

# HAILGAN!



(THE STRUGGLE)

ORGAN OF THE SOMALI  
REVOLUTIONARI SOCIALIST PART

## THE AGRICULTURAL AND FISHING RESETTLEMENT PROGRAMME.

\* a spirit of respect for  
the law.

\* workers and art.

\* the XI congress of  
the P.D.G of Guinea.

Struggle to  
learn, in order to  
learn to  
struggle better

# HAILGAIN

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## POLITICAL, ECONOMIC &amp; SOCIAL AFFAIRS



## *The Beginning of the Resettlement and Fishing Programme*

PART II

By EREG.

The destructiveness of the «Daba Dheer» drought, more grave and ominous than the droughts preceding it, highlighted for the Somali state and people the painful conditions besetting the whole nomadic mode of existence. The Somali Gov't realised, more than ever before, that a new way out was necessary to save our predominantly nomadic population from the catastrophic ends intrinsic in the vagaries of nature which prevails under conditions of arid and sem arid climate as is the case in northern Somalia. A Gov't Commission set up in 1972 to study the conditions of the nomads came to the conclusion that nomadic existence was highly threatened by natural catastrophes, so much so that a governmental action to ameliorate the sorry situation was patently called for. Besides the socialist principles inspiring our policies laid in front of us the task of finding

a viable solution to engineer a real transformation of the nomadic mode of communal production. All in all there were a number of factors acting as a prerequisite for the resettlement programme which was embarked upon in June 1975.

Already early in 1975 the Supreme Revolutionary Council and Council of Ministers together decided on the resettlement programme. Thus in June 1975 that decision of theirs was practically implemented. Over 120,000 nomads who voluntarily opted for settlement in 6 agricultural and **fishing settlement** sites were transported from their transient rehabilitation relief camps in the north to the newly surveyed sites, three of which were agricultural and 3 fishing. The six Settlement sites were regarded as the most suitable places forming a rapid socio-economic uplift for the

resettled nomads. Obviously, a rapid socio-economic transformation acted as a principal underpinning for the resettlement programme. That is due to the fact that nomadic existence poses as an impediment to socio-economic and political transformation. A consolidated and advanced socialist society is impossible in Somalia as far over 60% of its population pursue a transient transhuman existence under pitiable low levels of productive forces and within the parameters of a mode of production long time ago transcended.

Once the resettlement scheme was agreed upon the potentialities offered by agriculture and fishing was too much an attractive one. With regard to agriculture Somalia has 8 million hectares of arable and cultivable land, of which under a million hectares are now tilled. Thus our agriculture characteristically suffers of labour shortage, whereas our livestock economic sector in contrast suffers of labour excess. Thus under the auspices of the resettlement programme a proportional and balanced restructuring of our national economy could crucially be accomplished, and the fully non apped water resources of river Juba and Shabelle could be put to better use. In this regard it is worthy to mention the conclusions of the JASPA REPORT. Which concludes that between into agriculture in order to lighten the bur-



den on the carrying capacity of the rangelands and at the sometime to ensure a rapid socio-economic development in the SDR.

This goes, on the one hand, to testify to the inexhaustible potentialities of our agricultural resources, and at the sometime underscores the grave situation prevailing in the nomadic sector of our economy. With regard to our fish resources it is noteworthy to mention that the SDR has over 3300 Kilometers long coastline, but sorry to mention the riches contained in our vast sea territory were never seriously exploited. Only between 2500-3000 member community derived their livelihood from the fishing before the revolution. They were using the most primitive tools and implements, and as such they eked out meagre fish resources adequate enough for their bare existence.

Thanks to the redoubled efforts of the revolutionary states consistent support and its establishment of the Ministry of Marine and Fishing a well thought policy the sea riches were for the first time effectively laid down. The establishment of resettlement fishing communities at Brava, Adale and Eil, with a nearly a population of over 20,000 persons constitutes the pinnacle of a series of steps to make fishing a crucially important sector in our national economy? Since 1973 after the creation of Somali Cooperatives by the implementation of law number 40 fishing cooperatives mushroomed all along coastal areas of the Somali Democratic Republic.

There is no doubt at the agricultural resettlement programme at Dujuma, Sablale



and Kurtun Waarey with a population of 48,000; 30,000 and 26,000 respectively will magnificently contribute to boosting our agricultural production, to the same degree that the fishing resettlement Programme will heighten production in this economic sector

#### THE PRACTICAL FOUNDATION OF THE RESETTLEMENT PROGRAM

When a joint meeting of the Supreme Revolutionary Council and Council of Ministers took the historic decision of resettling 120,000 nomads practical steps were taken to implement it.

In the rehabilitation relief camps the drought victims were consulted as to whether they would join this program or opt out for returning to the old style of nomadic life. The popularisation of the new way of life as opposed to nomadism was made more attractive by a number of agitational and propagandistic campaigns which turned on the economic, social, cultural and educational advantages ensuing from the new way of life.

Once a section of the nomads made the choice of Gov't ministers were strategically selected to shoulder responsibility, and amongst th-

em the following featured prominently. The Ministry of Defence, Ministry of Health, Agriculture, Fisheries and Marine Transport each of these ministries was assigned a task corresponding with its specific functions. Over and above in preparation for a successful transportation of these over 120,000 nomads the measures below set were undertaken:

- Fourteen makeshift airports were hastily constructed four of them for landing purposes and other ten to be used in case of emergency
- Five thousand kilometre roads were cleared to help in the program
- The communication system was overhauled and improved and radio and other automatic devices were installed in the stations of the resettlement sites to improve efficiency.
- Temporary Camps were initiated close to the makeshift airports the period of evacuating those thousands of people started on June the 15th and continued upto 18th August 1975 and to make it through

the following factors contributed to its successful implementation.

1. Over 500 Gov't personnel including University students took part, including 566 Soviet Aircrew who helped in transporting the nomads.
2. 615 vehicles were deployed for the purpose
3. 24 Cargo planes were used and these were mainly provided by the Soviet Union; and
4. 48 new radio stations were up.

**THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE RESETTLEMENT COMMUNITY**

The objective underpinnings of the resettlement program has already been spelt out and accordingly does not necessitate much elaboration suffice to state that the revolutionary state engineered this stupendous programme so as to effect a crucially important socio-economic transformation in a strategic sector of the Somali national economy. This, of course, is a component part of the overall socialist developmental plans that Somalia is embarking upon. For this reason, emphasis has been placed on agriculture, which entails a policy of allocating greater investment funds for and the attraction of manpower to the agricultural sector. In the effectuation of this, tentative plans were made for the resettlement areas to attain self-sufficiency in 5 year's time, and to proceed along a number of phases.

The administration obtaining in the settlement areas has

gone through dynamic evolution, but to this day there is an interlacing between the administrative structures of party and state and an administrative system taken from traditional Somali practices. Obviously the Party and State administration are and will eventually integrate the traditional system, but as yet this supplements the ordinary administration and as structured below:-

1. Community (Beel) is the largest administrative organ and comprises 400 families. It has its own head who is elected by the families.
2. Sub-community (Bulsho) which consists of 200 families, has its own leadership structure; who come under the community leadership.
3. Every sub-community is divided into two quarters (Birjeex) comprising 100 families each.
4. Each quarter has 2 sectors (Cududdo) with 50 families.
5. And at the bottom there are the sub-sectors

(Xubno) consisting of 10 families each.

The resettled people are already a viable community and with respect to their administration have attained a very satisfactory stage whereby they decide their own affairs except in areas entailing certain high managerial and professional skills. The above structured system has helped in the difficult adaptation problems which obtained in the early stages when they were new to the areas they have settled, to the extent that it facilitates a historical continuity of the modern with the customary norms of traditional life. However, increasingly the Somali Revolutionary Socialist Party's leading position is consolidating itself and the new content is being provided by the principle of democratic centralism.

As regards the important facet of attaining economic self-sufficiency within 5 years the programme of resettlement is embarking on an ambitious plan of clearing large tracts of land for cultivation. The plans laid down for the three agricultural —



Sites are as follows:

District	Irrigate land hectares	Rain fed or dry farming. hectares
DUJUMA	9,000	9,000
SABLALE	3,000	3,000
K./WAREY	3,000	3,000

Of these the following number of hectares have been successfully made ready:

District	Land fully prepared hectares	Land Le- velled, hectares
DUJUMA	563	334
SABLALE	2005	300
K/WAREY	1477	700
Total	4045	1334

In the first phase of economic self-sufficiency ending in 1980 it is anticipated that about 6,000 hectares of arable land will be cleared for each settlement site. Of course there will be number of difficulties to be confronted by this ambitious programme, inasmuch as there will be dire need for greater labour power more than is now available, and the problem of importing technology will constitute an expensive affair.

