



**SELECTED SPEECHES
OF THE SRSP SECRETARY
GENERAL AND THE
SOMALI DEMOCRATIC
REPUBLIC PRESIDENT,
JAALLE MOHAMED
SIAD BARRE**

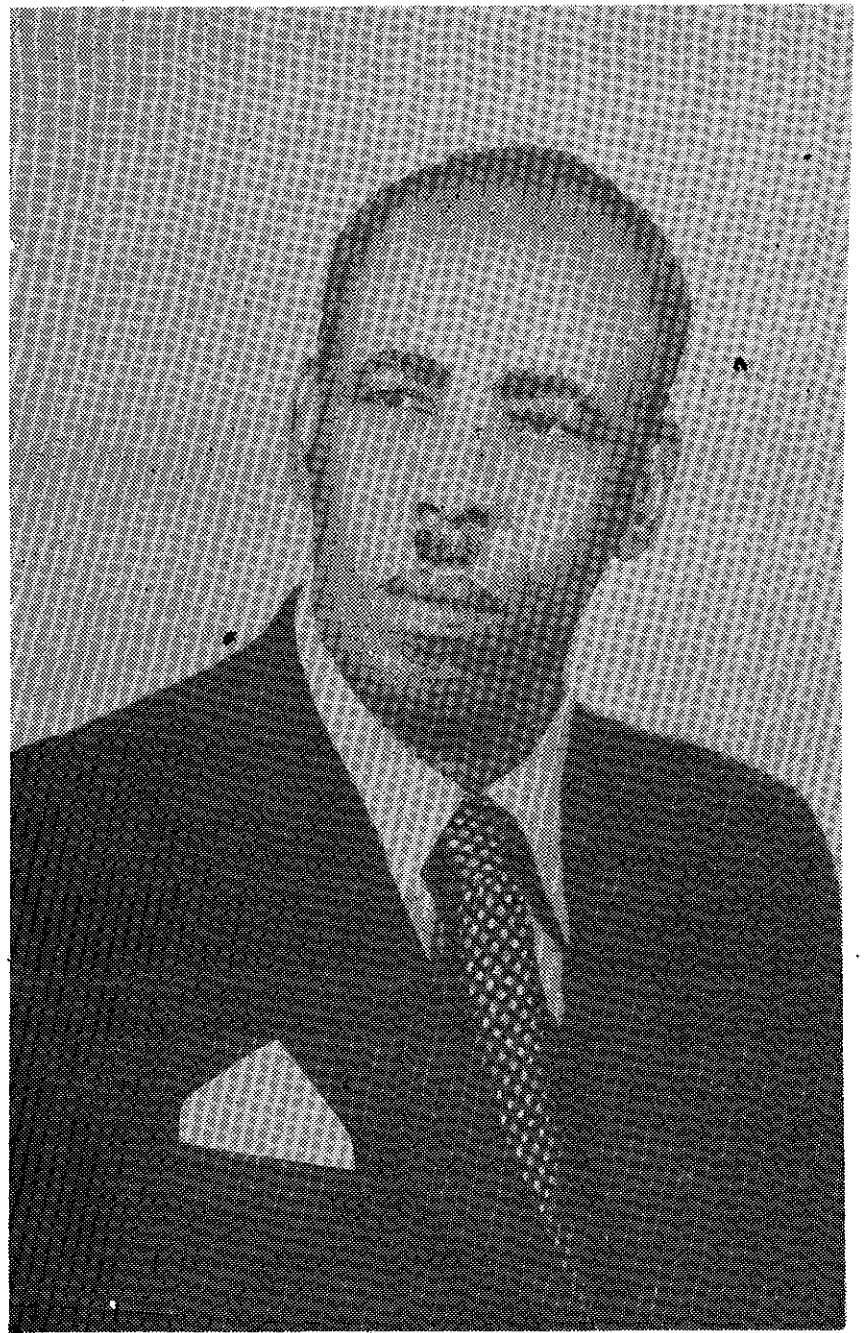
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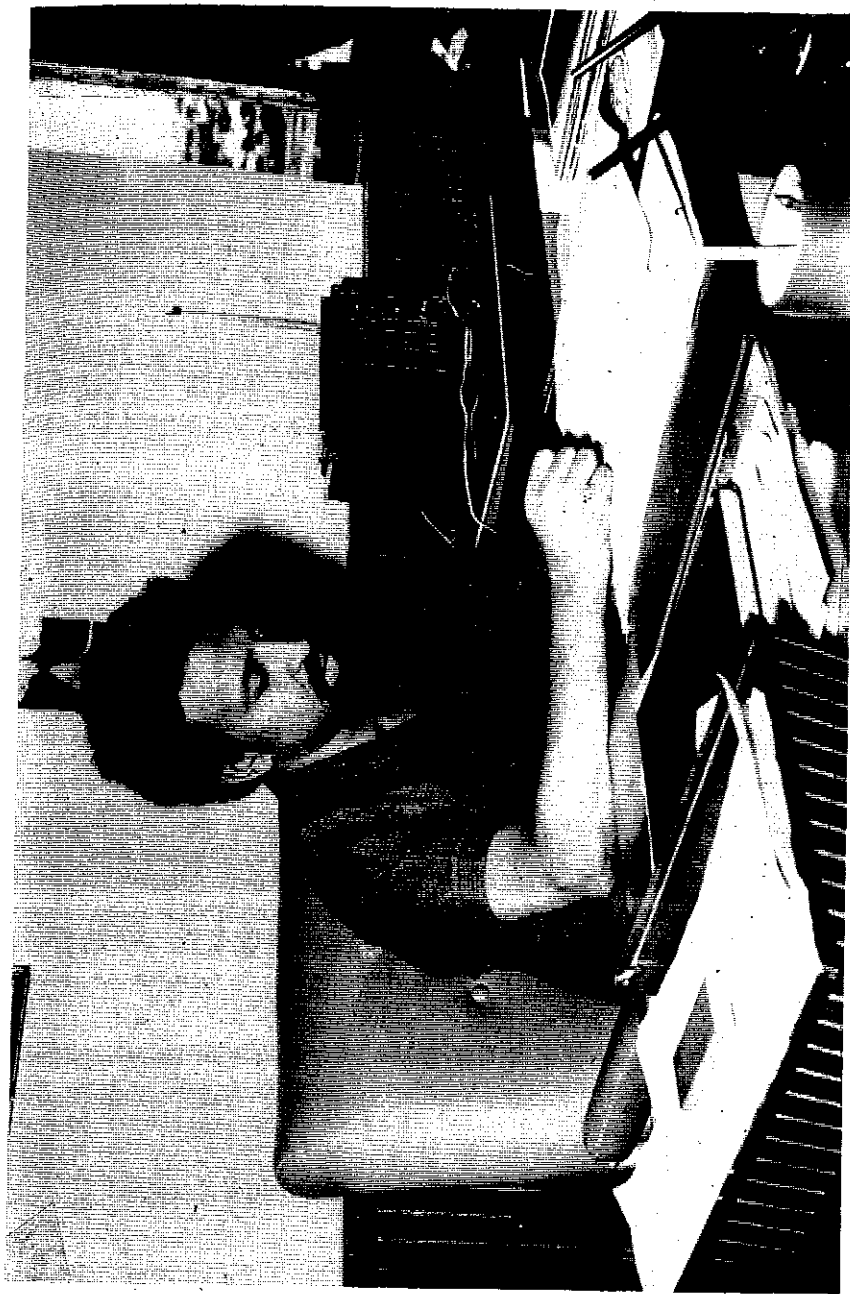
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The SRSP Secretary General and the SDR President,
Jaalle Mohamed Siad Barre



The Minister of Information and National Guidance,
Jaalle Dr. Abdisalam Sheikh Hussein

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INTRODUCTION

When the President and great leader, Jaalle Mohamed Siad Barre, directed the successful October Revolution of October, 21, 1969, Somali political social and economic conditions had not been of such of a nature as to allow the formation of a popular revolution as has been the case with several other countries. At the same time tribalism, the arch-enemy of the Somali people had penetrated deep into the social fabric, affecting the very lowly as well as those at the top.

And the political parties then were but tribal associations and factions. But although the intellectuals, the youth, the workers, the students and the women held vast demonstration against the set-up, their activities were merely instrumental in paving the way for the Revolution because they lacked organization and a revolutionary leadership capable of the necessary action.

On the other hand, Somalia, by its strategic position in the Horn of Africa, along the Bab-el-mandab and the Red Sea, and the Indian Ocean, and the sham independence before the Revolution, had fallen under the control of international imperialism, causing also the occupation of parts of Somali territory.

Thus with this chaos and the menace to the freedom for which the Somali people had shed its blood and its sweat, the great leader Siad and his comrades who were aware of the situation did not flinch from looking for a way out of this impass through mass mobilization and revolutionary organization, in a manner that was different from the conventional methods of making a revolution.

This leadership was able to preserve the army as an organized and well-equipped body, reflecting the aspirations of the masses that ignited the Revolution. There

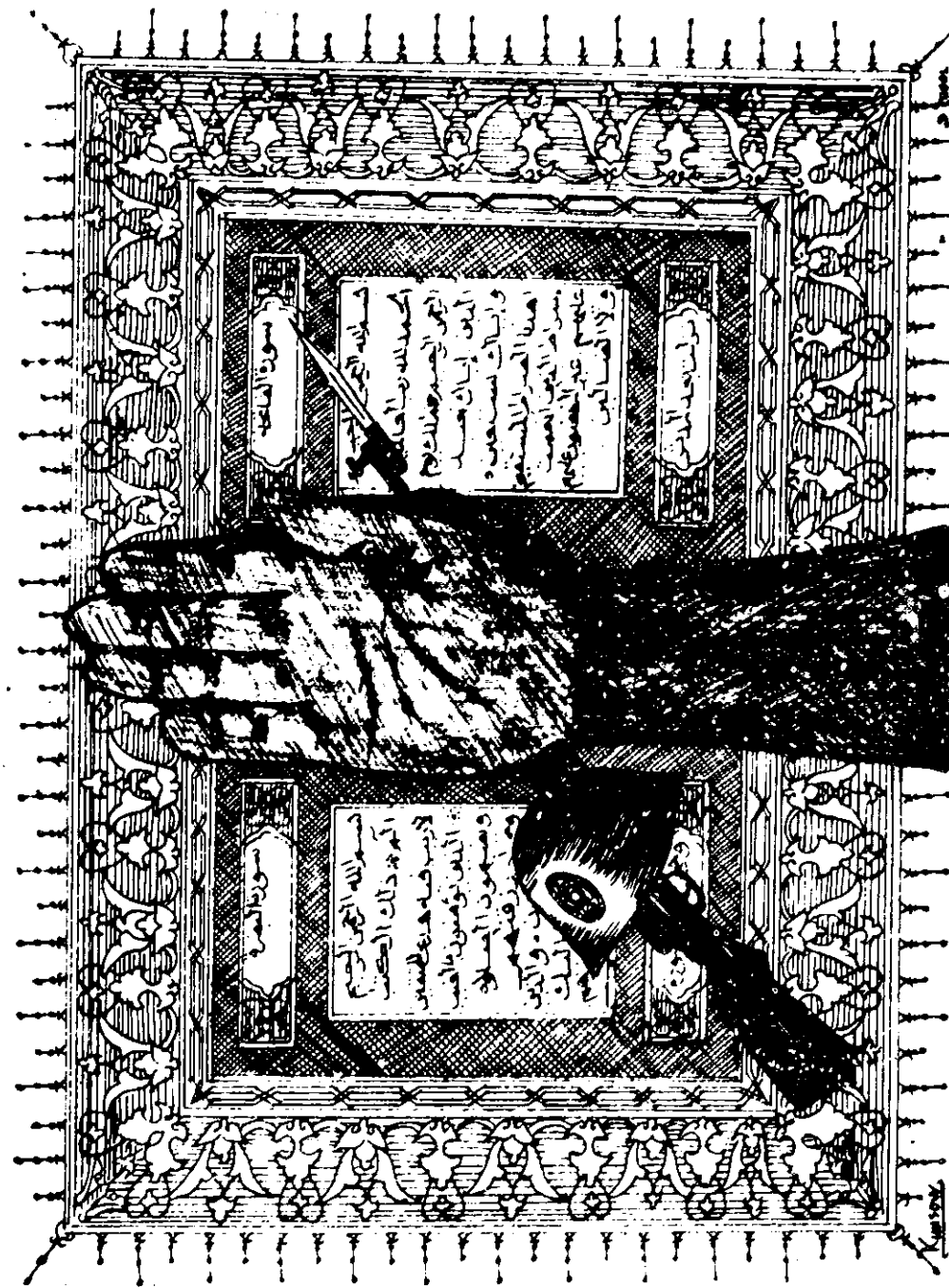
was no alternative to this entity and it guaranteed a progressive leadership in the economic and social life of the people from the very beginning, and the people rallied to its support immediately, coming out in force into the streets on the first day of the revolution.

That is how the October 21 Revolution became the first socialist movement of its kind in history that came out against colonialism and reaction, and personal dictatorship, uniting with the masses and translating into reality their wishes for full political and economic freedom, and building a socialist and democratic state.

Our revolution has not confined itself to such social changes here in this country, but has come to take part in the Arab and African Revolutions with a sense of belonging as one family with them and as a deterrent to colonialism, zionism and apartheid — a role that has singled out our revolution as unique in the history of the world revolutionary movement.

Anyone wishing to acquaint himself with the ideology and philosophy of the Somali Revolution, its achievements in fighting poverty, ignorance and disease, and how much it has contributed to the national liberation movements in Asia and Africa, could do no better than read these selected speeches belonging to the leader of the Revolution, Jaalle Mohamed Siad Barre. On this tenth anniversary of our blessed Revolution we hereby present to our people and all the progressive forces of the world this work that contains the clear principles on which our revolutionary struggle is based in the interests of our people and the Arab and African peoples, and all the oppressed masses of the world, and in the cause of peace, justice and progress for mankind.

Abdisalam Sheikh Hussein
(Minister For Information & National Guidance)



21 OCTOBER 1969:

A BLOODLESS REVOLUTION

1st ANNOUNCEMENT SRC ACT ON BEHALF OF THE PEOPLE

KNOWING: THE SACRED RIGHT OF THE PEOPLE AND SOLEMNLY UNDERSTANDING THE CHARTER OF THE UNITED NATIONS AND THE CHARTER OF THE ORGANIZATION OF THE AFRICAN UNITY;

DETERMINED: TO COLLABORATE WITH ALL THE PEOPLE OF THE WORLD FOR THE ASPIRATION OF LIBERTY, SOCIAL JUSTICE AND WORLD PEACE AND PARTICULARLY WITH PEACE LOVING PEOPLES;

STRONGLY: DECIDED TO CONSOLIDATE AND PRESERVE THE INDEPENDENCE OF THE SOMALI NATION FOR THE WELFARE AND INTEREST OF THE SOMALI PEOPLE AND TO CREATE A SOCIETY FOUNDED ON THE PRINCIPLE OF POPULAR SOVEREIGNTY, EQUALITY AND JUSTICE AND THE RIGHT OF THE SOMALI CITIZENS, WITHOUT DISTINCTION, FOR BETTER SOCIAL LIFE.

DECLARATION

A: INTERNAL POLICY

1. -- To constitute a Society based on the right of work and on principle of social justice considering the environments and social life of the Somali people;

2. -- To prepare and orientate the development of economic, social and cultural programme to reach a rapid progress of the country;

3. -- Liquidation of illiteracy and to develop an enlightened patrimonial and cultural heritage of the Somali people;

4. -- To constitute, with appropriate and adequate measures the basic development of the writing of the Somali language;

5. -- Liquidation of all kinds of corruption, all forms of anarchy, the malicious system of tribalism in every form and every other phenomena of bad customs in State activities;

6. -- To abolish all Political parties, and

7. -- To conduct at appropriate time free and impartial election.

B: -- EXTERNAL POLICY

1. -- Support for international solidarity and national liberation movements;

2. -- Oppose and fight against all forms of colonialism and neo-colonialism;

3. -- To struggle to maintain the Somali National Unity.

4. -- To recognise strongly the principle of Peacefull Coexistence between all peoples;

5. -- To continue and preserve the policy of positive neutrality; and

6. -- To respect and recognise all legal international commitments undertaken by the Somali Republic.



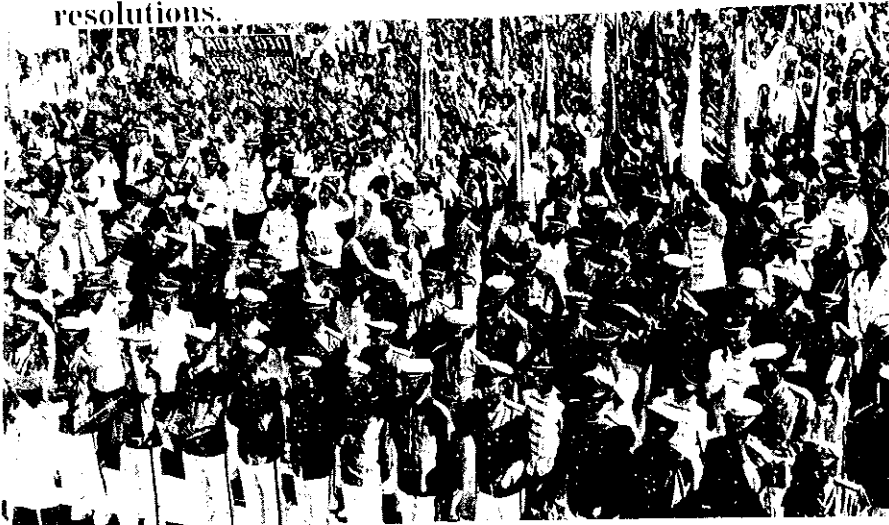
The Symbol of the Somali Revolutionary Socialist Party.



Jaalle Siad Addressing First Congress of the SRSP



Somali people turn out in mass to Support SRSP resolutions.



THERE WAS NO CHOICE

October 24, 1969.

I would like to state clearly the reason for the take over of the country by Armed Forces. I want our people to know that everything is going on as usual and that no problems have arisen as a result of the Revolution. The entire country is in the hands of the National Army and the Police Force. The people are happy and everything is calm.

Intervention by the Armed Forces was inevitable. It was no longer possible to ignore the evil things like corruption bribery, nepotism, theft of public funds, injustice and disrespect to our religion and the laws of the country. The laws were thrust aside and people did whatever they wanted.

No group or family can live happily if they do not respect their laws and regulations. There will be no development or any sort of progress for a nation, if the laws of the country are forgotten.

We have noticed several evil things such as the mis-used of state property and public funds. The tax collected from the people was used for their own benefit and the country has been mis-used for private purposes, thus endangering the nation which nearly fell into enemy hands.

The corruption has culminated in the assassination of prominent leaders of the country. Somalia was on the point of collapse, not economically and politically alone, but disaster threatened historically and nationally as well.

We are the guardians of the nation and the laws, and we have now been sworn in to do just this. How can we therefore remain silent while the laws we were to guard are about to collapse. That is why we intervened in the running of the affairs of our country.

If people think we have stepped in to gain more power, they are mistaken. We have stepped in to restore the laws of the country, and to return the nation to the place from which it had fallen. It was necessary for us to act urgently.

If we look back on recent events in the country, we will see how a peaceful lands was changing to violence.

— Dr. Abdirashid Ali Sharmarke, the late president, was assassinated by simple soldier who did not know him and who had no quarrel with him. He simply sprayed bullets into the body of Abdirashid in the presence of other leaders, including the President of the Somali Parliament.

How can we tolerate such things — and many others — which the Somali people are aware of. We hope that with the help of Almighty God, we can wipe out all the evil things in the country, and replace them with happiness and prosperity and thus give our people the peace they need. We will not give a chance to wrong dors and law—breakers.

We want to see that the country's constitution is respected; that its people follow the constitution, and that every citizen respects fellow citizens.

We will abolish bribery, nepotism and tribalism. Tribalism was the only way in which foreingers got their chance of

dividing our people. We will wipe out all kinds of imperialism — and their stooges in our country. We do not want to see unfaithful people. We will bring those who are caught behaving unfaithfully in front of the people, and then lock them away from the rest of the citizens.

We will close all roads used by colonialists to enter our country and into our affairs. We will build a great Somali nation, strongly united and welded together to live in peace.

We will make respect the Islamic religion, if necessary, by all the force and strength we have. We will make Somalia a respected country in its internal and external policies. We want the Somali people to use the wealth and prosperity hidden in their land and avoid begging other nations.

We will seek the friendship of nations who are prepared to accept us and show their friendship. We will support world peace and oppose imperialism and all kinds of colonialism, whether from our brothers here or abroad.

We have taken power on behalf of the Somali people and on behalf their beloved land. I would like to ask all Somalis to come out and built their nation — a strong nation — to use all their efforts, energy, wealth and brains in developing their country. At all costs avoid begging.

As you have heard, cars belonging to the State have been captured while they were being used as public taxis. We have been in power for only three days, and here is proof for the people. Other evidence will follow. I appeal to all Somalis to work with us in achieving the progress of the country and normalising the situation in general.

The imperialists, who always want to see people in hunger, disease and ignorance, will oppose us in order that we may beg

them. They will spread many types of lies to try to misinterpret our noble aims and objectives. They will try to persuade the world, and even other African States, to believe their lies. Apart from these lies, they will call us many evil names. They are at present collecting arms, money and many other necessary things for them to work against us.

We are very happy and thankful to see the unity of the Armed Forces and the Somali population. The nation has given us true support for which we are very grateful. Nothing will harm us if we go on supporting each other for the sake of our country and nation. Let us join hands in crushing the enemy of our land.

Long live the unity of the Somali people!

Long live the Revolution of our country!

A HEAVY RESPONSIBILITY.

(Speech to armed forces.)

Nov. 9, 1969.

Nineteen days after the Revolution I am addressing myself to the Armed Forces. I am talking to you because I want to make you understand the responsibility we have for the nation. As you all know, we have sworn to be sincere and trustworthy to the country and the Somali people. The foundation of our sincerity for the country and the Somali people is the conviction that we are the servants of the nation. This service to the nation needs to be explicitly understood.

Imperialism and those with the colonial mentality left in the minds of our people that they were the cream of creation and others were their servants.

The truth is that anybody who draw a salary from the government is the servant of the people because the people pay his salary. This salary comes from the Somali people in the form of taxes. It had been a principle of imperialism — and we have been following it after the termination of that imperialism — that we should expect from the public, the learned the youth and the families a specially flavoured respect. This attitude which persists is wrong, and one easily can see that it is a colonial hangover. It has been left in the minds of the people that the nationalist is an ignorable creature.

We have launched the Revolution to eradicate colonial hangovers in all their various forms. The purpose of the Revolution is to guide us back to our true characteristics, to clearly understand what we are, and what we stand for, and to work for our people in sincerity and devotion.

We must convince the people of the efficacy of a joint, concerted effort with us. We should attack together and on equal terms, hunger and ignorance; at all times uphold and protect the flag, the dignity, the welfare and the defence of the nation.

We have to defend the dignity, the rights and the livelihood of every Somali person. While we are uprooting the evils that have beset on the nation, such as tribalism, favouritism, nepotism, corruption and injustice, we should train ourselves to uphold the dignity of the Somali nation, to uplift the image of the Somali nation both internally and externally.

We have to embark upon the task of creating a nationalism that will not detrimentally differentiate the rich from the poor and the educated from the illiterate, the urban from the nomad, the high from the low. In sum, what we are striving to create is a nationalism of oneness. We should start shoulder to shoulder, without anyone slighting anyone else, in our joint efforts towards the solution of the problems that our country faces.

Since we now understand the hardships that confront us, and since we staged a Revolution for the sole purpose of uprooting the repulsive previous conditions in which our country stagnated, we have to show that we are going the complete what we set out to do.

We have to eliminate unpleasant features that were hoisted upon the Somali people—the injustice, the shameful goings—on, rampant corruption, nepotism, favouritism and unjust

discrimination; of sitting, with one's hands outstretched in the expectation of timely rain from heaven, and the fanning of troubles among people, and of putting some people in the position of servitude. These are the direct remnants of imperialism.

Some people have used public funds as their private personal funds and have tried to convince others that their use of these funds was legitimate. Our religion, which is the foundation of our faith, our nationalism, and our guard against temptations, has been replaced by lack of principles and insincerity. We have taken on the responsibility to wipe out the lies, the back bites, the insincerity and the lack of faith. If a nation lacks justice, sincerity, dedication to work, honesty and concerted efforts towards betterment, such a nation would definitely founder.

It has been one of our aims to convince the people for they have forgotten if — that education is of the utmost importance, and to wipe out the attitude, that; what is the use of education when one can get along without certificates or with faked documents.

It happened — and we cannot deny it — that ignorant people paraded themselves as erudite individuals. The people then reasoned that since the obtaining of papers and posts in government was easy, why toil for higher learning? Faked papers and the pulling of strings do not lead a nation. It only colours the scene and makes ignorant people appear to know something.

The foundation of every nation's economy, its prosperity and aspirations, is education. We should, therefore, give education the important role it deserves. People of knowledge, in every aspect of learning, can lead the nation out of the quagmire in which it has been bogged down for so long.

If education had been neglected and consigned to limbo, how do we expect to emerge as an advanced nation, politically, socially and economically.

We know the level of output — in terms of jobs done — has been pathetically low, and no one sweated for his salary. Every one just expected to get his salary at the end of the month. There is a principle of «give and — take» in employment. The employee is paid to work.

A nation's brain, prosperity, self—respect and dignity depend on the level of educated people in that country. If a nation wants to tap its natural resources, how does it do it? By having the qualified men to do the job, and proper education provides such personnel. The way we can wipe out hunger, disease and ignorance, is to have the personnel who are qualified in teaching, agriculture, medicine, mining, politics, geology, and every other field that is necessary to benefit the nation.

One of the aims of the Revolution is to recreate our lost nationalism. The word nationalism may be interpreted in different ways. What is nationalism? A nationalist is a person of dignity, who honours his word, one who abhors, dishonesty, thievery and injustice, and who puts his energy and creativity at the disposal of his nation.

In a nation in which nationalism abounds, its people do not aid and abet each other in crime. They are ashamed to lie, and discourage others from lying. They restrain each other from setting out to do undignified things. They keep their faith undiluted, and put more value on the cripple lying on the streets than the erudite, learned and rich foreigner. The Somali and the foreigner cannot be equated. Somalism is the inherent bond that ties the Somalis together and puts their common interest in nutshell. We can only bring about the

oneness of Somalism by working together.

If the description of the situation of our country before the Revolution was despicable, then it is incumbent upon us to embark upon a meaningful change of the situation.

Going back to the beginning of my speech, then, the gist of the matter is: let us work diligently for our country and our people.

I am sure there are many people who are talking to you in the same language in which they managed to divide the Somalis into factions. What was that language? It was a «RER X» how many soldiers do we have in the Armed Forces? How many offices do we have? How many people do we have in the Revolutionary Council? Let us divide it according to tribalism. How many men does each tribe have in this and that.

The person with this kind of mentality used to argue right in the government offices that as «Rer X we don't have our share of the government.» Now we are simultaneously talking about government and the share of «Rer X.» Are these two things compatible? Government progress, sophistication, national interest, raising of educational standards, and the level of production of the economy, are incompatible with groupings on tribal lines.

The incompatibility of nationhood and tribal allegiance makes a marked contrast, and the vivid manifestation of the incompatibility was very easily seen in our situation before the Revolution.

Those who led us back to this dismal misery are still around, and we know what kind of language they employed to keep us apart and sow the seeds of doubt in our minds. They used to employ cheap ruses and languages to get what they did not deserve and had no right to have. What ruses are

they going to employ today? They will resort to the same ruse and language. Who do these divisive people represent, and who are they taling for?

They are employed by foreingers, and they have their pay in their pockets. They have sold their brother's blood and future, and yet they come in the guise of Somalis. They were the ones who were better off when most Somalis were begging for something to eat; a place to sleep, schools and medicine. These exploiters were the ones who got well—off on the people's misery. They will come to you pretending to guard your self—interest, and they will try to lead you astray, because their sole purpose is to regain their cushioned place in society. You will find, if you care to take a look at those who want to work a rift among you, that they are personally better off than you, and still want to have more.

The Revolution set out to recapture the nation's lost independence in order to restore Somali dignity, purpose and future aspiration. Those who are systematically discouraging the emergence of the nation stand for things that are contrary to the aims and hopes of the Revolution.

Will you let these people have their own way? We have agreed on a policy of never unjustly doing any harm to anyone, and to treat the people equally, no matter what their station in life. We want the people to have the same rights, the same opportunities, the same treatment, and an equal share of our resources, which are enough for all of us if we do not steal from each other, but share it in a legitimate manner.

Those who want to work a rift among the people are the bloodsuckers, the traitors, the servants of other nations, the greedy ones; and they should not find a place among you.

Now that we have succeeded in our first step, and the people have supported us, applauded us, and come out in hu-

ge demonstrations for the sake of order, we have to work for them in the spirit in which they support us, and we must work for their interests in unity and honesty.

We want the people to support us, and put aside the misguided philosophy that the «Government has a long arm.»

We must pull ourselves together and work in unity individually the people and the armed forces must work together and do something for themselves. We must refrain from meaningless chatting in coffee—shops, corruption and ingratiating ourselves with foreigners.

God gives you what you want most from him; good or bad, dignity or slavery, freedom or servitude. Throw out of the window the errors of past era. Make a new start; set yourself on the right path, never swerve from it.

As I said before, those who used to suck the blood of the people, whether they sucked it by themselves, or whether they shared it with others, and took it as an article of faith that Somalis would never forego hardship and difficulties, are still among us.

The imperialists who decided long ago to keep us in misery for their benefit, are also still around. Their sole interest is to regain their favoured positions.

I say that you Somalis have to be ready for them if they attempt an application of force. God has given you freedom today; don't lose it. If they apply underhand methods, like interfering in matters of kinship, and spurring on the people on the false grounds of tribalism; if they offer you benefit from the sale of your brother's blood and dignity. Throw them out. Today this is equally appropriate and applicable to every Somali in the Armed Forces.

Let us teach each other not to sleep. Our children and the generations after, are waiting for us in expectation, and they will benefit from the map we design for them. If it is a good one, we can reach an admirable height of dignity, freedom and integrity by our own efforts.

Wake up for your interests and your nation's interests. Defend the nation from its enemies — whether they appear in the form of kinship, or reward for the sale of national interests.

Although my address is intended to remind the Armed Forces to carry out its promise, I would like to make a small addition concerning foreigners. By the term foreigners, I include not merely people of other nationalities whose purpose is to further the interests of imperialism, but indigenous people who are the tools of imperialists.

The past era is over, and the Somali Democratic Republic will not tolerate any hinderence to the progress of the Revolution and the new era of liberty and dignity to which the nation is committed.

Everybody will get what he deserves from our nation. We are warning foreigners to keep their hands from our internal affairs. If they don't, they will not succeed in outdoing us. We will take definite, courageous and serious steps against anyone who meddles in our internal affairs. We are warning those working in the shadow of foreigners to desist from their activities. There will be no pardons for culprits.

It is characteristic of a healthy nation to reward those who serve it with honesty, and to take revenge against those who work against its interests. Today, everybody who has not done damage to the nation before, has a blank page. It is up to the individual to determine what goes into this page — whether it be good or bad.

Let the past be forgotten; and let us see what everybody does with his blank page, whether he fills with goodness or otherwise remains to be seen. In this new history of Socialism, let us observe justice, honesty, equality, oneness and the furtherance of the nation's dignity.

The reactionaries know that they have been luxuriating in what they have not earned. They have been eating illegitimate fruits of wealth they have stolen and hidden — wealth whose rightful owners have been in starvation and misery.

If they work with their nation in honesty, they will get something that might not be much, but which is clean and obtained in a dignified manner. They will be in a position to walk the streets without earning hatred. They will be better off, and will not perish if they see the light and quit the ways of corruption to which they have become addicted.

This needs confidence in yourselves, in our nation and its people. If they must that much, they will not be losers.

And now, to go back to the Armed Forces, I congratulate you on your success, and hope that you will further succeed in your efforts.

Speech by Jaalle Siad

SOMALIA NATIONALISES FOREIGN BUSINESSES.

May, 8, 1970

In a major speech to the nation over Radio Mogadishu, the President said: The Armed Forces took power and only to remedy the ailing public administration, but also to ward off a serious blow on any thing that is against the general interest of Somalis and Africans.

The Revolution cannot and should not, limit itself in the prosecution of a public evil—doers, or merely in the removal of the ten year old mis—management that the country had inherited from the deposed regimes but it should go beyond and embrace the necessities and aspiration of a people oppressed for a long time.

The gravest blow inflicted on this people is the attempt to undermine its conscience. We must get rid of the infamous system under which we remain a humble beneficiary of foreign aid.

Our country, because of colonialism first and the reactionary cliques later, preserved an economic structure extremely backward. The only living sector of our economy was External trade. But because of the terms of exchange, it is all aggravating our conditions. Besides, this sector is almost totally under foreigners. And it is not possible, in any manner

to reconcile their interests with those of the Nation. No foreigner had ever reinvested in other productive sectors the profit obtained in trading.

They took advantage of the law on Investment to send to their countries of origin the profit. This law which was originally launched to draw foreign investments, in a fruitful manner for us and then was transformed into an efficacious instrument of contraband.

In this State, our economy will never develop and will continue to depend on sources abroad, even for food—stuffs, which at present represent a high percentage of our importations. The immediate development of our products of exportation is objectively limited by the climatic conditions and marketing.

Even in the sector of export we are beneficiaries of determined preferential conditions. The duration of this assistance, as every other assistance of its kind, rests on the undisturbed and unquestioned recognition of the existing economic and political relations. Its nature, therefore, is fully contrary to our determination to consolidate the national independence and to transform the archaic structure of our society, and to realize correctly the object lives of the Revolution.

Today our people face great problems in the building of our country. There are no easy and cheap ways. The Supreme Revolutionary Council with the aim of getting rid of the National economy from foreign control and to base the economic structure of the country on our changed political conditions approved a series of measures including a) The total withdrawal of the shares of SNAI b) The nationalization of Italo—Somala Electric Society (SEIS) c) The nationalization of Oil distributing companies d) The nationalization of all foreign Banks, and e) The institution of National Insu-

rance Company with the exclusive right to exercise in the territory of the Somali Democratic Republic.

I seize this opportunity also to announce that our government guarantees and will guarantee the private initiative and will encourage foreign investments, provided that they are in the framework of the development plans of our country.

The government commits itself to compensate in a satisfactory manner all those who are affected by the nationalization measures.

With these measures we do not intend to create bureaucratized companies in the place of the private ones, but we intend to arrange efficaciously the direction of the decision—making organisms in the economic field to gear all the resources available towards the realization of the objectives in order to satisfy the immediate necessities and needs of the great masses.

These same measures will permit us to follow some intermediate objectives — such as the creation of public savings available for investments, the development of a national industry, the reduction of the imports and the expansion of exports.

I am convinced that in our country the necessities for development are already ripe and that they could be satisfied if we succeed to face with determination and resoluteness the obstacles and difficulties, and the intrigues and pressures of the enemies of the Revolution.

We should, therefore multiply the efforts to achieve our goals and be vigilant in every place against those who want to see back the corrupt unpopular regimes.

The recent foiled attempt to overthrow our Revolutionary institutions, which was unearthed by our vigilant people and

faced with resoluteness by our security services is proof that reactionaries are determined to go to any extent to achieve their ill advised ends. What would be the main aim of those plotters if not to deprive our people of the recent achievements and to blockade it of further progress towards advancement.

Truely, these lackeys hired by certain foreign circles, nursed with sectarianism and particularistic interests represented a docile instrument behind which these wicked men acted. You all know that what mainly characterised this Revolution is the decided trend to subordinate the needs of the individuals and group to general interest.

In six months of existence, our revolution mobilized the immense forces of our masses by increasing their political conscience and their organisational ability. Today the shepherd feels himself as an important part of this nation and the same applies to the peasant and the worker and every other person. This is very important because it constitutes a first step to the right direction.

We should bear in mind that as long as we proceed in this direction, the reactionary forces in collaboration with imperialism, will not cease struggling against us politically and ideologically.

It is known to all that the conditions of life of our people remained unchanged for a long time. Droughts followed one another. The animal wealth and the agricultural production decreased rapidly in comparison to the colonial period. These are the problems ignored by the previous cliques and which our revolution should face.

The previous reactionary regimes, while draining out the treasury of the Government, contracted remarkable debts and sold the national sovereignty for their shady interests and used

to turn regular punctuality towards particular foreign States to solicit continuous aid to the populations hit by natural calamities.

Notwithstanding that some states have responded reality to appeal with good faith, this aid had, in the majority of cases, extremely negative effects on our development. The leading cliques of the past governments had never faith in the capacity of the masses and they never supported their initiatives. This had as a corollary, the subordination of our sovereignty to the global designs hatched by the imperialists to bridle the process of emancipation of the African people.

We will never forget the words of praise expressed by our former leaders for the fascist cliques of Rhodesia, their strange alliance with reactionary groups and the constant alignment towards imperialist position.

I would, first of all, like to express to all countrymen the gratitude and admiration which we nourish towards you for the solidarity you demonstrated to the revolution in every stage of its development. If this shows anything, it shows you have understood and that you will understand how necessary this revolution was not only to seize the power from a clique of mystifier, but also to lead the Somali People towards the road of their true objectives.

As you are well aware, the Armed Forces as, the Supreme guardians of the national sovereignty and integrity, never sought to meddle in the active politics of the country during the previous regimes. But as it was their duty to defend the nation from any external aggression, they also believed as their sacred duty to intervene in internal politics when such aggression clandestinely were brought to light.

Speech by Jaalle Siad.

THE STATE OF THE NATION

JULY 1, 1970.

JULY 1st is the day when the Somali people emerged from the darkness of foreign rule and ushered in a new era of hopes and expectations, and took over the reins of their country in dignity and pride. The problems inherited from the colonial period were numerous. There was no sound economic and social plan to develop the country. There was actual unemployment. Political problems were rife, and the Somali nation was in a state of disintegration.

The Governments which ran the affairs of our country from 1st July 1960 to 21st October 1969 have dismally failed in building a viable nation based on firm social and economic foundations. Corruption, tribalism, nepotism, injustice and embezzlement of funds became the order of the day and the existence of the Somali nation was threatened. Revenue collected in the form of taxes from the Somali people, many of whom lived on a hand to mouth basis, was used for personal interests. The financial and technical assistance poured into our country by friendly states was criminally robbed from our people.

The Supreme Revolutionary Council makes no dishonest promises in seeking a mandate from you. We shall formulate a feasible programme in which every Somali, men and women, young and old, can participate in the task of nation

building so as to translate our aspirations into reality. The economic and social problems we inherited from the colonial powers and the former regimes are colossal. We must take up the challenge and by hard work help the government's efforts to succeed. This will only be possible through the cooperation and participation of the people. Let us pool our resources and energies for the progress and ever-lasting prosperity of our country.

The most pressing issue facing the Revolution is the economic problem. We fully realise that we will be judged by our economic policies, and the gains and failures we record in this field. Economic is the Central issue. On it depends the success of the social, political and other activities of the nation. It is a simple question of bread and butter, and economic development is a matter no government can disregard.

Everyone of you recognises the gravity of our economic situation today. As one of the less developed countries we face a common Third World problem of neglect, discrimination and lack of interest from the so called rich nation's club of the world. We also have our special problems which could have been ameliorated by a government which was at least aware and sensitive to the needs and aspirations of the people. The sad ignominious record of the defunct regime shows as a mark on our people and on our country. There is rampant poverty, hunger, mass unemployment. Chronic government deficits, etc. The list of our economic ills is too familiar for me to repeat. The defunct regime's attitude to development questions and their total neglect of the people's interests is a sad chapter in the history of our country.

The coming to a head of this situation was one of the major causes of our Revolution on October 21st 1969. For the past nine months the Supreme Revolutionary Council, government and the Somali people in recognition of the present economic

situation have begun to address themselves in earnest to redress these ills and put the country on a sound economic footing.

In the country's planning for the development of the future, the Revolution foresees progress only after the complete overhaul of the former regime's defunct and unworkable systems. The mistakes and failures of the past decade have to be rectified and compensated for in the shortest time. To this end all public organs and the entire population is called upon to take part in the full implementation of our economic programmes. The broad development objectives and general strategy for the future will be to develop the country's full economic potential, to raise the standard of living of the people, to provide full employment and bring about justice and eradicate all forms of exploitation.

In achieving these objectives priority will be given, sector-wise, to Livestock, Agriculture, Industry, Water Resources Development, Mineral exploration and Exploitation, Tourism and Training. In all these fields, greater importance will always be given to projects involving directly productive activities as opposed to un-economical prestige projects. The state will have to progressively participate more directly and on a wider scale in the development of the country. We must mobilise more resources for this purpose, and the public must engage in more co-operative projects and self-help schemes.

New markets will be sought and traditional ones consolidated for local products. At the same time essential food and major commodities of consumption for which raw materials are available within the country, will be produced locally. More financial resources will be diverted to development rather than consumption.

We have not publicised our development projects because we do not want to raise the hopes of the people prematurely. We are determined to press ahead with progress, rather than to talk about our plans.

The unsolved problems of the past will be tackled, and mistakes of the former regimes will be rectified. All the efforts of the Revolutionary Government will be directed towards the development of every part of our country including remote and forgotten districts. Then «Crash Programmes» in progress will educate our people to realize the untapped vast potentialities through self-help schemes and co-operatives. With the full co-operation of the people we shall marshal our energies and mobilise all available resources to achieve national wellbeing by fighting man's greatest enemies: poverty, disease and ignorance. We ask you to play your role in the most exacting way for the fruits of our efforts will be yours and yours along.

With regard to the foreign policy of the Somali Democratic Republic, the first pronouncement of the Supreme Revolutionary Council has laid down the following objectives;

- (1) Support for international solidarity (and national liberation movements).
- (2) Oppose and fight against all forms colonialism and neo-colonialism.
- (3) Struggle to maintain Somali national unity.
- (4) Recognise strongly the principle of peaceful co-existence between all peoples.
- (5) Continue the policy of positive neutrality.
- (6) Respect and recognise all international commitments undertaken by this country.

Since the popular Revolution took place on October 21st, 1969, the Somali Government has been playing a tangible role in international affairs: We participated most effectively in the

meeting of the East and Central Africa States held early this year in Khartoum in which it was decided that the next Summit Conference be held at Mogadishu in June 1971. The selection of our capital as a venue for meeting of Heads of State and Governments of East and Central African countries naturally gives us honour and pride. The Somali delegation also participated effectively in the Islamic States Conference held at Jeddah in March 1970 and the Non aligned States preparatory meeting held recently in Dar-Es-Salaam.

In addition to all these plausible efforts and successes of the Somali Democratic Republic in the international platform, the Somali government has materially and morally contributed — however modest, to the assistance of Equatorial Guinea. This country suffered undue hardship in the hands of neo-colonialists immediately after its independence today, Equatorial Guinea one of the progressive countries of Africa, is a close friend of our country, thanks to the spirit of brotherhood which the African countries have demonstrated during her darkest hours of its statehood.

Today our voice is heard more loudly than ever before; our weight is being felt by the international community and our fervent implementation of positive neutrality has enhanced our image and prestige among the progressive nations throughout the world. The African Group in the United Nations have elected the Somali Democratic Republic to a seat in the Security Council which is the most important organ of the United Nations.

Consistent with our declared policy, we have recognised governments in exile, which have proved in line the United Nations Charter.

In a recent declaration we have made on international issues, we have unequivocally demanded that countries in Indo-China be left to run their own affairs to decide their own des-

tiny without foreign troops in their territories or political pressure on their leaders.

We signed the treaty on the Non—proliferation of Nuclear Weapons because we believe that the wealth wasted on these destructive weapons could be diverted to the welfare of mankind.

Although at the time when the popular October Revolution took place, our relations with the neighbouring countries were friendly, yet no final agreement was reached on the well-known disputes. As a result, the Somali people particularly those in the rural areas were left to live in a state of anxiety and lack of security. The revolutionary government in accordance with its pronouncements intends to find ways and means of setting our disputes with the neighbouring countries in a responsible manner and I repeat in a responsible manner and in accordance with the Organisation of African Unity Charter.

We in the Somali Democratic Republic do not intend to kindle a fire in the Horn of Africa. We have heard, and some of us have seen the effects and repercussions of war, which twice struck this world and left behind untold sorrow and suffering. What we intend to do is to press for a peaceful and amicable settlement of all disputes which engulf us and our neighbours, and which sow the seeds of suspicion and hatred between the peoples and governments of our part of the world. If these perennial and thorny problems are neighbourliness, the efforts of all states concerned, including the Somali Democratic Republic, will be concentrated on the eradication of the arch enemies of mankind — disease, ignorance and poverty, and on the economic and social betterment of our peoples.

We shall no longer content ourselves with diplomatic and hypocritical statements to our neighbours. We shall bring to the round—table conference concrete and hold proposals that touch the crux of our disputes with our neighbours, aimed at

creating prosperity, progress and everlasting peace in the Horn of Africa.

The Revolutionary Government welcomes the atmosphere of cooperation and harmony between the Somali people and the French authorities in French Somaliland.

But this atmosphere should lead to the independence of that territory. As a progressive and historically revolutionary country, France should grant independence to French Somaliland, as it has done in the case of other African countries which are today the greatest friends of the French for all times. In this context I firmly believe that the people in that territory must be given their right to exercise the principle of self—determination in a free and democratic manner, and free from any pressure of interference from any quarter or from any country, no matter what vital interests that country may claim to have in shaping the future of French Somaliland. It is our conviction that is the best solution to the thorny problem. On our part we shall reserve no efforts and explore all avenues to forge an everlasting friendship between the Somali Democratic Republic and France in all fields of cooperation. We shall also strive to make positive contribution towards the noble goal of bringing about the true independence of our brothers in the «French Somali Coast.»

The policy of the Supreme Revolutionary Council and Government with regard to the Middle East question remains unequivocal, and has the total support of the Somali people for their Arab brethren and their condemnation of Zionist aggression. We shall continue to support them to the best of our abilities in their struggle to regain the territories of the United Arab Republic, Syria and Jordan occupied by the Israel aggressors. Our rejection of the Israeli claim to these territories stems from our adherence to accepted principles of international law which do not recognise any right acquired through aggression.

The truculence, bellicosity and false vanity of the Israeli aggressors is fed and nourished by world imperialism at its free—front.

The closure of the Suez Canal does not only affect the United Arab Republic alone but also the countries in and around the Red—Sea basin, including the Somali Democratic Republic.

The European countries should not pretend that it does not affect their economics. The significant and important reasons for the cutting of the Canal more than a century ago are still valid in the modern world of today. We should not all lose sight of this reality.

Apart from our close links with the Arab World, our strong support for their just cause is animated by two main factors. As a member of the Organisation for African Unity, we have an obligation according to the charter of this organisation, to consider any aggression against a member state as aggression against us. The human aspect of the matter is also important. In this era the United Nations has bridged the gaps existing in the world, and geographic distances have been rendered insignificant as a result of modern technology. People on this planet have become so interdependent that we should be governed by international conscience. Israel seems to be forgetful of its own history. It was only in the last world war that the Jews gained the sympathy of mankind because the atrocities committed against them were inhuman. The beastly way in which innocent children were massacred could not be tolerated by the rest of the world, the ghastly manner in which Jewish men and women, young and old, were indiscriminately mutilated and cremated alive in gas chambers could not quieten those who valued humanity. It was because of this that mankind condemned Hitler, who fell victim to his own fallacy. We are condemning Israel for the same reason because

she is using the same tactics in physically eliminating innocent people and evicting them from their legitimate homes. The Zionists are following the very policy which they once complained was the cause of their destruction. Their self-destruction and their doom will be assured if they are not mindful of the realities of history, which for them was favourable witness in the second world war, but is against them today.

The African States are engaged in a bitter struggle against the minority regimes which are bent on oppressing the African peoples in South Africa, Rhodesia, Angola, Mozambique and Guinea Bissau. The efforts of the African States directed towards the liberation of the African territories under colonial and minority white regimes have achieved some measures of success through the Organisation for Africa Unity Liberation Committee and through the United Nations. Pressure has been exerted on the Western countries which trade and invest in these territories to withdraw their material and moral support from the present minority and colonial regimes in Southern Africa and elsewhere. As a result Britain, Sweden, Norway and Italy withdraw their contributions to the construction of Gabora Bassan Dam. Due to the hard work of African States, many resolutions have been passed which called upon all States to cease giving aid and comfort to the oppressive regimes in Southern Africa. Despite these efforts of the African States the illegal Government of rebel Ian Smith is consolidating its position to such an extent that he has declared a Republic.

Repressive and in—human legislation which entrenches white supremacy and rule in that territory has been enacted. Assured of military and economic support by South Africa and Portugal and other allies and encouraged by the acquiescence of the administering power i.e. the United Kingdom; the rebel government in Salisbury has introduced Apartheid into Rhodesia by the promulgation of South African type laws, which deny both civil and political rights and freedom to the African population.

The failures of sanctions against the regime in Rhodesia and the obstinancy of the South Africa Government and Portugal in Angola, Mozambique and Guinea Bissau to restore fundamental rights and freedom to the African majority is a direct result of the policy of the Western powers that pay lip service to condemnation to Apartheid and all forms of racial discrimination and yet maintain investment and trade with South Africa and its satellites in Angola, Mozambique and Rhodesia. This course of action no doubt makes a mockery of world opinion and flouts the United Nations Charter and its resolutions.

It is obvious that the African States should reconsider their strategy in their struggle against these regimes in Southern Africa and elsewhere and re-adjust their relations with countries that aid and comfort the arch enemies of the Black Africa. Our enjoyment of independence and freedom is meaningless and futile when our brothers in that part of Africa are oppressed and denied their inalienable rights to self-determination. We, the African States should redouble our efforts to awaken the world to the dangerous situation in Southern Africa which may at any moment precipitate racial conflagration, which may cause human sufferings of major proportions. As a member of the United Nations Special Committee on the Apartheid policy of South Africa and as a member of Liberation Committee of the Organisations of African Unity, the Somali Democratic Republic will continue to play an active role in the struggle against the unholy alliance and dominance of minority white regimes in every part of Africa. We shall morally and materially, support the Liberation Movements of Africa Until the last of Africa is liberated from the usurpers of Africa's wealth, dignity and pride.

I would like to conclude my address by reminding you that the progress of our country necessitates the contribution of everyone of us towards our national endeavour. If you build a school or hospital here or construct a canal there by self-help

method, I consider that to be a constructive contribution to the development and progress of our country. But we must hasten our tempo so that we gain what we have lost since independence. Due to the curtailment aid our country by certain Governments, we must prove to the world, particularly the developing nations, the resourcefulness of the Somali people and our ability to develop and advance with our own resources, however meagre, without aid with strings. This is our sacred trust which we owe to our country, to our dignity and pride as a nation and last but not least to posterity. With regard to our relations with foreign countries, I would like to emphasise that as a non-aligned State, we extend our friendship to those who return it and as a complete sovereign state our destiny is determined by the dictates our thoughts. This is the basis of our endeavour at home in nation-building and in the international issues of today and tomorrow.

AFRICA MUST BE THE MASTER OF ITS AFFAIRS.

Jaalle Siad's speech at the East and Central African States summit at People's Hall, Mogadishu, on 15—19 October 1971.

18.10.1971

DISTINGUISHED DELEGATES, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN.

I would like to welcome you to this Hall which is named after the Somali people, the residents of the capital of the Somali people which as you have already seen bid you welcome from the bottom of their hearts to your second home.

BROTHERS,

I would like to thank you very much for your acceptance of our invitation to you to participate in this Summit conference of the East and Central African States in whose name we have invited you. We would also thank you for the great importance to which you have attached to the Conference, while we fully know well of the many difficulties facing your countries so as to make this very valuable Conference a success. And for this reason you have disengaged yourselves from the great tasks which were awaiting you in your countries.

Jaallayaal, as you are aware of the fact that this Conference aims at allowing us to discuss, in a frank and brotherly manner and not in a hide and a seek fashion, and review our interests. Although our systems of government may be different,

the interests of our peoples of East and Central Africa cannot be different.

Many conferences have preceded our present one since it is the seventh in the series. I recall and you are all aware of it, that many sweet words and niceties have been exchanged in these conferences. I also recall that many resolutions were issued. I want to emphasize this while at the same time I wish to propose to you that we must discuss these resolutions, inform each other of our interests in a way that is not superficial but in a way that touches the truth.

I believe that big things await us. The countries of East and Central Africa share great things. It is for us to look closely at our own interests, to take another look at our peoples to understand the difficulties they face and to trace back the causes that made these difficulties for them and how they can overcome them.

In truth, we believe that these difficulties were created for them by imperialists who only thought about their own interests but not about the interest of the African peoples. These imperialists are those who used to colonize us before and when we achieved independence they wanted to find ways, by all possible means, to compromise us and push us into an unfavourable bargaining position, politically, economically or in the other various aspects of human development — these are based on the fact that we must fulfil their interests, that we remain dependent on them, and remain always inferior to them.

I believe that it is indispensable that we should discuss — as I have already said — in an open and frank way and at the same time take clear-cut decisions; decisions that are in line with the interests of our peoples and respective countries, relying on our strength, brains and removing from amongst us the many difficulties which have been put in our way and whose

aim was to always keep us separate and in bondage and never to reach understanding or cooperation.

It seems to me that if we attain that level it would be a way for, or a strong and unconditional support for the building and strengthening of the Organization of African Unity, but we will succeed in building true African Unity. It is clear that if Africa achieves its unity and becomes able to first remove the small obstacles put amongst its peoples, and secondly it unites for the realisation of its interests and finally bases its policy along the right guidelines which are aimed at participating in the affairs of the world, Africa will then truly become the strongest, the most respected, and the aid-donor. In truth this will be the end result and there is no doubt about it.

Brothers, as you know, many parts of Africa are still enslaved. Many African peoples who are our brothers still suffer from the pains of enslavement. I am aware of or it has been taken up in many august conference like this one, which comprised the free and independent nations of Africa, the question of doing something for them. In truth something has been done for them whether that was in the economic or politic—fields. But it seems that colonialism is still gaining grounds there. It is clear that big States which describe themselves as the friends of Africa who want and work for its liberation, are in reality strong pillars of support for those who colonise the African peoples or exterminate them or deny them the humanity for which they yearn before God and the world public opinion.

You know with what the Portuguese murder people in the territories which it still colonises. It is the weapons of NATO. Can then the peoples who are members of NATO, call themselves — «Friends of the African people?» or will they pose as the supporters of African freedom? Would we ourselves believe them when they make these claims, if they do not do something about the people who are being exterminated, who are racially des-

criminated against or are giving out support and vast quantities of weapons in such that the Africans may never achieve their independence or equality with the rest of the human race?

We cannot, in actual fact describe them as true friends of the Africans. I believe that they are friends only with their interests and not disinterested friends.

BROTHERS,

I propose from this stand, or add to that, the African countries did not get stability for the past ten years or so and that many problems have been cropped between them. I admit that this is true. But it is worth asking about the reason for this state of affairs. What is the reason?

I believe the reasons are first of all, that we are still prisoners to the former education and the system of running the government that was constructed for us, and the organisation which was designed to us. And these have resulted in the creation of a class, which in turn propelled people's greed for what was in the hands of others, and which ultimately led to misunderstanding between the people and its leadership and because of which resulted in the differences between our living standards; a very high class which lived in luxury and a very lowly one. This has created the instability.

The other factor is in truth attributable to the fact that our affairs are being interfered with a result of the so-called «aid» which, because of the many difficulties that confront us, we used to and still need, but which nevertheless does not assist us in a genuine way. We used to be given aid that is motivated by the colonialists and imperialists desire to meddle with our own affairs. This type of aid had always used to aim at establishing certain people who are sympathetic to them. These people used to drift away from their people as a result of the aid.

In short, I want to propose to my friends, the heads of East and Central African States, who are present here today that we should look very closely at our interests. We must solve our problems in a realistic way, we must leave aside all the major and perennial ones or the enemies with which we are confronted. We must free our people of these problems. We can do this in a number of ways.

a) First, we must scrutinize the «aid» given to us and if we can do without it, then we must believe in our own selves, our country, our ability and our people. Only by this can we achieve sky—high economy and a better life.

b) Secondly, we must give definite and substantial support to the African peoples who are still under colonial domination, in every way possible, whether economical, power or good counsel to them. In other words I propose that we must increase our assistance to them so that they may attain their independence one day.

I further propose dear brothers, that we look for the ways by which we can forget the minor difficulties which can possibly crop up every day among our nations. We must keep in view only the major or difficulties which can be taken as enmity which has deep roots.

I conclude my speech by thanking you very much, once again, for listening to me as well as for the invitation as the Chairman to say my welcoming address to the Conference, and in the name of the Somali people, the SRC, the Government to extend my heartfelt welcome to you once again in this country of yours — Somalia.

At the same time, I want to express our warm greetings to the distinguished guests who, representing their friendly governments and people, have honoured us with their presence

during our celebrations on the Second Anniversary of October 21, 1969 Revolution.

Jaallayaal, we are gathered here today not only to celebrate this historical anniversary, but also to review and assess our Revolutionary activities for the past twelve months and to outline, at the same time, our future activities in the development of our country.

As you all know of, we have faced in the past twelve months a number of difficulties and adverse natural conditions from which, although they have cost us dearly, yet we have drawn valuable lessons for the better defence of our Revolution in the future.

Among the various difficulties that we have encountered was the attempted reactionary plot against our nationalist Revolution that aims at the achievement of the interests of the entire people, at the opening of an honourable and independent path that will enable us to create a better life for our future off—spring; and at the adoption of Scientific Socialism as the only ideology that will realise for the Somali people, justice, a better life and unity without envy but respect. These are the aims of our Blessed October Revolution.

Among the adverse natural conditions that we have come through was the preventive campaign that we have to wage against some serious epidemics that swept through many countries. There was also the tough period of drought which was experienced throughout the country.

It is our belief that despite all the difficulties and hardship which we have experienced during the past twelve months, the Somali people have overcome them all although they must have caused us a great deal of anxiety. The credit for this success is due to in the first place, to the Somali people who have solid-

ly rallied around their Socialist Revolution.

Turning to the issue of the attempted plot against the October 21, Revolution, the question is what did compel natives of this country to plot against their country and people? Why did they have to plot against the realisation of a better life for their own children as well as those of the Somali people?

The answer is quite easy and simple. It is that they were not alone in their attempted plot. Behind their efforts stood the imperialism that always fights against any people whom it regards to be capable of or to be on the right path towards achieving a better life for themselves. Imperialism always recruits for its fight, men from among the people it is going to fight.

I can take the example of Guinea which from the very day it has won independence in 1958 upto the present time has been fighting against imperialism. The imperialist's aggression on Guinea has either been spearheaded by native Guineans or by white mercenaries who were aided by Guineans, who were recruited into the service of imperialism because of their weak characters, lust for financial gains, fulfilment of petty personal interests or the like.

I will pursue this topic further and say that it is possible for a nation that wants to achieve a high level of development or to raise its people to a better and a respectable life — is it possible for it or has it been recorded in history, that it did so without encountering difficulties from the time it adopted its pioneering ideology upto its successful realisation? The answer is no, because that is impossible. As I have already said on many occasions the achievement of everything which is useful and beneficial to the great majority of the people must require herculean efforts. If where we aim at is high then there is no doubt that the efforts needed to scale it must also be great because there are many adversaries and obstacles which must be

overcome first. But invariably it is what the people who are defending their own interests and are implementing what they want for their people and country — it is what they want that gets the upper hand. Such adversaries and obstacles that confronts them could be famine, epidemic disease and plots aimed at the heart of the Revolution. We are no exception to this general phenomena in the world.

We might however, ask ourselves what were their adverse effects on the country? And how big was the damage they caused? We say that their effects and damage were absolutely negligible, as far as the progress, the path and the aspirations of the Somali people were concerned. The credit for this is of course, due to the Somali people who — thanks God — now have realised what really was in their interest and what were then their plight, who are determined to endure all hardships and who are vigilant for the protection of their own interests

Coming to our achievements during the past twelve months, I can say, as the people of Benadir used to say that they are huge enough for the mind to disbelieve them or to think them to be possible. I am sure that my Somali compatriots would bear witness to the fact that what has been achieved is great. All the projects that we have undertaken, initiated or continued in our constant efforts are aimed towards the realisation of the common interests of our people. None of them were designed to serve the interests of an individual person or a particular group of people. A great deal of money and manpower have gone into these projects. It is my belief that no other nation, or only a few other nations have exerted such great efforts as we did in the past twelve months. Who is to be thanked for this? The answer Jaallayaal is your's, because the ideas, the planning, the money and manpower muscles were all yours.

