

MY COUNTRY & MY PEOPLES

SELECTED SPEECHES OF PRESIDENT MOHAMED SIAD BARRE



SOMALI DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC
Ministry of Information and National Guidance

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*Secretary General of the SRSP
President of the Somali D. Republic
J/le Mag. General Mohamed Siad Bare*

INTRODUCTION

The present edition of the collection of President Siad's speeches touch on several matters pertaining to the current Abyssinian and allied aggression against the Somali Democratic Republic, the valour with which the Somali people defended their land and dignity, the way the enemy miscalculated the Somali nation's strength, the difficult phase in the life of the nation, how much progress the Revolution has made and how the obstacles in its way can be removed and that the Somali nation will ever remember those who have stood by it in its hour of need.

The President's speeches are, as is well-known, not only policy statements but lessons in orientation for the Somali people who have been accustomed to hearing them from time to time and use them as guidelines in their efforts in nation-building. Jaalle Siad's speeches are, therefore, useful lessons in their own right and are worth recording.

It gives the Ministry of Information & National Guidance great pleasure, consequently, to publish once more this year the collection to coincide with the celebration of the thirteenth anniversary of the blessed October 21, 1969 Revolution.

Colonel Mohamed Omer Jess
Minister of Information & National Guidance

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FOLLOWING IS PRESIDENT SIAD'S SPEECH TO THE 2nd CONGRESS OF THE S.R.S.P.

Jaallayaal,

The political changes of international relations has entered an era of hotbeds of tension, which brought to the open the anxiety of mankind about the threat posed to world peace. Continued efforts have been made to limit the arms race and production of nuclear armaments, chemical and biological weapons and the possibility of reducing its test in the world whether on land or Sea. The prime responsibility of this question lies with the big powers and the developed ones, so that mankind and world resources could be secured from its dangers. Simultaneously, there is urgent need to utilise the progress achieved in the fields of science and technology for peaceful purposes and for the development of the various facets of human life. These questions mentioned above are the most posing threat to world peace. On the other hand, mankind is nowadays thinking and endeavouring to preserve peace and the eradication of colonialism, neo-colonialism and apartheid.

The struggle for peace and world development has no doubt made possible the progress of mankind, whereby the role of the nations of the world was felt particularly the Third world for the implementation of these noble objectives. However, of late the emergence of dangerous situations posing threat to peace and international security has been noted, which calls for the big-powers and the developed ones to cease the arms race in the world and instead work for peace and global stability.

Jaallayaal,

The present stage we are undergoing has two facets, that of development and under-development. Although the world is characterized by these conditions, whereby many nations are experiencing socio-economic under-development due to lack of technology, science and necessary industrial equipment for production, yet had pressured not to aspire to attain these basic prerequisites for development. This situation is dictated by the existing world economic system which is far beyond just world economic order whereby the developed ones have persistently ignored the realities of the world economic situation as the developing countries are struggling to balance and bridge the gap between the developed and developing economies. Nevertheless, great hopes are attached to these continued efforts to produce in the future, the introduction of a just and equitable new international economic order which will contribute to the balance of trade, technology and

industrial equipment of the developed countries and the raw materials of the Third World. These are the basic factors which have caused the holding of the North-South dialogue. The Somali Democratic Republic is among the front-line States who are eager to see the successful conclusion of the North-South dialogue since Somalia shares with developing countries, socio-economic and political problems which immensely affected its international relations.

INTERNAL POLICY

Jaallayaal,

The aspirations of the Somali people envisaged for the development of their country in the various fields have been incorporated in the 1st, 2nd and 3rd Charter of the Revolution.

The process of democratisation of people's rule, implementation of the principles of relevant self-help schemes, enactment of pertinent legislation, for the care of the interest of the people putting into force the programme of rural development, farmers and fisheries, industrialization of the country, the policy of enlarging the administration of the regions and districts and revolutionary education were based on our progressive policy, which to some extent, made possible the achievement of successes.

That policy was directed to implement the social policy which is based on work and Justice in accordance with the Third Charter of the Revolution, which was enacted one month and six years ago and paved the way for the establishment of the SRSP. The Party assumed the powers of the country's leadership with respect to political, economic, social and defence.

The Party while implementing the programme approved at the founding Congress of the Party on 1st July 1976, whereby the Supreme Revolutionary Council transferred the power of the Administration of the country to the Party, made considerable new change in the system of building the nation, having accorded Party members and people full participation in the leadership and increase in production which was based on the nation's policy on priorities in the fields of industrialization, agriculture, fisheries and minerals.

Cultural Revolution, Education and technical know-how which was given due attention and interest, made it an imperative task to the party members and organs in charge for the leadership of the country to face a hard struggle, in order to execute the objectives of

the Revolution which are aimed at social change, the substance of which is meant to verify the policy of self-sufficiency and answering the needs of our society.

Utmost priority has been given to the defence and general Security of the nation, which made it a sacred duty to secure the internal and external stability of the country. This policy has created in the Somali people, confidence, solidarity and unity with which they have confronted and gained victory over the enemy of Somalia.

Jaallayaal,

In order to involve the people in the affairs of the country, many legislations demonstrating the system of administration of the country were enacted of which was law number 21 issued on 3rd february, 1977 based on the local organs of the party (Regions and Districts), in the light of the constitution of party. These were created in Regional and Districts Party committees and their powers and relations with the Central Government. The substance of this law is meant to have the people participate in the administration of their country.

The Party which was founded by 3,000 members, total Party registration upto now estimated at 30,778 members while every level of the Party's establishment has been completed and implemented setting up of Party cells all over the Country.

The Third Session of the Central Committee of the SRSP have enacted the law of re-organizing the social organizations. These social organizations were established between 8th March, 1977-8th January, 1978. These organizations have fulfilled their role politically, production-wise and social, all of which have supported the party and the Government and we are urging them to increase their efforts to this effect.

Mobilization, organization and assistance extended to the masses by the Party has born fruit in expressing its aims in the regions and districts. This has led to the strengthening of self-help scheme projects where-by the people contributed in kind and participated voluntarily in various national works.

Jaallayaal,

There is no doubt, even though our party has encountered difficult situations and diverse problems as I have reported to the 4th Session of the Central Committee of the SRSP, yet it has made tremendous achievements in serving and caring for the people and

the development of the country.

On the existence of harsh circumstances, the Central Committee on many occasions met on extra-ordinary session. In its meetings, the Central Committee of the SRSP discussed and reached positive decisions concerning questions related to politics, economics, social, defence, and the country's security, the present conflict in the Horn of Africa, refugee problem, and our external relations with the world.

The Central Committee of the SRSP, having seen the necessity met in October 1978 in an urgent session in order to make a study and evaluation of the political situation the country was undergoing, has decided:-

- I. To call for an extra-ordinary congress which was held on the 20th-25th January, 1979, in order;
 - a) To study the social and political situation;
 - b) Administrative reorganization of the country;
 - c) In order to execute Article seven of the first Charter which is directed at the implementation of the constitutional project of the Somali Democratic Republic.
2. Re-evaluation of the five year development plan of 1974-1978 which was approved in the first founding congress of the Party on 1/7/1976, the conclusion of which have been reported to the congress, and agreed upon:-
 - a) The Constitution of the Somali Democratic Republic;
 - b) Submission, of the three year development plan 1979-81 which was approved by the extra-ordinary Congress and subsequently its evaluation is before the Second Party Congress;
 - c) Resolutions concerning the country's internal and external policies.
3. Debate of congress regarding Revolutionization of the administration which made positive recommendations.

Similarly the proper implementation of the referendum of the new constitution of the S.D.R., election of national and local Parliamentarians and the completion of the set up of the organs of the constitution of the country were ascertained.

After the fourth Session of the Central Committee of the SRSP and long debate, the members adopted resolutions on 20-

23/1/1982. This was one of the important Sessions where political, economic, social and defence matters of the country were reviewed.

These meetings, sessions, and resolutions which resulted in tangible achievements show in details efforts of the revolution in surpassing the difficult periods which our country faced since the last six years.

Although we have experienced circumstances and difficulties, yet it is quite evident that the Somali people preferred perseverance and real courage to fear, looseness and threats, tests embodying emanating internal and external actions with unity, preparedness to continue struggle, always prepared to defend and build their country. I would like to express my appreciation and thanks from this rostrum to the courageous Somali people wherever they may be, while I am confident that our people in the future will demonstrate hard work that will enable them to overcome adverse natural and social conditions.

EMERGENCY RULE

Jaallayaal,

The President of the Somali Democratic Republic (SDR) having seen articles 83 and 113 number two of the constitution having considered the permanent aggression of the Addis Ababa regime and its allies against the Somali Democratic Republic; having taken into consideration the problem caused by the refugees who are in constant increase; having noted the diversion of the objectives of October 21st Revolution, after having observed the necessity of introducing it throughout the country and its enforcement until the return to conditions of normalisation, the emergency rule will continue to be enforced in order to overcome the difficult circumstance which the country is experiencing through unity and solidarity. At the same time, by returning to the principles and aspiration of 21st October Revolution, whose aims were diverted, subsequently emergency rule was declared on 21st October 1980 in order to overcome the problems which warranted it and the members of the Supreme Revolutionary Council were recalled for correction measures.

It is necessary to evaluate the work which was undertaken during the emergency rule. Work has been performed and many have been accomplished although the purpose of the introduction of emergency rule were not achieved. The reason being that some responsible persons who have been entrusted with key position have not fulfilled the objectives of the 21 October Revolution, in

betraying their promise made to the Somali people by choosing personal interests related to foreign connection and colonial conspiracy.

After the lapse of one year of the emergency rule, the Central Committee of the SRSP decided to lift the emergency rule.

We have ascertained that when few persons attempted to undermine the nation, the majority with the active support of the people have tried to improve and serve their society, by working hard for the unity of the Somali nation in which traitors and Somali enemies have attempted and are still trying to subvert it. These peoples deserve immense praise from the congress and the Somali Nation.

EXTERNAL POLICY

Jaallayaal,

The foreign policy of the Somali Democratic Republic was based and still continue to be based on the principles of positive non-alignment. This policy is an active one which serve the principle of peaceful coexistence of the nations of the world, supporting those who are opposed to colonialism, apartheid and other injustices, contrary to human rights, highly consider and appreciate friendly relations of cooperation existing between countries of the world which are based on the principles of mutual respect and understanding, non-interference to which all Governments whether big or small, rich or poor are equal. There is no doubt that this positive role has become a clear sign for these principles which are the basic view of the SDR foreign policy and carry the objectives of our nation which has gained the SDR respect and recognition from the world.

This policy which interprets the aspiration of the SRSP, taking into account the principles of the October 21st Revolution, we have given our support to the people who are fighting for their independence, and the right to self-determination and equality of their society which some achieved success of their cases and some still under colonialism and their questions exist in the world as standing issues. These are policy views of the SDR taking into consideration the 1st, 2nd and 3rd Charter of the October 21st Revolution, the programme of the SRSP, resolutions of the Party, particularly the Congresses and the sessions of the Central Committee, national constitution and programme of the Government which are related to the United Nations charters and other international ones.

On the other hand, the foreign policy of the SDR promotes the

struggle of the Somali people and the realization of its national aspirations and progress of society. In brief, our foreign policy is based on the following points:

- Promoting the name and prestige of the Somali nation.
- Strengthening of international relations and respect of internationally recognized agreements.
- The pursuit of the principles of positive non-alignment.
- Appreciation and respect for the principle of non-interference and reciprocal respect between governments and affirmation of peaceful co-existence of peoples of the world, specially in the Horn of Africa.
- Strengthening and promotion of defence and national security.
- To fight against colonialism and apartheid and genuine support for the peoples struggling for their self-determination, independence and human rights.

The political principles which we have adopted as a guide line, their objectives are based firstly to have the Somali nation play its full role actively on important issues concerning world community as its international duty and cooperation with governments and international organizations with friendship, peace and progress while recognizing the independence of the State and the interest of the nation.

Jaallayaal,

In Horn of Africa there exists a tension which has been internationalized. However, the basis of this tension is the conflict between colonialism and colonised peoples who suffer under its yoke and have been denied their rights to national self-determination and political independence. Outside explanation given to the above conflict serve the dream of Abyssinian colonialism and its allies which is meant to confuse world public opinion and the denial of the historical realities of this region. The denial of peoples rights is colonial attitude and as well the worst crime against fellow human being since history and international law endorses peoples rights because it is impossible to hide the sun in one's hands. Similarly, it is not possible for a person to shape history the way he wants as it is not possible to change day light into darkness. Likewise, no one can hide the historical conflict which competes these peoples' struggle for obtaining their right to self-determination and national indepen-

dence from Abyssinian colonialism.

Nevertheless, the condition of this region has been aggravated by the presence of foreign forces invited by the Addis Ababa regime for its support when it failed to withstand the armed struggle of the liberation movements who have succeeded in liberating their territory from the black colonialism of Abyssinian empire-state.

Despite of the above existing fact, we have made known our policies concerning the Horn of Africa in international forums and on different occasions by expressing our desire and readiness for a just, durable political solution for the question of the Horn of Africa, so that peace, co-existence and good neighbourliness based on friendly cooperation could be achieved.

Therefore, we can all recall that while we are engaged with good-will efforts and manifested our peaceful intention to the Addis Ababa regime that the Somali Government is prepared to go any where and at any time, in order to create an atmosphere conducive to the peaceful settlement of the problem, which is in the interest of all the brotherly peoples of the Horn of Africa and for the preservation of peace and security in this region, the Addis Ababa regime has manifested its traditional colonial stubbornness. That is by launching naked and unprovoked aggression against the SDR supported by the foreign forces which still continue up to this date.

