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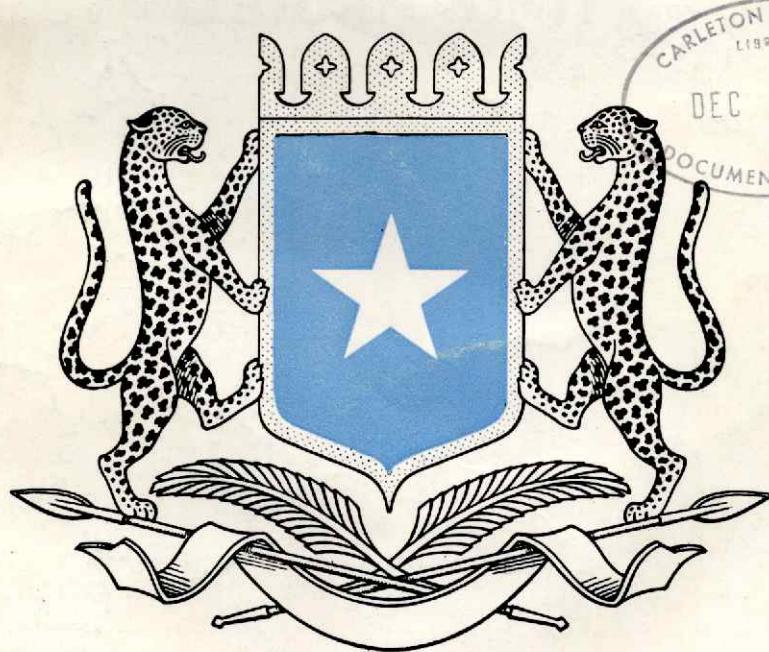


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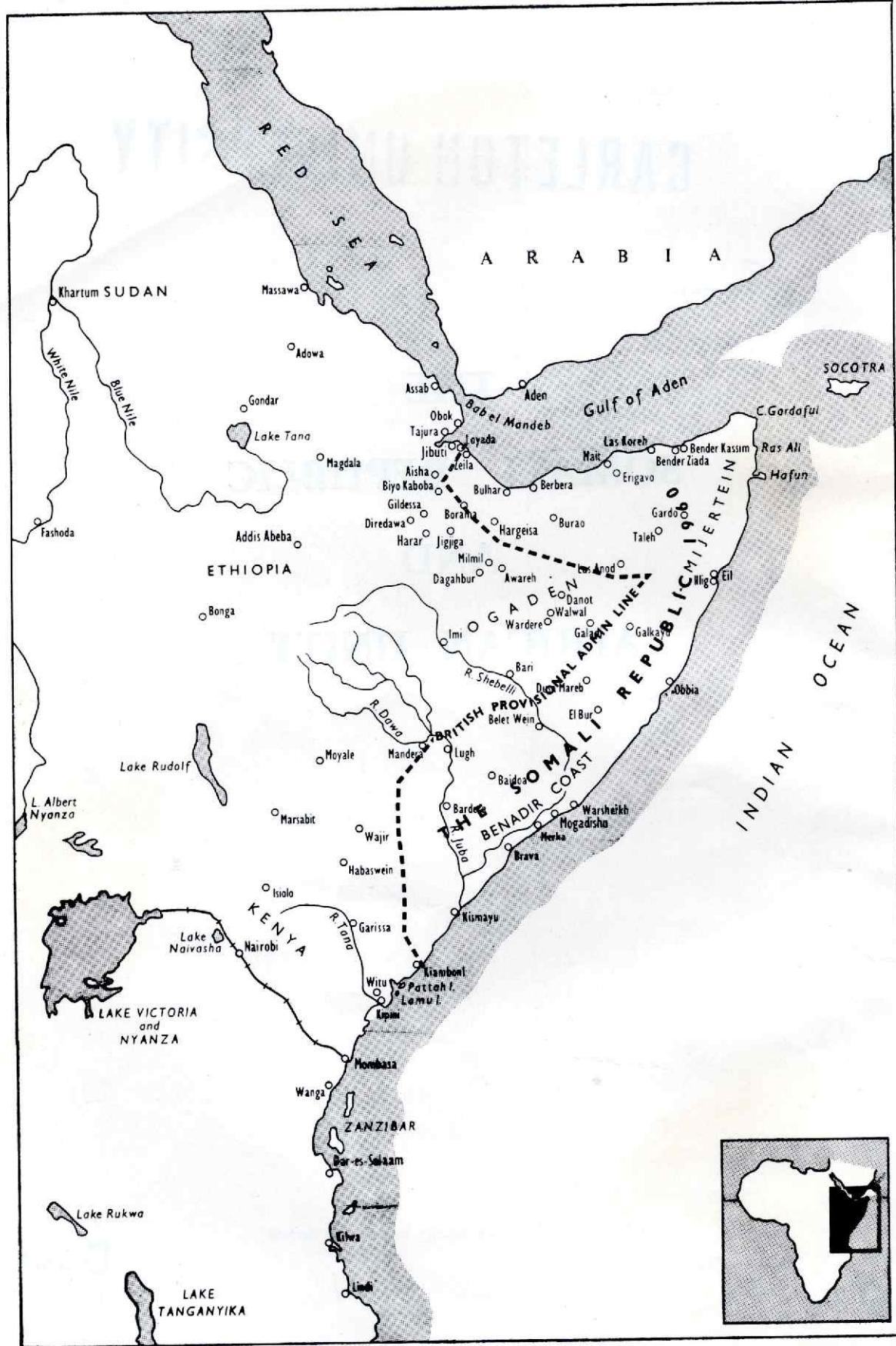
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An aerial view of Mogadishu

*Published on the authority of the Government of
the Somali Republic*

SEPTEMBER 1962

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*The President, Mr. Adan Abdulla Osman, with Mr. Jomo Kenyatta
during his three-day visit*



*The President greets Mr. Ronald Ngala
on his arrival for a state banquet*

Introduction

THE Government of the Somali Republic were hosts this summer to two distinguished African leaders—Mr. Jomo Kenyatta, President of the Kenya African National Union, and Mr. Ngala, President of the Kenya African Democratic Union. The two leaders, together with their party colleagues, not only received a cordial welcome from the Somali Government but also a warm and friendly reception from the Somali people.

Both leaders were given the Freedom of Mogadishu, a city which was founded ten centuries ago. Towards the end of their respective visits, the President of the Republic, His Excellency Aden Abdulla Osman, conferred upon them the Star of Somali Solidarity, the Somali Republic's highest honour.

Regrettably, Mr. Kenyatta and the KANU delegation could only spare three days and so could not make a complete tour of the Republic. Mr. Ngala and his KADU delegation were able to see during their seven-day visit both Hargeisa in the Northern Region and the port of Kismayu in the South. Both leaders enjoyed their visits, and the Somali Government and the people of the Republic, for their part, were glad to have had the opportunity of welcoming their brothers from neighbouring Kenya.

During the visits, the two leaders discussed with the Somali Government common problems affecting future relations between Kenya and the Somali Republic. All parties keenly desire a political and economic Federation of East and Central African territories as an essential step towards achieving a wider African Unity.

With the utmost cordiality, differing points of view were expressed, on the one hand, by the distinguished guests from Kenya and, on the other, by the Somali Government, in a number of speeches on Kenya's Northern Frontier District issue, and on the demand by the people of this territory to unite with the Somali Republic.

This healthy public expression of opinion on matters of concern to the peoples of both territories is consistent with the Republic's policy of free speech and of keeping the public informed about matters of National importance.

An account of the main speeches, and important declarations on Pan-Africanism and the proposed East African Federation, are given here together with a pictorial summary of these two happy and successful summer visits.

Pan-Africanism

"WE MUST MAKE THE WHOLE OF THE AFRICAN PEOPLE A SINGLE NATION"*

THE large and enthusiastic crowds that came to greet Mr. Kenyatta at Mogadishu airport on July 26, 1962, were roused into vigorous applause when they heard their Prime Minister, Mr. Abdirashid Ali Shermarke, describe Mr. Kenyatta as:

"A man who sacrificed his own liberty and endured great hardships to defend the dignity of Africa. A man who liberated the spirit of his people by the inspiration of his selfless dedication."

The Prime Minister ended his eloquent and sincere tribute to this great African leader with these words:

"Today, as Jomo Kenyatta stands on the threshold of the fulfilment of his life's endeavour, we acclaim him, we honour him, we welcome him."

It was Mr. Kenyatta's day. Standing on a dais which

was draped with the Republic's sky-blue flag and its five-pointed star, together with the black, red and green flag of the Kenya African National Union, Mr. Kenyatta spoke, as he has spoken for the last 30 years, of African Unity.

"Freedom in one particular section of Africa is not enough", he said, "we must bring the whole of Africa together. We must make the whole of the African people a single nation, not sections based on tribal or racial groupings.

"I think during the past many years the aim of colonialists or imperialists has been to divide our people. Everyone realised that, and, I think, it is our duty to get together, to create a new Africa, not the old Africa of divisions, with different Foreign Powers governing us, but Africa governed by African people."

Mr. Kenyatta and his colleagues in KANU drove

*Jomo Kenyatta, July 26, 1962.



