

HAILGAN!



(THE STRUGGLE)

ORGAN OF THE SOMALI
REVOLUTIONARY SOCIALIST PARTY

* The Opening Speech of the General Secretary at the Extraordinary Congress of the SRSP.

* The Extraordinary Congress of the SRSP: Resolutions

* Closing Speech of the General Secretary at the Extraordinary Congress of the SRSP.

Struggle to
learn, in order to
learn to
struggle better

HAILGAIN

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The Extra-ordinary Congress of the SRSP

When we speak of a party that leads a country we usually mean a party which has a policy expressly stipulated in its programme and which also has a vision and insight that enables it to guide political, economic and social development of the country. Such a programme is usually accepted and supported by the majority of the people. Thus that programme is not an inspiration from god but it is derived from the experience life and from the economic relations of the people, their political thoughts, the nature and culture existing in the area: the historical experience man bequeathed to societies and the general relationship among the world masses that created different social principles.

It is always very important that the party programme should convince party members, and in general to satisfy the society. To realise that priority should be given to the correct implementation of the promises and directives mentioned in the programme which have many sided effects upon the society.

The party and the government leadership that execute the policy of the party must make great efforts and bear special responsibility to realise that the sincere promises presented and accepted in the programme are not postponed but fulfilled.

It is always necessary that the leading institutions follow-up the consciousness of party members and the masses, and to consider their ideas and criticism. The best place and time to assess such feeling are regular discussions and seminars held at party centres and workers clubs. These places have political value also given that party conferences, the highest of which is the party general congress are held from time to time.

Therefore, the SRSP, as one of the parties who has such characteristics, has decided to hold a general congress once in every five years, so as to evaluate what has been implemented, what could not and how the people perceive the functioning of the party leadership. But, because of the specific conditions our country is passing through, it became apparent for the party leadership that it was necessary to hold a special an extra-ordinary general congress to study thoroughly the conditions of the country, and to give an opportunity to every party member while transmitting the feeling on of the masses) to express his opinion on the items on the agenda, and to give advice about the policy and future of the country.

To realise this, the party leadership requested party

committees in the Regions and Districts to organize conferences for all party members to discuss in detail the present condition of the country, and to give special attention to the programme and the regulations of the party in order to suggest any amendments changes if necessary.

Fortunately, it was possible to carry out such a difficult task. discussions were handled in a direct way with honesty, sincerity and self-confidence. The decisions agreed upon at the district and regional conferences were taken by the elected representatives who participated in the general extra-ordinary congress held at the central headquartes in Mogadishu. Such an undertaking was facilitated by the political consciousness of the masses specially that of party members which is at a higher level. And it is worth mentioning here that, since its inception the Revolution has been fostering and developing such consciousness.

The effort of the Revolution to enlighten and train the political thought of the people has been aimed at combatting two dangerous problems that are easily encountered within the states of the third world:

- 1) Anarchy and confusion where everybody acts as he wishes.
- 2) Autocracy and dictatorship which does not fulfil aspirations of the people.

When we have a look at how discussions were conducted and the fruitful outcome which resulted from them we can say that the extra-ordinary general congress held in Mogadishu presented successful test of the political maturity our people have reached and the democratic methods adhered to by the leaders in respecting the decisions of the congress.

Our next responsibility is to study the decisions and their political connotations and to start to implement them seriously.

Following the congress, a conference for revolutionization of National Administration was held. The participants of the timely conference were the heads of the administration and other high ranking officials from different institutions of the government and party. The terms of reference for the conference was how to implement quickly and in a correct way the decisions of the party especially those concerning the fostering of production, maintenance of equipments, improved system of services, and the implementation of the Three Year National Plan. And if all these matters are carried out, as they were discussed and promised in the conference, then there is no doubt that the many-sided and fruitful national development efforts would be successful.

REPORT OF THE PROCEEDING OF THE CONGRESS



re sent to the capital city to participate in the Congress.

On 20th January at 5. p. m. the First extra-ordinary congress was opened by President Mohamed Siad Barre.

At the beginning, a brief speech was delivered by Jaalle Ismail Ali Abokor the Assistant Secretary General of SRSP who gave an information about participation in the congress and the steps preceded for its preparations.

He also pointed out the objectives of the extra-ordinary Congress. The First extra ordinary congress was officially opened by the Secretary General of SRSP Comrade Mohamed Siad Barre who was elected as the Chairman of the congress, and delivered a very valuable speech. In that long speech, the Secretary General has explained in detail the internal and external policy of the Revolution. Speaking on the internal policy, comrade Siad pointed out the causes that created the 21st October Revolution and the great changes it has brought about on all the aspects of social life, and the aspirations we are looking forward today while the vanguard of the nation is a party of a new type.

On the Second day of the Congress an excellent report was presented by the Minister of Defence LT/General Comrade Mohamed Ali Samater who gave informations on the defence policies of SDR.

The first Extra-ordinary congress of the Somali Revolutionary Socialist Party was held in Mogadishu on 20-25th January 1979.

The decision on convening this congress was made by the Central Committee of the SRSP.

Due to the experiences gained within the span of two years and more of the Party existence as well as the difficulties encountered, the Central Committee deemed it indispensable to hold the Extra-ordinary Congress of the Party in order to enlarge its activities and to correct its shortcomings.

The Secretary General of SRSP. President of SDR, Comrade Mohamed Siad Barre, in his speech on 21st October,

1978, announced that an Extra-ordinary Congress will be held.

Consequently, arrangements and preparations were made for the above Congress. Thus Extraordinary Party Congresses were held throughout the SDR on District and Regional level.

These Congresses were organized in a democratic atmosphere and Party members in the District & Regional level, have shown extra activity and political consciousness of high calibre.

Decisions and recommendations were submitted from every region to the extra ordinary party congress and representatives from all regions we-

The first Extraordinary Congress lasted for 4 days; working continuously from morning till evening. During that period the congress has heard reports presented by the representatives from the Regions of the Country. Regional representatives gave an information about the general situation of the region, the level of party activities, the shortcomings raised by party members in the Region and their recommendations to remedy such shortcomings.

There were also speeches delivered by the social organisations: General Federation of Trade Unions, Somali Revolutionary Youth Union, Somali Women Democratic Organisation and the Union of Somali Cooperative Movement.

Representatives of the social organisations explained functions and the General policy of their respective organisations and expressed their strong support for the party and for the extra ordinary Congress.

Representatives from Somali Liberation Movements who were honourable guests of the Congress also expressed their views mixed with approval and gratitude. They have thanked their brothers in Somali Democratic Republic, Party, Government, and the people, for the material and moral support which they offer them continuously in order to get rid of the yoke of colonialism. The representatives of the liberation fronts were welcomed by the participants of the Congress with a continuous acclamation and warm enthusiasm showing them the extent of their support for the just cause that their brothers are fighting for.

On the Second day, the Par-

ty Congress has elected five committee responsible for drafting on political, social, the new constitution, economic, planning and the study of the programme and the regulation, of the party, On the third day the above committees presented to the Congress proposals. Later these proposals were accepted by the Congress.

The first extra-ordinary congress of SRSP approved the three years National Plan Project for 1979-81, and the new constitution of the Country.

Further, the Congress reviewed the programme of SRSP which has been approved by the founding congress of the party. The congress realized that the party programme expresses the true aspirations of the Somali people, and reflects the ideology of scientific socialism.

The Congress has also acknowledged shortcomings which were not due to the party programme, but lack of the realization of it. The congress pointed out the following prints:

a) Lack of sufficient experience and knowledge of some party members of the true essence of the Party Programme.

b) Certain Government institutions responsible for the fulfilment of the major parts of the programme did not perform their duties adequately and,

c) Due to difficult circumstances the party was not in a position to play its required role of control and supervision.

To overcome these shortcomings the Congress has approved useful decisions.

Furthermore, the Extra-ordi-

nary Congress of SRSP revealed the high level of political maturity demonstrated by the Party members participating in the Congress and the patriotic feeling displayed by them.

During the speeches presented at the Congress sessions there were interruptions of slogans and moving songs by which the representatives expressed their stand on the issues raised in the speeches, this has added a continuous interest and liveliness to the general atmosphere of the congress.

Speaking of the General atmosphere of the congress, it is worth of mention and praise the role played by the flower of the October Revolution. Usually, when congresses are held they entertain them with revolutionary songs of patriotic flavour and display flowers with different colours that added a magnificent beauty to the congress hall.

Similar roles were also played by artist groups on the national level, among them are: Waaberi, Heegan, Iftiin, Onkod and the artist Cooperatives of Banaadir.

Apart from the amusing songs, each artist group has invited the participants of the Congress to see a play performed for the occasion.

The first extra-ordinary congress of Somali Revolutionary socialist party could be described correctly as a historical event which gave a great value for the march of the revolution of 21 October 1969. The congress closed on 25th of January with a remarkable closing speech delivered by the Secretary General of SRSP, the President of SDR Comrade Mohamed Siad Barre.

OPENING SPEECH OF THE SECRETARY GENERAL OF THE SRSP AT THE EXTRA-ORDINARY CONGRESS



JAALLAYAAL,

Two Years and Seven months have passed since the founding Congress of our Party. It is a relatively short period. But when we look back at the events that has taken place since then, affecting both our internal development and external policy, it can indeed be considered a long period. It is for this reason that we have found essential to call for this Extra-ordinary Congress so that we may discuss, debate and further clarify the path along which the Party is lea-

ding the country.

