

HAALGAN



(THE STRUGGLE)

ORGAN OF THE SOMALI
REVOLUTIONARY SOCIALIST PARTY

◦ JAALLE SIAD'S OAU ADDRESS

◦ Economic Development Strategy

◦ The Camp David Summit Talks

◦ Freedom and Necessity

Struggle to
learn, in order to
learn to
struggle better

HAILGAIN

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 Adan

Rashid Sheikh Abdullahi

Mohamud Abdi Ali (Bayr)

Abdi Yusuf Duale (Bobe)

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

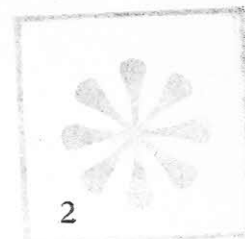
\$ 25.00 per year, airmail post included.

America (North and (South)

\$30.00 per year; airmail post included.

EDITORIAL

CONTENTS



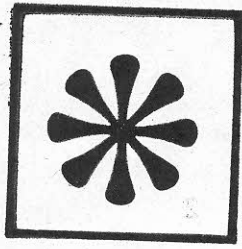
I. EDITORIAL:	2
— «Camp David» Summit	
— Somalia and Western Europe	
II. POLITICAL, ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL AFFAIRS	5
— The strategy of Economic Development (Mohamoud Abdi Ali «Bayr»)	
III. PARTY LIFE	8
— Decisions passed by the C.C. of S.R.S.P.	
— The 6th Anniversary of the Peoples Malitia (Victory Pioneers)	
— Students Seminar closed	
IV. WORLD AFFAIRS	10
— The growing friendship of Somalia and People's Republic of China	
V. MONTHLY BULLETIN	12
— Vice Premier of P. R. of China visits Somalia	
— President's speech at Halane Training School	
— Al Gamasy, awarded a Somali medal	
— Graduated Teachers	
— Cairo Conference of Arab Information Ministers	
VI. THEORETICAL ISSUE	16
— Freedom and Necessity	
VII. BOOKS REVIEW	19
— The Speech of Jaalle M. S. Barre, the President of the SDR, delivered to the 15th OAU Summit	

HALGAN

Official organ of the S.R.S.P. Year 2, No. 22 August 1978.

Price 2 Sh. Published in Somali, Arabic and English.

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



EDITORIAL

'Camp David, Summit

The great campaign for peace in the Middle East in which President Sadat was engaged and which had caused differences among Arab leaders, reached its toughest and conclusive stage at the Camp David summit. Despite the fact that the Sadat mission is well-meaning, yet the latest authoritative news reports and analysis indicate that the final outcome of the Camp David Summit may not be encouraging.

It seems that the Israeli mission, led by their Prime Minister Menachem Begin, kept insisting upon the following points:

1) For their own security, Israelis have no intention to surrender the Arab territories they have occupied in the 1967 war;

2) Equally, they have no desire to dismantle the settlements and communities they established in the conquered territories;

They are not prepared at all to bring up or discuss the issue of a Palestinian state, let alone the right of Palestinian people to self-determination.

Moreover, the Israelis insisted that the role of the U.S. be limited only to that of bringing the Egyptians and the Israelis to the conference table.

On the other hand, the Egyptian delegation stood firmly on its grounds and continued to request:-

1) Total Israeli withdrawal from occupied Arab territories;

2) Discontinuation of any further Israeli settlements in Arab lands, and the dismantling of the existing settlements;

3) Acceptance by Israel of the creation of a Palestinian State embracing the Western Bank and the GAZA Region;

4) Surrender by Israel of the Eastern side of the town of (Jerusalem).

As regards the role of the U.S. the Egyptians considered it to be necessary and sought the active participation of the U.S. in the formulation of the peace plans and their effective implementation.

As is well-known, the staging of the summit con-

ference and the way the negotiations were conducted signified innovative initiatives in world diplomacy.

The negotiations were made possible between the two parties placed in the U.S. Government and the U. S. President.

The two parties have agreed upon a general framework for the solution of the long-standing Middle East question, a solution which is based on the UN General Assembly resolutions No. 242 and 338.

This general framework provides for an agreement to be signed between Egypt and Israel within three months. That agreement is open to all Arab countries who wish to associate themselves with the peace plans.

Egypt and Israel have agreed on the following points:

1) Egypt and Israel pledge that they will abide by the following principles and resolutions in the agreements to be entered by Israel and its neighbours: Egypt, Jordan, Syria and Lebanon.

2) All those Arab countries who accept the general framework and Israel will entertain normal peaceful relations and, to ensure the achievement of this goal, the two parties pledge to implement the UN resolutions by starting:

a) Total political recognition,
b) Discontinuation of all economic pressures,
c) Guarantee the security of each other's nationals within each one's boundaries.

3) In accordance with this general framework, the parties concerned will discuss about the ways and means to promote common economic development objectives and to strengthen the solidarity and friendship between them.

4) Committees responsible for economic and financial problems will be established.

5) The Government of the USA is invited to participate in the negotiations for the definition and implementation of the agreements.

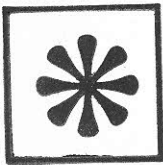
6) The UN security council will be requested to accept the peace settlement plans and to ensure that they will not be violated. The permanent members of the security Council are particularly requested to accept these plans and ensure that their actions and policies will be in conformity with them.

The document has been signed by the Egyptian President, Mr. Anwar Sadat, the Israeli Prime Minister, Mr. Menachem Begin, and the US President, Mr. Jimmy Carter, as witness.

This general framework that the parties accepted at the Camp David summit after long discussions, did not appeal to some Middle East countries, nevertheless

it is expected that the signatories will firmly maintain it and will endeavour in its effectuation.

The question which now arises is whether it is in the objective interest of the peoples living in the Middle East. It is difficult to give definitive answer yet, but that will be known from the results that the proposed plans will have in the near future. For the time being, we may only hope that they will constitute a new means for the Arab nations to strengthen their solidarity and open a dialogue aiming at re-uniting their forces and efforts and fighting against their many enemies who benefit from their division and their conflicts.



SOMALIA AND WESTERN EUROPEAN COUNTRIES

Recently, a delegation led by J/le Siad visited Belgium, the Netherlands and Italy. This tour was preceded by other visits to other West European countries. The principal aim of these missions was to improve and strengthen the cooperation which has been existing for a long time between Somalia and these countries.

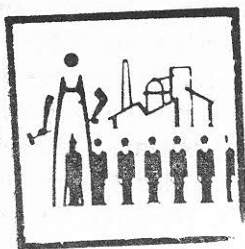
As is well known, all these countries are members of the E.E.C. and have always entertained steady direct and indirect relations with Somalia. We cannot but appreciate the valuable economic assistance which they continue to provide us.

Though things are as simple as this, yet certain quarters and governments tried to give the impression that these visits had other aims than those declared and that Somalia is only interested in obtaining arms. The objectives of both the Somali Government and the Somali nation have a wider scope than those indicated by the slander-mongers.

The Somali government and people are engaged in the economic and social transformation of the society and will not allow other influences to hinder such praise-worthy efforts.

While practicing a policy of non-interference in each others internal affairs, governments and nations are making efforts to ameliorate the atmosphere of cordial understanding and solidarity among them.

Since the advent of the 1969 October Revolution, Somalia has been giving careful attention to these efforts of cooperation and solidarity and the constant exchange of visits is connected with this and we are confident that these visits will have a satisfactory outcome.



POLITICAL ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL AFFAIRS

The strategy of Economic Development

By, Mohamed Abdi Ali

The programme of the Somali Revolutionary Socialist Party referring to the economic Policy to be pursued lays down an increased Socialist Transformation, and thus commits itself to the strengthening of the material and technical base of our economy. This increased role of the Socialist public sector aids the progressive development of our Society, and furthermore promises us a relatively speedy satisfaction of the ever expanding social needs of our society. However the socialisation of our economy, the improvement and acceleration of its technical material base calls for certain clearcut Policy considerations. For one thing, it necessitates the spelling out of the real and objective laws that operate in the historical period that our society is in. Again it inevitably calls for the singling out of various factors that act as a brake on rapid economic development. Once these points have been theoretically and practically decided upon we need to draw up a strategy that realistically allows for set tasks which are realisable in a fixed period of time. Here the task of planning becomes obvious itself in the Consciousness of almost all policy makers, more so in the case of centrally directed socialist economic systems. More and more the tendency of viewing plans merely as a mechanical process of co-ordinating and increasing the national

output, is being discarded.

In its place, socialist planning which is a living process based on the Party's, short, medium and long term strategies of economic development.