All the same a rapid socio-economic transformation, giving priority to agriculture in

1. Gov't budget	— 35,893,000
2. Loan from the «Arab Fund»	— 142,363,000
3. Loan from the World Bank	— 52,000,000
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>230,256,000</b>

Besides the major agricultural programmes under way the resettlement scheme is popularising the acceleration of poultry and dairy programs which obviously will play a beneficial role in the early accomplishment of self-sufficiency. In accordance with this each of the resettlement communities has over 1,000 cows, and if full implementation of

the process of capital accumulation makes our ambitious plan an imperative one. This is underscored by the conclusions of the JASPA report of 1977 to the effect that for Somalia to create enough employment it has to absorb 50,000 people in agriculture. To make this ambitious programme translated to practice the Somali state has allotted a hefty sum of money totalling 230,256,000 Shs. A breakdown of how this amount of investment in the program is to raised is shown below:

the plan goes through will together have 50,000 chicken (15,000 for K./Warey and Sablaale each, and 20,000 for Dujuma). It is anticipated that a villagisation programme will soon be carried out, and the removal of Dujuma settlement site will quicken the process of socio-economic transformation in the three agricultural sites. The villagisation

programme which now has been agreed upon is a fruitful result of our experiences for the last 3 years and great benefit are bound to accrue to the people in its effective consolidation.

The emphasis laid on the creation of firm material base for the settlement sites has gone hand in hand with the improvement of social amenities and welfare. Over 19 schools have been opened with a total school population of 45,000 and adult informal education is extremely popular.

In respect of health, there is a 3 year ongoing programme whose fruitful results can be gauged by the 230 beds in Dujuma hospital, as well 140 and 130 in Sablaale and K/Waarey respectively. There are also outpatient facilities available.

Within those three year 150,937,000 So. Shs. are allotted to be spent on health care, and one can already notice the perceptible changes occurring in the health of the resettled people, whereby a successful control over a number of diseases has been accomplished.

#### CONCLUSIONS:

The resettlement programme is a momentous step in the right direction since it is a resource in the effort to tap the inexhaustible resources in the agricultural field. Through this a harmonic interplay of all sectors of our economy can be assured, and the social welfare facilities of our people could be ascertained so far we are in the first phase of the organisational problems are confronted and when facing the magnitude of obstacles to be surmounted are at their greatest. Obviously, the lack of experience by all those engaged in the progra

will play its part in the non-realisation of a great number of plan targets laid down without regard to practical reality and its impediments.

However, we are bound to benefit from the mistakes which invariably are part of the ongoing process, and in the very close years the resettled

communities will inevitably grow into a minor image of the prosperous Somalia which tirelessly we are committed to create.



## Mobilization for respecting the Law

By Tani

It is of the utmost importance that the masses should be awakened to the observance of the law so that the eradication of crime will be easy.

Laws are made to be respected and to abide by them. They are not made to be contravened. And it is not necessary that the general public should be conversant with the laws, although it is useful to know them. But to know a law is one thing, and to abide by it is quite another. What is essential is the observance of the regulations and their execution.

It is important that the masses should be made to realize that laws are made, and translate the general interests of the nation, as well as those of the individual, reminding them that both interests overlap each other, and that individual interests consist in the general welfare of the nation.

There are some who are inclined to thinking that to commit a crime and then to get away with it is an act of heroism. Such a crime might be boasted of by some as showing the cleverness with which they have fooled their government or more specifically those charged with the application and execution of the law.

What is more surprising is

that there are those who consider such a criminal as a courageous and deeply learned person. But worse is the spectacle of the masses admiring him as if they had scored the victory themselves, which implies that they are all against the law which represents the society and speaks on behalf of the government which fulfills the task of checking whether the law has been observed or not.

It is strange that the public does not realize that the office of the Attorney-General metes out justice, that in other words, it releases any innocent person or rather does not pass any case to a court without sufficient evidence of the crime. Thus if a person is accused by that office and his case is passed to the court then there is some incriminating proof against him, although the probability might be that he did not commit the crime or that there is no sufficient testimony against him. One of the other queer things also is the fact that the public sometimes watches the battle that takes place between the law which is represented by the Public Prosecutor and the criminal, sympathizing with the latter or as if there were a competition between two football teams each of which makes no effort to win over the other. How

can such an attitude be interpreted other than saying that it betrays a lack of political maturity or short-sightedness.

This difficulty can be solved by raising the level of the consciousness of the masses and their knowledge pertaining to the giving due consideration to those involved in the administration of justice. It is also important to orient the people in the necessity of respecting the law of the land in the interests of the individual and to remind them that the law protects the freedom and security of the citizen.

In order to instil respect for the law in the masses we must clarify to them the aims behind it, telling them at the same time that to break the law does not signify any courage and that to the law-abiding does not mean to be a coward or to be afraid of punishment.

Although difficulties are likely to be confronted with, efforts will be crowned with success if they are made relentlessly to realize the goals we have indicated.

It is necessary to bear in mind that the task is not an easy one, considering the degree of knowledge of the masses and their knowledge in general.



It is very easy to propagate the need for respecting the law among highly civilized and developed nations, but it is difficult to do so among those nations where ignorance is widespread like the developing nations. We talk very much always about the observance of the law, we discuss justice very strongly, yet if you carefully observed the way we behave and the way things happen you would think that many people use legal terminology as just mere lip-service to the law.

Although our people do not have much respect to the law we should not give them up. We should try and guide them, rectifying their shortcomings in their thoughts in regard to respecting the law.

Some governments make it obligatory to learn law at high school, considering this as an antidote against the incidence of crime. Although such a thing is not possible here in our country, we need to strengthen the programme of justice in the journal of law and the newspapers that are published in the country, whether they are the dailies like «Xiddigta Oktoober», or a weekly like «Heegan». In the same manner, such a programme should be carried out in the orientation centres and other meeting-places.

#### RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE LAW AND POLITICS

##### A Misconception:

It is noteworthy that some

people labour under a misconception that policy is above the law. The truth is that policy gives birth to the law in accordance with the general well-being of the people. It is, of course, possible to find a law whose original objectives have changed, for society is not stagnant. Certain laws might have functioned for a long time, but there comes a moment when the need to modify them arises in order to fit them to the new conditions the life of a certain society. To be able to do so and adopt them to the new interests of a society we should not campaign against the laws themselves as if they were obstacles to the development of the society and its policy. We should rather change the laws and initiate others that conform to the general interests and the predominant political view.

There is need to appraise the changing conditions in a society and to see whether the existing laws keep abreast of new developments not. Such assessment will help us to avoid unnecessary pitfalls in the application of laws in situations that might have been foreseen to arise but are non-existent. It will help us conversely to eliminate laws that are unapplicable or are mere deadwood.

We should always bear in mind to overthrow overboard such laws that do not serve the larger interests of the people or are not in the spirit of the existing policy of the country.

Problems arise due to the variety of opinions among people. This is because no two persons can be of identical views on knowledge. Hence what is considered by some as good policy might be considered to be socially harmful to others.

Hence the only thing that can bind people of such differing opinions and views together is the law which by itself express and represent the policy of the country.

And once the law becomes operative no one has the right to question its validity in regard to the general interests of the country or the existing political line, for otherwise such differences would merely betray personal interests.

The point is that the policy of the country should bring forth the law, taking into consideration the general wealth of the people and the objective conditions of the society and its future destiny.

When the law becomes effective it is above anyone, and no one can debate about it on the grounds that it does not serve national interests. Laws cannot be considered to be of a dubious nature. They are either valid or not. If they are not they should be abrogated.

This is the only way of avoiding the misconception we have already mentioned. Laws should be crystal clear and they should allow no loopholes for criminals to escape through.

## PARTY LIFE



## MASS RALLY

Amammoth rally in support of the forthcoming Extraordinary Party Congress was staged by the revolutionary forces in Mogadishu on the 23 of November .

Taking part in the rally were hundreds of thousands of people living in the city led by Party members and the social organisations.

At three o'clock in the afternoon, the Revolutionary Forces marched through the main streets of the city chanting revolutionary songs and carrying placards and banners, displaying that they are unanimous in their support of the central committee decision to hold an Extra-ordinary Party Congress. Appearing at the foremost were the photograph of the General Secretary of the SRSP, Jaalle Mohamed Siad Barre, and the National and Party flags.



The revolutionary forces then converged at the unknown soldier's monument where speeches about the purpose for which, the mass rally was staged, were delivered.

The first speeches were made by representatives of the executive committees of the social organisations who on behalf of their respective

organisations expressed their total support to the SRSP in view of the vanguard role the party plays in national development and consolidation of independence hailed for an Extra-ordinary Party Congress to be convened.

Later, the regional party Secretary of Benadir Jaalle Warsame Ali Farah delivered a welcoming speech.

The Assistant General Secretary of the SRSP, Jaalle Brig. General Ismail Ali Abokor delivered a rousing speech in which he spoke about the objective of holding the Extra-ordinary Party Congress.

Jaalle Ismail stressed that the party, which is open to every Somali in possession of patriotic spirit, is the cornerstone of the struggle towards unity and the ful-



filment of the aspirations of the Somali people.

Speaking about the anti-revolutionary forces, the Assistant General Secretary of the SRSP give credit to the victories achieved by the Revolution and pointed out the link between the reactions and colonialism.

Jaalle Ismail emphasized

that the party enjoys the support of, and is dependent on the progressive forces who are ready to defend the gains of the Revolution and realize its objectives. The party does not offend any one, but the internal and external enemies in the event of any provocation would be dealt with harshly, he added

Jaalle Ismail urged the

progressive forces to launch an open war against anything that could hamper the progress of the Revolution. These include clanism; favouritism, corruption etc.