Where is he? Crowds gathered in their hundreds at Mogadishu Airport to catch a glimpse of Mr. Kenyatta



The Prime Minister watches Miss Fatuma Samau presenting a bouquet to Mr. Kenyatta on his arrival at Mogadishu Airport. From left: Mr. Kenyatta, Mr. Abdullahi Issa (Foreign Minister, in dark glasses), Dr. Abdurashid Ali Shermarke (the Prime Minister), Mr. Abdirizak Haji Hussein (Minister of Interior, behind Prime Minister) Haji Bashir (Vice-president of the National Assembly in dark glasses) and Mr. Mohamed Haji Ibrahim Egal, (Minister of Education, bespectacled) ▶



“...Jomo stands on the threshold of the fulfilment of his life's endeavour...” said the Prime Minister during his address of welcome. The President of the National Assembly (Mr. Jama Abdillahi Ghalib stands on his left)

from the airport through cheering crowds waving placards and large photographs of Jomo Kenyatta. The slogans slung across the streets, and inscribed on the placards, demanded "African Unity."

Rejoicing in this great welcome and fortified in the belief that African Unity is as much the desire of ordinary people as it is the wish of the Governments of independent Africa, Mr. Kenyatta and his party drove straight to Villa Somalia, the seat of the Presidency, where they were warmly greeted by President Aden Abdulla Osman. The President paid public tribute to Mr. Kenyatta two days later in a speech at a State banquet. He said:

"There can be no dispute that Mr. Kenyatta for at least the last quarter of a century has been acknowledged by Africans as the liberator of East Africa and an outstanding African Unionist."

Realistic assessment

In the same speech President Aden Abdulla Osman appropriately took as his theme "Pan-Africanism". It was a realistic and candid assessment of some of the problems of making African Unity a reality. He drew upon the experience that the Somali Republic has had following the merger in 1960 of the two former Independent African States, Somaliland and Somalia.

"A desire for unity", he said, "must be matched by a willingness to sacrifice a measure of sovereignty, and to remould the machinery of government to absorb new political and administrative methods.

"I say this, not to alarm or discourage, but because I think it is time that our continent of Africa took a more practical and realistic view of the problems that have been created by the after-effects of colonialism and their relation to a closer political association of African States.

"There are some lessons to be learned from the short but nonetheless profitable experience of this Republic; because we can claim with justice that we have made a unique, practical contribution to African unity by merging two Independent African States into one—even against the established prejudices of interested powers.

"I do not have to enumerate the colonial-made problems that we have encountered in the field of fiscal, judicial, linguistic and administrative integration because they still preoccupy us and are too well known. But I would like to underline three lessons.

"First—as a prerequisite to either a federal system or a total union of states, it is necessary to accept, as we have done in article 6 of our Constitution, limitations of Sovereignty on conditions of parity with other States.

"Second—we have learned that the outmoded concept of territorial integrity must vanish from our habitual thinking because its roots are embedded in colonialism, and it is incompatible with Pan-Africanism.

SON OF AFRICA

"To us, you are Jomo Kenyatta, the hero of East Africa, who has been in the forefront of the battle of Africa's freedom for forty years and more. Throughout these long years your every mode and action bears the imprint of authenticity; for you are a man of the people, a son of Africa, born into a community that follows the precepts of African socialism".

Abdirashid Ali Sharmarke
Prime Minister, July 26, 1962.

"Third—we have learned of a cardinal principle underlying the effectiveness or otherwise of a political union between two Independent States. It is this: the ordinary person must be able to identify himself and his interests with the new order, on economic, ethnic and cultural grounds.

"It is this last lesson that is perhaps the hardest to learn but, if we Africans are proud to take our place as a democratic people in the comity of Nations, we must do more than pay lip-service to the feelings of the ordinary man and woman in our society.

"We claim, many of us, to be African leaders and socialists. This implies that, through our wisdom and understanding, men will follow us and, by the equity of our laws, our people will have equal rights and opportunities.

"Regrettably, it is becoming commonplace in Africa today to accept the development of a privileged class of rulers, with the instincts of colonialists, as a substitute for Government by the people.

Warning to my colleagues

"This is one of the after-effects of colonial rule. But it is my duty to give this warning to my colleagues in Africa: it will be the unwillingness of African rulers to curb their powers and to lift their artificial colonial boundaries, that will frustrate the hopes and desires of the ordinary people of Africa to be led out of isolation and ignorance into the Greater Union of African States.

"I am sorry to have had to end on a note of caution, but there is too much at stake, in the prevention of the kind of tragedies that beset our brothers in the Congo, for me to refrain from bringing unpalatable facts to your notice. Of course, I hope that these forebodings will not materialize, but they exist for those who have the eyes to see and the care to understand."

In his reply to the President's speech Mr. Kenyatta reminded the modern generation of the gallant freedom fighters of the thirties.

"I would like to take this opportunity to salute the



“Uhuru! Uhuru!” Mr. Kenyatta speaks on his arrival. With him are, from left, the President of the National Assembly, the Foreign Minister (dark glasses), the Prime Minister and the Minister of Education

Shortly after his arrival, Mr. Kenyatta inspected a guard of honour provided by the Fourth Battalion of the National Army. He is accompanied by the President of the National Assembly (Mr. Jama Abdillahi Ghalib) and the Adjutant General (Colonel Mohamed Siyad) ▶



Mr. Kenyatta leaves Mogadishu Airport amid cheering crowds

gallant freedom fighters who started the concept of Pan-Africanism in difficult conditions, namely, the late George Padmore, DuBois, Kwame Nkrumah, Azikiwe, Peter Abrahams and others. In those days in our little meetings as exiles in Manchester, London or Paris we dreamed of an Africa that was free and united; an Africa that would no longer have its destinies decided in the capitals of Europe but an Africa that would have a distinctive personality with a mind and a will of her own in international politics. We had visions that through this concept we would recreate a new and vigorous Africa whose great wealth would be harnessed for the benefit not of foreigners but of her sons and daughters. I am glad that, in my lifetime, I have seen this concept take root and flourish throughout most of the continent of Africa."

Mr. Kenyatta went on to say that African Nationalism in itself is not enough, neither is political independence an assurance of lasting unity.

"We must go further and develop an African ideology that springs from our own culture, traditions and thought to provide a base for our politics, economic development and the whole way of life of our peoples."

At a luncheon given on July 27, 1962, by Mr. Jama Abdillahi Ghalib, the President of the National Assembly, Mr. Kenyatta turned from the theme of a new African ideology to a new African psychology. He said

that it will take a little time to scrape off the imperialistic psychology which has been engraved on our brains and to create a new psychology and a new ideology.

"I urge you to try a new psychology, African psychology. We have been too much fed with a kind of psychology and ideological ideas which are not African. And I think the more we become free, I think the more we shall need to create a new psychology and a new ideology without following either the west or the east, and if we could do that we can make Africa a better place. We can bring about an African civilisation which will be able to impress upon other people that Africans are human beings."

NOT AN INCH

"I think when we here are enjoying the freedom of Somalia we must throw our eyes way down to South Africa where most of our brothers are suffering great hardship. We must also throw our eyes to Angola, to Mozambique coming northwards to Rhodesia and Nyasaland. We must, brothers, work very hard to see that not an inch of our territory is left under the yoke of Foreign domination. We must eliminate all Foreign domination from our soil".

Jomo Kenyatta, July 27, 1962.

Mr. Kenyatta on East African Federation

**"A POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC FEDERATION
AND NOT ONE WITHOUT THE OTHER"***

Mr. Kenyatta was asked by a correspondent on his arrival at the airport why he excluded the Somali Republic from future membership of an East African Federation during a recent speech in Kenya. "I am for the inclusion of Somalia in any such Federation", said Mr. Kenyatta. "Whenever I refer to East African Federation, I mean Nyasaland, the two Rhodesias, Kenya, Uganda, Tanganyika, Somalia, Ethiopia, Congo, Ruanda and Urundi".

It was the Somali Prime Minister, Mr. Abdirashid Ali Shermarke, who took up the same theme at a dinner party that night. He talked of the hard facts of nation building:

"Today, after two years of independence, we have learnt that the freedom which we so dearly won can be

*Jomo Kenyatta, July 29, 1962.

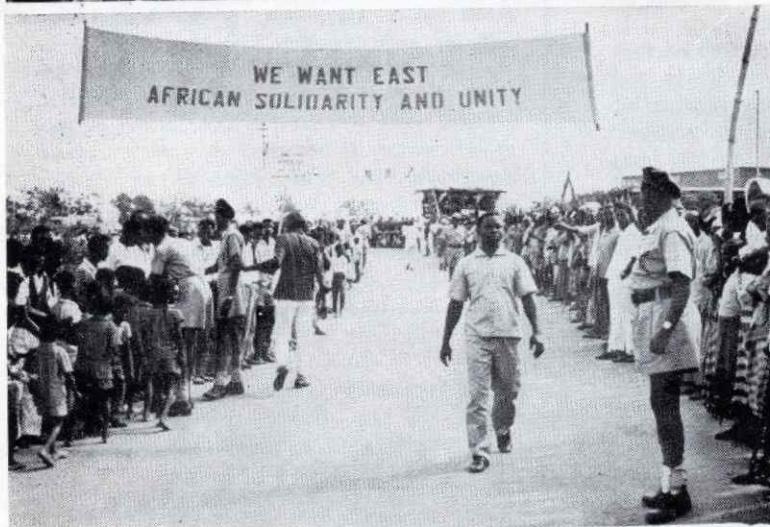
lost by discord and disunity. We have learnt that the price of freedom is self-sacrifice and self-discipline. These are the hard facts of nation building and they apply as much to Kenya as they do to this and other newly independent states in Africa.

