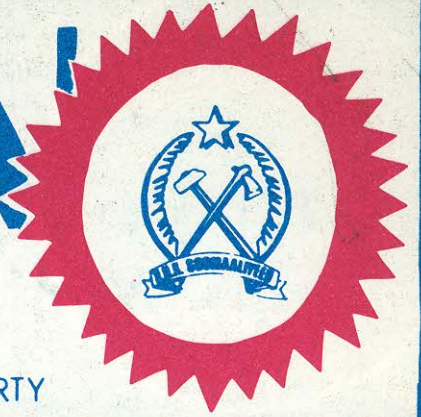


HAILGAN!



(THE STRUGGLE)

ORGAN OF THE SOMALI
REVOLUTIONARY SOCIALIST PARTY

Mass Culture and the Somali Personality

Zimbabwe: The internal settlement and
the patriotic Front

Brief Critique: Bourgeois Economic
Theories of Under- develop-
ment

Background to the national struggle
of the Western Somali.

Struggle to
learn, in order to
learn to
struggle better

HAILGAIN

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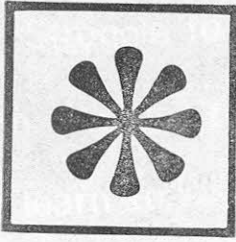
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EDITORIAL NOTES



NEW DEVELOPMENT IN THE MIDDLE EAST

The problem of the Middle East has entered a critical phase with Sadat peace initiative and his visit to Jerusalem. This visit was followed by other moves such as the Cairo preparatory conference, the meeting of both the military and political committees, the Ismailia encounter, the meeting with Carter, which was followed by special envoy Mr. Atherton touring the area. However, the situation has become a dangerous one after the present Israeli invasion of Southern Lebanon.

Therefore, Sadat peace initiative has produced divergent reactions. Egypt views it as a forward step for winning the world Public opinion and the exposure of the intransigent attitude of Israel as well as, showing evidence that the Arabs are striving for peace as opposed to the Israeli military establishment which so far, has not responded to the peace initiative on the same foot.

But one of the serious reaction against such an initiative was manifested by the steady front which presented itself in both Tripoli and Algiers conferences. This front views Sadat's visit on his peace initiative as a scheme aimed for the implementation of anti Arab plans. Likewise, its aftermath is a wanton violation of the principles of national struggle against the Zionist enemy. Further it undermines the right of Arab people of Palestine and subsequently the removal of Egypt from the confrontation front against the Zionist enemy.

In contrast, the U.S.A., from her side has blessed the initiative and became the center of communication between Egypt and Israel by dispatching a permanent envoy touring the area. However, the Soviet position was a different one by describing the initiatives as a step undermining Arab solidarity and its aim is to eliminate the Soviet role in solving the problem. Further more, Sadat was accused of attempting to sign a partial agreement with Israel.

Thus, it is to be observed from the different position advocated by the Arab states that Sadat initiative has produced a big divergence about its validity in contributing a solution to the palestinian problem and the occupied Arab territories.

On the other hand, Israel is still holding its obstinate position which rejects complete withdrawal from all the occupied Arab lands, and the recognition of the right of the Palestinian people in establishing their own independent state.

But the present Israeli invasion of Southern Lebanon and the obliteration of the bases of the Palestinian resistance in Lebanon is an integral part of her dangerous policy for the dictation of her terms and manoeuvre against a just and lasting solution to the problem.

Hence, in scrutinizing the developments in the middle East situation, it is apparent from both the position advocated by Israel and U.S.A., about the Palestinian problem is centred on their refusal of the recognition of the PLO, which represent the legitimate aspirations of the Palestinian people, the establishment of a Palestinian state on the occupied lands of Palestine, will only result in aggravating tension and the encouragement of Israel in her aggressive policies.

The experiences of the Arab peoples struggle emphasize the inherent danger in plotting against the Palestinian struggle for the rights of self-determination and the subsequent deployment of the big stick policy for the elimination of the Palestinian resistance, will only increase the resistance of the Palestinian people and the sabotage of all viable steps for the preservation of peace in the area.

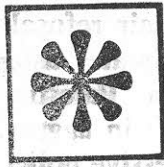
It is self-evident, that Israel knows very well the existence of a strong Palestinian National Movement will always eliminate Israeli options and as well some of the Arab options for the solution of the Palestinian problem.

Thus, her position from the question of the Palestinian people will lead to no where; but the escalation of the tension and the war condition in the area.

Consequently, in scrutinizing the different position undertaken by the Arab parties on the aforesaid issue, it is apparently clear that the dispute is not on the Arab strategy based on the necessity of Israeli withdrawal from all occupied Arab territories and the just solution of the problem of the Palestinian people but is centred on the methods used for the realisation of the national objective.

Accordingly, the new situation requires fostering the struggle for Arab solidarity based on the confrontation against imperialism, zionism and endeavouring for the liberation of all occupied Arab territories. At the same time, a firm commitment is needed for fostering the capability of the Palestinian resistance movement in regaining their national rights.

The Arab options for the solution of the question of the Arab people will not succeed without active Arab solidarity under the umbrella of Arab strategy for confronting imperialism, zionism as well as standing steady against unjust solution calming methods, step by step diplomacy, is the responsibility of all Arab states.



To where the events of the Horn are heading?

Starting from the days of the Somali Government withdrawal of its supporting units for the Western Somali Liberation Fronts in the War Zones, it seems that the policies adopted by the parties concerned and the states who openly intervened in the Horn's affairs have somehow changed their respective positions.

Firstly, the Soviet Union, Cuba and other states that brought their forces to the area were acting like those who have conquered land and people by force. It looks that their decision is based on the assumption that there is no more need to consult any body about the affairs of the Horn. The best indication of this attitude could be inferred from their cooling off the necessity for an urgent consultation of this matter. All along, this has been the position of Somalia which she declared on several occasions and as it was hinted by the same above mentioned states.

Secondly America is still manifesting its policy of «Wait and see», by not having the audacity to reconcile its public pronouncement and actions.

Thirdly the Addis-Ababa regime has made the presumptuous assumption of being a powerful element which can force its solution on the ongoing events of the Horn. As a matter of fact, this regime is merely an instrument benignly used as a vehicle for implementing policies that have far reaching implications which without the least doubt are beyond his present claims. Likewise, this regime was saying yesterday that he wanted the solution of the problem of the Horn through the mechanism of peaceful negotiation. However, today he claims

that he has achieved victory (which is a matter that does not deserve a reply!!). Further, this self-conceited regime has started to employ BOMBASTIC utterance against the SDR, which is a sign that the said regime has not yet comprehended the Volcano that he and his allies are standing on.

Fourthly, the Somali Democratic Republic, has taken several consecutive steps for the maintenance of World peace and the rights of the struggling people of Western Somalia and Abbo. The latest step in this direction is her standing recognition of the inalienable rights of the people of the area for self determination, the necessity of starting negotiation for the settlement of the problem in order to avert the creation of a more aggravating situation than the present one.

Fifthly, the National Liberation Fronts, as was expected, have rejected all solutions short of their independence and have embarked on the continuation of their legitimate struggle.

Therefore, if the different positions adopted by the respective parties in the conflict are as indicated above, then some people are asking: Why Africa did not urgently intervene in the Question? and when the matter is going to end?

The absence of an urgent and effective African intervention in the Question is not based on their anxiety about border problems that might have different consequences on their inter-relationship (As we know Kenya was the only African state which expressed hostility to the aspirations of the National Liberation Movement of Western Somalia, due to its vested interest in the problem), but it is due to the fact that their eyes are focused on the diabolical system of Apartheid and the worst colonialism prevailing in Southern Africa.

Further more the majority of the African states believe that they can obtain the support of the Soviet Union and his allies in their confrontation against the racist regimes in Southern Africa. Thus, they have not dared to stand directly against the Soviet Union and its allies. However, despite the existence of this fact, there is nothing which could prevent them from taking appropriate step dealing with every grave problem facing the African continent. They are likely to be side stepped if they fail to find a viable solution for all complicated problems of Africa..... even over the question of Southern Africa. But with respect to the second question, no one has today found a precise answer for it. The states and the organizations who are expected to find a solution to the problem have not done enough. Nevertheless, two things are already clear:

1. In the past, Cuba used to say that for imperialism we have to create one, two, three Vietnams. Today she is creating for the socialist countries one, two, three, Western Somalia, which will cause a great damage to their policies, prestige and the confidence which the third World had on them.
2. The prevalence of the condition of no war no peace in the region is a dangerous one. This state of affairs will take a long time to be extinguished.

Accordingly, Somalia has shown earlier, beyond the least shadow of doubt, her good intentions and acceptance of a just and lasting solution of the present problem of the Horn. Consequently the Somali Democratic Republic is anticipating the reactions of the concerned parties in the problem or those who have openly intervened in the matter to be cognisant of the burden of the problem by urgently responding to the call of the Somali Democratic Republic, if their real intention is to find a lasting solution and understanding in the region.

Political, Social and Economic Affairs



Underdevelopment as a reflection of the perennial legacy of colonial subjugation of states and peoples in today's world is more and more drawing both political and academic interest. The interest paid to it since the 1960s is indicative of the serious effort to pinpoint its causes and consequences. To an extent it also reflects the attempt to find ways and means out of the dark tunnel to which underdevelopment, in its multi-dimensionality has condemned a great number of countries. In the serious tackling of the issues of underdevelopment, treaties and tomes of books have been devoted to it, and a multiplicity of theories have emerged, some of which illumine our understanding whereas others only confuse and befuddle the mind. In the present articles some of these theories on underdevelopment will be set out, and in addition a critique of each will be submitted. Finally an overall assessment of underdevelopment will be offered.

1. With regard to these theories Walt Rostow's doctrine of five stages of economic development is one pertinent to be primarily discussed. Walt Rostow, an American economist, who seriously concerns himself with underdevelopment, set down five stages which countries go through in their economic development, and these are:

a) — The traditional society, as the starting stage implies a society whose structure is developed within limited production functions, based on primitive tools;

b) — The transition period is the stage when already a process

of economic changes is taking place within the traditional economic setting but as yet the process has not gone its full course as to qualitatively and all-roundedly lead to the creations of the pre-conditions of the next stage which is the take off;

c) — The take-off stage constitutes a central theme of W. Rostow, and involves a state of affairs where the economic structure comes to acquire a new scientific and technological base thereby gaining vast potentialities for internal and dynamic generation and self-propelling force for further optimal growth. This stage entails a qualitative leap forward where the contradictions of both traditional and transition stages are wholly resolved. For Rostow this stage embodies an important function in the developmental strategy, and development is for him a matter of economic accomplishment of the take off point. Underdevelopment of Afro-Asian and Latin American continents, within the ambit of W. Rostow's doctrine is the inability of economic variables, in terms of investments, production output and their results falling miserably below the take off requirements.

d) — The maturity stage is attained when all the pre-requisites for further, and unhampered economic growth are assured. A highly scientific and technological base, with centuries of economic experience and, skilled manpower, sophisticated managerial and administrative acumen is per se a characteristic of this stage. Capital outlays, high-production output, and thereby a satisfactory per capita in

M. A. Ali (Bayr)

come are natural corollaries of this stage.

e) — Stage of consumer society for Rostow is symbolised by the present highly developed European, North American and Japanese societies. A rapid and an ever rising technico-scientific revolution in production, and its monumental increase are the hall marks of the consumer society. The abundance of consumer products, and their widespread utilisation thereof by all the strata of society, whose high incomes perfectly enables them to, convince Rostow to see the consumer society as the end all and be all for human society.

