

HAALGAN



(THE STRUGGLE)

ORGAN OF THE SOMALI
REVOLUTIONARY SOCIALIST PARTY

THE INVALIDITY OF THE EURO- ETHIOPIAN AGREEMENTS

Documentation of
the somali history

Training of cadres

The inevitability of
the destruction
of racism

Struggle to
learn, in order to
learn to
struggle better

HAALGAIN

published monthly by the
CENTRAL COMMITTEE
of the **SOMALI REVOLUTIONARY SOCIALIST PARTY**

THE EDITORIAL BOARD

MOHAMED ADEN SHEKH /Chairman

ABUKAR MOHAMED HUSSEIN (Ikar) /Secretary

MEMBERS OF THE EDITORIAL BOARD

Hussein Mohamed Adam

Rashid Sheck Abdullahi

Said Abdisalam

Yusuf Suleymar

SUBSCRIPTION

Somalia

2/= shillings (Somali) per issue,

40/= shillings per year, post included.

Arab World and East Africa

\$ 12.00 per year, airmail post included.
(US dollars).

South Central and West Africa

\$ 17.00 per year, airmail post included.

Asia

\$20.00 per year, airmail post included.

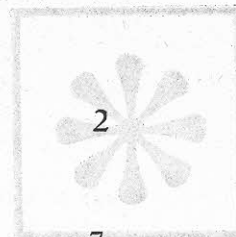
Europe

\$ 25.00 per year, airmail post included.

America (North and (South)

\$30.00 per year; airmail post included.

CONTENTS



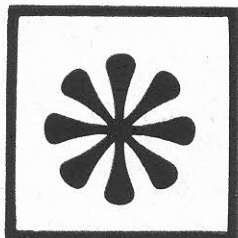
I. EDITORIAL NOTES	2
— A New light on the Horn.	
— The Organization of the Somali Cooperative Movement.	
II. POLITICAL SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC AFFAIRS	7
— The Invalidity of the Euro-Ethiopian Agreements.	
By: Yusuf E. Roble.	
— The Birth and Growth of Cooperatives.	
By: Yasin Gelle	
III. PARTY LIFE	13
— Jaalle Siad Opened a Seminar at El-Jaalle Centre.	
— Conferences Discussed the Situation in the Horn	
— Activities of the Party Committees; El-Waq and Luq	
SOCIAL ORGANIZATIONS	
— Activities of the Working Youth.	
— The Trade Unions of the Banadir Region.	
— G.F.S.T.U and the Arab Trade Unions	
— The Establishment of the Mozambique Youth Union.	
IV. WORLD AFFAIRS	20
— The Issue of Western Somalia and the Principle of Territorial Integrity Sanctioned in the O.A.U Charter.	
By: Aboud M. Aboud.	
— The Inevitability of the Destruction of Racism.	
By: Boobe	
V. MONTHLY BULLETIN	24
VI. THEORETICAL ISSUES	32
— The Preparation of Cadres.	
By: Y. Sh. Muse	
VII. CULTURE AND ART	34
— Documenting Somali History	
By: Ibrahim Awed (Kholi)	
VIII. BOOKS AND DOCUMENTS	36
— On Health and Development	
— Review on Bibliographical Survey on Somalia	
By: A. Y. Duale	

HALGAN

Official Organ of the S.R.S.P. Year Two No. 14 December, 1977

Prices 2 Shs. Published Monthly in Somali and English and tri-monthly in Arabic.

People's Hall P. O. Box 1204 Telephone 720
Room No. 112 Mogadishu, SDR Ext. 51 and 74



A NEW LIGHT ON THE HORN OF AFRICA

The USSR has adopted a comprehensive strategy of material and moral support for the Mengistu regime. This master plan is intended for the rescue of the Addis Ababa fascist regime from internal oppression resistance as well as to secure for its victories over the struggling national freedom fighters. Such open abetment and drastic support are designed to fulfill surreptitious objectives comprising of:

1. The destruction of the progressive forces struggling against the Mengistu regime inside Ethiopia;
2. The annihilation of the Eritrean people who have been engaged in their struggle for selfdetermination and independence for over 16 years;
3. The extermination of the Western Somali and Abbo peoples;
4. The endangerment of the sovereignty of the SDR whose only sin lies in the fraternal support it gives its brothers in their struggle for liberation from colonialism.

In pursuing such policies, the Soviet Union does not give the least consideration to issues of justice and of principle but, on the contrary, attempts to rationalise the highly arbitrary, terroristic measures of assassination adopted by the Mengistu regime as «revolutionary measures» needed for the construction of a «socialist society». Alas! the methods of crude force and cheap propaganda adopted have only contributed to the intensification of the problems they are designed to cure. Indeed, it is highly misleading to suggest that the masses are ignorant and need to be coerced and brutalized in order to mobilize than to follow the instructions of the ruling regime that consider itself «revolutionary» while hating every socialist force in the society. Claiming dedication to such grotesque distortions, the Mengistu regime has proceeded cold-bloodedly in the massacres and genocidal measures against the Abyssinian masses and the national liberation forces. History will never forgive such anti-human crimes.

On the other hand, Western nations have, on several occasions, proclaimed their intention to remain neutral with regards to the problems in the Horn of Africa, as long as the armed struggles are going on. This position could be taken to imply:

1. Since the Soviet Union has fallen into a miserable trap, let it reap the expected whirlwind;

2. The conditions are generally favourable to West and hence, there is no need for haste; on one hand the previously existing good relationships between the USSR and the SDR have ceased to exist and, on the other hand, the special links between the USSR and the Mengistu clique may likewise come to nothing given the precarious nature of the Mengistu regime.

Assuming that the USSR is aware of such plans why does it therefore remain blind to such possibilities? The reason lies in the deliberate political and strategical ends that USSR is endeavouring to fulfill in this region, such as:

a. The provision of a foothold for the Addis Ababa regime while building a good image for Mengistu himself;

b. The forceful domination of the territories under the subjugation of the «Ethiopian Empire». A sobering instance of this fact is provided by the recent acknowledgement by the USSR (see Soviet News of November 22nd, 1977; page 408), that in addition to the 4 million Eritreans, another 15 million people who used to be under the «Ethiopian Empire» are no longer under its rule. Well then, if 19million people have liberated them selves from the colonialism implied by the Ethiopian Empire; forcing them back to its domination would serve what end? Such a projected brutal enslavement of millions could only serve to secure the rule of the Mengistu clique at whatever cost. In order to pursue such atrocious objectives, certain drastic measures have been adopted such as:

i. The supply of huge amounts of sophisticated armaments and foreign military troops to the Addis Ababa regime in order to overwhelm the liberation movements while at the same time militarily menacing any state which supports these movements;

ii. The forceful establishment of a sea route for Abbyssinia from any of the neighbouring lands i.e. Eritrea, Djibouti or even on the territory of the SDR itself.

c. Fictitious projects and propaganda aimed to bolster the Mengistu regime on the issue labelled «the question of nationalities». A great deal of hullabaloo has been raised about the creation of so-called «autonomous» regions within the Ethiopian Empire: Like South Africa's Bantustan policy, the aim here is to mislead world-opinion by pretending to give due consideration to the oppressed nationalities inside «Ethiopia». In fact, the people of these regions will not be permitted to exercise their right of self-determination. If this gimmick fails, these nationalities will be compelled by armed force to accept colonialism.

(d) The intensification of the armed struggle between the Abbyssinian colonial army and the Western Somali freedom fighters before the rest of the World becomes fully aware about the true nature of the situation.

e. While actively supporting Mengistu, the Soviet Union and its «clients» are also busy preparing ground for the eventuality of Mengistu's fall. Obviously, Mengistu's lacks the qualities necessary for permanent Russian influence inside Ethiopia. The Soviet Union and its client's are busy grooming members of the armed forces

and pushing some of their new puppets into the membership of the Dergue in order to serve their present and future interests.

Accordingly, the Soviet Union is fully aware that the non-involvement of the Western States is fully to its advantage. The USSR and its «client states» can supply all the required armaments and troops needed by the Addis Ababa regime in order to overwhelm the liberation forces and to threaten the existence of the SDR; the SDR on the other hand, does not get similar support. The Soviet Union is also aware that the world is not fully cognizant with the realities behind the conflicts in the Horn and that is why it opted for drastic armed intervention.

Nevertheless, world opinion is becoming more and more concerned about the situation; representatives of international organisations and leaders of African states have begun to express their anxiety about the dangers involved in the situation and to express their desire to participate in attaining a political settlement of the problem.

Now then, what is the stand of the SDR? On various occasions, the President of the SDR, Jaalle Siad, has warned against the internationalization of this dispute as it is essentially between the colonialism perpetuated by the Addis regime and the freedom fighters seeking their liberty.

Even though the Soviet Union has aggravated the conflict by internationalising the dispute in the Horn, Somalia still stands ready for a peaceful settlement based on justice in order to realise the best solution to the problems involved. The President of the SDR and General Secretary of the SRSP declared this at the recent opening of the Congress for the Movement of Somali Cooperatives Organisations on January 7th 1978. In his speech, Jaalle Siyad said:

«The solution of the problems of the Horn of Africa lies in, first of all, the withdrawal of all foreign forces bent on internationalizing the war; following which the concerned people of Western Somalia, Abbo, Eritrea and the Addis Ababa regime should meet in a realistic and sober way, begin negotiations on the serious issues between them. The Somali Government is fully ready to bear its obligations in an African neighbourly way in order to assist in the possibilities open through negotiations.

In spite of the aggressive military acts and permanent hostile propaganda unleashed by the Addis Ababa regime against the SDR, in the vain hope of confusing the struggles it is waging against the liberation forces over issues it refuses to solve justly and peacefully, the SDR is ever ready to enter into direct negotiations with the Addis Ababa regime in order to convince it that there is no basis for its hostility and condemnation of the SDR.

Let us conclude by asking: can it be expected of the Soviet Union to change its stand and cease creating serious problems in the Horn? Is it really possible for the Soviet Union to terminate its foreign intervention and contribute to the peaceful, just solution to the problem as demanded by the people of the region and concerned peoples everywhere?



THE ORGANISATION OF SOMALI COOPERATIVE MOVEMENT

For a long time now; ground has been laid for the organisation of hitherto scattered groups of small farmers, peasants, workers in in-cense, livestock, fishing and small scale trade. Tireless preparatory work was crowned with success at the Founding Congress of the Organisation of the Somali Cooperative Movement which opened in Mogadishu on January 6th 1978. The Founding of the OSCM provides a tangible response to many of those who after wondered: why don't we give a helping hand to various categories of Somali producers, especially those in rural areas?

Some people raised simplistic questions expecting hasty governmental actions, many of these did not fully understand the complex nature of the existing system of production and the various preparatory steps taken since October 1969 to orient it towards socialist oriented production.

The Revolution inherited an agricultural sector that could be said to consist of three methods of farming. Somalia never experienced an extensive system of feudal — capitalist agriculture. The three categories in Somalia agriculture may be depicted as follows:

A. Average size farms specialising in the production of bananas for export; characterized by capitalist ownership and methods of production, employing peasant labour.

B. Average size farms mostly owned by private individuals engaged in the production of maize, sorghum, sesame oil for the local market.

C. Small scale farms, each not larger than a few acres, worked by partially peasants families for subsistence. Such peasant farming contribute to the economy of the country through the peasantry gets exploited in the process of production and exchange.

The amount of land cultivated by all these three categories of farmers did not amount to one-tenth of the total cultivable land available in Somalia in 1969.

THE ORGANISATION OF

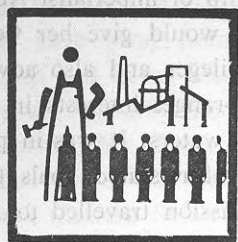


The October 1969 Revolution put great priority in promoting the interest of the third group of small scale farmers who constitute the majority. Institutions were set up to enable them to sell their products directly to state organs at good, stable prices.

Loans were advanced for their interest by the Somali development Bank. Efforts were made to encourage large scale cooperative production and to raise the political consciousness of this category of small scale farmers. The establishment of the OSCM bears testimony to the level of political maturity attained by the poor peasantry in Somalia. The founding of such an organisation bears witness to their evergrowing sense of discipline and response to active mobilizational efforts. Even though greater priority was given to promote the interests of the majority, the Revolutionary government did not hesitate to promote as well the interests of the other two categories of farmers mentioned above. The revolution essentially aims at the general increase in production.

The Revolution has also spared no efforts in promoting the interests of the other small scale producers. It, for example, put an end to the exploitation of incense workers by those private individuals who claimed to have exclusive possession of incense producing plants. The methods of production and marketing of incense have also been improved for the benefit of incense workers who are now organised in cooperatives.

The founding of the OSCM lays the basis for greater collective solidarity necessary for removing all remaining obstacles confronting all sorts of small producers in Somalia. Somali Cooperative members will undoubtedly play a great role in the building of a strong socialist economy keeping in mind Jaalle Siyaad's words at the Congress: «Learn and promote production».



The Invalidity of Euro-Ethiopian Agreements

By: YUSUF E. ROBLE

A persual of the texts of the treaties of Protection concluded between the Somali people and the Colonial powers, (Viz Britain, France and Italy) at the turn of the 19th Century would testify convincingly to the Somali contention that these binding agreements were made solely to preserve the territorial integrity of lands inhabited by Somalis in the face of the real threat of the territorial aggrandizement on the part of Emperor Menelik II of Abyssinia.

The Preamble to the 1884-85 Treaties of Protection between Britain and Somali tribes unambiguously sets out the *raison d'être* of these agreements. The said preamble reads:-

«We the undersigned elders of (clan inserted here) are desire of entering into an agreement with the British Government for the maintenance of our independence the preservation of order and other good and sufficient reasons».

The British Government in a supplementary general Treaty in 1886 solemnly covenanted to protect the Somali people and their territories. Article I of the treaty reads:-

«1. The British Government, in compliance with the wish of the undersigned elders of (clan inserted here) hereby undertake to extend to them and to the territories under their Authority and jurisdiction the gracious favour and protection of her majesty the Queen - Empress».

The Treaty of Friendship and Protection concluded between Fran

ce and the Somali Chiefs in Obok in March 26, 1885 was medelled on these signed between the Somalis and Britain. Article I of the Franco-Somali Treaty reads:-

«I There shall henceforth be eternal friendship between France and the chiefs of the Issa».

«II. The chiefs of the Issa band over their country to France that she may protect it against all foreigners».

The Treaty of 1889 concluded between Italy and North-Eastern Somalis also stressed those principles of territorial integrity and protection against external danger that were the cornerstone of the other Treaties of protection between Somalis and other colonial powers. The third paragraph of the treaty runs thus:-

«We have placed our country and all our possession, from Ras Awad to Ras El-kayle (Wadi-Nugal being the farthest limit) under the protection and Government of his Majesty's.»

Perhaps by for the most succinct interpretation given by the British Government to the various treaties of protection with African chief or rulers in the 19th century and thereafter is that of Consul Hewit. the British representative in West Africa in a letter to ruler of OPO-BO in 1884, in which inter alia, he states that:

«The Queen does not want to take your country or your markets but at the same time she is anxious

that no other nation should take them, She undertakes to extend her gracious power and protection which will leave your country still under your Government»

2. The juridical Status of Protectorates

Jurists are divided on the status of «Protectorates» in international law. Some hold the view that because of their dependent status, protectorates are subjects of International law. (Kelsen: the Principles of International law). The majority, however, are of the persuasion that protectorates despite their dependency retain their peculiar international personality and are subjects of international law. The latter view is supported by no less an authority than Gerald Fitzmaurice who writes in this connections:-

The word «Protectorate» is often used to describe not merely a protected state in the proper sense but territories such as tribal ones under the indignous chiefs, which have not the characteristics of states at all and lack statehood. So long as an entity remains a protectorate, it may be dependent but it is an international personality and is in some possession of external sovereignty» Writing on the same subject, oppenheim adds:

«The characteristics of a protectorate are such that they always possess in certain respects their position in the family of nation and remain an International personality and are subjects of international law».

