

# MY COUNTRY AND MY PEOPLE

COLLECTED SPEECHES 1971-72

vol.3



# **MY COUNTRY AND MY PEOPLE**

The collected speeches of Jaalle  
Major-General Mohamed Siad Barre,  
President, The Supreme Revolutionary Council,  
Somali Democratic Republic

1971-1972

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**Jaalle Major General Mohamed Siyad Barre,  
President of the Supreme Revolutionary Council**

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# INTRODUCTION

*Jaalle Siad's speeches have become so much part of revolutionary Somalia that one could hardly imagine ever being without them. In the process of social change constant guidance by the revolutionary vanguard through the mass media is undoubtedly indispensable, especially more so for a developing society with low literacy rate. Under such circumstances the radio indeed plays a vital role in the mass dissemination of revolutionary tenets and progressive socio-political thoughts. The recorded letter is however the best medium for permanent reference and preserving for posterity the thoughts of man that make their mark on the lives of millions of humanity in effecting social change.*

*In the last four years, i. e. since the advent of our blessed Revolution of 21 October, 1969, the President of the Supreme Revolutionary Council Jaalle Maj. General Mohamed Siad Barre has been instilling into the psyche of Somali society the principles of the Revolution within the context of a harmonious marriage between religion and scientific socialism. This is indeed an original departure from the more generally accepted view that theological deference has no place in the ungodly world of scientific socialism. This contention owes two main sources to its currency: firstly the ori-*

ginators of the ideology of scientific socialism — the great Karl Marx and Frederick Engels — denigrated religion because the Church, a wealthy parasite feeding on the fears and ignorance of the working masses, sided with the capitalists in the historical confrontation between entrenched capitalist monopolies and the budding ideology of scientific socialism. This apparent incompatibility has become even more accepted when the founder of the first socialist State Comrade Vladimir Illyich Lenin of the Soviet Union abolished religion, thus bringing the theoretical prophecy of Marx and Engels into practical reality. Secondly, the capitalists further promoted and propagated this Marxist-Leninist stand in order to alienate socialism from the God-fearing masses of the world.

The capitalist strategy confused the broad masses, especially of the so-called third world, and hoodwinked genuine socialist revolutions into adopting pseudo-socialism like «liberal socialism», «pragmatic socialism» and such like, implying the existence of diverse brands of socialism tailor-made for different peoples at various stages of development, thus deflating these genuine revolutions and compromising them into some form of «accommodation» with the capitalist mode of production in order to abate the wrath of the capitalist monopolies.

Strangely enough no modern Moslem State had adopted scientific socialism before the Somali Democratic Republic. Indeed nobody before Jaalle Mohamed Siad Barre saw through the haze of socialist literature to realise that the apparent incompatibility between religion and scientific socialism is not fundamental. Just as it took V. I. Lenin to realise that a high level of industrial development was not necessarily a pre-requi-

site to the inception of a true socialist revolution as stipulated by Marx and Engels; just in the same way it took Jaalle Siad to postulate that the classless nature of Islam and the egalitarianism of its principles absolutely refute its incompatibility with the tenets of scientific socialism. Thus, the main bone of contention is not religion as such but the Church of Christendom. Islam is the religion of the common man and so is scientific socialism.

This most original thought of Jaalle Siad is the central theme throughout his speeches. Besides, every speech has its context in the space-time scale. There are speeches to give advice to civil servants in general, there are others to guide senior Government officials, students, Regional Chairmen (known earlier as Governors), District Chairmen (or the District Development Affairs Officers - DDAOs - as they were called before the introduction of the Local Government Reform Law on October 1st, 1972), lawyers, doctors, judges, women and the toiling masses of the people at large. Every Somali can find in the speeches of Jaalle Siad particular sections that address him directly and give him guidance in the day-to-day task and socialist orientation in the Revolution's salient objectives; in their wholeness they give one true perspective in the nation-building. Community development based on self-reliance (Iska-Wa-U-Qabso in Somali) with the basic objective of enrolling the masses to better their lot economically, politically, socially and culturally, and which is one of the prime tenets of our Revolution and enshrined in the First Charter of the blessed 21 October Revolution, is again eloquently portrayed in these pages. Centuries of colonial exploitation has left African countries bereft of financial resources after independence.

*Cultivation of one's confidence in his ability to improve his chances for progress through self-reliance became the obvious answer to break out from the remaining bits of colonial shackles, and render ineffective the economic grip of neo-colonialism. Self-help in all aspects of human activity has become the trade mark of our Revolution and Jaalle Siad explicitly elaborated in no uncertain terms the merits of self-reliance and the norms to optimise mass self-confidence.*

*Cultural domination was another proven tactic of the imperialists and colonialists in subjugating the toiling masses of Africa, Asia and Latin America. The extensive training courses as depicted by the numerous speeches in this volume in which Jaalle Siad addresses participants of a seminar, a training course or an orientation session, is yet another aspect of the new mood in socialist Somalia. The announcement on 21 October 1972 to write the Somali language in Latin script is a fitting crown to this span of a year's speeches (October 1971 - October 1972).*

*Mass mobilisation is of course a poignant theme in raising the political consciousness of the working people so as to make them fully conversant with their genuine interests and inculcate the aims and objectives of the Revolution, as well as to safeguard the gains and achievements of the Revolution; the Voice of the Father of the Nation is the most lucid catalyst and undeniably the most effective reagent in igniting the revolutionary spirit of the Somali people. The speeches of Jaalle General Siad are indeed a boon to our newly found esprit de corps.*

*This Volume III of «My Country and My People» contains such major speeches as that of the Socialism Campaign of 30 January 1972, and the 21 October*

*Speech of 1972 in which the introduction of Somali script was announced to herald the long-awaited cultural revolution. I specially call these two speeches «major», because they rank among those national speeches that will for ever leave their indelible imprint on Somali society. There are also the marathon speeches of July and August, 1972, including the famous Halane Speech of 29 July, 1972.*

*We hope that through this Volume, together with Volumes I and II as well those to follow, our readers, especially the foreign ones, will better understand our revolutionary struggle toward socialist development.*

**Jaalle Col. Ismail Ali Abokor**  
**SRC Vice-President and Secretary**  
**of State for Information and**  
**National Guidance**

**October, 1973.**

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## OPENING NEW DOORS

*President Siad's address to the combined Saudi Arabian and Kuwaiti Delegations at his office 4th October 1971.*

4-10-1971

May, peace, be upon you:

Your visit characterizes the strong relations between Somalia and your respective countries in particular and the other Arab nations in general. I sincerely hope that your visit will open new doors for closer relations between our countries.

---

We already have amicable diplomatic relations with Saudi Arabia and we hope to have similar relations with Kuwait.

It is, I think, needless to point out that exchange of delegations creates understanding among nations. It is my hope that your delegations would gain an understanding of the Somali people during your stay here.

There might already be Somalis in your countries: Somalis who were either looking for jobs or were businessmen, but there is no substitute for the first hand information of a nation by a actually going to that country to know its people and their way of life.

As to Somalia's stand in regard to the Arab cause, we fully support the Arab cause against imperialism and Israeli aggression.

Somalia withstood the pressures of the colonialists to convert them to their religion and fought hard to keep the Islamic faith. When they failed to turn the Somalis into what they wanted them to be, they tried to divide us into five different parts, each part placed under a different imperialist yoke.

The Israeli policy of dividing the Arab nation resembled in more ways than one the colonialist policy of fragmenting a nation so that they could exert control over each fragment more easily than it could if the whole Arab nation stood against it in a solid front.

It is the policy of Somalia to hold the Quran with one hand and to work for the progress of the nation with the other hand.

Although Somalia is rich in agricultural, livestock and mineral resources yet its people are still poor because the colonialists had done nothing to improve the economy of the country for the long time they ruled it. Instead of improving the economy of the country, they actually put obstacles in the way of the development of the country.

Somalia can enter into trade with your countries to the best advantage of all concerned.

## AFRICA MUST BE THE MASTER OF ITS AFFAIRS

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

18-10-1971

DISTINGUISHED DELEGATES,  
LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

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

BROTHERS,

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

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

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

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

the causes that made these difficulties for them and how they can overcome them.

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

I believe that it is indispensable that we should discuss — as I have already said — in an open and frank way and at the same time take clear-cut decisions; decisions that are in line with the interests of our peoples and respective countries, relying on our strength, brains and removing from amongst us the many difficulties which have been put in our way and whose aim was to always keep us separate and in bondage and never to reach understanding or cooperation.

It seems to me that if we attain that level it would be a way for, or a strong and unconditional support for the building and strengthening of the Organisation of African Unity, but we will succeed in building true African Unity. It is clear that if Africa achieves its unity and becomes able to first remove the small obstacles put amongst its peoples, and secondly it unites for the realisation of its interests and finally bases its policy along the right guidelines which are aimed at participating at the affairs of the world, Africa will then truly be-

come the strongest, the most respected, the aid-donor. In truth this will be the end result and there is no doubt about it.

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

You know with what the Portuguese murder people in the territories which it still colonises. It is the weapons of NATO. Can then the peoples who are members of NATO, call themselves «Friends of the African people?» Or will they pose as the supporters of African freedom? Would we ourselves believe them when they make these claims, if they do not do something about the people who are being exterminated, who are racially discriminated against or are giving out support and vast quantities of weapons in such that the African may never achieve their independence or equality with the rest of the human race?

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

BROTHERS,

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

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

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

In short, I want to propose to my friends, the heads of East and Central African States, who are present here today,

that we should look very closely at our own interests. We must solve our problems in a realistic way, we must leave aside all the minor difficulties that confront us and thereby tackle the major and perennial ones or the enemies with which we are confronted. We must free our people of these problems. We can do this in a number of ways:

- a) First, we must scrutinize the «aid» given to us and if we can do without it, then we must believe in our own selves, our country, our ability and our people. Only by this can we achieve sky-high economy and a better life.
- b) Secondly, we must give definite and substantial support to the African peoples who are still under colonial domination, in every way possible, whether economically, power or good counsel to them. In other words I propose that we must increase our assistance to them so that they may attain their independence one day.

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

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

of yours — SOMALIA.

R

## THANKS GOD AND PEOPLE

*President Jaalle Siyad's speech to the Nation  
at the National Solidarity Square October 21, 1971.*

21-10-1971

Jaallayaal, Good Morning.

On this important day in which we mark the second anniversary of our Blessed October Revolution, I want to express to you all and on behalf of both the Supreme Revolutionary Council and the Government a very sincere wish for prosperity and progress.

At the same time, I want to express our warm greetings to the distinguished guests who, representing their friendly governments and people, have honoured us with their presence during our celebrations on the Second Anniversary of October 21, 1969 Revolution.

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

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

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

Among the adverse natural conditions that we have come through was the preventive campaign that we had to wage against some serious epidemics that swept through many coun-

tries. There was also the tough period of drought which was experienced throughout the country.

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

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

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

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

I will pursue this topic further and say that is it possible for a nation that wants to achieve a high level of development or to raise its people to a better and a respectable life — is it possible for it or has it been recorded in history, that it did so without encountering difficulties from the time it adopted its pioneering ideology upto its successful realisation? The answer is no, because that is impossible. As I have already said on many occasions before the achievement of everything which is useful and beneficial to the great majority of the people must require herculian efforts. If where we aim at is high then there is no doubt that the efforts needed to scale it must also be great because there are many adversaries and obstacles which must be overcome first. But invariably it is what the people who are defending their own interests and are implementing what they want for their people and country — it is what they want that gets the upper hand. Such adversaries and obstacles that confronts them could be famine, epidemic diseases and plots aimed at the heart of the Revolution. We are no exception to this general phenomena in the world.

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

Coming to our achievements during the past twelve months, I can say, as the people of Benadir used to say, that

they are huge enough for the mind to disbelieve them or to think them to be possible. I am sure that my Somali compatriots would bear witness to the fact that what has been achieved is great. All the projects that we have undertaken, initiated or continued in our constant efforts are aimed towards the realisation of the common interests of our people. None of them were designed to serve the interests of an individual person or a particular group of people. A great deal of money and manpower have gone into these projects. It is my belief that no other nation, or only a few other nations have exerted such great efforts as we did in the past twelve months. Who is to be thanked for this? The answer, Jaallayaal is you, because the ideas, the planning, the money and manpower muscle were all yours. We must win a great victory since what has been done was all wholly the work of the mind and the muscle of the Somali people. This shows that everyone has become conscious of his responsibility towards his country and consequently was ready to use his muscles and the few shillings he can afford, as well as to offer his ideas to those who share the work of nation-building with him.

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

Who has undertaken the great projects that we have so far completed? The answer is that it is the people. Who are the people? The answer is the entire people excluding — we have made an accord for telling the truth to each other — those shady characters whom we always describe, such as the ones who stand by the walls, those who used to live off the

fat of the Somali people, the thieves who used to steal from the people and the lackeys whose imperialist masters we sent out of the country and who still somehow maintain contact with them. I exclude all these because they have always been evil in the eyes of God, of the Somali people and the country. They had no dignity or self-respect. But I am sorry for the wives and children with whom they share the same roof and who believe in their lies. I hope that those good wives and children who are members of our young generations of new Somalia, will find out the truth about their spouses and fathers through their ill-motivated actions and unpatriotic talks. Traitors must not be believed even when they try to give more glamorous names to their thievery, reaction, and sowing of discord among the Somali people.

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

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

As to the traitors and imperialist lackeys themselves I would tell, «you have deviated from the right path. You used to live in very bad times. You graduated in the era of election falsification, bribery, ill-gotten wealth, lies, and injustice. You used to earn your living in ignoble ways. But that era is now gone. So come back into the light, into the realities of the present times and rejoin the majority of your good people. Seek forgiveness from Almighty God. But make no mistakes. If you don't do that then you will find yourselves in miserable places poor and ignoble. You can do no harm to the Somali people».

As for the economy of our country, you are all aware of the fact that we have published a few months ago the 3-year Economic Development Programme 1971-1973. The details of the expenditure ear-marked for each sector of the economy as well as for every project are found in the Programme. The one billion shillings which are to be invested in this period are to be either by Somali sources — public and private — or by friendly countries and international organisations.

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

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

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

I am happy to inform you today that the Government has repaid all its internal debts. No one can say today that the Government owes him anything. No longer will a merchant close his business because the Government could not pay its debts. From now on the Government would promptly pay for whatever it may buy. It is the clear policy of the SRC that the Government should tailor its expenditure in accordance with its resources.

In the field of medical care we have, as you all know, posted doctors to all Regional and to some Districts headquarters. In the coming year we believe we can assign a doctor and para-medical staff to all Districts. We do this in order to improve the health of our people. To care for human lives is of the utmost importance and it is imperative that the national leadership must pay special attention to that. We plan to increase the supply and availability of medicines as far as our financial resources can. We also plan to increase the para-medical manpower in the country.

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

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

As you know our dependence in the educational field is caused by the fact that we teach in our schools through foreign media of instruction. These foreign languages are therefore responsible for the divergent ways of thinking and attitudes of our educated people that are foreign to the masses of our people. As you have heard us say it every now and then, we must campaign against the present divisive educational system since we have already waged an effective campaign against tribal divisions.

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

The problem, at present, is with what should our children learn in school? If they learn through a foreign medium of instruction as they now do, would not that breed a foreign mentality in our youth? Surely it will. We have therefore, no choice but to free ourselves educationally.

When we say that the Somali language must be written, it may seem to the general public that this is an easy task. This is not, in fact, the case. As you may all remember the Somali people have always been unanimous in advocating the writing of our language. But in what script it should be written has always been a controversial subject. When we have sincerely examined the problem it was apparent to us that the dispute over the choice of an alphabet has been a futile one. Scribbling something over a piece of paper, almost everybody claimed to have devised a suitable script for our language. If we now call the commissions to a general meeting and ask

them to recommend an alphabet, can that alphabet be immediately usable in our schools? Would the teacher at Baidoa teach his pupils a different Somali from that at Zeila for example? What are we going to achieve if every teacher teaches the dialect of the place he knows best? Nothing. We would in fact be extending the divisive trend of teaching so many foreign languages in our schools. I know that the Somali people love to learn their language in schools very much. We also love that, while we are also fully aware of our responsibility in this matter. The question is what is necessary for writing our language. The first problem is the suitability of the chosen alphabet whatever it may be, to represent the sounds of our language. This requires a great deal of work. To bridge the gap between the pronunciation of the words that are pronounced differently in different region is imperative.

When we write the language, we will not be teaching it to the adults. We will teach it to the young generation. But the adults will also need to use it as quickly as possible. Both of them will need source materials: books, but each of them know a certain vocabulary range in accordance with his age and experience. There are no books that are designed to meet each age-group's needs as yet.

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

tation of the sounds of the Somali language by whatever script that may be chosen.

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

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

In the field of higher education, most Somali parents used to like to send their children abroad. I would like to ask the parents and in particular the mothers to think about the number of these students who returned safely home and how many were led astray; those who have neither learnt anything nor are back home? I believe the number is not small. A Somali proverb says: «One is consoled of the dead person but it is difficult to do so in the case of a blunt knife or the person who is still alive but nevertheless is of no use». (Madax muuqda iyo

middi saawir ah midna lagama samro!). There is no greater tragedy than to see our children becoming lost to us while they are still alive.

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

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

You have heard me blame our educated youth of today, because of their adoption of the different cultures of their host countries and of consequently having discarded the ways of their own Somali people. But although I have done that yet you all do know that I did not intend to insult them. Never, I merely wanted them to become alive to the importance of their own culture and armed with it to join in the fight their country is waging for development and thereby play their roles in the general scheme of things. They must help their country with their education.

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

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

When I say «defend your Revolution» I say so because your Revolution is against everything that may either stain your honour, spoil your economy, check your progress towards a better life or work against your unity, justice and equality. At the same time it helps and promotes anything that may be instrumental in achieving a better future for all of us. Isn't it your duty then, to defend your Revolution?

Now I deal with the question of the District Development

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

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

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

It is the policy of the Government that their duties must be increased and enlarged during the coming year. We are going to issue a new law on the reform and reorganisation of the Local Government administration. This law will enable the local people to have greater participation in the affairs of their localities. At this stage I can only say that the people

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

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

The Army also is the one who is always ready to defend the country and its people against external aggression and internal sabotage that are aimed at your enslavement as a nation, at hindering your economic progress in order to achieve better lives, and at nullifying your freedom. They are, as you

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

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

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

I need not talk on the situation of law and order in the country for you are all aware of the prevalent peace and tranquility throughout the country. It is our policy to deal severely with anybody who tries to jeopardize the security and peace of the Somali people. In our firm belief that peace is the essential base upon which a better life can be built, we will leave no stone unturned in bringing the full weight of the law against such people. Peace must prevail, and thanks God for the improvements that have been made. But mark my words. We do not believe that this is due to the fact that people were jailed or the Government's hand became stronger or is even due to the new and strict laws enacted since the Revolution. Never. We believe this to be due to the greater sense of responsibility displayed by almost every Somali person. He realised that the theft of one's brother's property or killing him for it, for the grave crime it is. Moreover, to do that would destroy his chances in this world as well as in the hereafter.

The peace and the tranquility we enjoy today, therefore, is due to the greater sense of responsibility by our people in both rural and urban areas of the country. We, being the responsible leaders of the country, extend to them our sincere thanks in the name of the nation for this new awareness.

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

As for the import-export trade, you all remember the fact that I have addressed myself to the business community a number of times. Despite my repeated warnings they seem to be deaf to the voice of the Government. Had they accepted our just proposals to the effect that they should conduct their business in the right and just way and to forget the ways to which they have become accustomed, then it would have been possible that the government might not have interfered with

them and that they might have retained their businesses. For example I am aware of the fact that if the bottle of hair oil used to cost only 3 shillings at the inception of the October Revolution, its price today is over 10 shillings! I ask myself many a time the causes of this state of affairs. I know and you also know of the fact that the Government did not impose any new taxes on hair oil. Why do the merchants have to raise its price so high? That is one aspect of the problem. The other one is that if a merchant used to claim to have imported a million shillings' worth of commodities, he does not import even a one-hundred-thousand shillings' worth now. This again invites a number of questions as to why the merchants do that.

The worst thing of all is that, as I have said many times, they do not try to export any of the many commodities that abound in the country. They never try to engage themselves in the export business despite the fact that their licences show them as being exporters as well. This adds nothing to the economic development of the country. We declare our displeasure at the way in which they conduct their businesses. This is so, because they seem to be ignorant of the possibilities open to them in the export business as well.

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

We declare to the business community — whether they are nationals or aliens — that they can do business in this country

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

I therefore, advise you to do business in the right and correct way by which you can profit and which does not harm the broad masses of the people. Do business in accordance with the principles of the Revolution and in line with the economic development of the country. The Somali people believe that the statement of profession of Islamic faith is repeated thrice. That is why I will never warn the business community for another time. Our future actions will be based on how you heed our present warning. So please yourselves.

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

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

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

I need not waste our time in talking about our foreign policy, since I have tackled the subject on more than one occasion. I have already informed you as well as the rest of the world that our policies are not ones which are formulated at night to be changed on the following morning. They are policies which are based on our own principles and interests in the first place and are at the same time in line with the principles of international justice and goodwill. We, therefore, cannot condone the actions of the nations that colonise others, neither can we approve of the big or wealthy nations that exercise their might upon other and weaker ones. We cannot con-

done or tolerate aggressive invasion on and occupation of the free and independent nations by others. It is for these reasons that we condemn and oppose the Israeli occupation of Arab territories, or the United States occupation and aggression on the peoples of Indo-China. These can only be termed as inhuman acts of aggression.

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

To dwell on the subject still further, I must say that our policies are based on non-alignment and neutrality. This however, does not mean that we are going to consider or treat our friends and foes alike. But it means that we must always be free to conduct our foreign policies the way we want. We are basing them on international peace, justice and peaceful co-existence. Where problems crop up between the nations, then the parties concerned should peacefully solve them independently and without resort to force. At all times, however, we must know our friends from our foes. We have said that we are fighting against disease, poverty and ignorance and we are going to fight these enemies with our own resources and efforts having confidence in ourselves, our people and country. He whoever assists us in this war is our friend. Likewise anyone who obstructs our way and hinders us is our

enemy. We have based our policies and principles on Socialism which bids us to work and to apportion the fruits of our labours honestly and justly. Our principles, therefore, forbid us to tolerate exploitation of man by man. We cannot befriend those who oppose these principles. We can have good dealings of mutual benefit only with those who believe that these principles are the correct ones.

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

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

On the African scene, I must recall the fact that Africa used to be colonised by non-Africans. Later most of the people of the continent attained their independence. But is their independence full and complete? For example, is the type of independence we used to have in the past a complete one? We

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

For the African territories still under colonial domination, we call upon independent Africa to be alive to the plight of their own brothers and sisters. It is impossible for any part of Africa to claim independence while other parts are still under the yoke of colonialism. It is through these colonially-dominated parts that colonialism and imperialism will undoubtedly launch their aggressive schemes against the independent parts. «What is the latest corpse?» Asks a Somali rhetoric and the answer is, «The dead person who is being taken to the Grave?» So the latest example of this nature was the recent aggressive attempts of South Africa against Zambia.

If the African peoples of South Africa, Namibia, Angola or Mozambique were free, then it would have been impossible

for the imperialists to attack Zambia. At the same time so long as these African peoples are colonised Zambia cannot claim to be really independent. The same is also true of Somalia, Ethiopia, Kenya and of any other African country. Our Independence is nothing but a mirage. In order to attain full independence for ourselves we must free the African peoples in every part of the continent. Our independence and sovereignty depend on the freedom and independence of other African parts. We must employ whatever we can; whether it is money, strength, diplomacy and wisdom in order to free colonised Africa. This is our belief. As for the many problems created by colonialism between the African countries we urge the parties concerned to solve them peacefully and independently.

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

Recently, for example, there was a serious monetary crisis in the world. The crisis was generated by the United States which said that it will not respect its undertakings of exchanging its dollars back for gold. As a result of this nations of the world began to hold meetings to discuss the best ways

of solving it. What did Africa do about it? Where did it hold the meetings? It was not possible for Africa to meet and hold consultations on the crisis because many of the African countries are tied to the French economy, others to the British and yet others to various western economies. Independent African nations are not economically free and therefore are not free to decide on such issues. Nevertheless, they suffer the consequences like anyone else.

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

Now I move on to explain our views on our relations with our neighbouring countries with whom we share mutual interests, and with whom we had problems since our achievement of independence. It is our belief that we should not antagonise and hate each other and resort to arms because of the human and territorial problems created for us by colonialism. This is so because we firmly believe that these problems were created by the imperialists in the pursuit of their own selfish ends. Being responsible people, must we stand by the colonialists schemes that still continue to serve their purpose? I believe we must not do that. Today we are the leaders who are responsible for the destiny of our own peoples. We must, the-

before, discuss these existing problems honestly and realistically and reach honourable solutions. Let the leaders concerned secure their rights in accordance with the truth. What can we achieve if we approach our problems in the attitude that is aptly described by the Arabic saying «I am a prince, and you are a prince, who is then going to lead the donkey?!».

As I have already stated on several occasions, we call upon our neighbouring brothers to come to the negotiations' table in order to iron out disputes and differences comprehensively, realistically, responsibly, and in the spirit of African brotherhood. We must approach these negotiations in a healthy way in order to reach lasting solutions which are mutually beneficial. Once we do that then we will reap rich rewards in the way of good neighbourliness, brotherhood and cooperation.

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

Jaallayaal,

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

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

Having reviewed what we have, so far, achieved and after having stated what we should do in the future, I must now underscore the fact that what we have done in the past is very far less than what we should do in the future. Our ability and capacity to do much more than we did in the past is very great. Only two yeras back we could not have even dreamed of achieving as much as we did. To see what we have achieved one has only to look around his region or district. For example nobody ever thought, two years ago, that we can achieve half as much of what we have done in Mogadiscio, the capital of our country. Even the imperialists are dumb-founded at what we have done for ourselves. They did not understand your value as a people or the fact that what the people sincerely want is much more important than money. They never attached any importance to these facts.

I repeat once again that what we have undertaken is little and what we have to do in the future is very great indeed. I, therefore, call upon you to double your efforts in the economic development of the country. We must always be ready to surmount the difficulties that confront us from day to day since there are bound to be many obstacles on our way. If we want to achieve greater prosperity and self-respect, then we

must do our very best. Be vigilant for the defence of your country, your freedom and your socialist revolution and its noble principles. I under-rate those people who consider this to be the responsibility of such and a such group, organ or force. «I am not a spy!» many people retort when they are asked to defend their revolution. Many a time, I ask myself the question: Who is a Spy? Then, if he who defends his country against internal and external sabotage is dubbed as a spy, what is the name which we are to give to he who defends his country? I believe this to be a misnomer that we have inherited from the colonial era. A spy should be the one who works against the interests of his country and who stabs his people from the back. Isn't the person who defends his country against its enemies used to be called a nationalist? Was not he used to be known as courageous one? Aren't they those for whose memories we've built statues everyday? How can any one of them be mistaken for the other? He who defended his religion his dignity, his country, his freedom, his life and the path that would lead his offspring to prosperity how can he be called a spy? I believe that such a person will go to paradise without the least scrutiny. What better things can one defend? Nothing.

I call upon you to leave the confusion of the past behind your backs. Let us all become responsibility-conscious, and in unity, defend the principles of our Revolution. You know the fact that our Revolution will surely have many enemies. If you consider our achievements of the past and the huge sums of money that we have spent, you would realise how the Revolution can have enemies. Where did these huge sums of money used to go? Will those people who used to grab them for their own use befriend the Revolution? Will those who

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

Dear Brothers,

The outward signs of the people who are likely to make progress is that they love each other. I call upon you to love each other very sincerely. The freedom that each one of us loves cannot be attained if we do not work for it in complete collaboration with all our brothers. We must forgive the minor offences of our brothers. We must have faith in each other. No one can achieve freedom for himself alone. Your freedom depends on your cooperation and solidarity with all your brothers.

Finally I renew my congratulations to you all in the name of the SRC and the Government. I say «Happy anniversary to you all!» I hope that, by relying on ourselves we will celebrate the next anniversary in prosperity.

Thank you.  
 Long Live Somalia!  
 Long Live Somali Unity!  
 May peace be upon you!

## DO NOT SLEEP ON PAST VICTORIES

*The President of the SRC, Jaalle Major Gen. Mohamed Siad Barre, said in a speech at Rugta Taleh to those citizens who contributed most to the success of the East and Central African States summit conference and the October 21 celebrations of 1971:*

**29-10-1971**

The Somalis I hate most are those who fail in their duties to the nation, and I love most those who fulfil their duties to the nation. I have no words however befitting the praise you deserve for the work you had done. You have done what you and the nation can be proud of.

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There is no point for the nation to slap itself on the back for what it had done for itself. The Somali people had rendered a service to their nation and they need not expect to be thanked for whatever they did for themselves. Although the country has taken long strides in development, it still has to take many more strides of progress before it can sit back in satisfaction of its accomplishments.

I would like to take this opportunity to tell you that all the Somali Ambassadors will undergo three months training at Halane. The Ambassadors will also have an opportunity to visit the whole country before they could see for themselves what has been accomplished within the past two years. Surely it is a shame for an Ambassador not to know the famous landmarks and famous places in the country.

During their training period in Halane the Ambassadors will have an orientation in socialism and the principles and objectives of the 21st October Revolution.

## EFFICIENT ADMINISTRATORS

*SRC President Jaalle Siad addressed a group of senior State officials at the start of an orientation course at Halane Training Centre on Monday 1st November, 1971:*

**1-11-1971**

I am aware of the claim that sending you to Halane is a punishment, but know that senior civil servants accepted train all civil servants for their responsibilities. Punishment about the value of the courses. The creation of a classless, tribeless and incorruptible society in Somalia is the principal aim of the Revolution.

Training civil servants is not a new step. We want to prepare efficient administrators who will help to eliminate corruption and malpractices, and operate the machinery of State with a better understanding of each other.

We need an effective administrative machine through which to execute the policy laid down for the development of our country, and this can best be achieved when you, the senior men in the administration, have an understanding of the feelings and aspirations of your other colleagues in the service.

The creation of a classless, triballess and incorruptible society in Somalia is the principal aim of the Revolution.

One of the major problems the country faced is that the nation's elite were educated in many different languages and in many different parts of the world. This tended to create difficulties. Each of you has a respect for the foreign language in which you have received your education, and you have a special respect for the foreign country in which you were educated. You have a respect for their culture, and some among you feel that those who have not had the advantage of being educated in the country to which you have been, are uneducated. Those who are English-speaking have reservations about those who are Italian-speaking, and vice versa.

We want these courses to bridge the gaps and to create a sense of singleness of purpose and action in the building of a new Somalia. Training courses of this kind were not peculiar to Somalia. In other countries, too, civil servants undergo periodic refresher courses and even military training to better equip them for their jobs. The simple purpose behind the course is to produce well trained individuals and to introduce effective methods and systems.

The country's affairs are not the responsibility only of the Supreme Revolutionary Council and of the State Secretaries. Every citizen has a responsibility and an active part to play in building our nation, politically and economically, and civil servants in particular, as professionals, have a special task in running the machinery of State efficiently.

We cannot help but deplore the misdeeds and divisions of the past. Religiously we are divided into sects—Ahmadiya, Salahiya and others. We are divided ideologically and culturally. There are many foreign influences at work. We have to believe in one thing, and that is that Somalia is our country. There is no other God but Allah and his Prophet Mohamed.

There may be many conflicting interpretations, but there is only basic socialism, and one basic capitalism. The socialism Somalia has adopted is scientific socialism in order to advance the nation's economic progress and to speed cultural development.

It is one of the sacred articles of our Charter to give all support to the liberation of Africa, and not rest until Africa has freed its people from colonialism, imperialism and reactionaries. I want to remind you finally that the task confronting Somalia is to build a society founded upon unity and equality and to overcome the difficulties that face the nation.

## INAUGURATION OF NURSING SCHOOL

*President Siyad's speech at the Opening of the  
Nursing School Mogadiscio - November 1, 1971.*

1-11-1971

GOOD EVENING JAALLAYAAL,

I will not confine myself only to a few words of encouragement, as the Secretary of State for Health have already requested me to do, but, on this golden opportunity, I will also speak on the importance that we attach to this organ of the State which is charged with the tasks of maintaining and improving the health of our people. I firmly believe that this is one of the most important tasks of all.

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First of all I want to congratulate all those people who, as the Secretary of State for Health has already mentioned, have endeavoured for the successful completion of this school; whether they are the higher authorities of the Ministry or the other individuals who have contributed to it. The opening of this school is particularly of great significance if one compares it with the past habit of abandoning most projects half-completed. We are now gathered here in order to open this completed project for the use which we have destined for it.

On the inception of our Revolution we have said that we had three enemies, namely, disease, hunger and ignorance. It gives me a great pleasure, then, to see us take a successful step each day against one of our enemies or the other, a step which clearly shows that we have dealt a heavy blow to it.

The object behind the establishment of this school is to train the people who would give special care to the health and well-being of the Somali people. The school is an important asset to us in our fight against one of our enemies: disease. Its opening means that we have removed one of the obstacles which used to hinder us a lot in our fight against disease. We have removed many such obstacles from our way during the past two years or so and have inflicted a serious wound on «disease».

This school, in fact, is the one step that would help us to root disease in our country because a school where health personnel are to be trained means an increase in the knowledge about disease as well as the skills and techniques — the weapons — with which they are to be fought against.

When the people get a place from which they gain specialised knowledge, then we can inflict one serious wound after the other on our enemy — disease — until we achieve our long-term objective: the complete eradication of disease in our country.

Bearing in mind this long-term objective of eradicating disease in our country, an objective for whose realisation we wage an unremitting war against the enemy which kills our people, it is a great hope and pleasure to us to open this school tonight.

This school will not only teach its students the nursing profession but it will also improve their proficiency to know more about diseases and fight them immediately with also give the students the opportunity to gain the special knowledge of caring for the sick people. At the same time, the students will have the chance to discover who they really are, who the people they are working for are and what their responsibilities are towards their nation. Furthermore the students will share with us, the great benefits which we all are to reap when we finally overcome disease. So much about our enemy.

It is also a great pleasure for me to see that it is these young girls now who are going to study at this school and it is not the old and married ladies as the practice used to be in the past. This fact alone shows clearly that we have now fulfilled the objective of putting the right person in the right place for the development of the country.

This also shows that the elderly people are no longer oc-

cupying both their own places as well as those of the younger generation. It is only proper that elderly people should confine themselves only to their own roles and should give the youth the chance so that they may gain the necessary experience in order to rule and lead the country when the time comes. In the meantime, the elderly people can contribute to the development of the country in accordance with their age roles and positions. Nevertheless, the elders must give the youth their rightful roles and positions. The elders must do so for two reasons:

Firstly, the world as a whole is like a moving wheel of a car and each part in it has its own function. So are the people. If each person, at any given time, was not in the position of responsibility, then there will be a big and a serious gap in the development of our country. This is so because the person who has been denied to play his rightful role in the past will not be able to perform his duties properly in the future. It is such a situation which results when a natural process is delayed. We are now suffering from the consequences of such a situation. The process of development in a natural and logic manner has been upset.

Our problems today stem from the fact that we have many doctors and engineers but, unfortunately, we do not have those people who would have assisted them in their work e.g. nurses and technicians. In order to enable the doctors and the engineers do their own tasks and therefore discharge their responsibilities to the people: in the economic, the health and educational fields or for the general welfare of the people where are the people who would have helped them to do so? They are not available. This has been the reason why we have always been compelled to seek the assistance of the services of many

peoples from abroad. We have done something at the higher levels of manpower development but we have done nothing at the lower reaches. This means that the vacuum has been filled with unskilled and unsuitable labourers. And these were invariably brought there through nepotism and other corrupt methods only to draw salaries at the end of the month.

This is also the reason why we have been deprived of the better result which the graduates and the skilled workers together would have achieved had qualified middle and lower grade workers been recruited for the jobs in the first place. Hence we have invariably been compelled to call for the services of other friendly peoples. That is also the reason why we should always be dependent on others.

Let us take a technical example. We have enough engineers today. The duties of an engineer are dear. But there are many lower tasks that he cannot possibly be asked to perform. The situation is much that we have many highly qualified people who cost the government a great deal of money. But who are not utilised fully. The friendly countries who had offered us the services of their nationals need them very badly and they therefore ask for them every day. We cannot afford to send them home back even though their countries need them.

As far as the Ministry of Health is concerned I remember that until very recently there were infirmaries of other nationalities working in this General Hospital.

For this reason it was absolutely necessary to allow everyone to play his rightful role in the development of the country. If each organ of the State is not adequately contributing to the development of the country in its own field, then it must

be necessary to train the required qualified manpower inside each organ. If the right and qualified people are denied the chance to serve in their fields of speciality while others who were gathered at random were made to fill all the available jobs, then naturally nothing can go right in that organ and the real objective behind the creation of such an organ is completely defeated.

The number of the health personnel in the Ministry's payroll, for example, is not a small one and in every District there is a vast number of them. But are their efforts equal to their number? That is the crucial question. If the staff of the Ministry of Health were given the opportunity to raise their qualifications at the right time in the past then we would have gone a long way today in the improvement of our health situation, at least on two counts:

First of all such a school would have given its students a good heart: Health personnel are charged with heavy responsibilities. Therefore they must have clean hearts, humanness, nationalism and a good training. In this field it is necessary for a person to be a very good-natured one. He must have a big heart — he must be kind. He must know well his duties towards the people he is helping as far their humanity and patriotism were concerned. He must know that it is his duty to see to it that the patient must be cured and that he must not die so long there is the least chance to save him — he is charged with this heavy responsibility.

Secondly the health personnel must have the right kind of knowledge which should benefit the patients. So if an unqualified person is given a white gown to put on, is it the white gown that should cure the patient? No. It is only the speciali-

zed knowledge and the willingness of the workers to apply it that can cure a patient. It is with a clean heart, wisdom, knowledge and a high sense of responsibility that a person can have the upper hand in treating the people, in saving them from premature deaths and from diseases with severe but unnecessary pains. This is the only way by which the health personnel can help their compatriots, for whom they work and who come to them for help and life.

I need not go any further in my criticism of the past although I believe that it is important to do so. This is so because if we want to achieve better results, then we must always compare and contrast the good things with the bad ones so that each individual may know his duties clearly. If we confine ourselves only to the good things, it may be taken as if everything in our past was good. In that case we will not be able to take the people away from the wrong path and to lead them along the right one. This is why we have to compare good things with the bad ones. Furthermore it is in this way alone that a person can really know the duties and the responsibilities he has towards the people he is working for.

It is the policy of the Revolution to safeguard the welfare of its people. The best and the most deserving thing which the Revolution can and should serve is the people. It is not the construction of stone buildings alone. But it is the healthy person who is in a position to achieve many good things; a good standard of living as well as the adoption of sound ideas and principles. It is the healthy person who can safeguard the human dignity of his fellow brothers.

The first objective of the Revolution then is to safeguard the welfare of its people. It wants to protect them from disea-

ses, hunger, illiteracy, loss of dignity or being led astray. Isn't the person who is made responsible for the health of the Somali people charged with a very heavy responsibility since the first principle of the Revolution prescribes the safeguarding of the health and welfare of the Somali people? Yes he is. I believe that it is a very heavy responsibility. Every person who is charged with this responsibility must fulfil it diligently. This is not something that is begged of him but it is a responsibility which he must shoulder without failure.

For the past two years the authorities of the Ministry of Health — and I do not mean this by the Secretary or Director General as the case used to be but I mean by it any individual who happens to share the responsibility for the health of this nation — have managed it quite well. The results will be apparent later. Frankly, we did not take care of all the difficulties yet and we did not yet attain the levels we wanted to achieve. Nevertheless, they have achieved satisfactory progress during the past two years.

I urge the health personnel as well as the students and the staff of this school to work hard and seriously for raising the standard of medical care in our country and thereby to discharge this heavy responsibility of theirs toward the maintenance of the health and well being of the Somali nation.

Addressing myself to the girls, the doctors and other responsible people present here tonight, I hope that the nurses would stop wearing all the jewelry with which they normally adorn themselves when they are coming to the hospitals. They must do so because they are coming to help their brothers and sisters who are smarting under pain and towards whom they have the duty and the responsibility of relieving them from

their miseries. They must not come to the hospitals in order to show off their dresses and jewelry or to entice men.

I also hope that doctors would come to the hospitals very early in the morning not out of fear or in order to serve one's own interests, or to show off but out of their conviction that it is their duty and responsibility to do so towards their brothers — patients who are sick and in great pains.

No matter where they are stationed a doctor or a paramedical worker should, as is customary everywhere in the world, be a sincere and a dedicated human being. He must be a kind person. He must be someone who is not doing what he is doing either for himself or because of someone he likes. There should be no one whom he likes most. Neither should there be any one whom he hates — he should solely hate disease and he should love health and the well being of his fellow citizens. The enemy which he must fight is the disease and what he wants the people to have is health. I hope that our health personnel would, therefore, go about their work with the correct attitudes. I also hope that those who joined the Ministry in the past through one unlawful way or the other base their attitudes, their knowledge and their work along the new system which was brought about by the Revolution. One should work for his people in line with the principles of the Revolution's two Charters which enunciate that Man is the most valuable of all the living creatures in this world. The first and foremost aim of the Revolution, then, is to ensure the well-being of its people. This is merely an advice but it nevertheless seems that it has also to do with the instructions of a socialist Revolution.

Coming back to address the boys and girls who are to study at this school, I congratulate them for the new Somalis, the new revolutionary principles, the new freedom and the newly-found human dignity. As you have begun to learn your future roles at the beginning of a new era you should bear in mind the fact that if you do not think in revolutionary terms and if you do not carry out your duties with a high sense of responsibility whether your duties are learning at this school or working for the people, then you would be against the very life and independence of the masses of the future Somali generations.

I am saying this merely as a guidance but I am not pessimistic at all about your performance.

I want to conclude my speech by saying that if we care for our people's health, then the people with whom we charge that responsibility must themselves be healthy. What we teach them must also be sound and healthy knowledge and where we teach them such knowledge must also be a healthy one too.

This school which is destined for the training of nurses and other pre-medical workers, seems to me to be a healthy place, whether it is the way it has been built or the teachers who are going to lecture in it — as I have come to know — or whether it is the people who has joined it for study. If what we want is a big thing: something of great value, then where we begin teaching our health personnel must be a healthy one. This excellent beginning gives me a great hope and we must continue to maintain it at this very high standard.

I leave you with only one advice. The erection of a beau-

tiful building is a very easy thing. But to maintain it with a high standard of repair, of beauty and of cleanliness is not an easy task at all. Improper maintenance is one of the aspects for which we have earned a very bad reputation.

It must appear to us from this school every year that there has been new additions and innovations, we must not see broken things lying about in it. These fine chairs must not be broken to pieces, the windows must not lose their iron bars one at a time and the authorities must not delay repairs until there is no bar left. We have seen the kitchen and it is indeed a very beautiful one but this should not be left to deteriorate. The authorities are responsible for this but it is the students who are directly responsible for their houses, their mess-hall as well as their health and dignity. It is upon these things that their good life and honour depend.

It gives me a great pleasure to note that and I am sure that all of my JAALLAYAAL; those who are present here tonight as well as those who are away will share with me and thanks God for it, if as the Secretary has pointed out we have completed this project with our own brains, our own money and our own muscle power. Thanks God for having enabled us to achieve what we wanted to do.

We have been able to make progress in many other fields also for the past two years but if we had to wait for this school to be built by foreigners no matter how friendly they may be, it would not have been built today or even in the next year.

The project would have been started by undertaking feasibility study as to whether the place could function at all, or to

see how big would be the expenditure that is needed or whether we can run it or not, whether there were enough doctors or not etc. These feasibility studies would have dragged on and on like those of the projected Port of Mogadishu that has been on the drawing boards for the past nine years.

Our progress has nevertheless been made possible by the idea of «Iska-Wha-U-Qabso» or self-sustenance. This idea has enabled us or has taught us to know how big was our own ability, understanding, capability and our fitness for making what we had go a long way. It has made us content with what we had. In reality this idea has been responsible for this achievement from which we all stand to benefit. If this is not the case, then the school would have been built well before now. Why hasn't it been built before now?

We have built this school, but where are our own doctors? Are we to send them somewhere else? Am I being told that there are no teachers for the school? What is it that is missing and because of which it has not been undertaken before now? Am I being told that there are no doctors who can teach? The answers are no. Am I being told that some other important things for teaching are missing? The answer is also no. Isn't the hospital full of people? What else is needed to be done? Nothing.

JALLAYAAL, if we are to believe in the ability of our people then it is here before our eyes. In the past we lacked the belief but thanks God for enabling us to recapture it. Thanks God too because today we know for whom did our educated youth gain all their knowledge. We know who they are and what they can really do for their people. On these we depend.