As such planning obeys fundamental party principles, amongst which sectoral & territorial proportionality, sectoral balancing, etc, are some basic ones to adhere to. Democratic Centralism, which lays down a strong centralised management and planning of the economy is harmoniously blended with the democratic initiative of the lower Units of the economic system, such as individual enterprise. Aware of these fundamental prerequisites of socialist planning a simple matter presents itself, and that is how could we integrate it into the level of development of our backward economy. This obviously compels us to further study the specificities and peculiarities of our economic system.

THE SOMALI ECONOMY AND ITS DEVELOPMENT.

Of course, there is no Somali economy as such, separate from the world economy. The Somali economy is partly integrated into the world Capitalist system. Partly it is socialist, i.e the State sector, and Partly it is traditional or natural economy. This breakdown of our economy is something which we share with almost all third world Countries but more particularly with other African countries. Be

that as it is, the point which deserves underlining is the role of the traditional sector in our economic life. Thus far, nearly 90%, if not our gross national product, is derived from the natural or traditional economic sector. The problematics of anticipated rapid economic growth in Somalia has to contend with this fact.

The natural economy sector i.e livestock and subsistence farming which by its essence is backward in as much as its technical and scientific base is low, and added to this, it has suffered most in the hands

of the colonial masters.

Furthermore the neo-colonial influences which are rooted in the social division of labour in the world Capitalist market worsen the chances of a healthy growth of this sector of the economy. Supplementing this, and further more deepening the contradictions to which an economy in a capitalist context is inherently subject to, is the disharmony and lack of interaction of the modern and traditional sectors of the economy. Over and above this the mono-culture nature of third world countries' economy, i.e the dependence on few commodities for export rules out an accurate planning process, and equally frustrates the integrative nature underlying a socialist plan.

The neolithic stage of our economic development, in

other words, the dominant role of small scale Commodity production, with all the attendant problems emanating from it, poses new and novel problems for socialist planning in Somalia. Small scale commodity production, as yet, lacking sophisticated division of labour, and subsisting in conditions where labour productivity is very low, fails to promote certain essential preconditions of socialist planning and transformation could not occur in such a situation. In point of fact, conscious socialist planning of such an economy commits itself to devise ways and means of overcoming the transitional nature of small scale commodity production, which from a socialist policies to the extent that they encourage strong public and co-operative sectors accelerate the process of capital accumulation and thereby rapid economic development. The nationalisation program of expatriate and local private enterprise of 1970, and the establishment of Co-operatives in 1973 were conscious policies which favoured the bringing together of small scale enterprises to create large scale ones capable of coping with the new needs of social development. The advantageous benefits of the public sector has been exhaustively dealt with in an article in Halgan (5th issue). There it is in minute details shown how, with in a period of 7 years the State sector has expanded from just 16 enterprises to over 50. The expansion is not a mere quantitative aggregates but a qualitative development as well. Most probably the development of the state sector is not a smooth process; inefficiencies lack of personnel with expertise and know-how, sufficient capital outlays, marketability

of products, etc still bedevil our state enterprises. But these are not adequate reasons to turn our back on the state sector, it is as a matter of fact an inducement to make us work all the more harder to make it a better success. The advantages of the state sector, on condition that there is better planning, far outweighs its disadvantages. All the same, a deep critical appraisal of the state sector and more resolute efforts to resolve its multiple contradictions, and the laying down of a satisfactory interrelationship between the state and private sectors, all constitute important facts which are essential to macro-economic planning.

PERSPECTIVE PLANNING FUTURE ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT IN SOMALIA.

The history, role and nature of our planning has been elaborately dealt with elsewhere (2nd issue of Halgan 1976), therefore there is no need to go any unnecessary details with regard to it. To recapitulate on the main ideas of that article our first two economic life. Serious economic planning took shape under the present revolutionary state since the choice of socialist orientation implies a conscious planning of economic life. The 1971-73 and 1974-78 development plans were steps in the right direction to the extent that these plans were undertaken to effect a rapid economic transformation depending on a strategy of creating a scale of priorities insuring faster growth rates.

In these two plans sizeable funds were allotted for developing an industrial base in the Somali Democratic Republic. But despite these plans, and inspite of the great efforts

harnessed for their implementation, certain chronic problems subverting our plans remain. One factor is ascertainment of the investment funds and capital outlays earmarked for the projects contained in the plan. Another serious shortcoming which is more and more asserting itself is the low absorption rate of our economy. This is the lack of an economic capacity to fully utilise even the available funds. The 1974-78 plan manifestedly showed how unable our economy is in respect of fully attaining high levels of optimal utilisation of the given resources.

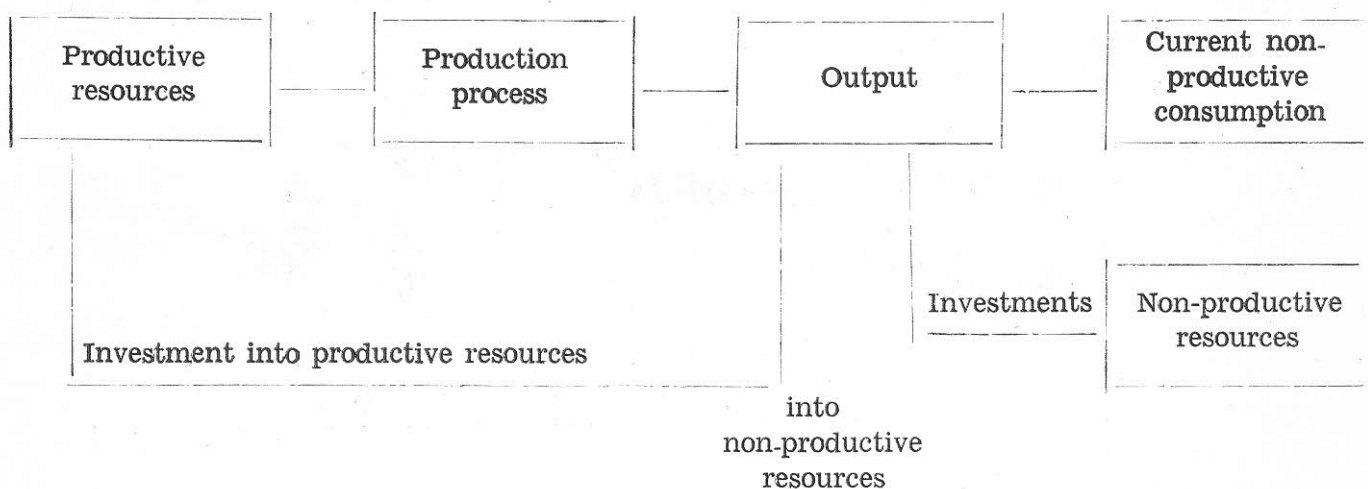
In this regard one can advance the proposition that the lack of trained man-power, the dearth of efficient administrative and managerial staff, particularly high level staff will for a number of years to come, foster exceptionally unfavourable conditions for rapid and fast economic growth rates. This will be the case since certain objective preconditions of fulfilling plan targets will for sometime be lacking.

In consideration of observable drawbacks in the first two plans under the revolutionary state, and departing from the new conditions of the existence of the SRSP, with its economic program, a new interim development plan 1979-81 has been enunciated. The objectives of the new interim plan is on the one hand to successively carry out certain targets which the former plans failed to attain, and on the other to help us in our redoubled efforts to effect faster economic growth in the satisfaction of widening sphere of social needs. For this very reason there is absolute need that, in its content and methodology the new interim plan has to go a longer way in advancing the

revolutionary goals set down by the state. Moreover the policies of sectoral co-ordination the recruitment of high level staff, and their improved training, the compilation and collation of statistical data, harmonisation of interbranch relationships, are all factors which ought to be given top priority. In short there is a feeling that an indepth ground-
 ding of economic categories, and their thorough knowled-
 ge and dynamic correlations is absent in our economic planning at any rate in the practical sphere. The present plan

has to therefore, avoid the pitfalls of former plans. Accordingly, and since economic growth is the touchstone and pillar of economic planning, particularly in a developing country, the need for fuller understanding and appreciation of this category is absolutely called for. Economic growth primarily means an increase in the volume of the productive processes, an expansion in the scale of production, and growth in the output and its consumption and replenishment of production resources, comprises the trans-

formation of productive resources into productive, which are connected up with non-productive resources which partake in production. In our country Livestock, agriculture, fishing, light Industry and commercial servicing constitute our productive resources. The point is how to efficiently pool together all these resources and optimise their productivity. In other words how to maximise the output of a certain input which one initially starts with. The chart below gives us a picture enlightening us on the matter:-



In this Chart productive resources are the input, the process of production is the dynamic process whereby productive resources are transformed into Products and their utilisation constitute an output, while the replenishment of resources by manufactured goods represents a feedback.