I am indeed glad that this has become possible, that we are here together at the national level after debating at the district and regional levels. While I am sure that you will reach your well-deliberate decisions, allow me to say few words about our general policy, both internal and external, and the present circumstance and difficulties facing the Revolution.

INTERNAL POLICY

The independence struggle, waged by the Somali people for a long time, culminated

in the gaining of independence by two Regions on 26th June and 1st July, respectively and their subsequent union in the Somali Republic.

The aspiration of the Somali People has always been to equitably share the fruits independence and to overcome the been colonial legacy of political, economic and social backwardness. Unfortunately, the leadership of the young Republic did not have a long-range programme that looked beyond independence, and thus have failed to realize the people's aspirations. Instead of creating a united society, sharing justice and equality and struggling to overcome the squalid life, they have followed a thwarted policy whose consequences we all remember: nepotism, corruption, bribery, tribalism, robbery and murder.

When the situation reached such a critical point the Armed Forces, true to the vow they have taken in defence of the independence and unity of their people and country, seriously aware of the feelings and grievances of the workers, intellectuals and the Somali masses, embarked on the Revolution of October 21, 1969.

Despite the misguided leadership and the distorted system the people's sense of nationalism and enthusiasm for a better life did not abate. No

wonder then that they, expressing their grievances and anger at the prevailing conditions, enthusiastically came out to support the programme of the new Revolution. The section of this programme relevant to the internal situation was as follows:

1. To constitute a society based on the right of work and on the principle of social justice considering the environment and social life of the Somali people.

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

3. To liquidate illiteracy and to develop an enlightened patrimonial and cultural heritage of the Somali people.

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

5. To liquidate all kinds of corruption, all forms of anarchy, the malicious system of tribalism in every form, and every phenomena of bad customs in state activities.

6. To abolish all political parties; and

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

The Revolution, basing itself on the historical experience of our country and the heritage of human knowledge, realized that scientific socialism is the only road whereby these aspirations could be fulfilled. This was manifestly declared in the second Charter of the Revolution.

The serious endeavour and the continuous measures taken by the Revolution in order to implement its programme are clear to all and require no repetition. We may, however, just mention a few.

In the first place the Revolution dealt with a strong hand the chaos and tribal confusion which used to breed envoy robbery and murder. The evil custom of «Blood Money» (i.e. compensation for a person killed from a clan) has been abolished so that anybody who willfully commits murder would have to meet punishment personally. At the same time, a campaign for the struggle against tribalism has been embarked upon. When the power of the Government and the masses cooperated in this struggle, complete internal security was attained so that each person and family could settle at any preferred location without hinderence, and the transgressor caught wherever he might be and brought before the law.

In order to provide strong basis for economic development, and make the planning process possible, the commanding heights of the national economy such as the financial institutions, fuel distribution major factories in foreign hands, and foreign trade has been nationalized. Steps for a planning programme had been instituted with greater emphasis on investment in productive sectors the longer strategy being the strengthening of the Public Sector and Co-operatives so as to ultimately create a balanced socialist economy.

The transformation of public administration has been started. We all know that before 1969 the administration of the country was in hands

of a few and concentrated in, or rather confined to, Mogadishu. The rest of the country was isolated and the only thing the people there felt of public administration was the District Commissioner, Police Station and the tribal chief. Evidently such an administrative system was of little benefit to the real interests of the people and country. Realising that public Administration is a powerful instrument for social and economic change, the Revolution started to build the administration in a new way. This new way was based on the socialist thinking that a country cannot fully develop unless its people democratically participate in its running and completely control its resources. Many steps and regulations expressing this thought had been taken. Among these were: the redivision of the administrative regional and district areas; the establishment of the management and workers' committees; and the creation of many new State Agencies for the various businesses and services of the country.

After a brief period of preparation, a writing system was developed for our language and immediately implemented in the schools and all official work. Today the whole world is a witness to the success of this step and has admitted that it can be a model to the success of this step and has admitted that it can be a model for all the culturally dominated peoples. The writing of our language enabled us for the first time in our history to conduct a campaign for the elimination of illiteracy, which is today progressing fairly well. This campaign went side by side with the expansion of normal education upto the university

level, so as to open the opportunity to every boy and girl. At the same time the expansion of health service, both human and livestock, had been given emphasis.

The working people achieved many gains during the nine Years of Revolutionary power. Among these gains are the following:

i) The transfer of political power into the hands of the working people.

ii) Creation of many economic projects which increased employment.

iii) The promulgation of many laws protecting the interests of the working people.

iv) The establishment of the Somali Federation of Trade Unions.

v) Creation of new sources of income for the worker's organisations such as the «Worker's Fund», and the Government houses given to them.

vi) The raising of their political consciousness and technical skills. Technical workers had been evaluated and given the necessary certificates and promotions.

These various efforts effecting the all-sided progress of the society were accompanied by raising the political consciousness of the people and their mobilization through continuous and practical campaigns of Self-Help Schemes until the creation of the Somali Revolutionary Socialist Party which, today is complete in its structure, has its social organisations and cadres, and is leading the country in the construction of

socialism. Simultaneously, the capacity and efficiency of the Defense Forces had been raised in both quantity and quality by giving them a higher standard of political, military and technical training.

Finally during the revolutionary period the Liberation Movements of the colonial occupied areas took concrete steps toward their emancipation. Djibouti today is an independent country with which we share mutual respect and co-operation. Likewise, the peoples of Western Somalia and Somali Abbo under Abyssinian colonialism had, during the last few years, intensified their struggle and liberated their land. But, unfortunately, some of the major powers massively came to the rescue of colonialism. In all cases the Revolutionary Government in Somalia gave whatever support it could to the Liberation Movements.

From these few examples, it is evident that the Revolution spared no effort in fulfilling its programme, and have achieved concrete victories. This fact will readily be apparent from the reports that will be presented to you by the various committees appointed by the Central Committee for the different fields facing this congress. However, it cannot be claimed that all that could have been done in such a period were accomplished or that the aspirations were attained in full. In fact there are many apparent shortcomings and setbacks, as became evident during the District and Regional debates, which became obstacle to the full realization of the programme.

There may seem to be a contradiction between the correct

programme established by the Revolution and the major steps taken in its fulfilment on the one hand, and the shortcomings and setbacks just mentioned on the other. There is no wonder in this. History teaches us that progress is achieved through the interaction of contradictions. The forces of progress rebel against, and want to change, the status quo while the status quo and those who stand for it offer resistance. The struggle between these two yields the result.

The struggle between ideologies and those representing the them is not something that did not exist in, or have been eliminated from, our society. We all know that the greatest and antagonistic contradiction exists between our Revolution which wants to unify the people and raise their life to a higher level, and colonialism and internal reactionaries who do not want any progress for our people.

Its mystery, therefore, that these enemies of the people will try every means to sabotage and defeat us. The means to achieve this heinous purpose are diverse but the strategic aim is always one. Among these means are: Outside aggression, internal Coup D'etat or more sinister, the creation of confusion and disintegration in the revolutionary forces so as to weaken them and ultimately defeat them.

The 21 October Revolution was a bloodless one, and the Revolutionary Government embarked on a policy based on the Unity and solidarity of the Somali people so that every individual will have an opportunity to participate in the development and building of the nation. This hea!

thy, clean and patriotic approach was exploited by many reactionary elements. These elements, after playing hide and seek for a time, when they finally succeeded in occupying important positions in the administration of the country, began to insidiously implement their policy of economic sabotage, distortion of principles, Misrule of public affairs, treason of their country and the attempts at Coup D'etats. The aim of all these conspiracies is to seriously harm the 21 October Revolution and substitute with it a quasi-government based on tribalism and opportunism, and serving only colonialism. This attempt to insidiously bring about the fall of a Socialist Government is not a new phenomenon.

Most of these tactics have been tried on our revolution. We all know the number of attempted coup d'etats the last being that of 9th April 1978. All of them had been nipped in the bud, thanks to the vigilance of our security forces. The gratitude of the Somali people for the tasks performed by these forces with excellence and self-sacrifice is incalculable. The masses, whose political consciousness has reached a high level, also played an important role in the struggle against these plots, a fact that is an eloquent testimony to the vital and essential work done by the revolutionary forces of the Party and the social organisations.

Although the danger of foreign aggression is still there, and even more stronger today, yet the tactics presently employed by the enemies of the revolution is to create internal confusion and disintegration. They can try many ways to achieve their purposes. Among these means are:-

— Economic sabotage through the employment of the capitalist elements who desire to regain their weight and the opportunists in the administration. This unholy alliance breeds corruption, bribery, getting - rich - quick mentality, neglect of public interest and waste of public resources.

— The use of the slogan-mongers who propagate catch-words in which they do not actually believe, while their actual practice is to the contrary. Their purpose is to confuse the masses and alienate them from the revolution.

— The alliance with, and the exploitation of, those who, aiming at benefiting from the efforts of the revolution in unifying the people, from the consequences of the struggle of the liberation movement for their freedom, and the unconditional support given them by the Somali people, want to revive the ugly faces of tribalism, and whose activities we witness today.

The aim of all these is to render the revolution a bone without marrow. It is therefore mandatory to conduct a relentless and merciless struggle simultaneously against all of them.