The International Court of Justice in its decision in the celebrated case of «the rights of U.S. Nationals in Morocco (1952)» remarks thus:

«Morocco remained a state although it concluded an agreement of a contractual nature with France by which France undertook certain sovereign rights in name and on behalf of Morocco».

Georg Schwarzenberger commenting the above ruling wrote:

«The establishment of the protectorate did not deprive Morocco of its personality in International law».

The foregoing quotations from some of the most eminent law jurists demonstrate that a protectorate retains its sovereignty and remains a subject of International Law, even though such sovereignty may be partially exercised through the Protector State. J.E.S. Fawcett writes in this regard.

«The fundamental characteristics of a territory under British Protection, from which all else follows, is that it is not part of H.M. dominions, but is a foreign territory. The crown-in-right of the United Kingdom therefore has jurisdiction. but not sovereignty territories' under its protection». (The British Commonwealth in Int. Law P. 118 (1963).

Perhaps the most definitive statement on the subject of the Status of a «Protectorate» is that of British Colonial Secretary in a House of Commons debate on «Somaliland», when he remarked:

«His Majesty does not possess full sovereignty there (Somaliland) but has for many years possessed full powers of Administration and Jurisdiction by virtue of usage and sufferance under the 1884 Tre-

ties». (Parliamentary debates Vol 304. 1934 - 35 July 4th. Col. 6).

The above brief survey of the subject of the legal status of «Protectorates» establishes that the Somali people on entering into solemn contractual agreements with the colonial powers never intended to transfer territorial sovereignty to the European powers.

Inter-European colonial «Agreements» and Euro-Ethiopian Treaties.

Subsequent to the various Treaties of Protection with the Somalis, the 3 European colonial powers (viz, Britain, France and Italy) initially carved up Somali territories among themselves as «sphere of influence» in flagrant disregard of all the fundamental principles enshrined in the Treaties of Protection and Later concluded with colonialist Abyssinia a new set of arrangements in violation of the Somalo-European Protection Treaties and the Inter-European arrangements.

The 1897 Euro-Abyssinian «Treaties» enabled Abyssinia to acquire illegally a large part of the Somali territory in addition to Harar which she had earlier occupied by force with the connivance and support of the European Imperialists.

In this modest endeavour we shall attempt to set out in some detail the salient features pertaining to the various agreements and the motives that propelled the European colonial powers to abandon large areas of Somali territory to colonial Abyssinia. And here I use the word «abandon» intentionally in lieu of the entirely different legal term «cede» which we contend cannot be legally applied to the case in point.

a) The Franco-Abyssinian Treaty of 1897.

France's colonial interests in the Horn of Africa were two fold: (1)

to secure a port on the Red sea so as to protect her vast imperial interests in the Far East, (II) to gain the friendship of imperialist Abyssinia which would give her Commercial privileges and also advance her long-ranges interests in the Nile head - waters. It was in pursuit of the afore-stated goals that a French Mission travelled to Addis Ababa in 1897 to discuss the question of delimitation and subsequently signed the so-called Franco-Abyssinian Treaty of 1897 with Menlik II. This colonial agreement, as we shall show subsequently, was contrary to (i) all the principles and provisions solemnly embodied in the Treaties of Protection that France made with the Somalis, and (ii) the provisions of the 1888 Anglo-French «arrangements» appertaining to the boundary between the French and British protectorates. The 1888 Anglo-French arrangement referred to define the inland depth of the French Protectorate to Gildessa and beyond towards Harar; the so-called Franco-Abyssinian Treaty of 1897 reduced the depth to Jalelo.

b) The Angola-Abyssinia «Treaty» of 1897.

The above subject is best treated in a tract published by the Somali Government in June 1974 under the title «the portion of Somali territory under Ethiopian colonisation», and here I shall take the liberty to quote extensively from that publication in relation to this question. When dealing with this topic the publication reads as follows:

«In 1897 Britain also sent a mission to obtain among other things, Menelik's approval to the «delimitation» of their Somali possessions» in the Horn of Africa. This mission struck a bargain with Menelik and on May 14, 1897 Britain and Abyssinia reached an «agreement». Under this agreement notes were exchanged between the

British and the Abyssinian representatives aiming at the delimitation of their frontiers. In this exchange of notes Britain clearly gave away Somali territory which had never been part of Abyssinia. Asked by the British Representative, Mr. Rodd, for an assurance that it will be his «special care» that the Somalis so ceded shall not be «losers by this transfer of suzerainty», Menelik replied that the «Somalis who may by boundary arrangements become subjects of Ethiopia shall be well treated and have orderly government». This so-called Anglo-Abyssinian Treaty amounted to a breach of the earlier Anglo-Italian arrangement of 1894 and also violated the Anglo-Somali Treaties of Protection of 1884-1886.

The fact that the British made substantial territorial concessions to Abyssinia can in no way be challenged. When the British Government was negotiating with Menelik II with regard to the conclusion of the so-called Treaty of 1897, the British representative had the instruction: «You are authorized, if absolutely necessary, to make concessions in regard to the frontiers of the Somali - land Protectorate as defined in the Anglo-Italian protocol of 1894 provided such concessions are not of a nature to interfere with the main object for which the protectorate was assumed, namely the securing of adequate supplies for the support of Aden».

The reasons that led Britain to abandon Somali territories in favour of Abyssinia were threefold:

- 1) Assurances by Menelik not to allow the passage of arms to the Mahdists in the Sudan.
- 2) To persuade Ethiopia not to allow France which was engaged in furthering her colonial interests in the Nile to penetrate through Abyssinia and;
- 3) To safeguard the ever-growing British Commercial interests.

It was clearly brought out by Mr. Rennel Rodd, the Head of the British Mission to Menelik, in his report on the negotiations that the territory surrendered by Britain to Abyssinia under the so-called Treaty of 1897 was a Somali territory and had never been part of Abyssinia: He stated:

«Looking at the way in which the frontier was traced, Menelik exclaimed: But you are advancing right up to the gates of Harar; I pointed out that it was Abyssinia which had advanced up to us; that we were the revisionaries of Egypt in those districts and had established ourselves then by treaties with the Somalis before the Abyssinians had come to Harar. The Emperor then again referred to the ancient limits of Abyssinia.

I asked him how the Somalis who had been established in these regions for so many centuries, could possibly be looked down as included within the ancient limits of Ethiopia».

c) The Anglo - Italian protocol of 1894 and the Italo-Ethiopian Agreements 1897 and 1908.

Italy and Britain as rival protector states of Somali territories banded together in 1894 and initialled a Protocol relating to a delineation of their respective sphere of influence. Under this Protocol Britain, in clear breach of the Treaties of protection with the Somalis, transferred large areas of Somali territories to Italy.

In the wake of her defeat at the hands of Menelik II at Adowa in 1896, Italy was in no mood to resist the territorial expansionism of Abyssinia and accordingly signed an agreement with Menelik II in 1897 under which Italy abandoned her claim to sizable areas of Somali territory including present Ogadenia in favour of the Abyssinian tyrant. This accord was made in flagrant violation of Italy's obligations and promise of protection under the treaties signed with the Somalis in 1889.

On May 16, 1908. Italy and Abyssinia signed a so-called convention purporting to establish boundaries in respect of Italo-Abyssinian possessions of Somali territory.

The invalidity of this so-called convention as other spurious colonial arrangements will be taken up below; suffice it to say that the exact interpretations of the 1897 and 1908 «arrangements» have never been agreed upon by Abyssinia and Italy.

The depredations and pillage to which the Somali nation was mercilessly subjected to in 1897 and preceding years are graphically portrayed by Professor Tom J. Farer in his book, «War clouds on the Horn of Africa».

«All in all, 1897 was a banner year for Ethiopia. Each of its European, colonial neighbours had sharply contracted its territorial claims and manifested a pressing desire for Ethiopian friendship. It was now evident that Friendship would be given only on terms of absolute equality. There would be no more nonsense about Protectorates. A great year for Ethiopians; a black one for Somalis, although, since they were neither consulted before nor informed after the agreements, it was years before they would appreciate what had happened».

The essence of the Somali argument vis-avis the Treaties of protection has always been that the said Treaties never contemplated nor granted to the colonial authorities the legal right to «cede» Somali territories.

Mr. John Drysdale — an outstanding British Authority on Somali history — writes in his book «The Somali Dispute».

«The burden of the Somali arguments was that in their treaties with Britain in 1884-85 they did not transfer territory to the British

Grown, but sought on the withdrawal of the forces of the Khedive of Egypt, arrangements with the British Government which would effectively maintain their independence and the preservation of order. In return the Somalis agreed not to cede any portion of the territories inhabited by them. Further treaties in 1886 invited the British Government to undertake the protection of their territories. Thus the Somalis considered that the 1897 Anglo-Ethiopian Treaty (like-wise the 1894 Treaty with Italy) and the more recent 1954 agreements were violations of the 1884-86 Angola - Somali treaties and in so far as the Treaties with Ethiopia purported to transfer Somali territory to Ethiopia, they were invalid; the action of Great Britain was therefore unlawful».

The British rejoinder to the Somali argument is to recognise their obligation under the treaties of protection, but attribute a superior status in International law to agreements subsequently concluded with Ethiopia and Italy involving the transfer of Somali territories. On the occasion of a commons debate on the 1954 Ethio - British agreement, the then British colonial Secretary remarked,

«The 1897 treaty is an International instrument, whereas the other agreements were not... (Hansard, Parliamentary debates 1954).

In the light of the above-stated, the treaties of Protection that the 3 European colonial powers entered into with the Somalis would be presumed to be governing acts of those states in relations to Somali territories. The said treaties were International instruments and as such would be regulated by the General principles of International Law applicable to such agreements. A basic such principle is that International accords must be strictly observed and states should refrain from entering into any other contractual obligations adverse to or inconsis-

tent with pre-existing obligations. In the present case, the colonial authorities having concluded treaties with the Somali people for the protection of their territories could not validly transfer such territories without the consent or knowledge of the protected. The question could be more legally framed thus: WERE THE EURO-COLONIAL POWERS LEGALLY ENTITLED TO CEDE SOMALI TERRITORIES TO ONE ANOTHER OR TO ETHIOPIA?

Cession is defined as the transfer of territorial sovereignty or the title to territory from one state to another. The act of cession involves a renunciation in favour of the latter of the right and title which the former may have to the territory in question.

We have already shown that the colonial powers did not possess territorial sovereignty in relation to the Somali Territories over which they exercised jurisdiction and therefore could not validly have ceded such territories to third States.

It follows the Ethiopian Government, for instance, can not invoke or rely on invalid agreements purporting to cede territories to her, for the title that cession confers is derivative in the sense that its validity is dependent upon the validity of the title of the ceding State - *memoria plus plus juris transferro potest quam ibse habet*.

The above proposition is amply supported by the Island of Palmas case, in which the USA based its claim partly on the Treaty of Paris of 1898 which transferred to the USA all rights, of sovereignty which Spain might have possessed in a certain region said to include the contested Island. The Arbitrator held the Treaty could not be regarded as conclusive for «it is evident that Spain could not transfer more rights than she herself

A careful analysis of the historical antecedents to the 1897 and 1908 treaties would establish beyond all reasonable doubt that the accords were secured or forced on the European colonial authorities by fear of a real threat from a militarily ascendant Menelik (vide Supra). Under the circumstances it can not be disputed that such treaties are void on ground of coercion or duress.

It cannot also be controverted that the «colonialist» boundary treaties symbolise a monument of injustice and a denial of one of the most basic human rights — that of self-determination of peoples.

As the distinguished British jurist, Dr. D.W. Bowett, aptly remarks: «... title to territory, whatever its treaty origin, must be consistent with the right of self-determination in order to qualify for acceptance in the charter era».



The Birth and Growth of the Cooperatives

By: YASIN GELLE

HISTORICAL BACK GROUND:

The concept of the cooperative movement emerged in the nineteenth century. It has been propounded by the Utopian socialists, such as, Robert Owen, Saint Simon and others. These theoreticians endeavoured for a long time to implement their cooperative ideas. They

observed this as the only solution for the misery, injustice and oppression that prevailed in these societies. They resorted to attain socialism through cooperatives and to eliminate oppression and exploitation. The fact is that they were not victorious in their plans, on

the one hand they could not conceive the methods of implementing cooperatives concepts due to the stiff opposition of the bourgeois which was a potent force. Robert Owen, who was a British economist propagated the ideas and concept of cooperatives in England in the year 1771-1858. He tried to transform the society of that country into a cooperative Society. He tried to convince the proletariat about the advantage of the cooperative system. Marx, referring to the deligence of these theorists, especially Robert Owen said that it was an indelible task which bore the fruits of the cooperatives movement. Saint Simon and Charles Fourier also played a significant role in the cooperative movement in 1760 — 1837. This revived the history of the cooperatives movement once again. Hence cooperatives of the new type emerged in the industrial centres where proletariat worked. They were the vanguard of the progressive forces in their struggle for political and economic emancipation. This type of cooperatives were founded in 1840 by 28 workers and was implemented on 24th October 1844. The main objectives for the formation of this cooperative was to safe guard its members from the excessive oppression and exploitation of the bourgeois in food prices and other essentials. The basic principles of this cooperative were:

1. To sell a commodity with good quality and correct weight.
2. To sell the commodity in cash with moderate price.
3. Profit is shared with regard to selling (the profit of the person is the amount he buys from the shop of the cooperative).
4. Part of the profit of the cooperative should be used in educating its members.
5. Every individual should be free to vote (one man one vote).

Hence, cooperatives discovered their principles in order to under-

stand the concept and advantage of cooperatives. This later engendered the immediate propagation of the cooperative formation in Europe.

In 1913 there were approximately 3,000,000 members in the cooperatives and this reached 7,000,000 members in 1914. In England 1,000 cooperatives were established. These tasks evoked the implementation and value of cooperatives for the societies in all countries of the world.

COOPERATIVES OF THE NEW TYPE:-

After this period the idea of cooperation spread through out the World. This movement was headed by the workers and farmers to prevent exploitation.

The Formation of the cooperatives was realised after the proletariat armed with the principles of scientific socialism seized power. The first proletariat revolution occurred in the Soviet Union. This fostered the oppressed societies and furnished them with the cooperative idea, of technology and skill, devoid of oppression and exploitation, as well as lacking economic competition and social contradictions. Consequently this trend has enhanced the qualitative and quantitative change of the cooperatives and the birth of international cooperation with a common leading body having its headquarters in London. The present figure of the cooperatives is more than 500 million members.

The 22nd session of this organisation which was held at Moscow discussed the validity of the principles of Rochdale at the present era. A committee selected for this purpose introduced to the 23rd congress the following points, which was unanimously agreed, with special consideration to the Lenin's principles of cooperatives.

-1. That cooperatives membership is optional where there is no im-

position or prohibition regardless of social, religion or race and membership is opened to any body who is capable and ready to fulfil membership responsibilities.

2. A cooperative is a democratic organization run by a committee selected among its members. These members have the right to vote, elect, and also to manage the accounts of their cooperative.

3. To invest equal capital and receive the profit equally with regard to the work of the individual.

4. Every cooperative should make a budget for training its members, workers and the society in general.

5. Cooperative organizations should have mutual relation with in the national and international spheres.

Accordingly, the cooperatives of many countries reached a rapid bers the agricultural cooperatives man cooperatives had nearly 3.M. members. France 2.M, and Russia 2M. The first developed cooperatives were the food producing ones to the work of the individual. and fishing cooperatives.