A plan for development is one which maximises output by efficiently harnessing the available inputs or the human and natural resources in a country's possession. Through the intensified utilisation of technology and science, both imported and local, the effort to increase social production is turned into practical reality. With the help of various steps, a favourable impact on the national economy could be

achieved. Amongst such steps the working out of a scale of social objectives and needs is an important one which can never be lost sight of.

CONCLUSION:-

Development perspective plans embody a whole set of factors which ought to be combined, and considered in the framework of a fast changing reality. In our country the priority of perspective planning, in the initial stages, has to concentrate on transforming the agro-nomadic and fishery sectors, thus creating the conditions for a strong and viable industrial base.

Industrialisation, under which the backwardness characterising our national eco-

nomy could be defeated will undoubtedly open up new vistas for our people. For one thing, a stronger productivity of these gainfully employed our society can afford allotting a bigger share toward social amenities, and the more determined coping with the social problems attendant in a society undergoing social change. In conclusion our planning and particularly the present interim development plan 1979-81 should dedicate itself to the fundamental goals of social commitment to the welfare of the Somali masses. And welfare can best be served through the practical increase in the volume of social welfare, and the qualitative improvement in the social services.

PARTY LIFE



Decisions passed by the C. C. of S. R. S. P.

On 16th August the SRSP Politbureau had an official meeting in which decisions concerning the reorganisation of the structure of some of the Central Committee Bureaus and their tasks were reached.

These decisions were:-

1. The Economic Bureau and the Finance Bureau were unified and renamed the Bureau of Economy and Finance. The Chairman of the former Economic Bureau Jaalle Ahmed Mohamed Mchamoud was named the Chairman of the National Economic Committee.

2. functions of the Defence and Security Bureau would come under the investigation committee of the SRSP.

3. The Tourism Agency has been re-structured as the Ministry of Tourism and its new Minister is declared to be Jaalle Colonel Mohamed Omar Jes.

4. The following changes had been made on the responsibilities of some Central Committee members:-

a) Jaalle Brig. General Mohamed Ali Shire who was the representative of the Central Committee at Hiran Region is named as the CC. representative of Hiran and Galgaduud Regions.

b) Jaalle Colonel Ahmed Mohamoud Farah who was the Central Committee representative of Mudug Region is

named as the Chairman of the Foreign Affairs Bureau of the Central Committee.

c) Jaalle Mahamed Ali Nur who was the Vice Chairman of the Social Affairs Bureau is named as the Chairman of the same Bureau.

d) Jaalle Abdirahman Aidid who was the Central Committee representative in Middle Shabele Region is named as the Chairman of the Social Science and Research Bureau.

e) J/le Mohamed Jama Haji «Kore» who was Central Com-

mittee representative in Galgaduud region is named representative of the Bay Region.

f) Jaalle Ahmed Mohamed Duale who was the Central Committee representative in Lower Shabelle Region is named as the CC representative of Lower and Middle Jubba Regions.

g) Jaalle Hamsa Mahamed Gaadaweine who was the Chairman of the Defence and Security Bureau is named as the Central Committee representative of the Gedo Region.

The 6th Anniversary of the peoples

Malitia - (Victory Pioneers)

On the 18th August in the main avenues of Mogadishu, the Capital of the SDR huge demonstrations of thousands of victory pioneers paraded, and along with them, in these celebrations were other social groupings showing their support. These demonstrations were held to commemorate the 6th Anniversary of the victory pioneers establishment on 19th August 1972.

The victory pioneers were formed from a section of the youth who came forward to sacrifice their lives in the salutary endeavour of carrying out the great national tasks made imperative by need to defend the fruits of the revolution. The

se youth did without rest, and forsook their individual interests with the least expectation of material gain, but with the absolute conviction in furthering the public good, and in answering the revolutionary call to help the people.

The army of the victory pioneers became renown for being the watchful eye of the revolution, and for this they were maligned and abused by the retrogressive forces against whom they waged a relentless struggle. The achievements of the army of victory pioneers of those 6 years cannot be in detail summarised here, but in short it can confidently



be stated that their history occupies a golden page.

This year's celebration of the victory pioneers establishment, occurred in the unknown soldiers monument, where thousands of people massed up. Taking part in this congregation was Jaalle Ismail Ali Abokor, the Vice General Secretary of the SRSP, Vice President of the SDR, who delivered a valuable speech there. The contents of the speech mainly dealt with the history of

this army and revolutionary role it fulfills in the struggle which our nation continues against its various enemies.

On this occasion Jaalle Ismail addressed himself to the struggle presently being directed by the Somali National Liberation Fronts of WSLF and SALF who are

seeking to liberate their sacred soil from Abyssinian colonialism.

He went on to underline the material and moral aid which the SDR extends to its brethren in the Somali West, based as this is on the principal stand to help all national liberation movements.

The Vice-General Secretary exhorted the victory pioneers to continue waging a relentless war against the anti-revolutionary, and reactionary forces in our midst, and in addition congratulated them on the impor-

tant occasion they are celebrating.

Present on this occasion and welcoming the Vice-General Secretary was the head of the nation's militia Brig. General Abdirahman Abdi Hussien, who is a member of the CC of SRSP.

In all the regional capitals of the SDR similar celebrations and ceremonies were undertaken to commemorate the occasion, and without exception the reports delivered underscored the heroic role which the history of our militia signifies.

Student Seminar Closed

The Secretary General of the SRSP President of the SDR Jaalle Mohamed Siad Barre closed a one-month Seminar for 210 Secondary School Students on 6th August 1978 at Police Academy.

In a speech on the occasion, the Secretary General said that the Revolution objective in holding such seminars is to create for the youth friendly and sociable atmosphere under which they can intermingle, get acquainted with one another and at the same time fight such social evils as tribalism.

J/le Siad urged the students to strengthen their cultural and sport's activities in order to create a healthy society free from all vices.

The Secretary General noted that Scientific Socialism is the only path with which a rapid development,

equality and justice could be accomplished and that the Somali Revolutionary Socialist Party is guiding the society in the materialisation of these principles.

Finally Jaalle Siad commended the institutions that organised the Seminar among them the Somali Revolutionary Youth Union, Ministry of Education and the Police Academy Officials.

The Seminar attended by monitors of all Secondary Schools was the first of its kind ever organised in the country.

The main points of discussion for the seminar centred on the organisation of all the Students as a united body, the way of raising their political consciousness and the formation of the Somali Revolutionary Youth Union within the students movement.

WORLD AFFAIRS



The growing friendship of Somalia and People's Republic of China



In the first week of August a high level delegation from the Peoples Republic of China led by Vice Premier Chin Mu-Hua paid a friendly visit to the Somali Democratic Republic. Preceding this visit, and following in its wake, there has been a number of Chinese delegations, of various levels, who paid friendly visits to the SDR. Equally Somali delegations, including high ranking ones, have visited the Peoples Republic of China.

General Secretary of the SRSP and President of the SDR Jaalle Mohamed Siad Bare, several times visited the PRC heading important delegations. Ismail Ali Abokor, Vice General Secretary; and Vice President

of the SDR, and a delegation he led was one of the extremely important delegations that recently made a friendly tour of the PRC.

All these visits, go to testify to the quite good relations existing between the two countries and peoples which with the passing of days, gathers momentum.

The link between the two countries is not one which started recently but existed for a number of centuries.

China is country renown for its ancient civilisations, and the SDR has its long recorded history running to thousands of years.

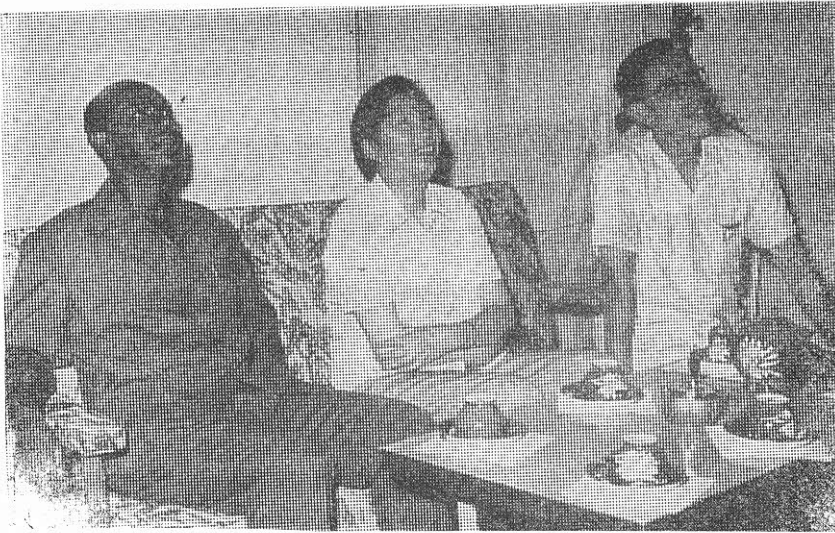
Friendly relations between

the two countries in all spheres of life date back to centuries before Christ's birth. These friendly relations were cemented by the trade links between the two countries and peoples.