W. Rostow's doctrine is an unabashed bourgeois alternative to K. Marx's socio-economic formations in point of fact. W. Rostow dubs his doctrine «A non-Communist Manifesto», so as to instil in our minds how different and preferable his stages of economic growth are to Marx's socio-economic formations. The weakness of Rostow's doctrine is epitomised by the fact that it is non-historical. All that he succeeds to do is give us certain attributes and characterisation of economic growth, rather than a meaningful theoretic generalisation of economic phenomena and processes. Furthermore it is highly abstract since he applies them to all societies, irrespective of their ideological and political orientations. As a matter of principle he banishes ideological orientation and sees only the harmonious evolution of economics without any hitches and disruptions. Conse-

quent upon the above mentioned points, and a host of others, W. Rostows' doctrine is finding less and less disciples, and hence is losing intellectual and practical grip as a relevant thematic expression on underdevelopment.

2. TECHNO-ECONOMIC CRITERIA OF UNDERDEVELOPMENT.

This a theory to which a very large section of Western theoreticians on under-development subscribe to. Its fundamental principles on underdevelopment revolve around shedding light on economic growth and thereon development and technological factors contributing to within the rubric of techno-economic factors four factors are one singled out for special analysis, i.e Capital accumulation, population growth, discoveries of new resources and technological process. This theory lays emphasis on the interrelationship between these four factors in the context of an optimal economic conditions.

Following from this the theory goes to further enlighten us on qualitative economic categories, such as the relationship between national output, national income and their mutual transformation. It further addresses itself to the level of capital accumulation and how capital accumulation is intimately affected by the propensities to consume or save. Over and above this, or as a natural corollary it comprehensively deals with per capita income of the population, and it closely relates this to the chances of prospective economic growth, or its decline.

As an illustration of how the theory deals with underdevelopment it is necessary to take a crucial aspect of its theoretical underpinnings, i.e the relationship between net savings and net investment, as emanating from the level of incomes. In underdeveloped countries the theory categorically

states that the low level of incomes, perforce dries up the chances of high saving capacity and naturally reduces favourable chances of high investment. The contrary is the case in advanced countries i.e high incomes favourably act to insure high saving capacity, thereunder furnishing high investment potentialities, which in turn favourably acts upon increased economic expansion. In other words capital accumulation is high, and as such it insure advanced development. This techno-economic theory further elaborates on the economic categories hitherto mentioned, for instance by concentrating on the nature of population growth, and the attributes of technological growth which lies in its rate of growth, rather than in its abundant availability.

A Critique of this theory will appear in the more substantive overall critique of bourgeois theories of economic underdevelopment.

Meanwhile suffice to say that the theory assembles axiomatic truths, clearly apparent even to the uneducated but commonsensical mind, and attempts to launch them as a generalised theoretic standpoint. Doubtlessly this assemblage of objective facts of economic growth cannot stand up as a theory of development in its own right. Obviously they can supplement a another theoretical framework but they cannot lend themselves as the foundations of a theory standing on such shaky premisses

3. Non-economic Criteria of underdevelopment:-

This theory acts as a scaffolding for numerous factors congregating around demographic explosion, demographic determinism, and certain human factors which bourgeois theoretician maintain to militate against socio-economic development. Academic theoreticians of neo-Malthusian persuasion, J. Shumpeter, E. Gannage, A.Lewis, R.Nurkse and H

Schatz, mainly American Economists are strong proponents and champions of this multi-headed theoretical viewpoint.

Demographic explosion and demographic determinism bases its argument on the adverse role which rapid population growth plays in economic development. By proceeding from the high role of birth in various third world countries, and also the observable decreasing mortality rates, hinging on improved medical care, these theoreticians seize on them so as to explain the negative development realities prevalent in third world countries. The demographic factors as far as they touch on underdevelopment are but a continuation of Malthusian ideas in a new form. Zero population growth, strict family planning, and conducive social conditions to bring about these, are put up as palliatives curing economic underdevelopment.

There is no reason to exhaustively deal with geographic determinism, which in short assert that underdevelopment naturally characterises countries of extreme cold and hot climate.

The logical basis of this theory is that only countries of temperate climate, with rich soil, satisfy the natural and human requisites for rapid economic development Henceforth European, N. American and Japanese rapid development is explained solely from this geographical angle.

The human factor's school, of which academician J. Shumpleter is an exemplary representative is gaining momentum, and wide recognition amongst European theoreticians. It lays major emphasis on enterprenurial acumen as the road to socio-economic development.

The lack of enterprenurial acumen and skills, the dearth of business and managerial personal, and the primitiveness of managerial tech-

niques acts as a rich material for some theoreticians to decry the lack of economic transformation in third world countries. In totality, as these theoreticians insist the whole social environment of Asian, African and Latin American countries, to varying degrees, does not easily commend itself to the generation of the untapped and infinite potentialities that enterprenurial possibilities for development makes imperative.

A brief critique of these non-economic criteria of economic growth draws its inspiration from the incontrovertible judgement of practical life, that is real human experience proves that neither geographic factors, nor demographic and human variables can be used as convincing argument to explain the objective constraints to development. Life has time and again asserted the truth that countries of diverse geographic conditions, population-structures and variegated cultural background have developed not withstanding their peculiar differences. All these go to consolidate the idea that the sources of development, and its scope, range and nature reside outside the above conceptual framework.

4. Criteria of Structural nature:-

This theory turns upon certain observable tendencies in underdeveloped countries, i.e the dual sectoral nature of their economies and thereunder the dual technological bases subsisting within such economies.

A modern and traditional sectors, using modern and traditional technologies and scientific methods is more often than not delineatable in third world countries. This objective appraisal of reality is further related to the dependent relationship between the metropole, and periphery which inescapably engenders what J.H. Boeke, a Netherland economist terms a sociological dualism.

In real terms this theory distinctly brings out the tensions to which a neo-colonial legacy subjects underdeveloped economies to. The contradictions between the natural economic sector, geared to bare subsistence, chiefly non-monetized where social production is weefully low is counterposed to the highly capitalistic modern sector which is by and large European, export-oriented and in great measure non-harmoniously linked with the natural traditional sector. This gulf between the two sectors inevitably breeds a non-integrated economic structure, and logically gives birth to the problem of economic enclavism, mono-culturism or the lack of diversification in products. Further as a natural corollary of this, there emerges a lopsided economic structure, which develops rapidly in some areas, whereas other highly essential fields remain sadly backward.

The theory of structural criteria appositely singles out certain economic conundrums of a non-developed economy enlightening us on some factors that deepen this underdevelopment. The lack of harmony between the two sectors and the difficulties encountered in their mutual organic transformation obviously hinders underdevelopment. But the truth, as the Algerian economist A. Cournael strongly states these structural criteria do not satisfy the requirements of a watertight theoretic insight into underdevelopment. This so-called theory addresses itself mainly to structural phenomena rather than the substantive issues that impinge on the crisis-ridden and highly complex topic of development. The causes underlying economic development are much deep-rooted and complex than the superficially attractive but theoretically barren structural criterion that briefly has been dealt with.

5. International criterion of underdevelopment:-

The theory of telescoping underdevelopment on variables closely related to the international division of labour, i.e the classical theory of international exchanges, and the negative phenomena emanating from it is obviously productive and apt. By utilising the marshalled techno-economic data, trends in world trade, correlation between prices of raw materials and industrial goods movement of capital between developed and developing countries, etc, we help ourselves in singling out key factors contributing to underdevelopment.

Not withstanding this theoretical classification, further analytical advance on underdevelopment need to be dealt with. That is to streamline and delve deeper into the causal and consequential relationship of the origin of underdevelopment which is mainly ignored by bourgeois theoreticians on underdevelopment. This is invariably tied to the bourgeois academicians prejudice to question the essence of the capitalist mode of production in being in any way to blame the quagmire that is underdevelopment. Accordingly the following 5 points are offered to give us a whole and dynamic picture of underdevelopment.

I. Underdevelopment is characteristic of a group of countries and emerged at a certain stage of human development. In principle this point highlights the intimate correlation between underdevelopment and the emergence of world capitalism, which eventually and organically developed into world imperialism, contributing to rapid development of some countries and the collateral underdevelopment of others. The evolution of capitalism, and the working out of its intrinsic contradictions therefore ought to feature prominently in our conceptual analysis of underdevelopment. This fact is either brushed aside by most theoreticians whose theories have been singled out, or at best the link between ca-

pitalism and underdevelopment are weakly expressed.

II. Underdevelopment does not stem from the lack of generating internal impulses of development. This point goes to invalidate the human and geographic criterion which is above set out. Human, and geographic conditions, however adverse they can be acted upon and transformed by conscious human planning insofar the laws and processes of economic development are clearly understood and mastered by man. It is not due to internal impulses of development which are lacking but the incapacity to harness the abundant potentialities for development which is both subjective and objective factors ideologically rooted in the relationship of dominance and subordination subsisting in our world, Torpedo to nature.

III. The qualitative underpinnings of underdevelopment revolves around the serious steps incumbent to be taken in the effort to eliminate the vicious entanglement of underdevelopment contrary to the prognosis of bourgeois theories on economic growth. A crucial tackling of underdevelopment necessitates both structural and substantive transformations within a socio-economic reality seriously committed to defeat underdevelopment. Unlike the tame prescriptions of sociologically modernist theories recommending mere tampering with the structural nature of development, a qualitative approach sets before us a holistic. Task turning on qualitative changes leap-like in their objective and

goal implementation, and the setting of new social relations dependent on newly consolidated economic interrelations the world over. Indubitably this calls for a new correlation of class forces, alliances and relations. It implies an ideological choice springing from the well-tested rivalry between the polar opposite socialist and capitalist system, with their concomitant theoretical and practical attitudes to development.

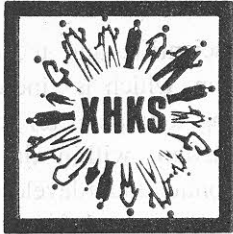
IV. Overcoming underdevelopment has greater qualitative meaning than is contained in the mere transition from a traditional economy to the industrial revolution, as is expressed by W. Rostows doctrine. Putting the issue in this light is an unforgivable oversimplification and has the unwitting effect of mistaking form for substance. Needless to say if we proceed on these grounds we only observe the simple quantitative coefficients of economic life, and not the qualitative transformations which economic growth is periodically made susceptible to by virtue of necessary internal contradictions contained in the very process of economic categories. As a vivid illustration the emergence of monopolistic capitalism, viz imperialism from the very womb of individually owned and competitive capitalism of the earlier 19th century was a qualitative change and only solely a quantitative change resting on greater centralisation and expanding concentration. The birth of the socialist economic system from the exploitive system of capitalism is historically a deep going qualitative

leap which ushers a new era in human development.

V. The scientific and technological revolution, which is increasingly becoming a vital factor in modern production, within the context of economic underdevelopment ends up in a perverted form concerning the agrarian-industrial nexus, and vice versa. Instead of the scientific and technological revolution hastening the process of organic unity between the agrarian-industrial sectors, a sectoral chasm objectively determined crops up henceforth resulting in negative effects of further strengthening underdevelopment. It is not that the dual sectors, and the contradictions existing between them are naturally inevitable, as the sociological dualistic theory apparently believes it is only that the inner logic of capitalist economic integument makes this an absolute law of underdevelopment.

In conclusion, of course, honest admission as to the brevity of my analysis of bourgeois theories on economic growth, has to be proffered. But crucial importance of this topic lies in its relevance to our day to day lives, as we confront a host of developmental problems which make systematic analysis an objective necessity. Our era is characterised by the tireless search for ways out from the stifling birth pangs of the capitalist legacy of underdevelopment. In this search there is bound to be a fierce theoretical struggle, and the multiplicity of bourgeois theories are an attempt to obfuscate the clearcut issues that developmental strategy along socialist lines makes historically compelling to enjoy parctical effectuation.