Our students must solely be sent abroad to learn what we cannot teach them inside our country — not because we have been told so, but because we have ourselves ascertained the fact that we do not have them and that we cannot dispense with them. The people whom we would send on scholarships abroad must only be these who are going to learn such knowledge and skills. But where we have the teachers and the ability to run the institutions with our money then we must go ahead with them. We must encourage our people and increase their conscienceness and humanity which have been lost and buried long time ago. The educated youth must tackle the tasks for which they are responsible: in educating their own people besides giving them other benefits.

## EDUCATION SHOULD CATER FOR OUR NEEDS

*Education should cater for the need of the society Jaalle Siad said to university students.*

8-11-1971

Jaallayaal,

If I have come before you tonight, it is because I wished to for a long time to exchange with you ideas about the functions of a national university and the uses to which it can be put. My concept of a University is the last stage of a very long training and learning which began at an early age for youngsters.

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The university moulds the mentality of the youth with view to making him a useful citizen well versed in the realities of the world, particularly the realities in his own country.

A university must imbue a youngster with the past and present realities of his country and the world, and teach the social economical and organizational structure of his society.

For some time both the students and sections of the community have debated the function of a national university. Out of this debate emerged a need for the reform of the educational structure in the country. I have often asked myself what are the right functions of a university so it can be a useful instrument in the advancement of the society.

If a university becomes a workshop for businessmen and those who want to go into business, or if it becomes a mill which turns out technocrats in an ivory tower pondering in their Olympian mountain, then there is a good many reasons for the disturbances that had shaken up many universities in the world. At the back of these disturbances might be the feeling by the youngsters that the university is no longer a place where knowledge useful to the community in which it is supposed to serve can be learned.

The agitation is mainly by conscientious students who want to make the university a tool for the advancement of the society and prevent it from turning into useless appendage of the society, instead of being a main artery of the community it serves.

These conscientious students do not want to be stuffed

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with a kind of education that has no bearing either with reality, or serves them in their life time. These youngsters are not spoiled, as some people claim, but they want to know the earthly facts of class conflicts, the genesis of the wars that flare up occasionally all over the world, colonialism and racism.

On top of that they want to take active part in the decisions that will influence the course of their lives for generations to come. This kind of attitude is a healthy one and is not to be spurned.

The ideas of the students naturally clashed with the ideas of other people who want to keep the status quo. This clash of ideas naturally involved both the students and the universities which loath to change. Thus the task of the universities and government organs have become the taming of the students who rebelled from the former state of affairs.

At the same time some responsible institutions and organizations, including some universities, have started discussing how a university can be made to respond to the needs of the society it serves; in another words, how to make it come down from the dizzy heights of its ivory tower.

Now the question is what functions, responsibilities and tasks do we want to assign to our embryonic university so that we can put it on the right path from the beginning?

As you might know, it is not possible to make a university starting in a developing country identical with the old universities of the much advanced countries. For one thing a developing country expects different functions from its university

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than that of developed countries. A national university just established in a developing country can have no common characteristics, other than learning, with the universities of advanced countries.

What is taught in a national university in a developing country, the way it is taught, the programme of courses to be taken in it and the discipline of such a university is totally different. This is so because the choice that led to subjects to be taught in older universities.

As I have mentioned in my October 21st speech «the revolution is determined to make our schools functional and in accordance with the socialist principles we have adopted. Without this aim our schools will fail to help accomplish the goals the nation has set for itself. We do not want our schools to become mills which turn out a quota of pretentious elites and technocrats, but we want them to turn out revolutionary cadres who will carry out the total transformation of their country and make it prosper».

We can no longer afford to spend so much money, time, energy and sophisticated equipment to train few people who might not even be useful citizens.

This kind of attitude is the result of the passive acceptance of what other countries have been telling our people for centuries. It is a conditioned response to a train of thought that have become a habit. We have to get rid of these ghosts of the

past if we want to make our ideas and initiatives bear fruits.

We have many people who have degrees in almost every field of knowledge, and what is to prevent us from making use of this brainy manpower? I think the main thing that stops many people from applying their knowledge in teaching others what they know is the mistaken idea that a university cannot be run unless there are professors from abroad and having sophisticated, expensive equipments. But the people who maintain this are forgetting that those countries which now have sophisticated equipment also started from somewhere. They made use of whatever resources were at their disposal during the different stages of their development, without crying for the moon.

Therefore, we have to start establishing in our university the most needed faculties and gradually enlarge the scope of the university in the line with our resources.

As we all know the men and women who carry out the most useful researches and do most of the teaching are the young assistants rather than the glamorous professors.

I ask you, the young educated people of the nation to dedicate yourselves to the proper establishment and functioning of our university because you have the capacity and academic qualifications required for the running of a university.

No one can compete with you in what you know about your society and environment, no matter what are his qualifications.

If any friendly country wants to help us in the establish-

ment of the national university, we welcome such a help. The government of Italy has already given us a considerable assistance toward the establishment of the university, and we are thankful for this help.

The most useful assistance anyone can get is the one that is tailored to the requirements of the nation that is being helped. Without making an assistance suitable to the needs of the nation that is being helped such a help is of little use and makes a lot of misunderstandings that are of no use to anybody.

I also wish to point out that we wish any professor who comes here to teach to confine himself to teaching. In this way he will be most useful to both us and the country that sends him to us.

We wish hurry up the establishment of our national university because the country needs it and we cannot afford to put off its completion. We might make some mistakes in the process for which we might be criticized. If that happens, nobody is infallible and whatever we do will be done with good intentions and for the interest of our nation.

The talk which started here tonight is only the beginning of useful discussions that our graduates and the students of the university might have in the future to thrash out the problems of the university, of the society and how these problems can be solved.

## NATIONAL AWARDS

*Jaalle President Siad's speech at Cons Stadium on the occasion of the investiture of State honours on 13 November, 1971.*

13-11-1971

JAALLAYAAL, I greet you.

One of the aims for which we are gathered here today in Cons Stadium has already been achieved: to commemorate those who have immolated themselves for their country, those who took active part in the struggle for independence, those who voluntarily offered their life or courageously contributed to the progress of the country dedicating their own energies

and conscience to the economic development of the country, those who opposed themselves to the former corrupt regimes saving the country from the reactionary, corrupt system regardless to the danger to which they were exposing themselves. I conclude this subject, but I think it is right to say some words on it. With the conclusion of this subject I am not going to make you understand that we will never deal again with this subject, I intend to say that meritorious medals and diplomas of honours are awarded to those deserving them.

Taking some steps back to the past and examining the history books, we shall be convinced that the ones who have deserved first these diplomas and medals were those who tell or have been wounded during the struggle for the liberation of their nation from the colonialists who were oppressing and constraining her to serve them, for liberating her from the imperialist oppression and allow her to breathe a pure and healthy air: freedom. We have given medals and diplomas to all those who had immolated themselves or received wounds for the freedom of their country in acknowledgement of their patriotic work during the struggle for freedom and conferred the greatest honours upon them. Besides the conferment of medals we also invoke the Almighty Allah to make them live, in the everlasting life, in paradise, of which we are sure. With equal pace, we are giving medals even to those who made all possible efforts in order to liberate their people from ignorance and bring them to the light of learning, so to help them free themselves from the yoke of colonialism and from the imperialist oppression. They are:

- 1 — those who strove hard to instruct their fellow-citizens when every somali citizen was dipped in a deep sleep,

e.g. Moallim Jama Bilaal and Ahmed Mohamoud Ali;

2. — those who, with their poetical works, awakened the somalis in a moment in which they were unaware of the value and meaning of freedom and the obscenity of slavery, e.g. Abidillahi Qarshi & Ali Hussein.
- 3 — the Armed Forces who saved the country from corruption, mismanagement, envy, hatred, disputes, bloody tribal clashes and false freedom, which enabled the colonialists to divide the Somalis among themselves, to arm and instigate one against the other. It is the time to express laudable words in favour of the Armed Forces who had brought an end to corruption and mismanagement and saved the country from these evils with a view to freeing the present and coming generations from slavery.

On 21st October, 1969, at 03,00 a.m., the Armed Forces rose to stop the usurpation of the rights of the people and exposed themselves to the extreme risks, but had forgotten, as did the martyrs of Dagahtur and all those who in other occasions immolated themselves for the freedom of their country, the risks they were running, and proved to be ready to be killed for the liberation of their country from the colonialist yoke: the main cause of the backwardness of their country.

They are worthy of the medals pinned on their respective banners. This implies the impossibility of conferring medals on every member of the Armed Forces who had participated in the second liberation of the country. For this reason it is enough

to pin on their respective banners the medals each force has deserved. From this date, there started the true revolutionary struggle of the workers who rose in order to impede the return of colonialism, and, thus, showing their patriotism, patience, courage as well as their sound principles; determined to draw themselves out of ignorance to the light of learning, making all possible efforts in order to achieve economic development for their country and not allowing that the country live any more in a dream world and on beggary.

We are all in the know of the work done by the Ministry of Health in a moment in which imperialism with all its material means, foreigners with all means at their disposal, and any other enemy striving to obstruct our country's development and undermine our national unity, while all these enemies were existing, we have also been mercilessly assailed by different diseases. All Somalis have together worked hard and showed their human value and strong will to help one another in order to get out of this scrape. Every one has demonstrated the love and affection he feels towards his fellow-citizens as well as his readiness to immolate himself for the general well-being of his nation. The Ministry of Health, with the help of both the Somali people and the Armed Forces, has struggled against this DISEASE and, together, we succeeded in defeating this enemy. As many other countries do, we have been able to send physicians to needy, friendly countries.

The work done by the staff of the Ministry of Information and National Guidance in the consolidation of the Revolution is invaluable. They are those who, with their magnificent poetic works, have guided the Somalis, from Lowya-Addo to Ras Kiamboni, towards a sound, revolutionary policy; they are

those who were broadcasting from the Radio the principles and the policy of the Revolution to the Somalis living in places far-away from the capital. They have deserved these medals for the superb works they have performed. It is rather impossible to gather here today all State organs and individuals who have deserved the recognition of their patriotic works for having defended the Revolution and contributed to the progress OF THE COUNTRY, rewarding them all at once and in one place. All state organs and workers who have participated actively in the national rebuilding, in the orientation of the masses and in the defence of the Revolution, will be rewarded in the proper time. Among these groups, for example, are the staff of all Municipalities, especially the Municipality of Mogadishu which has performed a magnificent job during the last two years. He who studies well the work done by the Municipality of Mogadishu will easily understand how important it is for the national interest. There are many other dependants of various organs who have participated actively in the national reconstruction during the last two years. I forward my warm thanks to all those mentioned above and promise that they will receive their rewards in the proper time.

This is what concerns the medals and diplomas awarded to groups and individuals and I wish to conclude this chapter confirming that every Somali citizen, whether he is a man or woman, must bear in mind that national dignity is something holier and more precious than any other thing, and, as such, it must be defended, otherwise we will never succeed in obtaining the objectives we want to achieve and will never equally be able to safeguard our economic, social and political progress.

I have now the desire to comment upon our revolutionary policy regarding our system of instruction. It has been possible to improve the means of instruction in our country, struggle positively against ignorance, and make all possible efforts in order to improve our culture and achieve economic and social development in our country. It is our chief duty to struggle fiercely against our three enemies: ignorance, disease & poverty. The fourth enemy against which we have to wage our bitterest war is imperialism and its local lackeys. These were the enemies against which we had determinedly struggled.

Soon after the advent of our blessed Revolution, the Government, as you Jaallayaal remember, has employed all our educated young men, despite our feeble economic resources, in order to help them participate in the national orientation, a right they were deprived of in the past.

You will certainly remember that the majority of our educated young men were compelled to sit in idleness in the bars and wander aimlessly in the streets. The second step was the establishment of the National University in our country which will allow our scholars to seek their higher education in the country. The third step was the appeal addressed by the revolutionary regime for the organization of a campaign against illiteracy, exhorting the educated men to teach voluntarily the illiterates. Today I inform you frankly that all Somalis are stating that, unless there is a chosen script for our language, we will never be able to free ourselves from ignorance. I assure you that, not much farther off, our language will have its own script.

I wish to make clear that our young students will continue

going abroad for further studies only in the case that facilities for the studies they seek are non-existent in our country. If such facilities exist, there is no need why our scholars should go abroad. This means, as I have stated in other occasions, that our University has highly competent Somali professors at its disposal, so there will not be allowed to send our scholars abroad to seek studies of which facilities are existing in our country because it does not comply with our interests. It is not our policy to continue begging others to provide us with teachers, money, etc.

Our system of instruction is based on national orientation. We can make our country independent economically only with hard work and with untiring efforts, especially in this difficult period we are passing through.

Finally, all schools must be administered by Somalis and all teachers and professors must be Somalis, too. There must not exist a handful of privileged men who seek their studies in a special way.

Jaallayaal, we conclude this subject by stating that SRC, Government and all other committees legally established so far, have agreed that this is the just policy with which we can free Somalia economically and socially. I tell you, as I did in many other occasions, that you are the best part of our Nation. You must understand that our duty, as leaders, is to show you the right way along which you have to lead the Nation towards progress and prosperity. I inform you also that the real freedom consists in the complete self-reliance, in the adoption of a sound, national principle, in the total liberation of your country. You must, from now on, prepare yourselves for the burden-

some duty that is awaiting you: to liberate the Somalis who still are the prisoners of ignorance. I wish also to remind you in this occasion of some important points of our socialist principles. As you know, the scientific socialism was born long ago and made a long way. It was adopted first by the Soviet Union led by Lenin. He, Lenin, adopted socialism in such a way to match the exigencies of his own country and the local conditions. Many other countries followed this example.

Socialism is neither a toothbrush wick everyone has to use as he wishes, nor a principle of «afmisharism», etc. Socialism is, in the true meaning of the word, hard work based on equality, progress, justice, self-help, and opportunity of work for all as well as other benefits according to the efficiency and merits of each person. This is the right way for our nation in order to eliminate the exploitation of man by man and create a society based on general well-being. This is socialism, and as you see, it is not a principle of tribal, reactionary deceit. These who profess socialism publicly, and when they are alone with the imperialists state that they have adopted socialism in order to deceive their people, are not socialists. Socialism must be adopted pragmatically because experience teaches us that, if local conditions are not taken into account the construction of a socialist society is as dangerous as are the reactionary ideas. It must be adopted in conformity with the exigencies and local conditions. We must work together, produce together and distribute equitably among us the fruits of our work. He who doesn't work, he who doesn't participate in the collective work in order to help his brothers supporting fatigues and sacrifices for the general well-being of his people is not socialist. Instead, he who works together with his brothers supporting fatigues and sacrifices for the general well-being of

his people is a true socialist who aims at achieving unity, equality, justice and progress for his country. There are many States who adopt justly this principle and there are others who do not adopt the true socialism, destroy it unconsciously and mislead their people with a view to put them in the hands of imperialists and reactionaries. I warn these people saying: «You are pursuing the wrong way, we will never allow you to realize your mean objectives: to reduce to slavery our sons and we take upon ourselves the responsibility to free them». As I have outlined several times during my discussion with religious elements, the socialist principles do not come into conflict with the principles of our Religion, because if they were so, we would not have adopted socialism. The socialist doctrine does not come into conflict with our religious faith, and since we are absolutely sure that socialism is the only system with which we can achieve rapid progress and economic independence, we strongly adhere to it in leading our nation towards prosperity.

I declare «it is not true» the assertion of some pseudo-religious elements who maintain the existence in the Koran or in the Hadith of passages contrary to socialism. They are the mouthpiece of international imperialism and their statement clashes with the spirit of the Koran.

They are liars and agents of the colonialists. Whoever bears rosary and states what is mentioned above is devil. The Koran and the Hadith of the Prophet are contrary to his assertions. From where he has collected these things if he is not a devil and agent of imperialism? Why he uses the Koran and the Religion as instrument to carry out the imperialist plans? Why he sells the God's Word to the imperialists? What I had

said to the reactionaries and to the agents of imperialism, against whom we set ourselves with all our power, I say also to those who seek the dogmatic and subjective application of the socialism without taking into account the real circumstances and conditions existing in the country. They have not any notion of socialism, they have studied only its last page and do not know how socialism was born and grown up and how it was practically adopted. To those I say: «go and study socialism. One can understand socialism by studying it and not by inheritance. Study the difficulties that faced Marx and Lenin during their struggle to adopt the socialism. Adopt it in a way suitable to the exigencies of the country, bearing in mind the internal and external enemies, the national traditions and the economic potentialities of the country». Try to show comprehension if you are true nationalists, but if you are tribalists and agents of imperialism or if you are taking aim at realizing personal interests, there is no place for you in the Somali revolutionary society.

I thank you from the bottom of my heart for having listened with great attention to my speech and for having participated actively during the past two years in the economic reconstruction of the country.

MAY PEACE, MERCY AND BLESSING OF GOD BE UPON YOU.

## SALUTING SOVIET ACHIEVEMENTS

*Somali President welcomed in Moscow, Jaalle Siad salutes achievements of Russian Socialism.*

19-11-1971

We are very happy to visit the land of socialism, the cradle of the October Socialist Revolution and the birth — place of the great revolutionary leader, philosopher and statesman — Vladimir Illyich Lenin, whose name is a source of inspiration to mankind the world over.

We are sure that the visit will afford us an opportunity to acquaint ourselves with the life and the achievement of the Soviet people under the leadership of the Communist Party, and that we shall benefit from the experience of your people, for whom we have the highest esteem and affection. We in the Somali Democratic Republic, are following closely the many-sided achievements of the Soviet people in their noble tasks of constructing a classless Communist Society.

We are confident that the Soviet people will record further unprecedented victories in all fields of development in carrying out the programme mapped out by the epoch-making 24th Congress of the Communist Party.

It is our firm conviction that every victory of the Soviet people is a victory for all the progressive forces of the world and indeed for oppressed peoples everywhere. The victory of the great October Socialist Revolution opened up a new era in the history of revolution. In Europe, Asia, Africa and Latin America, also the great victory won by the Soviet Union in the second world war, unleashed by fascism, paved the way for the long suffering peoples of colonial countries to fight for their national independence.

The Soviet people have extended disinterested assistance to newly independent countries to enable them to safeguard their sovereignty, and by giving moral and material support to the peoples in Africa and Asia who are still struggling to free themselves from the yoke of colonialism.

We highly esteem the assistance being given to the freedom fighters of Mozambique, Angola, Guinea (Bissau), Namibia, South Africa, Zimbabwe and elsewhere in Africa in their struggle for self-determination.

Of course, imperialism and racism are not about to give up their malicious exploitation of our continent and they are sliding back by all the means available to them.

Only recently, Zambia was attacked by the forces of the racist regime in South Africa and Guinea had been subjected

to similar treatment by Portugal. Also, efforts are being made by the imperialists and their lackeys to destroy the unity of the African people by creating the dangerous idea of a «dialogue» with the racist regime in South Africa.

As is clearly evident from the proceedings of the Summit Conference of East and Central African heads of State recently held in our capital, the African people reject this imperialist inspired idea, and firmly believe in the use of force as the only solution to the final liberation of our continent from colonialism, neocolonialism and imperialism.

It is in this spirit that we resolutely condemn, the current visit of the British Foreign Secretary to Salisbury which, we are certain, has the purpose of selling out to the illegal regime there. The African people shall not be bound by any agreement which falls short of the immediate guarantee of majority rule.

The Somali people unreservedly support the liberation and struggle of the heroic people of Indo-China, and the unconditional removal of foreign troops from Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos.

The Somali people also condemn continued Israeli aggression against the Arab people and call for the immediate withdrawal of Israeli forces from all the occupied Arab territories as well as for the peaceful solution of the Middle East dispute in accordance with the N.U. Security Council resolution of 22nd November, 1967.

We laud the honourable stand of the Soviet people on the

side of the peoples of Indo-China, the Arab people and all other peoples who are struggling for their independence. This is in line with the immortal principles laid down by the great Lenin, which are being given concrete expression by the Soviet Communist Party and Government.

We follow with great interest the persistent efforts of the Soviet Union in the question for preserving international security, and share with you the unshakable belief that peace is attainable and that war is not inevitable in solving international disputes and conflicts. In this connection, we support the agreement concluded between the Soviet Union and Federal Republic of Germany and the four-power agreement on West Berlin. We also welcome the Soviet Government's efforts to bring about the convocation of a European Security Conference in order to normalise relations in Europe.

We equally support the Soviet proposal for a world Conference on disarmament put forward on the 26th Session of the U.N. General Assembly.

The visits made by Comrade Brezhnev to France, to the GDR and to Yugoslavia, and his meeting with Chancellor Willy Brandt in the Crimea and the visits paid by Comrade Kosygin to a number of countries in Africa, and the Western Hemisphere, are an eloquent testimony of Soviet interest in world peace and we are confident that this peace programme of your Party and Government will be crowned with success and will contribute greatly to international security.

Finally, Comrade Podgorny, I am glad to say that since the birth of our October Revolution, we in Somalia have been

engaged in nation-building on the basis of the tested and tried system of scientific socialism. We are convinced that socialism is the only system which can guarantee to our people human dignity and the sharing of the wealth of our country. From the outset all Banks and foreign-owned enterprises were nationalised.

Having chosen self-reliance as one of the cardinal principles of our Revolution, we have launched an agricultural Crash Programme to develop lands near and far from our capital, and our people have been busy in building schools, hospitals, and other projects throughout our Republic.

In the field of international relations we have pursued a policy of full cooperation with progressive Governments and have extended and developed our relations and contacts with the Socialist world. It is in this spirit that we visit your great country today.

We have always found in the Soviet Union a close and a sincere friend, and we are confident that our visit will contribute to the further consolidation of the bonds of solidarity, friendship and cooperation, already existing between our two countries.

In conclusion, dear Comrade Podgorny I propose a toast to your health, to the health of Comrades L.I. Brezhnev, A.N. Kosygin and to the health of other Soviet leaders.

## CIVIL SERVANTS THE ENERGY OF THE ADMINISTRATION

*The President of the SRC, Jaalle General Mohamed Siad Barre officially inaugurated the fifth orientation course for 150 senior civil servants at Halane on 4th December 1971. The course which lasted for three months was attended by Director-Generals, Ambassadors, General Managers and Directors.*

4-12-1971

The aim of the course is not only to train you in the military field, but also to enlighten you on the principles and objectives of the Revolution. By attending the course together, you will be able to become acquainted with each other.

It is also to orient you as the most senior civil servants of the State on how the revolutionary Government intends to run the country so that immediate and rapid progress could be reached within the shortest possible time. Some of you might be asking yourselves why members of the armed for-

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ces are exempt from attending orientation courses; the fact is that each and every company of the armed forces receive the orientation programmes in their camps continuously.

Since you are the most senior servants of the Government your course is different from the previous course and the Government is attaching great importance to this programme. During your stay here, numerous conferences will be held in which you will be asked to speak on how best you think our administration can be turned into a Somali one. As you know the effectiveness and efficiency of a nation can be measured by how the decisions are implemented.

For example, as President of the SRC, I have to immediately implement the decision taken by the SRC as well as decisions taken by the Council of Secretaries. Similarly decisions taken by Government Ministries should be honestly implemented by those concerned. Implementing is more important than decision-making itself.

The aim of the course is to produce a unified Somali administration. This means that things should be done by Somali minds. During the course, the Somali Institute of Public Administration will be taking classes which are part of the orientation.

The Somali people had their own civilization and culture before colonialists came to Somalia. The colonial powers could not totally destroy Somali culture and civilization because most of the Somali people used to live in small towns and villages, and this helped them not to have social acquaintances with the colonial powers.

In this way they saved their culture. They became united and fought for their freedom. Through pain and suffering we achieved our independence from the colonialists. They fought for freedom to obtain justice equality, unity and progress, to eradicate tribalism which was forced on them by colonial policies. The true picture here is that colonialism went away from Somalia and neo-colonialism immediately replaced it.

None of these were obtained because those who were leading us were Somalis by appearance but were inwardly stooges for imperialists. In short, most of our deputies in the so-called national assembly were agents for one or other of the foreign embassies stationed in the country. Documents proving all this are available with us.

The country's laws were inapplicable at this point, the armed forces with the cooperation of the entire Somali nation rose to save the country from the yoke of these reactionary backward regimes. These were the causes of the Revolution.

As soon as the Revolution took place, it became our intention that decisions should be taken by the entire people and not by a single man or a group. Decisions should be collective and implementation should be immediate.

In this revolutionary era, there is no bribe, and promotions on the basis of recommendations by big shots as used to happen in those corrupt days.

The Revolution is for equality, justice, unity, progress and anyone against these principles should be immediately remo-

ved from Government circles. Responsibilities on how to run the Somali administration and the country as a whole should be bestowed upon those who believe in Somali unity, justice, progress and above all honesty.

We have chosen the socialist system because we believe that it is the sole and right path for the immediate transformation of the country into a progressive and economically advanced nation.

I can assure you that through no other path can the country achieve the goals and targets set for over-all development. Socialism, is not as some rumour-mongers say, a religion. It is a policy to run the affairs of the country in the best manner for the economic growth and social justice that can be brought about among citizens.

## CLEAR UP PENDING CASES

*President talks to Lawyers.*

**5-12-1971**

The abolition of injustice, is one of the principal reasons for which the Revolution was staged. You must therefore make strenuous efforts to clear up the backlog of pending legal cases. This is an important step in assuring Somali society that the directives of the Revolutionary Government, judicial officials, legal advisers and lawyers were being acted on. In this way, through cooperation between the leaders of the State officials, professional men and the public, it is possible to hold up the banner of justice in the country.

The principal function of the advocate is to defend the

legal rights of his client, and in order to do this with real impartiality an advocate should not be influenced by political or economic considerations. The advocate should be guided by the highest standards of his profession. It is desirable that an advocate should be imbued with a strong sense of nationalism and high moral values, and he should work always in the interests of the nation and the country.

In present Somali society, the progressive standards now being enforced left no room for any kind of corruption, injustice and backwardness. It is therefore necessary for everyone to be honest in their respective activities.

We must guide our people with a sense of justice, equality and high morals, and create among them a spirit of brotherhood, inspiring nationalism and patriotism.

We must demolish the immoral concept of exploitation of man by man and rebuff any attempt to disrupt integrity, peace and justice in the country.

In choosing scientific socialism as the nation's guiding policy, we have adopted it in such a way that it corresponds with the social economic and political considerations in our country. The laws of the country should therefore be enforced in a manner that enabled them to cope with existing social conditions.

In defending the rights of your clients, according to the laws and legal regulations, advocates should avoid creating aggravating circumstances. You are required to participate in the social, economic and cultural development of the country.

## AAPSO IN MOGADISHU

*Jaalle Siad addresses the Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity Conference.*

18-12-1971

Mr. Secretary General, Distinguished Delegates.

On behalf of the Supreme Revolutionary Council, Government and people of the Somali Democratic Republic and in my own name, allow me to extend our heartfelt and warm welcome to you all and through you the organizations and countries which you represent.

As you are aware, our hosting of this Conference is not an accident: it is not a benevolent act of providence. On the contrary, it is in conformity with our firm belief in contributing to the militant solidarity between the peoples of Africa and Asia. This is in line with one of the principles enshrined in the

First Charter of our Revolution which expressly enunciates our support for international solidarity and National Liberation Movements.

We, in the Somali Democratic Republic, attach great importance to conferences of this nature, where the will of the peoples is clearly voiced without deceit, hypocrisy or diplomatic niceties. The peoples of Asia and Africa have suffered a great deal at the hands of colonial exploitation and imperialism. Our continents have been and some parts still are subjected to the worst types of human suppression and racial subjugation. Millions of our peoples are still languishing under the yoke of colonialism, while many of those who have attained formal independence are unfortunately hypnotised by the machinations and intrigues of neo-colonialism and imperialism.

Colonialism and imperialism, confronted with the results and unflinching will of our peoples is in one of its last and desperate efforts trying to strangle the national liberation movements for independence and sabotage the revolutionary march of our peoples towards progress and peace by undermining the unity of the progressive and Democratic forces, and by the creation of situations of tension. The imperialists and colonialists are endeavouring hard to impede the economic and social progress of our peoples with view to keeping us in their bondage for ever. This is the wicked strategy of world imperialism, a strategy of which we are all aware.

The aggression against the heroic peoples of Indo-China, the Zionist expansionist hostilities in the Middle East, the Portuguese colonial domination in Africa, the arrogance of the

white minority regimes in Southern Africa and the perpetuation of colonialism in other parts of Africa and Asia: all these are nothing but manifestations of the imperialist offensive.

May I seek your indulgence for a moment and consider the root causes of our conflicts and tensions which are rife in our two great continents. In Africa and Asia, the colonialists caught our magnanimous and peace-loving peoples by surprise. They colonised Africa through treacherous treaties, through the gun camouflaged with trade and through missionaries whose aim was to disarm the African peoples with the Bible and then capture them by the force of arms. As a result of this onslaught, artificial boundaries were made to divide and weaken our continents. Our people were turned against their own neighbours so that a brother fights his own brother only benefitting the designs of the imperialist and colonial masters. The colonialists then sat back and ruled us as the imposters. They dominated Asia through the same process and also through persuasion and deceit. When our people rose against those intruders, they left our countries, but they left behind their insidious legacies which are erupting every now and then like volcanoes creating among us animosities that divide us and retard our progress.

As a matter of fact, we in Africa and Asia, by failing to unite our ranks, by being unable to solve our problems inherited from our colonial past and worse of all by turning against each other as sworn enemies, are falling into the traps set for us by the colonialists and unwittingly fulfilling their imperialist designs. The tragic conflict in the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent is a case in point.

It is with this conviction and in this spirit that I am so-

solemnly appealing to all leaders in Africa and Asia to beware of the machinations of imperialists in driving serious wedges between us. In executing their sacred responsibilities, they should have the courage and ability to solve the problems which were created for them by the colonialists and imperialists.

Since it is the strategy of the imperialists and colonialists to undermine the peoples' movement towards genuine independence and progress and it becomes incumbent upon us to redouble our militant revolutionary struggle and vigilance in order to withstand the imperialist manoeuvres and ensure victory which is ultimately with our peoples. In this respect, the Somali Democratic Republic firmly believes that the only way to combat colonialism and accelerating the liberation of the territories still held by colonial and racist regimes is to adhere to the principles of the Mogadishu Declaration adopted at the last Summit Conference of East and Central African States held in Mogadishu. The Mogadishu Declaration which is a clarion call for armed struggle is a true expression of the progressive peoples in the world and particularly in Africa. The significance of the Mogadishu Declaration lies in that it brings up-to-date the Lusaka Manifesto, the terms of which have been superseded by the recent serious developments in the colonial territories.

The new aggressive manoeuvres of imperialists and racists are not only to colonize the remaining territories still under colonial and racial subjugation but also to threaten the independence and the very existence of independent African countries.

In this connection, we in the Somali Democratic Republic

are convinced that the imperialists, colonialists and the racists do not respond to honeyed words and solemn appeals, they only understand the language of «violence» because it is with violence and suppression that they are still ruling the territories they colonize.

In our just struggle against imperialism and colonialism it is imperative to continue enlisting the active support of all progressive mankind, and specially the support of the peoples of the socialist countries who like us have a vital stake in repulsing imperialist aggression.

Secondly, we must maintain, coordinate and further develop the revolutionary bonds existing between the peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America. This is most vital since the peoples of Latin America also share with us our hatred for imperialism and colonialism.

Thirdly, the success of our struggle demands the undertaking of concrete and concerted actions in the political economic, cultural and military fields. It is here that the Afro-Asian Peoples Solidarity Organisation can play its most difficult but onerous role. And it is because of our recognition of this important role which the Organisation has to play that AAPSO commands both our respect and support. In this connection, I cannot but express our sincere appreciation of the continuous and militant role and leadership of the Secretary General of AAPSO Comrade Yousef El Sebai in the complicated tasks of coordinating the struggle of our peoples. To him, and to the other members of the AAPSO Secretariat, we extend our thanks and express our confidence that Comrade Yousef Al-Sebai and other members of the Secretariat will continue their honourable

mission.

Finally, I would like to take this opportunity to wish this Conference success in its deliberations, and the participants a pleasant stay in the Somali Democratic Republic.

Long Live Afro-Asian solidarity.

Down with imperialism, colonialism & neocolonialism.

## ORIENTATION COURSES

*Jaalle General Siad told over 400 people attending an orientation course at the Adult Education Centre in Mogadiscio:*

31-12-1971

It is imperative to mobilise the people in the development of the country, strengthen unity and brotherhood and create the right approach to the nation's affairs. Before the Revolution, there were many who found great opportunities for their own personal interests in the disunity that existed. They exploited the backwardness and ignorance of the masses

and thrived upon these activities. They were the people who fanned and created conflicts between groups and tribes that almost brought the country to the brink of disaster, threatening our integrity, sovereignty, independence and our Islamic faith.

After the Revolution, every effort has been made to bring these problems out into the open and to understand and attempt to solve them. And the leaders sought to create understanding and unity among the people, urging them to work together in harmony and goodwill for the improvement and prosperity of the country.

We must make the people attending this course and others of a similar kind, aware of the value and importance of unity and brotherhood.

The aim of the courses that are being run at present, is to produce honest men with a high sense of duty and unimpeachable morals. Without men of such calibre, it is impossible to hope for and look forward to development and progress.

It has been decided to start these courses in the capital, Mogadishu, and then gradually to extend these courses to all parts of the country so that eventually the whole country will have the benefit of understanding the aims and purpose of the Revolution and its plans for a greater Somalia.

Those who have the benefit of this training, should pass on to their families the knowledge and understanding they have acquired. They should give to others the lessons that emphasize the value of good faith nationalism and de-

dication to the country.

We want to underscore the rights of the Somali citizens, and show them how they can take a practical part in the development of our land. We want also to fight the reactionaries and the anti-revolutionaries who are still active in our midst under the cover of imperialist protection.

The attempts of counter-revolutionary forces to freeze the nation's economic development had come to nothing. In their attempts to discourage the business community, the enemies of the Revolution have met with no better success. All the attempts to subvert the masses by spreading the ideas of regionalism and of reviving tribalism and all other separate movements had ended in dismal failure.

However, in the face of all these Revolutionary successes the forces of the imperialists are still active and would try even harder than ever before to do whatever damage they could. It is necessary to be constantly on the watch and to thwart these harmful activities and in this way guard the Revolution and its achievements.

In adopting scientific socialism, the principal aim was to create a united and highly developed society. All true nationalists should work first and foremost for the development of this country and to ensure our total independence, equality and social justice and above all, we must fight the enemies of ignorance, disease and hunger. Scientific socialism will enable us to do all these things. Socialism, does not create class distinctions and encourage backwardness. It will provide the foundation on which to build a progressive and happy State.

**1972**

Ist January – 21 October

## ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE

*Address by Jaalle President Siad to the Judiciary Branch of the Government:*

1-1-72

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

Two years have elapsed since the 21st October Revolution which strongly advocated to create a society founded on the

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principle of popular sovereignty, equality and justice and the right of the Somali citizens without distinction, for a better social life. The administration of law, I am glad to say, have shown an upward trend during the two years of Revolution despite the multifarious short-comings inherent in the historical background of the existing laws.

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

Each nation has its own culture, its own values, its own procedures which its own people consider just. Each finds it difficult to envisage universal justice as an extension of its own conceptions. It is doubtlessly true that justice is a function of a community, of a culture emerging from their exchange of ideas and values, and of a society in which cooperation toward some goals, flowing from these common values, develops.

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

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

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

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

The members of a healthy society will strongly respect and protect law and order so long they feel that their rights are

being defended by the proper administration of justice from the few individuals who tend to be habitual law-breakers.

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

Another point of relevance here is the question of detentions. It is necessary that persons detained for some reasons or other should not be kept in detention for long. The matter must be speeded up in the interest of the individuals' freedom. Such long detentions are also bound to create the problem of over-crowding in prison cells, not to mention the heavy burden this presents to the public purse.

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

The qualities of a judge cannot be coped with in a short speech like this. He should, above all, be patriotic, honest, respectable, brave and highly responsible. He should be one who is always proud of his profession, country and people. The people should respect him not for fear of his power in office but for his useful services for the society and for his courage, patriotism, generosity and mental capacity. He should be a man of high moral integrity under all circumstances.

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

Jaallayaal, we are all holding offices to serve the Somali

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

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

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

It seems unlikely that order can be permanently maintained if justice is ignored. The public should take note of this. If we want justice to prevail, we should respect and fully cooperate with those who administer it. Theirs is a difficult job which is bound to be doomed to failure without the assistance of the public at large. It goes without logic to expect good and honest work from someone while, at the same time, back-biting him, humiliating him, corrupting him and distorting the facts. Good judges are the products of a healthy society. Hence, we should develop our society to be a healthy one in order to have the type of Civil Servants we want.

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

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

Let me now come to the heart of the matter. It is habitual among fathers and mothers to create a feeling of intimidation from the policeman in the minds of their children. It very often happens that when a child behaves naughtily his father or mother intimidates him that a policeman is around to punish him if he does not stop behaving in this way. From this early stage the child adopts a feeling of enmity for the policeman. This is completely wrong and an unnecessary concept. Instead the children should be educated that the policeman is the man who protects them and freely renders them a helping hand whenever they are in difficulty. In other words, they should understand that the policeman is their friend and that co-operation with him is always necessary in the execution of his all important social responsibility.

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

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

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

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

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

My word of praise also goes to the Police Force in appre-

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

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

## RULERS ARE TO SERVE

*The participation of the masses in policy-making is essential said Jaalle Gen. Mohamed Siad Barre to Regional Division Police Commanders:*

14-1-72

The policy announced earlier calling on all regional authorities to involve the masses in the participation of both the decision-making and the execution of plans and policies is not fully implemented. It is necessary therefore that committees should be set up in the regions, districts and villages to fully

participate in the decision-making and the execution of policies. The regional authorities are already given directives to fully implement this policy, but these authorities seem to prefer to impose their own will on the people. The participation of the people in the formulation of policies and their execution is an essential factor in the success of development plans.

The role of the Police is to safeguard the security of the country; the three month detention laws are meant to check criminals and traitors and not to harass innocent citizens. The detention laws are meant to protect the citizens and their properties and not to be used as a rule to harass them. Complaints reach my office about the misapplication of the detention laws. I call therefore upon the regional authorities to remedy the situation immediately. The establishment of committees to participate in decision making and the execution of policies will go a long way in removing all misapplication of the detention laws.

There must be a close cooperation between the regional and district authorities themselves. The misapplication of law and other misunderstandings stemmed from an incomprehension of one's responsibilities because once one understands his responsibilities there will be no cause for friction between the people and their rulers.

The responsibility of the Police is to safeguard the citizens and in order that the Police might fulfil its duty. There must be discipline, organization and strict adherence to hierarchy. The interest of the Police lies in getting recognition and respect from the people whom it is serving because of the services it performs for the society. Intimidation and use of for-

ce must not be practised. Unless one understands one's responsibilities he is bound to go astray and evil acts might be more glittering to him than good deeds.

The main task of the Police is to identify itself as the guardians of the people and not their masters, and to ensure equality, justice and unity to prevail in the country.

The nation has adopted socialism and there is no turning back of the clock. Everybody must get this clear: the rulers of the country are the servants of the people not, their employers, and it is the responsibility of the rulers to implement the policies of socialism which the country has adopted. The adoption of the principles of socialism is meant to improve the lot of the people, and although the application of socialism has encountered obstacles erected by minority selfish elements it has triumphed because the majority of the people support socialism.

## OLD TIES LINKED BY NEW REVOLUTIONS

*Speech delivered by Jaalle Siad at the ceremonial party held in his honour by President Jaffer El-Nimeiry of Sudan.*

21-1-1972

I would like first of all to express my genuine gratitude to the President Mohamed Gasser El-Nimeiry for having invited us to pay a visit to this country whose people accorded us warm and cordial welcome that is a token of fraternal feeling. Of course I need not express that the friendly relations between our two countries are very old and remained intact throughout history.

In the past, our two peoples fought gallantly a common enemy: the colonialists that were scrambling for Africa with the intention of invading and dominating its countries and peoples. The people of Sudan defended their land relentlessly against the colonialists and imperialists under the famous fighter Mohamed Ahmed El-Mahdi. And almost at the same time the Somali people were engaged in an all-out armed struggle under the great leader Sayid Mohamed Abdulle Hassan against the colonialists who coveted to dominate the land, as well as against the local reactionaries allying themselves with the colonialists and imperialists. Also the two peoples are linked by the May and October Revolutions of 1969. The 21 October Revolution had not happened with personal motives. It was carried out by the masses of the people, and the Somali Armed Forces were in the vanguard of them and its main aim was to salvage the people and country from the chaotic situation created by the former regimes, allies and stooges of colonialism and imperialism.

Had it not been for the blessed Revolution, Somalia would have been now an easy prey in the hands of the colonialists and imperialists who always threaten the African entity and the peace of the world. Our Revolution aims at progress and economic, social and cultural liberation of the country.

Since the Revolution, our people have been engaged in a tireless fight against the three arch enemies of mankind: ignorance, poverty and disease. And this required the mobilization of all the forces and resources of the people and land. Therefore, the whole people are now working hard in nation-building. They are engaged on development projects; building schools,

nospitals, roads and digging irrigation canals and also on crash programmes. They rely on themselves towards self-sufficiency and for the elimination of the tribalism and colonialism residues that were prevailing in the country for centuries.

Brothers, our Revolution, closely consolidated from bottom to top, was not to be content to let the country remain an impoverished, backward State dependent on the colonialists and imperialists; therefore, we proclaimed scientific socialism as the system with which to effect social changes and we are confident that our future is bright and prosperous.

Proceeding from her policy of liberation of the whole African continent and believing in the African Unity, Somalia maintains that all the independent African countries should struggle for the liberation of all the peoples still languishing under the yoke of colonialism and imperialism, of old and new forms; since in fact no independent African country can be free so long as even a speck of African land remains under foreign domination and any African people are subjugated by alien authority.

Revolutionary Somalia rejects and strongly condemns all the plots and designs being weaved by the colonialists and imperialists with the aim of usurping the rights of the African countries and stirring unrest in the continent. And she takes the Mogadishu Declaration, to which you largely contributed, as a principle from which no independent African country should deviate. Africa today needs not any lip service and the convention of complimentary meetings, but implementation of the Mogadishu Declaration for the liberation of the continent from colonialism and imperialism, by employing armed struggle;

because it is only by the use of force without seeking truce, that we will be able to liberate all the countries still under the yoke of colonialism.

Mr. President, the existence of foreign military basis in Africa and the alliance of the reactionary forces with colonialism and imperialism belittle the sovereignty of the independent African countries and threaten through plots and designs to overthrow the progressive regimes in the continent as happened in Guinea, Zambia and others. Africa therefore, should be alert to the colonialist and imperialist plots that would tear apart the independent African countries.

The Somali Democratic Republic sides, without reservation, with her Arab sister countries in the struggle against Zionism and inter-national imperialism and maintains that the overall unity of the Arab countries is the only way towards the liquidation of the consequences of the Israeli aggression backed by international Zionism and imperialism. And we support the UN Security Council resolution requiring the total withdrawal of Israeli forces from all the Occupied Arab Territories.

The Somali people have been following closely and with admiration the remarkable achievements being made by the Sudanese people under your leadership, since the May Revolution. We wish the fraternal Sudanese people further success in all fields. We also hail the Arab Federation as a great step towards the unity of all the Arab countries.

Long live the friendship between the Somali and Sudanese Peoples!

## TRUMPETS OF IMPERIALISM

*Jaalle Siad addresses the Nation on IDD FESTIVAL:*

28-1-1972

Dear Brothers and Comrades,

It gives me great pleasure to offer my Moslem brethren far and near warm congratulations and best wishes on the occasion of the festivities of the blessed Idd Al Adha which we are celebrating throughout the Republic together with the entire Moslem World.

Since the great historic incident which turned the course of history of the Somali people, that is, the advent of the blessed 21 October Revolution, our people set forth their progressive march.

Before that great incident, our political system was corrupt and if the political system of any nation decays all the affairs of the nation degenerate and it becomes impossible to realise economic or social development in such a country.

The state of affairs of our people before the Revolution was bitter and painful to a great degree. The defunct regime led and driven by imperialism, was bent upon disrupting the unity of the people and sowing the seeds of tribalism among individuals. Their basic aim was to do away with internal cohesion, disestablish social unity, disseminate discord and dissidence among the members of the public in order to distract the people from their main goals.

Since the victorious 21 October Revolution in which you have participated in making it a success, we have eliminated the factors which were causing the disruption of stability and spreading differences among the people. Thereafter, the work has started on realising concrete goals namely: freedom, socialism and unity of ranks. Thanks to the determination of the Somali people and their understanding of the aims of the Revolution, a great lot of achievements were realised. We have liberated ourselves from foreign tutelage and colonialist domination. We have decided to work hard to realise effective economic and social development.

The Revolution of October 21 has emerged to convert the

aspirations of the our people into reality and to make them to be masters of themselves and their affairs, and to remove all obstacles from their way.