We must have win a great victory since what has been done was all wholly the work of the mind and the muscle of the Somali

people. This shows that everyone has become conscious of his responsibility towards his country and consequently was ready to use his muscles and the few shillings he can afford, as well as to offer his ideas to those who share the work of nation—building with him.

I extend to the Somali people my sincere congratulations for their highly visible achievements in the period under review. But Jaallayaal, time will not allow me to review all our achievements in the past year in greater detail. I will, therefore, confine myself only to the major ones.

Who has undertaken the great projects that we have so far completed? The answer is that it is the people, who are the people? The Answer is the entire people excluding — we have made an accord for telling the truth to each other — those shady characters whom we always describe, such as the ones who stand by the walls, those who used to live off the fat of the Somali people, the thieves who used to steal from the people and the lackeys whose imperialist masters we sent out of the country and who still somehow maintain contact with them. I exclude all these because they have always been evil in the eyes of God, of the Somali people and the country. They had no dignity or self—respect. But I am sorry for the wives and children with whom they share the same roof and who believe in their lies. I hope that those good wives and children who are members of our young generation of new Somalia, will find out the truth about their spouses and fathers through their ill-motivated actions and unpatriotic talks. Traitors must not be believed even when they try to give more glamorous names to their thievery, reaction, and sowing of discord among the Somali people.

We tell the wives and children of such people that their welfare and bright future prospects can only be achieved through the ideological struggle that we are now waging. It

is only in this way that can your independence, freedom and fast—moving caravan of your people who comprises house—dignity be finally secured. We call upon you to join the wives, children, youth, intelligentsia, workers, farmers, pastoralists and members of the Armed Forces who on one hand guard over you and on the other share with you the nation—building activities. It is only among them that you can secure independence and freedom. The few shillings which your reactionary husbands and fathers bring to you stealthily cannot do that for you. The lies they pour into your ears will only deprive of your freedom and self—respect in the future.

It is my duty to warn those children of the consequences of the humiliating positions in which they will find themselves.

As to the traitors and imperialist lackeys themselves I would tell «you have deviated from the right path. You used to live in very bad times. You graduated in the era of election falsification, bribery, ill—gotten wealth, lies, and injustice. You used to earn your living in ignoble ways. But that era is now gone. So come back into the light, into the realities of the present times and rejoin the majority of your good people.

Seek forgiveness from Almighty God. But make no mistakes. If you don't do that then you will find yourselves in miserable places poor and ignoble. You can do no harm to the Somali people.»

As for the economy of our country, you are all aware of the fact that we have published a few months ago the 3—year—Economic Development Programme 1971—1973. The details of the expenditure earmarked for each sector of the programme. The one billion shillings which will be invested in

this period will be either from Somali sources — public and private — or by friendly countries and international organizations.

We believe that if we want to be really independent then this programme must be fully implemented within the period set for it. The main sectors are education, health, roads, wells, agriculture, livestock, marine resources, etc. You must fully support those who are serving in its implementation, with your financial, mental and muscular resources.

When we implement this programme we will attain a higher level of development and we will successfully implement the succeeding economic plans. We are doing well in the economic field and we must sustain the present rate of development.

As for the finance of the Government, I have already told you the fact that on the day we had ignited our Revolution the Government was in debt to the business community and public institutions to the tune of 90 million shillings.

I am happy to inform you today that the Government has repaid all its internal debts. No one can say today that the Government owes him anything. No longer will a merchant close his business because the Government could promptly pay for whatever it may buy. It is the clear policy of the SRC that the Government should tailor its expenditure in accordance with its resources.

In the field of medical care we have, as you all know, posted doctors to all Regional and to some District headquarters. In the coming year we believe we can assign a doctor and para—medical staff to all Districts. We do this in order to improve the health of our people. To care for human lives is of the utmost importance and it is imperative that the

national leadership must pay special attention to that. We plan to increase the supply and availability of medicines as far as our financial resources can. We also plan to increase the para—medical manpower in the country.

As for education, I need not enumerate the hundreds of schools that are built to educate our youth as well as our adult population. Let every—body look around his own locality and see for himself what has been done for education there.

We are not yet independent as far as education is concerned but we plan to do so before next October.

As you know our dependence in the educational field is caused by the fact that we teach in our schools through foreign media of instruction. These foreign languages are therefore responsible for the divergent ways of thinking and attitudes of our educated people that are foreign to the masses of our people.

As you have heard us say it every now and then, we must campaign against the present divisive educational system since we have already waged an effective campaign against tribal divisions.

We must within this year device a suitable orthography for our language. Once that is done then our children and youth will learn only one language in the schools. We already speak Somali and no more problems will arise from its use.

The problem, at present is with what should our children learn in school? If they learn through a foreign medium of instruction as they now do, would not that breed a foreign

mentality in our youth? Surely it will. We have therefore, no choice but to free ourselves educationally.

When we say that the Somali language must be written, it may seem to the general public that this is an easy task. This is not, in fact, the case. As you may all remember the Somali people have always been unanimously advocating the writing of our language. But in what script it should be written has always been a controversial subject. When we have sincerely examined the problem it was apparent to us that the dispute over choice of an alphabet has been a futile one. Scribbling something over a piece of paper, almost everybody claimed to have devised a suitable script for our language. If we now call the commission to a general meeting and asked them to recommend an alphabet to be immediately usable in our schools, would the teacher at Baidao teach his pupils a differently Somali from that at Zeila for example;

What are we going to achieve if every teacher teaches the dialect of the place he knows best? Nothing. We would in fact be extending the divisive trend of teaching so many foreign languages in our schools. I know that the Somali people love to learn their language in schools very much. We also love that while we are also fully aware of our responsibility in this matter.

The question is what is necessary for writing our language. The first problem is the suitability of the chosen alphabet whatever it may be, to represent the sounds of our language. This requires a great deal of work. To bridge the gap between the pronunciation of the words that are pronounced differently in different regions is imperative.

When we write the language, we will not be teaching it to the adults. We will teach it to the young generation. But the adults will also need to use it as quickly as possible. Both

of them will need source materials: books, but each of them knows certain vocabulary range in accordance with his age and experience. There are no books that are designed to meet each age-group's needs as yet.

While we love the early writing of our language, we have nevertheless found it imperative that we must appoint a commission to do the technical work of the language. The commission is charged with the task of collecting the vocabulary with which the Somali people can easily communicate and to translate the books at present taught in our schools into Somali. It is also charged with the task of writing the grammar of the language. To do the necessary research into the representation of the sounds of the Somali language by whatever script that may be chosen.

All these steps are necessary. Only liars and irresponsible persons do propose expedient solutions that do not offer any permanent and correct alternatives. Once we are responsible today leaders as well as the general public — we cannot and should not do that. It is imperative that our solution for our problems must be correct. As I have already said it is also imperative that our education must become free from the foreign language that we now use.

Among the most serious disadvantages from which we suffer as a result of using foreign languages as media of instruction in our schools is the multitude of foreign governments and organisations that run schools in Somalia. Some of them are Christians and even teach their religion to our children. The only way in which we can free education is therefore by waging a new revolution in our education. And we are going to do that. In the meantime we will continue to reform the existing set-up of education as we have already begun to do.

In the field of higher education, most Somali parents were eager to send their children abroad. I would like to ask the parents and in particular the mothers to think about the number of these students who returned safely home and how many were led astray; who have neither learnt anything nor came back home? I believe the number is not small. A Somali proverb says «One is consoled of the dead person but it is difficult to do so in the case of a blunt knife or the person who is still alive but nevertheless is of no use.» (Madax muuqda iyo mindi saawir ah midna lagama samro). There is no greater tragedy than to see our children becoming lost to us while they are still alive.

What I mean is that educated Somalis must teach in our higher educational institutions and our children must learn all that they want inside the country. We must aim at that goal. We can achieve it. Only by doing so we can free our education, our ideology and our youth and children of foreign cultural domination. We hope to do a great deal in that field also by next October.

If I am to turn now to the workers, the farmers, the general public and the Armed Forces, I must say to them «Thank you for the hard work you have done». At the same time I must tell them: 'This Revolution belongs to you as well as to the students and the intellectuals. You know that if we are to achieve a better life, as far as the economy, education, and human dignity are concerned then we must train and educate healthy students. We know how valuable is their education because education is the essence of everything else.

You have heard me blame our educated youth of today, because of their adoption of the different cultures of their host countries and of consequently having discarded the ways of their own Somali people. But although I have done that

yet you all know that I did not intend to insult them. Never, I merely wanted them to become alive to the importance of their own culture and armed with it to join in the fight their country is waging for development and thereby play their roles in the general schemes of things. They must help their country with their education.

I repeat my thanks to the intellectuals, the Armed Forces, the workers, the students, the farmers and the broad masses of the people. We have done well so far. But you have to defend your Socialist Revolution which will lead us to a brighter future as I have already said.

To proceed on, I must touch on yet another of the things for which our people deserve praise. This is when we were fighting against the notoriety of divisions among the Somali people that were based on tribalism. The whole world knows today the high degree of unity attained by the Somali people thanks to the sincere willingness of the broad masses of our people. The way our people indentified their enemy the way they rejected it and how they threw tribalism behind their backs is indeed commendable. A small minority of people who are either faithless or belong to the category which I have discribed earlier my still cling to tribalism. But that will not harm us. We have to forget them since the greater majority of our people have no place for tribalism and for this deserve a great deal of praise as they did for the overcoming of the other various difficulties that have confronted us in the past.

When I say «defend your Revolution» I say so because your Revolution is against everything that may either stain your honour, spoil your economy, check your progress towards a better life or work against your unity, justice and equality.

At the same time it helps and promotes anything that may be instrumental in achieving a better future for all of us. Isn't it your duty then, to defend your Revolution?

Now I deal with the question of the District Development and Affairs Officers — the DDAO'S who were formerly known as the District Commissioners. I do this because many people do not understand what their work really is. Let us begin by asking ourselves what was their job before the Revolution and what is it today? The same is also true of the Regional Governors.

Before the Revolution their work was to sow the seeds of discord among tribes and once they do that surreptitiously, then to claim that they were working for peace and harmony between them. We believe that they used to work for disharmony among the people. By fair means or foul, it was their job to divide the people as the past corrupt regimes wanted.

At present their work and functions are very much different from that. It is the work of the DDAO to orientate and guide the people who reside in the districts. He must work for their unity, peace, harmony, mutual respect and justice. He must also work for their economic advancement, under peaceful conditions by channelling their collective efforts towards useful goals and objectives. These are their real duties and although I admit the fact that they have done a great deal, for which they deserve our praise, yet the greater part of that praise must go to the people themselves to whom we are serving.

It is the policy of the Government that their duties must be increased and enlarged during the coming years. We are

going to issue a new law on the reform and reorganisation of the local Government administration. This law will enable the local peoples to have greater participation in the affairs of their localities.

At this stage I can say that the people who will participate in the reorganised local administration of various parts of the country, must be «healthy» people. They must be clean from all kinds of crimes against the Somali people and they must believe in our socialist principles, in the unity of the Somali people, in achieving the interests of the Somali people, and in the economic development of the country. Only clean people must be allowed to serve their people in the local administration. They must not have taken part in the corrupt regimes of the past. Only those people, who think it is essential to achieve and who feel proud of Somali unity, their freedom, equality and justice and who sustain themselves and their families by their own sweat and toil must participate in them. They must know and believe in these noble objectives.

Coming to the Armed Forces, you all know that its members did not come from «special» families, rich families. At least the greater majority come from the broad masses of our people. The work they do for the people is a very important one. They are, as you used to sing about them, the real guardians of the independence, freedom and the sovereignty of the Somali people. The Police are those who look after your properties and lives while you are in bed. They fight the thieves and the criminals. It is they who dispense justice to you when you trespass on the rights of each other and if they are unable to do so it is they who take you to courts of law.

The Army also is the one who is always ready to defend the country and its people against external aggression and in-

ternal sabotage that are aimed at your enslavement as a nation, at hindering your economic progress in order to achieve better lives, and at nullifying your freedom. They are, as you know, ready to participate as well in our peaceful endeavour which is aimed at nation—building by their voluntary labour as well as by their monetary contributions from their meagre salaries. You can easily verify that the tasks they perform for their country and people are really very great. They built premises for the storage of the weapons with which they defend the country. They did so with their own labour and money. These buildings would have cost us millions, if we were to build them in the usual way. And today, in accordance with the new policies and principles of the Government, they also participate in the task of growing more food for the nation. There are many farms which they run and manage. They have also taken a lion's share in the general efforts otherwise extorted in the agricultural sectors.

Our Army therefore, has a dual role to play today. On the one hand they are able and ready to defend their country against external aggression while on the other they are also ready to do their share in the elimination of disease, hunger and ignorance. We say thanks to the Armed Forces. To go back once more, I say to them, to the students, the workers, the farmers and the broad masses of our people, that we have done a great deal but that we have a lot more to do in the future as well. You have, therefore, to double your efforts until such a time when we can empty our streets of our brothers and sisters who are either hungry or unemployed. If I am to review all our achievements of the past or the hope that such achievements have generated in us, I will not be able to do so in the time available to me. But I will try to summarise them in the newspapers and there you will be able to read the number of offices, schools etc that were built during that period.

I believe that we have done a great deal in the field of justice also, despite the fact that people still do continue to voice complaints about its administration. We have to do a lot and I am confident that the time will soon come when we will all be satisfied of its administration. We aim to achieve the level in which all people will be equal in securing justice; where no fear or favouritism may be able to tip the balance one way or the other and where the person really gets what was actually given to him in a court of law. I am confident of that. You are, nevertheless, aware of the fact that we cannot achieve everything overnight. Time is required for the achievement of our goals.

I need not talk on the situation of law and order in the country for you are all aware of the prevalent peace and tranquility throughout the country. It is our policy to deal severely with anybody who tries to jeopardize the security and peace of the Somali people. In our firm belief that peace is the essential base upon which a better life can be built, we will leave no stone unturned in bringing the full weight of the law against such people. Peace must prevail, and thanks God for the improvements that have been made.

But mark my words. We do not believe that this is due to the fact that people were jailed or the Government's hand became stronger or is even due to the new and strict laws enacted since the Revolution. Never. We believe this to be due to the greater sense of responsibility displayed by almost every Somali person. He realized that the theft of one's brother's property or killing him for it, for the grave crime it is. Moreover, to do that would destroy his chances in this world as well as in the hereafter.

The peace and the tranquility we enjoy today, therefore is due to the greater sense of responsibility by our people in both rural and urban areas of the country. We, being the res-

possible leaders of the country, extend to them our sincere thanks in the name of the nation for this new awareness.

As far as Commerce is concerned, you are aware of the fact that we have also taken great strides in serving the interests of Armed Forces, the workers etc and the general public that we knew of the great difficulties that faced them. In the past these people's interests and dignity were never taken into consideration. As far as food was concerned we have done a great deal although there are still many gaps. It is our firm intention to close these gaps in the future.

As for the important—export trade, you all remember the fact that I have addressed myself to the business community a number of times. Despite my repeated warnings they seem to be deaf to the voice of the Government.

Had they accepted our just proposals to the effect that they should conduct their business in the right and just way and to forget the ways to which they have become accustomed, then it would have been possible that the government might not have interfered with them and that they might have retained their business. For example, I am aware of the fact that if the bottle of hair oil used to cost only 3 shillings at the inception of the October Revolution, its price today is over 10 shillings, I ask myself many a time the cause of this state of affairs. I know of the fact that the Government did not impose any taxes on hair oil. Why do the merchants have to raise its price so high? That is one aspect of the problem. The other one is that if a merchant used to claim to have imported a million shillings' worth of commodities, he does not import even a one—hundred—thousand shillings' worth now. This again invites a number of questions as to why the merchants do that.

The worst thing of all is that, as I have said many times, they do not try to export any of the many commodities that

abound in the country. They never try to engage themselves in the export business despite the fact that their licences show them as being exporters as well. This adds nothing to the economic development of the country. We declare our displeasure at the way in which they conduct their businesses. This is so, because they seem to be ignorant of the possibilities open to them in the export business as well.

We warn them, once more, that the Government will not tolerate anybody who tries to obstruct its revolutionary policies that are aimed at serving the interests of the broad masses of the people. It will not also tolerate anybody who tries to waste its time.

We declare to the business community — whether they are nationals or aliens — that they can do business in this country in the right and correct manner. They are absolutely free to do so. If you don't do that the Revolution will not accept your lopsided trading policies which are based on imports nor your marking of time in order to sabotage it. Somalia must move ahead regardless, whether you like that or not. You must also take into account the fact that the money with which you trade belongs to the Government's banks with which you deal. We know of that fact too. If you try to damage the economy of the country or refuse to export the commodities produced in this country, or mark time while raising prices higher and higher, then the Government would nationalise the business in which you specialise in the same way as it did with the trade in maize and sorghum. It can easily do that.

I therefore, advise you to do business in the right and correct way by which you can profit and which does not harm the broad masses of the people. Do business in accordance with the principles of the Revolution and in line with the economic development of the country. The Somali people believe that

the statement of profession of Islamic is repeated thrice. That is why I will never warn the business community for another time. Our future actions will be based on how you heed to our present warning. So please yourselves.

I have called upon you before to contribute to the development of the country by establishing new factories and new enterprises. I am not satisfied about your hoarding of money in your mattresses and about your lack of cooperation in pooling your resources for the establishment of small industries which you can easily do. You are turning your back to the development of the country as you are now.

You must know that we ourselves are going to establish a number of small industries if God so wishes. But I do not know where you will take your hoarded wealth. I am not sure whether you would join those people who have already smuggled their money out of the country and who do not know that their fate will be but whose fate we are sure is doomed for they will come back into this country as poor men since they felt it rich. This is the motherland out of whose wealth they have cheated.

To sum up, it is the policy of the Revolutionary Government that the business community must export the produce of the country, competing in the international market with the produce of the other countries and to import all that we need from abroad in an honest and correct way and to sell them to the people in prices that do not amount to exorbitance. I urge you to base your commercial dealings on these policies which are formulated by the Revolutionary Government and which support and assist the realisation of the greater majority of our people and the country as well.

I need not waste our time in talking about our foreign policy, since I have tackled the subject on more than one occasion

I have already informed you as well as the rest of the world that our policies are not ones which are formulated at the night to be changed on the following morning. They are policies which are based on the same time in line with the principles and interest in the first place and are at the same time in line with the principles of international justice and goodwill. We, therefore cannot condone the actions of the nations that colonise others, neither can we approve of the big or wealthy nations that exercise their might upon other and weaker ones. We cannot condone or tolerate aggressive invasion on and occupation of the free and independent nations by others. It is for these reason that we condemn and oppose the Israeli occupation of Arab territories, or the United States occupation and aggression on the peoples of Indo-China. These can be termed as inhuman acts of aggression.

Similarly we cannot accept the racial domination and enslavement of the African peoples in South Africa and Portuguese occupied territories in the continent. We condemn them as strongly as we condemn their collaborators because of the fact that neither the whites in South Africa and Rhodesia nor the Portuguese could have possibly dominated the people in these territories had it not been for the support extended to them by these great powers. These are the main tenets of our foreign policy.

To do well on the subject still further, I must say that our policies are based on non-alignment and neutrality. This however, does not mean that we are going to consider or treat our friends and foes alike.

But it means that we always be free to conduct our foreign policies the way we want. We are basing them on international peace, justice and peaceful co-existence. Where problems crop up between the nations then the parties concerned should peacefully solve them independently and without re-

sort to force. At all times, however, we must know our friends from our foes. We have said that we are fighting against disease, poverty and ignorance and we are going to fight these enemies with our own resources and efforts having confidence in our selves, our people and country. He whoever assists us in this war is our friend. Likewise anyone who obstructs our way and hinders us is our enemy. We have based our policies and principles on socialism which bids us to work and to apportion the fruits of our labours honestly and justly. Our principles, therefore forbids us to tolerate exploitation of man by man. We cannot be friend to those who oppose these principles. We can have good dealings of mutual benefits only with those who believe that these principles are the correct ones.

Our internal policies for example are based on the unity, equality, justice, independence and progress of the Somali people. He who jeopardises these principles cannot be our friend. It is impossible that we be friend any one who does not believe or who dislike such noble principles and does not want us to free ourselves from all indignities and enslavement. The same is true of all those who do not want to see us achieve progress, or do not want to see our skin or our ideals. These are our enemies and so to fight them is our sacred duty.

Many people misunderstand the statement that we are neutral and non-aligned in our foreign policy. We ourselves must not however, suffer from this conclusion. We are neutral and non-aligned among the best lot. We are with those whose principles and policies are the just ones by being on mutual respect, peaceful co-existence and justice. But we cannot be neutral and non-aligned with regard to those who are against the principles.

On the African scene, I must recall the fact that Africa used to be colonised by non-Africans. Later most of the

people of the continent attained their independence. But is their independence full and complete? For example, was the type of independence we used to have in the past a complete one? We know we were manipulated from behind our backs — from far away and bigger cities abroad — by other governments which used to lead us whichever way they wished. Now we call upon Africa to free itself from such humiliating situation. We call upon the leaders of Africa to look at the realities of our times right in the face. Let them build the economy, their sovereignty and achieve a better future for their own peoples. Let them rely solely on themselves. Let them reject all sorts of the so-called foreign «aid». Let all the Africans rely on each other through mutually beneficial economic and commercial links. This is so because their continent is a rich one that is rightly described as the continent of the future. If the African leaders do not do something about their freedom and economic independence now, then it will not achieve its objectives and it will always remain a divided continent.

For the African territories still under colonial domination, we call upon independent Africa to be alive to the plight of their own brothers and sisters. It is impossible for any part of Africa to claim independence while other parts are still under the yoke of colonialism. It is through these colonially-dominated parts that colonialism and imperialism will undoubtedly launch their aggressive schemes against the independent parts. «What is the latest cropse? Asks a Somali rhetoric and the answer is «The dead person who is being taken to the Grave?» So the latest example of this nature was the recent aggressive attempts of South Africa against Zambia. If the African peoples of South Africa, Namibia, Angola or Mozambique were free, then it would have been impossible for the imperialists to attack Zambia. At the same time so long as these African peoples are colonized Zambia cannot claim to be really independent. The same is also true of Somalia, Eth-

iofia, Kenya and of any other African country. Our independence and sovereignty depend on the freedom of other parts of Africa. We must employ whatever we can; whether it is money, strength, diplomacy and wisdom in order to free colonised Africa. This is our belief. As for the many problems created by colonialism between the African countries we urge the parties concerned to solve them peacefully and independently.

Furthermore, we urge Africa to play a more active role in the affairs of the world. Africa must not remain divided and consequently must not wait for the rest of the world to decide things on its behalf. Africa must not wait for a foreign officer to do her homework for her. Africa is a big and rich continent with a sizeable population and has, therefore, every right to play its role on the international scene. We cannot and should not wait for the big nations of Europe or America to create problems somewhere else and suffer the consequences as much as the real culprits. There is nothing more terrible and humiliating than that. Africa must end this state of affairs by participating more fully in the affairs of the world.

Recently, for example, there was a serious monetary crisis in the world. The crisis was generated by the United States which said that it will not respect its undertaking of exchanging its dollars back for gold. As a result of this nations of the world began to hold meetings to discuss the best ways of solving it. What did Africa do about? Where did it hold the meetings? It was not possible for Africa to meet and hold consultations on the crisis because many of the African countries are tied to the French economy, others to the British and yet others to various western economies. Independent African nations are not economically free and therefore are not free to decide on such issues. Nevertheless, they suffer the consequences like anyone else.

Similarly, it is possible that these nations of Europe and America may start the Third World War, without taking the least considerations of the African opinion. Nevertheless, Africa will surely suffer the mass—killings and devastation of the war in the same way as its originators. Isn't it a great shame not to be consulted on the war whose effects you are sure to suffer? Do we expect to be invited to such international forums if we ourselves do not pull our weight in order to secure our own rights? I call upon the leaders of Africa to consider this matter very seriously.

Now I move on to explain our views on our relations with our neighbouring countries with whom we share mutual interests, and with whom we had problems since our achievement of independence. It is our belief that we should not antagonise and hate each other and resort to arms because of the human and territorial problems created for us by colonialism. This is so because we firmly believe that these problems were created by the imperialists in the pursuit of their own selfish ends. Being responsible people, must we stand by the colonialists schemes that still continue to serve their purpose? I believe we must not do that. Today we are the leaders who are responsible for the destiny of our own people. We must, therefore, discuss these existing problems honestly and realistically and reach honourable solutions. Let the leaders concerned secure their rights in accordance with the truth. What can we achieve if we approach our problems in the attitude that is aptly described by the Arabic saying «I am a prince, and you are a prince, who is then going to lead the donkey?»

As I have already stated on several occasions, we call upon our neighbouring brothers to come to the negotiations' table in order to iron out disputes and differences comprehensively, realistically, responsibly, and in the spirit of African brotherhood. We must approach these negotiations in a healthy way in order to reach lasting solutions which are mutually bene-

ficial. Once we do that then we will reap rich rewards in the way of good neighbourliness, brotherhood and cooperation.

When I speak in this way, I am fully aware of the fact that the many difficulties that confront the Somali people and of which you are all aware, and against which we are fighting today, do also confront the people of our neighbouring countries. With all these problems and difficulties of eliminating poverty, disease and ignorance, isn't it meaningless to waste time on anything else? It is our policy and I call upon our neighbouring brothers to seek ways and means of achieving understanding that may lead to the settlement of all the colonially—created problems so as to serve the future interests of our people, their freedom, brotherhood and good neighbourliness.

Jaallayaal,

I have to turn now to some internal issues and to our accord for the coming year.

People frequently ask me on how are we going to proceed in our nation building without the creation of a political party that may lead the people. Jaallayaal, I believe this to be a very important and a very comprehensive issue but I am sure that the Revolutionary Government will cross that bridge when it comes to it. This is so because we do not want under any circumstances, to gather at one place or another some people who may sow the seeds of discord among you.

Having reviewed that, we have so far, achieved and after having stated what we should do in the future, I must now underscore the fact that what we have done in the past is very far less than that we should do in the future. Our ability and capacity to do much more than we did in the past is very great. Only two years back we could not have even dreamed of achieving as much as we did. To see what we have achieved

ved one had only to look around his region or district. For example nobody had ever thought, two years ago, that we can achieve half as much of what we have done in Mogadishu, the capital of our country. Even the imperialists are dumb—founded at what we have done for ourselves. They did not understand your value as a people or the fact that what the people sincerely want is much more important than money. They never attached any importance to these facts.

I repeat once again that what we have undertaken in little and what we have to do in the future is very great indeed. I therefore, call upon you to double your efforts in the economic development of the country.

We must always be ready to surmount the difficulties that confront us from day to day since there are bound to be many obstacles in our way. If we want to achieve greater prosperity and self—respect, then we must do our very best. Be vigilant for the defence of your country, your freedom and your socialist revolution and its noble principles. I understand those people who consider this to be the responsibility of such and a such group, organ or force. «I am not a Spy» many people retort when they are asked to defend their revolution. Many a time, I ask myself the question: Who is a Spy? Then, if he who defends his country against internal and external sabotage is dubbed as a spy, what is the name which we are to give to he who defends his country? I believe this to be a misnaming that we have inherited from the colonial era.

A spy should be one who works against the interests of his country and who stabs his people from the back. Isn't the person who defends his country against its enemies used to be called a nationalist? Was not he used to be known as courageous one? Aren't they those for whose memories we've built statues everyday?

How can any one of them be mistaken for the other? He who defended his religion his dignity, his country, his freedom, his life and the path that would lead his offspring to prosperity how can he be called a spy? I believe that such a person will go to paradise without the least scrutiny. What better things can one defend? Nothing.

I call upon you to leave the confusion of the past behind your backs. Let us all become responsible—conscious, and in unity, defend the principles of our Revolution. You know the fact that our Revolution will surely have many enemies. If you consider our achievements of the past and the huge sums of money that we have spent, you would realise how the Revolution can have enemies. Where did these huge sums of money used to go?

Will those people who used to grasp them for their own use be friend to the Revolution? Will those who used to enslave us in poverty and disease now be satisfied if we reject their principles and go our way? No. They will never be satisfied. They will always fight against us. We must, therefore, defend our Revolution. We must be wide awake for the security of our country.

Dear Brothers,

The outward signs of the people who are likely to make progress is that they love each other. I call upon you to love each other very sincerely. The freedom that each one of us lives cannot be attained if we do not work for it in complete collaboration with all our brothers. We must forgive the minor offences of our brothers. We must have faith in each other.

No one can achieve freedom for himself alone. Your freedom depends on your cooperation and solidarity with all your brothers.

Finally I renew my congratulations to you in the name of the SRC and the Government. I say «Happy anniversary to you all.»

I hope that, by relying on ourselves we will celebrate the next anniversary in prosperity.

Thank you, Long Live Somalia, Long Live Somali Unity, May Peace be upon us.

ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE
Speech by Jaalle President to the
Judiciary Branch of the Government.

1.1.72

It is a great honour for me to participate in the inauguration ceremony of the Judiciary year.

Two years have elapsed since the 21st October Revolution which strongly advocated to create a society founded on the principle of Popular Sovereignty, equality and justice and the right of the Somali citizens without distinction, for a better social life. The administration of law, I am glad to say, has shown an upward trend during the two years of Revolution despite the multivarious short-comings inherent in the historical background of the existing laws.

Laws are made by authority for the proper regulation of a community or society or for a correct conduct in life. History suggests that in proportion as conditions change rapidly, societies require institutions with the capability both to determine what is right and to exert the might to enforce it. But history also suggests that the co-existence of these capabilities implies a considerable consensus on values among the members of society, including the value of maintaining the society itself.

Each nation has its own culture, its own values, its own procedures which its own people consider just. Each finds it difficult to envisage universal justice as an extension of its own conceptions.

It is doubtlessly true that justice is a function of a community, of a culture emerging from their exchange of ideas and values, and of a society in which cooperation toward some goals, flowing from these common values, develops.

Here is where our fault lies in the administration of justice. We have mostly imported laws which do not emanate from our culture, our own values and our own procedures. Such laws, it is true to say, will always fall short to satisfy the mentality and social structure of our people no matter how well developed or universally accepted they may be. It is equally true that our law administrators and judges are educated in foreign countries and are under the influence of an alien culture which makes difficult for them to administer justice adequately in dealing with the prevailing social problems in the country.

To find a solution for this thorny problem, we must first understand its reality. Once we understand this, we should waste no time to formulate laws which must be in line with our religion, customs, revolution, social development and our way of thinking. What we really need are laws which must be short and sharp. Our laws should also bear a true reflection.

Justice implies that the outcome of disputes or conflicts shall be in a measure satisfactory to the society and even to the litigants. It is perhaps uncommon for the loser in a litigation to be happy about it, but in a well-ordered society with established standards of justice, he is usually ready to accept the judgement.

Without justice there will be no peace, no nation and no social or economic development. The result will be a state of chaos in which catastrophe is inevitable.

The members of a healthy society will strongly respect and protect law and order so long they feel that their rights are being defended by the proper administration of justice from the few individuals who tend to be habitual law-breakers.

The greater responsibility here lies with you judges. The people must be convinced through your impartial dealings with their cases in court that justice is being administered properly and to the satisfaction of all.

Another point of relevance is the question of detentions. It is necessary that persons detained for some reasons or other should not be kept in detention for long.

The matter must be speeded up in the interest of the individuals' freedom. Such long detentions are also bound to create the problem of over-crowding in prison cells, not to mention the heavy burden this presents to the public purse.

In a progressive society, the law is a reflection of human values and purposes. Yet, it must be above every-body.

The qualities of a judge cannot be coped with in a short speech like this. He should, above all, be patriotic, honest, respectable, brave and highly responsible.

He should be one who is always proud of his profession, country and and people. The people should respect him not for fear of his power in office but for his useful services for the society and for his courage, patriotism, generosity and mental capacity. He should be a man of high moral integrity under all circumstances.

Anyone without the above qualities is not worthy of being called a judge.

Jaallayaal, we are all holding offices to serve the Somali interest. It is, therefore, a matter of «must» that no one should either escape with a crime committed against the Somali interest or pay for a crime not committed. Justice must be administered in accordance with the law and in all fairness and timeliness.

Public participation is absolutely necessary to make this new move bear useful fruits. The society must, therefore, be oriented through the mass media and through regular orientation programmes organized by the National Guidance Centres now in operation throughout the country.

Trial of cases should be given to priority. Every judge must know that he is dealing with a human problem. It is unfair to keep a person long in prison when he is actually innocent. Equally, the public interest is injured by feeding a person who committed no crime. I very much appreciate, however, the achievements of the campaign introduced recently to reduce pending work in the courts.

It seems unlikely that order can be permanently maintained if justice is ingored. The public should take note of this. If we want justice to prevail, we should respect and fully cooperate with those who administer it. Theirs is a difficult job which is bound to be doomed to failure without the assistance of the public at large. It goes without logic to expect good and honest work from someone while, at the same time, backbiting him, humiliating him, corrupting him and distorting the facts.

Good judges are the products of a healthy society. Hence, we should develop our society to be a healthy one in order to have the type of Civil Servants we want.

It is very unfortunate that the police constable does not enjoy the respect he deserves in certain public circles. Some people trade with propaganda which ridicules him as the enemy of society.

The Police and other security forces, the people should know, are the guardians of law and order.

They are the organs selflessly dedicated to safeguard the lives of the people and to secure for them justice, free movements, peace and tranquility. Just imagine that lonely man on the street while everybody else is enjoying a beautiful sleep. Why is he there at odd hours and under unpleasant weather conditions? The answer is simple; he is protecting you from being disturbed from your sleep by the uninvited guest called the thief. In this way, he also protects your property from being stolen. Is he then your enemy or your intimate friend? I leave the answer for the public to decide.

It is high time that we should do away with the wrong mentality and naive way of thinking which classifies the Police constable as the enemy of the society merely because he deals with spies and murders. What will then the spies or killers be? They will, perhaps, be the most honoured and respected members of the society? NO! They are not. In actual fact they are the real enemies of a society.

Our society needs to be reoriented on the principles of good citizenship. And we should spare no efforts to fight and eliminate these ideas of colonial heritage.

I also consider it a matter of paramount importance to give the junior members of the judiciary a professional training in order to equip them for the requirements of this important organ.

The Somali society, I must say, has respected law and consequently achieved the desired peace and tranquility necessary for united, progressive society. The tranquility of our people and their selfless efforts to contribute to the social and economic development of the country is a praise-worthy attitude intelligence, sense of response and responsibility and patriotic sentiment.

Another point I would like to stress is an act of great patriotism which reached my knowledge recently and in which members of the public were responsible for the arrest of criminals single-handed.

My word of praise also goes to the Police Force in appreciation of the active role they play in keeping law and order. They have carried out their often difficult mission of taking adequate precautionary measures to prevent crime by bringing the few criminals before justice with a sense of responsibility.

I wish all the members of the Judiciary a very successful New Year.

**JAALLE SIAD'S SPEECH TO PARTICIPANTS OF 6TH HALA-
NE COURSE, HE ADDRESSED HERE A LARGE CONTINGENT
OF UNIVERSITY GRADUATES & HIGH RANKING
CIVIL SERVANTS.**

29.7.1972.

JAALLAYAAL, May Peace be upon you.

I know you have accomplished your tasks and therefore it is not necessary to delay the release of a man when he carries out his duty well; we did not intend to do that. Once you have finished your orientation Course, in this case the 6th, it was necessary that you should get your documents and all your personal reports, whether good or bad which ought to be ready in time. It seems that there had been some delay but there won't be any last minute reverse orders any longer. To come back to the point, I want to give you today, though we did have some earlier discourse during your time in this place of orientation for present and future civil servants, a last word as an advice and memorandum.

Jaallayaal, you are — all of you — members of the Civil Service that serves the Somali people. You will remember the fact that, on the very first day of the Revolution, you were the first group of people upon whom we — those of us who have spearheaded the Revolution — have called. Even before broadcasting the event to the world, we took it to be our duty to sum-

mon you for a briefing session about the principles and the policies of the Revolution as well as the causes that had led to its ignition. We firmly believed that those principles and policies were, and still are and will for ever be, in the interest of the Somali people.

We have told you that the Revolution also belongs to you in the same way that the country belongs to you and to the Somali people. We have also informed you the fact that you were the «eyes» of the Somali people in terms of knowledge experience, educational qualifications and administrative skills. It was for this reason, that we called upon you to direct the affairs of the government honestly, and to shoulder your share of this responsibility as diligently as possible.

Jaallayaal, we have not betrayed our promise to shoulder our own share of the burden.

The second step was that, while present were those who had initiated the Revolution (they would have been beheaded if it had failed) we had, nevertheless, handed over to you the responsibility of running the administration of the State.

We have chosen for its direction a number of civil servants like you who were personally known to us. It was possible, of course, that there were better persons, unknown to us, among the Civil Service. We have told them: «Jaallayaal, it appeared to us that the country could not have been saved from the abyss without the use of force. We have saved the country of this fate and we have handed it to you in order to administer it better.»

From that day and upto the present time, the government of the country has been in your hands with the exception of few long-term policy questions. It is almost three years from that day now and I would, therefore, give you a clear account

of what I think of the past three years. I hold the view -- and the entire Somali people share it with me, whether they are in the rural or in the urban areas of the country, that it is only those who have benefited most by the freedom that we have won; who have enjoyed the highest places of authority; and in short, those who had benefitted most from the independence of our country; it is such elements who now constitute the greatest obstacle in front of the progress of the people.

It is an indisputable fact that those who have relations with the colonialists and those who prepare the plots with them are such elements as I have described above. I am not however, confining my accusation to the civil servants alone. I always like to talk about the realities that confront us as well as the truth. Therefore, when I say that it is the well-to-do people of the Civil Service who are the enemies of the country, I do not mean that they all fall under the enemies of the country, I do not mean that they all fall under these categories, never. There are men of integrity and nationalism in the Civil Service. But the traitor does not come from the ranks of the broad toiling masses of the peoples. Mark my words. The traitor always belongs to the upper crust of Society. This is the truth. Without lying or being cowardly, we can say that it is the well-to-do and men at the higher places of power who still carry tribalism about on their shoulders. It is they who fabricate the lies and the malicious rumours that are circulated about in the towns. Those who conspire against the Revolution every single night so as to propagate lies about it are those who enjoy the best fruits of the country, whether these work for the State and are, in the upper echelons of the Civil Service or those who have already attained the highest standards of living in the country or else have such other descriptions or labels, the bourgeoisie in general.

In truth there are no other people who fight against the country. If there are nepotism and injustices, it is they who

perpetrate them. If there is opposition to our principles, finding faults with and abusing them, it is they who do it. There is no other group of people who does that.

Jaallayaal, I believe that three years since the inception of the Revolution is enough for everybody to judge our intentions. Unless my memory fails me I believe I have said, at the time, that we were beginning with a clear book

We are not going to do anything about what has happened in the past. Many a crime has been committed against this country and if we were to pursue the course of sorting out these crimes, then the time in which we would have spent in the service of the people would all be consumed in such futile efforts. It is imperative and necessary, therefore, to forget about the past crimes against the country. We should start with a fresh, clean book and we must let everybody write in it whatever he wants, be it nationalism, dishonesty, treason or the fact of being an imperialist lackeys etc. But, remember that it is in accordance with what one chooses to write for himself in the book, that we must per force, treat him.

We have thought — and we have discussed the matter at length — that our people were being misled for a long time, now, they were mentally conditioned to accept an abnormal way of life, were bribed or were used to getting more than their due share. They were set against each other, bad things got reported to one as being said by the other, in short they were made to harbour ill-feelings towards each other. We thought therefore, that such great wounds, degraded principles, the bad faith, the envy and the evils that were steeped then could not be healed very easily. We thought, we must not lose our patience and we must ignore them for the time being. However we must step up the guidance and orientation of the people. The people are not made of stones. They are human beings and those who are true Moslems or value

human dignity and self—respect will eventually heed to our advice. As to the scullywags, we hope to catch them red—handed and then we will deal to them the final storke. That is why we have decided to give them time to incriminate themselves.

We have been pursuing this policy for a long time now. So, by reviewing the past and thoroughly analysing it we have to draw the correct conclusions. We must ask ourselves that the results of our policy are...

As I have said earlier we hear from everywhere in Somalia today: «The Somali Democratic Republic is really moving ahead and that it has begun to follow the right path which would lead it out of the darkness and into the light, but there are still some thorns stern on its patch».

These thorns are the work of Civil servants. You must, for heavens' sake, do something about them, especially those who are in the upper echelons of the State bureaucracy as well as those who run errands for them of whom we all know about. They are the ones who harbour tribalism. We the general public, have already agreed to bury it and so did the youth. We have agreed to stand up for our patriotism and unity.

«But if and when the one who administers our own affairs fights anyone who stands for a patriotism or anyone who promotes the unity of the Somali people, aren't we wise and right to be afraid of him so we may not be dismissed from our jobs or in order to escape prison as a result of the falsification or forging of incriminating papers by our superiors?» Thus speak the masses of the people and they are telling the truth.

Jaallayaal, having said this in general terms, I would now address myself to you. You have been given the nickname of (CALI DAMAACI) — Ali the Greedy. It has been the custom

of this Centre since its opening, when the Somali people built it on the basis of self—help with their own hands and in which, I myself, have taken part, and up to the present time to give each patch a nick—name that began with «Ali». All the groups that have graduated from it share the name of «Ali» but your «Ali» is given the derisive adjective of GREEDY.

I am positive that you did not give the nick—name «Ali the Greedy» to yourselves neither did we give it to you. Truth then, is this: It is said that inaudible whisperings are no speech and with half—closed eyes one cannot see well (HUNNU' HUNNU' HADAL MAAHA, HIMBIRIRSINA WAX ARAG MA AHA). I believe that those who have coined this nickname are not at all loyal to their country.

Neither do they belong to those who have principles nor to those who have faith in their country; nor to those who are ready to struggle and uphold the name of their country. But they are those who are against our principles and our country.

It is the faithless ones, those who lack confidence in themselves and those who are of no consequences, those whose future is dark and are afraid that their evil deeds would be uncovered and would therefore meet their well—deserved end. It is only such people who can coin a name like this.

Jaallayaal, I would like to sum up, and this is my message to you, by saying this: Today there is no one who has monopoly over politics nor over the service to the country and defense of our principles.

Our policy — and thanks God for that — is today based on the fact that each Somali should fulfill his duties to the country in complete equality with everyone else. He should play

his role in a clear way as I have already described, with liberated mind and heart. He should not try to do so, out of preference.

Now, since there is no individual who has monopoly over the affairs of our nation and since I have given you a clear historical perspective of how we planned for you to lead our people — those of you who had the wider experience whether that is in public administration or in education — and as I have made some comments on what the greater majority of the Somali people believe, and lest any person of integrity be injured, I must make some clarifications. When I say a person, therefore, I always mean everybody and girls should understand me on this score. We believe that it is impossible for all the people to be in the same boat. But the greatest cry does not often come from the general public. If it is the minority who holds such an opinion, a minority cannot have such a loud voice. If there is a general outcry, it invariably means that the majority is not happy about the turn of events in a country and that is really very unfortunate.

Jaallayaal, you have not been brought here so that you may get rest, or sit about idly, and not because the country does not need you. The object, as I have explained before, is to enable you to get acquainted with each other, to make up for what you lack in proficiency of knowledge that is indispensable for your work; to give you a period of time in which your minds may rest and your general physique may get nourishment from useful activities that may be of benefit, and finally to enable you to argue about and discuss the language, the frame of mind and the ideology with which our country should be guided to prosperity. These were the objectives behind your courses at this Centre and also to understand each other. This centre can therefore be called the centre for understanding. To enable you to sit down, discuss things and work out

our goals and the way we should go about achieving our own goals, have been the aim behind the creation of this Centre, if I were to ignore everything else.

I hope you have achieved the desired objectives, I also hope that you would go about your work, to which you are to return shortly, in the correct way.

As Almighty God bears witness to, we do not want to inflict any injustice on any Somali or to any human being for the matter. But we will not let anyone who is not loyal to the country, or who is unable to do for the people what he is duty bound to, to burden them. Let everybody get this clear, because this is the truth and as the Somali proverb holds it, «Truth and teeth must be made white» (RUN IYO ILKABA WAA LA CADDEE-YAA!) He who cannot keep abreast with the times must take his leave. As Almighty God knows, we were not taking revenge on any person in particular. We have no grudges against anybody but we are simply upholding the interests of the broad toiling masses of the people instead of that of any individual.

If an individual is working against the interests of the majority of the people, then he must go. He is only an individual person, after all. The interests of the masses are by far greater than those of an individual. Similarly the principle comes before the individual person. Accordingly we attach much importance to the principle.

The crux of my talk is that, Jaallayaal, you should fulfill the duties which you are about to resume, in the best possible manner. We have said goodbye to the times in which falsehood reigned supreme — so we did the times of humiliation and degradation and the times in which injustices remained unexposed and unrectified. I have already told the Somali people and I repeat the same today that to whom injustice is done should, if he can prove it, come to me no matter how and when.

I promise, in front of Almighty God that I would not allow a person to lose his rights and that I would do all that is within my power to correct the wrongs done to him. We are no longer in the times when the rights of a Somali were trampled on the ground. It is no longer possible for anyone to degrade the people. Anyone who has any notion that he can tread on a people and go unpunished is absolutely wrong.

If such a thing becomes possible today then it is the underdog who should be blamed for it. I am not responsible for this. I and my colleagues have discussed this matter and we are unanimous on it.

This means that when you discharge your duties to your people — and discharge them honourably and as you really should — then you gain confidence in yourself. So I advise you to get the courage and freedom to sleep at your houses comfortably.

We are no longer in those ugly times in which lies, fabrications and falsified papers were enough to kill a person. It is possible that one may be injured but killing is when one is got rid off for ever. If it is you who kills himself, then you would really die. But if you really understand my words to you today, the same words which I have begun to say from the very inception of the Revolution speaking in the name of my Comrades in both Councils and aware of what was going on in their minds and in accordance to what we had already agreed upon, you would understand what I mean.

The people on whom injustices were done for the past three years or so are many. But will these injustices remain unrectified for ever? This is the crucial question.

Will he who had done injustice remain unpunished? How long would he remain unchallenged for such injustice?

It is not possible for injustice to prevail since we are ready to fight injustice and denials of one's rights. But justice will, in the long run, reign supreme over our country.

Many in the civil service mislead the people and deny them their legal rights with the object of creating a rift between the Revolution and the masses of its toiling people. They talk to them crossly, for example. They mischievously show reluctance in attending to the people's needs. They wrongly claim that the Supreme Revolutionary Council or the government has given these undemocratic instructions, while betraying their own duties and perpetrating wrongs on the people, they degrade the masses. We know of the truth.

Another example is that we, with the view of serving the interests of the greater majority of the people — and it is our duty to do — have reduced the rent of the houses.

We believe that the former rent—rates were not based on legality so we have established rates which were based on legality and which do not harm the landlords but nevertheless help the tenants. Now how many corrupt characters have gained by this?

The situation today is that a house may be rented by a scullwag, who is anti—revolutionary and traitor to the country, a betrayer of Islam and the socialist principles.

I won't be rude to the good honest people, but I will not, however, stop despising those shady characters. It so happens that the kind of person I have mentioned damages the house he had rented and renders it uninhabitable. It again so happens that he may not pay the rent that is due to the landlord. He may be so impudent as to tell the landlord after three months that he has no money and nothing else but an old raffia—roped wooden bed, and that the landlord can take it if he so wishes.

Again it may so happen, for example, but the landlord may want the house for the wedding of his own son and may therefore, need the house for the purpose. Accordingly the landlord may inform the lodger that he has so much time to find another house for himself. It so happens that the bad tenant may refuse to vacate the house according to the alleged instructions of the Revolutionary authorities. Those who were seeking justice against such tenants may not find any one who could help them. «Go away! It is the Revolutionary authorities who have decreed so!» They are told.

I know of landlords who were going from office to office for three months so as to regain the use of their houses or get them maintained or even finding the rent, no authority to settle the disputes — such is the situation today why? It is not because the socialist person, the nationalist Somali who believes in God, and he who has self respect behaves like that. It is only the thief and the reactionary who does so. The Somali people, however, cannot achieve progress if this state of affairs continues.

How many good things that we have tried to do, have been sabotaged in this way—by stealing from and degrading the general public.

I have said this because it is you who are going to guide and run the public administration. We will only act as supervisors. I ask you in the name of Almighty God to discharge your duties justly and diligently. Do not perpetrate nepotism or do injustice to them. Do not mislead the either. Do not scold them and show them ugly faces. If you do that then you should be sure that your arrows would boomer-rang into you. It is the broad masses of the people that will have the final say.

You should know that our militant Revolutionary vanguard greatly respects, depends upon and would do everything for the general public. We will not let the general public remain in the dark but we will enlighten them. And when we

do that they will not tolerate the corrupt. We will make them understand politics, economics and social duties. When they learn as much as possible they will not allow anyone to have monopoly over their own affairs. They will no longer be a cats' clam for the imperialists and their lackeys. This is why we are going to give the people political and ideological orientation. We shall work on this plan and the general public would finally prevail. So beware, and get along well with your own people.

The Somali people have won their freedom and a few shoddy characters cannot take them back into the imperialist's fold. So go along with your own Somali people and thereby liberate yourselves and participate in the building of a new society and enrich your own life, instead of opposing such a noble goal.

This is my message to you. I want to remind you that I have spoken to you on the injustice that is practised against the Somali people. There is no one who would be forgiven for failing to fulfill his duties to the country. There is no one who has immunity, there is no «anger» and there is no «special» individual. We are all equal. Our duty is to serve the people. I call upon you to carry out your duties honorably. When you do that you will see how happy, proud and confident you become, because you would have clear consciences. Remember how miserable and guilty, one feels otherwise. How worried is he who incurs the wrath of his people! He is insecure and unsafe, because he knows that one day his evil deeds will catch up with him.

I tell you that to serve the people is easier and much noble, beneficial, rewarding and dignified than betraying them. I urge you to take the former course, and carry out your duties to your people.

How would I know that you have heeded to our just words?

I would know this by your actions. We would follow them closely. Only by your actions would we know that you have heeded to my words. We should also know this when you openly defend the dignity and sovereignty of your country against colonialism and imperialism as well as the reactionaries, when you defend your freedom which you have won back; and when you defend your unambiguous socialist way of development along which you have just began to follow. In short, it is when you stop «speaking into the pot» so to speak. It is when you stand up to the enemy in broad daylight as we ourselves do against the traitors when that is required. It is when you stain your shirts with the blood of imperialism.

The era of the double-faced liar has now come to an end. Today things must be clearly labelled for what they are. All the socialists, nationalists and progressives are on the political left while the right belongs to the reactionary bourgeoisie. We have nothing in common with them and they must stand away from us. There can be no peace with them and we must therefore fight them relentlessly.

You are aware of the fact that groupings were based on kinship in the past; «let us unite for our own clanish interests», was the common creed. Today, this is no longer the case. We are basing our socio-economic structure on scientific socialism. This also means the sharing of a democratic rules common ownership of the means of production and common ideals and aspirations.

This is the ideology with which we are going to build our country. It does not belong to any particular person neither is there any one who holds monopoly over it.

This being the case, all of us who believe in this ideology should stand on the left and the dommed and strayed ones

should go to the right. So long the reactionaries continue their wars against us we will reciprocate in a permanent fashion in order to construct a sound socialist society.

Jaallayaaal, the revolutionary masses must defend the Revolution. In the colonial times the man who reported the nationalists to the authorities was labelled, as a SPY, I believe that was the conscious nationalists, who were in the minority, who had spread the word. They knew the true meaning nationalism and had no other possible way to fight back the colonialists except in a clan destined form. With the exclusion of religion and the evocation of the Somali dignity there was no other way open to them in their bitter struggle against colonialism. It was they, therefore, who had spread the use of the word SPY and they were very successful.

We used to come to the side of our people even when we were under colonial domination. We used to cover up clear and premeditated acts of sabotage against the colonialists whether those were of economic or political nature. We believe that we are right in doing so at that time because we were struggling against colonial domination. This is how we have attained our political independence. It was through ceaseless struggle in which whatever possible means available were used. But today, can we employ the same word — SPY to describe the person who defends the sovereignty of his country, his socialist ideology, progress and justice? Can such a person be called «SPY?». Then what shall we call the one who serves the interests of the imperialists and spies for the few pennies? Are we going to call him a «Nationalist?» The answer is no.

This is how things stand. We must therefore get our terminology right. We must give the name «SPY» to the one who is fighting against our ideology, our freedom, or just struggle, our freedom, our progress as well as our unity and equality. We must recognize and identify the SPY as such.

On the other hand, the person who is defending his country patriotically, who is safeguarding its security, and who is exposing all kinds of saboteurs against it is truly a nationalist. So we must give him his appropriate name: Patriot.

As I have said earlier to the students, this place has its own traditions; those who are loyal and morally satisfied people are trained here. What is taught here is not to broaden the mind. God has given every person a certain level of intelligence. But in here a system is given to the not-so-intelligent to guide him properly, and the intelligent is given provisions to to achieve his ambition. You must have witnessed in this place that people are taught Somalism, courage, unity, loyalty, consideration to others, honesty, modesty, socialism and tolerance.

One must therefore always aim for better results without having in mind any personal loyalties and without any mercenary expectations, but acknowledging that he is working for the common good of his country, his honour, his children and his nation. This kind of spirit fortifies the person with power that prevents him from tiredness, fear to fight for what is right, a power that stops him from hooliganism and crime and gives him pride.

I do not mean arrogance and putting on airs.

It means pride in one's country and people, and to feel that every Somali is your brother whether he is good or bad, and your duty is to help guide and defend your brothers. Well then, Jaallayaal, this place has all these traditions.

Sometimes when I think in moments of deep self-appraisal, I wonder about the extent of our human weakness. This Centre is called «MOHAMED ABDULLE HALANE.» What was Mohamed Halane? He was a soldier who was killed in Tog—

Wajaleh during the war. He was in one of the first contingents who bore the brunt of the enemy attack. His company was decimated by vast enemy troops that devastated them from both ground and air. When his companions realised that it was impossible to defend their position they decided to retreat to a second line of defence. Mohamed Abdulle Halane could not retreat without the flag and so decided to pull down the panner. This brought a hail of machine gun fire that ripped him to pieces. But Mohamed Abdulle Halane did not stop at this mortal barrage but he crawled into the trench with the flag wrapped round him although he sustained over twenty bullet wounds. He died in the trench. He was awarded a gold medal, 1st Class, and promoted posthumously to a sub-Lieutenant. Well that is why this place is named «Xiddigle (Sub Lt.) Mohamed Abdulle Halane». That is the background history of this Centre's name. The last words of Mohamed Abdulle Halane were: «The enemy is not a steel... the enemy is not a steel...»

My aim here is to remind you that «Bootego» was the name of a pioneer colonizer. When the Italians arrived to colonize our country they named this place after that colonial pioneer of theirs. The reason why people insist calling this place «Bootego» and cannot get accustomed to the more beautiful name of «Mohamed Abdulle Halane» poses grave questions. This does not imply any myopic ultra-nationalism that antagonises everything foreign. I am well aware that there is a need for international interdependence, but this is a question of the resurrection of our lost history. This is an incumbent duty upon us all.

Everyone must be aware of these careless insidious ways by which our national heritage can be lost.

May be it is a duty on all Italians to immortalize their heroes but it is not for us to do that. What did Bottego do for our

country except bondage? Is it possible what we forget Mohamed Abdulle Halane? What have we left to build and canonize if we forget Mohamed Abdulle Halane? Although his name is indeliberately written in the annals of our history, I don't for one think that the Army has established him in his rightful place.

If I were the commanding officer of this Camp, I would have invited the best of our artists to draw portraits of him and I would have stuck the all over compound listing at the same time his heroic deeds.

Jaallayaal, to pass over from this interoductory speech of mine I want to talk this morning about two points. The first is how to comprehend our common ideology of scientific socialism which is the basis of our mutual understanding, and how to cure those, if there are still some who are not cured, who can not yet tackle the meaning of the principles of scientific socialism.

For the one who turns a deaf ear it is up to him, perhaps he knows better rain somewhere else.

We will only do our duty to him. That is, we must try our best to orient him, to tell him explicitly and without any shadow of doubt, lest he pleads ignorance, the aims and objectives of scientific socialism. Our duty is to equip the one with the receptive mind with what he needs to reach political maturity so that he becomes a man of his mind, and escapes from being used like an empty skin vessel (SIBRAAR) to be filled with water, but to take decisions in the full knowledge of the socialist principles. The second point is a last word of advice concerning your jobs in the light of the principles of socialism.

The advent of our revolution has brought with it a doctrine that eradicates the ego: «Aniga». Every person must drop self-interest and work to comprehend his aims and objectives and to know that all his efforts must be geared to work for the

interest of the masses. To work does not mean to earn just a living. If you work for your country you will definitely get a reward both in cash and in kind, but it does not mean or follow that to work means simply to earn a living. One must not be award-oriented but a patriot that has his country in mind in all his activities. If this becomes our primary aim, reward and recognition will inevitably follow.

Jaallayaal, we have talked at length about these principles but I will only make a few references. We were preaching, or telling our people the meaning of socialism for nearly three years; for almost three years its clarion call was propagated everywhere and for almost three years the artists and staff of the Ministry of Information and National Guidance were disseminating its principles.

Still we meet people who falsify the socialist ideology, but that should not invite much attention because the masses know what the truth is; that the false dreams and mirages are gone forever. It is possible that there are still traces of tribalism, that there are still grasping elements advocating individualism, but in general the public have been affected by the touch of the new trench.

When I talk the elements I do not mean the traitors, or the infidel followers, the reactionaries and lackeys of colonialism, or the mentally sick educated individuals (Let these latter go wherever they want): I am talking about the few who might be misled by a bit of property, or traces of ignorance or those who haven't the ability to barter the bad roots of evil for the good roots of freedom.

My speech is intended not for the miserable being I have mentioned above, may not God make us their companions, I have abandoned them. Prosperity not shared with your people is like the pregnancy of a rabbit (Dhays Bakayle) — what good

does it bring? We say to this avaricious element with the low horizon: You are «Dhays Bakayle»; the people are not with you and they are the ones who are bound to rule this country.

The time when the falsehood of several rumourmongers used to make its effect has passed, your rumour—mongering is today a hearsay, nobody is interested to listen to you and it suffices when your ultimate disgrace is uncovered, when everybody comes to recognise you for what you are. They say he who makes faces at night discomforts only himself; whereas as daylight he nevertheless disgraces himself; The masses will no longer take heed of your rumours; the nomads are enough to verify this.

Now to come back to the quest for the real meaning of socialism we have to follow a scientific procedure rather than empty talk. Socialism system is not an idol to be kissed, it is a political system to better our present lot, it is to clear obstacles — the thorns and the stones — from the road for those Somalis who will come after us, for the land is eternal and the nation will remain. It is our responsibility to allay from our descendants the privations we suffered and enhance them to reap fruits sown by us, such that they might also further the struggle and give the chance to those coming after them to live better standards so that they also pave the way for the next lot.

Since it is obvious that socialism is neither an iron nor a tooth—bruth but a necessity, what steps must we do implement it? This question is aimed at those, who are loyal to the principles of socialism and I will tell the truth to the deaf and liar so that they may not ignore reality.

Jaallayaal, it is said that humans communicate through voice and animals through sound. It is without doubt that

adoption of scientific socialism is necessary, and I repeat necessary, for all Africans and doubly and trebly for Somalis to their goals of national unity, progress, prosperity, equality and to break through or obliterate the marks of domination in whatever form, physical, mental and psychological. To reach the ial justice it is required that each and every individual of the society is emancipated from mental and cultural domination and to be free emotionally and intellectually from all residual evils in the process of human development, like avarice, envy and cut—throat competition. The achievement of one of us should be set as a goal to reach but not as a target to attack.

But this endeavour of achievement of ideals should be based on the development of the inherent qualities of the individuals such as loyalty, sincerity in his relation to the country, dedication and clarity of thought in all his actions. The most dangerous characteristic to destroy human endeavour and intellectual sincerity is falsehood. To be a liar will lead you in the long run to isolation, sorrow and self—alienation.

