

HALGAN



(THE STRUGGLE)

ORGAN OF THE SOMALI
REVOLUTIONARY SOCIALIST PARTY

SPECIAL SUPPLEMENT

* Jaalle Siad's October Address

- * On the Socialist Path
- * Science, Technology and Development
- * Imperialism and Technology
- * Revolutionary Development of the Somali Language
- * Halgan Anniversary

Struggle to
learn, in order to
learn to
struggle better

HAALGAIN

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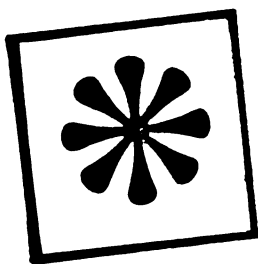
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EDITORIAL

The 9th Anniversary of the 21st October Revolution

The Somali nation celebrates at this time of the year the birth of the 21st October Revolution. However, this year's celebrations will be different from the previous ones in consideration of the lengthy period during which the Revolution efficiently held the reigns of the state and because this lengthy period permits a better evaluation of the results of the efforts made throughout this period.

The Revolution of 21st October 1969, led by Jaalle Mahamed Siad Barre, was made inevitable by the material conditions created by the malpractices perpetrated at the time by the neo-colonial politicians and their allies. The «clique» that came to power after the national independence dismally failed to realise the national aspirations and, indeed, destroyed the formed achievements of the national struggle the people's rights were violated, those in power took advantage of their positions, used national resources as their own personal property and reduced the people to mere servants.

On the international side, the conditions were positively good. The liberation movements in Africa, Asia and Latin America had attained their goals and the socialist and revolutionary nations were experiencing greater development.

The Revolutionary government which decreed the social freedom in the country and declared its opposition to imperialism, found it necessary to join the progressive and socialist forces of the world so as to be safe from the threats forthcoming from the colonialists and their lackeys and, at the same time, implement the revolutionary reforms for the development of the country.

The Revolution of 21st October set out to bring about:

- (1) A complete socialist transformation of the society and
- (2) Support the liberation of the Somali nation still under colonial yoke.

Concerning the realization of the first objective, the Revolution chose the progressive road which constituted the only means to safeguard the interest of the toiling masses and to assure the permanence of the progressive endeavours. It guided the masses on the path to socialism in order to assure social justice. Thus socialism was adapted to the particular conditions of the country.

This choice was not made haphazardly, but was a deliberate one and was based on both the Third world and the Somali experiences which clearly indicate that capitalism failed to solve the many problems of the developing countries. Capitalism is the system which fostered imperialism and neo-colonialism and is characterized by exploitation, looting and subjugation.

That is why the Revolution of 21st October was convinced that it would not be possible to find solutions to the social problems, of the political and economic backwardness and that it would not as well be possible to attain the progressive national goals and the people's aspirations without following the right direction towards socialism.

Accordingly, the Revolution adopted measures aimed at creating the necessary objective and subjective basis for socialist edification. These measures reached their apex when the public economic sector was consolidated.

The consolidation of the economic sector is one of the greatest achievements of the Revolution of 21st October and constitutes a means for social development.

The changes brought about by the Revolution in the social sector were opposed by the foreign reactionaries, i.e. Imperialism, which tried to destroy the Revolution and take Somalia back under their influence, these revolutionary forces were also opposed by internal forces consisting of the «Compradore» groups and the ideologically backward people, who lost the political preeminence and the prestige they used to enjoy and who tried to mislead the Revolution then, if possible, to overthrow it. These internal reactionaries were taking advantage of the fair opportunities offered to them by the Revolution to encourage them to show a changed attitude and trustworthiness. However, they would not desist from their reactionary views but continued to try to undo the Revolution.

As regards the achievements in the political and ideological involvement of the masses it is worthwhile to underline that in a short period, a revolutionary cadre which firmly believes in the revolution and in socialism developed. This was not easily achieved, many a problem was encountered at the base of which were the unholding of private interests and demagoguery with the intention of ultimately creating confusion and chaos.

All of these show that the 21st October Revolution encountered difficulties in establishing firm concepts and in their implementation. These should serve as useful lessons for the future.

As concerns the second objective of the Revolution, it must be said that as it directly related to the Somali cause and to the liberation of the Somali people it meant giving support to liberation movements of the Somalis still under col-

onialism. The Revolution endeavoured to find a solution to the problems which originated from the partition and colonization of Somalia effected by the European powers which accepted and encouraged Abyssinian participation in this action.

On this question, Somalia could not reach an understanding with certain countries which entertained with her relationship of solidarity and cooperation. Those countries actions were detrimental to our national position to the extent that they intervened in the war between the Western Somali Liberation Movement and colonialist Abyssinia by taking the sides of the latter.

This was the reason why the Party's Central Committee of Somalia decided in November 1977 to revoke the treaty of friendship and cooperation existing between Somalia and the USSR and to sever the diplomatic relations with Cuba.

The question of the Horn of Africa and the position adopted by the foreign and internal forces may give rise to several queries. One of the questions which may be asked is: Why does Somalia support the liberation movements of Western Somalia, Abbo and Eritrea? The answer is that Somalia supports them in accordance with its support of a just principle, that is the right of the people to self-determination.

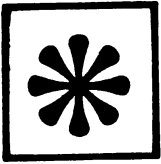
Another question that may be raised is: Why did Somalia feel disappointed when some of the countries which had friendly ties with her and which normally support the liberation movements did not take up the cause of the Somali Nation.

Well, this case demonstrates the conflicting interests of the various countries independently of friendship and proclaimed ideology.

On the other hand certain internal forces tried to take advantage of the present political situation. The government and the people of Somalia decree in his 9th Anniversary of the 21st October Revolution, that the edification of a society that implements social justice and equality can be achieved only through socialism geared to our interests. The road is not an easy one but it is a long and tough and involves many difficulties. That requires the improvement of our political performance while paying due attention to the interests of our masses. The adoption of this principle does not preclude the cease. The adoption of his principle does not preclude the establishment of cooperation and commercial ties with all the countries of the world which respect our national integrity and the policy that we chose to promote our socio-economic development.

The long struggle waged by the Somali nation is not aim merely to attain an independence void of content but social freedom and progress as well.

Thus, the 9th Anniversary of the 21st October Revolution becomes the torch that enlightens the road to socialist national edification.



The 2nd Anniversary

The first issue of HALGAN appeared two years ago, in October 1976. HALGAN, the official organ of the Central Committee of the SRSP, was born four months after the establishment of the Somali Revolutionary Socialist Party.

During the past two years, HALGAN has continued to play an active role as the official mouthpiece of the SRSP. HALGAN has conveyed and explained Party policies, decisions and directives.

HALGAN has continued to carry informed articles on various aspects of Somali political, economic, social and cultural life.

During the past year in particular, HALGAN has printed several articles and editorials on the conflict in the Horn of Africa. HALGAN has sought to throw light on the historical roots of the problem, the nature of Ethiopian feudal-Colonial system and the character of the anti-colonial resistance against it symbolized by the Western Somali, Abbo and Eritrean national liberation struggles. HALGAN has resolutely stood for the right of self-determination and independence of the colonized peoples of the Horn. HALGAN has demonstrated that the dangerous turmoil in the Horn of Africa is a consequence of interventionism brought about by the Addis Ababa Clique's colonialist policies and practices.

HALGAN has also published several articles in support of the liberation struggles of the people of Namibia, Zimbabwe, South Africa and the Arab people of Palestine.

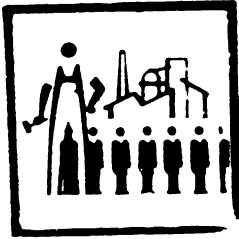
HALGAN, in cooperation with the distribution division of the Ministry of Information and National Guidance, has resolved the question of national distribution. HALGAN presently regularly circulates in all districts of the Somali Democratic Republic. There is still need to resolve outstanding obstacles hindering the effective international circulation of HALGAN.

The regular distribution of HALGAN within the SDR helps to provide useful reading material in the struggle to combat illiteracy. The Somali edition of HALGAN continues to play an effective role in the technical and literary development of the Somali language.

Right from its inception, HALGAN has served to inspire the publication of various other journals and publications. A number of these have appeared in Somali in the regions of the Republic. July 17, 1978 saw the birth of HEEGAN, (Vigilance) an English language weekly of the Ministry of Information and National Guidance. The HALGAN English language editorial staff were highly instrumental in facilitating the launching of HEEGAN.

HALGAN continues to defend the rights of the Somali masses and inspire them to their revolutionary duties. HALGAN will continue to expose all the lies and intrigues of Imperialism, Colonialism, Zionism and Racism. It will continue to wage an active role in defence of the Somali experience in socialist-oriented development and non-alignment.

POLITICAL ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL AFFAIRS



The Somali Revolution: on the Socialist Path

By - Ibrahim Meygag Samater
Member of the C.C. of the
S.R.S.P

It is not quite easy to adequately evaluate a historical period of great changes in the life of a nation such as the period beginning with October, 1969 in the case of the Somali people. Should one get involved in the mass of details that constitute the change: such as the myriad projects that have been started in all the fields, the change in the number of the gainfully employed, the increase in production, the increase in the number of school leavers in the different levels of the educational hierarchy, etc? Or should one concentrate on the main trends of the change? Either approach has its own shortcomings: the former tends to lose the trees for the forest, while the latter in its attempts to generalize may miss some of the measures which in themselves may be details but nevertheless are so crucial as to form a qualitative change. The choice of approach is dictated by the purpose or aim to list the achievements of the Revolution in the various fields. One must of necessity choose the former approach. Since our aim, here, is to show briefly the qualitative change from a neo-colonial structure to a socialist one brought about by the October Revolution we will have to be selective in our approach.

One of the first questions

that faced the Revolution in its inception was: is a socialist path of development appropriate within the conditions of Somalia? To answer such a question requires a serious look at the historical background, the international and external conditions of the country, in order to fully assess its present needs and how those needs could best be fulfilled.

The events that dominated Somali history for the past 90 years are not very much different from those that affected the rest of Africa: domination by the expanding European capitalist countries, the disruption of their societies and the divisions of the various existing entities into new unnatural units, the distortion of their cultures, and the subsequent tying of their economic and cultural growth to that of the controlling metropolis. In fact it would be a gross misrepresentation to speak in such circumstances of economic and cultural growth. What happened was a distortion and destruction of a massive scale. We can just imagine (if one can really do so) the disastrous effects of the forcible removal of several hundred million or so slaves, specially young people, from the continent on the social human organism of is known: in short the destru-

tion of the dynamism of the old societies, together with the super imposition of new structures that were in no way intended to provide a new synthesis.

Such, in brief, is the general story of imperialist domination in Africa though, needless to say, there were local varieties and differences such as the fact that Somalia did not experience the notorious slave trade, but on the other hand had more than its share of the irrational division of a natural national entity into artificial units.

Naturally in the history of societies each phenomenon per force, generates its own countervailing force. And it was no wonder that colonial society created an intensive reaction against it in its exploited subjects. The history of the Liberation struggle against colonialism and imperialism in Somalia as well as the rest of Africa, is too well known to be repeated here. The point to emphasize here is that when the masses were conducting this valiant struggle their aspirations were not only to get rid of foreign rule, but to revamp the whole rotten framework, and make their own history by building their societies a new on an equitable basis.

However the situation developed in such away that the whole struggle was emptied of its dynamic content after the expulsion of foreign rule. The roots laid by imperial exploitation were so deep that they could not be uprooted easily by the change in political form. Thus the continuation of the old structures in neo-colonial forms.

Such was the situation the Revolution faced in October 1969. The disasterous situation of the country at that time: Lack of political and national unity, the distrupction of internal security, corruption, and the lack of the will to develop is too well-known and has been told many times to repeat here now. The point we emphasize here is that any programme to correct past ills and develop the country would have been superficial unless the basic issues were touched. And these could only be tackled in a new way that is to say in a socialist way. Such was the reasoning, and such was the choice of the Revolution.

The choice of a path is not only an exercise of will, but the actual fulfilment of that choice is dictated by the prevailing conditions. Though socialist development is a universal phenomenon, yet the path, pace and tempo of that development is determined by the actual circumstances. Aside from being a neo-colonial country enmeshed in the tentacles of world capitalism, the particular conditions of Somalia were wellknown: Lack of an industrial working class, the prevalence of the nomadic way of life and the consequents way of the clan system, lack of a written language and thus the existence of widespread illiteracy, albeit rich with oral culture.

In such circumstances the transformation to the building of a socialist society had to be both cautious and long-range. mixing, as it did, measures affecting both the superstructure and the economic base.

The first measure was the political step of getting rid of the neo-colonial institutions that were an obstacle to development such as the political parties and the Parliament.

