

# HAILGAN!



(THE STRUGGLE)

ORGAN OF THE SOMALI  
REVOLUTIONARI SOCIALIST PARTY

## • C.C. DECISION ON SOMALI-USSR RELATIONS

Self determination  
and African unity

Cooperatives in  
Somalia

The legitimacy of  
the western Soma-  
li struggle



Struggle to  
learn, in order to  
learn to  
struggle better

# HAILGAIN

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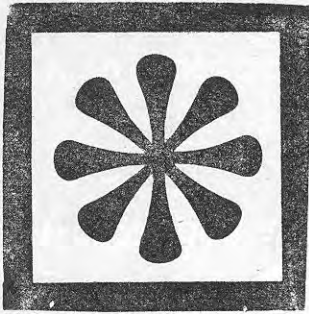
## HALGAN

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## EDITORIAL NOTES

# WHAT IS BEHIND THE SRSP DECISION ON SOMALI-USSR RELATIONS ?

The decision taken by the CC of the SRSP on November 13th to abrogate the Somali Soviet friendship Treaty came after a long period of patience, after taking a careful balance sheet of all options and possibilities. For sometime now, the USSR has been pursuing policies vis a vis the Horn Africa inimical to SDR. The decision did not come about as a result of emotional attitude, careful observation and analysis showed that USSR policies have objectively made the USSR an enemy of the SDR.

The Soviet - Somali friendship Treaty reflected common interests and principles. The relations between the USSR and Somalia were founded on mutual advantages and shared perspectives. As time went on, it became obvious that the USSR was pursuing policies contrary to the spirit and letter of the Treaty. A decline in the relations between the two former friends was naturally visible and a rupture in the friendship treaty became inevitable.

The SDR spared no efforts in appealing both to the USSR and Cuba to stop their menacing interference in the affairs within the Ethiopian Empire. The USSR and Cuba had, however, taken an implacable stand and they remained deaf to all appeals, to all forms of reasoning and friendly advice. They intensified their brazen interference expected of them.

The Soviet Union continued to pour huge quantities of highly sophisticated weapons into Ethiopia and Cuba adventuristically poured in soldiers to fight colonial wars against national liberation movements. In addition to these the USSR began to orchestrate a vicious propaganda campaign against the SDR, seeking to portray Somalia as a tool of imperialist intrigues which is not absolutely the case in the Horn of Africa. Such propaganda clouds serve as a smokescreen to conceal the truth; the truth is that the USSR, for state strategic interests,



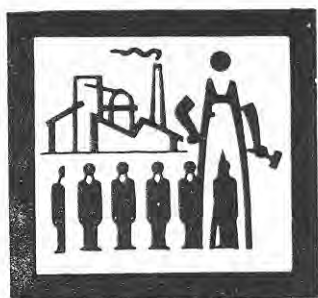
wants to use Mengistu's Ethiopia as strong foothold in Africa. They see its great potentiality as a «Client state». Accordingly, they turn a deaf ear to the protests of all those progressive forces being destroyed by the Addis-Ababa regime. Similarly they do not wish to consider the problems of the colonized nations within Ethiopia; in fact they are willing and eager to provide Mengistu with all the necessary supports - political economic and military to wage genocidal wars against Eritrean and Western Somali peoples. Such policies betray the principles of justice and the merits of struggling for liberty, socialism and peace. The USSR and her allies are pursuing classical machiavellian policies guided by the assertion: «The end justifies all means».

Following the tension and the relaxation in the Somali - USSR relations, speculative questions have arisen: which path will Somalia take? On whom must she rely? to answer these questions one must note that since the October 21st 1969 Revolution, Somalia has been pursuing a socialist oriented path to development, and that such a choice reflects on objective historical necessity; it was not imposed subjectively from outside. The first Charter of the Revolution declared the need to struggle for freedom, unity and progress of the Somali people; This struggle will continue until the objectives have been realised. Socialism is not a monopoly of the Soviet Union, every country has the right to adopt socialism to fill its specific conditions and needs.

The controversy in the Horn of Africa is not a border dispute between the SDR and Ethiopia, it is the outcome of the liberation struggles of the Western Somali People, Eritrea, and other nationalities waging wars against a century - old Ethiopian colonialism. It is a consequence of inevitable armed struggles of freedom fighters against colonialism, after all peaceful means had been exhausted as their right for self-determination continued to be denied.

It is incumbent upon all the progressive nations of the world to pay careful attention to the situation in the Horn where historical problems have been aggravated and the progressive forces are being exterminated. Every nation on earth, no matter how big or small, strong or weak, has the right to seek and safeguard its freedom, unity and dignity. No power on earth can eliminate such aspirations, and no one can in the long run, divert the course of progress, unity and peace of this region.





## Political, Social and Economic Affairs

# The foundation of the general federation of the Somali cooperatives

(Adan Muse Jibril)

The founding Congress of the General Federation of the Somali Cooperatives will take place on the 7th-10th January 1978.

All Somali cooperative union will take part in the congress which will be organised by the cooperative Bureau of the Central Committee of the Somali Revolutionary Socialist Party.

To mark the importance of founding such an organisation of a cooperative, we have to point out two fundamental points:-

- 1) The Role of the cooperatives in the economic and social development of the country.
- 2) To what level the implementation of the cooperatives reached since 21st October Revolution.

### ROLES OF THE COOPERATIVES IN ECONOMIC, SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ASPECTS IN SOMALIA.

As we know, the developing countries inherited backward socio-economic and political systems from their colonizers. This makes it imperative for us to cope with these problems and responsibilities heroically and courageously.

Soon after independence, the colonized peoples discovered the acute of problems of underdevelopments that faced them. Experience

has it that there is a close relationship between economic underdevelopment and the neo-colonial situation that these countries found themselves bound to the metropolitan. When this relationship was discovered, it became possible for serious leaders to change this situation and bring about profound social and economic transformations.

Somalia is one of the developing countries which depends on the development of the mode of production in the interior. (The vast majority of the Somali population are nomads who live in the interior). The development of the mode of production in the interior is not only enough, but also to change or develop the forces of production is necessary.

### THE IMPLEMENTATION OF COOPERATIVES IN THE SDR.

The 21st October Revolution proved the way to a socialist-oriented development. Accordingly, many important projects were implemented since then. The implementation of these projects brought about a wide development in every sector. Founding an organisation of a cooperative system is considered as one of the most im-

portant achievements of the Somali Revolution. Law Number 40 of October, 1973, concerning the development of the cooperatives was not acknowledged without a political justification. Before this, came a decision aimed freeing the economy of the country from exploitation.

On this basis, agricultural cooperatives came into existence, as the most important and active cooperative in our economy. Though the establishment and management law of the cooperatives came out in 1973 yet it is doubtless that principally the political organisation of the cooperatives began with the birth of the 21st October Revolution. However actively under the guidance of Somali Revolutionary Council, the cooperatives were started in 1972. It was directly administered by the Ministry of Agriculture and political Bureau of the SRSP.

Though it was only a short time since the birth of 21st October Revolution, yet there is no doubt that the formation of a cooperatives system that is in an advanced stage qualitatively and quantitatively which contributes a big sphere in the economic production of the country. Now there are 47 cooperatives



(elementary), known as «Ujeeddo Badan» multipurpose) and 211 bigger cooperatives (intermediate) which are known as «Tacab wa-daag». These cooperatives use an area of 29173 hectares. 19808 Hectares depend on irrigation system while the rest 9365 Hectares depend on rain water. The number of the people in these cooperatives is about 12945.

The production level of the cooperatives are expected to rise in the near future when peasants learn to share and cooperate with each other fully and learn to im-

prove the tools of production and use modern machinery.

So as to assure the developments of Somali cooperatives, the cooperative Bureau of the CC of the SRSP is implementing fully the policy of the Party and State of Agricultural development as is written in the Party programme.

It is the responsibility of the cooperative Bureau to establish the General Federation of Somali cooperatives in a month.

From the 7th-10th of January, 1978, the founding of the Cooper-

ative Bureau is expected to take place, of most successful endeavour for the development of the cooperative work in the Somali Democratic Republic.

## The legitimacy of the armed struggle of the people of Western Somalia



### 1. The Parties to the conflict: A brief Historical background:

The typical feature of colonialism — whether overland or overseas — is the creation of a multinational State on a hierarchical basis, the lower groups (in this case the colonized peoples) serving the economic, strategic and military needs of the top — the colonizers. However in the case of overland colonization, economic motives are overshadowed by considerations of security, and temptations nourished by the existence of a power vacuum in contiguous (colonizable) areas. The value of large contiguous areas usually lies in the opportunities they present for defence in depth. Ethiopia's occupation of Western Somalia (Ogaden), as well as Bale, Arusi

and Sidamo satisfied these military and defence needs. Whereas, the annexation of Eritrea, the indispensable access to the sea.

This is not to say that colonization has always been undertaken for the consciously realized purpose of achieving specifically stated objectives. Yet, what matters is the effect, and not the declared motive, for the interested party usually offers a fascinating political ideology as a basis for its imperial expansionism. Spanish colonization may have been carried out for the propagation of Christianity or the French may have regarded their colonial expansion as an instrument of fulfilling their civilizing mission in the world; while the Italians were merely aspiring to a «place sun». Yet all these

actors acted in lines which in the result improved their political position and added to their political power influence and economic and military muscle. King Menelik of Abyssinia, on the other hand, was aiming to create for himself an Empire, comprising almost all of the peoples of North Eastern Africa. Thus, the European powers competing for the colonization of the Horn, in order to dominate over the strategic Southern entrance to the Red Sea, found an ally, and at the same time, an opponent in the monarch of the Abyssinian highlands.

As an ally, who prided himself as being the king of a Christian Island in a sea of pagans, he was more than willing to give them a hand in their endeavours; but he



was also bent upon improving his colonization of contiguous territories, which rendered him a formidable opponent and a competitor anxious to balance the colonial expansion of the other powers.

«If powers at a distance come forward to partition Africa between them; I do not intend to be an indifferent spectator». Menelik observed in a circular letter to the European powers. (1). He then goes on to claim almost all of the Somali territories, half of Kenya, and a portion of Sudan, including Khartoum; and pledges to annex them all in the future. As regards the Somali territories, he was then aware of the weakness of his traditional opponents to the East, and the relative strength of his position in the aftermath of Abyssinian's adherence to the Brussels act of 1890, and the consequent supply of arms and ammunition received from the European powers. He thus embarked on an invasion of these territories, and succeeded in the occupation of Harar, a thriving commercial and cultural center which had in the past defied, and heroically repulsed all Abyssinian attempts at encroachment. The fall of Harar marked the Rise of a new Empire and the domination of an up-to-then independent nation; and Menelik, fully aware of this, wrote to the British consular Agent in Aden: «Amir Abdulla (the ruler of Harar) would suffer no Christian in his country. He was another Gagne, (2) but by the help of God I fought him, destroyed and hoisted my flag in his capital, and my troops occupied his city. —(3).

Sir Harry Johnston had argued at the time of Menelik's circular letter, that «Abyssinia — for

many reasons connected with its history, its religion, and sturdy assertion of independence, deserves more than any state of Africa to preserve her independence, provided she will abstain from offence, and recognize her true geographical limits». (4) But the European powers were not willing to challenge Abyssinia even though it had embarked now on an expansionist campaign for a variety of reasons. In the first instance, the religious factor was still there, and the connotations of statehood characterized by centralized political organization similar to that of the Europeans differentiated it from all other African entities. Added to this was the growing military strength of Menelik, who now rose to the status of Emperor and was thus aspiring to join the club of imperialist powers bying with each to «propagate the light of christianity and to fulfil their civilizing mission» in Africa through colonial annexation and domination. Hence their readiness to let Abyssinia actively participate in the acquisition of colonial territories; and the consequent stipulation of treaties to that effect with Emperor Menelik. (5) Indeed, it was through these treaties that the European powers sought to legitimize the imperial conquests of Menelik, by, bringing him into the web of the new colonial international law created as a result of the Berlin conference of 1884. The way was therefore cleared for Emperor Menelik's overland colonization, offered him in aid and appeasement by the overseas colonizers who found in him a reliable accomplice and a useful ally in carving up the North-Eastern territories and peoples of Africa into separate spheres of oppression and domination.

The Somali people, on the other

hand, found themselves subjected to separate colonial administration and forced to observe the colonial traced boundary lines which fenced them from each other, in order to obliterate their common cultural identity and destroy their national unity.

Their resistance to this arrangement did not however weaken for a moment, and through a long and protracted struggle they succeeded to overthrow the saltwater colonizers and regain their independence from Italy, Britain and lately France. It was therefore only natural that their efforts should now be directed against the over-land invader who have continued to occupy their territory, and oppress their people feigning to ignore that the era of colonialism was coming to an end in Africa.

## II — The nature of the conflict:

The Liberation movement of the people of western Somalia (Ogaden) under Ethiopian colonization gathered strength at the same time as the movements in the other parts of the truncated Somali nation. Local sections of the Somali Youth League» were active in the Ethiopian-occupied territories as far back as 1945, and untiringly strove for the liberation of their territory from the alien Ethiopian rule by continually petitioning the British provisional military administration of the area. Later, when the U. N. was debating the disposal of former Italian occupied territories, inhabitants of western Somalia submitted a number of petitions to the four-power commission charged in to investigate the wishes and aspirations of the Somali people, and expressed their desire to be united with

other Somalis under a U.N. trusteeship administration. In one of those petitions it was observed that «the Ogaden is not an integral part of Ethiopia. It is a territory which the Ethiopians have conquered by invasion half a century ago, and over which they can exercise authority only through the use of considerable armed forces», (6) thus, the struggle for the liberation of the people of western Somalia is not a new phenomenon; but dates back to the end of the second world war and coincides with the wider struggle of all the Somalis for freedom and independence from colonial occupation and alien domination. The struggle was naturally intensified when two portions of the Somali territory achieved their independence from Britain and Italy and immediately united to form the Somali Republic. The people of western Somalia, fully aware of the fact that overland colonizers can only be dislodged through an armed struggle, started to wage a war of liberation against the occupying Ethiopian authorities.

The imperial Ethiopian government blamed the Somali Republic for the activities of the freedom fighters and accused Somalia of fomenting the war in the occupied Ogaden, so that it could justify its acts of aggression against the young Republic in the eyes of the public opinion in Africa, and throughout the world. The conflict was therefore presented by the Ethiopian Government as a border dispute between the two neighbouring states in order to cloak over the real nature of the conflict that was raging in the Ogaden. This was mainly done in order to marshal the support of the newly

independent African states which, for reasons of political stability were negatively tuned towards border dispute. Hence, the Ethiopian Government, through the propagation in Africa and elsewhere of the false picture of a border dispute attempted to divert the attention of the African states from the root issue underlying the tense situation in the Horn, and to intimidate newly independent African states by asserting that, «It is in the interest of all Africans now to respect the frontiers drawn on the maps, whether they are good or bad, by the former colonizers», since, according to the then Ethiopian Prime Minister, «If we are to redraw the map of Africa on religious, social and linguistic grounds I am afraid, that many states will cease to exist» (7) The Somali government, on the other hand, continued to prospect the true picture of the conflict which pitted the inhabitants of the Ethiopian-occupied territories against the imperial government.