PARTY LIFE



Official statement by The CC of the SRSP

The CC of the SRSP met in extra-ordinary session from 8th to 9th Feb. 78 and on top of the agenda was an exhaustive discussion concerning the daily deteriorating situation in the Horn, which more and more calls for a permanent and just solution in this region. This meeting became indispensable following the escalating destruction and loss of life rendered by colonialism and the illegitimate foreign intervention meant to exterminate the people of the region who are engaged in the just struggle for de-colonisation. Such destructive acts also endangered the sovereignty of several states as well as the stability of world peace.

The decisions reached in this session have been released in an official statement, comprising the following measures:-

The SDR has for many times warned against the intervention of foreign forces in the conflict of the Horn of Africa which results from peoples struggling to free themselves from Abyssinian colonialism. It has become evident that Russia, Cuba and other countries have now involved themselves up to a level where they have completely taken over the war operation.

The Russian, Cuban and other allied forces have now resorted to conduct mass massacres of the Somali people in the area and their air force has carried out constant raids agai-

nst towns and civilian centres in the SDR.

The Somali Government is alarmed at the Russian intervention in the African affairs in particular the Horn of African conflict. The actions of the Russian government are endangering the very existence of the SDR and in addition is further aggravating the situation, a solution for which might have been worked out.

This forces the Somali Government to review its relations with Russia and other countries. The Somali Government is also astonished at the stand taken by the Western countries in the face of this blatant Russian-Cuban military intervention which contravenes all recognized international charters.

It is evident that some of the big powers, notably the Soviet Union, are further aggravating the situation in the Horn rather than meeting their responsibility towards safeguarding world peace.

It is evident that if other countries who have responsibility over securing world peace do not counter this violation and aggression, then world peace will be in danger by the internationalization of the conflict.

This grave crises has led the SDR to defend itself against this naked aggression and to increase its assistance to the liberation forces by dispatching units of its own armed forces

to aid the liberation forces.

The SDR believed that the Horn of African conflict was of a regional nature for which an easy solution could have been found were it not for the intervention of foreign forces.

The SDR, having now studied closely the new situation which has developed and taken note of the call of other peace-loving countries and organization, does not oppose any steps leading to a long lasting peace in the Horn. Such steps could be:

1. A cease-fire so as to stop the bloodshed.
2. The withdrawal of foreign troops from the region and the working out of means to ascertain this.
3. A clear solution to the problem of the rights of the peoples struggling for self-determination and independence from the Addis regime, which is bent on their annihilation in the collaboration of foreign forces.

This attitude of the Somali Government towards working for peace in no way prevents it to defend the sovereignty and existence of the Somali nation.

And hence makes her inevitable to take the following actions:

1. The institution of a state of emergency for the defence of its unity and national existence.

In order to realize this objective, every Somali is called upon to consider himself-herself part of this general mobilization and efforts towards national defence.

a) All retired and seconded army service men are to report themselves to the defence Ministry.

b) The national defence duty calls for the enlistment of volunteers, who are requested to report themselves at centres established by the Defence Ministry for the purpose.

3. The workers, Civil Servants, administrative organs of the government and the public

are called upon to redouble their efforts as they have done before when the nation was confronted with hard times.

It is a certainty that the Somali people through hard work gallantry, patriotism and dedication will surmount this hard and trying times.

Gathering at the National Theatre

The period from the 18th to the 23rd of February represented the busiest and most fervent days of the history of Mogadishu's National Theatre. Patriotic and nationalistic atmosphere pervaded the theatre and imparted utmost happiness to compatriots while shaking foes.

Every night one of the social organizations, rallied against the enemies by holding a historical and memorable meeting. The first night saw party and Government functionaries of Benadir's 14 districts, organisations in the theatre.

These were followed by the secretariat of the national defence committee from the national to departmental level congregating there the second night while the third night witnessed artistic groups, and all mass media sessions. On the fourth vigilant worker's committees and heads of Government bodies held their meeting there.

These series of meetings were finally brought to a close on the fifth night by the coming together of university and secondary schools Student's committees, deans of the various faculties of the national university, school headmasters and lecturers of the national university. In general it was the meeting

of education institutions and the student body of the nation.

The meeting proceeded in such a warm and nationally inspiring spirit as each social group fully expressed their role in the new historical juncture and circumstances that the country is experiencing. High ranking party and Government's officials also participated in those meetings by giving valuable guidelines and directives to the participants as was best expressed by the General Secretary of the SRSP, President of the SDR Jaalle Mohamed Siad Barre's speech on 21st Feb. 1978.

It is worth mentioning here the very significant role played by the Somali artistic groups. During those meeting days our artistic groups occupied a place of pride and acted with the help of their songs as a vanguard

force in our stiff resistance to the enemies. The national artistic groups in their musical displays and entertainment alternated, each group participating in a night's functional programme, some of the meetings proceeded well past midnight and reached such late hours as 2 a. m. in the morning without ever becoming boring.

This could best be attributed not only to the nationalistic spirit but also to the moving entertainment of the artistic groups in the nation's mobilisation scheme.

The artist groups proved that the theatre was not a place only to pass the time and social entertainments but also a place where whole armies and volunteers sacrificing everything for the national cause could be harnessed for the sacred cause of the country's defence.

Mass Support for the decision Committee of the Central of the S·R·S·P.

The Somali people staged a mass rally to support the valiant decision of the central Committee of the SRSP in their meeting from 8th-9th February. In the rally they proved that they are fully supporting the decision reached by their party

and their readiness in defending their country as has always been the case.

In all the regions and districts of the Republic, the Somali masses participated in rallies. They manifested their nationalistic attitude in slogans and

placards which they were carrying.

Hundred and thousands of the Somali masses from the 14 districts of the Banadir region met at the Dervish Park in Mogadishu on 21st February. Any one who went to the Dervish Park on that day would have realized that the Somali people are ready to defend their country and sovereignty. He could also have understood that the Somali people are united around their party and the Social organisations.

In the rally, the Secretary General of the Somali Revolutionary Socialist Party, the president

of the SDR Jaalle Mohamed Siad Barre delivered a speech that evening.

The President declared that, the valiant struggle and unity of the Somali masses has insured the throwing out of the former colonialists and the same fate awaits the present colonialists and henchmen; and the victory is certainly ours.

«The Ethiopian colonialists, Russians and Cuban who are supporting the continuation of Abyssinian enslavement are the ones who are going to leave Western Somalia and not the indigenous population who are fighting for their rights to self-

determination», declared Jaalle Siad.

The President of S.D.R. encouraged the Somali masses that they should be ready to defend their country and people «Every Somali should be ready to defend his country and, simultaneously increase production in order to prove the pride in our national entity.

The Secretary General's speech was often interupted by applause amongst the audience promising to sacrifice their lives and property in defending their mother land and in support of their brothers who are fighting for their freedom.

THE SOMALI PEOPLE HAVE SOWN



Since Russia and its satellites have launched their sinister campaign to reinstitute colonialism in Somalia, the nationalistic spirit of the Somali people has been soaring in accordance with their traditional bravery and heroism.

The last week of February, 1978. witnessed mass parades

all over the country reflecting a new phase of Somalia's struggle against colonialism.

The general federation of Somali trade unions organised the first of such mass parades on the 25th of February this year—thousands of workers showing nationalistic fervour and solid unity which looked very diffi-

cult to break or weaken, paraded on foot through the main roads of Mogadishu and finally stopped at the Unknown Soldier's Monument square which eventually became the final meeting place of all after parading forces and where each declared its determined will and allegiance to defend the nation's integrity, sovereignty and dignity.

Here every social group read its pledge to volunteer and sacrifice the last drop of its blood for the defence of the mother land, following the example of its forefathers which the unknown soldier monument exemplified.

Nobody thought that one social group could organize such a really huge parade but the Somali Women's Democratic organization did make a spectacular one. On the 27th of February, tens of thousands of Mogadishu's Women took to the main streets of Mogadishu.

All doubts on the strength of the Somali Women's Democratic Organization were dispelled and in its palace deep and glowing respect for their patriotic enthusiasm was kindled.

On March 1st, 1978, the Somali Revolutionary youth union its turn paraded and looked as if saying «we are capable of countering the enemy alone.

All others should stay out, «the youth paraded included students, working youth, SRYU members of Banadir's 14 districts the pioneers of the revolution.

With their traditional favour and of the country the youth came out from every quarter of Mogadishu at 3 P.M. and at the unknown soldier monument square.

The two and twenty thousand (220,000) of Somalia's youth participated in that parade.

Apart from the placards they carried, they also brandished the traditional fighting gear (Swords, Spears, ets) and modern weaponry and in this way demonstrated their will to defend the motherland with everything their disposal.

They also carried production tools including hammers, hoes; spades etc demonstrating their preparedness to fight for increased production to stave off hunger.

The youth also chanted their traditional motto of «production, Education and defence of the motherland».

Some of the leaders of the country participated with the youth and among them were vice-

president Hussein Kulmie Afrah the chairman of the SRSP Central Committee Organization Bureau, Jaalle Abdulkadir Haji Mohamed and the Regional par-

ty-Secretary of Benadir, Jaalle Yusuf Ibrahim «Abuuraas» chairman of social Organizations and other Officials.

SOMALI PEOPLES PATRIOTISM

Courage is the unique characteristic of the Somali nation as proved in all historical de-colonisation struggles. For a long time this valiant nation was agonized by the suffering that still some of their brothers experienced under colonialism and subjugation. Now intense feelings heightened by spirit of retaliation against the foreign intervention aligned with colonialism and meant to exterminate their fellow brothers and sister was the natural response of the SRSP Secretary Generale's speech on 12/2/78. The speech called for intensified defense of the fatherland and increased support to the liberation movements. The move was welcomed by every individual young and old who was motivated by the inherent national sentiment and patriotic feelings. All expressed their willingness to sacrifice life and extend all required moral and material support to their brothers in the sacred struggle of de-colonization.

The whole Somali Nation shared such feelings and expressed it by chantns incessant support-messages, organizing demonstrations, and requesting their authorities to arrange their linteant dispatchmen into the battle fields.

The mobilization Bureau immediately responded to the rising tide national patriotism by issuing a circular on 17/2/78 concerning the arrangement of preparatory tasks for the people and social organisations. For immediate and total mobilisation.

The preparatory programme included:

- 1) Preliminary gatherings at the National Theatre;
- 2) Enlistment of volunteers;
- 3) Organisation of demonstration by the social Unions.

The programme was designed to last for two weeks. During this period the whole Somali society splendidly evinced their true feeling and undiluted patriotic sentiments reached its peak.

WORLD AFFAIRS



Zimbabwe: The Internal Settlement and the Position of the Patriotic Front

by: BOOBE



This picture is reproduced from the magazine of «The Zimbabwe Review».

Africa's liberation movements are not isolated from the international proletarian movement. It was certain the MPLA and FRELIMO wrested their independence and freedom from the Portuguese colonialists; the Democratic Revolution in Portugal only hastened the downfall of Portuguese colonialism. The MPLA and FRELIMO very soon established democratic Governments in Angola and Mozambique guided by socialist ideology. The independence of Angola and Mozambique further strengthened the liberation movements in that region. The two Governments, exploiting their experience during their liberation struggles brought together five African countries bordering Racist South Africa and Rhodesia. The collusion of those Government was a further step towards the strengthening of liberation movements of Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa.

This forced the Vorster regime of racist South Africa to abandon its offensive and resort to new defensive tactics because it has realized that the next target would be South Africa. Western Countries are now in full accord that the Rhodesian regime should be changed and their only problem now is how to establish a black regime which fulfills their imperialistic economic interests.