We wish to remind the Addis Ababa regime that our peace options are still open. At the same time, the Somali Democratic Republic welcomes any quarter or government contributing any viable proposal that will contribute to the solution of the Horn of Africa problem or extend to Somalia a helping hand in her peaceful initiatives for the solution of this problem.

With the exception of the Addis Ababa regime, the Somali Democratic Republic maintains good relations with neighbouring countries, based on peace, cooperation and good neighbourliness. The talks held between the Governments of Kenya and SDR have resulted in the improvement of relations between the two countries. At the same time, this will no doubt pave the way for more cooperative relations between the two countries.

Likewise, thanks to the ties and bonds of brotherhood between the two peoples and friendship between the two Governments of the Somali Democratic Republic and the Republic of Jabuti, who are enjoying excellent relations, the two Governments have exchanged several agreements which will strengthen further cooperation of the

two countries.

The colonised peoples of Western Somalia Abbo, Eritrea and Tigre have suffered a great deal under Abyssinian colonialism. These peoples have become a burden to the economy of the Somali Democratic Republic where Somalia is host to the largest number of refugees in Africa. However, the Somali people and their government have cooperated with other international and humanitarian organizations in extending a helping hand to the refugees. There are other invisible refugees who are scattered in the urban and country side of Somalia and who are generously assisted by the Somali people, which is with in the best humanitarian traditions of the Somali people. Here, we are grateful to the independent Somali people for their brotherly care and assistance to these people.

Therefore, in the name of the Somali people, the congress, the refugees and my own behalf I would like to express my heartfelt thanks to friendly governments, International Organizations, humanitarian organizations, and those who contributed personally to the humanitarian support of the refugees.

We therefore, call on all peace loving nations of the world to share with us the responsibility for finding political solution to refugees problems and taking into account the roots causes of the conflict in the Horn of Africa. It is imperative that these people be repatriated to their home land where they were forced to leave.

Jaallayaal,

Our relations with the Arab countries is based on brotherly cooperation, mutual interests and at the present stage is an excellent one.

The SDR has worked and continuously works for the solidarity of Arab states in abridging the gap of their differences. In fact, the existence of such differences undermine Arab unity to their detriment serving the interests of their enemies. There is an imperative need for strengthening inter Arab relations so that Arab countries will be strong force for the acceleration of the Liberation of the Arab and Islamic countries still suffering under the yoke of colonialism.

We condemn Israel's naked invasion of Lebannon for its subjugation and destruction, simultaneously, aiming to eliminate freedom fighters of Palestine who are struggling for the just cause of the liberation of the Palestinian people. These acts consequently endanger chances for peaceful settlement of the Middle East ques-

tion and world peace in general.

The present on going war between Iraq-Iran is an ominous one which affects us tremendously and subsequently, poses clear and serious threat not only to the two muslim peoples but as well to the Islamic World and the region. Therefore, we call upon the combatants to cease the war and seek solution through the mechanism of negotiation.

The Somali Democratic Republic has severed diplomatic relations with the Qaddafi regime on August, 1981. This is due to Qaddafi's support for the Abyssinian colonialism which colonises the peoples of Western Somalia, Abbo, Eritrea, Tigre and others, supporting the Addis Ababa regime with arms, financial aid and troops in order to undermine the sovereignty and independence of the SDR and posing threat to the security and stability of the region. These gross acts of interference sabotage and aggression on the part of Qaddafi's regime is contrary to the United Nations, OAU and Arab league Charters. Qaddafi regime was also a party to the formation of the unholy tripartite pact comprising Abyssinia, Libya and South Yemen held in Aden in August 1981, whose major objectives are directed to destabilise Somalia and other neighbouring countries of the region.

Somalia took an active role in the establishment of Afro-Arab cooperation in the political and economic spheres and as well worked toward the cooperation of Euro-Africa based on mutual interests of the two continents.

The important task before Africa today is to unite as one front against the new phenomena of foreign interference in its internal affairs whose objective is to divide Africa so that it will not aspire to the achievement of its Unity and the Liberation of the African peoples who are still under the yoke of colonial domination.

We are confident that the African heads of State will head off these difficulties in concerted action and healthy mind, at the same resolving the differences and misunderstanding among themselves in peaceful talks and in African spirit, in accordance with the charter of the OAU and other international Charters. Supports for the principle of the right to self-determination and freedom for all should be perpetuated and the remnants of colonialism in the continent in whatever colour should be banished from the continent of Africa.

The SDR being a founding member of the OAU has played an active role in observing and putting into effect the principles of

unity, freedom and the progress of the African nation, thus discharging her responsibilities in conformity with the OAU charter. The SDR, taking into consideration the fact that the OAU is being undermined, does not deem Qaddafi suitable for the chairmanship of the Organization for the year 1982-83 as he is not capable of observing the objectives of the OAU and the policies of the member states. Beside, the Libyan leader is not a personality of international status. Qaddafi works permanently to the detriment of free African governments. He is notorious for an erratic policy and a continually interferes in the internal affairs of the African countries, the Arab World and the world at large. Therefore he cannot act as leader of the OAU at this crucial moment.

The SDR, basing herself on this realism, and in view of the fact that she has been subjected to the irrational policy of Qaddafi who has participated in Abyssinia's naked aggression against the SDR as he invaded Chad and others militarily and economically. The SDR in consideration of the OAU charters abiding by the principles of unity and solidarity of African state and others has decided not to attend the African Council of Ministers and Heads of State Summit conference due to be held in Tripoli in August 1982.

Somalia maintains friendly relations with the Western Countries based on cooperation in the interests for both sides. We are ready to strengthen these ties and to improve them so as to promote our common interests. However in particular Somali and American relations are cordial and developing with confidence and trust.

The SDR welcomes any country, nation or organizations prepared to enter into bilateral cooperative relations with her.

In the name of the Somali people and the Congress as well as in my own name, I would like to express my gratitude to the friendly governments that have assisted us in our effort of nation — building. Among these governments are the U.S.A., the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, Egypt, Iraq, Kuwait, United Arab Emirates, the Federal Republic of Germany, Italy, the Peoples Republic of China, and others whose cooperation is appreciated.

THE ECONOMY

The economy is fundamental to a nation's survival. It is the measure of any country's development, which in turn is based on the level of production and technology. Therefore, if we look at the present economic conditions of the world, we are all aware of the existing fluctuations in the economic system which are caused by

many factors of which the main are: decrease in production in the sectors of agriculture, fisheries, and mineral resources.

Hence, if we consider the declining prices of the commodities produced in Third World Countries accompanied by the soaring costs of the industrial products from the advanced countries, which caused trade imbalance between the developed and developing countries, resulted in turn caused the currency fluctuations, inflation and the economic instability which now characterises the world economy. These problems have greatly impaired the economies of the third world countries to whom Somalia belongs.

Despite these economic difficulties, the Somali government has based its economic programme of action on a national plan implemented in consecutive years. The establishment of the Party coincided with the 1974-1978 plan which was seriously studied, and which encompassed the development projects deemed by the revolutionary government to be essential for the improvement of the peoples living conditions. Priority was given to the development of Agriculture, industry and telecommunication. A budget of So Sh. 7,019.7 billion (Seven billions and nineteen million shillings) was earmarked for the execution of this plan. The five year plan achieved 61% of its target and the country's general economy was raised by 3.3%.

On the completion of the five year plan, another three year plan 1979-81 was set up and approved by the extra-ordinary congress of SRSP held in January 20-25, 1979. The prime targets of this plan included the completion of those projects left unfinished by the previous plan and the implementation of a new development programme. The amount of So. Sh. 7,103.5 billion (Seven billions, one hundred and three millions and five hundred thousand shillings) was allocated for this plan.

Priority, in this plan, was given to the development of livestock agriculture, fisheries, minerals and water, industry and electricity. Likewise, in this development plan an important attention was given to social sectors such as education health, communication, information, labour and tourism.

Although the execution of this plan encountered many difficulties caused by national calamities, yet the government made considerable efforts to avoid any set backs and have the plan implemented as originally envisaged.

If we review the economic and financial policies of the country

within the last six years since the founding congress of the party, the budget of the government has been increasing annually. When we compare the revenue and expenditure of the government it has become evident that expenditure exceeded the revenue.

The main reason for the increase in expenditure was due to the imbalance of import and export. This economic condition has created inflation and increased money supply in the market. Simultaneously while local production decreased the need for importing essential commodities increased, and this resulted in the shortage of hard currency. In order to solve these economic problems, it was felt necessary to adopt the following measures:-

- 1) The reorganization of trade, discontinuation of «Franco Valuta» and the institution of the banking system.
- 2) Improvement of the Somali Shilling in regard to foreign currencies.
- 3) Encouragement of local production and basing the sale of locally produced commodities on the cost price of the production.
- 4) Reduction of government expenditure and its autonomous agencies, so as to achieve a balanced budget.
- 5) Encouragement of exports and reducing imports of luxury goods.
- 6) Encouragements of remittances of Somali workers abroad.
- 7) Fight against inflation and the black market.
- 8) Revision of revenue collecting system.
- 9) Effective collection of debts.
- 10) Encouragement of savings.
- 11) Revision of loan conditions.
- 12) Improvement of workers' salaries and their exemption from development levy tax.
- 13) Transferring the Somali Shilling from the dollar zone and changing to the SDR monetary system.

All these economic and financial measures were aimed for the general reorganization of the national economy and based on development objectives of short-term, medium-term and long-term policies.

The introduction of the above measures were found prerequisite for active economic policy, unified efficient administration, reduction of expenditure and increase of production.

Since the birth of the revolution 67 (sixty seven) governmental agencies have been established for the purposes of economic and social services. However, it is apparent that some of them have failed to meet their responsibilities envisaged in their original role. Therefore it was found necessary for their reorganization and efficiency.

The country's economy is based on livestock, agriculture, fisheries, industry and minerals which have not been exploited. It is obvious that the progress of a country's socio-economic life and improvement of the living standard of the Somali people depends on our efforts to increase the production. Therefore, I call upon the Somali people particularly the responsible body to work with sincerity and confidence in redoubling their efforts for the development of their country, in order to overcome hunger, disease and ignorance and by relying first on our-selves and our own resources.

Further details concerning the achievements of the economic sectors which are mentioned above or the objectives of the new plan of the national economy will be found in the document distributed to you.

SOCIAL AFFAIRS

Jaallayaal,

The qualitative transformation that the Revolution effected in the economy of the country has caused changes in the fields of social affairs namely education, health, justice, and the national culture. The revolution has made efforts so as to realize social changes that will benefit many generations to come.

We have worked in the common interest of all in aspiring for the building of newly developed society based on work and social justice.

We have laid down laws and regulations regarding the system for recruitment and labour legislation, and implemented democra-

tic system of education which was extended to the masses and led them for work and production in which the Somali workers took a major role since the inception of the revolution. In order to raise the level of production, emphasis was put in education and technical skills and as approved by the founding congress, reorganization and evaluation of the technical workers has been made.

In the field of education, tremendous progress has been made from primary to University education and other specialisations. Simultaneously, the writing of the Somali script and its implementation has brought about cultural revolution which affected the whole society.

Scientific research and another studies are under process to pave the way for educational and cultural advancement.

From the period between the two Congress 1976-82, we can draw a brief example on the growth and development of education which show the increase in the number of Primary education by 67%, students by 22% and teachers by 112%. At the same time, we observed increase in secondary Schools, professional institutes, faculties of the national University and informal education. The Party has always focused its attention on educating the people successfully in conformity with environmental and production needs of the country.

The progress achieved in cultural and literature which was engendered by the writing of the Somali script has affected tremendously the civilisation of the society, new ideas and national patriotism. The Somali men of literature and the rich mind of the national gifted artists have been the enlightenment of modern national culture which embodies good ideas of the Somali society serving its aspirations.

Jaallayaal,

The art of every nation interprets its historical experience the present stage and its future aspirations. Therefore, we have to develop our progressive art and culture which is in contrast to the backward and reactionary culture of a society.

Deriving from these objectives, much work has been implemented in the fields of art, literature and culture, cultural shows and symposiums have been held at the local and international levels, all of which exposed the richness and scope of our national culture. Among the measures undertaken for the promotion of culture is the

establishment of our institute for the study of arts (paintings), to take part in the scientific development and the graduation of artists.

Since writing the Somali script, our culture and literature has attracted the attention of many scholars, who are interested in the research of the historical civilisation of our nation and its rich traditions. This has led to the holding of international symposium in our country. Our scholars have taken a lion's share in these deliberations by their presentations of our old civilisation.

We can also be proud of the development level of the Somali language taking into consideration the short period of its implementation. This achievement has been commended by international cultural institutions and scholars in their evaluation that the script and the development of the Somali language represent good emulation and experiences for other nations who have not so far written the script of their language.

The interval between the two Congress have characterized our struggle for development and full independence and our confrontation against the enemy from within and without. This has revealed struggle between two groups nationalist and traitors which on the other hand high lights the discrepancy between viable cultural arts which promote national development and unity of the nation and other which serve the interests of colonialism and strive for the division of the Somali nation along out-moded tribal lines.

Although our society lacks modern cultural sport yet since the last twelve years a great deal has been accomplished in the sport fields. We have to remind our selves of the value inherent in sport activities for the society at large and the youth in particular.

The period between the two party congress witnessed the implementation of the sport policy which brought about many achievements. Consequently, several new teams were formed, Somalia hosted participated in many regional friendly competition in which our youth gained experiences and brought us a good name and respect.