A boundary dispute arises out of an «undefined boundary line, negligent or inexact drafting of boundary agreements and insufficient marking of established boundaries on the ground». (8) It is of course true that the boundaries between the Somali Republic and Ethiopia remain underlimited but this is only secondary to the primary and fundamental question of an Ethiopia-occupied Somali territory. With whom should Somalia enter into a boundary agreement, when the areas adjacent to its borders were only illegally occupied and forcefully annexed by Ethiopia, subjecting their populations to colonial oppression and domination?

The question then arises as to

the proper qualification of the conflict in the area. The OAU has on several occasions under Ethiopian pressure, evaded the substantive issues involved in the Somali-Ethiopian dispute, relegating it to the status of a border dispute. This has been the major reason why the OAU has proved ineffective in mediating between the two countries. Simply stated, the fact is that, as shown above in the introductory remarks, Ethiopia occupied, at the same time as the European colonial powers towards the end of the 19th century a portion of Somali territory, thus participating in the colonial partition of Somalia. It is not therefore the Somali Republic which claims Ethiopian territory, but it is the Somali people under Ethiopian colonization who are striving to regain their independence from Ethiopia. The only thing that Somalia has done in the past and continues to do today is to present the plight of those to the world and naturally to support their quest for the right of self-determination in the same way as it supports all other liberation movements in the third world.

Somalia's staunch support to the freedom fighters in the Ogaden earned her the enmity of Ethiopia, which like any other colonial power, considered the struggle for independence of the peoples of Western Somalia as well as the political and diplomatic support they were getting from such countries as Somalia, a threat to its territorial integrity. This same argument was repeatedly used by the metropolitan colonial powers with respect to their colonies in Africa, Asia and Latin America. However, it has been as repeatedly rejected in international forums for its



blatant incompatibility with the right to self-determination of colonized peoples (infra).

In the practice of the United Nations a war of liberation is defined as a «struggle of the peoples under colonial rule to exercise their right to self-determination and independence» (9). The crucial word is «colonial», which in other resolutions used together with such expression as «alien domination» and «foreign occupation» (10) with which it enjoys an intimate affinity bordering on synonymity. The word has often been associated with the relationship that ties European metropolitan powers to their overseas territories thus indicating the domination of a people of European stock over a third world nation. Hence, identifying colonialism with overseas colonization, perhaps because of the rarity of overland colonialisms in the 20th century. This does however mean that the latter type does not at all exist, for the historical precedents of the Ethiopian Empire as an overland colonizers are represented by the Austro-Hungarian and Ottoman Empires in Europe and Asia, which have naturally disintegrated under the pressure of the oppressed peoples striving for the attainment of their rights to self-determination.

Thus if the Ethiopian colonization of the peoples of Eritrea and Western Somalia have not attracted much attention in world forums, this must be attributed to the excessive preoccupation of international community with the overseas colonization of the European powers - the so-called pigmentational self-determination (11).

It can't however be at all doubted that their struggle constitutes a just and legitimate war of liberation.

A war of liberation is essentially constituted of two elements: The parties to the conflict and the aim of the conflict. The parties to the conflict are on the one hand are people, organized through a liberation movement, and on the other hand the constituted government of the territory. The aim of the conflict is attainment of the right to self-determination for which the people fight against the constitute government. The parties to conflict distinguish it from a conflict between states and the objective distinguishes war of liberation from civil war (12). The struggle of the people of Western Somalia enjoys all these characteristics, and can therefore be qualified only as a war of national liberation of the same juridical and political status as all other wars of national liberation recognized by the U.N. and the OAU.

Naturally the Ethiopian authorities continue to deny this status to the Western Somali Liberation Front, for this has been the practice of all colonial powers whenever their domination was challenged by a politically-conscious movement ready to resort to armed struggle in order to throw off the colonial yoke.

### III. Wars of National Liberation and international Law.

During the heyday of colonialism, colonial wars or wars of national liberation were deemed to be an internal conflict. The imperial powers considered their colo-

lonial possessions as part and parcel of their territories. Thus the struggle of subjected peoples trying to overthrow the bondage and regain their freedom was viewed as standing beyond the purview of international law. The Law of nations was applicable only to the relations between a select club of communities known as the «civilized nations», whereas the colonized people being «backward» or «barbarians», were not eligible for the protection of international Law (13).

This practice has persisted up to the conclusion of the Geneva Diplomatic conference on Humanitarian Law of 1949 (14). The first evidence of a change in this attitude is found by the Polish jurist, Manfred Lachs, in the Geneva agreements of 1945 concerning Indochina. According to Lachs «the Geneva agreements recognized that national liberation wars, by which peoples realize their right to self-determination, as just wars are from the standpoint of Law legitimate wars. Recognizing the international legal character of national liberation wars, they coincidentally regarded as internal legal processes of the metropolitan country or the empire, that the hands of the colonial powers are not free to pacify and suppress national liberation movements»

(15). However, the proposition that the ties between an imperial power and its colonies were regulated by domestic Law alone first came under fire immediately after the institution of the United Nations organization. The objections raised by the colonial powers in the basis of paragraph 7 of art. 2 of the charter concerning inter-

ference in the domestic affairs of member states were found to be invalid wherever the principle of self-determination was involved. (16) The key development was therefore the appearance in the charter of the United Nations of the reference to «the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples», subsequently, in Resolution 637 A(VII) of 16 December 1952 the General Assembly recommended, *inter alia*, that «the state members of the United Nations shall uphold the principle of self-determination of peoples and nations.» (17) The newly independent states of Asia, Africa and Latin America took up these principles and further developed them into a new higher Law of «anti-colonialism» by resolving, *inter-alia*, in the conference of the non-aligned nations in Cairo (1964) that:

«The process of liberation is irresistible and irreversible. Colonized peoples may legitimately resort to arms to secure the full exercise of their right to self-determination and independence if colonial powers persist in opposing their natural aspirations» (18); and the African Heads of states and Governments meeting in Addis-Absaba in May 1963, «convinced that it is the inalienable right of all people to control their own destiny» pledged themselves «to eradicate all forms of colonialism from Africa.» (19) Meanwhile, the United Nations General Assembly had adopted the Declaration on the Granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples. The declaration, which constituted a watershed in the international norms concerning colonial conflicts, regards the principles of self-determination as a part of the obliga-

tions stemming from the charter, and clearly affirms that all armed action or repressive measures of all kinds directed against dependent peoples shall cease in order to enable them to exercise peacefully and freely their right to complete independence and the integrity of their national territory shall be respected». (20) The Declaration resulted in the adoption of numerous resolutions aimed at legitimizing anti-colonial wars.

These resolutions render it legal for third states to assist liberation movement, and extend the protection of international Law to the freedom fighters. (21) The manner in which the security council handled the issue of Indonesia in 1947 should have served as an eyeopener for the colonial powers, and shown them the growing tide of anticolonialism within the international community. Once the security had decided that the Indonesian dispute constituted a danger to international peace and security, the fact that, otherwise the political development of Indonesia was a matter exclusively within the jurisdiction of the Netherlands could be largely ignored.

The new trend gaining ground, that disregard of the right of self-determination undermines the basis of friendly relations among nations. Thus the relationship between self-determination and legitimate international concern was spelled out. This relationship is a vital one, because the principle of self-determination and the maintenance of international peace and security are inseparable: People seeking independence from those unwilling to grant it, or in any event unwilling to grant it on

the terms demanded are likely to create an international conflict.

Hence, the resort to arms is now considered legitimate. The assumption is that the national liberation war of a colonized people is nothing but a response an act of aggression committed earlier by the imperialist power. The peoples subjected to foreign occupation and alien domination preserve the right to counter action to an imperialist aggression for the duration of the whole period of annexation of their territory. At any moment the oppressed people, living in the territory annexed by the imperialist state, have the right to launch a national liberation struggle against their colonizers. Such a struggle can only be considered as just and legitimate, since, in the first place, neither aggression nor annexation enjoy the benefits of a statute of limitations and in the second place, international law forbids aggression and consequent annexation puts them outside the Law.

So, where the imperial state bears the duty to give effect the principle of self-determination the colonized people hold the concurrent right to secure from it prompt and adequate fulfillment of its responsibilities on that score. Thus, when a colonial state fails to behave as prescribed in the matter of promoting the independence of the component parts of its empire, it is deemed to have forth with committed more than just an infraction of the international Law in principio or to have been caught in a breach of promise or an act of bad faith. Instead it is taxed with the violation of the terms of a specific quasi—con-



tractual undertaking toward a specific party. By the same token, the latter may now lawfully resort to appropriate reprisals to redress the wrongs thus inflicted upon it.

To sum it up then, the reluctance of the colonial state to grant the right of self-determination to the component parts of its empire constitutes an offence against international Law and the U.N. charter. Should such a colonial power resist the challenge to its rule by force of arms it is again, by definition, guilty of naked aggression in the legal meaning of that term. In either case, a colonized people is fully entitled with arms in hand to «seek liberation from the yoke of a colonial state evading a peaceful settlement of said question and be the first to start military action against it with the object of destroying its military force stationed in their territory». (22) If the troops of the imperial state decide to fight back, the imperial government is guilty of yet another breach of the Law of nations. For «the position of an imperialistic colonial state which by means of armed force attempts to keep a colony in its sphere of domination is contrary to the Law». (23)

#### FOOTNOTES

1. Circular letter addressed to Britain, France, Germany, Italy and Russia. Public Records Office (London), Foreign Office 1/32 Rodd to Salisbury, No. 15, 4th of May 1898.

2. Reference to Iman Ahmed Ibni Ibrahim Al-Ghazi (1506-43)

nicknamed «Gran» or «Gurey» the left-handed, who embarked on a conquest which brought three quarters of Abyssinia into the power of his kingdom of Adal (in North-Western-Somalia from (1529-1543). See Trimingham, J.S. «Islam in Ethiopia», 1952, pp. 84-90.

3. Starkie, E. «Arthur Rimbaud in Abyssinia», P. 38.

4. «The Colonization of Africa by Alien Races» P. 277-78.

5. For the text of the treaties, see generally Hertslet, E. «The Map of Africa by Treaty»; also «the Somali Peninsula: A new light on imperial motives» published by the information services of the Somali Government (1962).

6. Cited in «The Portion of Somali Territory Under Ethiopian Colonization», published by the Somali Government (1974).

7. OAU. Mimeographed Text. CIAS/GEN/INF/43 cited in Hoskins, C. «The Ethiopia-Somalia-Kenya dispute 1960-1967» (1969) P. 35.

8. Cukuwarah, A.O. «The Settlement of Boundary Disputes in international Law», P. 89 (1967).

9. See Resolutions 2105 (XX): 2189 (XXI): 2326 (XXII); etc.

10 See Resolutions 2597 (XXIV); 2674 (XXV); 2852 (XXVI); 2923 E (XXVII).

11. Mazrui, A. «Towards Pax Africana»,

12. Ronzitti, N. «Le guerre di Li-

berazionale il (diritto internazionale», P. 50 (1974).

13. Generally, see Wiese, Le droit international applique aux guerres civiles, (1898); Sadoul, De la guerre civile en droit des gens (1905);

14. Final Records of the Diplomatic Conference of Geneva of 1949. Vol. II Section B. p 10-11.

15. M. Lachs, «The 1954 Agreements on Indochina», translated from Polish by E.I Brainin and K. A. Radvilovich. (1956) P. 189.

16. Higgins, R. «The Development of International Law through the Political Organs of the United Nations».

17. L. Sohn, «Cases and Materials on United Nations Law», P. 805

18. For the text of the resolution, see the Indian Journal of International Law, 1964, P. 603.

20. OAU Charter. Art. 11 (1-d).

21. UN Resolution 1514 (1960).

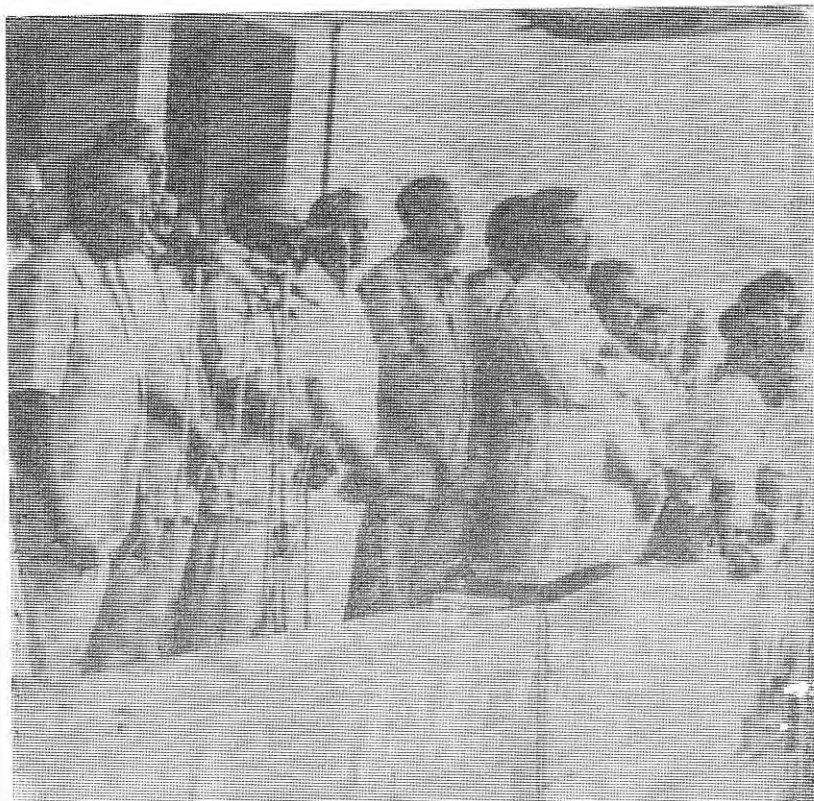
22. See UN Resolutions 2105 (XX); 2270 (XXII): 2465 (XX-III); 2597 (XXIX); see also the report of the Secretary-General on the protection of Human Rights in Armed Conflicts UN Doc. A/77-20, par. 161163 A/8052, par. 195-237; A/8370, par 134; A/8781, par 307-317.

23. Sharmanazashvili, G.V. «Colonial War — A Serious Violation of International Law» in Sovetskoe Gosudarstvo I Pravo, No. 10 (1957), P. 60 cited in Baade, H. (ed), «The Soviet impact on international Law», (1965) p. 82.



## PARTY LIFE

# Speech delivered by Jaalle Siad on the rally for the support of decisions of the central committee of the SRSP



Jaalle Siyad addressing the masses at rally.

Jaallayaal,

A short while ago I had the honour and great pleasure of addressing the nation on the occasion of the 8th Anniversary of our Revolution and had at that time briefly addressed myself to a review of our revolutionary accomplishments as well as to the most immediate challenges, problems and difficulties

facing our nation today. I also had the occasion to inform you of the grave situation which has of late developed in our part of the World as the just liberation armed struggle of the peoples of Western-Somalia, Eritrean and other peoples continued against the Ethiopian Empire in pursuit of their just and national aspirations to freedom, human dignity and independence.

Likewise we made clear in no uncertain terms that the conflict between the forces of liberation and the colonizing power. Ethiopia, is being transformed into an international crisis threatening not only the existence of the nationalist forces struggling for their independence but also the Somali Democratic Republic as well as other neighbouring countries in the region such as the Sudan, Djibouti and Kenya, thus endangering International peace and security. We also made it abundantly clear that such serious development was the direct result of the Intervention of extraneous forces who took the dangerous course of supplying huge armament to Ethiopia beyond the needs of that country; a supply of arms which is unwarranted, excessive and obviously destined to engulf the entire region in a fire of destruction unprecedented in the African continent.