As the fighting and struggle of the liberation movements intensified, the former US secretary of State, Henry Kissinger launched a campaign of talks and negotiation to settle the Rhodesian conflict. This manoeuvre did not attract Afri-

can, peoples enthusiasm, following Kissinger's move, the British and US Governments deployed plans to enable black people to participate in the Rhodesian Government. The Anglo-American plan was jointly formulated by the British Foreign Secretary, David Owen and the American Ambassador to the United Nations, Andrew Young.

This Anglo-American plan completely disregarded the rights of the black people of Zimbabwe; it was already certain that the fathers of imperialism would not act contrary to their own interests.

A close examination of the plan would uncover many of its defects. At first sight, one would realize the big role the British Government intends to play in the transfer of po-

wer to the black people. It named lord Carver who was given full powers to rule the country during the transitional period. The Zimbabwe liberation movements, however found this very unsatisfactory, because to them there is no difference between lord Carver and Ian Smith. It is beyond shadow of doubt that a Government set up by lord Carver would only serve international capitalism and it is impossible for him to establish a just Government, equal in the eyes of the people and serving the interests of the people of Zimbabwe.

The Patriotic Front did not only refused to respect the powers laid upon Lord Carver but also refused to accept other clauses of the Anglo-American plan including that which calls a United Nations force to maintain peace and security in Zimbabwe during the transitional period. The clause only helped to remind the patriotic front of what had happened in the Congo and the assassination of the hero of the Congolese people Patrice Lumumba.

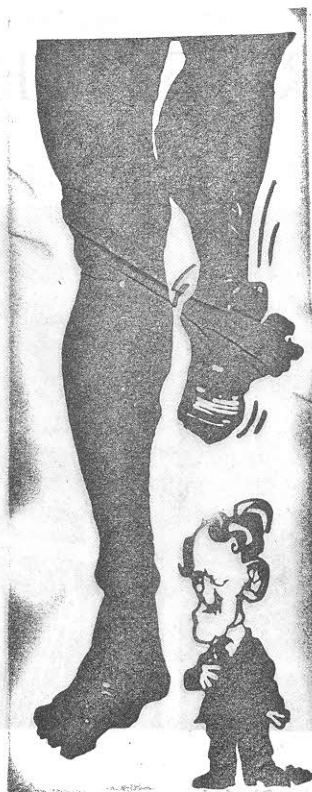
The Anglo-American plan also included a clause which said that the whites who are expected to leave their properties should be given a 1.5 billion dollars compensation. But the question is how would the white soldiers, who were massacring the black masses only yesterday, live in a human and decent manner with the blacks? How could an Englishman who has taken the seat of Smith bring about fruitful reform? As such, the Anglo-American plan did not satisfy all freedom and justice loving peoples. Even Smith had rejected it from the start.

Ian Smith with the full support of International Capitalism launched a campaign to formulate an «Internal settlement» with some black leaders who could not face up to the bitter and long struggle against the Racist regime. After two months of talks, Ian Smith, Muzorewa, Sithole and Chirau came up with a so-called agreement which could not be recognized by the progressive forces of the world.

The so-called agreement provides for a parliament of 100 members of which 72 are blacks and the remaining 28 are whites. The so-called agreement goes on to say that the white members of parliament would be elected by the white people only. Ian Smith even ascertained that the constitution of the country which only serves white's interests should not be changed. Any amendment to the constitution can only be effected by the whole 72 members of Parliament and 6 whites, according to the so-called internal settlement. This so-called agreement further mistreats the Zimbabwe people who have been struggling for a long period for their basic rights.

Nobody has so far accepted this so-called agreement, even though the British foreign Secretary, David Owen has declared that he could neither reject nor accept it.

The Patriotic Front and the African countries bordering Racist would not recognize the so-called agreement and any Government



The Patriotic Front has now a force of 17,000 soldiers of which 5,000 are now inside Rhodesia and for certain the so-called agreement would not be implemented so long as the patriotic Front wages its armed struggle, or so long as it is not allowed to participate in the solution of the Zimbabwe problems. It is again clear that all freedom and peace-loving peoples will not support the so-called agreement but will, on the contrary, intensify their support for the Patriotic Front.

The Zimbabwe problem has been taken to the United Nation's Security Council which was also attended by the leaders of the Patriotic Front. When the Zimbabwe problems was studied and examined by the United Nation's Security Council, particularly the so-called agreement signed by Ian Smith and the reactionary black leaders, it decided that the agreement was illegal and unacceptable to the international community. During the voting the Western governments have abstained. This abstention on their part further proves their support for the Smith regime.

established in Rhodesia which does not serve the interests of the Zimbabwe people.

Final victory belongs to the Patriotic Front which is supported by the front-line countries, the rest of the African and the progressive world.

MONTHLY BULLETIN



PRESIDENT SIAD BRIEFS THE PRESS



Jaalle Siad in a press conference

The president of the SDR J/le Mohamed Siad Barre, held a press conference at SRSP Headquarters on the 21st February for a visiting group of journalists as well as the national press.

The president outlined the historical background of the long struggle of the Western Somalis and stated that the Abyssinians were given the territory as a share when colonialists were partitioning the African continent among themselves in the 19th Century. He said the Abyssinians used to come there only to loot and exploit the people. «Right from the start of the Abyssinian occupation, the Western Somalis continued their incessant struggle for their survival and independence», the president said. Answering a question on Russo-Cuban and Abyssinian allies' preparation to attack Somalia, he said that the Russian's aim is to occupy Berbera, Hargeisa and other stra-

tegic areas, but he added that the SDR is fully prepared for it.

In answering a question on whether Somalia received arms from outside, J/le Siad declared that Somalia appealed to the West and other friendly countries for arms for defensive purposes but nothing was received so far. The president said the Somali Democratic Republic requires an equal number of weapons as its enemy. «We know the huge armaments poured into Ethiopia both in quantity and quality which, as I have already underlined, are unnecessary, since no country in Africa and the Middle East or nearby area has that kind of weapons. So if any country wishes to help us, we would like arms equal in quantity and quality», he declared, adding that Somalia having opted for its sovereignty, the Russians are determined to see Somalia punished. «Somalia will use all means at its disposal

to defend its sovereignty and national dignity» declared president Siad.

A questioner asked whether there were fresh proposals by African leaders, and the President replied that Somalia welcomes such peace initiatives provided it is based on justice, adding that the SDR and the freedom fighters are well disposed to mediation, because, he said, that no reasonable man would like to continue fighting where logic could overcome certain situation. «We are for peace», he declared, adding, «this is not due to our weakness, but it is desire for peace, because we believe that peace is for the interest of all». As I said on many occasions, freedom fighters were engaged in incessant war for their freedom, although they were ignored by the world. Unfortunately we in the SDR are also affected, because we are continuously bombarded by Aby-

ssinian and other foreign forces. So any honourable solution is welcome», president Siad stressed.

Answering questions on boundaries, Jaalle Siad said: «You cannot talk about international

boundaries. It is a colonial map and it is the duty of every honest person to look back into history for the reality of the situation in the region» he declared, and added «those who are fighting are those who are colonized and the only solution is to

grant their independence.» Answering another question Jaalle Siad disclosed that there is a large number of refugees who fled from Abyssinia into the Somali Democratic and it is naturally a heavy burden on the country's economy.

GARBA MEETS JAALLE SIAD

An OAU mediation Committee delegation headed by Nigerian Commissioner for Foreign Affairs Brig.-General Joseph Garba wound-up a 24 hours visit to Somalia on the 8th of February.

Answering a reporter's question on the intervention of foreign powers in the Horn of African conflict, Mr. Garba said that foreign powers should stop meddling in African affairs and called on African States to settle their disputes in a brotherly African spirit, adding that the OAU has proposed a ceasefire followed by a negotiated settlement to the Horn conflict. Mr. Garba said it was a grave mistake and an unwarranted step on the part of the OAU secretariat to give un-called for pronouncements relating to the Horn of African Issues. «The Horn of African conflict is an issue demanding deep consideration and peaceful solution», he said. Shortly afterwards Brig. Garba called on the President of the sdr Jaalle Mohamed Siad Barre and delivered him a message from the chairman of the 8-member good offices Committee of the OAU, President Olusegun Obasanjo of Nigeria. Brig. Garba had extensive discussions with Jaalle Siad on the role of the OAU, and particularly the role the S-member good offices Committee can play at this stage in achieving a negotiated peaceful settlement to the conflict.

Jaalle Siad expressed grave concern over the growing dan-

ger of the direct interference and involvement of Russia, Cuba and others in the current conflict. He said that the assumption of combat roles by the Russians, Cubans and others who have had completely taken over the responsibility for the execution of the Abyssinian aggressive war against the liberation movements constituted highly dangerous development by complicating the issue and seriously undermining any future peaceful efforts.

Jaalle Siad pointed out that apart from the current threat posed by Russia to peace in the Region and the whole continent of Africa, it also poses a serious challenge to the OAU since it will limit the independent action of the African leaders to solve their own problems.

President Siad emphasised the need to end this foreign interference and involvement in African's affairs for the enhancement of the possibilities for peace.

He further stressed that the Horn of Africa issue is complex one requiring a thorough study by Africa. «It involves the just aspirations of the Somali and Abbo peoples who are under the Abyssinian colonial rule» Jaalle Siad explained to the envoy. He told the envoy that their national aspirations cannot be sacrificed for the sake of the Abyssinian regime or selfish interests of a big power.

He reaffirmed Somalia's support for the OAU good offices Committee and its search for peace in the Region and assured the envoy of Somalia's full cooperation in its efforts to achieve a just and peaceful settlement to the problem.

The Envoy fully appreciated the Somali point of view which he said addressed itself to the core of the problem in a profound and detailed manner and promised that Nigeria in its capacity as chairman will actively pursue the task entrusted to the committee in the interest of all concerned.

The fundamental of peaceful solution

The Ad-interim Minister of Information, Jaalle Abdisalam Sheikh Hussein on the 23rd of February gave at the Ministry of Information headquarters the following press statement.

Since the occupation of the territory- by Abyssinian expansionist colonialists, the Western Somalis and Abbo (like the Af-

fars and Eritreans)- have been engaged in a bitter struggle for their legitimate rights for national independence and freedom. In the course of this noble struggle these peoples have been subjected to untold sufferings, miseries, tortures, displacements and denial of all basic human rights and dignity by

the successive Abyssinian regimes. In fact, these peoples were always subjected to the worst forms of colonialism; a military occupation. That is the very reason why the peoples of Western Somalia have been waging their long struggle for their liberation.

However, the SDR has, on many occasions, made sincere efforts to help in finding a peaceful solution to these problems and called for the attention of Africa and the international community in order to avoid further bloodshed and escalation of the conflict. Unfortunately, Ethiopia always opposed all initiatives of peaceful solution to the problem and insisted the continuation of its subjugation policy.

At the same time it has succeeded in masking the nature of the problem and the current armed struggle from the outside world with the help of some interested powers who distorted the whole issue and presented the problem, which was between the colonised peoples and the colonisers, as a border dispute between Somalia and Abyssinia.

But the hard fact is that the problem is one of colonial nature as is evidenced by the fact that the liberation forces have waged a liberation war, liberating the bulk of their territories and are engaged in the construction and administration of these liberated areas, while at the same time continuing their armed struggle to liberate the remaining portions. As a result of these successes scored by the liberation forces, the Abyssinian colonialists, Russia, Cuba and their allied forces are engaged in an effort to contain and smash the liberation front and threaten the very existence of the Somali Democratic Republic.

On the other hand, some Western countries, specially the



Jaalle Abdisalan Sheekh Husein addressing news reporters, from abroad agencies.