Also present at the mass rally were the chairman of the social organisations and members of the Central Committee.

## An Important Gathering



On the 13th of December, an important gathering attended by the General Secretary of the SRSP Jaalle Mohamed Siad Barre took place at the National Theatre.

The gathering was organized by the Party Committee for Benadir region which has been engaged in steps aimed at promoting the living conditions of the people.

Attending the meeting were national and regional committees entrusted with the responsibility of carrying out the above stated Benadir Regional Party Com-

mittee, Party Committees and cells of Benadir districts; Party cells at work spots, commandants of Police

Stations, Regional defense Committee, October Revolutionary flowers and National artiste troupes.

First, a drama was presented by Waberi artiste troupe. The drama was well admired by the spectators.

The Regional Party Secretary of Benadir Jaalle Warsame Ali Farah then made a speech of welcome.

The General Secretary of the SRSP Jaalle Mohamed Siad Barre who delivered a short speech urged the Revolutionary forces to be ever vigilant.

Present at the meeting also were members of the Party Politburo and Central Committee.



## *Party tours of inspection*

On the 21st of November, Party delegations left the capital city on tours of inspection which took them to all parts of the country.

Their tours were based on a new activity embarked upon by the Somali Revolutionary Socialist Party following the declaration on the 21st October 1978 by the General Secretary of the SRSP Jaalle Mohamed Siad Barre of holding an Extraordinary Party Congress.

The party delegations were entrusted to note the following:

1. Complaints of the masses and existing problems.

2. The preparedness of each region and district to the forthcoming Party Congress.

3. Implementation of building up Party structures.

4. Matters pertaining to party life and membership.

5. Level of economic development.

6. Cooperation between Party and Government.

7. And if there exists any complaints by the Regions against the Party headquarters;

During their tours, the party delegations held various meetings with the party committees and cells as well as government officials. They also met the masses.

In some places, the tours of the Party delegations coincided the District Party meetings where they took the opportunity to witness and appreciate the high level of political consciousness attained by the Somali people.

## *Political Science Institute*

### *produces first batch of graduates*

The graduation ceremony for the first batch of graduates from the Political Science Institute was held on the 30th of December at Haldane. The ceremony was ably aided by the General Secretary of the SRSP Jaalle Mohamed Siad Barre who in a speech delivered on the occasion commended the Somali instructors of the Institute for having, after the departure of the foreign teachers, successfully covered the programme of the Institute. The President equally praised the students on their part for their strenuous efforts to complete their University studies despite propaganda by the reactionaries intended to demolish their studies.

The General Secretary of the SRSP elaborated the policy of the Revolution towards

the development of the Somali Society and cited the consistent efforts accomplished in the struggle to fight the three enemies of mankind namely Ignorance, Poverty and Disease.

The president shed light on the mistakes of those who distort and misinterpret socialism and called upon them to correct themselves. He declared that the Revolution is strong enough to resist the internal and external enemies.

The General Secretary of the SRSP awarded degrees to the students and urged them to continue their struggle to learn more and sincerely serve their people.

The students who have completed their studies number 245 of whom 83 have

finished university level education while the rest are on a one-year programme.

Prior to the President's speech, the artistic troupe of the Ministry of Education presented a drama depicting the historical struggle of the Somali people. Speeches were also delivered by the Director and Assistant Director of the Institute as well as a representative of the graduating students.

Attending the graduation ceremony also were Vice-presidents Jaalle Brig. General Ismail Ali Abokor and Jaalle Major General Hussein Kulmie Afrah, members of CC, Party functionaries, representatives of Social organisations and government officials.

## WORLD AFFAIRS

**FAKE ELECTIONS**

BY, BOBE

The continent of Africa has lived through a bitter struggle, marked by several stages of various phases of ups and downs, so as to regain her freedom that was forcibly usurped by foreign aggressors coming overland and by sea. Although colonialism has made every effort to stay on in our continent, today forty-nine African countries belong to the OAU which is devoted to the realization of the aspirations of the peoples of Africa, and to attain for them full freedom in every aspect. There are still today several countries under the colonial yoke, although even some so-called independent African countries are really suffering from neo-colonialism which is worse than the traditional one. In actual fact, the African freedom struggle is passing through its second stage.

Among the regions where colonialism is lingering on and where minority regimes are ensconced are South Africa, Zimbabwe and Namibia.

In Namibia, which has been formerly known as South west Africa, German Colonialism has been succeeded by British and South African Colonialism.

Jealous of Namibia's wealth, South Africa denies the former its independence. South Africa has also turned a deaf ear to Namibian and world public opinion demands for fre-



edom to Namibia which has decided to achieve by if nothing short of armed struggle led by SWAPO. This front (SWAPO) came into being out of that association known as «Ovambaland» that was made up of Namibian students and workers that initiated the association in 1958 under the leadership of Herman Torvo who is in jail in the Robben Island.

The association set down as its objective the abolition through a fierce campaign of the form of contracts entered into with its workers.

This was an issue on which all other similar organisations had foundered. Although SWAPO has its following in the Northern Part of Namibian where half of the population lives its membership is increasing as more and more people join it daily. SWAPO is internally recognized as a political Party but it has been waging a bitter armed strug-

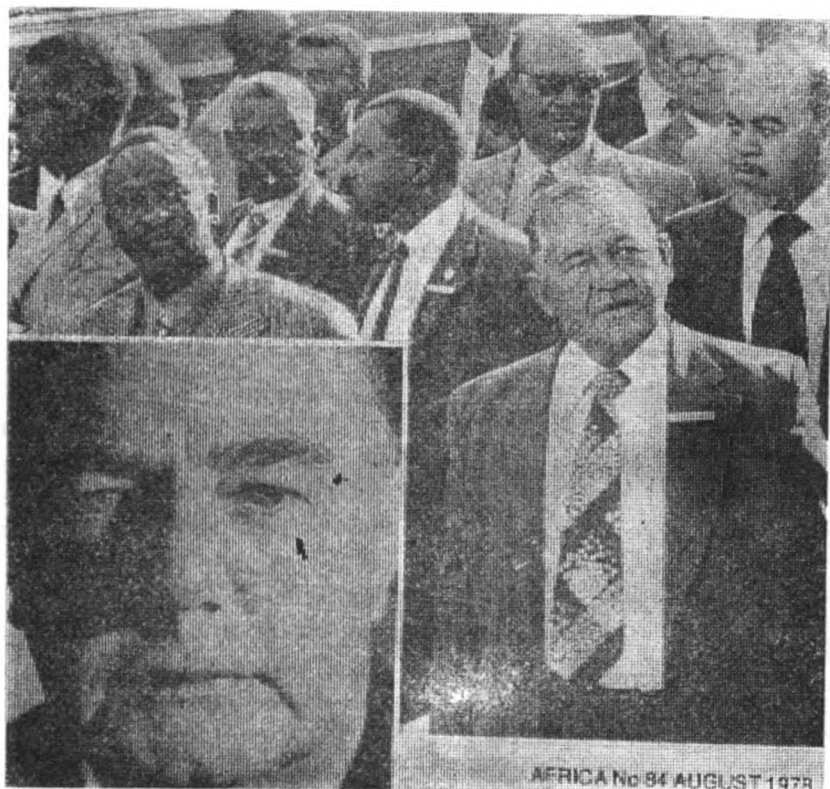
gle outside since 1966.

SWAPO is a very big front that has many branches inside Namibia. The front has female Youth and adult organizations. The workers' association of Namibia is also affiliated to the front. It is from these various organizations that SWAPO draws its strength, and is therefore able to wage a relentless struggle against the minority regime of South Africa and its allies.

SWAPO has been recognized as the sole legitimate front of the Namibian people realizing that it is a force to reckon with, some Western countries tried to mediate between South Africa and SWAPO. But this did not bear any fruit, and talks were dead locked on the question of elections in Namibia (See page 22 of «Halgan» Sept.-Oct. 1978 issue).

South Africa held fake elections in Namibia in the first week of December and spent six million Rand on this unilateral initiative. The so-called elections lasted for five days and the results were denounced by the U.N.O. and the whole World at large as null and void. According to figures given by windhoek, registered persons were estimated 412,000 out of which 37% went to the polls. The votes were cast in three hundred and fifty fixed spots and eleven mobile vans.

The lackey South African



association known as the Turnhalle Democratic Association also took part in these illegal elections. The elections were made on the basis of ballot box stuffing for the true representatives of the people of Namibia, SWAPO, boycotted the elections. The elections went in other words, according to a pre-arranged plan.

These false elections cannot deter the liberation struggle in which the Namibian

people are engaged. Such elections are not quite new. They are similar in nature to Ian Smith's so-called agreement with Muzerewa and company which has not materialized until today. Just as the British and American machinations have failed in Zimbabwe so will all such plots fail in Namibia. The often declared one man one vote principle shows us clearly that the main objective is not to res-

pect majority rule, as events have proved in Namibia but to entrench the minority racist regime in Zimbabwe and Namibia. Experience has taught SWAPO that elections are not the means to attain freedom so long as South African troops are staying in their country. It has also become obvious that South Africa is applying the outmoded tactic of «Divide and Rule» by creating enmity among tribes, a factor that has helped SWAPO win over the majority of the people.