The objective of the food cooperatives was to sell their products at a normal price among its members the agricultural cooperatives emerged all at once, especially the marketing and selling ones. However cooperative movements emerged with the advent of the independence of their countries. This movement was inline with their developmental plans and their economic base.

The colonialists were against the idea of cooperatives in order to avoid the birth of antagonistic economic or political power. But every country had its own traditional and cultural cooperation for their struggle against nature.

THE BIRTH OF SOMALI COOPERATIVES:

Since Somalia is one of the developing countries the history of her cooperatives is not a remote one. In the precolonial era, the Somali farmers and nomads lived in a subsistence economy. They had a traditional cooperation in farming, watering the animal, and defence against wild beasts. There was no oppression or exploitation apart from that of nature. Trade and fishing were lagging and technology was primitive.

The era of colonialism did not bring about any development but was marked by robbery, murder and exploitation, of the Somali farmers and nomads. The traditional cooperation was replaced by the forced labour of the farmers to till the looted farms, the fishermen had to supply small industries established by the colonialist bourgeois. The workers in those establishments had no right of their labour apart from their daily consumption. This state of affairs forced them to be slaves economically and mentally.

The long struggle waged by our people to attain their independence was wasted. The problems of the toiling classes remained unsolved during the Neo-colonial period the cooperatives formed were:-

A) Some were formed to steal the national property (taking debts without investing or returning).

B) The right people like the farmers and fishermen etc, were not allowed for membership. Membership was confined to the ministers, deputies and tribal chiefs.

C) The true cooperatives were hindered.

D) There was no legal administration.

Oppression and exploitation on the toiling masses further developed. These reasons were among the causes of the 21st October Revolution of 1969.

The October Revolution firmly established the real type of cooperatives. The objective of forming these were to cope with the interests of the peasants and proletariat. A new law was set forth to safeguard their interests, like article 40 which concerns the development and encouragement of the cooperatives, article 73 which limits the land ownership to 30 hectares by irrigation means and 60 hectares for each family by water rain. No limit was placed on the cooperatives and state owned farms. They are in a position to utilise as much land as they afford with the condition of multiplying production qualitatively and quantitatively. The objectives behind the formation of cooperatives are as follows:-

1. To increase production.
2. To shorten the gap between the rural and urban centres in the education, health and discipline aspects.
3. To mould politically conscious and skilled cadres.
4. To eliminate the evils of tribalism and ignorance and to create harmony and mutual co-existence.

Our cooperatives have fulfilled these objectives although not yet to the maximum level. The SRSP the vanguard of our society has gi-

ven special consideration to the formation and growth of cooperatives. The number of cooperatives multiplied since the birth of the Revolution. The Number of registered cooperatives on the national level are 345 with 37,313 members. There are 258 agricultural cooperatives consisting of 47 multipurpose cooperatives and the remaining 211 are production cooperatives. The members in the agricultural cooperatives are 25,984. The district and regional level cooperatives are not included in the above figures. It is imperative to tackle the problems which hinder the development of the cooperatives. Such problems include lack of investment and instruments, their political consciousness and skill still lagged behind. The multiplicity agencies dealing with the cooperatives made some of them contribute to the inefficiency of their administrative bodies.

Now, the cooperatives are in a position to establish their own union which will help them in the following spheres:-

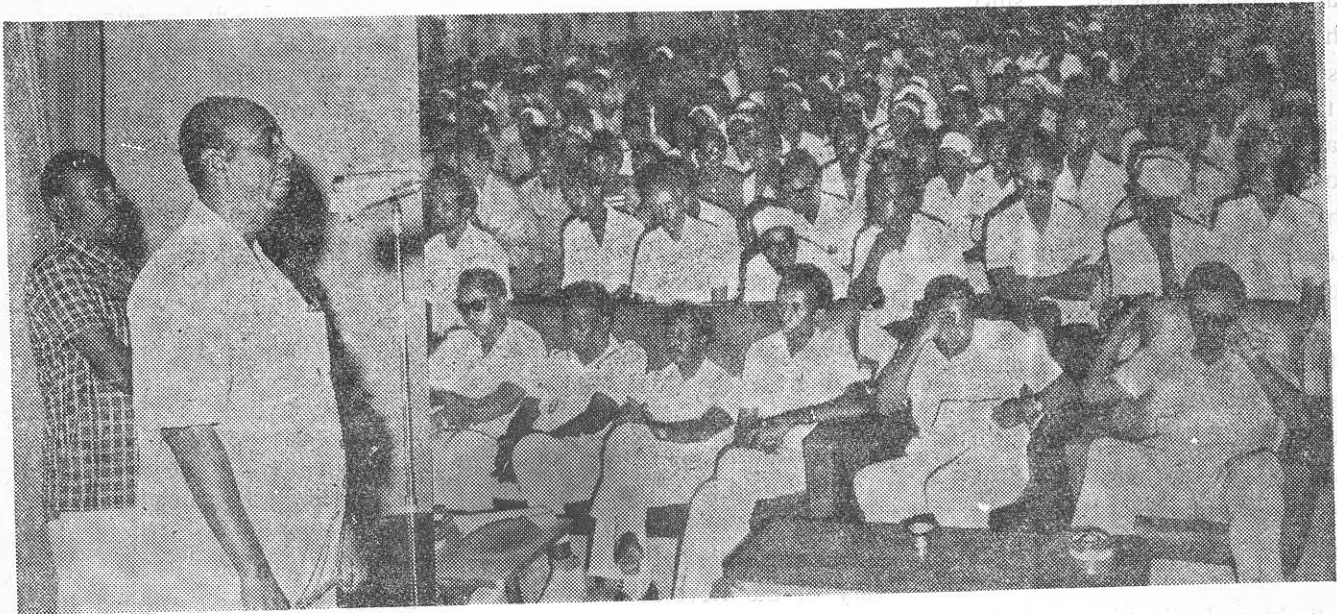
1. The fulfillment of the programme and statute of the Party.
2. Safeguard the interests of the cooperatives.
3. Foster socialist ideology.
4. Implement the national plan.
5. Provide good relations among the social organisations internally and externally.

For that reason, the present preparation of the 1st Congress for the establishment of cooperative organization is under way. Its formation is meant to be inline with the other social organizations.

PARTY LIFE



Jaalle Siad Opened a Seminar at El - Jaalle Centre



Man needs to acquire modern skills and knowledge so as to be prepared for the maximum utilization of land and sea resources. This is in line with the aspirations of the 21st October revolution which lay due significance to the knowledge and political consciousness that the Somali masses are provided. On one hand this prepares for every member of the Somali society to efficiently carry out his required role of decision — making in the political and socio-economical needs of the nation. On the other, this will facilitate one's productive contribution to the development of all aspects of the Somali life. At first situational plans and programmes are laid down for every course-study or seminar in such a way as to meet the basic needs of a certain group while at the same time fulfilling the common inte-

rests of the whole nation. Then all the different groups who acquire the study should prove the fruits of their knowledge by mobilizing others and orienting them to the most productive form of carrying out a required duty.

Thus, on 13th December 1977, the President of the SDR Jaalle Mohamed Siyad Barre opened a seminar of this kind at El Jaalle Centre in Marka District. The number of the seminar participants were 299 comprising the Somali elders i.e Nabadons, Samadons and religious elders from all the regions of the SDR.

This seminar was organized by the Ministry of Local Governments and Rural development. The duration of the course was 45 days in which the promotion of political consciousness and the orientation

to governmental administration was to be intensively taught. The main objective was to guide the learners in this seminar how to transmit the knowledge on the above mentioned areas.

On this occasion the General Secretary of the SRSP delivered a speech in which he at first reflected the long termed struggle of the Somali nation for the sake of independence. Then he pointed out the deteriorated conditions before the 21st October Revolution and compared it to the progress achieved in all aspects of life during the revolutionary era.

In his speech, Jaalle Siyad also mentioned the colonial conspiracy through which the Somaliland was partitioned and left to suffer the inherited colonial problems. Nevertheless, the President proudly proclaimed that, «the gallant Somali nation

has not only been conscious about these colonial problems but waged a freedom seeking struggle which realized the liberty and unification of two of those regions in July 1st 1960.

The President again emphasized the cause of the Somali Revolution and mentioned several victories achieved since then. In one of these statements Jaalle Siyad declared that, «the first revolutionary steps to satisfy the needs of the Somali society was to struggle against the three enemies of humanity i.e. illiteracy, hunger and disease.»

Also, the General Secretary of the SRSP described tribalism as a hideous monster and alleged those who still exercise it with «lack of morality, weak personality and lack of self-confidence».

Besides, Jaalle Siyad declared the courageous stand of the SDR toward the Western Somali cause in their just struggle against the colonialism of the Addis-Ababa regime. The President supported his reasoning by referring to the Muqdisho Declaration by the African leaders whose unanimously agreed decisions fully support all African Liberation Movements and explicitly declare the armed struggle as the only means to exterminate colonialism.

The President concluded his speech by urging the seminar participants to make the maximum use of all the study courses and guided them to transmit this knowledge to their Somali brothers, in the rural areas, who couldn't have the opportunity to take part in the seminar.

Others also present in the opening of this seminar were

chairmen of several Bureaus, Ministers, other members of the central committee of the SRSP and high officials from the region of lower shabelle. The

President was welcomed to deliver that speech by the Minister of local governments and rural development L/Col. Abdirasaq Mohamed Abukar.

Conferences discussed the situation in the Horn.

Whenever the struggle of the Somali people against underdevelopment, imperialism and its forms to ensure their full independence and development enters a new phase the Secretary General of the SRSP President of the Somali Democratic Republic is accustomed to define for the Somali people and the international community the path of the policy of the Somali Revolution.

Starting from the 8th anniversary of the Revolution which occurred on 21st October 1977 Jaalle Siyad delivered historical speeches to the Somali people and the international community. These speeches were delivered on different occasions such as the celebration of the 8th anniversary of the Somali Revolution, the Id-Al-Adha, and the demonstrations for supporting the historical decisions of the Central Committee of the SRSP on 13th November 1977. In his speeches the President dealt with important issues concerning the existence and future trend of the Somali nation, the good of the peoples of the world in general and especially those who are still struggling for their rights to self-determination.

Among the most important issues in these speech in which the people hailed were; the situation in the horn, and the strained relations between Somalia and USSR. Albeit the decisive stand of Jaalle Siyad

there were manipulations from the reaction and their proteges who tried to deviate these resolutions for the benefit of their specific interests. This became conventional for the reactions and saboteurs to delude the masses when-ever there is a genuine decision by the Somali Revolution.

When the decisions of 13th November concerning the new steps taken by the SDR on the relations between us and the Soviet Union on one hand and SDR and Cuba on the other engendered by the full support of these countries to the fascist regime in Addis Ababa, the reactionaries propagated that «Both the Russians and their socialism were suspended». These people erroneously consider socialism as an asset of the Russians. They also blame Socialism to the crimes committed by the Soviet Union against the liberation movements which is also a crime against socialism.

In order to satisfy the people and provide them a comprehensive outlook of the situation an orientation programme was carried out in the headquarter of the SRSP explaining the essence and philosophy behind the speeches of the secretary general mentioned above.

To implement this programme, conferences were held on the first weeks of December in the 14 districts of the Banadir Region and their respective vil-

lages in which all residents participated. The first phase of these conferences which was district level was participated by members of the Central Committee of the SRSP. the second phase, the village level was further explained by the functionaries of the party Bureaus.

These speeches and conferences manifested the long objectives behind the speeches of the secretary General and moulded the people with revolutionary vigilance to be aware of the cheap propoganda propagated by the reactionaries and anti-revolutionary elements. Special consideration was given to the issues vaguely explained by the reactionaries concerning the somali people and the strained relations between Somalia and the Soviet Union.

The people were reminded the history of the Abyssinian colonisation and their occupation of these territories as told by Jaalle Siyad: this portrays the true nature of the wars raging in the Horn of Africa. This is a war of liberation waged by peoples who have been for long under the Abyssinian colonial subjugation. Somalia is following the path of its policy in which it declared on the eve of the revolution and a task of the socialist doctrine the material and moral support of the peoples struggling for their freedom.

Also, in these conferences were explained, the reasons which brought the 13th November decisions to break the diplomatic relations between Somalia and Cuba and the abrogation of the friendship Treaty between Somalia and the Soviet Union, the evacuation of the Soviet experts and the abolishing of their military facilities. It was further discussed that the

reasons that prompted these decisions were the full support of these States to the Abyssinian colonialists to subdue the just struggle of the peoples struggling for their freedom, including the Somali people in the Abyssinian occupied territories and the participation of these States in an out right aggression aimed to invade the Somali Democratic Republic. As mentioned earlier by the Secretary General, although the Soviet Union did not declare openly yet they practically abrogated the friendship Treaty before.

The Somali people were also

explained, reminding the directives of the president, the false propoganda which said that socialism belonged to the Soviet Union and vanished after them. It was further explained that socialism is not a property of some people but is a universal doctrine that can be applied by any one who wants to build a new and sound Society on the basis of the general theories laid by Marx, Engles and Lenin and considering the particular features and conditions of every country. Somalia has taken socialism for the welfare of its people and will continue to do so without any imposition.

Activitis of Party Organisations in the Districts:

A) EL - WAQ

Like other districts of the country, El-waq district contains 10 cells and 3 divisions of the SRSP which fulfills the tasks of the party in that district.

After the establishment of the party committee in the district meetings were held to plan for projects which were to continue over a long period. Generally, this plan emphasised two main points:

1. To increase production
2. To raise the political consciousness of the people in general and in particular the party members and functionaries. The main points of this plan conducted by the party committee of El-waq district bears:
 - a) To organize seminars for the members of the social organisations, each lasted for a period of 45 days so as to develop their political conciousness.
 - b) To arrange general inspection once every month to the villages of the district cooperatives and all centres of production.
 - c) To supervise the economic activities of the district;

d) To enhance, the establishment and implementation of the cooperatives with especial consideration to the particular features of that district.

This was the plan set forth by the party committee of El-waq district to fulfill their responsibility and carry out the social development in general. Also, following the directives of the Secretary General of the SRSP Jaalle Siyad, which concerned the education of Party members, various seminars and training are conducted. Among these are:-

1. 30 days Seminar opened on Nov. 1976 for learning the statute and programme of the S.R.S.P
 2. 15 days seminar opened on Jan. 1977, which concerned methods of administiring party affairs and related tasks.
- Apart from these Seminars, permanent Education was arranged for the party members to increase their general Knowledge. This was mainly categorised into elementary and intermediate Education.

B) LUQ - GANAANE

September 1976 will remain a historical day at Luq-Ganane district. On that day, it was for the first time introduced in the district, a branch of the party of the new type (SRSP). Like in all other districts in the Republic, preparations and inspective tour were made before the establishment of the SRSP branch in the district. The historical date mentioned above, was the day in which it was officially announced the formation of the committees of the SRSP at Luq-Ganane district and handed over their responsibilities.

The next step to be taken was the establishment of the divisions and cells of the party at working places and other productive sectors, and at the residential quarters of the towns and villages of the district. There are 6 cells and 4 Divisions at Luq district. As it is known the cells and divisions are the foundation of fulfilling the tasks of the party of the new type. Following the establishment of the SRSP, the reorganization of the social organizations, which are the forces supporting the party and they are the link between the masses and the vanguard party.

After the establishment of the S.R.S.P; branch at Luq, the statute and the programme of the party was introduced. All efforts were made to make sure that the party members and cells understand the way to implement the statute and the programme of the party. In order to achieve this, seminars, debate and discussions were opened to the party members of the district.