"When we talk then of our wider interest in a united federation of East African States we would do well to remember that this is, of course, a natural and urgent corollary to the independence of former colonial territories, but its success depends, not upon power policies, but upon the initial establishment, within each of the respective African states, of a wholesome, stable, happy and united nation."

The Prime Minister went on to say that we should not rush blindly into a Federation on the vague grounds that it is a panacea for our respective problems. Never-



One of the hand-painted posters by a group of Somali artists to welcome Mr. Kenyatta in the streets of the capital.



Crowds line the streets of Mogadishu to give an enthusiastic welcome to Mr. Kenyatta



Mr. Kenyatta found friends everywhere—members of the public waved the black, red and green flag of Kanu (top right)

POWER OF SOLIDARITY

"We are dedicated to the liberty of our brother Africans who are still subjected to alien rule. Through the power of African solidarity they will surely gain their freedom."

Abdirashid Ali Sharmarke
Prime Minister, July 30, 1962.

theless, the Prime Minister stressed the absolute necessity for a political association of African States.

"But, Sir, I urge you to make no mistake about it. A political association of as many African states as may care to join is not only a natural desire, which flows from a feeling of insecurity in the past and an urge for solidarity in the future, but it is an absolute necessity in practical politics today, if we are to make a positive contribution to the peace of this world, and to safeguard our dignity and self-respect."

It was at the President's State Reception on July 28, 1962, after he had presented Mr. Kenyatta with the blue and white ribbon and golden star of the Republic's highest honour, the Star of Somali Solidarity, that Mr. Kenyatta returned to the theme of an East African Federation, in the context of Pan-Africanism:

"Looking at Eastern Africa today", he said, "I am convinced that we are better placed than any other region of Africa to begin to give practical meaning to the concept of Pan-Africanism. Here in Eastern Africa we have a Common Services Organisation between Kenya, Uganda and Tanganyika which has worked fairly well. Now that the governments of Somalia and Ethiopia have applied for Associate Membership of the Organisation, it remains for us to work out the details which I am confident we shall be able to do in the very near future."

New Federal State

Mr. Kenyatta emphasised, however, that it would not be enough merely to have an organisation co-ordinating the operation of a few selected services. "We shall have to go further and create a new federal State of Eastern Africa", he added.

"It will, therefore, be necessary, as soon as the principle of the inclusion of Somalia and Ethiopia has been agreed, to call a conference of leaders of Central and Eastern Africa to work out the form of the federal structure."

Mr. Kenyatta also said that it will be equally important for all of us to begin to educate our peoples as to the meaning and significance of this wider concept of Pan-Africanism. He suggested ways and means whereby a better understanding between our peoples could be promoted:

"Easier travel facilities and the elimination of passports, cultural exchanges, trade, customs union and the improvement of rail and road communications to link up the capitals and common currencies and postal services."

On the next day, at the Cinema *Hamar*, Mr. Kenyatta addressed a large but select audience, including the diplomatic corps. Standing on a dais in front of a large painting of Africa, surrounded by symbolic doves of peace and inscribed with the words "liberty and unity", Mr. Kenyatta was eloquently introduced by the Minister of Education, Mr. Mohamed Ibrahim Egal. In a tribute to Mr. Kenyatta, the Minister said that historians are unanimous in one verdict, it is that "this man is made of more than the common fibre of the ordinary man, that he rises in power over the ordinary span of his fellow men.

"He and his small band of brothers have set their tremendous intellectual resources to the creation of an African personality. They have taken the philosophy of a great American negro, Dr. Garvey, and, like the poet, have given it a form and a local habitation, a form in the context of the principles of Pan-Africanism which every African today urgently and affectionately embraces, and a local habitation in the deep recess of every African heart."

Mr. Kenyatta in his address spoke of the history of Kenya and the terrible humiliations of the past; but looking to a brighter and happier future he returned to the theme of an East African Federation. Mr. Kenyatta said that he did not want a one-sided Federation but both a political and economic federation and not one without the other. The form of the Federation would have to be decided later. Mr. Kenyatta regarded this as a step towards unifying the whole of Africa. "It will be a good thing", he said, "when Africans can move through Africa without a passport."

On July 30, 1962, at a farewell speech to Mr. Kenyatta, the Prime Minister took up Mr. Kenyatta's point that the East African Federation must not be one-sided but should be "both a political and economic federation, not one without the other". The Prime Minister said:

"As for our future in an East African Federation, we visualize a Federation in which all the Somali people will form one federal unit in the wider federation of East and Central African States. From this basis, we look forward to the closer unity of all States in Africa."

ENTER INTO NEGOTIATIONS

"It is our wish, as we know it is yours, that as soon as Kenya is independent we should enter into negotiations for an Eastern African Federation."

Jomo Kenyatta, July 30, 1962.

Following Mr. Kenyatta's visit, Mr. Ronald Ngala also visited the Republic and received a warm welcome from the Prime Minister. With them are the Head of Protocol (Mr. Ahmed Shire Adawi) and the Somali Consul-General in Nairobi (Mr. Hussein Nur Elmi, in dark glasses) ►



Mr. Ngala greets the Ethiopian Chargé d'Affaire (Mr. Tekiehaimanot Tedla) and other members of the Diplomatic Corps on his arrival at the Airport. He is accompanied by the Prime Minister (left) and the Foreign Minister (introducing) ▲

Miss Faduma Samau presents a bouquet to Mr. Ngala. From left, Police Officer, the Consul-General in Nairobi, the Foreign Minister, the General Secretary of Kadu (Mr. M. Shikuku), Mr. Ngala, a member of the Kadu delegation (Mr. P. Rurumban) and the Prime Minister. ►



Mr. Ngala on East African Federation

"THE COMMON PEOPLE IN THE STREETS ARE
THINKING IN PRACTICAL TERMS OF FEDERATION"*

ON August 11, 1962, twelve days after Mr. Kenyatta and his colleagues of the Kenya African National Union left the Somali Republic, Mr. Ngala and members of his Kenya African Democratic Party arrived as guests of the Government for a six-day visit which was to take them from one end of the Republic to the other, over a thousand miles apart—Hargeisa in the North, the capital of former British Somaliland, to the port of Kismayu in the South.

Mr. Ngala and his party received a warm welcome at the airport and, along the gaily decorated streets of Mogadishu, a large crowd turned out to greet them. After an impressive ceremony outside the City Hall later that evening, during which Mr. Ngala was handed a large ivory key representing the freedom of the city of Mogadishu, the Prime Minister entertained his guests to dinner. In a speech, the Prime Minister referred to the problem of uniting Somalis living outside the existing territories of the Republic:

"It has been said that the problem of Somalis living outside the Republic's present frontiers can be solved by a federation of these territories. We believe this to be true because we have no desire for territorial aggrandisement. We wish only to form one Federal Unit of a reunited Somali people within the framework of a wider political Federation of East and Central Africa."

The Prime Minister went on to say that the Republic would have no difficulty in realising this aim because of the Republic's unique experience of having already united two Independent African States (former Somaliland and Somalia), and because the Republic has provided in its Constitution for limitations on its sovereignty on terms of parity with other States. The Prime Minister, however, made this important reservation:

"The Somali Republic, though otherwise more than willing to do so, can only enter into a political federation on the prior condition that the constituent part, comprising all Somalis who wish to be reunited, is established before the Republic enters into the proposed federal relationship. The reason for this is obvious. No state, regional or administrative boundaries within a federation have yet been revised without at least a two-thirds majority in the Federal Legislature. This is a political

risk which the Somali people, being in a minority, would not be prepared to take. It is absolutely necessary, therefore, that all constituent boundary arrangements should be settled before an act of federation is passed."

The Minister of Information, Mr. Ali Mohamed Hirave, at a Press conference on August 4, 1962, had already laid stress on the importance of this pre-condition to a federation: (see Appendix One).

"Our experience with Ethiopia has shown that settlement of boundaries can be one of the most intractable problems between Independent African States. How much more difficult therefore would it be for the Somali State, as a minority in any Federal legislature, to secure agreement for a revision of boundaries after Federation had taken place?"

Mr. Ngala, in reply to the Prime Minister's speech, suggested that it would strengthen the links now being established between Kenya and the Somali Republic if agreement could be reached "to discuss some arrangements that would meet the wishes that are now being expressed from both sides.