The first aims of the Revolution were to constitute a new society, and in order to build a Somali society based on freedom, justice and equal opportunities among all in a progressive, socialist system. It is therefore incumbent upon every citizen to shoulder his share of the burdern. The Revolution of 21 October waged by the Armed Forcess was already smouldering in the hearts of all Somali citizens who are linked by common interest and common objectives and who are bound to continue the march towards the desired goal, this is freedom, justice, and unity in a progresssive, socialist society which is ultimately to realise happiness and prosperity for the people.

The socialism which we have chosen as a pattern for our life really means justice, equality and equal opportunities for all. Our sacred religion calls for an blesses these noble concepts.

There is a tiny number of elements serving imperialism either directly or indirectly and are trying to jam the minds of the people. These elements claim to be the learned men of the religion. We say to these people that there is no meaningful difference between the religion of Islam and socialist political system. Some others say that socialism cannot go with the Islamic religion.

We simply ask those people, who can bring a proof of this from the holy Koran that socialism contradicts with Islam?

Let anyone who has a proof tell us openly and overtly. But if they fail to bring forward a quotation from the Koran or the speeches of our Prophet Mohamed ,and I am sure they will fail, then they are as was apparent from the outset trumpets for imperialist propaganda.

## SOCIALISM CAMPAIGN

*The speech of Jaalle General Mohamed Siad Barre the President of Supreme Revolutionary Council on the occasion of opening of Socialism Campaign.*

30-1-1972

Jaallayaal,

Allow me to greet you and through you the entire Somali people. I have the honour to open tonight this campaign for scientific socialism.

As you all remember this campaign is one of the several campaigns we have undergone since the triumph of the October Revolution. We have campaigned against illiteracy, against tribalism, we have campaigned for labour and value of labour. Today we are partaking in yet another more important

campaign of this series. I wish to stress here that these campaigns are planned political work destined for us to achieve our objectives and to raise the political consciousness of our people.

Through this campaign, we want to achieve two things: firstly to create a common platform for all the revolutionaries in order to exchange views and experience, so that we may further develop the creative efforts of our people. Secondly to put an end to the confusion and chaos created by certain elements in their approach to socialism by giving erroneous and misleading definitions. This unscientific and mistaken approach towards socialism was deliberately thrown into our midst for the simple reason of diverting us from the real struggle and led us to fruitless and sterile polemics. The reactionaries are using the well-known tactics: «If you cannot stop the current, try to divert it.»

It might appear to some people that these campaigns are not of much value. But let me tell them these campaigns are part of our revolutionary political work. In as much as we try to explain to our people the policies and objectives of the government, we at the same time try to learn from them. A revolutionary man is a teacher and learner at the same time. He imparts to the people what he knows better and learns a lot through having a direct contact with them. How can one speak about or evaluate any particular action unless he thoroughly examines the impact of that given action. How can one say anything about these campaigns unless he participates in them. We know that those who belittle these activities are the last to participate effectively in them.

Jallayaal.

This is not the first time we elaborate on scientific socialism. I remember that I have spoken about it on several occasions. In many of my speeches I tried to explain socialism and how we should have to conceive it. Here, I would like to further explain what a socialist system is? It is a system in which all means of production and natural resources belong to the entire society, a system that puts to an end the exploitation of man by man, a system that distributes the product of the society in accordance with the contributions made by every individual. When such a system acquires comprehensive historical understanding of the development of the society and turns this knowledge into practical reality, we can say that the given system is applying scientific socialism.

Scientific socialism is genuine knowledge that originates from the direct experience of humanity through long history and it is the sum total of that experience. Scientific socialism is universal because mankind is striving for the same goals, that are, equality and social justice. Scientific socialism is particular because every country has its specific conditions and applies socialism accordingly. We try to apply socialism in accordance with our specific conditions, yet we cannot ignore the experience of the international community in regard to the application of socialism.

When I speak about our specific conditions, I mean that we should take into consideration our spiritual, cultural and psychological background. The Somalis understood the message of Islam as a religion for social justice and for the equality of human beings. Historically our people, strongly believing

in Islam have unanimously fought all threats against faith and country. Today their faith is stronger than ever. As far as socialism is concerned, it is not heavenly message like Islam but a mere system of regulating the relations between man and his utilization of the means of production in this world. If we decide to regulate our national wealth, it is not against the essence of Islam. God has created man and has given him the faculty of mind to choose between good and bad, between virtue and vice. We have chosen social justice instead of exploitation of man by man and this is how we could practically help the individual Moslem and direct him to virtuous life. However, the reactionaries want to create a rift between socialism and Islam because socialism is not to their interest, therefore, they have not even revered from misinterpreting the words of God.

Our cultural heritage must be preserved and utilized for the furtherance of our socialist objectives but we must understand that there are positive and negative aspects in our cultural heritage. Nobody can speak about preserving tribalism when we all know its vicious role in our society. In the past, tribalism has caused for us a lot of chaos, and has for long frustrated all our hopes. It has hindered our national progress and stopped in the way of all efforts to develop Somalia. Therefore, we have condemned, rejected and considered it, through practical experience, as the main social evil prevailing among our society. The positive heritage is embodied in the historical struggle of our people for unity and independence. It has been manifested in the popular folklore, songs, the dances, the poetry, etc. that expresses labour, unity and aesthetic views of our people as nomads, farmers and the like.

We have to understand the psychology of our people, their

likes and dislikes, their points of strength and weakness. We must wipe out from our minds the aftermaths of colonialism and neo-colonialism. They deliberately tried to instill in our minds such things as laziness and lack of confidence in our abilities. We have to encourage all the positive approaches to life.

The determinant factor of the relation between man and man is reflected in their definite relation to the means of production. When the relations to the means of production are changed, the relation between man and man also changes. But this change in the relation between man and man is not as easy as the change of the means of production. When the State have acquired a substantial part of the means of production through the several revolutionary measures known to you, the relation of production in many sectors has changed but the approach and mentality of people have not changed in the same speed.

Since the triumph of the October Revolution the Government has taken many concrete measures aimed at bringing our socialist aspirations closer to reality, JAALLAYAAL, let us have the pride of our achievements. A lot has been done in the past two years, and two years is nothing in the life span of a society. It is just like a drop in an ocean. We have freed to great extent our economy from the foreign capital and our working people from the exploitation of middle man, when the State has taken-over the control and distribution of major items of consumption. The Somali farmer as well as the consumer were freed from the manipulation of cereals by the merchants. In every field the revolutionary Government has taken measures which were impossible to think about implementing them in the pre-revolutionary times. This is what applying socialism

means. For us socialism does not mean empty words but concrete reality. Let me repeat what I have said in the past: we maintain that socialism is a more human and comprehensive ideology, it is a system for satisfying the human needs since it is the only philosophical system that can give dignity to human values; equality of rights and opportunities, for prosperity and happiness.

Of course, what we have achieved up-to now is minor compared to the gigantic task ahead of us. To build in Somalia a fully developed socialist society will take time and will require tremendous efforts. But experience teaches us that human society develops step by step, from lower stage to higher stage. Through our will and with the determinant revolutionary labour and unity we shall achieve our goals.

At this time when we want to free ourselves from ignorance, disease and poverty which has been forced upon us by the forces of reaction and imperialism, when all the revolutionary Somalis are struggling, hand in glove, to create a better society for themselves and for the future generations, the evil forces of imperialism and their lackeys will spare no effort to hinder our progress. They will use all the available means to abstract us from our objectives. This is natural because in every society there is a struggle that goes between the forces. Therefore we have to use revolutionary vigilance against these dark forces and isolate them entirely.

There are also other types of people in the country who call themselves socialists but never use their brains to analyse anything concretely, they refuse to undertake any painstaking efforts in building socialism or acquire it. They only know how

to repeat hackneyed phraseology devoid of content about socialism. These elements people, though they may call themselves socialist, are in reality allying themselves with forces of reaction. To these we say that socialism is not a void theory, it is not intellectual mental exercise, but it is creative effort of the working people to find solutions to the social problems by giving regard to the general truth emerging out of practice. No theory is valid unless it could be applied to reality, and scientific socialism is valid because it has been proved to be practical and originates from the truthful experience of humanity. If other people were able to apply socialism according to their own conditions, we also can build it in our own specific conditions.

In the Somali society socialism is to the interest of the broad masses, for the nomads, the farmers, the workers, the soldiers, the intellectual, the small merchants and unemployed. It is against the exploiters, the purpose of foreign monopoly-capital and all those who were accustomed to unlawful gains. There are two distinct forces and there is an inherent contradiction between them. These two forces have irreconcilable interest and their struggle is at times overt and at times covert. In the past the political power as well as the economic domination was in the hands of the reactionary forces. The Revolution has changed the balance in favour of the majority, the exploited forces came into the front and the dominating became dominated. The revolutionary system have dealt with one blow after the other, the interests of the reactionary elements that plundered the nation and its wealth. However, we shall be deceiving ourselves if we take for granted that the enemy is completely dealt with. The enemy is seriously injured but is still alive. It is desperately trying to hide its defeat and to

survive at the expense of the toiling people, by viciously applying wicked stratagems.

I am quite positive that the socialist cause shall be victorious because history can never take a reverse course, but that will never happen automatically. Success can only be achieved through the continuous and diligent struggle jointly waged by all the strata of the population in whose interest socialism is. All the working people, all the revolutionaries must unite for the construction of socialist society and for the progress of the Somali people.

Long live Socialism!

Long live the unity of Somali people  
for progress and socialist justice.

## ENCOURAGING OUR EXPORTS

*President of the SRC Jaalle Gen. Mohamed Siad Barre speaking at the inaugural ceremony of the Hides and Skins Show at the Trade Fair premises:*

5-2-1972

Somalia will reduce the importation of luxury goods and will encourage the exportation of its products. Somalia will not be a market for foreign manufactured goods unless there is a two way traffic of trade. That is to say Somalia will not accept the tendency among certain foreigners to export their goods to Somalia without being prepared to import an equal amount of goods from this country.

Encouraging hides and skins exhibitions is in line with the principles of the Revolution to promote the economy of the country. The aim of the Revolutionary Government is to improve both the quantity and the quality of Somalia's products so that we can compete in world markets.

Livestock owner are asked to attach greater importance to their hides and skins so that they may gain better prices and thus improve the nation's financial position. I imply that essential goods like medicine could not be imported unless there is sufficient hard currency which could be obtained from the side of products like the hides and skins.

## EQUAL CHANCES FOR ALL

*President of the SRC Jaalle Gen. Mohamed Siad Barre speaking at the inaugural ceremony of the Hides and Skins Show at the Trade Fair premises:*

*The President of the SRC Jaalle Gen. Mohamed Siad Barre urged 35 Cadet Police Officers, who graduated from the Police Academy to protect the sacred socialist goals of the Somalia society:*

17-2-1972

You are called upon to shape the emergent needs of the State and fully utilize the potentialities of the country and the people, and to protect the sacred socialist goals of Somali society. While the Policemen can play an active part in the political, economic and social life of the present revolutionary Somali society, there is no doubt that the Policeman's main task will be to uphold the laws and carry them out with justice and impartiality.

It is under this spirit the Police officer of today is viewed, to participate actively in the honest leadership of the nation and in particular to work hard and carry Somalia from under-development to a viably developed and prosperous socialist path worthy of respect among the international community. Somalia has opted for scientific socialism for the reason that it is the one thing under whose wing we can reach quickly our national aspirations.

We yearn for sharing the products of our labour and wealth; we want to control and manage the means of production for the interest of all, in accordance with each individual's contribution and we abhor the exploitation of man by man; that is exactly what socialism means. The measures we take towards this goal, based on human transformation, analysis, knowledge and awareness of our local conditions and beliefs of the Somali society plus the experience gained from the international community, is again what scientific socialism stands for.

The products of the socialist system, the new cadets, must realize the difference of the past and present regimes, since most of them have never dreamed before of getting an opportunity in which they could prove their worth in a healthy competition. It is worth reminding you also of the immense difference between the officer of today and that of yesterday prior to our blessed October Revolution.

You are familiar with the ineffectiveness of the Officer of those days. The scene was dominated by the powerful Deputy and his aides (afmishars and tribal disciples) and the rule of law was made a farce — a situation which led the officer of

the olden days to become a symbol of ridicule whenever he tried to apply the law. I must add, however, that the situation had been reversed since the birth of the great October Revolution, and the officer of today has a major role to play. The policeman of today has become a true arm of the law and there is nobody above the law in Somalia today.

The fact that there is a girl among these officers is a symbol of the equality and justice taught by the principles of socialism. She has contested with her men colleagues in all the exams and have succeeded. The idea that women are less capable than men is a thing of the past.

The Somali boys and girls have equal chances to prove both what they can do for their country and what their country can do for them.

## NO MORE SPECULATION

*Address to Government Officials who finished  
Halane course:*

28-2-1972

Somalia's October Revolution had moved out of its sensitive stage and was now accepted as a serious attempt to set the whole country on a sound and solid foundation.

The sceptics and the «afminshars» are no longer in doubt about the pragmatic intentions of the Revolution to give this country the calibre of leadership it had lacked in the past.

The determination of the Revolution to set Somalia on the road to progress and fulfilment in every sphere of national development is no longer the subject of speculation. Now all remaining obstacles should be removed without much difficulty.

You are the senior Government officers and ambassadors, who have to realise that it is no longer necessary for an officer to carry out his duties with less than sincerity and dedication. Anyone who wishes to give less than his best should step down. This applies to all of us.

The two years of the Revolution was a period of patience, tolerance and forgiveness. Somalia had now entered the most important phase of its progress; hence we will not tolerate civil-doers.

Halane, is an institution where disunity gives way to unity, confusion to stability, jealousy to brotherhood, and inequality to equality. I am confident that the men who had finished the course will return to their duties equipped with a high sense of nationalism, dedication and sincerity. The benefits of your training should pass on to your subordinate staff. This is a practice you have to do continuously.

Your Passing on Training course set higher standards than previous courses, and I am glad with the discipline and the satisfactory results achieved.

## SNAI BOOMS AFTER NATIONALIZATION

*The Prtsident's speech to workers of the Jowhar Sugar Factory (S.N.A.I.):*

6-3-1972

Those who believed the Jowhar Sugar Factory will collapse and the flowers perish after Government takeover are proven wrong. Since you have successfully passed this trying period it is now time to expand the Factory and its scope in the national economy. The Somali people are grateful to the Factory management and its workers for these steps.

We all know that sandals used to be imported from countries which do not buy even a hide from Somalia. So to make sandals locally is economically significant to us. Same thing can also be said about perfumes, shampoo and other items which the Factory now produces.

I am glad to announce that a law has been passed to improve the condition of the workers. This law encourages collective management in the industries. It abolishes the laws which allowed workers to remain temporary without rights for years. But it lays the responsibility of exploiting the resources of the country on the workers' shoulders and creates better bases for safeguarding the interest and the welfare of the workers.

The law also provides free medical check-up. Government doctors will be available at Government dispensaries in the afternoons and evenings instead of working privately in their houses charging patients enormous sums.

The idea of waiting for the Government to do everything or of expecting miracles to transform the face of our country is gone. God has given us the wealth buried in our land. He has also given us the minds and muscles to exploit them; it is up to us to use our minds and muscles. True Sheikhs teach hard work and condemn idleness and parasitism.

The goal of the Revolution, is to work in order to replace sun by shade, poverty by prosperity, darkness by light, injustice by equality, and corruption and dependence by self-respect and self-reliance.

## ACTIVE ROLE OF WOMEN

*Jaalle Siad's praise for Women on Women's*

*Day:*

**8-3-1972**

Allow me here from this stage to express my sentiments and profound feelings of admiration for Somali women. Also, I feel duty bound to hail the women folk all over the world in their persistent struggle. It is a living fact in everyday life, that during the short pace of time since 21 October Revolution was ushered, you have manifested a spirit of dedication and selflessness in contributing to the nation building programmes.

The International Women's Day of 8th March is the day of international solidarity of the working women of all countries in the struggle for peace and democracy, in view of equality for women in capitalist, independent and colonial countries. This day was established on the proposal of CLARA ZETKIN, an outstanding figure of the German and International Workers movement at the 2nd International Conference of Socialist Women Conference in Copenhagen (DENMARK) in 1911. A decision was reached by the Conference to consider March 8th, the International Day of the working women and to mark it annually as the International Solidarity of the Female Proletariat in the struggle for equal economic and political rights of women with men.

The International Women's Day of 8th March was first marked in Germany, Austria, Switzerland and Denmark in 1911 under the MOTTO «Franchise for working women for the unity of the forces in the struggle for Socialism». It was also marked in Russia at that time in PETERSBURGH (LENINGRAD) 1913 under the motto of «struggle for the economic and political emancipation of women».

In commemorating this remarkable date it is quite in place to recall the significant role played by the Somali Women, through our national history in the struggle for one nation, independence and freedom. Both during the colonial phase and the reactionary national regimes, the women's part has always been in the forefront. The reason for this gallantry and sacrifice springs from the fact that despite the exploitation and oppression of the Somali masses, yet the Somali Women suffered greater measures of injustice, and humiliation because of their sex. It is a fact universally acknowledged that if the

better half (women) of our society is liberated, then freedom will be that much more meaningful.

Both the production of manpower and the shaping of the young generation depends a great extent upon the mother. It is therefore, a primary condition that in order to aspire rightly to the realization of a Somali socialist society, the women should attain equality. All the fetters should be removed. They should attain full emancipation in all aspects of life. The Revolution guarantees such rights and decrees laws to this effect, but as to make these rights and decrees laws to this effect, but as to make these rights fully enjoyable and the law workable, the duty that falls on the women at this present phase or our national development is to respond with full zest and enthusiasm like they have shown in the past. They should understand and appreciate that before anything else, it is they who should aspire to, rise and truly struggle for complete emancipation.

We have recently passed the decrees permitting the establishment of social organisations, one of which is the Women's Organisation. The purpose behind this is not as you can know the creation of such gathering for women as we have witnessed in the past dark decades. It is meant in good sincerity to give ample opportunities and the necessary facilities to our women so that they can organize themselves, cultivate their talents and render their duties towards their nation in the most effective manner.

When we opted for scientific socialism in our first anniversary of 21 October Revolution, it was not meant as a mere proclamation of a system, but it meant a lot of change in the so-

cial, economic, political and all other spheres of life of our people.

In every-day life and other spheres, members of the socialist society are equal. They are members of a single community of workers held together by bonds of joint activity and common interest. In a socialist society franchise becomes truly universal because it is extended to all citizens without exception regardless of social status, sex, national and racial origin, place of residence, educational qualifications etc. Under socialism every aspect of daily life becomes the concern of the State. It provides extensive possibilities for making the everyday life of all members of society promote their all-round development.

There is a tremendous task ahead of the Somali women to prove through persistent work in the nation-building programmes, the fallability of the inferiority of the female in certain fields of activities. The determination of the women folk and their participation in many perviously exclusive fields in an evidence of negating this fallability.

In conclusion, beside your participation in the nation-building programmes you present Somali mothers and in future will have a distinct responsibility in the household and upbringing of children. Let us all unite to realize the full Socialist Society.

Long live the Somali Women!  
Long live the 8th March (I.W.D.)!  
Long live the Revolution!

## SOUND MIND AND BODY

*President Jaalle Mohamed Siad Barre spoke with Doctors after announcement that private clinics will no longer be permitted in socialist Somalia.*

14-3-1972

Jaallayal, as prevention is better than cure, you must take whatever steps you can to prevent the spread of disease.

The decision to nationalize the public health service has been taken because we have not sufficient doctors in the country, and if the State health services are to be as effective as desired in protecting the health of the nation, then it is imperative that all doctors be part of the State service so that they can make it the best in the country.

I am fully aware of the valuable contribution that doctors has made to national progress, but as always happens, mistakes were made, although these were never intentional. This Revolution has always recognised services of value to the country, and the Ministry of Health has been singled out and awarded a medal for its selfless devotion in the cause of national health.

Among the biggest enemies that face Somalia are hunger, disease and ignorance. This gives doctors a special place in the fight that is being waged to conquer these enemies. You must therefore serve the people.

The Revolution is very concerned about health problems, and many far-reaching measures have been taken to improve the overall situation. Nevertheless, much still remains to be done to bring the whole health system in the country up to the standards that will satisfy the needs of the people.

Jaallayaal, I must stress the need for a research laboratory as a vital necessity, local doctors can play a significant part in bringing this into existence. Doctors can also increase their usefulness to the people by studying the latest methods and techniques of combatting disease. In training your subordinate staff you can also help to improve the effectiveness of the entire health service.

You should not stand aloof from the developments that are taking place in the country, especially the campaigns that are currently being implemented under the programme of scientific socialism.

You should not stand aloof from the developments that are taking place in the country, especially the campaigns that are currently being implemented under the programme of scientific socialism.

Jaallayaal, Somalia's mineral deposits, its ocean and agricultural resources await exploitation. The task of extracting these national economic riches stand as a challenge to healthy nation. We must not fail because we are too weak and sick to do the job. The future belongs to those who are sound in mind and body.

## A VITAL ROLE

*Jaalle Siad speaks to BUSINESSMEN:*

7-4-1972

It is time for Somali businessmen to establish light industries and farms in order to exploit the country's natural resources. You are the country's business community and you should form cooperatives in order to pool all your capital together to constructively contribute to the wealth of the country. The Banks are ordered to offer credit facilities to such ventures.

By importing consumer goods and clothes into the country we are being market for other countries to feed their labour and to run their industries. This practice must be changed and we are determined to do everything to see to that end.

By organising your capital you can create jobs for your people and provide more money for the nation to combat our sworn enemies: disease, poverty and ignorance.

The recent measures in which the importation and distribution of several essential items were taken over by the Government, were intended to be the first steps towards far-reaching Government plans to reach self-sufficiency in all fields and to master the economic mainstays of our country.

It is the Revolutionary Government's policy that the economy of the country should not be based on market speculations but on Government planning and price stabilization. These are intended to ensure a low cost of living for the poor people whose low income cannot cope with the ever-increasing prices of primary goods.

Scientific socialism, is regarded as a horror and a nightmare by colonialists and their puppets, because of the influence of colonialism in the past. Some of us may even be tempted to think that way. But if we go deeper into it, we would find that it preaches social justice, equality, unity and equal distribution of the nation's wealth. It provides no room for exploitation of the majority by a minority.

Colonialism and capitalism made us believe that socialism was a bad system, because it does not serve their interests.

They preach that it is against Islam but they never come with a proof either from the Holy Quran or from the Hadith of the Prophet. Both the ones who teach that scientific socialism has no place in Islam and those who teach that Islam has no place in scientific socialism are liars and are not working for the interest of the Somali people.

Private ownership is allowed in scientific socialism as to be practised in Somalia, provided that such wealth is not used against the interests of the Somali people, politically or economically. If a man conducts his business in a clean manner which is not detrimental to the interests of the masses, then the Revolution has no cause to intervene.

The Armed Forces have intervened in politics when politicians turned down the hopes and the aspirations of the Somali people; similarly the Government has intervened in business activities only after the appeals repeatedly made by the Revolutionary Government to the businessmen have all fallen on deaf ears.

I hope these last appeals will bear fruits. The role played by the Somali businessmen during the fight for independence is well known. You spent your money to liberate our country from the grip of the colonialists, I see no reason why you do not cooperate with us now to ensure better life tomorrow for your children. This can be done by reaching self-sufficiency and self-sufficiency can only come through hard work. It is we who are to do this task so that our children can enjoy the fruits tomorrow.

I assure you that the Revolutionary leaders are not intere-

sted in amassing wealth like the deposed politicians. We are prepared to transform our country from poverty to prosperity, from an ignorant society to an enlightened and educated one from a backward dependent people to self-sufficient, industrious people.

In the course of realizing these objectives we may make mistakes. But the intentions are always good, and one can be forgiven if he makes a mistake without ill-intentions. Your contribution is welcome to construct a new socialist Somalia. Your role is vital, too..

## PRISONS NOT FOR REVENGE

*Jaalle Gen. Siad addressing 158 students and policemen who completed a three-month course:*

19-4-1972

Insincerity and the fallacy of kin and kith are the offspring of ignorance and illiteracy. I am sure that all of you who completed the course had left behind the tendency of al-minsharism and tribalism. The Police Academy is a place where people are stripped of these tendencies.

I must emphasize that you realise your duty as the watchdogs of the economy of the country and your special responsibilities as you are defending the economy the first target of the imperialists and their lackeys.

You have been given the proper training and fully equipped for your jobs; it is now up to you to prove worthy of the lessons you received. The duties of the Custodial Corps, are the toughest as they are looking after human beings who are probably very clever and full of intrigues. But it must be in mind that the Prison is not a place of revenge but an institution where criminals are rehabilitated.

You have to orient the prisoners, with a view of ensuring that they become useful to the society after the termination of their prison terms. In this way only can the Sergeants, stand in the way of imperialists and their stooges when posted to different parts of the country. They have to carry out their duties with impartiality as they occupied the heart of Police establishment.

## LESS TALK MORE WORK

*Jaalle Siad delivered the following speech at a mass rally on the occasion of May Day:*

1-5-1972

Jaallayaal, It gives me great pleasure to have this opportunity this morning to tell you of the Government's point of view on international workers movement as well as Somali workers.

I believe it is needless to stress to you the importance of this august day which we are celebrating today as in the past years and which is observed by all workers and toilers the world over. There is no need to acquaint you with the significance of this day for this was done before.

I believe you are aware of the meaning of this great day. It is the day in which the working class succeeded in confronting those who used to suck their blood in an inhuman and unjust manner. Many toiling workers lost their lives as a result of their confrontation to their oppressors. But the benefit realized by the workers is the solidarity of the working class throughout the world to assist each other and to know their enemies from their friends.

Since that day, the workers throughout the world commemorate this memorable day and enumerate their achievements and future plans.

I am of the opinion that the Somali workers have played a prominent role in all the struggles we have waged to realize human rights and social justice. They did so by showing their feelings, by waging strikes and by opposing those who want to live and enrich themselves on the sweat and blood of others.

What did the Somali workers do since the advent of the Revolution? I think this question needs a detailed explanation. But in order to see what the Somali workers have done, it suffices to have a look around this Square without touring the country. I have to say that the Somali workers are still holding the flowers they picked during the morning of October 21, 1969. They support the Revolution and protect it from reactionaries and neo-colonialist encroachments. I believe that the Somali workers have made a great headway in ideological progress. When I say workers some people may think that I have forgotten the rest of the people. The workers are not a special people. They compromise 90% of the population or

even more with the exception of a handful of individuals who are used to live on the efforts and sweat of others.

Jaallayaal, the Somali Democratic Republic has, since the advent of the Revolution, played an outstanding role in promoting brotherhood, equality, solidarity, economic development, cultural re-appraisal and defence of the people's rights in collaboration with the progressive world. Nobody can contest this either in the international arena or in Africa.

Jaallayaal, I believe that the major part of our task is yet to be implemented. We are still at the start of the road. We have a great deal of work to be done before us. We have to exploit the rich natural resources lying in the bowls of our land by doubling our efforts so as to create a better life for our people. As I said before, we have to increase our resistance to hardships and courageously face the difficulties that stand in our way.

If those who work on a farm increase their working hours and improve the type of work they are doing and show enthusiasm, what will be the result? The product of that farm will be more than the farm whose owners did not cultivate in the right manner. Let us take Jowhar Sugar Factory (SNAI) as another example. If both the management and workers double their work in the belief that what they are doing is in the interest of their people what will be the result? The result will be that the plant will produce more sugar than before. This will in turn enhance the economy and give rise to more factories to crop up and many unemployed people to get employment.

Jaallayaal, our Revolution is not based on self-praise, boasting and empty talk. It is based on less talk and more work, doubling of effort and maturing of political consciousness. It is needless for us to enumerate the things we realized so far. The things we talk about should be those we did not carry out as yet. How many of our people are still unemployed and have nothing to eat? How many of them are victimized by disease? How can we relieve them of these problems? What is the shortest route to get rid of these problems? What can we do about them? We should ask these questions one another day and night.

I wish you all a happy festival. I also wish the workers of the world a happy festival. We express our solidarity and support to the peoples exposed to suppression through aggression like the people of Viet Nam.

## CARE FOR THE HOMELESS

*Jaalle Siad tells Orphans:*

11-5-1972

You are now in this Revolutionary Youth Camp at Afgoi while before the Revolution you neither served nor owed allegiance to anybody. Now you are being cared for and educated to equip you with the necessary provisions to give you the right perspective in building the future for the coming generations. By taking care of your blankets, bed sheets and sandals, you will teach the youth a useful lesson of home economics.

I consider the instructors and doctors of the camp, are the makers of the leaders of tomorrow, therefore they must give proper care to the youngsters. The old habit of procrastinating till the end of office hours must be left behind. You must invest greater and unreserved energy in moulding the youth so that they may continue to lead the nation on our chosen road to rapid economic progress.

The nation should plan its future and urge the youths to have confidence in themselves and in the resources of their country. It is up to us to tap the natural resources of our country; self-reliance, confidence and sacrifice are what we need under these circumstances.

## JAALE SIAD IN CHINA

14-5-1972

*Speech delivered by the SRC President at the banquet given by Premier Chou En-Lai of People's in Pekiny:*

Respected Comrade Chou En-lai,  
Respected Leading Comrades of the Chinese Party and State,  
Respected Comrade Penn Nouth, Prime Minister of the Royal

Government of National Union of Cambodia,  
Comrades and friends from the Diplomatic Corps,

Comrades and friends.

I would like to express my profound and heartfelt gratitude for the warm and tumultuous welcome accorded to us since our arrival at your great and beautiful country. The spontaneous expression of hospitality extended to us demonstrates the strong and unshakable friendship and fraternal sentiments which characterise our relations.

On paying this visit to your great country, I bring to you and, through you to the valiant Chinese people, the fraternal greetings and warm sentiments of goodwill from the members of the Supreme Revolutionary Council, Government and People of the Somali Democratic Republic.

In spite of the geographical distance between our two countries, I am glad to note that contacts between our peoples date back hundreds of years ago. Thanks to the pioneering spirit of the Chinese people and the tendency of the rest of the world to look at the Far East particularly China as the cradle of civilisation, the foundation stone which was laid down for the contemporary relations between our two peoples shows the common struggle of our peoples for Socialist transformation, progress and freedom for our peoples.

Our present visit to your country at the invitation of the Government of the People's Republic of China is yet another re-affirmation of the time-honoured and age-old goodwill and mutual understanding which mark our bilateral relations.

Although friendly ties existed between the People's Republic of China and the people of the Somali Democratic Republic since the attainment of independence, the bilateral relations between the two countries have been established on a strong footing after the birth of our blessed October Revolution in Somalia. Our identical policies and socialist systems both at international and domestic levels based on equality, social justice and economic progress and common struggle against the reactionary elements and the forces of imperialism colonialism and neo-colonialism testify to our adherence to common principles and objectives. In this context, our close co-operation

in all fields and at all levels has been of mutual benefit and has made a significant contribution to the transformation and development of economy on socialist principles in the fulfilment of the needs and aspirations of our two peoples. In this connection, it is gratifying to note that under the technical and economic co-operation programme between our two countries, the Government of the People's Republic of China has rendered tremendous assistance in the realisation of major projects in the economic and social fields. I would like to pay special tribute to the Chinese experts, doctors and technicians who, in their respective capacities, have rendered an invaluable dedicated service to the Somali people and demonstrated a high sense of responsibility, patience, diligence and devotion in the execution of their assignments.

Permit me, Comrades, to touch briefly on the contemporary situation in the Somali Democratic Republic. Since the birth of our blessed Revolution of 21st October 1969. Since the people set forth with determination upon the realisation of the fundamental objective of the Revolution and in accordance with our declared principle of Scientific Socialism aimed at founding a society based on social justice, equality and economic progress. Pursuant to these fundamental objectives, a great deal of achievements have been attained in the economic and social fields. Although an effective political organisational machinery has not yet been established, the masses participated fully in the affairs of the State and contributed effectively to the national reconstruction and the economic development through the application of Scientific Socialism which is the only human philosophy instrumental in creating

a society based on the right of work and on the principle of social justice and equality.

I need not dwell at length on the similarity of views of the People's Republic of China and the Somali Democratic Republic on international problems and situations because our stand is only too obvious for the students of international relations. However, the role played by the People's Republic of China despite the unsuccessful efforts of imperialists and their stooges to isolate China, could not be lightly glossed over. Indeed, the astronomical achievements scored by the Chinese people in transforming their country into a modern Socialist State under the wise guidance and teachings of Chairman Mao Tse-Tung, have made the People's Republic of China a great nation. Applying the principle of scientific socialism, the noble Chinese people through their hard work and dynamic efforts have attained tremendous socio-economic progress which serves as a glaring example for the national reconstruction and economic development of emergent countries in Africa, Asia and Latin America.

The vital and erstwhile material and moral support that your country gives to the African and Asia liberation movements has effectively contributed to the victories attained time and again by the liberation movements in their bitter armed confrontation with colonialists and racialists. The Somali Democratic Republic as a socialist revolutionary country is also devoted to the solidarity and collaboration with liberation movements of all peoples still languishing under the imperialist and colonial yoke. We extend to them all the assistance and support within our means. Indeed, the membership of the Somali Democratic Republic in the Liberation Committee of

the Organisation of African Unity and the United Nations Special Committee on Apartheid bears testimony to our selfless attachment to the liberation cause not only in Africa but also throughout the world.

The Mogadishu Declaration adopted last year by the Heads of State and Government of the East and Central African States ushered a new era in Africa's struggle for self-determination and independence and indeed for liberation wars throughout the African continent. It is, therefore necessary, more than ever before, that liberation movements be given all the required means to wage the wars for freedom and dignity. China's role in this noble and honourable struggle has been one of commendable record.

Today Africa is passing through a difficult stage of historical development. The involvement of imperialist powers in the affairs of independent African and Asian states poses a serious threat to their political independence and economic development. In some cases, the relations between certain African and Asian states have become strained due to the existence of outstanding disputes deliberately created by the imperialist designs and machinations. It is imperative that these states should, in the interest of African Unity, find ways and means of settling their problems in a spirit of co-operation and understanding. With specific reference to the territorial disputes between the Somali Democratic Republic and her neighbours, the Somali Democratic Republic will pursue a policy aimed at solving these problems through negotiations and on the basis of the right to self-determination.

The Somali people unreservedly support the struggle of the valiant people of Indo-china and call for the immediate

cessation of the United States imperialist aggression and the unconditional withdrawal of all the US and allied troops from Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos.

The recent escalation of the Vietnam war by the US and the mining of the ports of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam does not only violate the principles of international law and the UN Charter, but also constitute a deliberate threat to international peace and security. The Supreme Revolutionary Council of the SDR has adopted an official declaration condemning the recent US aggression against the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam.

On the question of the unification of Korea, the Somali Democratic Republic supports the position of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea which rightly lays down the basis for securing a just and a lasting solution to this problem. We believe that the UN Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation does not serve any useful purpose and should therefore be dismantled. The foreign troops stationed in the southern wing of Korea (South Korea) under the false pretext of maintaining peace under the UN flag should be withdrawn without any further delay. I mean Korea should be left to Koreans to decide their country's destiny.

In the Middle East, Israel obstinately occupies Arab territories through the aggression of 1967 in defiance of the United Nations Resolutions. Israel's intransigence and disrespect to international opinion is shown by its recalcitrant behaviour towards the United Nations and OAU resolutions

all calling for its withdrawal from the Arab territories. The Somali Democratic Republic condemns Israel and supports the Arab states' position. We also support the Palestinian people in their quest for return to their home-land from which they were evicted by Zionist expansionists through aggression and oppression.

We wholeheartedly commend the stand taken by the people of China on the question of the Middle East, Indo-China and on the struggle of all peoples in Africa and Asia for self-determination, independence and dignity.

I am gratified to state that the great people of China who account for one-quarter of the world population have been restored to their rightful place at the United Nations. I am glad that our efforts through years have not gone in vain. The Somali Revolutionary Government and people have not jumped on the bandwagon when the Chinese success at the United Nations was a fait accompli. On the contrary we have all along advocated and defended the inalienable right of the Chinese people since the day when the Somali people won victory of their independence. In this context, I wish to reiterate that Taiwan is an integral part of the People's Republic of China and therefore all imperialist troops should be withdrawn from that island.

As the great people of China now occupy their rightful place at the United Nations, the Somali Democratic Republic looks forward to enduring co-operation between the two countries at the United Nations. I am confident that the People's Republic of China in its capacity as a UN member will play an effective and constructive role on major international is-

sues in co-operation with the progressive forces of the world in the struggle against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism in all their forms.

May I wish the People's Republic of China continued progress and prosperity.

## BLAZING A NEW TRAIL

*Jaalle Siad's speech to Somali community in Aden:*

19-5-1972

The message we carry from Somalia is one of goodwill. You'll have heard that the revolution in our country is blazing a new trail: Socialism. It is a system that we find tailor-made for our purposes, it betokens a just society where exploitation of man by man is an ogre of the past, where equality reigns supreme, where the well-being of the individual is in direct proportion to the well being of the society of which he is a member. Distinction on the basis of sex or religion is unknown.

Socialism is a system of thought and behaviour by which a nation can put its economic house in order. Because of its scientific character it leaves no room for any blundering in education, health, and welfare. It is a fool-proof system.

The socialist person is a fully integrated individual, pettiness, jealousy, the macabre soul are not for him. In him flowers the notion of brotherhood of mankind.

After centuries of communal feuds peace reigns in your country. Only now since the October Revolution have our people appreciated how blissful it is to be at peace with themselves and with the world at large.

The backward looking will no doubt propagate the view that we have strayed from Islam by embracing socialism. Nothing could be further from the truth. The two are complementary and not exclusive, they run parallel each giving strength to the other, for, in the last analysis, they both seek to better the condition of man.

A socialist does not live in Cuckoo-land; he is a pragmatist, a realist, earnest and humane. It leaves room for neither day-dreams nor reveries.

## THERE IS ONLY ONE SOCIALISM

*Speech given by the SRC President to participants of orientation course in Halane:*

9-6-1972

I greet you all first. I came here today to take part in the 6th Orientation Course in Halane and to give my contribution to the further explanation of scientific socialism. We have opted out for socialism about one and half years ago. Since we adopted scientific socialism as policy and a system for our Government and people to live under in a happy, just society, there had been many discussions and symposiums aiming for the elucidation of the principles and objectives of this socialist system. There were many questions which had been raised in these discussions such as what is socialism? How can it be applied in our Society? How can we adopt it to suit our way of life, traditions and religious beliefs?

Many different points of view and opinions emerged in answering these questions. Some answers were honest and sincere, others were regressive and some else were immature and naive.

There were many groups who tried to tackle these very important problems. There are the religious groups, like the Sheikhs and «Wadaads». Among this group some have been misled due to lack of depth of knowledge in Islam but generally they are honest. Another faction within this religious group is notorious for show-off: they are men who know practically nothing about Islam and are not even sincere to the teachings of the Prophet Mohamed, but they always pretend to be extremely religious. There is a third group who wore red turbans for the imperialists in the past and later continued their allegiance to their former masters, and even after the Revolution they still shed tears in a smoke-screen, yearning hopelessly for the mealy mouthed imperialists.

It is apt to mention here the Somali story of the bride whose groom was killed before she was wed. Under the circumstances the girl could not cry for a man who was never her consummated husband but she was very sad and wanted somehow to mourn for her late groom. One day a small he-goat of theirs died and there and then she found her chance to lament. However, her father who was a very wise man perceived her tactics and commented: BAROORTU ORGIGA KA SARRAYSE — (This weeping goes deeper than for a small he-goat). To go back to the last group, they always make futile criticism but their farce is obvious to all. They may be well educated religiously and have good connections but it is well known that their greatest sympathies lie with foreign interest hostile to our socialist system. I must warn you here

that they pose the most dangerous clique in their machinations and misinterpretations about scientific socialism in its correlation with Islam.

Luckily, the fourth group which comprise the true Sheikhs and Mullahs of Islam form the majority and the strongest section. They have made great contributions in our national liberation in the past and still play a significant role in countering malicious factions. We owe a great deal to them and deserve our respect in their position as the true leaders of Islam.

I want also to clarify the apparent dissimilarities of two groups who intrinsically are of the same stock. One group call themselves socialists but in reality they have nothing to do with it. You cannot be a true socialist just by reading and knowing about it, and mouthing your allegiance to it in every occasion. It is more than that. It needs hard work, dedication and loyalty to the progress and development of your country. This above group argue that if ours is true scientific socialism why do we have to adhere to religion? Why don't we do this and that like Comrade So and So did in his country? For example they might say that Comrade V.I. Lenin confiscated such and such items after the Great October Revolution; or in the 1940s Comrade Mao Tse Tung did this and that in his struggle against the reactionary forces, etc. These people are totally ignoring the historical context of the teachings of the great socialist thinkers. They recite quotations of the founders of scientific socialism out of their proper place in space and time-category of dialectical materialism.

Let me clarify that the founders of scientific socialism were not against man's faith in religion in particular but they

were exposing and disproving all reactionary phenomena in all human faith that dominate the sense of reasoning of mankind and hinder the wheel of progress of the society in any form. These elements should commit their mental and physical energy to work out the ways and means of solving the needs of the Somali youngsters who are wandering in the streets of Mogadishu and elsewhere in the country.

We call these people irresponsible due to lack of proper comprehension of the theories and principles of scientific socialism. Socialist Revolutions cannot be imported. Every nation must take into account its unique social and political environment and weld this to the general principles of scientific socialism. Again, we call these people irresponsible because true socialists consider the present and future; the problems and difficulties facing them now and the ones born out at the solutions of these problems and difficulties. Even though we showed the true path and right course to follow in many occasions, they missed the chance to grasp the realities of our times. Their attitude will inadvertently lead to reaction and make them the enemies of the people. True reactionaries in mind and action are in a better position because they deliberately oppose scientific socialism which is against their individualistic interests. They are the servants of reactionary forces and international imperialism. They always look for loopholes and weak points in this very critical transitional period, even though they cannot challenge morally the will of the nation. They are the real enemies of the people and stooges of the world reactionary forces.

To distinguish between the enemies and advocates of scientific socialism does not depend on just reading the works of

Marx or knowing about the life history of Engels. The Somalis say, «Habaarna waxaan ka aqaan dhimo, ducuna noolow» (from curse I know only «thou mayest die» and from blessings only «thou mayest live»). In other words, socialism will not lead you to hell. It is a socio-economic system which has its own principles to transform society to a better way of life and social justice and contrary to dogmatism. The political vehicle to convey you to this objective is collectivism, justice, equality and unity, and the eradication of all anti-social evils like egoism, theft, nepotism corruption and maladministration.

True socialists have the same aims and strategy but they may differ in means and tactics in the process of achieving their objectives and eliminating the evils of mankind.

Some like to weigh all the possibilities and estimate conscientiously and meticulously their weaknesses and points of strength and likewise evaluate accurately the moral and material potentialities of the enemy, before making decisions. The other group believe in their militancy and the inevitability of the historical outcomes of the superiority of scientific socialism against the capitalist system. Thus they may over-estimate their ability and underestimate the enemy potential. It is just like the difference between going through the door to face a waiting enemy or to find ways to outflank him. Whatever tactical differences there are, however, true socialists will always close their ranks the process of struggle for better life, and ultimate defeat of the enemy.

In the above analysis, we differentiated between the enemies and the vanguards of the revolution. But we must never

forget the patriotic masses who form the basic potential forces of the revolution who are the true defenders and builders of scientific socialism. We must always keep vigilance to protect the masses from those who try to mislead them through misquotations of the founders of scientific socialism, and those insincere religious factions who only serve the interests of reactionary bourgeoisie.

Many members of the SRC and the Council of Secretaries have lectured to you before me. I have here only reiterated the essence of their messages to make you aware of the great struggle of our people and the methods utilized to achieve the aims of our blessed 21 October Revolution. As I have mentioned in many previous occasions, our socialism cannot be called Somali Socialism, African Socialism, or Islamic Socialism. It is the original scientific socialism and emanates from the true principles of the noble products of the thoughts of mankind and the sum-total of the experiences of man. Our socialism is independent and governed by its own specific conditions to produce a society based on equality, social justice and unity, in coherence with the general laws of scientific socialism.

I must mention here that our socialism does not contradict in any way our good customs, positive habits, great traditions and Islamic religion. Islam is the religion of our people. Nobody can distort it. Everyone must know this fact. Those who would like to create problems to drive a wedge among our people will not be allowed to do it here. Let them choose their own pulpit somewhere else. But when it comes to hard facts and they become more rational in their thoughts they will realize there is nothing like home.

Any socialist revolution always gets the utmost unanimous support of the masses. Those who oppose it are usually a handful whose interests are endangered by such a change. But every revolution carries a programme of ideology which antagonizes the interests of certain groups and promotes those of others. That is why the socialist revolution upholds the interests of the toiling masses.

As soon as a social change transforms into a socialist revolution the capitalist in mind (elite, bourgeoisie, intelligentsia) and the owners of the means of production (real capitalists) are the first to resist such a change. They entrench themselves into conservative positions to defend their vested interests.