A Permanent education programme which had two aims was opened to all the members

of the party cells; on one hand it was aiming at raising their level of political consciousness and on the other hand it was to raise general education of the members. In the same way it was done to raise the level of consciousness of the social organizations. This facilitated for the committees of the S.R.S.P at Luq the fulfillment of their revolutionary tasks.

The tasks of the committees were not confined to the political issues mentioned above, but the district party committee had worked to the most of their ability in fulfilling all their responsibilities. They have done a lot in taking care of the economy of the district and encouraging production.

Following the decisions of the 3rd session of the CC of the

SRSP and the directives of the Political Bureau and the Council of Ministers, the district party committee has drawn up a district programme in order to implement the decision which is calling for: An increase in production and in the general development of the economy of the country in order to reach self-sufficiency.

A Programme was set up to mobilize the farmers in making them understand the decision of the 3rd session of the CC of the SRSP by encouraging them to increase production.

A Farm jointly owned by all the social organizations (workers, youth and women) was introduced so that it can serve as model to the farmers of the district.

Activities of the Working Youth

The Somali youth have proved their dedication and potentiality in numerous nation building activities. Organisations, researches and plans are the pre-requisite to the success in their accomplishments.

Recently, the organisation of a Central Committee for the Somali Revolutionary youth union has been successfully established. Hence every department of the Union commenced to lay down job oriented plans as to mobilize the members of the youth union towards the required duties.

All such actions were collec-

tively performed and due importance was given to the right of every youth member in decision-making and in being oriented to every new development. Accordingly, on 11th December 1977 a meeting was held at the head-quarters of the SRYU in which the Chairman of the SRYU, the Executive Committee and all the members of the working youth in Banadir region have participated.

This meeting marked the completion of the afore-mentioned - several week-assignments; concerning the membership rights and the organizations of

Committees for the working youth.

First, the secretary of the working youth department and co-operatives presented the job-oriented plan that was projected for the working youth in this new year. Also, he called out the Comrades elected as the secretariat for the working youth. More-over, the organizational frame-work of the six-unions comprising the working youth, the Comrades elected for chairmen and vice - Chairmen was declared in that meeting.

a detailed speech was delivered by the Chairman of the SRYU,

Jaalle Mohamed Warsame, a member of the Central Committee of the SRSP. In his speech the Chairman of the SRYU reflected the long struggle of the Somali Youth, then pointed out the required role to satisfy the needs of the present conditions of the Somali nation. He continued emphasizing the urgent requirements under such conditions and urged the youth to bear the burden laid on their shoulders.

As a result of these new organizational establishment the youth got involved in extra-projected activities in Dece. 1977. The main two were waged to

struggle against natural catastrophe that would otherwise resulted unmeasurable disaster to many citizens of Banadir region. One of these was caused by heavy rains that destroyed the dwellings of many people and endangered their lives. Fortunately, the voluntary help of the youth deserve unchallengable gratitude in the collective rescuing of the lives of these people. The other was caused by sand - dunes that approached the buildings of Hamar-Jabjab district. Here also a collective campaign was waged to stop the extension of the sand-dunes and the hand offered by the youth had great significance.

New Steps taken by the Trade Unions of the Banadir Region

The first congress held by the Trade Union of the Banadir region took place on December 12, 1977 at the Headquarters of the union in Mogadishu.

This was preceded by district level meetings held in all the districts of the Banadir region on 2nd December, 1977. In this meeting the District trade union discussed, the tasks fulfilled, those which were not fulfilled and the reason for their short comings.

This was followed by the regional congress which was participated by the trade unions of the 14 districts, executive committee of the regional trade union and comrades who were member of the secretariat of the GFS-TU. Also the meeting was participated by delegates representing youth and women organisations of the region, who gave full support and encouraged their brother workers.

During the congress the re-

volutionary pioneers from Waberi, Hawlwadaag, Shibis, Yaqshid and Daynile districts, together made revolutionary performance and entertainments. This was an expression of the mutual cooperation between the Somali Revolutionary Youth and GFSTU.

The agenda of the congress was to study in depth the tasks fulfilled since the foundation of the union and to draw the new year programme for the trade union of the Banadir region. This new programme passed during the congress emphasised to give different types of training to the members of the workers of the Banadir region; this programme will facilitate the worker to play a significant role in developing the society. The training programme was as follows:

— 480 regional workers to be trained as teachers, they will

participate in the implementation of the programme of the literacy campaign which is in full swing in the district of the Banadir region. The organization of the programme is directed by the Ministry of Education.

— 200 persons to be trained as red-cross cadres for participation in the preventing of th Communicative diseases and the organization had been consulting the Ministry of Health.

— Members of the quarters committees which numbered 201 are to be trained to study the special results dealing with the liquidation of the black market. The organisation had been consulting the custom duty department of the police force.

— 60 persons are to be trained as traffic policemen in order to perform this task during demonstration and other occasions. The organization had been consulting the traffic department of the police force.

— 42 persons are to be trained in office management in order to get skilled orders in the union officers, who can manage its affairs. The organization had been consulting SIDAM in managing this programme.

In the same occasion, 400 comrades who showed political consciousness, and were among workers who demonstrated diligence were awarded testimonials.

workers committees established in the villages

Before its establishments, the General Federation of the Somali Trade Union (GFSTU) was at district level. However at the middle of December, Workers committee of quarters level were established in all quarters of the Banadir Region districts; where by 1060 comrades became members.

A seminar which lasted for days was opened to the members of the new committee. The seminar dealt with the programme and the statute of the GFSTU and the party leadership of the social organizations. During the seminar, for the first time introduced to the new policy concerning comradely cooperation of the residential trade union.

All the near by districts of the Banadir region were joined together and had seminar at one of the centres.

Hamar-Jabjab, Wabere, Hamar weyne and Wadajir district were joined together and had their seminar at Hamar Jabjab orientation centre.

Abdulaziz, Karan and Shangani were joined and they had their seminar at Abdulaziz Orienta-

tion centre. Bondhere Yaqshid and Shibs were joined together and they had their seminar at Bondhere Orientation Centre.

H/Wadaag, Hodan, Wabere and Daynile districts were joined together and they had their seminar at H/Wadag Orientation

G. F. S. T. U and the Arab Trade Unions:-

On the 19th Dec. 77 a delegation led by Jaalle Mohamud Ali Ahmed, Chairman of the G.F. S.T.U and member of the CC of the SRSP arrived here, after paying a friendly visit to Iraq in early December. The delegation was invited by the Iraq Trade Unions. During their stay in Iraq the heads of the delegation signed friendly agreements with the leaders of the Iraq trade Unions.

The core of this bilateral agreement commensurate that the Trade Unions of both sides exchange friendly and official visits.

Both sides agreed:- To cooperate in the information and written documents.

— To exchange invitations during the celebrations and conferences;

— To send Somali workers for training to Iraq

— The Iraq Trade Unions should assist the G.F.S.T.U. in implementing the establishment of workers institute in Somalia.

Also a delegation led by Jaalle Abdullahi Mohamed Mire 1st Vice - Chairman of the G.F. S.T.U. visited Damascus, the the Capital of Syria to participate in a conference concern-

ing the governmental relations that started on the 22nd December for the Arab Trade Unions

The Conference was supposed to discuss the administration and in general the interests of the Arab Trade Unions.

The Delegation was escorted on their departure, in the Mogadishu airport, by Jaalle Mohamud Ali Ahmed, Chairman of the G.F.S.T.U. and member of CC of the SRSP, Jaalle Abdullahi Mohamed Sheegow — 2nd Vice - Chairman of the G.F. S.T.U. and members of the executive committee of the Union.

On 20th Dec. 77 a delegation representing the General Federation of the Egyptian Trade Unions arrived in Mogadisho. The delegation was composed of Mohamed Mohamud Abdirahim member of the Executive Committee of the G F E T U and Jaalle Abas Mohamed Mahamud Chairman of Trade Union for Minerals. During their stay in Somalia the delegation held talks with the heads of the G.F.S.T.U. concerning the relation cooperation and Unity of the Arab Trade Unions. These talks ended in a friendly atmosphere.

The Establishment Of the Mozambique Youth Union

The first congress for the establishment of the Mozambique Youth Union was held at Map-

uto from 30th November to December 5, 1977.

The Congress was participa-

ted by different mass organisations and the youth organisations of the Progressive countries; including the Somali Revolutionary Youth Union.

In order to render the Congress successful, different seminars and meetings were arranged earlier for the preparation of the establishment of the Mozambique youth union. The youth and all the progressive forces in Mozambique played a significant role in establishing the Mozambique youth union. Finally, they implemented the first congress of the foundation of the Mozambique youth union. During the Congress the programme and the statute were drawn and the executive committee elected.

This is among the victories achieved by the youth and the people of Mozambique who are guided by FRELIMO after a long armed struggle waged against colonialism.

After gaining their political independence, the people of Mozambique continued their historical struggle in order to heal the wounds inflicted by the colonialists during the 500 (five hundred) years of occupation in that country. In their struggle they are looking forward to be free economically and socially. The people of Mozambique continue their struggle by using the slogan «A Lutta continua...»

FRELIMO lead the people of Mozambique in their long struggle against colonialism. In its third congress, decision was passed that FRELIMO will be a party guided by the principles of (Marxism-Leninism), so that they can overcome underdevelopment and build a society free from exploitation.

Mozambique, being an Agro-industrial country, can quickly reach progress if the progressive forces hold the leadership and adopt socialism.

By putting this into practice it was inevitable to establish workers, youth, women and intellectual organizations so that they can fulfill their tasks in building the nation.

Thus, in carrying out its internal and external duties, the Somali Revolutionary youth union maintained close cooperation and harmony with the progressive forces of the world with the objective of exchanging experiences gained by the

the peoples in their struggle for gaining full independence.

This resulted in a high regard to be attached to active role of the Somali Youth who have contributed towards nation building tasks, since the birth of the revolution. Among the tangible achievements of the Somali youth were: the implementation of the rural development campaign, the resettlement programme and the sand-dune stabilization campaign.

The Somali and Mozambique youths, both have waged armed struggle in the attainment of their independence and they will never give up their efforts to continue this struggle until they achieve full independence.

The Editorial Board of HALGAN Extend Their Comradely Greetings to The Founding Congress of The Somali Cooperative Movement

World Affairs



The Issue of Western Somalia and The Principle of Territorial Integrity Sanctioned in the OAU Charter

By *Aboud M. Aboud*

Before entering into the heart of the issue itself, it is advisable to give the main historical outlines of the question in order to enlighten the origin of western Somalia's Problem.

It is a well known fact that at the end of the 19th century the European Countries Partitioned Africa among themselves, Somalia was the African country which most resented the consequence of such partition. The Somali people, who is highly homogeneous, speaking the same language, professing the same religion, sharing common culture and customs, saw themselves for the first time divided and submitted to three Colonial powers, namely Britain, France and Italy. These Powers intentionally traced artificial boundaries to their dominions, which were better to serve colonial purposes and interests.

Ethiopia was at that time one of the very few independent African States and to satisfy her expansionist ambition, she occupied, on a footing of equality with the colonial powers, a portion of the Somali territories.

Mr. Bevin, serving as British Foreign Secretary, declared in the House of Commons in 1946: «In the latter part of the century, the Horn of Africa was divided between Great Britain, France and Italy. At about the time we occupied our part, the Ethiopians occupied an inland area which is

grazing ground for nearly half the nomads of British Somaliland».

In 1954 Ethiopia occupied the remaining portion of Western Somalia (Reserved Area and Oga-den) by virtue of the British Ethiopian treaty of 1954. While the other parts of the Somali territory have gained freedom from the colonial powers, Ethiopia is still occupying Western Somalia and denying the population the right of self-determination.

Somali population living in that area has no common feature with the Ethiopian people. Miss Perham writes on this subject: «There is, indeed, every contrast, human and physical, to divide these regions. The religious difference has only served to accentuate all the other differences which have always hindered Ethiopia's attempts to make these surrounding lands her own. They are not only held by Islam against her christianity, they are also lowlands to her mountains». Perham, the government of Ethiopia, 1948.

2. The O.A.U. (Organization of African Unity) is an organization with a regional basis, which came into being by virtue of the Addis Ababa agreement of 23rd May 1963.

Article 3 of the O.A.U. Charter solemnly affirms the principle African Unity, to which the O.A.U. member states pledge themselves to adhere. In particular, No. 3 reads as follows:

«Respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of each state and for its inalienable right to independent existence.»

The issue of territorial integrity was raised also by the Assembly of Heads of states and Governments in its ordinary session held in Cairo from 17th to 21st July 1964 which adopted the following resolution: «Considering that border problems constitute a grave and permanent factor of dissension. Conscious of the existence of extra-African manoeuvres aiming at dividing African states.

Considering further that the borders of African states on the day of their independence constitute a tangible reality, Recalling the establishment in the course of the second ordinary session of the council of the Committee of Eleven charged with studying further measures for strengthening African Unity.

»Recognizing the imperious necessity of settling by peaceful means and within a strictly African framework, all disputes between African States.

Recalling further that all Member States have pledged themselves, under Art. 6 of the Charter of African Unity, to respect scrupulously all principles laid down in paragraph 3 of Article 3 of the Charter of the Organization of African Unity.

1. Solemnly reaffirms the strict respect of all member states

of the Organization for principles laid down in paragraph 3 of Article 3 of the Charter of the O.A.U.

2. «SOLEMNLY DECLARES THAT ALL MEMBERS STATES PLEDGE THEMSELVES TO RESPECT THE BORDERS EXISTING ON THEIR ACHIEVEMENT OF NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE».

3. On the ground of the above, we shall now try to make a juridical analysis of the issue, i.e. to see whether the principle of respect of the territorial integrity, mentioned in Art. 3 of the O.A.U. Charter, and reaffirmed in Resolution No. 16 (1) may be applied in respect of Western Somalia.

First of all, it is to be stressed that the above mentioned principles is included in a «corpus» of provisions contained in the Charter of the O.A.U. The Charter by which the O.A.U. came into being has the value of an International Agreement stipulated by the signatory States. Because of the general establishing that an agreement produces its effects only for the agreeing parties, the rights and obligations established in the dispositions of the Charter produce their effects only in the juridical sphere of the Member States. The population of Western Somalia is a third part as far as the signatory States are concerned, and consequently it cannot be bound by any disposition of the O.A.U. Charter. The principle in respect of territorial integrity cannot therefore be applied in respect of the population of Western Somalia.

Ethiopia insists to consider the Somalia State as the only interested party in the issue and tries to spread the nation of «Somali expansionist ambitions for a greater Somalia.» By doing this, Ethiopia is trying (1) to turn the issue to a simple matter of boundary dispute between two member States of the O.A.U. Thus being able to recall Somalia to the respect due,

as a signatory State, to the principle of the O.A.U. Charter; and (2) to divert the world's attention from the reality of the facts, that there is alien population under its rule which is denied the right of self-determination.

The conclusions reached above are also valid as far as the O.A.U. Resolution No. 16 (1) is concerned. This Resolution was taken solemnly in order to make concrete and tangible what had already been expressed by Art. 3 of the O.A.U. Charter. It does not therefore add any new elements to the question.

We shall now try to examine the following issue:

«Can Ethiopia, from the legal point of view, ask that its territorial integrity be respected?».

In order to give an exhaustive answer, it is necessary, first of all, to establish on which title, if any Ethiopia found its claim on Western Somalia.

The two possible ways for Ethiopia to justify her occupation of Western Somalia are:

- 1) To claim that territory as being part of Ethiopia from time immemorial; or
- 2) To claim that Ethiopia's present boundaries have been determined by international treaties.

History shows beyond any possible doubt that before the partition of Africa, the Abyssinian State did not include the territory of Western Somalia.

«Up to about 1880 the Southern most projection of Abyssinian power was not much more than a hundred miles from Addis - Aba.