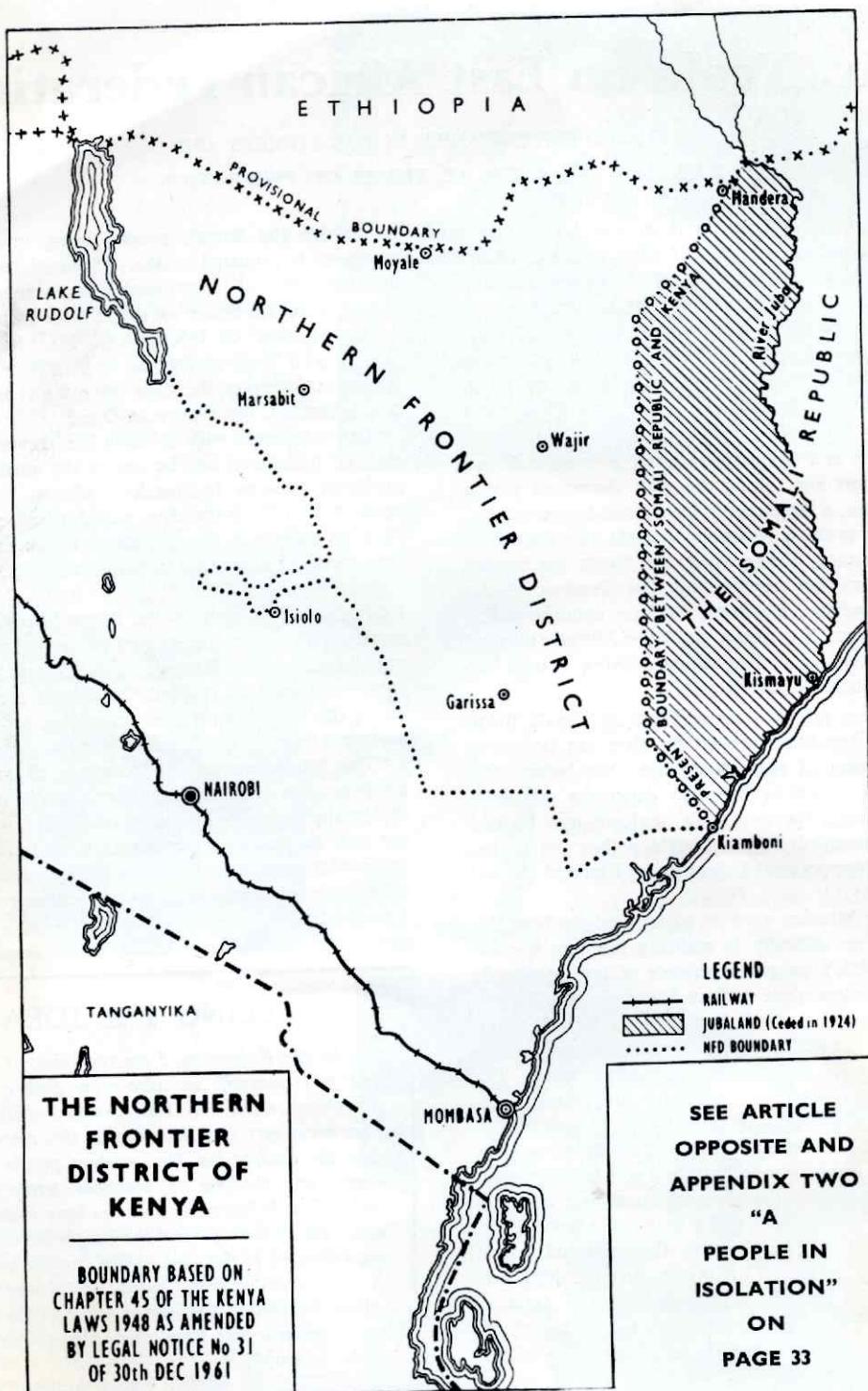
"This would enable the question of independence and federation of East African territories to be discussed. If Somalia agrees to this idea, she will be helping us not only to deal with our constitution and hasten our independence but Somalia will be helping in the hastening of the federation on which so many other problems are dependent."

SELLING THE IDEA

"As for the Federation, I am very pleased to hear that you yourself are advocating Federation as something which is indispensable. Now, this gives me a very real hope that in this country not only the leaders but the common people in the streets are thinking in practical terms of the Federation. It bears out that you have a solid idea about the Federation and the people have become good disciples to this idea. Now very few countries in East Africa or even Central Africa have started selling this idea to the masses and it is due to your encouragement that I see this situation is existing in this country".

Ronald Ngala, August 12, 1962.

*Ronald Ngala, August 12, 1962.



Somali unity and the Northern Frontier District of Kenya

"IF THE MAJORITY OF THE PEOPLE WISH TO BECOME A PART OF INDEPENDENT KENYA WE WILL NOT OBJECT"*

BOTH Mr. Kenyatta and Mr. Ngala, during their respective visits to the Republic, exchanged views with the Somali Government on the demand by the people of the Northern District of Kenya to unite with the Somali Republic.

The Somali Prime Minister said in a speech on July 30, 1962, at the end of Mr. Kenyatta's visit, that the "future of the Northern Frontier District remains one for final settlement by Her Majesty's Government". He explained that an impartial Commission was to be appointed shortly to ascertain the opinion of the people of the N.F.D. regarding their future, and the Prime Minister offered a compromise:

"If this Commission reports that the majority of the people wish to become a part of Independent Kenya we will not object."

He pointed out, on the other hand, that if the people of the N.F.D. wish to join the Somali Republic, the Government would be "happy to see them reunited with their brother Somalis.

"Our hope is that the principle of self-determination will be fully respected and applied to the inhabitants of the N.F.D."

On August 11, 1962, the Prime Minister explained that the principle of self-determination "has been applied in recent years to Togo, to the Cameroons and elsewhere, and there are valid reasons why it should be applied to the N.F.D."

The President of the Republic said on July 28, 1962:

"The principle of self-determination, when used properly to unify and enlarge an existing State with a view towards its absorption in a federal system of government is neither balkanisation nor fragmentation. It is a major contribution to unity and stability, and totally consistent with the concept of pan-Africanism."

President Aden Abdulla Osman explained in a speech on August 16, 1962, the reason why the Somalis had an irresistible urge to unite. He spoke first about the natural evolution of political parties in the State:

"Many generations of our people, born and bred in circumstances which have had their glory and their perils, have warned us of the corrupting influence of

*Abdirashid Ali Shermarke, Prime Minister of the Somali Republic, July 30, 1962.

power. In times of danger, when great issues were at stake, our forebears welcomed a leader who could command their respect. But no sooner had the threat passed, the leader vanished. Men in council took his place. Thus no tyrant has survived among us.

"It is natural, therefore, that we should have many political parties in this country; for they provide the time-honoured checks and balances which safeguard the people from the frailties of human nature."

The President then said that the people's belief in Somali democracy was not drawn from the political ideologies of their former colonial masters, but from a knowledge of their own social and political system, of its strength and weaknesses.

"Our ancestors," he said, "developed a society which respected every man's right to play his part, according to his ability, in the affairs of his country. They scorned the man who attempted to be superior to his fellow men, and quelled the ambitions of potential dictators. Compromise was their aim, for only compromise and tolerance brought peace, prosperity and happiness."

The President regretted that many other African independent States, "because of the intolerances that are inevitable among a heterogeneous populace," have had to resort, for the sake of cohesion, to a single party system of Government. "Others forbid politics altogether", he said.

"After two years and more of our independence, we are proud to be exercising the same democratic ideals as we inherited from our forefathers.

"It is this factor, among others, that gives us, the Somali people, the irresistible urge to live with each other

URGENT DESIRE

"I am certain that our distinguished guests are aware of our urgent desire to associate ourselves with a political Federation of East African countries. This desire had been given formal expression by the President of the Republic and we visualise that this Federation would be the first practical step towards the greater ideal of Pan-Africanism".

Jama Abdillahi Ghalib
President, National Assembly,
August 13, 1962.



The President (Mr. Adan Abdulla Osman) offers a toast to Mr. Kenyatta at the state dinner given at Villa Somalia, the President's residence in Mogadishu



Despatch riders who accompanied Mr. Kenyatta during his visit



The President chats with Mr. Kenyatta

and to look after each other, irrespective of the artificial boundaries that divide us. It is not surprising therefore that Somalis, not only in the Northern Frontier District of Kenya, but in French Somaliland and in Ethiopia, have a longing in their hearts to be reunited. Nor is it surprising that we, in this Republic, are impelled by the same spirit to go out and to give succour to those who are in need of us."

Finally, the President referred to a discussion that he had had with President Nkrumah about these matters in October, 1961, and recalled their joint communique:

"The imperative need to restore ethnic, cultural and economic links, arbitrarily destroyed through the partitioning of Africa by the colonialists".

"Very touchy question"

Mr. Kenyatta, in a speech at the Mogadishu airport on the day of his departure, referred to the Northern Frontier District of Kenya as a "very touchy question" but the two sides, he said, had discussed it in a "very brotherly and friendly manner."

"We, and especially KANU, feel, and we have put it clearly before the Somali Government, that we regard the N.F.D. as part of Kenya. We also regard Somalis who live in the N.F.D. and elsewhere in Kenya as our brothers. They are part and parcel of Kenya and we will like them to live in Kenya in that fashion."

Mr. Kenyatta added that the Somalis had lived in the N.F.D. for many years and that there had never been any quarrel or any friction between them and the others in Kenya. "This is a question," said Mr. Kenyatta, "which we can discuss with the Somalis in the N.F.D., this being a domestic affair of Kenya".