We on that occasion called upon the Soviet Union to put an end to such dangerous course of action and appealed to the international Community to urge it to do so.

Similarly we called upon the Government of Cuba to immediately pull out its troops from the area and to refrain from meddling in the affairs of the Horn of Africa



thus leaving the solution of the problems of our region to the peoples concerned and to the Organisation of African Unity.

I had also traced at that time the historical background of the expansionist Ethiopian Empire and the process of colonization through which Abyssinia acquired the territory of Western Somalia as well as those of other peoples in the Horn of Africa which led to the transformation of the Kingdom of Abyssinia into what has of lately been known as the Ethiopian Empire.

Jaallayaal,

The International Community in general and the peoples and nations in our region in particular, are fully cognizant of the fact that the armed liberation struggle raging in Ethiopia is strictly between the colonial administration of Ethiopia and the colonized peoples and that the intervention of the Soviet Union, Cuba and some other pseudo-socialist countries poses a direct challenge not only to the sovereign states in Africa, in the region and the OAU as an organization but also to the conscience of all peace and freedom loving peoples the world over.

The advancement of the liberation of the Ethiopian Empire can only be viewed as the unfolding process of history. As we stated on many occasions Ethiopia's geographical proximity to the territories it colonizes and its africanity can in no way change the essence and the nature of that empire's colonial possession for colonialism has indeed no colour. History records that all Empires throughout the annals of mankind have been subjected to the natural rule of dis-

integration thus giving way to the liberation of the colonized peoples and to the restoration of the natural order disrupted by the creation of every such Empire: It follows that the progress of the liberation struggle against the Ethiopian Empire by the peoples of Western Somalia, Eritrea, Abbo, Afar and others is but a manifestation of such natural rule in action and cannot be suppressed by the Soviet Union, Cuba and those others who have opted to engage themselves today in direct combat against the liberation fronts in absolute contravention of all internationally accepted norms among the civilized and peace loving nations and in blatant violation of the principles enshrined in the charters of the United Nations Organisation, the Organisation of African Unity and all other International bodies of similar nature.

The flimsy and untenable grounds upon which they expediently attempt to justify their wanton acts of aggression against peoples struggling for the just aspiration of their rights to self-determination cannot stand to any logic.

The course of action taken by the USSR in supporting colonialist Ethiopia to perpetuate its colonization of other peoples under pretext of socialist internationalism, comes also in direct contradiction with the basic tenets of the ideology and political philosophy upon which the Soviet Revolution was founded 60 years ago.

Jaallayaal.

As revolutionary Somalia chose to stand for the policy of non-alignment, for the support of all peo-

ples struggling for their national independence, for the noble principles, goals and objectives enshrined in the Charters of the UNO, the OAU, the Arab League and of all other international Organizations, we worked towards full cooperation with all peoples and countries in all spheres of international life for indeed we believe that such outlook reflects properly and objectively the natural interdependence among nations and the necessity now more than ever before, for universal cooperation to overcome the basic enemies of mankind namely: disease, hunger and ignorance. Likewise, we believe that the natural aspirations of man to live in peace prosperity and dignity cannot be attained as long as oppressed and colonised peoples are denied the exercise of their right for self-determination and independence.

As we adopted the Second Charter of the Revolution in October 1971, we did so with the full conscience of finding the ways and means for the realization of such national objectives and of the noble principles, and aspirations cherished not only by our nation but also by the international community at large.

In so doing we defined the basic principles of our foreign policy which is based on the support for the national liberation movement on our opposition to all forms of colonialism and neo-colonialism, recognition of the principle of peaceful co-existence between all peoples and on the policy of positive neutrality. As the Charters of the Revolution clearly embody we made known our determination to collaborate with all the peoples of the world in their aspiration to

freedom, social justice and world peace, on the basis of equality and mutual respect of all Nations.

Jaallayaal,

As you all know our country has a long standing relationship with USSR which dates back to the time of our accession to independence in 1960 was neither accidental nor baseless. It was inspired by outstanding respect for one another and mutual cooperation. As such it was found on common principles and on concrete material interests of the two nations.

Our cooperation in the past 18 years has covered many fields including defense, education and training, trade and economic cooperation which proved of great benefit to the Somali people and for which we feel duty bound to express our deep and sincere gratitude to the Soviet people.

At the same time the Somali people appreciated the general stand of the Soviet Union in support of the national liberation movements against colonialism. It was no wonder then that the mutual understanding and cooperation of the two countries gained momentum year after year. This took new dimensions after the 21 October Revolution. The development of these close relations with Soviet Union reached its pinnacle in 11 July 1974 when a Friendship Treaty between the Somali Democratic Republic and the USSR was concluded in Mogadishu.

Jaalayaal,

For sometime now a completely new situation radically affecting these friendly relations has arisen when the Soviet Union embarked upon a new policy of an all-out

support to the colonialist Regime of Ethiopia at the expense of the genuine and legitimate struggle of the liberation movements. Needless to say the Soviet Union like any other nation, is sovereign to adopt any policy it wishes towards other nations. We have no claim, and no right, to prevent the adoption of any such policy. Nevertheless we have the right to protest against such political choice inasmuch as it contravenes the spirit and letter of the Agreement between the two countries and even endangers the security and existence of our country.

In view of these circumstances and in consonance with the friendly relations between the two countries, we tried to explain, to USSR government to the utmost of our ability, the present and historical complexity of the situation in the Horn of Africa.

We patiently explained on various occasions and at various levels including my visit last August to Moscow that the basic cause of the conflict in the Horn of Africa is Ethiopia's colonisation of other peoples. We explained the historical background of the situation: how European colonialism in the late 19th century abetted and aided the expansion of the Abyssinian Kingdom to the presently claimed boundaries of the Ethiopian Empire, how Ethiopia was an active participant with the European powers in the division and colonization of the peoples of the Horn and as such can only be considered a colonial power, and how in such circumstances the colonized peoples of that power cannot be denied their inalienable right to self-determination and independence

The history of colonization and domination had its echo in the continued struggle and resistance of the colonized people. Thus we patiently explained to the Soviet Government, how the struggle of the people under Ethiopian colonial rule for freedom was simultaneous with similar liberation struggles against European colonialism raging in the African continent. The only difference today is that European colonial authorities bowed to the will of the people while the Ethiopian rulers, past and present, have consistently turned against the tide of history.

We also explained the already familiar position of Somalia since its independence on the question, namely, that she is fully committed to the support of the legitimate rights of all the peoples under colonial oppression including these of Western Somalia for self-determination and independence.

The negative and intransigent attitude of the Ethiopian Regime towards decolonization has all along been evident to the Soviet Union as well as the rest of the world.

The colonized peoples expected a change in the attitude of the new regime after the overthrow of the feudal monarch in Ethiopia. But the Dergue Regime opted for a course of action that intensified the brutal oppression so characteristic of the previous regimes. In the face of such brutality and denial of their rights the colonized peoples had no choice but to engage in armed struggle to defend themselves and gain their freedom. The Somali Democratic Republic, under such conditions, was obliged to give its full support to the



legitimate liberation struggles, just as it had always supported all other genuine liberation movements.

The Somali Democratic Republic repeatedly made representations to the Soviet leadership against this course of action which comes in direct contradiction with one of the most fundamental principles of the international community namely the principles of the right of all peoples to self-determination, a principle which as you know constitutes the cornerstone for human justice as well as international stability and security.

Apart from the complete disregard for these basic principles the Soviet Union has taken actions and positions which endanger the interests and security of Somalia.

First of all she has levelled false and baseless accusations against the Somali Democratic Republic describing it as an aggressor.

Secondly, for the past several months she has been conducting an intensive political, diplomatic and propaganda campaign against the Somali Democratic Republic throughout the world; In Africa, the Arab world and in all international organisations of every nature.

Thirdly as explained earlier she is presently pouring massive and highly sophisticated quantities of armaments unprecedented in the region into Ethiopia an act which can only be regarded as a prelude to an all-out invasion against the Somali Democratic Republic.

Fourthly, she has mobilized and sanctioned the commitment of Cu-

ban and other troops on the side of Ethiopia against the liberation struggles in the area and against the Somali Democratic Republic.

Fifth, she has pressurised the socialist countries allied to it to take a position inimical to the interests of SDR, in the present conflict in the Horn of Africa.

And finally she has unilaterally terminated the supply of legitimate defensive arms to the SDR in direct contravention of existing agreements between the two countries.

The implication of all these actions can only be interpreted as constituting a unilateral abrogation of the Friendship Agreement of July 1974 and other agreements between our two countries both in letter and spirit. It is pertinent to quote here some relevant articles of the said agreement.

Article 4 of the Agreement states:

«In order to strengthen the defensive capacity of the Somali Democratic Republic, the two respected sides will continue their military cooperation, in accordance with special agreements. This cooperation will be specifically concerned with the training of Somali military personnel and the supply of military equipment to the Somali Democratic Republic so as to strengthen its defensive capacity».

Article 7 of the said Agreement States as follows:

«Believing in the principles of freedom and equality of all peoples, the two respected sides condemn imperialism and colonialism in all their forms. The

two sides will continue to oppose imperialist and colonial forces, and they will cooperate with other Governments in giving support to the just cause of the peoples struggling for freedom, independence and the peoples progress, based on the principles of equality and the peoples right to self-determination as sanctioned in the United Nation's Charter».

And Article 10 of the same Agreement States:-

\* Each respected side declares that it will not enter into military pacts or alliances with other Governments, or undertake actions or measures inimical to the other side\*.

In spite of the above the note of warning made in my October 1977 address to the Nation on the natural consequences of such soviet intervention in the conflict in the Horn of Africa has now begun to assume different dimensions.

We are now fully convinced of the existence of an immediate and imminent joint Soviet Cuban Plan for an all out military aggression from Ethiopia against the Somali Democratic Republic. Plans for this massive military invasion by Ethiopia have been drawn with the help of Soviet experts and is to be executed with the collaboration and support of Cuban troops and other military contingents.

Under these circumstances the Somali Democratic Republic has no alternative but to review her long-standing relationship with the Governments of the USSR and Cuba. Accordingly the Central Committee of the Somali Revolutionary

Socialist Party in its meeting of 13 November, 1977, took the following decisions.

1. The Friendship Agreement already violated by the Soviet sides is from now onwards null and void; and Somalia abrogates it from its side.

2. Any facilities of a military nature hitherto available for the use of the Soviet Union in the territory and waters of the SDR are withdrawn immediately.

3. All Soviet experts, military and civil, now in the SDR are requested to leave the country within a week.

4. The diplomats and staff of the Soviet Embassy in the SDR and its subsidiaries are reduced to the same number as those in the Somali Embassy in Moscow.

Furthermore, so long as the

Government of Cuba had openly sent its troops to the Horn of Africa to fight for colonialism and oppression to wipe out peoples struggling for freedom and had, in addition, used offensive language against the SDR, it had been decided to sever the diplomatic relations with that Government. All diplomats, staff and experts from Cuba are requested to leave the country within 48 hours.

Jaallayaal,

As I have remarked in my address to the nation on the 21st October 1977, we have every confidence in the determination and courage of our people and their readiness for self-sacrifice. Our people had been steeled in their long resistance to colonial domination, in their struggle for independence and emancipation, and in their struggle for building the foundations of revolutionary Somalia

We have never been overawed by the power and arrogance of the enemy. The ex-colonial European powers had confronted the unbrea-keable mettle of our people and had, accordingly, left our shores for good. The powers that today desire to break the will of our people through suppressing the armed struggle of the liberation movements and endangering the Somali Democratic Republic are extremely mistaken. I am fully confident that you will prove to them, and to the rest of the world, that you are a proud and courageous nation that will never submit to arrogance, that will give up everything to defend its dignity, sovereignty and unity. We are neither weak nor friendless. We are not intimidated by modern weapons and political deceit. We shall courageously build our revolution and defend our independence. Victory is ours. Sheer might, arrogance and despotism never made history.

## General Secretary of the SRSP opened a seminar for the new cells of the Somali Democratic Women's Organization (SDWO)

Like the Somali Revolutionary Youth Union, Somali Democratic Women's organisation are busy in constructing their headquarters.

On 13th November 1977 there was celebration of new cells joining the Somali Democratic Women's Organisation which took place at the National Theatre. The Seminar was concerning learning of the cons-

titution and programme and the work of the S.D.W.O.

Secretary General of the SRSP, the President of the SDR Jaalle Mohamed Siad Barre, opened a Seminar for the new cells of the SDWO.

In that occasion the Secretary General delivered a short speech; whereby he pointed out the benefits of that kind of

Seminar and how the revolution had been emphasising.

In his speech the President stressed on the past and present role of the Somali Women.

In finishing his speech Jaalle Siad wished good success for the new cells and in general the Somali Democratic Women's organisation in fulfilling their duty.



# HISTORICAL DECISIONS

On 13th November 1977, the central Committee of the SRSP met in an extra-ordinary session which continued for 10 hours. The meeting which was held at the peoples Hall discussed hot issues concerning the existence and sovereignty of the Somali nation.

The outcome of this important meeting was released through the Radio to the Somali people and to the world in general by the Minister of Information and National Guidance Jaalle ABDIQASIM SALAAD on behalf of the Central Committee of the SRSP. The declaration of the meeting in which the minister delivered through the Radio is as follows:

« As far as the Somali people were diligently striving to ensure their unity and independence for the last 8 years, and achieving economic and social transformations to enhance the life of the Somali people.

« As far as we have tried to cooperate our struggle with o-

ther countries which were supposed to be our friends, but became dangerous to our existence;

So far Somalia tried many times to draw the attention of the world to the danger in the horn of Africa, and especially warned the countries that intervened in the war between the Addis Regime and the peoples struggling for independence. Such countries that supplied armaments and troops that support the colonial Regime in Addis-Ababa wanted to bring the horn of Africa as a whole under the yoke of the Addis-Ababa Regime and their strategic interests;

So far it is evident that an allied attack was rendered on the SDR.

So far the Soviet Union has alone decided to abrogate the aim and content of the Friendship Treaty of the two countries in July 11, 1974 which was signed Mogadishu.

The Central Committee decided the following issues:-

1. That from now on the agreement is abolished and Somalia has abrogated it in like manner.

2. All land and naval facilities belonged to the Soviet Union in Somalia no longer functions.

3. The Soviet military and civilian experts in Somalia should evacuate within seven days.

4. The functionaries and diplomats in the Soviet Embassy in Mogadishu and its branches should be minimized to the extent that they become equal with the number of the Somali Diplomats in the Somali Embassy in Moscow.

So far Cuba has clearly brought its troops to the horn of Africa to support the injustice and colonialism and to suppress peoples struggling for their rights and independence, including diplomatic abuses and insults we decided to break diplomatic relations, and their experts and functionaries to evacuate within 48 hours».

## Activities of the SRSP Committee of the Lower Juba Region

As we promised for our readers before, we shall continue the reports of the SRSP— Committees in the regions and District. These reports are concerned with the activities carried out by these committees si-

nce the establishment of the party.

In this series we are going to deal with the lower Juba region. The party — regional committee of the lower Juba and its districts were build in Sept

1976, the day in which the party committees were build in all regions and districts. The establishment of the party — committees in the regions were confined only on the district level and the cells in industrial and

production units were not included. They were organized later.