The Programme of SWAPO which was passed by SWAPO's central committee in Lusaka in 1976 affirms that the remaking of Namibian society economically as an independent nation that is united on democratic principles implies the re-creation of that society without classes. Just as Zimbabwe has opted for armed struggle so has also SWAPO committed itself to continue such struggle, for history has testified that free elections can be held only when colonialism has been liquidated and the masses assume power. Victory will be for the freedom-fighting people of Namibia.



## *Perspective on the Camp David Accords*

By, Abdi Awale Jama

The Camp David accords as they stand in the two separate documents: Separate peace treaty with Egypt and the framework for peace in the Middle East are suffering from three fundamental misconceptions:

- 1) Lack of explicit recognition of the legitimate rights of the Palestinian peoples. That's their right to self-determination.
- 2) The total withdrawal

from Arab lands occupied by Israel in the 1967 war, what is implied here is the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territories through war and its subsequent colonisation through the Settlement scheme.

3. The wrong assumption that lasting peace could be achieved through the cooption of one

Arab State with considerable weight in the balance of power equation of the Middle East.

The presumptuous assumption underlined here is that this policy after all serve the interest of Israel. This is self-evident in the present form of the Camp David accords which undoubtedly tilts towards serving the larger interest of Israel rather than the Arabs.

Therefore, it is appropriate



here to pinpoint the view of Mr. Begin himself concerning the above accords: «He has seen the advantage to Israel relinquishing Egyptian territory in exchange for the prospect of retaining practically everything else: effective control of the West Bank, and Gaza, the Golan Heights and Jerusalem. Mr. Begin's pronouncements ever since the end of the summit meeting at Camp David have made it plain that this is how he interprets the results he achieved there».<sup>1</sup>

On the other hand the apologist for president Sadat maintains that by taking the enormous problems of overpopulation, transportation and housing facing Egypt makes him (Sadat) a realistic man to seek peace with Israel. Further they observe that Sadat is responsive to the pressing needs of his peoples. Hence they believe that «No other Arab Government can so ill-afford the diversion of its resources to external tasks which are not vital for its survival».<sup>2</sup>

Here the allusion is to the Palestinian Question. Thus what is conspicuous in the above interpretation is the creation of discord among the Arab states by capitalizing «on the individual problems

facing each Arab State. This is meant to give it an open endorsement for the pursuance of its particularistic interests which conflict with the higher interest of the Arab nation.

It is within this framework of mind that the salient drawback of Camp David accords are:

- a) Facilitation of super power intervention in the Arab affairs in the form of a trusteeship;
- b) Acknowledge for the first time the legitimacy of Israel occupation of Palestine;
- c) Isolation of Egypt from the Arab nation with reciprocal adverse effects for both;
- d) Limitation of PLO activities and its eventual elimination;

Then, it is self-evident that Mr. Begin has gained the upper hand in the Camp David accords otherwise he would not have stated arrogantly «No relinquishing of Zionist sovereignty, no withdrawal of Zionist troops and no end to

the occupation of Gaza and the West Bank; No Palestinian State; no PLO; no implementation of large-scale return of Palestinian refugees to their country; no cessation of Zionist colonisation in the West Bank and Gaza beyond a three month's moratorium; no linkage between the separate Israeli-Egyptian peace treaty and the development of self-rule in the West Bank and Gaza; no return of Arab Jerusalem to Arab sovereignty».<sup>3</sup>

Accordingly, the above quotation from Mr. Begin interpretation of the Camp David accords does not give the Arabs the least advantage to acclaim the above accords. Subsequently, Sadat would have been in an impeccable position had he succeeded in obtaining understanding on the following points:

1. The recognition of the inadmissibility of the holding of territory by force;
2. Recognition of Arab sovereignty over occupied lands;
3. Implementation of UN resolution concerning the Palestinian question and their legitimate right for self-determination;
4. Stoppage of Zionist settlement in the occupied Arab territories as a result of 1967 war during the transitional period to self-rule in Gaza and West Bank;
5. A positive stand with respect to the question of Arab Jerusalem and the Golan Heights.

Therefore, in the absence

of the aforesaid concession Arab states have been unanimous in their condemnation of the Camp David accords. That is why viable Arab options has meant the creation of Politico-Military alliance with the backbone of Syria and Iraq and the reactivation of the Northern and Eastern front with Israel in the

wake of the loss of the Southern front. They also called upon Sadat not to proceed signing separate peace treaty with Israel. Furthermore, they allocated a fund of nine (9) Billion dollars for the PLO and the Arab States in direct confrontation with Israel. The above manifestations have been the outcome of the re-

cent historic Arab summit held in Baghdad, the Capital of the Republic of Iraq.

#### NOTES

1. «Editorial»; *The Middle East International*, November, 1978, P. 3.
2. *Ibid.*, P. 4
3. *Ibid.*, P. 8



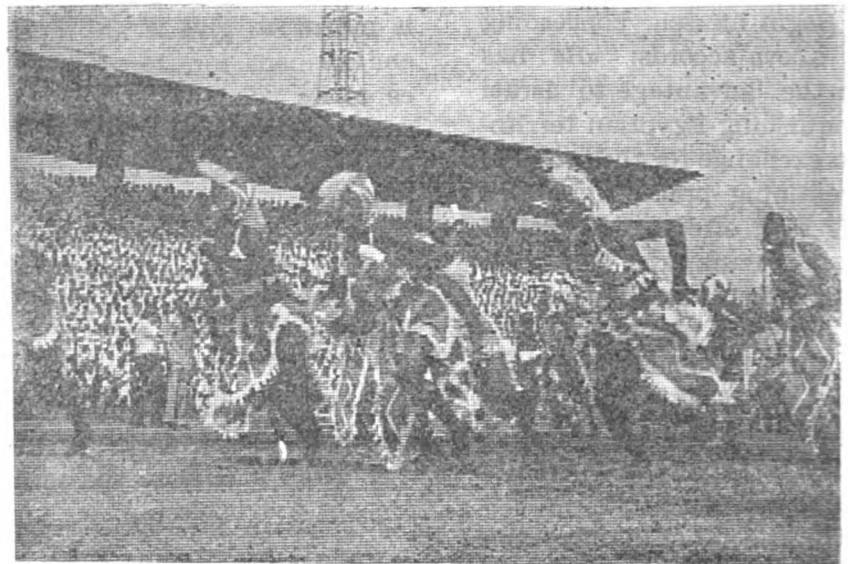
## *The XI Congress of the PDG - Guinea on the move*

By, Hussein M. Adan

The Eleventh Congress of the Parti Democratique de Guinee, (PDG), was convened in Conakry from the 17th to the 21st November, 1978. As described by the Article 51 of the PDG, the Congress consisted of:

- The members of the Central Committee of the PDG,
- Two delegates, elected from each of the sections of the PDG,
- The members of the National Committee of the Guinea youth organisation. Youth for the Democratic African Revolution (JRD-A).
- The members of the National Committee of the Revolutionary Union of the Guinea Women;
- The members of the National Committee of the National Confederation of Guinea workers.

Altogether 1,054 delegates attended the Congress: 346 were involved in the teaching profession; 144 in general



administration; 125 in health work; 291 in Agriculture; 56 technicians and workers; 34 engineers; 5 magistrates; 32 employed in trade; 6 involved in security, 20 in Agricultural co-ordination; 5 from the armed forces.

The Congress was observed by about 109 foreign delegations representing various national parties, such as the SRSP delegation, and international organisations.

The theme of the Eleventh congress was: «Enhance the people's power». Briefly and essentially this meant increa-

sing popular control over the government administration.

Among other things, this involves the setting up of various administrative posts to be filled through party-type elections, for example the position of regional governors.

Previously all such posts were filled through direct appointment by the President.

From now on, they will be filled through a system of elections, involving popular participation. The slogan of the Congress was: «Put the Right man for the Right job».

In order to promote all



means to allow and enhance popular control and participation in governmental affairs, the Congress has adopted the title of «Party-State» to mark the current phase of the history of Guinea.

At the opening of the Congress, the audience heard a magistrale central report read for 7 hours by the Secretary-General of the PDG and President of Guinea, Comrade Ahmed Sekou Toure. The report covered the general laws of social development and their specific manifestation in Africa and in Guinea in particular. It explained the origins, nature and development of the PDG and the Guinea revolution. It dealt with various aspects of political, economic, social and cultural development in Guinea.

President Ahmed Seku Toure explained Guinea's new diplomatic offensive. He pointed out that, ever since the Monrovia conference early in 1978, Guinea has chosen to improve its relations with the Ivory Coast and Senegal.

This is a question of peaceful co-existence, a question of improving relations bet-

ween sister countries with different ideological positions.

President Seku Toure emphasised that the diplomatic offensive does not imply a change in Guinea's policies.

He repeatedly stressed that Guinea's revolutionary choice rests as that of country that has chosen the socialist road to development.

The Congress elected a politbureau of 15, including Secretary-General Ahmed Seku Toure. Each of Guinea's 34 regional delegations had one vote; the three social organisations for youth, women and workers each had one vote, making up a maximum of 37 votes for each of the 14 politbureau members the Congress. Some of the other 14 politbureau members polled the maximum 37 votes, others polled 35, others 32, 28 or 22 votes. The last member to qualify for the politbureau polled 18 votes.