The capitalist in mind mainly in Africa, Asia and Latin America are the creations and by-products of international finance capital. They are, therefore, unconsciously bound to associate with and defend the interests of world imperialism. They are nothing more than the residual left-over of colonialism and serve whether voluntarily or otherwise as a tool to further the ends of capitalism. These people are usually found in top Civil Service jobs and among the senior ranks of the Armed Forces, but are not so numerous in the political field. The owners of the means of production play the key role in the political arena after independence, in these developing nations.

The former group lives parasitically on government funds while the latter bleeds the labour force of the working class. Thus they are both liable in most cases to become counter-revolutionaries and impede all forms of progress and development towards social change for the general interest of the nation.

In our case, there are many prominent figures among these groups who liberated their interests from the tentacles of this social stratification and joined heroically in the noble struggle against world imperialism, and contributed morally and materially to the revolutionary spirit and development programmes in all fields of human endeavour. But there are others who remained loyal servants to the reactionary system and collaborated with the international imperialism. This is not so unusual because of their capitalist-oriented culture and upbringing.

These anti-revolutionary elements first try, apart from their perpetuated economic undermining, to mislead the masses and distort the facts pertaining to the revolution. Secondly, they try to overthrow the revolutionary regime by all possible means to regain their past glory, which will never come back. Thirdly, when they really get desperate and find great difficulty in obstructing the dynamic forces of the revolution, they try to eliminate physically some of the revolutionary figures. When all this fails, they try to find solace in the hiring of mercenaries to achieve what they, the indiginous elements, could not succeed in doing. A clear example we have here is that of Guinea. This is the last stage whereby what started as a local struggle takes the form of the antagonism between the international revolutionary forces and world imperialism.

The anti-revolutionaries then realise that things have got out of their hands and start blaming their lot. Jaallayaaal, beware of these enemies No. 1 of our people in particular and the international anti-revolutionary forces in general.

Our aim should always be to recognise our friends from our enemies. I have already mentioned our enemies. Our

friends are all the forces against imperialist, colonialism and neo-colonialism. We must always support a just war and oppose all oppressive wars. We must always work for the consolidation of the revolutionary forces and close our ranks against internal conflicts that might lead to disunity and polarization, for this will weaken our columns and throw discord among us. You all know that the USSR and the People's Republic of China are among our greatest socialist friends. They might have their own differences, but let us not involve ourselves in the internal conflict between friends. Instead we must always endeavour for the harmony and unity among all our friends.

## PAUCITY OF DOCTORS

17-8-1972

It is indeed a happy occasion that I meet so many Somali Doctors assembled in one room. I will take this opportunity to illucidate the recent SRC decision by which private medical practice is borbidden. In taking that decision the SRC had not such intention as to curtail your income or to limit your opportunities of either remedial or diagnostic opportunity. Rather it was dictated by two inter-related factors: the prevalence of disease and the paucity of doctors. The statements need neither illustration nor elaboration.

Given the fact that the prevention and elimination of disease is one of the prime goals of the revolution we found it only reasonable that our few doctors that we have concentrate on public struggle rather than private gain. «Struggle» is used advisedly. No one is more aware than my audience of the magnitude of the problem. You are the vanguard of the war against killers which, through the centuries, has taken such a heavy toll against our people. I need not mention its different manifestations by name; you live with them day after day. It is of the utmost importance that you appreciate it that without unified effort, you will be powerless in the face of the enemy.

The prevalence of disease in a country makes a mockery of all its economic, educational and cultural plans. Hence, the supreme importance we all attach to your efforts, your personal well-being, your working hours, all that pertains to the proper functioning of your hospitals. The unpatriotic and the self-centred will lose no opportunity to tell you that, in being banned from practising privately, you are being imposed upon, sacrificed upon the alter of the perverse whims of the leadership. They will not hesitate to point a picture of abject party doselessness awaiting each of you at the end of your career. Well, to these I answer that the State takes it upon itself to secure the comfort of its doctors for all time. In our lexicon we have no old doctors. Age will not decimate their numbers at any rate not till they are palpably senile: they shall form an honoured cadre of consultants and medical advisers even when they are well past their prime. We cannot afford the luxury of wasting such valuable manpower.

In the meantime you beaver away like the rest of your

countrymen. None of us will have an easy time of it. Conferences, discussions, formal and informal meetings, informing each other, catching up in the latest developments in medical technology, consultations, these should be part of your constant occupations when you are outside the patients' wards. Above all, make a particularly determined effort to educate your professional assistants — nurses, orderlies — they, too, need further education. Age should be no barrier here. This side of the grave, given the opportunity, provided that we have the right sort of teachers, there is no limit to our powers of learning.

Such an effort would reflect creditably on the orderliness, cleanliness, and organization of your hospitals. Although, like in almost all other phases of national activity we have registered some notable gains, there is no doubt about it that a lot is desired in the management of hospitals in Mogadishu. I shall not elaborate here because you are more acquainted with the problem than anyone else. It all goes back to the educational standard of your staff.

In educating them you must not forget about acquiring further education yourselves. There is a world of difference between acquiring a surgical diploma and operating in the theatre. Self-improvement should be your constant aim. One way of attaining this is by undertaking much needed research in Somali traditional medicine. It is no secret that it has successfully coped with medical cases in the face of which modern medicine has been powerless. This should surprise no one, because in dealing with diseases prevalent in this country we always know best at the last resort; pragmatism taught us the remedy. The task at this hour is to do some original systema-

tic thinking on the subject: examination of native herbs, composition of potions, procedures of diagnosis and prevention of diseases are fit subjects for research. We are even prepared to establish and finance a centre for such studies. Who knows it may surprise all of us. For we shall establish training schools and medical colleges.

You must make a point of being involved in all facets of your nation's activities. Not only must you be occupied with your specialised tasks; you must also engage in that all-important task of properly orienting your people; and I don't mean your staff only, although they should be the first to reap any benefits here. Socialism, the system that we have chosen to lead us to prosperity, is such that it demands the total involvement of the individuals in all walks of national life: politics, education, planning, legal reform, arts, culture, none should daunt you, none should be beyond investigation. Furthermore any acquired knowledge should be passed on to your less fortunate brothers. Orienting our people socially should be of the first priority. After all upon their understanding and cooperation depend our chances of success and failure.

Lastly, I want to put one thing in proper perspective. The Ministry of Health has deservedly won one of our country's highest citations, a fact that should go some way in showing the regard with which it is held in this country. No amount of petty barbs from any quarter should make you forget that fact; and after all, it is you who make its image. I shall depend upon you to do even better.

## ALL- AFRICAN FORCE DEFENCE

*Jaalle Siads speech in Rabat at OAU summit:*

16-6-1972

Now that we have completed our discussion in the Assembly of heads of State and Government I take this opportunity to make a few brief remarks on some of the issues that were touched upon during our deliberations.

In the course of the past two days we directed our attention to certain aspects of inter-African relations and problems of decolonization. The high degree of unanimity that was reached emphasized the great potential which our Organization can use for the common good.

If during the initial stage of development our Organization was slow in making progress towards the realization of its objectives it was not on account of the Charter or of the structure of the Organization, but because of dissension within our ranks. This dissension, which arose from political and cultural diversities, found the Organization having to contend with various cultural groups such as the so-called Francophons and the Anglophons.

Thankfully, that stage is now fading in the distance. Instead we find a new spirit abroad urging us to proudly proclaim ourselves as AFRICANPHONS. How else can we describe ourselves when we have a common heritage, common aspirations, a common homeland and a common destiny?

During the past year our Organization has been able to demonstrate its maturity in several situations by playing an effective role on the side of peace. Through the exercise of its good offices, it has been possible to secure a satisfactory settlement of the dispute between Senegal and Guinea; the Algerian-Morocco dispute has been finally resolved; peace has returned to the Southern Sudan, and special missions have undertaken important assignments to deal with the Middle East question and with questions of foreign financial involvement in Southern Africa.

Although we can be justly proud of these achievements, we should not be lulled into a state of self-complacency. There was much more that we could have done; there is much that remains to be done for Africa to be truly united.

The problems that prevent unity exist, not only in the

political, economic and social fields but also in the field of communications. An important factor in developing African Unity is understanding. But understanding does not exist in a vacuum. It has to be cultivated and developed through contact and a constant exchange of information. Yet after more than 9 years following the creation of our Organization, the majority of African States still depend on the medium of the European communications network for contact with each other whether it be by telephone, telegraph or air transport. We have had nine years of study on the question either by the Economic Commission on Africa or by the Organization of African Unity. Yet we have not passed the blue-print stage! Surely we should recognize our priorities in this respect and ensure that the coming year will bring us to the threshold of action.

In our efforts to liberate Africa we must identify our enemies and denounce them in no uncertain terms. We must realize that without the aid and assistance which the major powers provide, neither Portugal nor South Africa would have been able to sustain their cruel domination over African peoples. We must recognize that these two colonial powers will not respond positively towards pious resolutions. Since their language is violence and repression; our language in reply must be armed struggle. The Mogadishu Declaration which we adopted yesterday addressed itself to this point specifically.

The national liberation movements can count on the full support of the Somali Government and nation. While these movements have made it clear to this Organization that the physical liberation of their homelands is their responsibility, we must ensure that in addition to the provision of material and

moral assistance, we should also provide their leaders with opportunities for receiving intensive instructions in the art of government and politics.

Another matter which cannot be over-emphasized is that relating to the security problems of African States. In recent years many aggressive acts have been committed against African countries with a lack of any response on the part of the Organization. Egyptian territory continues to be occupied forcibly by Israel; Guinea had to repel an invasion by Portugal; South Africa continues with its illegal occupation of Namibia, and Portugal has maintained its campaign of aggression against African States brodering Angola, Mozambique and Guinea Bissau.

Situations of this nature, if left unattended are sure to result in dangerous consequences for peace. Our Organization, fortunately, has recognized the necessity of reviving the idea of a joint military defence system. The time has come when this Organization should arrive at some firm arrangement whereby each member State would contribute a military contingent for an all-African Defence Force to be placed at the disposal of the Organization for use in support of authorized measures.

Over the years the Organization has restricted its discussions primarily to African questions. This practice accords with the principles and purposes of the Charter. But our Charter also speaks of situations affecting international peace and security. It is within this context that I believe the Organization should widen the scope of its enquiries into interdependence for any region to believe that it can steer an indepe-

dent course in splendid isolation from other regions. The war in Viet Nam must be viewed as much as a tragedy for the Africans as it is for the Vietnamese in terms of human rights and justice. Instead of world disarmament we witness world re-armament because of insecurity born out of the failure of the Security Council to serve as an effective organ for maintaining international peace and security. The consequences in this respect for the Third World has been disastrous.

Arming has led to re-arming, insecurity has led to greater insecurity and so the vicious circle continues. Thousands of millions of dollars which are surely needed for building the lives of nations continue to be invested in an unprecedented sophisticated arms build-up.

In the past this Organization has allowed questions of this nature to be approached on an individual rather than on a collective level. But forty one States pulling in one direction will have much more strength than splintered groups pulling in diverse directions.

Yesterday, the Assembly reached agreement on the election of a new Secretary General of our Organization. Mr. Nzo Ekangaki is a man of great distinction and I am confident that with his vast experience and qualifications he will deal successfully with the new challenges which the post will bring. To the outgoing Secretary General Mr. Diallo Telli, let me say this: he has served this Organization with exemplary devotion, great ability and diligence. We owe him a special debt for having nursed this Organization from its infancy to its maturity and establishing the basis upon which it will be able to accept the challenges of the future.

I shall end these few remarks by associating myself with all the tributes that have been paid to His Majesty King Hassan II, and to the Government and people of Morocco. I had heard and read extensively of the great history of the Moroccan people and country; of the Moroccan nation's rich cultural heritage, of its people's trials and tribulations and of the remarkable progress that they have achieved since regaining independence under the guidance of the late King Mohammed the fifth.

Although I have not had the opportunity of spending much time in Morocco — in fact this visit is my first visit — I have been able to experience the unique qualities of its people and the beauty of its capital. The great words of wisdom which King Hassan imparted to us on the opening day of this Assembly, his unfailing courtesy and kindness, his remarkable powers of leadership during our meetings have left an indelible impression on my mind.

## FLUSH OUT RUMOURS

*Jaalle General Siad addressing the DDAO's at his office after completing a one-month seminar:*  
20-6-1972

It is you the District Development Affairs Officers (D.D.A.O.'s) to flush out malicious rumours about the way you handle self-help projects. the propaganda is aimed at damaging the revolutionary principles and it is expected from you, the DDAO's, to disprove such rumours.

The follow-up to self-help projects, to establish financial and auditing committees, and to give the citizens wider participation in the self-help projects, does not mean taking by force the property of the people. You must seek the participation and approval of the honest citizens. If self-help projects are to succeed you must avoid anything that will bring about suspicion and personal interests in this field.

You should defend the rights of the individuals and understand that you are the servants of the people and not the masters, as the Revolution is based on justice, you must treat traitors and nationalists differently but each one ought to get what he deserves.

Somalia's policy is very clear. It is aimed at improving the conditions of masses. It is geared to increased food production, water development, improvement of education and health institutions and all the like.

It is to be mentioned here that this progress can be achieved by pooling together all our efforts and resources and that a healthy community can be achieved by collective work and unity of purpose, and in order to achieve this, it is essential to find a common principle and in our case, this unifying principle is scientific socialism. This principle will bring about equality, unity, justice, progress and will create a sense of self-reliance and confidence in everyone. In this respect to meet the masses is essential, therefore you should go to the people even to their remote villages to cultivate their sympathy and understanding.

When visiting the masses in their locations you should ta-

ke officials from the Ministries of Agriculture, Health, Veterinary and others so that you can at the same time meet their problems.

Peace and security must be achieved at any price and murderers should not get away without punishment. Follow them wherever they go to maintain Law and Order.

## OUR FALLEN REMEMBERED

*First July speech:*

1-7-1972

We celebrate today the 12th Anniversary of Independence and Union. It is fitting that we remember our dead, the men and women who gave their lives so that we may some day be free. Their memory is a sacred trust. If we have not erected visible monuments for all of them, it is only because we have perpetuated their memory in more lasting a fashion— in our hearts they symbolise all that is noble in life, all that behoves man to strive for. They shall live for ever and ever.

They straddle the vista of history like veritable colossi; their efforts culminated in that famous hurrah of their scions on 1st July twelve years ago. What have they not offered so that we may be free? Never a day passed since imperialists set foot on our soil without some martyr going under, without a voice being raised in anger, without a cry for liberty ringing throughout the land. The years immediately after the 2nd World War saw the seeds sown a long time back come to fruition both North and South; our's was no longer to be a vale of tears.

They, too, had their enemies — men and women whose fortunes were inextricably tied to the imperialistic chariot, who for gold, were willing to sell their patrimony. There were the men who obstructed our path at every turn. Doubting our very ability to govern ourselves, they sought to deny our very aspiration. And yet, such is the magnanimity of our people. They could turn around with impunity on independence day and claim patriotism. It was too great a day to harbour ill-will. The nation swept the slate clean; they casted it on the martyres' blood.

Their mirror images are among us today. Like their infamous spiritual antecedents, they too doubt our ability to better our lot, our determination to see what we have started to a successful conclusion. They disbelieve in the capability of a nation to lift itself by it's bootstraps, but we shall prove them wrong. Only they shall expect no mercy because we shall show them none.

The liberty bequeathed to us by the illustrious men of yesterday for a time degenerated into unbridled license. In their

pursuit of private gain our so-called leaders of the old regimes neglected the common goal; so gargantuan has been their appetite that they sold the nation down the river without a scruple but strictly in the name of liberty. The worst in us came on top; the best reached rock-bottom. That was when we stepped in not for love of power or pursuit of wealth but to rescue the nation from the cruel rapacity of a sinister cabal. We have been justified by events: all we see around us is the result of our own work, the product of our strong hands, the alembic of our experience. We have nobody to thank for it. I don't want to sound ungracious to those friends who have helped us, but I must not, in the interest of the truth, exaggerate the importance of their contribution invaluable though it has been. In the last analysis it has been a rider to our own efforts. And that is how it should be; after all Somalia is nobody's but our's.

Elsewhere I have touched on our achievements since October 1969; I need not dwell upon them, no mere feat by any standard. Here I shall dwell upon just one facet of our various accomplishments, that of education. Our school intake has multiplied by leaps and bounds, and so have the number of schools. Envisaging the day when the present students will require higher education we have established a National University in which the faculties of law, economics, medicine, agriculture and veterinary are already flourishing, thus illuminating the wilderness. This is a true plumb-line of our success in other fields. You are not unaware of them; they could not have been realised without your enthusiasm and cooperation.

But this does not mean that we can now sit back and relax. On the contrary success must spur us to more success.

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If liberty means anything surely it must be our nation's sense of awe at the corpus of work still to be done, coupled with a determination to see it done. The nation's sense of responsibility in the face of history must be honed to a keen edge if we are to consolidate our political independence and embark upon the economic liberation, the reverse side of the coin. And embark on it we shall. The whole of Africa shall.

Speaking of Africa it does not escape our notice that we are fragments politically, shackled economically, and virtually dispossessed culturally; that we depend on others for our very communication, that neither by air, nor by land, nor by sea are the different African countries connected; that so far not one continental road is in existence; and that Unity is conspicuous by its absence. In addition to all this various neighbouring African countries have serious border problems which flare into armed conflict every now and then. But then it should be realised that we in Africa, are on the top of the mountain, the verdant terrain below, unity is clearly visible. We no longer just dream. We have taken the first tentative steps towards our goal and, God willing, we shall not be long in reaching it.

The Morocco-Algeria accords regarding their smouldering border dispute is an indicator of which way the wind is blowing, that compromise and accommodation, rather than polemics and armed confrontation, are the key to solutions. I have no doubt in my own mind that this country and its sisterly neighbours will take a leaf out of the Morocco-Algerian book. Given goodwill on both sides no problem is insoluble. The leaders of these nations must realise that our fortunes are inextricably inter-twined.

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Two years and a half ago I told you that we, as a nation, were under the microscope. Our enemies looked forward to the day when we would admit failure, and, our tail between our legs, we would implore them to pull our chestnuts out of the fire. Our friends crossed their fingers. Well, we have been examined and have not been found wanting. It is a matter of national pride and jubilation. However, it should not signal a decrease in tempo: we have a lot to do. With liberty under God we will not fail; in fact we are bound to succeed.

## FLOWER OF THE NATION

*Speech to kindergarten-age children after staging a concert at the National Theatre for First July celebrations:*

2-7-1972

I am profoundly grateful to have been present when our children have put on such an incredible performance. It is a sign of the times that we live in that mere toddlers should see it fit to stage a show whose motif is nationalism and patriotism. And well they might for the future beckons to them. Being the men of tomorrow they should equip themselves for the task that lies ahead. Broken in at such a tender age they will live to make Somalia a country to be proud of. Already they have the unmistakable aura of the patriot over their heads.

Of course it is our teachers who have brought all this about. I remember saying at the inception of the Revolution that we needed no expatriates to teach us where the interest of Somalia lies. We are the experts in that department. It looks as if events have proven me correct. Where we need experts are in the related fields of science and technology; and even here we have a fair number of them. They need to be made use of, exploited, and encouraged for the majority of them surely need experience. For their part they should not be afraid to make mistakes. Experience, after all, is the name we give to our mistakes.

We have our future in our own hands. To fashion it according to our wishes we should attain complete liberty of both body and mind. We should countenance no doubts about our abilities; it is enshrined in our literature that if a man's desire is strong enough, coupled with will and resolution, he invariably satisfies it. The sky is the limit for men of determination. We must have faith in ourselves and in our nation. Faith combined with unity will move mountains. The revolution will set the stage for their triumph. We should banish egotism and selfishness. The individualist, the loner, the schemer has no place in our midst: we should encourage the sharer, the socialist, the giver; he is the builder of nations.

Long have we languished under the tyranny of the individual ego. We are all acquainted with the results of a system of thought and behaviour, where individual interest is given precedence over collective interest; and we must see to it that it does not happen again. As fathers, mothers, and elder brothers and sisters you can all promote this by making our children take

into their hearts that, firstly, they are the flower of the nation, and secondly, that there is no power on earth that can dampen their enthusiasm if they decide to make their country the haven of the free in this troubled world.

## TOMORROW'S LEADERS

*Jaalle Siad speaking at the Youth Revolutionary Centre near Afgoi accompanied by President Idi Amin of Uganda:*

15-7-1972

Allow me first to express my deep gratitude to the Ministry of Education for the perfect services it is rendering to the nation. Time does not allow me to name everyone in the Ministry, however, let me delagate the Secretary and the teachers on my behalf to convey my deep gratitude to the rest of the Ministry.

Our Revolution or a real revolution, like ours, could achieve its goals, precisely the general welfare of the public, when the teachings of the Revolution are carried out. In case orders are not fulfilled then the Revolution turns to be vague and naturally fails before achieving any results.

To start with, we decided to educate the youth at large, bringing them up, taking into consideration their educational standards and training them as tomorrow's leaders and considering them the backbone of the nation.

This of course promotes our youth's talents within the framework of available means and resources. Everything has its own characteristics on how to start and achieve a good result for the betterment of the coming Somali generations who on their turn expected to build and lead to prosperity the Somali people.

I would like to stress that our gathering at this Centre today clearly mirrors the fruits the Revolution yielded within a short period. That is the creation of centres for students in Mogadiscio and its vicinity for orienting and preparing them to shoulder properly their responsibilities tomorrow towards the building of the nation. Already considerable progress has been reached and the Ministry of Education deserves praise for the achievements shown. God bless the high authorities of the Ministry of Education and its teachers who are wholeheartedly conveying the lessons they had learnt to the Somali younger generation.

To come to the point, as you may have heard from me or read, scientific socialism, is neither a dream nor the vague dis-

course of those who claim to be educated. Scientific socialism is a practical philosophy for the advancement of the nation and the general welfare of its people. Your brotherly presence together, before me in this Centre clearly sheds a light on the subject. Because of scientific socialism, it became possible to construct in every area in the country, suitable Youth Centres in able and efficient hands, with perfect programmes geared towards known targets. The youth of today are expected to facilitate and layout the same system for the coming generations in order to teach the youth who will continue to lead the nation on our chosen road to rapid economic progress and prosperity. Surely with unreserved energy, confidence, and developing our natural resources we can achieve these standards. A considerable time has elapsed without achieving any tangible progress because of colonial exploitation. Therefore it is only by our natural resources and self-confidence in your manpower that we can transform our nation.

In this aspect, scientific socialism is the only road which could lead us to reach our ends. By cauterizing enmity and creating love and mutual understanding among the Somalis, under scientific socialism, we can achieve a rapid advancement in the fields of economy and cultural resurrection.

When everyone of us with sincerity decides to build the nation I am confident that we together could achieve our aims.

On behalf of you ò welcome General Idi Amin and his colleagues. Mr. President you are welcomed to the Somali Democratic Republic with open hearts. The Somali country is a country that hates colonialism, loves freedom and is a pillar for the freedom of Africa and Pan-Africanism.

## NATIONAL RESPONSIBILITY BURDENS ALL

*The President of the SRC, Jaalle General Mohamed Siad Barre, addressed over 1000 youth, including hundreds who had taken part in the Second Inter-Regional Sports competitions, at the National Theatre to mark the closing of the 1972 sports year:*

19-7-1972

In 1970 Mogadishu primary schools could absorb 80 children only. Had we allowed this to continue the revolution would have been not a real revolution. So the alarm bell was rung; more class rooms were built and 3,200 children were taken instead. The SRC and Council of Secretaries decided that no Somali child could be denied education for lack of classroom or teacher.

If Somalia is to reach economic progress, we have to educate our people. Education and economic progress are so inter-dependent that one finds himself in the situation where one asks oneself whether the hen gives birth to the egg or whether the egg gives birth to the hen.

The analogy here is whether we should put our emphasis on education in order to reach economic progress or whether we should emphasize economic progress in order to secure the necessary funds for education. I would say that education must come first for we need educated minds to exploit our country's human and natural resources. Every member of the nation should contribute to this effort. Lifting a stone at self-help work seems very little to many but it is significant and helps greatly both in orienting the nation and reconstructing our country.

The responsibility of the country was not resting on the shoulders of the SRC, the Council of Secretaries or on the shoulders of any group. The national responsibility burdens every responsible Somali citizen. The time when politics were the monopoly of few people had gone and that all men and women, the young, the old, workers, farmers, civil servants and soldiers should be educated mentally, trained physically and ideologically oriented in order to enable them to participate effectively in the nation-building.

You, the youth of Somalia, are the vanguards of the October Revolution. You must safeguard the achievements made so far and to embark upon participating in the national reconstruction.

The militant Somali youth should not confine their activi-

ties to sports; national development, education, defence and, more important, orienting the masses are all part of your responsibility.

You must start orienting the masses; start from your homes, your mothers, fathers, brothers and sisters. You must tell them the basic principles of scientific socialism; equality, social justice, unity and just distribution of collectively earned national wealth. Scientific socialism preaches collectivism as opposed to individualism.

Many people may fall into the wrongful thinking that we have reached our objectives. It is just the beginning. You must assume that we are not three years old but only one day old. You must regain all your strength and energy to embark upon harder work. I urge you to do harder work, little talk and more orientation.

As the saying goes: Where there is a will there is a way. We will be able to surmount all obstacles once we are united both in purpose and in action.

## SERVE THE PEOPLE

*First part of Jaalle Siad's marathon speech to participants of Halane course, he addressed here a large contingent of university graduates in the civil service:*

29-7-1972

Jaallayaal, May peace be upon you.

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

Jaallayaal, you are — all of you — members of the Civil Service that serves the Somali people. You will remember the fact that, on the very first day of the Revolution, you were the first group of people upon whom we — those of us who have spearheaded the Revolution — have called. Even before broadcasting the event to the world, we took it to be our duty to summon you for a briefing session about the principles and the policies of the Revolution as well as the causes that had led to its ignition. We firmly believed that those principles and policies were, and still are and will for ever be, in the interest of the Somali people.

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

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

The second step was that, while present were those who had initiated the Revolution (they would have been beheaded if it had failed) we had, nevertheless, handed over to you the responsibility of running the administration of the State. We have chosen for its direction a number of civil servants like you who were personally known to us. It was possible, of course, that there were better persons, unknown to us, among the Civil Service. We have told them: «Jaallayaal, it appea-

red to us that the country could not have been saved from the abyss without the use of force. We have saved the country of this fate and we have handed it to you in order to administer it better».

From that day and upto the present time, the government of the country has been in your hands with the exception of few long-term policy questions. It is almost three years from that day now and I would, therefore, give you a clear account of what I think of the past three years. I hold the view — and the entire Somali people share it with me, whether they are in the rural or in the urban areas of the country, I know of both of them — that it is only those who have benefitted most by the freedom that we have won; who have enjoyed the highest standards of living; who have been in the highest places of authority; and in short, those who had benefitted most from the independence of our country; it is such elements who now constitute the greatest obstacle in front of the progress of the people.

It is an indisputable fact that those who have relations with the colonialists and those who prepare the plots with them are such elements as I have described above. I am not however, confining my accusation to the civil servants alone. I always like to talk about the realities that confront us as well as the truth. Therefore, when I say that it is the well-to-do people of the Civil Service who are the enemies of the country, I do not mean that they all fall under these categories, never. There are men of integrity and nationalism in the Civil Service. But the traitor does not come from the ranks of the broad toiling masses of the people. Mark my words. The traitor always belongs to the upper crust of Society. This is the truth. With-

out lying or being cowardly we can say that it is the well-to-do and men at the higher places of power who still carry tribalism about on their shoulders. It is they who fabricate the lies and the malicious rumours that are circulated about in the towns. Those who conspire against the Revolution every single night so as to propagate lies about it are those who enjoy the best fruits of the country, whether these work for the State and are in the upper echelons of the Civil Service or those who have already attained the highest standards of living in the country or else have such other descriptions or labels, the bourgeoisie in general.

In truth there are no other people who fight against the country. If there are nepotism and injustices, it is they who perpetrate them. If there is opposition to our principles; finding faults with and abusing them, it is they who do it. There is no other group of people who does that.

Jaallayaal, I believe that three years since the inception of the Revolution is enough for everybody to judge our intentions. Unless my memory fails me I believe I have said, at the time, that we were beginning with a clear book. We are not going to do anything about what has happened in the past. Many a crime has been committed against this country and if we were to pursue the course of sorting out these crimes, then the time in which we would have spent in the service of the people would all be consumed in such futile efforts. It is imperative and necessary, therefore, to forget about the past crimes against the country. We should start with a fresh, clean book and we must let everybody write in it whatever he wants, be it nationalism, dishonesty, treason or the fact of being an imperialist lackey etc. But, remember that it is in accordance with what

one chooses to write for himself in the book, that we must, per force, treat him.

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

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

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

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

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

Jaallayaal, having said this in general terms, I would now address myself to you. You have been given the nickname of «CALI DAMAACI) — Ali the Greedy. It has been the custom of this Centre since its opening, when the Somali people built it on the basis of self-help with their own hands and in which I, myself, have taken part, and up to the present time to give each patch a nick-name that began with «Ali». All the groups that have graduated from it share the name of «Ali». But your «Ali» is given the derisive adjective of GREEDY.

I am positive that you did not give the nick-name «Ali the Greedy» to yourselves neither did we give it to you. Truth then, is this: It is said that inaudible whisperings are not speech and with half-closed eyes one cannot see well (HUNNU' HUNNU' HADAL MAAHA, HIMBIRIRSINA WAX ARAG MA-

AHA). I believe that those who have coined this nickname are not at all loyal to their country. Neither do they belong to those who have principles nor to those who have faith in their country; nor to those who are ready to struggle and uphold the name of their country. But they are those who are against our principles and our country.

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

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

Our policy — and thanks God for that — is today based on the fact that each Somali should fulfil his duties to the country in complete equality with everyone else. He should play his role in a clear way as I have already described, with liberated mind and heart. He should not try to do so, out of preference.

Now, since there is no individual who has monopoly over the affairs of our nation and since I have given you a clear historical perspective of how we planned for you to lead our people — those of you who had the wider experience whether that is in public administration or in education — and as I have made some comments on what the greater majority of the Somali people believe, and lest any person of integrity be

injured, I must make some clarifications. When I say a person, therefore, I always mean everybody and girls should understand me on this score. We believe that it is impossible for all the people to be in the same boat. But the greatest cry does not often come from the general public. If it is the minority who holds such an opinion, a minority cannot have such a loud voice. If there is a general outcry, it invariably means that the majority is not happy about the turn of events in a country and that is really very unfortunate.

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

I hope you have achieved the desired objectives. I also hope that you would go about your work, to which you are to return shortly, in the correct way. As Almighty God bears witness to, we do not want to inflict any injustice on any Somali

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

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

The crux of my talk is that, Jaallayaal, you should fulfil the duties which you are about to resume, in the best possible manner. We have said goodbye to the times in which falsehood reigned supreme — so we did to the times of humiliation and degradation and the times in which injustices remained unexposed and unrectified. I have already told the Somali people and I repeat the same today that to whom injustice is done should, if he can prove it, come to me no matter how and when. I promise, in front of Almighty God, that I would not allow a person to lose his rights and that I would do all that is within my power to right the wrongs done to him. We are no longer in the times when the rights of a Somali were trampled on the ground. It is no longer possible for anyone to

degrade the people. Anyone who has any notions that he can tread on people and go unpunished is absolutely wrong. If such a thing becomes possible today then it is the under-dog who should be blamed for it. I am not responsible for this. I and my colleagues have discussed this matter and we are unanimous on it.

This means that when you discharge your duties to your country and to your people — and discharge them honourably and as you really should — then you gain confidence in yourself. So I advise you to get the courage and freedom to sleep at your houses comfortably. We are no longer in those ugly times in which lies, fabrications and falsified papers were enough to kill a person. Today only the truth and nothing but the truth can hang a person. It is possible that one may be injured but killing is when one is got rid off for ever. If it is you who kills yourself, then you would really die. But if you really understand my words to you today, the same words which I have begun to say from the very inception of the Revolution speaking in the name of my comrades in both Councils and aware of what was going on in their minds and in accordance to what we had already agreed upon, you would understand what I mean.

The people on whom injustices were done for the past three years or so are many. But will these injustices remain unrectified for ever? This is the crucial question. Will he who had done injustice remain unpunished? How long would he remain unchallenged for such injustice? It is not possible for injustice to prevail since we are ready to fight injustice and denials of one's rights. But justice will, in the long run, reign supreme over our country.

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

Let me take the example of ENC (National Trade Agency). Why did we have to create it in the first place? We have established it for the common interests of the greater majority of the people. Then what are the duties of the people who manage it? Their duties are that they should serve to satisfy the needs of the people; to facilitate their business and to be courteous to them. If they are unable to do so; if what they need is not available, they should tell them so in the best possible manner, because it is them by whom they are employed and it is them who pay them their salaries.

When a civil servant wants to poison the people he speaks thus: «Don't bother us! It is the Government who has decreed this!» When he can afford to sell twenty kilogrammes of, say, pasta of which the trader can gain twenty shillings, he gives him only two kilogrammes. What is he going to profit? the businessman who is a small retail shopowner who is our friend and Jaalle, what is he going to gain from two kilogrammes? Only two shillings! Would it be enough for his family's daily subsistence or even the rent? He is, therefore, compelled to be at ENC's offices everyday. But if he was given twenty «kilos», he would then have gained 20 shillings and that would

have been enough to meet his needs.

It is possible that while the civil servant had the required supplies and without Government instructions to the contrary, it is possible that he may tell the retailer to come for his needs on the next day and to take those two kilos for that day. «These are Government instructions», he would tell the poor retailer. We did not issue such absurd instructions! You are telling lies. These are some of things that a stupid and malicious character, who is unknown to the Secretary of State for Commerce or to the management of ENC, may possibly do in order to mislead the people. And the people may hold us responsible for his actions.

Another example is that we, with the view of serving the interests of the greater majority of the people — and it is our duty to do so — have reduced the rent of the houses. We believe that the former rent-rates were based on illegality, so we have established rates which are based on legality and which do not harm the landlords but nevertheless help the tenants. Now how many corrupt characters have gained by this?

The situation today is such that a house may be rented by a scullywag, who is anti-revolutionary and traitor to the country, a betrayer of Islam and the socialist principles. I won't be rude to the good honest people, but I will not, however, stop despising those shady characters. It so happens that the kind of person I have mentioned damages the house he had rented and renders it uninhabitable. It again so happens that he may not pay the rent that is due to the landlord. He may be so impudent as to tell the landlord after three months

that he has no money and nothing else but an old raffia-roped wooden bed, and that the landlord can take it if he so wishes.

Again it may so happen, for example, that the landlord may want the house for the wedding of his own son and may therefore, need the house for the purpose. Accordingly the landlord may inform the lodger that he has so much time to find another house for himself. It so happens that the bad tenant may refuse to vacate the house according to the alleged instructions of the Revolutionary authorities. Those who were seeking justice against such tenants may not find anyone who could help them. «Go away! it is the Revolutionary authorities who have decreed so!» They are told. I know of landlords who were going from office to office for three months so as to regain the use of their houses or get them maintained or even the rent, finding no authority to settle the disputes — such is the situation today. Why? It is not because the socialist person, the nationalist Somali who believes in God, and he who has self-respect behaves like that. It is only the thief and the reactionary who does so. The Somali people, however, cannot achieve progress if this state of affairs continues.

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

I have said this because it is you who are going to guide and run the public administration. We will only act as supervisors. I ask you in the name of Almighty God to discharge your duties justly and diligently. Do not perpetrate nepotism or do injustice to them. Do not mislead them either. Do not scold them and show them ugly faces. If you do that then you

should be sure that your arrows would boomerang onto you. It is the broad masses of the people that will have the final say.

You should know that our militant Revolutionary vanguard greatly respects, depends upon and would do everything for the general public. We will not let the general public remain in the dark but we will enlighten them. And once we do that they will not tolerate the corrupt. We will make them understand politics, economics and social duties. When they learn as much as possible they will not allow anyone to have monopoly over their own affairs. They will no longer be a cat's clam for the imperialists and their lackeys. This is why we are going to give the people political and ideological orientation. We shall work on this plan and the general public would finally prevail. So beware! Get along well with your own people.

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

This is my message to you. I want to remind you that I have spoken to you on the injustice that is practised against the Somali people. There is no one who would be forgiven for failing to fulfil his duties to the country. There is no one who has immunity; there is no «angel» and there is no «special» individual. We are all equal. Our duty is to serve the people. I call upon you to carry out your duties honourably. When you do that you will see how happy, proud and confident you

become, because you would have clear consciences. Remember how miserable and guilty, one feels otherwise. How worried is he who incurs the wrath of his people! He is insecure and unsafe, because he knows that one day his evil deeds will catch up with him.

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

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

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

refore fight them relentlessly.

You are aware of the fact that groupings were based on kinship in the past: «let us unite for our own clanish interests», was the common creed. Today, this is no longer the case. We are basing our socio-economic structure on scientific socialism. This also means the sharing of a democratic rule, common ownership of the means of production and common ideals and aspirations. This is the ideology with which we are going to build our country. It does not belong to any particular person neither is there any one who holds monopoly over it.

This being the case, all of us who believe in this ideology should stand on the left and the doomed and the strayed ones should go to the right. So long the reactionaries continue their wars against us we will reciprocate in a permanent fashion in order to construct a sound socialist society.

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

We used to come to the side of our people even when we

were under colonial domination. We used to cover up clear and premeditated acts of sabotage against the colonialists whether those were of economic or political nature. We believe that we were right in doing so at that time because we were struggling against colonial domination. This is how we have attained our political independence. It was through ceaseless struggle in which whatever possible means available were used. But today, can we employ the same word — SPY — to describe the person who defends the sovereignty of his country, his socialist ideology, progress and justice? Can such a person be called a SPY? Then what shall we call the one who serves the interests of the imperialists and spies for them for a few pennies? Are we going to call him a «Nationalist?» The answer is no. This is how things stand. We must therefore get our terminology right. We must give the name «SPY» to the one who is hitting us on the back— the SPY is the one who is fighting against our ideology, our freedom, our just struggle, our progress as well as our unity and equality. We must recognize and identify the SPY as such.

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

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

place people are taught Somalism, courage, unity, loyalty, consideration to others, honesty, modesty, socialism and tolerance. One must therefore always aim for better results without having in mind any personal loyalties and without any mercenary expectations, but acknowledging that he is working for the common good of his country, his honour, his children and his nation. This kind of spirit fortifies the person with power that prevents him from tiredness, fear to fight for what is right, a power that stops him from hooliganism and crime and gives him pride. I do not mean arrogance and putting on airs. It means pride in one's country and people, and to feel that every Somali is your brother whether he is good or bad, and your duty is to help guide and defend your brothers. Well then Jaalla-yaal, this place has all these traditions.

Sometimes when I think in moments of deep self-appraisal, I wonder about the extent of our human weakness. This Centre is called «MOHAMED ABDULLE HALANE». Who was Mohamed Halane? He was a soldier who was killed in Tug-Wajaleh during the war. He was in one of the first contingents who bore the brunt of the enemy attack. His company was decimated by vast enemy troops that devastated them from both ground and air. When his companions realised that it was impossible to defend their position they decided to retreat to a second line of defence. Mohamed Abdulle Halane could not retreat without the flag and so decided to pull down the banner. This brought a hail of machine gun fire that ripped him to pieces. But Mohamed Abdulle Halane did not stop at this mortal barrage but he crawled into the trench with the flag wrapped round him although he sustained over twenty bullet wounds. He died in the trench. He was awarded a

gold medal, 1st Class, and promoted posthumously to a sub-Lieutenant. Well that is why this place is named «Xiddigle (Sub Lt.) Mohamed Abdulle Halane». That is the background history of this Centre's namesake. The last words of Mohamed Abdulle Halane were: «The enemy is not steel . . . . the enemy is not steel . . . .».

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

Everyone must be aware of these careless insidious ways by which our national heritage can be lost. May be it is a duty on all Italians to immortalize their heroes but it is not for us to do that. What did Bottego do for our country except bondage? Is it possible that we forget Mohamed Abdulle Halane? What have we left to build and canonize if we forget Mohamed A. Halane? Although his name is indelibly written in the annals of our history, I don't for one think that the Army has established him in his rightful place. If I were the commanding officer of this Camp, I would have invited the best of our artists to draw portraits of him and I would have stuck them all over the compound listing at the same time his heroic deeds.

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

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

The advent of our revolution has brought with it a doctrine that eradicates the ego: «Aniga». Every person must drop self-interest and work to comprehend his aims and objectives and to know that all his efforts must be geared to work for the interest of the masses. To work does not mean to earn just a living. If you work for your country you will definitely get a reward both in cash and in kind, but it does not mean or follow that to work means simply to earn a living. One must not be award-oriented but a patriot that has his country in mind in all his activities. If this becomes our primary aim, reward and recognition will inevitably follow.

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

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

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

My speech is intended not for the miserable beings I have mentioned above, may not God make us their companions, I have abandoned them. Prosperity not shared with your people is like the pregnancy of a rabbit (Dhays Bakayle) — what good does it bring? We say to this avaricious element with the low horizon: You are «Dhays Bakayle»; the people are not with you and they are the ones who are bound to rule this country. The time when the falsehood of several rumour-mongers used to make its effect has passed; your rumour-mongering is

today a hearsay, nobody is interested to listen to you and it suffices when your ultimate disgrace is uncovered, when everybody comes to recognise you for what you are. They say he who makes faces at night discomforts only himself; whereas at daylight he nevertheless disgraces himself. The masses will no longer take heed of your rumours; the nomads are enough to verify this.

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

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

Jaallayaal, it is said that humans communicate through voice and animals through sound. It is without doubt that adoption of scientific socialism is necessary, and I repeat necessary, for all Africans and doubly and trebly necessary for Somalis to break through or obliterate the marks of domination

in whatever form, physical, mental and psychological. To reach the goals of national unity, progress, prosperity, equality and social justice it is required that each and every individual of the society is emancipated from mental and cultural domination and to be free emotionally and intellectually from all residual evils in the process of human development, like avarice, envy and cut-throat competition. The achievement of one of us should be set as a goal to reach but not as a target to attack.

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

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

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

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

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

Under these circumstances moral courage means to tolerate the poisonous chatter of such characters and not to try to reprimand them instantly. It is necessary to convince them of the rightness of your socialist thinking and to enlighten them

on the virtues of waiting for their chances in their future prospects.

We know through experience the vitriolic tongues of such reactionaries and they are bound to irritate you and make you lose your temper at length. All you do then is to tell them to get out! For some days after this incident they will surely spread gossip among those they consider your closest friends and blabber here and there: he doesn't know his interests; I wonder who will bury him; where will he get relatives? — Look at him! When they spread such talk in dark corners, those styling their kind of feathers might then agree with them contemptuously: «Oh! that one, he is not worth ostracizing».

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

A true socialist never betrays his ideology which always arms him with the moral courage to defy pressure and intimidation single-handed and keeps his mental powers healthy and gives them the sustained ability to transmit his convictions courageously, unflinchingly. This personality dedica-

tes without any reservations his mental, moral and physical qualities for the overall psychic, moral and physical qualities for the overall interest of his society in particular and humanity in general.

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

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

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

We want to declare here and now our socialism is scientific socialism founded by the great Marx and Engels, i.e.

Marxism-Leninism not an abstract utopianism. It is the one which the early leaders of socialism, Lenin and others, fought for its application and enrichment to establish a society based on equal opportunity, social justice, progress and total emancipation of the working classes from the chains of the capitalist minority clique, so that the majority takes over the reins of their future development for the interest of the entire society.

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

Socialism is a science, and therefore like all sciences is not bound by nationalistic idiosyncracies as a theory; it has no national boundaries or tribal affiliations. It is for the common good of all mankind.

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

There are only two social systems in the world, there isn't a third alternative. It is the coward's policy to subdivide the socialist theory. Moreover, it is also the imperialist ideologists, who set trap-doors for the third world in order

to perpetrate their old and neo-colonial exploitive relationships and political domination.

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

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

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

Dogmatism is in fact contrary to scientific principles and laws. It blocks the development of the human thought since it defies the sense of analytic reasoning and consequently diminishes man's capacity to control the motive and productive forces of nature for his own advantage and betterment of his conditions of life. It is an instrument for the pseudo-religious man who generally denies a person the belief of learning

through reasoning about his own religion; similarly it is also the weapon for the reactionaries against the progressive thoughts of mankind. To them it is a question of either take it as it is or else you are a sinner. How on earth can one become a good Moslem if he is forbidden to discuss it. Dogmatism is an illogical defence of the status quo.

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

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

In the case of socialism the dogmatists insist on the interpretation of scientific socialism in accordance with a single particular instance of its application in a certain condition. They want to freeze the dynamism of socialism at that instance and generalize it to fit the diverse conditions and levels of human development.