In 1949 a Socialist Revolution which was spearheaded by the Chinese Communist Party lead by Comrade Mao Tse Tung heralded a new dawn for the peoples of China. From then on the Peoples Republic of China became an active member in the world progressive movement, which is locked up in an acute struggle with World Imperialism. The Somali people were then waging a bitter struggle for national independence, and as a result belonged to the same broad progressive front as the PRC.

In 1960 after the birth of the Somali Republic, the Peoples Republic of China was one of its first friends with whom it had cordial political relations. Despite the endeavours of neo-colonialism to weaken that link and set Somalia against the progressive and revolutionary bloc, of which China was at the forefront yet the PRC extended selfless aid to the fledgling republic of Somalia, in the economic, health and educational spheres.

The relations between



the two countries became consolidated following the 21st October 1969 revolution, when a new era dawned for Somalia. Thanks to the October Revolution the Somali Democratic Republic chose the Scientific Socialist path of development, which alone could save it from the neo-colonialist stranglehold, thereby opening up new vistas for true social Liberation. The Community of ideological views cemented a new relationship between the two countries and peoples, and the cooperative links gathered new strength and sunk deeper roots, nurtured as they are by the shared socialist outlooks.

In the international Conferences the Somali Democratic Republic consistently sided with the righteous cause of the Chinese people. An example we can point to is the SDR'S advocacy and support for the PRC'S right to its seat in the Security Council, which imperialist powers for a long time tried to deny to the PRC, on the grounds that Taiwan represented the Chinese people.

The SDR militantly voiced its opinion that only the PRC had the right to represent the whole of China, and it actively Convassed for China's inclusion in the UN, which eventually succeeded.

In the same fashion the PRC has been unselfishly aiding the SDR in the difficult struggle against Colonialism, and backwardness, which still are perennial problems which our country is trying its best to overcome. **The Somali public**, even the most ordinary man in the street recognises and appreciates the unconditional, and immensely beneficial aid which the PRC extends to our country. Through practical experience the Somali masses have come to feel special affection and Comradely love for their Chinese brothers.

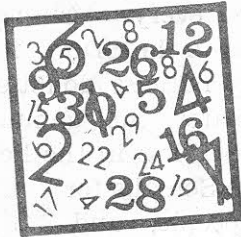
The Somali children when playing in the vicinity of their homes, and set their eyes on a truck carrying Chinese Comrades, stop playing, and in unison raise their hands, shouting, «Long Life China,

China». This habitual phenomena which now characterises, Somali children, and which every Chinese who came to the SDR immediately notices doubtlessly translates the genuine feelings beating in the hearts of the Somalis for the Chinese people, and the eternal friendly relations existing between the two peoples for centuries. A Somali Proverb States, «What ever the elders say, the children practically voice».

Amongst the Somali projects built by Chinese aid the following count as the most prominent: The Cigarette and match factory, the Somali National Theatre both in Mogadisho, the running Water system in the North West region, and the long highway from BeletWeyn to Burao, which is the greatest single project so far carried out, and recently officially opened by Vice-Premier Comrade Chen Mu-Hua, who in August this year came with a high level delegation to the SDR.

The PRC and the S. R. are two countries which today are led by two Socialist Parties: The Chinese Communist Party and the Somali Revolutionary Socialist Party, are firmly united against Imperialist conspiracies and super power plots, and without any but openly they are in solidarity with the national liberation movements, in their fight for freedom, democracy and Socialism, whose success is assured by ongoing historical processes.

MONTHLY BULLETIN



Vice Premier of P.R. of China visits Somalia



The 27 member Chinese government delegation led by Vice-Premier Chen Mu Hua, was given an impressive send-off at Mogadishu Airport on 5th August at the end of a six-day visit to the S.D.R.

Vice-Premier Chen Mu Hua, of the state council of the People's Republic of China is a member of the Tenth and Elventh Central of the Communist Party of China.

At the invitation of the Somali Government, the delegation paid an official visit to the SDR. During her stay, Vice-Premier Chen Mu Hua inaugurated the 970 Kilometre long Beledweyne-Burao Highway built with Chinese aid. Deputy leaders of the delegation included; Pan chi change Pai-fa, vice Minister of the Capital construction commission.

Upon arrival on July 30, Vice-Premier Chen Mu Hua and her delegation were welcomed by a large group of the SRSP heads and government representatives and the general public also participated to welcome the Chinese guests. Comrade public Chen Mu Hua was given warm welcome by Vice-President Ismail Ali Abokor also present at the airport was a politbureau member of the SRSP Jaalle Ahmed Suleman Abdule, Minister, other SRSP, C.C. official Somali Ambassador to China Mohamed Ismail Kahin and other highranking Party and government representatives of Somali Social Organization, also Chinese Ambassador to Somalia, representatives of Chinese technicians in Somalia and heads of diplomatic missions of various countries.

«We have come to stren-

gthen and develop the friendly relations and cooperation between our two peoples and also to learn from the great Somali people», Vice-premier Chen Mu-Hua said in a Statement upon arrival.

On July 31st, the leader of the Chinese delegation called on President Siad at the Presidency, They had very cordial and friendly conversations. In the course of their conversation, noted on the good bilateral relation between Somalia and China and discussed the situation in Africa

During their stay in So. Hua and her party accompanied by Vice-President Ismail Ali Abokor, visited projects built with Chinese aid including the Benadir Hospital the Cigarette and Match Factory and Mogadishu Stadium. The delegation also visited Kismayo in southern Somalia, Togdher and North-West Region of the SDR in the company of Jaalle Ismail Ali Abokor. While in Togdher Comrade Chen Mu-Hua inaugurated the 970 Kilometre-long, Beledweyne - Burao Highway.

Vice-President Ismail Ali Abokor gave a state banquet in honour of the Chinese Vice-President and the Party she led.

In a speech on the occasion, the Vice-President said Somalia appreciates the wise policy of Chinese leadership in opposing super power hegemony and exploitation over smaller nations and noted that Somali people are very much heartened by victories of the Chinese people towards the modernization and advancement of their nation. He said that the two countries are linked by a long standing friendship out of the similarity of their historic experience and common membership of the developing third world nations.

Jaalle Ismail also noted the similar struggles of the two peoples for a just and equitable political, social and economic way of life the principle between all their commitment to of world peace, justice, friendship and solidarity between all nations as well as their steadfastness to defend their freedom, sovereignty and independence.

«Our two countries are also linked by their opposition to hegemonism and support to the rights of peoples for self-determination and destiny», he said.

In responding to Jaalle Ismail's speech comrade Chen Mu-Hua praised the Somali people for their tradition of opposing imperialism and colonialism.

She went on to add; «In internal affairs, the government of Somalia under the leadership of President Siad Barre have paid great attention in developing the national economy and culture and mobilizing the masses to reclaim wasteland, develop agriculture and improve, livestock breeding in



a big way. It has also created the standardised Somali-script, worked hard to eradicated the vestiges of colonial forces and achieved gratifying successes in building up the country. Somalia in global terms has pursued a policy of neutrality and non-alignment, persisted in combating imperialism and hegemonism, stood for African, Arab and Third World Unity and opposed superpower interference in African affairs and those in the Horn of Africa and the Red Sea Region. Thus winning the praise of the people of the Third World.

The Vice-Premier concluded: «Both China and So-

malia are developing countries belonging to the Third World. Our friendship has stood the test of time. And it is for the purpose of cultivating the flower of friendship that the Chinese Government delegation has come to visit Somalia. We sincerely hope that this flower of Sino-Somali friendship will bloom luxuriantly and bear fruit».

Vice-Premier Chen Mu-Hua of the Political Bureau of the people's Republic of China is also an alternate member of the Political Bureau of Eleventh Central Committee of the Party, and deputy to the fifth national people's Congress of PRC.

President's speech at Halane Training School

President Mahamed Siad Barre on the 16th of August gave a lecture on administrative leadership at Halane Training Center to the Director-Generals and General Managers of government departments and public enterprises currently in training.