At a Press conference on August 8, 1962, the Minister of Information, Mr. Ali Mohamed Hirave, said that Mr. Kenyatta had referred inaccurately to the N.F.D. "as part and parcel of Kenya".

"I wish to state emphatically that the N.F.D. has always been under a separate administration in Kenya. The inhabitants are required to obtain special permission

COLONIAL CREATION

"I am aware of the feelings of your people on this question. I do believe that much of the misunderstandings that have divided us and tended to turn us into enemies were created by the colonial and imperialist efforts of the white men. Now that these are on their way out, is it necessary for us to engage in the same tactics? No, Sir. I hope that we shall settle our problems as brothers, and that visits between your country and mine should be made more frequent so that our ties are strengthened."

Ronald Ngala, August 13, 1962.

DEMOCRATIC PRINCIPLES

"As to our attitude to an East African Federation, I must state unequivocally that the unification of the Somali people and their territory must be concluded before this Republic can contemplate joining the proposed East African Federation; and secondly, that, in accordance with our traditions, we could only take part in a wider Federation if it is based on sound democratic principles."

Abdirashid Ali Sharmarke
Prime Minister, August 17, 1962.

to leave the area and they are not allowed to acquire schooling in Kenya, nor to seek employment there. They are a people in total isolation from the rest of Kenya. It is administered differently from the rest of Kenya and practises an entirely different way of life. No federal system will ever change people's habits and customs. It would be undesirable to do so."

The Minister also observed that the British Government had admitted that there were international implications, adding:

"Since we are the only African State with a legitimate interest in this matter, we consider that we have every right to express our point of view and to render whatever assistance is needed by the N.F.D."

"A domestic affair"

The Prime Minister remarked on Mr. Kenyatta's comment that the N.F.D. was a "domestic affair" of Kenya in a speech on August 17, 1962:

"The phrase 'interference in domestic affairs' is used, surely, as a protective shield by Colonial powers to obstruct the freedom of subjects. If it can now legitimately be used by Africans, I must state publicly that any external opposition to Somali reunification is considered as interference in the domestic affairs of the Somali people."

The Prime Minister, in a speech on August 11, 1962, also felt that it was his duty to explain that it is the British Government alone that carries the responsibility to do what is just to the people of the N.F.D. and to put into practice the principle of self-determination.

"By so doing the British Government will avoid repeating the grievous errors of the past; when, for example, she twice handed over Somali territory to Ethiopia, thus compromising the relations between these two countries."

Referring to an ominous threat to peace in this part of Africa, the Prime Minister said:

"Since our independence, the consequences of these injustices have brought about the merciless and unprecedented slaughter of many of our subjects by the land and airforces of a neighbouring African State. I must give a

Girl students line the streets to welcome Mr. Kenyatta and his delegation ►



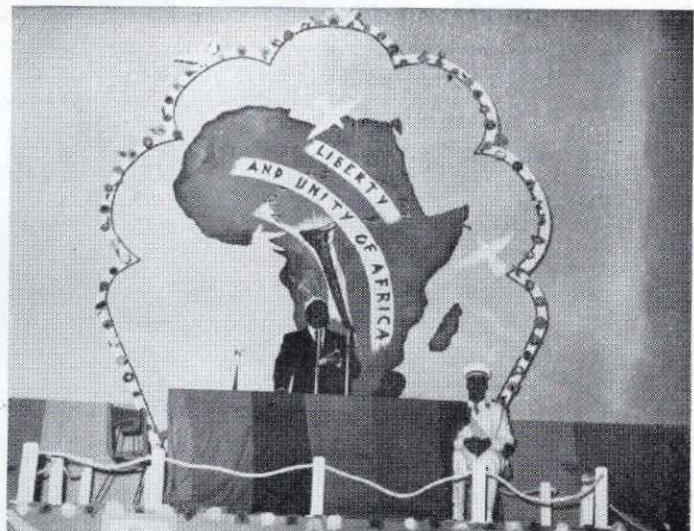
A Kanu member of the Kenya Legislative Council (Mr. B. Maisori) dances with one of his hostesses during a reception given by the Somali Women's Association. Mr. Kenyatta's son, Peter, (third from right) is evidently enjoying himself. On the left (in white shirt) is Dr. Njoroge
◀ *Mungai of Kanu*

Mr. Kenyatta speaks at a reception given by the Somali Youth League. Sitting at the table are, from right, the Sudanese Ambassador, the Ghanaian Chargé d'Affaire and the Chargé d'Affaire of the United Arab Republic. ►





Procession of Somali students welcoming
Mr. Kenyatta during his visit to
Mogadishu



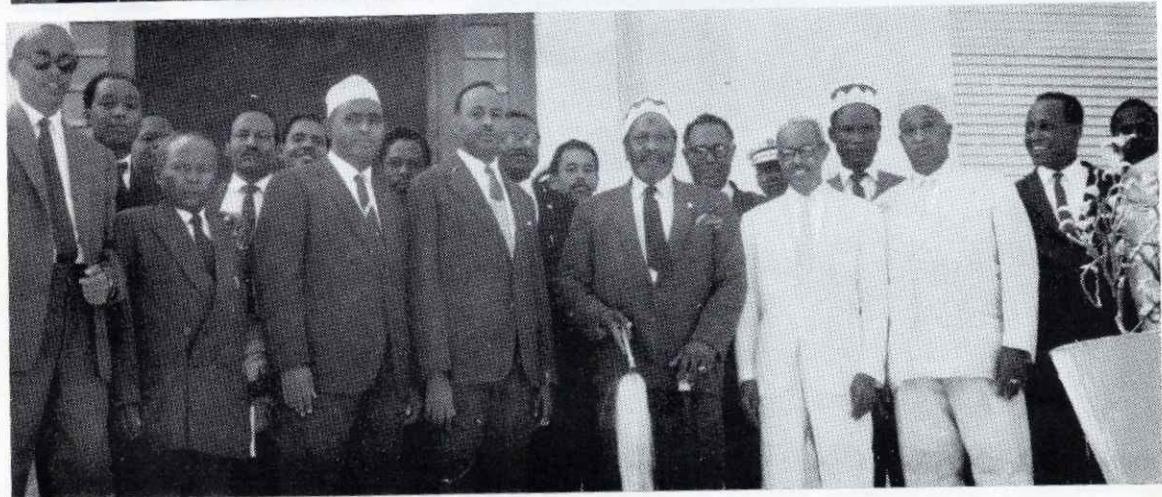
Mr. Kenyatta speaks at the Cinema
Hamar in Mogadishu ►



Mr. Kenyatta flanked by
Somali dancers



Last scenes during Mr. Kenyatta's visit. Top left: at a state reception; top right: receiving the Freedom of Mogadishu; left: bidding farewell to the Foreign Minister; below: the President takes leave of Mr. Kenyatta and his delegation



"CONVEY TO OUR BROTHERS"

"We expect nothing from you except that you convey objectively to our brothers in Kenya, as I know you will, all that you have seen and all that you believed to be true. In particular that slogan that you saw in Hargeisa which read 'N.F.D. for us and beside you for ever'."

Aden Abdulla Osman
President, August 16, 1962.

solemn warning that, whilst this dispute remains unresolved, it presents an ominous threat to peace in this part of Africa."

Mr. Ngala, in a speech on August 11, 1962, said that he felt that the people of the Northern Frontier of Kenya, under the previous Constitution, were not sufficiently integrated with those living in the South. He thought that self-determination "which was not adequately ventilated" can now be safely expressed under Regional arrangements.

"There is no reason why Somalis in the Northern Province should fear anything. It is possible for their problems to be discussed and indeed to be negotiated in a way satisfactory to all concerned."

Mr. Ngala said on August 16, 1962, that under the type of Constitution that Kenya is working upon, each Region is protected from unnecessary interference from the centre and that the Somali problem in the N.F.D. need not create any fears.

"With regard to the question you raise about the N.F.D., we have given the people of that area an opportunity to say what they wish, and with further discussions I hope we can come to some arrangements satisfactory to all parties concerned."

Again on August 17, 1962, the day Mr. Ngala and his colleagues were returning to Kenya, he repeated his hope that arrangements satisfactory to all parties concerned could be made, and said that autonomous

regions "comprising the people who wish to live together in Kenya, and providing for the rights of the minorities, can be a solution to the problems of suspicion, problems of fear, problems of insecurity, and even problems of secession, as expressed by different groups in Kenya."

The Prime Minister said that he was particularly pleased that Mr. Ngala had expressed the hope that arrangements for the N.F.D., satisfactory to all parties concerned, could be reached; but in a reference to "Somali fears" in the N.F.D., the Prime Minister said on August 17, 1962:

"The N.F.D. question is not new, Sir. It dates back to 1943 when the Somali Youth League was formed. The League's branches in the N.F.D. were proscribed by the Kenya Government five years later because of the vociferous demands by the people of the N.F.D. to unite with their brother Somalis. Many leaders were imprisoned and eight were exiled to a remote corner of the province. They were released only last year. So you see, Sir, it is not so much fear of tyranny that drives the people of the N.F.D. towards us (they have experienced that already), but an old and natural desire to reunite. A burning desire which neither time nor adversity has stifled. But their patience, Sir, is now almost exhausted."