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

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

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

Jaallayaal among the weapons used in that historic socio-

economic confrontation was religion. But the question is who wielded such a powerful weapon? It was of course the clergy who had strong affiliations with state capitalist monopolies. This manipulation of religion to perpetuate capitalist domination and exploitation is the kind of dogmatic religion negated by Marx, Engels and later by Lenin.

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

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

The theory of scientific socialism promotes the human inter-relations in the process of the socio-economic and technological achievements of mankind. In a class society where exploitation prevails, the antagonistic contradictions are the major driving force of the struggle of the working class. Therefore the class relations do not depend on the ethnic, tribal,

national or state boundaries, but on an international level. That is why the theory of scientific socialism developed the principle of proletarian internationalism.

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

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

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

I shudder to hear the «Afminshaar» spreading imported falsifications generated by imperialist propagandists, for he is trying to escape from reality. The Soviet people have succeeded in the implementation of scientific socialism. They have been able to develop to great heights their country economically, socially and culturally. It is a matter of honour to immortalize the memory of the man who made them reach such great heights in human endeavour and to erect massive monuments as fitting tribute to his great memory. The achievements they attained through socialist application could hardly invite criticisms like: «They have become arrogant; they are revisionists, and so on». I declare that any Somali who talks in this fashion is not a true Somali. Such a character is like an infant with no opinions about socialism.

Crossing over to the People's Republic of China Chairman Mao is another great socialist leader and ranks among the vanguard of socialist greats. He liberated 800 million souls from vegetating in the chains of oppression and imperialist domination that controlled them economically and psychologically. He led the Chinese masses back to their freedom as people and their dignity as a nation. He taught these 800 million people how to think like one and how to leap forward into social and economic emancipation in relatively such a short period that today they are well-developed to a degree favourably comparable with the technological standards of those capitalist imperialists, who amassed all the wealth they have by exploitation and economic strangulation of the working classes through centuries. Jaallayaal, what else but praise and admiration can one bestow on such great people like the Chinese? I say nothing. The appropriate rejoinder to anybody who has the gumption to propagate falsehoods against such great people

is to say, «who are you to say anything against the Chinese? Look at your lowly self before trying to criticize others who implemented true socialism, and contrast it to your admonitions».

I want to tell the man who adheres truly to socialism, not because of self-interest and jumping on the bandwagon, that the essence of scientific socialism is as a I have explained and elaborated. You can see the terrible conditions of want and disease which plague our people. Let us do something for these toiling masses to alleviate their burdens of hunger disease and ignorance in accordance with the principles of scientific socialism, because scientific socialism is not a mental exercise and a theorizing tirade in an abstract world out of context with materialist outlook, and forgetting the immediate day-to-day problems facing the nation.

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

Jaallayaal, I have no sympathy for anti-religious elements who argue that socialism could only be achieved through the negation of religion. My true sympathies are with those who, regardless of their religious standing sincerely endeavour to help their working brethren — to better their mode of exi-

stence. I want to remind those elements who make religion their main battlefield that they are ignoring the real enemies like imperialism, capitalism, ignorance, hunger and disease and wasting their efforts in antagonizing Islam which does not play any role in perpetuating all these evils of mankind, when the primary duty is the realisation of the material base of a socialist society which will eventually transmit the superstructure of the society onto a higher level of human intellect; and to project the socialist ideological coherence in the international arena. Can such elements who declare vociferously their adherence to socialism be really loyal to their national interest? Can we address them as «Jaalle»? No! All we could do is to tolerate them and treat them magnanimously as long as they are not consciously stooges of the international imperialism, or act as puppets of neo-colonialist machinations. In any case we cannot trust them as our Jaallayaal because they are indirectly anti-socialist forces.

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

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

country as well as all the things that are peculiar to us, such as the humiliation to which our people have been subjected whether they are within this Republic or otherwise. If we base our activities on this socialist ideology, then everybody would recognize you by them and would respect and love you because of them — when you do something on the contrary, then that would betray your colours that you are against our chosen ideology.

It is not honourable to profess socialism only verbally. It is a basic condition that your words must be in line with your deeds, by actually promoting these noble principles which are suitable for the present times as well as for the realisation of our goals.

Jaallayaal ,I thank you very much.

## NEVER COMPROMISE

*Jaalle Siad addressed secondary school leavers in this second part of his famous «Halane Speech» of 29 July, 1972:*

29-7-1972

Jaallayaal, My best greetings to you all.

Today is one of the happiest days in my life because I am sharing with you the graduation of such a good number of educated youth from the orientation and training centre named after the heroic Sb. Lt. Mohamed Abdulle Halane. I have come here in order to participate in the closing ceremony and to congratulate you on the occasion and to offer you our advice with regard to your future work.

I am boundlessly happy to address a youth gathering like yours, who are clearly confident of the bright future which awaits the Somali nation; youth who are consciously aware of the tasks which they have to perform for the country and who are educationally well — prepared and loyal to their nation; youth who have clean hearts and minds and who are going to devote their physical energy and mental prowess to create a new society — a socialist society built in accordance with the principles of scientific socialism. This is why today is one of the happiest days for me and for the militant revolutionary vanguards as well.

Now I shall proceed to share with you some of my experience which I am sure will be of much help to you in your future careers in nation-building. I have already spoken to you (at the parade ground) about your role in national defence duties, so there is no need to repeat that now.

Jaallayaal, I would like to intimate to you the ideology and policy of our revolutionary government, which are naturally shared by all those who are sincerely loyal to their people, with regard to the upbringing and education of the young generation of Somalia today. Moreover I would also like to give you a preview of the problems and difficulties that would confront you in your day to day activities in the service of your people and country.

I am sure that you are fully aware of how the October 21 Revolution has quickly gone about the task of demolishing the old concept of the individualistic and tribal group interests, upon which the former system of government in our country was based. You are also aware of the fact that the October

21 Revolution has, from its very inception, accomplished successfully its first objective of seizing political power in favour of the masses, since all power must rightly belong to the people. The Revolution, as you all realize, represents the collective will and aspirations of the Somali people who have been betrayed by the former regimes in our post-independence era.

These regimes have stabbed in the back the Somali national liberation movement and the socio-economic development of the country since 1960.

I hope that you are aware of the difficulties, short-comings, sufferings and political tensions as well as the happy days and ceremonial occasions that our Revolution has come through in this short period of time since its birth. Life is such that one has to struggle for the achievement of better lives against so many odds. To those who have clear objectives and principles that would guide them to achieve a better life, obstacles, difficulties and indeed all hardships cannot dishearten them no matter how formidable they may be. We are not fatalists but we are objectivists who correctly analyse the course of history. We therefore believe that the law of contradictions is the driving force of the development of nature and human society. We believe that we would overcome the obstacles that lie in our path by scientifically analysing them and devising the correct solution for them.

We are aware of the fact that the political decisions that we have so far taken as well as the ideology for which we have adopted the socio-economic development of our country, are bound to deepen further the contradictions prevalent in our society by creating new contradictions and this, in turn, would

accelerate and crystalize our class consciousness, that is to say the hitherto much exploited productive forces of the nation would become politically and ideologically conscious of their true station and would, consequently, be masters of the affairs of the country.

This is the reason why we have come through both happy and difficult days in our immediate past. We have much to thank our people for firmly standing for their own rights against all imperialists and reactionary forces which constantly tried to check our progress. Yet I must emphasize the fact that there is much to be done in the future in order to greatly improve and better the conditions of life for the toiling masses of our people. There will also be some problems to solve in the future too, because the path we have chosen for the economic, political, social and cultural development of our country, compels us to face up to the hardships and the difficult times ahead in order to achieve the prosperous goal and to realize the aim for which we have set for the nation.

Let me pose the question, Jaallayaal, of how we regard the role of youth in nation-building and what is our concept of education in general?

First and foremost, education is the only means by which we can enlighten our people, as smoothly and as rapidly as possible. It is also the key to the development of all aspects of life; economic, social, political and cultural. We believe that education is the master key to socio-economic progress by which a better life can be achieved by any given society provided that education is based on the actual common interests of the society and it is directed methodologically along the principle of «one for all and all for one». In order to base our

education on this healthy motto we have to be true to the socialist thought of «have a principle which stands for the common interests of all and then sacrifice oneself for its realization».

Accordingly the founders of the October 21 Revolution — the SRC — have magnificently demonstrated the principle of sacrificing themselves for the realisation of the interests and welfare of their people with complete disregard to group interests or individual privileges as well as to individual or group hatred. At the same time they (the SRC) were not motivated by lust for power or by gaining material wealth in order to misappropriate public funds or use power for monetary gains. Neither did they do so as stooges of imperialism.

On the contrary, they were solely motivated to salvage their people from poverty, ignorance and disease as much as to protect our sovereignty as a State and the Somali dignity which has been disgraced for a long time in the international arena and to raise our flag high to allow it to flutter proudly above our heads. To do this we had realised from an early stage, that we must adopt scientific socialism in order to recapture once again the golden ideals and aspirations of our national liberation movement of the pre-independence days which were geared to political freedom, justice, equal opportunities for all, national unity to reassemble a dismembered country and to lay scientific foundations for these objectives which were hitherto embraced only in their embryonic stages. Indeed we have raised the banner of the 21st October Revolution in order to rationalize our national aims and objectives in accordance with the noble principles of scientific socialism: Marxism-Leninism.

You can easily verify my words when you analyse the events of the past three years or so. These events speak for themselves and truth begets truth. In reality a liar cannot entertain his audience more than a few hours. History records the events of life and time is an unbiased witness and will prove the correctness of the deeds of our Revolution.

It was solely as a result of the political and economic situation of the country, the sufferings of the young generations and the untold pains of the old, the frustrated minds of our young and budding intelligentsia and the burning revolutionary spirit of the masses, that the 21st October Revolution was ignited. That is why we have handed over the political and administrative posts to the young and educated people who were qualified to serve the country and the people. They were capable, sincere to their people and had ideological convictions according to our best judgement. Furthermore we were of the opinion that they did not indulge themselves in corruption, nepotism and tribalism as were rampant and they had never been traitors or imperialist lackeys.

Had we been bent on serving the Armed Forces interests we could have found among the officers and men of the Armed Forces some who have already whole-heartedly contributed a great deal to the success of our glorious Revolution and who still remain an unpenetrable shield to the people's revolution. Couldn't we have found such men who could be assigned to run the Government? The answer is we could; we have plenty of them but we highly value the importance of the contributions of the young educated generation in laying the foundations of the new society and the development of the country. We wanted to give the fresh and new ideas of the youth from

both the Armed Forces and the civilian population the chance to play their role hand-in-hand in the nation-buildig.

Another example of the great importance we attach to education was that we have called on the entire Somali people to learn. We view our society as being made of students and teachers and children of below school age. We are nevertheless aware of the fact that there is a lot to be improved in our education so as to get rid of the colonial system and to establish a truly national one that embodies our socialist ideals. We must, therefore, put a lot of concrete and concerted efforts in the improvement of our education which is part and parcel of the general socio-economic development of our country. We must, however, realise the act that our improvement of education is tied to the level of our economy. We must, therefore, fight in both fronts simultaneously.

This is why we regard your short training here at «Halane Centre» as contributions to this end.

Let me now dwell on the changing of this centre from Bottego to that of S/Lt. Mohamed Abdulle Halane. It is very sad to see the name of Bottego still persisting while the name of S/Lt Mohamed Abdulle Halane, a hero of the Somali People, after whom this centre has been named some time ago has been quickly forgotten. Jaalle Halane is one of the greatest heroes that our country has ever produced. He was one of those young pioneers of Somali nationalism, who willingly sacrificed themselves in order to defend their country and people. For this he has been awarded a gold medal, the highest honour that our country can bestow on its deserving sons. He was a courageous example of the militant youth like you whom you

should emulate. How noble it is to die like Halane did in the defence of the motherland against invading aggressive forces. And like Halane the Somali youth must stand against the enemy of the country and the people no matter how superior or well-equipped it may be. Your high spirit, patriotism and courage make up for any deficiency in numbers or equipment. as the case has been with the national liberation movement led by Sayid Mohamed Abdulle Hassan.

In our socialist concept, heroism is not only displayed in the battle-field, it is also shown in the fields of material production and defence of the ideology of scientific socialism in all walks of human life. Consequently one can heroically serve his country in the fight against disease, poverty or ignorance as the soldier does in the defence of the country and as the farmer does in the field of production in the defence against hunger. The truth of our policy and ideology is based on realizing that this country should be liberated from all forms of backwardness both economic and social. This we can realize only after we improve and promote our educational system and by doing this we will be developing our economic and defence capabilities to protect the achievements of our people. The defence I mean is like that ignored by a farmer who cultivates his land well, but who leaves it without a fence in the assumption that there will be no destruction to the field by the stray animals. In actual reality the farmer who fences his land must naturally stand a better chance of reaping a richer harvest. Similarly we are offering this limited form of national service in order to protect the socialist gains of our people. In so doing we are ensuring our defence without incurring the huge expenses which the maintenance of a large regular army would entail. This is why you are brought to this centre so

that while you hold your rifle in one hand you would hold the hoe, the pen or the book in the other.

I would now proceed to tackle another point with regard to the role of the youth in our present stage of development. The successful fulfilment of the tasks which are facing our country must be achieved. It is therefore the duty of the youth to free our country from all the ugly things of the past, by using their physical energy and mental power. It is our belief — it is also the actual reality that every nation who has made any measure of progress must have through — that it is the youth of the country which must effectively share in the democratic running of the country's affairs. They must take part in decision-making, in the defence of the country morally and materially and in engaging themselves in the dissemination of our socialist ideology and spreading education to all parts of the country. This is the reason why we attach so much importance to the youth. Moreover, it is because of the fact that they are healthy and vigorous, it is also because of the fact that they had no associations what-so-ever with the colonialists, neither were they stooges of imperialism. Moreover, they are not moulded by the corrupt systems of the past into egoistic and self-seeking parasites. Furthermore, they were neither bribed nor oppressed by the colonialists as their forefathers were. Finally they have committed no crimes against their country and their people, since they did not rob or steal public property for their personal use. In short they are clean, innocent and eager, they hide no skeletons in their cupboards.

They are those who would reap the benefits of our present-day toils and tears. They are the ones who would correctly

guide the generation coming after them. It is they who are to help the upcoming generations.

Jaallayaaal, your parents have been brought up under colonial rule. Only that who has been through colonial domination can understand how nasty that is. They have been subjected to colour bar and racial discrimination. They have been humiliated and down-graded. They have come through colonial oppression and torture. They have passed through hungry and lean years perpetrated by colonialism. They have passed through the agony of obeying under duress the commands of those who were their inferiors in terms of education or intelligence only because they were members of the colonizing regime of our country. They know how really terrible colonialism is and being under foreign domination. If the fighting and struggle of those who came before us was successful to liberate the country and its people from colonialism, we would not have come through such an ordeal.

Similarly if we did not join the forefront of those who struggled against colonialism, then you would have inherited the status of being colonized. If that happened, then the generations coming after you would have done the same. In order to prevent such a gloomy future and to spare you such a fate, a relentless war was waged against colonialism. You must, likewise follow our example so that we may rid ourselves of all the vestiges of colonialism. We must together spare the upcoming generations — or even you yourselves when you attain our ages — the miseries and sufferings which colonialism meted out to us.

We can achieve this cherished goal only if we refuse to

deviate from this right path of socialist construction of our society; if we refuse to be led astray by the pursuit of our petty interests; if we do not heed the «sweet» words of the anti-revolutionary scum of our society; if our aims and objectives are clear and in as unmistakable terms as a person who is target - shooting and who has the bull's eye clearly on his cross-wires. We must take the Somali people to where their interests lie. We must enable them to achieve their own objectives. But we cannot do so with mere aimless gibberish or by wishfully liking to do so.

We can do so only if we first achieve unity. How is it possible for us to be united? We can only be united through the adoption of clear ideological principles. People quarrel over their subjective interests. They get suspicious against each other because of them. They become enemies as a result of their interests too, and they even murder each other, let alone harbouring tribalism and its evil attendants. We have thrown that era well behind our backs, although some traces may still be around with us. There is nothing except by an ideological principle that people can truly agree upon permanently. We must build the unity of our people through scientific socialism. The characteristics of scientific socialism are such that one would immediately recognize a person who deviates from its correct path. He who betrays the common interests of the people would immediately be found out, because these are clear and unambiguous principles over which no disputes can be raised. Similarly the realistic application of scientific socialism in order to achieve prosperity for the toiling masses dictates that we must avoid anything that leads us to jeopardize the interests of the common people.

If we do this latter, then we are not building socialism but on the contrary we are serving the imperialists and we are consequently betraying our people. To work against the unity of the Somali people, their freedom, equality, justice and progress is clearly contrary to the noble tenets of scientific socialism no matter how cleverly one disguises and camouflages his anti-social activities.

To work for the unity of the Somali people entails that one must truly love his Jaalle. One must clearly know that his freedom depends upon his compatriots and that without their common strife freedom is impossible. One's miseries and sufferings are truly those of his brothers. So is one's prosperity, rise in living standards and indeed one's joy and sorrow. To promote and maintain active solidarity with one's comrades is in actual fact the key to the unity of the people.

When one does the opposite of these things such as antagonising his Jaallayaal by sowing discord among friends, who stand to benefit by their mutual cooperation and solidarity, in order to set them against one another, then what is the real aim of such a person? Isn't he working against the unity of the people? Indeed he is.

When one puts into his mind that he is superior to another and considers him to be well below his social status; isn't he working against the equality and consequently against the unity of the people?

When one makes distinctions between the Somali youth for example, by welcoming one from his own tribe and treating the other as an alien, isn't he working against the equality and

unity of the people? Don't such futile efforts smack of anti-socialism? We don't need to ask ourselves how one was going about interpreting such ignoble practices. We all know the reactionaries whom your representative was condemning or who must always be denounced. By the way, the point of strength of your representative was not her physical appearance but it was her will-power; human strength lies in the moral convictions. We know how the reactionaries go about their mischievous plots. They come round to a person as relatives in order to «innocently» inform him of something; your nucle is in jail, so is your aunt! Etc. It is only «us» who are being victimized! Have you seen Mr. So and So or the other! Hell has been raised! All have been deported! In the past we had our tribal share in the government... and so on.

They may talk to you about the «good old times» you all used to have: Well, why do they talk about the so-called «good old times» in which they have been feeding you poison? Why don't they let you forget it lest rancour and misery are created within you. We know them and the language they use; they come to you to tell you nothing but lies. As your representative was just saying they try to blemish for you all the good things in life. For example they lament the so-called «chances» you lost. «You might have studied in London, Paris, Rome, Washington; look at the future of your academic prospects!» Such is their language. They never talk or tell you about the real truth about what is good for you or your people's future. Even if they do that they do it in a twisted form.

What I am saying then is that we must base our developmental policies on sound principle. Our medium of understanding each other is through the right ideology; therefore those

who adhere to the same principle as ours must be our Jaallayaal. He who is against our philosophy is not our Jaalle, he is a pupil to the devil.

Considering your age, I want to elaborate on a certain point concerning your relationship with your parents in this revolutionary era. Let me make one thing clear first. Jaalle, as I have already defined, is the one who advocates our ideology; all Somalis are your brothers; and those who had begotten you are your parents. Bearing this in mind, if your parents or any Somali subscribes to your ideological beliefs they become your Jaallayaal; but if your parentse for example are reactionary they are not and cannot be your Jaallayaal. Your duty towards them is then to help them in any way possible, but that does not mean you should compromise your socialist principles. Never compromise your ideals even for your parents. Suppose your father has had some cuttings from the 'Musuqmasuq', or suppose he might have been misled by those poison-tongued people I was telling you about, or he may just belittle your ideas and consider you immature in outlook and so reject your socialist ideological stand. Under such circumstances you must try your best to convince him and stick to your point relentlessly but never you ever be squeamish and think that loyalty to parents stipulates compromising your socialist beliefs — they stand for better life in this world as well as the hereafter; they advocate peace not war, honesty not corruption, respect not envy, freedom not slavery, progress not stagnation, enlightenment not ignorance. Socialist beliefs call for equality and just distribution of wealth, and are against the law of the jungle (NINKII XOOGLOW XABAGTA GOOSO: come you strong man, it is for you to pluck the gum).

We stand for Somali unity, solidarity and freedom from exploitation within and without. Doesn't this stand for better life in this world and salvation in the hereafter? Doesn't this underscore clean patriotism and positive nationalism? What can our Somali brother who is adverse to our stand say? Why don't we go on the platform and argue with our adversaries? Surely we will win against them and defeat all their argumentative tactics with the truth — the best weapon of all.

I know we will win against them because we are equipped with the will and aspirations of the masses. We advocate unity, liberty, equality, justice and progress. With all these as provision, how could a person supporting everything that is contrary to these win against us? It is impossible.

What I mean is that we must bodily stand in support of our socialist principles. Coming back to my point, duty to parents is one thing and loyalty to a principle is another.

Sometimes a father might blackmail his children with the traditional choice of «blessings or curse» (DUCO AMA HABAAR). Jaallayaal, there is no HABAAR. The true curse is betrayal to one's people. If a father tells his son to do wrong against the country under the duress of parental curse and he refuses, a hundred curses will not have any effect on him, because he is in the right and the curse will boomerang on the father. I know the Somali youth respect and believe in the effectiveness of parental curse — it is the only weapon of censure wielded by a parent against his grown up child — but you should not be intimidated, without ignoring your duty to your fathers and mothers. Do not be an accomplice if your father wants to betray his country. If you have no way out,

you should shed tears and appeal to parental sympathy: «Oh! father why are you doing this to me? Why do you want me to miss the boat of my generation in nation-building?» I am sure he will then come back to your point despite the fact that he might miss the chance of earning some ill-gotten wares or sacrificing his tribal sympathies. If you hesitate the youth of Somalia will leave you behind and your role will be a dark one in the development of your country.

Jaallayaal! The Socialist Revolution is different from all other social revolutions in that since the principle which it is based on is the only correct one; and it is promoting human rights, by giving every person his due right and enabling him to develop his intellectual capacity to the maximum, it is proved to draw its strength from the historical experience of human development and its scientific foundation. It is therefore much stronger than imperialism no matter how cunning and powerful this latter might be. The world imperialism is like a paper-tiger as Chairman Mao Tse-Tung said, because what their ideology stands for is only strong on paper. It is hollow and devoid of all noble human values. Of the fundamental laws of capitalism are exploitation of man by man, class society, oppressed and oppressor, survival of the fittest, noble birth, all these ugly things are the phenomena of capitalism which human nature rejects. That is why capitalist ideology has no future.

On the contrary socialism has its foundations in the equality of mankind, in peaceful co-existence, in freedom, in the equitable distributions of wealth, in collective leadership and in democratic centralism. That is why socialist ideology is superior to the decadent capitalist ideology. The truth of my

words is proved by the continuous spreading of socialist influence, since 1917 when the first socialist state was founded in Russia (Soviet Union). So far two thirds of the world population live under socialism or are struggling to establish socialist societies, and it will continue to spread until the entire world embraces it, weather capitalists like it or not, because it is based on scientific findings. We all realised the fact that the majority of the people, the working classes of the world, are against exploitation, humiliation, injustice and the domination of a nation by a nation. It is in human nature for every person to fight to have his due share in the society's wealth. Since this is the truth of human nature then anything that stands against its just distribution is doomed to failure.

Jaallayaal, I have gone into all these explanations in order to underscore the fact that it is the ideological convictions of a person to which we must attach maximum importance to the exclusion of all other factors. It is for this reason that you must cure the sick mentality of our people. I therefore, extend to you my sincere wishes for succes in your work. I must also express my confidence in the pledge which your spokesman, has made on your behalf. I am sure that there will be notable changes for the better in wherever you work. I must say to you a word of advice about this.

Jaallayaal, when I am talking about the socialist ideology, I am compelled to talk about its adversaries as well because a socialist ideology with no adversaries is not a socialist one. A socialist revolutionary ideology must have its adversaries, because it is a tough and correct ideology and if it has no enemies then it must not have been well implemented.

Many things are being said about scientific socialism. Let us therefore differentiate the people who say them. Let us first pose the question of who is a socialist and who can become one? and who can't?

A socialist is the person, to put it in a nutshell, whose heart and mind have been liberated from the weaknesses which I have already enumerated that are generally associated with human beings. It is not so easy to become free of them. Most of the times one thinks that he is liberated from them but in actual fact he is not.

Let us have a closer look at socialism. Since you are all educated you know that it has history. You could have easily found books on the subject. So I assume that you have all read about it and that it is only a waste of time if I repeat it now. We cannot afford to waste time. I must shed some light on certain points which confusion seems to shroud.

We hear in this country and from African or other countries that socialism is of different brands. Jaalayaal, according to my convictions as well as to those of many of my colleagues, socialism has no brands at all. There is but one socialism. It is the one that is entirely based on scientific thought. It is the philosophy which, when other so-called socialist theories were proved to be failures, Marx and Engels evolved through the scientific analysis of the historical development of the world and the essence of nature. It is the scientific socialism on which the advanced socialist countries have based their ideological principles, their industries, their economy, their science and technology and their social progress. Having said this Jaallayaal, scientific socialism prescribes that it must be applied in every country in accordance with its prevalent condi-

tions, its laws, its culture, the level of its education and the philosophy upon which its social structure is based. All these factors must be taken into consideration in order to successfully apply it in any country.

Jaallayaal, socialism cannot be something which can be borrowed lock, stock and barrel, by one country from another. There can be no country which can do so because every country is, in some way or the other, different from the other. Every country has its own character. It has its own laws, its own climate, its economy, a particular way in which its people think and so on. It is therefore impossible for a country to borrow the way of thinking and the culture of another. Where that is done — where it is possible in the first place — then it is impossible for socialism to take roots, it is illogical as well as it is impractical.

This being the case, how things stand in our case? We know that every people who adopt socialism do so by identifying the enemy or enemies against which they must fight and must defeat as well, in order to continuously oust the social evils of their society until socialism triumphs. This is how every socialist people think. What are our enemies then?

Our enemies are hunger, disease, ignorance, colonialism, and a few Somalis who although they have no capital yet believe in the capitalist ideology. They are as poor as the rest of us but their ideology is wrong. They have been conditioned to think in accordance with the capitalist «Philosophy». There are also those whom you have named, such as the «afminshaar» who has been led astray and who used to live off the fat of the people.

Among our enemies also are those to whom imperialism used to feed with lies; in films, in newspapers and in books and whom it led them to believe that socialism is a monster that would devour them on sight, would rob them by force, would humiliate them and in short as something which was against democracy, equality and justice. It is those whose heads were filled with the usual capitalist lies who are enemies of socialism.

Jaallayaal, if we are to apply scientific socialism in our country and rid our people of all the enemies listed above and if we struggle to spread socialism beyond our immediate borders to those who were still enslaved by colonialism as is the duty of every socialist people, if we do this are we creating non-existent animosity for ourselves or are we struggling against an existing one?

Those who have applied socialism before us maintain that socialism and religion cannot go together.

Jaallayaal, our religion is one that is greatly different from the one to which their people used to adhere. Our religion prescribes to us that every person is responsible to God for all his actions. There is no mediator between man and his God. Isn't this freedom? Our Somali religious men have no institutional beliefs by which they could make business through religion. There is none.

If there is no one who deputizes for God on earth who is standing in the name of religion between the society and its progress and achievement of a better life, and if our religious men do not have great wealth with which they could fight socialism, and if they themselves are not organized in such a

way that they could exploit the people, then why should we fight the religious men or religion for that matter?

How many examples can we find in the history of our society of young men who truly knew religion very well but who were really true nationalists as well? Isn't it such men that one wants to set against socialism or against religion? Can such a thing be tolerated at all.

Another example is this, socialism is aptly described as a scientific doctrine. Science is not an evil thing that opposes society's achievement of justice, equality, unity, progress or equal distribution of wealth. Is it the Islamic religion which stands against them?

Jaallayaal, going into the essence of this Centre a socialist revolution must cultivate its own followers; it should not rely on those trained by the colonialists. A socialist revolution is not a local affair, it is an extension of the international revolutionary struggle of the democratic forces of the world. It has long term objectives. A socialist revolution should therefore mould the youth of the nation because the youth are the flowers of the country; its guiding light; and its defences. The socialist youth should endeavour to realise the tenets of their ideology and extend their support to the anti-imperialist forces, in order to fulfil their international duties, and to create a friendly atmosphere with their neighbours.

You know our educated youth used to wander aimlessly in the streets on their return from abroad with their king size diplomas. They used to sit in the coffee bars dejectedly. On the advent of the October 21 Revolution, we invited some unem-

ployed graduates and asked them their opinions on what was necessary to do. I remember a girl, who still entertained utopian thoughts but a good Somali at heart, replied that she knew it was not possible to employ all of them and suggested therefore that employment should be on priority bases and hence the most needy should come first. «Some have means to eat while others don't eat; therefore the needy should be given the chance first», she said. I asked her whether it wasn't probable to give them all employment. I knew she did not think this within such probabilities. Do you know of any graduate in the street now? There is none. If there is any, it is one who is not prepared to work. It is not in our policy for a graduate to be unemployed.

In your case, when you finished your secondary studies the habit was for you to loiter in cafes or run after deputies and tribal chiefs. We brought you here in order to spare you forever the humiliation of entreating others for favours or being intimidated through kith and kin so that those who did you the favours would come back later to ask you to repay them in ways unacceptable to yourselves. This Centre is your trial ground, you would thereafter go to work. Those who want to join the Armed Forces; those who want to teach or want to join the Civil Service in some other form; or those who want to pursue higher education can do so after a period of national service. The main purpose of this policy is to make you owe allegiance only to your country and not to bear gratitude to personalities. Your flag is your mother and father; it behoves all your respect and protection. The fulfilment of your national duties will ensure your happiness, prosperity and general well-being.

It is only in this way that you will free yourselves from personal obligations and become independent morally and materially. The independence we advocate comprises both freedom in the international sense as well as freedom from want and dependence on the personal level.

You have completed here only the first aspect of your national service — army training. I hope we would not be forced to resort to arms in defence of the achievements of the Revolution and the fruits of our peaceful labour. Now you will start on the second aspect of the national service, that of taking your people out of the darkness of ignorance into the light of literacy. Many a time have you witnessed a very intelligent person who is illiterate, and you wondered what a genius he would have been had he been more enlightened. So, let bygones be bygones. It is necessary now to educate the young as far as formal education is concerned. On the other hand, you must spearhead the ideological orientation of the masses so as to secure people with your kind of principle who will stand beside you through thick and thin. You cure their minds from envy, injustice, stabbing their brothers at the back, telling lies, theft and avarice. You must cure the greedy from their obsession with grasping other people's property, which when they can't seize that will force them to resort to imperialist forces for more; they do this because they suffer from a dangerous mental ailment which compels them to seek friendship and alms from international imperialism.

The greedy I mean are those who try to get, through easy means everything big: big house, big car, big name, etc. instead of being content with well-earned little things like the majority. You must cure such people and bring them up to a cor-

rect ideological level and national awareness. This entails a thorough struggle on behalf of socialism. Many people think that if such youngsters are to fight they will not sustain their stamina against the reactionary old timers but will give up after the first few set backs when they are booed, ridiculed, tarred and feathered.

We believe otherwise. We know our youth is tough; we know they have perseverance, endurance and assiduity; because they know what they are after and for whose welfare they are sowing the seeds. Although they are not experienced yet the wool cannot be pulled over their eyes because devotion to a good principle is stronger than all experience.

At this point, let me say a few more things about the national service. To begin with it is of fourteen month's duration which is divided into the six months you have spent in this Centre and further eight months which you will spend as teachers to the Somali people who are in the grips of ideological and educational ignorance.

To spell things out further, those who want to stay in the government service can do so and those who want to continue higher studies are also free to do so later on. Needless to point out here that he who wants to continue his education while he is still in the government service can do so.

I declare here and now that the revolutionary Government has enough jobs for you and for all the succeeding graduates of your secondary schools. We are no longer mentally poor and discontented, we will create new opportunities for employment. We are in need of bigger manpower and we will con-

tinue this revolutionary policy until we take the last of our unemployed masses off the street.

When you complete your national service, you will be given the opportunity of pursuing your chosen careers. While we were sitting here this morning each of the various organs of the government has expressed its wishes to employ all of you who are present here. The Army did so too. But we will not allow this, no matter what hardships they may encounter. Let them even double the burden of their present staff. Nevertheless, you will all go into teaching in order to educate our young generation.

We are doing this because whenever we increase the strength of our teaching manpower we also increase our defence capabilities, our economy and national pride. That is why we attach so much importance to education. For the next eight months therefore you will be teaching in our schools. It is your duty then to show our people how valuable the Somali youth and the educated Somalis are. From your toil and sweat must bloom flowers whose fragrance will attract those who still remain blind to our socialist peaceful labour.

When you begin your work you must bear in mind the fact that everyone of you represents the country, the Supreme Revolutionary Council, scientific socialism, the clean ideology of uniting the Somali people, development of the economy of the country and the fraternizing of the people. You are the commandos of the country. We decree this and we take it as our accord hereinafter.

In order to elaborate this, I must inform you that your

work will be a multi-sided one. You will of course serve the Ministry of Education as far as your teaching duties in the schools are concerned. In your ideological work you will represent the Supreme Revolutionary Council; in disseminating health and sanitary education to the children and to the community at large since you know more of it than they do, and when you visit them at their houses for this purpose, you represent the Ministry of Health. In another aspect you represent the Ministry of Information and National Guidance. You have to keep it informed of the events taking place in your localities by arrangements with the Ministry. You must also endeavour to promote the orientation of the masses along our socialist ideology. Although you will not be given your rifles, you must nevertheless bear in mind the fact that you also represent the Ministry of Defence as well, and that you must be ready for any eventuality. At your localities also you represent the National Security Service. It is therefore your duty to inform it of all the anti-revolutionary activities or elements that hinder your work as is the habit of all the anti-revolutionary activities or elements that hinder your work as is the habit of all the truly revolutionary socialists who value their freedom much and who stand in its defence. When it is possible for you to do something about the anti-revolutionary elements yourselves, then you must arrest them together with your other Jaal-layaal. You are under obligation to do so because you represent the SRC.

You represent all these organs of our Government and I will act as the co-ordinator of your work with them so that no organ may try to claim your whole attention.

So much about this but let me return once more to the reasons for which you were brought here apart from those which I have already explained. Among these is the fact that we have adopted scientific socialism and there is a great deal of discussion about it at present. Many different misinterpretations of it are already abroad.

It is one of the objectives of the Centre to enable us to speak the same language and to interpret scientific socialism in the same correct way.

It is a disservice to this noble ideology if the one at Ras Chiamboni interprets it in one way such as, «Socialism advocates that camels should be used as beasts of burden», for example, while another tells the truth about it. From this confusion is bound to be created in the minds of the masses of the people. To guard against the possibility of such confusion is one of the reasons why this Centre was established and why people are required to attend it, to learn socialism as its basic tenets really are and to always discuss together the best ways of applying it in our country and then to put these into practice.

Since you are going to do a lot of work and since you are going to face many hardships, it is necessary that you should adhere to a clear ideology which no one can mistake about or raise dispute over.

I pass on to another point. You are very young and you will be teaching children. It is important that you pass to them what you know. This is not an easy task. I used to be a teacher myself. Children benefit from your teaching as long as you put sincere efforts into it, as well as how you conduct

yourself in front of them. They copy whatever you teach them even your own hand-writing.

You used to be students yourselves and you know of this. Now you can remember all the things you used to like to do as children but which your teacher wanted you not to. You must now remember that it was the teacher who was always in the right. You must prepare your lessons well ahead, because it is what you give the students that they will benefit by. If it is unprepared then it will be of little use to them.

All the Somalis are looking forward to your efforts and the contributions you will give in the national construction and ideological advancement of our country.

Jaallayaal, I wish you every succes.

## WHERE JUSTICE MUST BEGIN

*Jaalle Siad speaking to Regional Chairmen known at that time as Governors and Police Divisional Commandants after a month orientation course:*

7-8-1972

Good morning.

First of all you have completed a one month's orientation course for the leading authorities in the regions and districts of the country at Lafoleh. Later Governors have spent some time at the Ministry of Interior and had ample opportunities to discuss with the senior officials there how the national task should be carried out. The senior Police Officers have also spent the same period at the Police Academy where they had exchanged views and ideas with their officers on the present difficulties with respect to the maintenance of law and order or dealing with the general public and the best ways of overcoming these difficulties.

We have met you here this morning, at a time when you are ready to proceed to your assigned duties, in order to say a few words of advice; encouraging you to do what is right and warning you of what is not, and to enlighten you on the difficulties that may face the country in general or you yourselves as administrators in particular. Moreover we want to explain to you the policies of the Revolutionary Government, since it is a custom of our people to question the instructions given to them by their superiors as to whether it is only their immediate superiors who give them these instructions or whether these are Government policy with which everybody must comply. So in order to end such doubts I want to speak at length on the general policies of the country. It is for this purpose that we have gathered here this morning and I hope that its importance will not be lost to you. There is no doubt that in my advice to you I will also refer to what the Somali people on whose behalf I speak, and whose feelings I know very well, think about you and from what they complain about you most. My aim in doing this is to end the causes of these complaints.

Present here this morning are the Governors of the various regions of the country who are responsible for its administration and politics. There are also the senior officers of the Police who, as Divisional Commandants, are responsible for the regions as well as those who are responsible for Police Stations in the Districts and villages. The latter are responsible for many things in some places while in others they are confined to their Police duties.

To being with I must go back in time and speak about the three years' period in which the Revolution has been guiding

the affairs of the nation. This is a relatively long period of time which we can use as a yardstick for what we have successfully achieved as well as what we have not. What I mean to say here is that everything has something against which it can be measured. Each and everything or condition in this world has its opposite thing with which it is compared and contrasted. For example if there were no dishonest persons, a thief for example, we would not have found means of conceiving or describing the honest ones. There must be a bad person in order to describe another as a good one. The same is also true of the coward and the brave, the intelligent and the fool and the ignorant and the educated. We believe this to be a universal phenomenon.

Similarly, in order to describe our Revolution and the three-year period that have passed since its birth, it is imperative that we also look at how things were in the pre-Revolutionary period. If everything was good in that period then the question is: Why was the Revolution ignited in the first place?

Although I have dealt with this topic in many of my speeches, yet I believe that it is pertinent for me to make some contrast in order not to lose the perspective of things, or in other words to speak on what is contrary to the Revolution. But then how things were before the Revolution? What was wrong with the Police Force? The Governors? Divisional Commandants? The general public? and the country at large?

We must identify the real malady. Nevertheless, there is no need for a lengthy commentary on this now, because firstly I have done so on a number of occasions; and secondly you we-

re all present at those pre-Revolutionary times and had seen everything. I can, however, sum up the topic in this way: if there was not what is known as the interest of the general public, then there would have been no Revolution. The Revolution came in order to rid the general public of what they were complaining about and from what the socio-economic structure suffered. There were no overall principles with which the affairs of the country were directed but if there were such principles then there would have been no need for the Revolution. The same is also true of law and order since some things would have been right at least. In short the state of affairs in the pre-Revolutionary period is known both to us and to you. It was absolutely against the interests of the general public. A small minority was running the show for their own good, whether they knew it or not.

For the past three years we have been informing our people what the SRC and the Government thought about the affairs of the country and what we thought were in the interests of the Somali people.

During this period I have never accused any individual of being a thief or a corrupt person. I am not going to do that now either. That, however, does not mean that there were no thieves in the pre-Revolutionary period but I always used to blame and I do still blame and every person who speaks honestly will blame the system upon which the country was run. This was the root cause of all our ills of the past. But who did bring such a system to us in the first place? It was brought to us by the colonizers, who were our «teachers».

«If he who did not use to rule rules, he who should not

have gone goes away», says a Somali proverb. That means such a person loses the sense of direction and of purpose and things get completely mixed up, because he is unable to rule justly. The root cause of our troubles, as I have already pointed out, was this colonially-oriented system. In short this was what made all the Somali people complain.

We did ignite the Revolution in order to rid of our people the causes of their complaints, to end the constant abuse of religion, rampant dishonesty, lack of human dignity, to move the stagnant economy ahead; and to pioneer for the Somali people some healthy course on which they can base their education, health, economy, unity and in short a healthy way of thinking. If I am to elaborate on this, then I will need a great deal of time. But let me say something briefly on the subject.

What were the difficulties that faced the Revolution since its inception with regard to the implementation of its principles that stand for serving the interests of the Somali people; their education, economy, security and relations with the rest of the world?

The greatest difficulty that confronted the Revolution, and which still confronts it, is the mentality and attitudes that have been moulded by colonialism; and by those who lived and practised the ways and habits approved by it — all the things that prevented our people from making any progress. If we are to tell the truth, it is those who used to hold power that oppose the Revolution.

Who did voice their disapproval of the state of affairs then?

Surely it was the few people who did not find seats of power in the Government but who nevertheless had a share in it in the past. But the loudest voice of disapproval about how things were run at that time came from the broad masses of the people. It was the people in the rural areas who were the main bone of contention among the politicians but who never reaped any benefits. It was the students, the up-coming generation, who aspired to a better future but who saw the prospects being darkened by the way things used to be run. It was the people who valued their human dignity, their personal integrity and the sovereignty of their country whether they were in the civil service or not. It was also the workers who were divided and whose rights were constantly trampled on and the farmers who did not find what to cultivate their lands with. It is known that the farmers had to abandon their farms and move into the towns in search of employment when they could not subsist on the proceeds of what they had grown. Their products were put in the hands of a few people who put them on the market at very low prices, the farmer's produce was not enough even to pay for his expenses.

In fact it was these people who voiced their strongest disapproval. I can also add to that the honest intellectuals who did not partake in the corrupt practices of the past; those whose consciences did not allow them to do so, but who nevertheless knew of the plight of the Somali people. The same strong disapproval was also voiced by the good soldiers who were educated, according to the teachings of proper military academies, to the effect that they must serve their country without expecting direct monetary gain, and who really knew what was going on; those soldiers who saw themselves as the real guar-

dians of their country, to defend it against external aggression and internal sabotage and uphold always its sovereignty and flag.

Those good citizens of Somalia were opposed by people who were not in the civil service whether these people were the kind of aliens that were identified as being against the country or whether they were pseudo-Somalis whom I term as the «ignorant» ones and whom Radio Mogadishu often calls vampires (*dhiig-miirato*). Why do I call them the «ignorant» ones? Because they do not know what people work for. People work in order to lead good lives on earth and to benefit their children when they die. Isn't the person who makes the future of his children dark an «Ignorant» person?

Among the people who used to oppose the good citizens were those who have become bourgeois i.e. mentally. These bourgeois characters are invariably those who were moulded by colonialism. Who can these people be? In actual fact these people are the civil servants and that includes the Army and the Police. They are those who have built houses or own farms, or commercial vehicles. These people were the representatives of the old corrupt system and the old mentality. Among them also were those doctors who belonged to the upper crust of their class. There were also the civil servants who amassed ill-gotten wealth. When I am categorizing these people I am not throwing unfounded accusations at them, they are the top civil servants. They are also known as the elitists in the socialist terminology. They constitute a well-defined class both by their mentality and their way of life. They were moulded in this way in the first place in order to defend the interests of the capitalists and the neo-colonia-

lists. It is they who usually tell us that «the Revolution would have been a good thing if it refrained from trying to make all the people equal».

These people forget that the world is continuously changing; that tribalism has been abolished altogether and that the same thing is true for individual selfishness. They ignore the fact that the world is heading towards regional and ideological groupings and ultimately towards supra-nationalism. For example, Africa is heading towards the abolishment of all boundaries and to have a continental government instead. These people are in short, anachronisms; they are negating the constant process of human evolution and social change altogether. Such are the people who are moulded by imperialism.

When people are being differentiated into the majority which comprises the down-tordden masses and those who oppose them, the bourgeoisie are identified as a sub-class of the capitalist forces. Colonialism being a rich and a powerful force, it always changes its tactics. When war was waged against capitalism, the bourgeoisie were identified as a capitalist force.

Since capitalism always opposes the progress of people towards the achievement of justice, prosperity and equality, it always changes its methods and tactics. So when tribalism was abolished, it invented elitism; those who have reached the upper echelons of the bureaucratic class or attained a high level of education and who are then persuaded to consider themselves to be above the station of the rest of the people, claiming to be more refined and noble than the productive forces of the nation. Colonialism nurses such elitist superiority

claims when tribal superiority is abolished. Colonialism is always behind these forces that oppose the equality of the people. It always aims at hindering the progress of mankind towards the light of freedom. It, therefore employs all sorts of delaying tactics. But despite all its efforts and strategies, the entire universe will undoubtedly adopt socialism and will defeat capitalism once and for all. This is so because the majority of the people will surely triumph in the end. In the meantime, colonialism continues to obstruct the progress of the toiling masses by creating these different and subtle distinct groupings, who always help it defend its interests.