The Congress decided to elect the rest of the Central Committee members in special sessions to be held in May 1979.

By then the PDG will have a central committee of 75 members and a politbureau of 15.

Elections for Guinea's National Assembly or parliament will also be held later this year

Among other things, the congress, adopted a new name for the country: The Popular Revolutionary Republic of Guinea. At the conclusion of the Congress, President Seku Toure revealed that oil can now be added to the list of Guinea's natural resources, although not specifying in what quantities.

He pointed out that explorations conducted by the state oil enterprise and its United States, French and Yugoslav associates had confirmed the existence of off-shore deposits. Guinea already possessed more, than two thirds of the world's known reserves of bauxite (aluminium ore), over 40,000 million tonnes of iron ore, most of it of high grade as well as uranium, diamonds, copper and manganese. A great many of west African rivers originate in Guinea, giving it great agricultural and hydroelectric potential.

A new five-year plan will be launched in 1979 and this will need an «unprecedented level» of capital investment. In putting greater stress on economic development, President Seku Toure underlined that Guinea is still committed to follow the socialist path while desiring broad international cooperation «without exclusivity» so as to consolidate her peoples independence and promote their standards of living.

To mark the Congress, the President freed a number of political prisoners. He also pardoned and welcomed back home all those Guineans who were living as exiles abroad in various countries. The Congress manifested a spirit of



forgive and forget, a call for national reconciliation and unity.

All in all, the Congress heard 38 national addresses and about 65 messages and greetings from foreign delegations (a copy of the message read at the Congress by the SRSP delegation is included in this issue of HALGAN).

Among important foreign dignitaries to visit Guinea for the Congress and the celebrations of November 22: the Vice President of Rumania, the Vice-Prime Minister of Vietnam, Mr. Edgar Faure representing the President of France and Mr. Andrew Young representing American President Carter.

Prior to the Congress, an International Colloquium on Ideology was held in Conakry from the 13th to the 16th of November 1978. Its main theme was «Africa on the Move». The format consisted of the PDG presenting formal papers on each of the following subthemes:

a) The struggle for national liberation,

c) The Basis for the promotion of independent economic development,

d) the conditions and means of promoting dynamic cultural policies;

e) The demands for consolidating African Unity;

b) from the people's rights to human rights, a paper read by President Seku Ture himself;

f) Religion and revolution, also presented by President Seku Toure himself, who served as chairman of the International Colloquium on Ideology and later, of the Eleventh Congress of the PDG.

During the International Colloquium, the SRSP presented a paper on the cultural policies and achievements of the Somali Revolution.

Guinea is situated in West Africa sharing borders with Guinea-Bissau, Senegal, Mali, Ivory Coast, Liberia and Sierra Leone. The Capital, Conakry is a Port-City on the Atlantic Coast. The country has an area of 245,857 Square Kilometres and a population of five (5) million. Guinea is the only French colony which voted «NO» in the De Gaulle proposed referendum of September 28, 1958. Guinea repelled a portuguese sponsored invasion on November 22, 1970. Guinea's important National Languages include Malinke, Jula, Susu and five others. The majority of its people (over 70 per cent) are Muslims, the rest follow traditional African religions and Christianity. The ruling Party in Guinea since 1959 is the Democratic Party of Guinea (PDG). The mass organisations include: the Youth of the African Democratic Revolution (JRDA), the Revolutionary Union of Guinea Women (URFG), the Agricultural Production and Consumer Cooperative (COPAC) and the National Confederation of Guinea Workers (CNTG).

***Comrades***

***Don't Miss Your English Issue  
of Halgan Every Month***

## MONTHLY BULLETIN

*General Ho Cheng-weng visits Somalia*

The first Vice-President, Jaalle Lt. General Mohamed Ali Samatar received the Assistant General Chief of staff of the Chinese Peoples Army, Comrade Ho Cheng-Weng in his office on the 8th Nov. 1978.

They discussed ways of further strengthening relations between the armed forces of the two countries.

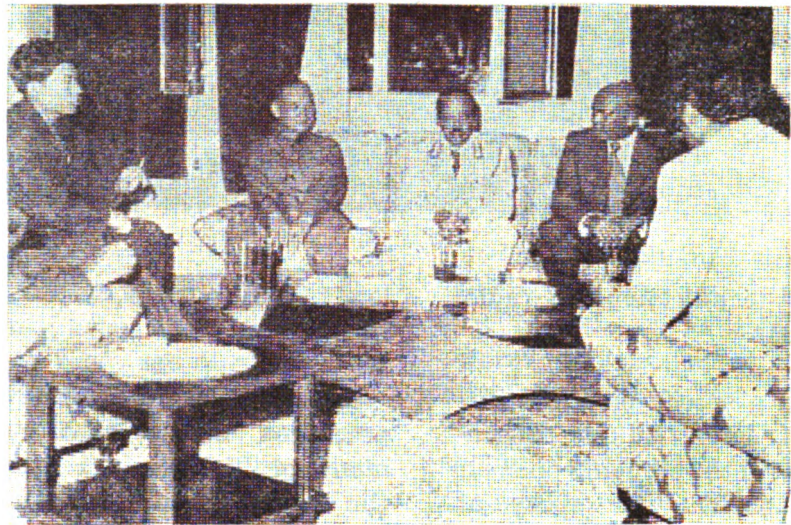
Comrade Ho Cheng-Weng and his delegation also laid a wreath at the unknown soldiers monument in Mogadishu.

The delegation which arrived in Somalia on the 7th on an official visit participated in a banquet staged in their honour by Jaalle Brig. General Yusuf Ahmed Salhan upon arrival.

The Chinese delegation led by Comrade Ho Cheng-Weng on the 11th November extended a visit to Kismayo, the regional capital of Lower Juba.

During the 2 — day stay, they paid visits to Jamame Banana plantations and Sanguni where the Equator passes.

The delegation participated in a grand ceremony held in their honour at Alanley Orientation Center of Kismayo. The ceremony was also attended by the Lower Juba regional authorities, heads of social orga-



nizations and the general Public of Kismayo.

In a speech on the occasion, Comrade Ho Cheng Weng thanked the regional authorities and populace for the warm welcome extended to him and his delegation. Ho also expressed his deep appreciation of the unity of the region's inhabitants which he said will greatly help in the development of the region in particular and the country generally.

The first Vice-President of the SDR Jaalle Lt. General

Mohamed Ali Samatar held a second round of talks at the conference hall of the Defence Ministry with the visiting Chinese delegation led by the Assistant General Chief of staff of the Chinese people army Ho Cheng.Weng.

The Leaders discussed relations between the armies of Somalia and China.

The Chinese delegation left Mogadishu on 16th November at the end of a 7 days official visit to the SDR.

*Jaalle Kulmie award certificates*

Vice-President Jaalle Hussein Kulmie Afrah awarded certificate to 315 students who graduated from the Mogadishu and Hargeisa health schools at the Natio-

nal Theatre in Mogadishu. on the 9th of December 1978

The graduates, who completed two years of training include Medical Nurses, General health nurses, Labora-



tory technicians, and radiologists.

In a speech on the occasion, Jaalle Kulmie congratulated the students on their graduation. He spoke at length on the responsibilities of the Ministry of Health in raising the level of our general public health.

«The services of the Ministry directly affect the society thus an efficient enhancement of its work can be felt by the society at large. It should therefore self-

lessly carry out its duties», he stressed.

He expressed his deep appreciation of the achievements of the Ministry and the work of its staff in their fight against disease.

He also underscored the importance of maintaining individual cleanliness and alertness against anything which causes diseases to spread.

«Only a health society could attain rapid develop-

ment in every aspect: be it political or economic and it could defend its territory from its enemies» he pointed out.

Jaalle Kulmie urged the graduates to serve their people honestly and fulfill their national duties with diligence and patriotism.

The Minister of health, Jaalle Muse Rabile also spoke on the occasion about the successes achieved by the Revolution in the field of health.

He disclosed that 1410 students have so far graduated from the health schools of the country and 1153 are now under training; and added that 2000 students are expected to graduate by the year 1982 from these schools in addition to 500 medical doctors from the medical college during the same period.

The ceremony was also attended by the mayor of Mogadishu, Jaalle Yuusuf Ibrahim and the resident representative of the World Health Organisation in Somalia.

## *Seminar on Mass Media*

The Minister of Information and National Guidance Jaalle Abdisalam Sheikh Hussein opened a month's Seminar on communication and Mass Media on 20th November.

The Seminar, which is the first of its kind in the country, has been organized by the Arab Centre for the studies of Information related to Population Development.

In his opening speech, the

Minister said the Seminar would enable our Media staff to learn from the experience of their Arab brethren in Communication and Media.

He said the centre has been established for the interests of the Arab people and added that this has been achieved after rapid strides were taken in the developments of Arab Information services.

He underscored the role

of Information service in the development of a nation and added that the development of Arab Information services would further help in the realization of the aspirations of Arab people.

«Improving our Mass Media will assist us in identifying and achieving our objectives and help us combat the propaganda of our enemies. It will also help us in informing the World of the rights of the people strugg-

ling for their freedom specially our Arab brothers of Palestine, Western Somali and Eritrea and our African brothers of Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa» the minister said.

