The original documents are located in Box 4, folder “Somalia - President Mohammed Siad Barre” of the National Security Adviser’s Presidential Correspondence with Foreign Leaders Collection at the Gerald R. Ford Presidential Library.

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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

February 25, 1976

Dear Mr. President:

Thank you for your letter of January 9, which I have read with interest. I am pleased to hear that in your view the relations between our two countries have improved. This has been my desire, and the United States Government will continue to work toward this goal.

It is in this spirit that we have renewed an aid program for Somalia. I have asked Ambassador Loughran and other American officials to meet with Somali officials to complete the necessary preliminary work leading to agreement on how the aid funds will be utilized.

The question of Djibouti which you raised is an important and urgent one requiring careful consideration. The United States Government will be following closely the developments relating to the coming independence of that territory, and will consult with Somalia and other governments which have a direct and special interest in this area. It is our desire to cooperate with all the parties in the region to support peace and stability. It would be indeed unfortunate if independence were to bring disturbance and conflict rather than benefits to the people of that territory and its neighbors.

Your comments on Angola and the Indian Ocean prompt me to repeat that we believe it to be in the interests of all concerned that Africa not be the scene of military competition between the great powers. This has been, and will continue to be, our consistent policy. We regret that others have not always exercised the restraint required for the success of this policy.
I was pleased that you have reaffirmed Somalia's policy of non-alignment. I believe that implementation of such a policy will foster the better relations we both seek, and I hope that we will shortly see further evidence of our improved relations in multilateral as well as in bilateral matters.

I extend best wishes to you and the Somali people and reciprocate your desire that during 1976 significant strides be made toward the achievement of peace and justice throughout the world.

Sincerely,

[Signature]

His Excellency
Major General Mohamed Siad Barre
President of the Supreme Revolutionary Council
of the Somali Democratic Republic
Mogadiscio
MEMORANDUM FOR: THE PRESIDENT
FROM: Brent Scowcroft
SUBJECT: Proposed Reply to Letter from President Siad of Somalia

President Siad wrote you January 9 to review U.S./Somalia relations and to discuss the French Territory of Afars and Issas (FTAI), the Indian Ocean and Angola (Tab B).

On the question of Afars and Issas, President Siad indicates that his policy is to encourage independence without conditions and to oppose, as incompatible with true independence, a continued French military base in the port city of Djibouti.

President Siad supports the concept of a zone of peace in the Indian Ocean and opposes the establishment of any military bases which would introduce great power rivalry to the area. On Angola he observes that the MPLA represents the majority of the Angolan people and has received a "majority of international recognition." He calls on the U.S. to help create an atmosphere for peace in that country.

Finally, he thanks the United States for resuming aid to Somalia.

You will recall that in your meeting September 24, 1975 with Somalia's Ambassador to the United States, Abdullahi Ahmed Addou, you indicated that the United States had been pleased to help in the drought in Somalia and was reviewing proposals to be of economic assistance to that country. Subsequently we have planned for FY'76 a small, $3-5 million "food for work" program for Somalia under PL480 authority. Our efforts with Somalia are designed to improve relations and to offer Somalia some option to excessive reliance on the Soviet Union.
In keeping with these efforts, it is recommended that you respond personally to President Siad's latest letter. A suggested text (Tab A) assures President Siad of our desire to improve relations and suggests that representatives of our two Governments meet soon to complete the necessary work to implement this year's aid allocation. The reply also comments briefly on President Siad's views on Afars and Issas, Angola, and the Indian Ocean. On the first question, the reply stresses our desire to cooperate with all parties in the region in support of peace and stability as the territory moves to independence. On Angola and the Indian Ocean the letter stresses our belief that it is in the interest of all concerned that Africa not be the scene of military competition between the great powers but that regrettably others have not always exercised the restraint required if this policy is to be successful. Lastly, the reply expresses pleasure that Siad has reaffirmed Somalia's policy of non-alignment and expresses the hope we will soon see further evidence of our improved relations in multilateral as well as in bilateral matters. Bob Hartmann's office has cleared the text of the letter.