"I MUST BE FRANK"

"I must also be frank about the future and tell you this: As soon as the N.F.D. Commission has reported faithfully on the wishes of the people, and provided they wish to unite with the Somali Republic, we shall advise the British Government that the Somali Republic, in recognising the right of self-determination of the people of the N.F.D., is prepared to accept as its own duty, and as quickly as possible, the assumption of sovereignty over the territory and people in question. In our view this is a matter for the British Government alone."

Abdirashid Ali Sharmarke
Prime Minister, August 17, 1962.

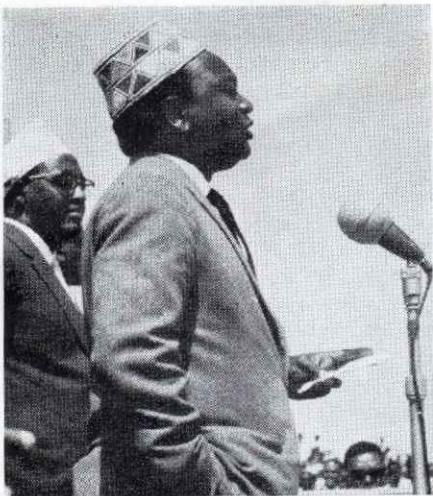
A final tribute

THESE political arguments voiced during the visits of the distinguished African leaders demonstrate that frankness matched with realism and logic cannot destroy the inherent friendliness and sense of oneness that was the dominant theme throughout. In a final tribute to Mr. Ngala, who, like Mr. Kenyatta, was awarded the Star of Somali Solidarity, President Aden Abdulla Osman said on August 16, 1962:

"We have witnessed a personal triumph by the leader of the Kenya African Democratic Union. Mr. Ngala

arrived less than a week ago. He was not then so well known to the Somali people. Tomorrow, however, he leaves us surrounded by an aura which betokens the respect and admiration of all of us.

"Neither wealth nor power pervade his personality. This humble and honourable man could bring nothing to please us, nothing to flatter us, except a good heart and a good mind. We have experienced both in fine and equal measure, and we have liked them".



“.....Today we are friendly neighbours to the Somalis but I believe that tomorrow we shall be one family....” Mr. Ngala replies to the Prime Minister’s address of welcome at the Airport



The Prime Minister takes the chair in the Cabinet Room during discussions with Mr. Ngala and his Kadu delegation



Girls and boys give a display of traditional dancing at a reception given by the Police and Army Officers at their Club in Mogadishu ►

What the two African Leaders said about the Somali Republic

NEW SPIRIT

"Although your independence is only two years old, the signs of a new spirit, vigour and development are clearly visible. I was particularly impressed this morning by the efficiency of the Police under their able Officers."

Jomo Kenyatta, July 26, 1962.



BRIGHT FUTURE

"Mr. President, when we came here we said that we would come to look, to see and to learn. We have seen your Ministers at work. We have seen you, Sir, and the other colleagues of yours in Hargeisa, Kismayu and here in Mogadishu. We have confidence in your set-up, and I can see a very bright future for Somalia."

Ronald Ngala, August 16, 1962.



GOOD PICTURE

"I have seen a very good picture of what I would like to run in Kenya. Those who are with me will bear witness to what we have seen today. We have been in a school learning and what we have learned we shall carry home with us".

Jomo Kenyatta, July 26, 1962.



CORDIAL RELATIONS

"As to our general relation between us and the Somali Republic it is very cordial. I think we regard one another as brothers and we wish to continue as such."

"Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, having said that, I don't want to say many words because my heart is full of joy for the treatment we have received from Mogadishu and also from the people outside Mogadishu. Everywhere, people have shown us genuine kindness, hospitality and happiness".

Jomo Kenyatta, July 30, 1962.



DEDICATION TO DEMOCRACY

"You have demonstrated to us in practical terms your dedication to democracy. In this country, Presidents, Ministers, traders, drivers, etc. are easily mixed and eat together, you are really a democratic country, traditionally and constitutionally. This is the ideology that my party KADU stands for in Kenya".

Ronald Ngala, August 17, 1962.



Left: One of the many processions which marched through the streets of Mogadishu during the independence celebrations on July 1, 1960. Above: Somali troops on manoeuvres practise loading this modern semi-automatic anti-aircraft gun. The Somali Republic's Army is small but highly trained and efficient



*Above: dhows riding at anchor at Berbera in the Northern Region of the Republic
Right: The Somali Republic's National Assembly building in Mogadishu*



How others see us

(Published in the *East African Standard*, July 11, 1962)

FEI HSIN, an officer of the Chinese Army, accompanied a fleet of junks on a voyage to Mogadishu in 1421. In a book called "The Triumphant Visions of the Starry Raft", he described Mogadishu as a city with houses four or five storeys high. He noted that "the inhabitants practise archery".

On any Friday, if you take the road to Mogadishu from the south, you will see, as you rise to the summit of a hill overlooking the capital, a squad of archers practising their ancient art.

Perhaps even more unexpected, if you look at the skyline from the same point, with the city and the ocean sunk beneath your view, you will see the top of a factory chimney and a cathedral tower.

None of this is typical of the Somali Republic. Bows and arrows as a means of war were discarded long ago, factories are regrettably few in number and, despite the cathedral, Islam is practised to the almost entire exclusion of other creeds. But the contrasts and paradoxes still remain.

This two-year-old African State has achieved the near-impossible—two independent States, using different official languages and having utterly dissimilar methods of administration, including disparate fiscal and tariff systems, have united under one flag and one Government without any administrative preparation at all.

The Northern Region of the Somali Republic was formerly British Somaliland. Two years ago, with only three months' notice and with unparalleled speed, the country was swiftly transformed into an independent State and the entire administration passed into Somali hands.

Contrast

In contrast, the Southern Region, which was administered by Italy under a United Nations Trusteeship, moved for ten years along a pre-determined course towards independence in 1960.

Until almost the last moment the pundits in Rome, London and New York envisaged an independent Somalia in 1960, with British Somaliland lagging behind under colonial administration for another three years at least.

Even then, doubts were expressed about the practicability of the two territories uniting. Some authorities went so far as to suggest that the Somalis did not in fact wish to unite.

After Mr. Ernest Bevin, the British Foreign Secretary, had failed in 1946 to convince the world powers that Somalis should be "lumped together as a trust territory" no further encouragement was given to the Somalis of Somalia and British Somaliland to come together.

Italy regained control of her former Somali colony in 1950, Ethiopia acquired the Somali Ogaden and the British continued to administer the Somali Protectorate south of the Gulf of Aden.

Any mention in these regions of "Greater Somalia" was from then on taboo in European and Ethiopian official circles.

The Somali political parties, which continued to advocate the unity of all the Somali people, were thus proscribed by the French and the Ethiopians and by the British in the Northern Frontier District of Kenya.

No European policy for the future of their respective Somali territories could now be determined without taking into account "international implications" and there was thus the minimum of co-ordination between them.

In other words the interests of a divided people were subordinated to the interests of good relations between the European Powers concerned and Ethiopia.

Unexpected Independence

By 1960, however, the strength of Somali nationalism succeeded in forcing the issue of Somali unity when British Somaliland achieved its unexpected independence and voluntarily united with Somalia.

But the detrimental effect on the Somali people of the lack of co-operation and of the sensitivity of the colonial powers towards each other and towards Ethiopia was yet to be discovered.

The cautious and perhaps logical approach to a political union between two sovereign States is first an analysis of the administrative, economic and fiscal problems of such a union, followed by acceptable solutions, before an Act of Union is passed.

Whether by instinct or design, this approach was abandoned by the respective political leaders of former Somaliland and Somalia in favour of immediate union.

Problems of Union

This presented immediate political problems. What was to be the allocation of seats in a joint Parliament? Which of the two Constitutions would prevail? Should there be new elections?



Miss Nura Mariano greets Mr. Ngala at a reception given by the Somali Women's Association. On the left is the Organising Secretary, Mrs. Michael Mariano, wife of the Public Notary. The Association presented Mr. Ngala with some hand-woven cloth



Wearing Somali national dress, Mr. Ngala has lunch at Afgoi in the traditional Somali manner



Crowds give the Kadu delegation a warm welcome at Afgoi where they were entertained to lunch by the Republic's seven political parties

In the event, there were no fresh elections, Somalia's Constitution was adopted and the former members of Somaliland's legislature joined their colleagues in Mogadishu.

By so doing they accepted one quarter of the total seats in Parliament. Adan Abdulla Osman was elected President of the Republic at a joint meeting of the newly-integrated legislature on July 1, 1960.

This was followed by weeks of political jockeying before the President was able to appoint Abdirashid Ali Sharmarke, Prime Minister. He was considered to be the person most likely to be able to form a coalition government which would command the support of the newly integrated parliament.

The same Government is still in power today. Although there have been many trials and vicissitudes the Somali achievement lies in the fact that the President, in his wisdom, has never departed from the course of constitutional propriety. The Government has skilfully managed to withstand the first shocks of nationhood, better perhaps than many other newly-independent African States.