Falsehood has a boomerang effect that hits its shooter in the final stage of its trajectory. The liar will find himself, in the long run, squatting in a lonely corner with a miserable face, alone, forsaken and forlorn. This will make him heir to all the social evils in the world. Man has no protection against this foreboding darkness except the weaponry of truth. Whatever it might cost him, truth should always be his companion and fellow—traveller in his struggle against wrong ambitions and bad practices as which drive humanity to its doom. We must free ourselves from suspicion; it is the hallmark of the faithless. Suspicion will cause you to blame close friends who may have been fighting for your own cause and prevents you from over thinking objectively and accepting natural phenomena.

All the evil qualities I have stated so far have their roots in egoism. We uncanny urge of wanting all for oneself. The man who escapes from the claws of this terrible monster is like a solid steel, resilient and unbreakable. And that is the true socialist, the new character which our society needs and which we want to build. His mind and his brain are already liberated and developed ideologically in the clear atmosphere of scientific socialism.

A true socialist breaks the barrier of subjectivism, i. e. the world of likes and dislikes, to attain a world outlook in which he associates himself only with those who share socialist ideals and aspirations. Any diversions from this basic socialist concept is a total betrayal to oneself and the toiling masses as a whole. The socialist personality attains the moral courage of rejecting outright any persuasions to the contrary.

To take an instance of the basic social behaviour of rejecting nepotism, it is having the necessary moral courage. I can give an example and let all you responsible officials who are target for the barking reactionaries take heed of such venom; «Do you know about Mr. So and So? — He employed so many of his own group. Do you know of So and So? He has all his kin around? Do you know Mr. So? It is only you who is doomed. Do you know Mr. So and So? You nitwit; you good for nothing!».

After these circumstances moral courage means to tolerate the poisonous chatter of such characters and not try to reprimand them instatly. It is necessary to convince them of the rightness of your socialist thinking and to enlighten them on the virtues of waiting for their chances in their future prospects.

We know through experience the vitriolic tongues of such reactionaries and they are bound to irritate you and make you lose your temper at length. All you do then is to tell them to

get out! For some days after this incident they will surely spread gossip among those they consider your closest friends and blabber here and there; he doesn't know his interests; I wonder who will bury him; where will he get relatives? — Look at him! When they spread such talk in dark corners, those styling their kind of feathers might then agree with them contemptuously: «Oh! that one, he is not worth ostracizing».

This concerted rumour—mongering might to a certain extent be reflected in the attitude of your own family towards you and the answer of a true socialist will then have to be: «All what you are telling me is elementary; thoughts are beyond your limited scope; the socialist principle is to construct a healthy homogeneous progressive society whose benefits are shared by all each according to his work and acts as a prelude to better life for future generations to come. Therefore I am not and can never be in a position to entertain divisive regressive ideas.»

A true socialist never betrays his ideology which always arms him with the moral courage to defy pressure and intimidation single-handed and keeps his mental powers healthy and gives them the sustained ability to transmit his convictions courageously, unflinchingly. This personality dedicates without any reservations his mental, moral and physical qualities for the overall interest of his society in particular and humanity in general.

This is the motto of the socialist character our society is building. This is the motto which holds the key to economic emancipation; the key to educational enlightenment; and the key to a healthier society. This is the key to real national unity and progress. No nation can live for ever in a depressive quagmire and the only salvation is that which must come of this motto. A nation needs a socialist ideology as the guiding light; it cannot be driven as a herd.

I want to make it crystal clear today the bankruptcy of the bourgeois colonialists, the propaganda which aims to mislead the innocent and aids the reactionaries in their ill-intentions to mask the truth from the broad masses by falsifying the true principles of socialism. The task of socialists is to counter these falsifications and disseminate the components of socialist ideology to the masses in all countries in order to project the achievements they created with their own hands.

The enemies of socialism are in a constant search for loopholes to hinder and put obstacles against the wheel of the historical development of the society. But in this, they have failed. We care the least in these defamations of fabricated stuff by the internal and external enemies of scientific socialism.

We want to declare here and now our socialism is scientific socialism founded by the great Marx and Engels, i.e. Marxism-Leninism not an abstract utopianism. It is the one which the early leaders of socialism, Lenin and others, fought for its application and enrichment to establish a society based on equal opportunity, social justice, progress and total emancipation of the working classes from the chains of the capitalist minority clique, so that the majority takes over the reigns of their future development for the interest of the entire society.

There are certain elements who diversify socialism and talk about different brands such as Somali Socialism and African socialism. These tags are all cheap imperialist, neo-colonialist propaganda. They try to hide under such terminology knowing full well the true socialist aspirations of their people. But it is historically inevitable that scientific socialism will be the ultimate, the universal social system of mankind.

Socialism is a science, and therefore like all sciences is not bound by nationalistic idiosyncracies and a theory; it has no

national boundaries of tribal affiliations. It is for the common good of all mankind.

The propagation of quasi-socialisms is one of the modern tools of this era of neo-colonialism which seeks economic and social domination just as its older sister of colonialism sought politico-economic exploitation.

There are only two social systems in the world, there isn't a third alternative. It is the coward's policy to subdivide the socialist theory. Moreover, it is also the imperialist ideologist, who set trap-doors for the third world in order to perpetrate their old and neo-colonial exploitive relationship and political domination.

Here in Somalia since we have adopted scientific socialism, as our social and economic system, we should implement its tenets openly and creatively. We should not in any way follow the path, which the imperialists have charted for us a prototype neo-colonialist state, well before we attained our political independence. Failing to do this we will be betraying our people, ourselves and the future generations of Somalia. We must not compromise our ideology under any circumstance.

It is necessary to look into the background and development of scientific socialism, since its first programme was declared in 1848. We are all aware of the great changes that have taken place since then in the socio-economic structure of human society, as well as the development of human thought which guides man's destiny.

At present nearly two third of the world are enjoying the fruits of scientific socialism, no matter what the historico-politico-economic conditions of each state were at its adoption of socialism. It is futile to be dogmatic and miss the caravan of human progress.

Dogmatism is in fact contrary to scientific principles and laws. It blocks the development of the human thought since it defies the sense of analytic reasoning and consequently diminishes man's capacity to control the motive and productive forces of nature for his own advantage and betterment of his conditions of life. It is an instrument for the pseudo-religious man who generally denies a person the belief of learning through reasoning about his own religion; similarly it is also the weapon for the reactionaries against the progressive thoughts of mankind. To them it is a question of either take it or else you are sinner. How on earth can one become a good Moslem if he is forbidden to discuss it. Dogmatism is an illogical defence of the status quo.

In the same manner there are those who take the same stand as the pseudo-religious men against the principles of scientific socialism. These would like to believe that scientific socialism is a rigid and unyielding philosophy. They say Marx said so and so, and it must be therefore literally applicable to the conditions of any country. They treat scientific socialism as another orthodox faith. How can one reconcile Marxist theory which is a scientific theory and the dogmatism which they ascribe to it. Dogmatism and science never go together, they are water and oil which never mix.

We say that these people are betraying all that Marx has stood for. In effect Marx prescribed the continuous development and enrichment of scientific socialism. He believed that his scientific theories should be subjected to analyses, research, improvement and modifications suitable for any particular human interest as long as such innovations are in line with the basic fundamentals and general laws of scientific socialism.

In the case of socialism the dogmatists insist on the interpretation of scientific socialism in accordance with a single particular instance of its application in a certain condition. They

want to freeze the dynamism of socialism at that instance and generalize it to fit the diverse conditions and level of human development.

Scientific socialism theory holds that when it is being applied by a given society, the environmental conditions and the level of development of that particular society should be taken into full consideration. Was it not the great Lenin who said that a socialist who doesn't understand the social conditions prevailing, does not know the ABC of the socialist theory. Thus spoke Lenin. We must therefore ignore the dogmatists, the confusionalists, the imperialists and reactionaries whose sole objective is to divert us from our chosen path, and try to build a better life for our people in accordance with the principles of socialist self-reliance.

Marx and Engels laid down the fundamentals of the scientific theory of socialism, but human thought was greatly developed lately, and consequently latter thinkers contributed a great deal that proved the correctness of the socialist theory and further enriched it. In the same way every socialist country had made its own contribution to socialism by applying it to suit its own conditions.

Since the scientific Manifesto in the mid-nineteenth century, the solidarity among the ailing masses of the world has been progressively on the increase. Nevertheless the same bourgeois forces are still bent on checking the betterment of workers' conditions. They might change their guises and colour to suit current trends but their chameleon tactics can never deceive the true socialist. A close look at the prevalent socio-economic conditions at the time of Marx and Engels, clearly show the social forces in conflict with the bourgeois exploitive capitalists and the working masses.

Jaallayaal among the weapons used in that historic socio-economic confrontation was religion. But the question is who

wielded such a powerful weapon? It was of course capitalist monopolies. This manipulation of religion to perpetuate capitalist domination and exploitation is the kind of dogmatic religion negated by Marx—Engels and later by Lenin.

Accordingly, all these socialist thinkers analysed the realities of their times and hence took into consideration all relevant data as religion, which was the main social force in the bourgeois hands. They recognised religion, as practised by their societies, was enemy number one to the fulfilment of working class aspirations. That is why they declared war on the religion of their peoples which was manipulated solely for the oppression of the masses; and that is why the manifesto of Marx—Engels was anti—religion.

In our case religion is not an instrument of exploitation and domination of one class by the other. Ours is the religion of common man, it stands for equality and justice. Consequently socialism as applied to our particular conditions cannot identify religion as an obstacle to the progress of the working classes and therefore cannot negate it. This is a classical example of creative scientific socialism in action which is contrary to its dogmatic theoretical interpretations.

The theory of scientific socialism promotes the human inter—relations in the process of the socio—economic and technological achievements of mankind. In a class society where exploitation prevails, the antagonistic contradictions are the major driving force of the struggle of the working class. Therefore the class relations do not depend on the ethnic, tribal, national or state boundaries, but on an international level. That is why the theory of scientific socialism developed the principle of proletarian internationalism.

In order to avoid the mistake of confrontation between proletarian internationalism and the socialist patriotism (posi-

tive nationalism) I would like to state that we are part and parcel of the international democratic revolutionary forces, in the world which stand against the common enemy, international world imperialism, while we advocate our national entity and protect the interests of our toiling masses in particular. Hence, proletarian internationalism and socialist patriotism (positive nationalism) are complementary categories in the socialist concept. That is why we wholeheartedly support the just way of the peoples' liberation movements in Africa, Asia and Latin America in the international arena.

I have no intention to go in depth into the historical background of scientific socialism and the chronological writings of its founders, because we have dealt with this already. In this respect I want to touch on the essence of this social system. The social, economic and political values of this system behaves us to join the struggle.

Let me touch on the brave leaders who founded scientific socialism and made it into a working reality. Take Lenin for example. Lenin was a socialist of great honour and leadership. He liberated the Soviet People from the yoke of exploitation. He is the first man to apply and put into reality the most noble socio—economic philosophy created by human thought, an ideology that is inevitable for all mankind to adopt ultimately. All socialists that came later follow the road paved by him.

I shudder to hear the «Afminshaar» spreading imported falsifications generated by imperialist propagandists, for he is trying to escape from reality. The Soviet people have succeeded in the implementation of scientific socialism. They have been able to develop to great heights their country economically, socially and culturally. It is a matter of honour to immortalize the memory of the man who made them reach such great heights in human endeavour and to erect massive monuments as fitting tribute to his great memory. The ach-

ievements they attained through socialist application could hardly invite criticisms, like: «They have become arrogant; they are revisionists, and so on.» I declare that any Somali who talks in this fashion is not a true Somali. Such a character is like an infant with no opinions about socialism.

Crossing over to the People's Republic of China Chairman Mao is another great socialist leader and ranks among the vanguard of socialist greats. He liberated 800 million souls from vegetating in the chains of oppressional and imperialist domination that controlled them economically and psychologically. He led the Chinese masses back to their freedom as people and their dignity as a nation. He taught these 800 million people how to think like one and how to leap forward into social and economic emancipation in relatively such a short period that today they are well—developed to a degree favourably comparable with the technological standards of those capitalist imperialists, who amassed all the wealth they have by exploitation and economic strangulation of the working classes through centuries.

Jaallayaal, what else but praise and admiration can one bestow on such great people like the Chinese? I say nothing. The appropriate rejoinder to anybody who has the conception to propagate falsehoods against such great people is to say, «who are you to say anything against the Chinese? Look at your self before trying to criticize others who implemented true socialism, and contrast it to your admonitions.

I want to tell the man who adheres truly to socialism, not because of self—interest and jumping on the bandwagon, that the essence of scientific socialism is as I have explained and elaborated. You can see the terrible conditions of want and disease which plague our people. Let us do something for these toiling masses to alleviate their burdens of hunger, disease and ignorance in accordance with the principles of scientific socia-

lism, because scientific socialism is not a mental exercise and a theorizing tirade in an abstract world out of context with materialist outlook, and forgetting the immediate day—today problems facing the nation.

Jaallayaal, I believe that today, this is more important to us. Self—help is a major tool to realize the aims of these principles. Self—help means to rely on your muscle and mind, and the physical and human resources of your country. We need to eradicate the colonial remnants and out neo—colonial penetrations in the economic social fields. The mobilization of the masses through self—help projects with the doctrine of scientific socialism as a guide will ensure our total emancipation.

Jaallayaal, I have no sympathy for anti—religious elements who argue that socialism could not only be achieved through the negation of religion. My true sympathies are with those who, regardless of their religious standing sincerely endeavour to help their working brothers to better their mode of existense. I want to remind those elements who make religion their main battlefield that they are ignoring the real enemies like imperialism, capitalism, ignorance, hunger and disease and wasting their efforts in antagonizing Islam which does not play any role in perpetuating all these evils of mankind, when the primary duty is the realisation of the material base of a socialist society which will eventually transit the super structure of the society onto a higher level of human intellect; and to project the socialist ideological coherence in the international arena. Can such elements who declare vociferously their adherence to socialist be really loyal to their national interest? Can we address them as «Jaalle?» Not! All we could do is to tolerate them and treat them magnanimously as long as they are not consciously stooges of the international imperialism, or act as puppets of neo—colonialist machinations. In any case we

cannot trust them as our Jaallayaal because they are indirectly anti—socialist forces.

I want to conclude this portion of my speech by saying that we must have a clear and unambiguous ideology to which we should all subscribe. We cannot all agree upon the fulfillment of our petty interests. But we can accept an ideology with genuine principles that we can truly rally round, since we can clearly see who is adhering to it and who is not. A principle is a basic pre—requisite for our unity.

Jaallayaal, I urge you all, therefore, to defend our socialist ideology. It is only by this ideology that we can identify each other when one's actions betray his principles. It is only when you do something or speak, that I would know whether you believe in the socialist principles whose characteristics I have already described and which are based on the realities of our

**THE DUTIES OF A JUDGE STIPULATE
CONSCIENTIOUS AWARENESS OF NATION-
AL OBLIGATION**

**JALLE SIYAD'S SPEECH ON THE JU-
DICIARY YEAR, 1/1/79**

Jaallayaal, I greet you all on this auspicious occasion of Judiciary Day. I am most glad to see that your attire represents the sartorial traditions of our nation and not something copied from other nations. Some elements may interpret this as a step backward or an indication of rapid nationalism, but I say that, it is based on the fact that every nation has its socio-cultural norms and customs and that Somalia is not different, we should not listen social parasites blindly aping whatever others do.

Justice always runs the risk to be misconstrued and twisted to serve one's ends. But in order to avoid such a risk and plug loopholes the law must be made clear and unequivocal both in form and in content; it must always serve the interests of the toiling masses and protect the weak from the strong. In this way will the people feel that the law is made to cater for their security and well being, in this way will justice prevail and in this way will law of the land truly be inseparable from the social and cultural traditions of the people. The promulgation of any law must get the full support of the society it has to serve and if at all the conditions that brought it change, it should be amended.

No law is irreversible, because as the socio-economic and political system of society changes its legal system must also be altered accordingly. At all times, however, public interest should be given priority, the criminal motives of individualism must never be served.

In a society where injustice is rife the legal system will condone class stratification. It would not be unusual in such a society for those who are politically or economically strong to trample on the rights of the ordinary man. By and large the political system determines the legal set-up of any society; either the law promotes the interests of the common man and weaker sections, or it serve the motives of a domination class. This is where the legal systems of capitalism and scientific socialism diverge. The former system advocated class stratification while the later protects the interests of the masses.

I must remind you on this score that practically all our laws are indigenous and a reflection on the socio-political and cultural norms of the Somali nation. The only sector where there is some residue of alien law, or where the rules of law are not compatible with our socialist principles, is in cultivated land tenure in all other aspects social justice and equality have been implemented. This means that the verdict of a judge should not be influenced by his day-to-day moods, and be affected by his personal feeling or mental attitudes. We should not judge one way when he is angry and some other way when he is jubilant.

Jaallayal whether you feel good or bad you should deliver justice impartially, and unmentinally. Moreover, it is essential that court preceeding be conducted in a language comprehensible to the complainant, the plaintive as well as the accused and jury. Only in this way would a verdict be publicly acknowledged just or unjust. To use the language of the people in the court's is very important because, as I have said

earlier, the judiciary must reflect the nation's socio-political and cultural norms. For example the garments worn by our judges now typfy our sovereignty and national traditions, while in the old days the expensive red robes donned by the Justices made them look more like Christian padres.

Somali judges, or those who follow the principles of scientific socialism, cannot decide the verdict of cases on the basis of the eloquence and argumentative power of contenders. The socialist judge should instead base his judgement on the conscientious analysis and deep search into the very truth of each case. The power of legal jargon should not be the deciding factor, because not all people are capable to put their case in the required manner and it would not be unusual for a cleaver contestant to twist his opponant's argument to his own advantage. The judge must question his conscience and be absolutely convinced before giving the right verdict.

It is necessary that a judge should understand well the society he serves; there are of course some elements who commit injusticies and practice maladministration but the Somali people are generally ardent supporters of justice to be done, and if justice is not executed this may tempt some people to take the matter in to their own hands to satify their sense of fair-play. To avoid this it is essential that judges beware of partiality and never hesitate to take that they think the right and just decision. Our judges must raise legal practice to a very honourable level that would persuade our people to refrain intrigued maladministration in justice and the root-cause of corruption and nepotism be eliminated.

In this Revolutionary era, it is the duty of judges to nurture a society based on equality and justice. This is not an easy responsibility, it is most difficult and any successes are unpublicized and therefore hardly recieve public laudation and the applause of national leaders. It is a thankless duty that could

only be fulfilled with conscientious effort and devotion to the cause of justice. The good judge should not seek reward for this effort but be guided by high political motivation, patriotism and hummanity.

Justice and the degree of its execution is usually a reflection on the society that it serves. We insist that no person in a responsible position should be let to get away with injustices committed by him. What is worse and more harmful is for a judge to ignore the call of his duty and conscience and dany justice in a court trial. It is wicked to side with the strong against the rightful of the weak. This is contrary of our Revolutionary doctrine. I must say we have come a long way in the promotion of justice during the last few years, and the Ministry of Justice, the Judiciary and public prosecutors are in general to be congratulated for this; but there is no place for complacency.

For a socialist revolution like ours there are no different classifications for the duties and rights of the citizens. They are all equal and have equal rights and responsibilities toward their country. All Somali men and women are therefore equal and bear equal duties and obligations. The family law to be published soon in Official Bulletin is a direct result of the Revolution's adherence to the basic principle of equality.

It may be mentioned here that our women populations are divided into two categories: Those who belong to the masses, be they youths, or workers; and those with high level of education. After close assement of the Revolutionary activities of our women in the last five years it can be said without hesitation that the former category deserves all the praise. The latter educated class could hardly be said to have played their full role in the nation-building. In this respect, I am not concerned with whether our educated women fulfil their office or other professional duties. I am not concerned with a women teaching her classes well or typing with speed and accuracy; but considering

that wider sense of duty in our socialist endeavour I must admit our educated women have demonstrated little in the form of militant action. They have not been seriously engaged in enlightening or politically orienting their less educated sisters. This is rather unfortunate for there is a lot that one women could tellor discuss with another women that can not be openly throughly dissected in a mixed audience.

In this Revolutionary era there is no need for wishful thinking, what is required is socialist action not trivial talk in the houses and office-bars; and rumour mongering. Lately certain elements have argued that since the law of equal rights have been promulgated wouldn't it be nice to culminate this social development with the appointment of women Secretary of State? My anwer to this kind of tripe is that we practice no bribery nor dish out (backshish) if we were, we would have bribed those boisterous men who could have been easily silenced by throwing them few left-overs.

Jaallayaal, the competition is open to both women and men, only those who best serve the nation will recieve highest awards. If our educated women prefer to remain in their homes during their leisure time without ever bothering to go to the orientation centres or participating in community activities, feeling distate to intermingle with their ordinary sisters, national honour will also feel shy to crown their heads.

Another misconception is that the family law means that the man and his wife should share home expenses. Such ridiculous ideas could only be entertained by the ignorant and unintelligent. The law is meant to care for and promote the best interests of the family unit, for the advancement of the whole society.

The family law will be published soon and it is the duty of every citizen to understand and respect all its implications and aims. This law caters for, just what our religion does, the social betterment of our nation and eliminates the practice of traditional social injustices.

VICTORY FOR THE SOMALI WOMEN.

Jaalle Siad Announces Important Decisions

*Giving Equal Rights to Men and Women on
January 11, 1975.*

Comrades, we have gathered here this evening to remember those who have sacrificed their lives for the independence which we are enjoying, and who had driven out the imperialists from our beloved country. The time of death is not too far back, and we still remember them as distinct personalities and not mere names in history.

It is our duty to commemorate the deaths of those people for they had sacrificed their lives to make possible for future Somali generations to live in liberty and the pursuit of happiness, and to take their rightful position among the independent nations of the world. In particular, we are singling out for commemoration today of death of Hawa Osman (nickname: «Hawa Tako»). The reason we are paying particular homage to her is that she had played an important role. She was the first Somali woman to die in the struggle for independence. Her patriotism and death had taught the Somali women that they could play a meaningful role in the struggle of their country for independence. She had taught her Somali sister to fight side by side with the men and take their full share of whatever was being done for the country. The particular homage we are giving her is based on the importance of the example she had set for our women.

We are paying homage to all those who had died for independence when we commemorate the death of Hawa Tako. At the same time, we are reinforcing our belief that it is better to die for liberty than to survive in oppression, or to be shot in your sleep. It is a fitting occasion to point out that the (UNO) had named 1975 as the year of Women's advancement. Since we are in a Revolutionary Movement that does not brook stagnation, or slow movement towards progress, we would be among the first nations to expedite women's advancement. Since the equality of all human beings and the amelioration of their lives had been part and parcel of our revolutionary principles, the decision of the United Nations to call on all nations to take effective measures to advance women merely reinforced our previously held beliefs.

It pleases me to see that even the reactionaries and imperialists are realizing now that they can not hold the people down indefinitely from getting equality, and that their political awareness is increasing all the time. As has been said before, all the people in the world would eventually get equality by hook or crook, and it would not be long before the death knell tolls for the forces that want to keep down part of humanity. There would not be inequalities in wealth and rights; there would not be imperialism and colonialism; there will not be subjugation.

The United Nations resolutions for human rights are harbingers of the eventual triumph of socialism over capitalism. Once there is equality of all the human being on earth, there will not be anyone left to exploit and that would signal the death of capitalism.

THE EQUALITY OF MAN & WOMAN.

The Supreme Revolutionary Council (SRC) and the Council of Secretaries had passed a resolution today giving men and women equal rights and an equal share in inheri-

tence. In our country it used to happen that if a man died and had only a daughter, other people used to inherit the properties and any money that the deceased might have left behind. This was nothing short of robbery for by right only the daughter left behind by the deceased should have inherited her father, and not some other people.

As from this date the Somali man and woman are equal. They have the same equality, the same rights, and the same share of whatever is inherited from their parents. This indicates that the man and woman who are married to each other are equal and have equal rights. Giving equality of rights to men and women is an implementation of the United Nations call on all countries to effect a meaningful advancement of women. We hope that those who are lagging behind in according equal rights to all human beings would see the light and join the movement toward giving equal rights to people, men and women.

BAD WADADS!

We know there would be grumbling. Most of the grumbling would emanate from a particular group which is collectively called «Bad Wadads», or the ones who don't know the value of human beings, or the ones who are opposed to equality, or the reactionaries and the imperialists who are using them as catpaws, or those who want to sow the seeds of discord and who want to turn the hands of the clock back.

They would say «that is not what the Islamic Religion says». I am going to give the answers to the questions they are likely to pose. When God had first brought down to earth the Islamic Religion, there were certain prevailing conditions in the world. These conditions were terrible because there was robbery, gross injustice, slavery, aggression, and tyranny bordering on anarchy. The Islamic Religion, since it was a correct Revolutionary Movement, waged war outright

on the eradication of most of the evils that could be done away with, and took gradual steps towards the elimination of things that could not be wiped out without ripping the society apart. So we can ask «Bad Wadad», who interprets the Qoran wrongly; where has God said, it is right to perpetuate slavery? Where has God said, the human beings should be destroyed? Because if slavery is condoned, then there would be destruction of human beings.

In those days if a girl was born for a man, she used to be buried alive because the primitive man of that time thought it was better for her to die than to become a source of shame for him if she got astray. Since this was an issue that was replete with emotion for the society of that time, those primitive men were persuaded not to kill their daughters, but they had to be conceded that the sons had more value and more rights. The purpose before they were called on to accept things that seemed inconceivable to their minds. Thus the Islamic Religion came in verses and chapters to that the primitive human mind can have time to digest each message.

I hope that the more intelligent among you would explain the equality of man and woman in the right way, and would encounter the falsifications of those who are slow to understand things, the people with little knowledge of Islam, the ones who interpret the Qoran wrongly, and the ones who suppress the more progressive elements in the Qoran.

We have now come to the transitional period. These are the times when the progressive and the patriot would tower above the reactionary and the self-seekers. These are the times when the men with stamina and conviction would stand out.

THE DROUGHT-ENGENDERED PROBLEM.

I now turn into an issue which has nothing to do with the occasion for which we are gathered here, but which cannot

be left out. We may ask ourselves; What are the conditions created by the drought? I would say these are very hard times for the drought stricken area of the country. 136,700 people are in relief camps now and others are seeking relief at the rate of 4,000-6,000 a day. This is a serious situation, and it seems that the areas the drought had affected are so far apart and extensive that we might not be able to handle its effect unless we get assistance from a great many really true friends. You can all imagine the staggering expenses the country would have to incur in feeding, clothing, sheltering and giving medicine and water facilities to 136,700 people and the others who are daily coming into the relief camps.

To take care of all these people in every way would really be a great task. If 136,700 people were in relief camps last night, you can be sure another 5,000 to 6 had come in since then. When you add this rate of increment odd destitutes over five months, and when you know there is no rain expected for at least seven more months, the number of people who would be destitutes by then staggers the imagination, and the aftermath of the drought would be colossal.

According to our tentative, rough estimates at least 700,000 people would be destitutes. This would also mean that a great part of Somalia's livestock population would be wiped out. In addition to this, the resources we have earmarked for development would have to be met with this emergency. Under these circumstances what is the extent of outside assistance? It is true that some friendly countries have volunteered, to give us assistance for this great emergency, but after how many months will their assistance reach us? It will reach us after we have been spending ten million shillings a day on relief; it will reach us after we have been taking care of our people on our own for one month and a half. The people in relief camps are too many, and the world has given us humanitarian assistances, or would assist us, for at times of cala-

mity, human beings have to help each other. Some countries have given us a mere token assistance. They must have told themselves «Let us just make our presence get noted without giving them any substantial things». The reason I am explaining these things to you is that, you have to realize that the greater part of the burden of this emergency is going to be on us and we should be ready to take care of our people.

The Somali people have to realize the magnitude of the great responsibilities that circumstances have thrust upon them. What is at stake today is the saving of hundreds of thousands of lives. It is the duty of every Somali, whether he is inside or outside the country, to contribute towards the alleviation of this misery which nature has beset upon his brothers and sisters. Paying deaf ears to this call is tantamount to betraying one's brothers, country and nation at a time of great danger. I could think of nothing worse than committing such a sin. Every Somali must know, and know it now, that nothing at the disposal of the Somali Government and people would be spared we must be prepared even to divert the salary funds to this emergency, it comes to that in order to save the lives of the drought victims. It is indispensable that every Somali with the tiniest particle of patriotism or humanity should volunteer to help out his brothers and sisters with his brain, energy and resources, and he should give it willingly and with good heart. All of us could do nothing short of that.

Looking after the interest of the Somali people is the constant objective of the Government. To give you an example, the Government had paid 140,000,000 shillings in food subsidies to cover the increase in food prices in world markets. This was done to make possible for the Somali people to buy food at prices much lower than the real value. The purpose of paying food subsidies is to keep food prices down so that the workers, the public and the people can afford to buy at prices they can easily pay.

Every District had been given the responsibility of distributing food to the people in the relief Camps there. The authorities in each of the drought—stricken areas in the country should appoint special people for the management and distribution of food. The people given this task would have to see it that each person in the relief camps should get his daily food allocation. Each person or family, should have identity papers, to make sure that each person, or each family is given the exact quantity of food allocations. It shouldn't happen that some get extra food, through oversight or mistake, and some get less than what they are entitled. There should be a strict fair system of distribution.

The mettle of the Somali nation has been exposed to great test today. They must prove the stuff they are made of for these are times of great trial. The Somali people must be equal to this trial, and must stop anyone, whether he is a treacherous Somali or foreinger, who would want to detract them from their great responsibility.

Long live Somalia, Long live the Socialist Revolution, Long live the progressive Nations of the World, down with imperialism, may the reactionary Somalis see the light and join their brothers in their march to prosperity.

OUR'S IS A SOCIALIST REVOLUTION

Jaalle Said's Speech to Somali actors, dancers

and singers at the National

theater Feb. 1975

Jaallayaal,

In the past years when ever the SRC and Council of Secretaries declared you a decision you were quick to get the message and spread it to the public in the form of Poetry, Song, drama or some other theatrical Sketch. I remember well in the first day of the Revolution we took measures to encourage and promote the public image of our artists, composers and singers and to raise their morale and self-confidence. In fact I beleive they have responded well as evidenced from the number of Honour Certificates and medals they have won for themselves or of the Ministry of Information and National Guidance.

During the colonialist era the imperialists used to propagate the false idea that Somalis are like a bubble which soon fizzes out; you witness to the fact that I have tried my best to kill that adverse propaganda. We believe in the intrinsic value of humanity and that none was born superior to another human being but all depends on one's upbringing. We intend to reverse colonialist attitudes. We know what we want and there would not be any respite till we attain our goal; we are already on the road to realize our cherished aims.

It would serve you well if you examine the consequences of our decisions, who benefits from them and who get ruined. Our decisions destroy the lackeys and imperialist mercenaries and serve the interests of the Somali Nation and exploited masses, and caters for the progress of Africa & the betterment of its peoples. Our decisions are meant to awaken those who still snore under the effects of the imperialist lotus. We want to fulfil our aims Unsweringly and make our endeavour known to Africa and the world.

What we want is to create a new and healthy society in Somalia, and never to stray from this road. We want to unite and liberate all Somalis politically and economically not only those who remain under foreign domination but even the independence ones must be Psychologically emancipated, and understand the essence of freedom as one of the basic necessities of life like food and air. The kind of freedom we seek must be unconditional and without any limitations; it must nature a sense of security and make one feel safe in his home. Such freedom could not be attained though tribalism, treachery, backbitting, jealousy and personality assassination and Single-mindedness as could be witnessed from the history annals.

We cannot gain this freedom without sustained effort and long struggle to liberate our minds politically and ideologically. So long you, the interpreters of Somali thought are not healthy minded and divided into groups and cliques it would not come.

Our is a Socialist Revolution. Many attempts have been made to falsify and hinder it, many attempts have been made to recruit repressive forces; and attempts were even made to exploit religion, tribalism, regionalism dialect and educational background.

In the fact of all, the two Councils of the SRC and State Secretaries have taken jointly decision after decision to remove

the obstacles put before progress and public interests. We constantly passed resolutions to frustrate the imperialists, their stooges and exploitative elements. We have also tried to promote the interests of Africa and our African brother. It is our aim to spread our chosen principles to other African nations until we all achieve real and full independence politically, economically and culturally. The success and the currency of our policies are reflected in the decolonization process taking place in Angola and Mozambique without exaggeration, our progressive policy have been of consequence and rates much higher than that prior to Revolution, we would no doubt demolish the last remnant of imperialists-Colonialism bit by bit. They are receiving hammer blows from all sides and being devastated by the impact of one decision after another. They rant and rage not knowing what would come next. The next SRC and Council of Secretaries decision will put yet another nail on the coffin of the anti-revolutionaries and imperialist parasites.

You must start the cleansing process from your side, and when you become psychologically and ideologically strong and healthy only then can you orientate the masses. What we are after cannot be won within a day or two, neither within a year or two, but the road is very long and arduous and it would take long before we stake our thirst. Everything is relative, you know; we meant to achieve a lot. It would therefore need to overcome many difficulties and tackle many hardless on our way to progress and freedom. Greatness is never attained easily, it would therefore be essential to convince our people that only through hard work would they realize their aspiration.

For the first five years the main task of the revolution was to make the Somali nation understand the inadequacies of their socio-economic and political norms, to relate to them that the people were to be guided with tolerance and patiently oriented and advised, under the circumstances, harsh treatment was disallowed. It was necessary to reconcile the ranks of Somali

society, to make them understand the need for social-justice and competent public administration, to eliminate corruption of public funds, and to abolish all vestiges of nepotism and tribal bias.

After five years of ideological orientation what should the Revolution do next? The Revolution should now pave the way for socialism, the country and people should be steered on the socialist road without let-up, and this means that anyone who obstructs our socialist endeavour in this phase of our development should no longer be tolerated but given back some of his own medicine. We should no longer follow the policy scold today, advise tomorrow, and warn the day after. The time of cajolment and apprehension is past, everybody had his chance to mend his ways and if five years were not enough we do not expect that any more warnings and persuasive advice would help. The road is clear, comrades, we have been trying to lead you too the right path for five years, the Revolution would no longer cowl but will energize its march forward. I am putting this succinctly but the significance behind my words will be seen in time. The economy of the country will run on planned and every citizen will be answerable for the duties ascribed to him. If one does not fulfil his obligations he would be sacked and be let to join the «Afmishar» (conmen) and imperialist lackeys if he so wishes, but he would no longer be allowed to participate in public affairs. The educational system should likewise be well-planned making sure that our children receive proper and continuous guidance from the kindergarten all the way to university, without favours given or received.

At the moment a severe drought grips various regions of the Republic and has played havoc with economic and social structures of our rural society. But there is one positive aspect—we have come to know our friends from our foes, we have also come to know the limit of our capability thirdly, we have gained the experience of how to tackle any such calamity in the future. For

3 solid months we have been holding the drought by its horns without outside help, and saving the lives of our people single-handedly. Today there are 170 thousand drought victims in relief camps who need food water, medicine and shelter. We have an experience. Every problem is a teacher, leaving you better equipped for the second round. The drought is a new test for us pushing to limit our potential as sovereign nation.

The new policy we have to follow now must be based on undaunted dedication to the implementation of our socialist principles. Ours is scientific socialism with no dilution or modification. Our socialism is not anti-religions but is compatible with our faith. The koran and the teaching (Hadith) of our Prophet Mohamed are the main pillars of Islam. No where in this text is socialism refuted. That is our socialism to guide our people socio-economically and politically on the path of the Socialist revolution of the Somali nation.

Recently we have passed a decision that all Somalis regardless of sex, should be equal and have equal rights. This was not mere talk for propaganda but is based on our Revolutionary principles. God has not refuted human equality, it is the imperialists and their stooges who oppose universal human rights. How can a decision providing for equal rights for all citizens be interpreted into an anti-religious measure? Why didn't they argue thus before? We know that neither the Somali nation, nor the learned men of Islam nor the Koran itself are in conflict with this decision but it is the imperialist, exploitative elements and their lackeys. In fact the law for universal equality had been laid down in 1970 and had only been announced in 1975. We knew from which quarters we will meet opposition. The imperialists and reactionaries are always engaged in repression and conspiracy, that is nothing new. The only thing is, that we should try to plug all the holes of tribalism, capitalism and strengthen all our defences.

The Revolution is indefatigable forthright and far from being arrogant. It is determined to create a healthy Somali society and without fail. What we have established would not be destroyed easily and one day Somalia will dispense with aid.

I would like to return to the subject of «Afmishar» (con-man). He is the character who concocts unfounded stories and spreads unfounded rumours in coffee-bars. The buildings do not fabricate tales it is people who live in them that whistle through the wind. The remour-mongers are the parasites on S. Society not the simple man in the street for he is a patriot. The Afmishar harms none, but, his children his family, his home and country. Unfortunately he cannot realize that because he has been corrupted through by imperialism and all national sentiment creased from him.

Some people may ask «Why the Revolution stops the Afmishar» in his tracks. «Well, there is a Somali saying which goes thus»; He who urinated compiously should be given ample bedding.

For five years we have been giving the «Afmishar» ample scope studying his methods, stalking his trail and pampering him with warnings and cajolement.

I call you to be conversant with each state resolution and interpret national policy for the Somali masses. In this way would you be able to raise Somalia all to its rightful level in the progressive struggle for national construction. We cannot build a healthy, just & equal society if we only care for the promotion of our individualistic interests. We must be prepared for sacrifice in order to fulfil the task for our people to realize a socialist revolution geared towards prosperity and happiness, and not to try to mass wealth and receive high salaries. Such thoughts could only be nurtured by bourgeois attitudes and class stratification.

JAALE SIAD'S SPEECH TO A YOUTH SPORT MISSION

The President of the SRC, Jaalle Mohamed Siad Barre, received, in his office 160 youths who were to attend the July Youth Festival in Libiya in the Arab inter-scholastic sports competition and in Alexandria, Egypt.

Jaalle Siad, in his speech, spoke on the role of youth in the new task of national-building. The President's address was as follows:-

Jaallayaal, I convey to you all my warmest greetings. Your visit abroad is on behalf of the Somali nation both urban and nomadic. On nominating a group of people to represent the country in abroad special consideration is given to their ability to fill that 2/3 task. The question is whether you will act individually as you do when at home or whether you would remember your national duties and act with one voice while in abroad. The good impressions you make outside the country would earn a good name for your fellow-countrymen.

The international interdependence gets stronger each day, social and cultural exchanges of this kind are on the increase and every country works to occupy a dignified position in the world. The difference is in the methods used to attain that goal. The best way of course is not follow the aims of ego but do what is in common interest. That means the Somali people must gain respect in consideration from other nations

In fact our duty is more than that because we believe in internationalism. The Political philosophy of Somalia is not confined to local matters and isolationism. Internationalism cements the fraternal ties among nations without interfering with the inalienable sovereign rights of each nation.

A lot is spoken about mutual respect but does this come about? This depends upon the formulation of a comprehensive

public relations system that lays down a clear administrative machinery of law and order. This is needed for the fulfilment of national aims and aspirations.

Jaallayaal, to become far-sighted, needs a wide knowledge of world life. On the other hand, you are to participate in a friendly competition and it would of course warm our hearts to hear the success you make. You must therefore try your utmost to score victory, moreover, in the aftermath of such competition assessments are made about any shortfalls highlighted by the tournament. It would in this way be possible to gain from such experiences, thus correcting the mistakes made and consolidating the gains achieved.

To go back to the political stand, Somalia is lately considered with interest. (We have not earned this international attention as «backshish» but it has come about through our own efforts. You will meet many ideas concerning our country).

I have before now made descriptions about certain political prototype by classifying the mullahs, the socialist (nomadic-name) ticklists. I have described the pseudo-Somali (Somali-hume) as the contemptible and niggardly who oppose Somali unity and progress. This type may not like good education or young in years but anti-nationalism is inherent. He is a person who have from the Start favoured to sell his nationhood and sovereignty an incurable type indeed. He may be highly educated but he is avaricious inscrupulous and irreligious. That is one I call pseudo-Somali. The real-Somali (Somali-same) is on the other hand the citizen who portrays all or some of the characteristics contrary to those of the pseudo-Somali. He may have his own failing as any human being but he recognises his shortfalls and tries to remedy them. He is moreover, dedicated to the promotion of Somali interests be their unity, progress or otherwise.

I have described a third Somali type the petty-Somali (Somali-yare). This type is usually the ignorant who tramples on his own interests for knowing no better. To him to-morrow is not existent, instead he lives in the past traditions and tribal laws that led Somalia to backwardness and poverty. The Petty-Somali easily falls prey to both the pseudo-Somali and real-Somali depending upon who comes first.

The mullahs are also classified into pseudo-real and petty-mullahs. Their classification also follow the same lines as those of the Somali prototypes. The pseudo-mullah is usually well versed in religious knowledge but he is reactionary. The real-mullah is the good Sheikh devoted to both Islam and the nation.

The pseudo-socialist is the other-conservative who disapproved of anything new. He is adamantly opposed to progressive ideas and sticks to old principles like a limpet. This socialist prototype is a threat to both the petty-Somali and petty-mullah. Worse than this type is domatist. Domatism is contrary to scientific dynamism and the flexibility of progressive norms. Unlike the cold search of truth as advocated by the Scientific method, domatism is against change, even for the better, the domatist can be recognised by his indiscriminational quotations from former socialist great thinkers, without ever considering prevailing conditions. According to Chairman Mao Tes-tug, the dogmatic should be eliminated because he is against scientific research and progress.

The real-socialist is the one who bases decisions on scientific findings after making a careful analysis of prevailing conditions. The implementation of any decisions are further made dependent upon preparation of the equipment necessary for implementation. It is not, moreover, required ideas and foreign norms but it is necessary to make full study of the needs and aspirations of the society where the findings of the research undertaken are to be applied.

I have lined socialism to a huge tree. This trees can socialism according to the social conditions of its masses, their ideas, aspiration and economic level of development.

Our revolution is based on Scientific-Socialism. We cannot fear off this path, neither can we be bought off or intimidated by imperialist threats. Our march forward is irreversible. To implement scientific socialism technically and tactically should be based on national traditions and norms, not on imported conditions of the society concerned or whether it should be imported. To give substance is of fundamental importance.

As for us, we want to implement our objectives through scientific socialism. It should be emphasised on this juncture. socialism, is not multi-colored, there is only one socialism and that is scientific socialism any other variation is false. The founders of socialism did not just dream up their socialist treatise, came about through long studies and scientific research. This arduous task had a scientific base and socio-historical foundations. All part socio-philosophical stand of the society. What deep changes have taken place since that period, how many scientific discoveries and technological break—through have been made, how tremendously did industrialization expand, and many times was economic growth magnified. It is then appropriate to arrange the development of socialist thought and limit its boundaries to those known to its founders, and the founders themselves advocated the dogmatization of their socialist theory.

Every society on earth has its own language, culture, social traditions and legal practices. The Somali nation is no different and as a member, the Somali society, must comply with its norms and cherish its aims & aspirations. The founders of socialism had been in Europe at their times when they published their thoughts. It should be remembered that Europe was at that period in the worst stages of the industrial revolution.

If for instance, I am a staunch believe in the value of respect & dignity of mankind in't it my duty to wage war against anyone that antagonises such human qualities? Indeed I must. If my thought have scientific basis. I must find my political philosophy upon these scientific basis for the interest of the nation. Nothing binds a society not to develop from such scientific basis so long as it adheres to the fundamental principles.

As for the compatibility of socialism and religion we must understand that such compatibility is irrefutable. Those elements who argue thus must have some interior interest at heart.

I must emphasise that Islam and socialism are compatible, because the Moslem religion is not against progress, development, social equality and justice, and to work for their betterment and defend their sovereignty and independence.

On 21 October 1969, we declared that we prefer independence than hunger, and to fight against such hunger, to subjugation with false prominence, We still maintain that stand.

This is the reason why we have attracted world attention. We have discharged our duties and only claimed our rights as human beings, that is what we have been saying to the wide world without fear and with the belief that justice will triumph ultimately and that no opportunity should ever be wasted to spread this message.

ON RURAL DEVELOPMENT CAMPAIGN

Jaalle Siad Hails Students Role in a speech

At Cons Stadium on 7.3.1975

I greet you all Comrades. You may remember that about seven months ago we sent a great number of students, that form a portion of the Somali nation to the Regions and Districts.

They were sent from here the capital in a campaign against the Somali people's enemy with a view, as was the solemn pledge of the October Revolution on its inception, to eradicate disease, hunger and illiteracy.

It is a victory and a matter of great credit that today the campaigners are back from their mission after defeating the enemy known as illiteracy or having given it a deadly blow from which it may never recover.

We do believe that you get from Allah in the world only what you pray for or deserve to have. When we decided to launch a campaign against this enemy of the Somali nation, «illiteracy», it was our intention to wage the fight against it by successive and continuous stages. It is really for us a red-letter day that today we are celebrating our victory over it.

From the date of October 1969 until now we have been in a struggle, a struggle that has been going on at various levels.

First we fought against illiteracy, then we fought against the foreign mentality and attitude ingrained in the minds of our people by the former colonial master. This was followed by the campaigns to better the economy of the country, put an end to tribal feuds among our people and thereby create an atmosphere of security and seize our usurped properties and wealth from foreign exploiters.

Finally, we launched this last campaign to reconcile the towns and the countryside, as it were.

We have committed ourselves to the firm conviction that such action was the avenue to full freedom development, equality, justice and that it was the way to unity and freedom, in short, to all these factors. So it was contrary to our avowed principles that the towns should benefit by the campaigns launched against the enemies of the Somali people while our nomadic and farming population did not. Had we taken such a step, we would have been guilty of having committed a very serious error indeed. So fulfilling our duty like one man we committed ourselves seven months ago to making a decisive attack in the countryside against illiteracy. For we would not exclude the inhabitants there from the benefit and fruits of the Revolution in terms of economic development, security and prosperity in which the whole Somali people was joining to share.

What did we mean by saying that we were going to fight the enemies of the Somali people and why did we divide these enemies into three categories? We meant to liberate our people from all that held them in the chains of ignorance, diseases, bad morals etc in order to give them back a full freedom that was complete in every sense.

How was the man in the country side different from his counterpart in the town? The purpose of the campaign was more profound that it appeared on the surface. We did not aim

at merely curing the livestock or the people nor was it to make the people literate. The strategy was to plant a tree that could never be uprooted any more, with strong immovable foundations of health, economy, and a new political outlook with wider horizons in which people had to be oriented and be made conscious of each other as brothers, their humanity unity and social life, demonstrating to them the advantages of holding together and the futility of living separately, each for himself and his narrow interests.

Now that our language has been written down I leave the task of recording what has been achieved by the selfless young people so that this may be read by generations to come. What have these campaigners and workers done during this crusade for rural development? Have they taught the people only how to treat diseases and how to read and write? No they have also taught how to prevent diseases.

For example the percentage of the incidence of bilharrzia has fallen by 80%. The people have also been taught how to manage themselves collectively. They have been taught how to form cooperatives, how to produce their food from their own land and more important how to rely and have confidence in themselves, their country and their society.

But the most important thing is that those people have been taught the recognition of their brothers in the towns. It is true that the youth force has been mainly sent to spread literacy in the rural areas. But what we are apt to forget is the broad civilization they have brought to these areas during the campaigns. I thank all those Somalis who have participated in this historical task, those who have planned as well as those who have supervised it and those who have prepared and organized the campaign.

It is possible that some rumour mongers (The afminshars) or the unconscious elements among our society will again wage

their tongues as they have done before when we were sending the youth in the rural development campaigns trying to demoralize the parents of these young people by telling them stupid stories until some fathers and mothers were obliged to go into the interior and witness with their own eyes and be satisfied that all this was pure nonsense. It is a victory that this evening all the participants, the youth as well as the workers are back with us safe and sound.

It is a fact that nothing worthwhile can be won without opposition or difficulties. For this reason we pray to Allah to give his blessings to those who died during the campaign. It is certain that those who died during the campaign will remain in the memory of the Somali people forever.

I am sure that if I say that we, as a nation, are all satisfied with the successes of these young boys and girls, I am expressing what is in the heart of every one.

Here standing in front of me are young girls who are dressed in the traditional costumes, representing our customs, and culture. This shows that with each passing day things foreign or colonial are receding into the background. That is why we made the pledge to shed all tinsel brought to us by foreign travellers and hold on to our own. This is one of the achievements we are scoring each day.

so I said I am of the opinion that the youth should not cut into the countryside only to teach the alphabet but to benefit their people in many other ways and benefit themselves as well.

I am sure that the young campaigners are today more knowledgeable than many so-called graduates in so far as Somali culture and traditions are concerned. And were it not for a question of seniority the Chairs of the various faculties should have gone to them by rights. I have got this much to say to the

youth. You have gone to the campaign with misgivings in your heart. But you have seen with your own eyes that the enemy is never willing to allow you to be successful. You have come back with flying colours. So what are you going to do now? Are you going to rest on your oars and be robbed of your gains or are you going to defend them?

I hope and I encourage you not to allow those enemies who have lacked your courage, your humanity and nationalism to divest you of your honour, the honour you have brought about with your muscles, thoughts and political awareness, your capacity to sacrifice and your nationalism. So it behoves you to die for your victory and good name.

To go on a little further what will be the next thing to do after the successes of today's youth and those of yesterday? What will be the role of the youth in the Socialist Revolution; in the tasks of reconstruction? What will our future look like? what will be the legacy left?

Young men and women should know one thing for a certainty. The older generations have lived and seen enough. What is being built in a new Somali society which belongs to the present generation. It is possible that your parents might have been one of the capitalists or the exploiters. But you have nothing in common with them for your social life is being built currently while their time is coming to an end.

So what will you do? Will you brood over the past which is no more, or will you be counted among the new society, the new socialist society that is built on justice and equality, a productive society that has self-confidence? What do you exactly want to do? Your parents might tell you, «you are a child. You do not know anything and we have brought you into being, «You should reply to them that you want to take part in the building of the new society that is forming just now and that if you do

not cast your loot with it, you will be left behind. I am not by nature a firebrand who is in the habit of setting parents and children at logger-heads. But I hate to see children being misled or told things unscientific and untrue. I say it is the duty of the youth to defend their society because it is their and no one can snatch it away from them. This is a historical necessity and it is required by the period we are passing through. I believe that those who have struggled from the birth of the Revolution until now are fortunate and those who have tried to oppose us and have aligned with our foreigners are doomed. You should also know that those among you who have not had the morale and the valour to join you in the campaign are today worthless. This has been realized by the majority of you. Those who have hesitated to come forward should be realized by the majority of you. Those who have hesitated to come forward should realize that the campaigners have come back with a great victory. This victory has not come about easily. It has come about through a spirit of nationalism, a socialist outlook, confidence in one's own land, a sense of national duty and transition from the egoistic attitude of «I» to a sense of belonging to a community bound together by one common purpose.

So I say those who have covered themselves with shame are those who have hidden themselves in Mogadishu and other towns and how can they justify themselves? How can they face the youth who have earned the gold medals? Where will they find school? Where will they go? The only thing they can do is to admit their faults and ask for mercy, then try to work hard so that they will be counted among those who brought victory and have come more determined, more human and learned and experienced, than the youth who undoubtedly will make their people more prosperous and happy. Let me thank here Jaalle Abdulrazak Mohamoud Abobakar, who has been chairman of the committee for this campaign, the former Secretary of State for Education. He was also responsible for the organization

and co-ordination of the Campaign. I also highly commend Jaalle Dr. Mohamed Ali Nur the Secretary of State for Health, who has been Abdulrazak's campaign? and has been out to all the places the student-teachers have gone with the enthusiasm of discharging their duties in the full knowledge of the value of their mission. I also commend those committees who have worked in Mogadishu and the other committees in the villages as well as those who have been working with them.

Our struggle has not ended here. I hope that you are all aware that the teachers, the committees, and the authorities have, according to orders issued, created committees in all the places they have been to. On these committees there will be teachers, nurses or medical assistants veterinarians, guulwade, (Pioneers), to supervise security and people representing the Political Office. So this is not the end of everything. We must keep on with our campaign until the last vestiges of illiteracy are wiped out. Now we have learned much of everything; economy, the social sciences, health etc.

But in passing this knowledge on to our people our struggle in which we eradicate disease, illiteracy and hunger should be constant and consistent. This historical campaign is not the only one of its kind. We have been waging campaigns throughout since the birth of the revolution. And always we will go on with our battles concentrating on all the aspects of the three above-mentioned enemies of the Somali people. I thank the Central committee for the Rural Development campaigns as well as all the branches of the committee. If I may revise what the various campaigns have been, let me ask why have we not got tired? Why have we not been daunted? Why have we not fallen short of our aim? The answer is that we have passed from the old to a new way of thinking, a new mode which is getting popular in the whole world and to which all humanity is moving. We are passing from the capitalist, reactionary way of looking at things, that was based on tribalism, regional-

ism, greed, egoism, rapacity and ignorance. Where are we heading? We are heading for self-reliance, the recognition of our humanity, a sense of nationalism and the recognition of human rights and dignity. We have moved on to the appreciation of producing more. We have moved on to the correct principles of scientific socialism. So what is the dynamo that is behind all this movement? Truly it is the correct system of scientific socialism. So what is the dynamo that is behind all socialism. Previously we have been living in chaos. We have lived on theft and treachery. We have been led by colonialism. But now why have we rejected it? We have decided to be on our own and think of our national interests. We have attained self-confidence. This is the reason. And what has bred in us self confidence? It has come to us through the knowledge of the principles of scientific socialism.

Scientific Socialism has enlightened us on our identity, our human value, it has opened our eyes to the resources of our country, to the power that derives from uniting our people and it has shown us the value of justice and equality. What does scientific socialism have to tell us about the historical development of human society? There should be an answer to that.

Where has socialism come from? It has been brought by capitalism. Capitalism itself has come from the monarchial rule, which in turn had come from feudalisms and feudalism was the product of tribalism. Therefore, socialism has passed through all these stages, but ours is a direct off-spring of tribalism since we didn't experience and have skipped over the other stages, namely, monarchy, feudalism and capitalism. So it would be foolish not to fight tribalism while in Europe people are demolishing the system of capitalism. We should know what is preventing us from doing so. & we preserve our socialism pure from bad old-fashioned and poisonous thoughts and be aware of routine idle talk that will not take us any where.

What I am driving at is this. We should know that our arch-enemy is tribalism. Of course we should also do battle with capitalism. But where is it located in our society, considering the fact that there are classes here. It is to be found in tribalism. This is where the capitalist, the bourgeois class is to be found. And through which door does the enemy come, where does colonialism, its agents & lackeys make their penetration? They all penetrate through tribalism. Socialism was not dreamt up. It is a scientific discovery based on a scientific research into human society, the way a man lives and the laws governing the members of the society.

After its discovery by the great social scientists following a profound and scientific examination, socialism was put to the test. So it developed alongside the progressing human society for a real-scientific social science is inevitably bound up with historical developments of human society. So let us begin with the moment socialism was scientifically declared and the direction it was to move in. What happened then? How many stages has humanity passed through? How much has education changed? How much has human knowledge changed? How much has the economy, human thought and ingenuity developed? Man has witnessed of change from the use of steam engine to modern discoveries such as the satellite. And how has man's thoughts developed along-side such great discoveries? Has it remained fixed in one place? I mean do we think like the day when the steam-engine was used? As science has developed so also has human knowledge, thought and ideas developed and grown; So has the economy, health and social intercourse developed. Socialism should develop, not remain stagnant. It should not be a dogma, that is as the last word as it is interpreted by some hidebound persons. For it is based on scientific knowledge and scientific knowledge comes through an arduous research that knows no end and gives rise to fresh discoveries. The second obstacle to socialism in addition to degeneration is what is called empiricism. It

upholds that past traditions and modes of thoughts are immutable. Socialism is an applicable science and it should be applied in the construction of a society so that it produces enough for itself and frees ignorance, disease and poverty and wins for its citizens, security, dignity, justice and equality. We should also remember that there are those who say that socialism is incompatible with the religion of Islam. But that is not true, for Islam enjoins us to seek knowledge. And both, I mean Islam and socialism, advocate the uplift of human society. So much for scientific socialism.

I would like to warn our people of two hypocrites. One is the pseudo-religious person, the other is the pseudo-socialist. There can also be the bad Somali nationalist. Especially to the youth my advice is: Do not fall into the error of becoming little socialists as you should avoid becoming little Shiekh and bad Somalis.

It seems to me pertinent here to point out one thing and that is colonialism is once more making much noise. This is nothing new for it has been behaving like this before whenever it finds out that a nation is making progress in the belief that Africa is still slumbering and that she has not developed and changed in the mental and moral outlook. So the imperialists are spreading lies again about Somalia. Of course imperialism will never get tired. And now soon it has forgotten the division it has caused recently to the nations of Africa, Asia and Latin America. We have already decided that Somalia's main enemy is imperialism.

Secondly, another facet of the policy of imperialism is the sowing of dissention among the African and Arab countries for fear it would lose its vested interests. Whenever an incident occurs between one African state and another it exaggerates it and makes it appear of continental significance.

But we say that the Africans will not accept this meddling in their affairs. Nor will the Arabs do so, for imperialist crimes against the Arabs are still fresh in their memories. Af-

ricans and Arabs have common interests; they have suffered identical indignities at the hands of colonialism and they are both the victims of neo-colonialism which has frustrated them in their efforts to make progress and economic advancement. So none of the peoples of these continents will fall prey to the machinations of imperialism and propaganda spread by its mass media. They will continue pursuing their rights and interests. As you know we have been hit by a serious drought and our ultimate goal has been to save our people at whatever cost. And we have done our level best in rescuing the affected and helpless, turning a deaf ear to the voices of imperialism. Just soon new camps are about to open in Mudug, Galgudud and in any other place deemed indispensable for such an initiative.

Just meditate on the expenditure that will be incurred in the gigantic operations of carrying and setting many thousands of destitute people and how this will paralyse our economy. True, there are some friendly countries that have helped us but we have been grappling single-handed for almost three months and still the greatest share the burden of the task will fall on our shoulders.

But there is one important lesson to be derived from this calamity and it is that any misfortune teaches you how to arm yourself to survive. This particular calamity has especially taught us how to fight our enemies, that come through ignorance or poverty and disease or through the shackles of political slavery. And we are sure that one day soon we will be able to say that «Look! This is how we have overpowered the drought» and then when victory comes to us our people and the future generations will be able to live in prosperity.

Finally, I would like to thank all those whose who have participated in this campaign, the youth, workers, members of the armed forces, all the authorities and the pioneers. I am sure that you have written yourselves in history indelibly in one of the gold pages of history.

SOMALISATION OF OUR EDUCATION.

Speech Delivered by Jaalle Siad at the Teachers

Centre in Mogadishu on 17.3.1975

Before I say anything else let us all pray for the hero of knowledge, education and patriotism, Mohamed Hassan Aadan (Gahayr) who have recently died in the service of his nation. Let us all pray God might take him to heaven.

It is a pleasure for me to be here to highlight the achievements we have already made, and to give an indication of what we have yet to do. First of all I would like to congratulate you and the others who have participated in the Rural Development Campaign. Some people call this campaign the «Illiteracy Campaign», but, I think that is a misnaming because this project has had more ambition than just reducing the rate of illiteracy. The rural residents had gotten more benefits than reading and writing. The illiteracy Campaign as part of the Rural Development project had a special meaning for the nation. It was said that only three percent of the Somali population could read and write. This statistics has been turned upside down. Today 60 or 70% of the Somali population can read and write. Today is a high rate of literacy by international standards. It is a high achievement for a nation which had such an illiteracy rate. Yet I think that the task in which the teachers, the students, Government Officials, the Regional & District authorities all participated was much more greater than the part of the pro-

ject which concerned the wiping out of illiteracy. One of the greatest achievements of the Rural Development Campaign was the unity it forged among the Somali nation. People from all walks of life had synchronized their activities for a common cause. Unity is the foundation of cooperation, brotherhood and the cohesion which is necessary for attaining economic social and political advancement. We had first intended to launch a literacy campaign, but it soon became apparent that educational, economical, and health features had all to be added to the project. It was a logical step for instead of having to mount separate campaigns for the various improvements which needed to be made in the lives of the rural residents, an overall project combining all these features had to be initiated. I think we can say the features of this programme have been met with success. The success of this programme can be seen from the changes which have taken place in the lives of the rural residents. We can say the life in the rural areas has undergone a transformation.

Now, you are about to embark upon another national duty and I would like you to convey my greetings and that of the Supreme Revolutionary Council (SRC) and the Council of Secretaries to the people among whom you would be working.