Since the last six years a new impetus has been made in the field of public health and veterinary services. In the public health sectors graduate Doctors from the faculty of medicine from the Somali National University are in all Districts of the Regions coupled with qualified nurses and midwives who completed their education in Nursing Institute. All the above have been the tangible fruits of the 21st October Revolution. Another emphasis has been made in the

development of hospitals and out patient clinics which have been taken to the remotest part of the country, the ultimate aim being the production of medicine in the country.

While importance was given to the education of the masses on public hygiene and tidness, ultimately, yellow fever has been eradicated from Somalia, thanks to the work performed by the health employee, people and responsible body who succeeded in this programme.

Jaallayaal,

The revolution has made great strides in the administration of Justice. In the wider sense, societal justice is not confined to the ordinary concept of the administration of Justice, it embraces the society as a whole, because justice lies even in the employment of the people, the application of justice in the court, maintenance of public order and security the rights for education, the participation of the people in the political affairs, the administration and the leadership of the nation. Likewise, justice and courts have been taken to the people in their various Districts and Regions. While for the participation of the people in the administration of justice people's committees have been created for that purpose.

As mentioned above, democratisation of education is the basic foundation for fair social justice. In the sense that every one is given an employment in accordance with his abilities, training and educational qualification. The society in its various segments participate in the political administration of the country, because of the existence of people's party and its mass organization and serve as a vehicle for the expression of the people's view points. The people participate directly and indirectly in the decision affecting the fate of their nation.

The Somali people are 100% Muslem and in the last twelve years the revolution has given due emphasise to the betterment of religious affairs. Several Mosques were built as well as caring for the religious shiekhs. The government posted sheikhs in all Districts and Regions for preaching to the people the true islamic religion. Also, importance has been given to the religious schools. While the national Radio daily transmit to the public Quranic verses and "Hadith" (Sayings) of the prophet.

Jaallayaal,

Further information pertraining to the achievements of the

revolution in the care and development of the society will be amply illustrated in the publications that will be distributed to you.

DEFENCE AND SECURITY

Jaallayaal,

A state can not exist without having strong defence. Likewise development and prosperity can not be accomplished without a defence system to safeguard it internally and externally. In view of the above fact and the prevalence of war and naked aggression, defence and security of our nation has been given top priority.

Technical know-how of the Armed Forces has been promoted, their political consciousness has been raised while strengthening their unity. Like-wise, joint discharge of their responsibilities has been consolidated such as the realization of security. Combating anti revolutionay elements, preservation of the revolutionary gains, strengthening the unity of the armed forces and the people which demonstrated itself in the various mobilisation for the defence of our country against external enemies. It has been the natural tradition of the Somali people to stand voluntarily with their heroic armed forces and are prepared today to encounter any external aggression against their sovereignty and national independence.

The armed forces of Somalia have increased in terms of numbers and quality. This fact has given them power and the confidence to execute their duties with patriotism. The best evidence of this, fact, is their overwhelming defeat of the enemy forces and their allies who made several wantion attacks on the territory of the Somali Demoratic Republic. Besides the armed forces of Somalia have demonstrated their bold determination to defend their country against an enemy with powerful weapons.

Jaallayaal,

In the name of the Somali people, the congress, and on my own behalf I express in front of you immense praise and congratulation to the armed forces of Somalia, and I appeal to them to continue the execution of their sacred duties of defending and sacrificing their lives for their nation

RECOMMENDATIONS

Internal Policy

1. DEFENCE AND SECURITY

1. To consolidate the unity of the Somali people, launch a bitter struggle on all elements that may cause difficulties and division, like tribalism and regionalism.
2. To strengthen the defence and security of the nation and promotion of the Armed Forces be given priority.
3. In order to secure the independence and honour of the mother land and defend it from the aggréssion and attacks of the enemy, we have to divert our wealth and manpower for defence and security.
4. In order to ensure the continued support of the people it is necessary to strengthen unity the Armed Forces and the people.

II. PARTY

1. To adjust the programme of the Party with the political situation of the country and to correspond with new experience.
2. The party must secure authority, leadership, control, correction of the nation's work politically, economically, and socially.
3. That the responsibility of leadership should be assumed by those who believe in the party, loyal to basic principles laid down in the programme and the constitution of the party and also qualify as nationalists and have authority and competence to implement the objectives, resolutions and instruction of the party cooperating with the party cadres, social organizations, armed forces and in general the Somali people.
4. Those whose thinking, soul and actions are against the principles of programme and constitution of the party should be removed from the responsibility for leadership and of the party membership.

III. GOVERNMENT

1. The Government should excute properly the political economic, social and defence affairs which the party delegated it, to be in charge for without deviation and with complete loyalty to the party policy line, resolution and corrections.
2. Since the Government is based on discipline and order it is necessary to observe the laws and national constitution, hierarchy of responsiblity, loyalty to orders and decision-making

so that each person becomes responsible for the organs he is in charge and is accountable for his responsibilities.

3. Given responsibility for Government and other organs should be one which is compatible with national policy of:

Competence, seriousness, nationalism. In views of these conditions, any person who does not meet the above-mentioned qualities or given the impression that his activities are against the party and the Government, should be removed from his position.

IV ECONOMY

1. We should try our best to promote productive capacity of the country and remove any obstacle posed towards achieving this objective and given priority as the plan was in the fields of agriculture, animal husbandry, industry, fisheries and mineral resources and at the same time continue encourage farmers, workers and people to work hard in order to reach self-sufficiency.
2. To increase the production of commodity for export quantitatively and qualitatively which will generate possibility of securing hard currency to balance our import/export and strengthen the value of the Somali Shilling and facilitate the purchase of modern equipment and material necessary for development and production.
3. To reorganise the public sector and also encourage the private sector whether Somali or foreign in order to contribute to the development of our national economy.
4. To fight against waste of national wealth and unnecessary expenditure and the Government should study the best means to attain this policy.
5. The Government should endeavour for the successful implementation of the economic projects and should fight against delays and sabotage and priority should be given to managers and cadres of the projects.
6. Reorganization of Government agencies on the basis of economic production and services. Production oriented agencies should bring profits and those for services should fulfill their role and those with chronic deficit should be eliminated.

V SOCIAL AFFAIRS

1. Strengthening of the educational system in order to obtain qualified cadres particularly from the Universities and higher Institutions of learning and that Education should be tied to production and the continuation of the rural development campaign.
2. Increasing technical schools of different vocations for the creation of technical cadres with knowledge and dispense with the present relations existing between centre of production and normal education.
3. To give priority to the development of public health training of doctors, nurses, and in general, the personnel of health institutions.
4. In order to reduce the import of medicine from abroad we have to accelerate the establishment of pharmaceutical factory.
5. Since our doctors are capable academically to a certain extent, if modern equipment are made available, it is necessary to increase these equipment according to our financial conditions and encourage them morally and materially.
6. In order to discourage people sitting idly in bars and cafe's, we should encourage the introduction of sport clubs and promotion of cultural institutions.
7. Strengthening of the Islamic religion and its protection from any harms.
8. The aim of revolutionary Justice ought to be one which combines politics, economics and social affairs and therefore, the competent organs should ensure these objectives.
9. We have to discourage anti-social behaviours such as chewing of qat, drinking liquor and all other evil practices and promote sports and positive hobbies.

B. FOREIGN POLICY

To strengthen relations with friendly Governments, countries and peoples and those with whom we maintain cooperation.

2. To welcome any government that wishes to have friendly relations of cooperations with us on reciprocal basis.
3. To pursue our peace initiatives and welcome any positive

suggestions for finding fair solution to the problem in the Horn of Africa or assist us in our endeavours in finding a peaceful solution.

4. To continue our support extended to colonized peoples who are struggling for their self-determination and national independence.

Jaallayaal,

I wish to suggest to the congress to study thoroughly the points of the agenda and to arrive at a decision essential for our country and people, taking into account, our previous experiences whether good or bad and the present situation we are facing. I am confident that the 2nd congress of the Party will come up with positive resolutions necessary for our national development and necessary to the realization of our people's aspirations.

I wish the Congress every success and victory.

Long live Somalia.

Success to the Congress.

**THE OPENING SPEECH OF THE PRESIDENT,
JAALLE MOHAMED SIYAAD BARRE OF THE
SOMALI DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC AT THE 4th
REGULAR SESSION OF THE S.R.S.P. CENTRAL
COMMITTEES ON 21/1/1982**

Good evening Comrades. we are here for the 4th regular session of the Central Committee which is convened once every three months to discuss and act upon any new developments during the three months preceding the session, study any shortcomings during that period and try and rectify such shortcomings and discuss what needs be done during the three months before the next session. So, it has been my duty as Party General Secretary, to call this meeting according to the Party constitution.

I think, as you may all understand, the present circumstances do not allow us to busy ourselves in continual meetings. I expect whether the regular central committee meetings be held three monthly as before or there is a need to extend the duration of time between regular meetings.

You will first hear my report which will be read to the meeting and then we shall discuss the points in the agenda for this meetings. After that, I think, the meeting should split into five committees: political, economic, social, defence and security and party affairs committees that will study the various agenda points and make recommendations in their fields after which the meetings will adapt the necessary resolutions and give instructions on their implementation.

Comrades, we have assembled here today for the 4th regular session of the Central Committee of the Somali Revolutionary Socialist Party which has coincided with a time of historic importance both internationally and nationally, a time when the world is advancing fast, making vast technological and scientific strides, when man is controlling nature to the advantage of his progress and improvement of his condition and standard of life in general. On the other hand it is a time famous for ever increasing vast production of deadly weapons that do not only threaten world security but also the very existence of mankind. We see that the quantity and destruction capacity of arms production in the world has reached a level that has caused great anxiety among the world general public who are concerned about the threat posed by these weapons to their lives and future, world peoples are today exerting efforts to force all the apparent dangers of these deadly weapons.

We are in an epoch that is the crossroads of progress and backwardness. Although the world has reached the above described, many world nations are lagging far behind in socio-economic development and are thirsty for technology, production equipment and the advance know-how.

We are among those lagging behind in socio-economic progress who are struggling hard to build a base for social and economic progress and to catch up with or at least narrow up the gap between them and the developed world. Although there is disagreement between the developing and developed nations on the basis of cooperation in the fields of technology, economy and trade, being made to find a system that would correct imbalance in the trade, technological and other relations between the third world countries and the advanced nations. In summary it is an age of political upheavals, floating economies and trade imbalance that have unfavourable effects on developing nations like us.

Comrades, while we are living in this world situation in general and in level with the peoples of third world in particular, much affected by economic and social policies influenced by our relations with the rest of the world, we are passing through a stage particular to us. When we achieved independence 21 years ago over 70 percent of our population was leading nomadic or farm life. The country was not on its feet economically as a result of colonialist influenced development and production policies and system and, like other African countries that had been subjected to colonial suppression for a long time, we were far behind the modern world civilization and in a socio-economic backwardness.

THE PROBLEMS THAT LED TO THE REVOLUTION

The Somali people had struggled for their independence and fought against colonialism for long; they were fighting for political and economic independence as well as national development. The people waged the long struggle and fought hard for independence expecting that progress and unity would come with the independence, hoping to join the rest of the world in the progress race. To the contrary, public security and the very existence of nationhood fell into jeopardy after independence. In place of the progress and unity expected by the masses there were widespread tribalism, corruption, favoritism, nepotism, theft and the diversion of the limited public fund to selfish personal interest. These social evils face the normal practice. The same people suffered from lack of education, employment and health care. The few projects built with the help of friendly governments were neglected to an extent that were

no more able to operate, let alone founding new economic sources and projects. Hundreds of thousands of Somali children were aimlessly roaming in the streets without education, deeply worrying about their gloomy future. The educated were wasting away their time idly sitting in bars for lack of employment, worse still, they were divided into groups of opposing each other, each group mainly defending the culture of the country where it received its education. The Somali people were left in backwardness and unprotected victims of natural disasters such as droughts, floods and the like. There was no political, economic or social development planning; there were no welfare activities, indeed no one in responsibility ever thought of it.

In fact the only time that the masses existed was when general elections were approaching and the leaders needed the ballots of the voters. That was the time the leaders went to the people, gave them false promise, divided them into antagonised tribes, armed them and set against each other. For these reasons, the public lost all hope of reaching their aspirations or getting leaders sympathetic of their problems and so had to withdraw their confidence on the leaders. Worse than all this was the general unrest and lack of public security — cold blooded kings in public places and streets of major towns without the government or any responsible state body giving any care. The result was that the Somali people, who loved each other and won their independence by fighting the colonialist as a single, solidly united body, were divided into groups hostile to each other, antagonistic, blood shedding families. Islam, the faith of Somali people, was not only ignored but abused.

There was no worth-mentioning change in the country for the first nine years following the independence. The only new thing was the introduction of a system of neocolonialism that, instead of leading the nation to progress, created dissension among the people and revived bad practices of the long past. The causes of the serious problems that plagued the country could be summed up as follows:

1. At the time of struggle for independence the entire Somali people had the same aim and interest i.e. Independence; there were no conflicting interests.
2. The political parties that were leading the independence struggle did not have socio-economic program by which to lead the country after independence.
3. The leadership of the ruling party, the Somali Youth League,

(S.Y.L.) included men unsuitable for leadership who diverted the party policy of action from the proper path.

In the circumstance the general public opposed the corrupt regimes both in words and deeds and this led the taking over of the administration from the so called "Government" by the National Armed Forces. In doing this the Somali armed forces only fulfilled their first and foremost duty to the nation because this saved the country and people from falling down the precipice. I have said time and again on previous occasions that the taking over of the administrative leadership was not motivated by ambition and thirst for power and this has been clearly evident in the execution of the clear-cut policy program laid down by the Revolution. This role played by the armed forces was the direct result of the political situation quo in the absence of organised and united social organizations, an organized national labour force to lead a public movement or political pioneering party to lead a social struggle for a change; so the armed forces were the only organized united body clear of the social evils in the country and capable of bringing about a socio-political change.