United States, called recently for withdrawal of non-existing Somali regular forces and to take the matter to the United Nations Security Council in order to legitimise Ethiopia's re-occupation of the liberated Western Somalia. To make matter worse the United States has recently decided to resupply Abyssinia with military equipment and spare parts as if the excessive and sophisticated Russian weapons were not sufficient to achieve their sinister objectives. In return, they claim to have obtained assurances from the Soviet Union that the allied forces would not cross the provisional border which is a clear indication of mutual consent by the super-powers to interfere in purely African problems, wresting the matter from Africa which was trying to find a peaceful solution. This is tantamount to winding the clock of history one century back to the time when Africa was divided against the will of its people without taking into consideration that Africa can now solve its own problems. This will certainly internationalize and torpedo any peaceful solution. This new attitude of the United States and some

other Western countries will only frustrate African peace efforts and undermine the will and aspirations of the people concerned. The SDR is astonished at the ambiguous and contradictory policy of the Carter Administration. At first, president Carter stated that the U.S. would extend aid to Somalia to balance Russian, Cuban allied military supplies to Abyssinia, even though he consented to Israeli supply of arms and military equipment to Abyssinia. Next, he said that the United States would not supply arms to either Somalia nor Abyssinia as long as the conflict in the region continued. And now, the United States of America is sending military consignment to Abyssinia.

The SDR is convinced that pouring more weapons into Abyssinia would only prolong the conflict and would complicate the difficult task of finding of final solution to the problem. Furthermore it is confident that the liberation fronts would be able to continue their armed struggle until they achieve complete liberation of their lands and people. It is sure that Soma-

lia would repulse any attempted invasion.

The SDR therefore, rejects all attempts to solve the conflict in the Horn of Africa which

do not recognize the fundamental issues involved, based on the following measures;

- 1). Immediate ceasefire.
- 2). Withdrawal of external forces.

ces.

3). Negotiation through the OAU and

4). Respect for the right of peoples to self-determination.

BRITISH MP'S VISIT SOMALIA

A British Parliamentary delegation led by Mr. Julian Amery concluded their visit to Somalia on the final day of February.

Mr. Julian Amery told reporters that he admired Somalia's stiff resistance to the imperialist policies of Russia, Cuba and their allies in the Horn of Africa. «We do not regard your struggle as a struggle between you and Abyssinia, we regard it as a struggle between Somalia and Russian imperialists — a new imperialism much more repressive, much less productive and much less creative than the old imperialism, concerned only with establishing Russian hegemony in the Horn of Africa», he said and continued «we regard this Russian aggression as a danger not only to Somalia but it could also have very serious consequences for the whole of industrial Europe and the world at large. Therefore, we feel a great solidarity with you in your just struggle».

Mr. Winston Churchill, a British MP and a member of the delegation disclosed that his country was deeply concerned at the massive build-up of Russian military power in the Horn of Africa by which it intends to invade the SDR and declared that Somalia as a third world country, cannot face alone the armed might of Russia and its allies. Mr. Churchill added that the dangerous situation in the Horn of Africa threatens the whole world because, he said, the Russian imposition of a new colonial status on Abyssinia, Somalia and other countries by force will threaten the values

of freedom and independence. He called on the Western European countries to reconsider their old position and to recognize not only their interest but also their duties and obligations towards third world countries to enable them to lead their existence independently and not under this intolerable Russian military pressure. «European colonialists did not leave Africa and other parts of the world so

that they could fall into the hands of a new tyranny which is what is happening today in the Horn of Africa» Mr. Churchill concluded.

The British MPs expressed their appreciation of the unity and patriotism of the Somali people under the current difficult circumstances and pointed out that the Somali people will ultimately merge victorious.

YUGOSLAV DELEGATION DEPARTS



The Yugoslav delegation headed by the Minister of Agriculture Mr. Ivo Kustrak concluded a three day official visit to the SDR on the 5th of February.

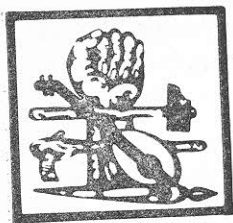
During their stay in Somalia, the delegation had concluded talks with Somali government officials on bilateral economic, technical and scientific co-operation.

An agreement was signed at Uruba Hotel between the SDR

and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, which provides for bilateral co-operation in the development of livestock, fisheries, industry, trade, agriculture, marine transport and veterinary Research.

Under this agreement the Yugoslav government will grant an eighteen million shilling loan for the expansion of the Mogadishu Tannery.

CULTURE AND ARTS



Mass culture and the Somali personality: Environment and its people

By Rashid Sh. Abdillahi

If Somali people's experience and socio-historical life has any singular variable to show it well and vividly, folklore must occupy a prominent and enviable place.

Somali culture and social heritage, particularly its spiritual part is largely constituted of folklore.

It is fact that integrated literary, specially poetry was conceptually developed by individual contributions and therefore left us a sizeable and meaningful legacy.

The folklore we are directing our minds to is the literary part which contains the recited poetic lines and spoken prose, the poetic lines related to the labour songs (Harvesting, watering and rearing livestock) etc. and play songs. As for the prose division it relates to rhythmic expressions such as proverbs and epic stories.

As an intergral aspect of folklore, which is excluded from our survey, though it deserves special analyses, is mass music and folk dances. These are excluded from our present study because folk literature is more expressive and directly touches the sensations and perception of the man.

To specify our usage of the word folklore and distinguish it from the firm mass literature we will use it to mean mass artistic culture in its entirety. But since we are dealing here with latter only we will use mostly the firm «mass literature». Taking a bird's eye view of Somali literary culture its originality and puritanical nature becomes apparent.

By purity we do not imply that that no force of external culture has influenced it. In fact generally Somali artistic culture, and particularly the field we are presently discussing, has eternal admixture and blending. Notwithstanding this, Somali mass culture has inner capacity to absorb and internalise external influences, assimilating it to suit its spiritual make up.

Foreign cultural elements entering somali social life has gone through a natural metamorphosis, and in the process has synchronised with ours. With somali environmental conditions which give rise to the Somali cultural setting internal cultural influences have been marvelously coped with at all times which succede to give foreign cultural extractions an indigenous colouring taste.

All these go to testify to the content, deeprootedness of Somali culture, which otherwise would have failed to cope with, and additionally to assimilate externally imported cultural elements. This assimilative reality is made manifest by the folklore legends such as Abu Nawas, and others, whose roots specifically point to be imported from outside. However such stories in the transformations they go through show the infinite ability of our cultural background to harmonise it with the local cultural perspective.

The inherent originality apparent in Somali folklore emanates from the specificity of the historical experiences which the society traversed, the historical stages it has pas-

sed and the environmental conditions surrounding it, these are moulded by the process of historical trials and experiences.

From this we can clearly deduce the specificity of our Somali nation's culture and civilisation, but the geographical and territorial factors linked us to other nations, and from their cultural treasure we also borrowed, but never at the cost of departing from our cultural essence.

The more we delve deeper into Somali folkolre it becomes all the more obvious how it partook and touched on every dimension of social life, leaving nothing outside its filed of vision, including the following: Labour songs, stockraising, frugality, herd rearing, carravaneer ring, watering, prosperity and drought, etc. All these and others constitute a broad field for Somali mass literature. To the extent that life is multifaceted so is the culture that genuinely reflects it. Accordingly culture then actively and dynamically mirrored life as then lived. Whenever we seriously consider the Somali folklore it vividly demonstrates the reality of the society that saw its creation, and the stages passed through by their social life.

That life and its temporal scope is not too distant from our contemporary times, though it may be assumed that its beginning was far back in our recorded history, attests to Somali folklore still retaining its vitality and relevances and to this very day its practice is living in us. Our practical day to day



The Waberi band in the dance of Kabeebeey.

lives is a sufficient illustration of its continuing efficacy. As is objectively admissable over 70% of our population persist in transhumant existence, and accordingly the caravan journey and the life's dependence on rainfall remain crucially important factors which nomadic folklore has to reckon with. In the meanwhile labour songs on caravan journeys, watering and watering tasks, camel loading, rearing of lambs making of household articles, and other tasks will be registered by nomadic folklore. In the same breath all the proverbs handed down from our ancestors are daily on our lips.

By this token alone can't we confidently state that Somali mass culture is a living reality that transcends temporal limitations?

Contrarily in «advanced societies» of our contemporary era which have reached a high level of culture the mass literature and generally folklore historically belongs to the distant past. Its tracing therefore only remains in present literary inheritance and generally in advanced art, theatrical plays stories, novels, music creation and universally in artistic creation for which the folklore is considered as its historical source. The art and literature of those societies has tra-

velled long historical distances hinging on the birth of the new and the passing away of the old in their content which is being continuously enriched, extended and deepened in essence, as it were by a process of distillation and crystallisation of folklore. It is in the very nature of human and social history that every stage gives way to another, in the overall developmental process. Therefore the present European society in its stages of folklore creation had a comfortable transitional time of development, so much so that its great value today is side in its inexhaustible facility to adopt new ideas and

concepts to existing forms by investing in them with new meanings. i. e. as an example the epic and legends of early Greeks such as the odyssey From early greek civilisation to the contemporary, every subject matter to be studied regarding these legends related to their artistic root, and European literature at all times depended on creative and never drying up conceptual streams which were revitalised and reinvigorated. Suffice to mention the oedipus legend and how it widely influenced European art. Mention must also be made of personalities such as Heraclous, Sisief, Odesas, Agamenon, Akel, and others who have immortalised their names. and European art has studied them from every angle so much so today their writings have become an integral and inseparable part of the European artistic mainstream.

Somali mass culture and all folklore dimensions of today are not as it seems, like the European one which is above analysed, and thus **it becomes true** if we state that somali folklore is not only a remote historical source and endlessly contributing to the rest of our cultural and artistic fields, but life itself which day after day is immeasurably going on and growing.



Shoba, is a beautiful Somali folklore dance



Folklore dancers from Waberi

Each society passes through a historical stage when its social consciousness takes an a folklore form. That is when every aspect of social life is characterised by social cooperation and solidarity, and the individual role is phenomenally not inseperable and indivisible from that of the social collective in which he/she lives. In such a society people as a group engage in tasks, and as a tatality confront and face the natural hardships, and

together create their productive implements. In the same vein, their concepts, reflections, cognition, artistic and literary productions are collective oriented, and there is no one individual who gives his name to an idea, collectively beneficial, but his own creation, an epic story of his ownmaking, a poetic line of his imagination, or a particular work implement invented by him. The creation and growth of life is solely the prerogative of the

collective, and it takes the collectives name. Any individual who is gifted contributes to the society's treasure of knowledge and partakes in its further enrichment. Be that as it may, when society breaks into antagonistic classes following the appearance of private property, there comes to the forefornt the individual who by dint of his giftedness makes a name for himself alone, and in this process the collective's name is banished, being relegated to second place Vis-Vis the individual. It is then that works of art and literature become tied to their individual creators.

Folklore in early stages of human knowledge is yielded primary place of honour, and it alone did not submit to separate individual recognition.

European society has travelled many centuries away from this stage, but for Somali society it was only yesterday, and upto now, we still have one foot in it.

From this brief glimpse we can clearly deduce how influential folklore is in our social life of the preset.

