepte las seguridades de mi consideración más distinguida.

(Abdirizak Haji Hussein)
Primer Ministro de la República Somalí

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