The most important activities carried out by the party — organ of the lower Juba region since its establishment are the following:

1. Organization of cells and units of the party.
2. Building of a regional party centre.
3. Establishment of social organizations, as a link between the masses and the party.
4. Propagation of the party programme and regulations.
5. Enhancement of the political consciousness of the Social organizations and the masses.
6. Preparation for the implementation of the party — programme specially those concerned with the increase of the agricultural production.
7. Propagation and explanation of the duties and responsibility of the party and its organs or bureau's.

In the following part of the paper, we will describe in depth these seven points and how they were implemented:

1. Organization of Party — cells:

In Lower Juba region the Party-cells were organized in ves, zones and villages, the Party-cells and units in the four districts of the region are as the following:

DISTRICT	CELLS		UNITS
<b>Kihmayo:</b>			
Working places	12	working places	12
National Army	3	Schools	1
Organizations	1		
cooperatives	4		
Zones	4		
	—		—
Total	24	Total	13
	—		—
<b>2) Jamama:</b>			
Working places	3	Working places	2
Cooperatives	1	Villages	4
Zones	2		
	—		—
Total	6	Total	6
	—		—
<b>3) Afmado:</b>			
Working places	4	Working places	5
National Army	2	Cooperatives	1
Zones	3	Villages	2
	—		—
Total	9	Total	8
	—		—
<b>4) Barare:</b>			
Working places	2		
Cooperatives	1		
Zones	3		
	—		—
Total	5		
	—		—

Summary of cells and sub-cells in organized in the districts:

— District Kismayo:	cells 24	Units	13
— « « Jamamae	cells 6	Units	6
— « « Afmado	cells 9	Units	8
— « « Barare	cells 5	Units	
	—		—
Total	44	Total	27
	—		—



## BUILDING OF A REGIONAL PARTY-CENTRE

After the establishment of the party — in the region, special consideration was given how to implement the programme of the party and where to carry it out. The ordinary meeting of the regional party — committee takes place once every three months. In the previous meeting the following agendas were dealt with: the organization and coordination of the activities carried out by the different branches of the party, strategies for economic development, improvement of the health services, and the campaign against black-market etc.

One of the main difficulties encountered by the regional Party organization was how to get enough offices and buildings to carry out party — activities. In order to surpass this difficulty a new centre was built for the party — regional — organization. The cost of the centre is estimated by 500.000 So. Ss.; which will be spent by the region. This will be a centre for the regional party committees, Administration Committee, Party — branches (cells and units) control and auditing committees

### 3. Establishment of Social organization

Like all other regions, social organizations were established on regional and district level and they are carrying their activities properly.

### 4. Propagation of the party — programmes and regulations

Among the most important activity which the party — regional — committees has put

its weight was propagation of the party — programme and education of the masses, so that they will grasp the objective of party.

In order to fulfill this task the party — regional organization has used some of the following ways:

— Written — materials concerning the programme and regulation of the party were distributed to the cells and units.

— Propagations in the mass — orientation centres

— Organized in the mass — orientation meetings of the Social organization as well as in the mass — meetings in the centres.

### 5. Enhancement of the political consciousness of the masses and social organizations:

Since the SRSP is a mass, it was necessary to enhance their political consciousness, so they can understand and carry out their historical tasks in this new era. Departing from this point, the party — regional — committee opened various courses and training programmes. For example the following courses were held in Kismayo district since the inception of the party;

A) Training course of a duration of 10 day was opened for the heads of the party — cells the participants were 76 persons and they were taught the programme of the party.

B) Training course of a duration of 23 days, in which 40% of the party — cells and units have participated, and in which lessons on party — programme were carried out.

T) Training course for the committees of the social organizations and in which their regulations and programmes were dealt with. They were also given some insight about the art of administering the associations and leading the masses.

Parallel to these courses was the regular programme school for the Party — cells, where the new directives and decisions of the party is transmitted for the students.

Courses are not only organized in Kismayo district alone but in all other districts as well for the cells of party, the workers and the cadres of the social organizations.

The Voice of the lower Juba Region:

Another important step undertaken by the party — regional — committee of lower Juba was the revival of newspaper called (the Voice of lower — Juba». This newspaper had been appearing before and it was the first Somali written newspaper. It is also the only regional newspaper since December 1972.

After its closure for sometime the regional party — committee decides to revive it in order to use it as a means of propagating the policy of the party as well as orientating the people with the new ideology. This decision was implemented in April 1977, by the appearance of the first copy of this newspapers.

Increase of the agricultural production:

As we know the lower juba region is among the most tile

and rich parts of the country. It embraces the most important resources such as livestock, agriculture, and fisheries. After considering the decisions of the 3rd. meeting of the central committee of SRSP in Dec. 1 as well as the joint decision of politburo and the council of ministers of the SRSP, the party regional committee has to

implement the policy of productivity increase in the agricultural sector.

The regional — party — committee established various sub-committees with the responsibility to find ways and means of increasing the agricultural production 1980. Although there

are bottlenecks some useful steps were undertaken.

Considering also the policy of developing the economy of the region regional party organization, gave special attention for the encouragement of cooperative organizations. The number of cooperatives established in this region until now are about 49 cooperative.

## REORGANIZATION OF THE PARTY BUREAUS

On 27th October, 1977, the Central Committee of Somali Revolutionary Socialist Party (SRSP) in an extra-ordinary meeting, decided to amalgamate some of the Party Bureaus and form a new one.

Considering both the programme and the Party Statute as well as powers entrusted to the Central Committee during the first Congress for the foundation of the SRSP on July 1st, 1976; and because of the experiences the party gained during the eighteen months of its existence, this new step of reconstructing the bureaus became apparent and inevitable.

This decision reached by the CC was to implement correctly and speed up, in a more functional way, the efficiency of the Party in this crucial period.

The reconstructed and amalgamated Bureaus are as follows

A) The Bureaus for Justice, Education and Sports, Health and Public Welfare, have been amalgamated to form a new Bureau for Social Affairs.

B) The Bureaus for Scientific Research and Political Science

have been amalgamated to form a new Bureau for Political Science and Scientific Research

C) The Bureaus for Defence have been amalgamated to form a new Bureau for Defence and Security.

D) The Bureaus for Commerce and Finance, Agriculture and Industry have been amalgamated to form the new Bureau for Economic Affairs.

II. The remaining other Bureaus will stand and function as before. And the Bureaus for CC and the respective Chairmen and Vice-Chairmen are as follows:

1. The Bureau for the Central Committee Administrative Affairs:

—Chairman Jaalle Meygag Samatar

2. The Bureau for Organisation:

— Chairman: Jaalle Abdulkadir H. Mohamed

3. The Bureau for Social Affairs:

— Chairman: Jaalle Ahmed Mohamoud Farah

Vice-Chairman: Jaalle Mohamed Ali Nur

4. The Bureau for Economic Affairs:

— Chairman: Jaalle Ahmed Mohamed Mohamoud

5. The Bureau for Ideology:

— Chairman: Jaalle Mohamed Aden Sheikh.

— Vice-Chairman: Jaalle Mohamud Abdi Dhunkal

6. The Bureau for Political Science and Scientific Research

— Chairman: Jaalle Abdirahman Aideed

Vice-Chairman: Jaalle Mohamed Jama (Haji Kore)

7. The Bureau for Party Finance:

— Chairman: Jaalle Osman Mohamed Jelle

8. The Bureau for Defence and Security:

— Chairman: Jaalle Hamsa Mohamed Gadawaine

9. The Bureau for Resettled Communities and Crash Programme



— Chairman: Jaalle Omar Saleh Ahmed.

10. The Cooperatives Bureau:  
— Chairman: Jaalle Warsame Abdullahi Ali.

11. The Foreign Affairs Bureau:

— Chairman: Jaalle Saleh Mohamed Ali

— Vice-Chairman: Jaalle Warsame Ali Farah.

12. The State Planning Bureau:

— Chairman: Jaalle Ahmed Habib Ahmed.

13. The Inspection Committee of the Central Committee of the Party:

— Chairman: Jaalle Omar Salad Elmi

llahi Mohamed Hassan.

III. The following Committee was entrusted with the responsibility of collecting, organising and supervising the donations contributed to the Western Somali Liberation Front and

Somali A'bo.

1. Jaalle Brig. General Ali Matan Hashi — Chairman

2. Jaalle Mohamed Ali Warsame — Member

3. Jaalle Ahmed Mohamed Dualeh —

IV. Also, in the same meeting the State Planning Committee,

Jaalle Mohamed Yusuf Wayrah was named as the Advisor to the President on Economic Matters.

## An international conference on the Middle East situation

Vice Chairman of the Party Bureau for social affairs of the CC of the SRSP and also Chairman of the Somali peace council Dr. Mohamed Ali Nur had returned back home on 18th October, after participating in the international conference on the Middle East situation. The major topic discussed in that conference focused on peace solution to the Middle East problem.

The conference took place at Paris and was opened on October 14-16 and was participated by 250 delegates representing international organisations and different governments.

Thus the resolution of the conference had clear stand that — Vice-Chairman: Jaalle Abdu the question of Palestinians is the key to the Middle East problem. «Peace in the Middle East is impossible unless the people of Palestine are given their

right of self-determination. All the delegates participated in that conference had condemned in-human acts taken by Israel

in the captured Arab territory and to the Palestinians. Also they condemned Israel interference in Southern Lebanon.

## New membership to the SRYU

The SRYU which was established in its first congress on 15th May this year, was busy in completing its establishment. In the 1st Congress the top organs of the Union was established, such as the Central Committee, the executive committee and the investigation and supervision committee.

On 15 September the tasks of selecting the members were started in the Banadir Region so as to ensure the establishment of the lower organs of the Union. On October 3, Seminars were opened in the 14 districts of the Banadi Region for the new members of every district, and the number of the

new members are 3500. This seminar which continued for a period of seven days carried out to teach the new members the statute of the Union, its structure and the programme of the SRSP which is at the same time the programme of SRYU.

Ceremonies commemorating the closing of the closing of the seminar was held in the orientation centres of the 14 districts of the Benadir region.

After that the establishment of the organs of the SRYU started in the centres of work, ministries, Agencies, companies etc. This task was fulfilled by the joint cooperation of the SRYU and the GCSTU.

On 25th October a seminar was opened for the new members of the SRYU in government agencies compaines, which numbered 1500.

The seminar was opened in 6 different places and was divided into 6 parts according to the nature of the tasks and organs. This seminar which continued for 9 days was carried out to learn the responsibility of the establishment of the union, the statute and programme of the union and the way of the working committees and the working youth will cooperate.

On the 6th November 77 a ceremony which concluded these tasks was held in the national theatre.

The Chairman of the mobilization Bureau of the CC of the SRSP Jaalle Abdiqadir Haji Mohamed delivered a speech on the closing ceremony of the seminar. In his speech he congratulated the youth for their new membership and he also congratulated the SRYU for their membership in the world youth unions. This was an important achievement in which the SRYU was victories for the 2nd time.

Jaalle Abdulkadir emphasised the responsibility shouldered upon the Youth today, reminding the youth once again the directives of the General Secretary of the SRSP Jaalle Siyad which says that the youth are the reserve and active assistance of the party. For that reason the Chairman of the Bureau called upon the youth to fulfill their role in the society in this historical stage..

Before him a speech composed of reports and reception was delivered by the Chairman of the SRYU member of the SRSP Jaalle Mohamed Mohamud Warsame, who also gave highlights of the historical movements of the Somali Youth. Jaalle Warsame stressed the role of the union in preserving our nationhood, he also called upon the members the union to execute the statute and programme of the union.

On 24th Nov. 77 the formation of the executive committees of the SRYU in the village level began in the villages of the 14 districts of the Benadir Region. On the second night the executive committees of the districts were named, these were

selected among the members of of the union in villages and districts. A seminar which continued for two days was opened concerning the establishment of the union and the implementation of its tasks. All these issues were closed in 28th November. The closing ceremony was held at the headquarter of the SRYU. The seminar was closed in this ceremony by the Chairman of the inspection committee of the CC of the SRSP Jaalle Omar Salaad Elmi who delivered a costly speech on the occasion. He was welcomed and introduced by Jaalle Mohamed Mohamoud Warsame, the Chairman of the SRYU member of the CC of the SRSP.

## EWGU delegation toured Somalia

A high level delegation of the (EWGU) has recently been touring Eritrean Women's General Union the Somali Democratic Republic from 7-16 October by an official invitation from the Democratic Union of the Somali Women (SWDU). The EWGU delegation has had series of meetings with the Executive committee of SWDU in which issues of common interest were discussed.

The common statement which was released on 15 October revealed that both sides reached full accord on all issues raised during the talks. The statement emphasized the coordination of their struggle against Ethiopian colonial occupation of Eritrea and Western Somalia. Furthermore, the two sisterly unions condemned the barbaric acts of the Ethiopian mi-

litary regime against the people of Eritrea and Western Somalia.

The joint statement added that EWGU and SWDU unreservedly support the Palestinian Women's just struggle against the Zionist occupation of their legitimate homeland. Besides, both Unions expressed their solidarity with all liberation Movements and the international women's democratic Movement against oppression and racism.

The SWDU-EWGU statement concluded that the two parties pledged to work to consolidate the historic and strategic relations which exist between the struggling peoples of Somalia and Eritrea against colonialism, imperialism and Ethiopian occupation.



## PAJETTA VISITS SOMALIA



Jaalle Ismael Ali Abokor with Comrade Gian Carlo Pajetta.

Chairman of the foreign affairs committee of the Italian Communist Party Comrade, Gian Carlo Pajetta visited Somalia on 27th November.

Comrade Pajetta told the newsmen from Ministry of Information that the aim of his visit is to strengthen the relation between the two parties: S.R.S.P. and the Italian Communist Party. Comrade Pajetta talking to the newsmen said, «In order to strengthen our cooperation it is necessary to exchange ideas in this difficult stage».

Commenting on the situation in the Horn of Africa, he said, «His Party believes that the situation in the Horn is an African problem».

He also emphasised that, it is essential to respect, independence, development and African Unity.

The delegation lead by Comrade Pajetta had talks with members of the CC of the S.R.S.P.

In this talks Somalia, was represented by assistant Secretary General of the S.R.S.P. and Vice-President of the S.D.R. Brigadier General Ismael Ali Abokor, Chairman of the Bureau of the Central Committee affairs of the S.R.S.P. Jaalle Ibrahim Maygag Samater Chairman of the Ideology Bureau Jaalle Mohamed Adan Sheikh and Chairman of the Bureau for foreign affairs Jaalle Salah Mohamed Ali.

On the other side, the Italian Communist Party was represented by the Chairman of the foreign affairs committee of the Italian Communist Party Comrade Gianni Giadresco, member of the Central Committee of the Italian Communist Party.

The talk ended in friendly atmosphere and it portrayed honesty and whole heartedness between the two parties. In the talks the two sides emphasised the

necessity of strengthening of the cooperation between the two parties, the SRSP and I.C.P. The Visit of the delegation of the Italian Communist Party is realized in frame work of the exchanging the ideas between the two sides. In joint communique released after the talk disclosed that the talk ended in understanding and friendly atmosphere.

During the talks it was discussed the ways of strengthening mutual cooperation and friendship between the two nations, Somalia and Italy.

Comrade Pajetta expressed the deep concern of the Italian communists over the war in the Horn.

He also declared that there is possibility to find peaceful **solution to the current problem** prevailing in the Horn, on the basis of the principles of rights of nations to self-determination. This does not bring about peace to this region only but also strengthens the virtual anti-imperialists fronts in Africa.