Liberal Constitution

It is a Government which sticks to the rules of its Constitution, one of the most liberal in Africa, and bows to the will of its elected Members of Parliament.

It has shown an unexpected political tolerance and maturity. Though still far from perfect, it has had the good sense to accept and act upon valid criticism.

This is not altogether surprising because democratic conduct in political affairs has always been part of the Somali social system. Any leanings in the past towards the exercise of individual power have usually been successfully forestalled. "The desert physician makes short work of the man with ambition"!

What of the problems of administration?

The official languages, English in the North and Italian in the South, have proved to be one of the major obstacles to a speedy integration of Civil Service practice and administration of justice.

The criminal and the civil procedure codes, which have had to be entirely re-written under the guidance of a United Nations legal expert, have had to be translated into both European languages, as are the proceedings in Parliament and the official gazette which, as an added complication, have also to be translated into Arabic.

This is because the Somali language has not yet been developed as a written language, though positive efforts are being made in this direction.

Police and Army

In spite of these problems, great strides have already been made by the police and the national army to integrate their respective units with personnel from the North and the South. The former British-trained

Somali Regiment, for example, is almost entirely officered by Southerners, with Italian training, and the police force is now totally integrated with a Southern Somali Commandant and a Northern Deputy Commissioner.

The two former independent police forces have now been successfully dove-tailed into one national police force.

Two very different systems of administration are practised in the Northern and in the Southern regions. This has been most marked in the comparative systems of control of public funds.

Solvency

New financial regulations which have been introduced recently, such as the establishment of a Central Tender Board and other measures to control public expenditure, have reduced the country's overdraft with the National Bank by some £500,000 since February this year.

It will be a great triumph for the Republic if it can be independent of budgetary aid by 1964. Experts are hopeful that this can be achieved.

The Government has also taken an important step in economic development. A Planning Commission for Social and Economic Development has been established to co-ordinate foreign aid which now totals £30 million in grants and loans.

Foreign Aid

Russia is offering to develop, on a State farm system, cereals, cotton and oil seeds.

The United Nations Food and Agricultural Organisation is concentrating on storage facilities for grain to stabilise the industry and increase productivity by guaranteeing prices.

The United States is undertaking a £2,500,000 project to provide berthing facilities at the port of Kismayu following an economic survey of the fertile regions between the Juba and Shabelli Rivers.

The United Nations Special Fund is carrying out an hydrological survey of the same area and the European Common Market, likewise Russia, Britain, Italy and the United States are all offering to develop the Republic's water resources which are vital to a pastoral economy.

Among new industries which are to be developed by foreign aid, the U.A.R. is providing an abattoir with refrigerating facilities, a weaving and spinning factory, and is developing a new sugar and cement industry.

Russia is providing loans for the establishment of a cotton gin, a meat and a fish canning plant and a dairy factory.

The European Common Market has built and is equipping a modern hospital with 800 beds and Russia is establishing two hospitals in the Republic with 50 beds each.

Russia is also building a secondary boarding school in Mogadishu and an agricultural school for the better management of livestock.

*Crowds gather in the streets to give
Mr. Ngala a big welcome*



*Mr. Musa Amalemba, a Kadu member
of the Kenya Legislative Council, and
Mr. M. Shikuku, take a stroll in the
streets*

*The Kadu delegation alight
at Hargeisa Airport*



The U.S. is establishing a teacher training institute and is developing plans for a multipurpose secondary school combining academic and vocational training.

The U.S. is also assisting with the construction of a new police training school and training officers and men of the police force in various techniques of police study.

The U.A.R. has some 200 teachers in the field. The United States Agency for International Development is about to begin a manpower resource study project, requested by the Minister of Education.

Common Market

As for the development of communications, the European Common Market is building tarmac roads to link the ports of Kismayu and Merca with neighbouring banana-growing areas.

The United States is developing port facilities in Mogadishu, and Russia is surveying the possibility of expanding the port of Berbera. Russia is also providing a 50Kw radio transmitting station, together with a new printing press, for the Ministry of Information.

Britain, apart from providing budgetary aid, has undertaken to construct an asphalt airport at Hargeisa and will renew the Berbera power station.

The U.S., together with assistance from Italy, is providing extensive facilities for police radio communications.

In addition, the United States will be giving the police two patrol boats for anti-smuggling operations and the Republic is to receive from the U.S. three aircraft to meet its urgent need for an internal air service.

In addition to this foreign aid, the Republic is assured of credit facilities from Czechoslovakia amounting to £1,500,000, plans for which have not as yet been completed.

Livestock and Agriculture

Of course, the mainstay of the Republic's economy is still livestock and agriculture—21.4 per cent of the total export trade is in livestock exported from Berbera to markets in the Arabian Peninsula; and 44.6 per cent of the export trade consists of bananas grown in the river regions of the south and exported to Italy.

There is still a deficit balance of trade because a disproportionate percentage (about 70 per cent) of the country's imports are foodstuffs.

Development planning is therefore directed towards increasing the livestock and agricultural potential of the country in order to expand the export trade and to secure for the country less dependence on imported goods.

Bananas

The banana industry, based on the Juba and Shabelli Rivers, is the main source of foreign currency—though regrettably inconvertable—and it is in order to expand

this valuable industry that the Kismayu port is being developed and roads are being built. The Banana industry is subsidised by Italy which imports the high-grade Somali banana exclusively.

The Food and Agriculture Organisation is also examining a new process, developed by West Germany, for the manufacture of sacks from the soft fibres of the banana tree.

Furthermore a new experimental banana is being produced which has a tougher skin and can therefore withstand better the rough carriage from planter to consumer.

Beating Previous Records

The livestock industry in the North, being another source of convertible foreign currency, is also gaining ground in the economy of the country; for the revenue derived from this export trade has, for two years running, beaten all previous records held by the former British Protectorate administration. The increase in the Republic's revenues since independence amounts to £700,000.

The Republic has one of the longest coastlines in Africa and the development of the fishing industry is examined by West Germany.

Minerals appear to be scarce, but investigations by a British team of geologists have located the existence of some two to three million tons of iron ore with a 35 per cent iron content.

The United Nations Technical Assistance Board is to provide the bulk of assistance (about £100,000) to carry the exploitation of this ore to a stage where investment becomes possible.

The generation of hydro-electric power in the high-rainfall areas of the Northern escarpments has been proposed with a view to exploiting vast gypsum deposits near Berbera.

The possibility of oil deposits is also being explored by the American Sinclair Oil Company.

By and large, therefore, the Somali Republic, though widely considered to be an arid, inhospitable and non-viable country, has in fact many natural resources which require only capital to develop them and the willingness of the Somali people to work them.

Racial Harmony

In Mogadishu, the white races live in harmony with their hospitable Somali hosts and, as the Roman Catholic Cathedral bell tolls each hour of the day, one is reminded, not of stress and conflict in this Muslim country, but of a civilised standard of tolerance and good fellowship.

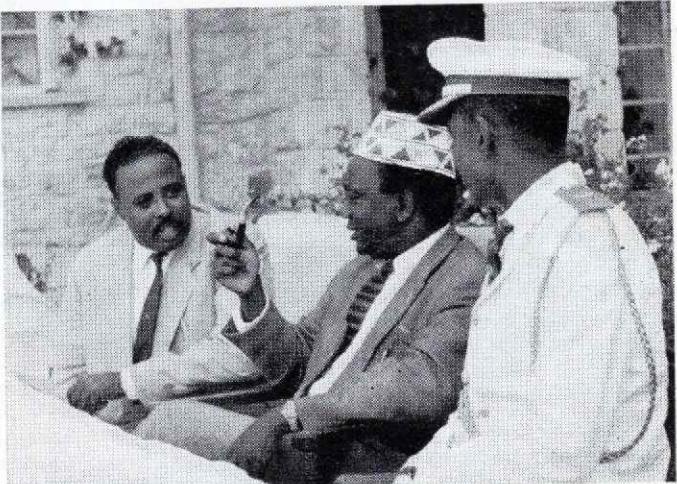
All of which augurs well for the future of this African State, now trying for all it is worth to get together on equal terms with its friendly neighbours in Kenya and East Africa as a whole.

During his visit to Hargeisa, Mr. Ngala takes the salute from a guard of honour drawn from a detachment of the Somali Regiment of the Northern Regions. Like most of the armed forces of the Republic, they are entirely officered by Somalis. The Commanding Officer, Colonel Mohamed Ainashe, is in the foreground ►



On Arrival, at Hargeisa, Mr. Ngala walks with the President of the National Assembly (left) and the Minister of Education ◀

Mr. Ngala talks with the Regional Governor (Mr. Ismail Dualeh Warsame) during his visit to Hargelsa ►



APPENDIX ONE

Summary of the Somali Government's view of the N.F.D. question

Statement made by the Minister of Information at
a Press Conference in Mogadishu on August 4, 1962.

"THE MAIN ISSUES ARE:

One; A political federation of East and Central African States is an absolute necessity if we are to safeguard our dearly won liberty and to play a positive role in African and world affairs.

Two; We visualize a federation in which all the Somali people will form one federal unit in the wider federation of East and Central African States.