The Second measure was the laying of an economic base for socialist development. This area was indeed a most difficult one, considering how dependent Somalia was, and still is, on foreign assistance is not an evil, but in fact self-reliant, can be a good thing provided it is compiled with a national programme that aims at building an integrated, self-reliant self-sustaining economy. Before the Revolution the country had gone through some «plans» whose implementation was negligible. To ensure serious implementation of a programme entails national control of one's resources. Hence the Revolution before it even embarked on its first economic programme of 1971-73, nationalized the salient features of the economy that were in foreign hands: the banking system and other financial institutions, the fuel distributing system, and two main factories existing at that time. Later on, again, it became essential to concentrate foreign trade in the hands of the state so as to avoid speculating on the people's needs. It was then possible to continue programme of development and change, the most serious one of which is the now ending programme of 1974-78 whose main aim, aside from raising national production, is to strengthen the state sector and develop

the co-operative movement, thus laying the basis for a sound development of a socialist economy.

The third most important measure in the process of transformation was in the political and social field. Naturally, the institutions that were revamped had to be replaced by new ones of a new type that can answer the needs of social progress. But this can not be done overnight. The people must be made aware of the need for them. Thus the long saga of political orientation and education in which the Revolution was engaged since the first day. This activity of political education was combined with a series of self-help campaigns, the biggest of which were the literacy campaign and the struggle against the drought and the subsequent resettlement schemes.

Thus during a long process of mutual self-education the leadership of the Revolution and the people were able to evolve the new institutions that could carry on the revolutionary change—these are the Somali Revolutionary Socialist Party and the mass organizations affiliated with it.

Today, after a struggle of nine years, we have the basic requirements for continuing the building of socialism and the elimination of imperial vestiges and backwardness. We have a programme that envisages the building of a state economic sector and co-operatives, we have the Party that must guide that programme, and we have the organised masses that can implement and defend it.

I do not say that the work has been completed. Nothing is further from the truth. We are still poor, we are still con-

forented with hard difficulties we still have to continue building the remaining institutions of the new democracy such as the peoples assemblies.

But what I do say is that October Revolution 1969, has started and achieved in Somalia a revolutionary change that can never be retracted. The

struggle simply has to continue generation after generation until we achieve the society of unity, peace and progress.

On Science, Technology and Development

By, H. Mohamed Adan

The United Nations Conference on Science and Technology for Development (UNCSTED) is scheduled to take place in Vienna in September 1979. Most countries are now midway through the preparatory process for the Conference. African countries have attended a preparatory seminar on the subject held in Cairo recently. The first draft on the Somali National paper for UNCSTED has just been prepared by specialists drawn from various agencies under the auspices of the Ministry of Higher Education and Culture.

HALGAN plants to monitor UNCSTED preparations as part of an effort to create national decisions on this crucial issue of science and technology for development. In order to initiate such a debate, we publish these notes in addition to the following article on «Imperialism and Technology».

Such a debate has policy implications. It could, for example, lead the SDR to adopt a long-range policy on Science and Technology and have it formulated in a specific Resolution. In the long run, such measures would facilitate the establishment and strengthening of a relevant national climate committed to the use of this capability: These being the essential conditions for the ef-

fective utilisation of science and technology for development.

In order to stimulate thoughts on the utilisation of science and technology for development, it is vital to clarify the meaning which revolutionary Somalia attaches to the term «Development».

For a long time, development has simply been equated with growth and measured in terms of the Gross National Product. However, far more important than the magnitude of growth, is its structure and the distribution of its benefits. Indeed, Third World experience has shown that distorted capitalist growth under colonialism and neocolonialism does not lead to development; on the contrary, it causes the perpetuation of dependency, (including technological dependency) and under-development. Perverse capitalist growth in third world countries has led to serious disparities between the rich and the poor and between urban and rural areas and also between the races, eg. whites and blacks in South Africa.

The main aim of socialist oriented development is to reduce economic inequalities. The priority of such development is to identify the needs

of the masses and satisfy these needs. Among such basic human needs we mention: Food, Clothing, Shelter, Health, Education; Transport, Communication and Employment.

Socialist-oriented development implies social participation and control. The principal goal is a self-reliant society in which people participate in and control the decisions which affect their lives and destinies. For, it is only when the people assume such responsibilities, and acquire the opportunity to discharge these responsibilities, that their creative energies are released for constructive change and the road to exploitation and inequalities is blocked.

Socialist-oriented development also implies ecological balance which alone will ensure that the development process is sustainable over the long run, instead of being thwarted by the inevitable environmental impacts of the process itself. In this and other issues, we are able to profit from the experience of others.

Development implies the production, distribution and consumption of goods and services. Each one of these activities requires an interaction with nature, and in fact a

manipulation of nature or parts of it. This manipulation, which is the basis of industry and agriculture and the services, involves an accumulation of social experience and knowledge which constitutes technology either in hardware form such as tools, machines, equipment or in software form: skills, motivation and organisation, i.e. ways of utilising tools and machines.

Moreover, technology itself invariably uses, besides other factors, an understanding of nature in short, Science. Thus, development objectives cannot be achieved without the deployment of technology and application of science.

THE TRANSFER OF TECHNOLOGY

The harnessing of Science and Technology to development can be achieved either by importing technology into a society from external sources or by generating it in the society itself. Historically speaking third World countries have experienced technology transfers from beyond their borders. As an aspect of imperialism under its various historical forms, colonialism and neocolonialism, this has implied the negation of political and economic independence and self-reliance. To a large extent, technological transfers have been a tool used to perpetuate distorted capitalist growth, i.e. to perpetuate underdevelopment.

For many years to come, most of the less developed countries (LDC) will have negative technological balance of payments. According to one study, the payment just for the licences by LDC to the developed countries amounted in early 1970's to over 1.5 billion dollars.

The cost of the total technology transfer would be much larger.

Technology transfer involves politics. Whether dealing with products or processes, technological transfer involves bargaining and negotiating, with the owner of the hardware and know-how. Accordingly, it involves knowledge of the market, of the position and willingness to trade of the possible actors in the exchange.

Technology transfer implies corruption. Recently, the «Lockhead Scandal» came to dramatize this aspect of the interaction. Corruption is widely used in all aspects of technology transfer of all kinds, products and processes, by all types of firms from all kinds of countries, large and small.

CONCLUDING REMARKS.

We should use the occasion of UNCSTED 1979 as a basis to raise crucial questions pertaining to the harnessing of Science and technology for developing Somalia. It is necessary to launch an international campaign against the distorted, corrupt manipulation of science and technology

A principled and policy-oriented discussion of this burning issue should seek to find ways and means of reducing dependence on foreign technology and repair whatever social problems it may already have caused. The discussion should also focus on the criterion for the selection of alternative technologies through an assessment of, for example: cheapness, smallness, based on local resources, in increasing human participation, creating employment, not harmful to health, accepting women, the

handicapped and old people in the work process. Without being exceedingly onesided, it is important to advocate technologies of human scale, whether as regards size, energy consumption, speed, etc.

We do have to develop institutions in order to improve the mechanisms for the exchange of scientific and technological information and experience significant for our socialist oriented development.

We also have to discuss better ways and means of international cooperation in order to bring about a healthy climate of technological transfer.

Does the call for more scientific research and technology serve to divert attention from the economic, social, and political obstacles to satisfying basic needs and providing meaningful employment for all? Is there not a real danger that UNCSTED will contribute to a legitimization of technological solutions to social problems — «Technical Fixes» — leaving the root causes of underdevelopment (and over development) untouched?

Somalia must struggle, jointly with other Third World countries to see to it that UNCSTED deals with the real causes, not merely the symptoms of underdevelopment.

Imperialism and Technology

We present this critical article to be viewed as a debate among progressive forces under the guidance of the SRSP. The focus of the paper is on technology and imperialism, a subject of analysis which is topical today, but whose roots are to be found in the historical past.

When we speak of this contemporary topic, we refer to the dependency of the formerly colonised continent by the technology of the imperialist countries. This dependency is also dialectically linked with the development-underdevelopment conditions of this two different worlds. When we mention the historical past the fact is that capitalism and its corollary colonialism which we consider as an historical evil, the source of present-day dependency, is the historical product of the industrial Revolution in Europe. This throws light on the fact that the technical-scientific revolutions and exploitation of raw materials and cheap labour in the past centuries are closely interdependent, so much so that one cannot be explained without the other.

There is the first stage of capital accumulation, which Marx defines as «Primitive accumulation of capital». There is, then, colonization, which Marx refers to as «the genesis of industrial capital» 1. This, we must add, is where we must look for the actual historical causes of the dependency in which the countries of the so-called Third World find

themselves; for this dependency was born in womb of industrial capitalism. Inescapable, colonial capitalism, by advocating everywhere the so-called principles of free competition, simultaneously favours inequality in the terms of unequal exchange.

It is unequal exchange that that brings the exploitation of man by man to its climax: It represents the very essence of colonialism, the very essence of underdevelopment namely a state of total dependency.

On this subject, we would quote Geoffrey Kay, 2 whose argument is, briefly, as follows the underdeveloped world constituted an indispensable source of much needed factors of production (Labour, raw materials) first and foremost raw materials among them cotton, by far the most important raw material during most of the XIX century. Later on, as industrial production soared in the developed countries, greater importance was given to other commodities such as rubber, tin, bauxite, copper, etc. These raw materials were not only indispensable for the production process, they also offered

if purchased cheaply, direct means to sustain against any falling tendency of the rate of profit. In the words of professor Kay, industrial capital saw in the underdeveloped world a large potential market which would permit not only to obtain the surplus value extracted from the labour force in the deve-

loped countries, but also increases by the social product appropriating of the monopoly capitalist countries through unequal exchange in the terms of trade, i.e. by selling on those markets at higher than justified by the value of the goods offered for sale. At the same time, profits were also increased by a reverse process, again made possible by the unequal exchange i. e. by purchasing raw materials and foodstuffs for less than their actual value. Mercantile capital, with its long experience in this kind of transactions, appeared as its ideal agent: This is the primary reason for the substantial degree of independence it succeeded in preserving in this field.

Thus, we speak of historical conditions, for we are fully aware that we cannot speak of the dependency and underdevelopment of the continents of the damned, left to poverty as a result of being ravaged by the imperialist countries.

It is an objective fact that the *raison D'être* of imperialism is based on the logic of the unequal exchange and the principle of division of labour. Let us now examine closely the impact of technological dependency on the development: underdevelopment of the Third World, on the premise that underdevelopment is not an original condition, but is the result of the expansion of capital from its places of origin, in the form of mercantile capital which appropriates the surplus value from less Developing Countries

(LDC) without transforming the mode of production, except in a marginal distorted capitalist way. In our day, particularly after the attainment of formal political independence by many countries of the So-called «Third World», International public opinion emphasizes the importance of technological transfer to the developing countries, and the intellectual circles hold debates on the technological dependency of the emerging countries. Concern about dependency, which acts as a hinderance of economic and socio-political development, has led many scholars to formulate under development theories which examine the historical and economic links between underdeveloped and developed world. In other words, these are theories of the political economy of neo-colonialism, an extension of the Marxist theory which asserts that the emerging countries cannot develop as long as they are dependent on international capitalism. 3

On the other side, since it is a duty to ensure better living conditions for people under subsistence economy, the problem of underdevelopment has received attention from many governments but the problem persists and, becomes more acute. 4 Accusing imperialism and the activities of the multinationals as far as the transfer of technology is concerned and its influence on economic development in general will not help: What one must do is to discover the mechanism of technological imperialism which hinders the independent development of the emerging countries. 5

When we refer to the technological transfer, we refer to a unilateral, asymmetrical form

of dependency, which cannot be compared with technological interdependence, such as for instance the technological relationship between the U.K and the U.S.A.

Having established this basic difference between interdependence and total dependence on western technology, it becomes obviously necessary to analyze the effects of this new phenomenon (i. e. the technological phenomenon) on the autonomous development of the emerging countries. A faster rate of appropriate technological transfer and the utilization of the correct type of technology locally are important for speeding up development in these countries, where after the attainment of formal independence, it was eventually realized that the colonial system did not help meet their need and aspirations and that the only thing to do was to change the system of distribution of dependent national wealth as a means to improve the living standard of the people. Let us then admit frankly that the political regimes in these countries still fail as they have failed in the past, to understand that one cannot speak of a system of distribution of wealth in a neo-colonial context, for such distribution is entirely dominated by the powerful multinationals. Moreover, there is no sense in advocating any change in the system of distribution of wealth unless there is a change in the existing economic structure and social institutions we must always focus on production relations in order to get at the root, of the problems.

Let us ask ourselves, then: What are the multinationals? A UN report 6 defines them as companies and corporatio-

ns exercising their activities in several countries, but the canadian economist Stephen Hymer goes beyond this and defines them as the channels through which a country can exercise pressure on another. Thus the multinationals are the tools of imperialism and imperialism means, as we know, exploitation on a worldwide scale.

An additional feature of the multinationals, Hymer 7 says, is that, as a rule, they are the product of the developed countries. Although the lack of statistical data on the activities of the multinationals in many developing countries, obscures the fact, still the high degree of concentration of the parent corporations, in the developed countries indicates a clear picture.