«But it was the large quantities of modern firearms that were imported from France and Italy that gave the King of Shoa, later to expand his territories. (Perham, the gov't of Ethiopia, P. 293-4).

Miss Perham also considers that: «It was the new challenge brought by European Powers to Africa and their conception of administrative control within fixed frontiers, which stimulated Menelik to crave out his own empire. Especially after his defeat of the Italians, at Adowa in 1896. He turned his victorious generals to the tasks, which he had begun earlier of pushing out the Ethiopian frontiers to the South and East before European competitors could anticipate him. (Perham, op. cit, p. 61).

Mr. Smith, A.D. on his travel 100 miles North of Lake Rudolf in 1995 met people called «Mela» who had never heard of the word Kaffa nor of the existence of Abyssinians. He concludes « I do not think that Kaffa extends very far South of Abyssinia, or that Abyssinians inhabit the country much below Bonga». (Smith, A.D. through unknown African countries, 1897, P. 319).

From the quoted passages it results clearly how weak and groundless is the thesis that Ethiopia had possessed these territories from time immemorial, although Menelik, doing violence to history, speaks of «the ancient frontiers».

Nor can it be accepted that Ethiopia's frontiers (as far as Western Somalia is concerned) have been determined by international treaties.

The treaties by which Ethiopia was ceded territories by the Colonial Powers have no juridical effect because Great Britain and Italy, being Protecting States, lacked the capacity (sovereignty) to cede the dispute territories, in accordance with the principle: *Nemo plus juris in alium transferre potest quam ipse habet*.

Even if Ethiopian title were acquired by the 1897 and 1908 treaties, that title was never followed by effective occupation and, addi-

tionally, it cannot meet the requirement of contemporary international law that it should be consistent with the right of self-determination of the peoples of the concerned area, which under the United Nations Charter Ethiopia is bound to respect

It appears clearly from the above observations how Ethiopia's justifications for her continued occupation of Western Somalia are inconsistent and groundless. Lacking any juridical title, Ethiopia's possession of these territories ap-

pears as a mere illegal occupation.

Consequently, Ethiopia cannot invoke the respect of the principle of territorial integrity with regard to a territory (Western Somalia) on which she has no legal title.



The Inevitability of The Destruction of Racism

By: BOBE



Innumerable black leaders die in prison cells at the hands of the Vorster regime or remain chained for years inside prisons such as those in Robben Island under unthinkable humiliating and harsh conditions. Steven Biko was not the first black leader to be victimized by the police of the South African-racist minority regime and will surely be not the last to die in such a manner during this period when minority white domination in South Africa is being challenged by the majority blacks.

The fiercest struggle in the world is now in progress in South Africa. With the attainment of independence by the former Portuguese colonies, the curtain that had for long protected the illegal regimes of Vorster and Ian Smith had faded away into the thin air. Since then, the struggle for independence in this part of the world gathered further momentum and we at pre-

sent witness new developments in the region. Among many others, these developments are the result of:

1. The Progressive forces of the world and in particular those of Africa which gained greater strength after the independence of the territories formerly colonized by Portugal out of the former Portuguese territories emerged progressive governments which exert considerable efforts to liberate Zimbabwe and South Africa.

2. The Western countries have realized the inevitability of the downfall of the minority white regimes and are thus making efforts to change their policy towards the region. They are endeavouring to establish black puppet government in the region so as to safeguard their monopolistic interests and guarantee the security of the minority white population.

3. The level of consciousness of the colonized majority was raised to a very high level — the struggle against the minority regimes awakened the masses.

4. To most of the world, racism now appears to be unacceptable, its destruction of which is inevitable.

Since the student's uprising in Soweto on the 16th June 1976, murder, imprisonment and deportation became the sole tools employed by Vorster to cope with the situation. This year alone, 22 black political prisoners died in prisons on injuries at the hands of the brutal Vorster regime. The «Black consciousness» leader, Steven Biko who was 30, and died of fatal brain damages in prison was among them.

Biko's black consciousness movement was the force behind the student's uprising in Soweto. He was their ideologist and was one of the first black leaders to be detained without trial soon after, the uprising.

In the 1960's, Biko headed the South African black University student's Association and later founded the South African Student's Organization which did not limit black consciousness to the students but instead to all blacks. For Biko

Black consciousness was not racism, but the resurrection of Black identity in a society that denies it. Biko's South African students organisations made possible for the convocation of 70 black organisations of which to the day he died he remained its honorary President.

Biko was arrested in a prison at Port Elizabeth, 800 Km. from Pretoria. In an effort to get information related to the black consciousness movement and its leaders from him, the police brutally tortured Biko three weeks later thereby inflicting fatal injuries on his head. He was totally neglected by the police and denied of any access to the prison doctors.

While in a very serious condition, Steven Biko was at midnight thrown into the back of a landrover and driven through 750 miles to Pretoria where he died next day on the 21st of September. He was buried in his hometown, King William, and his funeral was attended by 20,000 persons.

From abroad criticisms poured to South Africa. Inside the country black organisations and newspapers rose in rage condemning the the oppressive and racist policies of the Vorster regime. With the sole purpose of cheating world public opinion, the Vorster regime ordered for an inquest into the prison death of Steven Biko. The inquest was conducted by a court for three weeks. A magistrate then announced that Biko died of brain damage inflicted while he was fighting with the Police. The verdict caused no shock to either the blacks in South Africa or peoples struggling for equality, for they were aware that a fair judgement would never be made by the racist minority Vorster regime.

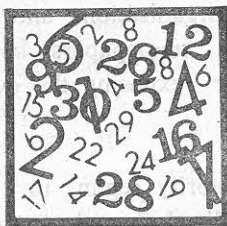
The murder of Biko caused demonstrations which were staged both inside and outside the country. These demonstrations forcefully shook the roots of racism. In retaliation, the Pretoria regime arrested 60 black leaders, banned

19 black organisations and closed down two newspapers; both endowed for exposing the evils of apartheid.

The minority regime in South Africa realized the determination of the black people to break the chains of colonialism. For this reason elections had been held at an earlier date so that the Vorster regime may perpetuate its evil policies.

But the Pretoria regime could not arrest the liberation struggle in South Africa through such acts as murder, imprisonment and banning organisations opposed to racist policies. Oppressions subjected to the black population only prepares them to wage an armed struggle against the racist Vorster regime. And the evil policies of establishing the so-called Transkei, Bantustan etc «homelands» can not be a solution to the black peoples rejection of colonialism and racism.

Comrades;
Dont Miss Your English
Issue of Halgan Every
Month



MONTHLY BULLETIN

SIAD MEETS RATSIRAKA



The President of the SDR, Jaalle Mohamed Siad Barre and a high level delegation, including members of the central committee of the SRSP paid a one-day official visit to the Malagasy Republic late December.

The Visit was the result of an invitation extended to Jaalle Si-

ad by the President of the Malagasy Republic, Mr. Didier Ratsiraka.

The two presidents discussed the situation in the Horn of Africa, bilateral relations and other international issues.

President Siad speaking to newsmen disclosed that in a private talk with the President of the Malagasy Republic, Mr. Ratsiraka, on the peaceful settlement of the problems prevailing in the Horn of Africa. He outlined the means of making the restoration of peace a possible reality, in view of foreign intervention and the seeming absence of an African solution by the African heads of state to remedy the situation.

The Secretary General of the SRSP said that he presented the SDR proposal to President Didier Ratsiraka and declared that Somalia fully supports an African solution to the current problem in the Horn.

«We are not opposing any just solution which is in the interest of the peoples concerned» he said.

Medical Students Graduate

The first group of medical students numbering 17 graduates from the Medical College of National University at Mid-December since the establishment of the College in 1973. The new doctors are also the first group to study medicine locally. President of the SDR Jaalle Mohamed Siad Barre attended the graduation ceremony and presented certificates to the medical students.

The President spoke on the occasion and thanked the College staff, professors and the Italian Government who have made it possible the establish-

ment of the Medical College. He expressed his personal appreciation for the role they have played in the realization of the Revolution's objectives of establishing a local University. «It looked absurd to some people to establish a University here but what we already see is its fruits», he said. The President pointed out that no nation was born endowed with all educational facilities and technology and added that every nation has undergone through hardships in educating its people. He also spoke at length on the successes achieved by students

who have graduated from the local colleges and the problems that were always encountered by students who had their university education abroad.

«Our main objective of establishing the university in Somalia was not only to create enlightened graduates but also to create patriotic students who could lead this country according to its best interests» he stressed.

The President also spoke on the present situation of the country and the role the graduated medical students are ex-

pected to play. On socialism, he said that it is a socio-economic system which can be used for the development of a country, adding that was precisely why we have opted for it. The Sec-

always supported and will continue to support National Liberation Movements in Africa Asia and will oppose colonialism in all its forms. Colonialists never understand their sin-

reached as to the rights of the colonized peoples to regain their lost freedom». On the Somali-Kenya relations, Jaalle Siad that the SDR believes in brotherly and African solution



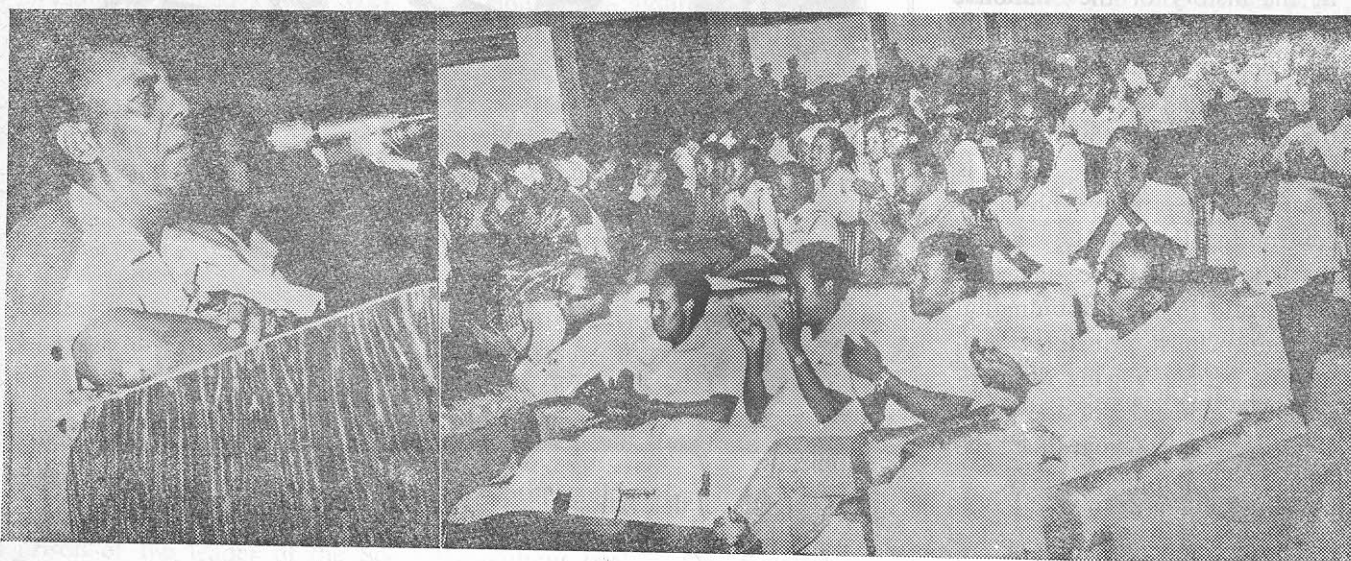
retary General of the SRSP described those who confused the socialist ideology as short-sighted and said that it was a system which any nation could adopt, according to its culture, traditions and peculiar characteristics. He declared that the SDR

ister actions until the colonized people rise and fight them». He continued adding that the current armed struggle in Abyssinian Colonised Somali and Eritrean territories started when a peaceful solution of the problems could not be

for the problem between the two countries.

In Conclusion Jaalle Siad called upon the Somali people to be vigilant in order to defend their sovereignty and to develop their country.

34th Anniversary of the Somali Police Force



The celebrations of the foundation of the Somali Police Force falls on the 20th of Decem-

ber annually. The ceremony marking the 34th Anniversary of the foundation of the police

Force was participated this year by the Secretary General of the SRSP, President of the SDR

Jaalle Mohamed Siad Bare at the Police Academy in Mogadishu.

Present in the ceremony was the Vice-President of the SDR Jaalle Major General Hussein Kulmie Afrah and Brig. General Ismael Ali Abokor, Members of the CC of the SRSP, high-ranking officials of the party, officers of the armed forces and members of the social organisations. The ceremony was marked by shows and sketches performed by the Police and Army bands depicting the long struggles of the Liberation Fronts.

In a speech on the occasion President Siad congratulated the Somali Police Force and their families on behalf of the party and government and wished them victory for the defence and safeguarding of the security of the nation. «Since its foundation in 1943, the Somali Police has passed through various stages and have played a significant role in the struggles of the Somali People for their independence» he said. «It is beyond any doubt that the tasks done by the Somali Police Force have earned a golden page in the history of the nation», stressed the President. Jaalle Siad declared that the police force is a true patriot translating the objectives for which we are struggling into reality and is aware of the many obstacles confronting them. He added that the Somali Police takes an active role in the dissemination of the socialist principles among the people, raising the political consciousness of the people as well as safeguarding the security of public property.

The Commandant of the Somali Police Force Jaalle Brig. General Abdillahi Mohamad Hassan, member of the central Committee of the SRSP, who

spoke on the occasion said; «the Somali Police Force at 34 has played a significant role in the nation-building tasks, maintaining security and safeguarding justice». Jaalle Abdillahi emphasized that the police force ha-

ve fulfilled its national obligation in all spheres, adding that the Somali People force in safeguarding security and national sovereignty, spare no efforts in cooperating with the police to carry out their duties.

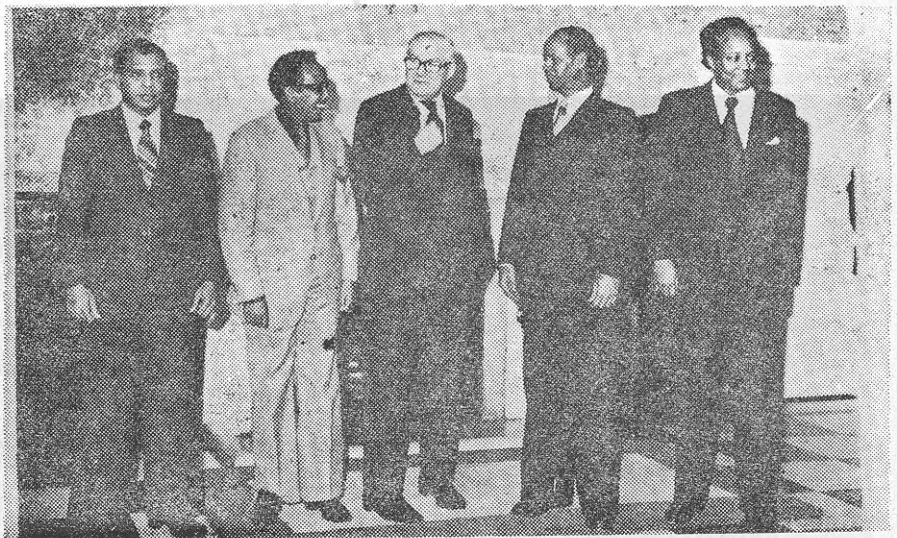
S.D.R. STATEMENT ON MIDDLE EAST

A spokesman for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Somali Democratic Republic issued on 14th December a statement calling on the Arab States to unify their ranks so as to overcome existing and future problems. The Spokesman said that the relations among Arab states have deteriorated to alarming levels which pose danger to their solidarity and strength. The Arab people needs all the solidarity and unity to tackle the many difficulties affecting its very existences and interests, the spokesman declared. He pointed out the need for restraint

in the face of disagreement over issues, adding that without such restraint and patience, grave consequences, which might seriously affect the Arab peoples aspirations for regaining their legitimate rights for the liberation of their occupied territories are bound to occur.