The Revolution has been in existence for five and a half years now, and looking back on this time through which we have passed, we can say we have achieved a great deal. We know what we have accomplished and what we have yet to achieve. We also know our capabilities. I expect we have now all realized that we can achieve whatever we want to achieve. I don't think we would ever tackle a task greater than the one which we have just finished with success. At the time we decided to launch the Rural Development Campaign, many people, among them people in responsible posts and highly educated ones, had doubts about the feasibility of the project. They were asking themselves «would it succeed? Many people used

to say» this programme would make the Revolution fall flat on its face. But we had confidence in ourselves and people and knew we could pull it off. People can do the impossible. That is what we believe. We believe that nation can do anything if its people have the determination and the perseverance to move ahead. A nation can make progress if it has unity and if it has the ability to brush aside those who want to impede its progress, and if it makes its plans not on empty dreams but on concrete objectives which can be realized.

When the students had returned from the towns, villages and rural areas, the patriots and the revolutionary people had welcomed them back with open hands and one could see on the faces of the people the happy expressions and pride in the victory their country had won in the battle against ignorance, disease and hunger. We had started many projects which kicked off controversy and uncertainties, but they all ended in complete success just like the Rural Development Campaign. We had gained political maturity and experience in the execution of many plans which some had doubts about their success.

Every nation creates the conditions under which its people live. It is the architect, the planner, the expert and creator of the lives of its people. That is how it should be for no other people can think for us. No matter how much a friend he is, can actually understand the aspirations and real objectives of another people. He can only make a calculated guess, and the probability is he would be completely wrong in what he thinks is good for the people he is trying to help even if he has the best of intentions. No foreigner can fathom the thinking of our nomads, or understand why livestock has so much value for them.

The foreigners cannot understand why the Somali nomad thinks that he is leading the best life. What I

am driving at is that, there are cooperations among the peoples in the world and they help each in many ways, but there are certain things which no one can do for another, and we mean to do these things for ourselves. Before the birth of the Revolution, what was the level of education in the country? What respect and value did our country had in the world? How did our people see the teaching profession? How did they value education? Did our people value either of them? Colonialism has many colours and forms and each one of them can be wiped out only by waging war against it. The worst form of colonialism is mental dependence. When people are mentally morally subservient to other people's way of life and thinking; they are in worst form of subjugation without knowing it. The worst inability is when people are incapable of sloughing off mental subjugation. All actions have their origin in the mind, and if some people's minds are in chains, they cannot be expected to take actions which can be thought of to be proper. What is the objective of our educational policies then? I think there is no more suitable place where I could have elucidated our educational policies, here. Our education «SOMALI». If anybody thinks education is a foreign language, he must know that it is not.

The Somali language, has as much value as any other language. Why should not one have his education in Somali as a medium of instruction? Knowledge can be gotten by the medium of any language, but only those whose languages are to be destroyed, have the stupidity to value other languages more than their own. We have crossed the stage of fearing the obliteration of our language, and now have to train our focus on better things than the revival of a language. The two Councils (The Supreme Revolutionary Council and the Council of Secretaries) have passed a resolution making the Somali language the medium of instruction in our schools and Arabic the second language. (Your applause is an agreement with the resolution, and in Socialism anybody who opposes what has been

agreed upon by the majority of the people is considered to be a traitor).

Under Socialism issues are discussed in democratic manner, and people can express their ideas in an open manner. They can also impregnate their expressions, with zeal, but in the end a vote has to be taken. When the majority of the people vote for an issue, their decision is binding on all, and it becomes a law. That is the difference between the bourgeois and socialism systems. Under bourgeois systems certain groups form themselves into opposition groups which fight against the majority decision and they try to strengthen themselves into opposition groups which fight against the majority decisions, and they try to strengthen themselves by secretly wooing support. But under socialism every thing is above board. Issues can be debated and people can express their opinions quite openly, but once the majority makes a decision, no one has the liberty to stand in the way of the majority of the people. Anyone who opposes what has been discussed and agreed upon is considered to be against the common interest of the people and cannot be tolerated. In fact, he is not given any mercy.

To go back to our educational policy, the language of instruction from the elementary schools to the Secondary schools would be Somali and Arabic. That is a decision which we are not going to change. No amount of grumbling or idle talk would change it. If the imperialists withhold the petty aid they used to give towards education, they can do so; we are ready for such an action & it is not going to do us any harm. In a word, the medium of instruction in the schools of the country would be the language of the people in it. Some people might be wondering, how can this or that subject be taught in Somalia? Well, we are going to teach in Somali, my friends we can translate all textbooks into Somali. That is the truth. We are not going to recoil from this task because of

the expenses and efforts involved in it. It might be a tremendous task, but we are going to undertake it because that is what is in the interests of the nation. We were not being carried away by emotion when we were saying «we are going to liberate the minds of the people». It was not the topic of mere discussion either when we were saying «Let us liberate the education of the nation». Let us retrieve the dignity of the people for them. We did not intend to talk about these for few days only to relegate them to oblivion. It was a long standing policy. We should never abstain from doing what is in our interests for fear that some people might say this or that. You are the army, Comrade, who would eventually destroy the enemy of the Somali people. We have got what you would need. We would provide you with the food and the ammunition. While you are engaged in the battle against ignorance, we will build you houses. That is the truth. The people in the forefront of the war against ignorance are the teachers. You have to keep breaking down the barriers against knowledge until everybody feels the wind of change. The road of knowledge is strewn with huge stones, thorns, difficulties and enemy forces, but you would go through them like a knife goes through hot butter because justice is on your side. You would be doing what is in the interest of your nation and the victory would be yours.

This campaign was putting down the foundation of education for a lot of people who never have had the chance to learn anything. These people were both in the rural areas and the urban centres. We set out to liberate these from one of the deadly enemies of mankind, ignorance. What was needed was to put proper foundation for their education by several successive stages. Among the people whom we set out to save from the fate of perpetual ignorance was a large number of young people among whom could be geniuses whose minds would have been wasted if their people country have not come to their rescue. How many geniuses the na-

tion might have lost in not caring for their youth before the birth of the Revolution? How many men of potential ability and leadership might have perished before the eyes of the nation? We said «No. No more waste of people». It was intolerable to look on the complete waste of the youth of the nation.

Today it is our national duty to give education to the children in the villages, town and cities in the country. It is now compulsory for all school age children to attend schools, and it is compulsory that parents take their children to schools. This is a law and it is binding on the parents. Anybody who impeaches this law is liable to legal persecution. This law has been already promulgated, and I am certain that the Regional and District authorities are going to execute it. I am also certain that the teachers, who are among the courageous people in the nation would carry out their duties. The promulgation and the execution of this law would not suffice spread education. The execution of policies needs diplomacy. All the authorities in the country should use persuasion to convince the people that having education is in their interest, and in the interest of their nation. The people must be advised, cajoled and wheedled into accepting education as a necessary part of their life. Once they are awoken to this reality, I am sure they would develop an insatiable appetite for knowledge. I am certain that every Government organ in the country, including the Ministry of Education, would initiate a special programme aimed at wiping out illiteracy, and within the coming few years I hope no child of school age who does not attend school would be found anywhere in the Republic. As a society which knows what it wants to accomplish, there is nothing we would not be able to accomplish, no matter how we do it, if a road gets black, another road would get open, because when there is a healthy mentality in a society, and if such a society has objectives and unity there is nothing it cannot achieve.

If a society has unity, cohesion, sound policies, motives and strong desire to accomplish what is in its interest it is certain that it would succeed. The children who need schooling are too numerous. The resources, the teachers, and the School facilities at the disposal of the nation are too small compared to the immenseness of the task. Despite these facts, I think we can unite and we can pool our mental powers and whatever material resources we have. Suppose there are thirty or forty boys and girls in a village. Which is better for them to have education, or not have it? We must put this question to our brain. What is the interest of the residents of such a village? Would N't the education these children receive be of benefit to the residents of the village? There is no doubt that the education these children receive will be beneficial to the community of this village and the nation as well. If this village made the chairs, tables, and built the classrooms, wouldn't that be a way they could fight ignorance? Naturally, the Government would give them whatever assistance it has been giving them in accordance to its ability, but wouldn't it be better if they made such a small contribution which would not be too much of a strain on them? If the Chairman of a District or Region sees the efforts each village and community it making, and if he values the education the youth are getting and the importance it has for the nation, couldn't he make provisions to cover up the rest of the expenses? I think he can do it. It is a national duty to do so, and I think anyone who fails to carry out such a duty is completely lost.

The task of convincing the people in the efficacy of education is tremendous, and the good hearted narrow-minded people have to be wheedled into getting education. The headstrong, blackheated and narrow-minded elements can be forced to have education because there is no another way of dealing with them, but the art of persuasion must be employed on the good people who are willing but who haven't yet quite understood the importance or the necessity of getting education.

I think we are about to embark upon more struggles for further improvements in education this year. Even though you have just returned from an arduous task from which you have had no physical and mental rest. I do not think you would get the time for the schools would reopen. The students, most of whom have also returned from the rural development campaign, would not get the time to rest either, for they would have to make up for the time they have missed their lessons in order to help their brothers and sisters in the rural areas. I think that education is also in the transitional period in which our Revolution is passing through. During a transitional period a society is about to shift from an older system under which it has been living to a new system which is superior to the older one by far. At the same time there are doubts about the new things which are of great benefit to the society, but we know doubts are inherent in changes and we can cope with them.

I am going to close my speech with a clear political declaration: The human being cannot realize his aspirations unless he has political foundation on which he can lean on. Education must have sound policies which can act as a foundation for it. Mathematics and geography are knowledge which can be taught, but the society needs more than learning various subjects of knowledge. It needs a sound political foundation on which it can build its progress.

Our political foundation is Scientific Socialism which cannot be twisted out of shape. We are applying the principles of Socialism while taking into consideration the ways of life and the thinking process of the Somali people as well as their religion. Which is first: the action or the thought? Theory is the mother of action. Actions are an outcome of the thoughts of the members of the society, its ways of life and thinking. When I make such a statement, you must know that I have a purpose. I am talking at the bad socialist who might say to you

this is what Socialism teaches, but is not being applied. Tell him «Comrade, human action was born before Socialism, and the human action is going on. Educational, Economic, social and political progress is being made and that is what counts most. How can you talk like this? Haven't you refused to gain knowledge, Comrade?. You can tell from the word «go» that the bad Socialist is out to mislead you, or else he is ignorant. Our basic principle is the one I have just told you. It is the duty of every individual to take special conditions in the country into consideration. He must take into consideration the level of advancement which many people in the world have made and the level of progress in Somalia. For these reasons we say the religion of the people in the country is Islam and they are going to keep their faith. At the same time, the political system of the country is Scientific Socialism. The level of human mental development of today wants such a combination. The human knowledge which is not built on thin air but on Scientific facts requires such a combination and we must apply it in that way, and we are going to build it on nationalism, revolutionary action, socialistic principles and the value of humanity.

It is necessary that those thoughts should be included in the classroom lessons.

Thank You, Comrades.

WOMEN'S MOVEMENT IS PART OF THE WORD

WIDE REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT

Opening Speech made by Jaalle Siad

at the African Women's Regional Seminar, March, 1975.

Distinguished Delegates and Observers, let me extend to you all a cordial welcome; the Government and people of the Somali Democratic Republic is only too happy to receive their comrades-mothers, sisters and daughters—in the capital and wishes you the best in your short visit with us. I welcome you on behalf of the OAU in my capacity as its current Chairman. It a great honour and privilege for me to address the opening of this historic gathering which takes place during this year which has been proclaimed Women's International Year.

On November 7, 1967 the UN's General Assembly adopted a Declaration of the elimination of discrimination against women, in which it was affirmed: «The participating States condemn discrimination against woman and promise to continue, in accordance with all appropriate means and without delay a policy to eliminate discrimination against woman in all its manifestation, since discrimination denies or limits woman's and man's equal rights».

Through the progress exerted by the World's progressive forces, the United Nations proclaimed this Woman's International Year.

These progressive forces have made the United Nations a much more democratic world body inspite of the cries and complaints of the reactionary and imperialist forces.

The celebration of the Women's International Year must emphasise the work women's organizations have achieved in favour of the conquest of equal rights for women. Above all, this is the time for all of us to work together to translate into actions the principles of equality. Continuing opposition or inaction in this matter of humanitic principles which is a major barrier to development effort, to genuine national liberation and to world peace and security.

Before we can forge a head in the matter of women's rights and the actual realization of these rights, we have to meet, discuss common problems and do some fact finding in order to know where each country is in each field. We need to find out the African women's present and potential situation: in terms of economic opportunities; for this is the material basis of all human societies; in terms of education both general, professional, adult literacy and vocational; in terms of political participation in local, national and international planning and decision-making, in terms of laws such as a labour code dealing with equal-pay question and justice in terms of *marriage* and family law. We in Somalia are proud to have made a good beginning in all these aspects of women's rights and we modestly offer our experience of your analysis and constructive criticism. I hope you have the opportunity of witnessing some of the achievements of the Somali Revolution in these and other fields. Our delegates are eagerly awaiting to learn from you your experience in these fields. They will also offer you their constructive criticism. Criticism and selfcriticism in a constructive, sisterly spirit is not negative; such theoretical struggles enables us to unite at a higher level. Through this conference and other channels, our people hope to learn from your experience. We hope you will find something to learn from our experience.

Let me at this point, pose the question: What led to the world wide movement to proclaim 1975 as Women's International Year? If you recall, I briefly mentioned the increasing pressure of progressive forces in the international arena, due to the fact that the majority of mankind has been maturing in consciousness. Let me be more specific. We are all living in the epoch of a worldwide revolutionary movement. This revolutionary movement has three main currents.

There is the current, unleashed by the successful socialist revolutions in the first half of the twentieth century. These revoltions consolidated women's rights not only legally but through everyday socio-economic meassures that were undertaken to implement equality in actual life. The triumph of socialism over capitalism and imperialism has been a major help to the second worldwide revolutionary current.

The second current is historically important for us because we are its component part;: The movement for national liberation in formerly colcnized areas of the world (In asia, Africa, Central and South America). The national liberation movement is daily gaining momentum. In Laos, Vietnam and Cambodia, the oppressed masses-the forces of history are dramatically scoring great victories over those who want to hold history back-the froces of imperialism and reaction. We witness better prospect in the Middle East where the forces of imperialism and Zionism are beginning to experience the evergrowing power of the Palestinian people derived from the better organization and co-ordination of a just struggle for their usurped national rights.

In Africa we have witnessed the remarkable progress achieved by the forces of national liberations. Today Guinea-Bessau is an independent State, Mozambique will formalize its independence this coming June. Angola, Pricipe and Sao-Toma later on this year. These achievements of the African revolution

represent an extra ordinary stage in the development. In these struggles, women have obtained remarkable progress in equality due to their significant contributions they have made.

This is a lesson that Africa and all progressive forces must not forget. It marks a historic blow against colonialism and neo-colonialism. In the meantime, we ask our brothers and sisters in these revolutionary countries especially those rich in resources—like Angola—to struggle to unite their forces and to continue to be vigilant.

Their victories have brought a tremendous crisis among the forces of apartheid, racism and colonialism in Southern Africa. We should increase our support for the struggles in these areas—Zimbabwe, Namibia and Azania. We should be aware of the forces of reaction and their manipulation: They attempt to appear soft, to call to a dialogue while their dirty hands assassinate or jail our leaders. We condemn the Smith Fascist Regime which has revealed its true intentions to jailing brother Sithole and murdering brother Chitepo. Leaders, as mortal men, may fall and die but the cause they represent (as part of world-wide historical struggle) will not die. The brutal assassination of Lumumba, Amical Cabral, Mondlane and recently Chitepo, to mention but a few, serves to strengthen our will and determination to struggle on, and on such acts reveal the desperate minds of fascists Ian Smith, Vorster and their International supporters.

Yes, we must get rid Africa of all remnants of colonialism. We ask you to support the struggle of men, women and children in French Somaliland, Sychelles, Comoro Islands and Spanish Sahara so that they will be liberated from colonial bondage. All efforts should be made to remove anachronistic colonialism from our continent Africa.

Many African countries that are politically free have begun to discover that political freedom is meaningless if the

economy is not free. This is the way the late Comrade Amilcar Cabral insisted that true national liberation involves the liberation of the means of production from neo-colonial control. Only in freeing the material basis can one hope to free the political, social and cultural superstructures. It is not only because capitalism is brutal and causes inequalities, it is also because under the present stage of international monopoly capitalism, independence from capitalist development in formerly colonized territories is impossible. We have for instance, the example of Central and South America to warn us against any illusions about capitalist development for our people. This is why I have often insisted that socialism is not an abstract choice for us; socialism is a matter of historical necessity. All genuine national liberations, sooner or later, progress towards socialism. So here we see historical dialectical relationship between the world-wide socialist movement and the national liberation movement because, as I said earlier, it is of immediate and concrete concern for all of us.

Now; that I have sketched the two current of the world-wide revolutionary movement, you may begin to wonder because this third current has tended to be greatly overshadowed by the other two and for various historical reasons has not met our just expectations of it; it has often manifested itself as an evolving stream rather than a mighty flood like the other two currents. This third component part of the world-wide revolutionary movement is represented by the working-class and other progressive movements within the imperialist capitalist nations. As Europe moved from feudalism to capitalism, two essential classes were born. The exploiting bourgeoisie and the exploited proletariat class struggles gave birth to scientific socialism.

Through the super-exploitation of colonies, the capitalist nations were able to buy some historical time. They did not abolish the internal contradictions of the capitalist system, they simply postponed their day of reckoning with their clas-

ses, European working class leaders became purely welfare-oriented, many became pro-imperialists, infected with bourgeois racism. We regret this corruption of the western progressive force. But in their limited struggle they have managed to obtain welfare services. During the turn of the century they worked hand in hand with the Women's movement to obtain basic democratic right for women, such as the right to vote.

Now, these three world-wide revolutionary currents and their sub-current have a dialectical relationship with each other.

The national Liberation Movement in its valient struggle against imperialism and the forces of reaction enjoys the consistent support of the socialist camp.

The national liberation struggle is likewise dialectically related to the movement of progressive forces in capitalist nations. Let me cite but two recent examples:

- (1) The victory of liberation struggle in Portuguese African colonies led to the downfall of the fascist portuguese regime. We wish the Progressige forces every succes in their attempt to consolidate their democratic and social gains. Some of them are seriously studing the way their former colonial subject Amilcar Cabral has applied Scientific Socialist through in the concrete experience of Grinea-Bissau in order to draw some lessons for their efforts to liberate the European masses. This is a dramatic example of the dialotical process of history.
- (2) The long awaited move by Arab and other oil producing nations to preserve their resources and to correct the inequalities in international trade is another example. This move has exposed the huge profits and manipulative tactics of the international monopolists of oil and related industries. Their desire to keep on

drawing huge profits has led to a crisis in all major capitalist nations. Everybody now cannot fail to use the sharpening class struggles in the capitalist countries.

As in the past, the ruling classes will attempt to export their inevitable internal crisis to the international level. They will blame National Movements and Socialist naticns. They are already doing so. They are telling their workers to hate the Arabs, the Vietnamese the so-called radical African, those communists etc. Clever tricks and reforms are not enough, the International Capitalist market is in profound crisis.

Let me at this point pay homages to the King Faisal of Saudi Arabia who has been tragically murdered last week. He was a wise statesman who was very much involved in the process of gaining equal exchange in the International area. May Allah rest his soul in peace.

We should give these nations our full support. We should devise systems and institutions to prevent the attempt of the international oil corporations from shifting the burdens on us while they continue to reap off huge profits. There are many ways we can help each other. We should not accept their international «Hate, the Arabs» campaign. We, in Africa, have bitter lessons to draw from imperialist divide-and-rule policies; the traditional tricks of setting so-called-Africa-South—of the—Sahara against so-called Africa—North—of—Sahara and Vice-Versahas already been played too often in the past. Are we foolish enough not to learn from history and therefore be condemned to repeat it? I am convinced that we will not let that happen. Insted of joining in the attempt to break the unity of the Oil Producing Nations, we should devise ways and means of getting better organized so that we can all get better terms of international trade for all our products.

I need not emphasize that such tactics of divide and rule are all the time taking new shapes and colours. They take the shape of racial, and religious differences. We have here exposed the neo-colonial trick of Arab versus Black Africa. But other tricks also exist. We hear of Angolo phone Africa or Franco-phone Africa, of Moslem Africa or Christian Africa.

Comrades, the harping on such epithets is a reactionary maneuver. It is intended to play on artificial differences so as to divert us from the main task. It is nothing but a new move to divide African, for neo-colonialism never rests. But I am sure that the African masses—women, youth and workers—will again unmask this deception and continue on their historical march.

At the sametime, we should advocate the policy of peace among nations in order to expose and isolate the most nuclear—war minded among the imperialists. Women of Africa push for an international united front against war and for peace with an disarmament. You will have more occasions to meet women of other developing nations and of those from Socialist and Capitalist Nations. You must take the opportunity presented at the International Women's Conference to be held this year in Mexico City.

You must urge the progressive and working women from Capitalist nations not to be fooled by the propaganda of the ruling classes. Historical truths are clear as day light for them to see. They must increase their anti-capitalist efforts. They have to resist fascism and imperialism. They have to stop playing the game of the sleeping queen of history, they should strengthen and deepen their revolutionary current and actively join those of us making a new history of mankind, a history of social relations based on the principle that man shall not exploit or dehumanize another man.

Dear Comrades, distinguished delegates, Have I diverted from the issue of women's equality peace and development? The

imperialists will answer yes. But you have known colonization and one way or another suffer from the impact of neo-colonialism know much better than that. From your own experience you know that women's struggle cannot be separated from these other struggles. The point is, the woman is a member of society and her problem is a social problem and cannot be treated in isolation. For purposes of analysis and implementation you may indeed isolate various aspects of any problem at hand. But this should be done while having a general historical and dialectical overview in order to grasp at the dynamic interrelationship within any social phenomenon. This is way I have outlined the various currents of this revolutionary epoch. The women's movement for working class, peasant and progressive women of Africa must see itself as part and parcel of this world-wide anti-imperialist represents a revolution within this revolution.

In your careful and serious analysis, you must always keep these historical relationships in mind. Every human problem must be viewed from the point of view of time; of history: The dynamic changes in material conditions and their two-sided movement and interactions with the social, political and cultural levels.

Therefore, do not make the mistake of those women whose liberation is being manipulated by capitalist and imperialist interests. Do not make men-in a so called sax war-the tagret of your struggle. We are talking about building strong, healthy families based on the principles of freedom, equality and justice; we are talking about protecting our families from the exploitation of imperialism and capitalism; this is no time for petty-exhibitionist saxist quarrels and confront aunity and expose all of us to the power and greed of nations: Such divisions wreck family, class and national imperialism.

Of course I am confident about ultimate victory, however slow and difficult the road ahead is. I began my address with an

optimistic mood concerning the remarkable revolutionary currents of our century. But let me make it perfectly clear to you that my optimism is not based on a belief concerning the blind, inevitable march of history.

I am talking about the history we are all making with our conscious efforts. I do not have faith in a blind march of history. I have faith in, and I am optimistic about our conscious and organized people—our workers, peasants, revolutionary intellectuals, and our youth. I have great faith in our women. But we have to struggle again...that is how revolutionary history is made. We should also expect certain setbacks—the forces of imperialism are still strong. In Chile we have suffered a bloody set-back. We should never be cynical or fatalistic due to such temporary failures. We should emerge better organized to deal with imperialism manipulations.

That is why we always need to meet, to analyse and to discuss. We hope you carry out your analysis along scientific lines. A revolution may temporarily fail even if it is based on a revolutionary theory. The women's movement needs a revolutionary theory that relates it to the world-wide revolutionary movement. We hope from you details, tables, figures & statistics case-studies, which are drawn up within the framework of a revolutionary theory, badly needed in Africa at this historic movement. We also hope that you do not simply enjoy analysis for the sake of analysis. Your theoretical exercise must be based on practice and it must be tested in practice. Please, do not specialise in attending international women's conference, in order to, simply discuss this and that: You must always be involved; you must struggle to learn more in order to struggle better. Intellectual analysis for sake of intellectual analysis will not bring about women's equality, development and world peace. We also know that struggling without theory, without critical analysis, carries with it great dangers and risks ending up at the reactionary corners. As Karl Marx reminded us, bourgeois philosophers simply wish to analyse history but (for the exploited), the point

is to change history. We in Africa most of all, must change history, one recent history has been one of exploitation, humiliation, degradation, hunger, diseases and ignorance.

At this point let me tell you about the Somali experience. The Somali delegates will be able to provide you with details, with figures, with elaborations and give answers to your questions.

Our history is not unlike that of yours. Before colonialism came, our people struggle with nature and involved basic techniques, social organization and cultures as a result of that struggle. They lived in communal oriented production, where Man and women together worked hard; and learned to respect each other.

When European colonialism came, Our hero Sayid Mohamed A. H., organized forces to fight it, & he kept fighting against colonialism for over twenty years. Like the rest of you, we lost the battle but our people continued day to day resistance and anticipated future struggles. These came about with the birth of Somali nationalist parties the Somali Youth League—in particular. The Somali people were divided into five parts by European colonialism, so-called British Somaliland, Italian Somaliland and French Somaliland. Another large part of our people was included in the North part of British occupied Kenya and the European colonialists helped the former imperial Regime of Ethiopia to occupy a large number of our country. This is why the former Ethiopian regime called itself an «Empire» (like the British Empire) and this is why the former ruler was called Emperor Haile Selassie. The colonial masters, as was their want, have deliberately created this untenable situation so that it may become a thorn in the flesh of East Africa peoples for generations. We must view the problem in this light, study its genesis objectively and solve it among ourselves as Africans and neighbours in the interest of our people. We have made it repeatedly clear to our neighbours that this problem was inherited

from the colonial era—an excellent example of colonial divide—and—rule strategy. The Somali Revolutionary Government has made its standpoint crystal clear since 1970. Let me repeat this position once again since the imperialist news media is busy these days in trying to create tensions and falsify our position. We have affirmed that self-determination for the people of the occupied areas is a human right that cannot be denied, we must continue our peaceful efforts to demand self-determina-

tion and unity for our colonially divided people.

But we have pointed out and insisted again and again that our stand is an objectively responsible one. We made it clear that Somalia abhors the use of force and will not resort to it unless compelled to do so. We were and still are, for peaceful negotiated settlement. That was never cheap rhetoric on our part. It was a sincere, and honest African approach, for why should African blood be split if it can be spared? Why should we engage in fratricide, as the colonial masters planned, if other alternatives exist? We sincerely hope that the recent historical changes around us will permit our neighbours to see this colonially inherited problem from a fraternal and responsible standpoint. We will also continue to be vigilant.

The issue of Somalis in occupied areas continues to plague us and that is why I have digressed from my historical survey to state our current position. It is an issue that has been totally falsified by imperialist propaganda. Now, to return to our nationalist struggles following the Second World War, let me point out that our people suffered a great deal in these struggles. Many Somalis lost their lives for this noble cause. Among them was the Somali nationalist woman: Hawo Cusman Taako who was killed by colonial forces. She symbolized a collective struggle of our women for liberation. In their contribution to the struggle, our women gained the respect of their men. They also gained respect and confidence in themselves and thus laid the foundation for their equality.

The nationalist campaign which led to political independence in 1960 when so-called Italian Somaliland and British Somaliland joined together to form the Somali Republic. Like most of Africans, political independence for us did not lead to economic independence: During the years 1960-69 our people suffered under neo-colonialism. We had a pseudo-Republic led by a pseudo-bourgeois. Our politicians thought that they could develop Somalia through capitalism. That time Somalia became more & more dependent on neo-colonial ties. Tribalism which had been checked by the nationalist movement came to dominate the scene. Corruption and nepotism permeated aspects of public life. Competent and honest graduates went around unemployed while the politicians closed themselves with expensive foreign advisors.

Women, who had played a crucial role in the nationalist struggle were ignored and removed from public life. Poor unemployed women were exposed to misery in ever increasing numbers.

In short, the Somali nation was on the verge of disintegration. The deterioration of the appalling situation finally culminated in the assassination of the former President of the Somali Republic.

On October 21st, 1969 the Somali Armed Forces, animated by the sentiments and desires of the Somali people intervened in this disastrous situation.

Thus a popular revolution was launched and the armed forces were only its most organized aspect. We immediately set ourselves to the task of giving our society meaning and direction. We turned to the material basis of our society. We bitterly knew that industrialization through capitalism was impossible, and in the neo-colonial perverted form was leading us to our doom. By historical necessity we opted for scientific socialism. We nationalized the commanding heights of our economy—foreign banks and enterprises. We then proceeded to

organize our labour and technical resources better. We have successfully transferred to the state the main channels of external and internal commerce and finance. The basic structure of economic organisation will be that of co-operatives supported by other institutional arrangements, in specific areas. These forms of economic development are laying the basis for the development and equality of our women.

We, in Somalia, have found that we cannot afford the luxury of relegating more than half of our population to inferiority, given the paucy of our manpower we are forced to tap all the human resources available. It is as simple as that. Nor have we ever found them wanting in the hours of dire national need. I am more convinced than ever that practical necessity will impel most of us to find ways of emancipating the masses of women. There is a profound dialectical relationship here: as women are involved socially planned labour, we are able to develop and as we need are able to absorb more women in productive employment. The issue is much deeper than the mere adaptation of women to a man's world or the equating of men and women.

In the field of education, we have been able to, thanks to the self-reliance efforts of our people, greatly increase the school enrollment at elementary, intermediate and secondary levels, the enrollment of women in all these levels is on the increase and we will not be satisfied until we remove the past, historical inequities in these and other aspects of our society. We have created a National University and have recently given it a new impetus. We are increasing the number of technical, vocational and teachers training institutes.

We have changed the curriculum to reflect our new objectives, our needs and priorities. The writing of the Somali language since October, 1972, has truly broken the shackles of neo-colonial chains. This has also given us the basis for mass

literacy campaigns and a broadened conception of education in general. In the first campaign — March 1973 to June 1973 about 240,000 adults participated and following the unprecedented rural campaigns completed recently, we can be proud that at least 70 percent of our people are now literate. The rural campaigns also included basic medical facilities. We intend to broaden and deepen these campaigns. The health and education of our rural women is as important to us as that of our urban women.

The writing of our language has opened up the creative spirit of our people. Theatrical and cultural groups have mushroomed every where. In these groups, women and men perform in complete equality and in many of their displays and songs they propagate the humanistic objectives of women's equality and development.

As socialists, we realize that mobilizing the masses must involve not only raising them for the level of ideological consciousness, but also organising them for the task and creating the necessary institutional mechanisms for the people's initiative to exert itself. We have created a political office which has spread its network of centres into all the districts and regions of our Democratic Republic. These centers have become rallying points for our revolutionary people-workers, youth and women. We have a women's Organization which is growing in strength efficiency and political consciousness. Our Democratic system of local Governments encourages women's participation. In order to aspire rightly to the full realization of a socialist society, women should attain complete equality. All fetters should be removed for their full emancipation in all aspects of life. The Revolution guarantees such rights decrees and laws to make these rights fully enjoyable and the law workable.

The duty that fell on our women at this stage of our development is to respond with full zest and enthusiasm; it is they who aspire to, rise and struggle for complete emancipation.

To remove one of these fetters, we have recently passed a revolutionary family and marriage law which I am sure, you will be hearing more about in your deliberations.

You will witness women factory workers, civil servants, professionals, teachers, sports, artists, soldiers, nurses technicians, political representatives etc. And we are pledged to increase women's participation in all economic, social, political and cultural aspects of our revolutionary society.

The road ahead is long and difficult. We have taken a few steps but firm steps towards our goal. The limitations are obviously due to our low levels of production and the heritage of colonial and neo-colonial thinking which partly limits our efforts to organise our people and raise their political consciousness.

Our economic resources have been put under strain by the drought that has afflicted our country in the past year or so. We are obliged to divert our resources to deal with this natural disaster. The women and children are its most numerable victims. We have settled, fed and relieved our starving masses. We have appreciated the sincere help given to us by our international brothers and sisters. We are trying to deal with this natural crisis in such a way that we can prevent or contain future calamities of a similar type. Out of this misfortune, our self-reliant people are drawing useful lessons for future generations. The role of our women in meeting this disaster has once again been exemplary?

Comrades, to summarise. The main conclusions of what I have been saying are:-

1. The women's movement is part of a world wide revolutionary movement consisting of at least three main currents.

2. This means the women's conference should not discuss women's issues in isolation.
3. Also historical analysis is important, and this analysis should not be done for its own sake, theory should serve to illuminate practice.
4. This implies that women's liberation is intimately connected with national liberation, with the struggle against imperialism, with the struggle to construct a socialist society.

To illuminate what I have just summarised, I outlined the Somali experience to show how our revolution handles the questions of the status of women. That is why we believe our revolution is a people's revolution. And as such, it must be continuous and permanent. It must always grow in dynamism, deepening itself in the masses and for ever widening its horizons.

Comrades, distinguished guests. The Somali Revolution is part and parcel of Africa Revolution; the Somali Revolution is at the service of the African Revolution.

LONG LIVE THE AFRICAN REVOLUTION!

LONG LIVE THE WORLD REVOLUTION!

LONG LIVE THE PROGRESSIVE FORCES OF LIBERATION!

LONG LIVE THE REVOLUTIONARY AFRICAN MOVEMENTS!

AFRICA AT CROSS — ROADS.

*Speech by Jaalle Siad at the opening Ceremony
of the 11th OAU Summit Conference at Mogadishu.*

12.6. 1975

On behalf of the Supreme Revolutionary Council, the Government and people of the Somali Democratic Republic I welcome all you very heartily to this country and its capital city of Mogadishu.

For us in Somalia it is a matter of unlimited pride and joy to have such an august assembly of African Heads of State and Government meeting in our midst to deliberate on matters of the greatest concern for the peoples of Africa and for the peace of the world. The Somali people is a revolutionary people who believe in revolutionary Africa and in a world where justice and peace prevail. Like the rest of our brother Africans we have suffered the indignity of colonial domination, and fell victim to neo-colonial exploitation after independence. But again like other African people, we threw out the colonial yoke by blood and sword and are now engaged in full battle against imperialism and neo-colonial exploitation.

One of the most unfortunate aspects of the colonial period as far as Somalia is concerned, has been among others the territorial dispute with Ethiopia, which has engaged the attention of the OAU on several occasions. In the last meeting of the African Heads of State and Government in Addis Ababa

a Special Committee of Eight Heads of State was appointed in connection with this issue. We are confident that through mediation and under the auspices of the OAU, an appropriate solution will be found for this dispute thereby opening up new vistas of co-operation in the Horn of Africa.

The Government of the Somali Democratic Republic has full confidence in this Committee and has given its full cooperation to it.

Having said this, allow me, your Excellencies, to come to what I believe to be the main task of this Conference. This Summit meeting of African Heads of State and Government is extremely significant as it is taking place at a critical point of time both in relation to world events and developments and in view of the great challenge and choices the African continent is being confronted with as a consequence of those global trends. The economic and financial crisis that characterised the world scene in recent years have culminated in a special session of the U.N. General Assembly which in its turn ended up with conclusions of far reaching importance; the latest development and trends in the Middle East; the events taking place in Portugal with their implications for decolonisation of African territories under Portuguese colonial domination and the possible effects of this on Southern Africa, the problems that have bedevilled the OAU Secretariat during the past year; the progress in East-West detente, the emergence of new leaders and regimes in Europe and the strains that have beset the EEC; the resounding success of the progressive forces in their struggle against reactionary regimes in South East Asia — surely the interaction of these events and situations does pose a challenge to the OAU at the dawn of its second decade. It is my earnest belief, Your Excellencies, that the only way Africa can meet such a challenge is through greater unity and cohesion coupled with more forceful action in matters relating to inter-African cooperation.

I submit therefore, that our task in this Conference is, while building on the solid foundations that have been laid in the past decade, to take hold initiatives towards greater African unity and to demonstrate our seriousness about inter-African co-operation, and our determination to take complete control over resources instead of our total acquiescence before the increasing exploitation of our riches by neo-colonial and imperialist agents. In this way we can set the pace and tone for the «Decade of Action» proclaimed in Addis Ababa last year, and move nearer towards our ideal of an African Government.

Let us begin by a critical evaluation of the OAU itself; during the period of its existence in the past eleven years, the OAU has emerged as an international force to be reckoned African approach towards most international issues and with. It has made substantial contributions towards the African cause particularly in the field of liberation and in the creation of an African image. More than anything else, the OAU has been responsible for the emergence of a co-ordinated African approach towards most international issues and problems. These are no meagre achievements considering the many challenges this young organisation had to contend with in the form of imperialist intrigues and efforts to divide the closed ranks of the African people, as well as the stresses and strains in our own internal situations.

All in all, the performance of the OAU so far deserves commendation and this should be a matter for self — congratulation. It is a clear testimony to the wisdom, far-sightedness, and states — manship of African leaders.

But does this mean that the OAU has fulfilled the hopes of the African masses and the noble ideas that had inspired the very creation of the OAU eleven years ago? The answer, we all know, must be in the negative. Many African terri-

tories and peoples are suffering under colonial domination the minority while regimes in Southern Africa abetted by Western imperialism are pursuing their policy of racial oppression with arrogance which knows no bounds. Neo-colonial exploitation of Africa is increasing while economic co-operation within Africa and the development of communications within the continent have remained at the plane of pious resolutions continually ending up in waste-paper baskets. Furthermore, we have studiously been avoiding to face up to our internal problems and realities. I feel we have been too cautious to move forward. Some justification might have been found for this cautioning the early years of its nebulous existence but surely the needs of the times ahead necessarily require a different approach although I am convinced that the African continent needs to move more boldly towards greater unity and must be more seriously committed as regards economic and commercial co-operation.

To achieve this, I believe that it is necessary to review the structure and machinery of the OAU including its charter. The latter, as I said earlier, was drawn up by the founding fathers more than eleven years ago when the conditions prevailing in Africa and the world were different from what they are now. A review of the Charter is therefore in order. The competence and powers of the Secretariat should be transformed from more administrative apparatus to dynamic executive organ with a view to make it more effective. We should not hesitate to create super-national institutions.

We can begin by the establishment of a Pan — African Airline and a Pan-African Shipping Line.

In the economic field the basic pre-requisite is that we must have complete control over our resources and economies.

In the economic field the basic prerequisite is that we must have complete control over resources and economies.

By this I mean total African ownership of the major means of production. In this regard it is of fundamental importance that we implement the Declaration on the Establishment of a U.N. General Assembly recently. We should give particular importance to the recommendations concerning the achievement of full sovereignty over our natural resources and economic activities in our respective countries. As long as we allow-neo-colonial exploitation of our resources and foreign control over the fate of our economies to continue, we will not attain our main objective to secure social and economic well-being of our peoples, and we will never be able to achieve our cherished goal of African unity nor will we be in a position to implement any of the multitude of sound resolutions and recommendations of inter-African exchange and economic co-operation passed in meetings of ECA and OAU at various levels.

Allow me to make a few remarks on the very important question of decolonization and white minority regimes in southern Africa. I mentioned earlier that the role of the OAU in the liberation struggle in Africa has been a positive one in so far as it extended both moral and material support to the liberation movements and at the same time helped to mobilize and rally world public opinion at International Forums and outside behind the liberation struggle. No doubt however, the main credit goes to the liberation Movements themselves and their peoples who had and still have to pay the price of freedom with their blood. Africa had already come to the conclusion as evidenced by the Mogadishu Declaration that armed struggle was the only possible way left to subjected African people to win their independence and freedom.

It is a matter of satisfaction to all of us today to witness decolonization process in Africa taking a dramatic turn for the better in as much as the prospect of complete independence for the Republic of Guinea Bissau and cape verde Islands, Mo-

zambique and Angola, has become imminent. There is no doubt that effectiveness of the liberation struggle of the African people in these countries has been the prime cause for the recent changes in regime, in Portugal. All the same, we express as a matter of principle our appreciation to the new leaders of Portugal for having successfully freed their people from the terror and oppression of a fascist regime which ruled over that territory for nearly half a century we welcome the undertaking of the new Portuguese Government to recognise and grant the right of self-determination to the African peoples under their domination. If Portugal is to win the good-will of African, this promise must be translated into action immediately by giving full and unconditional independence to the parts of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde Islands still under its occupation as well as Mozambique and Angola in accordance with the wishes of the peoples in those countries.

Last year, when in this very hall, the OAU Liberation Committee endorsed the proclamation of Independence by Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde Islands it was considered by the imperialists and colonialists that this action lacked seriousness and foreign. Today, however, the world acknowledges the fact that Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde Islands were worth of the independence they proclaimed and that the struggle of its valiant people was not in vain. We congratulate the people of that African country and are very happy to see in our midst today, the representatives of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde Islands as the 42nd Member State of the Organization Unity.

I am confident that on our next meeting we will be extending a similar welcome in our midst to Mozambique and Angola as independent States.

The prospect of independence for Portuguese colonies augurs well for the total liberation of Africa. It means that

the noose is closing around the neck of the white minority regimes in south Africa. The inevitable confrontation between them and independent Africa has now become star naked. We have to face up to this confrontation. In the long run, of course the final outcome of the battle is a foregone conclusion: Africa cannot possibly lose; but the suffering of our people in Southern Africa and the desereation of our honour, dignity and pride cannot allow us to wait. We must act. We must fight. Our enemy in Southern Africa, as we all know is of a different nature. They are a minority, racist community fully behind the policy of their rulers as evidenced by the outcome of the last elections in South Africa and by the position even of their Churches with regard to apartheid. They are determined, in their despartion to fight together to the last ditch to remain inhuman and insane. We must therefore face them together.

The establishment of an OAU force is the only answer. We can start by immediately and permanently placing certain units of our armies at the disposal of the OAU and the allocation of OAU budgetary provisions for such forces in times of mobilisation. In the meantime, we can step up our support for the Liberation Movement in Southern A Africa by.

- a) Appealing to the UN, its affiliated Agencies, and the World Community to expand the scope of their aid to the Liberation Movements in Southern African and the victims of Apartheid.
- b) Exposing and realiating against South Africa's major trading partners.
- c) Increasing our own moral and material support to these Liberation Movements.
- d) Assisting those African countries who win their freedom to consolidate their independence.

- e) Immediate preparation of a blue-print for a plan of action by the OAU in the event of an attack by the racist regimes in Southern Africa against any independent State.

Apart from Southern Africa — we are fully aware that the other African territories of French Somaliland, Spanish Sahara, Commoro Islands and Sychelles are languishing under colonial rule and their peoples denied the right of self-determination. We are duty bound to extend our fullest support and assistance to the peoples of these territories for the realisation of freedom and human dignity.

I believe that the whole question of declonisation and the Liberation Movements deserves a special Summit Session of the OAU.

Since the last meeting of this august Assembly of African Heads of State and Government, we all know there has been a dramatic change in the Middle East situation. The Arabs have broken the back of zionist arrogance and aggression by their victory over Isreal in the October War and their diplomatic triumph has earned the support of the peoples of the world for their just cause.

The conclusion of cease-fire agreements by the Arab Republic of Egypt and Syria with Isreal constitutes a step in the right direction, but by no means ensures the attainment of lasting peace in the area, while the efforts for peace made by the super-powers involved in the Middle East deserve encouragement the sincerity of their intentions only be judged by the outcome. The continued occupation by Isreal of Arab territories, the denial of the rights of the Palestinian people, and the latest barbaric and indiscriminatory bombing of civilian population in Lebanon by Isreal war plances do not augur well for a change of hearts. If final peace is to be achieved in the area, Israel, must withdraw from all Arab ter-

territories occupied in 1967 and the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people recognised. Otherwise yet another confrontation of forces - bigger and bloodier than ever with far more serious consequences for the world in general, will be inevitable.

The new opportunities, dangers and challenges of the times lend greater urgency to the need for the further development of Afro-Arab solidarity and co-operation. The solidarity between African and Arab peoples in a living reality. We have a common destiny and work for common goal and ideals. We are bound together by the facts of geography, and share the same peoples and the same interests. Our common enemy namely international imperialism would do everything in their power to undermine our solidarity and create discord between us. The oil question is now being fully exploited to this and deliberate attempts are being made to create confusion in our minds by linking up the oil issue with break of diplomatic relations with Israel by most member States of the OAU during the October War. First of all the action taken by African States in support of the Arabs was a matter of principle, and had nothing to do with bargaining. We were supporting peoples fighting for their dignity, their land and freedom against Israel aggression and intransigence.

Secondly, the territory of a founding member of the OAU was and still continues to be under military occupation. In accordance with spirit of the Charter and previous resolutions of the OAU it was the sacred duty of all African States to give their fullest support to Egypt. Thus the demonstration of complete solidarity by Africa with the Arab peoples during the October war in the Middle East was a matter of principle and constituted a clear testimony to our determination to remain on each other's side at all time.

As concern the oil issue, the first thing we notice is that all Arab countries do not produce oil and those who produce

it do not have a monopoly of oil production in the world. Secondly, the decision of the Arabs to use oil as a political weapon was a necessity and was primarily directed against international imperialism which supports Israel. It most certainly was not intended to create difficulties for Africa. When we come to the question of price, the action of the oil producing countries of the Third world in seeking fair prices for their strategic and non-renewable natural resources, is commendable in as much as it is fully consistent with the declared policy and aims of the developing countries to demand more equitable terms of exchange for their commodities vis-as vis these of the industrialised countries of the developed world.. Even so, we all know, that the tremendous increase in the consumer prices of oil is entirely the responsibility of the international oil companies who had been making incredible profit out of the oil crisis. They are the ones to blame, since the soaring prices of finished petroleum bear no relation to the relatively modest increases in the price they have to pay for crude oil. Nevertheless, it is quite evident that the spiralling of the prices of oil has proved to be a very heavy burden on the economies of most of the African countries, including this country.

We feel that our Arab oil producing brothers can help in alleviating these difficulties, Beginning have already been made in this direction and I am confident that much more can be done.

The possible scope for Afro-Arab co-operation is unlimited. We call upon our oil producing brothers in the Arab world to divert their large financial resources lying in the Banks of the Western World to mutually beneficial investments in Africa. The latter is potentially one of the richest countries in the world, and Arab capital can help to develop these potentialities in the fields of mineral resources, agriculture and industry. We all need to work together for our

common interests and for the interests of the world as a whole. In this regard, I would suggest a meeting of Afro-Arab Heads of State and Government to be held at an early date.

Looking at the international scene we cannot fail to stress Africa's demand for the demoncratisation of international relations making process in matters affecting the destinies of mankind. The needs and aspirations of the peoples of Third world must be given due recongition. The last Conference of Non-Aligned countries in Algeria and subsequent special meeting of the United Nation General Assembly in New York have proved useful and fruitful by crystalising an appropriate strategy for the developing countries to secure a better and fairer deal for themselves in the present set up of world economic order. Africa and the other countries of the Third World while seeking economic equality are ready to develop commercial and economic co-operation with the developing countries on the basis of matual benefit.

Following the East-West detente, there has been marked lessening of tension and reduction of confrontation among the big powers. This undoubtedly had a positive impact on the world situation, but only to a limited extent. It is to be stressed in this connection that the detente among the major powers would not have much significance so long as there are many injustices and exploitations in many parts of Africa, Asia and Latin America. Global peace cannot be attained unless the major powers make concerted efforts to put an end to colonialism, racism and neo-colonial exploitation which still remain the major source of conflict in this contemporary world. In this connection the people of Indo-China should be left to determine their destiny and that the havoc and destruction perpetuated by imperialist in Cambodia, Vietnam and Leas should forthwith be put to an end. Likewise, we call for the withdrawal of imperialist forces from Korea so that reunification of that country could be realised.

Finally, I cannot leave discussion of international relations without drawing attention to the present situation in the Indian Ocean. We are extremely perturbed by the growing activity of NATO fleets in the area and the establishment of Naval Bases in Diego Garcia. The Indian Ocean has been declared a zone of peace and should remain so. We therefore call upon the imperialist powers to refrain from the creation of any bases in this zone and the immediate removal of any that have already been established.

I am fully confident that our deliberation on the important issue before us, at this critical time, will prove fruitful and contribute positively progress of Africa and peace in the world. Allow me to extent to you once more our heartiest welcome to Somalia which you should all regard as your home. I wish you, therefore, a happy and pleasant. Stay

Long Live African Unity:

Long Live World peace and Justice.

EMPTY VESSELS MAKE THE MOST NOISE

President Siad lashes out At those who make Fuss on the Law on family Code In a Speech on International Women's Day in 1975.

Many greetings be upon you all. As you all know, we have gathered here to commemorate that important day when humanity has given recognition to the fact that all human beings are equal; the day humanity has recognised that women have the same rights and the same mental powers as men. The recognition of women's rights has benefited the process of human being and the world deserves congratulations.

At the same time we congratulate the women in the world for the victory they have won. Women have been always taking a lion's share in the progress of Mankind, but until recently they had not been given complete recognition for their contributions to the progress of humanity. The commemorations of women's Day is a tribute to growth of the human mind for it has finally seen that women are as important as men and they had to be given equal right with men. This mental development of humanity has made possible the recognition of women's rights. If the rights of half of the human race were not recognized, the advancement of humanity might have been in danger. Justice and equality could not have been said to reign in the world if the rights of half of the human race were unrecognized. The world used to say; «Women are not use-

ful; they could not be considered to be complete human beings: they have brains whose power is less than that of men; they don't deserve to be given the respect men are getting».

What had created such a mentality? The degree of the people's mental development and the past economical, social and political conditions of the world had all conspired before to deny women their God-given rights. With time the human beings have come to realize the unreasonableness of depriving women of their rights. The political, social, economic and technical advancement which the human beings made in recent history had helped a great deal the recognition of women's rights. One can easily understand that the human mental development is to a great extent directly linked to the degree of his economic development. Before the people on earth had succeeded in making the economic and technological advancement from which they derive great benefits, they went through great hardships. They went through the ages when human life had no more value than that of an animal: when the strongest subjugated, robbed and killed the weak; when whole populations were reduced to slavery; when whole continents were stripped of most of their resources and its people oppressed by invaders. Even more dismal existence proceeded these stages. There were the time of stone age, tribalism, feudalism and the times of royal Empire. All these developments led to capitalism. In capitalism few people form a cabal which manipulates the economic system in a way that they get everything while the workers who produce the wealth live in object poverty and have no power to change this unfair economic arrangement.

What brought about then, the recognition of human rights? The flourishing of scientific Socialism had retrieved for mankind the rights and value most of which had been lost. There is no doubt that all people would eventually embrace socialism but some would embrace it sooner while it would take others some time to join the majority of mankind in adopting socia-

lism. How does socialism benefit human beings better than any other system? Under socialism everyone gets what he desires most; everyone gets the best possible life. Socialism makes possible for the greatest number of the people to have decent lives, health facilities, educational opportunities, equal rights and justice, Socialism also liberates from the people arrogance, injustice, robbery, exploitation and the other bad qualities which capitalism breeds. What creates bad qualities in the human beings? Need breeds bad characteristics in the human beings. When there is too much need in a society, there is a high probability that there would be unsarory practices in that society. Need is what causes confrontations among human beings? In order to have a healthy society one must set out to wipe out poverty. But before a nation reaches a stage of economic prosperity, it must chart the road by which it wants to reach economic advancement. At the same time society which wants to make economic progress must have a citizenry which has a high mental maturity. When these conditions are fulfilled, a nation can choose the correct principles which would lead it to economic, political and social development. The fulfillment of these pre-requisites prevents from the people of a country something which is immature and contrary to the interests of their country. Political maturity brings with it a state of mind which precludes injustice, jealosuy, and all the other bad qualities of human nature. When the people's minds have been cleansed from all impurities, the nation can pool its resources, its brains and manpower and apply them to the creation of economic prosperity. In such a society the public would protect the rights of the individual and the individual would not infringe the rights of others. In this way the individual would serve the public and public would serve the individual. When blatant selfishness is exercised from the majority of the people in asociety, there will not be exploitation and similar bad practices in such a society. When the people are liberated from the obsession of money-gripping, the society can work for the common good.

The only system which recognizes the full value of the human being is scietific socialism. When we talk about the human being, no distinction is being made among people. either in colour or otherwise. Any society anywhere in the world which does not recognise the value of the human being would find itself torn apart by disunity. If there is no unity in a society, it will not be able to work for the common good. If the whole society is not involved both in the decision-making and in the execution of plans, part of the society would be the decision-makers, part of it would be thinkers, and yet another part would be the more tools who would be employed as long as they have use and discarded when they outline their usefulness.

Capitalism regards women as an ornament of the house and receptacles for children. This attitude doesn't recognise the brains, strength, receptacles, the usefulness and the role women can play in the society.

In the period of feudalism the strong and the cunning managed to own large farms. They used to hire many people to work on these farms. These workers were paid nominal fees which were very much below what their labour was worth. After sometime, the people realized that they were being blatantly exploited and started fighting their exploiters. As anyone might know victory is always on the side of the greatest number of the people. Next came the royal Empire, Kings rose up to swallow the properties of the landlords and to reduce them to vassals. These new overlords became much more oppressive and exploitative than the landlords. The Kings ushered an era of injustice, robbery, mass killings, and the worst subjugation human beings had ever seen. They brought out in people of the worst qualities. The driving force of the Kings was agreed. They were not content to rule part of a country, or just a country. They wanted to swallow up whole countries and their populations. They kept on demanding more and more, and more. They kept fighting each other over land. Whole po-

pulations were put to the sword for supporting one King or another. Countries in which armies clashed were devastated. When this went for a long time, the majority of the people realized that they had to fight for their survival or perish. The workers, peasants and white-colour workers forged a purpose: to fight back their oppressors.

The next stage of human development was capitalism. Under this system, the people managed to live better than they did in their previous existence. But a class, which was out to exploit the masses to the maximum, immediately emerged. Many classes emerged under capitalism. There were the capitalist group which wanted to mass wealth at the expense of the Public. There were at the same time those who served and defended the capitalists. There were also the greater thinkers who saw that unless the rights of human beings were recognized, unless justice and equality reigned in the world, humanity would be bogged down in a quagmire from which it would not be able to extricate itself. The people who were thinking along these lines were the ones who thought up the system of scientific socialism. The essence of this system was that the means of production and distribution had to be in the hands of the whole people and not a few of them. This was the only way to end exploitation of the people and the usurpation of their rights. There was, however, the question of women's right. Most of the societies in the world had for generations looked down upon women and held them to be inferior to men. There was no logical justification for this attitude, but there is no logical prejudice. It is blind and it clings to the minds of the beings. When socialism had flourished in some parts of the world, it started to combat that blind prejudice. Women's rights were recognized immediately. This recognition is at the core of Scientific Socialism because it stipulates that all human beings are equal; that they have the same right to justice, decent life and happiness. It stipulates that the production of the people in each country should be justly distributed among them. This

means «you would get something equal to your productivity and nothing more than that. This means no one should cavet something which one did not produce; What is the result of this? It would be the peoples' participation in decision—making in taking equal share in production, and getting a just share of what is produced. This basic tenet of socialism which holds the equality of all human beings is the foundation of the equality of men and women. This principle enjoins both on men and women that they should work together and to share equally and justly the production of their country.

We are a nation which emerged from the clutches of capitalism and embraced socialism. We had to fight hard to effect this change and it was necessary for us to apply the principles of socialism. Since we embraced socialism followed that we had to fight injustice in all its forms and shapes. In whatever we do we must uphold justice and the dignity of human beings. We hold that men and women are equal. The criteria on which we must judge people should be «is this human being? and nothing else. We must make this principle of man and woman's equality part of our laws, and no one should be allowed to contravene this law which makes human beings equal. We must tell the imperialists and their lackeys: Listen, this, is our law and if you break it you would get the punishment you deserve».

The Somali men and women must understand that there is no competition between them. Their common endeavours on equal terms for the common good is in their interest, in the interest of their children and in the interests of the society as a whole. If all the men and women in the country all work together, they can accomplish a great deal. If they all pool their ideas, they would be able to solve any problems they might face. It might so happen that either a man or a woman would think of something great because one had a monopoly on good ideas.

A healthy competition between men and women, between the women, between the youth, between the workers would be of tremendous advantage to the society. If everyone tries to excell in whatever he is doing, what would be better than that? But this competition must be healthy; it must be socialistic; it must be revolutionary; it must be patriotic. It must have such a purpose if it has to serve the community.

We must, both men and women, increase our productivity; we must enlighten ourselves on the problems that might chop up from time to time; we must all work together in order to reach the desired goal of prosperity. We must not just advocate good principles. We must all apply the principles we advocate so that what we are doing would have a sense of purpose because that is the only manner we can all carry out our national duties. When a person really understands his duties to his nation, he would have confidence than he had before. What would he do? He would not fall into temptations; he would not be a venal person serving everyone who offers him something to do; something which is against his nation's interest. The understanding of one's national duties would prevent one from doing anything which degrade or demean the human being. When a person understands the value of human being and his duties, he has grown up mentally, and this naturally leads him to the right path.

The women must understand their role in the society. The purpose of the family Law is to strengthen the family unity which is the basis of the whole society. The environment of the Family must give the child an ample opportunity to grow into an upright citizen. It must give the child the opportunity to learn what is good rather than what is bad. What is the right upbringing for a child? Both the father and mother must pay great attention to the way their children are growing up. They must wheedle them to the right path. They take them by the hand and lead them away from temptations and pitfalls. The parents must set an example for their children if the child-

ren see their parents engaged in cheating, hypocrisy, theft and so forth, the children would think that what their parents are doing is normal. It would be too late when the children grow up and realize that their parents were doing the wrong things. So it is essential that the parents should set a good Exa. to their children, otherwise they would not be able to teach the young ones anything. This is the true purpose of the family law. It wants to strengthen the family unit which is the real foundation of the society.

Some people had raised a fuss when the Family Law was enacted. Who are the people who raised such unnecessary fuss? There is a Somali proverb which says: «The least valuable among men is the one who would rather inwardly eat himself up rather than state his case».

What could be worst than a person who cannot logically state what he feels about anything. Let us ask ourselves, who were the people who raised so much fuss about the Family Law? The fact is they were unpatriotic, imperialist lackeys who wanted to create confusion and instability in the country. They wanted to create problems and crises for the country so that the Somali Revolution, which safeguards the interests of the people, would be hamstrung. The question is; Would this Islamic nation allow hired lackeys to nullify the achievements it had made? No. It will not, it is the duty of every citizen to block chicaneries of hired lackeys. The lackeys do not like other people to talk about religion, but we are going to talk about it. Allah said. «No one can represent another before me. Everyone would come before me as he is». We have not appointed anyone to represent us before Allah, and we are not going to allow anyone to act as our representative to Allah. Our purpose is to create a society which has great knowledge about its religion, and at the same time to have a high political awareness. We don't want our society to be like a receptacle into which anyone can put anything one wants. Our people have been acting for many people like a receptacle for a

long time. We must lead them out of this despicable state. We want to spread education so that we can wipe out ignorance and create a modern state which can depend on itself in every respect. Education and enlightenment is a shield which can protect the society. Our Society would not remain a pawn which a clique can manipulate. We might ask ourselves, why has God given religion to his people? He had given them religion for their guidance to do what he requires of them. He had given them the Islamic faith so that they would know the right from the wrong, and to know the right way to behave and act all the time. God's laws are immutable and unchangeable. Nobody can twist them into something they are not in order to serve his own selfish purposes. If someone advocates something that is against the interests of the society, is he not an infidel, Hasn't he contravened God's laws? Isn't he a lackey theif? it does not matter whether such a person was hired by imperialists or others. As long as we live by tenets of Islam and understand them no one can really harm our society. Our faith does not allow us to be used as receptacles by other people. We are not receptacles in which anyone can put anything one likes; we are human beings. Why have great thinkers of Socialism thought of Socialism? They wanted to create a system which would enable human beings to safeguard their rights, their dignity, their lives, and by which they can improve themselves in every respect. The father of Socialism was a great thinker who studied human history, economy, social setups, the relations between production and labour, the ways resources are used, who produced wealth and who actually enjoyed that wealth he had been studying and thinking about these things for many years. At the end he thought up scientific socialism, a system designed to weed out all the bad qualities and practices of human beings and to enhance the good ones.

The quintessence of socialism is justice, equality and the common ownership of the natural resources of the country. What can be better than that?

If both Islam and Socialism advocate justice, equality and improvement of people's lives, who can tell me where they differ? Where do they contradict one another? What harm is there in having the faith of Islam, and at the same time applying socialism as an economic & political system through which our country can make progress? I would say there is none. Who are the people to make Islam and Socialism seem opposed to one another? The people who are trying to create controversy between Islam and Socialism are defending selfish, special interests. Such people are like tribalism whom we want to fight against their machinations. The creators of controversy out of thin air are like someone who wants to let the society remain in a barren land when it wants to go to green pastures. But we will not allow when to succeed in their machinations because God has given us brain and intelligence to differentiate between what is good and what is bad. No matter who forths at mouth, Somalia's political and economic system is socialism, and the religion of its people is Islam. Anyone who does not concur with this social arrangement can go his way and can take back whatever he has been giving us. We have refused before, assistances to which strings are attached and we will not accept them now. We must want our freedom and independence and no one would be able to frighten us into losing it. And that is the factual truth.