When for example, one hundred thieves who become criminals because of poverty are helped out of it and thereby the causes of their criminality are removed, over eighty percent of them will no longer steal and will become honest and law-abiding citizens. They will be willing to join the majority of the people in leading good and useful lives. But the remaining 20% are likely to continue to steal no matter how rich they become.

This is what I believe to be the case in Somalia today. About eighty percent of the elitists or those who were brought up under the old corrupt system and who practised tribalism and its bad ways: «Mr. So and So should not look down at you! Don't care about the rest but you must lead a comfortable life!» and the like; I believe that about 80% of those faithless and avaricious characters can mend their ways provided that we wage a relentless campaign against them if at the same time we continue to treat them leniently. It is possible that this can be achieved.

As to the remaining 20% we must gather them, or deal with them individually, and bury them in the holes that they have dug for themselves. We are not at all prepared to give them a long lead. They try their best to divert the Revolution from its chosen path and thereby to jeopardise the interests of the greater majority of the people. For example, they always say, «if the Revolution did this and that, it would not have been a bad thing!». At times they send emissaries or obstruct the smooth running of the work by oppressing the people working under them or by setting the public against the Government. We know of all their moves and tactics. They aim at rendering the Revolution ineffective but they are mistaken. They can never have their way. Instead the Revolution will smother them.

We have been lenient on the bourgeoisie and the elitists because we believe that about 80% of them were involuntarily led astray. They do not belong to these classes in principle and they have not reached the point of no return in their identification with these classes. If only we re-orientate them well enough then we can win them back. It is this hope that they may redeem themselves and re-join the ranks of the majority and thus become useful to themselves as well as to their people, that we are lenient to them. In the case of these people I won't deny the existence of daily record books in which their positive and negative deeds are listed, so that we might distinguish the hard core twenty percent from the 80% of redeemable citizens.

I have spoken in general terms on the difficulties that confronted the Revolution or on our failure in achieving our targets during the past three years or so. I will now return

to the subject of scientific socialism. I am sure that you have learnt a great deal about the subject before. I myself have explained it in my own way on many occasions. But I will only touch on the issue connected to the aims and objectives of scientific socialism. On many occasions I queried of whether scientific socialism was a religion, or was it a mere spicy dressing for our conversations? To both questions the answer is no. Then what are the aims of scientific socialism? When its objectives are clearly spelt out, we are also spelling out the wants, desires and aspirations of the greater majority of the Somali people. Scientific socialism advocates that the people be united and equal; it advocates that people work, respect each other and preserve their human dignity; it helps the people to develop their economy, to increase their education, and to secure their independence and freedom. A Somali proverb holds that the crux of the Holy Quran is the verse that ends, «and Almighty God has no peer (QURAAN KUFUU'AN AXAD BAA ISKU FUUQSATAY)». Similarly if these are the aims and objectives of scientific socialism, won't the person who adheres to its principles go to Heaven as our religion promises? And won't he who opposes them be going to Hell?

There are many religious men among you. You must therefore, tell me whether or not our religion approves of peoples' property to be stolen, or people to be envied or the secrets of the country spied upon for the benefit of its enemies, or people to get bribed and cheated or lies spread about them? Does our religion advocate these evils to be perpetrated by its believers? The answer is definitely no. Then aren't those people who follow the teachings of Islam true believers? And those who oppose them non-believers? The ultimate aim of scientific socialism is to mould the self-respecting individuals whom Islam

also prescribes. This is what scientific socialism wants. So let us forget what the anti-revolutionaries and the anti-nationalists say. If a person abstains from doing wrong unto his brother, can he be considered as a «jaalle» of that person? The answer is, of course, yes.

True socialism prescribes for us to attend for example to the needs of the majority of the Somali people who are nomads in our rural areas and who suffer untold miseries, who long for justice, for better economic standards and for better health facilities, for security and peace. Socialism, i.e. true socialism, tells you how to attend to their needs in cooperation with their Government and social organisations. It also urges the urban population not to be bad examples for others but to strive to be always good. It urges the urban man to identify himself with the majority of the people and to work among them. What I am telling you is not a pack of lies. Neither is it baseless politics. It is based on the discussions, resolutions and directives of the Supreme Revolutionary Council and the Council of Secretaries. I only act as the spokesman who explains their ideas and policies. Our leadership since the Revolution has been a collective one. We are basing the direction of the affairs of our country on collective leadership.

As I said before, therefore, I am not just airing my personal views, when I am addressing the nation or a particular group like yourselves. When I say I am speaking the mind of my colleagues I am, merely, executing a law that they have passed. What I say therefore is law. I call upon you, who are sitting in front of me and who are responsible for the administration of this country, to always remember that what you have received in writing or verbally by way of speeches

or guidance and orientation, is all part of the laws of this land. You must remember the fact that if you execute the directives of the Revolution you are carrying out your responsibilities to our country and people well. But if you do not do so then you are betraying the confidence of the Revolution and the people as well as yourselves and your children, and you will belong to the 20% hard core bourgeoisie and elitist groups which I have already spoken about.

When I speak in this way, I want to dispel from the minds of these bourgeoisie elitist groups that the past trend of leniency towards them will continue for ever and that those whose evil doings catch up with them will find mercy in the leadership of the Revolution. You have to heed these words well. Those people who used to pretend to swim with the current while at the same time obstructing the march of the Revolution surreptitiously, have had enough chance and opportunity to amend their ways. They will have no more chances from now on. Those persons who see nothing with their eyes, hear nothing with their ears and whose ears are set on clinging to their old ways must have exhausted all the possible chances they could have been given without jeopardising the continuity of the Revolution.

Now I turn to the responsibilities of the Governors, the DDAO's Divisional Police Commandants and the officers-in-charge of Police Stations, in the administration of this country and the implementation of the principles of the Revolution which aim at the development of the country and at caring for its people.

Administratively our country is divided into regions and

in every region are stationed the officers that I have enumerated above. Where do the Somali people live? Of course, they live in every region of the Republic, and it is these officers upon whom the responsibility for achieving the interests of the Somali people lies. If the Somali people do not make the progress they desire then these officers are to be held responsible for such failure but if progress is made it is they who will be commended and take the credit for that. Today I can see no reason why the principles of the Revolution cannot be fully implemented unless there is sheer disobedience on the part of the responsible officers in charge of their implementation. This is so because we clearly know what our targets are. We are no longer in the times when each officer used to do what he pleased. We have adopted scientific socialism and our path is as clear as daylight because it is based on clear and unambiguous principles. He who adheres to these principles and he who aimlessly beats about in the bush will both be easily identified for what they are.

I have no right or authority to change the course of the Revolution because it has been charted by the leaders of the country. In the same way you yourselves have no right or authority to change it because this course has been decreed by the Supreme Revolutionary Council. There is no one who has the right to do that. Some of you may argue that they do not know anything about socialism. I declare that this is a lie because we have been explaining it for the past three years. Moreover, I state that if you have only followed and implemented what we in the SRC have said or have written about it then you would have served the interests of the Somali people. If you did otherwise, then you must have failed in your duties.

We call upon you to serve the people and the country very sincerely.

Everything you are required to do has a law that governs your actions and it is you who have been charged with the responsibility of executing the law. The Governor is charged with the task of implementing the policies of the Revolutionary Government in his region, to guide and orientate the general public and to explain the same policies to his subordinates and then to supervise their implementation process. We have also given him the power to take decisions and make by-laws for his region with the approval of the Regional Revolutionary Council he chairs.

The Police are charged with the task of guarding the region against saboteurs, law-breakers and the like who jeopardise the interests of the people. We have given them the necessary legislations that guide their security measures. Judges and other court officials share with them this specific responsibility. Is it the Judiciary that have not been carrying out their share of the responsibility? It is said that a great deal of smuggled goods are always caught but the smugglers disappear and the goods get spoiled in the stores. Isn't there a law that deals with absentee criminals and law-breakers? No? There is such a law or laws. If a court decision is handed down in absentia, against a smuggler, why do the goods have to get spoiled in the stores? Why aren't they sold to the general public so long there is the law that permits such a course of action? A Somali saying has it that «everything bad must belong to Hawa!» (WIXII XUNBA XAWAA LEH!) Does the trend of attributing every-thing bad to the Revolution still continue to have currency? Why don't the judges try the

absentee criminals as quickly as possible? On the other hand why don't the Police bring these criminals to court in absentia? The Police have every right to do so.

Suppose, for example, that a Somali does wrong to another, then it is decided that damages or compensation must be paid to the aggrieved person from the property of the wrong-doer. The wrong-doer, however, untruthfully claims to be a pauper and lets another to claim his property for the time being. Whose duty is it to know or to find out by a bit of sleuthing the truth in this case and to charge the accomplice for his lies and to exact the compensation from the wrong-doer and, as well, charge him for contempt of court? It is the Police's. Why don't they do that? What is preventing the Police from taking such steps which are entitled to them by law? Why don't they enforce the law once it is there?

Let me now turn to the issue of ensuring peace among the people. This is one of the basic interests of the Somali people, to be sure. Let me take an example from the many events that usually take place under the very nose of the Police, who are charged with the task of law-enforcement. Although they seem to lack the ability of doing anything about such occurrences, they nevertheless have the impudence of appealing to the public by saying, «What can we do? We do not have the necessary laws!»

It so happens that the nomads usually come to the urban centres such as Hargeisa in order to sell their livestock. It is invariably the rule that the nomads are met with respect and hospitality by everyone all along the way to Hargeisa out

of obedience and loyalty to the just instructions of the SRC. But it usually so happens that the nomads are robbed in broad daylight in the markets of Hargeisa. In response to these criminal acts which are directed against the nomads, the Policemen may shrug their shoulders and say, «What can we do?» The judge may likewise shrug his shoulders and do nothing about such blatant crimes. Can these attitudes be permitted any longer? Are innocent citizens of the Republic going to be robbed like this in a regional capital like Hargeisa without the responsible authorities raising a finger? Mark my words, the rural people among whom the nomads have travelled found it unthinkable to rob these people. Who said such robbers cannot be brought before the law courts and be punished for their crimes? Shall I enumerate to you the number of laws that effectively deal with such robbers? There are as many as a hundred articles.

Such a crime is tantamount to high treason! It cannot and must never be tolerated or let to go unpunished. It would be right to imprison the Governor under whose jurisdiction such crimes take place. The same is true of the Police officers concerned as well as the judges. This is the truth, because it is they who are responsible for the enforcement of law and order in every region of the Republic. To give an example, the nomads are often told that their livestock were shipped off to Jeddah and they have to wait for the money. But the robber might have never owned a cent in all his life. This is the way in which many nomads are robbed of their livestock in broad daylight.

Another example is that of my brothers in the region of Mudugh who began looting camels again. Everybody knows

that we have issued a tough law against camel looters that carries the death penalty. We know what will be the next target when camel looting is started. The owner of the camels will surely track down the looter and will shoot him on sight and the situation will finally get out of hand. What is the Divisional Commander of the Police waiting for? What about the Regional Governor who is responsible for the whole region? Do you have to wait until everybody takes the law into his own hands? Kill the person or persons who are the cause of the trouble before the situation deteriorates instead. Let the lone camel looter die in order to save the lives of the others who would have been victims of his original crime. Why does the thief in Dusa Mareb and its area have to cause us such a trouble? You have explicit laws that deal with such a person before he takes the lives of many more innocent people. Do you have to wait until law and order are about to go out of hand and the shadow of anarchy looms large over the whole region? No! You don't have to and you should not.

Coming down to the officers who are in charge of the Police Stations and the judges, I would unhesitatingly declare that the Somali people have no cause to respect either of them. The people everywhere complain about these authorities very loudly. They are the first and the principal reason that causes the limp in the administration of justice in this country. There is much with which they can deal effectively without referring to higher authorities. But they do not deal with the disputing parties or offenders in the right and just way. Indeed some of them are said to be anti-revolutionary and consequently irritate the people so that the public may get angry with the Revolution. This is a general complaint about them. I am not saying that they are all in this category but undoub-

tedly there is something fishy in their administration of justice otherwise there would not have been such complaints.

The Police is the guardian of justice and therefore we call upon them to administer it well and in the right way. It is said that if the stem of a branch becomes crooked when the plant is a sapling, then it is impossible for anyone to straighten it later. The same is true of the administration of justice that begins at the Police Station; at the man on the beat and the charging officers. If they do not administer it properly at these early stages then it is impossible for anyone else to put it right again. Therefore the proper administration of justice must begin at its early stages because it is there where the root cause of all injustices lies.

The first duty of the senior officers of the State is to orient their subordinates in the basic duties. Secondly the officers must issue clear instructions along the lines they have been oriented. Thirdly the officers must supervise their subordinates in the execution of the instructions given. When I ask you to take disciplinary measures against your staff when necessary, I mean that you must do so in the case of those who fail to carry out their duties properly after they have been trained properly on their duties. Naturally, one cannot discipline a police agent who was never told what his duties were in the first place.

In the orientation programme you give to your staff, you must educate them in the principles of the Revolution, in the respect due to human dignity, in their own duties and rights, in the importance of enforcing the law, in the importance of the Police Force to the nation, and in good manners. If you do not do that who else is supposed to teach them. Policemen are

not naturally born well-versed in their responsibilities and they are likely to make mistakes, for which you, as their principal teachers, would be held responsible.

Let me also say a few words of basic orientational value. To begin with what is the value of the Police Force in the first place? What are their specific duties? In what way are they responsible for the enforcement of the laws of the land; in nation-building; as far as their attitudes, morality and respect for human dignity are concerned; in maintaining the unity of the People; in enforcing the principles of equality among the people; in the economic development process of the country as well as education, health etc.? What are their specific duties in each of the above fields?

It is possible that the Police were in the past confined to a narrow range of the law enforcement tasks, in their belief that politics were the concern of only a few people. Although things were generally like that yet the law did not so narrowly limit the duties of the Police. Other people were simply infringing on their lawful duties.

Let us, first of all, pose the question: Why is the Police established in the first place? And who establishes it? The Police Force is established by the people's majority in order to secure their peace, freedom and the execution of their laws in the way they want them to be enforced i.e. to protect the majority of the good people against the criminal and corrupt minority in every walk or aspect of human life. The law prescribes that no person should be subjected to any sort of injustice. But if a person is unlawfully denied the chance of getting employment; if he is denied justice in the court of law;

if he is denied his rights as a citizen while another is given them; if all these things take place right under the very nose of the Police, what will be the results? Why does such a person need a Police Force that do not safeguard his rights and his freedom? Doesn't the Police fail to fulfil its basic function in the society in this case? Surely it does.

Another thing is that the economy of a country does not and cannot develop unless that of the individual also develops. The only way in which an individual's economy may develop is that every responsible person in the country must carry out his duties to the best of his ability. The first and most important officers in this field are also in the Police. This is so because the economic practices in a country are dependent upon the laws of the land. Ways of earning a living are planned and prescribed and are clearly spelt out in unambiguous terms. The Police Force is charged with the task of apprehending those who do not conform to the rules and regulations of economic practices as have been laid down by law. It is also the Force that is charged with the test of initiating new legislations for any practices that are not, as yet, covered by the existing laws of the land. The Policeman can therefore be rightly described as the ears and the central nervous system of the country, since he is the guardian of the people's basic rights and the sovereignty of the country.

To sum up, the Police are involved in ensuring fairness in the economic life of the country, in the orientation and guidance of the general public and in the protection of the country against external aggression and internal sabotage. It is the Policeman's duty to ensure that the people respect the laws of the land. He is also charged with the task of preventing

crimes before they take place by orientation of the people and by physically making it uncomfortable for the criminal to continue to live as parasites on the society. When criminals, however, commit crimes in spite of the preventive efforts of the Police, a Policeman is, of course, charged with the task of arresting them and of presenting them to the courts without undue delay.

These are the responsibilities of the Police Force if we are to say nothing but the whole truth. A Somali proverb holds it, «He who does not tell the truth, Lie is reserved for him». (NIN-KAAN RUN SHEEGGIN BEEN BAA U KAYDSAN). It is undisputable fact that we cannot run Somalia on lies and rumor-mongering. You yourselves cannot also do that with respect to your regions, districts and stations. The same is also true in the case of the judges. We have to proceed in our work from positions of truth and from the realities of our time. We must know the difficulties that confront us today. How were these difficulties caused?

These difficulties that confront us today were caused by the fact that in the pre-Revolutionary period, the Police Force had become a separate and an independent government. They became tied to members of Parliament and to certain Ministers until an anarchic situation was reached in which even the discipline of the Force had very badly deteriorated. You yourselves bear witness to the truth of my words, if we are God-fearing people!

What were the judges also like in those pre-Revolutionary times? The Judiciary had become an independent state as well. They were submerged to their chins in bribery, envy,

corruption and self-centredness. They were not interested in justice or in serving the people. It usually so happened that those two independent «States» were not on speaking terms through continuous bickering that almost led to the total collapse of the administration of justice in the country. Each organ used to run its functions independently from the other a state of affairs that led to personal antagonism and consequently to total lack of cooperation.

Jaallayaal, if we want to build a new Somalia don't we have to abandon the corrupt practices of the past? Isn't it right and proper for the Police Force to carry out its responsibilities in the administration of justice under the direction of the Judiciary organ of the State? Shouldn't policemen refrain from hypocrisy, framing up of innocent people, and bringing of personal interests before those of the nation? It is time for the policeman to tell himself: «Well, a judge is a judge, he is in charge of the interpretations of the law, his is the final word and I am going to obey his lawful instructions».

Shouldn't my brother the judge also throw behind his back his claims to «personal» independence, hypocrisy, commercialism and the lies of the past and administer justice without fear or favour and in accordance with the laws of the land? Shouldn't he promptly deal with the cases that the Police have taken great pains to investigate, prepare the charges legally and bring them before the Magistrates? This is the proper way if we are to serve the interests of the Somali people as we really should. If we really don't want that then the case will take a totally different twist! If it is the latter course that you want, then we emphatically disclaim such a course. We are even prepared to begin the Revolution from the start once more

if the need arises. By Almighty God we are prepared to do that!

It is my firm belief that if we do not diagnose our present ills properly, then the disease will continue to be with us and we will not find anyone else who may tell us the naked truth right to our faces. The two diseases from which we now suffer are those old misconceptions about the real duties of the Police Force and the Judiciary. It is imperative that we must correct both misconceptions and mal-practices in those organs which share the administration of justice. The truth must reign supreme over our country.

On the inception of the October Revolution we have issued a very important piece of legislation. This particular law creates virtually independent regions and districts within the Republic. We have enacted the law in order to decentralise it and at the same time we have taken decision-making out of individual responsibility into collective responsibility so as to pool many minds who will discuss the problems together and collectively reach the decisions that may benefit the people of each area.

How did we make the composition of the Regional Revolutionary Council (RRC)? We have made the Regional Governor the Chairman of the RRC. It is his duty to bring before the Council all the policies, instructions, by-laws etc. for general discussion after which decisions must be arrived at by a majority vote that does not conflict with the general policies of the Supreme Revolutionary Council here in Mogadishu. After a decision is made on a certain issue, then the departments and other organs concerned must allowed to implement it. The Re-

gional Governor has to coordinate the activities of the various branches of the Government in the region and to supervise the manner in which each and everyone of them is carrying out the decisions of the RRC. He has to see whether the Divisional Police Commandant carries out the RRC's decisions and if he does not to bring him to account for such failure. In the same way the work of the DDAO, Regional Agricultural Officer, the Forestry Officer etc. is to be overseen. His work, in short, is supervision, coordination and control of his regional staff.

The Governor is not, however, permitted to stand in the middle of the street and take whatever decisions he may wish. Never! The Regional Governors among you must heed this very well; the law does not give you dictatorial powers, neither do our instructions to you. The same is also true of the DDAOs. The power to take decisions is vested in the RRCs and the DRCs. The Regional and the District Revolutionary Councils must be in almost constant sessions in order to discuss the problems, difficulties of the nation-building and development projects in order to take the appropriate decisions in line with the policies of the SRC. The Councils have every right to sit and take decisions on anything upon which the SRC did not as yet, issue directives or a policy line.

It is almost three years since we have issued that all-important law: the administrative structure of the country has the SRC on the national level and the RRC and DRC at the regional and district levels. In the case of the Region or the District, the Council members not only represent the local council, but also represent their own Ministries or State agencies in that area. It is the duty of every member to voice the of-

ficial policy of his respective Ministry in the RRC or DRC. I cannot, therefore, understand what creates the confusion. I cannot see the wisdom of the DDAO who usurps the power of the DRC and issues instructions without the knowledge of the Police Station Officer. The same is also true of the Regional Governor who behaves in the same way.

I could have understood it if this took place in the «Musuq-masuq» era when every officer had his own line of policy to follow. Today, when there is collective responsibility and hard work what compels such men to behave in the way they do? Do they only want the people to say, «The Governor said so and so» or «The DDAO said so and so», or «The Divisional Commandant did this and that?» In the past, the prevalence of corruption and bribery had led to that kind of maladministration. Public money used to be embezzled under the cover of secrecy and seeds of discord were sown in this way.

These sinister practices dictated the unnecessary secrecy by the public officers. This is the truth. But today we are striving to make peace among the Somali people. We are not going to steal their public money and we will take to the firing squad those who do so. Instead we will use the people's money for their prosperity and welfare. Under these circumstances isn't it right to gather, say, 10 people, and to discuss a problem with them in order to make the right decision that will serve the interests of the people? Why should one hide the issues from his colleagues?

This is the relationship that should be maintained by the members and the Chairmen of the RRC and the DRC. It is said that the people who do not consult each other or who hide

things from each other, are like two different hen-houses. They are the most foolish people to whom a task may be entrusted.

The point here is that whatever may happen in the region must be immediately communicated to the members of the Council; the Regional Governor, the Divisional Commandant, the DDAO etc. There should be no compartmentalisations of governmental work any longer. There must be constant and immediate exchange of information on what is taking place in the region or district. For example, if the Regional Governor is not informed of what is going on in the region, the good as well as the bad news by the N.S.S., the Police, the Army, etc. who is going to do that? We are not going to give the Regional Governor new funds in order to create a new government structure in the region, because we have already issued the necessary funds, and it is the duty of those concerned to serve the Regional Governor. This is the proper relationship of the staff of the region and the district. On his part the Regional Governor or the DDAO must stop usurping the Council's powers and taking decisions independently. We have all to serve the interests of the Somali people.

Let me now turn to an issue that touches the entire Somali people. This is the work of the National Agency for Trade (ENC). You yourselves are responsible for the greater part of this Agency's management. The first objective behind the establishment of the Agency is to control our hard currency reserves. We are being fought against because the capitalists do not want our adoption of scientific socialism. We, therefore, want to know the amount of our hard currency reserves which we spend on the purchase of our essential requirements from abroad.

The second objective is that we want to cut the links imperialism and its local lackeys.

The third one is that we want to end the exploitation of the toiling masses of our people so that the same trading facilities and prices will prevail throughout the country, in Mogadiscio, Ras Kiamboni, Zeila, Ras Hafun, etc. The principal aim here is to offer the same standard of living throughout the country and thereby serve the well-being and progress of the people.

The fourth objective is to make some profit no matter how small from the process at the same time. These profits will then be used in the establishment of new industries in the country in order to provide employment opportunities for more Somalis and to also develop the economy of the country.

From this moment, I tell you that you are responsible for the realisation of these objectives and there is no way in which you can escape it. It is one of the duties of the Governors, Divisional Commandants, the DDAO's and Police Station Officers to make this Agency a successful enterprise. Let us, therefore, do our work sincerely, honestly and efficiently. Let us do what we know we can do and which we know our people also want and desire. When we do that, then let us wait for the reaction of our people, whether they break faith with us or whether they return our sincerity with untarnished gratitude. I am positive that they will be very grateful.

## JUSTICE MUST PREVAIL

*Jaalle Siad's speech to judges from the regions:*

10-8-1972

I am glad to meet again a large number of Somali judges and to listen, on behalf of the S.R.C. and the Council of Secretaries, to the legal problems and the ideas raised for their solutions. I have decided to let you speak up your minds first in this transitional period to gain insight into your ideas and problems which could not be anyway hidden from us.

I feel though that some of you did not say exactly all they wanted to say and shirked from the real issues. It would have been better if all stated their grievances since nobody is under duress and since the country belongs to all Somalis and hence the necessity for everyone of us to pinpoint what to him constitutes a problem; and to suggest ways to improve what needs improvements.

I thank all those of you who spoke the clarity of your dictions and said what was your right to say. Nobody has monopoly over the affairs of this country. It is incumbent upon each and every Somali to question the affairs of the nation in a sincere way. There are some who twist what is wrong into what is right but we are prepared to discuss with such elements and thrash the problems across the table. We are willing always to negotiate for the common good. From such discussions we can tell who is honest and who has other motives besides ours, in which case we will point out firmly that we disagree. We do not think that government functions on hasty decisions and spasmodic directives. Take for example public administration. We do not think that the administrative machine is being run quite as is required. We think one of the major reasons for this is that wholehearted sincerity in administering the public is lacking. If we were honest in all our actions we would surely achieve a ninety per cent success, because we know we could attain this. Another reason is due to simple habit. Some acquire the notion that to turn left is going to the dogs while others insist on following the broad traditional highway.

What is good in following a road however wide it may be, if it leads you to the wrong course? Therefore it is necessary to dissect government problems not only in here but everywhere. Neither the DDAO nor the Governor has the right to monopolize public affairs. Anyone who maintains that is wrong. Nobody whether a Secretary of State, judge or SRC member dare monopolize our affairs. The right thing is for us all to sit round the table and discuss everything thoroughly and there and then take sound collective decisions.

Let me now move over to the achievements and short-falls of the last three years and bestow praise where it is due and blame where required. First of all I want to touch on socialism and what we think is the best system for organization and management.

The reasons why I have urged you to voice your true opinions and not shirk the real issues that need to be highlighted, or why we won't either ignore such problems — these reasons are based on socialist principles — are because our principles negate falsehood and avoidance of hurting other people's feeling where the common good is concerned, secondly, socialism does not suffer from any complexes. The principles of scientific socialism stipulate that all that is done or need doing whether individually or collectively, or all that is not done for some reason or other, must be completely itemized and the reasons for failure or success documented. Then what have to be achieved will get praise worthy of them, and failure will be analysed and rectified, and people concerned be blamed for slackness and not trying hard enough.

Under scientific socialism therefore nothing should be hidden that needs exposure; things like untruth, frame-up and suspicions cannot be tolerated. Nobody can make his own what is public property and the duty of every person is to work for the betterment of the masses, and to fulfil the tasks of nation-building. There can be no honour in upholding injustice to safeguard the «honour» of a person who is guilty against the nation. It is therefore necessary if we continually keep a check on the charts of failure, short-fall and achievement, and ask ourselves who is responsible, to the last man, for what has not been done and why? There should then be

no compunctions for such a person or persons if their short-falls were intentional. But those who failed because of ignorance should be told how, so that such mistakes are not repeated.

If however success was hindered due to reasons outside the personal domain, new tactics have to be devised for the solution of the obstacles that led to failure.

I would have liked if we all understood the essence of such meetings like this one; what are their benefits and what can be gained from any blames thrown out at such occasions? This is not just a verbal exercise or an exchange of social niceties. On behalf of the SRC and the Council of Secretaries I am hereby to tell each and everyone of you what the truth really is. This is not because I just want to hurt your feelings but it is not right to put one of you, who has done wrong to the Somali nation, above the rest of the people. I will not favour anyone against my people and my country. If such a person is mentally healthy such blame might wake him up and make him more aware in the future, but if he is good-for-nothing at the outset, isn't it better that we point him out for what he is? Such is the purpose of this meeting and its likes.

Now passing over to scientific socialism, it is not an idol to revere as I have said several times before but this is a socio-economic system fundamentally needed to enable us reach the goal which is best for us. The socialist ideology comprises political, economic, educational, legal, social, medical, psychological and all other aspects that are required to unify and orient a nation for the betterment of its lot. Since all these disciplines are included and need understanding to reach our objectives, which path is for us to follow to achieve them? What is necessary to harvest the fruits of such noble goals, so that

our course does not become just a subject for mental exercise, for cafe gossip mongers and card players but something concrete that will benefit all?

I personally believe that before we even attempt to reach such a goal, it is incumbent upon us to be both physically and mentally healthy. What do we mean by physical and mental health? This means to be totally cleansed from all the complexes of human failings, such as avarice and to be obsessed with having a big car and leaving inheritance for your progeny. We must get cured from such things and come back to reason and contentment. We must learn to live happily within the confines of Somali society. So long as one entertains perverted ambitions he will always try to procure his selfish ends in every way possible; he can become a spy or a thief; he may take bribes or indulge in favouritism. This will lead you to be always envious of others.

It is therefore necessary to get rid of all these bad habits — in fact to discard all the dressings of capitalism — in order to reach wholesomeness as a human entity. We must discard injustice and judge impartially without any fear or favour, bearing in mind that you stand responsible for the well-being or otherwise of those brought before you. What is there to compel you to carry out injustice?

We said that greed is one of the factors that could persuade someone to practise injustice. What other factors are there?

Tribalism stands out as one of such factors. It is unfortunate that our nation is rather too clanish; if all Somalis are to go to Hell, tribalism will be their vehicle to reach there.

Some people base their tribal loyalties on religion but the Koran never states anything beyond human understanding. Those who trade evil under religious guise are liars and cannot deceive anyone but themselves. This is what brings about nepotism.

During the campaign against tribalism, people boomed through loud-speakers denigrating tribalism. I said at the time that it was necessary first to analyse the historical connotation of tribal affiliations. Well, tribalism existed from time immemorial but we must go further than that, man must progress from tribes to nations. There is therefore a difference between tribal lineage and national sovereignty. Tribalism and nationalism cannot go hand in hand. When man lived in caves and on top of trees what was he defending? He was in fear for his life alone because he lived in family units. But when he developed into tribal societies he came out from the caves and down from the trees and made his habitat on the plains, because there were more of his kind around him.

Tribalism is one of the stages of social development; do we have to stick to it when most peoples progressed into nations? Can we not extrapolate the tribal society into the national society? Could it be possible that we insist on hanging on to tribalism and at the same time voice national aspirations common to all of us? This cannot be possible. This is an anachronistic system that has gone into disrepute centuries ago. We cannot reconcile the old tribal system and the new modern state we want to construct. Tribalism is to be recognised as a past evolutionary stage common to all the peoples of the world.

The weak elements in our society may not be able to easily rid themselves of a system in which they were born and bred; it is only those of us with strong determination who can sever the umbilical chord of tribalism. I mean by the «weak» those who are in the habit of organizing tribal gatherings, nocturnal whisperings and rumour-mongerings. They are the useless, lying thieves who cannot come into the open like the rest of us. These are the addicts of tribalism.

A man who has confidence in himself, his country, and his ability will not think twice to disrobe himself of tribal attire. Such a man will succeed in life. There is the anecdote about one who had strong tribal leanings who said «I have nothing really against the Revolution but it destroyed our traditions; how can tribalism be erased?». How silly can one get! A tribalist is a weak person who lacks what it takes to be confident; he cannot just sleep somewhere soundly; he worries too much all the time and suspects all that goes around him. He is always afraid. Therefore we must never practise nepotism. It is one of those ills which we need to cure from ourselves. When you are doing your duty you must have God, country, and honour in your mind. You must be a man who is totally cured, not only when you are sitting on the bench but always wherever you are and whatever you are doing whether standing, walking, judging thinking or giving advice.

There is this phenomenon of being 'human». It is always necessary to respect human values and safeguard human honour. If we do not give each his due regard that means we have not yet been cured, we are still sick. If we are not cured we cannot fulfil the principles of scientific socialism.

There is again envy: one of the ills to be cured. To be envious of the success of others to spread false rumours, to stab at the back and generally weave evil against anyone who might achieve success or a windfall through hard work, or may be lucky; to partake in such ill-deeds renders one unhealthy in a socialist sense. This behaviour is synonymous with not giving one his due praise. You must tell about the good qualities of a fellow human being. You must say: «That is a good person». Even if he annoyed you sometime earlier you must itemize his good points and state his intelligence, courage, ability and knowledge; you must not be selfish and say if nobody praises me why should I praise anyone. You must not envy someone when he shows forthright qualities that project his good personality and not say: «Well he left me standing». This is a long subject that cannot be encompassed so quickly.

This place is the Supreme Command of our Somali society. If we look around and comment on the red carpets and say why can't you also get them and therefore become envious and try lowly methods in your quest or nurse rancour, is not that degrading? It is better if each one tried to be contented and not long enviously for other people's property. On the personal level no envy should ever be born or practised against your «Jaalle».

On the national level, we should not envy other countries, neither should one department be jealous of another, but each should be satisfied with and try to improve its own.

Coming back to the theme of my speech remember that the principles of scientific socialism benefits only those who are

truly healthy, bodily and mentally; the mature mind, not a blocked mind that have rejected all such mundane evils like greed, jealousy and envy. It boils down to having the fundamental conviction: «I want to work for my people and my country».

When this high level of self-satisfaction is reached a great deal that will suffice everyone will be achieved. It will then and only then be possible for each and everyone to attain his aims under the socialist system.

To take justice as an example, the branches of government are wholly inter-dependent, each yearns for the loss of the other; none can function independently. Therefore if justice is maintained, would not peace prevail in the land? Yes, peace will prevail, for justice will safeguard against any possibility to do wrong to others or it will mete out his due to anyone who persists on the wrong. Justice will thus bring about peace and when peace prevails erudition and technological progress is then possible, and technology is the basis for any economic emancipation and high standards of public health.

When all these are achieved there will be definitely no room for injustice. We will not then betray each other, rob, steal or degrade others, but everyone will be free to follow his own road to happiness.

To put it succinctly all humanity, and this includes the capitalist, the socialist, the suffi, and the atheist, want economic prosperity, good education, constant health, peace and honour. To achieve all this is only possible through scientific

socialism and to be a true socialist only needs to rid oneself of all human failings and selfish ambitions.

Socialism and capitalism are the two main socio-economic systems that are practised on earth. There are also some who are completely disoriented and do not know which is which, as we were not so far ago. We know anyway that socialism has no bad points, provided those who adopt it do not create adverse problems through ignorance. The socialist principles are intrinsically sound and contain no backlashes. That is the key to our salvation.

people must understand it is necessary to adopt scientific socialism if we are to reach independence. The time it will take to orient our people on the socialist course is directly proportional to the degree of effort harnessed by our educated sector and those who are in positions of responsibility. If we crawl, socialist progress will drag and we will not reach our goal nor would the objective of the tolling masses ever be achieved easily.

Those who supported the Revolution from the start and who really are its backbone are the so-called lower classes, whom I prefer to call the honest classes. If those of us who hold responsibility procrastinate in fulfilling the achievements of the Revolution, the attainment of our goals will take that much longer. If the administrative strata pull in different directions many difficulties will occur and we may plunge into constant revolutions, bloodshed and loss of life; but in the end things will stabilize, so long the socialist course remains the guiding light.

Before delving into the other issues, I touched on socialism to point out how it could be consolidated. Now I must go into the special issue of organizing justice.

It is true that there are many conflicting and contradicting laws concerning both the application of past laws under present circumstances and present laws in relations to past legal precedents. Perhaps I said to you in a lighter mood, if there are such conflicting legislation why don't you bring it to our notice; this is not the time when a single amendment used to drag through years of lobbying and bribery. If it is necessary now the SRC and the Council of Secretaries will sit in the middle of the night and take decisions, and pass them immediately for implementation. I said a hundred times you must disentangle any contradictory laws and submit them to us for approval.

Mind you I still maintain that there can be no conflict within the law; it is written on paper and any mistakes can be easily corrected. The conflict is present in our minds; it is due to hangovers from the pre-revolutionary system; it arises from improper understanding of our present socialist directives, it arises from the intrigues and false notions created by fortune-tellers and rumour mongers, who propagated unfounded stories. Many such elements live in a false world, we know all about the nocturnal missions.

It is therefore obvious that it is this false notion of expecting some change round the corner that inhibits some elements to face problems directly in the face and work out honestly some solutions. We know the lying fortune-teller and the dishonest tribalist of yesterday are feeding these elements baseless information.

They tell you that some of the SRC support them; that they have a big backing from numerous military officers, they tell you all these newly fabricated lies and many more that will make you turn in disgust. These compulsive propagandists who even manage to fool their imperialist friends will of course find an easy prey in the half-hearted and greedy, who misses his ration of ill-gotten wares. How can such a person do an honest piece of work while living in a world of mirages?

In reality therefore, the conflict is within the self not in the legal documents, which can be very easily altered. There was once a judge in Bosaso who submitted a very reasonable proposal. I brought up the case in a Council meeting. We did not know whether the Secretary was informed, but we drafted out a directive there and then, and that proposal is now law. Thus the conflict was erased and it did not take long. That means judges should fish out for any laws which seem incompatible with our socialist system of government and forward them to us. Surely nobody is preventing you to do that. What I say is, the mind should be cured.

If this mental conflict arises from sentiments for the previous system, I want to repeat again the affairs of our country are not in the monopoly of any individual. Anyone who thinks that must be a deranged fool. He must be deaf and dumb. For three years we were saying there is no monopoly. He may be in a very responsible position, but in the final analysis, his fate will be terrible for he is nothing more than a mad nin-compoop.

Therefore, so long nothing is monopolized in the country's affairs, voice your own opinion and do not be afraid. What is

a judge anyway? Is he a man who comes with his pen to his office, opens out his case books, listens to the cases brought before him and then goes home for lunch? Is that the definition of a judge? Is he what is called «Organo judiciario, «Organo legislativo» or what used to be called «Organo parlamentario legislativo?» Is he the man who just says: «I am only concerned with the law?» Does he have to be a patriot and/or a judge? Is it the duty of a judge to participate in the economic development of the country and the nation's orientation? Is he concerned with the health problems and cultural advancement or does he confine himself only to legal matters? There are many questions to be answered.

First of all, a judge of ours is a Somali; it is therefore incumbent upon him to be a patriot who concerns himself with everything that enhances the development of the nation. He is legally bound to be concerned with security, defence, orientation of the masses, health and virtually everything else. There may be elements who read interference into his activities but such persons, if they exist, are immature and need to ask the judges for help to orient them, because our Revolution negates totalitarianism, and interference is right when it is in the interest of the country.

A judge is everything. To me a judge is a real one when he, presiding over a case, sits on the bench and listens patiently to the pros and cons of the case and then sums up the judgement according to the letter of the law. When the court rises he is then a man who is responsible for the welfare of the nation. That responsibility bears heavily on his shoulders and cannot be asily removed.

To repeat my definition, he must be a detribalized patriot. I stress this point because his judgement must be based on the law book and for his country's interest. For example, it is said that a religious man never lacks a loophole (WADAAD QIIL MA WAAYO), if a judge tries to seek a loophole for a traitor, then he is a traitor himself. His paramount condition for judgement is to be doubly sure through his conscience and experience that an accused is guilty or not.

If a judge is totally convinced that a person is not guilty his patriotism commands him to release such a person, but if he is sure about the guilt of the accused he should sentence those who are trying to trip the nation's interest. That is my idea about a judge.

In this revolutionary era, a judge must be a revolutionary and a socialist. Otherwise he cannot function as a good judge in our socialist society. If one always sticks to a certain point through lack of knowledge or through insufficient understanding of the holy Koran, he should submit his resignation since he is too scared to get out of his cuckoo-world, crass ideas and old beliefs.

So long our socialist principles are intended to better the socio-economic conditions of the toiling masses and lead them to prosperity, I believe such motives are Islamic and anyone who supports them will go to Paradise and not Hell.

When the socialist ideology preaches all that leads to the betterment of mankind and disavows all the evil deeds and bad feelings of man, do not its principles coincide with those of Islam? Isn't it patriotic to adopt such a system that frees

your brothers culturally, politically, socially and economically?

Then if a judge's verdict is based upon a belief in such noble socialist principles, would not his judgement pertain to justice? I say Yes! There is no doubt about the righteousness of a judge upholding the true beliefs of scientific socialism.

An advocate is not «contra bandera». He is not like the foreigner who is here for the money, but he must be a patriot.

I know for sure the foreigner among us is basically a patriot in his own way, working for the good of his country. My idea about a barrister maintains that he may charge fees for defending the rights of those who cannot speak for themselves eloquently and legalistically, but I do not advocate an educated man should take money from an obvious criminal and find legal ways and means to let him get away with it so that he may rob the people again. That is not really my idea of a good advocate.

We maintain that the old bad practice should be stopped and the customary methods of turning and twisting the law should be discarded. We do not want any injustice. The question to be asked is whether the accused is guilty or not guilty? Each legal system is based on the ideological system of the country. Our philosophy is based on justice. If a man is guilty his guilt must be confirmed; if he is not guilty he should be let to go immediately through the door.

The usual habit of indulging in the absence of a «comma» or the signature of Kadi So and So do not concern us. If the accused is guilty he should be sentenced. If some of you

still entertain such legal gymnastics, you better change such practices herefrom. We have no time for such men; we are revolutionaries and what we decide tonight we will do tomorrow. I think I have made myself very clear; an innocent man must be immediately set free. But to waste time on a man, who committed a crime against the country, and seek for him ex-entuating circumstances as copied from foreign legal system, that we cannot and will not tolerate. I am telling you right now, if there is anything you want changing speak up now, tomorrow the Councils will be summoned and the whole thing rationalized.

When you draft laws they should be based upon justice for the common people, and related to the political objectives of the nation. A judge does not make a law, we do, and we say that we do not want the innocent one to suffer or the guilty one to escape. That is our point. In a revolutionary era all obstacles are easily and quickly removed. It is your responsibility to bring before us the legal sticks and stones in your way, if you do not have any excuse, and we will remove them from your path.

I will leave the generalities there and go into the special issue of justice.

Jaallayaal, all good men will submit that justice has made big strides forward since the revolution, but can we say we are really satisfied? We cannot. We are not yet really satisfied. We are not crawling now but we are limping. The limp must be removed. We know, for example, that many people are in the jails of Hargeisa and Burao. Why are so many people in prison? Soon, I may visit such places. The people who are

guilty should be sentenced and the rest released. If you want light up a lamp but so long an innocent person is in jail, you have no right to sleep. If you cannot get a typist you write it in your own handwriting. That could then remind us of our responsibilities. Your responsibility is not ours neither is yours ours.

Your responsibility is to judge justly. Lack of personnel might slow you down but the work must go on. If you just fold your arms that is not right. Both God and us can see that what you are hurting is a Somali. Your recognition will come from us and the people according to your dedication. We say again there are still many people in the jails. This situation needs rectifying. Things have improved lately but more speed is required.

Another point is that you must avoid telling people to come back. If a case is opened the judge must stay on the bench till it ends. He should then implement the verdict immediately and not just put it into cold storage. He should make sure that its implementation is finalized.

There is no use of reading a verdict without seeing it that it is fulfilled. With the passage of time a complainant may get fed up and decide to abandon everything in complete despair of ever getting justice. There is nothing uglier than an unexecuted decision of a court; when a judge hands down a judgement but it nevertheless remains unexecuted, because it has neither force nor honour behind it, naturally the law becomes meaningless if its decisions are not promptly executed.

A judge, therefore, must first stop postponing the handing down of court decisions. Secondly he must pronounce them im-

partially before Almighty God, in fulfilment of his duties to his country and to the best of his judgement. He must not hesitate to do so. He must say: «I am not going to delay court decisions and I must pronounce them without fear or favour. I must solely fear my own conscience and consider each case to the best of my knowledge. When I hand down a decision I am going to see to it that it is fully implemented; I will not take rest until I do so».

Appeals are open to those who do not consider a court decision to have been fair. But these are generally subjected to a great deal of delays and postponements in which both time and effort are wasted. Appeals must be dealt with promptly. Why should they continually be postponed? We have established appeal courts in every region. These and the district courts must have speedy communications with each other so that any appeal against a lower court's decision can quickly be communicated to the Appeal Court which must in turn look into them as early as possible. We understand that our country is one of great distances but nothing else apart from the unavailability of transport must delay the communication between the two courts.

The appeal courts must not order retrials of cases because a comma (,) has been omitted by a lower court, which commonly happens. If it is only a matter of the comma or some minor procedural lapses the appeal Court judge must rectify these and then proceed with the review of the case. Speed is an essential pre-requisite in settling disputes. Why delay the whole thing through a retrial, thus causing the people concerned unnecessary hardships and financial burdens? Why frustrate the people? I believe that these unnecessary delays are

disservice to the administration of justice in our country. If there are blind spots in the laws of the land we urge you to initiate their earliest remedy.

Consider the case of an appellant from Bosaso or any other part of the country who treks to the Supreme Court here in Mogadishu and who spends some four months before his turn comes up. Why should he be told to go back and start the whole thing all over again? Surely this can be done only when there were serious lapses, errors and omissions such as ignoring important evidence or hearing a key witness for the first time etc. in order to avoid miscarriage of justice. This is just and it is also understandable, but should there be a retrial because of some minor procedural lapses, is it worth all the trouble? Or is this justice for that matter?