Aside from the serious problems created for us by the enemy, the shortcomings we feel have also other causes connected with the socio-economic stage through which we are passing. It is well-known that the colonial legacy of economic backwardness implies educational and technological backwardness, and integration with the dominant world economy. These problems cannot be easily eliminated. On the contrary their solution calls for a long-term struggle, a struggle which the

Revolution avowed to carry on with an undaunted will. Again we all know that the Nation and the Revolution faced specific, but drastic problems such as the battle against epidemic diseases, long droughts and the support of the liberation struggle against colonialism.

Although the Somali people had successfully overcome these latter difficulties, yet they were serious enough that their negative effects on our economy are still apparent. Setbacks and shortcomings are definitely there, but when we do an honest and serious evaluation of our efforts, as this present Extraordinary Congress is doing, it is obvious that the achievements are by far greater, and that we have definitely taken the first major steps toward our social progress.

If it is obvious that the Revolution had seriously embarked in implementing its programme, and if we had met with certain setbacks and obstacles in fulfilling this programme, it behooves us today to find sufficient solutions and take concrete steps towards overcoming these setbacks, so as to make the continuity of the Revolution permanent. Though the commissions appointed by the Central Committee for the study of the various problems will present their proposals and the Congress will subsequently take its decisions. I feel it is necessary that the following points should be given special consideration.

Submitted before us today is the national constitution. We view this constitution, as we have pointed out last October, as having particular importance for our political development. It is going to extend and deepen the genuine revo-

lutionary democracy we are experimenting in our country. We are confident that you will approve it so that it can be submitted later to a national referendum.

Although internal security today is excellent, yet we have to double our efforts in the struggle against tribalism which the reactionaries are attempting to revive. The main weapon in the struggle against tribalism, as the Revolution planned in the beginning, consists of three aspects :-

— Socio-economic change which eliminates the need of the individual for the tribe;

— New social organisations that demand and acquire his allegiance; and

— Laws that safeguard equality and the sense of nationhood, and outlaws tribal loyalty.

While the Revolution will never relax its long-term struggle involving all three aspects, yet what is required foremost today is to fulfil with an iron hand the laws set for the eliminations of this outdated social evil. The work of the security forces must be accompanied by the tasks of the party cadres and the social organisations consisting in constant political education and mobilization. They must mingle with the masses and fulfil among them the Party Programme.

We must also give special consideration to streamlining and strengthening the administration of the regions and districts. It seems that the legislation promulgated for this purpose is being sidestapped and ignored. I want to make it clear again here that the au-

thorities of the regions and districts are fully responsible for all the work going on in their regions. They are also responsible for all the workers and employees in their areas, in overseeing the fulfilment of their duties and rights. At the same time the working people wherever they are must be protected from their class enemies who want to submit them to oppression and nepotism, so that they may overcome any relaxation of work and opportunism and continue playing their important role of defending the Revolution. It is also necessary to search and find the necessary optimum between prices, productivity and the income of the working people. It is not possible in the present difficult circumstances to hold down prices, or raise wages and salaries, without increasing productivity.

Finally, I want to remind you again that our country is passing through a critical period. We have full confidence in the bravery and self-sacrifice of our people. We are also confident that each region and district will play its proper role in the defence of the mother land.

FOREIGN POLICY

The foreign policy of any state is based on two important aspects:-

1. The aspect that pertains to the special and just interests of each nation and that defines its international commitments and agreements.

2. The aspect that pertains to the general international community which defines each nation's responsibilities and obligations with regards to peaceful coexistence, coopera-

tion and the prevention of conflicts.

As soon as the 21st October Revolution unfolded, the SDR adopted points which served as the basis of its foreign policy. These points, mentioned in the first charter of the Revolution, are as follows :-

1. Support for international solidarity and national liberation movements;

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

3. To struggle to maintain the Somali National Unity;

4. To recognise strongly the principle of peaceful coexistence between all peoples.

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

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

These propositions did not come out of the blue, they were the crystallization of our long history of struggle against colonialism, the victory of our independence and the experience we gained from international relations.

No doubt, these propositions express the general feelings of the Somali people and the aspirations for which they have struggled for years. The implementation of such a policy demanded hard work, integrity and a historical perspective that could harmonise them with our political, economic and defence capabilities.

Well, then, what were our

realities? Indeed, we were a small nation whose people had been divided and whose economy had been crippled; and for a long time our people had been subject to moral and cultural subjugation. In addition, we were and still are, part of the third World countries which are considered to be on the periphery of world decision-making centres. Nevertheless, the tasks of policy-making in each nation is to digest the political trends emanating from the world at large, and to implement them in its bilateral and international relations. On our part, whatever be our capabilities, we can state that we have done our utmost to carry out these international obligations. This is demonstrated by the increasing number of countries with which we have established diplomatic relations, the numerous good-will missions to several countries, our participation in many international organisations and events, and our solidarity links with many organisations and movements.

Somalia's active foreign policy is evidenced by its role in the work of international organisations such as the Arab League, the Organisation of African Unity, the United Nations and the Non-aligned movement. All this facilitates the understanding and implementation of Somalia's general stand on international issues as well as on particular ones pertaining to the Somalia people.

We strongly believe that the destiny of the Somali people will be determined by:

1. The future of the Somali people under colonial rule.
2. The realisation of so-

cialist construction in the SDR.

While implementing these two objectives we remained fully cognisant of the difficulties involved, and accordingly we appealed to the Somalians and to others concerned, to understand our cause and to assist us. If we, for example, take up the issue of the liberation of the Somali people under colonial bondage, then the question of Western Somalia is paramount. It is indeed unfortunate that the colonial power in this case is a neighbourly African state with which we could have had mutual cooperation in order to truly work together for the development of this region and its peoples. On our part we have directly faced the matter and presented the succeeding regimes in Ethiopia with reasonable solutions asking them to produce reasonable counter proposals, if they had any.

Despite the negative responses and convinced that anger or emotional nationalist feeling should not take the upper hand in the government's thinking, we have approached many friendly countries on matter including Africans, socialists, and members of the nonaligned movement. Even then; nothing fruitful has resulted from all these efforts. While we were engaged in such political and diplomatic efforts, the liberation movements did not await us and neither did they harbour any hope from such means. They continued their long struggles because their daily existence was subject to colonial imposition and hardships. Their slogan remained. «Either accept colonial bondage or liberate yourself with the gun».

In fact the liberation war

heated up and the liberation movement gained outstanding victories against the colonial forces. At this point the Ethiopian regime by-passing the regions in which were confronted by liberation fighters attacked the Somali Democratic Republic in order to convert the war into one between the two states and thereby appeal for and receive support from super powers and to involve major military blocs into the conflict.

For a long time we warned that such Ethiopian appeals were simply tricks intended to cover up their aggressive designs. It happened that foreign troops entered the region so as to hide the nature of Ethiopian colonialism, and the liberation war. In order to lead astray world public opinion, they even went further to the point of bombarding towns within the Somali Democratic Republic.

We were thus left no choice but to defend our country and people, to support the liberation movement to the best of our ability and to be ready for whatever sacrifices we may face because, as we said last October, they are struggling for their inalienable rights, for their existence and for their self-determination.

Even today the Ethiopian regime, with the support of its allies, continues to wage new threats and acts of aggression bombarding the towns of the SDR and killing innocent people. The main objective of all this is to bring about a direct war between the two states so as to fully cover-up the issue of the liberation struggles.

On the other hand, in the process of developing our country into a prosperous and

self-sufficient one we have enlisted the support of many states, not all of which were socialist. This necessary had to be since the kind of socialism we are constructing in Somalia is not hostile to any state or people, but is intended for the development and well-being of our people, the growth of our economy and the transformation of our society from nomadism, doing away with tribalism and exploitation. Among the countries with which we co-operated in this endeavour was the Soviet Union for both historical and state considerations. The historical consideration arises from the fact that the Soviet Union was the first socialist country, while the state consideration ability to achieve a great deal provided there is good will. We signed a friendship treaty which we hoped would be a beacon for the emergence of socialist society in the Horn of Africa. Unfortunately, its particular superpower interests which can sacrifice, if necessary, the notions of justice, the cause of the liberation movements, and friendship treaties themselves, became dominant.

Consequently, the aims of this superpower ran counter to fundamental interests of the Somali Nation, and the friendship treaty was violated by their side and hence became null and void, leading to the Central Committee decision of November 13th.

Now, the question arises: The Soviet Union, the Ethiopian regime and their allies what are their intentions and plans with regards to the bad colonial situation in the Horn? Do they intend to annihilate the people of Western Somalia, Abbo and Eritrea? Do they intend to solve by force the

differences between Somalia and Ethiopia which is a consequence of these liberation problems? Where is the political solution mentioned by the Soviet Union and Ethiopia in their joint communique? Truly, after we had fully examined the many aspects of this issue, we have not been able to discern any political solution worked out by these states.

The loud propaganda they spread is but a smokescreen for their real plans and actions intended to annihilate one by one the colonized peoples, suppress their movements until finally, they undermine the very existence of Somali Democratic Republic.

Presumably, they intend to isolate the Somali Democratic Republic as a prelude to destroying her. Such attempts ended up in vain before, and they will not succeed now. Somalia has got many friends, and these are those states and peoples who love freedom, strive for justice and oppose aggression. Nevertheless, Somalia's best friend the just cause it is supporting, the bravery and unity of its people, the integrity, firmness and cohesiveness of its Party.