The cause par excellence of the technological gap between developing and underdeveloped countries is caused by the colonial penetration, followed by colonial interference in the traditional economies, leading to the destruction of traditional technologies. Thus the all-devouring technology of the West is the genesis of capital accumulation. From this thesis it can be concluded that there exist two «worlds», one technologically advanced, the other technologically backward, the development of the former having caused the underdevelopment of the latter. This dependency on the developed economies shows a clearly asymmetric pattern.

The capitalist system is a worldwide industrial system whose major agents are the multinationals. It is a system which enjoys the support of the developed as well as the underdeveloped countries, in view of its role, i. e. Maximization of profit and appropriation of the surplus value pro-

duced in the developing countries by the multinationals, in order to accumulate and capitalise it in the imperialist countries. On the other hand, the essential feature of the capitalist system is always the maintenance of conditions of inequality, both at national and at international level. It is, then, clear that the more the developing countries are integrated in the world capitalist system, the more they will become dependent on international imperialism.

The industrialization of the developing countries becomes a myth, unless care is taken to rationalize the imported technology adjusting it to environmental conditions; hence it is pure mystification i.e. unless due account is taken of its negative impact on small and handicraft industries and on traditional technologies.

A question often raised is whether there can be real technological transfer unless the multinationals guarantees the transfer scientific know how to the developing countries, and provide the developing countries with their patents rights and secret formulas.

Today the multinationals constitute the most advanced type of organization for industrial and financial capital, in the present stage of imperialism.

As it appears from the foregoing debate, we pose on the one hand the problem of technological dependency although we don't propose any definite way out from this difficult situation in which the developing countries are confronted with. We are not also building the bridge, which the development countries are go-

ing to cross. On the other hand we note in the discussions that references are made to the so-called new economic order, of which in the opinion of Professor Erminio Raiter, a definition is slowly and laboriously being arrived at 9.

But in our opinion it is not so much a definition that is being worked out, but a title of one of the many dramas the many dramas enacted by international imperialism, it is a drama in which one of the actors quotes dramatically the following passage from *To. Istoi*: I sit on the back of a man, suffocating him and forcing him to carry me, at the same time I assure to myself and others that I am full of pity for him and wish to improve the man's lot by every possible means except dismounting his back.»

NOTE:

1: K. Marx, *II Capitale*, 1.3. P 171, 225 Roma

22. Geoffrey Kay, *Sviluppo, un'analisi Marxista*, P.109, Feltrinelli, 1975, Milano

3. A.G. Frank, *America Latina Sottosviluppo Rivoluzione*, PP.23-38, Einaudi

4. Colin Leys, *Underdevelopment in Kenya, the political economy of neocolonialism*, P.7, Heinemann, London.

5. P. Assette Kuuya, *transfer technology an overview of the Tanzanian case Africa development*, II Vol N. 2p. 48, 1977, Dakar.

6. *Multinational corporations in world develop-*

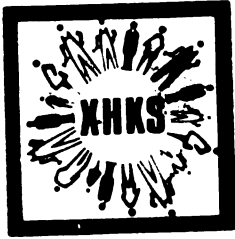
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7. Stephen Hymer, *Le imprese Multinazionali, einadi*, pp, 63, 1974 veda anche A. H. Yare *societa, multinazionale epaesi in via di sviluppo*, Nuova Era. N. 29, GENNAIO 1976, Mogadiscio.

8. Hymer, *OP. CIT. PP 63-64.*

9. Prof. Erminio Raiatteri, *Sul problema della formazione tecnico-scientifica nei paesi in via di sviluppo in Cilmi iyo Farsamo*, P.5, rivista Dell'Universita Nazionale della Somalia N. 1. 1978, Mogadiscio.



PARTY LIFE

Jaalle Siad Addresses Party Functionaries

The Secretary General of the SRSP, President of the SDR Jaalle Mohamed Siad Barre on 21st September 1978, attended the usual morning of the Party General Committee Functionaries at the People's Hall.

The meeting which is held every morning from 7.00 — 8.00 and attended by Party and Social Organisations functionaries is a forum where these functionaries and the State functionaries exchange informations and ideas.

The assistant Secretary General of the SRSP; Jaalle Ismail Ali Abokor, had on behalf of the chairman of the Central Committee Bureaus and functionaries welcomed the Secretary General and briefed him on the activities of the Bureaus and the importance of such meetings held at the Party Headquarters.

The Secretary General, on the Occasion, addressed the attendants and spoke widely on the Party and State Policies both internally and externally. He also cited the achievements reached during the past nine years of Revolution and the problems encountered. Jaalle Siad referred back to the

cordial relations between Somalia and the Soviet Union in the past days and the cause of their break off. He said when the present Soviet leaders antagonised the Somali people and openly confronted the legitimate rights of the peoples of the Horn of Africa, particularly the people of Somali West, Abbo and Eritrea who are fighting for their self-determination, and when the Somali Democratic Republic by fulfilling its obligations to Liberation Movements, consistently gave moral and material support to the Liberation Movements representing those peoples, did the relations between the two countries cease to fulfill.

The President reiterated that the Somali Democratic Republic will always keep in line its Policies with the principles of Scientific Socialism and regard anybody against this as a real enemy to the Somali Nation. When stressing on this point, the Secretary General was aiming at the reactionary elements which these days reactivated their underground movements with which they are fighting the Revolution, destroying the achievements of

the Nation and planning to take the country back to the hands of the imperialists and neo-colonialists.

In order to confuse the people, these elements nowadays circulate baseless rumors saying that Somalia deviated from the Socialist way of development as this path proved unsuccessful and a clear example of this is the break up of relations between Somalia and the Soviet Union. On the other hand Jaalle Siad deplored certain groups whom he described as the infantile leftists and who are not clear about the Socialist motivations and the political steps necessitated by local conditions, the basis of Socialist principles and one's strategic aims. These points contribute to the ideas saying that any Government that abandons Soviet Policies cannot construct Socialism. He called on these groups to know more about the reality.

Jaalle Siad in general discussed the particular conditions and situations under which the Revolution is going and the tasks that the Party and Social organisations are supposed to fulfill.

On 12th September 1978 Party cells that is of the SRSP were established in all the productive places within the Capital city of Mogadishu.

The task of establishing Party cells came after two years of the foundation of SRSP in all Regions, Districts and Quarters (That is residential level). This was followed by the foundation of the social organizations such as, the General Federation of Somali Trade Unions, Somali Youth Revolutionary Organization, Somali Women Democratic Organization and the Organizations of the Somali Cooperative Movement. Infact social organizations were formerly established in both residential and production level. Thus the establishment of the party cells in the productive sectors makes the building of Party Structure as a complete one.

The Importance of the Party cell lies in its importance of being the lowest base in the structure of the party of the new type. In terms of the hierarchical structure of the Party, it is the lowest base which has grass root connection with the masses and where most Party works are done.

The Party programme specifically mentions the fact that every Party member is duly bound to participate actively in its works. Therefore, the Party cell is an organ of the Party whereby all Party members are involved in the works which demonstrate the Quality and the Calibre of each Party member.

It is to be noted that Socialist parties give due importance to the workers involved in the productive sectors of the economy. The reason

The Importance of Party Cells

By - Mohamed Danir Afrah

being the decisive role played by the workers in the development of the productive capacities of their societies. That is why it is imperative to give the emphasises to the Party cells in the productive sectors of the economy. The function of the Party cells is to connect the higher party organs with the workers, peasants intellectuals etc. This connection makes possible for the Party of the new type in the implementation of its duties dealing with increasing the productive capacity of its Society and raising the living standard of the workers.

Therefore among the basic duties of the party cell are the following:-

1. Strengthening and safeguarding the vanguard role of party members in creasing the productive capabilities of the country and as well taking active role in its political life.

2. Recruitment and training of new Party members.

3. Instilling the principles of Scientific Socialism in the minds of new members, their mobilisation, leading the theory of Scientific Socialism, fighting against opportunism and factionalism.

4. Being vanguard members extending a helping hand to the workers unions in the Socialist competition for increasing production.

5. The inspection and control of the implementation of the work plan of the Ministries concerned and safeguarding public property.

6. Assisting higher Party organs in terms of works and the transmission of a permanent report and as well to the executive Committees of the Social organizations concerning the performance of their committees in the productive sectors or work section.

Above all, the work connected in the establishment of the party cells in Mogadishu has been successfully completed. The method used was the nomination method mentioned in the constitution of the Somali Revolutionary Socialist Party. For example in places were party members were less than fifteen members a secretary and an assistant have been selected. While in places having higher than the above number a cells committee has been established with a secretary and an assistant.

In the formation of the Party Cells Cadres from the SRSP Headquarter were present. They gave instructions dealing with the Party works and the duties expected from its cell members. Members of the Party cells have manifested a revolutionary spirit in the execution of their responsibilities. We wish them success and progress.

Hailing the 9th Anniversary of the 21st October Revolution

Mass celebrations were held on September 30th in all the orientation centres of Banadir Region in preparation for the 9th anniversary of the 21st October Revolution.

In the above celebrations speeches were delivered by SRS Party Cadres from its headquarter. They touched on the various achievements made, by the 21st October Revolution in all aspects of life since its inception.

However, this year anniversary is significant one, for it entail the stocktaking of nine years of revolutionary struggle. Likewise, it is logical to compare the above nine years of revolutionary achievements with the preceding nine years of corruptive governments.

Therefore, the lectures delivered by the Party Cadres centred on the theme of the multivarious achievements made by the 21st October Revolution in the fields of economical, political and social developments.

From the political aspects references were made to the three charters of the Revolution spelling the political direction of the revolution. The dynamic role played by the Public Relation Office later changed

to the Political Office of the Presidency of SRC in the development of the consciousness and as well the mobilisation of the Somali masses in the execution of the Revolution Programme dealing with the socio-economical and political development of the country.

As a matter of fact, the tremendous work undertaken by the political office Paved the way for the foundation of the SRSP and its social organizations. Also it meant the resurgence or the rebirth of the 21st October Revolution.

On the other hand, connecting development in the economic field emphasises were laid on the development of the economic sources of the country. That is in its various sectors agriculture, livestock, fisheries and industrialisation.

Special references were made to the nationalisation of major economic sectors owned by foreign companies such as banks, electric and sugar plants. The establishment of cooperatives numbering 337 in the productive sector. The step undertaken in the industrial sector and as well the settlements of the nomads in the fertile lands between the two rivers and along the coastal shores of Indian Ocean.

These settlements today represent a prototype agro-fishery communities of the new Somalia.

But the most outstanding achievements made in the social sectors was the writing of the Somali language which herald cultural Revolution at the grass roots level. A two phase campaign dealing with the learning and the dissemination of the script of the Somali language was initiated in the urbanised areas of Somalia. Later, after one year the Rural Development Campaign was initiated throughout the territory of the Somali Democratic Republic. This Campaign was the most vaible work undertaken by the Revolution at the grass root level in fighting the three enemies of mankind, hunger, disease, and ignorance. Accordingly, the writing of the Somali language represent one of the outstanding achievement made by the revolution for the benefit of the Somali people.

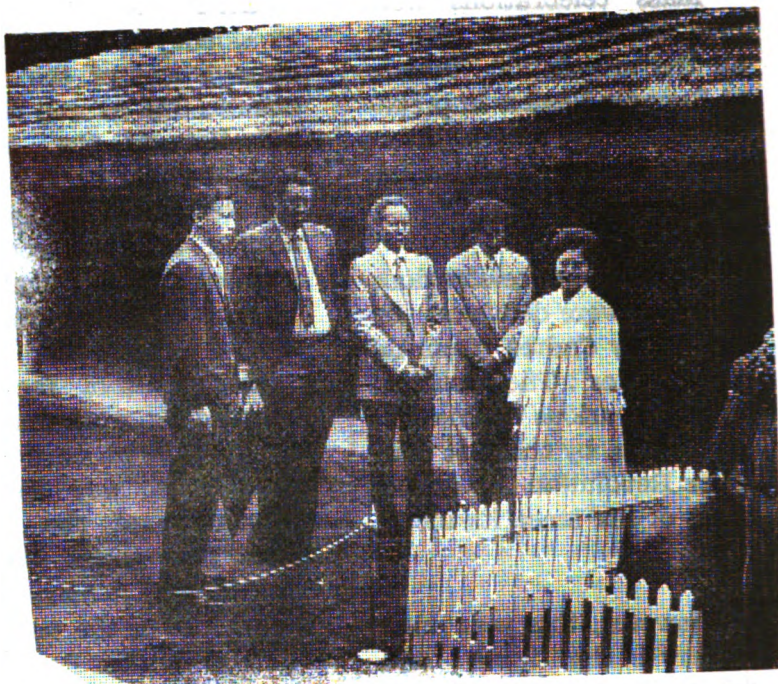
The immense achievements made by the Somali people under the guidance of their revolution can not be counted here. However, it is a certain thing that the Somali people are ready to make more sacrifices for the development of their country in all aspects of life.