Are recent converts in Islam who should be toyed with? Had anyone converted us into Islam? Hadn't we been Moslems for generations and generations. We are true Moslems and we apply the true tenets of Islam as God had intended them to be used. If at this day and age someone wants to manipulate us through our own religion, there must be something wrong with his head. As I said before, socialism has been thought up as a system through which the people in the world can make progress in an atmosphere of justice and equality. From whom we want a certificate proving that we are good socialist? From no one. We do not want anyone to pat us on the back for our

adoption of socialism. The reason is simplicity itself. We hadn't adopted socialism for the sake of anyone else. We believe that it is the only system through which our country can make a rapid economic progress. What is behind the machinations of bad socialists? Imperialism, of course. One can see the perverted mind of imperialism ticking in the hollow minds of the bad socialists. The superficial knowledge about a socialism, which they ostentatiously parade, is no more than a facade. Imperialism is the fountain from which unpatriots, the un-Somali, and the bad socialists all drink. Who should fight against such people? The real Somalis, the real patriots, the real socialists and the real religious men. It is a historical inevitability that the good forces would defeat the evil forces. As we have often stated before, the political and economic system of our country is socialism and the religion of our people is Islam.

We don't want to enslave anyone, we don't want to set ourselves up as superiors to anyone. We want to live in peace, equality and justice with everyone. That is what we all want. We are a free nation, and we would overcome the difficulties we encounter because no one can really solve our problems for us.

Let me congratulate all the Somali women. I hope they all understand their valuable duties to their society, and that they would comprehend what is in the interest of their nation. I hope they would fully understand that when there is justice, equality and recognition of human beings such a society would prosper in time. I would like to wish them success in their participation of the economic development which would enable the country to make progress.

If you had no opportunity before to play your really constructive role in the progress of the society, now you have all the opportunities if you want to show that stuff you are made of. It is necessary that the women who have not been prepared to

play a constructive role in the society should be now given the means to play a useful role in the society. They should be educated and taught useful professions.

I would like to congratulate the women for the excellent way they had helped their drought victims. They had managed to contribute toward the alleviation of the misery of their people. The contributions they made were an index of their political majority and sense of patriotism.

In conclusion, I would like to point out that we are passing through difficult times. These difficulties were partly engendered by the magnitude of the economic development we wanted to effect and the short time within which we wanted to accomplish such a progress. At the same time selfish interests and imperialists interests had tried to put up barriers in our way to progress because they did not want us to prosper. Despite these difficulties, some of which are man-made and of which have been spawned up by nature, we have reached an appreciable level of achievement. But the achievements we have made should not lull us into complacency. We should not say: «We have progressed far enough, let us rest». We have not progressed far enough as long as some of our people are unemployed and as long as some of them are still hungry. As long as these conditions and similar ones exist in our country, we have not progressed far enough; we still have a long way to go.

The nearer we get to prosperity, the more enemies we would have. But our political and economic maturity would also increase and we would have adequate defenses against those who want to do us harm. So one has principles, one can baffle one's enemies and defeat them because principles give one courage and determination.

What could happen to us then? Nothing can really happen to us. This does not mean we would not face any prob-

lems. It means, however, we can overcome these difficulties and at the same time, learn a great deal from them. The experiences we gain would temper us like steel our enemies would not be able to bend in the future.

I think I would close this speech by extending congratulations to the women of the world, to the Somali women, and to the Somali nation.

Down with enemies of Somalia! Down with imperialism

Thank you for listening to me.

USEFULNESS OF VICTORY PIONEERS.

President Siad's Speech to Victory Pioneers on 21.

Many greetings be upon you all. I would like to commend all those who have participated in the preparation of the celebration of this day which has a great value for the Somali nation. It is known that the victory pioneers had been a force in existence long before they were given a nomenclature.

At first they were part of the public who were carrying out their duties in a responsible manner and even since they were formed into a force the people of this country had known what the victory pioneers had been doing for their country and people. I would like to congratulate the victory pioneers and the public which gives them a hand in the protection of the achievements of the Revolution and the freedom and independence of the Somali nation.

I expect that all the achievements of the victory pioneers cannot be squeezed into a single speech for what they had done for the country is much too large for one address, and we know it. The first question about the victory pioneers is, why were they formed? For whom were they formed? And what would be their future? They have emerged from the toiling masses which want to liberate themselves from the shackles of disease, hunger and ignorance. They are part of the Somali nation who are actively struggling for reaching a state of prosperity with their own muscles, brains, and productivity.

They were among those who answered the call of the Revolution to rise up and be counted; to slough off lethargy, the degrading habit of begging for living, and to embark on a road which would lead the Somali nation to prosperity. Apart from being part of the masses which had answered to the call of the Revolution, they had come to take on unequivocal stand in contributing to the construction of the economy of the nation, and in defending the revolution and the country in an open manner. But why were they formed into a force?

Every system creates the forces who defend it. The creation of such people ensues from the policies of the system and its objectives. The policies and the objectives produce the people who defend the system; they produce the economic and political set up. They produce the attitudes and thoughts of the people who run the system. Some people execute the policies of the system, and these people follow the political guidelines laid down for them by the system itself.

What were the Somali Socialist revolution's internal and external policies? What were its social, political and economical policies? I think the objectives and policies of the Revolution have been explained often enough to the Somali nation, but, I would like to touch upon them briefly. The objectives of the Revolution were; to create unity, independence, and prosperity in which the present and future Somali generations can live in tranquility and peace. Somalia's policies were based on fighting against everything which would harm the interests of its people; to be among the progressive nations which fight against colonialism, imperialism and exploitation; to be counted among the nations which have value humanity; to be among the nations which have confidence in their resources and do not rob others of theirs; to be among the nations which fight against injustice; to be among those nations which are contributing to the advancement of mankind and not to be a useless appendage of humanity; to be a nation which gets off the mud to which

it was stuck, and to join the nations in the world which have value, respect recognition and benefit for mankind.

Since these were the objectives of the Revolution it became necessary to form the force that would protect these objectives; the forces which would be alert for the protection of the achievements of the Revolution; the forces which would execute policies and explain them to the masses.

The emblem of the victory pioneers which shows a huge unwinking eyes attests that they are alert all the time; their flag which is red means their blood flows all the time and is not solidified. Who is the victory pioneer? He is the one who is living for the public; he is the one who is born from and for the public. Why should the emblem of the victory pioneers have a huge eye in it? The eye stands for untiring day and night vigilance for the protection of the achievements of the Revolution, the people and their prosperity, to protect the innocent and catch the culprits.

The victory pioneer is the curer of the sick in mind and in heart, including the reactionary who betrays his country and people for the pennies he takes from the imperialists. The victory pioneer directs the people to the right path, coaches them in their duties, urges them to safeguard their dignity, upholds the dignity of humanity, and protects the honour and safety of the country.

The victory pioneer plays these multiple roles. The victory pioneer is the vigilant, the untiring, and the alert. He is the one to whom the wronged, the robbed, and the threatened run. He is the shield of the people. He is the one who sacrifices his interest, his life for the public. The victory pioneer takes part in the establishment of the socialist system through which the Somali a wants to create a society in which justice,

equality and prosperity reign. The victory pioneer take a lion's share in the economic construction of the country, in health and peace—keeping.

In sum, scientific socialist Revolution had created the victory pioneers together with their comrades, the workers, the mothers, or let me say the women, the armed forces, the farmers and variety of other entities. The revolution had also created the administration, the leadership and the defenders of Somalia. Everything must have a foundation.

The question is what have the victory pioneers achieved since their formation? Have they fulfilled the purposes for which they were formed? Have they carried out the duties they were given? I would say, yes. The presence of the victory pioneers is not confined to the cities, towns, and villages. They are in the rural areas as well. In fact, they can be found everywhere in the country.

What are the proofs of the usefulness of the victory pioneers? The reactionaries, the imperialists, and enemies, which are not too far, all get a shock when they see the victory pioneers. When they want to offend someone they say «Get thee behind me, you victory pioneer.» What they mean is that the victory pioneers are a heavy burden to them, and a constant reminder that there is a vigilant force which would not brook any nonsense from anyone. My measuring rod of a good victory pioneer, however, is whether he is serving his nation or not. I think I have told the truth in all that I said about the victory pioneers. The essence of the victory pioneer is that they clarify for us the people who are revolutionaries and the ones who are reactionaries. Their presence brings out the difference between the nationalist and the un-nationalist. Their presence points out the reactionary and the venal, the foreign over and the cheap traitor. Their presence brings out the difference between those who have confidence

in their country their people, their lives, those who have reached a state of mental maturity and those who have neither confidence in their country or people nor have reached a mental maturity. Since the victory pioneers are everywhere at all times, the reactionaries are bound to clash with them. The reactionaries get shocked when they see the victory pioneers because they have guilty conscience about the sins they committed against their people and country. What the reactionaries and imperialists say about the victory pioneers is a mere talk of bitterness and enmity. If one really thinks deeply about the victory pioneers, they are a beam of light on the enemies of the country, the cheap traitors and the useless. During the period we have passed, the victory pioneers were serving their nation while they themselves were feeling the pangs of hunger. While they were doing this, the cheap traitors were in the midst of prosperity and were talking idly, and saying: «Somalia destroyed and ridiculous things like that. Why shouldn't they do something which is constructive, instead engaging themselves in idle talk?»

I should say to the victory pioneers «Thank you, comrades, for the services you have been rendering to your nation.» We know you have not been getting anything in return for what you have been doing except the gratitude and the appreciation of the nation. I would still urge you to keep on serving your nation for the victory would be yours, and Somalia is moving toward progress. The people who make progress have patience and principles, and they do not expect their labours to bear fruits within the twinkle of an eye. The hasty does not reach his goal and usually loses his way; he falls down exhausted right in the middle of the road. The one who has patience, perseverance, objectives, and principles achieves victory in the end. Somalia will achieve victory; it is not begging it from anyone.

The victory pioneers are the main arteries of the society. For that reason I would say to you «achieve victory for the Somali nation» in cooperation with the best of our people.

I have talked to you about how you should treat the public. You have not been formed to suppress the people but protect them from the cheap traitors and to orient those whose minds have been confused, since you have been fulfilling your duties in a responsible manner, I need not explain to you what you have to do.

You should appear to the public as I have described you. When I say «appear» I mean the mothers, the workers, the farmers and the general public should understand your mission. The good people, and those who like godness would be able to see the importance of your mission. You would have to work hard to convince the people about the importance of your mission. You would have to continue liberating the people's minds, and not't ever — as we agreed with one another — make your progressive people angry.

It is only correct that the cheap traitors and the reactionary should be weeded out of the people's Councils. The reason is not very hard to recognise. They cannot represent the people, and they cannot be entrusted to the administration of the people's affairs. Naturally in the first place, but some might for a time hide themselves behind a smoke—screen of hypocrisy and deceit, and those are the ones who should be smoked out. I would say they should be driven out of the people's Councils, should be driven out of the workers' Committees, should be driven out of the armed forces. The reactionary should be isolated because his time is over. The self—seeking should be isolated; the venal who is on the side of the foreigners should be isolated; the one who has no confidence in Somalia should be isolated.

There is a Somali proverb which says «construction begins at the base.» «Similarly, the Somali society begins at the orientation centres. The person who eventually might participate in the task of leading this nation must first prove himself

clean from the old mentality; he must be clean from favouritism and nepotism he must be clean from selfishness. He must be clean from crooked manouveres for the time that is over. He must prove himself. He must carry out his duty without fear of favour. The people for whom the victory pioneers would have no mercy are the unpatriots, the liars, the cheaters and the likes of them.

Thus, the self-seeking who want to serve their interests should be driven out of the orientation centres. Those who understand the objectives of the Revolution, those who have proven their honesty, intergity, and who have embraced socialism should remain in the centres to serve the public. Those who serve the people must have had their minds and hearts cleansed of all impurities. We have obtained political independence for no one tells Somalia what to do, as we all know, but we must reach a stage of economic self—sufficiency. Such a goal can be reached through knowledge and technological advancement. Once we reach a stage of high educational level and technology, what is left is the application of the brain and muscles to create prosperity for our nation.

Who can lead the nation to such a long—range target? Not the corrupt, the opportunist and the self—seeker. I expect that the patriots, the victory pioneers who are among the patriots, the mothers, the workers and the public would drive the bad people of the Government service and the orientation centres. I say that those who are engaged in corrupt manoeuvres are the remnants of the corrupt era. Part of the corrupted have run away, part of it have been dismissed from the Government's service, part of it is still hiding behind a smoke screen. This last portcion must be flushed out.

How can a revolutionary man or woman have anything to do with the corrupt? How can they be afraid of the tribalist and the venal? Couldn't the revolutionaries say: «We have the

upperhand because we are working according to the correct, just principles, and the corrupt is trying to further selfish, personal interests? The corrupt are hypocrites; they are traitors? they are liars and they are venal who have no respect anywhere. So there is no reason why the honest, the sincere, and the Revolutionary patriots cannot defeat the corrupt.

Some people say corruption has proliferation, and bribery is becoming too wide—spread. Why do you tolerate the corruption to flourish? How many times have I told you to fight against corruption? What are the victory pioneers doing when corruption gains ground? What are the mothers, the armed forces, and the workers doing if there is some corruption? Who are the one's stealing public funds? Why shouldn't they be apprehended and punished? The truth is there is no corruption. The talk about corruption has no foundation.

I have told you before that I would keep talking about important issues and the reason is I want to enlighten those who haven't yet got convinced about the best way to make the nation reach a stage of prosperity. When a person has conviction in his principles, he does not need any help in fighting against the corrupt and the traitor; the principler can always defeat the unprincipled. After we have been engaged in Revolutionary activities for six years, we must have reached a state of high political awareness which would enable us to defend our achievements, aims and principles.

Why should there be nepotism? There shouldn't be any trace of it, and if vestiges of it found anywhere, the victory pioneers will be responsible for it. It has been decided before that if someone had joined the orientation centre one day ahead of someone else, the first should get employment one day ahead of the other.

Why should people who have just joined the orientation centres get employment overnight, while some who have been there for years still haven't got employment? How can such things happen in this new era ?

You must uphold justice. The truth is, we are upholding justice, but little things might happen which shouldn't.

The reactionary lingers, but the Revolution would keep humering on them; the lackeys linger on but the Revolution would keep on lashing on them.

Justice must reign in this country. If someone is working day and night for his people, his country must give him the reward he deserves. No one must make him lose his reward which is his right. The one who harms his people and his country should get his just desert which is severe punishment. The nation must have its vigilance on the person who harms it.

There are nomads who live way out in the country with their livestock, what should be done for them ? They have much right to the fruits of the Revolution as anyone else. They have as much right to protection of the Revolution as anyone else. If we may pose some questions about the nomads, are they not Somalis? Don't they want to live in the country in anyway? The answer is they are pure Somalis, have confidence in the country, and they are doing any harm. Therefore, it is our duty to protect them because they are part of the Somali public.

On this occasion I wish the victory pioneers, happiness, hard work, mental growth and to gather into themselves more forces every year.

— Thanks —

UNITY IS STRENGTH.

Jaalle Siad's Speech to the Nomadic Community who have been resettled in Kurtan Warey.

First of all I must thank you in the name of the Supreme Revolutionary Council (SRC), the Council of Secretaries and the Somali people for the brotherly welcome you have given to me and my delegation. I must also congratulate you for the way you have heeded to the call and the directions the Revolution had given you in overcoming the problems you had encountered. You have not wasted the energies and resources the Somali nation had spent on you to overcome the difficulties the drought had created for you. I must recommend you for the way you acted.

I must also recommend the Somali Workers, whatever might be their rank and station in life, who have been on the go since the first days of the appearance of the drought in order to save the lives of their brothers and sisters. These workers have left their families and engaged themselves in encountering the drought problems though they expected neither reward nor anything for what they were doing.

These dedicated workers were composed of the armed forces, doctors and their assistants, teachers, students, the victory pioneers, and the Red Cross. In fact, I cannot exhaust the categories of people who participated in the struggle against the effects of the drought. All these people dropped everything else they were, doing including, their family responsibilities, in order to help you, and the others like you who are not here today, but who can hear what I am saying to you through the radio, or read what I am saying the papers. I think these dedicated people who have been helping you ever since the inception of the drought deserve praise and the nation must have gratitude for them.

I would also like to praise the leaders who had organized the Relief Camps, the transportation and the resettlement of all the people whose livelihood had been wiped out by the drought. Without proper organization and the coordination of activities, nothing or little would have been accomplished. I am giving the organizers of the whole problem my sincere thanks and that of the nation and I am sure you would agree with me that these people deserve the highest commendation.

The nation had to take a decision on how to tackle the drought problems, and it was broken down into various stages. The nation could not have made any other decision except to mobilize its resources and manpower in overcoming this great problem. Of course, it was not humanly possible to save the livestock that died off or to make rain. Therefore, our resources and manpower had to be mobilized for the saving of the people who are the most valuable of all God's creations, and who are the valuable treasure of every country. I think you can remember that the whole nation had mobilized itself to save your lives.

The second stage of handling the drought problem was gathering the drought victims into Relief Camps where they can be taken care of in a responsible manner. This was a delicate task because it was the first time the Somali nation had to tackle a problem of this kind, and the people who were handling the problem have had no previous experience of tackling such a problem. Such an inexperience must have caused few mistakes, but there were good intentions and when people have good intentions they can handle great problems which might appear insurmountable at first.

The third stage of the drought problem was the transportation and the resettlement of the people who were in the Relief Camps. It was necessary to settle you at places where you can make a fresh start and make a living. This is an ambitious

project, and the Revolution was worried about its success at first. The cause of this worry was the drought victims. We were thinking «if they are settled in new places and are to be taught new professions so far removed from their previous means of livelihood. Would they be able to adapt to the way of lie? Would they have the determination to make a fresh start? Would they have the ability, and sense of responsibility to make a success of the new way of life? These were the questions that were whirling in our minds.

It is a happy occasion for us all to see that you made a big start in making a success to your way of life. This is a proof of the fact that God gives people what they try to get if they make great efforts for he knows what is in their hearts. We know that there is nothing that cannot be achieved.

When there is strong desire to achieve something and when one knows that one wants to achieve, the probability is that one succeeds in whatever one undertakes to do. One succeeds when he distinguishes his friends from his enemies and when he realises his interests.

What was expected of you was to come here with determination to make a success of your new life. Your fellow countrymen were prepared to teach you new professions, to give you the facilities and equipment you need and to guide you until you become self-sufficient communities. It is a characteristic of the Somali people to succeed in whatever they undertake to do if they get a good leadership. This is not the first time that we encountered great problem and overcame it. Since the birth of the Revolution, we had overcome many great problems which many people thought would strain us to a breaking point. Everyone of you was there when the Somali nation had been battling against the overwhelming odds and I think you can appreciate the efforts your nation had been making to stand on its own feet.

In what respect is the drought problem different from the problems the nation had faced and had overcome? It is different from the problems the nation had handled before in many aspects. Hundreds of thousands of people were to be settled in places they had never seen before. They had to be taught new professions which were alien to their previous ways of life. At the sametime the success they could make of the new life depended on so many factors that could not be determined at the time of the settlement. It depended on the enthusiasm, determination, caliber, and abilities of the people to make success of their new means of livelihood. However, you have shown your mettle for you have set out to make success of your new profession, and the good start you have made already abode well for your future, and I am sure the nation have made a good start also in overcoming the drought problem.

there is no doubt that our resources at present may not cover all that we would all like to have, but we should have the courage, the sincerity, and unity to exert maximum efforts. If we don't get enough tractors, don't we have enough muscles to fill the gap. Don't we have enough manpower? How can we wait for tractors which factories abroad could not produce in sufficient numbers? Are we going to sit idley while there are plenty of untapped resources in our country? Hasn't Somalia passed the stage when its people used to go hungry when their country abounded in potentialities for prosperity? I think Somalia has passed that stage. We are going to make up for whatever we might lack in ready capital with unity, determination and perservation. We must understand our enemies. We must understand what is in the interest of our nation and the future of our country.

I expect that your arrival at Kurtun—Warey had coincided with the rainy season and the area of settlement had become muddy. I hope you would not be discouraged by a bit

of mud. A good drainage system would be built for the settlement and there would not be so much witness and mud after the drainage is built.

I expect that you haven't got all that you require yet in the way of the organization of the settlement, but I assure you that you would get what you need to make this settlement a permanent Community. You would be given legal organizational structure which would not be subject to changes by the whims of individuals. This structure would delineate your duties, methods of your production, and how you would share the fruits of your labour. This organizational structure would be quite different from the everyone—for—himself Somali way of life. The new structure would cement the community in a way that each individual would be unseverable part of the whole settlement. The community would exact duties from every individual and would give each person certain rights.

I am sure that you would see the advantage of the organization. There would be a division of labour. Some of you would be working on the farms you would have; some of you would be looking after the health of the members of the community; some of you would be working in the houses you will have and so forth. The settlement would be just like a huge family with each having a specific job.

In your old way of life; each man used to live with his livestock and family at some place, and would not allow anyone else to come anywhere near his camp. Well, you must forget all about that now we are a socialist people and this means we are going to work together and share equally the fruits of our labour. We must embrace the principle which stipulates that no one should live off the sweat of another. This means that everyone of us must be working, and he must get payment in proportion to his productivity. No one can withhold what any individual earns. This means equal division of labour and the fruits of that labour.

We have realized since the birth of the Revolution that «Unity is strength». This Somali proverb (and other nations have exactly the same proverb) means people can accomplish more when they are united. We have a lot of saying which have a lot of truth in them, but we, more often than not, never apply them to our lives. National unity multiplies the production of the people of a nation, and I hope you would apply the Somali adage that «unity is strength» which is a fact of life many nations have realized. Quite a number of victory pioneers, who have come from other districts to help your community until it can stand on its own feet, are here with you. The victory pioneers have come to welcome you to your new area of settlement and they are saying to you: «Come, brothers; we have been waiting for you to get settled.» There are also mothers, youth and other people from the adjacent districts who have come to help you get settled. There are here with you also members of the armed forces.

Government employees, workers, university students and so forth who are ready to give you a helping hand in your various activities. Are all these people going to stay with you forever? No, brothers. These people are going to be here until you are able to run all your affairs. Those who you cannot spare may remain with you a little longer, until such time when you produce people who can take their place. An example of the people who may stay with you a long time are the doctors who would be needed by your community for a long time to come.

It would be the duty of the doctors who are with you to train some members of the Community to become assistance doctors, and the doctors must train these people within the shortest possible time. You would also need tractor engineers to remain with you a little while longer. No one of the members of the community are tractor engineers now, but you would have them later on when some members of your

Community get trained for this important job. The long-range plan is that this community should ultimately be able to rule itself, should have its own workers who are trained in all the professions which are useful to the community, and should be able to reach a state of self-sufficiency.

When is it going to reach that state? That depends on you. It depends on the magnitude of efforts you make in pursuit of what you need as a community. The prosperity of your economy is in the earth. It is up to you to get it, and to force a living out of this earth right under your feet. The labour you put in the land would produce wealth for your schools, hospitals, industries and everything else which your community might need.

When would this prosperity be realized? When you forge unity, and have equality and justice within your community; when you obliterate the poisonous mentality which used to value nepotism, favouritism and tribalism; when every member of your community realizes that his life and future is linked with the other members to his new community. When you realize that much, you would be able to produce for yourselves all that you need. I know the life you led in the rural areas where you used to live was quite different from the one you are about to start. You have used to a life—fought with danger and hardships. In the rural areas people used to cooperate on tribal lines, and took pride in the strength of their tribe. But let me ask you, what benefits did tribalism have? The main reason was that it was the most available protection a person could have. But do you need it here? Your country guarantees your protection; your country is providing you with the sustenance of life; your country is the provider of your nourishment; the people in this community are your people; they are the ones with whom you are going to share everything for you are going to live with them. I am pointing out this to you in order to stress that tribalism is a crime tantamount

to murder. You should know this from the outset. Anyone who is found guilty of tribalistic action would get an incarceration from which no one would free him. The person who engages himself in tribalistic actions deserves severe punishment for he is a foundation of poison from which the whole community can get poisoned.

We know tribalism has been the cause of the death of the best of our men, and you know that was a great loss for the country. Each tribe used to hunt for the bravest, the most generous, the wisest, the wealthiest and the most intelligent of the tribe with whom they wanted to settle a score. That was tantamount to a systematic killing of the best men in the nation. This was its old effect.

I believe that tribalism was the stumbling block to Somalia's progress. It was a cancerous virus that had been slowly rotting away every fibre of the society. It was our number one enemy.

I urge you to benefit from the university students who have left their classes and life which was better than the one they are leading here, administrators, the workers and the others who are all here to help you.

The key to revolutionary progressiveness is honesty. Truth, uprightness, righteousness, devoutness, integrity, and devotion to the fight against imperialism and its lackeys.

There are some people who were barking after us when we embarked upon the settlement project, and who were saying: «How they take care of all this people? Where would they get the money? They are lying; they are misleading the people into believing that they can do something which they cannot»

These propagandists did not care about what happened to you, or the nation for the matter. They were commen

and lackeys, and they were telling lies. They would come to you in the shape of relatives, friends and many others disguised and they would pour forth to you unadulterated lies. What are you going to do? You would tell them «I would give no succour to the one who throw me away when I was in need.» Why should you heed what the people who threw you away yesterday might say? I hope you would put ropes around the necks of the trouble makers and hand them over to the authorities.

I should point out to you that no one can have business of his own in this community. All the things you need would be organized and brought by the Community itself. The Government would open up stores for you and members of the Community would man it. Your community would be a socialist settlement which would share equally the work and the fruits of its labour.

I wish you good health. If any of you falls sick or if any member of the Community, feels sick he must not be given any quack treatment, but should be taken to a doctor. If you encounter any problems, you should go immediately to the authorities. You should know there is no shame in stating your problems to the authorities because they are here to serve you.

I would like to say few words to the women. What I am about to say is something that is not compatible with our old Somali way of thinking, but which needs to be said. Women get special diseases from which they can die and which affects their children, and which at times prevents them from having children. The Somali women feel ashamed to go to a doctor and tell him the diseases from which they suffer. So they hide them. There is no reason for them to feel ashamed to see a doctor. It is normal to go to a doctor and tell him your troubles. You might save yourselves instead of needlessly ruining your lives through vanity. People get diseases and

they owe it to their lives to get medical treatment. You would have women doctor, and there would be no reason for you to feel ashamed in telling them what ails you.

The reason I am compelled to state this to you is the concern I have for your health, for the health of your children and the yet unborn ones. A healthy person begets a healthy child, and the diseased begets a sick one.

I wish you victory, good health, prosperity and a good future. I hope you would be among the army of men and women who would reach the mental maturity and vision to realize that what is in the interest of their nation is in their interest too. I hope you would realize that exertion of efforts is the key to prosperity.

Somalia is engaged in a long struggle to reach a state of self-sufficiency. Our flag is a symbol of independence, but if the country does not have economic independence, the flag would be like a twenty years old virgin surrounded by ruffians.

What is needed? We need to calculate how to make progress. The person who has no strength, possessions or education cannot produce anything. As the Somali proverb states, «the person who cannot help himself cannot help others.» We must make progress as rapidly as the flight of an arrow.

You must do with enthusiasm whatever you want to do, and learn with enthusiasm whatever you are learning. We must free our people from ignorance, disease and hunger. We are responsible for accomplishing everything we need.

REVOLUTION MEANS A CHANGE FOR THE BETTER.

This speech Was made by Major General Mohamed

Siad Barre At Halane To The First Group of

Political Cadres on Sept. 3, 1975

My greeting be upon you all, I have paid you this unexpected visit is because I want to explain to you the purpose behind the training you are taking here. I know that representatives of Supreme Revolutionary Council (SRC) have already explained to you the objective of the training you are undergoing, but I would like to add what I can to their explanations. I would like to add that the Revolution had been rectifying what had gone wrong in the country. This rectification was a continuous process that had been going on for the past five years the Revolution had been in existence. You might all recall that blatant embezzlement of public funds, imperialist designed laws, disunity, exploitations and so many other conditions which were prevalent in the country had brought about the Revolution itself. To rectify what went wrong with the society had been part of the over-all plan of the Revolution. Unless unity was formed and the moral and political bankruptcy of the country was made into nightmare from which the public had awoken, the country would not have been able to make any achievement.

The adoption of Scientific Socialism was part of the overall plan to make the Somali nation get into the stream of mo-

dern economic, social and political advancement. We had not accomplished all that we wanted to achieve in the past years, even though a great deal had been achieved. In training the personnel of the Government for their great responsibilities and making others acquire professions, many achievements have been made, and people were even sent abroad for training, but still the accomplishments fell short of what was expected to be done within five years. It was decided to launch a real training programme in which the people's political awareness, their sense of responsibility and their sense of values can all be sharpened. The People's Political awareness was at the lowest ebb, and it became inevitable to mount a programme whose aim was to turn the people into Socialist progressive people. The people might have had all the good intentions in the world, but they were like a vehicle that was started but could not move.

When it was after five years that we had not accomplished all we wanted to accomplish, it became a necessity to plan and organize a national training programme which had many facets. The first objective is to train political cadres whose function would be to make the people comprehend the principles of Socialism. But first the political cadres themselves have to undergo a training in which they would be taught to understand the principles of Socialism. Secondly they must be taught how to pass on their knowledge about Socialism to the masses. Thirdly, they have to be taught how to create a Socialist Revolutionary Society. These are the aims of this training programme.

The truth is that the country would be run and led with the principles of Scientific Socialism. That has been the plan of the Revolution, and that is how it is going to be. As Scientific Socialism itself stipulates, a nation has to take into consideration its traditions, its culture, the mode of its people's thinking, the economic conditions of the country, and any other things that are particular to that country. All these

have to be taken into consideration when one is expecting the principles of Scientific Socialism. This means the establishment of Socialism in a country has to be built on solid foundation and not on illusions and dreams. Scientific Socialism cannot be built on shifting sand or a rhetorical rigmarole.

We are going to establish scientific socialism in this Country, but it would have to put down roots which can get nourishment. Those who have the vision and analytical mind can write books on the logic and veracity of these points. The blind imitation of what other people had done in their countries when they adopted Socialism, would not help the creation of Socialist society in here. The creation of a healthy socialist society might be like a tree which has deep roots in the earth, with a huge trunk and many branches. The roots and the trunk are the true principles of socialism, but the branches are the many ways different nations might follow in order to create a Socialist Society in their own way. When local conditions are taken into consideration, the tree would blossom, give forth green leaves and bear fruits. This is what I have told before if you might remember. What I mean is that the body of socialist principles, & the execution of these principles are two different but taken things. Many people confuse these two things, and the end result is that they dash socialism against a rock. How many places in Africa have socialism been established only to fizzle out? Socialism has also been adopted in many countries in Asia, but not much of a success had come out of them. The reason for such a failure was that the conditions particular to these countries were totally ignored. The disregarding of local conditions was tantamount to putting a heavy load on a young camel which was not broken in for burden, and it was logical that the camel would throw off the load.

In order to avoid such a mistake, we have to take into consideration the realities and conditions of the country. We must

take into consideration the enemies of Socialism in this country, and we must not give them the instruments with which they would destroy Socialism. We must take into consideration the level of the Somali people's political awareness.

Now let us take a look at what is happening in many developing countries. Although they have won their independence by international imperialism. The era of the struggle for independence had not ended with the taking of power by the indigenous people. It had to be carried on in a different form. The Armed Forces, although some of them were trained by the imperialism, had come into the picture of the new struggle. One might ask, where have the Armed Forces come from? After the departure of the colonialists, what role has the Armed Forces played in the achievement of the Society? They have a historical and classical role which is the creation of a Socialist revolutionary society. Although the Armed Forces were created by the colonialists, where have its members come from? Have they been a hand-picked capitalist class or have they been people chosen by some other criteria? The people who joined the armed forces were from the group. All right, what role had they played in the struggle for independence? They were the strongest force of the independence movement for they were the most coherent group in the society, which could pool enough resources to contribute to the movement. They were rightly placed to inform the movement about the colonialists strategies, aims, and plans. The armed forces were in a good position to know the secrets of the colonialists, and pass them on to the movement. At the sametime, the Armed Forces were in a good position to know about the stooges of the colonialists, and secretly took care of them in order to prevent them from doing the independence any harm. The truth is that, the capitalist cause of the Society.

The term capitalists might not be really applicable to any section of the Somali society, but what I mean is the business people who think that they are capitalists. The sons and daug-

hters of the business community, high Government officials, and interpreters never used to join the Armed Forces, who used to join the Armed Forces? The poor used to join the armed forces. The reason for that was the imperialist propaganda, machinery used to blacken the name of what it called «militarism». So it was an insult to those who prospered under colonialism to join the Armed Forces. Since the Armed Forces were an entity which could be a threat to imperialism, the colonialists created a bad image for the forces by continuous propaganda. Thus, those who prospered under colonialism either through business, or some services rendered to colonialists, used to think that they were above joining the Armed Forces.

The people who used to join the Armed Forces were the poor, the workers, the nomads, the poor farmers and so forth who did not have much value for the imperialists or their friends. Members of the Armed Forces lived with public and were among those who most felt the oppression and the arrogance of the colonialists. They were in daily contact with the people's heart-rending cries for help, their suffering and their groans for the members of the forces lived, ate, and slept where the people were. They were part and parcel of the people who were exploited, made to suffer, and feel the painful experience of colonialism. So the members of the forces had always been part of the masses. They always knew about the sufferings of the people. At the same time they knew about the behaviour of the colonialists, their arrogance, their injustice, and their exploitation. But the armed forces had been planning and working for a day they would settle old scores.

What had been the result of the experiences of the members of the armed forces? The members of the armed forces were by background and experience part of the masses and they had to be on their side all the time. The members of the Armed forces had never been on the side of the imperialists and their lackeys.

What were the economic conditions of the armed forces? Since they were members of the poorest sections of the society they were paid poorly. The treatment the members were getting at the hands of the colonialists created a resentment which smouldered in the hearts of the members of the forces.

Even though they had a first hand knowledge of what imperialism was doing to their country and their people, they were told that they had no right to join the struggle of their people, and that festered in the minds of the members of the armed forces anger and resentment against imperialism. This must be understood. There used to be some debate about «whether the forces can embrace socialism and make it the system by which the nation can live». Such speculations have been wiped out and its time is over. In order to understand the role the Armed Forces play, one should study what is going in the developing countries. What are the basis of the armed? In relation to campaign, what have the armed forces done to combat it? You can get at the truth that way. The Capitalist what have the armed forces done to combat it? You can get the truth that way. The capitalist element in the society come from the bourgeois class because they are the class which mostly benefit from capitalism, and which partake in the spoils of exploitation.

Thus the armed forces of the newly independent countries have no resemblances to the armed forces of the capitalist world. The forces of the newly independent countries have always been part of the toiling masses while the forces of the capitalists have always been the tool of oppression employed against the masses. The forces of the capitalists are those which protect the bourgeois, exploitation, and are tools of oppression. Can such a force be honest? No, it cannot. It would only be an instrument for the implementation of the aims of capitalism and the protection of the selfish interests of the bourgeois. The people in the forces of the capitalist would could only be from

the capitalist class for if they came from the proletariat class they would have turned their guns on the bourgeois.

Imperialism cripples the economy of the people. It oppresses so that they would not be able to rise against it. At the same time imperialism prevents the workers from having unity. So it fell on the armed forces, since they were the only united force in the country, to fight against imperialism and the lackey group it had bred in the country.

In the history of mankind, societies underwent changes committant with the advancement made in economy, politics, technology and so forth. We must understand then the stage of our society's political and economic development.

Now the Somali Society is at a stage which other societies have long passed. We are at the stage of tribalism and nomadism, but we believe we can make socialism work in the country. It is possible for a person to believe partly in socialism and partly in tribalism? No. The duties of a socialist are quite clear and he must carry them out. If someone is seen not to be following socialism as it is, but to be following personnel interests, group interests, or favouritism, he must be gotten rid off without the least compunction. The true socialist abhors tribalism, he cannot live with tribalism for a single day; he does not promote special interests; he is not reactionary; he is an upright person whose guidance is his principles. The true socialists do not shrink from the difficulties they encounter in carrying out their duties; they are the people who have the courage to face danger for their principles and who can withstand the temptation of selling themselves out. The people who protect socialism and truly believe in its principles are those who have reached high level of political maturity and have a sense of nationalism. Once one believes in Socialism and has acquired a deep sense of nationalism, for him personnel and group interests and tribalism are dead. Where group in-

terests are fighting for supremacy, there nationalism, and socialism cannot flourish.

The true socialist who wants to participate in the task of leading his nation must have humanity; he must have behaviour and personality which can set an example for others; he must have creativity. He must be a person who cannot brook justice and cannot condone what is wrong. He must be prepared to defend what is right no matter what it costs him. To give you an example, a liar cannot be a socialist, and he should be gotten rid off the person who sets people against one another cannot be a socialist, and he cannot be allowed to participate in the leadership of a nation which wants to have unity. He cannot be allowed to be among those who would orient and lead the people to the right direction. The person whose responsibilities, becomes to lead a nation must be a nationalist. Who is a nationalist? He is the person who loves his country and people puts them above everything else. He is a person who values his country and people. When one reaches the political maturity to value his people, he does not love one person of his people more than the others. One fights for the dignity, economy the correct policies and progress of all his people. One is prepared to fight day and night for his nation's development and defence if one has political maturity, principles and a true sense of nationalism. When you believe in justice and progress, you realize that nationalism cannot be instilled in the minds of the people unless there is a cadre who cement the unity of the nation and lead the people in the right way.

When one fulfills the preconditions of being upright and a true nationalist one can be said to be a revolutionary as well. The meaning of revolution means a change for the better. It means the obliteration of existant difficulties. Once a person believes in a revolutionary change, he can be taught to learn the principles of socialism and can be made into a true socialist. Unless a person has these qualities, he cannot be a socialist and can be anti-socialist, he can only be a reactionary.

You people who have been gathered here are all workers. What are your duties? Since you have been fortunate enough to be singled out for a great responsibility, it is incumbent upon you to understand that there is a necessity for studying in depth the principles of socialism and understanding them. When you are studying socialism you must keep in mind that it is the system through which your nation can reach prosperity, through which it would wipe out the scourges of disease, ignorance and hunger. Unless you understand socialism in this light, you cannot comprehend fully the significance it has for your country and its people. At the same time, you must understand the contradictions of the world. The system of socialism is not confined to a nation; it is an international system. It is a continuous process that would eventually cover the whole world. If we have been fortunate enough to embrace it even though our economic development is at a low level in comparison to the technological advancement, other nations have made, we must understand our socialist duties. Our material contribution to internationalism might not be significant, but the Somali Revolution is a source of power that gives off rays of light. You must understand that our responsibility is not confined to our duties to our people; we also have international duties which ensue from our belief in socialism. This implies, of course, that socialism must spread in Africa; it must spread in Asia. One can have a neighbour which is an enemy or a friend. When one has a socialist as a neighbour, he has a friend. One can see that the spreading of socialism is the basis for peace and security would be getting stronger and stronger until it becomes unshakable and indestructible.

Thank you for listening to me. I hope this training in Socialism would bear fruit, and that you would benefit from it. I wish you success.

ON THE BENEFITS OF ACQUIRING EDUCATION AT HOME.

14/6/1975

Jaalle Siad's Speech to Students And Professors

Of National University who had participated in

The Resettlement of Drought Victims on 1.10.75.

May greetings be upon you all. It is an honour for me to participate in this celebration held in honour of the teachers and students who have just returned from carrying out a great national duty. This celebration has a historical flavour to it because it marks the first time that so many educated people have rendered a great service for the masses.

First I would like to point out the significance of this celebration. It marks the first time that lectures and professors of the National University and their students have together helped their brothers and sisters who had been hit by a natural catastrophe. They had gone into difficult and remote places while they had been participating in the transportation and resettlement of the drought victims. They have acted courageously and patriotically in rendering this great service to their nation. They have lent their brains, their abilities and their muscles to the solutions of the drought problems which had wiped out the livestock of innumerable people.

This massive participation of the educated people in the alleviation of the drought engendered people is an indication

that the educated people in the country have understood clearly their duties to their country and people. I would like to Congratulate you in the name of Supreme Revolutionary Council (SRC), the Council of Secretaries, the Government, the others, the workers, the mothers, the Victory Pioneers, the farmers, the armed forces, and the public itself for the way you answered the call of the nation and carried out your national duties.

In truth, one cannot forget or under-estimate the fact that the educated people in this country, whether in the University or lower schools, have understood their destiny, the aims of their nation and its interests as well as the necessity for an economic, political and social advancement. They have also understood the desirable political and economic aims of the Revolution. Such a complete comprehension of what is required of them is a great achievement.

From its inception, the Revolution's political, economical and social objectives were all quite clear and distinct. It knew where it wanted to go and, it knew who its friends and enemies were. There was nothing muddled about its aims.

To give you an example which can substantiate the clarity of the aims of the Revolution, the SRC had passed, a few days after its birth, a resolution which established the Somali National University. If you can recall there were some narrow-minded people who did not have the best interests of their nation in their hearts and who were opposed to the establishment of the University. Even some Ministers of the Government had resigned from their posts because of their opposition to the establishment of the University. I remember that one of them asked me; «how can a University be established where there are no big buildings, huge libraries, and if there are no grey-haired professors? I also remember telling him. «My friend, the Universities in the world had not all started with

huge building libraries filled with books and grey-haired professors. Every University had a humble beginning and it built on that simple foundation. Whether you like or not, the Somali National University is going to be established and it would have a legal existence. Like all the other Universities in the world, the Somali National University would start with the facilities available in the country, and its faculty would consist of the best brains in the country who are willing and ready to put their knowledge at the disposal of their people. If you have no confidence in this educational project, which is very much needed by the people of this country, then you are going to see both the establishment and National University.

Haven't we succeeded in establishing a full-fledged National University? Aren't we today reaping the fruits of the efforts we spent in establishing it? It is true that the University had a humble beginning. We had to mount an educational campaign whose motto was: «If you know something teach it to the others. If you don't know anything, learn from the others who are ready to teach what they know» The establishment of the National U. had brought in its wake a whole lot of educational changes. The first thing that had to be thought of was the writing of a script for the Somali language. The writing of the Somali language had not come about as an emotional catharsis or chauvinism. It was level-handed policy. As you can remember the Somalis used to be ruled and taught, whatever rudimentary education they were given, in different foreign languages. This entailed that the school-age child had to be taught a foreign language first in order to understand whatever he was studying. It so happened that each of the different colonial administrations which ruled the country had imposed its language on the people in its administration territory. In order to rectify this wrong which had been perpetrated on the Somali nation by colonialism, the Revolution had invented a script for the Somali language. After the

script was written and refined, a national campaign was mounted to spread the writing and reading of the language throughout the length and breadth of the country. When it was seen that the Somali people had mastered the reading and writing of their mother tongue in a remarkably short time, the next logical step was taken. It was made the official language of the country. Soon the mass media took it up as the only way best suited to the dissemination of news for instead of having a small number of readers listeners, the radio & the press found themselves catering to the whole Somali nation. The creaky administrative machinery which had been ailing from communication problems ever since the advent of colonialism soon shook itself from the lethargy of ages and picked up a fine tune.

The judiciary system whose functions had been crippled by a problem of communication also started functioning better than it ever did. The writing of the Somali language was a revolution by itself, and had made a tremendous contribution to the progress the country had made.

Of course, there had to be systematic plans in the spreading of the Somali Language. Firstly, it was made compulsory on the Government personnel to learn the Somali language, and to take it as the only language of communication in the Ministries, Agencies and institutions. A special campaign was then mounted to teach the language to the residents in the cities, towns, villages from settlements and forth, and that campaign was a hundred per cent success. Then all the foreign-run schools, and everything else that had anything to do with education was Somalized.

The next phase of the campaign was the teaching of writing and reading the Somali language to the people in the rural and the farming settlements in the whole country. All phases of this educational campaign was pre-planned. There was nothing haphazard about it; it had no stop-gap operations.

When all this had been accomplished, it became necessary to liberate education from the straight jacket in to which it was forced by colonialism, and the corrupt administrations which had taken over the rule of the country upon independence in 1960.

Before the birth of the revolution, only a limited number of the people had opportunities for education. In order to give opportunity for education to every Somali citizen the Revolution had effected a programme of free education. It was announced that every Somali citizen would have a free education. Money was no longer the open-sesame to education. Making education free of charge was not enough. It had to be taken out of the main cities and town to which it was confined and spread it to the whole country. Schools had to be built everywhere and teachers and educational facilities provided to every community in the country, no matter how small were the members of that Community. What was the use of making education free if the people could not have educational facilities and teachers. Each community was provided with facilities and teachers for up to the secondary education level.

The next-stage of this massive educational campaign was the severing of the bonds of the foreign languages which had instilled in the minds of the people the idea that they knew nothing if they did not take their education in a foreign language. The people were brain-washed into believing such an apocryphal statement. So the people's minds had to be liberated from such a propaganda. They had to be convinced logically that their mother tongue was the key to a better education; that nothing could be better than studying in your own language which could make your comprehension of things much better as there would always be difficulty in grasping completely what is written and spoken in a foreign language.

Thus, the mental dependence on foreign languages had to be wiped out. The majority of the people in the country had

to be made realize their interests & the interests of their country. Everybody had to realize that economic independence would remain a dream unless the youth of the nation had taken their university education in the country and a great number of them came out of the national university. Some one who have had his university education abroad would always have a fussy picture of the real problems and condition in his country. His thought would always be coloured by a shade of foreign thinking. If that happens, the defence of the country, the dignity and nationhood of the Somalis, the culture and traditions of the nation, the economic plans and policies of the country and so many other things vital to existence of the nation, would all be unwrittingly compromised. So University education with deep roots had to be established in the country. The Revolution knew very well that unless all changes were made and new programmes were launched, there would have been little or no real accomplishments.

What fruits had this programme, borne? One does not need to seek further than the people present in this hall to see the fruits of the educational programme the Revolution had launched. One was bound to realize the Revolutionary zeal with which the lecturers, professors and the students present here have all expressed the essentials of the nation's interests.

More than that, the way they had sincerely carried out their national duties is an adequate indication of the correctness of the Revolution's educational policies. Of course, the fruits we have managed to get so far are not enough, but the educational programme the Revolution launched had blossomed and gave forth flowers. Next it will bear the fruits which would be picked by the nation. When enough people gain university education and pass their knowledge to the majority of the people, the nation can then realize that it has picked and eaten the fruits to which it has been trying to achieve. We would be expecting from the vast army of people who had expected to appease this hunger the plan and

execute the future economic plans of the country, to raise the political awareness of the country, to defend their country and to fill all the needs of the country with their experties.

The nation has picked up and tasted the fruits of education, and it wants to have more and more of it until it has to satisfy it's needs. The people who had expected to appease this hunger are the youth of this nation.

What was the reason for all these accomplishments? A clean Revolutionary administration which was not built on injustice, nepotism, favouritism, degradation, but based on the solid foundation of justice, ability, patriotism, national interest, national unity and guided by the famuos, known system through which many nations in the world had reached prosperity, political & ecoomic independence and unprecedented, technological advancement in a remarkably short time. This system is scientific socialism. If we hadn't adopted it, what achievements could our country have made? What could have made us think th e way we did? What have made us realize that our nation was in a pit of backwardness? What could have made us aware of the pains and difficulties which made cur people groan? What would have made us remember our nationhood and dignity? What have made us desire full independence in every respect? If continued with the system inherited from colonialism which was based on tribalism, how could we have understood the interests of the nation, or achieved what we did since the birth of the Revolution? Would we have felt the misery of our people, nation? Now could we have achieved all that we have accomplished through capitalism? No, if capitalism could have effected progress, why hadn't it done before the Revolution? The people were dying, starving and living in the most Abject poverty, why hadn't economic progress been made through capitalism?The reason is simple. Only a scientific Socialism can effect an economic change which makes possible the common ownership

of the means of production, and make a fair distribution of the nation's resources.

I would like to point out to the youth of the nation that they should master the tenets of Scientific Socialism so that they can derive the maximum benefits from it. What are the prerequisites of being a true Socialist? First of all the person must have good manners and humanness. He must have clear understanding what is right and what is wrong. He must have integrity, and must know the inestimable value of the human beings. These are the prerequisites to becoming a good Socialist.

What else? One must be a nationalist who knows the value of the rights of one's country; one must uphold the laws of this country, protect its dignity, and the nation-hood of one's people; one must realize that nationhood is precious and is not based on tribalism, regionalism and so forth. He must be able to transcend the things that damage nationhood. The one who embraces tribalism and regionalism and who helps imperialism and its lackeys is not a patriot and cannot be a Revolutionary.

If you are a true socialist, what do you need to derive the maximum benefits from socialism? You need to study carefully and in depth the economical, political and sociological principle of scientific Socialism. You must have the horizon and mental capacity to see that socialism has more benefits for yourself and the people of your country than all the other systems in the world. If you understand that much but do not apply it or act on it, what use is to you? It won't do you any good. What benefit is it to you if you don't use it? What should you do? You must apply it and make use of it. You must apply the Socialist principles you have learnt.

It is the duty of the lecturers, professors and students to explain socialism in a way the youngsters, mothers, victory pio-

neers, the armed forces, the workers, the farmers and rural residents can understand and retain it.

The courage, determination, perserverence and the responsibility the educated people of this country had shown during the resettlement period of the drought victims had given me great encouragement and confidence in their patriotism and abilities. I think what the nation had done during the drought problem was the greatest achievement. This means the nation has reached a stage of political, and social maturity. Mental independence breeds an independence of action. The Revolution has been protecting the youth and it is going to protect them until they one day take over the reigns of power. As you know there are many countries in which the youth are put in prisons, or machine-gunned, or live in misery and oppressed. The question is; are the leaders of these countries ruling wrongly? Or do they have wrong principles? Are the systems they are following utterly wrong for the countries they are ruling? Why are universities and schools closed down? Why are students being killed? What is creating all those problems ?

The students are the flowers of the country; they are its light; they would be the leaders of tomorrow; they are the people whose brains are expected to think of the future economical, political and social progress of the nation. This is how a socialist views the youth, and we have led them and given them guidance in the light of this vision. What does the killing, the incarceration and the suppression of students in some parts of the world reflect? It reflects lack of vision and complete waste of the future leaders of some countries.

The way the youth have been participating in the progress of the nation and the way the Somali revolution has been protecting and guiding them reflects the fact that this nation has treasured its most valuable asset, its youth. It reflects the re-

cognition they have been given as the leaders of tomorrow. It reflects that such a recognition is not a shadow but a substantial thing.

Our political and economic system is scientific socialism, and we must make it put down its roots in the country. A Socialist Society is built on the common ownership of the resources of the country, it is based on common decision-making and the common execution of the decision that have been made; it is built on the abiding by the decisions made; it is built on debating the current and future issues which have importance for the society. What is the nature and the purpose of this debate? It is a constructive one in which people can contribute toward the progress of the nation. It is pooling of ideas, brains and minds which can benefit the society as whole. That is why the revolution has created revolutionary committees in every section of the city, town in every village, settlement, region, district, Ministry institution in the country. This means there should not be a single person who by himself makes decisions that are binding on the society. There should not be a single person who usurps the power from the people. Not a single brain is powerful enough to rule a society. So the brains of the members of the society should be pooled and use must be made of them. The decisions made by Committees, wherever they are, must be executed. The decisions that have to be executed must be on issues that have been debated-examined, scrutinized and on which common resolutions has been passed. The actual rule of the country must be carried out according to these principles.

If we look at the stages which the lecturers and students had passed, one can see that they had started their education at the elementary and finished at the University level. Others are still going through the same stages, or will be going through the same process, and will also finish their studies at the University. What role have the students played in the society

They have played a role whose value is tremendous. They were the ones who carried out their «National Service» duties in every village, every town and city, every settlement and the rural areas of the whole country. They were the ones who took a lion's share in the Rural Development Campaign, which was a condition of illiteracy and economic development campaign. They were the pioneers of every project. It would be a serious omission if I don't give them the credit they deserve. Some of them died on the national duty. They have played this important role in concert, and in cooperation with the armed forces, the workers, the victory pioneers, the mothers the farmers, the personnel of the Government and the general public. I congratulate you for the responsible way in which you served your nation, in the name of the nation, the SRC, and the Secretaries of the State. Comrades, you have proven that you are prepared to play your rightful role in the progress of the country. I would say «Carry on my friends.»

That is a credit for you, and happiness and encouragement for the good hearted Somalis. I am sure you have gained a great experience in the «National Service», which you might never have otherwise. I am sure you have immersed yourselves in the true and pure elements of the traditions and culture of your country. I am sure what you have learnt would be of great use to you in your life. I hope that every time you get a chance, you would live with the public and work with them.

Teachers, students, the administrators of the University and the youth in general, long live the students, Long Live Somalia Long Live Socialism Long live the unity of the Somali people. Long Live the progressive nations, peace and justice, Down with international imperialism.

**SPEECH DELIVERED BY PRESIDENT OF SRC, COMRADE
MOHAMED SIAD BARRE AT THE PUBLIC CONFERENCE
HELD ON 20/10/1975 AT THE PEOPLES HALL.**

It gives me a great pleasure to address this gathering here this evening. The participants which come from all Somali Social starta. They include both those who were intimately connected with tasks accomplished and others from the normal working people. This gathering will surely be followed by similar ones.

The objective of this gathering is to debate in a comradely, intimate and frank manner the triumphs achieved by our Revolution during its six years of administration and the difficulties facing in the building of the socialist system, which we have chosen as the path to our progress. We need to point out frankly the short-comings and weaknesses in every sector of our social existence — political, economic and social. When we delineate the difficulties, we can scientifically study and analyze how to overcome them. When one diagnoses the causes of a disease one can prescribe the curative medicine. As I see it, the topics before this gathering are neither few nor simple; they are varied problems whose proper treatment has a great value for the building of socialism in our country.

Comrades, it is essential to understand, first of all, the philosophy of our Revolution in general, and the transitional stage through which it is passing today.

From full scientific discussion of the multi-angled nature of the implementation of the objectives of our Revolution the result will no doubt be the coming together of the progressive social groups and classes, who are the support and shield of the Revolution. Then we will be able to properly implement the aspirations of the socialist Revolution in Somalia in the political, economic, and social fields.

CONSOLIDATION OF REVOLUTIONARY POWER

The Revolution, at its birth, inherited the existing economy and culture. It inherited a very weak economy in all fields - in agriculture, fisheries, livestock, industry and trade; an economy characterized by stagnation and one of the least developed ones in the world. Such an economy was the base for a backward social system still at the tribal stage. Such condition did not allow for the progress which alone makes possible the development of big social classes of capitalists and workers. There simply wasn't the economic base for it. But such classes were embryonic in nature.

CAUSE:

The Revolution was caused by the objective conditions then existing in our country. We were in a neo-colonial condition, obvious in its ugly oppression of the Somali working people and the negation of security among the nomads. The power was abused by the few who represented the embryonic capitalists and the interests of international imperialism - the latter wanted our country to be a market for its products and to remain an appendage that followed the road charted for it by imperialism itself. When such oppression reached intolerable limits, the Somali working people led by their armed forces, who sprang from their midst and who represented their interests, took matters into their own hands.

The armed forces shared the oppression with the rest of the working people. In addition, they were organized to defend the Somali nationhood, and were always on guard to resist anything endangering that nationhood. The soldiers and officers came from the nomads, peasants and workers. They were never officers representing the exploiting classes, such as the capitalists.

SOCIAL GROUPS AND CLASSES

Comrades, it is essential that we clearly describe the social groups and classes in our society, so that we can distinguish the progressive forces who are the main base of our socialist Revolution from the reactionary ones who oppose our revolution and want to dismantle it. There are contradiction and class struggle among these forces. The point is to understand this contradiction, so as to strengthen the coming together and unity of the progressive forces permanently. This will enable the Revolution to know its people who are implementing its objectives and aspirations. The people in their turn must engage in constant struggle against the counter Revolutionaries, who represent the reactionary forces and imperialism, and who want to wrench the power again from the working people who are leading the socialist Revolution.

Comrades, if I try to point out the above progressive forces, I think they can be enumerated as follows:

- 1) The workers
- 2) The peasants
- 3) The nomads
- 4) The Revolutionary intelligentsia
- 5) The petty bourgeoisie

These classes are the main base of the Revolution. The leading role is played by the workers and the Revolutionary intelligentsia. While in our conditions a proletariat in the

proper sense does not exist in a large degree, our concept of the working people is wider in scope, in our opinion the working people include the following categories:

1. Workers in the factories and other economic agencies.
2. Workers in agriculture
3. Workers in government administration
4. Members of the armed forces
5. The self-employed small property owners.

If these are the categories of the working people, there is no doubt that they and the other progressive forces mentioned earlier, are the ones who brought about, lead and defend the Somali Socialist Revolution, and for whose interest it came into being. And as such, it is absolutely essential that these progressive forces should know each other, come together and unitedly face the reactionary and colonial enemy.

Comrades, I have mentioned before, that these progressive forces are opposed by reactionary ones who want to turn back the wheel of history, to bring back, if they can, the exploitation and oppression of the working people. Such reactionary forces are:

1. The owning classes or the compradores.
2. The small owners in league with the compradores.
3. The reactionary intelligentsia.

These counter-revolutionary forces who oppose the construction of socialism in our country, have at their command, other categories whom they utilize in their struggle against the objectives of the Revolution. There are:

1. The demagogue
2. The tribalist
3. The socialist opportunist
4. The religious opportunist
5. The corrupt administrator.

These groups are included in and serve the reactionary forces and classes mentioned above. They are the ones who constantly struggle against the revolutionaries and who andes tantly distort the gains of the Revolution and every step it takes for the progress of the nation. There exist constant contact, communication and mutual assistance between imperialism and the reactionaries. During the past six years, there was principled contradiction and merciless struggle between the progressive forces and these reactionaries. This struggle is now at a new level and it will continue to exist while the exploiters still exist in our country. However, during struggle of the past six years there was no doubt that the victory belonged to the Somali working people the leading force of the revolution.

SOCIALIST POWER:

If the counter-revolutionary forces were not defeated in this struggle, socialist power would not have been possible today. How was it possible to do this, to daily gain victories each deeper than the other? We can answer this in many ways- but first of all, we must recognize that the main thing was the raising of the political consiousness of the revolutionary forces.

MOBILIZATION OF THE POLITICAL CONSCIOUSNESS OF THE MASSES

Comrades, we all know that the political maturity of the working people is the foundation for Co-operation in the society and its all-round progress. Believing in this truth, we have started to build up the political consciousness of the country's progressive forces.

In order to fulfil this, the political office has been established, so that it may become the arena where consciousness is created and where the principles of the Revolution are propagated from.

The tasks accomplished in mass mobilization during the last six years, are really many, but first of all, we must mention the constant coordination between the work done for the interests of the masses and the orientation going on daily, side by side with this work. We thus, see that combination of socialist ideology with practical activity in the minds of the masses, unleashes fruitful result.

POINT OF DEPARTURE

The point of departure was therefore wise guidance with useful work. Many campaigns each with special importance, have been initiated. The most important of these campaigns were, among. Others: the educational expansion campaign, the implementation of socialism campaign, the work campaign, the Somali script campaign, the agricultural production campaign and the current campaign concerning the relief, resettlement and rehabilitation of the drought-stricken population.

These campaigns were among the steps the Revolution was taking in order to lay the basis for socialist construction. The success of each one increased the confidence of the progressive forces and accelerated the confusion and defeat of the reactionaries and their imperialist masters. All told, it is doubtless that the level of political consciousness, the level of revived nationalism, the level of constructive activity and confidence which our nation has reached, is something we can all be proud of. The Revolution tried and achieved to revive and raise to a high level, the enthusiasm for which the Somali people were renowned, but which was unfortunately buried during the corrupt neo-colonial regimes.

THE BEGINNING OF MASS ORGANIZATION

When mass mobilization reached a satisfactory level, it was necessary to begin the establishment of mass organizations, so that they can continue to carry on this task and bring forth

from their midst, the revolutionary vanguard. These organizations are:-

- A) Women's Organization
- B) Worker's Organization
- C) Youth Organization
- D) The Victory-Pioneers (Guulwadaayaal)

There is no doubt that, these organizations have taken lion's share in propagating socialist principles and in the practical activity of laying the social and economic base for scientific socialism. They were the ones who were in constant struggle with the reactionaries and counter-revolutionaries in every region, district and village.