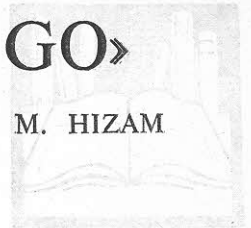
**IN SPITE OF ALL THE THREATS AND DANGERS.
WE REMAIN UNSHAKABLE IN THE GREAT CONFIDENCE
WE HAVE IN OUR PEOPLE WHO POSSESS GREAT
MORAL VIRTUES, DETERMINATION AND GREAT CAPACITY
FOR SELF-SACRIFICE. WE ARE CONFIDENT
THAT WE SHALL SUCCEED IN OUR PRESENT TASKS
JUST AS WE SUCCEEDED IN THE PAST, THANKS TO
THE INVINCIBLE UNITY AND COURAGE OF OUR
PEOPLE.**

**SPEECH DELIVERED BY
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PRESIDENT OF THE
SOMALI DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC
ON THE 8TH ANNIVERSARY
OF OCTOBER 1969 REVOLUTION.**



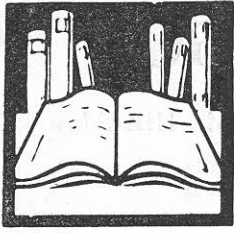
«MILES TO GO»

By A. M. HIZAM



With agony and ghostly apparition
 Approached me the past sleep;
 The company of dreadful mares
 With bayonet pierced birth,
 With fire silenced families
 To flee threatened my soul.
 But now nearly let
 The flow of salty drops
 Down brooks of times print.
 «Do manly deed», said I in anger.
 My head I lowered
 Deep down the trench
 To retard his visit
 Till cause is served.
 Then bit my arm
 Not lust for blood
 But off my mind
 Heave all past horror.
 My task just now
 And hope to come
 To choose my road
 And serenely move
 To my paradise.
 To Sidamo, Bali and beloved West,
 That wait till devil
 Is driven out.
 Dove not the means,
 But daring arm.
 There I can meet
 To welcome him —
 The lovely friend,
 The dreamless sleep.

BOOKS AND DOCUMENTS



Background to the Liberation Struggle of the Western Somalis

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Seldom has a war of liberation been so little known and understood as that of the Western Somali Liberation Front. But there is saying that «truth will out». The courageous struggle of the Somali people is what sometime called the Ogaden daily arouses wider interest. The world has come to realize that the uprising of the Western Somalis, together with the confrontation of Southern Africa, must be counted among the longest and most bitterly contested colonial issues of our time. Even so, the principles which underlie it and the history of the struggle itself are very clear.

The very first point made in the the Charter of the OAU is «.The inalienable right of all people to control their own destiny». Decolonization was seen as so fundamental that the point precedes not only all the articles but all the rest of the preamble as well. Similarly, in Article 1, the United Nations Charter asserts the principle of «self-determination of peoples» and recognizes the needs both «to ensure, with due respect for the culture of the peoples concerned, their political advancement, their just treatment and their protection against abuses», and «to develop self-government, to take due account of the political aspirations of the people, and to assist them in the progressive development of their free political institutions according to the particular circumstances of each territory and its

peoples. Indeed the Charter goes so far as to say that where a full measure of self-government has yet to be attained «the interests of the inhabitants of those territories are paramount».

It is likewise the position of the Somali Democratic Republic that Somalis — whomsoever they have been colonized by in historical recent times - are as entitled as any other peoples to the rights so defined. This booklet is intended therefore, to describe the «particular circumstances» and the «territory» and «people» of Western Somalia. Reference might also be made, not only to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights but also the covenants of Economic, Social and Cultural Rights and on Civil and Political Rights. Article 1 of each of these covenants affirms in identical terms that «all peoples have the right of self-determination. By virtue of that right they freely determine their political status and freely pursue their economic social and cultural development». Unfortunately neither the Imperial Government of the Ethiopian Empire, nor its successor regime have as yet acceded to these two covenants which offer mankind further protection against the very injustices which the UN and OAU seek, as cardinal priority, to guard against. Let us proceed directly, therefore, to the question: Who are the Somali people?

THE SOMALI PEOPLE IN HISTORY:

The origins of the Somali Nation date back many centuries into the early history of the Horn of North-Eastern Africa. Archaeological evidence of the famed ancient realm of Punt, with which the Pharaohs traded; references by Greeks and Romans; the sites of ancient cities and settlements - many still awaiting more detailed study — survive to this day. Several old cities including Mogadishu the present capital remain thriving administrative and commercial centres. Smaller centres serve as market of agricultural areas. However, the Somalis have always been a predominantly pastoral people and they develop early on and in many ways unique state framework to reflect their social structure and way of life.

No nation lives in complete isolation and contacts there have been plenty across the Gulf of Aden and the Indian Ocean and to the South particularly along the Coast. Likewise to the west, trade routes have long extended into the lands of the Oromos or Gallas, the Afars and the Eritreans and even beyond into the highlands of Abyssinia above the Western escarpment of the Great Rift Valley, where the people had adopted an early form of Christianity. The Somali territories, however have always maintained a geographical, ethnic and cultural distinctness, particularly from those highlands,

on which city states and squabbling feudal principalities rose and fell in profusion over the centuries. There have been wars which usually occurred when one or other of the Abyssinian kings was able to effectively assert himself as emperor and true imperial fashion attempt to raid and collect tribute or plunder from neighbour in every direction. Such invasions were successfully contained by the Somalis - for example, in the fourteenth century reign of the Abyssinian Emperor Ande Sjo and the fifteenth century reigns of Emperors Zare Yakob and Baida Mariam. There were however long periods when peaceful commerce was more typical; war was never the norm.

In the sixteenth century, Abyssinian raiding parties again engaged in plunder and destruction. The harassed Somali Nation was obliged to retaliate. Somali armies led by their hero, the famous Somali ruler of Harar, the Imam Ahmed Ibn Ibrahim El-Ghazi (nicknamed «Gurey» the «left handed» swept across the rift valley right up into the Abyssinian highlands. His exploits and those of his forces were recorded at the time and have lived on in the traditions of Abyssinians and Somalis alike. To the Somalis, his name ranks with those of later nationalists such as Sayid Mohamed Abdille Hassan - and has become an inspiration to the nationalists of today. In Abyssinia it is used to intimidate unruly or disobedient children.

The Abyssinian imperial forces of those days were allied with the first generation of Portuguese imperialists who as part of their world plan sought to control the trade of the Indian Ocean and the adjacent Gulfs. The Portuguese did occupy certain points on the coasts of North-Eastern Africa from time to time, but were never in a position to overcome the Somali Nation.

It is important to point out that neither the city of Harar - nor any other Somali city - included Abyssinians from the highlands west of the rift valley among its citizens.

Not all the rulers resided permanently at Harar - the Emir Abu-Bakar, may from 1512, have been the first among some 26 rulers named in the chronicles to do so. Mauh has been written by Arab and other travellers and scholars touching on the Somali Nation of those days which had trade links as far as China, but the first European known to have passed through one of the five gates of Harar built by Emir Nur as a defence against the Abyssinians — was an Englishman disguised as a muslim merchant. Although this was not until the mid-nineteenth century, it was still before the internecine strife of the Abyssinian highlands seriously overflowed again at the time of the scramble for Africa.

THE HORN OF AFRICA BEFORE THE SCRAMBLE

This English traveller was Sir Richard Burton and his impressions are significant, for he was quite clear on the independence of the Somali country. He described Harar and its environs before the scramble, in a work «First footsteps in East Africa or an exploration of Harar», published in 1856. His journey was on behalf of the East India Company «to ascertain the productive resources of the unknown Somali country in East Africa» which he correctly described as occupying «the whole of the Eastern Horn». He described the nomadic patterns of the majority of the peoples and called Harar an «ancient metropolis of a once mighty race, the only permanent settlement in East Africa, the reported seat of Muslim learning, a walled city of stone house, possessing its independent chief, its peculiar population, its unknown

language and its own coinage, the emporium of the coffee trade, the great manufactory of cotton cloths etc.» The wider «country of the Somali», Burton considered «by no means destitute of capabilities. Though partially desert and thinly populated», he wrote, «it possesses valuable articles of traffic and its harbours export the produce of the Gurage, Abyssinian, Galla and other inland races» Like the missionary Kröp before him he mentioned trading contacts he had repeatedly heard of at Zeila and Harar, which reputedly extended right across to the West Coast of Africa. Although he did not explore it, there is also a long tradition of Islamic students from the region living and studying in special quarters at the Great Mosque in Damascus. Many indigenous documentary histories await an appropriate political and cultural climate for scientific study.

Burton met the ruling Emir, Ahmed Abubakr and described him as wearing «a flowing cloth, edged with snowy fur and a narrow white turban tightly twisted around a tall conical cap of red velvet» Burton had his own views on the structure of the Somali Nation. He described the Issa, for example, as «probably the most powerful branch of the Somali nation», living «Northward to the Wayma family of the Dankali Southward to the Gadabursi and midway between Zeila and Berbera; Eastwards bounded by sea and Westwards the Gallas around Harar». He did not mention any resident Abyssinians.

The Ottomans and their successors the Egyptians had long endeavoured to control the Eritrean and Somali coasts and associated trade routes. In 1875, the Egyptians, affecting the imperial designs of the Khedive Ismail, seized the Somali coast and occupied Harar. The ruler, Sheikh Muhammed Abdels'hakur was killed, despite his

submitting, and replaced by a governor. However, the Egyptians were never able to subdue the people of the area. In 1882 the British occupied Egypt and organized the evacuation of their forces from Harar. Although, particularly since the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869, the British were well aware of the important trade routes and valuable economy of the area, they did not seek to annex or protect the city of Harar and its environs. This was in deference to the French rather than to the local people. Instead they arranged that Abdullahi a son of the last Emir, should succeed.

Meantime Menelik the Abyssinian ruler of Shoa who had been amassing fire-arms with the help of European governments, began an expansionist policy which through conquest, colonization and agreements with other imperialists from Europe, was to more than double the area he ruled and in the process, make him Negusa Neghast (king of the king) of the Ethiopian empire. He coveted not only Harar but Zeila and great areas belonging to the Somali Nation. The defeat of the Italian armies by the Abyssinians at the battle of Adowa in 1896 certainly raised Menelik's stature in the imperial capitals of the world, but it inaugurated years of deprivation and tribulation for the entire Somali Nation which fell victim to colonial partition by the French, the British, the Italian and the Abyssinians.

THE PARTITION OF THE SOMALI NATION

Landing parties arriving apparently causally at points on the coast were most often resisted, as the Portuguese adventures had been before them, but eventually the Somali Nation found itself encircled. The interest of the French, the British and the Italians in the coast of the Gulf of Aden and the Horn of Africa did not abate. Treaties, agreement and protectora-

tes established by European companies and powers with Somali chieftains and dignitaries on or near the Northern and Eastern Coasts soon began to affect the lives of the people further inland. They are too many to list separately in this short pamphlet, but it should be noted that the formula they followed, with minor variation, clearly set out as paramount the maintenance of the independence of the Somalis.

The territorial integrity of the Somali Nation was of course vital and non-negotiable. Being in the main, nomadic and dependent upon herds of cattle and camels, their forefathers had, over the centuries, built up a measure of mastery over the seasonal ecology of the semi-desert lands of the Horn. Thus it was never implied that Britain or anyone else might be empowered to alienate any part of that territory — quite the reverse — or to restrict the vital patterns of transhumance. A typical agreement, dated 14th July, 1884, reads: «Whereas the garrisons of his Highness the Khedive are about to be withdrawn from Berbera and Bulahar and the Somali Coast generally, We, the undersigned Elders of the Habar-Awal tribe, are desirous of entering into an agreement with the British Government for the maintenance of our independence, the preservation of order etc...» and there was always a declaration, quoted here from the agreement signed by «Ahmed Murgan, Chief of the Ogaden» on 1st September, 1896, «...that I will not nor shall my successors or any of my people, cede or alienate any portion of my territories or dependencies...» Taken into to these provisions affirmed Somali sovereignty over their territory.

Meantime, from the highlands of Abyssinia, King Menelik of Shoa began to put pressure on Harar. The Emir refused to submit, even on receipt of threat «I will come to Harar and replace

the Mosque with a Christian Church» The Emir did however send a Somali, Hersi Ali, to appraise the British in Aden who had brought his family back to power, of his precarious position. Well aware of the extent of Menelik's armouery, they took no action. The Shoa forces crossed the Awash river the French poet Arthur Rimbaud had just described as «the boundary of Menelik's kingdom» and, not for the last time, put Harar and its environs to the sword.