THE VICTORIES OF THE OCTOBER 21, 1969 REVOLUTION

Comrades, the October 21 Revolution has, as laid down on Charter one of the Revolution, tried to instill in the Somali people the spirit and will to work hard, eliminate practices that cause backwardness and open the road to quick progress.

The revolution, therefore, stipulated in its 2nd Charter that the guiding administrative and socio-economic policies of the country would be based on socialism and that the revolution will guide all activities of the society in accordance with this socialist policy. The October 21 revolution, which has faith in the inexhaustible force of the Somali masses whose full confidence it enjoys, has succeeded realizing in part the aspirations of the Somali people. For the first time in our history, we introduced a Somali script, extended the provision of education to villages level throughout the country, introduced an economic system based on the interests and the improvement of the conditions of life of the people, provided jobs to hundreds of thousands of unemployed people, saved hundreds of thousands stricken by droughts and diseases, fought with nature to improve productive, built factories and universities that produce technicians and trained man-power, trained our people for the defence of our national independence and sovereignty as is evidenced by the strength of our army-both numerically as both our people and enemies know.

We also revived the due respect to our religion which was neglected despised and got rid of the schools that were opened in the country to combat Islam and create confusion in our country. We built many mosques as a respect for service to God and prayers for Muslims, we built institutes for the study of Islam, introduced direct daily broadcasts of citations and interpretation of the Holy Quran, assignment of paid religious Sheikhs to all districts in the country to teach the people Islam and give advice on religious matters. In short, we instilled in our people a sense of unity, the will to work hard and a sense of cooperation, independence and self-confidence.

Comrades, we assessed at the meeting of the founding congress of the Somali Revolutionary Socialist Party, five years ago the achievements and victories of October 21 Revolution which brought about good socio-economic changes in the country. The birth of the Party opened a new era to the Somali working masses, brought the new opportunities for the party interprets and acts in line with the aspirations and desires of the working people, leading the nation along the road to progress and prosperity.

We emphasised in the party action program economic, political and social policies will be guided by and based on the socialist system and on this system we based the party constitution and program of action. We have made party membership conditional to faith in and adherence to the party constitution and statutes and a spirit of patriotic nationalism galvanized by the honesty, perseverance and self-sacrifice.

At the Congress we resolved to defend the victories and achievements of the October 21 Revolution and that the party is the pioneering force in the struggle of the Somali masses. There is no doubt that our Party, despite the many difficulties that confronted it, has made lasting achievements in its struggle for the improvement of living standards of the masses and for national progress.

And the Party Central Committee, resolved at its meetings to strengthen the party organization as well as organizing and forming social organizations for the workers, the youth, women as well as co-operatives. Although not many regular sessions were held, the difficult situation with which we were confronted forced the Central committee to meet every Thursday to deal with new developments that needed urgent action and adopted the resolutions necessary to deal with each problem. Similarly, the Party Congress of the Somali Revolutionary Socialist Party has in its extra-ordinary session approved the National Constitution and had already been accepted

by the People's Assemblies from national level to district level and by national Referendum.

This Party has played a role in the guidance and organization of the Somali West and Abbo liberation movements to which the Somali people are giving wholehearted physical and material assistance, even to the extent of sacrificing their lives, while we at the same time extend brotherly and humanitarian assistance to those who fled from the oppression and suppression of Abyssinian colonialism despite the fact that our economic resources are meager.

Comrades, we have accomplished a lot since the birth of the Revolution by which we have proved the ability of the people to do something for themselves and disapproved the wrong ideals held by the colonialists and their allies. The successful implementation of the development policy and programs has rendered lie the nation that the Somali people were not hard workers and that Somalia was an unproductive country. Tangible progress has been made in the development of industry, agriculture, livestock and social service.

We all know that no meaningful development plan had ever been drawn for the country before the Revolution, the few foreign aided projects came to a stand-still through neglect. But immediately after its birth the Revolution set about drawing development plans, one after the other, like the 1971-73, 1974-78 and 1979-81. Although these developments plans coincide with a number of natural calamities, they were carried out at a cost of nearly fifteen and a quarter billion Somali shillings while an amount around that figure is set aside for the 1982-86 five-year development plan.

Our country is not poor but we are poor people whose country is rich: the land suitable for farming and livestock grazing in our country is estimated at: 8.150.000 hectares arable; 28;850 hectares suitable for grazing. Comparing the natural wealth of our country and our population we can be classed with the wealth countries of the world who possess inexhaustible natural resources.

It was because of this that the Revolution turned the people to work on the land and increase production. As a first step the revolution freed the peasants from exploitation by the blood suckers, encouraged them to form cooperatives, gave them assistance in the form of training, farming implements and equipments, irrigation, crop disease combating, bank support facilities and better prices for the crops

On the other hand priority has been given to making use of the

river waters and we can safely say today that the waters of River Shabelle have been harnessed by the construction in the two Shabelle regions of two large water dams with many canals branching out and water pumps.

There are also important projects underway to exploit the waters of this river.

In the same way important agricultural projects are in progress in the Juba River such as the Marerey sugar plantation and factory complex and the huge Fanole project which will be completed in the first months of 1982 and will play an important part in the development of the national economy. Another project that will play a vital role in the national economy is the Bardere water dam.

The Revolution has put a special weight on the training of agricultural workers and agricultural schools and colleges have been opened to produce trained manpower for the agricultural sector while experimental farms and agricultural research laboratories have been established in an effort to increase the production and improve the quality crops by raising the quantity and quality of production per hectare through improving soil fertility and the introduction of the high grade seeds. While vast successes have been scored in the research experimentations of maize, cotton and various vegetables, the campaign to combat farm pests, crop diseases and destructive birds has been intensified. It is worth mentioning that the out come of the efforts of the revolution, coupled with the hard work of the farmers, is this year's estimated crop production of 3.840.300 quintals.

The Revolution always gives attention to protection and preservation of animals and trees, particularly after it saw how the country was hit by long and severe droughts at a number of times. To prevent future destruction of human and animal lives through lack of vegetation, grazing, water and shade and loss of soil fertility through erosion, the Revolution has established state agencies and departments and launched projects at very high costs to combat the wasteful destruction of animals, plants and grazing both by man and nature.

At the moment a total area of 36.990 square kilometers in 59 nine districts of the country has been marked as reserve for later use in the dry season. In addition there are 130 rotational grazing reserves covering a total area of 7,800 sq. km. 20 reserves covering a total area of 12.000 sq.km to be used at times of droughts only. These

Drought Reserve Areas are spread all over the regions of the country.

Great importance has been attached to animal husbandry and veterinary services as livestock is the backbone of the national economy. In the combat against animal disease, eleven million animals have been immunized against various diseases while more than hundred million others have been made in the fattening and cross breeding projects. The same also applies to the training of veterinary and animal husbandry staff and workers for which schools, institutes and colleges have been opened to train.

The aspired ultimate goal is to change the nomadic life to a sedentary, better life — both for the people and their livestock — and this requires of us extra efforts and fight.

Human being is the most importance and valuable being on this earth and the Republic gives first priority to health and medical care of the people. Although our economic means do not enable us soon to do it, yet we introduced free medical treatment right from the start. Many dangerous diseases have been combated and many infectious diseases irradiated from the country through immunization campaigns. Disease research laboratories and departments to combat infectious and other diseases like malaria, tuberculosis, joundis and so on.

The campaign of immunization against diseases has been made permanent and continues even today and diseases like small-pox have been successfully irradiated from the country. Hospitals and clinics have been built in the towns and villages and there are special mobile medical teams that, in addition to giving medical treatment, are also responsible for educating the public on disease prevention methods. Alongside with this goes a campaign to educate the general public on sanitation and general health. Training for health and medical staff and worker is given at research laboratories, and medical schools, institutes and colleges opened by the Revolution; this has made possible the posting of a qualified medical doctor in every district of the country.

Although our country has the longest coastal line in Africa, that is with the exception of South Africa, the country had benefited from its sea-water resource. The Revolution created a navy to protect the national territorial waters and followed this up by the establishing or forming ministries, agencies and companies for the development and exploitation of the resources in our vast territorial waters. New sea ports have been built, the old ones renewed and

plans have been laid down for proper exploitation of the resources of our territorial waters.

For the first time in history a Somali commercial fleet of 25 vessels consisting of livestock carriers, others for agricultural produce transport, ordinary cargo ships and travellers. There are today 20 fishing cooperatives, four fishing communes. The revolution has trained fishers and marine technicians as part of the government efforts to enhance the exploitation of our sea-water resources. An extensive research on the resources of our territorial waters is underway and a marine studies institute has been opened to train specialists for this field.

To sum up the progress achievements in the Revolutionary era the following are few examples of the rates of growth in various fields:

industry-500 per cent; number of school children upto secondary schools — 479 per cent; number of schools to secondary level — 472 per cent, workers excluding the armed forces — 588 per cent. In addition to this, the National University which was founded by the revolution comprises of 13 faculties and three higher institutes with a total enrolment of 3777 students. The number of teachers in the country has increased by 963 per cent.

On top of this are the adult education in the Urban areas and the rural development campaign which has now been made a permanent one in order to combat illiteracy and other rural problems. The adult Urban education and the rural development campaign following the successful introduction of written Somali. Since the introduction of the Somali script 1.700.000 formerly illiterate people have been taught to read and write their mother language. Asphalt roads increased by a total length of more than 600 per cent and a good progress has been made in the field of communications, both internal and external.

Again we created, for the first time, a Somali Airlines company which runs national airline flights that link us with many countries in the rest of the world. The old airports were improved and new modern one have been built. Telex, telephone and radio broadcast system have also been tangibly improved.

Comrades, as you all know, our foreign policy has been, and still remains to be one of non-alignment and positive neutrality; it is not aligned to any of the two power blocks but is an active, positive, progressive one, that works for world peace and supports those

who oppose Colonialists and their practices; a policy that believes on cooperation among world nations on the basis of this policy. We have extended moral and material assistance to peoples struggling for their freedom and independence. It is recalled how Somalia played an honourable role in the liberation of Africa, particularly during the year it held the chairmanship of the Organization of African Unity during which time many African countries achieved their independence. Those countries are today grateful to Somalia. This positive non-alignment has won Somalia the respect of the world on the other hand, it caused a confrontation between Somali and those who oppose the progress and interests of the Third world, particularly of Africa.

This policy of non-alignment and the adoption of socialism brought us into close cooperation and relations to the world but provoked antagonism and hostile pressure from the Western Governments who thought that we had joined the Soviet compound that we endangered their interests while other countries believed that the Somali Socialist was inimical to Islam.

At the same time we were in disagreement with the Soviet Union for the Soviets thought that our type of Socialism was different from their type of socialism. Our differences with the Soviets were not limited to the type of our socialism but also extended to other areas for we had different views on a number of international issues and the future of this region of ours and its security.

Being discounted with the way we were implementing our socialism and our view regarding some world issues in which we differed with them, the Soviets took a series of steps in the direction of cooling down the friendship and cooperation between our two countries until they finally decided to support Ethiopia to which they poured arms and troops in preparation for an attack on Somalia.

When we glance at past history that we find that others, time and again, are mistakenly led to form wrong opinions about Somalia and the Somali people; Somalia can be good friend indeed but never loyal servant to others. The confrontation between Somalia and the Soviet Government came to the open when the Soviet government openly embarked on acts inimical to the legitimate case and sovereignty of the Somali people, sided with the Abyssinian black colonialism, adopted a policy dangerous to this region of Africa for the sake of achieving its strategic aims.

The Soviet Union waged against the Somali Democratic Repu-

blic a many-sided war: Political, military, diplomatic and Psychological. This intensive aggressive campaign has reached a degree that endangered the very existence of Somalia as a Sovereign nation. I believe it the first and sacred duty of the revolution and its leaders to ensure the safety and existence of the nation and its sovereignty. It is therefore our view that we straighten our relations with the Western countries, the United States of America in particular, and all other states that are not opposed to the interests of the Somali nation.

We believe that the methods followed by any given country in implementing its socialist policy is dependent on the conditions and natural characteristics particular to that country as well as the economic situation, type of economic sources and the social structure of the country concerned such as class contradictions, levels, traditions, and religious and Psychological aspects of the social life in the country. Therefore no country is identical with another one in all these aspects. For this reason our relations with other states must be one based on natural respect without interference with each other's political and socio-economic policies. We have always believed — and we still believe — that countries with different political and economic system can have good relations between them. There are countries that share similar socio-economic systems but do not have good relations or cooperation between them because each has a particular national interest which conflicts with that of the other.

Comrades, the tension and conflicts which existed between Somalia and the black-colonialist Abyssinia for quite a long time has recently been internationalised and pushed to a dangerous stage by the entry into the conflict of foreign forces who worsened the unrest in the region, made the Addis Ababa regime more arrogantly hard-headed and aggressive and encouraged it to further intensify its suppression of the colonised peoples of Somali West, Abbo and Eritrea. The root cause of the conflict in the Horn of Africa is Abyssinia's ruthless, brutal suppression of the peoples it colonises and its incessant threats and attacks on the Somali Democratic Republic.

We have made it clear to the world that we want peace based on a lasting peaceful solution; we called on the Addis Ababa regime to meet us on the conference table for talks on ways of finding a peaceful settlement to the problems that exist between us, to allow the right of self-determination to the peoples it colonises.