RECOMMENDATION:

That you forward to President Siad of Somalia the letter at Tab A.
MEMORANDUM
NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

CONFIDENTIAL (GDS)

MEMORANDUM FOR: BRENT SCOWCROFT
FROM: Hal Horan
SUBJECT: Presidential Correspondence: Proposed Reply to Letter from President Siad of Somalia

RECOMMENDATION:

That you forward to the President the self-explanatory memo at Tab I recommending he send a personal response to Somali President Siad's letter of January 9, 1976.

CONFIDENTIAL (GDS)
Mr. President,

Once again I find it most opportune to send Your Excellency my greetings, and best wishes for your people. In doing so, I also must point out that I have had many reflections on the fruitful exchanges that we had together during my visit to the United States of America in October 1974, and indeed, on the subsequent events that had since taken place between us personally and between our two countries. Although some of these events may have looked negative, I do sincerely believe that a good deal of understanding and forebearance had emerged on both sides; a fact which gives me a worthy cause to rejoice the results which fate had charted so that we do still, and hopefully for a long time yet, possess the guidance and the blessings of God that we appreciate one another's pre-occupations that need both resource and reason.

I send this message through my Personal Envoy, Ismail Abdirahman Nur Hersi, Secretary of State for Finance, who will brief Your Excellency much further than the short space here can allow me to say all the details I wish to cover.
I need not Mr. President, repeat what I clarified in my previous dialogues with you and often through our official representatives, but nonetheless I feel very strongly about emphasising certain points so that there may never be any misconception or misunderstanding.

Mr. President, the United States of America is just about to celebrate on July 4th, 1976 her bicentennial of Independence, likewise the Somali Democratic Republic has only just made its 15th, and its 6th of meaningful and fruitful sovereignty through our blessed revolution. In this regard I wish to quote myself in my message to Your Excellency on June 22nd, 1975:-

"The Revolutionary tide which, two Centuries ago, swept over the United States has, since then, stirred in many other countries of the world. It is no wonder that this revolutionary spirit has touched the souls of the Somali people at this particular time.

As we stated repeatedly, the objective of our Socialist Revolution is to wage war against the very enemies of mankind, namely poverty, ignorance and disease. It is to transform our
socio-economic conditions for the better and, in fact, thereby, bring our people into life itself.

It is a cardinal principle to our policies to maintain our conviction of Non-alignment. This conviction does not deter our having a large number of friends in the world, rather it enhances and glorifies that objective. It does not curb or condemn our absolute freedom, rather it widens its scope. It nourishes our sovereignty with strength, a sovereignty with which by this philosophy no free nation can trade. We seek stability, harmony among nations and uphold the necessity for international peace and security. We oppose, and still do so any military build up; we condemn the presence of bases and the setting of military arsenals anywhere in the world."

Against that background, Mr. President, I invite you to scan the horizons of three very immediate issues, all of them very real and very near to my heart and, I am sure, to the hearts and conscience of men of good faith who care for the
security or the souls of this troubled mankind.

The first issue, Mr. President, is that of the forthcoming independence of French Somaliland. This issue, in its current perspective, is one which should give us both, and every responsible statesman, a fair dosage of alarm, but before I enlarge on that theme I can hardly resist to mention one other so inter-related. It is the Great Power rivalry in the Indian Ocean. On both counts the position of the Somali Democratic Republic has been unambiguous and direct.

On the Indian Ocean, the Somali Democratic Republic, being a littoral state, one of whose very security, sovereignty and political independence would be jeopardized, have always opposed, and will do so vehemently, the establishment of any base or any form of military machine which causes one or the other of the Great Powers to counter balance that establishment or compete in strategic or tactical formula. We do abide by, and solemnly uphold, the spirit and the declaration of the United Nations that this should remain a zone of peace.

Peace as a question and as a concept, seems to be the one commodity in human moral codes which is today out of stock. It is so far away and yet so near. It is the challenge that we face with our present generations; it is the human
outcry; it is what we are in quest, without which we will never rest.

I am not, by any stretch of imagination, expounding on this matter out of naivety or overlook of the interests involved. But it is precisely because of interests and such other factors which constitute human greed, Mr. President, that I feel it worth our while to digest.