What we want to safeguard are the interests of the Somali masses as well as those of the individual without prejudicing either of them. A revolution comes to rectify past wrongs speedily. We must do exactly that. We must not be hampered in our work with minor things. We have to develop our country as fast as we can.

There is a great deal of complaints that are voiced about the unnecessary delays in the administration of justice. I sincerely hope that you would put this to an end forthwith in every way possible for you.

I cannot understand how is the other complaint about the administration of justice is at all possible, but it seems that the police and the judges are at variance. There are complaints about this almost every day. I simply cannot under-

stand how this can occur in the first place. I am sorry about this but I would have liked to have the top officials of the Police also here.

A judge is concerned with the hearing of cases and the handing down of judgments. This is his basic function and the Police have a different role to play. It is to carry out the orders and instructions of the judges. What is the reason then for their disagreement? Are the judge's instructions to the policeman unlawful and have no legal bases at all? As we know the law entitles a Police officer to disobey the unlawful instructions of a judge. It is in the books. Is the judge, who has been entrusted with the grave responsibility of the administration of justice, that much ignorant and gives unlawful instructions, and out of his own accord, so to speak? Or is it the Policeman who wants to replace the judge instead? Which one of them is it? In truth both justice and the Revolution itself are lame because of this. I call upon the President of the Supreme Court, the Secretaries of State for Interior and Justice of Religious Affairs, and the Commandant of the Police to solve this problem. The Revolutionary authorities can no longer tolerate this state of affairs. The issue must be settled once and for all.

The roles of the two organs are well defined and clear and we have to eliminate the confusion created within each one of them by the «Musuqmasuq» regimes of the past, because it is this confusion that still has its hold over them. It must go. What I mean is this, the instructions of judge must be based on the law. He has to make sure of this before he issues them. If he gives unlawful instructions then they will not be carried out. They will not be respected and it is the

judge who will face the consequences. At the same time the Police must fully carry out the instructions of the judge, that are based on the law. There is no cause for any disagreements since their roles are so clearly spelled out.

I hope that the members of this seminar would sit down together, discuss the issue thoroughly and submit the necessary directives in consultation with the Ministries concerned, and that the Supreme Revolutionary Council would not be compelled to intervene because of the resulting negative effects the issue will have for the Revolution. We may be slow or be very patient but when we intervene we will have no mercy at all. We will not allow a criminal or a group of criminals to hamper the progress of the country. I am saying this because we have been in this confusion for almost three years now. Neither the SRC nor the Somali people can any longer tolerate judges and Policemen who quarrel. They have absolutely no cause to quarrel over.

I once again call upon you to make sure that the instructions you issue to the Police are lawful. Warrants of arrest will continue to be issued and they will be duly executed, but they must be based on the laws of the land. For example, there has been incidents here that still puzzle me. One of them is that which took place in Mogadishu: the Ministry of Public Transport was approached for the provision of transport to some judicial officers. As it happened the Ministry did not provide the requested transport whether that was due or whether it was due, as is usually revealed later through backbiting, to lack of cooperation for one reason or other.

Any way a warrant of arrest was issued for the «uncooperative officer».

Now I question this: Is this lawful? How long are we going to have our 'own' laws in our pockets? There are things that are purely administrative in nature as there are purely judiciary matters. Let me explain this a bit further. What is an omission? An omission takes place when a person whose duty and responsibility it is to do a certain thing fails to do so. The nature of omissions are clear. A Policeman or a public official who fails to do his duty where an offence is committed cannot be said to have made an omission. He has committed a criminal offence because it is his duty to arrest the culprit. But a doctor who forgets to dress up a wound can be said to have committed an omission. Now suppose you and I are two administrative officers, e.g. a judge and a head of a department, and I fail to provide you with a car. Do you have to issue a warrant of arrest in my name? This is a purely administrative issue that has nothing whatsoever to do with the criminal law.

We must differentiate things and label each for what it is and end up the confusion with which we are now confronted. I respect those people who are strict in their work like Jaalle Hussein, the Secretary and the President of the Supreme Court, and I praise them for it. The work must be accomplished. The judges must play their role. The Revolution and the people must not suffer through a person who neglects to carry out his work. But if things are mixed up then no one would be in a position to know heads from tails. Sometimes they become useless. What two persons in the civil service can do to each other in the event of lack of cooperation is purely through ad-

ministrative means, such as taking disciplinary measures which are to be initiated by the appropriate authorities. If such a person cannot provide an acceptable justification for his alleged lack of cooperation, he may even be dismissed from the service. Court procedures, however, cannot be used against him and no warrant of arrest can be issued against him since what he has committed is not a criminal offence but a purely administrative omission.

Such confusion used to take place before but it should not happen now. You yourselves must refrain from doing such mischievous actions. The law should not be twisted this or that way at all. It must always be used as it was really meant to be. There is no one who will be tolerated if he does otherwise. No one can also justify a law-manipulator's course of action. We cannot tolerate any person who places obstacles in the path of the proper conduct of the Government service. In order to run our work smoothly we must do it in full accord with the laws and regulations — if we do otherwise then we will be opposing the State.

It seems that the proper and correct interpretation of the law on the warrants of arrest is generally ignored by many law officers whether they are judges or Police officers. This is done in order to suit one's designs. But there are only two ways in which one can interpret the law as far as I can see it. The first is the case of the person who commits an ugly crime which outrages the general public like kidnaping a person. Such a culprit should not be allowed to live among the people, even if it is absolutely definite that he will attend the court on the next day. This is against the public feeling. It is possible that such a person may not run away and may be willing to

present himself to the court when that is required. But he cannot be allowed to stay out of jail. Thieves also come under this description.

The other case is that when there is doubt whether a person will attend the court or not. It is possible that he may not come to the court at all. In that case instead of allowing justice to suffer, he must be arrested.

What I want to get across by this lengthy explanation is that there may be for example, a Director General who may commit a crime which is not all that grave. Why should he be immediately arrested and taken to jail, since it is possible that he may be found not guilty? While he is under arrest how much is he going to cost the State in guards, meals, etc.? What is the general public going to gain by arresting the D.G. in this case? Nothing.

I believe if a person is not likely to present himself at the court, he could be arrested. If his own safety is in question he can also be put under protective custody. There are many considerations which are all reasonable. A civil servant who misappropriates public funds on the other hand must be arrested. To do otherwise will be against the public opinion because the man has cheated the public confidence put in him. The people do not want him to remain free.

I am going into all this because it is important that we should have sound knowledge for the job we are going to do. We can only be useful if we know what we are doing. I believe that the academic qualifications earned by a judge in school are not enough. A judge must be able to read a great

deal. We must continue to learn more all the time. Even this is not enough because there are people who are unable to read a lot; who think it to be enough to have a degree. People are not of the same capabilities and for this reason, I even suggest the opening of a special school for the judges to which they can return every year so that they can thoroughly learn all the basic laws and everything that is new in their profession. I believe that there is no perfect person and that education is always needed.

If we are to lead the country, then we must thoroughly know everything that is essential for the running of the work of the State organ that everyone of us manages. I repeat that there is no perfect person. People are likely to forget things. Moreover things are always changing. New laws that may amend or add to the existing ones are constantly issued. It is also essential to study the reasons behind the major laws of the land. It is for this reason that I believe refresher courses are absolutely essential for our law officers.

As to the facilities needed for the proper administration of justice, I admit the fact that everything was not provided for it. I am not going to say that you are going to get them now either. But I can assure you that we are fully aware of the necessary facilities required and that we will provide them as and when we are able to do so.

I have already said it but I want also to repeat this: justice should be administered even under the trees. Instead of grumbling about the lacking facilities a judge must do all that he can under the circumstance in order to ensure the pro-

per administration of justice.

Neither the country, nor the Revolution can make any progress if justice is not properly and justly administered. One of the main reasons for the ignition of the October Revolution was the serious deterioration of the administration of justice. Justice must be dispensed to the people under all circumstances. Courts must properly function in the urban as well as in the rural areas of the country. All disputes among the Somali people must be justly settled and speedily too. This is absolutely necessary because our people yearn for justice.

Many people used to suffer great injustices in the past. At first it was the colonizers who did it. Later it was the loss of national sense of direction and purpose generated by a corrupt neo-colonialist system that perpetrated gross injustices. Our people are therefore thirsty for justice. We can quench their thirst because we have the people and we are fully conscious of our responsibilities today. It is possible that we were not aware of this before. We could have been misled in the past by the trend of the times. But this is no longer possible.

Justice must be a beacon for those who suffer injustice and for all the innocent people. They must regain the confidence that they will get justice. It must be a reality, a tangible thing to them. It must also fill the hearts of the criminals of all descriptions with the fear that their evil doings will one day catch up with them. They must practically find out at their own cost that the arm of justice is indeed too long to trifle with. The kind of justice which we are to dispense to our

people must have a dual effect: the innocent must confidently welcome it while the guilty person must fear retribution.

We cannot realise such an eventuality, however, by simple speech-making. We must exert our concerted efforts for the achievement of that goal and the first battle that we have to fight is with ourselves. A judge must be an example for his community.

But a judge can only become such an example if and when he is the true master of himself. He can be so only when he rejects all pressures from all quarters whatsoever. A judge must not be the one who postpones to the next day what he can do today. A judge must not be a coward and must have the moral courage of pronouncing whatever verdict that in his opinion is just. He must do so without fear or favour. He must chop the meat at the joints, so to speak, where justice is concerned. The judge, who is so strongly-principled and who is doing this in accordance with the dictates of his conscience, his nationalism, the confidence he has in himself, his Islamic faith and his sense of human dignity must naturally win the public recognition and esteem that he deserves. Such a judge must always be impartial and must always follow up the execution of his decisions. What I mean is that a judge must be a person with a strong will. He must not be lazy, a liar, corrupt, tribalist, an opportunist or a hypocrite; he must be as serious as a statue when he is sitting in judgement. His countenance must show his awareness of the grave responsibility that he is shouldering. When he does that then he is bound to win the prestige that befits an administrator of justice. The most rewarding recognition a person can win is that which he gets from his own people.

I am confident that the person against whom a just verdict is handed down will be the first one who will commend the judge's rectitude. I know the Somali people. They simply love justice when they are confident of the impartiality of the law officers. Mind you they will try to get their own way at first. But when they know and are confident that a judge's verdict is the just one, then they are the first to shake hands with him, no matter how bitter is that verdict. Our nation did not as yet lose its natural sense of justice. It may not be true to say the same thing for other nations. It is only we, those of us who are in offices, that have become corrupt.

It is only those who use other people's property, who copied the strange ways of other nations who are corrupt. The rest of the people are clean. We are not like the advanced but corrupt nations. Every Somali becomes satisfied with the pronouncement of a just verdict. I call upon you therefore to dispense justice impartially.

Considering another aspect of the administration of justice, I must deal with the education and screening of the auxiliary staff of our courts. The question is how can they be competent if they are not educated and oriented? How can work in the courts proceed smoothly and efficiently? The registerars are very strongly criticized for their corrupt practices.

The Somali people complain about the auxiliary staff in our courts. The latter are also criticized for their gross inefficiency and the situation is very serious. Efforts to educate and orientate the staff at our courts must be stepped up. They

must also be screened for their honesty and integrity. They must be thoroughly screened. I am not saying that they are all bad. There are many nationalists and honest people among them. But it is said, «one rotten fish, spoils a great ocean». One corrupt person must not be allowed to spoil everything for us. He must be chased away.

We have said before that there was no one who had immunity. He who serves the Somali people must receive his medals and national recognition and those who oppose them must be thrown out. Why should such a person be allowed to burden the people?

Although you judges are complaining about shortage of staff, yet the people are also complaining. The judges are accused of using the auxilliary staff to achieve their corrupt ends. Even the coward, it is said, is aware of what the people say about them. I call upon you to rid the administration of justice of its serious shortcomings. You can do it. If the judge is the source of corruption, how can his staff be honest and efficient? This is my firm belief. It is the judge who is charged with the task of running his court and supervising and controlling his staff. He must, therefore, be held responsible for everything that may go wrong or are irregular.

We believe that the work of a judge should not be confined to his court exclusively. He has to take part in the affairs of his community. Legally, he is now a member of the Local Government Councils, in accordance with a recently published law. It entitles the members of all government organs to take part in the affairs of their localities. The aim behind

this is to allow our qualified manpower to take part in nation-building and in collaboration with the permanent residents of that locality. But a judge must always take interest in the affairs of his community.

I now proceed to tackle the question of providing suitable premises for the judiciary throughout the country. I am not at all pleased with our progress in this field. The SRC had already issued directives on the subject. The building of modern courts and prisons was to have high priority in the self-help projects. Unfortunately nothing much was achieved and the responsibility for this failure is largely due to you. This is so because you should have taken a more active role in this area too by goading the Governors and the DDAO's into their inclusion of such projects in the self-help schemes. If you do not do that who else is going to do it for you? The cow of the sleeping owner delivers a male-calf says the Somali proverb. Such a person must only blame himself. You are still behaving in the same way in which you used to fold back your arms from your responsibilities to the country save that of being a judge. I call upon you to unfold your arms and to be as active as everybody else in the affairs of the country. If you did that in the past, then a great deal could have been achieved, for example in the improvement of the prisoner life. Who did decree that prisoners should live only in shabby and miserable places? Is our sole aim to kill or punish the prisoners there? No, our aim is to reform the prisoner and then to return him to society as a new and a useful person who can help his people and country.

I know you did not have the necessary funds for all this but you could have easily influenced things by suggestions and

by actual participation, because you had already the full support of the SRC. Instead of establishing for example a public garden, why not build decent jail houses? Doesn't human life deserve better care and treatment? True a public garden is also important but surely it is not as important as the reformation of the criminals in our jails. I believe it was and still is your job to have initiated the construction programme. You did not take your work as seriously as every civil servant should.

There is a great deal which must be done and I call upon you to take the lead in this field as well. You have to educate the authorities as well as the general public on the importance of proper and adequate courts and jails. You have to see to it that these are included in the local self-help projects. As we have already directed in the first year of the Revolution, courts and prisons must not continue to be shabby, inadequate and improper rented premises — it seems that the authorities in the districts and regions prefer the construction of «show» places but I know no other thing which has a high priority as the provision of the proper premises for the administration of justice. This is the official policy of the Revolutionary Government and anybody who does not comply with it is wrong and will have to face the consequences.

Jaallayaal, to sum up, we have so far achieved a great deal but we have to do a lot more yet. First of all we have to exert more efforts in the process of nation-building in every respect. The second thing is that we have to reform those of our laws which are either inadequate or are against the aspirations of our people in one way or the other. This is your special area of competence and you have to advise the Revolutionary Government by the submission of recommendations.

The third one is that our people are thirsty for the impartial administration of justice. So we must educate them in this and win back their confidence in our courts. Only impartial and efficient judges can do this. Judges must stem out corruption in the ADMINISTRATION of justice by refraining from taking or demanding bribes, siding with fellow tribal men etc.

Fourthly courts must not sit only in the urban centres. They must be available for the rural populations as well. Co-operation must be maintained with all branches of the Government. Co-operation is a must.

The crux of my speech is this: justice must prevail throughout the country. A socialist revolutionary government cannot and must not allow any corruption whatsoever in the administration of justice. Already some people who did not heed advice are lamenting their mistakes. We will continue to give close attention to this in the future as well.

It seems that one cannot get tired of underscoring the importance of education in the Judiciary, especially. We simply have to know what we are doing. The Ministry and the Supreme Court must jointly provide seminars and refresher courses for the judges and their court staff. Qualified and honest clerks, registerars etc., are as important as the judge himself in the proper administration of justice.

Every judge must undergo, at least for one month per year, a training and orientation programme in law and the ideology of the Revolution.

Finally, a judge must not confine himself only to his work

in the courts. Besides being a judge he is also one of the educated sons of this country, who must participate in and direct the affairs of the nation. The judges like any other group in the country have no choice but to do that. It is a national responsibility and they must carry it out in the right way.

Jaallayaal, we must serve the Somali people, who need justice, orientation, economic progress, education, defence etc. It is imperative that we serve them with devoted minds liberated from the corruption that reigned over our land in the past.

Jaallayaal, I thank you very much.

## CHARITY BEGINS AT HOME

*Jaalle President speaks with 20 Somali Students who have returned home from Italy for vacation:*

**16-8-1972**

Consolidating socialism at home means contributing to the socialist cause in the international arena. It would be meaningless to advocate international socialism while socialism has not taken build a socialist society. As charity begins at home, we must build a socialist society in our country first. Then we shall be of some assistance to the international cause of socialism.

Before the advent of the 21 October Revolution, the country was on the verge of a collapse. Corruption, bribery, injustice, low morality and all imaginable types of dishonesty prevailed as a matter of common occurrence. People would only understand things in terms of money and all other values lost their meaning. People with integrity and dignity were considered as incapable fools.

This affected the economy of the country and the respectability of the Somali nation in the international financial institutions. Farmers neglected their land because there was no market protection for their productions.

These and many other evils which are too many to list here were the causes of the Revolution. So we can rightly say that the Revolution was in response to a public outcry.

Having stepped in to halt the rampant malpractices, we thought that educated civilians would be better than officers. With this view in mind, we handed government machinery to highly educated technocrats. It was a pity to learn later, that these included those who wanted the Revolution to serve tribes or the bourgeois class. All these and others who lost their positions of privileges were disappointed. They began to oppose us and posed obstacles one after another, social opportunists and the bourgeoisie also boosted the list of opposition.

We made it clear that the country was to embark upon the road of scientific socialism, Marxism-Leninism, a system which is not only needed in Somalia but also in Africa. Capitalism has failed to solve the economic, social and cultural problems of Africa and Asia. Also half-baked allegiance to socia-

lism failed to help the situation in these continents. Therefore it has become inevitable that true socialism — scientific socialism — be applied to salvage this poverty-ridden world.

The application of scientific socialism is by no means an easy task. Not only do imperialists and colonialists work out farcical examples of socialism in an attempt to deny true scientific socialism to take roots, but even true socialists differ in the approach to its applications.

Some ignore local conditions and recommend that socialism be applied here as it had been in other countries. These are fanatic, reckless socialists, and are historically bound to fail and endanger the little achievements that have been made.

Anyone who wants to condition a socialist to being an atheist in this wholly Islamic nation is gravely mistaken and cannot go far. On the other hand, we have the uneducated mullahs who have been misled to believe that scientific socialism is a sworn enemy of the Islamic Religion. Both these elements must be educated to the true line that the two can go together to help man.

Many of these extremist socialists come from Italy. Some of them harbour the idea, for example, that the armed forces cannot be socialists. What they are forgetting is that it was the Armed Forces who declared socialism. They are probably mistaking the Somali Armed Forces who are from the poor classes of the society for other armed forces who are recruited from the upper class, and who may therefore oppose socialism. Our Revolution is an armed force from the masses, hence the point of mistrust does not arise.

Occupying the Somali Embassy last year by Somali students in Rome, and seizing power here, is a serious offence one should not commit against his country, particularly while in a foreign country. Nevertheless, we feel that the Revolution is for the young generation. This justifies our act of tolerance and forgiveness to them. None of those who participated in the occupation was punished or is to be punished. We are trying to educate and orient those who have been misinformed about the aims of the Revolution. Those who have been motivated by selfish interests are also to be given a chance to correct themselves.

As to the economy of the country, the country was on the verge of bankruptcy on the advent of the October 21 Revolution. It was deeply in debt to the international financial institutions and salaries had to come from other countries. Investing greater efforts on both the collection of taxes and controlling expenditure, we have been able to pay up all debts and devote Sh. 60 million to development. Our foreign reserves which were by then guaranteed by others are now in a satisfactory stage.

This economic improvement enables us to build more schools. We have now decided that no Somali child who seeks education will ever be turned down. The day will come when we are in a position to make it compulsory and send camel-caravans of teachers to move along with the nomads to teach all the children. But of course this needs no small efforts and sacrifices.

The decision that all secondary school leavers should undergo one year of teaching after graduating from Halane Re-

volutionary Training Centre is a demonstration of our determination to fight ignorance. Secondary schools are being built wherever school population justifies.

We are also determined to establish our own university. Some faculties have already been established and others are to come. We are aware that teachers and text-books in all levels of education are still capitalist-oriented. We are bound to live with the situation until such time that we are in a position to write socialist oriented books and to produce socialist teachers and professors of our own.

I hope that those of you who have been misinformed about the aims and acts of the Revolution would have the opportunity to see the achievements of the Revolution with their own eyes during their vacation here.

## WITH BOKASSA IN KISMAYU

*The President of the SRC, Jaalle General Mohamed Siad Barre, accompanying his distinguished guest Life President Jean Bedel Bokassa of the Central African Republic, addressed a mass rally at Kismayu Stadium where virtually the entire inhabitants of this coastal town gathered.*

1-9-1972

The Armed forces should not consider themselves as the masters of the people. They must realise that they are the servants of the people and serve the interests of the masses to the best of their ability.

Women and men are equal and have equal responsibility in the nation-building. The responsibility of developing the country rested on the shoulders of the masses and women are an important part of these masses.

We are all equal and we are all to work for the betterment and progress of our society. Kismayu is the one of the two richest and most populated regions in the Somali Democratic Republic. Kismayu has made a lot of progress since the advent of the Revolution. It is remarkable how the masses have achieved this significant development and progress in three years; achievements which could not have been made in ten years. No foreign money or know-how were imported to realise these development projects, they were accomplished by your own know-how and money.

## SEMINAR FOR WOMEN

*The President of SRC Jaalle Gen. Mohamed Siad Barre attended at Hamar Gab-Gab the closing ceremony of a 3-month political and ideological seminar for women from the 13 residential quarters of Mogadiscio.*

3-9-72

The women's role in the national independence was a great example. From the advent of the October Revolution until now, the Somali women are contributing a lot to the nation-building.

Men, purely through ignorance, subjugated women. Whatever validity it had, man-imposed inferiority was lost as soon as it became apparent that brain rather than brawn distinguished man from beast. In other words equality of the sexes gained more currency with each step of human advancement until we reached the stage where discrimination on the basis of sex was outlawed in all rational societies. Ability was to reign supreme; socialism decrees such.

In earthly pragmatic terms we in Somalia simply cannot afford the luxury of relegating more than half of our population to inferiority, given the paucity of our man-power we are forced to tap all the human resources available. It is as simple as that. Nor have we ever found them wanting in the hours of dire national need.

I refer to the role they played in the days the mettle of the best of us was sorely taxed during the days of independence struggle, during the closing years of the second world war. I was an eye-account witness of the exemplary bravery that our sisters showed during those days. Hawa Tako, whose monument stands witness to her martyrdom here in the capital was only one among many who willingly sacrificed their all in the national cause. That they were not mowed down by bullets, on the tragic Dagahtur day, for instance, was only the result of providential intervention. They manned all ranks. The effect their presence in the battlefield had on us men cannot be exaggerated. They encouraged, incited, and inspired by turns. We drew strength from them at every turn.

Their financial contribution to the coffers of the nascent Party were invaluable. They sold gold, clothes, pottery, rags, knick-knacks in order that we may live in freedom. Indeed,

without them, the imperialists and their stooges would have had us a much weaker adversary to contend against. I fail to understand why we do not exert more efforts to chronicle their role in the struggle.

Lastly women are the anchor of the family unit, that nest of love and intimacy without which man is either lost or at best warped. Without feminine tenderness to see us through the early years of life ours is a cruelly lonely world.

I have to inform the participants of this Seminar that the SRC had promulgated a law recently forbidding all high-ranking public officials to construct or purchase private buildings. This law is enforced, in order, to discourage any misappropriation of public funds.

I must convey my gratitude to the organisers of the seminar. I am proud to see the mothers of our children inculcating the revolutionary spirit and for the interest of country.

## PROMOTION OF EXPORT TRADE

*Jaalle Siad speaks at People's Hall on a trade promotion seminar:*

8-9-1972

Jaallayaal,

I thank the Secretary of State for Commerce, Jaalle Mohamed Warsama for inviting me to address this Seminar on Trade Promotion. No doubt, this is one of the most important events in our continuous search for better coordination in speeding up the much needed development of the economy.

The Government is aware of the dire need to raise the standard of living of our people. We are committed to provide food for the hungry, shelter for the destitute, medical and health facilities for the sick, education for the illiterate, jobs for the unemployed and pension and old age amenities for the elderly.

In order to fulfil our commitments and to meet the Revolutionary rising expectations of the people, our economy has to be transformed into one of self-sustained growth and development. We are racing against time; the people cannot wait for ever; they can tighten their belts for only a limited period. The task before the Government is therefore as clear as it is difficult.

We have already indentified the obstacles regarding our socio-economic development and progress. The imperialists and neo-colonialists and their lackeys in this country are the forces which are working against the progress and economic development of the country. They are changing their colours every now and then to win over the masses and misguide them.

We have followed the capitalist mode of development for ten years and during that period our toiling masses have been exploited and humiliated. Although, we were politically independent, yet international imperialism and neo-colonialism have been controlling the socio-economic and political affairs of the nation through the capitalist system of further their ends. The people were disappointed and the country was on the brink of an abyss of unknown fathom.

I wish to stress again the need for greater self-reliance, for our economic development and growth depend on a full mo-

bilization of our resources, both human and material. Our economic philosophy has its genesis on the socio-political ideology and includes broader economic and social objectives to provide adequate employment opportunities, to distribute and redistribute national income to minimize inequalities of income and to improve rapidly the living standards of the masses.

The fanatics, the pseudo-socialist and pseudo-religious, preach sermons of dissension and confusion among the masses under the false pretext that socialism and Islam are incompatible. The fanatics are mentally sick, they lack mental agility and because of their utter conservatism are unable to comprehend well the socio-economic implications of socialism. Socialism advocates the betterment of humanity through equality, justice and freedom. And Islam is not against such noble goals.

We have adopted socialism so that we may better the lot of the masses and to discard the system of capitalism and the mental attitude of dependence on others inherited from the former colonialists. For almost three years, we have been teaching the idea of self-reliance to the people to make them confident of themselves and of their ability to bring about a radical change in the economic situation. Self-reliance implies the Government's increased involvement in employing productivity of all the available resources in all the sectors of the economy.

There is a need for a greater effort to increase production with the objectives of attaining self-sufficiency in food grains, building import substituting industries and nationalizing the existing ones; creating markets for our new agro-industrial products and provide employment for the jobless. Our massive campaigns to involve the masses in the nation-building process,

encouragement of the cooperatives and the establishment of State farms (Crash Programme) are all directed towards these aims.

Therefore, anyone who makes two grains of maize grow where only one grew before, deserves the better regard of our society more than any speculative philosopher.

To translate the concept of self-reliance into action is not an easy task. The institutional structure of the society must be reshaped and patterned so as to be receptive to the ideas of change, to have confidence in itself.

Since your gathering represents the topmost management of the national economy, I would like to seize this opportunity to highlight some of the salient features of management and the role it is called upon to play in our socialist State.

It is only with an efficient management that we will be able to control our livelihood through systematic organization of economic resources. It is a necessity that the economic change be made the most powerful prime-mover for national betterment and social justice.

Since you are specifically charged with responsibility of organizing our economic advance and making our resources productive, your competence, integrity and performance will be decisive for the nation in the years to come. Furthermore, you must realize that, day after day, the demands on you will be rising steadily.

As the nation embarks upon a vast programme of de-

velopment, its success will depend to a large extent on our ability to produce competent and responsible managers in time.

Without an intelligent and devoted management the resources of production will remain resources and never become production, as it has been mostly the case in our country for centuries. It must be understood by all, that in our socialist society the Manager should not and cannot be considered as the traditional boss who poses as superior to others and closes himself behind doors with big signs indicating high-sounding titles. For us, the Manager is someone who directs the work of others and who does his work primarily by getting other people to do theirs.

Due to the meagerness of our present resources, I am not talking of potentialities, we must avoid at all costs any waste or dispersion. The everincreasing socialization of the means of production, as well as the essential services and trade, stems from this undeniable necessity. A major centralisation of the economy is in full progress hence the necessity for a scientific management. Of course, this does not mean that we want licenced managers of technocratic outlook. Far from it. We want instead creative managers, capable of fully developing their natural endowment, through the systematic study of principles and the acquisition of organized knowledge and continuous analysis of performance in all areas of their responsibility and on all levels, with the necessary sense of self-criticism. Management must not be passive, or of adaptive behaviour, it must be action-oriented to make the desired results come to pass. We do not see our managers just as creatures of the economic environment but creators as well.

Jaallayaal, I would like to briefly ponder on our understanding of economic organization or enterprise, for it is this understanding that forms the bases for our action in furthering the socio-economic and political objectives of our nation. By our definition, economic organization must be capable of producing more or better than all the resources that comprise it. The two major components of any economic organization are the material and the human resources which represent the whole that you are called upon to manage.

Despite their wholeness, these resources cannot be regarded as a mechanical assemblage. They must be transformed, but surely this cannot come from lifeless resources such as capital. It requires man, who is the only resource capable of self-growth.

Whatever the size of your organization, you must bear in mind that material resources stand strictly under the laws of mechanics. Therefore, whatever the value of your machines (hundred million or thousands) when you need an additional unit you just buy it and add it to existing ones.

These material resources can be appropriately utilized or badly utilized but they can never an output greater than or even equal to the sum of their inputs. This clearly shows that man, alone of all the resources available to you can grow and develop. Therefore, he must be the pivot of the organization.

In our socialist society when we speak of growth and development, we primarily imply that of man because the very essence of our socialist system is built on this concept. We think of man first and capital secondly.

For a capitalist society, you may just reverse the order. In this respect, I must regretfully say that many of us, at top position, cannot extricate ourselves from capitalistic behaviour as yet. Sometimes, I have the feeling that our call for social justice and equality of men are met with deaf ears.

Many of us still regard the rank-and-file workers, as distinguished from the Manager, as a man who does as he is directed without responsibility or share in the decisions concerning his work or that of others. This shows that we consider the rank-and-file worker in the same light as other material resources, and as far as his contribution to the organization is concerned, is standing under the laws of mechanics.

This is a mistake of first order and magnitude. This grave failure is all the more magnified if we consider that many of the rank-and-file jobs are in effect managerial (middle and low) or would be more productive if made so.

Jaallayaal, beware of the danger inherent in this type of attitude. You must understand that your co-workers are the best resources available to you. You must always try to develop their talents, guide them, share responsibility with them. Remember, it is only through their creative energies and sense of responsibility that your burden is lessened and your task easily fulfilled. We are already sensing a shortage of managerial and skilled personnel but I wonder how we are going to get them if you do not allow those under you to develop.

In this regard, we have issued laws and clear directives as to how the workers should be organized and allowed to participate directly in the decision-making process concerning their

organizations. Furthermore, we have indicated to you how they should be ideologically prepared and skillfully trained. May I ask you the reason why these directives are not implemented. Is it because you are not capable of fulfilling them; or perhaps there are factors, unknown to us, which hinder the attainment of these objectives? Frankly speaking, I am very much disappointed by the slackness of the managers in responsabilizing the workers who form the backbone of their organizations.

You must realize that unless the workers are directly and personally committed to the advancement of their organizations, all other efforts towards the attainment of our objectives will be a futile exercise. It is only through the concurrent effort of all the rank-and-file workers that your organizations can serve better the society. It is when the workers fully understand that the enterprise belongs to them and to their children and the benefits derived from it are theirs, only then will they devote all their energies to the preservation and the growth of their organization.

In order to fully appreciate the meaning of the above, we might take the port workers as an example.

In the pre-Revolutionary era, when the trade was in the hands of the privates who were operating on the capitalist system, where the exploitation of the workers was exercised, the port workers were left to look after their interests as best they could. Therefore, everyone was wholly engaged on how to make few more shillings at all costs. This inherent degrading effects of the capitalist system induced them to carelessly damage goods and to collaborate sometimes with the businessmen

who deliberately wanted to fraud the insurance companies. Since nobody was responsible for the safeguarding of their rights, reasonably enough, they could not be held accountable for their actions. This is, of course, in conformity with the capitalist system.

Conversely, in a socialist State, where collectivism comes before individualism and the man is a part and parcel of the collectivity, whose interests are indivisible, the worker assumes his personal responsibility within the collectivity as his rights are looked after by the society as a whole. On these premises, our port workers must change their attitude. The question is how? Naturally, their behaviours. Therefore, it becomes necessary that they must realize that these goods belong to them and to their children. This could be obtained by orientating them ideologically; by training them; by responsabilizing them and by gearing their minds to the lofty principles of scientific socialism. The worker must be made aware of his personal and collective responsibility as well as his rights and benefits. In essence, he must be made to understand that the port facilities, the goods and the insurance now belong to the society of which he is an integral part and that any loss caused by him will be at the expense of himself and his children.

Needless to add here that the health, training, self-assurance and well-being of the workers should constitute the prime concern of the management. In pursuance of these objectives, the clearly defined directives must be speeded up. I urge all of you to ponder seriously on this question and to take the necessary action and to implement it.

Jaallayaal, you are managing the largest, the most impor-

tant and complex enterprises concerned with the national economy. Given the permanent nature of these concerns, in your decisions you must consider both the present and the long-range future. True, enthusiasm and dynamism are necessary but always remember that nothing could be more harmful than a short sighted approach and undue zeal to show bravery. Do not ever try to solve your problems by immediate profits, which may endanger the long-range profitability, or perhaps even the survival of the organization. Immediate economic results become fictitious if achieved by paying out capital.

Any management which solely aims at presenting profits as long as it runs the organisation but leaves behind nothing but burned out and rapidly sinking bulk, clearly fails to balance present and future and qualifies itself as highly irresponsible.

Management must be by objectives and never by subjectives. Everyone should consider the job to be done as such and without any consideration for the person pre-assigned to it. For convenience's sake, we have divided areas of activities into organised units. The wholeness of the State interest must be organised units. The wholeness of the State interest must be born in mind. Each member of the State's family of organisations contributes something different, but they must all contribute towards a common goal. The efforts must all pull in the direction and their contributions must fit together to produce a whole without gaps, frictions and unnecessary duplication of efforts. This implies the necessity for a team work without which all efforts are wasted.

Where there is no cooperation and mutual understanding

there is friction, frustration and conflict, a situation which which may constitute a centrifugal force which tears the State apart and converts in into a loose confederation of stagnant and opposing compartments each concerned only with its area, each jealously guarding its secrets, each bent on enlarging its own domain rather than building the nation. Since I feel that the necessary cohesiveness among various Ministries and Agencies is lacking, I urge you to take closer look into this particular aspect so as to bring about the desired results. What is required of you is to consciously understand that in whatever Ministry or Agency you may be working in, the aim is one i.e. progress of this nation whose interest is indivisible.

You have been gathering for the past ten days to study the various problems regarding trade promotion and especially export promotion. Trade has a crucial role to play in our economic development and growth. We are committed to quicken the pace of economic activities in the country so as to generate rapid economic development and progress. Our foreign exchange earnings have to be increased by the increase of exports in volume, assortment and added-value so that we may be able to purchase the capital equipment necessary for our rapid industrial development. Market outlets should be explored and found for our vast and as yet untapped or under-tapped resources.

As you all know, we have been a dumping ground for the produce of other countries. We are no longer accepting this situation. We believe that trade between sovereign countries must be a two-way traffic and not a one-sided affair. We have already taken some of the necessary steps to correct this situation and to orientate our imports towards those friendly coun-

tries, which extend to us untied aid and loans and which import from us on reciprocal basis.

The National Agency for Trade (ENC) is the mechanism through which such policies are partially implemented. ENC has been given the exclusive right to import essential food items so as to stabilize the prices of food commodities so that every citizen can obtain his needs at all times and pay the same price for all commodities irrespective of his place of residence and to end the hoarding of the essential commodities and the profiteering of the middlemen; and discourage the business community in investing in import trade.

In my numerous addresses to the business community. I have explained to them the intentions behind the import policies, that is, among other things, to divert the savings of the businessmen towards investing in export-oriented and in import-substituting industries, and in agriculture and fisheries which are beneficial to the economic advancement of the nation as a whole. The Government, we told them, is ready to enter into joint-ventures with the private businessmen and extend all financial and technical facilities through the established Government institutions.

The private enterprise can harmoniously live together with the public sector and thus contribute to the national progress. Of course this does not imply that the State will not have the necessary control over their activities. Since the private individual has had experiences in partnerships in the past, the Government is willing to help them organize themselves into co-operatives or companies by giving them technical and supervisory assistance. Despite this clear willingness on the part of

the Government, we have noticed to our dismay that there are no businessmen so far interested in taking advantage of the Government's offer. Not only do we allow them but we invite them to take their share of the development of the national economy; however, if they fail to do so, certainly the State will do everything.

I hope that the participants have greatly benefitted from the seminar since they have been given the opportunity to learn from one another the problems concerning their respective spheres, and thus acquainting themselves with all aspects of the national economy, such as industries, agriculture, livestock, trade etc., on which they must have had lengthy discussions and revisions. No doubt the seminar has been able to identify the various impediments to trade promotion and has proposed measures for vigorous export marketing on the one hand probed means and ways of achieving a high degree of integration among the Government organs dealing with trade promotion as well as other fields, on the other. Your recommendations will be duly considered by the Government. But whether or not some internal or external impediments are removed, there is a continuing need for building up skills in export promotional activities and marketing. In this highly competitive age, the need for dynamic export marketing and trade promotion is greater than ever.

I assume that during the course of the seminar you must have felt that export promotion in an economy like ours is all the more difficult to further, but I steadfastly believe that given the necessary determination, devotion and self-confidence, all difficulties can be surmounted and objectives thus attained. Perseverance and self-confidence applied on the basis

of our socialist ideology constitute the ingredients necessary for the success of all our endeavours. Your success and failure all depend on your mental attitude. We have economists, engineers, agronomists, doctors, scientists, experts etc. but the problem is: are we capable of utilizing their knowledge by giving them the necessary confidence? Or do they have the necessary confidence in themselves?

It is the crucial problem that we must overcome.

For instance, our engineers, and I should like to mention here Sharif, have built the Juba Hotel. They were previously held as not being up to the mark to undertake such a complex task. But after we had given them our confidence, they have demonstrated their ability and self-confidence amidst the clouds of doubts held by some weak-hearted people among us. I am personally confident that all the others can do likewise in their respective fields.

Jaallayaal, I would like to conclude by urging you to constantly and resolutely bear in mind the following: each of you is endowed with unsuspected reserves of energy and power which you can call upon and release if only you dare believe they are there.

I declare the seminar as closed. Thank you?

## FIVE POINT PROPOSAL

13-9-1972

*The SRC's President Jaalle Mohamed Siad Barre addressed in Dar-Es-Salam the East and Central African States Summit Conference as the outgoing chairman and outlined a five point plan which has been adopted.*

It is time for Africa to prepare itself ideologically, economically and militarily, remove existing differences, foster cooperation and harmonise their activities to liberate this Continent.

The disputes between African states, all inherited from the colonialists, are a stumbling block to unity and regional cooperation. These disputes are still being encouraged by the imperialists. But I am sure in future these states will resolve their differences in a spirit of African brotherhood. This is essential because economic emancipation and the liberation of Africa will always have priority over other considerations.

It is a pleasure to express that since the Mogadishu conference, the bilateral relations between these states have vastly improved. This cooperation must be further developed.

To speak on the liberation movements, they have gathered momentum in the last year and won resounding victories against racialists and colonialists. Of course these successes are due to the assistance given to the liberation movements by African leaders.

As for the racist minority regimes in the south, the sister nations of free Africa will not allow any single African State to stand alone as the victim of aggression. Africa will no longer resort to complacent appeals for sympathy. We will singly and collectively meet force with force.

The combined aim of imperialism, colonialism and racialism, is to perpetuate economic domination and thus frustrate African efforts to achieve economic emancipation and political unity. But the African States have shown a determination to close their ranks tighter than ever before.

That African states must give military training to the freedom fighters. The fund which the Organisation for African Unity had earmarked for assistance to the liberation movements should be handed to the freedom fighters. Moreover, it is essential for assistance to be given to those African states which have common boundaries with those African still under colonialist regimes. Since the minority regimes in southern Africa receive help from the imperialist powers the member states of the OAU should give assistance to the freedom fighters to cover agricultural machinery and transport. On this point I feel that steps should be taken to make the citizens of the East and Central African States aware of the significance of the Mogadishu Declaration. In this way, I think, the people of these countries would become more conscious of the urgency to fight the imperialists and the colonialists and to make sacrifices to win the final victory.

## COMMON IDENTITY

15-9-1972

*During the Dar-Es-Salam Summit of the East and Central African countries in September 1972, Jaalle President made a short address to 400 Somali nationals.*

Jaallayaal You have to identify yourselves with your fellow Tanzanians with whom Somalia shares common aspirations for African Unity.

In Somalia State policies has given new meaning to education programmes and to the development and utilization of human resources and agriculture in the overall progress of the State. The unity of a common aim victory is assured by the country's youth, its students, women, workers generally, the nomads and peasants. No one will stand in the way of this united effort in nation-building.

Socialism is leading the country and the people into a prosperity that would not have been possible under the capitalist system which benefitted a few and left the masses at the mercy of a fortunate few.

## CULTIVATE FRIENDSHIP WITH PEOPLE

*Jaalle Siad at Police Academy:*

17-9-1972

As you have just completed your promotion course at the Police Academy you must always remember that a good policeman is one who cultivates friendship with his people.

The policeman was first recruited by the colonialists; and it was understandable that the policeman served, generally speaking, the interests of the colonial power and oppressed the people. This does not mean however, that the Somali Police Force did not take part in the struggle for independence. All I am saying is that the fact that the Force was originally intended to serve the interests of the colonial power.

It was due to this that the nationalists regarded the Police Force as hostile to the interest of the masses. Parents had to frighten their children with the policeman. They described him as an unfriendly creature and regarded him as something to be feared. These prejudices should have been buried on independence.

But unfortunately nothing was done to re-educate our masses; public hostility remained. Is it not absurd that to this date our security men who are on the look for the thief and traitor, are despised as agents or spies? What shall we call those who collaborate with our enemies, if we describe the defenders of our freedom, security and property as spies? I think it is time we realise that only those who serve the interests of the enemies are spies and that defenders of our freedom and security are heroes.

This public hostility ought to be eliminated from the mind of the masses. To do this, we must re-educate our masses, on the one hand, and on the other hand re-orient our policemen. We must ensure an atmosphere of cooperation between the policemen and the Public. This cooperation is not a choice but a necessity, if we are to ensure the safety and peace of our society.

On your part you must demonstrate that you are the protectors of the properties and lives of the masses. This will instill in them the required public confidence.

It is true that the minority, the thief, the spy, the «afmin-shar», the robber, the murderer and the social malefactor, will develop grudges against you, but the majority will appre-

ciate your efforts. This will, of course, restore the confidence of the masses in the members of the Police Force.

The role and the mission of the Police in socialist Somalia must be fully explained to the masses. The members of the general public and all Government organs are to cooperate with the Police. Since politics are no longer a monopoly to any section of our people. The policeman must orient the masses. Being in constant contact with all sections of the nation, at all times and in all places, the policeman has a responsibility to tell the masses what is right from what is wrong. The principles of scientific socialism oblige him to be a teacher and a judge as much as he is protector.

Justice is what our people want. You are in connection with the public, not only as catchers of thieves but sometimes as teachers and as judges, disputes between people come to the man on the beat and then to the station. At both these stages, justice could be done.

The policemen have a role to play in the new revolutionary drive to restore to the Somali people their confidence in God, country and themselves. It is necessary that the people should have confidence in the administration of justice.

Somalis have a great potential in livestock, agriculture and fishery. But in order to exploit these vast resources of our country, the nation must have capital and labour. We have both the capital and labour. But what we need are healthy brains and determination to face the challenges that are ahead of us. We must toil before we enjoy the fruits of our resources.

A man is not free unless his human dignity is protected and to protect his human dignity, he must have the opportunity to work and the assurance for himself and his children.

Scientific socialism is the sole system which offers our society the chance to work hard and to distribute collectively earned wealth to the masses. It is better for a father to build the future of his children in a socialist society than in a capitalist society.

The time when a man has to worry about the future of his children had gone with the disowned system of capitalism. Everyone must work for the common interest, for the future of our children lies in the proper implementation of the principles of scientific socialism in our country. The principles are there, but to take advantage of them, we must interpret them into real action.

The policemen have to be loyal to the people and to the country. Policemen must be humble in their day-to-day dealings with the members of the public. This does not mean, however, to be lenient with those who are opposed to the progress of our people and who want to put their interests before the interest of the people.

You have a crucial responsibility in fighting smuggling and other forms of taxation. Those who dodge to pay taxation are stealing the estimated allocations for education, health and other vital public services.

I am convinced that if properly collected and properly administered, our State revenue will be sufficient to make

sound economic development, which is capable of creating jobs for thousands of our people in the streets. Once so many people who are left idle now are utilized, production will be increased. If production is increased there will be more capital available for further exploitation of the untapped resources of our country. This continuous process will help us build in simple terms more schools, more hospitals, grow more food and be more capable to utilize advanced technology and strengthen national defence. As the proverb reads: «save the penny and the pound will take care of itself». You must understand the value of your work in this perspective, for only then, could you render a great service to your nation.