Jaalle Ismael Ali Abokor declared that Somalia will not tolerate any open aggression against the Western Somalis and Abbo people. He also affirmed that the unity of the Somali nation is invincible and hence, we are ready to extend moral and material support to the Liberation Fronts for the achievement of their rights.

Jaalle Ismael concluded that the S.D.R. spared no effort to find a peaceful solution to this problem; our objective being the peaceful mutual co-existence of the people in the region.



## WORLD AFFAIRS

# On self-determination and African unity

The struggle to attain African Unity had deep roots in the movement historically referred to as «Pan-Africanism». The struggle to decolonize Africa has always gone hand in hand with the movement towards greater African cooperation and eventually unity. In the course of history dialectical interconnections have been established between Pan-Africanism, self-determination and decolonization. In opposing the decolonisation of the Ethiopian Empire, the Addis Ababa regime stands squarely opposed to the movement for self-determination and unity in the Horn of Africa.

### PAN-AFRICANS AND SELF-DETERMINATION:

The roots of Pan-Africanism go back to the early protest efforts against imperialism, the enslavement and forcible dispersion of African populations by European capitalist slave traders, against the violent partition and implantation of colonial regimes on the African continent. Pan-Africanism looks towards the eventual unification of the African continent and emphasises the need for self-determination and liberation of African peoples.

A Pan-African conference was held in London in 1900 sponsored by a West Indian intellectual. The prominent Black American intel-

lectual, W.E. B. Du Bois sponsored a series of later Pan-African congresses, the first in Paris (1919) then in London and Brussels (1921) in London and Lisbon (1923), in New York (1927) and the fifth in Manchester (1945). The Manchester conference adopted a «Declaration to the colonial peoples», part of which reads: «We affirm the right of all colonial peoples to control their own destiny. All colonies must be free from foreign imperialist control, whether political or economic. We say to the peoples of the colonies that they must fight for these ends by all means at their disposal».

Following the Manchester Conference in 1945, the Pan-African movement merged with the national liberation struggles raging on the African continent. By 1960, the African independence movement resulted in the creation of several independent African states. Between 1958 and 1963, a series of All-African Peoples Conference were held in the capitals of newly independent African states.

At the first All African Peoples Conference held in Accra, Ghana, December 5-13th 1958, a resolution on frontiers, boundaries and federation was passed. Among other things it stated:

«Whereas artificial barriers and frontiers drawn by imperialists to

By Hussein M. Aaden

divide African peoples operate to the detriment of Africans and should therefore be abolished or adjusted;

Whereas frontiers which cut across ethnic groups or divide peoples of the same stock are unnatural and are not conducive to peace or stability;

Whereas leaders of neighbouring countries should cooperate towards a permanent solution of such problems which accords with the best interests of the people affected and enhances the prospects of realisation of the ideal of a Pan-African commonwealth of free states.

Be it resolved and it is hereby resolved by the All-African peoples Conference that the conference:

a. Denounces artificial frontiers drawn by imperialist powers to divide the peoples of Africa, particularly those which cut across ethnic groups and divide people of the same stock;

b. Calls for the abolition or adjustment of such frontiers at an early date;

c. Calls upon the independent states of Africa to support permanent solution to this problem founded upon the true wishes of the people».



Thus we see clearly that the movement for African unity took seriously the principle of self-determination. The same resolution contained paragraphs praising the moves towards unification and independence of the Camerouns. A resolution on SomaliLand was passed at the Second All African Peoples Conference held in Tunis, 25-30 January, 1960. The Conference made «a careful survey of the situation in SomaliLand artificially divided» and resolved, among other things to «Hail and support the struggle of the people of SomaliLand for independence and unity in order to give birth to a bigger SomaliLand».

#### THE ETHIOPIAN EMPIRE VS. PAN-AFRICANISM.

Africans everywhere hailed the movement for independence and unification of the Camerouns and Somali. Ethiopia on the other hand, opposed this natural trend in African history. As early as 1946, Emperor Haile Sellassie of Ethiopia addressed a memorandum to the United Nations claiming Eritrea and all of Somalia as part of his Empire. In 1949, he vigorously opposed Somali claims for independence and unity placed before the United Nations Organisation.

In 1950, the United Nations set up a Trust Territory of Italian SomaliLand to be known as Somalia, to become independent in 1960 and it appointed Italy to be the Trustee. The Emperor of Ethiopia vehemently protested to the United Nations for not appointing Ethiopian in place of Italy as Trustee for Somali. The Emperor succeeded in obtaining Eritrea under a feeble UN constitution in 1952. In 1962 he

unilaterally abolished the UN constitution and reduced Eritrea to the status of an Ethiopian colony.

During most of this period, Ethiopia participated in a series of geo-military conferences held by the colonial powers of Africa in order to oppose the democratic trends of the World War II period. In these conferences, even the United States of America attended solely in the capacity of an observer while Ethiopia earned the status of a full participant.

In 1956, with independence for Somalia only four years ahead, the Emperor made a speech in Qabridahare, Western Somalia, once again claiming all Somali territories as part of the Ethiopian Empire. Haile Sellassie made tremendous efforts between 1956-1960 aimed at preventing the independence and unification of former British Somali-Land and the former Italian Somali-land, a historic event which occurred on July 1st 1960.

By 1960, it was obvious that the wind of change in Africa was blowing towards self-determination and unification. The shrewd Emperor of Ethiopia decided to join the bandwagon in order to influence the movement from within. He decided to adopt Pan-Africanism» as a slogan in order to preserve himself and his Empire. His colonialist allies worked behind the scenes in order to help him earn a prominent place within the movement for African unity. Through such interigues, Addis Ababa came to serve as the headquarters of the newly founded Organization of African Unity.

At OAU meetings, Ethiopia often reveals her colonizer mentali-

ty. It is a well known fact that European colonizers have always denied and negated African history. In order to feel justified in opposing Africans European colonizers have also resorted to the myth that Africa had no history prior to the coming of Europeans to our continent. The former Prime Minister of Ethiopia revealed the same mentality when he addressed the inaugural meeting of the OAU in 1963:

«Ethiopia has always existed in history for centuries as an independent state and as a nation for more than 3,000 years. That is a fact. Second fact, the historical frontiers of Ethiopia stretch from the red sea to the Indian Ocean, including all the territory between them. Third fact, there is no record in history either of a Somali state or a Somalia nation».

This was clearly the voice of a colonizer insulting not only Somalia, but all of Africa. Mengistu Haile Marian repeated these very words at the summit held in Libreville, Gabon, in 1977. In waging armed struggles, the people of Western Somalia and Eritrea have decided to impose their historical reality in opposition to the myth of the colonizer.

Ethiopia has spared no efforts to distort the basic principles and spirit behind the OAU. Ethiopia regimes wish to use the OAU solely as a smokescreen to preserve their illgotten gains. Partly, this means ignoring the principle of self-determination and over-emphasising the issue of territorial integrity. Given Ethiopia's nature as a colonial state, the provisions of the OAU resolution on territorial borders could only become valid and

and applicable when as the process of colonisation is completed in the area, i.e. when Ethiopia decolonises Western Somalia and Eritrea.

#### THE EXAMPLE OF NORWAY'S SECESSION FROM SWEDEN.

History offers many examples showing that once the process of decolonization is achieved, the basis for friendly cooperation between the formerly colonized and the former colonizers is guaranteed. A free and united Vietnam is in the right position to establish friendly relations with the united states. The recognition and exercise of the right of all people to self-determination constitutes the cornerstone for human justice, as well as international stability and security. The implementation of this principle which underlies the process of decolonization provides the just basis upon which to establish cooperation, federation and even, in the long run, full unity and integration.

V.I. Lenin illustrates this point forcefully in commenting upon Norway's secession from Sweden in his essay on the Right of Nations to self-determination. Lenin analyses this example in Marxist fashion as follows:

«The geographic, economic and language ties between Norway and Sweden was not a voluntary one...., Norway was ceded to Sweden by the Monarchs during the Napoleonic wars, against the will of the Norwegians, and Sweden had to bring troops into Norway to subdue her (V.I Lenin, selected works, Vol. 1; P. 623).

We see therefore that the «territorial integrity» of this so-called Swedish-Norwegian «Union» was based on Sweden's colonial domination of Norway. Lenin continues:

«Despite the very extensive autonomy which Norway enjoyed (she had her own parliament, etc) There was constant friction between Norway and Sweden for many decades after the Union, and the Norwegians strove hard to throw off the Yoke of the Swedish aristocracy. At last, in August 1905, they succeeded: the Norwegian parliament resolved that the Swedish king was no longer king of Norway, and in the referendum held later among the Norwegian people, the overwhelming majority (about 200,000 as against a few hundred) voted for complete separation from Sweden. After short period of indecision, the Swedes resigned themselves to the fact of secession». (Ibid).

Here is a concrete example of a colonized people struggling for self-determination resulting in the recognition of their right by the colonizer. From this historical example, Lenin concluded as follows:

«This example shows us on what grounds cases of the secession of nations are practicable, actually occur, under modern economic and political relationships, and the form secession sometimes under conditions of political freedom and democracy.

The close alliance between the Norwegian and Swedish Workers, their complete fraternal class solidarity, gained from the Swedish

worker's recognition of the right of the Norwegians to secede. This convinced the Norwegian workers that the Swedish workers were not infected with Swedish nationalism, and that they placed fraternity with the Norwegian proletarians above the privileges of the Swedish bourgeoisie and aristocracy». P. 623 and 625).

Let us also recall that it was Lenin who granted Finland the right to secede from the Russian Empire.

Let us pause to reflect on the question of Eritrea and Western Somalia in the light of the above remarks:

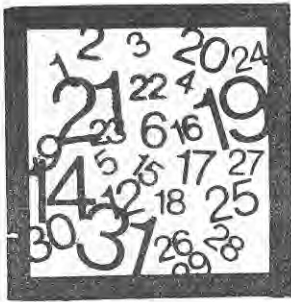
First of all, European powers ceded Western Somalia to Ethiopia through secret treaties in 1897. They provided Ethiopian Emperors with huge quantities of arms with which to subdue the peoples ceded to them. In 1948, it took British troops to restore most of Western Somalia under Ethiopian domination. The rest was ceded back to her as 1954 in the face of bitter resistance on the part of the Somali people. Eritrea was ceded to Ethiopia in 1952.

Secondly, the geographic, economic and language ties between Western Somalia, Eritrea and their Ethiopian colonizers are not as intimate as those between Norway and Sweden;

Thirdly, Western Somalia enjoyed no autonomy whatsoever under Ethiopian domination. The feeble federal constitution proposed for Eritrea by the UN was scrapped as soon as Haile Sellassie laid his hands on Eritrea. Cont. on Page 48



## MONTHLY BULLETIN



# JAALLE SIAD VISITS A NUMBER OF ARAB COUNTRIES



The Secretary General of the SRSP and President of the Somali Democratic Republic Jaalle Mohamed Siad Bare returned to Mogadishu on the 3rd of December after the successful completion of a week-long visit to Saudi Arabia, Egypt, Sudan and the United Arab Emirates

The President's delegation included the Minister of Finance Jaalle Abdirahman Nur Hersi, Minister of Justice and Religious Affairs Jaalle Abdisalam Sheikh Hussein. During his visits, the

president discussed with the leaders of these on matters of interest to the Arabs and in particular the Middle East and the Horn of Africa situations.

Jaalle Siad also discussed with the leaders on ways of further strengthening relations between the Somali Democratic Republic and their respective countries.

During the one-week tour Jaalle Siad met with the King

of Saudi Arabia Ibn Khalid Bin Abdulaziz in Jeddah, President Anwar Sadat of Egypt in Cairo, President Jafar Numeiri of Sudan in Khartoum and United Arab Emirates leader Sheikh Zayid Bin Sultan Al-nahyan in Abu Dabey and other Emirates leaders.

Among the outstanding issues which centred in their talks included, the current political situation in the Middle-East, the Horn of Africa and World Affairs in general, and the strengthening of co-operation in the Arab World. The talks ended in success and understanding.

In an exclusive interview with the Emirates New Agency — President Siad said the present situation in the Arab World needed the continuous consultations of the Region's leaders. President Siad added that the situation in the Horn of Africa and the Red Sea security made it very necessary for the constant consultations with Arab brothers.

# JAALLE SIYAAD'S PRESS CONFERENCE



On the evening of November 24th, 1977, Mohamed Siyaad Secretary-General of the SRSP and President of Somali Democratic Republic, held an important press conference at the Peoples Hall, Mogadishu, in order to brief International Journalist, Newsmen and Radio Personal and others on the situation in the horn of Africa

Jaalle Siyaad explained to journalists the historical background of the problems within Ethiopia, he pointed out that Ethiopia had participated in the European scramble for Africa. The peoples colonized under the Ethiopian Empire have been consistently waging just struggles for national self-determination and independence. The struggles of these peoples the Western Somali, Abbo, Afars and Eritreans, have been intensified - recently as a result of an obstinate unwillingness to concede decolonize the Ethiopian Empire peacefully,

Where by the Addis regime has sought internationalize the problems within Ethiopia, coupled with the USSR'S continued to give it huge quantities of sophisticated arms while Cuba is supplying military personnel. These foreign interference is posing a great threat not only to the liberation movements but to the peace and security of the neighbouring states such as the SDR, and to the international routes of this region. The Somalia Democratic Republic has patiently appealed to USSR and Cuba to desist from their unprecedented interference, however to no avail. The president explained the background behind the recent decision of the Somali Democratic Republic to abrogate the Soviet-Somali Friendship Treaty and to break off diplomatic relations with Cuba.

In response to one of the questions posed, Jaalle Siad emphasized that Somali rupture

with the USSR and Cuba does not mean that Somalia has dropped socialism. Socialism is not a property of any individual or nation, Somalia adopted socialism out of its own free will, socialism in Somalia was not an imposition of foreigners.

Somali history obliged on us as a necessity to choose socialism as the path for rapid development. The Somali people have made impressive progress from the experience of socialist development during the past (8) years.

Numerous objective observers have confirmed that the the situation of Somalia after the Revolution is vastly superior to the situation before the 21st October 1969, Revolution accordingly, Somalia will continue to pursue the socialist path geared toward development.

However poor, the Somali



people have justly, and impressively manifested their love for national dignity and sovereignty. On the other hand they have every right to support their brothers struggling against colonialism and for self-determination and unity.

Somalia will continue to play an active role in the anti-imperialist movement as a member of the non-aligned world — Somalia, of course has an important role to play within A-

frica and the Arab world, President Siad reaffirmed.

In response to other questions, Jaalle Siyaad pointed out:

a) that the number of Cuban soldiers in Ethiopia is much greater than the 400-500 cited in the Western press.

b) That the relations between the Somali Democratic Republic, Saudi-Arabia and Iran have long historical roots,

mainly as the result of the fact that the three countries share the same Islamic culture.

c) That the Somali Democratic Republic has always sought and will continue to strive for good neighbourly relations with Kenya, even though and hopes that the Kenyan leaders will not fall prey to the malicious propaganda unleashed by the AddisAbaba regime in order to create conflict between Kenya and Somalia.

## INFORMATION OFFICIAL COMMENTS

The involvement of foreign troops in an attempt to rescue the inevitable and timely collapse of the Addis-Ababa colonialism will be delineated in history with the description of a shameless and absolutely unprincipled undertaking.