They were admitted to

Halane on 21st June 1978. Earlier Jaalle Siad officially inaugurated the fifth orientation course for 150 senior civil servants at Halane on 4th December 1971. The course which lasted for three months was attended by Director-Generals, Ambassadors, General Managers and Directors.

In his lecture, the presi-

dent noted the crucial importance of administrative leadership in the country's development framework to work in political, economic and social services.

«One can only fulfil his duties properly when one has the necessary knowledge and technique to undertake it and makes full use of the planning organisa-

tional and control methods of management», the president said public officials could best execute their duties to the people by carrying out their responsibilities with justice and honesty.

Jaalle Siad also stressed the need for promoting managerial techniques for the advancement of planned goals with a patriotic

spirit.

He called on the officials to widen their scope of ideas and activity for the enhancement of the national development effort. The president recalled the achievements made in every field of national development through co-operation of the government service and the public.

Al-Gamasy awarded a Somali medal

An Egyptian military delegation led by war minister, General Mohamed Abdulqani Al-Gamasi wound up four day official visit to the SDR on 8th August. The purpose of the seven member delegation was to further promote co-operation between Somalia and Egypt particularly in the military field.

The delegation was accorded a warm reception upon arrival by Vice-president Lt. General Mohamed Ali Samatar, Deputy Defence Minister Brig General Omar Haji Mohamed, Ministers, Bureau Chairmen, Egyptian Ambassador to Somalia and other Officials.

The party Secretary General and President of the SDR Jaalle Mohamed Siad Barre awarded the Somali Star to the Egyptian war



Minister General Al-gamsi as a mark of Somali-Egyptian fraternal ties. Other members of the delegation also received awards.

The ceremony took place at a reception given in honour of the Egyptian war minister at the presidency. The reception was also attended by Somalia's first

Vice-President and Minister of Defence Lt. Gen. Mohamed Ali Samatar and other defence Ministry officials.

During their stay in Somalia General Al-gamasi and his delegation held talks with Somali officials on promoting relations between the armed forces of the two countries.

Graduated Teachers

A ceremony was held at the Halane Teacher's Training Institute on the evening of August 9th for the graduation of 2124 new primary Programme teachers.

The Halane Institute has produced between 2000 and

3000 graduates annually since its establishment four years ago; the present group of graduates is the third.

The minister of Education Jaalle Aden Mohamed Ali speaking on the occasion said, «The teacher should put the task of serving his

people before his own interests». He reminded the new teachers of their responsibilities and expressed the hope that they would meet their tasks with dedication and understanding of the impact for their profession. The students had successful



ly completed eight months of intensive training in military and academic subjects to the equivalent of form 2 which qualifies them to teach in primary schools. The minister noted that of the graduating class, 735 would immediately join the ranks of primary school

teachers, and take new assignments in government schools at the start of the new scholastic year while the remaining 1310 will continue at the Institute for an other year to qualify as intermediate school teachers.

The newly graduated teachers will join the existing

8306 teachers in the primary schools where, in the coming years, they will together be responsible for instructing an estimated total of around 300.000 pupils in the nation's primary schools.

Statistics for 1977-78 on primary education; 228.484 pupils enrolled in 5952 classes. The anticipated new intake for 1978-79 year is approximately 80.000.

Halane Teachers' Institute receives assistance as well as support from ALESCO (Arab League Educational, Scientific and cultural Organization).

ALESCO has provided teachers for the three Arabic medium subjects namely, social studies and religion, in addition to donating audio-Visual aids.

Cairo Conference of Arab Information Ministers

Information ministers of Arab League member countries held a two day conference which ended on 3rd August. The Somali Democratic Republic was represented by a delegation headed by the Minister of Information and National Guidance, Jaalle Abdisalaam Sheikh Hussein.

The conference held discussions on the current situation in the middle East and Africa and explored ways and means to strengthen publicity work of the Arab Countries against foreign intervention and Israeli Zionism.

The Somali delegation submitted an important memorandum to the conference, which delineated that; «Africa and parts of the Arab homeland are currently suffering a

imperialist assault of a new kind. The intervention of foreign forces in the Horn of Africa with the sinister objective and ambitions for encircling this important strategic area calls for vigilance».

The conference adopted 17 draft resolutions concerning a new strategy of Arab information activities to confront Israel Zionist propaganda and the strengthening of cooperation in the field of information services with Africa and with the rest of the 3rd world countries.

Upon his return from Cairo Jaalle Abdisalaam Sheikh Hussein talked to newsmen on August 13th. in answering a question on how the conference handled the critical issue of the conflicts in the Horn of Africa?

he said «For one thing, the conference passed a resolution in support of the just struggle of the Arab peoples of Somalia, Abbo and Eritrea against Abyssinian colonial oppression. . . .

In reply to another question on whether the conference adopted concrete measures that would promote Afro-Arab cooperation, the Minister said «the conference adopted resolution towards promoting publicity and information links between Arab countries and other third World countries, specially African countries, A specific illustration of this is the decision to call a joint Afro Arab Conference of ministers of Information. It was decided that such a joint conference, the

Cont. on page 18



THEORETICAL ISSUES

Freedom and Necessity

By: Mohamud A. Ali (Bayr)

Amongst the host of categories used in philosophy, freedom and necessity constitute prominently important ones, but at the same time are awfully difficult to comprehend. Since the advent of philosophy, and philosophical thinking took its independent course of development, these two categories have been thoroughly discussed, but disagreements as to their meaning contents add role in social development abound. That is why we need to shed light on these two categories. A better understanding of them will surely facilitate the comprehension of other interconnected categories, and more over will deepen our knowledge of the historical materialist interpretation of these two concepts. At first a separate elaboration of each will be attempted, and secondly their dynamic dialectics will be brought out.

NECESSITY

The categories of necessity denotes the sense of necessary condition, which allows certain phenomena and processes the possibility of maturing into qualitatively new ones. Necessity encompasses both the natural and social dimensions of life, thus we talk of natural and historical necessity. The basis of necessity in all its multivarious forms is determined by the intrinsically objective laws that govern the internal flow of

life. It is through objective laws that water in a kettle is made to boil, equally the successful construction of an aircraft is due to our mastery of the laws of aerodynamics. The same objective laws make themselves obviously felt in social life through the observable consequence of socio-economic formations grounded as these are on the growth of productive forces, which momentous social revolution transform the class social relations subsisting in a given **society, Necessity does not** mean as some philosophers try to make us believe as a synonym with predetermination. The philosophical acceptance of the world being governed by objective natural laws does not exclude, but presupposes the firm belief in the active role of man, the masses and social forces in changing their lives for the better. The laws of necessity only go to point to us the best ways and methods to adopt in the effectuation of the aims and objectives which we aspire to. A full knowledge of the world around one, a deep understanding of its laws, properties, tendencies, etc. furnishes one with better devices and means to go about it. The fulsome belief in predetermination, the vulgarly deterministic idea of man as a helpless atom thrown into the vast flowing currents that is life violates and is foreign to the strictly Marxist-Leninist conception of necessity. Man is free to the ex-

tent he takes stock of the necessary laws that govern him. Thus the making use of necessary laws tremendously helps man to widen the horizons of his freedom.

FREEDOM

Freedom philosophically and is so interconnected with the concept of necessity as to be inseparable from it. The Hegelian and Engelain definition of «freedom as the appreciation of necessity», organically brings out the closeness of the two concepts. Furthermore this definition really goes to give us the essence of what freedom means. Certain philosophers and philosophical schools go to the extent of splitting hairs in their endeavour to define the nature of freedom. But despite their efforts we gain no clearer understanding of its practical usefulness. These philosophical schools confuse the old philosophical and sociological problem of the relationship between freedom and necessity, problem of free will and determinism thus voluntarism and fatalism. Additionally they counterpose material existence to spiritual counterpart, thereby expressing the unacceptable notion that limitations, of our material existence negate freedom to be associated with it. Accordingly freedom is made solely an attribute, a function of our spiritual world. This obviously is ideals befuddling of our minds, inasmuch as the-

re is no way of separating the material and spiritual dimensions of life. The two constitute a social whole, insappable and the scope of freedom is existent in both.