SRPS Delegation Attended Founding Day of DPRK

A Somali Revolutionary Socialist Party delegation led by Jaalle Abdillahi Warsame Nur, member of the Central Committee, returned back to the country recently after attending the 30th Anniversary of the founding Day of the Peoples Democratic Republic of Korea.

While in PDRK, the delegation had the opportunity of seeing some of the country's vital economic programme projects such as Dams, State and Cooperative Farms etc and in Pyongyang the capital of PDRK, the delegation was shown around places of historical social significance as Theatres, Musems, monuments etc. In all the places they visited, the delegation was warmly received by the authorities and the workers.

The delegation on several occasions met some of the party and state leaders with whom they exchanged views and as well the experiences of the two countries. The Somali delegation briefed their Korean Comrades on the history of the country, the achievements of the October Revolution and the establishment of the Party in general and the struggle for the unification of the Somali people in particular. The Koreans on their side explained their continuous struggle for the unity of the two Korean pe-



ople and the development going on in their country.

On the last days of the visit, the head of the delegation Jaalle Abdillahi delivered a message sent by Jaalle Mohamed Siad Barre, the Secretary General of the SRSP and President of the Somali Democratic Republic to Comrade Kim Il Sung, the President PDRK.

The celebrations were attended by delegation fr-

om many friendly countries, Parties and liberation movements. The Somali delegation met some of these delegations and exchanged ideas with them.

During the celebration days, the whole country was in a festive mood and in Pyongyang more than 500,000 people representing the Social Organisations carried out different kinds of exhibitions in the streets of the city.

Banadir Youth Brigade

On the 24th September a ceremony was held at Hamar Weyn District Orientation Centre. It was jointly organised by Banadir Regional Party Committee and SRYU branch in the

region as a gesture of appreciation for the hard work done by Banadir Youth representatives during their week-long working stay at Shalambood, to take part in the staliza-

tion of the sand-dune.

Thus the ceremony was held in honour of the first group after returning to Mogadishu and performing their duty in good manner.

During the ceremony, they were awarded the first and second honorary certificates according to their individual work and activity. The ceremony also served as a

a fare well party for the second group of the youth consisting of 210 comrades, who engaged in the same task from the 26 of September to 15th of October.

THE EDITORIAL BOARD OF HALGAN

EXPRESSES THEIR HEARTFELT

FELICITATIONS TO ALL THE SOMALI

PEOPLE ON THE OCCASION OF THE

NINTH ANNIVERSARY

CELEBRATIONS OF THE 21st

OCTOBER REVOLUTION

WORLD AFFAIRS



The OAU Summit and the Non-Alignment Conference

By - Abdi Awale Jama

Both the Khartoum OAU Summit and the Belgrade Non-aligned Foreign Ministers Conference laid a great deal of stress on the theme of non-alignment.

The OAU Summit opened in Khartoum on July 18th. It met a critical time for Africa, a time of great troubles caused by foreign intervention in African affairs. The speeches of the Heads of State and Governments assembled in Khartoum emphasised that the OAU must, henceforth, play a more effective role in the struggle against imperialism, colonialism and superpowerism. The 15th Summit Conference of the organisation of African Unity witnessed African leaders stressing the importance of African Unity and reaffirming the determination to oppose foreign intervention.

The OAU sessions condemned foreign military presence in Africa and reaffirmed that the defence, security and peace of Africa are the responsibilities of the African and themselves. Discussion also centered around the issue of creating a Pan - African Military Force, the strengthening of support to the African liberation movements, sanctions against South Africa, the Middle East situation, and the Palestine question, the enhancing of Afro-Arab cooperation and promoting the economic

development of Africa.

During his OAU Summit address, Jaalle Siyad, the Secretary General of the SRSP and President of the SDR pointed out:

«This Fifteenth Assembly of Heads of State and Governments is taking place at a time of heightened international tension and rivalrous confrontation in this African continent: Foreign powers are pursuing activities in fulfillment of their policy interests in a manner that is most damaging to the true interests of the African peoples concerned in the pretext of defending African interests.»

Jaalle Siyad went on to add; «The effect of this interference has created a host of antagonism and division among the African countries, thus weakening their effective pursuit of their cherished goals in liberating the remaining colonial pockets as well as achieving economic and social development in our continent.»

The Secretary - General of the SRSP and President of the SDR warned that Africa is in danger of being recolonised and that this second scramble for Africa is spearheaded, regrettably, by the Soviet Union which seeks to introduce foreign troops to impose external solutions. «Naturally» Jaalle Siad

emphasised, «such foreign imposed solutions to African problems are in final analysis no solution at all, they only complicated an already difficult solution.»

In spite of its many shortcomings and the serious setbacks it has suffered during the past fifteen years, the OAU symbolises the fact that Africa possesses a strong continental feeling.

But such feelings are not enough to give Africa a more effective role in international affairs. In order to obtain greater results in the international arena, Africa needs the guiding beacon of time-tested principles.

In this connection, it is highly significant that the OAU sessions in Khartoum discussed at length the need to reinforce the movement of nonalignment.

The Conference of Foreign Ministers of Non-Aligned countries was held in Belgrade, Yugoslavia, between July 25th and 29th. The key task undertaken at the Conference lay in preparing for the Non-aligned Summit document safeguarding the purpose and unity of the non-aligned movement.

Serious attempts have been made recently to sabotage the non-aligned movement. The most damaging of these have been made by the Soviet

**SPEECH DELIVERED BY THE
SECRETARY GENERAL OF THE
SRSP JAALLE MOHAMED SIAD
BARRE ON THE OCCASION
OF THE 9th ANNIVERSARY
OF THE 21st OCTOBER
REVOLUTION**

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 to-day, 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 summarized in their desire to achieve in the country, through their own efforts, social and economic change, whose fruits are not appropriated by a small group of class but are shared equitably by all. The Somali people believes, 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 maldistribu-



tion.

It was because of this conviction that the Revolution from the beginning set itself 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 difficulties, division, oppression, diversion and deception, are today passing through a better period because many of their aspirations have been

realized, and that 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 certain 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

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 to a high level the economic, social and cultural transformation for which we have sought for so long. In reality the main features of the economy today, system of distribution and the direction of investment are in the hands of the people. We can divide the economy into 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 employes. Even if the investors are, or 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 ap-

peared a new phenomenon of parasites who try to benefit from these weaknesses and 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 welcome, but the insects and parasites have to leave us alone.

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:

(I) How to improve the quality of education in the schools and University.

(II) How to give a technical basis to the students; and

(III) 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 and social services, 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 pasture 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 clannism) 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 exacerbating the tribal wounds in order to fulfill their own 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 lost individuals to give up political profiteering, foreign-following and the 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 hand, then the Supreme Revolutionary Council transferred its powers to the new socialist Party, which has been 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 shows 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 country 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 its meeting of 18th and 19th October, the holding of an extraordinary Party Congress within 3 months in

order to evaluate the presentough land and enough resou- situation of the country, and to dabate, study and approve the policy which the Party is to follow in the coming years.

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 Mevem- nts 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 pure nonsense. The people of the Somali Democratic Republic have en-

rces. 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 a 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 thereby. 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 the 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 Somalia which requires a solution. All these problems require to be squarely faced and discussed in a way that fullfils both the short and long-range interests of the people of the region.

On these problem 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 poin of view concerning the burning issues of the day, including those of

the Horn of Africa. But what we never expected was that a government with the prestige and declared principles of the Soviet Union, on whose shoulders lie responsibilities of a world scale, or Cuba which claimed that it stands for the defense 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 the 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 the 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 problem concerns.

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 inherited 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 people, 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 these countries, yet all African countries should spare no effort 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 Orga-

nisation of African Unity was created: 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 this 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 peoples of China. It is an undeniable fact that China 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 circumstances 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 stren-

gthen 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 1967, 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, and 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 time 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 upto now in its own establishment; it has passed through the difficult circumstances 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 goals. 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 holding 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 what 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 associations and co-operatives should co-operate in raising production and the satisfying of the needs of the masses. If we fulfill our programmes and 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 CENTRAL COMMITTEE
DECIDED AND APPROVED
THE MAKING OF A
CONSTITUTION WHICH
WILL BE PROMULGATED
DURING THE COMING
YEAR.**

Jaalle Siad on 21st October 1978

**THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE
DECIDED IN ITS MEETING
OF 18th OCTOBER THE
HOLDING OF AN EXTRA
ORDINARY PARTY
CONGRESS WITHIN THREE
MONTHS.**

Jaalle Siad on 21st October 1978

Union directing Cuba to use force to commit aggression against National Liberation Movements particularly those in the Horn of Africa, causing grave difficulties to the unity of the non-aligned movement.

That is why, at the Khartoum OAU Summit, Jaalle Siyaad observed: «Cuba is surely unworthy of its membership in a movement dedicated to the preservation and safeguarding of principles and policies of non-participation in collective alliance which include the big powers, refusal to enter into bilateral alliances with a major foreign power.»

Having been involved in damaging practice, Cuba began to issue a spate of propaganda to rationalise such wrong policies in the field of theory, Cuba sought to revise the most fundamental principles of the non-aligned movement. Cuban theory amounts to demanding that the non-aligned countries should align themselves with the «Socialist camp.»

The Cuban practice and theory of non-alignment has been vigorously criticised by important circles in key countries for Example, Yugoslavia, Indonesia, Sirilanka (the host of the last 1976 Colombc Summit of the non-aligned countries). The media of the peoples Republic of China played an important role in exposing Cuban and Soviet anti-non-aligned policies and activities. The media of the Democratic Republic of Korea emphasised Comrade Kim Il Sung's statement that the national liberation movement and the non-aligned movement cannot be reduced to the role of a mere «reserve force» for Socialist countries. Giving them «Seco-

ndary» treatment in theory permits certain Socialist countries to cynically manipulate them for their own power interests.

In the same connection, President Nicolae Ceausescu of Rumania was moved to make the following important statement.

«It can be said that in the world today, we have seen two major trends in the policy of domination and redivision of the spheres of influence: one trend is to have recourse to force and to strengthen the domination through military ways, to seek for or consolidate the spheres of influence; the other trend is to strengthen the domination of monopoly and multinational corporations and consolidate the influence of certain countries in various areas of the world through various means, mainly economic means. Having recourse to force and using military means is the principal danger in international life.»

The President of Rumania went on to add:

«The non-aligned countries are playing an ever important role on the International life. We hold that the Conference of Foreign Ministers of the Non-aligned countries held recently in Belgrade successfully worked out a programme of action which will enhance the role of these countries in the International political life.

«Rumania has always firmly stood for the solution of all African problems by the African peoples themselves without foreign military or any other intervention. In the field of policies pursued by these countries for their economic

and social development, we hold that it is a wrong tendency to classify these nation as «progressive», non-progressive» or «conservative».

At the Belgrade Non-aligned Conference, Cuba and the Soviet Union came under heavy attack for pursuing policies and activities detrimental to the non-aligned movement. This is the first time in the history of the movement that such serious charges against Cuba and the Soviet Union were made. Futhermore, the charges were made by countries which are in the forefront of the struggle against imperialism: For example Cambodia, the Somali Democratic Republic, Yugoslavia Rumania; Democratic Republic of Korea, the People's Republic of China and others.

Cuba and the Soviet Union responded by saying that such charges were instigated by old style imperialism. They also hasten to add that such attacks serve imperialism. Such simplistic responses cannot satisfy people in 1978. As the May 1978 Editonal of HALGAN stated:-

«The new aggressive policy adopted by the USSR and its allies resulted in crass interference in purely African matters. Their adventurist deployment of arms and troops (From Cuba and other East European countries) in such a the worldwide struggle against way as to aggravate tensions on the African continent. Thus provide a veritable shelter behind which imperialism is openly and forcefully returning to recolonise Africa».

That is why the criticism of USSR policies with regards to non-alignment have come from numerous countries, ma-

ny of them staunchly anti-imperialist.

In fact, many more count-

ries continue to criticise USSR policies privately. They fear to do so openly due to the he-

avy dependency relationship created between the USSR and several third world countries.

Southern Africa: The struggle enters a new phase

The national liberation movements in southern Africa are gaining momentum, international solidarity actions in support of the liberation struggle of the peoples of Southern Africa are being held in an unprecedented scale throughout the world, the racist white minority regimes are facing mounting opposition and internal crisis, in the face of this critical situation the fascist governments in Southern Africa, Namibia and Rhodesia are resorting to new tactics, in order to sustain their inhuman, super-exploitative systems in that part of the African Continent.

Both the South African government and the Rhodesian are vainly trying to enforce their own cooked-up solution as internal settlement for the problems of Namibia and Zimbabwe respectively. The Patriotic Front of Rhodesia and SWAPO of Namibia have more often than not revealed the dangers underlying such devices by the racist regimes and made their undaunting opposition to such international settlements.