Developed information services can save the world from catastrophes, aggression and the like; assist colonized peoples present their cause to the international community and help in the spreading of knowledge to the world, he said.

He pointed out that our information services helped in the orientation and guidance of our masses and have pioneered in demonstrating to our people the right path to development and the achievement of the aspirations of our people and uncovering the sinister tactics, of the enemies of the Arab people.

He told the Arab experts running the seminar that they would witness with their own eyes Somalia's

development during the Revolutionary Era during their stay here and added that this has been achieved through the unity and hard work of our people. He said that our Information services have been the catalyst of our development.

The Chairman of the Arab Centre for the studies of Information related to population development, Mr. Abdi Mumin Mohamed Al-Sawi spoke on the occasion about the Centre, its objectives, its present and past activities.

He said that the Centre has been established Five (5) years ago during which it has played a significant role in raising the knowledge of Arab Journalists and Improving Arab Media.

Meanwhile on 22nd November the chairman of the Ideology Bureau Jaalle Mohamed Aadan Sheik gave a lecture in the Seminar on Information and Communication for the Somali Jour-

nalists.

«The strategy and objectives of Mass Media in our country is to develop our country economically, politically, educationally, socially and in the field of health and added «the strategy of our information services is geared towards countering anything which poses an obstacle to our revolution, to improve the lives of our people and to orient and educate them so as to facilitate the realization of our people's aspirations».

Jaalle Mohamed stressed that it is the responsibility of our journalists to inform the people on our Revolution's objectives and policies. He said that they should fulfil their national obligations with diligence and patriotism.

He expressed his appreciation of the rapid strides made in the improvement and development of our Mass Media during the Revolutionary Era.

## Foreign Minister Briefs Reporters

«The 33rd session of the United Nations General Assembly discussed, among other things, the Liberation of colonized peoples, co-operation among United Nation's member states and the establishment of a new and more equitable economic order» said the SDR foreign minister, Jaalle Abdirahman Jama Barre in an interview with Somali reporters on the 14th Nov. in Mogadishu.

The minister, who led the SDR delegation to the 33rd session, delivered a long speech at the United

Nations on the SDR views in respect of the agenda of the meeting and the issue of the Abyssinian-colonized Somali people.

The minister pointed out that the delegates to the meeting have understood the rightful case of the Western Somali people and the need for a peaceful settlement of the issue.

He said that the Assembly has underscored that the only viable solution for the problem was the recognition of the inalienable rights of

these people to self determination in accordance with the charters of the United Nations, the organization of the African Unity, and the non-Alligned nations which is the path through which most of the independent countries attained their freedom.

The minister while speaking on the Namibian issue, said that the SDR expressed its support for an independent Namibia where the people of the country enjoy full freedom unlike the artificial independence which the Racist South Africa

is concocting. He wished freedom for the Namibian people and hoped that Namibia would take its rightful seat in the United Nations and the OAU next year.

Commenting on the international economic situation Jaalle Abdirahman said that the SDR believes in an international economic relations between developing and developed countries.

«The SDR favours a policy of co-operation, mutual understanding and peaceful co-existence among peoples» he pointed out.

Jaalle Abdirahman noted that although positive steps have been taken on disarmament, yet a true disarmament

policy can only be possible if the super-powers are willing to act in good faith in giving practical expression to the desire of mankind for a nuclear-free world.

He said that the major obstacle to complete disarmament is posed by imperialist countries which expand their military arsenal from day to day in an effort to threaten people under their influence and control.

«The people of the world should realize the evils of colonialism and recognize the right of peoples to self-determination and fully appreciate the values of co-operation and peaceful co-existence» he said. He added

that our views were accepted by the delegates to the assembly.

The minister also paid a visit to Sweden at the invitation of the Swedish government where he participated in a symposium on the Horn of Africa issue attended by intellectuals and diplomats held at the Swedish Institute for International Relations.

In the symposium the minister delivered a lecture on the history of black colonialism in the Horn of Africa, the situation presently obtaining there and the long struggle of the Abyssinian colonized peoples for their freedom.

## NOTICE

We remind the readers that Halgan, the official organ of the CC of the Somali Revolutionary Socialist Party, comes out in three languages: monthly Somali and English issues and trimontly Arabic issue.

Copies are available in:

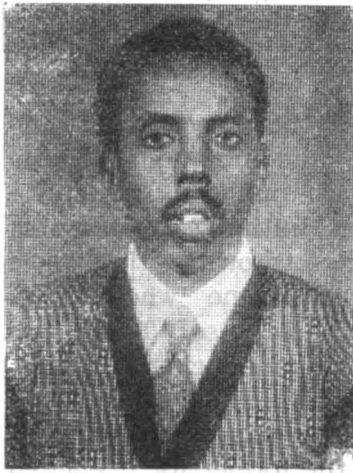
- Samatar Bookshop
- Shabelle
- African Booksellers
- Hotel Uruba
- Hussein Farmashie Shop
- Books and Journal stand opposite «Caffe Nazionale».

## CULTURE AND ART



## WORKERS AND ART

By, Rashid Sh. Abdullahi



Labour is the basis of man's existence. Not only that it is also the motive force behind the very thoughts of man, his consciousness, his ideas and art.

This is a historical fact. Human beings everywhere are relative with each other through labour. It is through such intercourse that we can discover their relationships and the ideas they exchange.

Now we can put the question: is a worker an artist or can he be one's.

It is true that manual labourers have been oppressed both physically and mentally so much so that some of them may have sunk to a servile state that has killed their intellectual activities, thus depriving them of any initiative in thinking, scientific knowledge, literature and art in general. Such a situation has been noticed to exist in all the societies whose system was based on oppressing the working people. But

in spite of that, even in such societies struggle of these workers has resulted in the production of many working class geniuses who became famous for the ideas expressed in arts and literature.

However the intellectual capacity has come into action when a society of the workers was established and social oppression was eliminated. Such a society enabled the working people to get the education formerly denied to them and made it possible for them to take control of their own production and to be the masters of their own destiny. It is then that the abilities of the working people became manifest which appeared in the sciences and technical know-how on which they constantly improved and in the ideas, philosophy, the management of social life, the

arts and the literature that were wrested from the hands of a minority and became the property of the masses whereby millions of people made innovations daily.

This experience has unmasked the fiction propagated and publicized by the outdated forces in order to cover themselves and mislead the working masses. The propaganda of such people has been and still is that only those who are fed well and are wealthy have the best brains, can think and create the theories of sciences, arts and «belles lettres», and that the idiots are those who cannot use their brains. Consequently being responsible for their poverty.

How many people are born geniuses but who may not be known or do not know them-





ves or their genius is dried up how many of them are nomads farm a small plot of land or are black-smiths, are stevedores or are watchmen; suffice it to point to the role they play in production and the technical and mechanical skills of the various professions. The valuable steps the General federations of the Somali Trade Unions have taken in this regard.

### XUSUUS BAND AND THE WORKERS' ARTS

«Xusuus» is the name of a small artistic group which has its musical band, singers, and poets. It is a very young Band which is not two years old yet. The credit for its creation goes to the General Federation of Somali Trade Union the «GFTSU» in general, Jaalle Abdi Muhumed Amin who is a wellknown artist and worker, Abdi Alasow, Abukar Ali and Ibrahim Idow.

When was the Band created? How was it created? What stages has it passed through? What are its achievements and what are the difficulties it is confronted with?

I asked such questions and others to Jaalle Abdi Muhumed Amin who is the secretary of the department of the GFTSU, and is responsible for the Band. This is the result of the inter-

view which I have not put in the form of questions and answer but can be summarized thus:

### FOUNDATION OF XUSUUS

After the General federation of the Somali Trade Unions was founded an arts branch was created under the executive committee of the GFTSU.

Later it occurred to the founders of this branch that the talents of the working people should find a way of coming out to the open. The difficulty was how to discover or to distinguish such gifted people. The answer to this was to open a musical school that would manifest



these Artistic abilities. Those who have gone to this school were the nucleus of the workers artistic troupe. The school was opened on October, 25, 1977.

But how the enrollment was made at the school? The first step was, accordingly to Abdi Muhumed, to ask the different Trade Unions to send people to this school. And recruits were made from these. However, this step did not prove very successful, for immediately many of those attending stopped coming at all. And later it was found out that the methodology of choice had been haphazard and unfruitful, for it was based on

official recommendations and no screening had been made as to the aptitude of those enrolled. Some had come to the school with the idea that learning music was a thing that did not require much effort and time, a subject that could be mastered within a matter of three months. But as things turned out many were to leave soon for they were disenchanted.

Then the school began publicizing its intentions and invited the public to participate in the initiative of learning music, throwing the doors open to anyone who was inclined to do so. This was done by announcing in the Somali daily «Hiddigta October». This step was more effective than the former for it elicited an interest in those who decided for themselves that they would join and continue learning. The new method also did away with the idea that the workers were a separate class from which recruitment for this type of school could be made. Hence people came from all walks of life to attend this school, and therefore there were civil servants, employees of agencies, private workers, teachers, university graduates, students and other unemployed persons.