Three; We know that the Somali people would be happier and more contented if their administration, judicial system and social services, such as education, were "tailor-made", so to speak, to fit their particular environment and way of life.

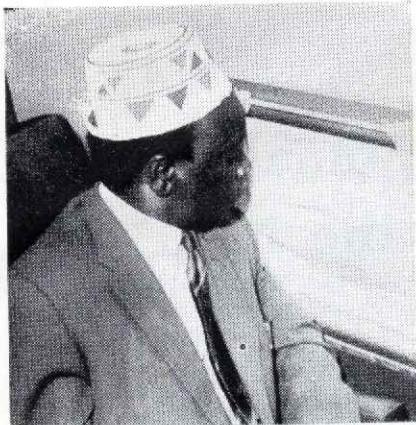
Four; It is not, however, the Government's intention to force Somalis, at present under alien rule, to reunite against their will. For this reason, the Government welcomes the Commission that is being appointed by Her Majesty's Government to ascertain the views of the people in the Northern Frontier District of Kenya as to their future. If this Commission reports that the majority of the people wish to become a part of Independent Kenya, the Government will not object. On the other hand, if the people wish to join the Somali Republic the Government will be happy to see them reunited with their brother Somalis. The principle of self-determination was accepted and implemented by the British Government, and by the United Nations, in the case of the Cameroons, where the opportunity was given for the inhabitants to decide their future. We are aware that the N.F.D. is not a Trust Territory but the principle still obtains. We insist that the principle of self-determination be fully respected and applied before Kenya becomes independent.

Five; What is the reason for this insistence? It is this: in all Federal Constitutions the boundaries of

Federal States can only be revised by the sanction of the Federal Parliament. The time for revising boundaries is thus *before* Federation. Our experience with Ethiopia has shown that settlement of boundaries can be one of the most intractable problems between Independent African States. How much more difficult therefore would it be for the Somali State, as a minority in any Federal legislature, to secure agreement for a revision of boundaries *after* Federation had taken place?

It is inaccurate of Mr. Kenyatta to refer to the N.F.D. 'as part and parcel' of Kenya. I wish to state emphatically that the N.F.D. has always been under a separate administration in Kenya. The inhabitants are required to obtain special permission to leave the area and they are not allowed to acquire schooling in Kenya, nor to seek employment there. There, are a people in total isolation from the rest of Kenya. It is administered differently from the rest of Kenya and practises an entirely different way of life. No federal system will ever change people's habits and customs. It would be undesirable to do so. The booklet produced by the political parties in the N.F.D. (quoted in Appendix 2) sets out in more detail the feelings of the N.F.D. people.

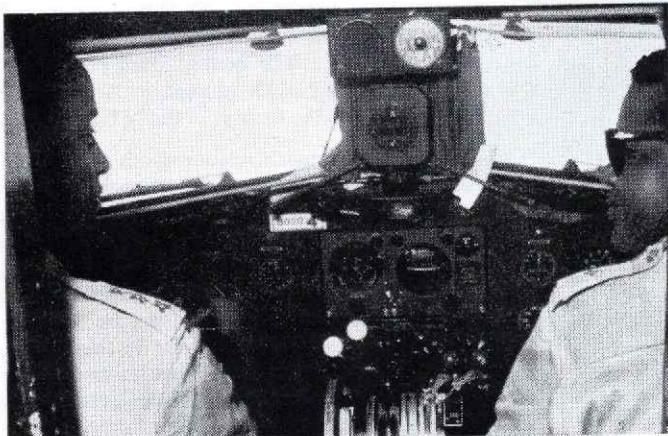
As for this Government's relations with the N.F.D. I must point out that we have a constitutional obligation to assist our people to reunite and we shall not shrink from this obligation. The problem is, of course, one between the N.F.D. and Her Majesty's Government, but, as Her Majesty's Government has admitted, there are international implications. Since we are the only African State with a legitimate interest in this matter, we consider that we have every right to express our point of view and to render whatever assistance is needed by the N.F.D."



*Top left: Mr. Ngala flies by
Somali aircraft to the Port
of Kismayu*



*Hanging out the Republic's flag to
welcome Mr. Ngala at a new hotel at
Kismayu*

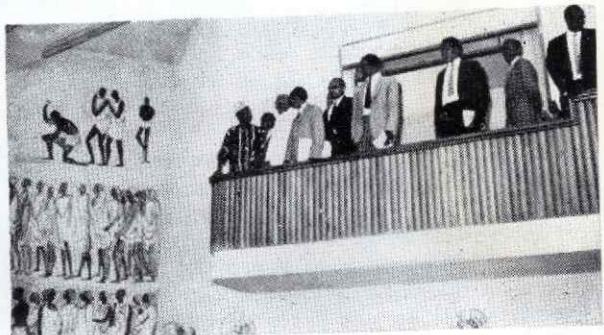


*Somali pilots (Captain Ali Mattan,
pilot, left) carried the Kadu delegation
1000 miles from Hareisa to Kismayu*



Left: Before a large audience, including the Diplomatic Corps, Mr. Ngala speaks at a state reception.

Below: A mural depicting Somali traditional life dominates the scene in the National Assembly as Mr. Ngala and his delegation look down from a balcony



Mr. Ngala stands with the President after receiving from him the Star of Somali Solidarity. From left: Mr. Sheik Aziz Alamoody, a Kadu member of the Kenya Legislative Council, Mr. E. E. Khasakhala, another Kadu member of the Kenya L.C. and (far right) the Prime Minister

was bartered to further Britain's imperial interests at the expense of Somali unity. Britain handed over 25,000 square miles of Somali territory to Abyssinia in 1897 in defiance of earlier agreements protecting the independence of the Somali people. Again in 1935 Britain offered to surrender Somali territory to both Italy and Abyssinia so that His Imperial Majesty the Emperor of Ethiopia could be "compensated" for having made territorial concessions to the Italians.

In 1941, after Britain had driven the Italians out of the Somali peninsula, she brought the Somali people under one administration. Britain's Foreign Minister, Mr. Ernest Bevin, sensibly pleaded that all Somalis should be united. Pressure from Ethiopia and from other nations whose interests conflicted with Somali unity proved too much for Britain. She thus abandoned the Somali Ogaden in 1948 and the Somali Haud in 1954.

The transfer of Jubaland to Italy in 1925 turned out, as it happened, to be the first step towards Somali reunification, for Jubaland is now part of the independent Somali Republic. The next step was taken by Britain in 1960 when she granted independence to British Somaliland so that it might unite with former Somalia, a United Nations Trusteeship Territory administered by

Italy. We demand the same right to unite with the Somali Republic now.

There is nothing new in this. We demanded the unity of all Somalis a decade and more ago but our voices were silenced when our most active political party, the Somali Youth League, was proscribed by the Kenya Government in 1948. From 1948-1960 no political parties were permitted in the N.F.D.

As far back as 1905 Sir Charles Eliot, the British Commissioner for the East Africa Protectorate, wrote*:

If it were possible to detach the districts inhabited by Somalis it would be an excellent thing to form them into a separate government as they are different in population, economic and physical conditions from the other provinces; but, unfortunately, they are too small to form a separate administration, and the adjoining Somali territories are not British.

No, they are now Somali! If Britain does not permit us to unite with the Somali Republic she will be guilty once again of yielding to the interests of short-term expediency at the expense of the unity of the Somali people. Together with our brothers we shall resist any further betrayal of our birthright.

*Eliot, C., *The East Africa Protectorate*, 1905.

APPENDIX THREE

Excerpts from resolutions adopted by All-African People's Conference

Frontiers, Boundaries and Federations

"... All-African People's Conference (a) denounces artificial frontiers drawn by imperialist Powers to divide the peoples of Africa, particularly those which cut across ethnic groups and divide people of the same stock;

(b) calls for the abolition or adjustment of such frontiers at an early date;

(c) calls upon the Independent States of Africa to support permanent solution to this problem founded upon the true wishes of the people".

Accra, December 5-13, 1958

Resolution on Somaliland

"... The Conference after a careful survey of the situation in Somaliland artificially divided,

Denounces the colonial repression which is dealt with in this country.

Hails and supports the struggle of the people of Somaliland for independence and unity in order to give birth to a bigger Somaliland.

Requests the immediate liberation of detained patriots"

Tunis, February 25-29, 1960

African Unity and Solidarity

The Third All-African People's Conference starts with the consideration that: . . . 'this unity must emanate from the freely expressed will of African peoples. . . .'

Cairo, March 23-31, 1961

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The Mayor of Mogadishu presents Mr. Ngala with an ivory key on his receiving the Freedom of the City



Farewell scenes of Mr. Ngala's visit.

President Adan Abdulla Osman bids farewell (below) to Mr. Ngala and his Kadu delegation

A farewell speech by Mr. Ngala in which he spoke of the Somali Republic as "....really a democratic country, traditional and constitutionally....". The dais is draped with Kadu's red, white and green flag. From left: the Minister of Agriculture, (Mr. Ali Gerad Jama), the Minister of Information (Mr. Ali Mohamed Hirave), the Minister of Foreign Affairs, the Personal Representative of the Secretary-General of the United Nations (Mr. Mohamed Asfar) and the Somali Consul-General in Nairobi



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