The Foreign Ministry spokesman declared that the SDR calls on sister Arab States to exercise patience and to bury their differences over the current disagreement since it would only benefit the enemy and harm Arab interests.

KULMIE TOURS WESTERN EUROPE



A high-level delegation led by Vice-President of the SDR and Assistant to the President on Presidential Affairs, Jaalle Major-General Hussien Kulmie Afrah wound-up an official visit

to several western European countries early this month.

Jaalle Kulmie's trip took to him to London, Paris, Bonn and Rome where he held talks with the leaders of those countries

respectively, and also delivered messages from the Somali Democratic Republic's President Mahamed Siyad Barre to the leaders of the countries he and his delegation visited.

Jaalle Kulmie's delegation included the Somali Democratic Republic Foreign Minister Jaalle Abdirahman Jama Barre and the Chairman of the State Planning Commission, Jaalle Mohamed Habib Ahamed.

Briefing Newsmen upon his return to Somalia Jaalle Kulmie said that his talks with James Callaghan, Valery Giscard d'Estaing, Helmut Schmidt and Julio Andareota, the Leaders of Britain, France, Federal Republic of Germany and Italy respectively were crowned with success. Adding that his talks with those Western European countries were concerned with the strengthening of relations and coopera-

tion in the economic field between the Somali Democratic Republic and those countries.

Jaalle Kulmie and his delegation were given a warm welcome on the 7th of December at the Airport in Mogadishu by the Vice-President and Assistant Secretary General of the SRSP, Jaalle Brig. General Ismail Ali Abokar, Party Bureau Chairmen Ministers and other highranking officials.

New Finance Minister Appointed



Jaalle Mohamed Yuusuf Weyrah was appointed as the Minister of Finance in a recent ses-

sion of the Politbureau, and later sworn in front of the president of the Somali Democratic

Republic, Jaalle Mohamed Said Barre.

In a short speech on the occasion, the President wished him success in carrying out this difficult assignment.

«You have been entrusted with this new responsibility with the objective that you will truly serve your nation and I hope that you will surmount all difficulties you face in the process of carrying out your obligations» said the President.

STEVE BIKO

The Blood of the victims of the racist regime of terror in Soweto, had not yet dried on the streets of that Johannesburg township, which has lately been the epicentre of African protest actions against apartheid, when the news came of the death in prison of the leader of the South African Black consciousness movement, honorary president of the Black people's convention and student leader, Steve Biko.

Biko, 30, had been arrested on August 18 near Grahamstown in Eastern Cape District under the notorious terrorism Act, which qualifies as «terrorism» every expression of opposition to the policy of apartheid. He was detained in Port Elizabeth without trial. On September 11, he was transferred to Pretoria's Central Prison; 750 miles to the North, the next day he was found dead in his cell. Steve Biko helped to find the

South Africans «Black consciousness Movement» and led the opposition to apartheid.

Black political prisoners often die in South African prisons at least 21 have died during the past 18 months. Biko's death looked particularly suspicious; the racist regime at first blamed it on the effects of a six-day hunger strike, but the 200-LB, 6ft, 2in. Biko had seemed too healthy to have succumbed to malnutrition so quickly.

The latest victim of the Voster clique was a moderate who did not recognize violent methods of combating apartheid and whom even many representatives of the white minority regarded as a man they could deal with. But this did not deter the South African political police. The circumstances of Biko's death have carefully been concealed. After an autopsy showed that Biko had suffered serious head injuries, the scheduled proceedings into his case attracted wide attention, but it was surprising that Judge M. Prins, president over the public inquiry into the case announced «No one can be held responsible for the death in prison of black consciousness leader Steve Biko.»

Immediately after the Verdict, several hundred Africans gathered outside the former pretoria Synagogue where the inquiry has been held, gave clenched fist salutes and chanted «They have killed Steve Biko» and «What have we done? our sin that we are black.» A large force of police equipped with dogs stood by. Judge Prins' announcement came as African nationalist sources disclosed that Mr. Biko's brother Kaya Biko was arrested in Johannesburg's Soweto township. Mr. Biko's cousin Solomon Biko and several people associated with the dead man were also arrested; they included former members of the black peoples convention, the movement Biko founded and which was dissolved by the racist regime recently.

Legal council representing the family of the late Biko, accused South African police authorities of having covered up the truth when testifying to a court of inquiry probing Biko's prison death on September 12. The charge was made by Sydney Kentridge on 14th day of the proceedings.

The Biko family lawyer pointed out that as presented by expert pathologist witnesses had made it clear that Biko had died as the result of at least three injuries to his brain. The injuries to his kidneys and other symptoms were directly attributable to the brain injuries, Kentridge said.

The African press has recalled a great many instances of African prisoners who were of-

ficially reported to have thrown themselves out of windows of police stations or broken their necks by slipping on a piece of soap in the prison shower room, or died in some other equally incredible way. The Press also points to the death some years ago of the banished South African liberation leader and Nobel Peace Prize winner Albert Luthuli, who was over by a train «in a mysterious circumstances».

CHINESE PRESSMEN WOUND - UP A TOUR



Chinese journalists led by the Deputy — Director of the Central Broadcasting Bureau, Wang-Shou-Jen concluded a one week visit to the SDR on 21st December. During their stay they held meetings with Party and Government officials. They also held talks with Central committee of the Somali Journalist Association (SOJA).

A reception was given to the visiting Chinese journalists by the Minister of Information and National Guidance, Jaalle Abdikasim Salaad Hassan in his office. The Minister briefed them on the deep-rooted friendship between the SDR and China,

the progress attained by the SDR and the problems in the Horn of Africa, which he said, is caused by the interference of Russia and her lackeys, such as Cuba. Jaalle Abdikasim also briefed the Chinese journalists the reason which led the SDR to abrogate its friendship treaty with Russia and break off diplomatic relations with Cuba. The decision followed the uncovering of a plan of a joint invasion to Somalia organized by these countries with the primary objective of enabling Russia to get hold of the Red sea and the Indian Ocean and to endanger the existence of the SDR, the Minister said.

He added that the Somali people are ready at any cost to defend the sovereignty of their country.

The leader of the Chinese journalists said that the relations between the SDR and China is gaining momentum day after day. He continued to say that the peoples of the two countries have experienced the crude policy of Russia and the final victory belongs to China, Somalia and peoples struggling for their rights. Comrade Wang-Shou-Jen described the Russian socialism as fake and bas-

ically founded on seeking self-interest, adding that the Russian Government is bent on bullying and exploiting the developing countries and the peoples struggling for their freedom.

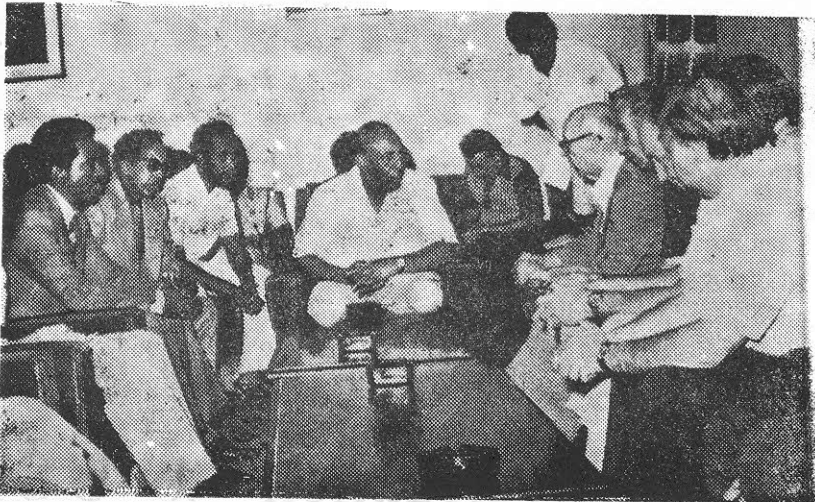
Similarly, the Chairman of the Ideology Bureau, Jaalle Mohamed Aden Shehk received at his office the visiting Chinese journalists. Jaalle Mohamed briefed them about the activities of the Party as well as HALGAN, the organ of the SRSP. The Chairman of the Ideology Bureau discussed with the Chinese newsmen about the

situation in the Horn of Africa and the friendship between the two countries and in particular the tangible contribution of the Chinese Government in the development of the SDR.

The leader of the Chinese delegation expressed their gratitude to the Somali Government and people on the warm reception accorded to them.

The members of the Chinese press circle had earlier visited Tunisia and Syria. Their next stop is scheduled to be Burundi.

American Congress—Men Visit Somalia



Two American congressmen arrived in Mogadishu on the 17th of December on a two day visit. The congressmen, Mr Paul Tsongas and Don Bonker said on arrival that the purpose of their visit is to have a look at the situation of the Horn of Africa and expressed the concern of the United States about the Russian policy in the Horn. The US is concerned about the presence, objectives and designs of the Russians in the Horn of Africa «said Don Bonker, adding that wherever the Russians go, bloodshed and tension pre-

vails. Mr. Bonker said that it is better for the African states to oppose Russian influence and follow the step taken by the Somali Democratic Republic. The problem of the Horn of Africa is entirely an African affair and there is absolutely no vacancy for non-African countries to interfere» he said earlier in Nairobi, the congressmen expressed disgust to what they called the reign of terror in Addis Ababa where they saw the dead bodies of nine persons of the 300 executed recently by the Addis ruling clique.

In a reception given by the president of the SDR Jaalle Siad and the two congressmen, discussed matters pertaining to Somali US relations and in particular the current situation in the Horn of Africa as well as other international issues.

Speaking to newsmen shortly before wounding up their stay in Somalia, the Congressmen expressed their satisfaction on their talks with the President of the SDR Jaalle Mohamed Siad Barre and other Somali officials. Mr. Don Bonker, one of the two Congressmen said that he was highly impressed by the efforts of the Somali people to develop their country. Commenting on their talks with Somali Government leaders, he said that the Somali government wants African states to co-exist peacefully which he said, is desirable for the African continent to achieve economic progress. Mr. Bonker said that Somalia, like the United States, is very much concerned about the Russian policy towards the Horn of Africa. We are deeply concerned about the Russian intervention in African Affairs, par-

ticularly the Horn «He declared The Congressmen further pointed out the dangers posed by the Russian arms air-lift to the Addis Ababa regime and the increasing Russian military pre-

sence in Ethiopia to the security of the Horn of Africa. Commenting on the human rights violation in Ethiopia, Mr Bonker expressed alarm at the deteriorating security in Addis Ab-

aba and constant gun-battle incidents in the city. He said he was very much disgusted with the human rights violation and suffering in Ethiopia.

ERITREAN LEADER IN SOMALIA

Al-Sayid Salah Sabi, the leader of the ELFPLF arrived on the 17th of December in Mogdishu on a visit to the Somali Democratic Republic. Mr. Sabi said his visit was part of a tour to several Arab countries to confer with their leaders on the situation in the Horn of Africa. He said that the Eritrean people have a high regard for the Somali Democratic Republic support for their struggle to regain their freedom and added that the liberation struggle of Somalis under Abyssinian colonial rule was similar to that of the Eritrean people.

Speaking on the Horn of Africa situation, he stressed that it was essential that foreign powers should stay out of the current conflict in the Horn and they should beware of supporting the colonialist Addis-Ababa rulers.

He pointed out that all progressive forces of the world should support the current struggle of the Somali Liberation Movements. Mr. Sabi also declared that the Eritrean people have achieved great successes in their struggle for independence and that they were now on the verge of total liberation. The Eritrean leader also expressed his personal appreciation of the role of Arab countries in supporting the Eritrean and Somali Liberation Fronts.

The Eritrean Liberation Fro-

nts have recently agreed to establish an independent government in the liberated areas of that country. Radio Kuwait monitored in Mogadishu said that Administrative Committees for the development of Eritrea were already set up in the liberated areas. The liberation fronts were now busy building hospitals, schools and improve communication in the liberated areas. The ELF said that the Addis Government did not have the capability to interfere in the affairs of the Eritrean government now planned to be set up. The leader of the Eritrean Liberation Fronts (ELF), fighting for their independence of Eritrea said in an interview published in Mogadishu recently that his forces had inflicted hea-

vy casualties on Addis troops South of the Provincial capital of Asmara.

Mr. Ahmed Nasir was quoted by the Khartoum daily Newspaper Al-Ayam saying his Commandos killed 730 Ethiopian soldiers and wounded 1000 in fighting in the towns of Adi Kaie, Adigrat and Senafe. The Commandos captured three tanks and large quantity of weapons when the Ethiopians attempted to break the siege of Asmara, he said. Mr Nasir also told the paper the Addis Regime was planning to divide Eritrea by joining its Southern districts with parts of the neighbouring Province of Tigre «This attempts is entirely rejected by us», the commando leader said.

Somali Delegation to U.S.A.

The Minister of the Minerals and Water Resources, Jaalle Hussein Abdulkadir Kasim and his delegation returned to Mogadishu on the 18th of Dec. after concluding a 10 day official visit to the United States.

Talking to newsmen at his office, Jaalle Hussein told that his talks with US leaders were fruitful. He noted that their visit to the United States was in line with the SDR's policy of improving good relations with other countries of the world. Speaking on the interference of Russia and its lackeys in the af-

fairs of the Horn of Africa, he said that it was a great worry to the United States and other governments of the world.

Jaalle Husein again warned the Russians and their lackeys to refrain from the internal affairs of Africa. The massive Russian arms airlifts and shipments to Abyssinia is a great concern to developing countries and added that the Russian should correct their misguided policies in the Horn. Answering a question, the Minister described the recent Russian propaganda that the SDR

has placed its great uranium deposits in American hands as cheap and worthless propaganda.

The people of the SDR have every right of exploiting their mineral resources and in the process cooperating with any country in the world. «The Russians are not called upon to advise us as to whom we should collaborate with», Jaalle Hussein stressed. He declared that the rich mineral resources in

our sea and land were only for the Somali people and for no one else. The Russians, unable to dictate its crude policies on us and being denied to establish military basis in our territory unlike Abyssinia, have now resorted to the propagation of unfounded and worthless propaganda against the SDR, Jaalle Hussein pointed out.

On Somali relations with the outside world, he said that «we will develop the relations with

these countries economically and politically on a non-aligned policy as is declared in first, second and third charter of the revolution.

Somalia is a member of the non-aligned community and has vigorously participated in the enhancement of that policy which emphasises that every nation has the right to shape its own policies without foreign imposition», the Minister concluded.

THE DEATH OF A PROMINENT FIGURE

The death of Brig. General Ali Mattan Hashi a C.C. Member of the SRSP was a shock to the whole Somali Nation.

On the night of 22nd Jan. 1978, the Politburo of the SRSP decided a three day mourn of the Nation for the deceased as well as the National flag to be flown half-mast starting from 23rd Jan.

Jaalle Ali Mattan Hashi was born at Hoby district, Mudug Region in 1927.