NAMIBIA

Decades of petitions, appeals and peaceful means by the Namibian people to gain their inalienable right of independence did not work with the abhorrent supremacist regime of South Africa. Thus the people of Namibia led by their Liberation Movement «SWAPO» took to arms struggle in 1962 which soon won both the support and

the full backing of all the democratic and peace-loving peoples in the world. The march of history too has been another factor that favoured the development of the Namibian national movement. The accession of many African countries to independence and their subsequent increase of aid and assistance to SWAPO, the dynamic rise of prestige and potentiality of the world Revolutionary Movement and its indispensable alliance with the African national liberation movements, all enhanced the position of SWAPO in Namibia until the western countries which had a lot to stake in that country tried to bring the South African government to its senses and agree to UN security propositions on the independence of Namibia. The initial acceptance of the UN propositions by South Africa was shortlived and it soon had second thoughts after discovering that SWAPO'S position as regards these propositions proved to be far beyond what the racist South Africa government had contemplated. Presently the whole UN project is drawing with contradictions wantonly created by the S. A. government.

The S. A. government refused to accept the UN forces, numbering about 7'500 that are to administer law and order in the country during the forthcoming election. It says the figure is too high. Of course for her to manipulate! Moreover, it requires that SWAPO should guarantee com-

plete cease-fire before S. A. troops are confined to their bases, a naive way of trying to disarm SWAPO and render it ineffective so as to be able to rig the elections and independence in accordance with the racist mentalities of the rulers of S. A. and their imperialist mentors of the multi-national corporations.

Another sphere of great difference between SWAPO and the racist S.A. government is the question of Walvis Bay and the political prisoners. SWAPO says the former must be handed over and the latter released before SWAPO stops fighting, whereas the S.A. government maintains that SWAPO should first stop fighting before either the prisoners are released or the question of Walvis Bay settled.

Another serious snag to the execution of the UN plan is that Mr. Marthinus Steyn the S.A. representative, who is the administrator-general of South West Africa, has already gone ahead with a unilateral registration of the Voters in Namibia, which is evidently in contrariety with the terms of the UN plan that provides for the complete presence and supervision of the registration and elections by the UN mission.

The South African racist government is bent on putting every obstacle on the way to the Namibian independence. In view of the preparations which the accession of Namibia to independence entails and which have been fully ap-

preciated by all the other concerned parties. S.A., unable to swallow the bitter loss of that country for good, paradoxically calls for an early grant of independence with the sole purpose of handing the country, Namibia, to the S.A.-backed Democratic Turnhalle Alliance»: Another internal settlement cover.

The S.A. Premier Piet Botha, a staunch advocate of apartheid, and a man known for his notorious role as S.A. defence Minister in 1975 when he despatched S.A. troops into Angola to assist the UNITA forces and his representative in Namibia, Mr M. Steyn who professes a long training in the arts of repression, are together determined to carry out the programmes of the former racist chief, Mr. Vorster to establish a mockery of independence in Namibia. But these dreams are sure to be crushed upon the mighty resistance of SWAPO's freedom fighters backed by the vast majority of the Namibian people. In the late seventies of the twentieth century the African national liberation movements have amassed enough skill, experience and political consciousness that they can never accept anything less than true independence that ultimately leads towards full economical and social emancipation; and this is what SWAPO stands for.

RHODESIA:

The Zimbabwean people's growing struggle spearheaded by the Patriotic Front, has compelled the strong-headed, stiff-necked, arrogant Ian Smith to accept the participation of few blacks in his government in order to save the Rhodesian racist regime from being completely overthrown by the genuine Zimbabwean Liberation Movement. He ca-

me up with an internal agreement of his design.

This internal settlement is however bound to fail since it constitutes a total betrayal of the aspiration of the Zimbabwe people to true independence. The internal settlement is devised and worked out in such a way as to substitute the present naked racist Rhodesian system by a black represented government that makes sure that the capitalist interests and the white domination in Zimbabwe remain intact.

This plan is anachronistic, given the present international correlation of world forces and the real situation in Rhodesia itself. The economic crisis in the country, the rising inflation, the growing number of the white proprietors fleeing the country, the escalation of the armed struggle by the Patriotic Front, increasing recruitment into the ranks of the freedom fighters, all these combine together to render the Ian Smith attempts to hold together his staggering white dominated rule in Rhodesia by including into its ranks the Muzarewas, the Sitholes and the likes futile.

Apart from the growing intensity in their fighting capacity inside the country, the Patriotic Front has also won a marked position in the international arena. The organization of the African Unity is completely with the Patriotic Front and had voiced its rejection of the so-called internal settlement as a bogus agreement and mere farce. In the recent OAU summit held in July 76, in the Sudanese Capital of Khartoum, the member States pledged once more to increase their support and assis-

tance to the Patriotic Front so as to hasten the doom of the racist Smith regime and bring about the establishment of a genuine majority rule and true independence in Rhodesia.

In order to aid their man-Ian Smith in Rhodesia and to safeguard his crumbling regime, many imperialist circles have diligently sought to draw a wedge between the two partners of the Patriotic Front by trying to label one Party as ultra revolutionary, blood-thirsty and acceptable and the other as ultra-revolutionary, blood-thirsty party. But as Mr. Mugabe, the co-leader of the Patriotic Front, has exposed these attempts to be hopeless and futile owing to deep trust, close collaboration and concerted action between ZAPU and ZANU parties. With its adequate training, advanced military equipment, growing number in its ranks, the Patriotic Front has already extended its guerrilla operations into the urban cities of Rhodesia.

Panic-stricken by this unexpected escalation of the war of liberation, Ian Smith hastened to fly to the U.S. accompanied by his accomplice black «Reverends» and «Drs» in the hope that he may win certain international sympathy for his internal settlement. The Patriotic Front has so far displayed the highest degree of flexibility which has won her the sympathy and support of several Western countries. It has at the same time made it loud and clear that in such matters of principle as true independence and majority rule it is absolutely uncompromising.

30th Anniversary of the founding of the D P R K



9th. Sept. 1978 marks the 30th anniversary of the foundation of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. This historic event was grandly commemorated by the Korean people and their revolutionary Government.

After the long heroic struggle of the Korean people, in which they scored a glaring victory over the Japanese militarism three decades ago, in 1948, and subsequent to the establishment of a people's republic, the revolutionary Government of Korea embarked upon policies aimed at the creation of an independent Socialist State.

In this relatively short space of time, the DPRK saw the elimination of a backward economy and technology inherited from the colonial and semi-feudal society, the laying of a strong foundation of an independent national economy able to meet domestically, in the main, the material, cultural and defence needs of the country and the people, and its conversion into a socialist industrial State.

In the international sphere,

the DPRK follows a foreign policy upon the principles of **peaceful co-existence**, the respect for and non-interference in the internal affairs of other states, the vehement opposition to all forms of imperialist domination, the unreserved support of all national liberation movements struggling for the **independence and freedom** ever readiness for mutual cooperation with other independent sovereign States based on equality, and the upholding of world peace.

Needless to say it was in this community of interests and aims that the revolutionary government of the Somali Democratic Republic established full diplomatic relations with the DPRK, immediately after the inception of the 21 October Revolution in Somalia which soon developed into a militant fraternal relation embracing other spheres of our social life. This cordial relation was cemented by the mutual cooperation between the two countries in the fields of agriculture, industry, education, etc. Moreover, the exchange of visits at all levels bet-

ween the two countries further enhanced to deepen the already existing friendly relations, which has been, indeed crowned by the visit of the SDR President Jaalle Siad Barre to the DPRK in 1974 where he and his delegation were accorded the warmest reception and the traditional hospitality by the great Korean Leader Comrade Kim Il Sung the government and the Korean People.

Now that the DPRK is triumphantly celebrating this remarkable day of its foundation, the Somali Revolutionary Socialist Party, the Government and the Somali People take great pleasure and pride to express their warmest greetings and heart-felt congratulations to the respected Korean Leader Comrade Kim Il Sung, the Korean Workers Party and the friendly Korean People upon this remarkably joyous occasion of their life. We also re-affirm our unflinching support for the peaceful reunification of the Korean people . . . our Best wishes for an ever victorious advance to new heights.



MONTHLY BULLETIN

Jaalle Siad's Visit to Holand, Belgium and Italy

The President of the SDR Jaalle Mohamed Siad Barre at the head of a high level delegation extended a 13-day official visit to Holand, Belgium and Italy from 4th to 17th of September at the invitation of the leaders of those countries.

Upon arrival in Amsterdam the President and his delegation were given warm reception. Latter, the Dutch Prime Minister Dries Van Agt threw a state banquet in honour of Jaalle Siad in the Hague.

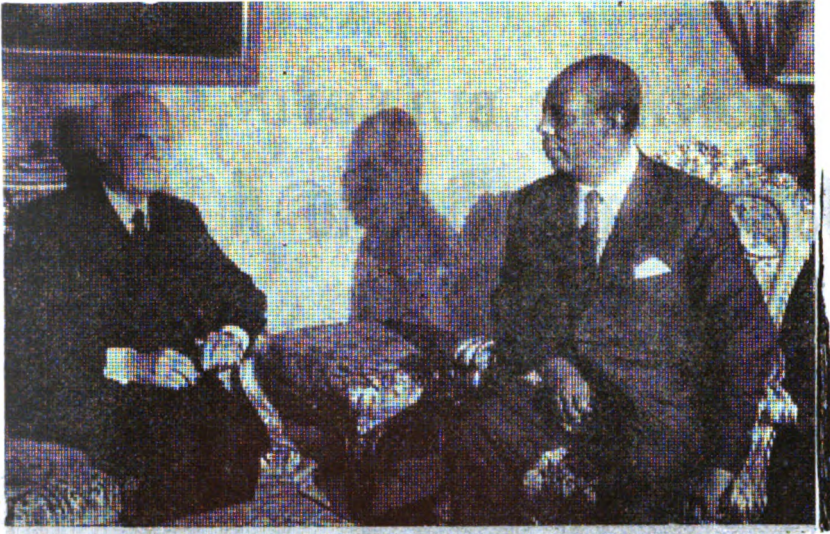
In a speech at the banquet President Siad said «it is a great pleasure for me to avail myself of this opportunity to thank the government of the Royal Kingdom of the Netherlands for the warm reception and hospitality accorded to my delegation to the soil, of this marvellous and ancient country. This visit which indeed is the first of its kind and to which we attach a particular importance embodies to us a great significance - we therefore, earnestly hope that it will yield its vitality along the path of close cooperation between our two countries in the years to come». He noted that relations between the two countries had started a long time ago when Dutch sailors traded in this part of the world.



In this connection he emphasized Somalia's profound desire in furthering the relations between the two countries, particularly in the field of economic cooperation. «To this end I would like to reiterate that the hidden wealth of our country in agriculture, livestock, minerals, fisheries, and other resources, fortified by the abundance of technology in your country and of other friendly countries will make rapid economic

and social transformations in modern Somalia. In doing this we shall be able to overcome the evils of the arch enemies of mankind- poverty, ignorance and disease.

Jaalle Siad gave an overview of the present situation regarding the conflict in the Horn of Africa and said that it has its deep roots in the very colonial fabrications of the regions beginning from the late 19th century to recent days. Adding



that it is an undisputed historical fact that Abyssinia unlike other African countries has fully participated in the process of the scramble for Africa and its colonial partition, a process which led her through military expansions, conquests and annexations to incorporate within the Ethiopian empire, the surrounding territories and peoples such as Western Somali, Somali Abbo and Eritrea in the recent past.

At the end of a three day visit to Holland, speaking to newsmen at Amsterdam shortly before departure, the President said his talks with Dutch government officials paved the way for closer relations of cooperation between Somalia and the Netherlands in the times ahead.

During the visit Jaalle Siad met with Queen Juliana in Rotterdam and the Dutch Prime Minister Mr. Dries Von Agt and had discussions on matters of bilateral relations and cooperation.

In Italy, President Siad met with Italian President Sandro Pertini in Rome on the 4th of September.

In a luncheon given in his honour by the Italian President, Jaalle Siad noted that the friendly relations between Somalia and Italy are growing day by day and stressed the need to further

bilateral cooperation.

President Pertini said that President Siad's visit would undoubtedly help to further promote the friendly relations between their two countries and concurred agreement that bilateral cooperation should be strengthened in all fields.

An agreement on bilateral technical cooperation was signed in Rome.

On the third leg of his tour in Brussels, President Siad called on King Bedouin at his palace and discussed with his majesty on ways of further strengthening the relations between the two countries. The talks held in an atmosphere of cordiality and friendship, were



also attended by members of the delegation accompanying the President.

Meanwhile, an agreement in economic and educational cooperation was signed in Brussels between representatives of the two countries.

In the course of the visit Jaalle Siad met with Belgium parliament president and exchanged views on bilateral cooperation and other issues of common concern. He also met with the

Prime Minister of the Belgium government. Before winding up his tour to Belgium, Jaalle Siad had a meeting with the President of the European Economic Commission and the D.G. of the European Economic Development Fund at the Commission Headquarters in Brussels and discussed cooperation arrangements with the EEC. In a banquet hosted by the Commission President, Jaalle Siad paid tribute to the Commission for its active contribution to the

economic development of the SDR.