Truly, learning music is more difficult than as it seems at first, particularly when it is scientifically taught and the notations are taken as basic. Can say that we have a long way to go. However, a lot of effort has been put in to attain the present stage. The principles of music and the notations were the first things to be given priority. And, the training went on like that for sometime. It was then that the use of musical instrumen-





ts was taught and to play them to the accompaniment of music as written in notations. It took no less than a year to create a presentable Band. Although prior to that some shows had been staged it was on October, 1, 1978 that the Band came of age. Among the shows which the Band presented to public attention were the competition held for the «BarKhad-As» Cup. This was the first public show of the Band and it was held at the Fair grounds during that month. There were also the I'd Al Adha celebra-

tions in which the company participated recently in the Arab Emarates to which it was sent.

#### PRESENT STAGE

There is still room for improvement. The Band is under training and it can not be said to have attained perfection. But it can be said that in music, great progress beyond the expectations of anyone has been made. But there is a shortage of singers and acting leaves much to be desired.

#### DIFFICULTIES

The problem is that the means fall far short of the requirements in equipment, teachers and funds. Although the number of workers is on the increase, the present enrollment is limited. But the problems are not going to be a permanent obstacle. And the future looks brighter.

#### CONCLUSION

In spite of the existing difficulties there is no doubt its own feet. And this it has that the Band is standing on achieved in a very short period. It is something to be admired that it can compete and even surpass in certain aspects the other Bands which are older than it is. The singing voice of Jaalle Baasharah for example is a credit to the Band and it has a melody of its own that is unprecedented in other Somali songs. It can be definitely said that the Band is progressing by leaps and bounds and it will not be long before the company will take its place in the forefront.

## BOOKS AND DOCUMENTS



*Problems of Socialist Orientation Edited  
by Mai Palmberg, and Published by  
Scandinavian Institute of African Studies*

BY, BAYR

This is a work of great importance turning on a matter of topical relevance, that is the non-capitalist path of development which a number of countries in the third world are charting out for themselves in order to register a progressive transformation in their socio-economic structures. The book consists of a compilation of eleven papers dealing with various aspects of socialist orientation. These eleven articles were submitted in a seminar held in Hanasaari, Finland, by the Scandinavian Institute of Development Studies of the University of Helsinki. A brief scanning over the topic discussed shows their imperativeness as well as its multidimensionality.

The nature of the topics can be gleaned from the following headings: Class struggle, social development and the theory of the non-capitalist path; a non-revolutionary transition to socialism; dependence or development; International inequalities; non-capitalist agriculture and development strategy; application of Marxist reproduction model to developing countries; pitfalls along the non-capitalist path; Somalia's socialist oriented development; Guinea Bissau's conditions of development; problems of socialist orientation in Nasser's Egypt; the political role of the workers in Tanzania and Zambia; and the reports subsequently offered on these articles. As

can be immediately realised the topics are relatively comprehensive, in both the theoretical and practical planes, that they deserve a spirited analysis.

The papers, however, in our opinion are not of equal applicability to our conditions. Some of them contain a mass of factual data which is difficult to transmit or will be relatively monotonous to repeat; others on the other hand are of deep theoretical analysis, which at the sometime are tinged with a practical meaning which deserves our attention. Accordingly, since it is almost painstakingly difficult to cover the contents of all papers in the book thus emphasis will be put on the passages that are of cardinal importance.

The first paper entitled: Class struggle, social development and the theory of the non-capitalist path; takes up the generic evolution of the whole concept. He lays down its theoretical underpinnings which can be summarised as follows:

(i) To creatively develop Marxism in order to provide an understanding of the present objective and subjective possibilities for working class advance on a world scale, without committing the obvious errors of right or «left».

(ii) To recognise the vast variety of circumstances in individual countries and regions, but yet to conceptuali-

se both the individual variations and regularities to be found in these societies at the immediate post-colonial stage.

(iii) To advance theory in a non-dogmatic manner and therefore to see this approach as «one possible Path» (his italics) from the national movement to socialist construction.

Having correctly delineated this the writer Clive Y. Thomas, goes on to reasonably elaborate on certain major theoretical issues impinging on the topic. Thus he starts an elaboration on the concepts of classes, and class formation, the nature of the state; productive forces and production relations, etc. Thomas's thorough going mastery of classical marxism enables him to penetrate into the essential attributes of the non-capitalist path of development. He posits its strong points while at the same time rightly pointing to certain intrinsic weaknesses. The political domination of the petty - bourgeois state over state machinery and their dilly-dallying on sharing power with the Marxist-Leninist or Communist elements comes down for an incisive criticism. The vacillations of the petty bourgeoisie is too well-known thereby Thomas's conclusions do not startle us. Furthermore, Thomas's rightly criticises certain theoretical misconceptions which view the state as autonomous and independent

in conditions of acute class struggle. But besides committing himself to the refutation of theoretical opportunism Thomas outlines the driving forces for the non-capitalist path, i.e. the genuine seeking for economic independence the revolutionary democrats head a major coalition of a number of classes toward non-capitalist and even socialist oriented path. Attendant in this is the call for nationalising expatriate owned property and anti-imperialist, anti-monopolist posture in the international arena. In the sphere of productive forces and production relations Thomas is reluctant to elaborate, he merely sets out the arguments of the proponents of the non-capitalist path of development, and in the end expresses his doubts about how the system of social relations can be transformed radically. Anyway the theoretical postulations of Comrade Thomas allow him to work a comprehensive passage on the criticism and evaluation of the whole concept under discussions.

Lionel Cliffe contributed a paper entitled; A Non-revolutionary Path to Socialism? It is rather perplexing why comrade Cliffe has chosen this title. It may well be that he does not regard the non-capitalist path of development as a revolutionary one, but conceives of it as a quantitative and evolutionary one. Comrade Cliffe is free to do so but the pertinence of his paper lies in the fact that it sheds light on the nature of the national development strategies of countries of socialist orientation. An elucidation on the variables of the economic strategy of a t t e m p t e d disengagement from the international capitalist system embarked upon by certain African countries of a

progressive mould is a task L. Cliffe addresses himself to, and for this we can be thankful. Comrade Cliffe, however, does not forget about the other important factors, such as the political and social ones which augment this process of possible disengagement. In nutshell Cliffe's paper boils down to a discourse on the potentialities of capital accumulation to be derived from the agricultural sector in the redoubled efforts at industrialisation by these countries. Cliffe's paper read in conjunction with papers on: Non-capitalist Agriculture and Development Strategy, by Jozef Nowicki; and application of the Marxist Reproduction to the Developing Countries, by Parvis Khalat bari will make a most instructive and beneficial reading.

In Jozef Nowicki's paper the nature and level of agricultural development is given a relatively satisfactory summary. The role of agriculture in the overall development strategy is clearly accented on. Comrade Nowicki in his analysis states, «...This is the reason why profound institutional changes, which really would mean a social revolution, should be treated as pre-conditions for development, especially in the agricultural sector in the less developed countries». In the further emphasis on this point the vital need for an agrarian reform and redistribution of potentially cultivable land; abolition of land renting; extension of irrigation projects; liquidation of usury capital by establishing cheap cooperative credit fertilisers and pesticides, are offered as keynotes in agricultural policy. The institution of such policies, in the opinion of the writer, will not only increase agricultural production but will create employ-

ment for the surplus army of labour found in these countries.

But the chief merit lying in such policies result from the more egalitarian income redistribution in favour of poorer peasants. To strengthen such policies further steps to consolidate them ought be taken such as:

(i) Political ones; ensuring the direct or indirect removal from power the quasi-feudal landlords and remnants of other backward looking social groups;

(ii) economic ones; turning on consistent redistribution of national wealth and income in favour of the most numerous social strata which is vitally interested in development;

(iii) Socio-cultural ones; which are an expression of social justice and a basis for abolishing malnutrition, unemployment, illiteracy and thus to increase the propensity to work and raise its marginal productivity.

Comrade Nowicki's thoughtful and reasoned disquisitions on this topic show their relevance when he is discussing the correlation of industrial and agricultural policies, and the scale of priority to be struck between.

Unlike some dogmatic, one sided and idealistic theoretical postulates his are characterised by the harmonic, multi-sided weighing of the multiple factors and elements that add up to form a policy, which is a dialectical and sweeping as far as possible. Thus he sees the two as a social whole which act one on the other, and henceforth interact. Therefore for him the only pro-

blem is the practical ways and devices to organically harmonise them. The same methodological approach helps Comrade Nowicki in his dealing with the choice of technology per se contributed to higher agricultural production. In fact he correctly states that the technique promising best result is the one, «...under which smaller capital inputs for improved tools available to small peasants are used by them more efficiently». In his opinion this is the technique which will most help people below the poverty

line, and will in the long run result in greater agricultural productivity».

Addressing himself to food production Comrade Nowicki states that whether agricultural development is being directed along capitalist or non-capitalist lines is judged among other things, by the ultimate aim to which social development is being subordinated. Obviously this will have intimate effect on the priority, or the lack of it, given to food production. Inasmuch as capitalist production is founded on the

maximisation of profits and the exaction of surplus value over the priority on food production and in general social welfare is not likely to gain a topmost importance. It is socialism, founded as it is on catering for the social needs of the working people is capable of giving due emphasis of framing a policy towards an effective food production in developing countries.