In spite of such difficulties it is not totally impossible that Somalia and Ethiopia could work out ways and means to negotiate the common interests of both countries and seek out a just political solution serving the immediate and longrange interests of their peoples. Likewise, it is not impossible for Somalia and the Soviet Union to work out a policy on that framework provided there is good will on both sides.

Nevertheless, Somalia's gene-

ral policy is based on:

1. Continuing to support the liberation movements;
2. Defending itself against and repulsing any aggression;
3. Remaining always open to any political solutions presented to it.

Somalia remains convinced that African countries and their organisation, (the OAU), will not tolerate any aggression committed against the Somali Democratic Republic, for the very reason that, Somalia is a founding member of the OAU and its charter and plays an active role in preserving it. Similarly we do not think that African countries are opposed to the just right of self-determination.

Let us therefore ask ourselves: Was Ethiopia a politically free country which expanded and colonised neighbouring countries while the rest of Africa was under European colonial rule, or was Ethiopia itself a colonised country like the rest of Africa and therefore inherited colonially imposed borders with its neighbours? Obviously, Ethiopia wavers between these two historical realities. However much the Ethiopian regime refuses and denies such realities, facts cannot be hidden. The historical fact remains that the Ethiopian regime is a colonial one; and unless and until it radically transforms its position and policies which are directed towards the suppression of the people's they colonise, the conflicts raging in the Horn of Africa will be difficult to resolve. Evidently, the presence of foreign troops, the wars they are waging, and the flagrant interference in the

internal affairs of the region by the superpowers only serves to complicate and delay the possibilities of political solutions to the problems involved.

Burning problems are found not only in the Horn of Africa other parts of the continent experience serious turmoil, the Southern African question particularly draws our preoccupation in this context.

Indeed, the Somali Government never relaxed in giving enthusiastic support to the liberation movements in Namibia and Zimbabwe.

Africa and the world have special responsibility to see to the urgent and immediate liberation of Namibia; we hold that it is not possible for the Apartheid regime in South Africa to do as it wishes with regards to the destiny of the Namibian people.

Despite the services rendered for it by puppets, despite the direct and indirect support given to it by other governments, despite pseudo-referendums and organized propaganda, South Africa cannot stop the dynamic will of the Liberation Movement of the Namibian people led by SWAPO. Ultimately, the final victory will be theirs.

With regards to Zimbabwe, you are all aware that about a year ago we hosted some of its top-level leaders and conferred with them about the liberation of their country. Obviously, first priority must be given to political solutions, since the avoidance of destructive bloody confrontations is the responsibility of all. It was for this reason that we have supported the efforts of the Frontlines States. It is ap-

parent, however, that the patience of the liberation movement, the efforts of the Frontline States and even the mediatory initiatives of some Western Governments did not contribute to any acceptable political solution.

It is clear that the obstinacy and dangerously aggressive character of the Southern African racist regimes will only harvest for the region bitter conflicts and long turmoil which will become inevitable in order to overcome the oppression of these brotherly peoples who have been struggling for their independence for a long time.

And now as I turn to the relations between Somalia and other sisterly Arab states, I wish to thank them and other friendly states for their understanding and assistance to the liberation movements and for the way they support the Somali Democratic Republic on its struggle for the defence of its sovereignty, and for social and economic development. That is not strange since they understand the historical responsibilities placed upon them by the cause of all oppressed peoples, particularly the oppressed Arab people. That is why they also supported and continue to support the just cause of the Palestine people is today undergoing a critical phase.

We believe that after long years of bloodshed it should be possible to attain a final peaceful solution to the Middle East conflict which could only be that Israel should relinquish all Arab territories occupied in 1967 and the people of Palestine be given their right to self-determination.

The Arab nation has many

enemies, among these are colonialism which violates their sovereignty and also economic under development. We believe that these and other differences could be overcome through political solidarity and economic co-operation.

Our relations with Asian countries has been constantly improving, particularly our relations with the People's Republic of China with which we have had long historical contacts. These historical contacts facilitated the establishment of diplomatic relations soon after our independence and assumed renewed strength following the birth of the October 1969 Revolution. We have exchanged several high level delegations including visits by the President and vice-presidents. We cannot forget the honourable stand taken by the Chinese Government against foreign intervention particularly in the regional affairs of the people of the Horn. We believe that the struggle of the people of China for political independence, unity and economic development serves as a vivid example for the people of the third world.

We also wish to draw attention to the grave situation presently existing in South-East Asia. We are deeply troubled by the events in Cambodia. It is indeed an ugly affair with serious consequences for the stability of legitimate states and international peace. The flagrant aggression committed by Vietnam against Cambodia is a dangerous precedent which must command the serious attention and necessary connection of the international community.

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RESOLUTIONS OF THE EXTRA-ORDINARY CONGRESS OF THE SRSP



The First Extra-ordinary congress of the Somali Revolutionary socialist party held in Mogadishu on the 20th to 25th January 1979;

CONSIDERING the Resolutions of the Founding Congress of the Party, held on June 20th to July 1st 1976, wherein the statutes and the Programme of the Party were approved

HAVING STUDIED, analysed, and debated the current problems pertaining in the world today, the difficult stage through which the Somali Revolution and Nation is passing, the confusion created by the interference of foreign

forces in the intricate problems of the Horn of Africa, and the duty of the party towards all of these questions;

HAVING HEARD the Reports and Recommendations of the Party conferences at regional level, and the Reports of the Commissions which the Central Committee of the SRSP appointed for the study of political, economic and social questions, and for the review of the Party Statutes and Programme, all of which gave due consideration to the recommendations of the Party conferences at Regional and District levels;

DULY CONSIDERING the

wide-ranging speech, full of thoughtful insights of political economic and social nature, delivered by the General Secretary at the opening Session of the Congress;

Has taken decisions on the following matters:

1. INTERNAL POLICY

INSPIRED by the Programme of the Revolution prior to the formation of the Party and by the Party Programme itself aimed at the progress and development of the Somali Nation;

CONSIDERING the fruitful results achieved through their implementation;

HAVING STUDIED the difficult situation arising from the legitimate struggle of the Liberation Movements of Western Somali and Somali Abba against Abyssinian colonialism and its allies in order to liberate their motherland;

HAVING SERIOUSLY reviewed the pitfalls which the enemies of the Revolution and the National can take advantage of in order to reach their ugly aims;

ADAMANTLY CONVINCED of the necessity of making the Revolution permanent so that

it could safeguard itself against its internal and external enemies;

THE EXTRA-ORDINARY CONGRESS

DECIDES

1. To submit the National Constitution, approved by the Congress in its current Session, for a public referendum during the current year.

2. To strengthen the leadership role of the Party; to ensure the full implementation of its statutes and Programme and likewise strengthen the role of the Social Organisations in the implementation of the Party's programme and advancement of the struggle of the masses for the building of a Socialist Society;

3. Cognizant that the most effective weapon that will ultimately defeat the evil of tribalism is genuine socio-economic change capable of eliminating the need of the individual for the tribe; new social organisations which demand and acquire his allegiance, and the laws governing the protection of the individual and of equality and the sense of nationhood; realising also that the serious steps taken towards these goals should be continued, yet the immediate task today is to implement with an iron hand all the laws and regulations passed for the purpose of struggling against tribalism.

To this end it is imperative that:

i) The continuous struggle against tribalism and its ugly features be revitalized

ii) The Party cadres, the Social organisations and other

Revolutionary forces should continue their struggle against reactionary groups and should redouble their efforts and effectively accomplish their role of continuous mass orientation mobilization and organization, in consonance with the Party Programme, in order to ensure the proper direction of the masses and the elimination of reactionary elements.

iii) To strengthen the security forces and reorganize their method of operation.

4. That great attention be given at present to safeguarding the unity of the Somali masses so as to strengthen their readiness for defending their nationhood, and for vigilance against enemy puppets and reactionary elements bent upon confusing the masses and sabotage the hard-won gains of the Revolution.

5. To defend the working People from the alliance of Reactionaries and bureaucrats (as a class) so as to safeguard the workers from Repression, Injustice, Nepotism and Tribalism and to ensure that the working people refrain from shortcomings in performance and from opportunism and that they actively and conscientiously defend the Revolution in cooperation with other Progressive Forces.

6. To promote the application of Law No. 21 on the Regional and District Administration, which has not been implemented as anticipated and the central Government Organs should contribute towards the application of such Law.

7. To revitalize the self-reliance programme for National Economic and Organizational advancement.

II. EXTERNAL POLICY

PROCEEDING from the chapter of the 1st Charter of the Revolution regarding Foreign Policy, and the Party Programme approved by the founding congress on July 1st 1976;

HAVING ANALYSED our State relations with the rest of the world;

Considering the complicated situation currently prevailing in the Horn of Africa, and how the legitimate struggle of the Liberation Movements may affect; our foreign policy;

CONSIDERING the Charter of the OAU and the United Nations.

THE EXTRA-ORDINARY CONGRESS OF THE SRSP

DECIDES

1. To continue to support the legitimate struggle of the Liberation Movements for their freedom and self-determination particularly the Liberation Movements of Western Somali and Somali Abbo.

2. To further strengthen our already good relations with our Arab brothers so that our co-operation may bear continuous fruitful results, and take its proper role in the efforts for Arab Unity.

3. To strengthen our relations with the African countries with whom we share the same continent and the same organisation.