At a press conference in Brussels President Siad said that his talks with European government leaders he had met during his tour had been enlightening and fruitful to the mutual benefit of all concerned. He said that Somalia' as a member of the ACP, wishes to enlarge the socio-economic cooperation bilaterally and multilaterally with EEC member States.

The 6th Inter-Regional Sports Competitions

The 6th Inter-Regional sports competitions was officially closed on 1st October by the Party Secretary General, President Jaalle Mohamed Siad Barre at a ceremony held at the National Theatre.

Sports being a very prominent feature of the social life of all peoples greatly contribute to the physical fitness of the youth, National prestige, and it fosters the moral sense of fair play. The actual participation in a sports event is also an enjoyable past time. These and many other advantages of sports were not lost to the leadership of the October Socialist Revolution who began to promote it in all possible ways and means right from the beginning. That however does not mean that sport was unknown to the Somali People in the past. Sport has always been an integral part of the traditional nomadic way of life of the Somali people. Hunting, long distance walks, horse riding, wrestling, spear thro-

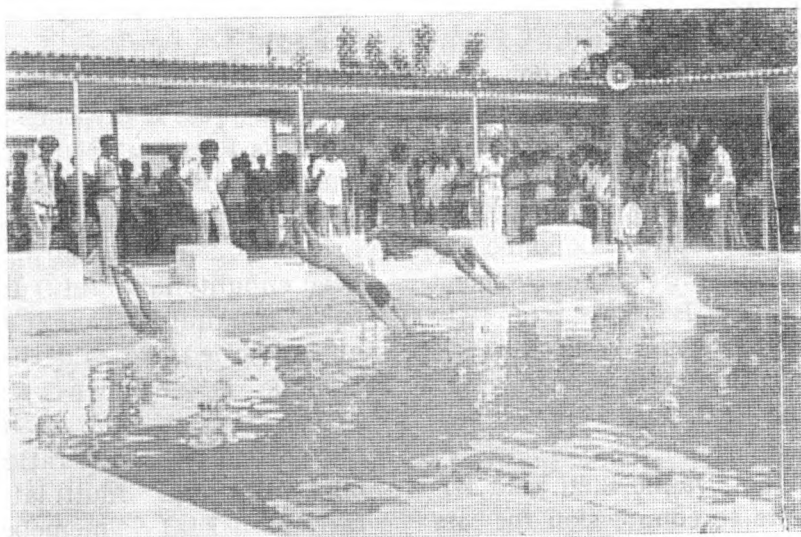


wing, target shooting and athletics were the usual past time. Despite the lack of organized competitions among the nomadic youth, sporting activities were still a day to day routine.

Throughout this revolutionary era no stone was left unturned to develop a sound sports machinery where participation was not the privilege of a few but the right of all. We are doing everything possible to put in the minds of the younger generation the value of sports; sharp minds are in healthy bodies. Our

youngstars are potentially disposed to winning honours in international games. They lack neither the ability, the desire nor the competitive spirit. The only obstacle was that they had never been given the opportunity to prove themselves before the inception of the revolution. We should work out a plan, not only to reach and every child in the country», Jaalle Siad stated in an earlier sport speech.

Speaking on the occasion of the closing ceremony of the 6th sports competitions, the President said that the inter-regional spo-



ports competitions, now successfully concluded show ever increasing interest the people have in sports activities.

Jaalle Siad dwelt at length on the revolutionary governments policy on sports and the progress so far achieved. He urged the youth and sports officials to double their efforts so as to win an honorable place for the SDR in the international arena.

The President expressed

the governments opposition to introduce professionalism in the Somali sport. The player should not confine himself to sport as a profession, in order to contribute to the society», he stressed.

On youth responsibilities the President said that they should the historical responsibility to wage a relentless fight against social evils, such as tribalism and nepotism.

Sport is the real weapon

with which the youth can combat such evils», he went on. While describing the youth as the standard bearers of the society, the President called on them to be always vigilant against all attempts aimed at undermining the conquests of the Revolution.

Later the Party Secretary General and President Jaalle Siad presented to the winning teams awards comprising of gold, silver and bronze medals, and certificates of honour.

The Minister of youth and sports Jaalle Abdikasim Salad Hassan who spoke on the occasion said that the player of the 6th inter-regional tournament surpassed those in the previous competitions both in sportsmanship and standard.

Eight hundred and seventy five (875) sportsman and sportswomen from the various regions of the country participated in the 10-days sports competition.

A cable of protest

The Somali foreign Minister Jaalle Abdirahman Jama Barre, sent a cable of protest to OAU Secretary General ADAM KODJO on the 14th of September to express the displeasure of the Somali Government over the deplorable abuse of the Somali flag in the recent Addis Ababa celebrations for the 4th Anniversary of the present Abyssinian regime.

The Minister's cable stated:

«Deplore to have inform you that on the occasion of the celebrations of the 4th Anniversary of the present Abyssinian Regime the Somali National Flag

was exhibited then flag on the ground and trampled upon by the entire fleet of marchers. Despite the fact that Somalia and Abyssinia do not maintain diplomatic relations, nevertheless my country as a member state of the OAU, whose headquarters is situated in ADDIS ABABA, and in accordance with the charter of the OAU as well as internationally recognized norms of conduct between states, the National Flag is rightfully entitled to fly among other flags of OAU member states at the organisations headquarters. I wish to hereby communicate on behalf of the government of the SDR

most vehement protests against the humiliation to which the Somali National flag has been subjected. Furthermore I wish to draw your excellency's attention that it is the duty and also pre-rogative of the OAU to ensure the flags, emblems and symbols of each member state from any such barbaric and uncivilized treatment by the host country. While the Somali government has complete confidence in your Excellency's leadership it is the wish of the Somali government to have the text of this note of protest circulated to all member states of the organisation.

CULTURE AND ART



October Revolution and Development of the Somali Language



Nine years passed since the birth of October 21st, Revolution and during that span of time, the Somali people achieved great successes among which the writing of the first script could be named.

It was 21st October 1972 when the decision of writing the language for the first ti-

me, was announced. Neither the script nor the illiteracy Campaign were the only steps taken but how the language could be scientifically and technologically expressive was also given its weight.

The backwardness in the Somali society has all-round character that affected its know-

ledge and particularly rooted in its language.

The small part of science and technology and the modern knowledge in general that we are in possession is expressed in terms taken from foreign languages.

This is based on the fact that the Somali language before its writing, was just spoken but not used for administration, science, technology, or philosophy.

Therefore, since a script is made, it is the development of the language itself that needs special emphasis to come up to the level of all modern knowledge.

To clarify the importance of this point, Halgan is publishing articles prepared by people, deeply involved with this topic.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF LITERATURE

By - A. Dirie Guled



It is a fact that literature emerges from the environment of its composers. Man depicts his feelings towards his political, cultural and economic str-

ucture in various means of which literature is the most effective. Thus since the inception of the Revolution other cultural, economic and political de-

velopmental changes have harmoniously taken place. This has brought about a new expression of either Complaint or support of the system in the

field of literature. Here is an outline of how the Revolution contributed to the developm-

the cause of countless works of literature. Besides this the new political movement broug-

ntity with the sum of works during the past centuries. Within nine month excessive works of literature have been composed.



ent of literature.

As in every period a particular literary movement emerges as one of the indelible steps of the Somalia Script. This was the most important factor in the history of literature. It was the first time that the root of the Somali literature was understood. Before that there had been an oral literature but only the Somali script made the possibility of a written form to be adopted for the lines and stanzas of the Somali Poetry. It became possible for the unrecorded Somali literature to be researched and organised. This is still in process and to certain level satisfactory.

On the other hand, the adoption of the Somali script facilitated the creation of a new form of literature with unlimited dimensions. This came about as the utilization of the Somali script inspired the creativity of many. Thus the written for which had been out of use for a long time because

ht about its peculiar of literature. It was the inspiration of many creative individuals who for their first time composed countless stanzas. Directly or indirectly, the 21st October Revolution was instrumental in causing to emerge these creative individuals and their works of literature. Also literature depicting the cultural and economic conditions of the society came forth. The 21st October Revolution which didn't only bring about political changes but also an economic and cultural revolution was the cause of the present numerous works of literature. Its role is obvious on how it developed the other aspects of the society. There are many previously - ignored fields that met with due respect after the cultural Revolution.

Let us give an outline of the causes that developed literature by analysing particular aspect. First, it is obvious that the works of literature created during the Revolutionary era are commensurate in qua-

Also literature has contributed in the daily usage of new vocabulary. The three phases of the Revolutionary development has brought about the coining of many new words. The application of the Somali script as the language of instruction in education, administration, commerce, industry has necessitated the usage of previously existing vocabulary in an original way. The words «Maamul», «Ganacsi» and «Warshadeyn» had never expressed before their present meaning of «administration», «Commerce» or «Industry» Alongside with this, the outlook of thinking has been promoted. When both the written and oral form of the Somali language was put in use to serve in the political, cultural and economic fields as deeper insight in these three aspects has been acquired. This is a proof that the idea comes before the word. After you become conscious you search for the word to express the idea. Thus the development of thinking has become the main cause for coining new words. The promotion of the society and is the means to attain the achievement of Revolutionary glories.

This was a brief outlook of the literary development in the Revolutionary era. Now let us examine the shortcomings and how to overcome them. The role of the Somali Script in reviving the previous literature is not yet expressed in detail. There is no trace of many works of the old literature and the rest remains in the minds of aged individuals

from whom it should be recorded before it is too late. This needs both mental and material investment and the action should take place as soon as possible. The reason is if our ancestors have died with their knowledge, we have to search for the few living and inherit what they transmit. Then after gathering the information of available literature we have to organize, categorize and record them accordingly. What is more horrible is that some of the newly-composed valuable poetry is discarded let alone publishing them in the form of books. For sure, great effort has been put in these books of poetry and their transmission to society is inevitable. It is common that many creative minds couldn't get the least attention for the works that took most of their time and effort. Nevertheless some works of literature have been published. No one can overlook the intellectual of our society as they have produced thousands of books without getting reference, information or data, to help them. We have achieved the possibility of producing books for all the students of our schools up to the secondary grade within a few years. Such an outcome has only results after great effort. And at the same time many other works are not yet welcomed for publication.

We have alone much to overcome our obligation of developing the Somali Literature but still there remains more to be done. There is still not a well-defined coined vocabulary. We don't need our songs to imitate the same stanzas that have already been in a poem and what is a song by the way? It is only a musical rhythm or it contains more than that? There are various definitions of literature and if you ask several people to explain the

meaning of a song every one may give a different definition, leave alone the more complicated works of literature. Therefore, it is strange to find antagonistic debates and different opinions on one particular issue.

The place and the individual should be knowledgeable and they deserve to discuss the matter. Every task has its own

way to be approached and analyzed and if mistreated it might be miscomprehended.

In conclusion, our Somali literature has been greatly developed in the era of the 21st October Revolution because before that only few had have some poems by heart and nothing else. Now, within six years the number of poems composed can only be estimated by these concerned.

The Somali Language and Social Science

By - A. Yusuf Riyale

Language generally expresses in material form the consciousness and thoughts of man. It has come into being as a result of the development attained by man in his material need and his consciousness. Language is always growing in direct proportion to the progress of given society in its way of life. It has reached the highest stage of development during the period of technical, social, and scientific revolutionary transformation. Therefore, any expressed language should be able to show modern changes.

The development of the Somali language has passed through various stages. It has changed in line with the many sided development of the social life of the Somali people. And it has specially matured with the birth of independence. Before that time the Somali language had developed only in a limited way because of the historical circumstances of that period. And it served only as a vehicle of expressing class interests.

The division of labour among the workers was basic to the development of the Somali language.

As we have said earlier, the Somali language began acquiring new dimensions during the period of the independence struggle and later. And particularly since the October Revolution after the nationalist sentiment has grown and social intercourse increased, this greatly affecting the production relation among the people and introducing scientific and technological changes.

And today we witness the progress the Somali language has made in the political life of the nation and its ideology with which a new range of vocabulary has emerged.

The words «Hantiwadaag» Socialism and «Hantigoosad» Capitalism have certainly existed in the Somali language but they have never been used as today, nor have they been used politically. These words have extensive connotations in our time, connected with the

economic and social life pertaining to all spheres. Like the Somali words used for surplus value, exploitation, production relations and forces of production etc. All express the progress the language has made in the field of political economy. Likewise, there are Somali words that have vast political connotations such as those used for apartheid, co-existence, nationalization etc. and are all founded on the modern view of the great socialist revolution. They also reflect faithfully the various political systems of the world.

There are also words that are used in a general sense, but which retain their scientific significance, such as those used for mobilization (kicin) property «Adduun», the bourgeoisie «Maalqabeen» etc. These words can mostly be used for philosophical ideas, and they ge-



nerally show the view of experienced people.