Such Organizations and others among the progressive forces, are the guarantee for the successful implementation of socialism in our country. They are arrows shot in the heart of the imperialists and their stooges, over which they gain victory each day they defeat them in the difficult struggle. They therefore, earned our respect and praise and we salute them from this rostrum today.

ECONOMIC POTENTIALITY

Comrades, we know that we do not have a developed economy suitable for socialist construction. But the absence of such a developed economy is not, in our opinion, an obstacle to the building of scientific socialism in Somalia.

You are aware that Somalia, though still mainly a nomadic society, has adopted socialist principles, and seriously began to lay the first steps for the construction of socialism. Each country has its own nature and distinct road towards socialism which is dictated by its economic, political and social structure. These are objective conditions that can not be conjured out of existence. At the same time, Socialist Revolution has defined

strategies, and clear aspirations whose ultimate goals is a society based on equality and justice. If the strategy goes wrong one may miss the goal. Similarly if there are no well-defined goals and ideology to guide the movement it may end up in daily opportunism.

FOUNDATIONS OF SOCIALISM

I can confidently say that, Somalia is on the right road, to the construction of socialism. Our socialism has the following foundation:

- 1) The power is now in the hands of the progressive forces of the society.
- 2) The majority of our nation want to build an equitable and just society.
- 3) The economic base for the construction of socialism is now being strengthened.
- 4) The working class is growing in strength with the economy and has now established its nucleus.
- 5) The co-operative movement among the peasantry is increasing.
- 6) Fraternal cooperation between Somalia and the socialist countries who extend constant support to our country

When we consider these facts, among others, there is no doubt that, socialism is being fully implemented in our country basing itself on the rule of the working people who are building economic base necessary for scientific socialism.

FOUNDATIONS OF SOCIALISM

Comrades, last year we have said that a political party will be found during 1975. Such a task is not a simple one which can easily be proclaimed. It needs careful study and strict pre-

paration on all levels. The task of preparation was immediately embarked upon after the announcement was made. It is now at a satisfactory level which enables us in the near to reach our goal.

SOCIALIST JUSTICE

Comrades, Socialism is a system aiming at creating a society based on justice and equality. Socialist justice is founded on the non-existence of exploitation and oppression in the society, on full equality in work, education, health and the judicial process. Socialist justice is also based on our social condition which has its specific religion, customs and morals. The revolution has taken account of all these in laying the legal edifice. Such equality is extended to all those social forces who believe in social justice and equality. However, in every society attempting to build socialism, there are found those social forces of reaction who do not accept equality. They want the people to be divided into classes, those who expropriate and enjoy the fruits of social labour, and those who are expropriated and compelled to languish in poverty.

In order to keep the working people in poverty and squalour, the expropriators do not feel ashamed of using any and all means including tribalism, division, strife and violence. As history teaches us, when a socialist revolution is born and power is wrested by the working people, who are the majority of society, the same means of merciless oppression are now used by the working people against the expropriators. This is done in order to break the strength of the counter-revolutionaries, so that they may not consolidate and come back to power again.

SPECIFIC CONDITION

During the Revolutionary years, Somalia was following its own road based on its specific conditions. This special road of Somalia gave consideration to religion, customs, culture and the many

interconnections of the people. We therefore saw no necessity in immediately liquidating the expropriators and those in league with them. We first began by raising the political consciousness of the people and their spirit of nationalism, so as to create a common front composing different social force, including workers and property owners at the same time, a front which is against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism, and against economic backwardness. Our slogan was «move with the masses». anybody who did not favour this and began to openly struggle against the revolution, had to be dealt with according to the crime he committed, before his injurious action infected the people.

This policy of general cooperation and tolerance was essential, because, we did not have big capitalists to be dealt with. Ours were still in the kindergarten. Our economy was not mature enough to allow social stratification where class struggle, between capitalists and their supporters on the one hand, and workers and their supporters on the other, was raging.

For these reasons, the revolutionary policy has been one of forgiveness, tolerance and cooperation, while, at the same time being vigilant to the conspiracies of imperialism and the counter-revolutionaries, and dealing with them when ever compelled to do so.

On the other hand we believe that socialist justice must be observed, while the life and the individuality of the person ought to be respected. The principles dictate that, prisons should be places of correction for the person who erred, not places of suppression and victimization. This is so, so that, he should not infect the rest of the population, and at the same time, put himself in jeopardy. While in prison, he must be given useful occupation, constant orientation and education, so that, after a time, the person becomes reformed and comes out into the society a useful member. Our prisons have not yet reached that stage, but they must.

PARDON OF PRISONERS PARDON OF PRISONERS

Comrades;

In continuation of that policy of tolerance, we have pardoned a varied number of people, who in general opposed the Revolution, and who therefore had to be held in custody for a time. Other people who committed various other offences and crimes against the country were also pardoned.

We call upon those people to seize this opportunity given to them by the Revolution and take part in the march of the nation for a better future. Those who are not motivated enough to take part in the public interest, will not be compelled to do so. They are only requested not to become an obstacle to the nation which is building Socialism. Any difficulty created by them, will finally backlash on them, for evil always avenges on its initiators. There is the Somali Proverb which says «Don't dig a ditch for your brother and if you do not, it will fall into it». Comrades,

This pardoning and tolerance is never a weakness felt by the revolution. On the contrary, when one has confidence in the progressive forces of the nation and the way they have taken power into their hands, then one can afford to forgive and tolerate. As such, this pardoning reflects the strength and confidence which the revolution enjoys and also a long-run aim, which has always been one of the landmarks of the Somali Revolution, and a beginning of a new stage in the march of the society, that of the transition period.

EXPANSION OF LAWS, COURT AND MOSQUES

Comrades,

The progress achieved in the field of justice during the past six years, when contrasted with nine years of independen-

ce before the Revolution, can be judged by the following simple number:

- Employees in the field of justice increased by 375 from 403 in 1969 to 778 in 1975.
- Courts increased from 77 in 1969 to 124 in 1975. This meant the expansion of court service to remote districts and villages
- Mosques increased from 943 to 1173.
- Main laws and codes were passed, the most recent being the personal statute, and seven others are in the process for promulgation during this year. Before the Revolution all the codes and laws used were of foreign origin, now they have all been Somalized.

SECURITY

The Somali people have tasted the promise of independence in 26 June and 1st July, 1960, and they were hopeful of their future.

They yearned for peace, progress, knowledge and human dignity, which were lacking during the colonial era. Unfortunately, those who were responsible for policy after independence, diverted from the right road and, instead of working for the common interest of the nation, as was expected of them, began to run after their own selfish interests for whose achievement they employed every possible means.

Finally, the situation was reached where the members of parliament became divided into the followers of different foreign powers, and where it was possible for each foreign Ambassador in the country to have his own group working for him. The running of the country thus, passed to foreign hands.

It happened that, the person became bigger than the law, and that the law was implemented according to his desire, if such a person had strong connections. This led to the sad situation that the security got out of the hands of the government and that, each person had to find out his own way of defending himself, once the law was no longer respected.

Though such a situation continued for some time, the worst was reached in 1969. That year was famous (or rather infamous) for robbery, murder, corruption on a large scale, and rampant tribalism. It was the year when smuggling became legitimate; when the largest amount of illegal weapons were brought into the country, so that, each person may be able to defend himself.

All told, in that year, security was completely out of hand, and the very independence of the nation was in danger. This led those of us who were aware, led by the Armed forces, to bring about the 21 Oktober Revolution in order to save our Nationhood.

It needs no emphasis that, after the take over of power, and during the six years of the revolution, peace and security have been restored, wanton murder and robbery eliminated, smuggling and embezzlement of public funds reduced, and fraternal feeling and mutual respect for each other have been inculcated in the Somali people.

PROGRESS ATTAINED

In order to appreciate the progress attained in this era, it would have been very enlightening if statistics of crime during the nine years of independence before the Revolution and the six years of the Revolution were compared and contrasted. Unfortunately, no such statistics were compiled before 1969. So we are left to compare that year when 15,323 crimes and offences were committed with 1974 when only 9,116 offences and crimes took place.

We may point out that, besides large difference in the occurrence of offences and crimes, their nature was also different. In 1969, most of the crimes involved murder, robbery, looting of livestock and similar cases, while those of 1974, mainly concerned petty theft, injuries and the like.

The main reason of the wide spread security and the lessening of crimes was the promulgation of laws that were consonant with our culture, economy and that our people could understand, and the impartial enforcement of the law, irrespective of class or rank. This enabled the security forces to perform their duty without fear and political meddling.

EDUCATION EXPANSION

Comrades,

Among the main aims of the revolution, is the spreading of education among the Somali people whether they live in the towns or the country-side. This aim has been expressed in the first Charter of the Revolution. We believe that education is a means to realize a society free of ignorance, disease and hunger. A socialist society can be realized when education ceases to be a monopoly of the well-to-do in the towns and filters down to the districts and villages, when it becomes available to the wide sections of the working people i. e. peasants, workers and nomads.

Again, the economic base of socialism can be created when the level of education of these groups is raised: When it is possible, for example, for the peasants to utilize scientific knowledge and techniques, when the life of the nomads is transformed into a settled one where animal husbandry and cultivation go side by side, when the skill of the working class reaches a high standard. Such socialism, based on our heritage cannot be constructed, unless the level of the masses is raised, for socialism is a system which scientifically unites economic matters, natural and social sciences and the history of humanity.

Such a system can be fruitfully utilized by a society with a high level of technological and scientific education. Bearing this in mind, the Revolution decided to expand education. The only way to really achieve this expansion, was lay down the written form of the Somali Language. The writing of our language created indeed a cultural Revolution, unique in its kind in our country.

This cultural revolution was initiated, mobilized and implemented through the various illiteracy campaigns in which both the government and the people fully participated. The first part of these campaigns concentrated on teaching the new script to the government workers and citizens of the towns. You know the victories we have achieved in struggling against illiteracy. Recently we have welcomed in the main towns and specially in the capital city, the volunteer forces who participated in the rural development campaign, a campaign which combined literacy teaching with mass vaccination and cure of both people and livestock against major diseases, and a census of our human and livestock population. These volunteer forces first overcame illiteracy in the towns, and then implemented the rural development campaign. A total number of 1750.000 persons to read and write their mother tongue, in these campaigns. If the school enrolment this year is added, the number becomes 1.990.500.

BEFORE AND AFTER THE REVOLUTION

Comrades,

Having said this, let us have a look at the education situation before the Revolution, how it is today, and the level to which it is aspiring. At the birth of the Revolution, the educational system was at a very low and confused stage. This was due to many reasons, the main among which were.

1. The existence of 3 Foreign languages of medium of instruction, namely Italian, English and Arabic.
2. The concentration of the schools in the main towns, specifically Moqdisho and Hargeisa.

3. The small percentage of school-age children attending schools.
4. The management of some of the schools by foreign governments and organisation.
5. The lack of a unified curriculum for all the schools.
6. The educational system was not able to extend itself to the poor, specially, the peasants and nomads and even many children of the workers.

The consequence of all this was an educational system based on class. The first step taken by the Revolution was to take over the schools managed by foreign governments and organisations. This made possible the unification of the curriculum in all schools. At the same time, it was a must to increase the number of schools and teachers, in order to extend education to the working masses.

If we try to get an idea of the rate of the educational expansion during the last six years, we see that the number of students in the schools below the university, increased from 55,021 in 1969/1970 to 240,550 in 1974/75, that is an increase of more than 300%. The enrolment in the elementary schools increased from 31.600 in 1969/70 to 191,968 in 1975, that is to say an increase of almost 500%.

As regards teachers, they increased from 1973 in 1969/70 to 4,636 this year for the various different schools in the country. This is supplemented by 1,244 teachers from the students in the national service who teach in the elementary and some of the intermediate schools.

If I say few words about the number of schools, we see the following changes: In 1969, there were 204 elementary schools, 28 intermediate schools, 17 Secondary schools, 8 technical schools and one teacher training institute; today the number stands at 300 elementary, 131 intermediate, 34 secondary, 11 technical and 4 teacher training schools.

FULFILMENT OF AIM

In order to fulfil our aim of making the educational curriculum consonant with our socio-economic structure and its socialist transformation, new textbooks were written in all subject matters. These books written in Somali, reach about 176 in number today, of which about 1 Million copies were printed. In all this expansion of the educational system attention was focused to those who need it most. Having in mind that most of the new students will be coming from our poor working people, specially the nomads and peasants, about 1,260 classrooms were built this year on a crash-help scheme, encompassing about 140,000 students.

BUDGET

The budget provision allocated for education in 1969, was Sh. S0. 19 million, in 1975 the comparative figure is Sh. S0. 50 Million.

Comrades,

The highest echelon of the educational system is the university. Before the Revolution, there was no university in our country. There was only a two year institute of law and economics, administered by foreigners. The few who went through these two years, later completed their studies in Italy. At the birth of the Revolution, the situation changed. The national university was created, consisting at the beginning of the faculties of law and economics and the college of education with 182,103 and 52 students respectively.

The Revolution bravely embarked upon the building up of a national university suitable for our socio-economic development. Sparing no effort, whether moral or material, in this regard, nine main faculties were established. These are:

Agriculture, veterinary and animal husbandry, chemistry medicine, education engineering, geology, law and economics. The number of students jumped from 337 in 1969 to 1,809 today. 263 students graduated from the university during that time.

Comrades,

LABOUR ETHICS

You know that the work ethic is one of the main pillars of socialism. The main aim is to satisfy the material needs of the human person in food, clothing and shelter. All are created by work. Creation of employment opportunities is one of the main signs of a healthy, progressing economy.

It is a matter of a historical fact, to which you were witnesses, that before the revolution many university graduates, technicians, and secondary graduates were roaming in the streets unemployed.

The Revolution was calling on the Somali Nation to work and to reap the fruits of this work. It was, therefore, impossible to ignore people with skill and knowledge. You remember that immediately after the revolution, all the university graduates were sent to Halane Orientation School for a brief period and then given employment in the government and the agencies and public bodies dependent on it. The same procedure applied to the secondary and intermediate school leavers. At the same time, all the people with technical skills are constantly being called upon for work, until today the bottleneck is lack of skilled mechanics; electricians, carpenters and the like. The employment situation can be seen from the fact that, 30,402 persons were employed during the nine years of independence before the Revolution, while during the six years of the revolution, 111,860 persons were employed, i.e an increase of about 300%. In the next plan, almost 100,000 technicians are needed.

PUBLIC HEALTH

Comrades,

Health is one of the most valuable aspects of the human person. Without physical and mental health, the existence of the human being is meaningless. Health care, is therefore, one of the main tasks of the society.

During the colonial and the previous regimes, health care was confined to the major towns alone. General health was given not much attention and the care and cure of the patient depended on his income status.

The Revolution whose aim, of course, was to fight against the three enemies of mankind (hunger, disease and ignorance) had to chart a new road in health policy. It had to equitably distribute the health services, without giving consideration to class or income, to give greater emphasis to preventive work, and to initiate many projects in medical care — in its spread and socialization.

The first step was to make free of charge, medical examination, visits to the doctor, laboratory and X-ray tests and hospitalization.

The ordinary budget of the Ministry of health increased from Sh. So. 23.803, 189 in 1969 to 40.738, 070 in 1975 (an increase of 71%).

The availability of medicine to the general public was also tackled. Before the Revolution, medicine were available only in Muqdishu and Hargeisa. Today, there are government medical stores in every region, and pharmacies, owned either by the local authorities or co-operatives, are to be found in most districts.

PREVENTIVE MEASURES

The prevention of contagious diseases was greatly strengthened as can be seen from the following vaccination statistics:

	1969	1975
Tuberculosis	87.756	715.195
Smallpox	100.000	3.500.000
Malaria	191.014	251.312

A medical force headed by a graduate doctor was permanently dispatched to all regions and most of the districts. The number of doctors jumped from 59 in 1969 to 140 in 1975. During the nine years before the Revolution, Only 140 students graduated from schools for the training of health personnel, the comparable figure for the six years of the Revolution is 471. The new hospitals built during that time were 37 in number.

The social insurance of the workers has been re-structured and the tasks of the insurance Organisation has been increased.

FOREIGN POLICY

Comrades, needless to say country's foreign policy fundamentally reflects its internal policy and the level of development attained in the spheres of politics, economy and social life. Indeed, the foreign policy is the true image of every government's overall internal rule. Whether a country's policy is progressive or reactionary, is indicated by the positions it takes in the international arena, be it in the Un forum or other international meetings.

The socialist countries are well known for their progressive and realistic policy of struggle against imperialism, colonialism and all forms of repression, exploitation and racial discrimination. They are committed to a foreign policy that calls for international concord, peace, mutual respect and Co-operation; a policy that combats aggression and upholds peaceful co-existence among nations. The pre-revolutionary Somalia was a satellite in the neo-colonial orbit. Its foreign policy was characterized by passiveness, and lack of national dignity and direction. The aspirations and the sentiments of the Somali people had never been articulately voiced in the international platforms. Since the Revolution, the country embarked upon a foreign policy, fundamentally at variance with the policy of submissiveness and dependence. Once again, Somalia, revived its conscious determination and positive stands. This has been demonstrated by our policy of unreserved support to all national liberation movements in Africa and Asia, who struggle against imperialism, colonialism and zionism, and of advocacy of the settlement of burning World issues through open, Frank debates seeking a just solution. It has won us the respect and confidence of our friends and all

The unfluctuating Somali stand on these issues, much as peace-loving nation, has nonetheless exposed us to our enemies as a force to reckon with.

SOMALIA IN THE ARAB LEAGUE

It was after the revolution, that Somalia joined the Organization of the Arab League. This has been a great victory for the Somali people, in particular and the Arabs in general. Our membership in the Arab League has come about as a historical need, dictated by the interests of the Arab nations. Arab world has been further consolidated by the membership of the SDR as a dignified, rich, respectful, and an effective sovereign State well-known for its unceasing fight against the enemies of the Arab nations — imperialism and zionism.

During its membership, Somalia has played a big role in the League and will, in future, abide by its unfailing commitments. It has always been one of our primary tasks to consolidate Arab unity, so as to bring about the defeat of our enemy-imperialism and zionism. We stress the importance of watchfulness and closing of ranks amongst the Arab States, since misunderstanding and disunity are only detrimental to the Arab cause.

We call on the Arab countries to be more vigilant against the imperialist, colonialist, and zionist manoeuvres aiming at the splitting of the Arab unity.

We believe that through unity and united action, can Palestine and the still-occupied Arab territories be liberated. It is our duty to wage a vehement war against all those seeking to sow seeds of discord and disunity amongst the Arab nations. The realization of these objectives take priority and precedence over all other issues that may exist amongst the Arab nations. Our attention, therefore, should be focused on them. Every possible measure should be taken to solve internal Arab differences in order to maintain and further strengthen the unity of the Arabs. In the absence of that, the Arabs will definitely be doomed to a weak, divided and helpless position, rendered too feeble a force to defeat zionism and restore the occupied territories, and finally fall into ditch dug for us by the imperialists and zionist.

SOMALIA IN THE OAU

Comrades, as you all know, Somalia was one of the founding members of the OAU. Being so, it is also well known, that our country had never played its proper role before the revolution. It has been during the last 6-years of the revolution, that Somalia took a decisive part in African affairs and in particular paid attention to the colonised African territories.

We have rendered both moral and material support to the national liberation movements. The magnanimity of our role has won us the recognition and respect of the OAU itself. Exemplary to this tribute were the esteemable meetings convened in our capital city, such as, the East and Central African Meeting of Heads of States; the meeting by the OAU Liberation Committee and the OAU Summit held in 1974. These meetings were high-lighted, as you recall, by resolutions for the total liberation of the continent of which «The Mogadishu

Declaration» is a clarion call to independence.

The Somali revolution has played an immensely important role in the resolutions adopted by these meetings and conferences. Consequently, we have been honoured with the task of attaining support and solidarity for the liberation of Africa from such friendly countries as the USSR, China, Korea and the other socialist States. During our chairmanship of the OAU., we spared no effort in the realization of the aims and objectives of the OAU Charter. As you all remember, we were the first African State to pay a visit to such a large number of African countries with the aim of exchanging views with the various African Heads of States on African affairs; embracing problems of continental cooperation in sphere of commerce, communication and other aspects of common interest. At the same time, it had been a valuable opportunity for us to study closely, the economic and cultural standards of the sister African States we paid visit to. These visits and exchanges of opinion have undoubtedly enriched our experience and contributed to the promotion of our revolution.

On the other hand, we kept our brothers in touch with socialist development taking place in revolutionary Somalia. As a result of this, we won further respect and veneration of our brothers throughout the vast continent. As I said earlier, this has not come about by itself. It has, indeed, been the natural outcome of the visits by all-level African delegations,

both official and social to our country to witness the fruits of our revolution and also by the visits paid to Africa by members of the SRC and the Council of Secretaries of the SDR who explained at large, the activities, objectives and achievements of the Somali revolution.

NEW PHASE

Comrades, the African continent is passing through a new historical phase. A phase characterised by deepgoing changes in its political, economical, social and cultural life. It is true that we are witnessing the withering away of the last holds of colonialism in the continent; but, nonetheless, there is no doubt that, neo-colonialism has replaced the old from and is causing Africa a great set back in its general development. Monopoly capital is causing a big damage to the economy of Africa. It still pursues its criminal exploitation of African resources whether mineral, agricultural or livestock for its industries and subsequently extract magic prices from the boom-improvished African peoples, for the consumer, goods it re-exports to these countries. The neo-colonialist States also impose fantastic on the means of production they export to Africa. Such an inequitable trade relation can only be based on repression and exploitation. It necessarily serves and defend the interests of imperialism and neo-colonialism So long as such a relation exists, Africa will never attain full freedom, nor can it build an economy capable of improving the lot of its toiling masses. To overcome this dismal state of affairs, we deem it necessary to have an intercontinental cooperation in the spheres of politics and economy. The African States should embark upon strategy aimed at defending their resources from looking by imperialists through the establishment of equitable trade relations with the Western countries. This means that the African raw materials and the manufactured European and American goods should be exchanged on a just basis. Then only we could have a harmonious commercial exchange in the

world that would allow the natural and progressive growth of the African economy free from bondage, repression and exploitation.

SOMALIA IN THE NON — ALIGNED COUNTRIES

Comrades, Somalia is an active participant in the various international organizations viz. The organization of the non-aligned states, the league of Islamic states, and the European Economic Community. To state briefly the active role of Somalia in these organizations, let me remind you that since our independence, Somalia had declared its adherence to the policy of non-alignment; but it has only been with the inception of the Revolution that the true definition and correct implementation of the positive policy of non-alignment has been implemented. Our revolutionary government pursues the clear policy enshrined in the following principles:

- 1) That the true meaning of non-alignment should be understood to mean the clear differentiation between what is just from what is unjust.
- 2) That the position to be taken in all international issues, whether in the UNO or else where, should be determined by the legitimacy they merit and not by partiality and self-interest.
- 3) To engage in the constant, tireless work for the cause of world peace for the interest of mankind and to condemn and combat all measures intended to threaten and endanger world peace.
- 4) That all the member states of this organization should maintain a strong alliance to defend their common interests.

From these few points it is quite clear that the concept we have of «Non — alignment is one that clearly discriminates between the forces of justice and those of injustice; the forces of aggression and those of peace-guarding, the forces of imperialism and those of liberation.

In short, we are fully dedicated to give all possible moral and material support to all the peace-loving forces struggling for independence and mutual respect to prevail among all nations; to all forces fiercely engaged in battle against colonialism, imperialism and other forms of exploitation.

SOMALIA IN THE ISLAMIC LEAGUE

Amongst the other organizations we fully support and subscribe to, is the Islamic conference of States. As you all know, our nation is 100% Muslim. It is therefore, quite in place to give that organization its due importance in furthering the interests of the Islamic people. We have fully participated in the meetings and activities of the organisation during the last 6 years of the revolution. Our country was indeed honoured on several occasions by its nomination along with others to deal with the problems confronting the Islamic world like: the mediation between such sister States as Pakistan and Bangladesh, the solution of the problem of the Muslims in Philippines, etc

SOMALIA & THE SOCIALIST COUNTRIES

Comrades, Somalia is a country set on the construction of socialism. It is, therefore, natural to have strong relations with the socialist countries, based on the socialist principle of internationalism. This fundamental socialist principle entails all socialist countries to exchange solidarity in all spheres of the political, economical and cultural life.

The Assistance rendered to the young developing states by the big socialist countries is immeasurable. This is a practical manifestation of the Leninist behest of cooperation between the socialist community and the workers of the whole world.

All the socialist countries are our comrades, and with them we have good relations based on respect, friendship, comradeship and solidarity. These countries have played a great role in the economical and social development of our country. The selfless assistance they have given us can testify these countries' true commitment to the principle of internationalism. We also wish to express our heartfelt gratitude for the constant and unfailing assistance we receive from the socialist countries. Such a harmonious, comradely relations between Somalia and the socialist countries, is furthermore, an eloquent lesson to our people, to resolutely continue on the right of building socialism in our country.

SOMALIA AND THE WEST

Comrades, although our revolution is guided by the principles of scientific socialism; yet the maintenance of good relation with the western countries, is not ruled out. On the contrary the revolutionary government is working, in good earnest, to establish relations with the western countries, based on respect and mutual understanding. We already maintain direct relations and understanding with the member states in the European Economic Community (EEC) beneficial to the interest of both parties. It is our conviction that, Western Europe, owing to its high scientific and technological advancement, and the Arab world owing to their vast natural riches in raw materials which is indispensable to the West, would have both benefited a great deal, had there been an equitable trade based on justice and mutual respect. We believe that irrational confrontations are to no ones' avail. On the contrary, both parties have much to gain from each other if under-

standing, respect and due considerations are taken account of in their mutual dealings. So, also, the relations between Europe and Africa improve if the above factors are duly exercised.

Comrades, if I were to sum up the basic principles that govern the foreign policy of the socialist revolution of our country they are:

- 1) The unification of the Somali nation.
- 2) The unification of the Arab nations and liberation of Palestine.
- 3) The struggle against imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism, racial discrimination, and zionism.
- 4) The consolidation of the progressive forces of world the socialist States, progressive forces in the capitalist countries, national liberation movement in Africa Asia and Latin America.
- 5) The support & observance of the principle of peaceful coexistence among nations; international relations to be based on justice and equality.
- 6) To foster the relations between Somalia and the Socialist countries in all spheres.
- 7) To seek the unification of Africa. This could be preceded by such measures, as the initiating of agreements and other links in the fields of commerce, communication and transport.
- 8) The world economy and trade exchange to be based upon a system, free from the inequality and exploitation as consequence of which the 3rd World sags under.

Comrades, these basic principles are in compliance with the foreign policy sealed in the First Charter of the Revolution. Our revolutionary activities in the last 6 years are proof of our strict adherence and total commitment to the implementation of these principles.

THE OCCUPIED LANDS OF THE SOMALI PEOPLE

Before the revolution, the policy of the corrupt regimes was based on a so-called negotiation of various levels, the intention being that, this should take a long time until the situation becomes stagnant, confused and the issue is forgotten.

The Revolutionary policy towards the French Somali Coast and other occupied areas, is a distinctly clear one, in which both friend and foe know where we stand on the issue.

The policy of the Revolution towards the parts of our country occupied by foreign powers, is that our people should be allowed peaceful self-determination, to gain their freedom. This is an internationally accepted principle: that each people and nation should gain self-determination a principle sanctified in the Charter of the United Nations and other international organisations. Since the birth of the Revolution, we have been calling upon Ethiopia, Kenya and France to respect this principle.

During the past six years, the Revolution has tried to convince our neighbouring countries, with whom we have a problem of land and people, to settle our differences amicably. This has been based on our revolutionary principles and on our good intentions that, if there is the will, every problem can be solved peacefully. We have declared many times and on several occasions, that it is absolutely essential to be vigilant against colonial machinations whose intention is to create, strife between us and our neighbouring brother and thereby spill African blood.

It is absolutely unwise and weak policy to engage in unnecessary conflicts where the possibility of peaceful and amicable solutions exist.

The problem of the independence of the French Somali Coast and other Somali occupied areas, have been well explain-

ed to the international public opinion: the genesis of the problem, the present difficulties which may endanger peace in the Horn of Africa, and how it can be solved. The international opinion is now well-versed with the question and many countries are convinced of the necessity of peaceful solution.

The problem has been discussed in depth with the previous and present government of Ethiopia: how it is necessary for the interests of justice and the interests of both countries to reach a solution. Since the question also touches upon African cooperation, it was put before the organization of African unity. The committee of the Eight African Heads of state who have been appointed to mediate between the two countries are still in their task, and every effort will be made so that, their final report and recommendations come before the Organization.

Similar peaceful processes are going on, concerning the Somali territory with Kenya.

THE NATIONAL ECONOMY

Comrades,

I have spoken about the political and social affairs which give a clear indication of the progress made by the revolution since its inception, six years ago. The steps taken in the political and social fields, are to be considered as preparatory measures for the realisation of socialism in our country. Let us, now look into the achievement in general and the progress made in all aspects of our life. I don't think it will be possible for me, to give a detailed account on the subject, but I will try to mention, at least, the most important.

The Somali economy is based on specific productive sectors, with many socio-economic ramifications, and the conditions prevailing at the bases, have an impact on the branches.

As you all know, the sectors which constitute the basis of the national economy are:

- 1) Livestock, 2) agriculture, 3) fishing, 4) Mineral resources, 5) Industry, and 6) Electric power.

The infrastructure (roads, ports, airports etc) constitute an essential support to all the socio-economic endeavours, which together, ensure the development of social services such as: schools, hospitals building etc.

One of the most important goals of a development policy, is to provide full employment for all the members of the society.

Having seen that the development of all the economic sectors is a necessary requisite for the national prosperity and socialist construction, let us now consider the steps taken towards its realisation since the Revolution of 21 Oktober 1969, and compare the recent revolutionary achievements with what was done over the period of nine years by the previous regimes.

LIVESTOCK

Livestock is the back bone of the national economy and the main-stay of the majority of our people, since the nomads are mainly dependent upon it. Livestock raising is an activity which has been carried on for centuries in our country and which fostered solidarity and harmonious relationships among the Somali people. Such an activity, has assumed a cultural significance. But let us ask what has been done to encourage such an activity and therefore preserve and develop the livestock sector, especially that which concerns camels, cattle, sheep and goats, beginning from 1st July 1960 upto to the birth of the October Revolution in Somalia? The answer is negative, and this shows a lack of interest on the part of the previous regimes, for they never made any significant budgetary provisions for livestock development. A clear evidence of such a negative attitude, is provided by the following facts:

- 1) A ministry, responsible for the livestock was never established before the revolution (Livestock matters were dealt with by a department attached to either the ministry of health, the ministry of agriculture, or the ministry of mineral resources.)
- 2) The budgetary provisions for the livestock department, covered only the salaries of its staff and the up-keep expenses, i. e. the budgetary provision for 1969 amounted to Sh. So. 8,44.23.
- 3) Only nine veterinary doctors and 60 veterinary assistants were to take care of the country, livestock.
- 4) Only two projects for livestock development were initiated, one in Warmahan and the other at Afgoi, and they were run by foreigners. They did not achieve much.
- 5) Only one school for the training of veterinary assistants was established. It had the limited capacity of 30 students.
- 6) No attention was paid to the need of preserving and developing the forestry and range. The only activities conducted in this field (i.e cutting down trees and coaling them for export) were really damaging.

This important field of our economy was left almost alone. The revolutionary Government felt the necessity of putting things right and one of the first measures adopted, concerned the creation of a ministry solely responsible for livestock, forestry and range.

The budget approved for this Ministry, increased year after year taking into account the needs and ability of the country. The budgetary provisions for the year 1975 amount-

ted to Sh. So.118 million. 17 projects are in full course for livestock, forest and range development and poultry raising. The global amount of money allocated to this sector during the nine years before the revolution was Sh. So. 211 millions. This alone is sufficient to show the difference in the attitude of the Revolutionary government and the previous regimes.

The achievement in this field, since the October Revolution can be summarised as follows:

- 1) Particular care was given to animal health. About 63,252,690 heads of cattle were attended to, during the last six years. This means that about 10 million heads of cattle were treated.
- 2) Specialised training schools, upto university level were established.
- 3) A serum and vaccine institute was created. It is proposed to upgrade this institute to an industrial level.
- 4) A law was passed to protect the forests, prohibiting the production of charcoal for export and the cutting of trees, and a tree - planting campaign was launched.
- 5) ranges, each with an area of Km. 1000 were created in the following regions:

North - west, Togdheer, Sanaag, eastern Region, Nugaal, Mudug, Galgaduud and Hiraan.

- 6) The hunting of wild life was prohibited and laws passed to protect the animals, for which parks have been created.
- 7) A big holding ground was established in the lower Juba region. These are some of the steps taken by the revolution for the development and expansion in the sector of livestock, forests and range in these last 6 years.

AGRICULTURE

Comrades,

Agriculture is the second sector in which our economy is based. It is the sector which, when conveniently developed, can satisfy our food requirement, i.e rice, wheat, maize cereals etc. We are convinced that the land near the rivers, estimated to measure 8 million ha; of which about 2 million can be easily irrigated by the rivers, can yield products in abundance. This will allow us to export agricultural products. But this

calls for a total engagement of available human and technical resources, making use of modern scientific methods.

Let us, however, examine the attitude of the previous regimes and the change made by the Revolution.

Before the Revolution, only 2 agricultural projects existed in jilib and Togwajaale. According to the plans, 6,250 ha, were to be cultivated in Togwajaale with sorghum and maize and 10,000 ha, in Jilib with maize, cotton and other oil seeds. A large capital was invested in these projects. Nevertheless except for 1,00 ha. Cultivated for sometimes at Togwajaale, they resulted in nothing.

Farmers and peasants were never encouraged and no credits were granted to them. Things in this field, degenerated to such an extent, that, a quintal of maize bought Sh. So. 25/30 from the farmers, was then sold to the masses by the middle men for Sh. So. 180-200. This Exploitation was accompanied by the idea inculcated in the minds of the masses by the imperialists that, the Cultivation of land was a humiliating work which any dignified person should avoid. The aim of This idea, was to retard our economic development. For example, rice, wheat, maize and other cereals used to be imported from abroad, while we could have grown them easily in our fertile

soil. This Colonial Policy could be clearly shown by the fact that before the Revolution, an area of 350,000 acres used to be cultivated. But after the birth of the Revolution, all efforts were conjugated towards the development and increase of our agricultural sector. Every one of us is aware of the campaigns set for agricultural development and of the fruitful results reached. It is worth while to say that, today the Cultivated area during these last six years, have reached 700,000 ha. About 200,000 ha. Of the whole area is under irrigation, while, 500,000 ha. are cultivated during the rainy seasons. In other words we could say that the cultivated land has reached a 100% increase during the last six years.

The Government has reformed an area of 20,000 ha. for the cultivation of cotton, rice, oil seeds and maize under the crash programme and other agricultural Projects.

MOST IMPORTANT

The most important agricultural projects are the Following:

- 1) Fanole Project which so far covered an area of 20,000 ha. And is still under progress.
- 2) Mordinle Project, covering an area of 10,000 ha. which is mostly still under preparation and which very important products would be cultivated in the near future.
- 3) Balad Irrigation project of 10,0000 ha. in which cotton and oil seeds would be grown.
- 4) The Johar water reserve project which is still under construction and which would store water amounting to 200 million Mitres to be used when the river is at low level.
- 5) 97 Co-operatives consisting of 8509 people were established. These Co-operatives have an area of 19,000 ha. The Government has helped these co-operatives, fur-

nishing them with all the agricultural means and experts. These Co-operatives were formed in all regions and districts of the country.

- 6) The shabelli river has been excavated so as to contain the floods which could cause considerable damage to agriculture. Also hundreds of kilometers of canals have been constructed.
- 7) Scientific study on the soil of the two rivers has been conducted and is in progress, in order to investigate the types of crops for which their soil is best suited.
- 8) Now methods and techniques of banana production has been introduced and a project covering 1,800 ha. Has been started as a preliminary stage.
- 9) Grape fruit can play an important role in our export as cash crop. thus, a grape fruit project has been implemented.
- 10) Dates production, for which the eastren parts of our country are best suited, has been increased so that, we colud obtain self-sufficiency in this important crop for the consumption of our people.
- 11) Rice production has proved an established fact in our country and has now passed the research stage.
Comrades,

The settlement of the new communities has great significance for our agriculture. Already about 118,727 have been settled, 103,393 of which are in agriculture and the rest in fisheries. About 60,000 ha. have been earmarked for the new agricultural settlement and works already started. This does not only mean that the settlement of the nomads has begun, that many poor people will now have a better livelihood with schools and hospitals, but it has also deeper significance. Somalia, for the first time in its history will be able to put

under cultivation in a very short period, areas of land much larger than all the years of colonialism and neo-colonialism could do. Such settlements will have their own livestock, and future light processing industries. Without socialist convictions, we would not have been able to embark on this great task.

FISHERIES.

The Exploitation of our rich fishery resources and introduction of efficient marine transport, has been extremely neglected before the Revolution. The fisheries as a sector, has been a small unit within the ministry of industry and commerce. This is so, in spite of the fact that our country is endowed with the longest coastline in the African continent with the exception of south Africa. Moreover, it is famous for the variety and richness of fish types such as the tuna. It is a tragedy that foreign fishermen used to fish off our coasts while our own people were helplessly watching and starving.

Thus, the Revolution embarked upon the path leading to the maximum exploitation of our fishery resources. A separate ministry has been created for fisheries and marine transport. A National campaign was launched to fight against the prejudice which the Colonialists and their lackeys instilled in the minds of some of our people, concerning fisheries as an occupation, and fish as a source of nutritious diet. The Somali fishermen faced great odds against them in terms of gear and were exploited by middle men and rich merchants. The Revolutionary government encouraged the establishment of fishery Cooperatives all along the coast which now have 1,543 members and whose property in terms of gear, physical facilities, etc, stands at So. Sh. 10 Million. These cooperatives have now been joined by new fishermen, resettled along the coast reaching 14,799 persons. This working force, now numbering 15,342, in addition to many fishermen, not yet organised into co-operatives in this vital sector, which has shown hard work

and resourcefulness, is a great step towards the better exploitation of our fishery resources.

Marine transport was non-existent before the Revolution with the exception of small canoes and boats that were privately owned. The Revolutionary government has taken determined steps in giving the proper priority to marine transport and communications such as the purchase of modern merchant ships reaching 10 in number and fish trawlers. These ships and trawlers costed us Somali Shillings 115 Million. At the same time, port facilities are being increased with a modern port under construction in Mogadishu and several smaller ones in different parts of our coast, in order to further facilitate marine transportation.

INDUSTRIES

It is well-known that socialist construction faces great difficulties without sufficient industrialisation. Socialism leads to the application of the most efficient technology to industry and related economic sectors. But, this can not be immediately achieved from scratch, in a country like ours, industrialisation should be preceded by a revolution in the basic sectors of our economy, namely, livestock, agriculture, fisheries and mining. The Capital accumulated as a result of economic development in these sectors, can then be invested in the different types of industries, such as heavy and light; labour intensive and capital intensive etc.

The industrial sector was extremely neglected before the revolution. Nine years after the political independence, there were only few factories in the whole country, mostly built with soviet assistance, such as the milk processing factory, meat processing factory, and fish canning factory. These factories were insufficiently run and were badly indebted to the banks. At present, there are 32 industries, some of them under construction, 27 of which are public owned.

In 1975 alone, there are 22 different industrial projects in progress. Total investment in these industries, amounts to nearly Somali shillings 1 billion. The latest is the second sugar industry which will be shortly built in the lower juba region and will start production in 1978.

It is an economic fact that socio-economic development can be greatly accelerated by the development of infrastructure such as roads, bridges, harbours, airport, etc. The Revolutionary Government has given due priority to investment in communications and telecommunication between different parts of the country, and achievements in this field, are far greater than have been attained in the previous nine years of our independence. Technical personal, such as, engineers and architects were encouraged by the revolutionary climate that swept our country.

Achievements in the field of the basic infrastructure, speak for themselves like other sectors of our national economy. For example, 2,147 kilometers of all weather roads were constructed in the Revolutionary era while there were only 430 kilometers before the Revolution. The capacity of our electric power reached 50 districts in different parts of the country. Modern telephone and telex systems have been installed. Also Radio Transmission station of 280 KW power capacity will be shortly operational in the place of the present 60 kw stations, so that, the voice of the Revolutionary Somalia could be heard any where in the world. Total investment in these infrastructural projects under the Revolution amounts to Sh. So. 1, 725,020,000. This is indeed a remarkable accomplishment.

TRADE.

Any superficial analysis of the economy, shows us the importance of trade in its effect on distribution of the national product, and its linking of the national economy with the outside world. In a situation like ours, at the beginning of the

revolution, trade was a mechanism through which imperialism kept the country in a neo-colonial appendage. Socialist in its orientation, the Revolution had no choice but to face the situation in this sector head on.

The existing difficulties before the revolution were mainly as follows:

1. The trade policy was, of course, based on capitalist lines and as such pioneered the exploitative system.
2. Low production of exportable items.
3. Poor communication (such as airports, roads, transport, etc).
4. Limited internal market.
5. Lack of reliable statistics in all fields.
6. The squandering of foreign exchange on either unessential items or those that can be produced at home, simply to enrich some people.
7. Monopolization of our exports by one or two countries.
8. Lack of trade laws and price policy both for internal and external trade. The main criteria was nepotism.

TO FACE THE SITUATION THE FOLLOWING POLICIES WERE ADOPTED:

1. Nationalization of both external and internal trade.
2. Nationalization of the banking system, and careful watch over foreign exchange.
3. To conduct trade on socialist lines, and to form co-operatives of similar trades.
4. To stabilize price of food stuffs, clothing and rents, so as to watch the standard of living.

5. To divert trade as much as possible to those countries with whom we had economic cooperation.
6. To unify the prices of essential items all over the country.
7. To increase local production both for import substitution and for exportation.
8. To stop the importation of items available inside the country.

We may quote the following figures concerning export values, simply to show the effect of these policies in real practice:

	1969:	1974:1975	
Livestock	132,000.000	222.000.000	Shs.
Hides	14,330.975	48.000.000	»
Bannana	54.000.000	100.000.000	»
Fish	2.963.555	15.242.317	»

INFLATION EFFECTS

Comrades,

It would be most unfitting if we don't mention here the effects of world inflation on our economy and development. You are aware that, for the last few years, there has been growing and intensive crisis in the world capitalist economy. Monetary and financial crisis engendered by the aggressive-ness of the imperialist war-machine and the inherent contradictions in capitalism, have caused irrevocable disturbance in the major money and financial centres. There has been a series of continuous devaluations and counter-devaluation of currencies, and many others are now floating, with the result that, the normal predictable exchange rate patterns are forever gone. This, together with the accompanying crisis of

production and employment in the major capitalist economies, has caused a staggering upward spiral of prices of both capital and consumer goods produced by these countries.

Naturally, our country can not remain unaffected by such events, for we obtain a large part of our needs of capital and consumer goods from these countries, or from others whose export trade is determined by the capitalist world market. The consequence, naturally, has been the importation of inflation. This in turn, of course, meant worsening of our balance of trade, great pressure on our meagre foreign exchange earnings, rise in the cost of living, and a possible brake on the rate of investment for development.

A number of measures were taken by the Revolution to tackle the issue. These measures included: a slight devaluation in the Somali shilling in early 1973 to counter the effects of outside devaluations, upward adjustment of our export price, rationalization of our imports (elimination of many luxury items and squeeze on others), institution of rationing systems whenever the situation called for. These measures, together with the generous assistance of friends, enabled us to withstand the combined assault of the economic crisis and the tragic domestic drought. At the same time, we have been able to avoid serious damage to our economic and social development plans. Although we have come through the difficulties with few scars, our people should remember that everything is not over yet. Outside inflation may not abate or may become a recurring pattern. The recovery from the tragic drought is also just beginning. So we have a difficult, long road to go. The ultimate solution is the creation of a self-sufficient and self-sustaining economy. We have seriously started travelling on this charged road. The experience of the previous six years, briefly summarized above, is an eloquent prove of this fact. But our people should continue the sacrifice they have already born until we achieve Victory.

The Revolution realizes that, in order for our people to continue bearing the sacrifice, and therefore, scoring more victories in the struggle, they should not only be aware of what the problems are, but should also have direct participation in the solutions of these problems. That is why the mass mobilization, raising of the political consciousness of the people, and the institution of mass organization was a must for the revolution. But that is not all. The structure of the local governments i.e local authorities was also radically changed. It was transformed from administrative apparatus to a development-oriented organ. The large and cumbersome regions and districts have been reorganized into smaller units (with an increase in their number) so that, the local authorities can be more aware of the needs and potentialities of their respective areas and, so, be able to better plan and manage them. The composition of the regional and district revolutionary councils has also been more democratized to include representatives of the common people. Recently more powers in financial and administrative matters have been deployed on them so that they can have more means to carry out their tasks.

Comrades, despite the length of my discourse, I still feel I have not been able to cover all aspects of our experience during the six years of the revolution. I hope, however, that I have gone over the salient features of this experience so that, you, and our whole people, are able to debate the issues briefly raised here. The point to remember is the continuity of the Revolution. Every success leads to a new one, every difficulty brings forth its own solution, every activity further ignites the creativity and skill of the people. The cumulative process is the victory of our people over underdevelopment and imperialism, and the building of a just, human and prosperous society.

«ADDENDUM»

Comrades, in our statement of the foreign policy, our main emphasis has been to focus attention on the salient principles followed by our Revolution during the last six years. We did not go into discussion and analysis of specific world issues. However, one cannot, on this occasion, keep silent on one specific crisis that is crucial to the future of Africa—and that is the Angolan crisis.

Comrades, a macabre scenario is being enacted before our eyes in Angola. Imperialism seems intent on not allowing that sister African country to obtain its rightful independence. Exploiting the differences between the movements, imperialism wants to repeat the Congo tragedy that happened fifteen years ago. We are confident that the Angolan people steeled in fifteen years of revolutionary struggle and warfare, will foil this imperialist attempt. At the same time independent Africa must take a principled stand in this issue. Nothing must be allowed to prevent the independence of that country. The Angolan people can solve their problems. Our slogan should be: «Hands-off of Angola».

South Africa, that ugly off-spring and pliant tool of imperialism, is now showing the typical double-face, characteristic of that infamous, inhuman system—imperialism. (time At the same) that, it is interfering by force in the Angolan

events, it is showing a smiling face to independence,

SPELLING OUT THE SOCIALIST COURSE

JAALLE SIAD'S HISTORIC SPEECH ON

27 JUNE, 1976

PRESIDENT SIAD ADDRESSES THE CONGRESS.

This is the report which President Mohamed Siad Barre, delivered at the founding congress of the Socialist Revolutionary Party on 27th, June, 1976.

Comrades,

This is an important day for the progressive Somali Nation. It is a day that would have an important place in the history of mankind and the history of the Somali Nation. It is a day that would complete the historical transformation of Somali Society. It is a day which would put down the foundation for the goals which the Somali Nation aspires to achieve through Scientific Socialism which is the torch that shall light the way for the Somali Society to reach its goal.

We have gathered here, as the representatives of the Somali workers and the general public, to map out the future policies of the Somali Nation and to lay down the foundation for a political party. This Congress has been brought about the many conditions prevailing in the world and in our country.

THE WORLD TODAY

In this last quarter of the twentieth century one can see plainly the triumph of Socialism and the doom of Capitalism Socialist organisation are coming into existence all over the world and the workers in the capitalist countries are gaining the upper hand. Colonialism is in its death throes, and the progressive forces in the world are achieving victory.

The independence movement in Africa, Asia and Latin America have embarked on a new struggle of colonialism and its effects and to wipe out the last vestiges. After political independence for it has been necessary to struggle for economic independence for it has been seen through experience that independence is never complete without economic independence for the public to own the means of production and its distribution, for only then can be laid down economic planning capable of bringing about changes in the Society to improve the life of the people. Economic planning can wipe out the adverse legacy of colonialism and its illeffects.

History has proven that capitalism is incapable of solving the problem in the developing countries for capitalism puts the wealth of a nation in few hands. In order to hamstring the economy of the countries, international imperialism has taken on a new shape. It has emerged in this new form at a time it is tottering on its last leg. In its new form imperialism employs political, economic and social factors. It uses internal reactionaries and capitalist brokers whose interrests are tied to the continuation of colonialism.

The machination of local reactionaries can be foiled by national unity, and a democratic vanguard in which all the progressive forces in the society can participate. The forces are workers, farmers, the armed forces, revolutionay intelc-

tuals, and the progressive small businessmen. These forces can achieve victory if they form a political organisation led by progressive people with a revolutionary outlook. The progressive developing countries enjoy the support of the advanced socialist countries which had a great share in the independence of the youth nations in the world. The principle of co-existence strengthens the revolutionary movements in the world, and helps the developing countries to devote all their energies and resources to economic advancement of their economy, and would at the same time limit imperialist aggression.

PARTITION OF SOMALIA

Somalia is in the ranks of the nations that had been colonized by imperialism, Before the advent of colonialism. Somalia was an independent country that used to have commercial dealings with many countries of Africa, Arabia and Asia. In 1884, at the time of the division of Africa at the Berlin Conference, Somalia was divided and colonized into several parts. Can any body say any division of Somalia was haphazard and there was no malicious intent colonial behinds ? The answer is no, Somalia is no larger or wealthier than the other countries of Africa, but its partition was based on political, religious, and strategic colonial interests.

INDEPENDENCE STRUGGLE

The Somali hero Ahmed «Gurey» (the left-handed) had cemented the unity of the country, the portuguese then invaded the country, in order to demolish the young government Ahmed had formed. The Somalis had struggled against colonialism at various times, but the first organised independence movement was in the early part of 20th century by Sayid Mohamed Abdulla Hassan. This great movement was part of the African independence movements.

Although the independence movement led by Mohamed Abdulla Hassan was defeated by colonialism after twenty one years' continual war the spirit it fixed has remained for ever ever alight.

The next independence movement was vanguarded by the Somali Youth League (SYL) in 1943. That political Party had organized the struggle of the people for independence. The Party itself was created by the Youth of the nation and progressive businessmen. The political programme which the Party brought out in 1946 had illuminated the way to independence and unity for the people.

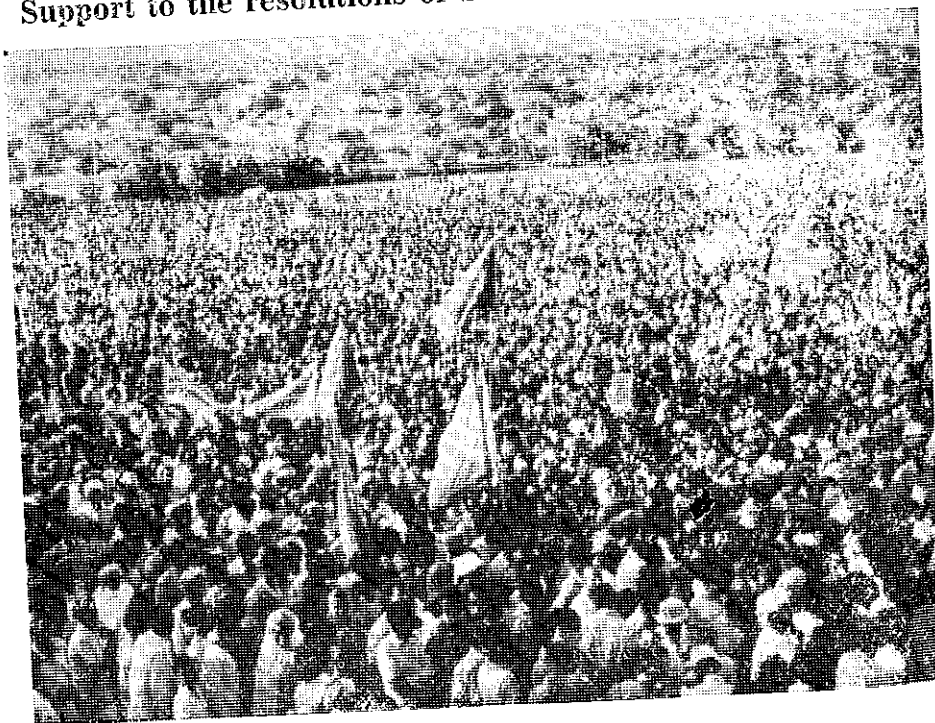
The fundamentals of the programme were to create unity, the fight against tribalism, the writing of the Somali language, the improvement of the economy of the country and the creation of political consciousness among the masses.

The Party opened branches in all parts of the country gaining power and popularity for itself, for the nation had seen in the programme of the Party the reflection of their aspirations and hopes for freedom. The Party united the force against colonialism and directed their actions. There were too many confrontations with colonialism, and they cannot be all enumerated here. At the time (SYL) was fighting for independence in the Southern Region of the country, other political parties were fighting against British colonialism in the Northern Region.

The (SYL) had links with movements for independence in Africa, Arabia and progressive organisation in Europe. The colonialists tried to stop the movement for independence, using tribalism, as a weapon. They created reactionary tribal oriented parties to be a wedge against Somali unity



Jaalle Siad addressing masses demonstrating their support to the resolutions of SRSP



As a result the progressive force had many confrontations with colonialism and its lackeys. Among those that come first to mind included «Dagahtour» (Stone-thrower) battle in which many Somali heroes and herones lost their lives.

When the country won its independence after a long, hard struggle, colonialism came back through the rear-window and had managed to adulterate the progressive principles that served well as the guidance of those who led the independence movement. The Somali people should remember the heroes who had lost their lives for independence. We should also keep in mind that it is the duty of every nation to struggle for its economic independence for without that, the freedom of that nation can not be complete. Only economic independence can save a nation from becoming a satellite of a imperialism and the capitalist system.

The destiny of a nation and its prospects for economic independence pivotes on the adoption of Socialism. The adoption of such system is in turn related to the conditions prevalent in the country and its leadership. Somalia is a living example of a country whose independence was damaged because the people who took the reins of power were capitalist at heart.

Thus capitalism was adopted as the economic and political system of the country, and to have links with international imperialism. The end results of that, was the great difficulties that befetted the birth of the Revolution.

The administrations that ruled the country after indipence divided from the interest of the nation and squandered the fruit of its hardwon independence. Instead of improving the lives of the people, as was expected, the then administrations in the country systematically destroyed the legal rights of the people. Instead of increasing the productional capacity

of the country, a systematic massive looting was carried out and the national coffers of the nation were used as personal property. Of course, this introduction of an era of corruption in which looting, killing, embezzlement of public funds, became the order of the day.

During, the more than, nine years of civilian administration in the country, not a single worth while project was started, Unemployment, disease, hunger and ignorance had become a common feature in Somali life. There was no peace or stability. Favouritism, nepotism and tribalism became a way of life. But the Somali workers and general public could not tolerate the continuation of such a state of affairs which capitalism and imperialism had imposed on them.

The Somali public had shown their dissent in many ways although they could not do much. The Soviet Union had started many development projects in Togwajale, Las-Korey and Berbera, but all those projects were crippled by imperialism which did not want those projects to succeed. The situation was going from bad to worse, and the people's disaffection increased daily.

Most of the best farming land in the country was in the hands of foreigners. The farmers were living in miserable conditions and the political awareness was low. At the same time there was no official in policy to end the exploitation of the farmers and agricultural workers.

Most of the farming was done at subsistence level. Thus the Agricultural workers fell victim to foreign farm owners and the bourgeoisie class in the country, They were mercilessly exploited. It used to happen that they were forced to sell their products at 20 Shillings per quintal at harvest time, but when they wanted to buy back their own products at winter time they had to pay six times of the original price.

These adverse conditions prevailing in the country so endangered the very existence of the nation that the armed forces, which had the support of the masses, staged a revolution on October, 21st 1969. That salient criteria, that compelled the armed forces to stage a revolution were:

1. The problem in the country had been affecting them because they were part of the public.
2. The armed forces had an enlightened, progressive leadership who mapped out the political and economical plan through which the nation could solve its problems.
3. The leadership of the armed forces had instituted a programme of orientation, and kept the armed forces away from the corruption which was going on the country.
4. It was the duty of the forces to protect the nation from both internal and external danger.
5. The Armed Force had strong ties with the public which always expected the forces to translate their aspirations into concrete realities. That is what the force did 21 October 1969.

BIRTH OF THE REVOLUTION.

The revolution had mapped out a new direction, different in all aspects from the ways of the corrupt administrations. As I said before, the very existence of the nation was on the verge of an abyss. The Revolution had inherited a national resembling house divided against itself, a national whose vital parts were in the hands of the enemies and a negligible economy whose arteries were constricted by imperialism; a nation whose social, political and economic future was geared to retrogression instead of progress. In order to change this situation, the constitution of a strong rule became inevitable.

It became necessary to adopt sound political and economic principles capable of translating the aspiration of the nation into concrete realities. The Revolution had put down its policies and programmes in the First Charter. The Second Charter had delineated the principles of Scientific Socialism which the nation had adopted.

The truth is that no sound principles or policies can succeed in bringing about the desired without the guidance of dedicated people to execute them. So it was sure that the members of the Revolutionary Council (SRC) came from workers, farmers and nomadic families. The background of the member of the Armed Forces was the desired one, and that was why they came to the help of their nation when its existence was in danger. The political awareness of the Armed Forces was very high although they shared with their nation all the existing problems and that was clear from the corruption which existed in the country.

The first thing the revolution did was to uproot the evils which the corrupted administration had allowed to spawn in the country. It eradicated the killing and highway robbery which was going on in the country; it had received the hopes of the Somali nation. It effected political, social, health, educational, justice and defence changes whose sole aim was to safeguard the interest of the public in the Regions, Districts, Villages and the countryside. In order to create speedy economic progress, it had started the self-help programme.

The benefit derived from these programmes, which helped revive the hope of the people in the whole country, needs no elaboration. These programmes helped the people regain their self-reliance. They also taught the nation to fight against natural disaster, and how to defeat the machination of their enemies both internal and external. These programmes also taught the Somalis that they are the ones who should ex-

pand the productivity of their economy and that they are the ones who should take part in the rule of the country. Before the birth of the Revolution, the administration of the whole country was concentrated in the capital. To rectify this mistake the Revolution has delegated Administrative power to the Regional and District authorities. The Regions are now engaged in a healthy competition to reach self-sufficiency, and are becoming living entities instead of being a dead weight as the case had been before the Revolution.

In order to weigh the achievements which the Revolution have made, let us examine what had been accomplished in the political, economical, social, cultural and other fields.

TASK OF SRC POLITICAL OFFICE:

It is veritable truth that no movement can succeed without the full support of the public. The political movement for independence succeeded because it had the full support of the public. I believe the Revolution could not have succeeded without the support of the masses.

The Revolution had dissolved the Parliament, Political parties and other organisation, and abrogated the Constitution. Those Organisations were not there to safeguard the interests of the public and there was no reason for the continuation of their existence. The prevailing conditions in the country, and especially the low political consciousness of the majority of the people which participated in the corruption of the previous era, had compelled the Revolution elements in the country. and to train cadres who believed whole heartedly in principles of the Revolution.

The necessity for a systematic organisation of the progressive elements in the country had brought about the establishment of the public Relation Office. At the same time the thoughts of the progressive Revolutionary elements in the society were

organised. The Office had been given the task of disseminating the resolutions and decisions of the SRC and bringing to the knowledge of the public what the Council wanted to be done. The Office also mobilized the public for the execution of the programmes and campaigns which were mounted to solve the various problems for which solution had to be found.

Committees were formed in every Government institution and cooperative to orient the people to the right path. The purpose of the orientation programmes were to make the people understand the aims of the Revolution and to make them realize that the key to success was dedication, hard work and the determination to succeed in reaching the goals which the Society wanted to reach.

Part of the task of the Office was to go through the foreign papers, magazines, films and so forth to make sure that the people were not misled by reactionary ideas. Although the majority of the people called for a new era at the birth of the Revolution, it was a fact that those who used to exploit the public for their selfish ends had openly opposed the Revolution.

The internal reactionary elements and the external imperialist forces have waged a war on the Revolution. The main objective of these forces was to prevent the success of Scientific Socialism in the country and to prevent Somalia from making any progress. However, the Revolutionary forces made sure to foil the intrigues of the reactionary forces and the machinations of imperialism.

The Revolution had succeeded in establishing Socialism in the country, and this success goes to the Revolutionary progressive forces in the country, who are ready to protect the Revolution from its internal and external enemies.