The engagement of foreign troops is an outright offence against international codes a violation of fundamental human rights to render all out support to a colonial and an oppressive war. It is a universally recognized phenomena for illegitimate, unstable and inconsistent regimes to resort to the employment of foreign troops and mercenaries, out of desperation to fight against genuine Revolutionaries and freedom fighters. History is rampant with scientific lessons regarding the disturbances and destructions caused by foreign interventions and the ultimate disgrace and embarrassment of such acts devoid of any cohe-

rent pattern; unless there are those who are pretending to refute the naked realities and revelations of such phenomena in the history of mankind in the case of interfering in to the internal affairs of other states.

A spokesman for the ministry of information and national guidance declared in response to a statement made by the Cuban foreign ministry, denying the presence of any Cuban troops in Ethiopia as «baseless, surprising and aimed at deceiving international public opinion». The spokesman said that the statement comes in fact, in direct contradiction with earlier statements by the Cuban Government in which they recognized the presence of Cuban personnel and so-called technicians already operating in the area. «The Cuban foreign ministry's statement as well as the previous statement made by Cuban leaders made no sec-

ret of the fact that Cuba is prepared to assist the Ethiopian Empire militarily», the spokesman said, and added that, «there is no doubt that there are thousands of Cuban forces bolstering the Abyssinian colonial army fighting against the WSLF, SALF, the Eritrean liberation movement and other progressive forces from and with Abyssinia».

The president of the SDR Jaalle Siad, declared on 21st October, that it is now beyond any doubt that the conflict between the forces of liberation and the colonizing power is being transformed into an international crisis threatening not only the S.D.R., but the whole region. A war conflagration in the region in which outside forces are actively engaged would have dire consequences for the peace in the area, the peace of the middle east and Africa, and as a result of the World at large. The president disclo-

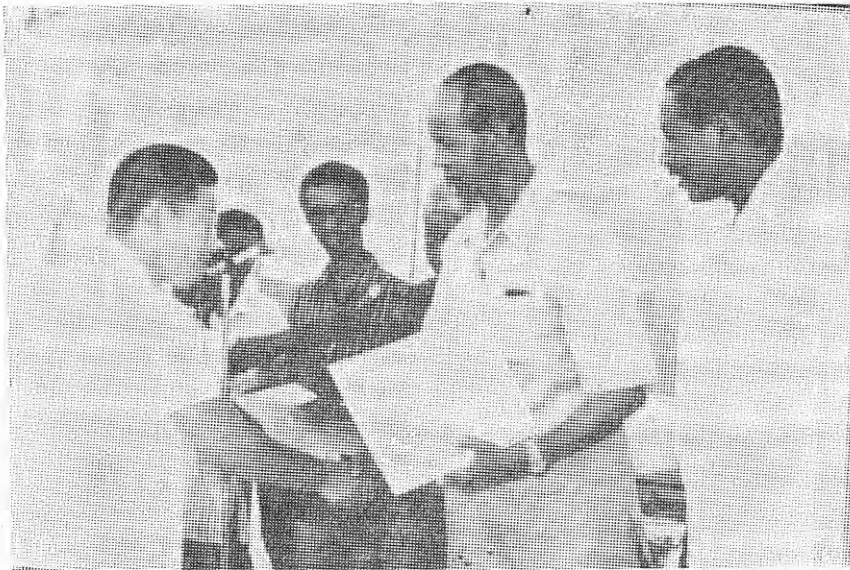
sed the involvement and siding of Cuban troops with the Addis Ababa colonialism.

The spokesman further pointed out that the WSLF and SALF have on different occasions warned Cuba to desist from its inimical military and political acts against them and condemned Cuban activities and interference in the liberation struggle. The objectives of the Cuban forces who are fighting side by side with the colonial Abyssinian troops is to suppress

the national movements which are engaged in a legitimate struggle for independence and self-determination in a bid to perpetuate the colonial situation in the area. The spokesman stressed that it is a matter of public record well-known to the international community that the S.D.R., has always supported all National liberation movements such as those Palestine, Zimbabwe, South Africa and in other African regions as well as those in South East Asia».

The spokesman for the Ministry of Information and National guidance concluded his statement by saying that in view of the development of this grave situation in the horn of Africa, the SDR once again calls upon the Government of Cuba to withdraw its troops and military personnel from the Ethiopian Empire and to desist henceforth from any all political and military interferences in the affairs of the Horn of Africa.

## 14th INTERNATIONAL FAIR



Jaalle Kulmiye awarding honour certificates on the closing of the 14th International Fair..

The 14th International Fair was opened in Mogadishu on the 20th of October and continued for a fortnight ending on 4th of November this year.

Among the participant countries are: the United States of America, China, Japan, Romania, Italy, Pakistan, Sudan and Soviet Union. Various Minis-

tries and Agencies of the SDR and other foreign firms also participated in the fair.

The Vice-President of Somalia Jaalle Major-General Hussein Kulmie Afrah officially also attended the closing ceremony. As previous years the 14th International fair coincided with the celebration in the

SDR for the 8th Anniversary of the 21st October 1969 Revolution.

In a speech on the occasion, the Vice-President thanked for the Ministry of Commerce and the chamber of commerce, Industry and Agriculture for their efforts in making it possible the fair to be held in Mogadishu. He also praised the participant countries for displaying products of their countries in the fair to reflect the development of their technology, Industry and Agriculture.

«It is also essential to mention here the major role of the Somali Democratic Republic's Ministries, Agencies and regions in the fair», the Vice-President declared.

Jaalle Kulmie distributed Certificates of Honour to the participants of the 14th International Fair.



# Syrian delegation visits SDR



Jaalle Siyad welcoming Syrian delegation at his office.

The Syrian delegation headed by Mr. Shail Sukaria, a member of the Syrian Ba'ath Party Central Committee wound up an official visit in Somalia on 25th of last month.

The delegation had arrived in the Somali Democratic Republic on the 19th of October and had participated in the 8th Anniversary celebrations of the Somali Revolution of 21st October 1969.

During its stay here, the delegation had talks with Somali officials on matters pertaining to bilateral relations and other fields of interest and had the opportunity to visit areas in the Central Shabeli region.

«The Arab Republic of Syria staunchly supports all peoples struggling for their freedom and independence and does not accept the continuation of the Mengistu rule», this was disclosed by Suhail Sukaria, a member of the Syrian leadership shortly before departing from Mogadishu.

Mr. Sukaria told reporters of the Ministry of information that he did not think the SDR wants to capture any Ethiopian territory but it was the peoples under the Addis Colonialism who were waging a war of liberation to regain their freedom and independence.

The Syrian delegation leader declared that the struggle of the

WSLF an SALF was an Arab struggle for freedom and they should be given their inalienable rights to self-determination.

Asked on the Geneva conference of the Middle East countries, Mr. Sukaria said that the Geneva conference cannot obtain a peaceful solution for the Middle East problem and declared that his country will not participate in the conference unless the people of Palestine were legally represented.

He further said that Israel wants to endanger the peace and stability of Lebanon in order to recreate the earlier chaos in that country. He said that Israel had carried out aggressive attacks on Southern Lebanese. He called on all Arab nations to resolutely counter Israel wars of aggression and clear it off from Lebanese territory.

Mr. Sukaria said that his talks with Somali officials were crowned with success and added, that Somalia and Syria are bound together by mutual interests as both are members of the Arab League and other world organizations.

He expressed his personal appreciation of the warm welcome accorded to his delegation during their stay in Somalia

# SPORTS-ROUND-UP



The opening ceremony of the Stadium.

The inauguration ceremony of the «Mogadishu Stadium» Mid — November 1977 was attended by the Secretary General of the SRSP and President of the SDR Jaalle Mohamed Said Barre. The Stadium was jointly constructed by the government of the SDR and the Peoples Republic of China. The Ceremony was also attended by the visiting Chinese delegation led by the vice-Minister of cultural and sports commission, comrade Yu-Pu Hsuch, members of the Central Committee, officials of International sports Organisations and government officials.

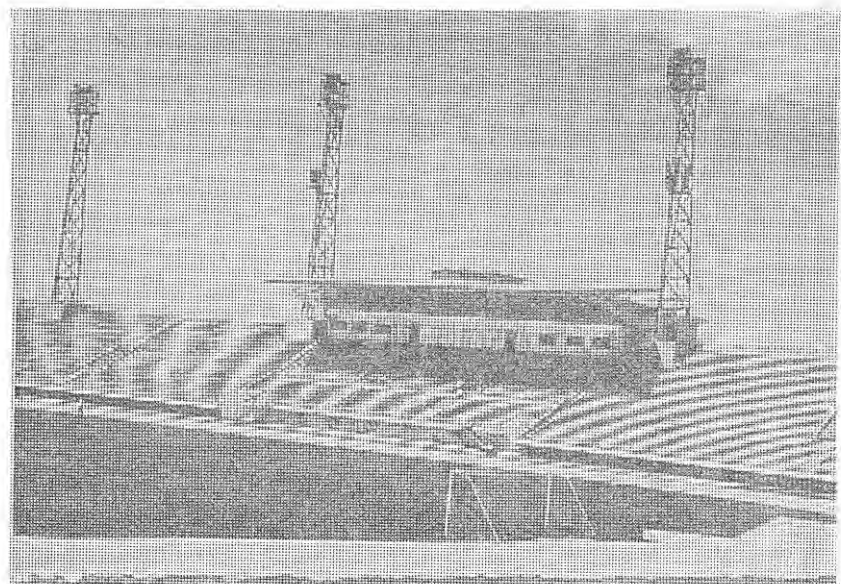
In a speech on the occasion, the Minister of Sports Jaalle, Colonel Farah Wais Dule Spoke at length of the deep friendly relations between the two countries which based on fraternity

and mutual co-operation. The Minister said that China under the leadership of chairman Huo Kuo Keng and following the teachings of the great leader chairman Mao Tse Tung can set an

example for selfiance and development to the third-world countries in particular and the world at large. Jaalle Farah also pointed out the long struggle for national unity and independence from which, he said, she had gained experience which imbued it with an anti-colonialist stand and solidarity with the progressive people as well as the support of all just causes.

The Chinese delegation leader, Comrade Yu-Pu-Hsuch, who also delivered a speech on the ceremony, admired the friendly sentiments of the Somali people towards the Chinese people. He said that the stadium is symbol of friendship between the peoples of China and Somalia adding that the Chinese people see themselves duty bound to render such assistance.

Comrade Yu-Pu-Hsuch said the Chinese people express their



Mogadishu International Stadium..



appreciation of and support to the resolute action taken by the Somali government and people in safeguarding their sovereignty.

The modern Mogadishu Stadium occupies a total area of about 210,000 sq. meters with a building floor space of 23,750 sq. meters and a seating capacity of 30,000 spectators.

The inauguration of the Mogadishu Stadium coincided with the presence of Lioning provincial football team of China in Somalia. The Chinese team played a friendly match with the Somali national team and won 3:0, and lost another match by 1:3 on November 20 with the Somali youth team.

The SDR is extremely pleased at hosting the East and Central African Athletics Championships and the East and Central African challenge cup contest. The Challenge Cup is divided into two preliminary groups; Somalia, Uganda, Kenya and Zanzibar are group «A», while Zambia, Malawi and Tanzania are in group «B».

The two day Athletics Championships events wound up on the 19th of November with Kenya and Uganda in the lead. The challenge cup contests commenced on 25th November according to schedule.

These events are being held in Mogadishu for the first time since the foundation of the East and Central African Sports Confederation some years ago. Almost eight years separate the first from the second; and all these years African Sports kept

matching ahead from regional events to international events.

The Chairman of the East and Central African Football Confederation (ECAFC), Mr. G. H. Mutovu, in an interview in the soccer challenge. Ans in Mogadishu disclosed that all seven member countries of the confederation will participate in the soccer challenge. Answering a question, Mr. Mutovu said the extra-ordinary meeting in October to move the competition to Malawi was held because of unfounded and misguided information that Somalia was at war with Ethiopia and hence adequate security could not be guaranteed for the sportsmen in Mogadishu. «This baseless report was not perhaps the only reason why some countries were worried over the security of the sportmen but we shall demonstrate that the soccer challenge officially in Mogadishu as was already decided in Zanzibar last year» Mr. Mutovu concluded.

What is especially important is that in recent years African athletes have established themselves permanently among the giant sportsmen and women in the Olympic family of the peoples of the world, and achieved outstanding results in many international contests. In particular, the meeting in Dusseldorf last September, brought together the sportsmen and women from all continents in the world, including those from Africa who boycotted the montreal Olympics in 1976.

Even though Somalia does not have world renown athletes, nevertheless since the epoch of

the Somali Revolution of 21st October 1969, the government inspired by the dynamic leadership of president Siad has already taken a great step forward in such a short time. The games are organized by govern-

ment officials mainly after the formation of the ministry of sports with the objective of strengthening friendship and cooperation and similarly to develop and exploit with resounding success both the individual and collective potentialities in sports and above all the attainment of international standards in sports for the Somali youth.

In Africa, Sports proved to be a sphere for the application of national efforts where the results come first. The increasing mastery of the African sportsmen enabled to compete in the International Arena against representatives of the biggest sports power of the world. Some new trends in African sports are now noticeable; a regular exchange of sport delegations taking place between separate countries on basis of special agreement such as the East and Central African Challenge senior Cup Championships. Participation in international competition is no longer option of nearly national sports; club teams and even school out-first take part in Inter-African contest. Different sport events that were not much popular in past are spreading over wider.

The participation of the sportsmen and women from the East and Central African Countries is evidence that Africa is ripe in bringing a revolutionary

success in sports, and enhance of unity in Africa. It goes without saying that besides being a useful aspect of developing the sportsmens body, sound health, self-discipline and perseverance, sports always mean to create harmony, understand-

ing and cooperation among nations. With this in mind, the success of sportsmen will be applauded as those of the African continent in a brotherly spirit of good sportsmanship.

The Somali football and athletics officials wish this years

and anticipate; Somalia will demonstrate an unprecedented high standard of performance of after an exhanstive and lengthy preparations to host and participate in the competitions being held in Mogadishu.

## Broadcasting organizations of non-aliegned Countries meet in Yugoslavia

Delegations from about 70 countries attended the first conference of the broadcasting organizations of non-aliegned countries held in Sarajevo, Yugoslavia, from October 27 to 30 this year.

A congratulatory letter from Yugoslavia's President Tito was read at the opening ceremony. It stated that the conference was the concrete implementation of the resolution of the fight non-aliegned conference in Colobo on beter cooperation in the exchange of news among the non-aliegned countries. The non-aliegned countries and and other developing countries particularly those which have just won liberation, are placed in an unequal position because of limited economic resources, poor technology and lack of cadres in specialized fields. Therefore mutual help and cooperation will make broadcasting and television a strong weapon in the hands of the people in these countries in their struggle for liberation and international relations on an equal footing, thereby breaking the monopoly of news circulation the letter pointed out.

In an atmosphere of unity and full understanding, the conference discussed and adopted a declaration, an action programme for cooperation and a resolution on the cooordination of cooperation among the broadcasting organisations of non-aliegned countries. The conference decided to choose Siera Leone as the venue of the next conference and to set up a cooordination committee comprising Asian, African, Latin American and European countries.

The declaration points out that broadcasting and television

of the non-aliegned countries should play a still greater role in their unreserved support for the non-aliegned countries in the struggle for people's liberation against colonialism, and racism and in their support of the Palestinian Arab people's struggle under the leadership of the Palestine liberation organization (PLO).