The growth of the Somali language in the political life occurred with the birth of the October Revolution that has profoundly changed the social life of the Somali people and the writing of the Somali scri-

pt that has contributed to this development.

Therefore, it is the new circumstances of the social life and the Revolution that caused the Somali language to grow scientifically and keep space with the technological and social changes of our modern progressive world.

TERMINOLOGY

By Gariye

Just close your eyes for a moment and think. You can concentrate as long as you like but you cannot bring into your mind more than the words that you know. A person's perspective depends on the number of words that he commands. We may go further, a society dispose of the terminology formed by its experience and there you will find only the terms necessary by the requirements of its life. The development of a language does not come by itself and it is not independent of the existing conditions of a society. The terminology of the nomadic society is limited because of that society's backwardness. With the development of the social production, and when the means of production incre-

ase a new terminology and a new kind of social relationship, has been created.

Let me dwell on the development of the Somali language. The formation of the Somali Terminology passed through three important stages:

a) Religion Terms

When the Islamic religion reached the country, it had an immediate impact on the Somali culture. It became necessary to explain the Qoran and the «Hadith» to people who did not know Arabic. Moreover the religion conveyed new concepts. It was inevitable to somalize the Arabic terms representing these concepts, such as: «Janno» (Paradise)

and «Cadaab» (hell), «Shar» (evil) and «khayr» (good); «Shaydaan» (devil) and «Maalaa'ig» (angel), «xaq» (right) and «Baadil» (wrong), «Xalaaal» (Lawful) and «Xaaraan» (unlawful), «Sako» (payment imposed on earnings), «Soon» (fasting), «Xaj» (Pilgrimage) and so on. It used to happen and it still happens that the Somali theologians use Arabic words in the explanation of arabic terms. As, for example in explaining this verse: «Inna macal cusri Yusran», they would say: «after» «cusra», there is «ursan», without telling the student that «cusra» means hardship and «Yusran» relief.

b) Broad casting Terms

Both the Italian and the British administrations estab-

lished radio services around the 40's in the two regions which were under their control, and their aim was to broadcast news about the world war II which was the going on. The Somali broadcasters met the same difficulties previously encountered by the theologians. They had to transmit concepts in a language which lacked the appropriate terms. My heart felt congratulations go to them for the successful efforts in providing a rich vocabulary including such terms as: Rocket, fair, Socialism, self propelling machines, automatic weapons, discrimination, Commonwealth, short and long waves, etc.

The term «hirarka» (waves) was immediately put into literary use. A Somali song goes on saying:

Halkan waa Hargeysoo
Hirarka gaaban
Idinkala hadleysee
Habeen Wanaagsan
(This is (radio) Hargeysa,
broadcasting to you,
on short waves,
Good night

c). The terms coined after the adoption of the Somali Script.

The formations of our vocabulary has now reached its peak. A considerable development has been made as regards to quantity as well as to quality. For the first time, the Somali Language was made to replace the foreign languages in the schools, in the press and in the offices. Though there are some short comings, yet considering the relatively short period during which it has been in effective use, the Somali language has reached a high level development. The Committee responsible for setting up a uniform Somali Terminology and the one respon-

sible for the publication of books written in Somali are trying to find the Somali terms which can best translate the scientific concepts. When Somali words cannot be bound, the foreign terms are adopted and Somalized.

In conclusion, the three stages that I have mentioned here are the most important ones for the formation and development of the Somali terminology. However, we cannot forget the impact of the relations which exist between Somalia and other countries. The trade and cultural exchanges added new terms to the existing ones. We retained the foreign names of all the goods we receive from abroad, eg. «saacad» (watch), «buug» (book), «qalin» (pen), «sariir» (bed), «kursi» (chair), «raadiyow» (radio), «taksi» (taxi), «markab» (ship), etc.

Shortcomings

1). It seems that we are putting a heavy burden on the

Somali language which has been adopted only recently. We want it to respond to all our linguistic needs too quickly.

2) When a Somali word cannot be found and is agreed to adopt a foreign one, people tend to use any of the three versions of that word, that is either Arabic, English or Italian.

3) The Literary writing is so far very limited and the language is not yet consolidated.

4) The current terminology is not uniform. The Ministry of Health has elaborated a list of terms for its own use. The Ministry of Education did likewise. Each public Agency is free to do whatever it thinks best single handedly.

Even while talking about the same thing, people do not seem to understand each other. The matter is being carried to extremes, and that only encourages confusion.

CULTURE AND SOCIETY

By - Rashid Sh. Abdullahi

It is a well-known fact that man is the only social being that can enter with his world and environment into relations that can have a lasting impact. Other creatures live in harmony with the circumstances of nature around them, eating whatever they come across. But man is different and he is set apart by a definite thing called labour. It is definitely known that only human beings work, and not animals. Animals are motivated by the need of survival by which they satisfy the requirements of living under

natural conditions. But man does not live like that he adopted environment to his needs according to his abilities.

Human labour is dependant on and peculiar to the type of equipment available because man does rely solely on his muscles and he prepares the necessary tools for his existence with which he works. Tools are invented with an eye to extending labour itself. The tools are used, so to speak, to enable man to tame his environment, to change and master it.

This side of the picture shows us the struggle man is waging to change the world in which he is living.

Related to this is the other side which consists in the storing of equipment, knowledge of art and faiths that are the result of human existences itself.

We can say that the cornerstone of our social existence is labour, because it is the very source of thought and it gives rise to faith and beliefs, morals and anything connected with it.

Human labour always has a social nature, because human existence has never been known to be individualistic. Society is a historical fact and it passes through various stages of development, each stage having a distinct form and essence.

Human life and its stage of development depend on the strength of the tools and the technical knowledge connected with it by which a livelihood is produced. There is also to be considered the relations among human beings which are determined by the dominant economic intercourse among them. The way collective or social work is carried out determines the relations of people and colours their social relations. Collective efforts have resulted in collective thinking, a common view and in the exchange of knowledge thus special economic groupings being formed. The way culture of any society and society lives always depends on the experience of human existence in general and it expresses it.

Hence the depth of human relations with the world deter-

mines the level of man's knowledge and development. The efforts made for the purpose of producing the material production is related man to nature. Such relations indicate the extent to which man has mastered nature. Take any social formation, for example primitive man. We find that he can work only for the amount of effort he can put in one day limited by the nature of the tools at his disposal; stone implements used for cutting trees, cutting roots or killing wild animals. These are in addition the utensils used for carrying water and food on his journeys, such utensils being made of wood or stone or the bark of trees and grass all of which are obtained from the environment in which he lives.

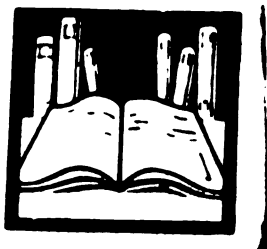
The best things in nature for any primitive social group are those that are permanently useful to them. There is also a dangerous side to nature in this respect and these are the beasts, unfavourable winds, thunder, thundebolt diseases and all other calamities. Primitive societies are conscious of these things and give them names and their knowledge is commensurate to them. As for other things with which they have not been brought into contact they are not aware let alone knowing them. For example a primitive social group may live for a long time on a deposit of coal without having knowledge of its existence, with the ability to use it being out of the question.

On the other hand, the knowledge of primitive people or their culture in general depends on the skills they have acquired and their mode of thought is an expression of it. The society of primitive man we have taken as an ex-

ample knows only such words as it uses for gathering fruit- or hunting and such other things that are connected with the tools it uses for its labour. If hunting is carried out other skills are facilitated by the environment new methods are created in accordance with the tools made available and the necessary vocabulary is invented.

The positive relations and role of man towards nature where his reflections and the tools he uses, the technology and the methods he applies, and the thoughts reflected there and the language he uses all represent specific cultural life of a definite society that has its features. Whenever a group grasps the value of labour and the aim behind it so as to be able to profit from nature and to modify it in the interest of fulfilling their needs, and when the knowledge of tools and skills becomes part of the traditions of that group, it is then that we can say a certain social group has come into being.

A group of people feel their separate existence when they make a concerted effort to live together, such awareness is brought about by the human cooperation for survival, and the united resistance put up the face of common difficulties. It is also brought about by the possession of certain tools of production, such awareness being manifest in the ideas and any ties that pertain to the social existence of primitive man of which we shall write further.



BOOKS AND DOCUMENTS

An Aspect Blaming the victim - of Ethiopia Imperial Ideology

PART II

The June issue of HALGAN (No 20), carried the first part of this critique of Mesfin Wolde Mariam's publication: **SOMALIA — THE PROBLEM CHILD OF AFRICA**. In that part we tried to show how Wolde Mariam misused psychoanalysis in an attempt to blame the victims of colonial oppression. Accordingly he comes up with the conclusion that, the urge for self-determination and unity among the Somalis is not something historical and real, rather, it is some strange notion that «foreigners» have put into their «sheepish heads».

DENIAL OF SOMALI HISTORY.

Wolde Mariam refuses to mention anything that would remotely remind his readers about the history of Somali struggles for independence and unification.

In his 1964 «liberal» writings, Wolde Mariam does mention the name of the sixteenth century Somali hero Ahmed Gurrey. He does this in passing and in a distorted manner.

However, neither in his «liberal» writings of 1964, nor in his hysterical polemical writings of 1977, does Wolde Mariam mention the name of the Somali anticolonialist hero, the

Sayid Mohamed Abdullahi Hassan.

The silence he manifests towards the Sayid and the resistance movement he led, loudly proclaims wolde Mariam's lies and falsifications.

There is hardly a single book on the history of the Horn of Africa that does not mention the struggles of the anti-colonialist movement led by the Sayid between 1889 and 1920. Even the historians who wrote favourably about the creation of the Ethiopian Empire during the turn of the century, all of them could not help but acknowledge the historical role of the Sayid and his movement.

A Historical Study of Leadership in Eastern Africa for example, makes the following objective assessment:

«There is little doubt now, however, that Mohamed Abdullahi Hassan was a great man. With the three greatest powers in the Horn as enemies and with little access to European munitions or to coastal towns, for more than two decades not only did he harass the British, the Ethiopians, and the Italians, but he also regularly won military, political, and even diplomatic victories over them» (16)

The historical facts testifying to Somali anti-colonial

resistance, demolish Wolde Mariam's pseudo-psychology about the «colonizability» of the Somali people.

ON DIVIDE AND RULE.

Throughout his publication, Wolde Mariam heaps abuse upon abuse on the Somali people. Occassionally, he tentatively advances the notion of the «Good» vs, the «Bad» Somalis, a typical aspect of colonialist tactics. Thus at one point he tells us that the «Bad» Somalis are those that «gave away their freedom and independence» to Britain and Italy while the «Good» ones are the «Ethiopian Somalis who have no such record of dishonour» (17)

Wolde Mariam is obviously highly disturbed by the fact that Somalia represents relatively speaking, a highly homogenous society. He tries to conjure up all sorts of insurmountable «differences» among the Somali people. He deliberately distorts traditional Somali clan structures in order to depict these as serious «tribal» differences. Tribal divisions normally imply language, cultural and religious differences. Somalis in and outside the Republic are relatively free from such serious cleavages. Only a colonialist mentality would seek to distort such realities.

ON MISUSING MARX AND LENIN

Wolde Mariam states: One sympathizes with Somalia on her problem of tribalism or what Marx called «this sheep like or tribal consciousness» (18). This is typical of his biased style of writing. He read somewhere that Marx used such a phrase, he never really bothered to understand the content of Marx's discussion of rural attitudes and beliefs. Wolde Mariam is not in the least bit interested in Marx and Marxism. He borrows Marx's phrase, reduces it to an epithet and uses it several times to insult the Somalis. He repeats it often in his pamphlet hoping, perhaps, to convince the readers that Marx must have coined such a phrase specially to be used against the Somali people.

In Wolde Mariam's publication, Marx is mentioned mostly with regards to the phrase cited above. This is the way the colonialist charlatan handles the great intellectual heritage of Marx.

Similarly, he distorts Lenin's writings on the national question and self-determination. In propagating falsifications and lies, he liberally avails himself with a string of quotations from the writings of Stalin and Lenin. In this section of his publication Wolde Mariam wishes to convey the impression that he is a pendant of Marxism-Leninism.

His distortions of Marxist-Leninist concepts is so obviously cheap that it does not deserve extended treatment. It simply reflects an opportunistic intellectual eclectically borrowing from contradictory

schools of thought in order to provide new rationale for an old colonialist ideology.

Interestingly enough, Wolde Mariam concludes his blah-blah on Marxism-Leninism with the telling observation: «The working class must be protected from all those that misled it» (19). Let us pose the question: the working class must be protected by whom in other words, Wolde Mariam implies that he (and other colonialist minded intellectuals) have the divine right to control and lead the working masses within the Ethiopian Empire under the banner of Marxism-Leninism.