«Freedom does not consist in the dream of independence from natural laws, but in the knowledge of these laws, and in the possibility this gives of systematically making them work towards definite ends. This holds good in relation both to the laws of external nature and to those which govern the bodily and mental existence of men themselves: two classes of laws which we can separate from each other only in thought but not in reality. Freedom of the will therefore means nothing but the capacity to make decisions with knowledge of the subject. Therefore the freer a man's judgement is in relation to a definite question, the greater is necessity with which the content of this judgement will be determined; while uncertainty founded on ignorance, which seems to make an arbitrary choice among many different and conflicting possible decisions, shows precisely by this that it is not free, that it is controlled by the very object it should itself control. Freedom therefore consists in the control over ourselves and over external nature, a control founded on knowledge of natural necessity, it is therefore necessarily a product of historical development F.Engles, anti-Duhing». This passage unequivocally spells out the marxist-Leninist conception of freedom, which is as made clear a blending and harmonisation of all its various aspects. None of the elements which contribute to the widening of human freedom are left and man is not reduced to a ham-

less creature abdicating responsibility to improve the conditions of his life. On the contrary man is elevated to his deserving heights, that is with the help of knowledge of himself, the society of which he is a member and the surrounding nature, he can most definitely embark successively on any task that presents itself.

THE RELEVANCE OF FREEDOM AND NECESSITY TO OUR DAILY LIVES.

Philosophical categories are meaningless if they are not integrated into the real practical life of the people. Accordingly we ought to discuss freedom and necessity in the context of our own society. With regard to freedom we must correlate its individual and social parameters, and at the same time both the social and individual should be looked at, within the framework of the historically necessary conditions that are in operation in Somalia. Ultimately freedom itself becomes a function of the level of the social productive process attained by our society. In turn the nature of social relations, the wealth and sophistication of our culture, in nutshell the whole superstrutal planes are dependent on the productivity of labour, the accumulated productive implements, experiences and the scientific and technological know-how enjoyed by our society. To simplify this the freedom of our society, individually as well as collectively cannot go beyond but is actually determined by the natural and human resources which so far have been fully tapped. As a corollary of this any extension and expansion of our realm of freedom will by necessity emanate from the

better and more efficient utilisation of our resources. Freedom like all other things maturing within the womb of necessity, emerges under the influence of many chancy events to grow and flourish. By this we want to convey the idea that the growth of freedom is an ascendant process whereby in the initial stages a society starts from scratch, gradually grows, and eventually attains higher and levels. Philosophically this is expressed by K. Marx's and F.Engel's statement that true freedom begins beyond the realm of necessity. So, every society, including ours proceeds along the lines of the departure from the realm of necessity where control over nature and our social systems and relations are minimal to greater and greater control over nature and our social systems and relations. The attainment of the realm of freedom affords man to realise all the potentialities that otherwise lie dormant and untapped. In the conditions of today's major tendencies it is the socialist system which creates the prerequisites for the full potentialities that are inherent in the progressive forces that are fighting for a development oriented, just and non-exploitative society.

The other aspect of freedom necessitating a relatively exhaustive elaboration is relationship linking the social and individual aspects of freedom. Obviously freedom has to be enjoyed by individuals living in the society. But then are these individuals separated from society by a great Chinese Wall? No the individual's fate is inextricably interwoven to that of society and in actuality cannot be comprehended in separation from it. In other words individuals are not se-

parate cells, which in aggregate combine to form society but in point of fact are active agents who in combination form a social organism, that is society. Through labour and production, members of society co-operative combine and exchange their labour activities. Through their powerful cultural heritage, experiences and creativity, and with the help of language and articulate speech men in society come to understand each other, express their aspiration as a collective, and of course as social groupings conscious of their position, and the need to change it for the better. Accordingly the theory of social atomism which reduces society to a mere aggregate of unconnected individuals, each a prisoner in his own island exemplified by Daniel Defoe's, Robinson Crusoe, is an untenable theory which does not stand to the test of practical life.

Relating social and individual freedom to our own conditions it becomes clearly apparent that the horizons of individual freedom is widened and enriched by the further advancement of the realm of social freedom. The more developed our productive capacities are, the better we tap our

natural and human resources, the more smoothly we create a balanced sectoral economy based on harmonised proportionate and territorial all-rounded growth, the better we will be able to tackle the many social problems that today we confront. The strengthening of the material basis of life, and tied to this a greater democratisation of our state and public institutions run on principles of strict accountability to the masses, will surely favour an extension of both social and individual freedom. A dialectical unity of the two categories, a recognition of their organic and mutual interaction furthers their theoretic and practical usefulness. Whereas a false counterposing and the undue emphasis on one, at the expense of the other invariably leads to the negation of both.

Conclusion.

We have attempted to spell out the intimate and organic link between necessity and freedom, and to some extent tried to posit them to real life experiences. Our society, thus far finds itself mainly operating in the sphere of necessity that is we find ourselves in con-

ditions which beyond our will and wish, do not allow us to get all the objectives and aspirations set down for our selves. The stage we are in the development process is one which needless to say, has historical roots and thereby obeys certain historical laws emanating from the underdevelopment to which we are its victims. Our strategy is how to overcome this legacy of underdevelopment in all sphere of life. The harsh and untamed nature which over 60% of our population have to cope with, the low level of scientific and technological developments, and the poor educational and skill standards of the vast majority of our people are certain factors which like it or not, we have to reckon with, and on their basis lay down our future plans. The more conscious we are of our limitation, but despite this our confidence that they are surmountable, and the adoption of necessary tactics and methods suited to our specific reality undoubtedly will furnish us with the most promising programme to bring closer the social and collectivist spirit to freedom which alone assures the individual freedom to which every one of us is entitled.

Cont. from page 15

first one, should take place sometime before the next annual conference of Arab information ministers that is scheduled to be held in the Yemen Arab Republic. The joint Afro-Arab conference will be held around February, 1979, in Tunis».

On the question of strengthening the coordinative activities institutionally, he said, «The developing of better institutional links is a long term affair, nevertheless a great deal has already

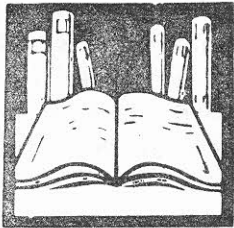
been achieved in this connection. There are plans to establish an Arab Media center, possibly in Tunis. Syria is to host an Arab Media technical institute for training the cadre involved with the Media from Arab countries. The question of promoting

Arab Journalists and mass-media personnel was also discussed and, in this connection, it was decided to hold a festival and a symposium on Arab Media in Sau-

di Arabia on September this year.

In assessing the Cairo conference, he noted, «the conference was highly successful. It dealt serious blows against Israeli Zionism and against all forms of Racism and colonialism. It strongly endorsed the just struggles of those battling against colonial domination i.e the people of Palestine, those of Western Somalia, Abbo, Eritrea and the struggling people in Southern Africa».

BOOKS REVIEW



The Speech of Jaalle M. S. Barre

The President of the SDR.

delivered to the 15th OAU Summit



Address delivered by the President of the Somali Democratic Republic, Major General Mohamed Siad Barre, at the 15th Assembly of Heads of State and Government.

Mr. Chairman,
Distinguished Heads of State and Government,
Excellencies,
Ladies & Gentlemen,

Allow me, first of all, to convey on behalf of myself and my delegation our sincere gratitude to the President, Government and people of the Sudan for the warm hospitality and welcome we have been accorded since the moment of our arrival in this beautiful city of Khartoum. Let me also congratulate my brother, President Nimeiri and the entire Sudanese people for the efficient and smooth manner in which this conference has been organised, which, indeed, renders our work and deliberation here all the more easier.

I am confident that, under your wise guidance, Mr. Chairman, the serious work we came here to accomplish for the people of Africa will be crowned with success.

Our Organization, whose lofty aim was to realize the aspirations of our people for liberation, unity, peace and progress, has passed through many a critical period in its fifteen year history but equally achieving a great deal.

This 15th Assembly of Heads of State and Government is taking place at a time of heightened international tension and rivalrous confrontation in the African Continent. It is indeed an unfortunate reality that our continent is fast becoming an arena over which the struggle for spheres of influence is being waged the East and West. Foreign powers are pursuing activities in fulfilment of their policy interests in a manner that is most damaging to the true

interests of the African peoples concerned on the pretext of defending African interests. This involvement of foreign powers has taken highly disturbing forms that affect dangerously the future of Africa and the well-being of its peoples. The effect of this interference has created a host of antagonism and divisions among the African countries, thus weakening their effective pursuits of their cherished goals in liberating the remaining colonial pockets as well as achieving economic and social development in our continent. These wanton acts of gross interference have brought about the escalation and internationalisation of limited conflicts.

The dark record of colonialism is being repeated and dismemberment of the Continent is again taking place through the demarcation of new areas of influence. In conformity with the practice of the colonial policies of the old days arms and troops are being given to favoured countries while being denied to other. The only difference today is that the Soviet Union is an active and highly prominent participant in the scramble for the recolonisation of Africa.