Unfortunately, he mistook our peace overtures for a weakness

and grew more arrogant, more aggressive and more determined to promote Russia's strategic, expansionist plans by increasing the tension, hostility and conflict in the Horn of Africa, as is clearly evident in his pact with Gaddafi of Libya, like him which endangers peace and stability in the region.

For a long we had been trying to reach good understanding with our neighbour, Kenya, but Abyssinian intrigues and hostile tactics had been blocking the way to good understanding and neighbourliness between Somalia and Kenya. However, there have been talks going between the two countries since recently and there have been some success towards eventual, lasting friendly relations and cooperation between the two neighbouring countries - Somalia and Kenya. The two sides have already reached agreement to end hostile propaganda against each other, to cooperate in keeping peace and security in the friendly talks on the remaining points.

We are not isolated from the rest of the world and we are affected by world political, economic, financial and cultural problems and, like all other under-developed countries, these world problems affect us more than they affect the advanced countries because we are economically weaker.

The world problems we felt most are currency exchange fluctuation, waring of commodity price, inflation and the unstable prices of raw materials exported by the development countries.

The high price of petrol also has a serious effect on the non-petrol producing third world countries of which Somalia is one. The high price of fuel has had negative effect on the production of our factories and farms and has also slowed down the progress of our development projects. It has also resulted in low price for our exports and inflation of commodity prices.

The confrontataion in the Horn of Africa between the Abyssinian colonialists and the liberation movements of the peoples colonised by them, the interference of foreign forces in the affairs of this region, the continuous attacks against our country and threats against our sovereignty and the ever increasing large refugee population in the country have seriously strained our economic and manpower resources and solved down development efforts.

Another set back to our development struggle and plans was natural adversity severe drought and heavy floods that hit our country alternatively and damaging production badly, while on the

other hand, forcing the government to incur much extra expenses unplanned for in the budget because in the event of any calamity it is the duty of the government to fight to save the livestock and people.

DIFFICULTIES OF OUR OWN CREATION

Though the October 21 Revolution had trusted and put to work the entire Somali people, internal reactionary forces have been working against it, openly or secretly, just because of its principles; these internal reactionaries have been acting in collusion with imperialism and enemies of the Somali people and various attempts have been made on a number of times to undermine or topple the Revolution and there had been conspiracy to divert it from its right path, principles and goals.

Soon after its birth the Revolution created a state controlled national economy that was aimed to form a strong base from which to launch social development programs to raised the living standards of the people. But the internal reactionaries tried hard to cripple that system of economy - the state sector in particular and change to a system that serves the profiteers and get-rich-quick who starve the workers and the ordinary man in the street. These groups who were linked to foreign markets and imperialism created a trade that dangerously crippled national production, caused price inflation, highly increased the cost of living and diverted the workers and farmers from production efforts by attracting them to engage in illegal trade.

These reactionaries and profiteers turned the masses from fields of production to illegal trading in non-essential, not durable goods which had nothing to do with the daily, primary needs of the people but only helped those engaged in it to rob the pockets of the ordinary people. This exhorbitant illegal prices of secret markets and the subotaging of the legal market by speculators who hoarded food and other essential consumer goods led to thefts and misappropriations of public funds and properties, corruption, and work irregularities by public servants.

The Socialist policy of the revolution was based on a mixed economy allowing state cooperative and private ownwrships as joint ventures shared by one or more of these sectors non-government sectors and the state. but every effort was made by the reactioneries and the selfish profilers and speculators to subotage the state sector of the economy, with the help of some national leaders, by bribing workers and responsible civil servants, encouraging them to plunder and rob public funds and so on. Attempts were

also made to cripple the state Agencies created by the Revolution to promote production by creating and developing economic sources thus helping improve the standard of living through increased production and low prices of essential commodities such as foodstuffs.

The reactionary illegal trade promoters created an underground syndicate between the dishonest civil servant and agencies' staffs who steal public property and the profiteers who run black markets in an attempt to show the people that public ownership was useless; the aim is to wrest the control of the economy from the state and ultimately topple the revolution.

In addition to undermining the national economy internal enemies of the Revolution created uncertainty, political confusion and laziness by saying: «There is nothing we can do; nothing can work well as things are at present», while the same people making these remarks were in fact, blocking the attempts to deal with problems or execute plans successfully. The patriotic, revolutionary, responsible worker was branded as ignorant, a stooge of the Revolution who does not know what is good for himself. That was a psychological war which greatly reduced the level of the morale and strong will of the workers and the public in general and created endless, unfruitful and disheartening pickering among the administrative officialdom while some officials are part in these subversive activities directly or indirectly.

The Government administration is composed of interdependent departments under a leadership of a group of people who have a collective responsibility and when these leaders fail to act as one single body in carrying out the collective responsibility the government structure falls apart, there can be no cohesion and cooperation between its various departments and the fabric of the whole system ceases to exist or at least function effectively. Poor administration and slow progress in recent years was, therefore, partly due to lack of cooperation between and coordination of their activities by state department and lack of sense of collective responsibility.

The Revolution respects Islam but there have appeared recently treacherous groups in the country who take cover under the religion when in fact they misinterpret and distort the teaching of Islam for the purpose of serving enemies of Islam who hired them to create religious dissension and sectorianism among muslims of the world in general in the Somali people to which they belong in particular. These traitors of Islam and the country have gone as far as create in the people an aversion to work and progress.

A wrogly exploited Right word

After the deterioration of relations between us and the Soviet Union because of the aforementioned reasons there appeared people who allowed themselves to believe that we would turn away from Socialism once we disagreed with the Soviet Union; such people consisted of two groups: those who sincerely believed it out of ignorance, and those who had from the start been spies of the enemies of the Socialist policy of the Revolution and were merely exploiting the occasion to create confusion and uncertainty in the country, cripple the national economy and progress. The people in this latter group are those ended up, after they failed, in running away to serve the Abyssinians and other enemies of the Somali people. They are working hard to revive tribalism with the aim of dividing the Somali nation into fueling tribal groups with the aim of weakening the Somali people as a sovereign nation. The promoters of tribalism and divisionism are blood suckers and selfish, ruthlessly ambitious persons who put their mean interests above the interests of the nation.

Those thought to be able, intellectuals, far-sighted, patriotic and revolutionary were selected for party and government positions of high responsibility during the first years of the Revolution but later on some of them were found to belong to the above described destructive group. It was, naturally, impossible to reconcile the opposing views of these honest patriotic leaders working for national unity and progress with those working to the contrary for their own selfish ends. The national development efforts were hampered by the opposing and conflicting views and actions of those honestly working for national progress and unity on one hand and those serving the outside enemies of the Somali people by undoing what has been done and misinterpreting the policies and principles of the Revolution.

A country can develop and make progress only when its people have the same aspirations and goals while only people who believes in the same party. No boat can sail to its destination in time and without trouble if its crew row it to opposite directions or some of the crewmen are boring holes down its floor to scuttle it. The same applies to the planning and implementation of the political, economic and social policies of a nation.

Despite these obstacles, there is no doubt that we have much political, economic and social achievements. But we would have achieved much more had there been full and solid unity among all government and party senior officials in implementing the plans, directives and principles of the party.

That being my rapport on our achievement and short comings, the difficulties we came across and what had been done to overcome them, there is now the agenda for this 4th session of the Central Committee of the Party. The points in the agenda reflect the desires, feelings and aspirations of Party members and the general public. To act on these points requires a high degree of sense of responsibility and determination.

The first and foremost of the points in the agenda is the protection of the Somali people against the tribalism, divisive activities of the reactionaries who seek to weaken the strength of the Somali people by destroying their unity and cohesion with the support and under the order of the outside enemies of Somali independence, nationhood and sovereignty. It is the duty of both the government and the party to ensure the unity, solidarity, integrity and sovereignty of the Somali nation.

It is the collective responsibility of the government, the party and the people to defend the independence, sovereignty and integrity of the Somali nation and country, and the self-confidence of the masses must be built strongly enough to face any power on earth that attempt to violate their sovereignty and national unity.

One of the points in the agenda for this session of the Central Committee for discussion is the preparation of the 2nd party Congress meeting which should take place after about five months and its agenda. There is a need to prepare in writings the procedures, order, program and agenda items for the Congress. The Party has a duty to demand full Government report on its social, economic, and political achievements, what it has accomplished, what remains to be done and what short-comings there have been. This is because the Government belongs to the Party and acts on the guidance and directives of the Party which is the Supreme Power in the country. The Congress must seek detailed reports from the Ministries, state Agencies and companies on their accomplishments as well as shortcomings since the last Congress the causes of any shortcomings that exist and who was responsible for such failures. The Congress will also have to listen to consider proposals by the Ministers and General Managers of autonomous agencies and companies. Being the Government Party, the Somali Revolutionary Party must have the overall control in all national affairs, policies and principles of the Party must, from now on, be fully geared, in practice, to the conditions of our country and culture, faith and way of life our people under the full supervision and guidance of the Party. The action program of the Party should in turn be turned to

the political situation that prevails in the country based on the new circumstances. The Party must establish its absolute leadership by controlling and correcting of national, economic and social activities. Posts of responsibilities must be held by people who have complete faith in the Party, its constitution and fundamental principles and are classifiable as patriotic nationalists, capable and principled enough to execute the decisions and instructions of the Party with the cooperation and support of party cadres, the social organizations, the armed forces and the general public in general.

Those whose mentality and action conflict with the Revolutionary principles and the party program and constitution must be purged from the Party leadership and its bureaus and branch offices. Sessions and meetings of Party organs, from Party cells to Bureaus, must from today conform to the Party rules and regulations. The level of the training of party cadres must be raised for the cadres, party members and members of the various Organizations of the society are the foundation of the Party and together form the motive force of national progress. They must, therefore, be well organized and enabled to get rid of the uncertainty and dissension created among the society by the reactionaries. Since all national activities are linked and interdependent it is essential that the party and the state work in full cooperation. This can be possible only when the national leaders stand solidly together and work in full cooperation and the government properly and efficiently execute the political, economic, social and national defence responsibilities entrusted upon it by the nation and unswervingly follow the politic line, resolutions, instructions, supervision and corrections.

The Government must shoulder the responsibility for any failure of the political and economic plans and each Governmental Department and autonomous agencies must be accountable to the Party. Appointments and promotions to higher posts of responsibility must be based on personnel merits: ability, knowledge, sense of responsibility, duty consciousness, loyalty, honesty, patriotism and dedication to the Revolution.

ECONOMY

More efforts must be made to strengthen and develop the national economy giving priority to the agricultural, livestock, industrial and fishery sectors while continuing prospecting for minerals and exploiting our underground natural resources. We must organise and mobilize the masses, particularly the farmers, to work hard to increase production so as to reach self-sufficiency; we must increase the production of exported items in order to get more of the hard

currency, that we need to purchase from abroad the equipments and machinery that are necessary for our development, protect the value of our Shilling by increasing our production and fighting inflation and trying to balance our import with our exports. Our economy must be reorganized, encourage the role of private investment in the national economic development.

We must fight the neglecting, swindling, wasting state property and stealing under false pretence expenses of public fund, break the unholy link between brokers and the administration and tighten the control of purchases by Government department. We must exert more efforts to insure the successful implementation of economic development plans and projects.

Since we do not have the financial resources to exploit our hidden natural resources, I propose to enter into partnership and cooperation with other Governments and organizations that are willing to invest in our country after we have satisfied ourselves that their investment contribute to our national development and benefit the country and the people and they will not interfere with our politic-economic affairs.

SOCIAL AFFAIRS

Ignorance is blindness. We must lay the foundation for the coming generations and built more and more schools - starting from kindergarten and upwards to train and educate Somali children for better and brighter future. Unless children are not taught good manners, and discipline and sense of nationalism instilled in them before they reach normal school age it is difficult to train them in the proper way to fit well into a good society and make them good citizens useful to their country. Higher learning must be expanded and strengthened in order to produce good educated cadres. Colleges, higher Institutes and Universities must be increased in particular and improved in quality. School education must be geared to production in the agricultural, industrial and other economic sectors. The Rural Development campaign should be continued, technical institutes should increased to produce enough technicians to meet the country's need for trained manpower. Since many people send their children abroad in the opinion that foreign language are the best education I propose that the Ministry of education and youth Training open foreign language schools to which parents who can afford to pay for their childrens' education can send them. But such schools should be under the Education Ministry which should be responsible for their managements and curricula.

The ability of a nation to develop and make progress depends on the health standard of the people. Without good health there can be no good work because a sick society cannot work hard to achieve good progress. What man needs above anything else is good health. For this reason health services and medical care must be expanded and improved, more doctors who are trained better should be produced from medical colleges and high institutes, and so with hospital and clinic nurses and health and sanitary workers.

As the importation of medicines is very costly and is heavily weighing down on our economy, we have to accelerate the completion of the construction of the medicines factory which has been going on for a long time now. We must also increase, as much as our resources allow us, the quantity and variety of modern medical research equipments to help our medical research teams to identify diseases and their cause.

In order to fight laziness and idle sitting in bars we must increase the number of entertainment places such as sports grounds, indoor games and cultural centres by building and construction more and more through self-help schemes. Another problem that requires action is the often-raised questions at meetings but undealt with is housing problem which presents serious difficulty for the workers and the masses in general. I think that this housing problem can be tackled by the various departments building houses for their respective employees through programmed housing schemes, as has been done by the Somali Central Bank and the Mogadishu Local Government who deserve praise for their good foresight. Such housing project should be carried out jointly by government planed projects and self-help schemes.

No society or nation can be worthy of existence without justice. Now, justice is not like an object that can stand by itself but is connected with the provision of employment to the people, the promotion and rewarding of workers, proper administration of justice in courts, expending of state functions to facilitate the smooth management of public services and the fighting of nepotism, partiality and corruption.