The kernel of Wolde Mariam's reasoning rests on bourgeois-colonialist grounds. The most important theme of his publication derives from the pseudopsychology misappropriated from the intellectual traditions of Mannoni and others. Marxist-Leninist phraseology, displayed in the last section of his work, signify mere window-dressing.

THE BIG LIES.

Hitler and Goebbels taught that fascist propaganda, to be more effective, must employ the technique of telling big lies. We have already illustrated a series of big lies in Wolde Mariam's writing to justify him a place as a faithful pupil of the Nazi leaders.

Let us proceed to mention a few other examples taken randomly from his 1977 publication.

Without bothering to give historical explanations Wolde Mariam at one point proclaims: «At any rate there is no doubt whatsoever that historically and culturally, there is much more in common bet-

ween the Arabs and Ethiopia than there is between Somalia and the Arabs». (20) As a liemonger, Wolde Mariam sinks even deeper when he tries to allege that an unnamed «prominent Somalian Official» expressed sympathy with Israel on the Arab Israeli conflict. In making these and other lies Wolde Mariam is trying to poison the relations between Somalia and other Arab countries.

Once again, the truth is obviously on the other side. Writing on the Israeli connection with regards to the conflict on the Horn of Africa an American expert recently observed:

«Israeli policy in the Horn was dictated by an overwhelming confluence of converging factors: Her historical cultural affinity with Ethiopia combined with a demonstrated openness on the part of Haile Selassie; the desire to keep sea lanes open and continue to use Ethiopia as a halfway house on the way to Kenya and South Africa. Finally, Israel had been repeatedly rebuffed by the Somalis, often in the most unpleasant ways.» (21).

In spite of his cheap attempt to poison relations between Somalia and other Arab countries, Mesfin Wolde Mariam is unable to hide the antiArab mentality of the Ethiopian ruling class, for example, he throws mud at the memory of the late President Nasser. Wolde Mariam states: since the death of President Nasser his Arab Islamic dream of civilizing Africa has started to show results» (22)

In making such a distorted assessment of president Nasser's role in history, Wolde Mariam wants to demolish his important contributions to the cause of Arab resistance,

his achievements for the world wide anti-imperialist struggles and for the non-aligned movement. Furthermore, in making such false charges, Wolde Mariam wishes to ride the old bogey horse of colonialism, depicted by the late Franz Fanon in the following terms:

«Colonialism will set the African peoples moving by revealing to them the existence of spiritual rivalries. The missionaries find it opportune to speak of Arab imperialism, and the cultural imperialism of Islam is condemned. Africa is divided into black and white, and the names that are substituted — Africa South of the Sahara, Africa North of the Sahara — do not manage to hide this latent racism» (23).

NO SELF-DETERMINATION

Mesfin Wolde Mariam continues the deep-seated myth about Ethiopia, both the name and the country, which hinders and distorts genuine historical understanding. The origins of the Ethiopian Empire go back to the last eighty to ninety years. As a revolutionary Ethiopian historian correctly puts it:

In the second half of the 19th century, especially after the 1870's the shewan feudals acquired access to the then growing traffic in arms and ammunition. In a matter of a decade the monopoly of firearms was gradually reversed in their favour and they were even able to participate in the internal scramble for colonies. The predominant feature of the political history of the Horn of Africa during the last two decades of the 19th century was colonialist expansion ... a ferocious process of conquest, annexation incorporation and subjugation of peoples and territories - the creation of a typical pre-capitalist empire-state. In

the process the entire socio-political and economic foundations of modern Ethiopia were laid down. The social-historical product of this era of empire building is here characterized as military-feudal colonialism.

The Western Somalis, Eritreans and others have been waging wars of self-determination and national liberation. They have been engaged in a historical task aimed at destroying the roots of the Ethiopian military feudal colonialist system. Recognising their right for self-determination including independence paves the way to the genuine reconciliation of the fraternal peoples of the Horn.

The eminent Africanist historian Basil Davidson recently observed.

«In the circumstances of today the defence of the Ethiopian Empire «telle quelle, is neither morally nor politically feasible. And the wisdom of the outside World, in the this Whole matter, will be judged by its capacity to understand this, and to help towards constructive change». (25).

Basil Davidson incisively pointed out that the process of decolonizing the Ethiopian Empire is as much in the long term interest of the core peoples of Ethiopia, now that they have begun to reshape their political system, as is in the interest of the Somali community or, in the North of the Eritrean Community.» Davidson went on to conclude: «No creative change here, whether or not towards an organic federation such as could benefit all these peoples, can be carried to fruition without this process of reorganization and reconciliation» (26)

Thus we see that Mesfin Wolde Mariam's writings run

contrary to genuine historical understanding. In fact, he stoops to lie-mongering and mud-slinging to confound historical right from wrong. His anti Somali outbursts reveal the despicable features of Ethiopian colonialism.

1. Mesfin Wolde Mariam, «The Background of the Ethiopia — Somalian Boundary Dispute», *The Journal of Modern African Studies* 2'2 (1964), p. 217.
2. *Ibid.*, pp. 217-218.
3. See another illustration of this process in William Ryan, *Blaming the Victim*, (New York: Vintage Books; (1971). (
4. Mesfin Wolde Mariam Somalia-The problem Child of Africa (Addis Ababa: Artistic Printing press; (1977), pp. 18-19.
5. *Ibid.* — (17)
6. Frantz Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth* (New York: Grove press, Inc, (1963), p. 211.
7. Aime Cesaire, *Discourse on colonialism* (New York: Monthly Review Press; (1972), pp. 39-40.
8. *Ibid* pp. 40-41.
9. Wolde Mariam, *op. cit.*; p. 72.
10. *Ibid.*, p. 24
11. *Ibid.*, pp. 7-8.
12. Aime Cesaire, *op. cit.*, p. 41
13. Wolde Mariam, *op. cit.*, 16
14. *Ibid.*; p. 44.
15. *Ibid.*, p. 45.
16. Norman R. Bennett (ed). *Leadership in Eastern Africa*, (Boston: Boston University press; 1968), p. 108.
17. Wolde Mariam, *op. cit.*, p. 54.

18. Ibid., p. 26.
19. Ibid., p. 68.
20. Ibid., p. 36.
21. Michael A. Ledeen, «The Israeli Connection», in the *Washington Review* (May, 1978,) pp. 48. 49.
22. Wolde Mariam, op. cit. p. 25
23. Frantz Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth*, pp. 160. 161.
24. Addis Hiwet, *Ethiopia: From Autocracy to Revolution* (London: Review of African Political Economy: 1975), p. 3.
25. Basil Davidson, letter to the *TIMES* (London) of January 28th, 1978.
26. Basil Davidson, letter to the *TIMES* (London) of January 24, 1978.

CHILDREN'S LITERATURE

By Amina Haji Adan
and Reviewed by Boobe

The children are thirsty for the literature of their forebears. The lack of a script has caused much loss to this rich heritage, and there is no doubt that foreign customs have influenced our children to the extreme and removed them very far from the literature and traditions of their fathers and ancestors. New hopes were inspired in the Somali people when the supreme Revolutionary Council decreed that the Somali language shall be written. To quote Garriye in the introduction of this book. «Our Language was saved for the first time from abolition». Immediately the script was legalized research was set on foot and writers began publishing books thus reviving our language.

This book on children's literature was written by Amina Haji Aden, a teacher at the college of Education at Lafole. It is one of the books of the greatest value, considering the readership it is aimed at and its contents. It will be one of the most widely read books. How many Somali children will read it? The Book consists of eighty-nine pages, and it is made up of many parts. It consists of fifteen stories, seventeen songs, two children's games, word competition, tongue - twisters

and riddles.

There is no doubt that this book will play a great role in the upbringing of the Somali child which has been out of touch for a long time with the Somali Literature that has remained unexplored previously. There is no language difficulty among our people due to their homogeneity, although there might be slight differences from one region to another I do not doubt that the stories and songs written in this book will be known differently in different places. In spite of this they are all of Somali origin. Among the well known stories are «Dheg-Dheer». This story has been depicted in the past in several pictures, a fact that shows the lack of a script. In the games and tongue - twisters you would find that the use of vocabulary changes sometimes from place to place but that the essence remains the same.

I recall that one of the best stories missing in this book is that of «Egal Shidad» and his cowardice. However, the writer has made considerable effort.

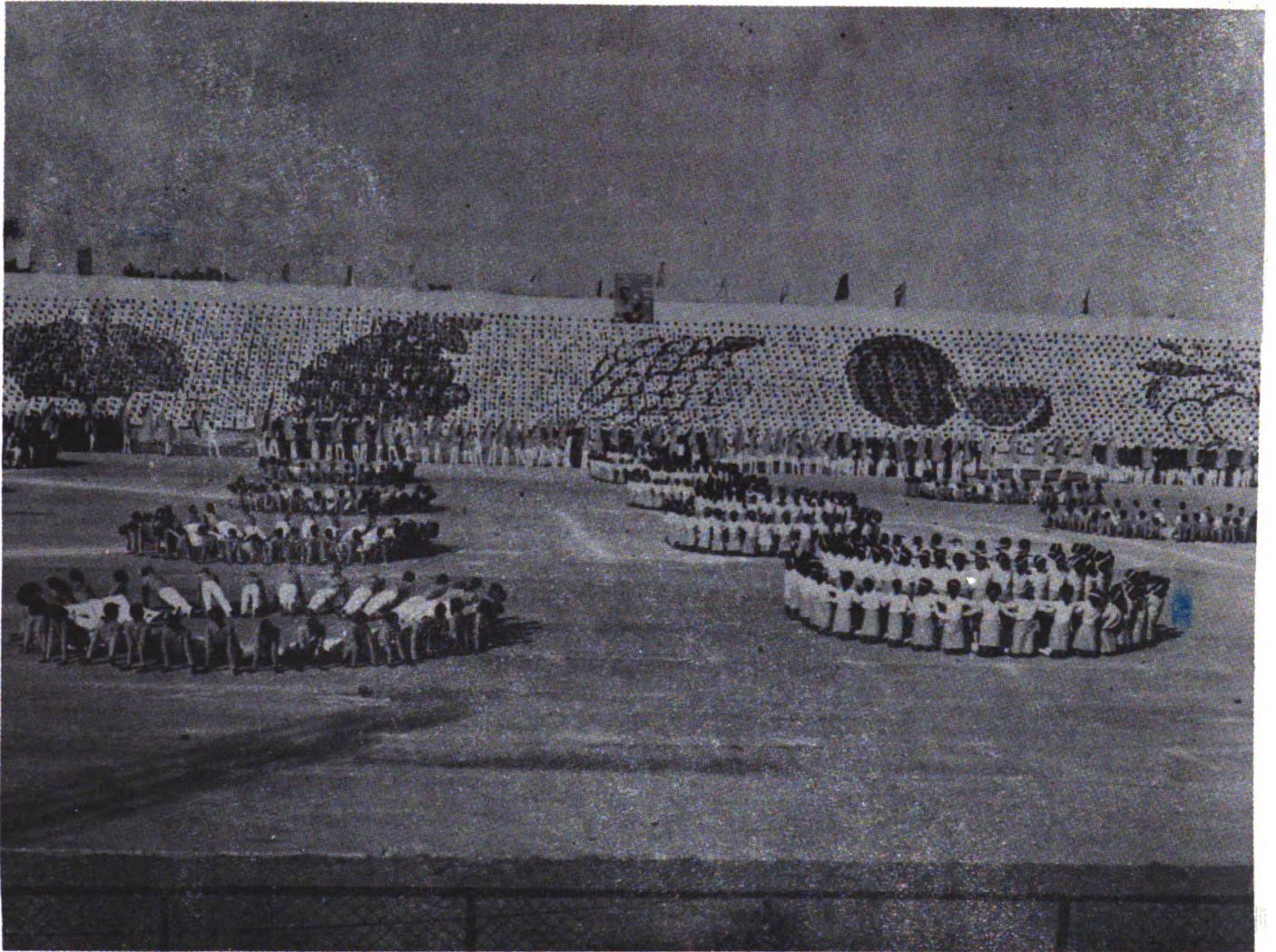
To come to the main issue, the book is eighty nine pages and contains all the parts we have mentioned above. But in the light of our social development, the book is not in the

tradition of good reading material. Children are moulded according to the environment in which they live. It is certain, however that they will acquire the reading habits of their parents. Hence if our reading habits are not that strong, our children cannot be very different from us.

The reading capacity of children is not very great, particularly is this so in the case of nomadic children. I think that it would have been more beneficial if Amina Haji Aden had divided the book into two parts in the interests of the meagre patience of Children. The two sections of the book could have been divided on the basis of age, the longest and most difficult parts being written for the older children and the rest for the younger.

On the Production side the book is attractive. The picture, the quality of printing and the layout all bear testimony to the great amount of effort and time spent making the book up-to-date.

Finally, I congratulate her work, hoping that this will not be her last. We have still much more material in store for which our children have their written tongue to put for them in black and white.



October Revolution Youths Festival



River Resources: A Youth fishing in Shebele river