4. To increase our efforts towards the improvement of our relations with those socialist governments parties and other progressive movements who are

not opposed to our national interest and who adhere to the principle of peaceful co-existence as well as to finding a just and lasting solution to problems in the Horn of Africa.

5. To further our Co-operation and state relations with the countries of the West for a mutually beneficial cooperation;

6. To further develop our relations with the Asian countries with whom we share the same aspirations.

7. Not to allow any relaxation in Somalia's active role in regional and international organisations such as the Arab League, the Organisation of African Unity, the Movement of Non-aligned Nations, the United Nations and the like.

DECLARATION

The Extra-ordinary Congress:

1. Calls upon the Major powers to expeditiously play their role, in the endeavour to find a just and peaceful solution to the complicated problems of the Horn of Africa.

2. Calls in particular upon the Soviet Union and its allies to stop their blatant interference in the affairs of the Horn of Africa and to cease the suppression of the right of the peoples who are struggling for their self-determination.

3. Declares that the Somali Democratic Republic, while prepared to defend itself against any foreign aggression, would at the same time keep an open-mind to consider political solutions to problems in the Horn that might be proposed to it, and remains committed to finding the ways and means of reaching understanding with the Governments of the Region.

RESOLUTIONS ON ECONOMIC MATTERS

THE ECONOMY AND THE THREE YEAR PLAN

Considering the economic objectives that were outlined in the Party Programme approved during the Founding Congress in July 1976;

Considering the economic report of the Central Committee of the SRSP which pointed out the economic policies and tasks implemented, the achievements attained, the obstacles encountered and the existing shortcomings;

Considering the proposals and resolutions of the district and regional conferences held in preparation for this Extra-ordinary congress;

Having listened to the project of the Three Year Plan;

Taking into account the discussions and resolutions of recent, district and Regional Party preparatory conferences;

Having listened to the reports presented before the Extraordinary Congress by the Regional Party Committees and Social Organisations;

The Extra-ordinary Congress of the SRSP has approved the following resolutions in relation to the economic development of the country:

1. THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC SYSTEM

In order to accelerate the construction of a solid economic basis for the benefit of the Somali People:

a) It is necessary to strengthen, the crucial and active role of the Public Sector in

the sphere of: economic production, that of commerce dealing with necessities, that of banks and financial institutions, that of administration and inspection of the economic organs linked with the material needs of the people.

b) It is important to encourage and further strengthen, the role of the cooperatives in agricultural-livestock productions, fisheries, handicrafts and all other sectors of the economy.

c) It is also necessary to encourage and appeal to private entrepreneurs to participate actively in the economic development of the country, directing their investments to agricultural and livestock production, fisheries, industries, mining, salt manufacturing and in any other sphere that contributed to the development of the national economy and to the general prospect, of the people.

2. ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT STRATEGY: SECTOR PRIORITIES

Considering the present level of our economic development, the needs of the masses with regards to their livelihood and their inadequate income, the first priority of our economic strategy should be directed towards increasing production: agricultural, fisheries, livestock, industries and mineral. Nevertheless, it is obvious that increasing production necessitates better infrastructure such as roads and ports as well as the improvement of social services, education and the creation of technical cadres. It is also necessary to improve health services for people and livestock, better grazing and soil conservation methods as well as better social and

administrative services, all of which serve as the basis for improved economic production.

Accordingly, we have to implement balanced economic policies, and make them adaptable to changing conditions, using the means within our capacities that would achieve the greatest development in the shortest period of time.

3. PRODUCTION

In order to materialise the production targets envisioned, the Congress deems it necessary:

a) To increase capital investment in the productive sectors of the economy and the modernisation of the techniques and methods of production.

b) To train Somali Cadres that would fulfill the targets of the productive sectors.

c) To reorganise the administration, and to gear it towards the country's economic objectives.

d) To set up price-policies that encourage local producers and that do not harm the consumption of the masses.

e) To introduce socialist competition in work and production.

4. INCREASING AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION

a) It is necessary to strengthen the production of basic foodstuffs: maize, millet, rice, beans, sesame, vegetables, in order to provide the peoples' necessary nourishment. It is also important to increase the production of cotton, sugar and wheat in order to reduce their import and thereby save

hard currency.

b) It is vital to diversify agricultural production in such a manner as to encourage both external and internal trade and supply the necessary raw materials for domestic industries.

c) Preservation of soil in order to obtain higher production yields year after year and its conservation and production from erosion.

5. THE ROLE AND OBJECTIVES OF LIVESTOCK, FORESTRY AND RANGE.

It is necessary:

a) To protect livestock against disease and droughts in order to prevent economic disasters and pitfalls.

b) To increase livestock cross-breeding in order to improve yields.

c) To study and implement the best means to improve dairy and meat products.

d) To improve the quantity and quality of the export of livestock on hoof, meat, hides, and skins.

e) To put emphasis on environmental protection, specially reafforestation so as to conserve soil and improve climate.

6. INCREASING PRODUCTION AND DEVELOPMENT OF FISHERIES

It is necessary:

a) To put emphasis on fisheries and marine production so as to increase national wealth.

b) To increase the export of fish and marine products so as to gain hard currency.

c) To relate the increased production of fish and marine products to the national living standards and particularly to the livelihoods of the fishing communities.

d) To improve marine industries and fisheries in such a way as to make them employ great numbers of a people on a permanent basis.

e) To improve fish marketing for the benefit of mass consumption.

f) To gather during the period of the Three-Year plan (1979/81), all the scientific data related to our marine resources and organise systematic surveys that will permit us to know the quantity, quality and diversity of our sea resources.

7. INDUSTRIAL PRODUCTION OBJECTIVES

It is necessary:

a) To complete all projects outlined in the previous economic plan (1974/78), which are yet incomplete.

b) To expand, modernise and change old machinery of existing industries in order to increase their productivity and return.

c) To give top priority to those industries whose raw materials are available in the country after careful studies.

d) To encourage cooperatives and private entrepreneurs so that they may take an active part in the establishment of small industries needed in the country.

e) It is necessary to carry out frequent research and training in order to obtain feasible projects that would benefit

development.

ROLE AND OBJECTIVES OF MINERALS PRODUCTION

It is necessary:

a) To continue the scientific mineral research undertaken during the last five year plan (1974/1978) and to accelerate the steps taken during its duration in the Sphere of:

i) Metallic and non-metallic minerals;

ii) Exploration of fuel such as oil and natural gas.

b) To profit as soon as possible from the exploitation of minerals already ascertained such as uranium and the like.

c) To further explore and analyse known mineral resources and study their economic possibilities.

d) To increase the quantity and quality of Somali Ex-

perts involved in mineral and geological research and supply them the necessary tools and equipment.

9. PRICES AND THE LIVING STANDARDS

Taking into account the international economic crisis generally, and specially the increases in prices and living standards, that directly affect the livelihood of the masses;

Taking into account that Somalia is not isolated but involved in various international transactions that bring to her and similar third world countries all the effects of the International Economic crisis;

Being convinced that economic development provides the true basis for a sound livelihood;

Having evaluated the continuous and serious measures taken by the Ex-Supreme Revolutionary Council and the SRSP so as to prevent inflation and their effects on the living standards of the people;

It is necessary to take the following steps:

a) The adoption of known and standardized prices, free from the effects of maladministration, inefficiency and corruption, for crucial imported goods such as food items, essential clothing, construction materials, and medicines.

b) The adoption of economically standardised prices for national products especially agricultural products.

c) The fulfillment of the previously adopted house construction plans by the GFTU, ministries, agencies and cooperatives with the help of the financial institutions such as the banks and insurance agencies. The latter should also play an active role of its own in this matters of housing development.

d) To strengthen and expand health care and services with the active and permanent participation of economic institutions and especially to reorganise worker insurance policies.

e) Serious and constant inspection should follow the implementation of these resolutions.

10. FOREIGN TRADE

As is known, our balance of

payments, especially current accounts, is in deficit. Balance in our trade accounts could only be realised with the increase of our production and the quantity and quality of our exports. Some of these problems we share with all developing countries. But, some of these are related to the mentality of our society, our system of administration, and our activities that are overly directed towards trade rather than production. This wrong mentality which hinders our economic progress, is supported by the tastes of some of our urban dwellers who yearn for luxury consumer items imported from countries which have greater economic resources, different social and life patterns.

To overcome these foreign trade deficit problems it is necessary to take the following steps:

a) To systematically plan for diminishing luxury imports and encourage the consumption of local products.

b) To increase the quality and quantity of our production and this should be reflected in our daily efforts, in our plan, and in our budget so as to satisfy our local demands and increase our exports.

c) To seriously reorganise our foreign trade administration and management.

d) To overhaul our system of foreign trade and make all efforts to facilitate the increase of our exports.

11. STATE FINANCIAL POLICIES AND MANAGEMENT

Considering the various victories achieved by the October,

1969 Revolution in the improvement and organisation of state financial policies and management, and at the same time keeping in mind the current economic problems generally and those pertaining to state financial administration in particular, the Extraordinary Congress of the SRSP adopts the following:

a) To economize state budgetary expenditure as much as possible by minimizing unnecessary services.

b) To seriously evaluate all those government agencies and institutions that are not economically self-sustaining.

c) To tighten inspection and budgetary control (revenue and expenditures) of all government organs.

d) To improve the administrative system, the know-how and technological capacity of all government personnel involved in handling state finances.

e) To minimise dependency on import taxes for revenue domestic production must be increased in order to raise alternative sources of revenue.

f) To improve the quality of work.