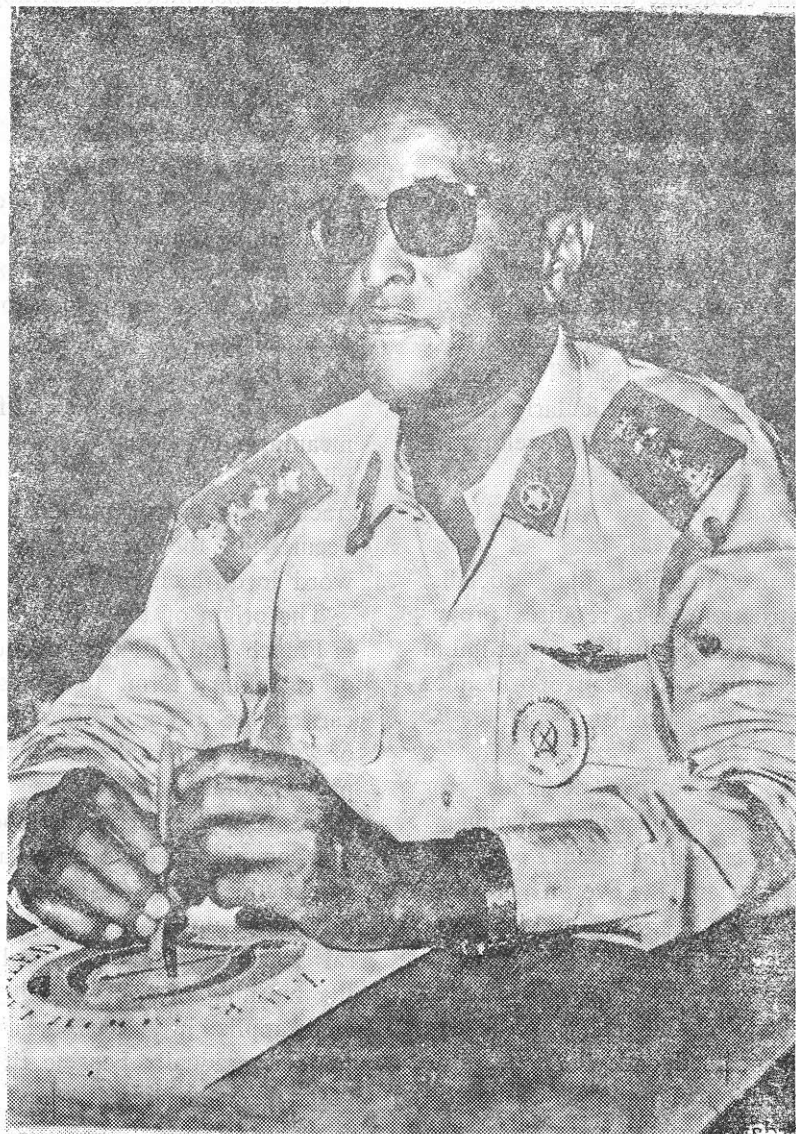
He was one of the founders of the Somali 21st October Revolution of 1969.

The deceased was a Central Committee of the SRSP at the time of his death.

He left a wife and 8 children.

The Chairman of the Ideology Buro, the Vice-Chairman, the Editorial Board of Halgan and all other staff of the Ideology Buro convey their deep condolence to the Somali people.

May his soul rest at peace.



Theoretical Issues



THE PREPARATION OF CADRES

By Y. Sh. Muse

The preparation of cadres is a significant step in fulfilling the tasks of the leadership role of the party. The intensive education and preparation of cadres is an important part in the process of developing the socio-political structure of the society, and enhancing the leading role of science, in particular, necessary for the proper guidance of the party and government work and, in general, for setting up an economic administration. Economy is considered as the basic structure for the development of a socialist society while other sub-structures are required to complete the whole aspects of the life of a society.

All these factors which affect development require scientific directive for guiding the tasks of a socialist construction. This is based on matters particularly related to economy and the development of the means of production and technology.

Hence, to fulfill the socialist construction tasks requires proper guidance as to make the maximum benefit of the objective principles of scientific socialism.

The fundamental demands for achieving such proper guidance are to carry out constant educational plans and the overall preparation of Cadres. The achievement of success in these tasks depends on the right selection of Cadres and how they acquire political and ideological education. Then, the distribution of the tasks will be in accordance to the knowledge and activity of the Cadre. This means that the most active cadre will be

assigned to the most challenging task which obligates self-assigned responsibility and a confident sense in decision-making.

This duty of the cadre should be considered as whole and need not be splitted. For this sake the role of leadership demands especial consideration so that the cadre may be equipped with the ability to reach right decisions that fulfill the responsibilities concerning the afore-mentioned tasks.

In the first instance one needs a proper understanding of the significance and definition of the word 'cadre' as well as the duties of a cadre. Hence, it could be possible to describe and categorize the combined tasks and responsibilities of a cadre.

First, let us see the different meanings the word «Cadre» implies for different people while tracing the transformations that occurred in the meaning of the word in different periods of time.

The origin of the word «cadre» is French and had the denotation of a military term. In precise it carried the meaning of a «unit» or «group of military men with especial skill». In detail, the word used to represent commissioned or non-commissioned officers and it carries this same meaning in military ranks up to now. After several transformations occurred in the meaning of this word it came to be applied in various social tasks until it gradually became fit for usage in workers movements.

Before the success of the workers movements in overtaking the

leadership, the world «Cadre», used to refer to the leaders of the party and other social organizations. But after the victories of the socialist revolution, the meaning of the word «cadre» was used to cover a larger area instead of being confined to leaders.

The political dictionary doesn't give the detailed definition of the word «cadre» as a group of responsible youth who after acquiring planned education are occupied in various tasks of the social life i.e. Party, Government etc.

This definition itself isn't complete and «cadre» could be defined as a group of people who had acquired political education and vocational skill. This group must have the ability to lead the rest of the people by fulfilling an assigned duty or other responsibilities while occupied in an activity that requires leadership. For such status one might either be elected or nominated.

Hence forth, to depict what the word «cadre» comprise one should put into account every member of the workers force or the masses with the required ability. This includes the preparation and education required for the cadre profession. Equally important is the practical experience which proves one's ability to mobilize, lead and fulfill the responsibilities concerning objective matters necessary for the various aspects of the social life.

In another way the main characteristics of a cadre are: belief in the fundamental principles of the

working class, devotion to the revolution, consciousness of responsibility, Creativity and decisiveness indecision - making, respectful personality, love of work, ambition for increasing knowledge, better understanding of scientific and professional education concerning leadership and methods of teaching.

Therefore, every responsible leader who is willing to carry out the responsibility of organizing the construction of a developed socialist society must be attributed to the above mentioned main characteristics.

Now and then as far as we have mentioned the definition and characteristics of a cadre, it is erroneous to confine it to any functionary in the government administration.

Similarly it is wrong to label every individual occupied in a certain job as a cadre. Scientific socialism regards that the categories of a cadre include the following:

Technician, Engineer, Expert, Architect, etc.,

In another way every responsible figure who bears a social obligations can be considered as a cadre when he requires especial training.

The type of training and the obligated services from a responsible figure in a socialist society is quite different from that in a capitalist society. In the preparation of a cadre, scientific socialism puts emphasis on the fulfillment of a planned educational method which is related to the needs of the society for cadres.

The obligations of a revolutionary cadre are so wide that they cover the development of science, technology and the carrying out of the social tasks.

The fulfillment of the leadership obligations requires a certain standard of especialisation. This implies that a technician must have acquired the skill and vocational education of his profession.

In general the word «cadre» implies different meanings in relation to various functions such as: the political cadre, the work or workers cadre. None of these is exactly the same as the other but in the practical aspect it is difficult to isolate each by itself or differentiate their meaning.

To make the matters more clear, let us take as an example the policy of the party and its tasks.

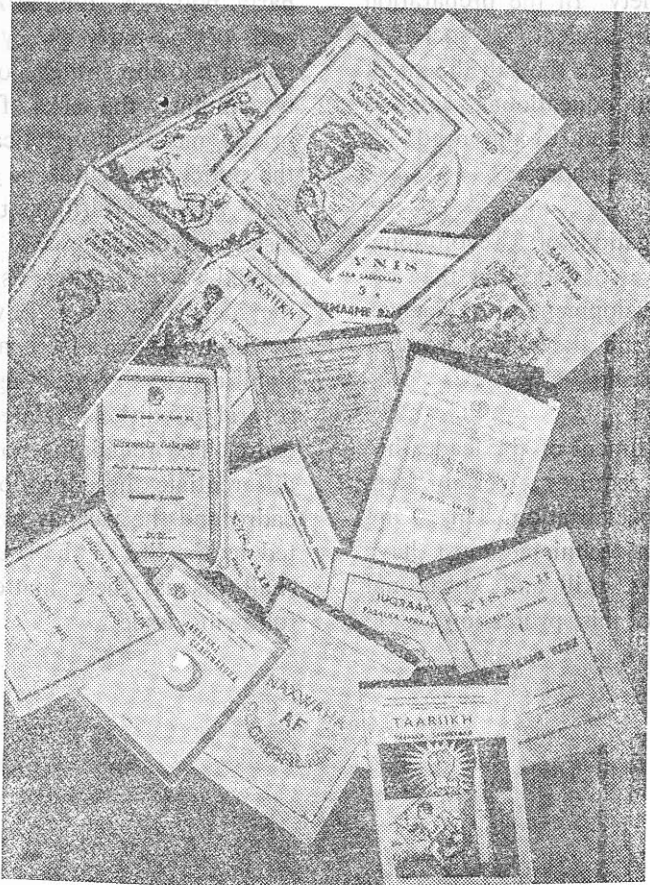
The detailed definition of the party policy is summarized in the path of the party policy i.e. the tactics and the strategy of the party. Similarly the tasks of the party briefly means the application of the policy, the guidance of the society and the fulfillment of the tasks and obligations of the party related to the various aspects of the social life. Up to now we have discussed in a general way the significance, the meaning and the several conditions related to the cadre. The remaining portion is to differentiate the education of the cadre and the various aspects related to the life of the society. We shall discuss these matters in the following issue.

Culture and Art



Documenting Soomali History

By Kholi



with the sky and the rearing oceans, with all types of animals living either in the waters or on the surface of the earth, and with the strange natural phenomena and universal catastrophes which reoccur every now and the like punctuation. On the other hand, the history of mankind is closely connected with the life of the society. And as man lives on earth and meddles with nature, the two categories are not wholly independent of one another.

Therefore, it would not be wrong to say that history is as old as the planet and its surrounding heavens, with varying dates and ages. If we look it from another angle, history falls into two other branches: recorded history and unrecorded history. Nevertheless, the ancient history which precedes the time when man was able to write or paint is wholly lost. For this reason it is synonymous with a non-existing history, since it is forgotten and since its experiences, no matter how rich, are unavailable for the benefit of the living generations. A lost historical experience is analogous to a case where rainwater dried before the thirsty livestock had reached for it. It is useless. Hence it is worth ignoring. So let us, instead, discuss historical experiences which are recorded or remembered for the benefit of mankind.

It is because of this fact that the history of the nations on our planet today varies in age and importance. It is also because of this fact that the ancient civilization of

This article is the last of the series of articles in which I have been discussing the benefits of writing the Somali language. The first article published in the October issue of «Struggle» dealt with the history of the Somali script; specially the benefits of writing the Somali language — as a medium of communication - have been pinpointed. I emphasized the extent to which a written language is capable of promoting the social understanding which is the basis of the smooth relations between the government and the masses. In the second article, I dealt with the role played by the language in «expanding the education

and in enriching the Somali language itself». In this article, we will discuss the language in documenting history and culture.

If you intend to demonstrate how useful is «writing a language» to the history of any nation», you must first of all define the meaning of the term «history». One must ask «what is history?» History, to my understanding, is divided into two categories: one which concerns with mankind and one which covers nature. The history of the nature is concerned with the changes of the climate, with the earth which accommodates the mountains and the trees,

the Greeks, the Romans and the Egyptians are taught in all schools. Once we agree that history is useful to us only in so far as it is ancient but preserved or modern but still fresh in our memories, we must now review the history of Somalia and the place it occupies in the histories of other nations on earth.

If you visit the great museums of the world, there is no doubt that you cannot easily find the early traces of the Somali nation due to the absence of Somali script. It is possible that you may find triking footsteps of our ancient history in certain museums but surely you cannot find a path large enough to lead you to the ancient history of this land in any sufficient details. Even if you are modest enough to limit yourself to our modern history, you will not find much of it recorded; only the scanty information recorded by colonial explorers in books and reports for the last few centuries is obtainable. Since they all had colonial motives, their writings can not represent a genuine picture which can serve as a fair basis for the Somali history, looking from the factual point of view as well as from the point of view of quality and quantity. Since a foreign language can hardly meet the full requirements of a nation, very few books have been written by Somalis in foreign language. Perhaps this is because that the education inherited from the colonial masters fell much shorter than the required level in which we could have otherwise blamed our educated people for not writing books. No matter who writes, very few books have indeed been written about the modern history of Somalia. There are many important areas of the Somali history that remain entirely unattended. A glaring example of this is that

upto now, not a single book was written about the liberation struggle of the Somali youth League (1943-60). Equally, with the exception of some press retrospectives published during the Revolutionary era, no books have been written about the post-independence era (from 1960 to 1969).

Since the October Revolution had taken the courageous step to write Somali language in 1972, several books have been written about the culture, about educational syllabi (upto the secondary level) and about the Dervish struggle led by Sayid Mahamed Abdulle Hassas between 1900 and 1921. The most remarkable are the two volumes compiled by Aw Jama Omer Isa who was courageous enough to auction his few camels some 20 years ago in a selfless endeavour to collect the history of the Dervish movement. This does not mean that the history of the movement is fully covered and completed. It means that Aw Jama has done the first step and we should follow suit for there is a lot to write about the Dervishes and their wars against the colonial powers. On their part, both the Academy of Culture and the Ministry of Education have done their best to preserve our dying culture and to provide our youth in schools with books covering all subjects.

However, I would like to urge the founders of the Somali Youth League and those who have been lucky enough to lead the country from independence onwards, to write books about their memories. Surely there is wide room for writing in the modern history of Somalia: politics, the liberation struggle, economy and culture. If everyone writes his memories about important events and episodes, we could have gathered valuable conclusions about our history. Whe-

never I hear of the death announcement of an elder, I feel sorrow, for I know that he might have died with valuable information that will be extremely difficult to retrieve.

A great role is also waiting our elites. They are educated and they have had the chance to see their language written. Therefore, they are duty bound to collect and write the history and the culture of their country. It is interesting to note that the dying elders have left educated sons including doctors and directors. These educated sons must preserve the memories of their fathers at least on paper if not in books. If scribbled, these papers could later be published when the economic opportunity emerges. But it is important that the information must be extracted from the aging fathers.

Our elites who have full command of foreign languages can also help by translating books into Somali so that our students can get sufficient reading material, for this will broaden their knowledge. Specially students who have been learning in Somali are in dire need for such reading materials.

From the governmental side, it is necessary that writers are encouraged in their efforts to collect and publish historical materials. One way of encouraging them is to provide a copy right law which protects the rights of the writers.

In conclusion, everything needs a shelter to protect it; Milk is preserved in containers. History also needs to be preserved and in order to preserve it one must have a container. Its container is the language in which it is preserved for the future generations to read it and make use of it.



BOOKS AND DOCUMENTS

On health and development:

SPEECH DELIVERED BY THE PRESIDENT ON THE OCCASION OF THE 1st GRADUATION FROM THE FACULTY OF MEDICINE.

Comrades and members of the Central Committee distinguished guests and Head of Diplomatic services, distinguished members of the Technical Committee, graduates and fellow Students.

Five years ago we undertook an important step to develop both material and qualified personnel for the health service and prevention against diseases. At that time there were discussions undertaken by members of the SRC and council of secretaries and representatives of the Italian Universities concerning suitability, possibility and the necessity to build a faculty of medicine at the Somali National University.

The obstacles toward this objective were much more than those encouraging points, but if there is a Good-Will, energy and clear targets people can overcome many obstacles hindering their development.

You the new doctors, comrades, are the fruits of that historical decision and you will be the witnesses of the good will, self-confidence and target-orientation by those who were concerned with this subject and the future of Somalia. It can be asked today: why it was necessary to put priority for the building of this faculty? What kind of high confidence where we expecting from that future?