The strife ravaging in Angola, Mr. President, is one which should touch the hearts of all men and women of any colour or political complexion. The position of the Somali Democratic Republic is very clear. We believe that this nation has come out of a most prolonged struggle for its freedom and, it is a pity, that with freedom came pointless civil war.

The people of Angola should know where their interest lies, who represents them and who they give their trust with the affairs of state. We believe that the Popular Movement (MPLA) enjoy that trust bestowed upon that party by the majority of its people. We also are convinced that it has been honoured by the overwhelming majority of international recognition.

Therefore, Mr. President, in order to put an immediate end to this wasteful war I find it my duty to call upon you
to help create the atmosphere for peace in that country, and the United States of America can do a great deal in that direction.

I trust that a dialogue with the present Government in Angola can assure all the interests of the United States of America in that country and I do hope Your Excellency will explore every possible alternative for gaining that objective.

In French Somaliland a new development is just about to take place. As the leader of a great country and as a most prominent International statesman I find it inevitable and bound by my duty to brief you on the position of the Somali Democratic Republic.

Our stand in the events in French Somaliland has always been unambiguous and very direct. French Somaliland being the last French colony have been on the march for complete independence for a long time, but some quarters have often fabricated certain speculations which were based on no facts at all.

We want and urge French Somaliland to attain their freedom and independence without conditions, let or hinderance from any direction. It is the people of that territory who should decide their fate alone, and that is a birth right which all nations possess.
I am very happy that France has at last declared its willingness to grant independence to French Somaliland, and recognize principles of independence for that country, but the inference of France to leave behind a military base in Jihouti, and her intention of handing over power to a particular group or individuals raises much cause for alarm.

A military base in Jihouti does not alter the colonial status. Any country which offers such establishment sells its very sovereignty out. There, such a base creates negative aspects which far outweigh any advantage that might be accrued to France or even remotely to NATO. The Somali Democratic Republic certainly opposes it because it will be the very altar on which the independence of French Somaliland will ultimately be slain.

When independence come to that territory it should not automatically fall on the lap of a self-styled leadership, but must go to the legal and legitimate representatives of its people who take the reins by freely true election.

The New State in French Somaliland is always free and has the option to choose the terms of relations which she may have with France after independence, but, Mr. President, it will be most inappropriate and intimidatory if such relationship is carved before the birth of total freedom.
France had many colonies in Africa and she enjoys unique and exceptionally good relationship with them. The same course is open for France and French Somaliland. The Somali Democratic Republic will, I assure you Mr. President, encourage the New State to do so and open the way if we are consulted for such eventuality with both sides.

I should also clarify our position in one other factor often misreported. We unequivocally promote and guarantee on our part that the New State should continue to safeguard and assure the economic interests which link her with other states, without jeopardizing their vested vital needs. We have clearly made this assurance to President Giscard d'Estaing.

In this issue, the Somali Democratic Republic will be the first to recognize a legitimate New State in French Somaliland, who, like all of us will have every right to chart their future by their own right and sovereignty.

Having gone thus far, Mr. President, I wish also to touch on some other aspects on the bilateral Somali/United States relations.

Over the past five years the Somali/USA relations have been characterized as being in the low ebb and were often marked by incidents too far removed from warmth and
conduciveness for effective cooperation. Since 1974, it is gratifying to note that much of the gloom had been removed and the two countries, despite some isolated cases, have come up with positive inclinations towards more realistic approaches. It gives me great pleasure that the efforts made on both sides have at last been indicative of reward. At executive and Government levels we have always used restraint and have done our level best to remove any trip-wire obstacles which may have been the cause, or could further deteriorate the situations.

The initiative taken by the Government of the United States of America in restoring and resuming Aid to Somalia have been both timely and commendable. I must here express my deep appreciation towards the response given by the United States of America to the rescue operations of our drought-stricken population.

Mr. President, the devastation and destitution which my people have suffered through this natural disaster is of such magnitude that we have never experienced its like in living memory. We lost more than 40% of livestock population, more than 20,000 people died in the process and we successfully managed to salvage some 250,000 people from the ruins of dust and destruction; all by your efforts, faith and the international assistance given us in response to the human conscience.
The phase I of this task was relatively simple - namely the rescue operations. But as I am certain you will appreciate phase II - Rehabilitation and Resettlement - of the programme poses a most arduous and complicated responsibility. 250,000 people, Mr. President, who completely lost their only means of livelihood have to be channelled back into the dignified and useful processes of the national economic effort.