The 2nd part of this review will appear in the next issue of Halgan.



## Address delivered by the delegation of the SRPS to the Eleventh Congress of the PDG

The Secretary General of the PDG and Supreme leader of the Guinea Revolution, Comrade Ahmed Seku Ture, Members of the Presidium and invited guests, Delegates to this important congress,

Dear Comrades,

Permit me to convey the sincere greetings and congratulations of our Secretary-General, Jaalle Mohamed Siad Barre, our Party and people to Comrade Ahmed Seku Ture as well as to all the participants at this historic congress of your Party.

We thank you for the invitation to our Party and for the hospitality rendered to us since our arrival in Conakry.

We have learned a great deal during our stay here, the PDG has a lot of experience that should prove useful to our young Party. We sincerely

rely hope to work for closer relations between our two parties, governments and peoples.

Guinea and Somalia are both underdeveloped African states pursuing a similar strategy towards development. Both countries have opted for socialist oriented development. In Somalia, like in Guinea, we have nationalised the major means of production. We have placed emphasis on rural development along non-capitalist lines. We have combatted a serious drought by resettling the nomadic population involved in cooperative communities involving agriculture and fishing.

Like you, we have mobilized our people to construct numerous schools, offices, stores, bridges, roads etc. Through volunteer self-help efforts.

We have also embarked on a dynamic cultural policy

aimed at destroying the bad consequences for colonial and neo-colonial cultural imperialism. A script has been provided for the Somali language which is used in all aspects of administration and public life, in primary and secondary schools and in conducting a series of urban and rural mass literacy campaigns. We are also conducting campaigns against corruption, profiteering and for love of labor and socialism.

One of the most unique things about Guinea is that it constitutes a highly organised society such organisation allowed the people of Guinea to say «No» to French colonialism on September 28, 1958 it allowed the people of Guinea to defeat the naked imperialist aggression of November 22, 1970 such organisation, thanks to the PDG and its Secretary-General, Comrade Ahmed Seku Ture, has permitted Guinea to achieve a great de-

al of progress in political, social, cultural and economic affairs.

We too, come to understand that without organisation we can achieve nothing. Following the revolution of 1969, the Somali people became better organised in order to carry-out the programmes mentioned above the organisation of our people achieved a high point on July 1st 1976 following the creation of the Somali Revolutionary Socialist Party. This has been followed by the establishment of mass organisations linked to the Party, these organisations include those for workers, youth, women and cooperatives for Somali peasants, nomads and traders.

Our Party has decided to have an extraordinary congress early in January 1979. The congress will allow our Party to broaden and deepen its socialism orientation. This congress will also help us define the peoples power by setting up a system of democratic elections leading to the creation of a National Assembly similar to the one you already have in Guinea.

Somalia like Guinea constitutes a society profoundly influenced by the religion of Islam. The religious faith of our people historically helped them in the struggle against imperialism, especially against colonial cultural alienation. The Somali Revolution has, therefore paid due respect to

the positive role of religion in our revolution. We have not yet, however, done much theoretical elaboration on this crucial topic. We therefore welcome most sincerely and enthusiastically, the contribution made by Comrade Seku Ture on this important subject.

It is also with great enthusiasm that we welcome the diplomatic offensive of the PDG. We have learned from our own experience that realistic relations with countries of differing ideologies and social systems does not compromise a revolutionary people determined to edify a socialist reconstruction of society.

Guinea and the PDG possess a great deal of matured revolutionary experience symbolised in the person of President Ahmed Seku Ture. We congratulate the PDG for resolving to bring this experience to bear in Monrovia, Khartoum and elsewhere. At the recent summit of the OAU, President Seku Ture proposed a series of constructive proposals intended to provide African solutions to Africa's problems, including those dividing the brotherly peoples of the Horn of Africa. The great experience, the revolutionary maturity of Guinea should not be isolated, it should spread its wisdom in all corners of Africa and upon the international arena as a whole.

Somalia, like Guinea, remains faithful to an anti-im-

perialist orientation in foreign policy. We strongly support the national liberation struggles of the people of Namibia, Zimbabwe and South Africa (Azania). We strongly endorse the struggle of the Palestinian people for their just national rights to establish a Palestine state and the struggle of the other Arab peoples to restore their territories illegally occupied by the zionist state of Israel. We have condemned all imperialist manoeuvres and colonialist intrigues aimed at providing fake solutions to the burning problems in Southern Africa and in the Middle East.

We also wish to reaffirm our solid support for all those forces struggling for self-determination and genuine progress in the Horn of Africa. All those struggling to eliminate all the evil consequences of the feudal-colonialist regime that existed in the Horn.

Somalia, like Guinea remains vigilant and faithful to the long struggle of its people against imperialism, against colonialism, neo-colonialism, racism, apartheid, zionism, the struggles of our people for freedom, peace, equality, the world-wide struggle for socialism and progress.

LONG LIVE THE PDG;

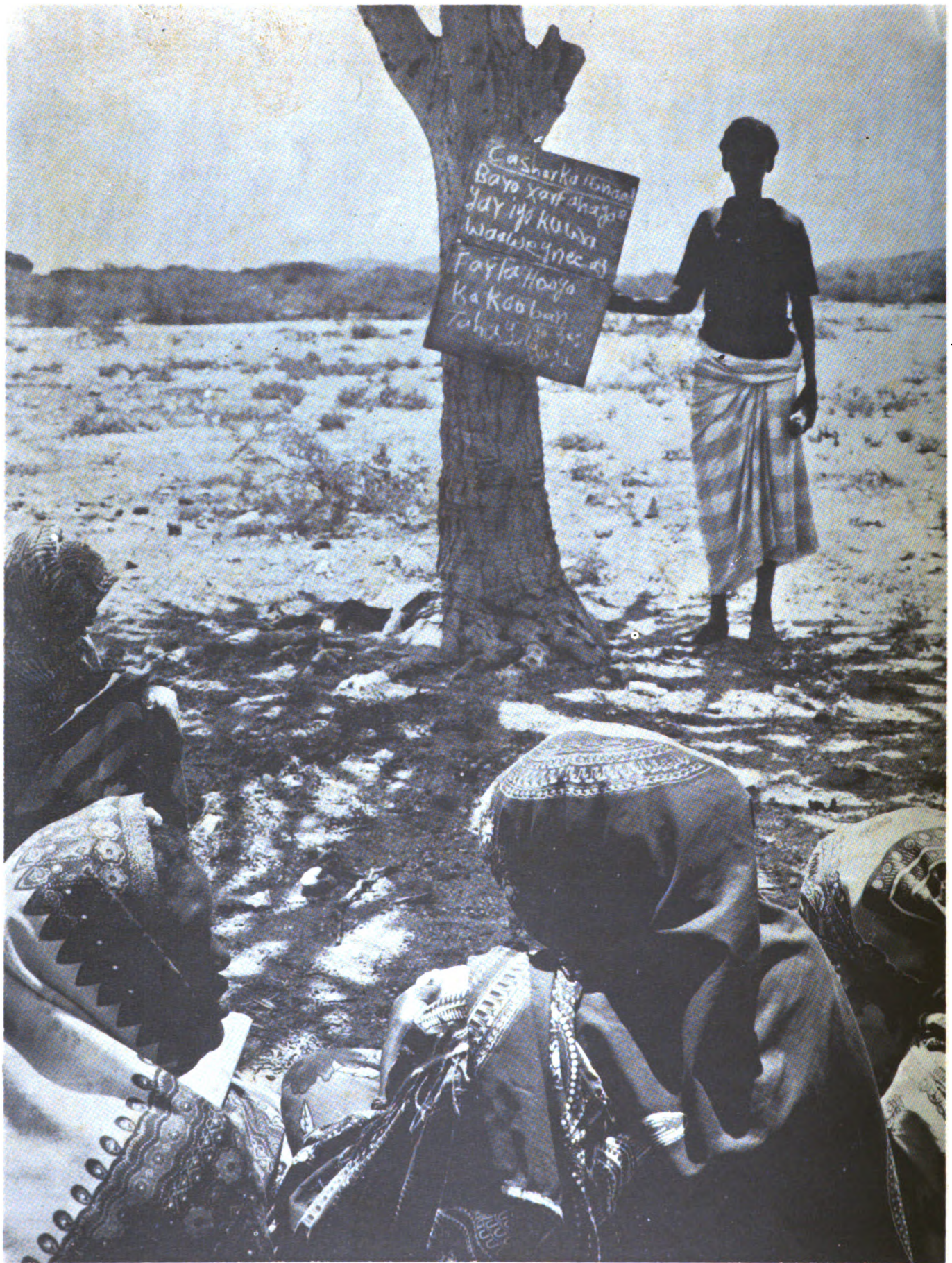
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GUINEA FRIENDSHIP;

LONG LIVE INTERNATIONAL  
SOLIDARITY;

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**NEW SOMALIA: THE NURSERY SCHOOLS-A NEW FEATURE OF REVOLUTIONARY SOMALIA.**



**THE ALPHABETISATION OF THE ADULT POPULATION IN RURAL AREAS: A CONTINUING EDUCATIONAL PROCESS.**