There is a need to conduct government and all official business efficiently and promptly and clear government offices of injustices which the public complains of. The campaign to fight against all outmoded evil customs and practices, such as tribalism, nepotism, bribery and the people must be served impartially and honestly. Social evils and immortality like drinking alcohol, chewing Qat and practices that ruin the good behaviour of the society must be stam-

My advice is to launch a ruthless war against those who degrade our religion, Islam, by misinterpreting its teachings to suit their own evil intentions of serving the interests of the enemies of Islam and the Somali people.

FOREIGN POLICY

We will mark for the continuation of friendly relations and cooperation between us and countries friendly to us, Arab and African countries in particular and welcome any government or nation that wants to have friendly relations and cooperation with us on the basis of equality peaceful coexistence and mutual respect. Similarly, we welcome any useful proposal from any government or party, that will help find or will contribute towards finding a peaceful, just and lasting solution to the Horn of Africa problem.

Comrades, I am very confident that the Somali people, if guided by a good, united leadership, their will to march forward in unity is unbreakable and that they can score green victories.

LONG LIVE SOMALIA, WOE TO ITS

ENEMIES.

THE SPEECH OF PRESIDENT MOHAMED SIAD BARRE OPENING THE 2nd ADMINISTRATIVE MANAGEMENT TRAINING COURSE AT THE POLICE TRAINING INSTITUTE.

Comrades, good morning. The 2nd course for the executives and officials of the Party is open from their moving onwards. Secondly, I would like to speak briefly about the motives behind training seminar of this kind. Since its birth the Revolution has been marking efforts to orientate the people on their human consciousness and national obligation at all levels. This was based on the realization that many factor related to the leadership and mobilization to work of a nation were lacking when we look back at the last traditions and culture of the Somali people.

It appears that we had failed to get out of old habit, like other people of the world. Perhaps because of colonialist obstructions and partly because of our own fault, we have never taken steps in the part to move forward towards helping and enabling to achieve the goals that were the aspiration of every Somali individual; we remained in the very backward nomads life and entirely depended on the development of livestock. But when people moves to the status of nationhood, it sheds these above mentioned traditional ways of life and crosses to a new social mode of life with better socio-economic system. So the aim of the Revolution was to enable the people consolidate their sovereignty and nationhood system of life by the unorganized nomadic way of life and practices and to struggle to raise their standard of living.

There has been some progress in this direction and achievements have been made but we cannot say that there are no misunderstanding or that nothing is lacking. There are always ups and always a legacy of our past culture and traditions. That is nothing suprising. But the Revolution has never grown tired of struggling to raise the level of political consciousness of the masses to guide them along the right path towards progress, better life and realization of the aspiration and goals of the masses. These seminars are in line with these revolutionary policies and are aimed at helping you know more and better about the policy of the Revolution and understand better the task of national leadership and these training seminars have still more weight when you look at our condition and other statutes which say that the Party is the supreme power in the country and, once it is the supreme power, it must have the ability and necessary knowledge to lead the country and nation; it must not

merely talk, it must be worthy of its leadership. It must carry out without failure the responsibilities entrusted in it to lead the country to progress and prosperity and, of course, it is not an easy task. People or members of the Party and the society in general who have proved, through hard and long struggle their will to honestly and executively work for the economic, educational and social progress of the nation and help the country to follow the trails of the advanced world need encouragement and training to help them gain better knowledge in Party and State management.

This being the goal of the Party and the Revolution, what is that stands in their way? It is ignorant, misguided elements who, though they talk much about revolution, socialism, Party and Supreme revolutionary Council, do not have the slightest knowledge what these organs and principles are but have always been and still are after their own selfish personal interests. These elements who had joined the Political Bureau in the Presidency right from the start and pretended to be working for progress and promoting the revolutionary principles and policy and later became founding members of the Party, have all their time working against the same principles and purposes they pretended to be promoting. They failed to understand the Supreme Council, the Party and the revolution were working for the betterment of their children as well as themselves. They could not understand because they had their minds and hearts blocked by their selfish greed and introduction by enemies of the Somali people. These ignorant members in the Party ranks and reactionary elements have gone as far as trying to disorganize and make impossible the holding of their course unless they themselves were allowed to take part. These ignorant, useless elements want to keep the people in the past darkness, make the nation trail the path of imperialism. How did we discover them? When we selected the people we thought to be the most able, hard working and loyal, for this training on effective management of Party and Government affairs, the underground enemies of the Revolution and Party who were holding responsible offices started playing delaying tactic to block the plan of holding the seminar by coming up with false excuses like "I cannot attend this one because I feel headache" and "I have pain in my leg, I cannot attend it". Now then, what will remain there for him tomorrow when those who are participating in this management and leadership training take up all the responsible posts for which he refused to be trained for? Why doesn't he take advantage of golden opportunity and become one of the first group? Are they not ruining their own future?

We have a paper here on matters which, I think, have not been

understood: the guidance and management of a department, be it governmental or Party. The proper management and running of State and Party affairs demands lot of efforts and dedication; it is a heavy responsibility that requires firm determination and integrity. It is not as easy as people would like to think. Although I gave a lesson to the first attendants of the institute when it was first opened and gave instructions that administration and leadership be given first priority, it seems that the Party seems not to understand the importance and qualities of good administration and management of state and Party organs and department. There can not be good management or administration unless those in responsible top managerial and administrative positions are dedicated people who have the training experience and knowledge necessary as qualities of leadership. What do we mean by the "qualities of leadership"? It is the art or science of administering and managing State and Party affairs to the benefit of the masses served by the Government and Party. It is the ability to plan, coordinate and implement economic and social programs, but not understand what leadership means and the responsibility it involves? And that is exactly what is lacking, that was why we opened the institute. Much trouble could be avoided and many problems easily overcome or even forestall had those in responsible position known the art of leadership: how to lead people, Party, a Government, a ministry, a nation.

It is after learning the art of leadership that people can draw up and implement political, economic and social plans.

It is true that every person cannot be trained and made a good manager or administrator; there natural gift and aptitude. But even those who possess natural gift for administration and management must be trained and taught that leadership involves heavy responsibilities, even self-sacrifice to the nation. He must be tested before being appointed or promoted to a post of high responsibility: has he good foresight? His integrity? Is he determined social evils and those elements that perpetrate them? Does he sacrifice his personal interest for that of the nation? Is he discreet in his dealing with the people? If the person at the top does not have a through knowledge of the task of that department: military or civil, that ministry or department, agency or company becomes like a snake wounded on the head; it cannot function properly.

Therefore, people are first selected on personal merit, trained for the field for which they have special natural gift and liking. People in responsible position should not be men of words but men of action. Only those who do not have the ability to live up to their

responsibility and cannot properly lead and guide those under them talk much without doing any tangible management work. They talk much because they use talking as a smoke screen under which to hide their weaknesses. But they cannot hide under any smoke screen. We all have brains, we can see things through such veils. The masses know what is good for them and what is not, who works for their interests and who is not.

The people we brought here to participate in this course are those to whom the people and the Party are indebted, who served the country, people and Party with dedication. They will be taught the art of administration and trained for senior public and Party position to serve the nation linked with the art of administration are knowledge of the laws of the country, administrative and management system and regulations, account keeping, mobilization of workers to work and, the most important of all, the art of good public leadership. and the management of Government and party departments.

In departments or other places which do not have trained, qualified, able people as their head, the people working there lack good guidance, proper management and effective organization and distribution of work. There are people who are of the opinion that the administration and civil servant should stay away from politics but I disagree with them. The lessons for their course will inevitable include political lessons and various government departments will propose for this course lessons on their field of work. The learning you must take the best advantage of this opportunity. It is not something forced on you against your will. It is in your own benefit and it is the interest of the nation and the party for you will serve them better and more ably after you have completed this course. What you learn here must elate your self-confidence add to your ability to give better service to the people, Party and the country.

You are expected to create a new life and a strong spirit. I hope that those of you who are connected with the Bureaus will plan together what they learn here and the experience with the Bureaus in a way most beneficial to us.

We ought to act in the interest of our people, particularly those in the lower income brackets and you are the right people to act towards this direction. We should no longer tolerate the starving and exploiting of the ordinary people by few selfish blood suckers. The Party was formed and the political office in the Presidency created to protect the interest of the working peoples against exploitation by greedy blood suckers that was what sparked off the

revolution. The revolution was born to save the masses from exploitation and other evils. It was not the intention that power in the country permanently by remaining in the hands of a small group of men but to create and pass the administrative powers over to able and honest people and the Revolution has been trying since its beginning to train such people for the country. Therefore, you must possess a sense of being freedom in spirit, think and action since you are serving the people and Party diligently, honestly and selflessly. It is only then that you will be of value to the nation; it is only then that you will have confidence of the Somali people. That way the people will appreciate your service to them and recognize your leadership.

There is something that must be remembered; you cannot lead the Somali people by following a line based on alien way of thinking, culture and way of life; it will not serve. they want their dignity, culture and good traditions respected. They want to be independent of unwellcome alien cultures and influence. So promote what is theirs, don't impose on them what is alien. They do not like imported ideas and cultures which do not fit into their life.

We often talk of killing tribalism and condemn it. But it cannot die by mere condemnation. It must be killed scientifically. It must be eliminated in practice through determination and action. It must be killed by education, political maturity and national consciousness. The people need educate, wise, dedicated and far-seeing leadership to lead them in the battle to defeat tribalism, and all other social evils.

**SPEECH DELIVERED BY THE SDR, PRESIDENT
JAALLE MOHAMED SIAD BARRE DURING A
MEETING HELD WITH THE N.P.'S STANDING
COMMITTEE, ON MAY 13TH, 1982.**

The General Secretary of the SRSP, President of the SDR, Jaalle Mohamed Siad Barre, met with the Standing Committee of the People's Assembly and made following speech:

Jaallayaal,

I am very glad to meet you again here, since the Standing Committee was started functioning.

Since the last election of our Assembly, and its various committees, we have held at least two meetings, and in this meeting we are discussing the important matters of national interest as well as other matters related to inter-department cooperation and cohesions, because there is slight changes in the National administrative and in the Committees of the National Assembly, such as the changes in the SRSP, National Assembly that brought the emergency law and the maintaining of constant and good administration for nation, and after that we have reached an important point, which solved the implementation of the country's general policy regarding economic, social and political development.

The period of the revolutionary government, we here had good chances to rebuild the national laws and administrative regulations for the benefit of the nation, its national regulations, starting from the National Constitution upto the lowest laws, it depends upon its own economic, religion, culture, environment, and so on.

Now, we can say, the country has got its own laws individually, such as, the laws for the sea, Air, agriculture, economic policy, finance, administration and so on.

A nation that can fulfil all the regulations and also respect the national constitution, is the nation which exactly knows in full and understand the importance of the constitution and laws.

Firstly, it is inevitable that, we the heads and high-ranking officials must obey and fulfill the various parts of the laws and national constitution, therefore, the mass would follow us, and in that way we can manage the possibilities of developing our country in every respect

Day after day, we can come across many new obstacle and world problems, so that only important way, is to overcome these problems, within the periods that our Education, economic, policy knowledge and ideology would grow up and reach an independent level. There should be regulations and laws to manage our country and people.

For that reasons and many others, we have made and prepared that the laws and regulations, in order to manage our people properly and justly, and also to make the people who elected us satisfied.

Also it is important for us to hold normally meeting like this in order to give briefings and get each others idea in order to urge each other and correct what is in the regulations and laws and lastly to know more about our activities exactly and classify those who have done their duty well and just.

Those World problems we are facing day after day, of which the countries of the third world are facing too, is not something that has an end, and there will be a time that when we could conquest all these problems and in that way world problems are circulating.

Any nation which knows well the reality, can make a great struggle in every respect, and particularly in the fields of agriculture, industry Education and development, and in that way a nation can be regarded as an independent nation and developed country.

**SPEECH DELIVERED BY THE PRESIDENT OF
THE SOMALI DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC, JAALLE
MOHAMED SIAD BARRE AT A MEETING HE HELD
WITH PARTY FUNCTIONARIES AT THE PEOP-
LE'S HALL 22/9/1981.**

Jaallayaal,

Good morning, I have summoned you here for different reasons - partly to give you short reports on certain issues, and partly to inform you about the best ways and means we could unite efforts to help reach our target; I am sure that most of you keep pace with this, let's try to draw some facts from the experience we have got so far.

We have been on the march for a considerable period; in one way it seems a short period, in another long. If we count on time, almost 12 years of revolutionary Somalia, it is very short in comparison to the great accomplishments we have realised in the proceeding from our initial point and taking into account the setbacks that prevailed, we can say that no nation in the developed world had attained the progress and prosperity, it is rolling in without coordinating the initial efforts and struggle of its working masses. It is a natural fact that every developing nation has to pass certain political, social and economic or ideals; it must go through the hoops.

Our road to progress was not quite smooth, but theirs was far more worse than ours; they have confronted with odd situations that overshadow ours.

But, though humankind is the shaper of this world and has the power to overcome any obstacles which may come in his way, these nations have touched the core of progress. We, therefore, ought to follow suit; to gain from their past experiences and act in accordance.

It is now time we held consultations and broaden the calibre of our understanding. We have to revise our previous works and their related problems. After that, we should look ahead for the track before us and ponder of where our national interests lie.

We are now performing our duties in the headquarters of the party. That the party is the supreme organ is pallicidly written in bold letters in the national constitution as well as that of the party. This is one important aspect.

The other, that the party functionaries who share the same

objectivity scientifically plan ways to solve the various problems emanating from different angles and eventually render their consequence into a state of impotence; and that at the same time turn on courageously to move forward.