In February, 1887, Menelik advised the British colonial authorities at Aden that he «King of Shoa and of all the Gallas good and bad (had) hoisted his flag in his (the Emir's) capital and my troops occupied his city...». In a clear reference not to Somali Nation but to the Christian terminology used by the other imperialists to justify colonization, he added «...This is not a Muslim country as everyone knows». He later wrote to his Italian ally. «my occupation of Harar augurs well for the commercial relations between Italy and Shoa», and anticipating further colonial adventures, added «...but more important is the question of Zeila, (a centuries old Somali port and trade terminus on the Gulf of Aden) if Your Majesty will see to its cession to me the port will be open to trade.»

In 1891, after further communication with Italy — his major armourer who nevertheless secretly aspired to a protectorate over Ethiopia — Menelik laid detailed claim, in letters to the heads of European states, to the areas he intended to colonize. He confirmed, what his campaigns had already made obvious, that he was determined to subdue «all the Gallas (Oromos)». «I shall endeavour» he wrote, «...to establish the ancient frontiers (tributaries) of Ethiopia up to Khartoum (present capital of the Republic of Sudan) and as far as Lake Nyanza (Lake Victoria)».

There is of course no historical justification for such claims against the lands of pre-colonial sister African states. Towards the east he included. «the country of the Borana Gallas and the Arusi country up to the limits of the Somalis, including also the Issa Somalis etc» Then, alone powers at a rulers of Africa, he boasted «If powers at a distance come forward to partition Africa between them, I do not intend to be indifferent spectator». Nor was he.

With Harar as an advance base, Shoa military expedition began to raid and burn settlements and loot the herds of the Somalis. As in other parts of Africa the fact that many a patriot lost his life in valiant but unsuccessful resistance to such colonial savagery, is well documented. A British political agent's report dated 12th April, 1892 is typical of many. It reads «a large Abyssinian expedition returned from the Ogaden... bringing with them as booty, some thousands of camels, cattle and property of all descriptions. (they had) devastated a large part of the Western Ogaden and slaughtered the people». Missionaries; travellers; big game hunters — all repeatedly describe countless similar horrors suffered by men, women, children and livestock in Western Somalia.

Yet the British, particularly after the Ethiopian defeat of the Italians, saw themselves in a weak position. They needed only to secure fresh meat for their Aden garrison astride the imperial route to India. This, together with their serious difficulties in the Sudan before and after the death of General Gordon, suggested an urgent settlement with Ethiopia, despite the many problems drawn to their attention by the «protected» Somalis which they had duly noted. Accordingly, and it must be stressed without much regard for protected Somalis, whom they also denied arms to protect themselves

they restricted their sphere of influence in the Horn of Africa and negotiated new boundaries with Menelik, and in particular with his governor in Harar (the Ras Makonen, father of Haile Sellassie) and with other colonial powers. Both France, because of her imperial ambitions on the Upper Nile and expanding commercial activity in Abyssinia, and Italy likewise failed to honour protectorate agreements with the Somalis.

These arrangements are clearly null and void in international law since the Somalis, although materially affected, were not party to them. Their effect was that Ethiopia gained control — although in most areas she did not exercise this at least until the 1930's and in some places not at all — over many more thousand square miles of Somali country. As has been observed, the Somalis had in no case delegated to anyone the right to cede territory on their behalf. Several other criteria held legally relevant, such as «effective occupation» all demonstrate the illegality of Ethiopian occupation of Western Somalia — a claim she bases on colonial treaties between imperialist powers. This is particularly so, since the signing of the United Nations Charter, with its emphasis on equal rights and the self-determination of peoples, and the subsequent departure of British, Italian and French colonial administrations. In decolonization struggle which involve the ascertainment of title, the principle of the right of self-determination of the people of the territory is the only relevant norm of contemporary international law as recent cases involving Namibia and other areas have demonstrated.

THE RESISTANCE OF SOMALI PATRIOTS

At the time of partition, the Somalis themselves remained largely in ignorance of the new arrange-

ments despite their being so vital to their livelihood. A few however were, aware. Frah Nura, a poet who died about 1930, had written «The British, the Ethiopian, and the Italians are squabbling, the country is snatched and divided by whosoever is stronger. The country is sold piece by piece without our knowledge. And as for me — all this is a sign of the last days of the world».

Small wonder, therefore that when an attempt at demarcation was later made, righteous indignation led to tension, riots and even the death of a commissioner involved. Meantime also, the more aware of the opinion-formers throughout the bewildered and suffering Somali Nation — which like others in Africa and elsewhere did not cease to exist just because of the veneer of multi-faceted colonialism — also began to comprehend and vigorously to oppose all influences which seemed to «divide and rule» their country and their common culture.

One of the first Somalis to write his life story in English earlier this century, when deploring racism and colonialism, commented on the increasing parochialism forced on the marriage pattern of the people by such dismemberment. But it was through the Somali Nation's great literary tradition in its own language that protest remained the most strident. New strength was drawn from the exploits of the Somali freedom fighter, Sayid Mohamed Abdille Hassan. A renowned and travelled scholar, he had resented the affront which all colonialism entailed, to the political independence and other aspects of the indigenous culture of the Somali Nation. He was born in 1864, and was from the Ogaden clan of Western Somalia. He fought the British, the Italians and the Ethiopian colonialists for twenty years — and even Somalis if he considered them collaborators. He was of co-

urse very far removed from the «mad Mullah» image with which the colonialists tried to discredit him. A visionary who was also one of Africa's greatest poets, Sayid Mohamed addressed on of his long remembered messages to his own clansmen, the Ogaden, specifically exhorting them to resist the colonialism of the Ethiopian Amahars and the British. He communicated his poetic vision of their struggle in the following inspiring and still most relevant phrases:

«...My heart rejoices at the decision you have come to,

When in the early morning, at dawn, you rise and mount your stallion,

Apart from the sand and dust that rises up around you — the columns of dust —

The road which you will follow is not one on which people lose their way...

The road was that of self-determination and freedom for his people.

His campaigns and battles are too numerous to set out in detail in this pamphlet. One battle at Dulmadobe, in which a British officer sent to lead a camel corps against the nationalists and most of his troops were killed, is particularly remembered. As today, not even attacks from the air daunted the Somali spirit and like Lobengula of Zimbabwe, Sayid Mohamed was never captured but died late in 1921 of natural causes in the freedom of the countryside for which he fought. His feat of courage and defiance compare with those of the Mahdi, Samore Toure and the uncowed Asanthe Prempeh I. The deeds of his followers were in the pattern of the Impi of Chakka. The Maji-Maji warriors and many later nationalist heroes. Today detailed accou-

nts of all these liberation struggles are not only taught in schools throughout free Africa and elsewhere but remain inspiring and living traditions recounted at firesides in the remotest countryside.

In contrast, Ethiopian troops joined the other colonial forces in most of the punitive campaigns for it was the emperor of Ethiopia himself who first suggested joint action by colonial powers against the Somali nationalist and his followers. It may be noted that, Menelik also employed foreign mercenaries in his wars of expansion, tradition that dies hard — one Russian Commander, Leontive, had his legs blown off by his cannon!

In the 1920's and 1930's oppression, particularly in Western Somalia, worsened. Except at Harar and closeby there was no permanent Ethiopian administration and what little there was has always been military. Undisciplined raiding parties pillaged wantonly. With the advent of the Italo-Ethiopian war in 1936, Italy overran Ethiopia and the British Protectorate in 1940 during the Second World War. Somalis, except those in Northern Kenya and Jibouti, were placed under one administration. After the occupation by British Commonwealth, Belgian and local forces in 1941-42. The British military continued this administrative pattern for some years.

The attitudes of Haile Sellassie and his imperial government, however, had not changed. His mobilization order at the beginning of the war had read, «Italy prepares a second time to violate our territory... soldiers gather round your chiefs and thrust back the invader You shall have lands in Eritrea and Somaliland». For any Ethiopian soldier who did not fancy the life of a settler in someone else's country, and knew that no Somali would accept serfdom, there was the warning that villages after the receipt of the proclamation «shall be hanged».

The Italo-Ethiopian war did not mean, much to most Somalis who disliked the colonialism of Shoa Amhara just as much as any other. And true to form, soon after Haile Sellassie's return to Addis Ababa from exile in May 1941, he laid claim to all of Italy's adjacent colonies. Regrettably, he achieved imperialist support over the fate of Eritrea, but not with regard to ex-Italian Somaliland. Moreover, the administration of Western Somalia and certain other «reserved areas» was retained by the British military and they were not administered by Ethiopia until as late as 1948 and in other parts 1955 — when non-self-government countries elsewhere in the world had already begun to achieve self-determination.

But the great powers were neither consistent nor could they agree on the future of Italy's former colonies, which rapidly became mere pawns in a wider diplomacy. The price of their cynicism and indecision is paid for daily by the suffering Eritrean people. Meantime, in 1949 Italy was granted a ten-year United Nations Trusteeship over her former Somali colony. Haile Sellassie cabled the secretary General curiously condemning **the General Assembly** for «overriding the principles of self-determination of peoples so clearly expressed by the Somalis». In point of fact Ethiopia did not then and does not now adhere to this principle and the world — still less the Somalis — was not deceived. The true struggle of all Somalis for restoration of their rights of self-determination and independence continued in every part of the nation — as many a monument to the brave and many an unmarked grave attests today.

Everywhere the Somali Youth League took up the banner of Sayid Mohamed Abdille Hassan and called for the restoration of cultural and political freedom. At Jigjiga in Western Somalia, they declined to haul down their flag and

the police opened fire, killing twenty-five persons. The Somali Youth League was then proscribed and an attempt was made to ban all political activity. But events elsewhere in the Somali lands, much to the emperor's chagrin, moved inexorably with the postwar pattern of decolonization.

THE TURNING OF THE TIDE.

In 1960, the Somali in the British Protectorate were due to regain their independence, just before those in the Italian Trust Territory and as that time approached there was a general atmosphere of excitement throughout the entire Somali Nation — in Western Somalia not least. Emperor Haile Sellassie meantime tried belatedly to revise the image of Amhara colonialism but he did not understand the modern world. It has not been in the nature of colonialism anywhere to foster anything but the superficial study of indigenous peoples and Western Somalia was no exception. Colonialists are more concerned with assimilation.

Speaking in the Ogaden on 25 August, 1956, the Ethiopian emperor promised the Somalis schools «not only (to) impart education, but also to foster understanding and co-operation among the military, the police and the civil population». He knew well the nature of the Ethiopian presence there. Nothing ever came of what Haile Sellassie, using the royal plural, described as «Our long cherished but delayed plan to initiate (development) plans which posterity will long remember». That he was thinking in terms of assimilation into Amhara culture is clear enough. «It is imperative for you, who from part of the great family of the Empire of Ethiopia» he told the Somalis, «to acquire the necessary education where by you will be able to take over the various positions and responsibilities that await you in the Central Government Administration ...lack of knowledge of the national language

will be a barrier (so) learn to read and write Amharic».

Nor did the emperor's ambition end with the Somalis of Western Somalia. In true Imperial tradition he concluded «...we consider that all the Somali peoples are economically linked with Ethiopia... we do not believe that a (Somali) state can stand alone, separated from Ethiopia». But even the few Somali children who were brought to schools in Addis Ababa rejected Amharic as did Eritrean when an attempt was made to impose that language on them. They, like the South African Students of Soweto and elsewhere who today reject Afrikans, knew well the political relationship between the medium and the message. The Somalis proud of their distinct and rich culture, put it quite graphically in a proverb: Let no one who merely promises greener pasture, control your moving camp. They rejected assimilation out of hand.