Turning now to the question of the Soviet-Cuban presence in the Horn of Africa in particular and in Africa in general, I would like to make certain clarification which are pertinent to the situation prevailing in our region.

According to our African traditions we have never failed to be grateful for a good deed nor have we forgotten what the Soviet had done for us and for Africa, especially in the course of the liberation struggle. We then welcomed the assistance of the Soviet Union as a disinterested gesture and genuine generosity towards the developing countries. We had not only accepted the aforesaid notion but we have publicly declared our appreciation to this effect.

However, we have been disillusioned by the fact that the Soviet Union has amply demonstrated in its recent intervention in the Horn of Africa that it covetes the same colonial ambitions as the old ones.

Foreign interference in all forms and manifestation is inconsistent with the legitimate aspirations of all Africans and the spirit of the OAU Charter which upholds «the inalienable right of all peoples to control their own destiny»; it is incompatible with our commitment to freedom, equality and justice as well as the safeguarding and consolidation of our hard-won independence and freedom. In other words, it flies right in the face of the very principles enshrined in the Charter and various OAU resolutions which guide our individual and collective efforts to assert our true African personality. By imposing their own solutions to African problems of which they have little understanding they demonstrate utter contempt for our peoples' aspirations by forcibly endeavouring to shape and control their destinies. Naturally, such foreign imposed solutions to African problems are in the final analysis, no solution at all, they only complicate an

already difficult situation.

Mr. Chairman,

When we advocated that Africa is for the Africans and call upon to keep their hands off, this is not mere sloganeering. It is an expression which truly reflects our deep sense of commitment to the ideals and aspirations which we all share, and demonstration of our determination to solidly oppose all acts of foreign interference in our own affairs.

I have considered it necessary to address myself to this particular issue, since I believe in all sincerity, that it is the most serious and pressing matter of the day, which has already caused much hardship and suffering to our people and which calls for our collective combative resources, if we are to avert the chaos, dissension and general destabilization which are sure to ensure.

Mr. Chairman,

It is high time that Africa assumed full responsibility for the defence and security of this Continent. As many of you may recall, I had occasion during the course of the Mogadishu OAU Summit in 1974 and again in Kampala, to advocate the establishment of an All-African Defence Force. Apart from being entrusted with peace-keeping duties in conflict areas, it was envisaged that such a force could be mobilized for the defence of our continent and for strengthening the ranks of the liberation movements in the remaining colonial territories in Africa, in order to speed up the process of total liberation of our Continent.

We still maintain that in the interest of preserving Africa's independence and freedom, that such force be established as a matter of urgency in order to eliminate the reliance

on foreign forces. However, the creation of such an African force should be responsible of this organization, which must per-force authorize its utilization and direct organizational and operational aspects related to.

Mr Chairman,

A highly disturbing example of the dangers of foreign intervention in African affairs in the strange role assumed by Cuba in the Horn of Africa. A supposedly non-aligned country has chosen to ally itself with the forces of colonialism, oppression and hegemonism. It has allowed itself to be used as a proxy for a super-power, namely the Soviet Union, in the promotion of the latter's designs and ambitions within the context of Super-power rivalry and competition.

The two super power recognize the catastrophic implications of a direct confrontation between themselves and are in all their actions anxious to spare their own peoples from the haves and misery of war. In order to minimise the possibility of direct confrontation, the camouflage of their military interventions in various parts in the world by the use of surrogates and mercenary forces. In this respect Cuba is the surrogate of the Soviet Union in the Horn of Africa.

In subordinating its national interests to that of a world power by serving as its henchman Cuba has in recent years completely reversed its position in the international scene. It was in 1961 Belgrade Conference on Non-Aligned States, in the wake of Foreign Aggression that the then President of Cuba stated the following and I quote:-

«How could we proclaim within this conference the sacred principles of the self - determination of peoples and

of the independence and integrity of states if we did not discuss here, the imperialist conduct of the United States government towards the struggle for national liberation of the Cuban people whom I represent? How could we proclaim these principles without condemning the bombardment of our towns and the invasion of our country by mercenary forces, financed, organized, and directed by the imperialist government of the United States» Unquote.

Ironically enough these very words are true today for the Horn as they were yesterday for Cuba, but with a highly significant difference. The mercenary forces are those of Cuba and they have been equipped, financed and directed by the Soviet Union against the national liberation struggle of people in Western Somalia and Eritrea.

Consequently Mr. Chairman, Cuba is surely unworthy of its membership in a movement dedicated to the preservation and safeguarding of the principles and policies of non-participation in collective alliances which include the big powers; refusal to enter into bilateral alliances with a major foreign power; refusal to grant military bases to such powers.

My primary aim in lifting the mask which Cuba has donned for sometime is to expose their true face. The distinguished members of this August Assembly, will no doubt in their wisdom seriously consider collective African action to counter the Cuban menace, on the eve of the forthcoming meeting of Non-Aligned States in Belgrade, and particularly in the light of the Cuban's attempts to allay international

censure by hosting the forthcoming Summit Conference of the Non-Aligned States.

My purpose in evoking this issue has not been to invite controversy but to draw the attention of this August Assembly to the critical situation prevalent in the Horn of Africa where widespread hostilities have claimed hundreds of thousands of African lives and untold suffering and misery for many more. The death and destruction still continue without respite and despite the promises of super-power to this effect, there is little prospect for peace in the region.

Mr. Chairman

The genesis of the conflict in the Horn of Africa has its roots in the unique position of Ethiopia in African history.

It is well known, that with the exception of Liberia, Ethiopia is the one country in Africa that was never subjected to European colonisation. In fact, Ethiopia has never failed to impress upon the world her long standing and much vaunted independence of over 3000 years. Naturally, the first question that would immediately occur to our minds is: what precisely was Ethiopia up-to and during the whole period of the unfolding of the process of colonisation in the African Continent and the subjugation of her peoples by the Europeans? Did she actually remain within her traditional boundaries or did she expand? Did she raise the banner of Freedom and independence throughout the Continent, or did she engage in conspiracy and collusion against African peoples in league with foreign forces and participate in the scramble for co-

lonial spoils. The simple answer to all these questions is: That Ethiopia fully participated in the general scramble for Africa and made tremendous efforts to secure the largest possible slice of neighbouring African territories for her expansionist ambitions.

At the time of the advent of European colonialism to this part of Africa in the latter part of the 19th Century, Ethiopia, then called Abyssinia, was confined to her traditional frontiers, having Shoa as its Southern Province. It is only after her collusion with European powers, through secret agreements and her accession to the Brussels General Act which of all the peoples of the unrestricted importation and possession of fire arms, that she was able to establish her dominion over wide and peoples in the region. In fact the territorial ambitions of the Abyssinian Kings were much larger than the present boundaries of the Empire, as evidenced in the famous circular letter of Emperor Menelik all to the European colonial powers in 1891. In that circular he strongly staked his claim to be considered as one of the contenders for the partition of Africa demanding territories as far as Lake Victoria and Khartoum and including present day Somalia, Jibouti and Eritrea.

The colonisation of Western Somalia, Abbo and Eritrea are entitled to their right of self-determination in conformity with universally recognized principles and in accordance with the basic objective of the O.A.U to eradicate all forms of colonialism from the African Continent. Colonialism has no colour and human and political justice has no exceptions. It has always been a cardinal principle of

Somalia's policy to support the liberation struggle of all colonial peoples for independence and self-determination. We have always lent our moral and material support to the liberation movements in Africa, Palestine, South East Asia and elsewhere. We do not see the liberation struggle of Western Somalia, Abbo and Eritrea as an exception. These liberation movements have been waging their struggle against colonial oppression ever since the occupation of their countries by Ethiopia. We firmly believe that they deserve the support of all freedom loving peoples and the recognition of the Organization of Africa unity. We are fully discharging our duties in this respect and we will continue to do so. We don't accept for a moment the notion propagated by Ethiopia that Somalia's support for the liberation struggle in Western Somalia is tantamount to claim on our part to Ethiopian territory. We want to emphasise that we have no claim on the territory of any States, but we are committed to the principle of liberation struggle of people's from colonial rule. It is necessary to emphasise here that the nature of the conflict in the Horn of Africa is a classical colonial case and not one of territorial integrity — a concept to which no one takes exception but which Ethiopia always invokes in an effort to secure legitimacy for her ill-gotten colonial Empire just like all other colonial powers did in the past.