Mr. President, the resumption of Aid to Somalia on your part has, I must emphasise again, been timely, but I wish to indicate that the expectation of the Somali people for substantial assistance is much too high than have been so far indicated. We accept the spirit and the motive behind the resumption of the United States of America Aid, but considering the problems facing my people I hope that the assistance of the United States of America in this commitment may not be just nominal or tangential for mere subsistence.

I conclude, Mr. President, with a final note of optimism that the New Year may crown our relations with deeper success and bring peace and happiness to mankind.
Please accept, Your Excellency, the assurances of my highest and fraternal consideration.


MAJOR GENERAL MOHAMED SHAD BARRE,
PRESIDENT OF THE SUPREME REVOLUTIONARY COUNCIL.

HIS EXCELLENCY GERALD FORD,
PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,
WASHINGTON.
MEMORANDUM FOR MR. BRENT SCOWCROFT
THE WHITE HOUSE

Subject: Proposed Reply to Presidential Letter from President Siad of Somalia
(NSC 7600467)

Somali Ambassador Addou delivered a letter to the President from President Siad at the White House on January 21. Attached is a draft reply.

In his letter President Siad reviewed U.S./Somali relations, noting that in spite of difficulties, there had been an increase in understanding. He reiterated that non-alignment was a cardinal principle of Somali policy.

President Siad discussed the immediate issues of "French Somaliland" (The French Territory of the Afars and the Issas), the Indian Ocean and Angola. Concerning "French Somaliland", his policy was to encourage independence without conditions and to oppose a continued French military base in Djibouti as incompatible with true independence. He did, however, pledge that Somalia would encourage an independent Djibouti to maintain good relations with France and to insure the economic interest of other states, by which he presumably meant Ethiopia.

President Siad stated that he supported the concept of a zone of peace in the Indian Ocean and opposed the establishment of any military bases which would introduce great power rivalry to the area. His position on Angola was that the MPLA represented the majority of the Angolan people and had received a majority of international recognition. He called on President Ford to help create an atmosphere for peace in that country.
Finally he thanked the Government of the United States for resuming aid to Somalia, but added that Somalia's needs were so great that he hoped our commitment in the future would be a larger one.

In the proposed reply the President assures President Siad of our desire to improve relations and suggests that representatives of the two Governments meet soon to complete the necessary work to implement this year's aid allocation. The reply also comments briefly on President Siad's views on Djibouti and Angola. Regarding the former it stresses our desire to cooperate with all the parties in the region in support of peace and stability as the territory moves to independence.

Concerning Angola it reiterates our policy that Africa not be the scene of military competition between the great powers.

George S. Springsteen
Executive Secretary

Attachment:
Suggested Letter
DEPARTMENT OF STATE
Operations Center

LDX MESSAGE RECEIPT

DESCRIPTION OF MSG. Springsteen/Scowcroft re Proposed Reply to Presidential Letter from President

FROM: S/S Office Symbol

TO: Mrs. Davis

EXTENSION:

ROOM NUMBER:

FOR: CLEARANCE INFORMATION PER REQUEST CONSENT

REMARKS:

VALIDATED FOR TRANSMISSION BY:

Feb 5 17 36 '76

75 FF 5 PH 5.52

TRANSMITTED BY:
(Date & Time Stamp)

RECEIVED BY:
(Date & Time Stamp)
MEMORANDUM FOR MR. BRENT SCOWCROFT
THE WHITE HOUSE

Subject: Proposed Reply to Presidential Letter from President Siad of Somalia
(NSC 7800467)

Somali Ambassador Addou delivered a letter to the President from President Siad at the White House on January 23. Attached is a draft reply.

In his letter President Siad reviewed U.S./Somali relations, noting that in spite of difficulties, there had been an increase in understanding. He reiterated that non-alignment was a cardinal principle of Somali policy.