Even though principles in the annexures to resolutions of the United Nations General Assembly do in certain circumstances allow a non-self-governing territory to be said to have reached a full-measure of self-government through integration with an independent state — as well of course, as through free association or emergence as a sovereign state — the implementation of any and all of these options is held to require free, voluntary and informed choice, and must be on the basis of complete equality and through free political institutions. None of this for sure is applicable to Western Somalia. In international law, any purported integration by Ethiopia may be seen to be null and void.

No serious student of the Horn of Africa was surprised when, on the restoration of their independence in 1960, the former British Somaliland and the United Nations Trust that was formerly Italian Somaliland joyfully and at once reunited. Unfortunately

but understandably, there followed over the years not infrequent friction with the Ethiopian soldiery still clinging to their occupation of Western Somalia. That both the Italian Government and the Somali Government made every attempt to solve this problem by negotiation, is a matter of record at the United Nations, but the Ethiopian government did not cooperate.

Meantime, Emperor Haile Sellassie felt able to encourage the French colonial authorities similar to linger on. According to BBC broadcast on 28th August, 1966, in an unguarded moment the emperor, speaking to his fellow colonialists said, (I would like France to stay in French Somaliland for ever». But it was not to be. France like Britain and Italy before her, withdrew; the right of self-determination prevailed and in 1977 the independent state of Djibouti was born. The Somali Nation was greatly relieved but the general attitude of Ethiopia gives pause for thought.

It should be remembered that when the founding fathers of modern African nationalism and pan-Africanism began to plan the systematic transformation of traditional African resistance to all forms of colonial oppression into what came to be termed the «African assertion» or «Revolution», Ethiopia was not much in evidence. She did not host or even participate in early Africanist conferences — even in the vital one held in Manchester, England, in 1945 when it was decided to open a new phase of the struggle in Africa itself. Abyssinian rulers had indeed discouraged visiting delegates propounding any form black consciousness or more progressive concepts. It is well known, if not often repeated fact that even in the early days of the United Nations Organization, Ethiopia preferred to identify on ideological and even ethnic grounds with the other imperialist powers. The precipitate haste in which she

sent forces to join the controversial «United Nations» expeditionary force to Korea is an example of her controlling allegiances — as is her subsequently sending delegates to Lisbon before the recent changes, to celebrate the five hundredth anniversary of the activities of Prince Henry the Navigator of Portugal — which initiated among other evils the hideous slave trade and the very era of territorial imperialism itself.

Small wonder when sites in progressive African capitals were proposed which might auger badly for the interests of her imperialist allies, the Imperial Ethiopian Government was assisted to offer a «permanent» home in 1963 for the headquarters of the OAU in her feudal capital. Many an African delegate of those days came away with personal experiences of the colonial and racist attitudes of the Amharas, who despised them as «Barias» or «Shankallas», before a new word «Africanotch» was discreetly introduced by the supercilious authorities. Worse, the same shocking attitudes were maintained at gun-point in Western Somalia. That the oppressive regime of the former emperor derived support from sychophantic items in the amharic press referring to him as «emperor of Africa» and describing every visiting dignitary as «seeking advice on how to rule his subjects» has been revealed but the successor regime has to date proved incapable of replacing outdated and arrogant Amhara attitudes towards other nationalities. In fact it continues to practice similar and even more cruel methods to suppress their aspirations.

Meantime, however, events in Western Somalia did not stand still. There is a limit to the oppression which any human being can stand. When through negligence, incompetence and corruption adequate measures were not taken to deal with the famines which recently struck part of North-Eastern Africa and

the Sahel; and instead attempts were made by an indifferent, colonial and aristocratic regime in Addis Ababa even to cover up the starvation and sorry suffering of the people — then the Western Somalis sent the pathetic message to the Government of the Somali Democratic Republic, that if they were to die they wished at least to die as free Somalis once more.

The Somali Government was in fact already responding to their plight. The provision and even airlift of food and supplies was already under way. Refugees and resettlement training camps were established. Everyone cooperated. Even students temporarily gave up their studies to help tend the needs of their brothers and sisters.

Enough was enough. Early in 1977 the people of Western Somalia, the most oppressed and long suffering fragment of the Somali Nation, rose under the banner of their liberation front and ejected the last of the colonialists from Somali country. Although often accused of encouraging the freedom fighters who were after all their brothers and sisters, the Government of the Somali Democratic Republic had indeed long restrained the liberation movement still hoping against hope to achieve a peaceful and just African solution to the problem. Most unfortunately, the military successors to the Ethiopian imperial regime, unable by themselves to comprehend let alone withstand the tide of history, called in foreign mercenaries to facilitate the introduction of a hoped for new chapter of suppression of the human rights of the Somali Nation.

In righteous indignation and in a spirit of solidarity with the western Somali Liberation Front and the United Nations — for respect for the right of self-determination is not only incumbent upon all states, but following General Assembly Resolution 2625 (XXV) its promotion «through joint and separa-

te action» is a «duty» - the government of the Somali Democratic Republic, without counting the cost in unfinished joint projects, expelled from its soil those who so abused hospitality and who demonstrated such contempt for human dignity as to provide mercenaries and supplies to the former occupying power.

CONCLUSION

To pretend, as spokesmen in Addis Ababa tend to say, that Ethiopia was the only state and rest of Africa mere warring tribes, smacks of racist arrogance but is nonetheless typical of what has been termed colonial mentality. It is to ignore ancient Ghana-Mali-Songhai, the Kingdoms of Asante, Dahomey and Benin, the hausa-fulani states. Morocco, Bakongo, Bunyoro and Buganda, the realm of the Mwene-Mutapa, the Zulu Nation - to say nothing of Nubia, Meroe and Egypt herself - to arbitrarily mention but a few historic African states. Nations in Africa are not a colonial development. It was not the existence of Abyssinia or the Ethiopian empire state that was uniquely significant, nor even its survival as a largely unconquered political expression into modern times. It was that, having acquired sufficient weapons, is alone among the states of Africa, participated in the scramble for Africa, conniving with other imperial powers from Europe and, moreover, when those other colonialists gave up their ill-gotten gains, Ethiopia hung on to them. Her colonial repertoire varied from the once Portuguese pattern of cultural assimilation to the settlement of alien groups on alienated lands, punitive raiding expedition, looting, rape and vicious repression: details and photographs of which have been previously published by the Somali Government.

Alienation of land, trampling on human rights and police oppression are the same, be they Amhara or Afrikaner. Well might the leader

of the Western Somali Liberation Front cry out, with Chief Luthuli. «Let my people Free». There have been many Steve Biko's among the suppressed nationalities in Ethiopia. The study of colonialism not just in Europe but every where in the world — take the Ottoman empire for example — demonstrates a universal reluctance on the part of imperialists to lose control over the political and economic destiny of captive nations. The situation in Western Somalia has not been unique. Nor are colonial boundaries by the very nature of their imposition sacred. Decolonization cannot be frozen half way through, to suit one anachronistic empire, in defiance of the pattern of world history. Colonialism, while it persists is «permanent aggression» which has to be resisted. Only after national integrity is restored through self-determination are frontiers secure. This interpretation is of course in conformity with the principles of justice and International Law.

Ethiopia has long benefited from the fact that its capital was designated the seat of the Organization of African Unity. That location has permitted Ethiopia to distort the issue of its maladministration of Somali territories at the Somali Government's expense. An impression has been deliberately created in Africa and elsewhere that the Somalis repudiate the notion of the stability of borders and the principle of respect for territorial integrity and that accepting the justice of their claim will somehow create chaos throughout the continent. That is of course not the case. The issue of

Western Somalia is unique and sui generis in the context of Africa.

The Somali Democratic Republic respects lawful boundaries and the principle of territorial integrity, as it accepts the right of self-determination and other relevant rules of international law in the resolution of the current problem.

The truth is that, aware that the mere fact that she was admitted to the United Nations does not import validation of illegal territorial claims, the imperial Ethiopian Government and its successor regime have gone so far as to attempt to use the OAU itself to frustrate the legitimate aspirations of nationalities. This is doomed to fail, because the spirit of African Unity is one between equals, not between colonialists and subjects. It must be stressed that not all Ethiopians are guilty of encouraging such perversion. The terrible repression of opposition groups now current within the crumbling empire-state has been no more able to prevent the enlightened from defying official «red terror» and constructively discussing the «nationality problem» as they describe it in their many booklets and pamphlets - than it has to deny the equal rights and self-determination of the Eritreans and the Somalis of Western Somalia. It is with such enlightened Ethiopians that a free Somali Nation can, as in times past, live without outside interference in brotherhood and mutual respect. Meantime, however, this vision and that of continental unity itself will continue to fade unless the cancer of persistent colonialism in Africa's Southern and North-Eastern extremities is

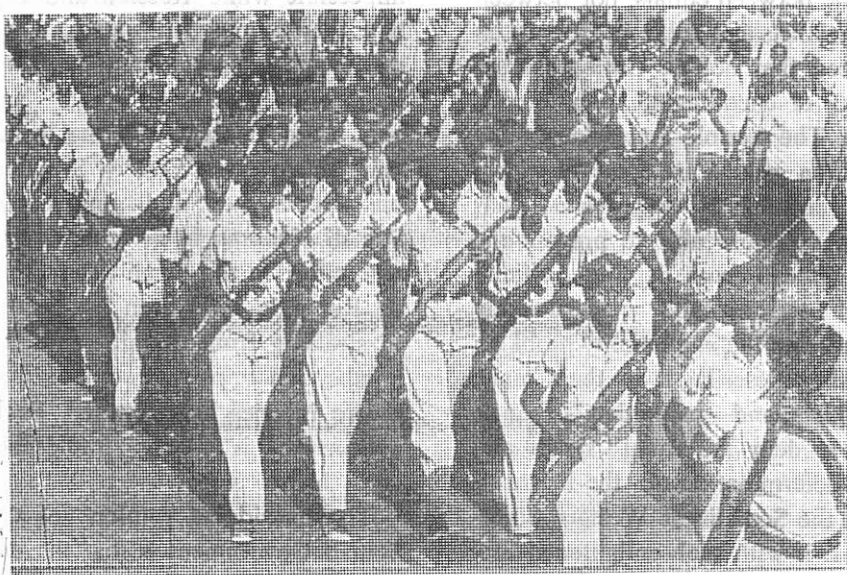
cured once and for all.

In many speeches, the President of the Somali Democratic Republic has continued to endeavour to promote a peaceful settlement in Western Somalia. He has sent delegations and even sought by personal summitry to secure a just and equitable settlement acceptable to the people of Western Somalia.

He met both the late emperor and his current successor. To date, all this has been to no avail, but the position of the Somali Democratic Republic has not changed. A peaceful and just settlement by negotiation is still the aim. However it must now be pointed out that the chances of securing such an African solution are rendered near impossible while Russian and Cuban mercenaries with massive arms supplies flagrantly appear to have taken control of events. Not only those involved in the legitimate struggle in Western Somalia, but also innocent and uninvolved Somali civilians in several towns and cities in the Somali Democratic Republic have been subjected to strafing from the air and to bombs and napalm. Fatalities and severe injuries have resulted. Such a situation is clearly intolerable and has to stop.

The considered opinion of the Somali Government is that the entire international community should call upon the Soviet Union and its allies to discontinue their intervention in the affairs of the African continent. An African settlement, having in mind the interests of the peoples involved, would then have a good chance of achievement.

Women are ready for the defence of their Land.



Girl students undergone military training.

The Somali people are famous for their patriotism.





Demonstrations of the social Organisations for the Country's defence.



Mogadisho: The Stone throwing monument