FINANCIAL POLICIES

a) At the present time our financial policies should be directed towards the protection of the value of the Somali Shilling and to be careful about its consequences on our local prices.

b) With regards to Bank credits, we should continue to channel these towards productive sectors of the economy giving them the priorities in-

dicated by the development plan.

c) A budget for the utilization of foreign reserves must be planned for each year.

13. MANPOWER UTILIZATION AND INCREASING EMPLOYMENT

Considering the concrete steps taken by the October Revolution with regards to manpower utilisation and increasing employment, the Extraordinary Congress decided:

a) To strengthen the policy of increasing employment and manpower survey.

b) To channel our employment policies towards productive sectors in a planned manner, taking into account our current economic conditions.

c) To remedy the defects in the process of employing people, such as people employed in the wrong fields, and those staying in ministries and agencies that do not need their services.

d) To direct, as much as possible, our intellectuals and experts and other responsible officials towards the productive sectors such as industrial, agricultural and fisheries, projects, etc, especially in the regions and districts.

14. COOPERATIVES

Cooperatives play a major role in fulfilling the economic objectives of the SRSP. Given our socialist perspective and the specific features of our economy, increasing production and economic development could not be realised without cooperatives. Cooperatives are an illustrative means of coordinating mental and

physical labour. socialisation of the economy and serving the interests of the masses.

In order to fulfill such objectives, it is necessary:

a) To strengthen the administration of Somali Cooperatives, and to improve the inspection and organisation of their activities by the Organisation of Somali Cooperatives Movement.

b) The structure and implementation of cooperatives should be according to their quality and quantity of production.

c) Cooperatives should play a major role in accelerating production.

d) Somali Cooperative should benefit from mutual and reciprocal relations with cooperatives in other parts of the world.

e) Considering the difficulties encountered by Somali people, especially the working people, given that certain traders exploit their daily needs, importance should be given to the task of establishing consumer cooperatives.

15. AGRICULTURAL AND FISHERIES SETTLEMENTS

Taking into account the need that brought about the organisation and implementation of projects for settling drought-stricken victims.

Having examined the levels attained so far..

Having considered the value of projects for the Somali people.

All the concerned institu-

tions should fulfill the projected plan and quickly correct all shortcomings presently visible in their management, in order to make them self-sufficient.

16. CRASH PROGRAMMES

Taking into account the victories achieved in production, in settlement and training as a result of the crash-programme projects, it is still important to direct greater attention to find ways and means to attain economic self-sufficiency by these projects.

17. REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT.

National Economic Development cannot be achieved, obviously, unless the whole country is mobilised taking into account the economic and natural resources and the population of each region and district in the country. We have to fight the trend common in most developing countries whereby rural people flock to one or two cities.

The Ex-Supreme Revolutionary Council and presently the SRSP, having understood the magnitude of this problem, took legal steps in order to decentralise the country's administration and facilitate regional autonomy. In this way regional administration is able to undertake self-reliant activities and at the same time obtain central government help when necessary.

Accordingly,

- a) It is necessary to implement regional policies as already provided in our legislation and other measures;
- b) Each region should be

studied in detail so as to obtain an accurate picture of its natural resources and consequently to base development plans in such needs and resources;

- c) Central Government Organs should remove bureaucratism that hamper the activities and initiatives of regional bodies;

- d) It is necessary to channel to the regions greater number of trained technical personnel and responsible cadres;

- e) It is important that regional and district state Organs assume greater responsibility with regards to development projects in their areas

COORDINATION AND CONTROL

Coordination and control of the tasks concerned with economic administration generally, and the fulfilment and implementation of the projects in particular, are the basis for attaining social and economic development.

Accordingly,

- a) The socio-economic plan at each point in time, must provide the focus for all activities related to coordination and control.
- b) Government Organs engaged in the fulfilment of the projected development plan must have special follow-up units or offices in order to better provide coordination and control of their activities.
- c) It is necessary to reorganise high level government and party organs of coordination, control, and given them greater responsibilities.
- d) It is necessary to-exa-

min our foreign economic relations and remove the various shortcomings existing presently.

- e) In order to extend planning activity to all levels the same time the part and role of each region and district in the national plan must be clearly defined.

THE THREE YEAR PLAN (1979/81)

Considering the need to base the country's economic development on official and permanent plans.

Given the importance of such national plans and the consequent necessity to have them approved during the party congress.

Having read and examined the three-year economic plan projects, the Extra-ordinary party Congress approves the plan and makes its implementation mandatory on all concerned.

RESOLUTIONS ON SOCIAL AFFAIRS

THE EXTRA ORDINARY CONGRESS OF THE SRSP

GUIDED

by the social goals and objectives as defined in the programme adopted by the founding Congress of the party on July 1st, 1976;

HAVING GIVEN

Serious and due consideration to the Statement made by the Secretary General at the opening by the session of the Congress, and the Central Committee Report debated by the Congress outlining the achievements attained since the October Revolution and

the creation of the party as well as the failures and setbacks met with;

HAVING SEEN

The conclusions and deliberations of the Extra Ordinary Congress of the party recently held at Regional and District Levels.

HAVING STUDIED

The proposals for the future submitted to the Congress by the Secretary General and the Central Committee:

CONCLUDES

EDUCATION:

The October Revolution of 1969 inherited from the post-independence regimes, educational arrangements and facilities that were at odds with the needs, culture and aspirations of our people. They served only the interests of foreign cultures and contributed towards the alienation of our young generations.

The October Revolution forged a total transformation of the education system by the adoption of the mother tongue as the medium of instruction and the creation of a system of education based on the culture of its people and its national requirements.

In the light of this, the Congress of the SRSP decides

1. That teacher training programmes be expanded and strengthened;
2. That greater attention be given to the provision of school equipment and printing facilities for Text Books and other educational material as well the creation of appro-

priate facilities for their maintenance, storage and distribution;

and training be given a very high priority;

4. That teaching of the Quran start in the kinder-gardens and continue as part of the school curricula in the elementary, intermediate and secondary stages, so as to obviate or reduce the need for private Quranic institutions for children with all their inherent limitations and problems.

5. That, with in the limits of available, resources, every effort be made to expand the national university to accommodate the introduction of postgraduate courses and specialisation as well as courses and faculties or marine science and languages,

6. That due attention be given to the creation cadres for high level technology in various fields.

7. That programmes and institutions for scientific research be strengthened.

8. That the Ministry for Local Governments, in cooperation with the Ministries of Education, Health and Regional and District Authorities give special care to the expansion of the programme for the continuation of Literacy Campaign for Rural Communities and the strengthening of its directing committees.

9. That initiatives be taken to create schools institutions for the training and development of actors artists etc.

10. That the existing academy for sciences, Arts and

Literature be strengthened.

11. That the equipment and facilities of our mass-media

In this regard, special care be taken to control the quality of films shown to the public. over theatres and cinema houses be improved.

LABOUR AND EMPLOYMENT

The first Charter of the Revolution established the right of every Somali to work and called for a society based on the principles of social justice.

The adoption of these principles represented a complete reversal of the arrangements and practices relating to employment which existed before the Revolution.

In order to realise its declared objectives in this regard the revolution went a longway in the mitigating of unemployment, the enactment of fair laws and procedures for unemployment, and its Somalisation, creation of labour organisations and their participation in management and policy making and amelioration of the cost of living in various ways.

To pursue these objective, this Congress decides:

1. That employment opportunities in the country be expanded, the manpower situation be constantly reviewed and appraised, and employment procedures as laid down by law be strictly observed.

2. That productivity of the worker be raised through better training, provision of material incentives and motiva-

tion.

3. To examine the possibility of striking appropriate policy between the cost of living, salary structure and national production.

To pursue with the policy of raising the awareness of workers towards the difficulties confronting the national during the transitional period of socialist transformation and towards the inculcation of loyalty for the motherland.

5. To review laws relating to workers protection against occupational diseases and their compensation resulting from such diseases.

6. To organize socialist competition amongst workers and agencies operating in the same field.

7. To strengthen control and inspection and to ensure that national organs responsible for inspection adopt and evolve appropriate methods and work programmes.

8. All agencies and organs concerned should dutifully fulfill their functions in accordance with the guidelines and policies laid down above.

SOCIAL HEALTH AND MEDICAL SERVICES

In recognition of the need for these vital services, one of the first steps taken by the revolution was to address itself to this important sector. A programme of action in the field of public health was initiated, and consciousness of the people in maintaining health standards and cleanliness was raised. Medical treatment was expanded. Appropriate institutions were created for all these activities.

While recognising the successful results achieved in this direction by the revolution, the Congress of SRSP, with a view to speed up the realisation of its policy objectives in this regard, decides:

1. To reorganize the work and activities of organs responsible for public health and medical treatment.

2. Since there has been a huge influx of people into the main towns, particularly the capital, prompt steps should be taken to ease out shortages of health services in these towns. With a view to achieve this goal, health centres and outpatients should be expanded and strengthened.

3. Give greater attention to the expansion of M.C.H. clinics and out-patient centres and to supply them with their requirement of accommodation, staff and equipment.

4. For the realisation of the programmes and targets in the health sector, adequate provisions and resources should be allocated both in the national plan and government budgets.

5. The establishment of the pharmaceutical institute should be accelerated with a view to expand the internal production of our pharmaceutical and medical requirements. In the mean while, an effective plan should be worked out for the procurement and supply of medicines and implement appropriate measures for their storage and distribution in order to avoid shortages.