President Siad discussed the immediate issues of "French Somaliland" (The French Territory of the Afars and the Issas), the Indian Ocean and Angola. Concerning "French Somaliland", his policy was to encourage independence without conditions and to oppose a continued French military base in Djibouti as incompatible with true independence. He did, however, pledge that Somalia would encourage an independent Djibouti to maintain good relations with France and to insure the economic interest of other states, by which he presumably meant Ethiopia.

President Siad stated that he supported the concept of a zone of peace in the Indian Ocean and opposed the establishment of any military bases which would introduce great power rivalry to the area. His position on Angola was that the UPLA represented the majority of the Angolan people and had received a majority of international recognition. He called on President Ford to help create an atmosphere for peace in that country.

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. BRENT SCOWCROFT
THE WHITE HOUSE

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In the proposed reply the President assures President Siad of our desire to improve relations and suggests that representatives of the two Governments meet soon to complete the necessary work to implement this year's aid allocation. The reply also comments briefly on President Siad's views on Djibouti and Angola. Regarding the former it stresses our desire to cooperate with all the parties in the region in support of peace and stability as the territory moves to independence.

Concerning Angola it reiterates our policy that Africa not be the scene of military competition between the great powers.

Suggested Letter

Attachment:

Executive Secretary

George S. Springsteen
Dear Mr. President:

Thank you for your letter of January 3, which I have read with interest. I am pleased to hear that in your view the relations between our two countries have improved. This has been my desire, and the United States Government will continue to work toward this goal.

It is in this spirit that we have renewed an aid program for Somalia. We have asked Ambassador Loughran and other officials of our Government to meet with the pertinent Somali officials to complete the necessary preliminary work leading to agreement on how the current year's allocation will be utilized in Somalia. I hope that their efforts will bear fruit shortly.

The question of Djibouti which you raised is an important and urgent one which requires careful consideration. The United States Government

His Excellency
Major General Mohamed Siad Barre,
President of the Supreme Revolutionary Council
of the Somali Democratic Republic,
Mogadisho.

Department of State
will be following closely the developments relating to the forthcoming independence of that territory, and will keep in touch with Somalia and other governments which have a direct and special interest in this area. It is our desire to cooperate with all the parties in the region to support peace and stability, for it would be indeed unfortunate if independence were to bring disturbance and conflict rather than the hoped-for benefits to the people of that territory and its neighbors.

Your comments on Angola and the Indian Ocean prompt me to repeat that we believe it to be in the interests of all concerned that Africa not be the scene of military competition between the great powers. This has been our consistent policy. Unfortunately, the policies have not always been successful since it is a policy which requires mutual restraint and acceptance. Nevertheless, we shall continue to pursue this policy.

I was pleased that you have reaffirmed Somalia's policy of non-alignment. I believe that such a policy will foster the better relations we both seek and I hope that we will shortly see further evidence of our improved relations in the multilateral as well as in the bilateral area.
I extend best wishes to you and the Somali people and reciprocate your desire that during the new year of 1976 significant strides be made toward the achievement of peace and justice throughout the world.

Sincerely,

Gerald R. Ford
MEMORANDUM FOR:

George S. Springsteen
Executive Secretary
Department of State

DOCUMENT DESCRIPTION:

To: President Ford
From: Mohamed Siad Barre
Date: January 9, 1976
Subject: President of Somalia re US-Somali relations and discusses various substantive issues

ACTION REQUESTED:

Draft reply for: President's Signature
White House Staff
Other

Direct reply
Dispatch
Recommendations/Comments
Other

Furnish info copy
Translation
Appropriate Handling
Information

DUE DATE: January 30, 1976

COMMENTS:

Signature for Jerome W. Davis
Staff Secretary
TO: PRES
FROM: KISSINGER, H. A.
SUBJECT: Advance CYP to Hak/Scowcroft

ACTION REQUIRED: MEMO FOR HAK

Initial Action

NSC 75-22

May 1979

Re: Advance CYP to Hak/Scowcroft

Advance CYP to Hak/Scowcroft

STAFF SECRETARY

FAR EAST

SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA

ECONOMIC

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OCEAN POLICY

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PROGRAM ANALYSIS

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ACTION INFO

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