We are attuned to the principles of socialism, and on our international relations, we cultivate relations of mutual benefit with all parties harbouring no enmity for the Somali nation.

Up to this stage, to have firm grip on the protection of our nationhood and sovereignty, it is essential to recall our nationalist spirit and popular enthusiasm. The stereotype of the nation should be «serve your country and you get whatever you wish from it». This means work for the cause of the nation, support and defend and sure you will be rolling in luxury and enjoy a life of pleasure. The nation is desirous of the contributing hands and minds of its compatriots to reward them back of their patriotic deeds. This is of course the truth through experience.

Well, it behoves us at present to properly perform our obligations in here, the nucleus of the party activities, therefore we shall have the opportunity of directing our pointer towards the country's regions and districts, work centres, youth centres, social organisations centres as well as to the rural population. Contacts with these social strata will meaningfully result in the awakening of their conscience in the face of national defence and creating a happy and secure home to be enjoyed by succeeding generations.

We need to wage a protracted war against tribalism because we are fully aware of the fact that it has ill effects to the society and the Revolution. This social disease, often used as instrument for vested interests, should be eradicated, for it has no position, whatsoever in our society.

On the other hand, there is no doubt that there are elements who are adamantly bent upon the use of tribalism as a means to frustrate the Revolution and those who have aligned themselves with our enemies and foreign powers purporting to divide our people and thus reduce their socio-economic emancipation to a pathetic level.

As we used to, you are obliged to tighten our belts once again to serve the interests of our working people which represents the sole force that drives our party forward and upon which our national sovereignty is attached to.

The truth lies in that when a problem arises the party members

are the first and foremost to tackle it, they are those who sacrifice their precious lives for the cause of saving the rest of the people. During crisis, the party members should have the hearts to endure and serve as a beacon, for they are ought to be the exalted examples of the nation.

THE SPEECH DELIVERED BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE SDR JAALLE MOHAMED SIAD BARRE ON THE CLOSING CEREMONY OF THE SRSP CENTRAL COMMITTEES 4TH CONGRESS AND ITS PERTINENT AND HISTORICAL RESOLUTIONS.

I wish to extend my deep and wholehearted appreciations to the SRSP Central Committee members in the responsible manner they duly Executed the tremendously demanding task which was entrusted to them.

We usually look down on work, underrate the Stamina and performance of our people, harbour suspicion, ill-feeling and thinking of the unthinkable. The state could not stop forward the meticulous of its responsible citizens, workers and the masses at large. It could not move ahead per se, yet the state is in progress. In other words, fallacy, lies spread beyond limits, for that reason, I am here to nullify these wrong notions, misinterpretations, and baseless harangues as I used to do in the previous occasions. Moreover, I have to congratulate the SRSP Central Committee who took pains and dedications towards the fulfilment of the obligations of the 4th Congress of the SRSP Central Committee.

Secondly, I wish to extend my deep gratitudes to the SRSP, social organizations and the armed forces as a whole who spared no efforts in the attainment of their prescribed goals, despite some problems created by nature, or those caused by external elements whose ultimate purpose were to disintegrate our unity and foment political dissensions and chaos or by the fabrication of an internal enemy within the society.

For long time our armed forces were on struggle during which they were never defeated or surrendered, and to date no enemy can dare to stand. Those who defend their homes, resisted against the excessive radiation of the sun, abstain from the frost and the coldness of the weather, and in fact, took leave from their families and their heart's desires and aims for the sake of their beloved country, nation and sovereignty, have to be remembered with an ever-lasting state of integrity and honesty.

Thirdly, I have to extend my innate gratitudes and commendations to the Somali people in general and individuals in particular, together with the state and the SRSP members who struggle against the hardships of nature and its counterparts with honesty in achieving their goals; the way they implemented, performed and showed

their natinalism, responsibilities and revolutionary deeds in going along the right path whom they planned to yield fruitful results.

Moreover, I wish them to endure, persist and follow suit that strong nationalism and revolutionary deeds in overcoming the long or short term target directly or indirectly, so as to get rid off the different kinds of imperialism. Must they clearly differentiate among their friends and foes, who like their progress and backwardness.?

**SPEECH DELIVERED BY THE PRESIDENT OF
THE SDR, JAALLE MOHAMED SIAD BARRE
DURING A GATHERING OF THE HEALTH MINI-
STRY PERSONNEL TO MARK WORLD HEALTH
DAY 15/4/1981**

Jaallayaal, Good evening. I hope that the significant occasion of World Health Day has indeed encouraged me to say enough and avoid extravagance. I would however wish to emphasize some salient points concerning health and mankind, on eradication of an arch enemy to mankind's health (disease), how the challenges began, the level marked and victories registered so far in this respect.

It is a known fact that, at the outset, mankind has the genuine tradition to combat for existence, and even try without sparing any effort to overcome it.

As mankind struggles onwards to score new goals in the health sector, the occurence of diseases have eventually decreased.

In many parts of the world, people have employed various techniques to prevent and cure diseases but they must have surpassed one another in the way. Thus, many have won to nip diseases in the bud and provided good health standards for their people, thereby achieving economic successes in many areas.

What is health and what are its consistutents. Health is all in all the very wellbeing of mankind; it does not confine only by taking an injection or a pill as many consider the case of medical experts, of health ministry or health assistants, but the issue takes broad dimension as far as full health is concerned.

I believe that the cornerstone of a healthy nation is first of all a policy of clear-cut guidliness that holds great responsibilities for accelerating health and medical service for the entire population. A health society cannot be created nor health services be effective unless it is executed with feelings of love and affection for your people without any sort privilege or nepotism. When you bear in mind that your service is a human one, I am sure then we can further formulate a scientific health policy in line with the basic standards laid down by the World Health Organisation (WHO) of the United Nations.

At this juncture, we have to know the root cause of health

hazards or diseases, for only then we can bring about a meaningful solution in this respect. Good health is reciprocal to good nutrition, this was told us by health experts. If human being does not consume proper nutrition, he or she is apt to contract a disease. This is because, through good diet, the human body defends itself from all kinds of disease causing agents. Citing Tuberculosis as an example, what are its major causes, despite being a communicable disease? Of course hunger and malnutrition. What about if hunger and malnutrition are abolished. Then it happens that the said disease will occur occasionally and very rarely. Likewise, mosquitoes which cause malaria must be fought with medicine and a good diet. But all of these came under the understanding of scientific knowledge, because knowledge is the key to attaining enough and good food, the key for discovering new medicines and ways of preventing the spread of diseases. Furthermore, this should also be guided, as I said before, by a sense of loyalty to the nation - a policy with particular priority.

This policy should take the lead. It asks: What kinds of diseases are prevalent among the society? What are the first to take in terms of their dangerous magnitudes. This is a scientific policy ready for the general welfare of the society - it coordinates the economic growth, awakens the people's conscience and ability to prevent diseases.

Proceeding from this perspective, this is the path through which we eradicate the enemy of health. But it is inevitable that planning and implementation initiatives be carried out alongside programme on health consciousness. Diseases and every thing harmful to mankind lie beside the poorer and illiterate nations in the underdeveloped nations. The developed nations have eventually ostracised these enemies.

Therefore, we have to begin with knowledge so as to boost our enemy in order to properly feed our people. Then we reach the required health standard under the umbrella of an overall political consciousness. You have to implore the public to jointly collaborate with you in your service. It should be admonish them of what is pernicious to their health and life; that prevention is better than cure must be induced in the minds of the public, for the former is more cheaper than the later. This is the standing fact, however.

The revolutionary government since it assumed power in 1969 shouldered the responsibilities of working towards a healthy society to resuscitate the shattered economy of the country. The Revolution provided for the people health facilities; a faculty of

medicine was established and a trained personnel was prepared. These were given due regard owing to the wide-ranging services that lay untouched in the countryside. We have planned after recognizing our target and increasingly provided the personnel and health facilities to the rural areas, more particularly to the nomadic people in the interior which has been always considered of prime importance. The Revolution is of the opinion that fighting against disease starts in the rural area and remote nomadic dwellings, and it expends towards the urban areas to ensure health equilibrium in the country; We have so far played a key role in the rural development campaign of 1974-75 and respect for its outcome.

It follows then to question what have the medical experts done? How was the role of the health assistants and was the people's contribution towards this end. Although I feel that their noble services seem not graven on our people's memory, I believe that they are in the forefront of the medical workers in the world no matter the level of their knowledge. Some may take as an exaggeration but don't you realize the difference between a doctor sitting beside his computer and a doctor that has walked to villages and settlements in the rural areas of his country without the most necessary equipments for his service. The latter passes through natural difficulties and triumphantly comes up with the confidence of his fellow countrymen by employing directly with his hand and mind only. The true doctor is that the man or woman who travelled to the bush and cured and saved thousands of lives that waited for help. I believe once again that our doctors have registered this epic, that they have done much to their people. They have the foundation and the future belongs to them.

On the other hand, I am of the view that medical knowledge is paramount important. More prescriptions are of no use - action and permanent readiness to extend a helping hand whenever the need rises on the part of the masses is necessary.

I must mention here what we had crossed over the way: drought, cholera, floods and wars. It is a pity that all these were trying ordeals of our Revolution but on the contrary we had emerged the winner. With regards to the Ministry of Health we are glad to observe that it has scored significant successes, thanks to the joint endeavour of the Ministry and the masses. Too, we are aware of the fact that certain elements beat their tom-toms to divert and disillusion us of the honourable role of our Health Ministry. I am sure the personnel of the Ministry will remain the upperhand in the country's move for better health and medical services.

For this reason and others, it is incumbent upon us to pay tribute to them for the exalted service so that they may stride on and on as a result of our stimulus.

If there is colonialism and hegemonism there is no health; if there is subjugation, there is also no health, because there comes struggle - a bloody struggle a stagnant economy projects up as a consequence. The most valuable thing for a man is his life and once he is struggling for his survival he leaves food and life-giving elements aside and puts his physical and financial efforts in the defence of his life, in the fight against colonial subjugation. When fighting colonialism you must prepare and equip yourself for that, to ensure that you are capable of safeguarding your independence and integrity. And to achieve this indispensable goal you must spare no effort in the development of the economy and education, while at the same time healing the wounds of colonialism and erasing its footprints in the society.

That is why I say there is no complete health if there is colonialism and oppression because on one hand they are wounded in the bloody struggles and inhibited to direct their attention towards working health emancipation on the other. No doubt there will be no economic expansion, no higher productivity and no progress in any area.

The developed countries have had a good riddance of diseases; they are in tranquility. Disaster and killings remain in our world, where man still did not recognize the meaning of true life, where man still did not know the value of humanity and peace, equality and justice.

Well, in view of the Horn situation, there came out nowadays certain elements with long-ringing voices that distort the very facts concerning this region. These circles alleged that the Somali Democratic Republic is the sole perpetrator of wars and conflict in the Horn. In fact these are the same powers who created the problem by their own making. They are those who invariably helped the Somali people to disunite to the detriment of endangering her very existence. Moreover, their mass media are disseminating such errant lies like: Somalia is very weak... it is reactionary and so on. No doubt, weakhearted Somali nationals may join the enemy's chorus.

We should beware of anti-Somalis; and they should be dealt with severity. The properties they left behind should be confiscated. We oppose neo-colonialism and oppression; we will fight until the last Somali passes away in the battlefield. But we agree to take the

other alternative if possible. Peace is inevitable to man, we know. Also death is very honourable- we have sacrificed our lives for the cause of saving our lives. We have missed many of our people in the battlefield and know well the meaning of peace and war. And it is logic that any one more acquainted with wars and death loves peace more than anything else. So how can the Somali people be called belligerent and war perpetrators? The Somali people needs peace, peace that is free from all sorts of deception and foreign strategies.

We need peace, but what type of peace? We need a lasting and just peace acceptable to the concerned parties. The peace that we require must be immune of political vacuum.

After that our call is always peace, we are ready for peace and ready too to have dialogue with any conflicting party without any restrictions. We are ready for peace any time and ready for any venue for seeking peace. And we do not seek war while the doors of its alternative are wide open to all.

When I speak of peace, health is included, when I talk about economy, health is attached to it. Likewise, health and science cannot be discussed separately as it is true in the case of peace and health. That was my objective in the relation of peace and health.

Returning back to our original topic on combating the health hazards of man, the national motto should be self-reliance and to depend on one's resources. We can help health care. The battle will be very easy for anyone if there is realistic cognizance of the disease — The type of disease, its effects or whether it is communicable or not is necessary in this respect. The public must at least know something about the nature and character of the common diseases in their environment.

Public hygiene should start from the home, cleanliness should be given priority. Let's start the motion in the schools, where many young school-children converge, where the occurrence of certain communicable diseases may multiply themselves. There was a government ordinance that "all school-children be immunized occasionally against certain disease" but to no avail. I do not understand the reason for this failure of duty which encompasses the wellbeing of the flowers of our Revolution. This is a service to be done with prudence and a far-reaching outlook. The remotest villages in the rural areas too, must be our concern. Inoculation should be shifted to the work centres — more especially to the factories and military barracks where disease may spread rapidly. The Ministry of Health should turn to the maternal and child care, to fight diseases

to them.

There are certain diseases that attack mothers when they are pregnant. In this case the problem must be tackled in a two-way traffic. The medical authorities have to intensify their concerted efforts for Maternal and Child Care through permanent campaigning. On the other side, pregnant mothers must contact regularly to the doctors in the Maternal and Child Care Centres to undergo examinations to make sure they give birth healthy infants. The orientation centres are no exception; you have to address the public, to awaken their conscience, to inform and teach them the different methods to prevent different diseases and their causes. Human beings are not statutes, they conscience and even pay greet heed to what is more important to their health emancipation. Try to elaborate these points to them in a scientific way when they gather in the orientation centres. So the aforesaid places are our main targets. But the war on diseases alone cannot be brought into fruition without simultaneously waging war on hunger. This is a point I cannot ignore, however, because these two aspect are inter-dependent upon another.