Furthermore, in her continuous efforts to confuse Africa and world opinion about the nature of her colonial Empire, Ethiopia often invokes the O.A.U. Cairo Resolution of 1964 on borders inherited from

colonial rule. In answer to this Somalia's position is that:-

First, since the nature of Ethiopian rule over Western Somalia and Eritrea is a colonial one, the provisions of this resolution could become valid and applicable only when and as the process of decolonisation becomes complete in the area, that is to say when Ethiopia's colonial rule over these territories comes to an end.

Secondly, it is to be recalled that Somalia officially entered its reservation on this resolution at the time of its adoption.

Thirdly, it is indeed important and relevant to bear in mind that both in the Council of Ministers and the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the 1964 Cairo meeting, it was made clear during the course of the deliberations by many delegations including that of Ethiopia that the matter under discussion and any decisions related to it would not be applicable to the Somali — Ethiopian dispute. Every one recognizes that this problem was in existence long before the establishment of the O.A.U. Consequently it was made clear during the course of the debate, that this resolution would apply only to new disputes arising between African States in future and had no relevance to outstanding ones. The verbatim records of both the Council and the Summit are quite explicit on this score.

Mr. Chairman,

On the Somali/Ethiopian question, permit me to reiterate that the Somali Government has always shown willingness to work towards the finding

of a just and peaceful solution to the existing conflict. Ever since the inception of the O.A.U the Government of the Somali Democratic Republic has always endeavoured to seek such a solution within the framework of the organization. It was as a result of this endeavour and the dangerous implications for peace in the area, that the question was discussed at the OAU summit of 1973, when a decision was taken to set up a Good-Offices Committee of 8 Heads of State, headed by Nigeria. It is unfortunate however, that after five years the committee has not been able to make any significant achievement or progress towards the resolution of the problem. One of the factors which hindered the Committee work is Ethiopia's intransigent and aggressive attitude.

In utter disregard of the most basic norms of international conduct, Ethiopia continues to repeatedly commit naked acts of aggression against my country. Since Nov. 1977, when Russian weapons and Cuban troops began to flow into Ethiopia. Ethiopian war planes have been mounting savage aerial attacks in urban areas inside Somalia. At the same time, heavy concentrations of Cuban/Ethiopian troops have taken place in key strategic locations close to the Somali Democratic Republic. In effect Ethiopia on the behest of her new allies and with over confidence in their support, is preparing for all-out invasion of my country. As a matter of fact Ethiopian leaders have made no secret of their aggressive intentions.

I would like to confirm that Somalia is prepared to defend her sovereignty and freedom against any invasion

from any quarter, but that is SWAPO. However, this should also our conviction that the interests of the two neighbouring countries and peoples of Somalia and Ethiopia lie in solving their problems bilaterally or under the auspices of O.A.U. taking into consideration the aspiration of the peoples of Western Somalia.

Somalia considers that the following conditions on essential basis for a progress towards a durable, just and peaceful settlement:-

- 1) Withdrawal of all foreign troops.
- 2) Cessation of all acts of aggression against the Somali Democratic Republic.
- 3) Cessation of genocidal activities against the population of Western Somalia.
- 4) Granting the right of self-determination for the people of Western Somalia.
- 5) To start negotiations between all the parties concerned.

Mr. Chairman,

Allow me at this juncture, to address myself to the question of deolonization and total liberation of our Continent. Though we may congratulate ourselves for the outstanding achievements we have made in this regard, we must however, resist the temptations of complacency and continue to direct our energies in support of the oppressed peoples of Namibia, Zimbabwe and South Africa. In all of them, white minority regimes are fighting vicious rearguard actions to preserve their colonialist and racist rule.

We welcome the news that a formula for a peaceful settlement of the Namibian question has been found accepted by

not lead to any relaxation of the international effort to obtain true independence for Namibia. Each stage of the settlement agreement should be carefully monitored to ensure that the best interests of Namibian peoples are preserved.

The majority of us have rightly questioned the so-called internal settlement of the illegal Smith regime and its collaborators in Southern Rhodesia. The unacceptability of this arrangement is self evident in so far as progress to majority rule cannot be attained as long as the Patriotic Front remains outside such an arrangement.

We must all redouble our efforts in support and solidarity with our oppressed brothers in South Africa so that they may be able to sustain the revolutionary fervour in the country. We must also assist the liberation movements to close their ranks at this transitional stage, in order to co-ordinate their efforts and unity their action in the common cause of intensifying the liberation struggle. The U.N. security council must be urged to assume its responsibilities under the Charter to apply mandatory sanctions the racist regime of South Africa.

Mr. Chairman,

I would like now to turn to another burning issues of direct interest and concern to Africa namely the question of Palestine and the continued occupation of Arab lands by Zionist Israel. For nearly three decades peace has proven unattainable due to Israeli intransigence. The cause of peace and stability in the Middle East can best be served by total Israeli withdrawal from

all occupied Arab territories and the full realization of their legitimate national rights by the Palestinian people. All of us who desire peace in that area should work towards that goal.

While speaking about problems in the Arab World, it is pertinent to mention here the important relationship between that world and Africa. Both Africa and the Arab world have shared ideals and aspirations as well as a common destiny. The vast riches of our combined resources and their complementarity can be harnessed for the speedy development and progress of our respective peoples. Following the Cairo Afro-Arab Summit of March 1977, it is gratifying to observe that Afro-Arab cooperation has become a tangible reality.

We should exert every effort to further consolidate and strengthen our cooperation for the mutual benefit and prosperity of Africa and Arab peoples.

By way of conclusion would like to point out that Africa's failure to adequately cope with its problems is indicative of the fact that we are in a state of lethargy which has seriously weakened our ability and will, react firmly and promptly to matters affecting our most vital interests. This state of affairs, if allowed to continue, will invite further foreign intervention that will lead to a catastrophe, contrary to the aspirations of the African peoples. We, the present African Leaders will be held historically responsible.

The sense of dedication, militancy and unwavering determination which has served Africa's quest for total independence so well in the past,

has unhappily given way to reverse trend marked by a near abandonment of the values and ideals to which we had indicated ourselves.

In the past three or so years there is a discernable lack of confidence and a growing sense of insecurity in our organisation leading to a search for alliances outside Africa. Inter-African cooperation, solidarity and understanding, the corner-stones without which African Unity will remain an illusory goal, are facing serious challenges from the negative forces of hostility, confrontation and distrust. The processes which have led to the correct crisis in Africa could have been halted provided that we were willing to face up squarely to our own problems with sincerity, courage, understanding and sense of justice without fear or favour.

Moreover, our Organization has failed to be responsive to growing demands of the present day continental and international situations. Since its inception in 1963, the membership of the OAU has greatly increased with the accession to national sovereignty by a large number of countries. In these fifteen years the political, economic, social progress achieved by African nations through individual effort, or in cooperation between themselves and other has greatly expanded the possibilities for the exploitation of our hitherto untapped vast human and

material resources.

The rising aspirations of Africa's millions is a direct out-come of the realization that we are a potentially rich and powerful Continent. In the political arena, the dramatic changes and developments which have occurred since the inception of the OAU, continue to pose serious challenges to the OAU's capacity to serve as an effective organ which can adequately cope with these challenges.

In our estimation the OAU has fallen way short of our expectations as a vehicle for the realization of genuine independence, peace, progress and unity among African peoples, primarily because the OAU Charter can no longer serve as an instrument that can satisfactorily cope with Africa's present needs. The inward-looking nature of the Charter can not serve to respond to the changed times.

If the OAU is to become a dynamic and efficient organization, the Charter should be revised, in order to render it more responsive to the pressing issues of African development, progress, peace, cooperation and unity.

I do not consider it too late in the day to rally our forces and close our ranks in solid opposition to the enemy onslaught which appears to have breached our lines in a number of strategic places.

The entire world will be focused on this crucial Assembly, in order to discover whether Africans are capable of assuming full control over their own affairs. Our peoples in our respective countries are anxious to see whether we, as their representatives, can translate their inner most aspirations for independence, freedom and dignity into concrete and meaningful action.

I shall be failing in my duty if I do not mention here the successful conference of reconciliation that was held in Monrovia recently, thanks to the wisdom of:

President Senghor
 President Doaw Diawara
 President William Tolbert
 President Houphouet Boigny
 President Ahmed Sekou Toure
 President Eyadema

Who have all contributed to achieving this victory.

May I renew my grateful thanks to President Jafar Ni-meiri, his Government and people for the efficient organization of the Conference which will certainly contribute to the success of the 15th Assembly of Heads of State and Government.

LONG LIVE AFRICA

LONG LIVE THE DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF SUDAN
 VICTORY TO THE LIBERATION MOVEMENTS



LIVESTOCK: BACKBONE OF THE SOMALI ECONOMY