6. To explore ways to reduce the need of sending patients abroad medical treatment and to inculcate in Somali doctors the spirit of devotion and

hard work and at the same-time to provide them with necessary medical equipment and facilities.

7. To work towards the expansion of the supply of professionally trained medical personnel at all levels and to increase and improve the effectiveness of laboratory facilities

SPORTS

The revolution recognizing the need and importance of sports in the national life and guided by the wisdom «A healthy mind is in a healthy body» took many initiatives including the creation of a special Ministry for the promotion of sports.

In pursuit of this policy, the Congress of the SRSP, decides:

1. That the Ministry of Sports should be provided with sufficient resources and trained manpower while the Ministry on its part should endeavour to obtain trainers of international standard in various fields of sport.

2. To reorganize the management of sports in general and particularly existing sports clubs, and to promote sporting facilities throughout the country.

3. To employ and view sports as an important instrument towards bringing about understanding and co-operation between peoples.

4. To promote sporting activities throughout the country, every effort should be made to produce sporting equipment locally.

JUSTICE

During the past nine years

of the revolutionary era and since the creation of the Party, great changes have taken place and major achievements attained in the administration of justice.

In further pursuit of this policy, the extraordinary Congress of the Party, decides:

1. That the principles of justice and equity be observed in all aspects of national life and to strengthen the education and training of personnel concerned with the administration of justice.

2. To work out proper plans and programmes for the rehabilitation of criminals.

3. To emphasize and strengthen programmes for the prevention of crimes.

THE POORER SECTIONS OF THE COMMUNITY

While the Party recognizes the wide and important measures taken by the revolutionary government towards the betterment of the conditions of the poorer sections of society, the Congress decides:

1. To initiate programmes of action for the promotion of gainful employment for these communities as spelled out in the various circulars issued by the Secretary General of the Party in this regard.

2. To prevent and eliminate all undesirable activities and practices contrary to the well-being and moral norms of society.

3. To encourage and promote the production of films in the country and to release those films that will contribute towards the provision of

better entertainment and education and to discourage those films that may lead to negative impact on youth.

4. To instruct the various agencies and authorities responsible for the betterment of the poor, to implement and enforce the laws pertaining to social welfare and to promote new projects geared towards training and creation of employment opportunities for these people.

PARTY STATUTE AND PROGRAMME

At its meetings of 20-25 January, held at Mogadishu, the Extra-ordinary Congress of SRSP; having focused due attention to the objectives and the experiences gained:

— Having thoroughly examined the letter and spirit of the Statute as well as the Programme of action and the policy guidelines therein;

— Having reexamined the objectives and responsibilities of the Party as laid down at its founding Congress with particular reference to the results so far attained in the political, economic and social fields;

— Having heard the reports of the General Secretary and the Committees of the central Committee and taking into consideration the short period of the Party's existence as well as the particularly difficult circumstances;

— Having noted the report of the special committee entrusted with the task of studying the provisions of the Statute and the Programme;

Has arrived at the following conclusions:

PROGRAMME

1. That the programme of the SRSP established by the founding Congress on 1st July 1976 expresses in all its aspects the aspirations of the Somali People and is fully coherent with its immediate and long term interests; because the programme is guided by the laws of Scientific Socialism based on the objective realities and conditions of the society.

2. That whatever shortcomings which might have been noted by some is not directly attributable to the programme itself but other objective factors such as:

A. Lack of sufficient experience on the part of many members of the Party and comprehension of the essence of the programme so as to fulfil their responsibilities.

B. Failure on the part of Government agencies responsible for the implementation of the major sections of the programme (Economic, social, etc) to strictly adhere to the provisions aimed at securing rapid growth in production, social services and better living condition for the people. On the other hand the Party was unable to undertake adequate and constant supervision necessary for the implementation of the Programme. In the light of these factors the Congress determines:

— To strengthen the leading role of the Party in general and in particular the level to production units.

— To increase the knowledge of the Party members, unify their thinking and to create qualitatively and quantitatively adequate cadres.

— To put maximum stress on the development of the economy for the benefit of the people in conformity with the Party's programme.

— To entrust the responsibility for the main arteries of the economy with cadres of proven capabilities and faith in the objectives of purely serving the interests of the people.

To strengthen the supervisory capabilities of the Party so as to secure the implementation of the economic plan and proper social servicing in accordance with the national policy.

— To ensure that the private ownership does not cripple the public ownership and that the former does not prosper at the expense of the later.

1. The Statute of the Party represents a highly valuable instrument commensurate

with the needs of a politically organized society with a unity of intent and purpose engaged in a class struggle and aiming at establishing a new society based on the lofty principles of Socialism which serves its interests, and draws inspiration from the objectives and experiences of the Revolution.

— For a better understanding and easy implementation of Statute the following articles will be amended: 1,2,3,4,5,6,10, 13, 14, 16, 21, 23, 24, 25, 26.

— In view of the establishment of the union of Somali cooperatives movement and its important role both as a social organization and as an instrument of economic development and considering its need for the Party's support the following paragraphs will be added to the articles relating to social organizations: «The Union of the Somali Cooperatives Movement is a social as well as an economic orga-

nization and is the highest organ of the movement. The main objectives of the union is to strengthen development of cooperatives and to promote the interests of its members. The Union, inspired by the Statute and Programme of the Party, will contribute towards the struggle of the Somali society to establish a viable economic organization and the creation of a better life for the members of the cooperative movement.

— The Party will encourage their mobilisation, training and raising of the political consciousness as well as giving them economic and technological support.

— Party cells will forge a close link with Co-operative committees, and assist them in their task through Party members amongst them, or through the party organs in the regions districts and Villages.

Con. from page 13

The relations between the SDR and the Western countries is getting increasingly better. This is very much so with regards to the countries of the common market which has played and continues to play an important role in assisting us in building our economy. This is an important factor and it encourages us to strengthen our relations and mutual co-operation.

The United States is a big power whose relations with us have not been smooth for quite a period of time. Nevertheless, the Somali Revolution has always been careful with regard to the political actions

and the role played by the United States in the conflicts of the present world because we believe that, for good or for worse, its actions have great effect on many international issues. Therefore, we have tried to make the US understand our position so as to avoid any misunderstandings. At present we can say that the United States has begun to understand many aspects of our country's policy and this is partly due to the many delegations we have exchanged with each other.

We believe that our relations with the US will take the right course and will finally lead to increased mutual respect and better cooperation

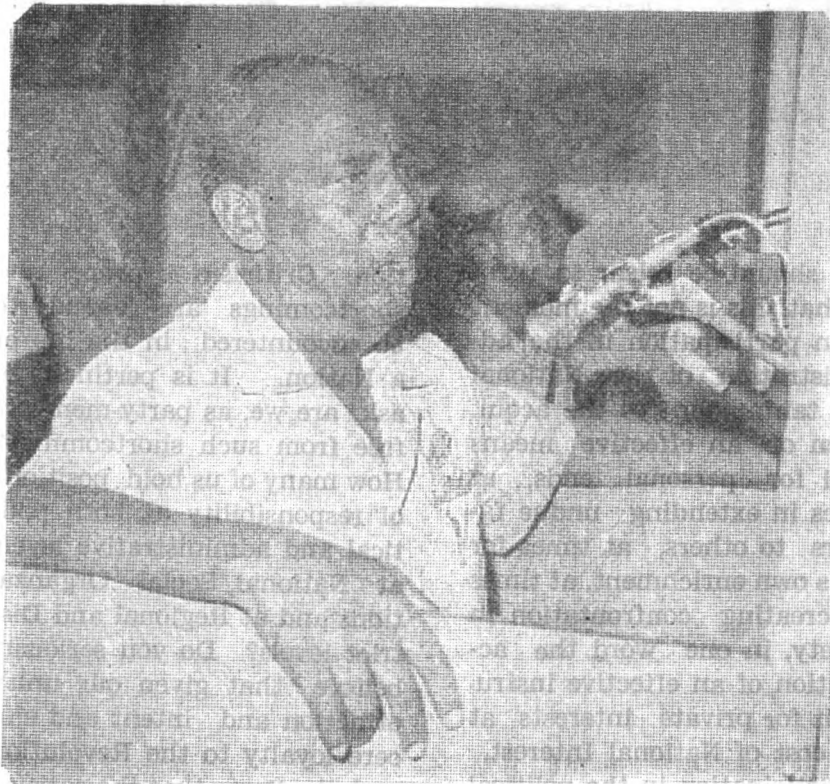
All these increasing relations we have had and will continue to have with foreign states are based on two fundamental propositions:

1. To increase international cooperation, mutual understanding, peaceful coexistence, mutual assistance and greater acquaintance within the world community.

2. The respect for each state's sovereign rights and non-interference in its internal affairs.

We lead our foreign policy on the basis of these propositions and we shall implement them with regards to any other state.

CLOSING SPEECH OF THE SECRETARY GENERAL OF THE SRSP AT THE EXTRA-ORDINARY CONGRESS



**JALLEYAL MEMBERS OF
THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE,
JALLEYAL CONGRESSIONAL
DELEGATES,**

I have the great honour of addressing you once again and have pleasure to express my appreciations to all of you for the warm atmosphere and smooth proceeding that have characterized the deliberation of the Congress.