You must avoid the temptations of those selfish businessmen who try to corrupt public officials with presents like radios, watches and clothes; such things are indirect bribery. Only those of you who know how to administer their meagre salaries properly, can resist such temptations. Debtors and weak people are fertile grounds for sowing corruption by the bourgeois business class who only cast for their own interests.

If a policeman feels that justice is done to him he will also do justice to others. It is important that a Policeman gets his promotions through a healthy system. Promotions given through other unholy ways make the man feel indebted to some people. While promotions through healthy methods make the man proud and obliged only to his own country and ability.

## LEARN FOR THE SAKE OF LEARNING

*Jaalle Siad speaking to the Students at El-Jaalle Summer Camp near Merca.*

19-9-1972

The 21st October Revolution was not the result of foreign influence but was part of a long plan and strategy by the revolutionary leaders, because the country was then in a state of politico-social decay and anarchy, suspicion and killing were rampant and the corrupt civilian regimes encouraged reactionaries, 'afminsharism' and political brigandry. There was no justice and the then authorities encouraged all evils and discouraged the good things. The Somali people thus became victims of the colonialists, who laughed at them when they gained the upper hand.

The October Revolution in Somalia was not staged for the interest of any one group, or to victimize anybody. It was staged to save the Somali nation, which was on the verge of collapse.

The pioneers of the October Revolution knew that they would encounter many difficulties from colonialists and their local puppets, but they risked their lives to restore the lost dignity of the Somali people. The revolutionary authorities also realised that nothing could re-unite the Somali people, who had become prey to imperialism and capitalism, except by taking the ideology of scientific socialism through which they would make rapid economic progress and regain their self-confidence.

We have not adopted scientific socialism as a dogma to replace religion. We have taken it as a political ideology and a system that will develop our country rapidly. The Somali people plan to base everything, including educational and economic policies, on scientific knowledge derived from Marx and Lenin. Some people who are in the service of imperialists, and who have a complex against Marxism, are spreading malicious and unfounded propaganda against scientific socialism.

We all know that Marconi invented the radio. Now can we listen to radio and ignore the man who invented it? Similarly, we know the Marx and Engels founded the theory of scientific socialism, and that Lenin put it into practice. How can we ignore such pioneers of the ideology which we have adopted and fear to mention their names every now and then. It is a stupid thing to avoid mentioning them, since we have taken their thoughts. Only the monopolists and capitalists are to oppose Marxism-Leninism, because it is the system that puts

the means of production at the disposal of the people.

The Somali people are Moslems, and that no force on earth would shake the Somali people from their faith. It is only the weak personalities who are shaken from their religion; but strong-willed men of good faith will for ever remain Moslems. As members of the world revolutionary movement and progressive forces, the Somali people will remain Marxists since Marxism-Leninism's ultimate objective is justice and the distribution of the means of production to the members of society according to their needs.

Islam and scientific socialism do not contradict each other, and it is only the reactionaries who are propagating this, and they use borrowed language as their weapon. I am sure the Somali youths are prepared to fight all types of colonialism. Hate these enemies and teach them an unforgettable lesson.

Somalia had done a lot in the past three years and showed the world that Somalis could help themselves without outside assistance and begging. Since the Revolution Somalia has established its own National University with faculties of Veterinary, Agriculture, Law, and Economics, the faculty of medicine is soon to be inaugurated, and the Revolutionary Government is planning to establish the faculty of engineering in the near future.

We have also acquired a sense of unity and self-reliance. Where did we see such a gignatic student union before. The imperialists and their puppets would not like to see this big rally of students who are prepared to fight and sacrifice for the socialist revolution and its achievements. They would not like

to see the Somali people jointly developing their country for the interest of the broad masses of the people.

It is your responsibility to save the masses from hunger, ignorance and disease. Only if the youth, workers, nomads and the armed forces unite and pool their efforts, can we overcome the suffering of our toiling masses. The present suffering of the Somali people could be easily overcome if consideration is given to the following factors. First, Somalia has an unequalled 3.000 Kms long coast-line, a fertile land abundant with rare animals and in addition a soil rich with minerals. All these merely need exploitation.

Armed with the healthy ideology of scientific socialism the Somali people now very much realise where they are going. Our ultimate objective is to create a better future for the coming generation, because history teaches us that every generation serves the one following. We should avoid showing off, hypocrisy and an artificial life at this stage, and base all our deeds on scientific analysis.

The role being played by Somali youth and their preparedness to defend the revolution and being vigilant in the face of the forces of reactionaries and colonialism.

You be rest assured that the revolutionary leaders are marching forward with the youth and there can be no possibility of a sell-out to imperialism and their lackeys. You must value education and learn for the sake of learning and not merely to get employment.

## CONSOLIDATION OF PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY.

*Jaalle Siad addressing a large crowd of high officials and Gulwadayal on the inauguration of the Local Government Reform Law at the National Theatre:*

1-10-1972

It is a great pleasure for me to take part in this gathering this afternoon for the inauguration or rather the implementation of some of our Revolutionary pledges to the nation; that being to give the masses the opportunity to participate in the decision-making of governmental affairs and the economic construction of the country. And all in all to delegate to them their rightful powers in deciding the future of the Somali people.

It is a great pleasure to us, because we have promised the Somali Nation on the first day of the Revolution that we will hand over to the militant revolutionary sons of Somalia, step by step, the mandatory political powers to decide the future course of the socio-economic development of the country, without this being as a result of cut-throat competition, by the temptation of money, the sell-out of conscience or the wafting of the fires of tribal lineage; but only through justice, patriotism, Somalism, equality and all that is advocated by those who venerate the total reunification and liberation of the Somali people.

We therefore consider this (Local Government Reform Law) to be a corner-stone or one of the pillars towards the achievement of our national goals.

Jaallayaal, you remember that there used to be in the old days what was called Local Government; we were used to be told that this institution was democratic and rightful; but the truth is that this was nothing more than a facade for staging the so-called «elections». It is necessary here to retrace back the net results of those manoeuvres for everything has its own history; we were used to be told that those elected were the best representatives chosen among the masses and by the masses to run the country. The system of elections was dressed up and looked beautifully from without but was rotten within, when one examined closely the methods used in electioneering. You remember very well that successful candidates were either very wealthy or belonged to numerically powerful tribal sections; you remember that those elections were one of the main weapons employed in the alienation and disunity of the Somali people.

We have gathered here today to inaugurate the implementation of an institution that seems to resemble outwardly that former one of local government, but which is based on a completely different principle; local government councils in three tiers: Regional, District and Village levels.

From which sections of the nation will these councils be composed? They will comprise people from the entire Somali Nation both men and women; they will comprise the sound, revolutionary youth who are free from the evils that might harm our nation-building; and those people who are no party to stealing or selling their own country or exploiting their fellow brothers. They will comprise the workers who were considered before as of no value and who were treated as low, but whom we really know are the backbone of the nation, forming the majority, thus having the right to wield the political power in the nation-building and the socio-economic development and reunification of the Somali people. They will comprise the farmers, craftsmen and all the other social classes of which the Somali nation is composed. These are the people who produce the wealth of the nation; we must call them the «eaters of what is wholesome» (XALAAL QUUTAYAAL) for they earn their living through sweat and toil and not by exploitation and vampirism; they are not the «eaters of the forbidden» (HARAAN QUUTAYAAL).

The Local Government Councils will in short be composed of the toiling masses, members of the Armed Forces and Government officials without regard to rank or position but on the basis of each person's ability in participating in political decision-making and contributing to the nation-building. This

is the criterion on which the composition of the Local Government Councils will be based.

I have mentioned some of these people who will belong to the local councils, Regional District and Village, but I have not mentioned all the people; the progressive intellectuals (not the reactionary ones) will also be given the opportunity to take part. These include the teachers, doctors, judges and all such professionals.

Jaallayaal, I have itemised all these people whom it is their right to participate in these local councils, because as I have said before, when talking about anything it is necessary to have a yardstick with which to measure or there must be something against which to contrast and compare. Well, what kind of people used to make up the former local government councils? Who were the elements who used to run the «Municipio» in the pre-Revolutionary days?

The Laws governing those institutions and the system of running them were produced by the colonialists, and the people who used to run them were usually the most «active» or the «fittest» so to speak; but they were really not true representatives of the masses of the people or those famed for their dedication in serving the nation and never committing crimes against the people's interest. Those were the people against whom we have to contrast our new local council members who are characterised by their dedication and loyalty to the general goals and objectives of the nation-building.

Under such light who would you consider as the true representatives of the masses; those who took office in accor-

dance with the doctrine of «Survival of the Fittest», to enhance their personal gains, and these latter ones who are to take office purely on their recognised merits? Obviously the latter are the true representatives of the people in running the affairs of the nation, since they comprise people from all different social strata.

It used to be said that women have no right to participate in such responsible posts because they lack the mental capacity to cope with national matters; it is used to be said that workers and peasants were ineligible because they carried their brains in their hands, but it should be known that without the productive capacity of the working hand with the mallet and asagai, the material wealth of the nation will be impossible to create, let alone philosophizing and politicizing issues and matters, but the entire society will collapse.

So who is to decide the destiny of the nation? There are times when I ask myself, for whose interests is politics made? Is it to be imported or is to be an expression of the social conditions and economic structure of the country? If the vital engaged in the production and creation of the material wealth, decisions of the nation are not governed by those who are engaged in the production and creation of the material wealth, are they to be controlled by imposters and lackeys of foreign ideas that have no relations to or sympathy with the nation's interests? The answer is no!

We have declared at the outset of our 21st October Revolution to eliminate social injustice and win back for the masses their usurped rightful place in society and give our entire people, both men and women, the right to take part in the political and economic decision-making of the country's affairs.

This is the guiding light of our Revolution, and the classical beacon of all democratic revolutions geared to the construction of a socialist society. Our basic aim is to restore human rights and personal dignity to each and every citizen of our society, by cultivating his creative potential and promoting his intellect to be a master of his own deed in order to contribute his optimum best to the betterment of his fellow beings.

To achieve these noble aims, we have started with intensive and extensive political and ideological orientation of the masses to resurrect and raise their political consciousness and revolutionary awareness. The S.R.C., the Council of Secretaries, the P.R.O. and the Ministry of Information and National Guidance played and are still playing a major role in the fulfilment of this task of mass orientation.

Mention must be made here of the Ministry of Information and National Guidance which took a vital part in disseminating and explaining our revolutionary principles and making the people understand their rights and their role in the nation-building. The task of organizing the people was carried by the dedicated staff of the P.R.O., while the co-ordination and the implementation of the efforts of the masses and the directives of the Revolution was carried out by the Ministry of Interior through the Governors, and DDAO's as well as other State organs in the Regions and Districts with the unfettered assistance and cooperation of the broad masses, and the conscious revolutionary elements in all parts of the country.

Jaallayaal, it is one of the aims of our Revolution to avoid false promises and not to be afraid of telling the nation that all won't be plain sailing but that there are many obstacles

to be surmounted in the achievements of our chosen ideology. We have formulated laws to negate, as far as we could, all social evils such as tribalism that hinder social progress, economic development and national unity. We have made laws to enhance the socio-economic structure and stimulate the organizational set up of the State machine in improving the overall economic structure of the country.

Take for example self-help. We have made clear-cut directives acquainting the executives and members of the self-help committees with their respective responsibilities, and the aims and the methods of collection of funds and allocation of expenses. Self-help projects are undertaken after close and detailed study of their utility value index for the community of the relevant areas.

We should not build our hopes on false foundations and lies that will boomerang sooner or later, thus sapping the enthusiasm of the communities and widening the credibility gap between the leadership and the masses. The physical and mental efforts, and the material contributions of the toiling masses towards the construction of a new society should never be wasted through lies and demagoguery; such methods are against the spirit of the Revolution.

We have reached the stage, now, whereby the people can fully and intelligently participate in decision-making through their councils, Regional District and Village, administer their economic, education and health, and to organise the ideological orientation of their communities and fight against all the enemies of the people that obstruct their well-being. The local councils must be the vanguard of the masses in the struggle

against the remnants of past social evils because we are now in a Revolutionary era; we are still fighting bourgeois thoughts and tendencies for they form the basis for the future political leadership in the socialist construction.

We have established these councils so that each and every Region, District and Village of the Somali Democratic Republic gets the opportunity to govern its own affairs in unison with the overall national policies. The criteria for the eligibility of any Somali citizen to the membership of these councils are that he must have shown throughout the Revolutionary era his unflinching dedication and submitted his utmost contribution to the consolidation of the Revolution; that he must show assiduous service in the fulfilment of our national and socialist aspirations in enabling every member of the Somali society to have good education, free health service, economic independence, cultural enrichment and decent living conditions; and that he must promote and uphold justice, equality, progress and unity of the Somali people as the prime objectives towards the accomplishment of our socialist goal.

I must emphasise once again the social composition of the local councils must comprise representatives from all social strata — the aged and the youth, men and women, the workers and the peasants, progressive intellectuals and nationalists, revolutionary intelligentsia and patriotic businessmen and the Revolutionary Armed Forces — to pool the mental and physical resources of the best sons of the nation, to lead the country further to the attainment of the noble goals of scientific socialism.

Jaallayaal, I have reiterated many times that the Somali

Nation, might be poor but the country is rich. There is a contradiction in this. The question is how is it possible for the citizens of a rich country to be poor? It should be born in mind, however, that the colonialists and the neo-colonialists propagated and still propagate that even the country is poor. We have launched throughout the last three years concerted efforts of national reconstruction, and disproved the falsehood of this imperialist proposition. Now that we have proved the richness of the land, it only remains that we endeavour to destroy the paradox of poverty of the masses.

It should also be borne in mind that we are not culturally poor; but we are materially not self-sufficient yet due to past colonial domination and the exploitation of neo-colonialism in the capitalist mode of development. Our economic emancipation towards material wealth lies therefore in the joint utilization of both our human and natural resources.

But first things first: «MANJA DHOOQO SAY UKALA HOREEYAAN BAA LOO SAARAA». We must at the outset promote and consolidate the ideological unity of the people, brotherhood, equality, love of work, collectivism, mutual assistance, equitable distribution of the national wealth, and the eradication of the evil by-products of egoism such as envy, avarice, suspicion and individualistic attitude to life; these evils that lead you to nepotism, favouritism and tribalism will eventually alienate the capable and sincere.

Jaallayaal, such human frailties are more pronounced in backward societies and are usually the result of social injustice and lack of equal opportunities. As society develops economically and culturally (where proper education is the key) so-

cial injustice is minimized and hence these human failings that smother the natural development of the society. Thanks to the selfless dedication for the last three years of the broad masses of the nation — Workers, Peasants, Nomads, the Youth who wholeheartedly erased the dark traces of the past and focused their youthful energy towards nation-building — and the Armed Forces who are on the frontline of the Revolutionary struggle in the protection of the achievements of the Revolution, etc..

The embryo of a healthy mental attitude has been created. For example a peasant in «DHOBEY» told me recently that nowadays they sleep without worrying about their sacks of grain being stolen when they are left outside at night; it was no longer necessary, he said, for them to keep guard as was once the normal practice.

By the fulfilment of our economic, social and cultural policies in Regional, District and Village levels, the overall moral and ethical standards of the nation will be raised; the dignity of the Somali personality will be re-established, our national sovereignty will have a new lease of life, and this will result in the total victory over our enemy.

The successful implementation of the local Government Reform Law will narrow the developmental gap between town and country. In fact each village centre will be rendered a full fledged capital city in relations to its community. Our country used to be before now a City Republic: Mogadishu. Throughout the country the people living in the Regions, Districts and Villages should be able to have all social amenities in their own population centres, and Mogadishu should no

longer be the only haven for employment, educational services and business transactions.

Every community will endeavour to attain self-sufficiency within their own habitat. Local Government Councils have been established to fulfil these socialist aims and pave the way for furthering the economic, educational and health facilities in the Region, District and Village levels.

The formation of these Councils is to broaden the base, and to develop both horizontally and vertically from the lower to the higher and vice versa, the instrument of decision-making. This is to avoid political monopoly of interest groups and cliques to manipulate the country's affairs; that is why it is necessary to make every citizen aware of his political and social responsibilities.

Jaallayaal, I have started my speech by describing the social composition and duty of the members of the local councils; I would now like to say to these members «Good Endeavour»! (HAWL WANAGSAN). In the old days it used to be said «Congratulations» (HAMBALYO). But I will not 'congratulate' these Council members, for HAMBALYO connoted material gains in the egocentric days of old. We believe that in this revolutionary era no appointments whatsoever should receive «HAMBALYO» messages since such appointments are no longer intended for the enhancement of the material gains of the appointees; if however some of those appointed line their pockets with public funds, the masses will bring them to heel ultimately.

I bestow my blessings on you all here with us, who are to

take part in this task and I would like to take this opportunity to send the same message by air through the microphone to your colleagues in the outer Regions, Districts and Villages. I must also remind you that nothing can be achieved without hard work; if we decide to liberate our country from the evils of mankind, we can do so if we have the determination to launch our economic salvation, we can achieve wonders. But if we slacken our endeavour and remain apathetic to the progress and emancipation of our economy we will be backward and poor for ever. The socio-economic betterment of any society comes through its own efforts: NIN WALIBA GACMIHII-SUU BIYO KAGA DHERGAA — every person can only quench thirst by his own hands.

Most of us who are here today are old enough to remember how bad things were in the colonial and neocolonial times. We know all the social decadence and economic stagnation of our people and country before the 21st October Revolution. We can also see for ourselves the achievements realised and the great changes made in the three years of the Revolution by the mobilization of the masses through our revolutionary principles. It is an undeniable fact that Man is the creator of his own social well-being and it is up to him to plan the course of his future.

Jaallayaal, I beseech those of you who have been entrusted to be members of the Local Government Councils to do your duties without expectations of favour or fame, and without Michaelievellian intentions of any kind.

People say that there has been a great excitement among the reactionaries ignited by the introduction of the Local Go-

vernment Reform Law. The reactionaries are said to be asking everyone about the requirements of membership of the local councils and many such reactionaries are already on their way to the Regions, Districts and Villages just like in the old days of quasi-elections when they used to mislead and disorient the masses. I only wonder where the exodus is heading?

We have given unequivocal directives on the requirements of membership of the Local Government Councils, and that will not be all. There will also be a follow-up to ascertain the fulfilment and implementation of these directives.

As I have already mentioned, only those who have shown their dedication and loyalty to our Revolution and people, and who have sincerely and unquestioningly served their country for the last three years of our Revolution will be eligible to take seat in these Councils, where the affairs of the nation and its destiny are moulded. It is obvious therefore that there is no place for a reactionary in interfering with our people's affairs.

The reasons for all this excitement and jittering of the reactionaries is the political enlightenment and preparedness of the formerly oppressed masses to be masters of their country. The reactionary is in a very bad state indeed; his former «glory» is shrinking rapidly and his doom is imminent due to enabling the toiling masses — workers, peasants, youth, students and women — to take the helm of their Socio-economic development.

Jaallayaal, I must emphasize again that the fruits of Socialism cannot be reaped without toil and sweat. Don't you

ever think that you can wallow in prosperity without raising a finger towards its creation whenever you fulfil a socialist task. Successfully you have made a double achievement; firstly you have done your national duty as required, secondly you have become a tutor and a worthy example for our young generations to follow.

And all in all you will get material benefit and moral satisfaction. Moreover, people will gain confidence to entrust you with their future and to lead them towards happiness and prosperity. But the best of us cannot be members of the councils all at once; there is no space of course and membership is limited. Nevertheless all good ideas are pervasive and there will always be room for them in these Local Government Councils.

Jaallayaal, it is within the limits of probability to find a man and his wife or two brothers in the council but since the criteria of membership are based on man's honesty with his God, his country, his people and himself, it would be purely coincidental to find close relatives in the same councils.

It is certain that the prime question hovering in the minds of every reactionary is: «How many members belong to my group or Mr. So and So's group»? But I must say the type of groupings that he has in mind do not exist any longer, the heyday of tribalism has extinguished itself on the dawn of our Revolution. The revolutionary affiliations of today are part and parcel of the toiling masses and have their roots in the Somali nationhood.

Jaallayaal, we are bent on building a sound, socialist so-

ciety. The principles of scientific socialism are to guide our people. Therefore, no favouritism, nepotism or tribal sympathies will play any part in nominating or electing citizens to any responsible position in the government organs, local councils and social and political organizations.

I will conclude my speech by saying «Good Work» and success in the tasks entrusted to you. You will be an example to the rest of the nation, especially those of you members in the City Council of Mogadiscio will be the pioneers of the conduct of the other Regional, District and Village Councils. I beseech you to base your activities on honesty, truth and justice always. Your City Chairman is Jaalle Major Osman Mohamed Jeelle who is one of the vanguard of our Revolution and a vigilant revolutionary.

Jaallayaal, I thank you once again for gathering here today in the inauguration ceremony of the formation of the first Local Government Councils in our country since the glorious October 21st Revolution. Good luck to you all and good work.

## SECOND NATIONAL TRADE FAIR

*The SRC President's speech on the 2nd National Fair at its new premises near Rugta Taleh:*

20-10-1972

You all know by direct experience the hallucinating results of the pre-revolutionary periods to be able to appreciate the substantial difference between the past and present realities when we have and still are overcoming all the difficulties by dint of sacrifice and will for the attainment of a more viable economic system and progress.

One of the objectives of the National Fair is to attract the attention of our people to the achievements scored during the year of work and acquaint them with what has been attained socially, Culturally and economically.

The National Fair which is the most important shop window of the economic sector is the meeting spot of participants and visitors, for exchanging information and to stimulate contracts for cooperation. Our Fair has already become a centre for home and foreign trade.

Even if this fair is largely intended for our public, we should however, consider that many of our guests who are now in the Capital to participate in the festive celebrations of the Third Anniversary of the Revolution will have the possibility to see our socio-economic activities. From the early economic data of the current year, though thus far provisional, it appears that the over-all national economy has got a strong impulse.

In the Livestock sector, which is still the backbone of our economy, particular attention was given to the digging of wells, building water reservoirs, pasture reserve, preventive and curative right against livestock disease, building centres for the treatment of the livestock intended for exportation. Besides this, there are well and grazing areas being prepared in different areas of the country.

In the agriculture it should be mentioned that Somalia used to export maize, sorghum, cotton, sesame, groundnuts and other products of the land. Unluckily, from an exporting country, Somalia changed into one depending on aid for her own population. This happened by act of the enemies of the people for whom the situation has become out of hope by the inception of the Revolution. Thanks to the unswerving initiative of the Revolutionary government, the situation has appreciably improved. The Crash Programme, the creation of Agri-

cultural Cooperatives and the prompt response of our farmers to the appeal of the Government enabled Somalia today to proclaim herself self-sufficient regarding certain foodstuffs such as grain. If we continue at this rate, Somalia will be able without doubt to export the surplus. Thanks to this, we have been able to curtail our import of food stuffs this year by 40 per cent.

In the industrial sector, the Revolutionary Government, knowing that the masses of the people will not overcome poverty without the existence of industrial base in the country, has nationalized the existing industries for the purpose of realising optimum production.

Besides the existing ones, work is under way for the construction of tobacco and matches industries, fruit-canning industry, carton-mill, grain-mill and tannery. With the construction of these new industries and with the increase of the agricultural output and the exportation of animal on the hoof, which are still at the top of export items, we will produce manufactured items besides those of agriculture.

This brief account induces us to contemplate with sure perspectives that at the 12th Edition of the Mogadishu International Fair, which will take place next year, Somali products will be able to stand up to international competition.

This National Fair offers us the opportunity to review the achievements scored to assess our assets and to find remedy for the various unhealthy conditions.

I want to conclude my speech, thanking once again the

workers who accomplished this project; the Agencies, Ministries Companies, Local Governments as well as the Orientation Centres who accepted the invitation for the participation in the National Fair and wishing them good success, I declare the Second National Fair open.

## THE YEARS OF CONSOLIDATION

21-10-1972

*Jaalle Siad's October speech.*

On the happy event of the third anniversary of our Revolution I convey, on behalf of the Somali people and myself, our warmest greetings to our distinguished brothers Julius Nyerere and Idi Amin. Both these Presidents, despite matters of pressing moment in their respective countries of Tanzania and Uganda, have found the time to come here and share with us the joy of this occasion.

I wish also to extend my greetings and thanks to the other distinguished guests, the representatives of States and political organisations, and those friends and comrades who, by their most welcome presence among us, have added lustre to these festivities of ours.

To all of you, Jaallayaal, Somalis wherever you are, go my paternal greetings and the deserved homage for the sacrifices you have endured and the tasks you have so successfully performed in the name of our victorious Revolution.

It is no pretence that our Revolution has transformed a backward society into one of progress and dignity, the tangible fruits of which are there for all to see throughout the Somali Democratic Republic.

In the short space of three years, we have exceeded all expectations. When we pause to consider why and how this has come about, we are immediately aware that for a long time our people have cherished the hope of being the masters of their own destiny. We have wanted to restore our own dignity and to work and prosper in world of our won in which justice and equality are guaranteed. Our people have fought for years and sacrificed their best sons for this precious right. And so, over a long period of time, we have slowly moved towards the realisation of an ambition.

But fulfilment marked the start of another struggle for development and the attainment of economic independence and social justice. This, we thought would come to us in the decade since 1960. But it eluded us. The rush for personal profit, for luxury and the satisfaction of selfish interests, pushed these cherished hopes out of our reach, and placed certain Somali circles in allegiance to foreign capitals. This led to the paralysis of our social relations through the exploitation of primitive tribal conflicts, and brought about the stagnation of economic activity in the country. Our people became gradually aware of the political and economic deterioration that set in.

Underdevelopment was perpetuated, tribalism and regionalism were played upon, privileged groups retained control, and the differences between city and country were sharpened to separate peasants from cattlemen, and the latter from the urban populations.

It was repeatedly emphasised that Somalia was poor in natural resources, and that all Africa was impoverished in intellectual capacity that forced a dependence upon Western knowledge and technology before any changes for the better could be expected.

It did not take long, however, for our people to realise the necessity to shed these beliefs and to put aside the social discrepancies and differences on which the bourgeois classes maintained their privileges and created their fortunes. No effort to develop any nation will amount to much so long as political forces exist which aim at controlling the resources of the country and of manipulating them to the advantage of a few within the country and outside. Our people have come to see this.

The first preoccupation of the Revolution was therefore to mobilise the masses into a direct confrontation with the problems that affected their lives. It was necessary to ensure that both the politics and the economy of the nation were completely independent. It became imperative to fight unemployment and disease and illiteracy and, equally important, to fight to banish colonialism and neo-colonialism from this continent.

When they saw the menace these evils were to our progress, our people rallied behind the Revolution. A new sense of responsibility became evident, and a willingness was manifested

to defend the principles of the Revolution and to work towards the creation in Somalia of a socialist state. This was a crucial turning point in the nation's development that marked our march to fulfilment in many separate fields.

Let us look at some of these achievements that have been recorded. This period has witnessed a considerable social and material transformation in the country which reflect a creativity and maturity unprecedented in our history. We have tightened our ranks and consolidated our unity.

The year 1972 saw a new phase of political development under the Revolution. The institution of autonomous regions was effected, and there was a widening of the activities under the Public Relations office. It saw also the thunderous growth of the Gulwadayal and the setting up of directional committees. The policy of the Revolution has always been to foster, through political directives, the growth of the nation, the development of the people and the defence of all those organisations that ensure their control over the whole structure.

Every effort has been made to channel the resources of the country into activities that elevate the condition of the people bringing better standards of life. There is more employment, and this is due to the Somalisation of all jobs and the creation of new opportunities.

We are not free of problems. Economic difficulties have arisen through the imperfections in the system of production. There are disruptive elements at work in the private sector of trade, and other elements straining to keep our dependence on foreign institutions and markets. There is a lack of specia-

lised skills which hold back organisation and progress, and while new plans and programmes are being implemented, much of our organisation is still anchored to the old system. These are all set-backs from which we must free ourselves.

But with the mobilisation of the masses and the efforts to strengthen the socialist state which does not favour particular interests and groups, Revolutionary progress is moving to all levels of the nation's life. The basis for this phase in our development is set out in the Second Charter of the Revolution, and they represent the concrete measures that are bringing socialist improvements and bolstering our economic system.

A major part of our effort has been put into effect in June, 1971, been put into the 1971-73 Development Programme, which came into effect in June 1971. This plan, understandably, is limited in its objectives and is concerned principally with the completion of those projects either abandoned or left incomplete by the previous regime. It seeks to strengthen the vital sectors of our economy and to bridge the gulf between the country and the city, which has been one of the main reasons for underdevelopment throughout the country.

Despite its shortcomings, however, the present three year programme is different from the previous plans and is concerned with a reshuffling of priorities from unproductive schemes to productive projects that will speed rapid economic growth. It is an expression of our policy to utilise fully our resources for the development of the country, wherever possible through self help.

Some of the crucial problems that the three year plan covers are:

- a) National improvement and the completion of abandoned projects.
- b) Balancing the State budget.
- c) The improvement of veterinary and all other services relating to livestock and the environment.
- d) The development of agriculture and the fisheries industry.
- e) The creation and transformation of the industrial structure.
- f) Reorganisation of all aspects of the Banana industry.
- g) Improvement and expansion of education services and public health.
- h) Decentralisation of the Public Administration.
- i) Improvement and expansion of Telecommunications.

We can claim with satisfaction that since 1971 we have put the accounts of the State in order and settled the deficit. Also in 1971 income and expenditure increased respectively by 17% and 8% over the figures for 1970, and increase in forecast for 1972 that will show respectively a difference of 8% and 6%.

This is shown in the following figures:

**PROSPECT OF THE STATE BUDGET**  
In millions of shillings

Period	1968	1969	1970	1971	1972
Current income . . . . .	264	272	288	337	365
Current expenses . . . . .	282	284	299	324	344
Excess/Deficit . . . . .	-17	-12	-11	-13	-21
Expenses for Development	127	141	124	139	188

The State financial organs have worked out plans that will guarantee an annual increment of income of not less than 10%. This is a modest figure, but it will provide the minimum necessary to ensure the desired increase in State services. While it is not the intention to increase administrative expenses, it must be recognised that it is not possible to effect all the necessary improvements from budget resources. It has therefore become necessary to mobilise the masses so that they may participate in the construction of the country.

Although we have incurred various loans to finance our development projects, we have always made it clear, and we still maintain that the development of the country must be accomplished by our own efforts and through the maximum utilisation of our material and human resources. External help should only be complementary to our own efforts in national development. At this date the government has no outstanding accounts or arrears to pay, having liquidated since 1971 all its internal debts. The government has also met regularly all its international commitments.

The public sector represents an area of growing expansion and it must in future, make a bigger contribution to the

budget. The total derived from this area in 1969 was So. Sh. 85.5 millions. The total figure for 1971 stood at So. Shs. 618.5 million. The gross profit realised during the same period went from So. Shs. 4.5 million to So. Shs. 45 million. A substantial proportion of this transferred to the State budget. The new law, recently passed on the financing of public bodies, will help to eliminate waste and consolidate these organisations.

A major step in the improvement of national resources was the nationalisation of the banks. This has made it possible to mount important new activities and to add appreciably to the budget. The commercial banks have shown a continuing upward trend in their selection and employment of funds. Savings have gone up from So. Shs. 181 million at the beginning of 1971 to So. Shs. 212 million at the end of the same year. During the same period investments also increased from 206 million to 253 million shillings.

Of this amount, 71.1% was allocated for the development of trade, 12.2% was devoted to the financing of new industries, while 5.3% went to agriculture. The balance was made available to several other projects requiring finance. It is noteworthy that a considerable portion of the finance earmarked for the commercial sector was utilised for the purchase of cereals as a step towards self-sufficiency in food and to assure a stable price to farmers.

A further look at investments indicates that 86.5% of available funds were invested in the Benadir Region. This is an unfortunate situation that has been inherited from the past, and it is hoped that with the decentralisation programmes currently

being implemented future figures will show a more even distribution of investment funds throughout all the regions of the country.

The Development Bank has intensified its activities in providing finance for medium — and long term — development projects. Except for 1969 when transport claimed a bigger percentage of the Bank's funds, more and more finance has been put into agriculture since that date in conformity with Revolutionary directives for greater agricultural diversification.

Interest rates on agricultural credits have been reduced from 7% to 5.5%, thus relieving the burden on farmers. But further reductions are envisaged, particularly on credits to co-operatives and State farms. The Bank has also financed three industrial projects to the tune of 27 million shillings. These are expected to become operational by the end of this year.

In banking, currency reserves rose very considerably in spite of a decrease in exports to prevent a worsening of the situation, the deficit rose to 127 million shillings. But a new reduction is foreseen during 1972 as a result of the better regulation of imports and State control of trade.

We cannot continue this deficit for too long. It will hamper our efforts and increase our dependence upon sources abroad. This problem was exhaustively examined by a recent seminar on the promotion of trade and a series of constructive proposals have been produced which aim at improving our internal and external trade. The directives which have been formulated on these proposals must be carefully followed, and we

will in the near future be able to evaluate the success of these efforts.

It is imperative to encourage the accumulation of funds and to ensure the investment of these resources on the basis of established priorities and this way advance the development of the country. Nationalisation was followed by the State takeover of trade.

These measures have been criticized and have been used as the basis for predicting the collapse of the economy and of the country. None of these gloomy predictions have materialised.

The Revolution is not concerned with idle speculation but with the improvement of the economy and the attainment of true independence for the people. The people who have been most vociferous in condemning these measures are those who have most to gain from the policies and procedures of the Revolution.

The Revolution has defeated imperialism and neo-colonialism and ushered in a period of steady progress in the country.

We must not be deflected from our course by adverse propaganda. We must move forward to the vast social and economic challenges that lie ahead of us. We must devote our energies to guarantee the rapid development of the national economy and organise our resources and create the best technical and material basis for a successful socialist programme.

On the agricultural side, notable achievements have been recorded. Over 70 farmers cooperatives have been formed, and

there has been a tremendous increase in the output per hectare.

Irrigation has reached a new level of development, and extension schemes are making a greater diversification of cultivation possible. The efforts of the Ministry of Agriculture together with volunteer workers have brought much reclaimed land into use, and it has been possible to enlarge and modernise irrigation canals.

In addition to this, there are the new projects of Fanole, the Afgoi-Mordinle State farms, and the reclamation of 10,000 hectares in Balad district, all of which are receiving the close attention of the agricultural authorities. The intervention of the State in the cultivation of maize and sorghum has removed the exploitation of the farmers and assured fair prices.

The banana industry has been greatly improved, and this product is now sold at competitive prices in markets that are being extended. Bananas occupy an important place in our economy and therefore adequate attention is being given to it to the removal of all the difficulties that have hindered its development. From 1956 to 1964 banana production went from 328,569 quintals to 1,028,472 quintals.

There was an appreciable drop in production during the years 1964 to 1969, but this trend has been reversed and from 928,180 quintals in 1969 there has been a steady increase to the 1972 figure of 1,033,565 quintals, and it is hoped to take production very shortly to levels well in excess of the one million quintal mark.

The crash programmes have brought a new realisation of

the nation's agricultural potential. In addition they have become the means of settling the nomad population and thus enabling this segment of the population to make a bigger output of the country.

Besides, the crash farms have provided employment opportunities for thousands of young people who would otherwise have drifted into the urban centres to crime and begging. They have now found a way in which they can make their own contribution to the nation's development. The success of the crash schemes have now opened up the possibility of bigger developments in agricultural prosperity.

Future plans envisage a wider embracing schedule of activities with higher production targets, the strengthening of workers group by defining their status better and solving some of the problems that have been thrown up since the start of the crash projects, and attention to some of the social problems that disturb life in the community.

The young pioneers of the crash programmes have earned a place of respect in the country, and every effort will be made to consolidate the programme and enable it to make a fuller contribution to Somali development.

In the area of veterinary development a great deal of valuable progress has been made, particularly in the eradication and prevention of diseases. From records that have been compiled since the improvement began, the livestock industry is today in a much better position than ever before. More trained assistants are available and training is now imparted at a much higher level. And because of the great importance of

animal resources in our economy, a veterinary college is being set up that will make available the trained and skilled personnel to keep our livestock in the best possible condition.

During 1972, the Kismayu Meat Factory purchased 50,000 head of livestock of which 6,500 were exported. In addition to this, work goes on in improving the quality of livestock breeds. This calls for high investment and skilled and patient work.

New centres for leather processing are being established. Mogadishu's output of shoes has gone up to 230 pairs a day as compared to the 100 pairs last year. A zootechny project of considerable importance to the country is currently under study at an estimated cost of 71 million shillings. The study is centered on the Juba region and it is hoped that it will be completed by mid-1973.

The water Development Agency is about to fulfil an extensive development programme. In 1971, the Agency completed 19 wells in Mogadishu with a capacity of 6.3 million gallons, and 35 wells were completed in the various regions. There was also the sizeable task of inspecting and overhauling 282 wells currently in operation. Work continues on mineral exploration, and researches have begun for the ultimate extraction of tin in the Majahun area. Research continues in other promising areas.

With progress on a countrywide basis largely dependent upon the creation of an adequate infrastructure plans are now being finalised to start work on essential projects that will remove the bottlenecks to development. Construction has started on the Hargeisa-Berbera road, and a start will soon be made

on the major Belet Uen-Burao link and on the Arara-Giamama highway. Work goes on steadily on the Jowhar-Belet Uen road and construction is also moving ahead on the Iska-Wax-U-Qabso (self-help).

Work on the Port of Mogadishu will start during the first half of next year and this is expected to have a far-reaching effect on nation's economy. Meanwhile, negotiations are going on for the start of construction on the Golwen-Gelib and the Berbera-Burao roads. These projects will greatly facilitate movement from one part of the country to another and make a great difference in speeding the development of communications.

Housing poses one of the big problems that we have to face. There is an acute shortage of houses, particularly in the big centres, and our workers cannot afford the high rents, even after the reductions. We cannot allow the people to continue to live in unsanitary hovels with their families, and the necessary financial arrangements are being made to provide our workers with good housing.

Industry, although still in the embryonic stage, must be given special attention and we must boost levels of production. Production in 1969 was estimated at 70 million shillings. In the first two years of the Revolution, the value of production from local industries leaped to 174 million shillings. At the end of 1972 industrial output is estimated to reach 117 million shillings, a 27% increase on the value of production for 1971.

From April 1971, the meat factory went over to two shifts to do double production, which was valued at 16.5 million shil-

lings of which 15.3 million shillings worth of products were sold abroad. The fish factory at Las Korey has also increased its production. Costs at the Giohar sugar factory have been slashed, while the electricity power station in Mogadishu has been enlarged and is thus able to extend electricity to new areas.

Plans are being implemented to enable the textile industry at Balad to meet the increasing demand for suitable fabrics. For the period from 1970 to 1972 staff engaged in the public sector of industry was increased from 5,994 to 6,235 persons, while salary increases for the same period moved from 24,094 million shillings to 23,969 million shillings.

Again during the same period, the fixed capital of existing industry showed a rise from 248,181 million shillings to 264,095 million shillings. All these figures establish the steady improvement in the overall position of the country since the Revolution. Attention will now be focussed on investments in those activities that deal with the processing of fish and the nations' agricultural products.

Apart from these, there is now under construction a factory for the manufacture of cigarettes and another for the making of matches. A huge sugar factory is envisaged in the Lower Juba area, a cement factory in Berbera and a modern meat industry in the Benadir Region.

Education has made tremendous strides. At the elementary level enrolments have gone up from 31,589 during the year 1969-1970 to 51,000 during the school year 1972-1973. At the intermediate level also the intake has risen from 17,394 to 21,000, and at the higher school stage the respective figures are

4,040 to 9,700. In technical schools, too, there has been an increase from 548 to 1,350.

During the 1970-1971 campaign against illiteracy, 20,500 people took advantage of adult courses, and this figure went up the following year to 26,710. No fewer than 600 class rooms were built during this time, and plans have also been completed for new university faculties.

Our people have put in a great effort to enable these significant changes to be made, and our educational system is now geared to the needs of the country. Special Revolutionary centres cater for students during their vacations, and as a result we have a student community dedicated to the objectives of the Revolution and the progress of the country.

But we face some obstacles. These are the numerous private schools which lie outside the control of the Ministry of Education. The other is the language problem. By this I mean the language in which the children are taught. This is not our language.

We cannot be free in our thinking, in our behaviour and in our way of living when many parts of us are tied up to political and social values in which we have nothing to share. It will not benefit our culture and our traditions when our children are taught methods and systems which have no meaning to us.

We have studied these problems for the past three years and find these things at variance with our environment and our work. Furthermore, these institutions are private and are

virtually privileged clubs. Children in our schools are being taught in three different languages.

We have to face and solve once and for all the question of script for our mother language, which goes back historically to our very beginning. It is rich in literature and poetry and can compare with the best languages. Through verbal transmission our ancestors have handed down to us a rich heritage to safeguard and develop.

The imperialists and the colonialists maintained the divisions. They put Somali against Somali, alphabet against alphabet, and tribe against tribe.

If we had a written language this would not have happened for as long as it did. Because of this 90 per cent of our people are illiterate. As dedicated Revolutionaries we must now ensure that what has been handed down to us over the centuries is no longer lost.

You are aware that in 1971 we formed a special committee to prepare the necessary materials for the teaching of the Somali language in our schools, and to collect all relevant material relating to our history and our literature. This committee has completed the first part of its task and handed over to the Ministry of Education the results of their researches and the books they have compiled. I am therefore happy to announce, in accordance with the First Charter of the Revolution, these decisions which have been long awaited by our people. It is the accomplishment of a Revolutionary pledge:

- a) The Somali language will be adopted, starting from

today, as the only official language of the country. After careful study it has been decided to adopt the Latin alphabet as the script of our language. Under separate regulations, provision will be made for the practical introduction of the language in every sector of our national life.

- b) Starting from this school year, all private schools in Somali territory will be taken over by the State. The buildings and all equipment are nationalised.
- c) All private printing houses, and all instruments and equipment connected with culture and information are nationalised. This has been done to speed the learning of all the alphabet among the masses.

We are not unmindful of the difficulties that lie ahead but this action has been necessary and could no longer be postponed.

Great success has been achieved with our public health programmes. A law passed in 1972 banned the import of medicines by private firms and this has led to the control of the indiscriminate use of drugs and medicines which were harmful to our people.

Today medicines and drugs are distributed through co-operatives. This move has also had the effect of bringing down the prices of medicines. Furthermore doctors are now employed by the State to serve the people and as a result of this better medical services have been made available to the people. There are more beds in hospitals and preventive measures have

been stepped up with more professional and trained personnel to work in all parts of the country.

Attention has also been given to the eradication of diseases which exist in certain zones of the country. Another great success is the creation of a Faculty of Medicine which will help us train our own professional people. To help our people we have abolished all hospital fees.

We have succeeded in giving real meaning to the concept of justice in our society. There are more judges available and the whole process of justice has been streamlined to ensure that there is no unnecessary hardship and suffering.

More changes are on the way and among these is a new Civil Code. More courts and buildings have been provided. With regard to the exercise of the Islamic religion, I have repeatedly stated that there is nothing that should hinder its practice under socialism. Only those motives of bad faith will find any incompatibility.

The mass media have played a key role in keeping our people informed of the Revolution and its aims. The Ministry responsible for these activities is increasing its capability to reach the masses in the important task of orientation. New radio transmitters will be installed in the near future, and this work will continue to grow.

Sport in the past was relegated to a position of insignificance in the nation's life. But we have given sport a new meaning with the creation of the Ministry of Labour and Sport. I am proud that we have become a nation of sportsmen.

Much of the future planning that we undertake for the betterment of our country and our people will depend on a knowledge of how many people there are in the country, and for this reason we are going to undertake a census to determine the country's population. No planning for the future will be beneficial and of value unless it is based on certain knowledge.

Two milestones of significance have been the management committees relating to industry and the autonomous agencies, and the institution of Local Councils. The young workers on the Councils plan and decide on the development of their own regions. The Central Government harmonises and coordinates these programmes. This has been a further move in involving the masses in governing the country.

In its foreign relations Somalia has made a conscious effort to create understanding peoples and particularly among the nations of Africa. We support all efforts at the liberation of the still subjugated parts of this continent.

It is necessary that the United Nations find a way of imposing its decisions on Namibia and the Middle East. We hope that Indochina will win her great battle for freedom, and that the Korean nation can ultimately unite after long years of division.

In choosing socialism we have demarcated the path we have decided to tread towards our fulfilment as a nation. Sacrifices lie ahead, but we need confidence. It is our duty to stimulate new revolutionary methods and to continue the implementation of our socialist principles. Our policies must be based upon scientific theories and we must strive always to be

objective. We are in a crucial moment of our history, first as a nation and then as a socialist state. We have a great responsibility to our people and we will discharge it to the best of our ability.

Long live the Revolution.

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