In 1972 the P.R.O. became the political Office of the SRC, and at this time public was given full participation in the de-

cision making process of the Government. Various Committees composed of the public, the workers, farmers and formation of these Committees was to make possible for the public to share in the decision-making of the nation.

The public has reached a political maturity which can make possible the execution of vitally important policies. To give you an example, the 14 Districts of the capital consists, each, has a District Revolutionary Council, Social Committees, Workers Central Committees and many others. The Social Organisation goes down to the family Unity. These Committees all participate in the affairs of the nation at various levels, although they still need to gain more experiences. At the same time the Cooperatives, technical groups and similar ones have their own Committees.

The Orientation Centres had taken a lion's share in the propagation of social laws, and matters related to the social affairs of the people, such as the family Law, sports, peace-keeping, the spreading of education, and the mobilization of the public for development projects. One major project in which the Revolution had completed and succeeded was the establishment of the farming and fishing Cooperatives Communities which had been formed out of the drought victims. This great experience in which the Revolution had won victories would be the basis for the settlement of the nomads.

The Somali mass media had also taken a great part in the Orientation of the masses for the papers and Radio had spread education and the aims of the Revolution.

Today there is in the country the Institute for political studies and the advancement of the principles of the Revolution, many cadres get political training in this Institute, and this programme would be of great benefit to the nation, the establishment of a political basis for the Society was very essential.

Now there exist in every institution a workers committee which is linked directly to the Political Office of the presidency of the SRC. This made possible to prepare the workers for exerting their capabilities to increase production. This programme has successes and that is how the nation had been able to tackle the great natural disasters which hit the nation, such as drought, disease and cyclones. We might not have been able to succeed in handling these problems if the workers, the public, the farmers, the youth and the women did not rise up in concert. These forces are in the vanguard of the Revolution.

This proves the nation has succeeded in finding solutions for whatever crisis it encountered.

There is no doubt the historical responsibility of the Revolution cannot be carried out without the progressive vanguard in the society. The protection of what the nation is struggling for, is the duty of every patriot, to gain full independence equality and prosperity.

We can confidently say today political maturity and consciousness of the progressive vanguard has reached a very high level compared to what it had been at the time of the birth of the Revolution. The Somali Nation would not turn back because the Somali people have seen the great achievements the country has made since the birth of the Revolution. They also knew the evils of capitalism, and the hardships under which the nation which adopted it is suffering.

At the same time people realize the great benefits they derive from their association with the Socialist countries and the progressive forces in the country. We had sent cadres for training to Socialist Countries, especially the Soviet Union, the German Democratic Republic and Cuba. Our workers, youth and women organisations have friendly ties with all the progressive associations in the world.

The Revolution had raised the political consciousness of the masses so that they be able to weigh the achievement the country has made. There are tangible evidence for the growth of the political conscience of the masses. This has emerged in the continual conferences, and especially The First National Conferences, the Conference of the Somali Intellectuals, the Youth and the women. The resolution which these Conference passed had shown the political maturity of the people. At the same time it became evident that democratic participation in decision-making is the basis for the success of concerned action. This is the key to overcoming problems, and gaining full independence, equality and prosperity.

VARIOUS STAGES OF DEVELOPMENT.

The human society went through different stages of economic development. The advent of capitalism and the coming into existence of a bourgeois class had changed the economic set-up of the world. Industries came into existence the instrument of prevalent system of feudalism was replaced, and a capitalist class and a proletariat class emerged.

The emergence of the proletariat class was the harbinger of the eventual destruction of exploitation and the realization of justice, equality and socialist human progress.

The peak of capitalism came when monopolies were organized, and capitalist force spread its wings to build for itself colonial empires. The capitalist powers in the world mounted invasions on Africa, Asia, and Latin America. They had colonized, oppressed and exploited the people in these continents. Meanwhile they robbed the natural resources in these continents in order to develop their own economies: Western capitalism tried also to keep the economies of these continents at a backward stage.

These developments in the world economy had directly effected and awakened the proletariat in the world so that it was imperative to wipe out exploitation and imperialism. Workers Unions came into existence to protect the interests of the working classes. The political awareness of the working people had caused repercussions. The working people in Europe rose up against capitalism at the end of the 19th century, while the people of Asia, Africa and Latin America also started struggle against colonialism at about the same time. The result of this long struggle was the birth of the socialist Revolution in the Soviet Union in 1917, and in China in 1948.

Other struggles against capitalism and colonialism were the socialist revolution in Korea, Cuba, Vietnam and many others. A new transitional period was ushered in and the last sunset of imperialism came. The colonized peoples in the world took heart and fought gallantly to regain their lost freedom, and imperialism entrenched its last ditch of economic warfare.

The birth of the socialist communities in the world coincided with economic upheavals in the imperialist world, and end of colonialism had dawned. Many nations who won their independence joined the ranks of the progressive forces against capitalism and colonialism.

The colonialists had never effected any economic progress in the countries they occupied. At the same time capitalist imperialists used to exploit the natural resources of the countries they occupied in order to strengthen the economy of their own countries. They turned the colonized countries into ready markets for the industrial products of their countries. Colonialism had always tried to prevent the people in the developing countries from getting the know-how for the running of their countries. Thus colonialism discour-

aged the people in the occupied countries to have high-level education and technology.

After the defied of colonialism, international imperialism initiated new methods of perpetuating its interests in the developing countries. The aims of the new imperialist policies were manifold. Imperialism wanted to establish capitalism in the developing countries: it wanted to tie the economies of the young countries to capitalistic monopolies; it wanted to perpetuate economic relations which benefited only imperialism, it wanted to damage, in anyway it could, any socialist community which came into existence.

What are the means by which imperialism executes its policies? It puts the rule of the developing countries in the hands of reactionary lackey forces which serve the interests of capitalism; it divides the developing countries against themselves by putting some of them in the economic and defence organizations of capitalist nations; creates in the developing countries groups which serve the interests of capitalism. These capitalistic machination help to retard the rate of progress in the developing countries.

A good example of a nation which had fallen a prey to imperialist machinations was Somalia, because imperialism perpetuated its interests in the country before the birth of Revolution. There is no doubt, that, colonialism had kept Somalis backward.

It had not stated any development projects in the country, and at the same time it had exploited the resources of the country. After independence Somalia fell prey to neo-colonialism.

During the nine years after independence of civilian administration only four development projects had been successfully completed.

1. The construction of the Berbera port.
2. The Kismayo meat factory.
3. The Fish Factory at Las Korey.
4. The Milk Factory in Mogadishu.

These projects were built with aid from Soviet Union.

The Somali workers had waged a bitter struggle against the post reactionary administration and neo-colonialism. This struggle was crowned with success at the birth of the 21st October Revolution in 1969. The Revolution had rightly interpreted the aspirations of the masses, and had worked out the correct plans to translate the people's aspirations into realities. These plans were solutions to the conditions in the country, and their guiding principles were scientific socialism.

The pillars of socialism are: the eradication of the last vestiges of neo-colonialism, the creation of an independent economy which does not have constraining links with international monopolies, the production of industries, the nationalization of the means of production and distribution and encouragement of the local wealth in private hands to participate in the economic construction of the country.

In order to execute these policies, a cadre whole heartedly believing in the principles of the Revolution had to be prepared so that they could translate these objectives into realities.

The foundation of socialist principles is the desire to improve the living conditions of the people, the creation of an economy capable of ending exploitation and constituted to fight against imperialism. That was the reason why the October Revolution had taken the following steps:

- The nationalisation of the main arteries, of the national economy such as the industries, Banks, insurance uplift the standard of living of the masses, to create companies, and similar institutions.
- The initiation of food-production projects aimed to uplift the standard of living of the masses, to create self-sufficiency in food to do away with the dependence on outside countries for food, and to create employment for the people.
- The re-planning of the budget to end the chronic deficits in the balance of payments and boost the country's monetary's reserves.
- The organization, overhauling and improving the administrative machinery of the country.
- Stopping speculations and exploitation of the commercial forces which were cheating the masses.

In order to carry out these programmes it became a necessity to plan in a scientific manner. The revolution had made two economic plans that 1971-73 which was in experimental undertaking to some extent, and the one 1974-78. Great achievements have been made through these plans even though the country had met with unforeseeable difficulties which had lessened the expected plan targets. Some of these difficulties were the cyclones and the long drought which wiped out the livelihood of more than one and quarter million people and damaged properties whose total value was estimated at four billion Shillings.

ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE REVOLUTION.

Balancing of the budget: Before the Revolution the budget of the country had been always in deficit and this deficit used to be covered by expected aid from outside. Sound planning and the establishment of a better revenue collection

had removed the chronic deficit situation by 1971. Today the National income exceeds the expenditures as is shown below.

	1969	1970	1971	1972	1973	1974	1975	1976
Income	272.3	288.8	336.7	406.0	445.1	565.6	635.6	806.2
Expendi,	285.9	305.6	298.2	362.7	374.8	531.2	597.3	685.3
Balance	-13.6	-16.8	+38.5	÷53.3	÷71.6	+33.9	+38.3	÷120.9

In can be seen from these figures that ordinary revenue increased three fold between 1969 and 1976. With exception of 1974 and 1976 which coincided with severe drought situation, the growth rate of the national income was good.

LIVESTOCK:

Although livestock had been the backbone of our economy, no development projects were initiated in the field before the revolution. At the birth of the revolution that Ministry of Livestock Forestry Range and was given the task of undertaking livestock development projects. The 1971-73 development programme put heavy emphasis on putting sound foundation for this vital area of our economy.

The emphasis was put in the first year on the improvement of the health of the livestock products, forestation, try, working out plans for marketing livestock and livestock products, forestation and fighting against soil erosion. The expenditures on livestock projects skyrocketed in 1973 when it was decided that veterinary medicines be giving free of charge to the livestock owners. This decision had boosted expenditures on the livestock by 100%. The permanent staff of the Ministry in 1969 was 922 persons and today reach 2750 persons, excluding the temporary staff.

The 5-years plan of 1974-78 gives proirity to livestock projects on increasing productivity, afforestation and stoppage of soil erosion which have had disastrous effects on some parts of the country.

The projects of increasing productivity is divided into production and the spreading of modern technology. For the First time in the history of Somalia, projects making use of animal by products have been started in the country. The budget for livestock projects has reached 290 million So. Shillings.

The investment made in livestock projects increased 300%. In 1969 only eight million shillings were being invested in livestock projects. In 1975 this investment was 22.9 Somali Shillings. In the development programme of 1971-1973, fifty-one million shillings were earmarked for livestock. In the current Economic plan (1974-78), 238 million shillings had been set aside for livestock projects.

AGRICULTURE

The criteria of agricultural development are:

1. Self-sufficiency in food.
2. To make maximum use of the farmland in the country,
3. The production of the raw materials that can be used in industries,
4. To increase exports.
5. To make sure that agricultural products are distributed fairly and speedily among the masses.

To execute these policies, the Revolution had invested 1,36-1.5 Million Shinllings in agricultural projects. Some of the pro-

jects have been already completed, and others will be completed soon. In the first economic plan (1971-73) 28 million Shillings had been earmarked and invested in agricultural projects and 1200 million shillings earmarked for agricultural projects only in the 1974-78 economic plan. This investment was made in farming equipment and machinery, irrigation projects, farms and so forth. The investment made in creating a means of livelihood for the drought victims further increased the share of national income spent on agriculture and related fields. The first part of the resettlement had cost 212 million Shillings.

FISHERIES:

The Revolution had created a Ministry for Fisheries and Sea Transport in order to highlight the importance of Somalia's Sea resources. Although only three years had elapsed since the establishment of this Ministry, great achievements have already been made in this area and sizeable investment have been made in fishery projects, ships and related areas. The improvements in port facilities, Sea transport and the industrialization of Sea products all pinpoint the importance which the Revolution has been giving to our maritime resources.

Fishing co-operatives have been established and were helped in getting motorized fishing equipments. At the same time thousands of people have been trained in modern fishing techniques. The co-operatives were provided with gaint refrigerators where fishermen can store their catch. The establishment and the assistance given to fishing co-operatives cost the nation 15.2 million Shillings.

The fishing cooperatives were given maintenance and repair facilities. The fishing co-operatives in Brava, Adale, and Eil are already flourishing. 210 million shillings have been earmarked for further development of these projects.

INDUSTRIES:

Industrialization is the basis for economic advancement, and the Revolution had taken many steps in the Industrial field. The factories, formerly existing in the country were thirteen build with aid from four Governments. Most of them were too small to give and have any meaningful significance in terms of production.

These small industrial were so crippled that one could say they existed in name only. The fact that the Revolution has spent 235 million shillings on the revitalization of these factories is an ample proof.

Since the birth of the Revolution 39 factories had been established. 24 of them have already been completed and 15 of them are under construction. The investment made in the factories which have been already completed in was 224 million Shillings, and another 1,072 millions shall have been spent on the completion of these under construction.

It is worth noting that the investment made in the revitalization of the factories existing before the Revolution (235 millions) was equal to the investment made in establishing 24 new factories. This shows the old factories were little more than scrap.

The sizeable investment which is being made in the construction of new factories shows that the Revolution wants to really engage in worth-while industrial projects and not edificies that are on more than a showpiece. The total investment made in industrialization is 1.538 million shillings. This shows that the revolution had gone for the establishment of heavy industries.

However, so far most of the factories established in the country are tied to the processing of livestock and agricultural products.

TRANSPORTATION AND COMMUNICATION:

Without an up-to-date Communication and infra-structure, there could be no meaningful economic growth in a country. Sea, land and air communication networks increase production, enhances the marketing of goods and the interaction of the various sectors of the economy. Realizing the importance of communication to the growth of the economy, the revolution had laid down a good communication system for the country.

The length of the asphalt road that had been completed is, 1,662 Kilometres. On top of this, the Gol-weyn — Jilib, Burco — Berbera, Hargeisa — Borama road will be completed in the not too distant future.

In addition to these communication networks linking districts and regions, a modern network of roads had been made for most of the urban centres in the country. Bridges have been built at Jalalaqsi, B/weyne and Hargeisa which cost 2.5 million Shillings. At the same time landing facilities for planes had been built in most of towns in the country, and the previous landing facilities had been expanded and repaired so that the country could have an outstanding internal air communication network. As well as modern communication facilities for external air traffic. More than 150 million shillings have been spent on air communication networks.

Serious attention was also given to Sea ports. Six ships can dock simultaneously in the harbour under construction in Mogadishu with repairing facilities. The investment made in boat factory under construction in Mogadishu, is 18,5 million Shillings, the investment made in telecommunication since the birth of the Revolution is 126 Shillings.

In air and Sea transport two important fields which have been neglected before the Revolution, 221 million shillings

have been invested, planes and ships had to be purchased if the country was to have modern Sea and air transport.

Generally, the investments made in sea and air transport and telecommunications amount to much of the overall investment the country has made in the various sectors of the economy.

Such great importance was given to these related sectors, which have greater significance than most people realize. The fact that international imperialism puts so much emphasis on crippling the communication of developing countries shows how important this is to the life of a nation.

ELECTRIFICATION:

Electrification is the life-line in any nation's economy. Despite the indisputable importance of this field only the scantiest attention was given to it before the revolution.

Without having sufficient fuel and electricity facilities no nation can hope to make an appreciable degree of economic progress. The degree of prosperity in any country has an inseparable link with the degree of sophistication with which the people of the country use the sources of energy at their disposal. The level of production in a country and the standard of living of its people is to a great extent a reflection of the uses that country makes of energy.

During colonialism; and the period immediately after independence when civilian administrations had practically handed the country over to neo-colonialism, the price tags of electricity and fuel were set so high that the country could not possibly afford to make much use either of them.

Of course, the expensiveness of electricity and fuel made the economic plans of the country a more mirage that could

only see it materialize. Even the small quantities of electricity and fuel at the disposal of the country before the revolution were criminally wasted because of the corruption and dishonesty that was rampant everywhere in the country. The veracity of this statement can be borne out by the statistical survey which the corrupt administrations themselves had made in 1960. The survey showed that 14 out of 29 electric generators in the country could not be used because they had been so neglected that they could not have the capacity to meet the country.

The power plant in the capital of the nation (Mogadishu) was in private hands. Worse still. It did not have the capacity of meeting the demand of both the industrial units as well as the residential areas.

Naturally, the low capacity of the Mogadishu power plant precluded the construction of big factories which can depend in this plant for electricity. Even the small industrial units which existed in the country were forced to generators outside. Thus the high maintenance of electric motors skyrocketed the production costs of these units, and this in turn pushed up the selling prices of these products.

This was the situation why the October Revolution had first nationalized the power plant in Mogadishu, as part of the nationalization programme. Of course, the plants capacity was too small and so antiquated as to be of much use. It had therefore to be rebuilt and expanded so that it could satisfy the electricity demand for industrial and residential development projects. The fact that the revolution had set aside 20 million shillings for the development of electricity power generation and the provision of fuel is an indication of the importance that had been given to this important sector of the national economy. Besides the following steps were taken:

1. The construction of new plants which can satisfy the electricity demands of Marka and Jowhar. These power plants had cost 140 million Shillings.

2. The initiation of the hydro-electric dam project at Juba, which shall have an electricity capacity of 5,000 Kilowatts by the time it is completed.
3. The inclusion in the 5 years plan as the construction of a refinery which would cost 175 Million Shillings.
4. Making illegal burning of trees for charcoal intended for exportation because the burning of trees was fast denuding some parts of the country.

In place of charcoal, the people in urban centres, towns and villages have been given the opportunity to make use of electricity.

WATER AND MINERAL RESOURCES.

Our country has geographical potentialities to be rich in mineral resources. World experts in Sea resources have said that the 3330 Kilometer Coastline around Somalis is rich which fishery and mineral resources of all kinds. Knowledgeable people in geology have concluded that the geographical nature of Somalia is such that it could not be anything but rich in mineral and water resources. Of course, development of mineral and water resources were neglected before the birth of the Revolution as the rest of the other sector of the economy.

The Ministry of Mining and Water Development was established only a year before the birth of the Revolution. The budget of the Ministry for 1969-70 was 2.82,500 Shillings. The Revolution had constantly increased the budget of the Ministry until its 1976 budget hit high point of 46,604,898 shillings. Apart from the importance of the mineral land water exploration which the Ministry carries out, its job has other side benefits such as the wealth of knowledge it accumulates on ecology, pasture, and the country's geographical set-up. This kind of knowledge is of tremendous knowledge to the society.

Geographical surveys have already pinpointed areas in the country which can contain mineral resources which would have great importance for the industrial and agricultural future development of the country.

The Revolution had given also great importance to the development and distribution of water. An Autonomous agency for this purpose. Hitherto 200 million shillings had been spent on water development, during this time. The Water Development Agency had dug up many wells, water ditches and dams where water can be conserved.

All the development projects in the second economic plan for electricity power, minerals and water resources would be completed in 1978.

COMMERCE.

Commerce is a two-edge sword which at times cripples the economy of a nation and at other times improves the economic conditions of a country.

Commerce damages the economy of a country when that country becomes the sources of raw material and cheap labour, and at the same a market for the products of industrialized countries. This is the economic condition of the developing countries which are tied hand and foot to neo-colonialism.

At another time, commerce improves the economy of a country. This becomes possible only when a nation had the keys of its economy in its internal economy, such as the industry, agriculture, communication and other pillars of a national economy.

External trade is the main source of hard currency, but before the Revolution this sector of Somalia's economy was in shambles. The greater bulk of imports consisted of commodities which could not have any beneficial effect on the economy

of the country. If the exports of a country does not exceed its imports, it can fall a prey to international commercial exploitation which bring in its wake neo-colonialism. Somalia's trade imbalance forced on it a chronic situation before the birth of the Revolution, and that state of affairs drove it to seek loans with which to cover the deficit.

The Revolution had given commerce the importance it deserves by boosting exports, searching markets for the country's products, and freeing the economy from the constructions of backwardness. At the same time, trade agreements had been made with socialist countries, and trade relations with our Arab brother have been strengthened. Our trade relations with the outside world had been based on terms of equality which has reciprocal advantage to both sides.

A clear policy was laid down for imports. This policy stipulated that only what is of necessary to economic development and the lives of the masses can be imported. The exports of the country has increased 132% during the period between 1969 and 1975.

As anyone might know the two parts of trade, exports and imports, are inter-dependent. But the exports of the nation have to exceed its imports if the nation has to have a favourable balance of trade. A favourable balance of trade is an index of the Soundness of a nation's economy.

To strengthen the export sector of the economy, the exportation of essential goods were put in the hands of the government. It became imperative to systematically market our commodities and to protect them, as much as we can from international market price fluctuations. Systematic market researches and the power to take steps against international market price fluctuation was beyond the scope of materials, and the Government had to step in and take the responsibility of marketing the main commodities, such as processed fish, li-

vestock and agricultural products so that the country can get the full value of what it produces.

The Government management of exports would not have much beneficial effects on national economy if it is not coupled with a similar management of imports. If a country does not manage imports its hard currency can be wasted on things that are neither necessary to its economic development nor people. At the same time markets can sprout up in a country, and inflict untold damages on the economy of a nation. Uncontrolled imported goods can play havoc with a nation's commercial activities. This kind of situation can make a nation's planning programme null and void. When there is an influx of imported goods, the local merchants usually try to get rich quick in the import trade field rather than invest their money in local industry and other development projects.

Al these conditions have made it imperative that the government should manage the import and export sectors of the national economy. The Revolution had established autonomous agencies five of which are engaged in the imports and distribution of the different goods which the country needs. Another four agencies are engaged in the export trade. In addition to these, there are factories which export their products directly. The foreign trade balance which used to be in deficit all the time, generated 312 millions and this income is expected to grow. The government has mounted a program of price controls on food value and other items essential to the lives of the people.

CREATION OF SOCIALIST SOCIETY:

The guiding political aim of the Revolution is to create a socialist society. To reach this objective it is necessary to wage war in tribalism, corruption and injustice. To have equal job opportunity is part of the citizen's right. When the ci-

tizens of a nation have equal chances to employment, then that nation can be said to have moved towards equality and social justice.

The Revolution had waged a fierce war on corruption, injustice, tribalism, favouritism nepotism and all the other evils which used to plague the nation. Merely out-lawing these evils would not make them disappear. The conditions which fed these evils had to be removed. Unemployment can be said to have been one of the root causes of these evils. So the Revolution had embarked upon a gigantic program of creating employment for the people of the country. During the period between 1969—1975 more than 140,000 persons had gained employment, excluding many people who hold temporary jobs.

ADMINISTRATION:

The administrative machinery is the prime-mover which puts policies into action by executing them correctly and efficiently. As anyone might know, there was no much difference between the civilian pre-revolutionary administrations and the colonial administrations which they replaced. Even the semblance of administrative machinery which came into being in 1960, at the time of independence, used several foreign languages which added to the confusion of the chaotic political situation. The in-justice, tribalism, favouritism and nepotism which came to flourish in the country after the independence made the Somali people lose confidence and trust in their government.

The uprooting of the administrative machinery existed in the country was one of the major tasks that faced the Revolution. Without complete change of the former administrative machinery nothing or little could have been accomplished. The changing of the administrative machinery contributed to the economic achievements the country has made since the birth of the Revolution.

The changes made in the past administrative machinery were couped with complete transformation of the political consciousness of the masses. The proliferation of the public institutions and the expansion of their scope of activities had made it inevitable to train cadres with administrative and expertise in call professions. Thus a series of training programmes were initiated for the different professions.

The establishment of the National University and the expansion of its faculties aimed at producing the knowledge able people the country needed. The expansion of the government's activities brought about a similar expansion in its Ministries which increased from eleven in 1969 to nineteen by 1975.

Similarly, the regions and districts had increased so that they might serve the public more efficiently and speedily. Number of regions was increased from eight in 1969 to sixteen 1975. The districts increased from 48 in 1969 to 71 by 1975.

EDUCATION:

As we all know the Revolution had come into existence to lead a society which had been in a backward state and darkness for a long time in respect to the education and politics.

It was a society which had tasted bitterness of the oppression of colonialism and the disillusionment of corrupt civilian governments. It then became the responsibility of the Revolution to break the chains in which the Somali society was bound, and liberate the minds of the people from the cobwebs that the twin spiders of colonialism and corruption and had been spinning in their brains. It follows then that the past archaic educational system had to be changed.

The Revolution had put emphasis on both primary and higher education with the aim of tailoring the educational

system to the principles of the Revolution. The investment that had been made in Elementary, Intermediate and Secondary schools as well as colleges in ample proof of the importance that the government gives to education. In the 1971-73 development programme, the emphasis, as regards education, was put on the expansion of educational facilities in both urban centres and rural areas.

The following statistic shows the degree of educational expansion which had taken place between 1969 and 1976.

	1969	1976	Increase
Primary schools	231	844	265%
Secondary Schools	26	39	50%
Classrooms	1432	5368	275%
Teachers	1873	6824	264%
Students	55.023	226,563	331%

The numerous classrooms which were built through self-help schemes are not included in this statistic, 2,777. classrooms were built through self-help Schemes, which pushed up the percentages of increase to 46.99. The budget of education had been increasing in proportion to the expansion of education. At least 25% increase was made in education allocations. On the whole 140 million shillings has been invested in education.

A statistical picture of these investments would clarify the gradual expansion in the budget for education.

Figures in million Shillings.

	1971/72	1973	1974	1975	1975
Ordinary budget	26.3	38.7	51.7	78.3	97.9
Development	6.3	22.8	29.1	15.0	26.8

It is worth while to recall the series of campaigns, such as the rural Development Campaign. The purpose of this campaign was not confined to the eradication of illiteracy but it had the other laudable objectives of improving the health of the rural population as well as taking census of the people and livestock population in the country.

The enthusiasm with which the Somali people had participated in this campaign, and other important ones, had shown that the Somali society wanted to reach prosperity within the shortest possible time.

The eradication of illiteracy had made possible the initiation of economic schemes in places that they may not have succeeded before and many other achievements have been made as a result of the admirable political consciousness of the new society. The eradication of illiteracy had also brought about the extra benefits of the people's participation in the rule and the consolidation of the unity of the people.

CULTURE AND HIGHER EDUCATION:

The Somali national Theatre had been strengthened, and the Somali national Music as well.

There is no doubt that great changes have taken place since the birth of the Revolution in the fields of culture and higher education. It is the policy of the Revolution to preserve and refine the culture of the Somali nation and to give it a socialistic direction. To carry out this policy, the government had established the appropriate institution, such as the Somali University and the cultural Academy. The Somali National theatre had been given special attention in order to render it more refined and sophisticated, without losing its national characteristics. The construction of a national library is in plan.

NATIONAL UNIVERSITY:

The Somali National university is now composed of nine faculties law, Economics, Education, Agriculture, Chemistry, Engineering, Veterinary, health, and Geology.

The budget of the university for 1976 is 14.366.000 Shillings.

HEALTH:

Before the birth of the Revolution health facilities were confined to the big urban centers of the country, and even the facilities available in the cities were in a hopeless situation. The scanty facilities available at the big cities, like Mogadisho and Hargeisa, were available only to a small bourgeois group, and no attention or care was given to the general public.

The Revolution had done all within its power to provide the public with health facilities at wherever they are, the cities, towns, villages and the rural areas. The provision of health had to be done equitably. The major achievements in the fields of health were programs on disease prevention, health personnel training, public health, education, and free medical treatment.

The budget of the ministry of health in 1969 was 23.803, 189 Shillings, and it climbed up to 40, 738, 070 Shillings in 1976. The increase in this budget allocation was 71%.

The people have had problems in the availability of essential medicines, but the Revolution had solved this problem by opening pharmacies everywhere and creating cooperatives that get sufficient supplies of medicine from a government agency that imports medicines. In addition to all this, the public were vaccinated against communicable disease such TB, smallpox, Etc.

A special programme was initiated for vaccination of children against diseases that could cripple them for life, such as polio.

The Revolution had tried its best to put into the field as much Somali doctors as it could. In 1969 there were only 59 practicing Somali doctors. In 1975 this number climbed up to 140 doctors who all had university education.

For the nine years after independence the number of the Somalis who finished medical schools were 140, and those who finished medical schools during the Revolution era were 441.

JUSTICE AND PEACE:

The Laws are expressions of the political and economic system of a nation. Every economic system has its own immutable laws. In the capitalist world those who own the means of production make the law in such a way that the workers do not have the ghost of a chance to get the full value of work they do. The end result of this tempering with justice is the exploitation of the working class, the farmers and the professional people. Consequently, the people who actually produce the wealth in capitalistic countries end up on holding the short end of the stick. It follows then that there is always injustice in the capitalist countries.

The same kind of conditions used to exist in Somalia before the birth of the Revolution.

Those laws have been based on the principles of the scientific socialism, and while they were being formulated the conditions prevalent in the country, have been taken into consideration. These Laws have been made in a way that can protect the unity of the nation, bring about peace through the country, and safeguard the security of the country and its people.

At the same time, some laws which had been a stumbling block to the society have been abrogated. The laws on security, against tribalism, and wanton killing have served the

the Somali society quite well. Some of the other laws which served the society in a tangible manner are the labour laws to protect the interests of the workers, the social laws such as the Family code the various civil laws and the ones allowing the public to participate in the administration of justice.

In addition, a judicial committee has been created in every government institution. These committees have been given the power to adjudicate on petty offences which might be committed by civil servants.

RELIGION:

Before the birth of the Revolution, religion was used as an instrument to further personnel interest. Perhaps giving some examples is in order; Mosques were the properties and places of worship for tribal groups. Quranic schools were useless, had neither seats nor educational equipment. There were churches in which people were Christianised, and which were run by foreigners. Religion was used as a profession from which to derive personal benefits, contrary to the teachings of Islam.

Since the birth of the Revolution, steps have been taken to restore religion to its rightful place in the lives of the Somalis. some of the steps which were taken are:

1. Buildings have been given to these schools:
2. Students in these schools are taught other subjects in addition to the Koran.
3. The Islamic Shariatic courts have been strengthened in every way possible.

THE CUSTODIAL GUARDS:

The Custodial Guards which were no more than institutions of incarceration before the Revolution, now play an im-

portant role in the construction of the country. The custodial guard forces now participate in the economic construction of the country. They participate in industrialization and agricultural development projects. Beside, the custodial guards are a part of the armed forces and can participate in the defence of the country.

This force has done an invaluable service for the country by establishing youth centres throughout most of the regions. In these centres youngsters are given proper education in the important professions, and there is no doubt that these youngsters would serve the society in the future.

SPORTS:

As the proverb says «a health mind is in a healthy body.» Apart from making possible to have healthy bodies, it has many other benefits for the human beings. It is also a source of entertainment and a good past time.

Sport teaches those who participate in it an acute sense of teamwork for if a member of a team does not play his part, the whole team suffers.

Sports also make people intermingle intimately and to know one another better. In other words it gives the individual the change to do a great deal of character study.

In view of the great importance of sports, the Revolution had organized it in a way it can give the society maximum benefits. Before the Revolution sports was so disorganized that it was neither possible to organize any significant sport events in the country, nor to have trained sportsmen and women to participate in international games. To rectify this situation, the Revolution had taken important steps in improving sports, some of which are:

1. The establishment of the Ministry of Labour and Sports:
 2. The organization of inter-regional sports competition:
 3. The importation of sports equipments and fixing prices for them:
 4. The training of sports-men and women who can participate in future Olympic games.
 5. The construction of sports fields and stadiums throughout the country.
- These steps made possible the following achievements:
 - Public realization of the importance of sports.
 - Making possible for Somalia to enter into sports competitions with other countries, and to win some victories.
 - The holding of big sports tournaments, which fired the enthusiasm of the public in the country.
 - The construction of sports stadiums, like the one in Mogodishu, which is of international standard.
 - The winning of recognition for a progressive level of sportsmanship in Africa, the Arab countries and other places.

LABOUR:

The criterion for employment before the Revolution was not what the person knew but whom he knew. As a result some illiterates used to get employed for posts which required a person with universal education. This madness triggered a repercussion of direct consequence in the society.

Education, knowledge, skill and professional expertise all lost meaning to those who had it as well as the public. When some office boys and girls had managed to get salaries far

about the salaries of university graduates, the youth of the nation gave up education as a hopeless case. The government personnel could not have confidence and trust in their jobs and country. They sloughed of their dignity like the useless skin of a snake, and began to know to the powers that were in order to get jobs from which they could make a decent living. Lies, political chicanery, intrigues and all kinds of indecencies had become a way of life which many people become proud of instead of being ashamed of them.

The causes which threw up these aberrations were:-

- Backward economy;
- High rate of unemployment.
- The political set-up in the country that was not geared towards protecting the interests of the general public.
- Tribalism, favouritism, nepotism and regionalism rea-

ched an all time high summit.

To wipe out this situation which made the people's lives dismal, the revolution had taken the following steps.

To give employment to the graduates, who were roaming about the capital in their hundreds like animals and with despondency.

To give either employment or a chance to go university whichever they preferred to Secondary School leavers.

To give employment to all technicians with primary education, through competitive examinations supervised by representatives of seven to eight organizations.

To propagate laws designed to protect the rights of the Somali workers, no matter what their categories or professions are.

To register unemployed people seeking jobs so that they could be notified when vacant posts became available.

To let the district authorities in the big urban centers to select for minor jobs the people in their respective area who have neither education nor professional skill.

To create employment through heavy investments in industrial and agricultural projects.

To organize series of training programmes in order to improve knowledge and skill, and train those who do not have either.

To create a committee, composed of members of the Supreme Revolutionary Council (SRC), to whom any worker who felt unjustly treated can bring his case.

To create an inspection committee to investigate any injustice that might be going on anywhere in the field of labour.

Although complete social justice has not yet been achieved great achievements have been made in this direction since the birth of the Revolution.

FOREIGN POLICY:

The leadership of the Revolution had embarked upon a foreign policy whose pillars were alliance with the progressive forces in the world and a total struggle against neo-colonialism and imperialism. This policy had been pursued because it was in the interest of the Somali nation.

The Somali Democratic Republic had contributed towards the successes made by the progressive forces in Africa, Asia and Latin America.

SOMALIA AND AFRIKA:

Since the birth of the Revolution Somalia had taken a great share in finding solutions for matters that faced Africa. Somalia contributed generously in every way it could to the struggle against colonialism and racism in Africa, to evils which international imperialism is trying to perpetuate in Africa.

In order to spike the wheels of imperialism Somalia had extended assistance in every possible way to the African liberation movements. The Somali nation had won the respect of the progressive forces in the world and Africa for its progressive stands on important international issues.

The Revolution had taken a lion's share in bringing about understanding and unity among the African nations. Many African conferences which had been held in the capital of Somalia, such as the East and Central African States conference the conference which liberation movements held here, and the 1974 African Summit Conference, had passed historical resolutions like the Declaration of Mogadishu.

For the period that Somalia had held the chairmanship of the Organization of African Unity (OAU), it had shown hard work and a great sense of responsibility. The chairman had paid a visit to most African countries, and this had contributed greatly to the exchange of ideas and better understanding among the leaders of Africa. Many delegations had paid visit to Somalia and these visits had further strengthened Somalia's already strong ties with the rest of Africa. The successful mediation it made between Tanzania and Uganda and Upper Volta and Mali was a great honour for Somalia.

SOMALIA AND ARAB WORLD:

The Arab world had faced the aggression of Zionism which was underpinned by international imperialism. The Palesti-

nians had won recognition and support for their cause from all the nationalist force in the Arab world. The Arab Nations can defeat the aggression zionism and its twin brother, imperialism, through unity and brotherly co-operation among the Arab brothers.

The Revolution had tried its best to help remove the barriers which neo-colonialism and imperialism was trying to erect among the Arab brothers. Somalia had joined the Arab League because the Somali Government, the Somali public, the Arab nations and progressive forces in the world all in one appreciated the appropriations of Somalia in joining the Arab league.

After it joined the Arab League, Somalia had played an admirable role in helping to bring about a desirable Afro-Arab cooperation. Both political and economic closer relations had ensued from this cooperation.

SOMALIA AND WORLD PROGRESSIVE PARTIES:

The Somali Revolution which is part of the world progressive movement has established strong ties with the progressive parties in the world. The Somali leadership had participated in many international conferences in the progressive world. The main benefits derived from the participation in the conferences were the utilization of the experiences of the progressive world, the corporate analysis of imperialism and its universal tactics, and the strenghtening of true democracy and peace in the world.

SOMALIA AND SOCIALIST COUNTRIES:

The taking over of power by the progressive forces in Somalia, had made possible for the country to join the progressive forces of the world. Somalia has a clear policy based on international cooperation and internationalism, which all the progressive forces believe to be cardinal principle in the relations among states.

Since Somalia is a socialist country, it has common interests and objectives with the socialist world. It follows then, that Somalia's foreign policy should always respect and serve the cooperation and alliance which Somalia has with the socialist countries. The foundation of this policy is the cooperation and friendly agreements which Somalia has with the socialist countries, like Soviet Union, the German Democratic Republic, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, the Socialist Republic of Cuba and others which are in the vanguard of the countries with which Somalia has cooperation and strong friendly relations.

The Somali masses always weigh the role socialist countries play in the strengthening of progressive forces, as well as the part they have taken in the economic advancement of Somalia.

SOMALIA AND THE WORLD. (In General)

Somalia had played a discernable and distinguished role in international politics. It played a notable role in international organizations, and their branches such as the United Nation (UNO), the Non-Aligned Nations, the Arab League, the Organization of African Unity (OAU), the Islamic Conference and so forth. Somalia is among the nations which constantly advocate equality, independence for every nation, peace and coexistence.

Somalia's interpretation of the principles of non-alignment is that those nations struggling for social advancement, independence, and democracy deserve to be given a hand in reaching these objectives for one cannot believe non-alignment to mean dropping out of world policies.

SOMALIA AND THE WEST.

In review of the desirability for the co-existence of the nations in the world, Somalia had tried to have relations with

the western world. Somalia had participated in international attempts to bring about into the world an atmosphere in which co-operation and the exchange of knowledge and ideas could be possible. Somalia maintained that mutual co-operation among nations, and that every nation's political and economic independence should be something sacred with which no one could trifle.

This is an attitude in which Somalia had become an associate member of the European Economic Community (EEC) which played an important role in the economic development. Somalia's relations with the EEC is one of mutual respect and friendship in addition to Somalia's relations with the EEC, Somalia has close relations with the Federal Republic of Germany and Italy.

STAND ON MISSING LANDS.

Somalia's stand on the missing territories is quite clear, it has been formulated in a way that both the enemies and friends of Somalia can understand. Somalia's stand in this matter is based on the principle that all people have a right to self-determination and the right to decide what their destiny should be.

This principle is embodied in the Charter of the United Nations, the Charter of the Organization of African Unity and in the Charters of all the international associations which have respect in the world. The Somali Revolution believes that the Somali people in the missing territories should have the rights to be given independence and Self-determination.

International imperialism, however, had embarked upon a policy of creating confrontation and factors endangering the peace and the stability of brotherly peoples. The eg-

ging on of African countries to fly at each other's throat is an imperialist policy which is part and parcel of the strategy of international imperialism.

The historical change which had taken place in Somalia had become a threat to the presence of imperialism in African and this has intensified the political and economic aggressions of the forces of imperialism on Somalia. An example of this aggression is the establishment of a military base at the Diago Garcia Island, a base which endangers the peace of the countries around the Indian Ocean and the Revolutionary forces in Africa, which have been gaining strength lately.

Imperialist is increasingly fomenting discord among neighbouring African countries but the Somali Revolution always has an eye on these imperialist tactics. Somalia believes that disputes among nations should be solved peacefully and in a brotherly, wise manner so that the enemies of Africa would not force them into wars in which a brother would shed the blood of his own brother as international imperialism is plotting.

The stand of Somalia on the French Somali Coast, is that the people in that territory should be given an unconditional independence, as independence to which conditions are attached is no independence at all.

DEFENCE:

It is a fact proven again and again that no nation can effect a far-reaching change in its society unless it is capable of protecting that change from external enemies and local reactionaries who are the lackeys of external enemies.

In order to be on guard against these dangerous forces, the Somali Revolution had increased the preparedness, mobi-

lization & the alertness of the Somali armed forces. At the same time, the Somali public itself has been trained and prepared.

The Somali armed forces have class consciousness, a high political awareness, and competent military capability in which the Somalis can have confidence. At the same time the Somali armed forces participate in the economic construction of the country and the orientation and mobilization of the people.

The Revolution had planted down deep roots for the nation's Security and had uprooted the camouflages which imperialism used.

The working Somali masses have had military training, and they can get engaged in economic construction, confident that the enemy would not dare to harm them his own peril.

THE PARTY.

The Somali Democratic Republic had made political and social progress since the birth of the Revolution. This progress can be a base for a socialist construction. The Somali workers, and the general public had reached an appreciable level of political maturity. Today the Somali nation had to fulfill yet another duty, a national duty which need to be carried out. That duty is the execution of the decisions which can be pillars for socialism. There is no doubt that this duty cannot be carried out unless there is political organization. This organization would be the vehicle which would translate the economic and political aspirations of the nation into realities.

Lenin had said: «Without a Revolutionary theory there could be no revolutionary movement». The organization

needed is a revolutionary party which can direct the new changes, and whose guidance is scientific socialism and the experiences socialists have gained in their long struggle.

The first and second charter of the Revolution edged that the rule would be turned over to the masses when they reached an appreciable level of maturity. Realizing that socialism was the only system through which justice, progress and equality can be attained, the Somali Democratic Republic had adopted scientific socialism. The political and economic developments that took place in Somalia since the birth of the Revolution, had pointed the great need for the formation of a political party whose guiding principles are scientific socialism.

The time has come to form that party, and it is the responsibility of this congress to establish it.

The constitution and its programme are before the people attending this congress. These documents are to be studied and examined by all the participants of this congress. There is no doubt that we will act responsibly while the congress is in session, so we might reach the objectives for which we have all gathered here. The people who are here to participate in this congress are believed to be the most progressive elements among the Somali workers.

I wish the congress a success and to win victory in establishing the Party.

JAALE SIYAD'S

**HISTORIC SPEECH ON THE OCCASION OF THE
FIRST AFRO-ARAB SUMMIT.**

Cairo March 1977.

I take this opportunity of extending to you and the rest of the Bureau my congratulations for the outstanding manner in which you have presided over this historic Conference. The fact that the deliberations of this august Assembly have come to a successful conclusion is due in large measure to your able statesmanship and wise leadership amply demonstrated through the Conference.

I wish furthermore to express our deep gratitude and thanks to the Government and people of the Arab Republic of Egypt for the warm welcome and fraternal hospitality accorded to us from the moment of our arrival on this land of Egypt.

The choice of the beautiful city of Cairo as the venue for this Conference of Afro-Arab Co-operation could not have been more appropriate. It symbolizes the inter-linkage between African and Arab peoples since Egypt has always been the meeting place where the two peoples have merged and enriched other cultures. Of no less significance is the fact that this country and its valiant people have for the past quarter century been in the vanguard of African and Arab revolution. Cairo has served as a sanctuary for liberation movements of many an African and Arab country represented here today as a sovereign and free state.

On many, an occasion Egypt had experienced suffering and hardships in its noble quest for total African and Arab freedom. The savage acts of war waged against the Egyptian people had no purpose other than disuading them their active support for freedom and independence. We salute the brotherly peoples of Egypt for their noble role and hail the martyrs who had fallen in the battle of honour for African and Arab liberation.

As this historic Summit Conference draws to a close we indeed heartened to note with the greatest satisfaction the momentous achievements made so far in laying solid foundations for Afro-Arab Co-operation in the political, economic and social fields.

We are indeed gratified to witness the marked success of this Afro Arab Summit, an eventuality which we had anticipated with utmost confidence and conviction. Our unshakable faith and trust in realization of Afro-Arab understanding stems from the historic links which tied together the people of African and the Arab World since times immemorial. The spirit of fraternity of mutual trust and co-operation and full understanding which marked the deliberations of this August Assembly was clear manifestation of the deep rooted sentiments of amity and brotherhood between them. The common past history of our people, their shared destiny and the complementarity of the two regions are determinant factors which provide the solid basis on which we build our co-operation today. Other distinguished speakers before me have most eloquently dwelt upon the historical, political, social and other imperatives for Afro-Arab unity. I therefore, need not go into that any further.

Suffice is to mention here that the ties between the Arab and African people were severed despite the relentless efforts of imperialist and colonialist powers to create discord and di-

vision between them, with the purpose of isolating one from the other, in a bid to perpetuate their domination. Our present determination to achieve unity thus constitutes a resounding victory in the struggle against the common enemies of the Afro-Arab peoples imperialism, colonialism, zionism and racism. These very farees have spared no effort in their attempt to sabotage this summit by all means.

This Conference and its success is of particular satisfaction to myself and to the entire Somali people. It marks the fulfilment of a hope that we had always entertained with ardency. I have no doubt that many of you here have also had the same desire. I had the occasion in June 1974 to formally propose during the Mogadishu OAU meeting the convening of a Afro-Arab Summit.

Three months later upon the initiative of Somalia the Rabat Conference of the League of Arab of states decided in favour of holding the proposed conference. In the Kambala summit of 1975 the OAU Assembly of Heads of State and Government reached the same decision.

We have always deemed it our duty and vocation in life, belonging as we do, by geographic location and by historical and cultural tradition to both regions to champion the cause of Afro-Arab unity and exert maximum effort for its realization. In doing so we have been motivated by the vision of the strength and mutual advantage which people of both regions would derive from such relationship.

The decisions which we have taken today in adopting the Cairo political declaration and the Cairo Declaration of Afro-Arab Economic and financial Co-operation, will have far reaching consequences for the acceleration of development and progress of the two regions. Co-operation in wide ranging fields specified in this two all important documents, augur well

for the future economic prosperity of our people as well as the consolidation and further promotion of their political association. We envisage the no less profound effect that an ever growing Afro-Arab cooperation endeavour will have in eradicating remanant colonialism, zionism, racism, exploitation and the in justice, of the current International economic oredr, in either words what we have been able to achieve today, by way of ushering in a new era of Afro-Arab co-operation, will not be of benefit to the people of the two regions alone but to mankind as a whole.

The political declaration which we have just signed embodies fundamental principles to which we all subscribe affirming the in-alienable rights of peoples to self-determination. In accordance with this universally recognized right which is enshrined in the charters of the UN, OAU and the Arab League, every people under the expression of alien rule, must be allowed to exercise its rights, regardless of the form or color of such rule. In this respect there are serious situations which deserve the utmost consideration and understanding of us all who cherish justice and human dignity. The Unfortunate case of the people to whom I allude are all too familiar to the distinguished members present here, to require on my part any further elucidation.

Its our ardent hope that reason, sense of justice and respect for human right and brotherhood will prevail, upon those directly responsible. It is indeed encouraging to note that this conference has not been a mere forum for airing the customary well wishes and re-affirming hackneyed principles to which we all subscribe. On the contrary it has been characterized all along both at this assembly and at the point of Council of Ministers level by a serious and practical approach to all aspects of Afro-Arab co-operation effort.

The declaration of Economic and Financial co-operation would have remained a mere expression of intent without assu-

rance regarding the availability of the funds necessary for the implementation of its various provisions. Had that been the case our detractors would no doubt have proclaimed it as no more than cooperation on paper. Thanks however, to the genuine desire and determination of all, this First Afro-Arab Summit Conference has proved a resounding success. While broad principles of our cooperation have been charted out, The necessary financial resources for realization of our common objective and practical machinery for the implementation of the various provisions have also been devised. We feel that a particular vote of thanks is to the states which have shouldered the bulk of financial burden. Without their generosity our efforts of the past few days here would have fallen short of our aspirations.

I would no doubt be expressing the sentiments of you all in extending our sincere thanks and appreciation to the Government of Saudi Arabia. The United Arab Emirates, Kuwait, Qadar and others for the substantial financial contributions pledged to augment the resources of development institutions in Africa within the framework of Afro Arab co-operation.

The material support rendered by these governments to the liberation movements is most welcomed. It will no doubt help speed up the process of national liberation and bring about early accession of oppressed peoples to independence and freedom. We therefore hail their keen demonstration of solidarity and selfless dedication to the noble causes of freedom, progress and prosperity for our peoples.

We have every reason to be proud of the gains that the Afro-Arab peoples have made here in Cairo in reaching a common understanding and establishing solid foundations for their future co-operation in brotherhood and mutual conference and on basis of full equality.

This noble partnership is a departure point from the real or imagined fears of the past. It marks a historical turning point towards more fruitful and mutual beneficial association.

We look with great confidence to the future as we had always done in the past. We recognize, as the whole world must do by now, that the people of Africa and the Arab World with their vast natural financial and human resources constitute a formidable force to be reckoned within the international scene.

Those who do not wish us well, re-deploy their efforts to sabotage this partnership by exploiting the unavoidable differences be they political, ideological or otherwise which an association such as ours is bound to have. We have come a long way despite these differences, since the factors uniting us are more commanding than those which might divide us. However, this should not lead to complacency on part and we should redouble our vigilance if we are to preserve and further promote our hard won gains. Never the less we must conceive this co-operation as an instrument for bringing about broader understanding and co-operation among all peoples of the world thus contributing to international peace and security.

In conclusion I have the honour to avail myself of this opportunity to formally propose that the conference express a vote of thanks to H. E. President Mohamed Anwar Al Sadat the government and the people of the Arab Republic of Egypt for having hosted this historic conference and for providing all the success of the Conference as well as excellent facilities for the comfort of the delegations.

JAALLE SIAD'S SPEECH ON THE OPENING CEREMONY OF THE S.R.Y.U.

15 MAY 1977.

Comrades, friends,

Allow me to extend revolutionary, comradely greetings and salutations to the founding of the Congress of the SRYU on behalf of Polit-bureau and the Central Committee of the SRSP, people and the Government of the SDR and my own behalf.

The congress reflects the strength, high, spirit, and the revolutionary honesty of the youth. To begin with, permit me to congratulate the Committees and the functionaries who have selflessly worked in the preparations of the Congress and the organising of the youth. Let me also thank to the delegates from the friendly progressive countries and peoples and the Organisations struggling for democracy, peace and justice for their presence in the country.

Comrades, this Congress has coincided with the period following the strong foundation of the Somali Revolutionary Socialist Party (SRSP) in leading the struggle of the masses towards social progress.

The same period witnessed the authentic establishment of the General Federation of the Somali Trade Unions and all the working masses which organise the forces responsible for Social production and the betterment of the material life of the society. It also witnessed the founding of the Somali Womens Democratic Organisation (SWDO) which is the organ mostly responsible for bringing up the young generation and for the construction of the Culture of the society. This present Congress is the last in the series that provides a fundamental basis for the full Democratic Organisation of the Somali masses.

This stage is characterised by the challenge to the Somali Revolutionary forces to recall the objectives of the October Revolution of 1969, and to heighten their readiness for the practical realisation of the programme of the SRSP which lays out clear targets towards which the revolution is aspiring to attain for the present and the future.

The Youth are among the social groups who consistently participated in the vanguard of the patriotic struggle from the time colonialism invaded our country. The struggles of Ahmed Guray and his army and the defeats and disaster they incurred on the enemies, Sayid Mohamed Abdulle Hassan and the Dervishes who raised higher the struggle for national independence and the SYL, are pertinent examples paving the way for within the revolutionary era.

In point of fact, the tasks and responsibilities of each of the various youth generations differed as a result of differing abilities and the methods of carrying out their obligations. Even though the objectives and aspirations laying behind the struggles of the youth were the same and all were geared towards the national interest, yet their general outlooks were determined by the historical stage through which the nation and the world at large was undergoing each time. The greatest responsibilities are bestowed upon the shoulders of the present generations of the youth within the revolutionary period. What are the ultimate goals to which they are supposed to attain? What is the scientific outlook and the methods governing the revolutionary development of the society which should guide their activities?

When we are talking about the world in which we are living in order to genuinely understand life and be able to construct a better world based on the prosperity of all, it becomes necessary to reflect on two general laws and to properly understand their dialectical relationship, i.e. natural and social laws. In essence, the dialectical interconnection of these laws determines social development.

The natural laws operate without human intervention and could not be manipulated in any way we desire, but are laws which could be benefited from and utilised if we have the capacity of recognising them and a genuine understanding about their existence and operation. The disasters brought by the operation of natural phenomenon such as CYCLONES, DROUGHTS, diseases, floods, earthquakes, violences could scientific knowledge? and technology capable of regulating such diseases.

Social laws are based on human labour and they could be implemented only when labour is practically related and making use of the natural resources available on the land. The people are really capable of transforming the fact of the natural environment on which they live, thereby, building and ensuring for themselves a prosperous life. This means that few individuals are endowed with this capability, but is a complicated process of the organisation of social labour that realises the existence of human life.

The capability of the people is all related to their condition and understanding of the natural laws and their relationship with these laws which is conditioned by the specific type of social relations existing within the society. It is these social relations which either facilitate or hamper the implementation production goals. Human life is realised through concrete labour of the people. The dignity and the liberty of the people is inter-linked with the level of the economic development and the social relations governing the labour process. Such development is measured by the technological advancement and the nature of the social Organisation of labour. Karl Marx said, Social development is measured by the level of the development of the instrument of labour.

Today the world is going through the era of the scientific and technological revolution. A century characterised by the imminent collapse of the capitalist socio-economic formation and

consolidation of the socialist system for which all the masses throughout the world are struggling. We witnessed fantastic space exploration of the moon and the other planets, the exploration on the seas and the exploration of their resources, the wonderful development in the telecommunications which link the world. We also witness quantitative and qualitative developments in the struggles of the workers and the world revolutionary masses geared towards the urgent elimination of socio-economic systems based on capitalist exploitation, and colonialism and establishment of the socialist system throughout the world. The edification of Socialism throughout the world and the collapse, of decadent capitalism is a historical law which is paractically realized to an increasing extent. In this respect, Comrade, Lenin pointed. It is inevitable that every nation will become a socialist, and Comrade Karl Marx once remarked «Capitalism will ultimately end up in the historical museum» There is no doubt about validity of these postulates since the world is realizing their truth day after day. But, as Lenin further pointed out, the construction of Scientific Socialism in the world would be determined by the specific conditions existing within each country. Nevertheless, these specific conditions would be effected by the general laws of transition to socialism. These specific conditions involve, among other things, the productive capacity, the forces backing the revolution and the social classes existing within each particular country.

Thus, the ultimate objective and the responsibility shouldered upon the youth is the construction of socialist society which garantees the attainment of the prosperous life for all. Today's youth have greater responsibilities and greater means of realising their tasks than other social groups due to the following reasons.

1. They are capable and are given better opportunities of acquiring modern scientific knowledge which undergoes constant changes and progress. Our revolutionary society has

prepared them to fulfil better their role of establishing modern life on the guidelines of scientific knowledge and their practical activities aimed at resolving the obsolete contraction relations and the re-organisation of labour and social production on a revolutionary basis. In this connection, if the Somali revolutionary Youth do not inculcate into their spirit, the principles and the aspirations towards which the SRSP is leading them, they will not be able to fulfill their responsibilities. However, we do not doubt the fact that you will ultimately fulfill the tasks placed upon your shoulders.

2. Another reason which puts a particular responsibility upon the Somali Youth to genuinely perform their tasks arises out of the fact that the socialist Revolution guiding our country's cause has paved the way for the provision of social security and unconditional educational opportunities for the youth generation thereby giving them greater privileges than the rest of the society. Among other things, all these students who have successfully completed their education have been guaranteed employment. Besides this the revolution has also nationalised all the private institutions which tempered the fullpledged enrolment of the Somali Youth into the schools irrespective of their income levels. Given such context, they are obliged to become revolutionaries, to defend the victories and fruits of the Revolution, to adopt a scientific outlook towards social transformation, to liberate themselves from outmoded cultural and illusio-nary ideas.

3. The revolution has enabled the youth to participate actively in the development and construction of a new revolutionary society. Soon after its inception, the revolution gave the patriotic youth opportunities to participate in the administration of the country. And now we are in the process of establishing the highest organisation that would mobilise and educate the revolutionary Youth and consolidate their roles in all activities.

4. The youth are those for whom the better future is being created who will reap the fruits of the struggle and who will assume the future leadership of the country.

Among the responsibilities of the present generation of revolutionary youth we may list the following: 1. the serious studying of Scientific Socialism for it is this Scientific theory which enlightens and provides the youth a comprehensive outlook towards natural and social life in the world. In this connection it is sufficient for them to read socialist books and writings and to cram beautiful socialist slogans. On the contrary, it is essential that their studies should be organically interrelated with concrete realities and the specific conditions existing within the country in the fields of economy, culture and policy. Their scientific understanding of the meaning and the objectives underlying the attainment of socialism will permit to pin-point the strategy and tactics of implementing Scientific Socialism and techniques of scientifically managing the construction of the new society. A solid revolutionary ideological outlook gives the youth a clear explanation and scientific solutions about all matters pertinent to the construction and leadership of the society.

Thus we should rightly say that the youth are in the fore front in socialist countries, when such countries are preparing their future leaders.

The present struggles which we are undertaking pave the way for the better life of the future whose fruits and achievements would be reaped by the coming generations.

This is captured by the Somali Proverb: The tree that you plant in your twenties provides you shade in your sixties.

It is evident that the youth are not expected to blame themselves tomorrow for failing to perform tasks which they could have done today. Presently the youth have challenging

responsibilities before them which require in estimable courage, dynamism and a profound scientific outlook so as to implement the objectives of the revolution thereby realising general social progress and a better future for the youth.

Moreover, the responsibilities of the youth are further extended by the crucial need of the other revolutionary forces expecting assistance and support from the youth. The development of the social working masses who have the workers as their vanguard are dialectically interconnected with the level of the national economy which is backward and remains underdeveloped with primitive agriculture and nomadism as it's prominent mode of life both of which are exposed to the vagaries of natural climatic circumstances. Naturally this behoves our youth to extend their maximum assistance to the workers and to prepare themselves to participate in social production in the long-run.

In their struggles the youth have as their allies the workers and other revolutionary forces of the society. According to historical experience, the workers are those associated with the modern instruments of production and scientific technology, accordingly, they are responsible for the production of material life of the society.

They are the class experiencing the brunt of the inhuman exploitation of the bourgeois class and struggling against the inequalities arising in the appreciation of social products. Hence, they are educators of the youth able to provide them valuable experience, revolutionary organisation, production knowledge and political struggles.

The youth are a political force with an immense strength and possessing new revolutionary blood, who require extensive knowledge and experience in order to become fruitful revolutionary intellectuals of the society.

The Somali Revolution, the revolution of October 21, 1969 believes in the laws of the transformation of social development and the transformation of natural environment surrounding the human society, while at the same time consisting and remaining vigilant with regards to natural phenomenon. In this respect the Somali nation has selflessly struggled to fulfil the policy of social production and selfreliance. Con-social progress has been established in the fields of agriculture, industry, utilizing the sea resources, while at the same time dominating and overcoming the consequences of natural disasters like floods, cyclones, epidemics, droughts, ect. we have also made preparations before hand in resolving the setbacks arising out of the economic crisis of the capitalist market which immensely affect the economic plans and the living standards of the developing countries. In addition, the Somali revolution has proved itself as being a peaceful revolution in the Eastern Horn of Africa. This latter qualification has embraced both international imperialism and its local agents and other reactionaries.

The Somali Armed youth are inspired with revolutionary ideas of peace and prosperity and are responsible for national defence and the construction of Scientific Socialism. Among the distinguishing characteristics of masses building their future with constant readiness and vigilance. Our revolution has crunched with responsibilities which oblige the youth to urgently fulfill their role while counting on the support of the other revolutionary forces guided by the SRSP and adhering to its resolutions and directives.

The most important task in this stage is the realisation of our socialist objectives. Our peoples unity, defending and safeguarding the objectives of the revolution internally and externally, and extending solidarity to socialist countries the national liberation and the domestic forces who are struggling for peace and freedom. We have brotherly relations with all nations of the world, which is also an aspect of the internationa-

list principles of scientific Socialism. Our commitment to Scientific Socialism is not superficial and emotional nor is it for the sake of sheer power but we have it for the benefit and fundamental interests of the people. This option arose from the need which emerged from objectives social and historical conditions.

Somalia has opted for the path of Scientific Socialism which mankind have dreamed of and depicted in his imaginations, for many centuries and which remains the ultimate natural stage of the historical process of the society. The Scientific foundation of this system has been clearly defined and analysed by the founders of scientific Socialistic Socialism and today it has inspired millions of peoples throughout the world.

The imperialists and colonialists are envious of our progress and are constantly propagating propagands against our policies and against our system itself. They can not conceive a historical change from a scientific perspective Accordingly, they can not evaluate the fundamental changes and the basic trends in the historical development of our society.