In reality, the Central Committee of our Party, fully aware of the feelings, the day to day life, the concerns and aspiraton of the Nation and permanently keeping its ultimate destiny in mind and similarly ware of the interna-

tional issues and developments, could have continued to discharge the responsibilities with which it has been charged at the Founding Congress of the Party and could have awaited on Ordinary Session for its reporting. Its choice to convene an Extra-Ordinary Session of Congress is an evidence, more than everything, to its scrupulous respect for the path traced by our glorious 21st October Revolution in that we have continuously endeavoured to ensure the participation of our people in the management of State Affairs as well as to ensure the thorough indepth understanding of the people for the

reality of matters affecting the nation so that they could participate in the management of state affairs properly, actively and thus contribute to the development of both short and long range policy and strategy reactive to all spheres of national life.

The purpose in creating the former Public Relations Bureau of the SRC, in its later transformation into the political office, in the organisation and mobilization of our masses in the building of social centres, in the abolition of the offices of Governors and District Commissioners, which were the remanents of colonial structurization of society, and the institution in their stead of Committees empowered to administer the regions and districts collectively, was to enhance the degree of political awarness of the masses and to instill in them a sense of confidence whereby they would apply their resources to finding the ways and means of ensuring National Unity, the increase of production, the promotion of knowledge, the defense of the Nation, in one word: to reach self-sufficiency.

The founding of the Somali Revolutionary Socialist Party changed the method and structure of the organisation of the masses and laid the foundation for a new structure which united all those

who share patriotism, loyalty to the nation, dedication and hardwork, convinced of and committed to the political programme chosen for the development of our country and people and aimed at the building of a socialist society that would guarantee justice, security, job-opportunity, education and all other protections and amenities to the individual.

Despite the circumstances, difficulties which it has encountered and the short span of time that has lapsed since its formation, our party, as you all have correctly stated in your reports, has fulfilled a considerable amount of its tasks. Indeed the convening of this Extraordinary Congress, and the call for open and unreserved debates and deliberations in which all Party members have participated and which has addressed itself to all aspects of the policy of our revolution is yet a further evidence of the strong confidence that our Party has in itself. The submission to this Congress of a Draft constitution which establishes, inter alia, State Organs such as the peoples Assembly which will, in a permanent manner, ensure the participation co-ordination and delineation of National Policies and the Management of the Affairs of State, is an act characterized by an equally significant political courage. It must, however, be understood that such move does not in any way represent a concession to any one but is intended to inspire the Somali masses to dedicate their mind, sacrifice their muscle, unite their intention so that they could ensure the implementation of the Policies they have chosen and the realization of the projects they have planned.



It should be clear to all of us that this is not the moment when participation in the Administration of the National was tantamount to the acquisition of an effective means used for personal ends, at times in extending undue favours to others, at times for one's own enrichment, at times for creating confrontation in society, in one word the acquisition of an effective instrument for private interests at the cost of National Interest.

Participation in the political Leadership is a grave responsibility which is being gradually devolved upon the masses and those who represent them should be persons that have distinguished themselves in dedication, in hard work, in farsight, in proven loyalty to the National, in self abnegation and sacrifice, in steadfastness and who have out-grown the stage of self-interest.

Although you have testified to the progress made and the sense of responsibility with which the Resolution of the founding congress have been executed, you have also pointed out some shortcomings in some parts of the administra-

tion. Criticism is proper and shortcomings are bound to be encountered in the life of a Nation. It is pertinent to ask: are we, as party-members free from such shortcomings? How many of us hold positions of responsibility at both political and administrative levels at National, Social Organizations and at Regional and District levels? Do you seriously believe that given our unity of action and intent and sincere loyalty to the Revolution and the Party that the corrupt individuals could have thrived or that mal-administration would have caused suffering to the Nation? We do not hold such view, on the contrary we are of the view that our execution and follow-up are somewhat incomplete.

We maintain that the difficult circumstances that have of late faced our country and the earlier problems that have adversely affected our economy have not been fully appreciated by you all. It follows that such adverse circumstance plus the present constraints in cadres and know how have given an opportunity to the Anti-Revolutionary and reac-

tionary forces to attempt to take an advantage of the Revolution since they could not withstand it. The activities of such elements should have instilled a sense of urge, challenge unity and stronger determination in you all, but it would appear that you have instead been drawn into confusion and baseless suspicion and consequently have involved yourselves in unnecessary debates to the great satisfaction of the reactionaries.

Jaalleyaal,

The building of the socialist society shall succeed in our country for it is the only socio-economic system that could ensure rapid progress and guarantee social justice to our nation. It shall succeed whether the reactionaries like it or otherwise. The building of socialism does not come by if a society takes a passive approach to nation building. It emerges on the basis of the struggle of the oppressed masses, the workers and progressive forces against their class enemies. The responsibility of leading such forces belongs to themselves, to the Party, to its Cadres, to you.

The war that is being waged against our revolution and our sovereignty does not come from internal reaction alone but more significantly, we should exercise maximum vigilance against the foreign aggression which is being organized externally and which aimed against our sovereign existence. The threat directed against us by the Ethiopian regime proceeds from its reliance on major powers.

The degree of preparedness of our masses for speedy participation in the defense of our nation and the objectives of

the revolution against any threat from whatsoever quarter is, at this stage, a responsibility which assumes an absolute priority.

We must keep such priority in mind and be permanently and continuously be ready to take the appropriate measures expeditiously no matter how important an economic project or other activities in which we might be engaged at any given moment.

Jaalleyaal:

You have adopted today declarations of great significance, you have taken political decisions, you have voiced historical calls.

The Party Central Committee and the Secretariat are expected to lead you to their execution but the implementation of such significant policy matters are your prerogative and responsibility. We shall provide a proper control but their actual execution among the masses and other party members is your task.

The administration is the instrument which we use for the implementation of our programmes, it is our technical means. Therefore, if it slows down at times we must inject it with new impetus and correct it where warranted. We should in no way move in opposition or make undue accusations to it or be diverted by an isolated shortcoming here and there which transpires.

Jaalleyaal,

We have to turn our utmost attention to work, to the scrupulous respect for the laws governing our administration and discharge our respective responsibilities accordingly.

I have referred to this matter in order to draw your attention to the law governing the powers of the regional and district Committees and their relationship with the Central Government organs.

The purpose of that law was to invest adequate powers in each district and region relative to their political and administrative responsibilities. The delegation to the regions of Plenipotentiary Representatives of the Central Committee was to further ensure the self-sufficiency of the districts and regions in administrative matters. In view of the preceding we wish to call the attention of the Central Government Organs to refrain from any undue interference and that the regions discharge their responsibilities in an effective manner. It is illogical for us to point out shortcomings for which there appears no organ to whom they could be ascribed.

The Party and Government leadership as well as the laws of the nation will be at your disposal to clarify any differences that might arise. If we all fully understand such matter and collectively and jointly cooperate towards such objective, I am confident that our next Congress will be privileged to hear numerous problems that have happily been overcome.

Jaalleyaal;

Allow me to take the opportunity at this congress to address myself to a very important matter worthy of our attention and consideration.

As you know the year 1979 has been declared by the United Nations and its specialized Agencies as the year of «children» and have called upon

all nations to formulate a plan for child care. As a matter of fact the S.D.R. ever since the advent of 21st October Revolution has spared no efforts to protect and care for «children» and has created schools and child care centres.

The S.D.R. welcomes such declaration by the United Nations, has already appointed various committees and has drawn the necessary plan which calls for execution at regional, district and family levels.

Children represent the future of every nation, therefore, it is incumbent upon the masses to gird the lions of endeavour and to approach this matter in a scientific manner.

There are several humanitarian organizations which are interested in this matter. We also have national and social organizations which are concerned with such matter. We believe, that all such efforts be united and that we initiate a national campaign for the construction of child care centres as well as to organize permanent sources of finance so that every child would be guaranteed adequate living and proper medical care.

Jaalleyaal,

It is important that we concern ourselves with the life of children for we know that not all families can provide proper care to children as well as for their education and raising them to a standard that responds to the expectations of our community. Therefore it is imperative that the Nation helps families raise them, that the society follow the conditions of the child as related to housing, nutrition, health and the education since the future of the nation lies with children.

Therefore I wish to call your attention that you should complete any remaining part of the plan in your respective regions and that you should commence such activity if you have not yet started. This should be done in accordance with the central plan and you should report your progress and activities in that regard. Further more, I wish to propose that a new centre for the October Revolutionary Flower be built, the flower whose Revolutionary spirit you have so often seen, who are imbued with profound sense of love for the motherland and who, therefore, merit

particular attention on our part for their care.

Jaalleyaal;

Finally, I would wish to mention that the 71st session of the Arab League conference might soon be held in our capital. Such event is not only a great honour which our brothers have decided to bestow upon us but indeed a serious responsibility that we should discharge with competence and efficiency. We should therefore commence our preparations for the conference forthwith.

Jaalleyaal;

I thank you for the maturity that you have shown in this congress, for the significant Resolutions which you have adopted and the strong encouragement that you have given us in the fulfilment of the policy with which we have been leading the country. A part from congratulations and wishes for bonne voyage, our conclusion could well be «Few words, hard work and proper orientation».

Long live Somalia, Long live the SRSP.



QEYBTA FARSAMADA EE
XIRIIRKA GULDURUUBA SHAQAALAHA SOOMAALIYEED

Youth ever vigilant for the country's defence.



The Extra-ordinary Congress