As each one can guess our emphasis was based to establish this faculty in order to encounter one of the major evils against humanity namely diseases. Because it would

not be possible for a nation under colonial or neo-colonial conditions, divided, and tribalised to develop evenly unless it puts emphasis and take fast step to mobilize the political consciousness of the masses, as well to improve their mental and physical health.

Try to consider: What can a sick peasant, whose half of his family suffer from malaria and the other half has Blaharzia do about the Development of the Society?

What can a tuberculosis effected nomad, who is helpless contribute; what is more serious is a women who often encounters difficulties, and often dies for it, and these difficulties are always related to Gynecology. Leaving a side all diseases and health incidents occurring to the masses of the workers, babies and school-children one can imagine that such a people will have no possibility to increase production in a systematic and planned manner. The only thing they can do is to try to survive or look for external aid.

For this reason, in order to overcome these problems one should first face it in a systematic and planned way, because only such a way makes possible to eliminate the low health conditions, which paralyses firstly the inventiveness productivity and capability of the working masses, and the entire society at least.

Considering these problems, the revolutionary Government has strangely advocated the establish-

ment of the medicine faculties, which were impossible otherwise. Today we can say that half of the tasks has been accomplished and your professors have achieved their major aim, what remains is your task and duties, which I guess will be many and hard to achieve. It is your task to be mobile and to go to the different parts of the country, wherever there is need, in order to prevent and cure all kind of diseases and to teach the people how they can help themselves about it. It is upon you to study the best ways to cure the patients and find out new methods for scientific and applied research in order to improve the organization and technical know-how of the faculty.

Comrades:

In Nov. 1975 I have summarised our socialist and revolutionary policy on higher education as well as the benefits we were expecting from the graduates in my speech in the graduation ceremony for the Agricultural, Sciences and Social Science Faculties.

Instead of repeating myself, it is better that you organize yourselves in groups in order to study and analyse it properly, because that speech was intended for you and your fellow-students, since the future of Somalia rests on you.

The 21Oct. Revolution has declared new objectives and tasks for the Somali people, tasks which seem hard to achieve, but I was quite sure that they can be achieved. It was a reawakening, It expressed

what the masses felt and desired, and it was intended to make aware of the people, that they can determine by themselves their own future in a frame of a just and democratic, progressive society embracing all segments of the population, since only such a society can eliminate class struggle. We have tried to solve this class conflict in the society through the participation of the masses in the decision making, as well as by indicating the right path toward a just society. Of course it was not possible within this short time to carry out all these historical missions. A country's problems will never end and we have never hid the obstacles and difficulties facing us. What is important is that you understand the Revolution properly and to fulfill its aim and implement its objectives. The problems facing Somalia are numerous, and there are other which might face us in the future. If I try to throw light on them: The very existence of this nation - A nation that has gathered its entire energy to fight against economic and social backwardness - seems to be in jeopardy today.

The only accusation leveled against us is why are we aiding our brothers, who are fighting for their self-determination and independence. The Ethiopian Fascist Regime does not constitute a threat to Somalia, since it cannot handle the struggle waged by the liberation movements, who has liberated No, that is not where the problem lies, it is the intervention of the external forces, who are consolidating their forces to safeguard their strategic interests in the Horn of Africa. These external forces are using the conflict and the liberation wars as a spring board, in order to take advantage of the serious social crisis taking place in imperialist Ethiopia. These social crisis are not of recent origin to justify foreign interference. The Ethiopia. progressi-

ve forces, who are fighting against ADDIS ABABA regime as well as the liberation movements can solve this problem and find effective ways to heal it. Even in case that these crisis might effect the neighbouring areas, it is up to the African states and their organizations to find out the best ways and means to solve it. Hence external intervention does not bring any benefit what so ever. On the contrary, it will harm the situation and increases the hard-hardness of the Ethiopian regime.

Already we can observe how the Ethiopian regime supported by force; has no peace - intentions and does not reconsider the situation. So what remained under these conditions for the Ethiopian progressive forces fighting internally and the liberation movements was to defend their principles and their very existence.

This situation is becoming a danger for the entire regions; from the red sea to the middle east and to the entire world. The signs of this danger can already be felt and the wars may last longtime. Many people might ask themselves, if the situation is so, what is the Somalia's stand? truly Somalia's stand seems to be very clear: We have always called for peace, in the last Eight years we put all our efforts on how to find a complete, everlasting and just peace.

In all conferences we took a similar position and informed on this time all the world leaders, whom we expected to do something about it.

Even today we are proposing peace and cooperation although we encounter always deaf-ears and mis-interpretation cannot be achieved by a mere wish, nor can it be brought by force. Finding peace requires hard-work, open-mindedness, recognition for the people right for independence, dignity and freedom of choice.

Today peace is on the side of

the freedom fighters struggling for their self - determination. Without them no peaceful agreement ever be reached, and anyone who tries to ignore them by any peaceful talk - what his hidden wishes might be - cannot reach any peaceful arrangement.

No body can deny the right of these struggling masses, whose blood is being shed everyday and who are sacrificing both their lives and wealth in their fight against this fascistic colonialism. That is a fact : one has to consider only that, because any thing else such as a lip-service peace or pseudo-proposals will remain as they are namely lip-services.

Let me repeat: although our territory has been violated, although our towns has been bombed, although false propaganda were spread against us, as far as we are concerned we call for a peace.

Because we are looking for the future, your future comrades and the future of the millions of the youth who are needed to build in this part of the world a strong base for brotherhood, understanding and progress. We are sure that we will be supported in this issue by many nations, who are our friends and other who believe in human dignity and civilization who would not deny to transmit their knowledge and experience to us they always have done.

In this print, although I cannot summarize the names of those who has really, helped us. I would confine my self by the example of professor paride stefanini and elio vianello, who has contributed greatly in the creation and organization of this faculty. I would like also to thank all those who have worked with them, and many heads and

But I guess we would have been professors of the different Italian Universities, although some of them seem to take part with us this historical occasion.

faced with great constraints without the support of the Italian people and Government. In this day of your graduation, we owe to all those agencies who make great sacrifices and people who by their hard-work contributed for establishment of this faculty, great

thanks and respects.

I ask the distinguished Minister Bassi, and the Italian Ambassador in Somalia to convey our thanks to the Italian people. I convey my thanks also to Somali heads, professors and officers by fulfilling their national duty.

Lastly I Congratulate the doctors, and I hope that you will be aware of the major task facing you in the future and I thank the Ministry and the Somali national University who administers this faculty, our distinguished guests and other guests in this Hall.

A Review on Bibliographical Survey of Somalia



Somalia: a Bibliographical survey 1977. 468 P. (Compiled by Mohamed Khalif Salad) special Bibliographical services. New Ser. No. 4 price U.S. \$22.50 available from publishers. African Bibliographical centre P.O. Box 13095 Washington c 20009 U.S.A.

«Authors of books about Somaliland take as little regard of boundaries as do the Somalis themselves» These were the words of Mr. N. M. Viney, once a British colonial Administrator in introducing his brief «Bibliography of British Somaliland». Mr. Salad who compiled this newly published bibliography on Somalia maintains the same idea with the stronger faith of a Somali who suffers the colonialisation and balkansation of his country, the legacy of colonial partition of Africa which was nothing more than «a consequence of the Berlin Conference in 1884 with all the accompanying injustices of the scramble of Africa». So it is only natural to find the book covering the entire territory of the Somali Nation thus demonstrating through the compilation of the books and other material written mainly by those who dismembered our nation-our natural unity.

It took him ten long years to compile this magnificent work. He had to visit places like Wa-

shington, London, Paris and Rome— thanks to a grant by UNESCO — to undergo the tiresome digging into libraries like that of the Library of Congress, the British Museum, the colonial office library, The (British Foreign Office Library, the (British) war office library, School of Oriental and African studies, University of London Libraries as well as the Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale Vittorio Emanuele II of Rome, Istituto Agronomico Per l'oltremare. Florence; Istituto Italiano per l'Africa, Rome and lastly Bibliotheque National Paris.

On top of this he consulted all libraries of different institution in Somalia. The result of this effort was this book of bibliographical survey on Somalia, the most comprehensive ever published in this field.

Visits to Russia and Germany should have been made as the compiler states for they «hold some invaluable collection of historical importance—maps, anthropology and exploration of Somalia». Dipository Libraries in Turkey and India should have also been visited for the same reason. With the former we had contacts since early 15th Century while British Somaliland was ruled from India governatorate as late as 1923.

But the compiler being alone in all that he did with exception of

a grant given to him by UNESCO is not only absolved from blame but hailed for this great achievement.

By A. Y. Duale

The languages areas covered in the book are English, Italian, French, German and Somali. Arabic has not been covered as the compiler clearly states in his introduction of the book describing this as «a tolerable weakness», reason for omission being as he again states in the introduction that «titles in Arabic about Somalia were comparatively few in number and was not recorded systematically in any library». Here I have my reservation and a visit to Dar-Al-Kutub in Cairo will put this assumption aside.

Although the Book is not covering early or medieval writings Somali's contact with Egypt goes back to the days of Hashapsut. Arab historians, Geographers and travellers have written a good material on this part of Africa long ago. Among those are Al-Masuu-di (935) Al-Istikhari (960) Ibn-Hawqal (977) Al-Bairuni (1030) Al-Bakri (1067) Al-Idrisi (1154) Al-Aqut Al-Hamawi (1229) Ibn Said (1344) and Ibn Batuta (1331). Contemporary Arab writers have written considerable material on this area. I hope the day would come when Mr. Salad or someone else would take the trouble to fill this gap.

The book is divided into 17 chapters and two addendums. There are chapters with as many as 14 subdivisions like the 1st Chapter on Agriculture. To get an idea of the comprehensiveness of this work, entries in Chapter XII politics, Government and administration are well over 300 entries comprising books and articles in papers and periodicals. Almost 4000 titles of «Books as well as grey literature material like agriculture, geography anthropology and politics and administration» are covered in this book.

The period covered in the book «starts with exploration - cum colonial period followed by post-colonial or independence era. The latest date of titles appearing in the book is 1975».

With Somalia in world news from mid July 1977, since the

flare up of the liberation war waged by WSLF and ALF against the Ethiopian colonial Empire: the compiler rendered invaluable series to all those screaming for historical background information on the troubled Horn of Africa.

Mr. Salad a self made man who educated himself and after receiving his training as a librarian in Great Britain, Nigeria and the United States became the librarian of the Somali national university from 1965 to 1969 and then was appointed research librarian of the Central Bank of Somalia, a post he resigned four months ago. He is now a free-lance writer who turned to creative writing and his first work of poetry in English. «The Patheon of Punt» is going to be published by the Lafole Faculty of Education early 1978. Our librarian turned - poet has a number of unpublished short sto-

ries too. Some of his poetry has been already published in literary magazines outside Somalia.

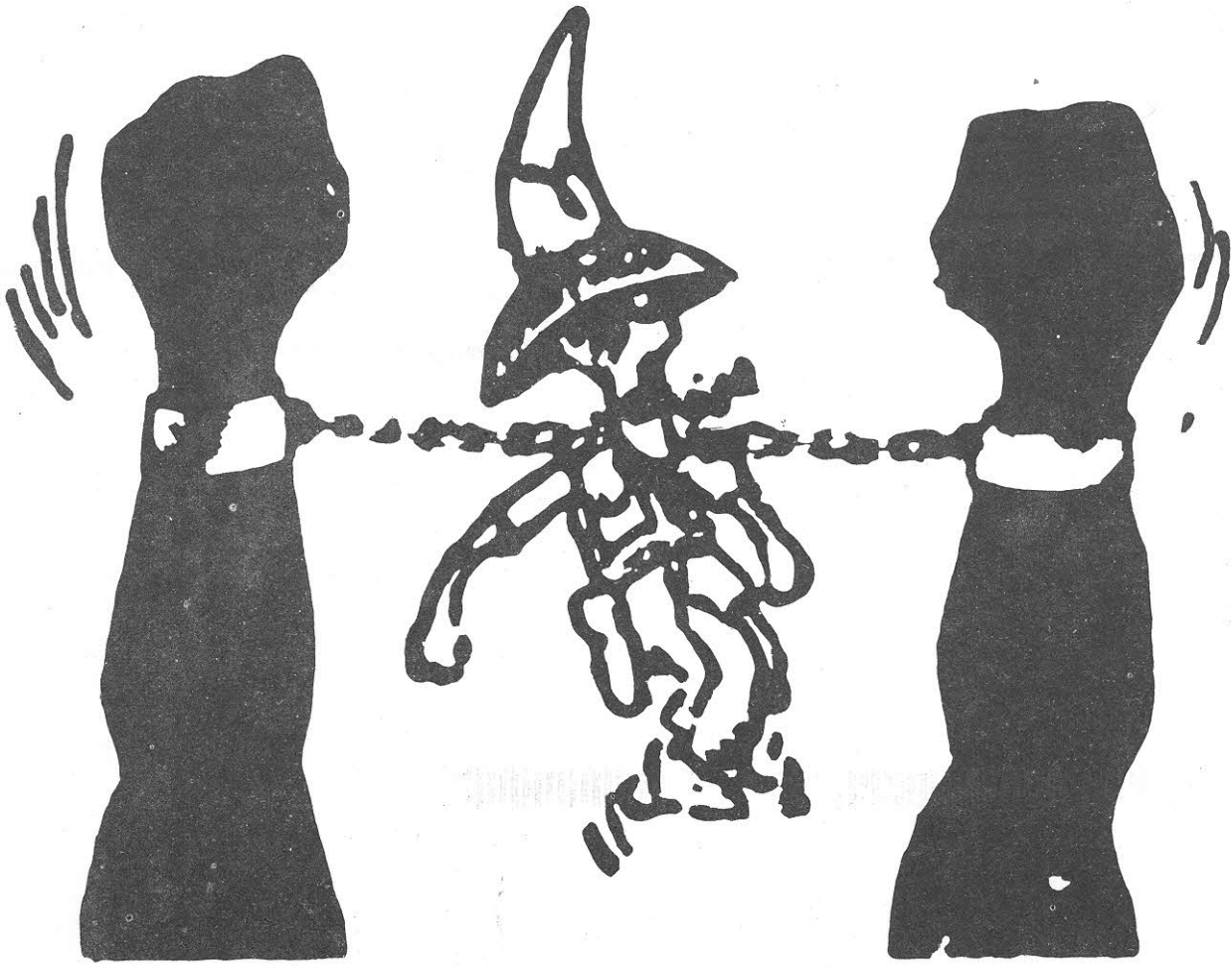
Though institutions like the academy of Somali Culture, the Ministry of Higher Education and Culture and many individuals have tried to compile a bibliographical survey of Somalia, yet Salad's work is invaluablely the first of it's kind.

These institutions should welcome this book, with thanks and place it in its proper place in the Somali library. They should also take it as a firm foundation for any further research in the field of bibliography on Somalia.

Mr. Salad's duty as a compiler in the field of bibliography must not end with this book. It should be the start and may creative writing - with our love for it - not rob us of this industrious and patient compiler.

«THE ETHIOPIAN REGIME IS CLEARLY NOT ONLY UNWILLING TO SOLVE ITS COLONIAL PROBLEMS, BUT ALSO IS NO LONGER CAPABLE OF CONTAINING THE ADVANCES OF THE LIBERATION FORCES STRUGGLING FOR THEIR FREEDOM AND INDEPENDENCE UNDER SUCH CIRCUMSTANCES IT IS NO WONDER THAT THE REGIME SHOULD TRY TO FIND AN ESCAPE GOAT FOR ITS FAILURE».

From the speech of
Jaalle Siad, delivered
on the 8th Anniversary
of the October 1969
Revolution.



Racism can be eliminated
through African Unity



Mogadisho City of antiquity