The action programme emphasizes that in developing and strengthening its broadcasting organizations of the most under-developed non-aliegned countries and the liberation Movements.

## Day of solidarity with Namibia

Highlights from the October 27th meeting of the United Nations Council for Namibia. A meeting held to mark the day of Solidarity with the people of Namibia and their recognized liberation movement, the South West African Peoples Organization (SWAPO).

Eleven years ago, on October 27th-1966, the U.N. General Assembly terminated South

Africa's old leaque of Nations mandate for South West Africa later renamed Namibia - and decided that responsibility for the territory should be assumed by the world Organization. In the eleven years that followed the 1966 General Assembly decision, numerous U.N. resolutions have dealt with steps needed to make Namibia's independence a reality. South Africa, however, has refused to



comply with U.N. decisions on Namibia and continues to occupy the territory illegally.

On October 27th of this year the responsible body for the territory — the U.N.'s Council meeting to observe the «Day of Solidarity» with the people of Namibia and their Recognized Liberation movement, SWAPO the South West Africa Peoples Organization.

Secretary — General Kurt Waldheim told the anniversary meeting that South Africa's attitude constituted an unparalleled challenge to the authority of the United Nations, and he restated the world Organization position on the question of Namibia which based on free elections on the basis of one man one vote; all Namibian political prisoners must be released; the application in Namibian political prisoners must be released; the application in Namibia of all racially discriminatory and politically oppressive laws and practices must be abolished; and all Namibians in exile for political reasons must be accorded full facilities to return to their country without risk of arrest. The Secretary General Kurt Waldheim stated that: there can be no doubt that unless the aspirations of the people of Namibia are fully respected and unless we can create without further delay the conditions necessary for the achievement of those aspirations

a most dangerous situation will develop with adverse consequences which could well extend beyond the borders of the territory.

Among U.N. resolutions on the question of Namibia is Security Council Resolution 385 adopted unanimously on January 1st, 1976. In it, the Security Council, among other things, declared that the policy of Bantustans and homelands in Namibia should be terminated, called for free elections under U.N. supervision and control, and stated that the South African administration should be withdrawn from the territory, and outlined the steps that should be taken, with U.N. assistance, before people.

For the Special Committee of 24 on decolonization, Salim Ahmed Salim of Tanzania, Chairman of the Committee, appealed to nations that still maintain relations with South Africa to sever them: «Let us take this opportunity once again to address an urgent and earnest appeal to those states which still continue to maintain political and other links with the South African regime to join in the concerted effort of the overwhelming majority of this Organization to bring pressure to bear upon the regime by discontinuing all collaboration with that regime in order to ensure its compliance with the decisions of the U.N. until the attainment by the people of Namibia of the objectives of

the charter of the United Nations and the Declaration of Decolonization».

The Assistant Secretary - General of the O.A.U. Peter Onu spoke of the struggle of the Namibian people for independence:

«...This is a struggle which has been prolonged because of Vorster's defiance of the UN and because of the importance of the world body. Let us all resolve that this will be the last occasion for the commemoration of Namibian Solidarity Day. We would like to see the U.N. gather next year to celebrate the independence of Namibia instead

«The People ...the masses of these countries demand power. And in each instance Vorster has neither the political will, the Prerequisite psychological constitution, nor the full realization of the dictates of history. He will not surrender power voluntarily. Thus the power must be seized by force, with the acceptance of all that this entails. We want peace in Namibia in the face of all the injustice in our land. SWAPO is determined to end this injustice by intensifying the struggle at all fronts, in particular, at the military front. We are confident the international Community will stand by us in this commitment».



## CULTURE AND ART

# IMPERIALISM AND CULTURE

By Rashid Sh. Abdullahi

The retardation caused by world imperialism to the culture of the nations who suffered under colonialist subjugation was discussed in a seminar held in Algiers, the Capital City of Algeria — from 11 to 15 October this year. The Seminar was organised by the International League for the Defence of Peoples' rights for freedom and independence and the Algerian Government has hosted it.

During the course of the Seminar, which was held at the People's Hall in the Sanobar Club, study-lectures on how imperialists had impeded various national cultures were discussed.

Imperialism has imposed innumerable problems and backwardness on the nations of the world. On many occasions, the socio-economic backwardness and the political disarray inherited from imperialism had been discussed. Hence imperialism is a political reality, which is based on socio-economic structure whose oppressive and suppressive essence have been felt not only at national levels but also throughout the world.

People have suffered the most servile conditions in the countries where capitalism is transformed into imperialism, and where exploitation has taken deeper roots.

There, the individuals were deprived of their rights to live a decent life as they were alienated from the fruits - products - of their muscles and minds. Worse still, these products were manipulated so wrongly that it had served a threat to the well-being of mankind. A glaring example of this, is the colossal amount of materials and manpower spent to produce armaments and to maintain military alliances, at a time when many millions of families are starving on our planet.

In other words, we must make note of the annual human death rate as a result of starvation. Besides, it is horrifying to see the enormous quantities of food and other products being wasted into the sea to avoid inflation while the producers lack proper dwellings and decent dresses.

Further more, the process of decision-making is concentrated into the hands of the minority monopolistic group - that owns the multi-national companies; the majority of the people are deprived of their say in the socio-political life of the society.

International imperialism had imposed more calamities and wretched conditions on the nations who had been in retard to develop capitalism fully. They were con-

quered by brute force; they were denied to decide their destiny; both the manpower and the material resources of their countries were misused and manipulated to their detriments; their socio-economic progress was impeded deliberately; even their social structures were deformed in such a way that it retained the outmoded primitive structures: i.e. tribalism and feudalism which serve as a weapon against liberation movements and progressive tendencies.

All these above mentioned problems were, on many occasions, pinpointed by the socialist world and by the democratic forces in seminars and other fora. But, the harmful effects which imperialism has had on the culture of the colonized nations have so far received a negligible attention in earlier discussions. To remedy this situation, it was the main issue the Seminar has discussed at Algiers.

Numbering about two hundred people, the participants represented practically all continents: Europe, North America, Latin America, Africa and Asia. The Chairman of the Seminar, Senator Lelio Basso from Italy was the organizer of the International League for the Defence of Peoples' rights for freedom and independence. Also the participants of the seminar in-



cluded some distinguished personalities, such as comrade Mohamed Aden Sheikh' Chairman of the Bureau for Ideology and member of the Central Committee of the Somali Revolutionary Socialist Party (SRSP), Minister of Education (Gini Bissau), and the Minister for the Algerian Presidency, Sayid Dalib Ibrahim.

Various aspects of the cultures of the nations oppressed by imperialism had been analysed in this seminar. One of these topics was the colonial educational systems, and the extent to which these educational systems had detached the colonized nations from their cultures. Another topic discussed was the influence which the imperialist mass-media bore on the colonized peoples in the process of degrading the traditional customs and national cultures these people's aspirations for their freedom and for their existence as nations. The problems that foreign languages had created for colonial countries, were also discussed in the Seminar. The negative impacts which the imperialist influence has on these nations as a result of the languages have also been highlighted. The aim of the imperialists was to erase the spirit of nationalism as well as the love for their cultural identity from the hearts of the colonial peoples.

As soon as the imperialists achieve this goal they can easily manipulate these nations and can use them to serve colonial objectives, once they have lost their national self-identity, or their traditional cultures. Lelio Basso saw this reality, when he said: «destroying or deforming the culture, implies separating the individual from his

social environment, and the integration of the two is an inevitable factor for the survival of man.» The crucial issue lies in the destruction of the cultural life of the peoples by uprooting man his environment. This gives birth to an individual with a low scale of values towards his soil, his society and his culture - an individual who is ignorant of the history of his society. Even if he has glimpses of his history through the medium of the colonial educational-system, it was presented to him as a savage type of culture. He was indoctrinated to love and value the history of Europe and the Western countries; he was taught that the West is the source of human civilization and the light of knowledge.

ge. This is how the colonial subject was hypnotized to reject his culture, land and society, yearning for Europe which has, thus, transformed him into a tool that easily serves imperialism.

In all the colonized countries such individuals serve imperialists interests to the detriment of the wish of their countries and peoples; they help imperialism to consolidate its grip over nations and to perpetuate neo-colonialism; they are alienated from their country and society; they are those who are indifferent to the problems and aspirations of their nations assimilating the life of Europe; they are those who defend imperialist interests by frustrating the efforts of the masses in the true struggle for economic independence, social progress and democracy rule.

Imperialism does not only rely

on these elements to implement its designs, but it also employs modern technology and its large-scale industries whose products are flooded in the markets of the third world. In this way, imperialism spoils the consumer-the third world by infusing them with such bad habits and manners as «wanting without working». These elements are tempted to overlook the reality prevailing in their society, which needs the girding up their loins for progress. Also imperialism employs the mass-media to mislead the people from the right path. This mass-media claims to be objective in the search for truth. The fact is that it paints the lie as truth, and distorts the truth, thus creating terror in the world. The aim behind such leading is to confuse the people so that they seek to take mental refuge in the folds imperialism.

All these means are employed by the imperialists in order to retard the progress of the nationalist regimes in developing countries. By these manipulations, imperialists shatter the unity of the nationalist forces in order to win followers to help overthrow the progressive government.

This topic and other similar issues were being discussed in the seminar for four days. One of the issues that won the unanimity of the participants was the revival of traditional cultures which contribute to the socio-economic development of these emerging nations. Also the need for a script to write the vernacular languages was raised at the seminar, but many countries had rejected this idea because of the multiplicity of languages in some

countries where different tribes speak different languages. In such cases, it was realized that choosing a standard language for these countries may create crises which could lead to chaos and national disintegration. These situations compelled some of the African countries to use foreign languages as the official medium

of communications. Both Somalia and Algeria were lucky to have one language; this made it possible to adopt scripts for these languages which now function as the medium of communication and instruction.

On closing the seminar, the conference had issued resolutions pertaining to all topics discussed

Although the participation of the African and Asian continents was far less than expected yet the seminar was a success and it could be characterised as the true representative to express the feelings of the progressive forces which are waging a continuous struggle against world imperialism.

## DOES WRITING EXPAND LANGUAGE?

By Ibrahim Awed (Kholi)

between the governor and the governed is very essential if harmony is to prevail in a country.

As I promised you, I will discuss the question: «Does the writing of the Somali language expand it and help mass education?» To discuss this question, one must look into the following two headings which are closely interwoven:

### 1. EXPANSION OF EDUCATION:

The adoption of the script to write the Somali language and the launching of the literacy campaign have both played key roles in the expansion of education since the October Revolution in 1969. Generally, one gains knowledge either through direct life experience or through learning from others by reading and by hearing stories. As man's life-span is relatively short, direct life experience avails us not very much knowledge, though it is, by far, the most useful form of acquiring knowledge; we learn from others a lot, but «with the exception of the preserved material such as publications, recordings, films and photos» much of it is oral, and is therefore bound to be unreliable since its verbatim objectively diminishes its authenticity;



Nomads learning the script under the tree.

In the last Issue of this Magazine Halgan, I raised the question: «How far was the writing of the Somali language successful?» The introduction had dealt with the

importance of writing to the language, but the article had outlined the need for a two-way communication between the government and the masses. An understanding



so it reaches us in a distorted and defaulted condition.

For this reason, the best method to expand knowledge remains to be the written form. The authenticity of any written first-hand information could be as good as any first-hand information we obtain from original source, for it has not lost its details on a chain of story letters and story receivers. Considering that literacy was useful to the expansion of knowledge among the masses, we can raise the question: «Why shouldn't we use the foreign language to fight illiteracy?» The simple answer to such a question would have been: «It is better draw water with your own hands than with other's hands». In spite of the fact that the foreign languages «both Italian and English» were fully developed languages, yet it would have been an impossible task to produce over a million literates in so short a time. The sensible thing to do was to apply the Somali proverb quoted above. It would have been a futile exercise to try to teach nomadic mothers, for example, how to read and write English in few months. It would have been more sensible as was proven by the results of the literacy campaign launched in 1974, to adopt a script - few dozens of letters, and to teach mothers, workers, peasants and livestock herders these letters so that they could easily learn how to read and write their own mother-tongue, instead of introducing a language completely new to them. The results of adopting the Somali script are:

a) In 1974, a literacy campaign was launched and with-

in a few months, 1,757,779 people were taught how to read and write Somali;

b) The campaign is continued on yearly basis but in a smaller scale, and as a result 568,546 people were enrolled in literacy classes this year;

c) More people turned up for the enrolment of the adult education due to the increase of the adult literates. This increase is 265%, a rise from 18,056 in 1969 to 65,907 in 1977;

d) School population rose by 341% since the Revolution (from 55,023 in 1969 to 242,696 in 1977) due both to the writing of the Somali language and to the building of more classrooms.

As it been seen from the statistical data, the rate of the growth of female school population is far greater than that of the male population; In primary and secondary schools, boys increased by 35% while girls rose by 747%. Similarly, in the adult education, the number of the male rose by 162% we here that of the female increased by 744%. This is a clear indication of the fast speed which sisters are catching up with their brothers who had so far dominated the educational opportunities in the country. Competition is permissible as long as it is healthy.

It is also worth mentioning that writing the Somali language has greatly improved the communication between the teacher and his pupils, for the mother-tongue provided the teacher with better chance to explain the lessons easier. The syllabi was also changed in or-

der to draw example and inspirations from the local environment and from the national culture which are, no doubt, much easier for our children to understand. Even changing the foreign names in universal tales has been an inconceivable help. These changes would have not been possible without writing the Somali language. Formerly, students had two problems; lessons grew more difficult to comprehend on the one hand and more unknown words confronted them on the other. Now, lessons do get harder but relatively fewer unknown words came up. So at least one of these two twine problems was either wholly solved or minimized.

## 2. EXPANDING THE LANGUAGE

As soon as the Somali script was adopted and the mother-tongue was introduced into the offices and schools, it was noted that our language was under-developed at least in so far as science technology and administration were concerned. We appreciated that our language has primarily come from the nomadic way of life as well as from primitive peasantry. Therefore, it was necessary to create a massive range of new terminology so that the Somali language can be effective in all fields and levels of the modern life from the fields of technology, sciences, philosophy and social sciences to the general administration of the country. This, in effect was expanding and enriching the Somali language itself.