Life is always found upon struggle, class struggle and the overthrow of one class by another, the conflict between oppression and liberation, nationalist movement against colonialism, capitalism and for socialism and man's struggle against nature. All of this transitional period during which the revolution is busily engaged in solving numerous tasks. These hardships need enough hard work, patience, honesty and understanding, so that we could reach our objectives benefitting from scientific strategy and tactics.

The revolution, bearing in mind this historical stage, has fostered and enhanced the consciousness and awareness of all the people. The youth are most active group in each society and for this sake the cultural revolution is moulding a new individual with a strong spirit.

CULTURAL REVOLUTION AND THE MOULDING OF A NEW INDIVIDUAL

A revolution is a social change in which the toiling masses take over the economic and political power, create new type of production relations based on the common ownership. revolutionise and correspond the production capacity with the production relations of the society. These create the thought, culture and new outlook.

Cultural revolution means to revolutionize the life of the society in general and modernize the means of production.

It is a knowledge based on the economic and education of the society which engenders art, crafts and right morals. This does not only concern the ordinary education, but it is the democratisation of education and moulding of a new individual with the right attitude towards work and who is conscious of the responsibility of his people. It is also the construction of industrial technology and the economic sources which create highly skilled labour.

The cultural revolution changes and destroys the evils of the outmoded cultures which we inherited from the old systems that have been overthrown by the revolution. It eliminates the reactionary education and revives and perpetuates the progressive culture of the society. It creates the revolutionary youth who will become the intellectuals, functionaries and the leaders of the revolution.

Thus, it became pertinent to ask the question. what is the role of the youth in the construction of the new revolutionary culture? Apparently, a clear answer has been given by VI Lenin, the leader of the world socialists revolution, that the first task of the youth is to learn. The essence of this learning is quite different from conventional schooling as it

is understood in capitalist countries. It implies learning the culture of the society which is related to modern knowledge and production skills. It also implies the possession of a good discipline and revolutionary spirit. It is the learning of the mechanism and production relations of the old socio-economic system, in order to destroy the backward culture of the bourgeois class and create the proletarian culture which our educational system, is based. In this task the decisive role is played by the working masses being led by the workers and the revolutionary intellectuals. But this is only a pre-requisite for their replacement in the leadership by coming young generation of working class.

If we contrast between the two educational schools of thought, i.e. the socialist, and capitalist, their essential difference has on their historical interpretation of social development and solutions of social problems.

History refers capitalist education as anarchic in character, which is not developing but is cyclical in character. It is very much threatened by the population growth, and it believes that the resources of nature will soon exhaust. The outlook of capitalist educational school of thought is to safeguard the interests of the bourgeois class. It suppresses the struggle of the proletariat towards emancipation and compels the toiling masses to accept oppression and exploitation. Bourgeois school of thought is not capable of changing the world because they can not overcome their need to exploit and thus prefer to maintain things unchanged for their benefit. Thus is the outlook which prompts the bourgeoisies to defend their system. It is an unscientific doctrine which believes that capitalism is the highest stage mankind can reach and that it is eternal.

Many of the young living in the capitalists system lose hope for life and think that the only way to survive capitalist oppression and exploitation is to indulge in various modes of capitalism.

A group wearing no clothes emerged which claim to go back to the primitive-life and to live according to the dictates of nature. We witness therefore, that many youngsters in the capitalist world calling themselves the friends of the earth and friends of the nature. Another group became alcoholics and are living on narootics (inject themselves with heroin etc).

The great number of killings and robbery which involve the youth in the capitalist world are seen by the bourgeois schools of thought is simply an aspect of the progress of capitalist industrialisation. The truth is that the problems spring from the excessive unemployment and anxiety and thus millions of the jobless parents are not able to give neither education nor guarantee the life of their children. This is not spontaneous, but it is based on the socio-economic relation of the capitalist system. The social morals of capitalism endorse meanness and cruelty, profit seeking and money-mindedness, robbery and theft. It is obvious that the crisis and the chaos in capitalism will ultimately exarcebate its decadance and pave the way for the victory of socialism.

The workers and the majority of the intellectuals are fighting against the capitalist way of life and are moving towards the progressive ideology of socialism.

There is clear evidence that this international cultural revolution is not limited to the socialist world, one finds within the capitalist system itself those opposed to the outlook of the bourgeois school of thought which cannot satisfy the youth living in such exploitative societies.

The imperialist war-lords and the financial oligarchies by expressing the basic interests of the bourgecis classes are instigating wars against other countries, utilising propaganda spread by the papers, books, radios, films and other communication devices which propogate imperialist ideology.

Today the propoganda words such as (democracy) and the free world cannot delude people, Bourgeois democracy is a monopolistic sham and only the capitalists class posses the ability to give their children good living and right education as well as a measure of political influence.

It is they alone who can pursue higher specialisation because they are then trained to serve capitalism, they alone are admitted to the military academies and the war industries. Freedom for them means the freedom to exploit their workers, to enslave and rob the people of the other countries, the suppression of the voice of the liberation movements in Africa, Asia, and Latin America, the firein south-East Asia, Middle East, the coup States in chile, the intrusion in the horn of African where they will surely fail. Today the imperialist policy is not stable and is in crisis. It is like frantic movement of a dying beast.

Cultural revolution is a doctrine of the socialist school of thought, it is the scientific concept for the progressive transformation of the socio-economic formation of the society. It is the culmination of the achievements through experience and the civilization of mankind in economy, culture and natural science which Karl Marx critically analysed as he traced the development of the history of mankind. This concept is the fundamental basis upon which the new world would be constructed of which the masses are the masters of social transformation. This is the outlook towards which the Somali revolution is guiding its people.

The creation of the national economy and the nationalisation and establishment of the banks, industries, agricultural farms, cooperatives and the resettlement of the drought victims which at present play an essential part in the development projects of the economy all provide the basis of our cultural revolution and new culture. Once the nation's economy

is established, it is imperative that all other handicaps such as tribalism and other social evils will be eradicate.

We have created a new method in working which gave the masses confidence to rely on themselves. A system which proved fruitful is the «self-help-schemes», we have built

numerous schools, hospitals, roads through it and it will be an ingredient of the economic planning aiming towards the development of heavy industries. The political maturity attained by the Somali people enabled us to rely on their awariness and boundless energies in fulfilling such tasks.

The revolutionary political training centres such as, Ceel jaale Halane, and the youth Revolutionary centres were all established in order to create patriotic youth which are free from all kinds of reactionary ideas and prejudices, the formation of the crash programme youth centres was based on the need to provide the youth with technical education which is related to their production skills and facilitates socialist work ethics. The rural development Campaign which included educational literacy, health and animal care programmes now continuing on a permanent basis is also based on the concept of under taking a radical cultural revolution.

The revolution created a mass education which provided every citizen an opportunity for a democratic education. The writing of the Somali Language established a concrete foundation for the cultural revolution being implemented in our society, the literacy campaign which is permanently going on, the increase in technical education and the creation and expansion of the National University gave the people, particularly the youth who were lacking knowledge, the possibility to acquire knowledge

All these measures provide an irrefutable proof for the rapid educational progress attained since the Revolution.

What is the role of the revolutionary youth in the implementation of Scientific Socialism?

This congress is aware of our historical struggles, its present stage and the role of the youth in this struggle.

In the difficult periods of the construction of socialism, the youth having the qualities of disciplines, alertness, endurance, youthful energy, and a revolutionary spirit that can not be diverted, must be responsible for the urgent tasks as well as the projects constructed under harsh conditions. After a through study, the revolution upraised their role and wrote in the statute of the SRSP that the youth is the reserve force of the party.

In order to fulfill these responsibilities, it is very necessary to be better prepared constantly.

The youth and the students took a great part in the initiation and perpetuation of the revolutionary educational campaign. The rural Development campaign was in essence environmental education in which the students have learnt the nature of their country and the culture of their people while learning from them. The youth played a crucial role in fulfilling all the various aspects of this campaign including human and animal health care. Their magnificent contribution continued as we encountered the disaster of the long drought. The youth who composed of students, victory pioneers, members of the armed forces, health teams and the rest, fulfilled their responsibilities and performed great tasks. Though the youth have achieved a great deal in the implementation of such valuable tasks, the truth is that there is still a longway to go to fulfill all the responsibilities and duties facing us. The masses are expecting you to fulfill your roles and return to them the investment which they have put into your education and well-being.

THE ROLE OF THE YOUTH IN EXTERNAL POLICY.

Before the revolution there wasn't a concrete policy which stimulated the feelings of the youth. Numerous groups of youth were fragmented between the almost (80) parties of corruption which existed at that period. And we know of various so-called «friendship associations» connected to imperialist agencies which reflected the neo-colonial policies of the regimes resulting in dividing and confusing the Somali youth in order to prevent them from seriously analysing the situation and taking unified action.

Being aware of these problems, the revolution began to unify, organize and politically mobilize the youth. The policy of revolution became socialist emulation of the youth in constructing the country and participating in the progressive international policy.

Our youth became members of the highest leading organs of the progressive international youth unions, likewise, they are members of the highest committees of the African and the Arab Youth organizations.

Our youth play important role in International Youth Festivals, Conferences and in solidarity with the liberation movements. This friendship is based on a comradely principle stand. We respect and honour this type of comradeship and international alliances.

The Somali Youth take concrete part in the policies and affairs of the world by having comradely relations with the youth of the socialist countries, the progressive democratic youth and national liberation forces. They play their due role in the fight against imperialist concepts and policies by sharing the struggle with great forces of the world fighting for peace and peaceful-freedom, progress and socialism.

This is a clear indication of the fact that the youth of the world are allied to defeat the enemies of mankind which are capitalism and imperialism and perpetuates colonialism. There is no doubt that the allied struggle of the socialist world the workers of the world, and the liberation movements will end in socialist victory.

I am confident that this congress will be victorious, and encourage you to analyse objectively the issues facing you. Once again, let me convey comradely greetings and congratulations to the various organs and friends who are participating in the Ist Congress of the Somali Revolutionary Youth Union and compliment the committees and functionaries who worked for the success of the congress.

VICTORY FOR THE S.R.S.P.

VICTORY FOR THE SOMALI REVOLUTIONARY
YOUTH UNION

VICTORY FOR THE ALLIANCE OF THE SOCIAL
ORGANISATIONS

DOWN WITH IMPERIALISM AND COLONIALISM
LONG LIVE REVOLUTIONARY INTERNATIONAL
SOLIDARITY.

THE LEADER ADDRESSES

THE NATION.

Following is the speech of the president of the Somali Democratic Republic, Jaalle Mohamed Siyad Barre to the Nation on the occasion of the Idd El Fidri 14th September 1977.

The Somali Revolution, since its birth, had spared no efforts in upholding peace in Africa and the world at large and has relentlessly opposes all those who inact conflicts and wars. Somalia has never been a party of creation of hostilities and conflicts between countries and has consistently advocated the settlement of all kinds of disputes through peaceful means.

However, Somalia has been unable to persuade the ethiopians from departing with the colonial policies in herited from the Abyssinian Kings which in essence is the enslavement. Subjugation and exploitation of fellow African peoples whom they have captured and hence colonised through sheer force.

Nevertheless, history has proved time and again that colonialist Empires never last long no matter how strong its armies are and that no force however ever mighty can stop the liberation struggles of oppressed colonised peoples. Such wars of liberation have gained the sympathy and support of all Freedom-loving and progressive peoples. Let it be known, however, that unswerving determination of the colonised peoples to break the chains of colonialism is decisive factor in the wars of liberation between the colonised and colonisers.

Mengistu's futile manouvers to mobilise the Ethiopian peoples for a doomed colonial cause is only helping to agitate

the colonised peoples and hence intensify their struggle for total liberation. His call to arms for the abyssinian people is equally a call for the colonised people to rise in one and bear up arms, against this colonialist regime. When Mingistu says he has friends, he has to bear in mind that the liberation fronts have also their own friends and so has the Somali Democratic Republic.

Mengistu has severed Diplomatic Relation with Somalia and carried out acts of aggressions. Against its territory for no reason other than support for the liberation fighting there as it does to other liberation movements in Africa and elsewhere. Somalia has not invaded Ethiopia as it has consistently claimed. The Mengistu regime has used this false accusation as a pretext severing Diplomatic relations with Somalia and carrying out aggression against its vacative and aggressive acts. The Mingistu regime torpedoed all hope for peaceful negotiations. and understanding. Now it remains to be seen what Mingistu is heading for. Surely it is sheer madness on his part and he is not certainly carrying a good men for the Somali people, for he has brutally masscred his own people including workers, students, Teachers and politicians. Therefore, We do not expect him to treat the Somali people differently if not worse, because he is an insane man who is bent on blood and extermination.

It is a great misfortune that the Ethiopian Revolution has thus been betrayed by Mingistu. We have hoped for a progressive and genuine revolution conscious of the sufferings experienced by the colonised peoples. However, we have come to realise, that contrary to our expectations, the Mingistu regime has only turned to mass massacres and suppression. The Somali Government does not believe that anything fruitful can be achieved throlgh blood and human sufferings, we believe that arrogance and vanity canot solve complex problems such problems call for deep. understanding and good judgement.

Mengistu, and his colleagues would be well advised even though we have our own reservations that they would pay any heed to such advice, to re-assess their policies and come to understanding that nothing can be solved through adventurist military aggressions.

The Somalis and the Abissinians share many interests. They live in the same geographical area in this part of the world-the horn of Africa and they are there to stay forever. It is thus imperative that they live in peace and good neighbourliness. It is not to their benefit to let an insane man spark frictions and hostilities among them. The most appropriate step to follow is the socialist principles which grant the rights of self-determination to those colonised peoples if Mengistu, is true to his socialist rhetorics, he would have observed this very cardinal point. It is in form but not in essence. It is all the more clear that Mengistu has followed an opportunistic policy and is trying to wear a socialist cloak to achieve his selfish ends. It remains a mystery why those Mengistu's blood-letting has been sanctioned by those who consider him a socialist. I must say that Mengistu's threat against the liberation forces and Somalia is mere bluff. In claiming that he has many friends on his side, he should take note that Somalia has also its friends. He is mistaken and has been misled by his informers. Somalia is capable enough to repulse any invasion against its territory. Mengistu alleges that Somalia is assisted by foreigners. Somalia does not employ anyone. As a matter of fact, it is he who is employing foreign troops. We know that Israel pilots are flying his war planes. We know they are stationed and even their names. We are also aware of the fact that other foreign troops are aiding them.

Even all of them taken together will gain nothing from the war with the liberation forces or a war with Somalia. Because victory belongs to those fighting for a just cause. Let Mengistu and his colleagues understand that they will not bene-

fit from Aggression on Somalia. Somalia is not invading Ethiopia, but it is the liberation movements that are defeating their forces. If Mengistu holds the idea that Somali regulars are fighting in western Somalia, well how does he explain his forces suffering humiliating defeats at hands of the Eritreans, Tigre Afar, EDU and EPRP. Are those Somali forces fighting him? Is Somalia agitating the political unrest inside Addis Ababa within his own camp? The Western Somalis are only part of and parcel of those forces fighting Addis-Ababa colonialism. Then why he uses Somalia as an escapegoat for his ills? We do not want African blood to be spilled for no sake. But we will not hesitate to defend our territory with our own blood. We are confident to deal severe blows against any invasion by Ethiopian forces and their supporters.

The claims that the Ethiopian regime is gaining the sympathy and support of Africa is a hollow propaganda. The Organisation of African Unity is an association of free African States, that cannot force anyone to act against one's wishes. Somalia has strenuously worked to promote understanding and solidarity among African States. But Somalia will not bow down to satisfy the private interests of few African states. As regards the fuss being made out of the OAU Cairo resolution, Somalia had rejected and continues to reject to endorse the declaration on the grounds that it is unjust.

Somalia believed and still believes that those who were propagating this declaration had their own interests to consider. We sanction African colonialism and we still remain opposed to it. The interest of Africa lies in bringing about justice. And those who are advocating for African colonialism will not succeed.

As regards the OAU charter, nobody can misinterpret it falsely for it is clearly known to all. Its principles are well defined.

Any claim that the liberation forces or Somalia are violating the charter of the OAU is baseless. The pronouncements being made in Addis Ababa by some members of the OAU secretariate can be attributed to intense pressure there and hence can not be regarded as independent. If they have any integrity, they would have reacted to injustice and bloodpath in Addis Ababa itself. It should be known that Africa is ruled by its heads of States and Kings and a decision can only be reached at their convocation. The OAU Secretary-General is entrusted only in Administrative affairs and has no jurisdiction over political matters. If he was misquoted, as he admits, then the blame lies upon those who have done to tailor it to their own interests. In any case, the Secretary-General has no say on political matters. Political matters can only be discussed in the OAU council of Ministers meetings and the OAU summit Conferences of the African Heads of States. Every nation has the privilege to express its own view and hence a Decision reached at an OAU summit conference can only speak in the name of the Organisation of African Unity. It is amazing to hear some African States saying that Africa holds such and such Views. No one is entitled to speak in the name of Africa except with the consent of African Heads of States.

Now turning to the-eight nation mediation committee on Somali—Ethiopian Dispute, Somalia believes that the most appropriate procedure would have been to examine the matter in depth and then propose their finding to the two concerned countries and if any settlement could not be obtained to present their recommendation to the OAU today. No hasty decision reached by a small group can be considered as final. It seems that some countries are solely interested in advancing the inviolability — of African borders as left by colonialists while ignoring the cardinal principle of the right of peoples to self-determination and independence which is the main objective of the African body. The greatest task

racing Africa is the liberation of its peoples from all forms of colonialism and suppression.

Has Abyssinian colonialism been endorsed? Has it not participated in the infamous Berlin Conference? Does its blackness give it immunity? Can Africa close its eyes to such injustice for fear of antagonising the colonialists with its own ranks? Is this an affront to Africa.?

No, not at all. Dodging the issue will serve no purpose other than colonialists.

This is purely an African problem which has to be solved by Africans and as such does not concern any other State or States no other state has the right to middle into the issue. If Africa fails to solve this issue it will surely lead to the disintegration of the African Unity which could be a tragedy for the Continent. Good judgment and justice so as to bring the mad Mengistu to his senses

As for Mengistu's attempts to involve Kenya into his war with the liberation fronts in the guise of a so called Somali aggression, we do not see how President Kenyata and the Kenyan people could be led to approve of what certain unscrupulous Kenya and likewise does not expect ill-intention from her. We believe that certain elements who have either been led astray or have some wicked interests of their own purpose, are propagating such views. Having had the opportunity to meet president Kenyata on several occasions. We hold the view that he is among the experienced African Heads of States who shun colonialism knowing all its evils. He is known for his advance of understanding among African countries. I do not believe that he would be misled by the hellow drums being beaten by the insane Mengistu. Somalia has no ill will against Kenyan officials were reported to have been saying. We believe

Those who are working to push Kenya into conflicts with Somalia are only doing so to the detriment of Somalia, Kenya and Africa at large. The Kenya Government would be well-advised not to allow itself to be dragged into unnecessary adventures, dangerous for both Somalia and Kenya.

We believe in peaceful co-existence among all nations of the world. We believe that the Indian Ocean and Red Sea should remain free from rivalry and be zones of peace. They should be freely and peacefully used by all nations because any rivalry or conflict in the area would affect the whole world. In particular the littoral states should safeguard the security of the zone. Any problem arising out of it will directly affect the bordering countries and hence troubles created by others with in or without the region should not be tolerated. We advocate that seas and waterways should be freely used by all. Those instigating trouble in the area, like Mengistu and his likes, should be checked. Somalia would not be a party to any form of trouble being perpetrated in the area.

We advocate peaceful cooperation among nations. We recommend that those inciting tension in the area should think twice and refrain from sparking uncalled for fires. I have to make it clear again that the Mengistu regime is bent on creating hostilities between Somalia and Ethiopia. This again is an African problem and those who are interfering from outside are only taking a provocative stand. We call on them to cease their interference. It is the responsibility of the African leaders to intercede in the issue and identify the root causes.

Somalia has supported and will continue to support the just struggle of all the colonised peoples whether far away or near. We cannot compromise with colonialists. We hate them and hate even more those who sanction it. We will not be co-

wed by any threat to depart from supporting the liberation cause of oppressed peoples, for we hold it as sacrosanct, the inalienable right every human being to enjoy freedom and independence.

Those forces who are actively backing Mengistu in his unjust cause should be reminded that the matter could develop into larger dimensions which may have serious consequences for all. We request them to deeply reconsider their role. The situation might not come up to their calculations.

The Somali people are aware of Mengistu's threats. They have no intention of carrying out aggression against the Abyssinian people. But when their independence, dignity and existence is threatened, they will sacrifice all for the defence of their motherland. They will spare no life or property to defend their freedom. And surely any aggressor will pay dearly for his misadventure.

*Speech delivered by Jaalle Siad on the rally
for the support of decisions of the Central
Committee of the SRSP.*

November, 77

A short while ago I had the honour and great pleasure of addressing the nation on the occasion of the 8th Anniversary of our Revolution and had at that time briefly addressed myself to a review of our revolutionary accomplishments as well as to the most immediate challenges, problems and difficulties facing our nation today. I also had the occasion to inform you of the grave situation which has of late developed in our part of the world as the just liberation armed struggle of the peoples of western Somalia, Eriterea and other peoples continued against the Ethiopian Empire in pursuit of their just and national aspirations to freedom, human dignity and independence.

Likewise we made clear in no uncertain terms that the conflict between the forces of liberation and the colonizing power. Ethiopia is being transformed into an international crisis threatening not only the existence of the nationalist forces struggling for their independence but also the Somali Democratic Republic as well as other neighbouring countries in the region as the Sudan, Djibouti and Kenya, thus endangering International peace and security. We also made it abundantly clear that such serious development was the direct result of the intervention of extraneous forces who took the dangerous course of supplying huge armament to Ethiopia beyond the needs of that country, a supply of arms which is unwarranted,

ted, excessive and obviously destined to engulf the entire region in a fire of destruction unprecedented in the African continent.

We on that occasion called upon the Soviet Union to put an end to such dangerous course of action and appealed to the international Community to urge it to do so.

Similarly we called upon the Government of Cuba to immediately pull out its troops from the area and to refrain from meddling in the affairs of the Horn of Africa thus leaving the solution of the problems of our region to the people concerned and the organization of African Unity.

I had also traced at that time the historical background of the expansionist Ethiopian Empire and the process of colonization through which Abyssinia acquired the territory of Western Somalia as well as those of other peoples in the Horn of Africa which led to the transformation of the Kingdom of Abyssinia into what has of lately been known as the Ethiopian Empire.

Jaallayaal,

The International community in general and the people and nations in our region in particular are fully cognizant of the fact that the armed liberation struggle raging in Ethiopia and the colonized people, the intervention of the Soviet Union, Cuba and some other pseudo-socialist countries poses a direct challenge not only to the sovereign states in Africa, in the region and the OAU as an organization but also to the conscience of all peace and freedom loving peoples the world over.

The advancement of the liberation movement in the Ethiopian Empire can only be viewed as the unfolding process of history. As we stated on many occasions Ethiopia's geographical proxi-

mity to the territories it colonized and its africanity can in no way change the essence and the nature of that empire's colonial possession, for colonialism has indeed no colour. History records that all Empires throughout the annals of mankind have been subjected to the natural rule of disintegration thus giving way to the liberation of the colonized people, to the restoration of the natural order disrupted by the creation of every such Empire. It follows that the progress of the liberation struggle against the Ethiopian Empire by the people of Western Somalia, Eritrea, Abbo, Afar and others is but a manifestation of such natural rule on action and cannot be suppressed by the Soviet Union, Cuba and those others who have opted to engage themselves today in direct combat against the liberation fronts in absolute contravention of all internationally accepted norms among the civilized and peace loving nations and in blatant violation of the principles enshrined in the charters of the United Nations Organization, the Organization of African Unity and all other International bodies of a similar nature.

The flimsy and untenable grounds upon which they expediently attempt to justify their wanton acts of aggression against people struggling for the just aspiration of their rights to self-determination cannot stand to any logic.

The course of action taken by the USSR in supporting colonialist Ethiopia to perpetuate its colonization of other peoples under pretext of socialist internationalism, comes also in direct contradiction with the tenets of the ideology and political philosophy upon which the Soviet Revolution was founded 60 years ago.
Jaallayaal,

As revolutionary Somalia chose to stand for the policy of non-alignment, for the support of all peoples struggling for their national independence, for the noble principles,

goals and objectives enshrined in the Charters of the UNO, the OAU, the Arab League and of all other international Organizations, we worked towards full co-operation with all peoples and countries in all spheres of international life for indeed we believe that such outlook reflects properly and objectively the natural independence among nations and the necessity now more than ever before for universal cooperation to overcome the basic enemies of mankind namely: disease, hunger and ignorance. Likewise, we believe that the natural aspirations and dignity cannot be attained as long as oppressed and colonised peoples are denied the exercise of their rights for self-determination and independence.

As we adopted the second charter of the Revolution in October 1971, we did so with the full conscience of finding the way and means for the realization of such national objectives and of the noble principles, and aspirations cherished not only by our nation but also by the international community at large.

In so doing we defend the basic principles of our foreign policy which is based on the support for the national liberation movement, on our opposition to all forms of colonialism and neo-colonialism, recognition of the principles of peaceful co-existence between all peoples and on the policy of positive neutrality. As the charters of revolution clearly embody we made known our determination to collaborate with all the peoples of the world in their aspiration to freedom, social justice and world peace, on the basis of equality and mutual respect of all Nations.

Jaallayaal,

As you all know our country's long standing relationship with USSR, which dates back to the time of our accession to independence in 1960, was neither accidental nor baseless. It was inspired by outstanding respect for one another and mu-

tual cooperation. As such it was found on common principles and on concrete material interests of the two nations.

Our cooperation in the past 18 years has covered many fields including, defence, education, trade and economic co-operation which proved of great benefit to the Somali people and for which we feel duty bound to express our deep and sincere gratitude to the Soviet people.

At the same time the Somali people appreciated the general stand of the Soviet Union in support of the national liberation movements against colonialism. It was no wonder then that the mutual understanding and co-operation of the two countries gained momentum year after year. This took new dimensions after the 21 October Revolution. The development of these close relations with the Soviet Union reached its pinnacle on July 11 1974 when Friendship Treaty between the the Somali Democratic Republic and the USSR was concluded in Mogadishu.

Jaallayaal,

For some time now a completely new situation radically affecting these Friendly relations has arisen when the Soviet Union embarked upon a new policy of an all out support to the colonialist Regime of Ethiopia at the expense of the genuine and legitimate struggle of the liberation movements. Needless to say the Soviet Union like any other nations. is sovereign to adopt any policy it wishes towards other nations. We have no claim, and no right, to prevent the adoption of any such policy. Nevertheless we have the right to protest against such political choice in as much as it contravenes the spirit and letter of the Agreement between the two countries and even endangers the security and existence of our country.

In view of these circumstance and in consonance with the friendly relations between the two countries, we tried to ex-

plain to the USSR government to the utmost of our ability, the present and historical complexity of the situation in the Horn of Africa.

We patiently explained on various occasions and at various levels including my visit last August to Moscow that the basic cause of the conflict in the Horn of Africa is Ethiopia's colonisation of other peoples. We explained the historical background of the situation: how European colonialism in the late 19th century abetted and aided the expansion of the Abyssinian Kingdom to the presently claimed boundaries of the Ethiopian Empire, how Ethiopia was an active participant with the European powers in the division and colonization of the peoples of the Horn and as such can only be considered a colonial power, and how in such circumstance the colonized peoples of that power cannot be denied their inalienable right to self-determination and independence.

The history of colonization and domination had its echo in the continued struggle and resistance of the colonized people. Thus we patiently explained to the Soviet Government, how the struggle of the people under Ethiopian colonial rule for freedom was simultaneous with similar liberation struggles against European colonialism raging in the African continent. The only difference today is that European colonial authorities bowed to the will of the people while the Ethiopian rulers, past and present, have consistently turned against the tide of history.

We also explained the already familiar position of Somalia since its independence on the question, namely, that it is fully committed to the support of the legitimate rights of all the people under colonial oppression including these of Western Somalia for self-determination and independence.

The negative and intransigent attitude of the Ethiopian Regime towards decolonization has all along been evident to the Soviet Union as well as the rest of the world.

The colonised people expected a change in the attitude of the new regime after the overthrow of the feudal monarch in Ethiopia. But the Dergue Regime opted for a course of action that intensified the brutal oppression so characteristic of the previous regime. In the face of such brutality and denial of their rights the colonized people had no choice but to engage in armed struggle to defend themselves and gain their freedom. The Somali Democratic Republic, under such conditions, was obliged to give it's full support to the legitimate liberation struggles, just as it had always supported all other genuine liberation movements.

the Somali Democratic Republic repeatedly made representations to the Soviet leadership against this course of action which comes in direct contradiction with one of the most fundamental principles of the international community, namely; the principles of the right of all peoples to self-determination, a principle which as you know constitutes the cornerstone for human justice as well as international stability and security.

Apart from the complete dis-regard for these basic principles the Soviet Union has taken actions and positions which endanger the interests and security of Somalia.

First of all she has levelled false and baseless accusations against the Somali Democratic Republic describing it as an aggressor.

Secondly, for the past several months she has been conducting an intensive political, diplomatic and propaganda campaign against the Somali Democratic Republic throughout the world: In Africa, the Arab world and in all International organisations of every nature.

Thirdly as explained earlier she is presently pouring massive and highly sophisticated quantities of armaments unpre-

cedented in the region into Ethiopia, an act which can only be regarded as a prelude to an all-out invasion against the Somali Democratic Republic. fourthly, she mobilized and sanctioned the committment of Cuban and other troops on the side of Ethiopia against the liberation struggle in the area and against the Somali Democratic Republic.

Fifth, she has pressurised the socialist countries allied to it to take a position inimical to the interests of SDR, in the present conflict in the Horn of Africa.

And finally she has unilaterally terminated the supply of legitimate defensive arms to the SDR in direct constravention of existing agreements between the two countries.

The implication of all these actions can only be interpreted as constituting a unilateral abrogation of the Freindship Agreement of July 1974 and other agreements between our two countries both in letter and spirit. It is pertinent to quote here some relevent articles of the said agreement.

Article 4 of the Agreement states:

«In order to strengthen the defensive capacity of the Somali Democratic Republic, the two respected sides will continue their military cooperation, in accordance with special agreements. This cooperation will be specifically concerned with the training of Somali military personnel and the supply of military equipment to the Somali Democratic Republic so as to strengthen its defensive capacity».

Article 7 of the said Agreement states as follows:

«Believing in the principles of freedom and equality of all peoples, the two respected sides condemn imperialism and colo-

nialism in all their forms. The two sides will continue to oppose imperialist and colonial forces and they will co-operate with other Governments in giving support to the just cause of the peoples struggling for freedom, independence and the peoples progress, based on the principles of equality and the right to self-determination as sanctioned in the United Nation's Charter».

And Article 10 of the same Agreement States:

«Each respected side declares that it will not enter into military pacts or alliance with other Governments, or undertake actions or measures inimical to the other side».

In spite of the above, the note of warning made in my October 1977 address to the Nation on the natural consequences of such Soviet intervention in the conflict in the Horn of Africa it has now began to assume different dimensions.

We are all fully convinced of the existence of an immediate and imminent joint Soviet Cuba Plan for an all out military aggression from Ethiopia against the Somali Democratic Republic. Plans for this massive military invasion by Ethiopia have been drawn with the help of Soviet experts and is to be executed with the collaboration and support of Cuban troops and other military contingents.

Under these circumstances the Somali Democratic Republic has no alternative but to review her long-standing relationship with the Governments of the USSR and Cuba. Accordingly the Central Committee of the Somali Revolutionary Socialist Party in its meeting of November 13, took the following decisions;

1. The Friendship Agreement already violated by the Soviet sides is from now onwards null and void and Somalia abrogates it from its side.

2. Any facilities of a military nature hitherto available for the use of the Soviet Union in the territory and waters of the SDR are withdrawn.

3. All Soviet experts, military and civil, now in the SDR are requested to leave the country within a week.

4. The diplomats and staff of the Soviet Embassy in the SDR and its subsidiaries are reduced to the same number as those in the Somali Embassy in Moscow.

Furthermore, so long as the Government of Cuba had openly sent its troops to the Horn of Africa to fight for colonialism and oppression to wipe out peoples struggling for freedom and had in addition, used offensive language against the SDR, it had been decided to sever the diplomatic relations with that Government. All the diplomatic staff and experts from Cuba are requested to leave country within 48 hours.

As I have remarked in my address to the nation on the 21st October 1977, we have every confidence in the determination and courage of our people and their readiness for self-sacrifice. Our people had been steeled in their resistance to colonial domination, in their struggle for independence and emancipation, and in their struggle for building the foundations of revolutionary Somalia.

We have never been overawed by the power and arrogance of the enemy. The ex-colonial European powers had confronted the unbreakable mettle of our people and had, accordingly, left our shores for good. The power that today desires to break the will of our people through suppressing the armed struggle of the liberation movements and endangering the Somali Democratic Republic are extremely mistaken. I am fully confident that you will prove to them and to the rest of the world, that you are a proud and courageous nation that will never submit to

arrogance, that you will give up everything to defend your dignity, sovereignty and unity. We are neither weak nor friendless. We are not intimidated by modern weapons and political deceit. We shall courageously build our revolution and defend our independence. Victory is ours, sheer might, arrogance and despotism never made history.

*Speech Delivered by the Secretary General
of the SRSP Jaalle Mohamed Siad Barre on the Occasion
of the 9th Anniversary of the 21th October Revolution.*

21st Oct, 1978

First of all on behalf of the Central Committee, the Political Bureau and on my own behalf, let me congratulate you all on the Anniversary of this great day, fully aware that your feelings and sense of optimism are on a high level. I pay special regard and gratitude to the Comrades and other Dear Guests who travelled a long way in order to share with us the Anniversary of our Revolution.

COMRADES,

Your feelings such as you are having today, moved the armed forces, on a day like this nine years ago to take over the responsibility of governing the country, a process in whose guidance, direction and implementation many of you have participated.

The aim of the Revolution was not simply to take over power, nor to serve the interests of a particular group or class, nor to passify the people with false promises, but to realize in practice the large aspirations of the Somali masses for which they were struggling for a long time, and to overcome the problems and difficulties that had weakened them for so long.

The aspirations for which the Somali people struggled for so long can be summarised in their desire to achieve in the country, through their own efforts, social and economic changes, whose fruits are not appropriated by a small group of class but are shared equitably by all. The Somali people believe, like us that this country has resources sufficient for ten times the present population, but the main obstacles are ignorance, lack of hard work and maldistribution.

It was because of this conviction that the Revolution from the beginning set itself to the task of raising the level of education and knowledge, increasing production and its equitable distribution among the society. We need not ask ourselves the gains of the Revolution in such areas.

One can get the details and statistics from the Organisations concerned, or see the results in social practice. We believe that the Somali people despite a long history of difficul-

ties, division oppression, diversion and deception, are today passing through a better period because many of their aspirations have been realized and they have full confidence in the realization of the rest. This does not call for any relaxation. On the contrary whenever our society becomes bolder, whenever our economy grows, whenever our national unity becomes more solidified, then certainly we are frustrating the interests of groups within us or the policies of some foreign governments. We cannot expect these to approve or at least not oppose such successes. It is up to them. On our part we should seriously and in a revolutionary manner fulfil the responsibility of the all-round development of our society. To do so we have always to be clear on the path which we have to follow which can only be the socialist path.

The gains of the Revolution are enough evidence on the correctness of the choice of the socialist path. Thanks to the

Socialist path and the hard work of our people, the nine years of struggle have raised us to a high level in the economic, social and cultural transformation for which we have sought for so long. In reality the main features of the economy today, which are the systems of distribution and the direction of investment are in the hands of the people. We can divide the economy into the 3 main sectors:—

- 1) The state sector.
- 2) The co-operative sector.
- 3) The private sector.

The two first sectors are collective property directly managed by the government while the third sector is guided and controlled through the plan. The existence and encouragement of this third sector is not something new, nor is it inimical, to an economy developing in the socialist path. On the contrary it can play a proper role in the overall development of the country, provided the private owners are nationals who are active in investment and respectful of the laws of the country and rights of their employees. Even if the investors are, involved with foreign firms, organisations or governments, they can still participate in the development efforts subject to the plan of the country and the accepted norms of international exchange.

In such an expanded economy, mostly managed by the Government, with extended relations with many parts of the world, it is quite possible to find mismanagement here and there, or unbalance among its sectors. Recently, there appeared a new phenomenon of parasites who try to benefit from these weaknesses and to get rich quickly. We are not worried about these pirates. They came with the wind and they will go with the wind. All those willing to participate in the above mentioned 3 sectors are quite welcomed, but the insects and parasites have to leave us along.

In the field of education, we are all aware of the importance given to it by the Revolution, and how the people became conscious of it. The writing of the Somali language and the strengthening of Arabic opened the door to the expansion of education everywhere, simplified the educational system in the schools, and eliminated the misunderstanding and lack of harmony in the administration. In fact the question facing us today is not how to bring education to our people but:

- (1) How to improve the quality of education in the schools and University.
- (2) How to give a technical basis to the students; and
- (II) How to bear the burden of such an expanded system in the coming years.

The only way to solve these problems, we think, is to work harder, develop our economy further and to improve our planning system.

The Revolution also gave top priority to the security and stability in the society. It was absolutely essential that each person should feel secure in his home, district and place of work. This required the study of the social relations among our people, the cultural heritage, and the special circumstances that cause conflict-sometimes bloody among them.

Economic backwardness and ignorance result in cultural backwardness. This cultural backwardness stagnated for a long time in the lowest form recognisable in the development of the society; in the form of clanish formation. Low productivity and ignorance bring forth struggle sometimes violent over the available resources, thus resulting in lack of confidence and lack of security. The first step taken by the Revolution in this regard was to bring back confidence to people, to provide the service they need such as medicine, water or pas-

ture in an equitable way, to make each family feel secure where they are.

We believe that the people when they saw what has been done for them, gave up clinging to tribalism, (or, rather clanism) and that they began fully to back the Revolution and the Party that was born with their all-round support. Never the less there are those who are intent on exarcebating the tribal wounds in order to fulfill their interests, or make it a stepping stone for reaching power. While we are sure that they cannot deceive many, yet, we call upon those who list individuals to give up political profiteering, foreign-following and damaging of the Somali people. If they don't remedy their conduct in time the Somali masses will no longer tolerate them and will have no mercy for them.

COMRADES:-

From the first years the Revolution faced its responsibility concerning the mobilization of the people, the raising of their political consciousness and the vanguard role of the forces engaged in production. When it became clear that the internal contradictions between social groups has become minimal, when confidence in justice brought about wide-spread peace in the country, when full attention was turned to work, when progressive and patriotic forces had the upper hands, then the Supreme Revolutionary Council transferred its powers to the new socialist Party, which has been the ruling party for the last two years. The main objective of this was to create a mass basis for the rule of the country, to establish correct leadership from the people so that the programmes and plans of the government can meet the short and long range needs of the people. The experience of the past two years has shown that this was a clear foresight. This does not mean that the process of enabling the various social groups of the people to participate in running the affairs of the country has terminated. On the contrary the aim of the Party is to increase each day, the involvement

of working forces and the various social strata in making the general policy of the country. Moreover it is also necessary that all members of the society at large realize their responsibility towards the country, as well as their rights.

It is as a result of this need that the Central Committee decided and approved the making of a Constitution which, will be promulgated during the coming year. In our opinion this will be a very important step for the democratic development which our country is seeking.

Certainly the Constitution will result in the establishment of a Parliament in which the various social strata will express their views about the policy and administration of the country.

The Central Committee also decided, in the meeting of 18th and 19th October, the holding of an extraordinary Party Congress within 3 months in order to evaluate the present situation of the country, and debate, study and approve the policy which the Party is to follow in the coming years.

Comrades

Comrades & Dear Guests;

Lately the question has been asked in several quarters about the stand of the Somali Government concerning present world issues, specifically its relations with the major powers and its neighbours. How does she view, it is asked, the cause and struggles of the liberation movements in the Horn of Africa? We think that the Somali point of view is hidden only from those who don't want to understand it for our position is apparent from our daily work. Yet let me try to clarify.

If I start with the question of the Liberation Movements struggling for the return of their rights-be they those of Western Somalia, Abbo or Eritrea - We think it imperative that a

way must be found to allow these peoples their right for self-determination. This is a legitimate and inevitable right common to all nations that are under colonial bondage, divided, or suffering from racial discrimination. I believe there is no need to reiterate here the history of Western Somalia, the Somali people in general, or that of Eritrea.

I believe that history is well-known even though some governments, in pursuing their own interests many times ignore or deny that history.

The Ethiopian Government continually claims that Somalia is expansionist, that Somalia wants to annex Western Somalia. This is purely nonsense. The people of the Somali Democratic Republic have enough land and enough resources. The truth of the matter is that the Ethiopian Government in its accusation of Somalia is camouflaging its colonization of the peoples who are struggling to become free from its rule. The accusation that Somalia has destroyed people and property is baseless one, simply because Somalia cannot possibly destroy the towns and villages built by Somali people with their own sweat. If any body is going to lodge a claim it is the Somali Democratic Republic whose people have been killed, towns bombarded and great damage caused. What the Somali people can in no way accept is to see their brothers colonized and oppressed in their own land. The support given by Somalia to the liberation Movements is based on such legitimate rights. It was for the same reason that we were supporting Djibouti just recently, even though at that time also Ethiopia was propagating that we were claiming it. But truth will always come to the fore, and history teaches a lesson each day for those who want to listen.

Apart from the cause of liberation, which is between the Ethiopian Government and the Liberation movements there has been a long-standing border problem between Ethiopia

and Somali which requires a solution. All these problems require to be squarely faced and discussed in a way that fulfils both the short and long-range interests of the people in the region.

On these problems of the Horn, Somalia disagrees with other governments besides Ethiopia, main among which is the Soviet Union. We do not demand that all governments agree with our point of view concerning the burning issues of the day, including those of the Horn Africa. But what we never expected was that a government with a prestige and declared principles, the Soviet Union, on whose shoulders should lie responsibilities of world scale, or Cuba which claimed that it stands for the defence of the oppressed peoples, would blatantly side against weak Liberation Movements struggling for a long time for their rights with no weapons but the will of their people. We believe that foreign interference in Horn of Africa is a dangerous policy, with serious consequences, and will in no way provide solutions to the present problems. We call again upon the Soviet Union and those Governments allied with it to review and change their present policies, respect the rights of the humans for freedom and independence and stop the threats and aggressive designs against the Somali Democratic Republic.

We admit that there are many problems in African continent. But we believe that it is up to the Africans to come up with the solutions they see fit in the manner they see fit, either collectively or between those countries that the specific problems concern.

In truth, during the early sixties when the enthusiasm of the independence Movement was still in the air, there was a sense of solidarity coming up. Unfortunately when the independence of many countries was consolidated and recognized, misunderstandings appeared. There are many reasons for this, of course, chief among which are the divisions inheri-

ted from colonialism, lack of communication, different languages and religions that were an impediment to their intermingling. In addition to this the socio-economic ties of each Government to ex-colonial power was strengthening, and the interference of foreign powers seeking strategic advantages without regard to the real unity sought by the African, was also increasing. The uncalled for designs of these governments whether they are of the old colonial type, or those new ones who are seeking today to create opportunities for dividing African countries in order to promote their interests, cannot be tolerated, nor can their danger be minimized. To cap it all, there appeared recently divisions among the countries according to the system or way of development preferred by each.

Yet with all these problems one cannot ignore the larger common interests of the continent, the similar circumstances and conditions of the people all of which compel closer co-operation and a common effort to solve the problems between them.

This will certainly facilitate the uniting of the forces and the political views of the continent in order to give genuine assistance to the nations still struggling for their independence such as Namibia, Zimbabwe, and those who are locked in confrontation with Apartheid South Africa. Even though many countries are trying to find a peaceful solution for the independence of these countries, yet all African countries should spare no efforts in order to help these peoples to gain their independence immediately. Only when this is appreciated, only when there is genuine conviction of the need to unify the struggle of the African peoples, only then would it be possible for African leaders to tackle and realize the aspirations of the sixties, and for which the organisation of African Unity was created to the necessity of uniting this continent. We hope that the crisis in several areas of the continent will be solved in order to make the necessary co-operation and unity for progress possible.

When we call for this, we do not mean at all that the major powers or the so-called developed countries cannot contribute to the Liberation of the remaining parts of the continent, or to its economic and technological progress. They can and they should. But the primary condition is that they should respect the freedom, peace, security and cooperation of the continent.

If we mention specifically our relations with Europe and the United States, relations which Somalia always tried to prevent from deteriorating, we want to say that these relations are now improving. We are specially gratified by their carefulness not to interfere in our internal affairs, and the willingness they have shown in assisting us economically.

We also deeply respect the relations we have with the government and people of China which today plays a very important role in the world arena. She deserves serious consideration from the Somali Government and people for her considerable assistance in our economic development and her sincere attempts to understand the character of the Somali people and their objectives.

If I now turn to the Arab World, it is obvious that the special circumstance pertaining today in the Middle East, the Red Sea, Horn of Africa, and the Indian Ocean confirm the fact of our interdependence and the need to further strengthen our Governmental co-operation and our socio-economic relations.

However, we are very much worried by the fact that the Camp David proposals for a solution of the Middle East crisis have created divisions among the Arab leaders. The Somali Government and people were always struggling for a just solution of the Middle East crisis; that Israel should withdraw from all Arab territories occupied in June 1975, and that the Palestinian people should be allowed their national rights for self-determination. These principles have also been codified in Resolutions 242, and 338 of the United Nations.

The implementations of these principles and a final peace agreement between the Arab countries and Israel could not have been easy matter but one which needs, in our opinion, prolonged struggle, patience and open mind. Since there had been no Arab Summit for some years, we believe the meeting called by Iraq is in order. This meeting must discuss the questions dividing Arabs, strengthen the basic points of agreement, and find the proper formula for-co-ordinating Arab points of view. The confrontation between Arab countries, in our view, is very dangerous indeed. It gives an excellent opportunity to their enemies, makes the Arabs lose a right which they could have won were they united. For these reasons the Somali Government has decided to participate in this coming conference and will spare no effort in trying to bridge the differences.

COMRADES,

DEAR GUESTS,

If such is the experience and policy of Somalia, what are the present roles of the Somali masses, the Revolutionary Socialist Party and the Government?

The Somali masses had many times expressed and proved their readiness to defend their nationhood, their sacrifice of self and property for the realization of national aspirations, their undauntedness and patience. It is because of these qualities that the Somali nation had been fought against decades ago and divided. The same designs are still there today. The Somali people can defeat such criminal plots only by further strengthening their unity and solidarity.

There are always rabble-rousers who are bent on dividing the people, enticing one against another, and reviving old vestiges of the past. It is the responsibility of the Party to point these to the people, expose and isolate them. It is true that the party has been engaged up to now in its own establishment; it has

passed through the difficult circumstance facing the country; which did not allow it to concentrate fully on its normal tasks in the society. Now that the Party has completed the establishment of its structure across the country, both residentially and at work places, and is engaged in many areas directly in the administration, it can only be expected to conscientiously and directly implement its programme. The party is the nerve Centre among the masses that communicates their views and complaints to the organs concerned, and firmly establishes the roots of the ideas of scientific socialism.

A party that is not consistent and determined in its principles will not be useful and will not reach its goal. It must mingle with, bring up and direct the social organisations. It must also strengthen its relations with parties of similar views and other international organisations. Since the time of holiday the Extra-ordinary Party Congress is close at hand, the Party must organize itself for the occasion and tasks at hand.

All Government organs must conclude in fulfilling the tasks set out for them in the 1974—78, plan. Special attention must be focused on the directive of making the country self-sufficient in food production by 1980. No matter which difficulties arise, this goal must be kept in the fore front. The Government is also required to improve the system of administration, reduce waste, and eliminate the remnants of speculation, corruption and favouritism. The co-ordination of the various organs must be simplified, while the workers association and co-operatives should co-operate in raising production and the satisfying of the needs of the masses. If we fullfil our programmes, on these directives, I am sure our people will prosper in the road we are following.

Finally allow me to thank the Somali masses, Armed forces and the very many social groups who have excellently celebrated this occasion, and heartily welcomed the Somali

Comrades who visited us from abroad and from the regions, and the other Dear Guests who honoured us with their coming to us on this day.

**LONG LIVE THE SOMALI REVOLUTION: LONG LIVE
THE S.R.S.P.**

THE PRESIDENT DELIVERS SPELLPOUND SPEECH

JAN. 26, 1979

The General Secretary of the SRSP and President of the SDR, Jaalle Mohamed Siad Barre delivered a historical speech on the closing occasion of the extra ordinary session of the Congress. Here below we reproduce the President's speech in full text:—

Jaallayaal Members of the Central Committee, Jaallayaal Congressional delegates.

I have the great honour of addressing you once again and have pleasure to express my appreciation to all of you for the warm atmosphere and smooth proceedings that have characterized the deliberation of the Congress.

In reality the Central Committee of our Party, fully aware of the feelings, the day to day life, the concerns and aspirations of the Nation and permanently keeping its ultimate destiny in mind and similarly aware of the international issues and developments, could have continued to discharge the responsibilities with which it has been charged at the Founding Congress of the Party and could have awaited an Ordinary Session for its reporting. It's choice to convene an Extra-Ordinary Session of Congress is an evidence, more than every thing, to its scrupulous respect for the path traced by our glorious 21 October Revolution, in that we have continuously endeavoured to ensure the participation of our people in the mana-

gement of State Affairs as well as to ensure through indepth the understanding of the people for the reality of matters affecting the nation so that they could participate in the management of state affairs properly, actively and thus contribute to development of both short and long range policy and strategy relative to all-spheres of nation life.

The purpose in creating the former Public Relations Bureau of the SRC, in its later transformation into the political office, in the organization and mobilization of our masses, in the building of social centres, in the abolition of the Offices of Governors and District Commissioners, which were the remanents of Colonial structurization of society, and the institution in their place of Committees empowered to administer the regions and districts collectively, was to enhance the degree of political awareness of the masses and to instill in them a sense of confidence where-by they would apply their resources to finding the ways and means of ensuring National Unity, the increase of production, the promotion of knowledge, the defense of the Nation. in one word: to reach self-sufficiency.

The founding of the Somali Revolutionary Socialist Party changed the method and structure of the organization of the masses and laid the foundation for a new structure which united all those who share patriotism, loyalty to the nation, dedication and hardwork, convinced of and committed to the political programme chosen for the development of our country and people and aimed at the building of a socialist society that would guarantee justice, security, job-opportunity education and all other protections and amenities to the individual.

Despite the circumstantial difficulties which it has encountered and the short span of time that has lapsed since its formation, our party, as you all have correctly stated in your reports, has fulfilled a considerable amount of its tasks. Indeed

the convening of this extra-ordinary Congress and the call for open and un-reserved debates and deliberations in which all party members have participated and which has addressed itself to all aspects of the policy of our revolution is yet a further evidence of the strong confidence that our party has in itself. The submission to this Congress of a Draft constitution which establishes, inter alia, state organs such as the peoples Assembly which will in a permanent manner, ensure the participation, coordination and delineation of National policies and the Management of the Affairs of state, is an act characterized, be equally significant political courage. It must however, be understood that such move does not in any way represent a concession to any one but is intended to inspire the Somali masses to dedicate their mind, sacrifice their muscle, unite their intention so that they could ensure the implementation of the projects they have planned.

It should be clear to all of us that this is not the moment when participation in the Administration of the nation was tantamount to the acquisition of an effective means used for personal ends, at times in extending—undue favours to others, at times for one's enrichment, at times for creating confrontation in society, in one word the acquisition of an effective instrument of private interest at the cost of National interest.

Participation in the political leadership is a grave responsibility which is being gradually developed upon the masses and those who represent them should be persons that have distinguished themselves in dedication, in hard work, in foresight in proven loyalty to the Nation, in self abnegation and sacrifice, in steadfastness and who have out-grown the stage of self interest.

Jaaaallayaal,

Although you have testified to the progress made and the sense of responsibility with which the resolutions of founding Congress have been executed, you have also pointed out some

shortcomings in some parts of the Administration, criticism is proper and shortcomings are bound to be encountered in the life of a nation. It is pertinent to ask are we, as party members, free from such shortcomings? How many of us hold positions of responsibility at both political and Administrative levels at National, social organizations and at Regional and District levels? Do you seriously believe that given our unity of action and intent and sincere loyalty to the Revolution and the Party that the corrupt individuals could have thrived or that mal-administration would have sufferings to the Nation. We do not hold such view, on the contrary we are of the view that our execution and follow up are somewhat in-complete.

We maintain that the difficult circumstances that have lately faced our country and the earlier problems that have adversely affected our economy have not been fully appreciated by you all. It follows that such adverse circumstance plus the present constraints in cadres and know-how have given an opportunity to the anti-revolutionary and reactionary forces to attempt to take an advantage of the Revolution since they could not withstand it. The activities of such elements should have instilled a sense of urge, challenge unity and stronger determination in you all, but it would appear that you have instead been drawn into confusion and baseless suspicion and consequently have involved yourselves in unnecessary debates to the great satisfaction of the reactionaries.

JAALLAYAAL,

The building of the socialist society shall succeed in our country for it is the only socio-economic system that could ensure rapid progress and guarantee social justice to our nation. It shall succeed whether the reactionaries like it or otherwise. The building of socialism does not come by if a society taken a passive approach to nation building. It emerges on the basis of the struggle of oppressed masses, the workers and prog-

ressive forces against their class enemies. The responsibility of leading such forces belongs to themselves, to the Party to its Cadres and to you.

The war that is being waged against our revolution and our sovereignty does not come from internal reaction alone but more significantly, we should exercise maximum vigilance to the foreign aggression which is being organized externally and which is aimed against our sovereign existence. The threat directed against us by the Ethiopian regime proceeds from its reliance on major powers.

The degree of preparedness of our masses for speedy participation in the revolution against any threat from what soever quarter is, at this stage, a responsibility which assumes an absolute priority.

We must keep such priority in mind and be permanently and continuously ready to take the appropriate measures expeditiously no matter how important an economic project or other activities in which we might be engaged at any given moment.

Jaallayaa!

You have adopted today declarations of great significance, you have taken political decisions, you have voiced historical calls.

The Party Central Committee and the Secretariat are expected to lead you to their execution but the implementation of such significant policy matters are your prerogative and responsibility. We shall provide a proper control but their actual execution among the masses and other party members is your task.

The Administration is the instrument which we use for the implementation of our programmes, it is our technical means.

Therefore, if it slows down at times we must inject it with new impetus and correct it where warranted. We should in no way move in opposition or make undue accusations to it or be diverted by an isolated shortcomings here and there which transpires.

We have to turn our utmost attention to work, to the scrupulous respect for the laws governing our Administration and discharge our respective responsibilities accordingly. I have referred to this matter in order to draw your attention to the law governing the powers of the regional and district Committees and their relationship with the Central Government organs.

The purpose of that law was to invest adequate powers in each district and region relative to their political and Administrative responsibilities. The delegation to the regions of plenipotentiary representatives of Central Committee was to further ensure the self sufficiency of the districts and regions in Administrative matters. In view of the preceding, we wish to call the attention of the Central Government organs to refrain from any undue interference and that the regions discharge their responsibilities in an effective manner. It is illogical for us to point out shortcomings for which there appears no organ to whom they could be ascribed.

The Party and the Government leadership as well as the laws of the nation will be at your disposal to clarify any difference that might arise. If we all fully understand such matter and collectively and jointly co-operate towards such objective. I am confident that our next Congress will be privileged to hear numerous problems that happily been over come.

Allow me to take the opportunity at this congress myself to a very important matter worthy of our attention and consideration.

As you know the year 1979 has been declared by the United Nations and its specialized Agencies as the year of «Children» and have called upon all nations to formulate a plan for child care. As a matter of fact the SDR ever since the advent of 21st October Revolution has spared no efforts to protect and care for «children» and has created schools and childcare centres.

The SDR welcomes such declaration by the United Nations, and has already appointed various committees and has drawn the necessary plans which calls for execution at regional, district and family level.

Children represent the future of every nation therefore it is incumbent upon the masses to gird the loins of endeavour and to approach this matter in a scientific manner. There are several humanitarian organisations which are interested in this matter. We also have national and social organizations which are concerned with such matters. We believe that all such efforts be united and that we initiate a national campaign for the construction of child care centres as well as to organize permanent sources of finance so that every child would be guaranteed adequate living and proper medical care. Jaallayaal.

It is important that we concern ourselves with the life of children for we know that not all families can provide proper care to children as well as for their education and raising them to a standard that responds to the expectations of our community. Therefore it is imperative that the Nations help families raise them, that the society follow the conditions of the child as related to housing, nutrition, health and the education since the future of the nation lies with children.

Therefore I wish to call your attention that you should complete any remaining part of the plan in your respective regions and that you should commence such activity if you

have not started. This should be done in accordance with the Central plan and you should report your progress and activities in that regard. Further more, I wish to propose that a new centre for the October Revolutionary Flower be built, the flower whose Revolutionary spirit you have so often seen, who are imbued with profound sense of love for the motherland and who, therefore, merit particular attention on our part for their care.

Jaallayaal,

Finally, I would wish to mention that the 71st session of the Arab League conference might soon be held in our capital. Such event is not only a great honour which our brothers have decided to bestow upon us but indeed a serious responsibility that we should discharge with competence and efficiency. We should therefore commence our preparations for the conference forthwith.

I thank you for the maturity that you have shown in this congress, for the significant Resolutions which you have adopted and the strong encouragement that you have given us in the fulfilment of the policy with which we have been leading the country. A part from congratulations and wishes for buon voyage, our conclusion could well «Few worlds, hard work and pdoper orientation».

Long live Somalia, Long live the SRSP.

Speech by Jaalle Siad.

LET US FOLLOW ISLAM'S WAY (IDD AL ADHA, SPEECH)

FEB. 17, 1979.

On this auspicious holy Idd—Al—Adha, solemnly and fittingly celebrated throughout the territory of the Somali Democratic Republic, I desire to extend to all my best wishes for happiness, prosperity and wellbeing.

On this occasion, our thoughts also embrace Islam's Holy Places, where at this time hundreds of thousands of faithful people are gathered to fulfill their pilgrimage, according to the dictate of our religion.

In this spirit, I exhort all of you to meditate upon the high moral teaching of the Islamic faith in which lies the path towards mutual understanding, cooperation and peace.

We are still on the threshold of a new era, initiated by the 21st October Revolution. It is a time deep—laid with difficulties. We do not wish to conceal that the problems that confront us are manifold and of diverse nature, and that they impose upon all of us, indiscriminately, personal sacrifices and a firm dedication to guarantee to the country security and justice in progress.

Our Islamic faith teaches us that its inherent values are perennial and continually evolving as people progress. These

basic tenets of our religion cannot be interpreted in a static sense, but rather as a dynamic force, as a source of inspiration for continuous advancement.

Muslim leaders, besides being propounders and propagators of the Islamic faith, were also statesmen who contributed to the political, economic and social development of the countries they governed. They were the teachers of nations and peoples who are on the frontline politically, socially and technologically.

Hence the need for our religious leaders to probe within the social reality of our people, and wrest from our religion its practical teachings, thus making available its ideas and actions in the interest of general progress.

Among our people, religious leaders must play a galvanising role to activate a society advancing towards the high value of Islam, which have always been the foundation of our social and political organisation.

The Somali Democratic Republic will spare no efforts to follow the path to prosperity, through the efficient efforts of its citizens. This path is clearly laid out by Islam, and the active work of the religious leaders in the field of education and morals, will be a source of inspiration and assistance.

A greater dedication to the well being of all; a common effort for the building of the nation. These are the tasks that challenge us upon these holy days.

To help our brothers and fellows, we must go beyond the concept of charity and reach the higher and more altruistic concept of cooperation on a national scale. We must strive with enthusiasm and patriotism to attain a state of general welfare for all within our possibilities.

The living conditions of our people rest largely upon us. We must all try to search for and define the obstacles hampering our progress. We must shape our own destiny. It is impossible to build a solid State when one does not think and act in terms of the common good, the welfare of all.

Our country must emerge from underdevelopment but in the final analysis the success of this depends upon our joint efforts. From the work and actions of all we shall strengthen foundation laid by the Revolution and enter upon a more dignified and prosperous future.

My Somali brother, in renewing my best heartfelt good wishes for a happy holiday, I beseech upon all of you the blessing of Allah, and pray that our aspirations and efforts for progress and peace in our country may be crowned with success.