Initially, newspaper readers, office clerks and students could not be sure of the use and application of many Somali words. It was a common practice to use (in brac-

kets) foreign words and phrases for reasons of more clarification in case the Somali words failed to convey the intended message. Thanks heavens, today this state of uncertainty has now come to an end, office correspondence is more trim and the clerks are more confident in their mother-tongue, dispensing with labouriously punctuating foreign words and phrases in office correspondence and reports. This was not an easy task, I believe; it needed a hard work and the language was enriched in four directions:

a) Terminology have drawn from the pastoral life, giving them a meaning with a dimension greater than its original one. This range of terminology concerns science, technology, general administration, philosophy etc. For example: **BULSHO**: Formerly known as a small group of cattle-herders, this word is now synonymous with «society», and «community» thus gaining a considerable dimension in meaning. So with its help, we speak of «Somali society» and of «word community». **JAANGOoyo**: Formerly known as making foot-measurement in order to make shoes, this word is now used for «planning» so with its help, we speak «national planning». **KORMEER**: Formerly used when elderly people go out to ensure that the livestock are well-looked after by the youth, it now embraces the wide meanings of inspection and controlling the implementation of the national duties as well as of auditing national accounts.

b) Terminology was translated literally from foreign languages. This range of terminology at first

sounded strange and distasteful but as time went on, both the ear and the pen have accustomed to them. Examples **MADAXWEYNE** (head of state), **WAREEGO** (circular), **WARBIXIN** (report), **JEEGA WAREEGA** (circular cheque), **DANJIRE** (charge d'affaires), **XISAAB-SOCOTA** (current account), **CASHU URTA DADBAN** (indirect tax), **WAXBARASHADA AAN TOOSKA AHAYN** (informal education), **SAADAASHA HAWADA** (weather forecast), **BADMAAX** (seaman), **Jaalle Xalimo** (Comrade Halimo), **WERIYAHA SONNA HEBLA** ((SONNA Reporter, Miss x), **AGAASIMAHA HEBLA** (Director, Miss y). For the benefit of non-Somalis, traditionally Somali language has different genders for adjectives that describe female names, so this is a break of the traditional rule); **GANACSIGA GUDAHA** (internal trade), **GANACSIGA UMMADDA** (national trade), **WASAARADDA SHAQADA IYO CAYAARAHA** (Ministry Labour and Sports). The translation of the two trade example, is not only funny but it is also equivocal. They can have connotations which are funny and unkind. In the case of the name of the Ministry, the Somali version sounds ironic, because traditionally the idea of labour «shaqo» is conflicting with that of sports «cayaar», later on, the word «cayaar» was dropped and «sport» was Somalized which really conveys the meaning of «playing». So one makes joke of asking: «how can working and playing go in harmony? Either you are playing or you are

working».

Technology which were foreign but Somalized. The So-foreign but somalized. The Somali language has many words of Arabic origin. These are not under discussion here. I mean the latin origin such as the names of the months which normally take the Italian pronunciation, as well as the words: science, bank, philosophy, technology, ideology, book, cheque, motor, chiuuffer, driver, mechanic, engineer, film, police, military, fascism, bourgeois, democracy, sports, etc. These are pronounced in English, Arabic or Italian, according to one's foreign background.

Terminology drawn from the meaning of Somali words such as **hantiwadaagayn** «socializing», or **qaramayn** «nationalizing», **maarayn** «managing», **midayn** «uniting», **aqoondirsad** «Educational correspondence», **Unug** «cell». **Hoggaan** «Bureau», **bukaan-socod** «dispensary» As you can note, some of the terms are Somali words which were given a new form of verb. The noun «Tol», takes the suffix «ayn» to form the verb «tolayn», which is nationalizing with a bit of tribal colour. So to refrain from any word that has tribal connotations, the word «tolayn) was dropped and «Qaramayn» drawn from «Qaran» which is free from tribal background, was taken instead:

In the next issue, I will discuss the last part of this series, under the heading: Documentation of history and culture.



Schools	1969	1977	%
— Primary	48,611	229,030	371
— Secondary	6,412	13,666	113
Total	55,023	242,696	431
— Male	45,447	161,577	35
— Female	9,576	81,119	747
Total	14,868	39,016	162

## ADULT EDUCATION

— Male	3,188	26,891	744
— Female	18,056	65,907	265
Total	73,079	308,603	336

The Grand Total — — 1,757,779

LITERECY — — 568,546

— Campaign (1974)

-- Continuation

## MOTHER AFRICA (A Poem)

Mohamed Haibe Kahin

The history of the emergence of Africa as a respectable continent is one of toil and sacrifice. There was a time when Africa was known as the «Dark Continent», and the word «Negro» was synonymous with «Slave». Africa has been the victim of the worst possible form of exploitation at the hands of the imperialists. But then, we the people of Africa, pulled ourselves out of this toil and abyss owing to our unity, combined with the justified ambition to be recognised as free nation of the world. The unity that was responsible for our deliverance ought to be maintained and fellow African nations should not dance to the tune of the imperialists, staking their own rights and privileges. The poem that follows contains a message for Africa in general and for Ethiopia in particular.

Who is unaware of the past gloomy days of Mother Africa,  
 Of the ebony-skinned Mother held fast in the servile chains,  
 Of her sufferings borne as the victim of colonialism and strife,  
 Of the ships that put off her coastal harbours in pursuit,  
 Whereby thousands of her off spring forcibly deported for sale,  
 And all her treasure and riches carried to alien lands,

Of her fabulous body whose colour as black as the night,  
Rendered bloody by the hands of the villainous Whites,  
Who tore her up into micro-states and deprived her of human rights.  
Indeed Mother Africa is torn and tortured to a piteous extent!  
With the tortured cry of agony distorting her innocent lips,  
With her long range call for help far to her children,  
Thousands, inspired by her call, took up their weapons to deliver her;  
The long bitter struggle ensued thus ended with the Whites' defeat;  
Mother Africa was finally rescued and history has taken a new turn.  
Decades and centuries passed till at last Mother Africa's day arrived,  
Walls fell that had barred her earlier from the progressive world;  
The glorious days of spirit spread with a refreshing force,  
Cheers for Africa's deliverance echoed through the continent!  
Now are Mother Africa's cherished dreams to be fully fulfilled.  
Woe for her sad fate! Mother Africa again turned pale and ill,  
The worst, never expected tragic event, has befallen her:  
The eldest son, her future hope, was fooled and led astray;  
The White imperialists had influenced the fool and he sided with them;  
He became a black imperialist and colonized his own flesh and blood!  
But alas! Even though most of the white colonialists were forced out,  
The old fool still clings to the territories illegally acquired,  
And despite his Marxist-Leninist rhetoric, continues the colonial legacy,  
Denying the right to self-determination of the people of Western Somalia and Eritrea!



## BOOKS AND DOCUMENTS



# OVERCOMING FOOD SCARCITY

By Amina H. Adan

This essay presents a review of the book *Food First Beyond the Mayth* by Frances Moore Lappe and Joseph Collins (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co. 1977). This important book leaves a lasting impression on anyone who reads it. It is written in a simple and stright forward manner, its chapters are headed by challenging questions such as: «Are people a liability or a Resource?» Does Ignorance Breed Babies? etc. Apart from its attractive style and from, the book's content is **extremely** crucial since it deals with the issue of food self-sufficiency in the underdeveloped world.

The author deburk and destr-oy the popular myth that the underdeveloped countries have no choice but to endure the vicious trap of poor technology, population explosion and a declining agricultural surplus. They accept the fact that at present hunger and malnutrition kill about 10,000 people a day, main children for life, deforming bodies and disabling minds. Paradoxically, the authors amass facts to prove that most of the suffering is in areas where the soil is fertile, the climate is good and the population is not too dense! The author shows that it is too simplistic to blame nature or population growths. They marshal a great deal of figures and

facts to demonstrate that the various «Symptoms» of underdevelopment cannot be taken to account for the real roots or cause of the problem.

The authors argue that there is no two separate worlds as we imagine, «one as HAVE and the other HAVE not». They add: «colonialism destroyed the cultural patterns of production and exchange by which traditional society had met the needs of the people. Pre-colonial village existence in subsistence agriculture was a limited life indeed but it is certainly not calcutta». They make us understand that the misery we see in present day calcutta, for example is the outcome of a long historical process. Like Walter Rodney in his book *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa*, the authors view the term «underdevelop» not as an adjective but as a verb meaning the process of undermining a certain society. It is a process involving domination and exploitation leading to socio-economic distortions, dependency etc.

Issues such as malnutrition, level of agricultural production or the ecological endowment of a particular underdeveloped country must therefore, be viewed not as separate entities but within the context of a historical past invol-

ving subjugation and exploitation. Popular propaganda pictures the world today as one in which hungry millions are a burden to a well-fed few. The truth is that the over-fed few have benefitted from the exploitation of the hungry millions.

Prior to colonial domination, most of these countries, did not experience the food shortages they encounter today. In 1890 a British agriculturalist working in India admired the ingenuity of the Indian farmer. He marvelled at their system of rotation and mixed crops and noted: «I, at least, have never seen a more perfect picture of cultivation.»

John Stuart Mill once observed that colonies were not really countries bu «agricultural establishments» whose only purpose were to supply the metropolitan powers with foodstuffs, raw materials and cheap labour. Gambia, for examples, before the advent of colonialism, produced a great deal of rice. During colonial rule, Peanuts took the place of rice. Similarly, Zanzibar came to produce cloves rather than rice. In Ghana, coccoa came to replace yams and food-stuffs in order to provide Europe with chocolate! Liberia became a virtual plantation subsidiary for Firestone Tire and Rub-

ber company. In Benin and South East Nigeria, food production was abandoned in favour of palm oil. Tanzania was forced by her former colonizers to focus on sisal and Uganda on cotton and coffee, French landowners exploited Vietnamese labour in order to transform the Mekong Delta into the world's largest rice exporting zone while millions of Vietnamese went hungry.

Generally, cash crops took the place of food-stuff production under colonial imposition. Colonial strategy involved forcing the colonized people to grow cash crops instead of needed food-stuffs. It is the colonizer who benefits from oriented agriculture towards cash crops exports.

The authors vividly described the gun and whip methods utilized to impose cash-crop growing upon formerly self-sufficient populations colonially imposed taxation also served as a means of reinforcing cash crops growing. The huge profits amassed in this process served the colonizers at the expense of the colonized. Thus it came to be that countries emerged specializing in the production of one or two crops such as sugar, cotton, coffee, cocoa, sisal, tobacco, banana, peanuts etc.

Naturally, colonial exploitation met with stiff resistance on the part of the exploited people. Eventually this resistance led to the rise of national liberation movements.

Unfortunately for most countries the era of independence has not resulted in the effective destruction of underdevelopment. Cash crop growing and food depen-

dency continue to plague many countries. Nevertheless, certain countries have begun to pursue policies effectively aimed at severing the colonial links that maintain exploitation and underdevelopment. The authors single out the people's Republic of China as a shining example of a country that has solved many of the problems confronting Third World countries. They point out that »In China today, there is no inflation, no starvation no beggars, no hunger or malnutrition.« The Chinese, formerly plagued by droughts and floods have worked to multiply the irrigated land. They have doubled their yield of major grains in two decades. Of course, the authors

point out that it would not be possible or desirable to imitate blindly all aspects of the great Chinese experiment. However, it has great many lessons to offer the peoples of the underdeveloped countries.

Since the October Revolution of 1969, Somalia has been pursuing policies aimed at food self-sufficiency by 1980 as described in an article which appeared in HALGAN Number 10 (August 1977): «Food First» gives an ample evidence to support all efforts aimed at self-reliance and self-sufficiency in food stuffs. The authors have, in fact, indicated interest in further studying the experience Somalia in this and related matters.

## HALGAN BIBLIOGRAPHY NO. I

This is the First of a projected series of bibliographies on Halgan materials. It is offered as a useful reference for our readers some of whom, from time to time, may need to refer to particular back issues of Halgan. This bibliographical list covers materials included in the issues of Halgan that have appeared during the past year up to and including the October First Anniversary issue.

ITEM	ISSUE NO.	DATE
I Editorial Notes.		
Jaalle Siad' October 21st 1976 Address	— 2 —	November 1976
Jaalle Siad's Police Anniversary, Address	— 3 —	December 1976
The Secretary - General's Speech on Party Administration Relations	— 7 —	May 1977
Imperialist Propaganda Drums	— 6 —	April 1977.
The Seventh Year of the Somali Revolution	— 1 —	October 1977
17 Years of National Independence	— 9 —	July 1977.
On 15th May 1943	— 8 —	June 1977
The Anniversary of the SRSP	— 9 —	July 1977
A Glance at the Situation in Jibuti	— 3 —	December 1976
The Voice of Jibouti	— 7 —	May 1977
Jibuti Becomes Independent	— 9 —	July 1977
A Socialist Solution to Ethiopian		



Somali Problems	— 1 —	October 1976
On the Situation in Ethiopia	— 5 —	March 1977
Eritrea: The Struggle Continues	— 9 —	July 1977
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The Afro - Arab Summit Conference	— 6 —	April 1977
The Arab Summits and the Issue of Lebanon	— 2 —	November 1976
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The Party and Youth	— 3 —	December 1976
Workers and Peasants are Vanguard of New society	— 4 —	February 1977
Formation of the SRSP Cells in Benadir Region	— 5 —	March 1977
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### III POLITICAL, SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC AFFAIRS.

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Reflections on the Somali Working Class	— 8 —	June 1977
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### IV. PROBLEMS OF DAILY LIFE

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#### V. WORLD AFFAIRS

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Who Endangers the Red Sea	— 7 —	May 1977
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<b>VI. THEORETICAL ISSUES</b>		
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Legal Consciousness	— 2 —	November 1977
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Reflections on the 60th Anniversary Great October Revolution	— 12 —	October 1977
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#### VII POLITICAL VOCABULARY

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Public opinion; on Democracy	— 2 —	November 1976
The Mode of Production	— 3 —	December 1976
Productive Forces and Production Relations	— 5 —	March 1977
On Patriotism; on Nationalism and Proletarian Internationalism	— 6 —	April 1977
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#### VIII ART AND CULTURE

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Festac 77: Negritude or Socialism	— 3 —	December 1976
Reflections on Festac '77	— 6 —	April 1977
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The Somali Revolution and the Development of National Culture	— 10 —	August 1977
Somali Patriotic Poetry (Part One)	— 5 —	March 1977
Somali Patriotic Poetry (Part Two)	— 6 —	April 1977
The Emergence of Somali Written Stories and Novels	— 7 —	May 1977
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The Somali Cultural Unity	— 9 —	July 1977
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<b>IX BOOKS AND DOCUMENTS</b>		
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The Party of a New Type «Somali Text Book»	— 6 —	April 1977
In Commemoration of Karl Marx	— 6 —	April 1977
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SYL Memorandum to the UNO	— 9 —	September 1977
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The people of Western Somalia and Eritrea have experienced brutal colonial policies very unlike the paternalistic colonialism exercised by Sweden over Norway.

Forthly, as a result of brutal colonialist practices, the resistance struggles in Eritrea and Western Somalia have been intensive and drawn out. The genocidal wars waged by Haile Sellessia and Mengistu Haile Marian have only served to solidify the will of the colonized peoples for self-determination and independence.

Fifty and finally, it follows from the above that should Ethiopia recognize and implement the right of self-determination of peo-

ples, a healthy foundation would be laid for a movement towards cooperations and unity of the people of Ethiopia, Eritrea Western Somalia and the Somali Democratic Republic. Today we witness great solidarity and cooperation between Sweden and Norway. A genuinely decolonized Ethiopia will pave the way for even greater cooperation and unity among all the peoples of the Horn.

#### **SELF-DETERMINATION PROMOTES UNITY**

History clearly shows that the principle of self-determination facilitates efforts aimed at bringing about cooperation and unity. The Pan-African movement has always considered African unity in the light

of unconditional African self-determination. «Eradication of all forms of colonization from Africa «remains a basic objectives of the OAU charter. In wanting to perpetuate the colonization of Western Somalia and Eritrea, Ethiopia is obliged to distort the basic principles behind the movement for African unity. As we showed above, Pan-Africanist conference enthusiastically hailed the movement for the independence and unification of the Comarouns and Somalia.

The Liberation of Eritrea and Western Somalia will help to promote greater unity in the Horn of Africa as part of the steps needed to achieve greater African unity.





Mass Rally in Support Of The CC Decision





A view of the historic building housing the Somali National Museum