Building a sound economy is the stepping-stone of the people's wellbeing and satisfaction of life. Owing to this we should first of all emerge self-sufficient.

What also do we have to fight against? We have to fight all sorts of addiction - especially Qat addiction which gathered new dimensions in the country and threatened to throw our society into abysmal and backwardness. We should stand sentinel over the consequences of this dangerous issue. The narcotic leaves of Qat are not fit for consuming: for health and for financial reasons.

To elaborate this, think of the fate of a Qad addict and his family. Sitting passive all day and chewing Qat leaves is not a good tradition of Somalis when our nation is passing a crucial period of political, social and economic transformation. When a qat addict raise a family? When will he cultivate love among the family? Sure, disorder and destruction will be rampant in the society. Respect and family network will be on the wane.

What about the role of that type of person in nation building? He who cannot help himself and cannot be able to help others. And we speak of national construction, of economic expansion, of health and self-sufficiency-how can a poisoned society became self-reliant? If a society is infected by drug and turns a handful of sluggards, who will construct the motherland? Of course, no one.

It is a good luck for us that mira (Qat) does grow in our country and we have been saved from the horrors of this plant for some time now. But soon we turned to the enemy's music, what a pity! we are exchanging our hard currency with destructive leaves grown by sympathizers of our misery and misfortune. Do we have the right to consume such a plant? No, we don't. What about Qad vendors? We can call them reactionary elements, and formulate a law of self-preservation in the face of the foregoing phenomenon. This is an obligatory step to be very early, for the society to forage in order to save their traditional pride, humanity, honour and last but not least their health. A developing society has to be frugal in its time and money; we have to admonish our striplings not to fritter away their precious time, not to be extravagant in their unnecessary amusement to the detriment of their health. The road ahead of us is long and the ambition for progress have helped certain nations to overtake us in this respect. It should be borne in mind, therefore, this fact serve a stimulus to more exertions by our people. I leave the discussion on health topic and its supplements here.

Seizing this opportunity, I have the great privilege in expressing my thanks to Mr. Hassan Gulaid Aptidon, President of the Republic of Djibouti accompanied by this wife, Asha Boqorre, and ministers of his delegation who recently paid a heartening visit to our country. I would like to discuss this in the light of our foreign policy regarding the present situation of our region.

We have conferred so dearly and in a brotherly mood-we have agreed on some points and others are afoot.

I hope that this visit was the first official one to our country. Also I remain confident that this visit will pave the way for future exchange of visits of mutual interest.

We are aware of the Republic of Djibouti; we know better than anyone else the bitter struggle through which those brotherly people achieved their independence. The whole world witnessed when that nation hoisted its flag high on its soil in June 27,77 when they turned the last page of French colony in the continent. It was not covert- we were the first to recognize the Republic. They have exchanged diplomatic missions with us just as they did throughout the world.

But it confuse someone if certain circles, including the Abyssinia media to propagare against the Somali Democratic Republic by disseminating lies. They alleged that Somalia intends to invade Djibouti and conquer it. What a farcel! What a fabricated lie! This is

not only ridiculous but an insult against the two sisterly states of the SDR and Republic of D'jibouti. We know the enemy's objectives behind such malicious propaganda; It is but to create a smokescreen for their dirty activities in this region.

But luckily, both Djibouti and Somalia are more determined than ever and are ever alive to the machinations of its enemies.

That vituperation is part of the technique of colonialism; it is aimed first at creating misunderstanding between neighbouring and sisterly nations to bring about disunity - the ABC of colonialism. But colonialists may be fooled by their ambitions, but the one-time-colonized peoples are fool enough to say "history does not repeat itself".

Relations between Somalia and D'jibouti have their roots in days when the latter was struggling for her independence. The SDR has had extended unstained moral and material support for the cause of D'jibouti people. This is a fact indelibly written in the hearts of the two peoples and governments.

I mentioned it, because it is inevitable that we make clear our stand about the D'jibouti people and their government; whether we make our voice high or low, we have to mention this fact.

To conclude it, let them (the colonialists) continue to trumpet. Both Republics of Somalia and D'jibouti will however turn up triumphant in their joint struggle for tranquility in the region as well as to the end of their respective national interests.

In view of the foregoing, the SDR, on its part, will not remain passive should any outside force attempted to create chaos and try to invade D'jibouti. Those under colonial subjugation under their flags, have the right to self-determination; they have the honour of their own decision - making.

All in all, I wish Jaalle Hassan Gulaid Aptidon health and longevity and for the Republic of D'jibouti, its people and government progress and prosperity. I declare also that Jaalle Hasaan Gulaid Aptidon is the central pole of D'jibouti.

Thank you very much for your attention.

SPEECH DELIVERED BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE SOMALI DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC, JAALLE MOHAMED SIAD BARRE, TO THE STUDENTS GRADUATED FROM THE HALANE POLITICAL SCIENCE COLLEGE, ON JANUARY 18th, 1982.

Jaallayaa.

I am highly praising you all, and particularly the heads of this college, for their preparation of this occasion in which these youths have been graduated from the valley of the political science of Halane

I am also glad to meet these youth that has been graduated from this school, who has learnt something for the somali nation, and that gives me a full confidence that one of the three enemies that the Revolutionary government announced to take a campaign against them, has been overcome, which is the illiteracy.

We have already stated that, there are three enemies to the nation, which are, illiteracy, poverty and disease, and the other two enemies will be killed by nationalism and knowledge, and you will take a campaign against the other two enemies.

That is the main part in which the somali people could understand it fully, in order to reach a complete independence, and its meaning is that, knowledge is the weapon to fight against illiteracy and all the other world problems that can face the people's life.

That I mean, is that, the somali nation was in misery condition for a longtime and it is now still in it, and we will not give it up unless our youths are wholly concentrated deeply in learning the knowledge.

That will make a strong will and deeprooted in patriotic in the minds of the growing generation in their heart for the achievement of natural goals, which will eventually be of great benefit to the nation as a whole.

As I said on many occasions in the past, the teachers, the students and the school's managements are to be credited for this invaluable services to the nation.

I am also praising those graduated students, and expecting them to serve sincerely their society by putting their scientific knowledge into practice, and work tirelessly for the realisation of the cherished aims and aspirations of the Somali people.

There is no doubt, that you will meet many difficulties and problems while you are working for the well-fare of the nation, so that the only way that you can manage it is to be fully independent in the fields of political, economical, education and so on.

It is true that, you some times heard or meet with many regulation people, and I warn you and the concerned authorities to deal with mercilessly with greedy profitters and reactionary elements who spread false rumours in order to check and speed of the national progress.

The President Siad that the somali people have gained more political consciousness since the beginning of the revolution which made it possible for them to overcome many man-made hardships and natural calamities by relying on themselves and resources.

Every person who likes the development of his country and people, has to be praised for but anybody who does not like it has to suffer later and at last his fate will be in lost, and it is you in which the counting is waiting for, therefore you have to be careful about it.

There is no doubt, and I am sure that you can meet a lot who are not in favour of your people's and country's development, and as their time has finished, they need to put a hinderance and obstacles upon you, but I warn you to keep out from them and take care of their tactics.

It is a fact that, when I was saying that, we are in the best condition, I ment that we have taken deep training for that in diffewe have taken deep training for that 12 years, because we have experienced enough and passed problems like floods, cholera, droughts, colonialis in different ways, and with in that periods, there were also a thousand youths who were graduating in schools.

-You can drink enough and sufficient water with in your hands». Also you can get enough food with thr help of your ability, and can conquest illiteracy with your knowledge».

All these past experiments teach us to understand the meaning of nationalism, and those who are luckily and unlucky people have quite different ideology, because the luckier ones are taking a campaign to fight with the reactionary people because they see clearly the ways they can reach their future and the prosperity of their country, as well as the education young generation, the civilised mass-media, has also understood their value of nation. You are all aware of that, before the revolutuin, that our people used to fight

against parts and killed each other, but at this time, all these has been stoped and you can travell easily and safely from corner to corner through the whole country and in that stage we have reached within our ability and political view of point in which we are gaining day after day.

In order to achieve more knowledge and reach our goal, we have to learn more and more untill we make all our students upto a university level.

"A teacher is not only to teach a lesson, but he is the sense creator, nationalism creator and the composer of the personal valuability."

It is a must and the socialist philosophy tells us, in order to help, in all aspects, those people who are fighting for their freedom and independence, and there is no way to help and stand by, the colonialism and imperialism.

Anybody who is against us, is the enemy of the somali nation, since that enemy is not willing the development and prosperity of our nation, and also helping the national imperialism, well we have to fight against it and make sure of that, that our people must understand who is their enemy and their brother.

Its strategic plan is to colonise them, and gain tell to the world that he is giving their independence which is a lie, and if that is true, why we is giving a hand or help to their enemy, masacaring our independence peoples, helping the abissinian empires, which had relations with the European colonialism of East-Berline that had participated in the partition of Africa and also have great part during that partition of african continent.

If Abissinia is a socialism country, what compelled it in order to stand-by with the colonialists such as the russians and its allies.

Therefore, does not it made a lie about the socialism and its aspects since it is doing an evil things to it.

After that, Jaalle Abdulle Mohamed Fadil, also continued the speech, and started with: I would like to say something about what has completely done for the nation during the revolutionary era.

Our revolution has startyed on October 21st, in the year 1969. As you were aware of it, the condition of the country was in miserable and very unhappy stage in every aspect if we say something about it consmisely.

For simplisty, our state budget at that time, was 300,000,000,00 Shillings, when that part of the italian government who used to add an especific sum to our budget yearly, was included.

In this year, 1982, our budget is exactly about 3 billion or more, and in thatfigures, we can understand the differeces between these two budgets and its surpluses.

Also at the side of the personal, we can say our present govern-ment civil servants is more or less the same as the present budget, while the former personnel number in the years of 1969, was not much more then the former budget of that years ago.

At the side of education, we can say our country has got new 14 vaculties of different universities, and in each year at least 60 stu-dents graduate from each vaculty, therefore, that point and many important others alike which our October revolution and our S.R.S.P. have done for the well.fare of the nation and development of the country, have to be praised for and credited.

Economically, we used to import before the years of the 1969, about 8000 tons.

Jaallayal,if I say some thibg more about the economic side of our country, in fact I can not merely finish within this program, so i think you can estimate it how far the country's economy has risen up during the revolutionry era, as the coming five-year plan (1981-1986) says the budget will be about 15 billion Somali shillings including the implementation of completed and the incompleted projects.

At last, I am concluding my speech as our zpresident stated before being armed withscientific knowledge, is a prediction for the conquest of mankind's three arch-enemies; Poverty, Ignorance ans disease.

Touching on Somaila's adherence to the principles of Soci-alism, Jaalle Fadil made it clear that there is an international ide-ology applied by every nation according to its specific needs and circumstances, and that Somalia's version is one that suits the interests and aspirations of its people.

He urged lastly the graduates to sincerely struggle more effi-ciently. by putting their Scientific knowledge into practice, and work firelessly for the main aims and important targets of the Somali people.

A FIRST MAY CEREMONY SPEECH DELIVERED BY THE SDR PRESIDENT JAALLE MOHAMED SIAD BAREE AT THE NATIONAL THEATRE.

Good evening everebody. I wish to extend by warm felicitations to all workers in the world in general and to the Somali workers in particular on the happy occasion of commemorating the historifical day which falls on 1st May, the day workers the world over started to restore their inalienable rights, humanity and justice.

Likewise, I warmly congratulate the Somali workers and their families on this memorable day that marks the 5th anniversary of the legalisation of the General Confederation of Somali Trade Unions. My wholehearted wishes also go to this workers' artistic troupe who, by way of entertainment, have shown us, in dramatic episodes, the true nature of our society, its goals, objectives and historical devel-opment. I admit that the Somali workers had lived through difficult period but their strong will and firm determination enabled them to overcome such barriers. With through dedication, courage and true spirit, the defined objectives you have shown us here could be accomplished.

When I express my point of view, which could not be far from the existing facts that reflect the historical background of mankind and his changing world. Historically, jhe world was changing ever since. And so was the mankind. In order to satisfy his needs man tried to conquer the world. Man's struggle against nature is as old as history. Man was not content with what he had in the world he lived. He was always trying to achieve something better than what nature had to offer him. Upto now the struggle continues and it will conti-nue as long as man exists on earth. It is a phenomenon that is particular to man. He has the right to struggle and alter the face of this earth so that his needs are met. Man's intelligent thinking and his manipulation of things help him shape his life. Today we could see, without wonder, man's new discoveries and the hitherto unseen horizons he captured.

We talk of Socialism, capitalism and other political system.No matter what system of life he adopts, it should be one that safegu-ards his well-being. He is after that principle and nothing else. He cultivates a pattern of living that benefits all his wants, socially, morally and spiritually. No matter the road taken by man towards, his drinking well its man's feelings and aspirations, his intelligence and wit, his purpose and asimilation.

Before we take any specific direction, let us ask ourselves convincingly who has got what we should have or what we want to have? Who keeps from us what every one of us needs to have? What sort of measures do we have to take against to possess what we are lacking?

If we think over the issue for a while it will come out to be to get more of anything. What is then the shortest possible way for our needs. What are the necessary preconditions that lead to the missing link? The answer is for mankind to think together, act together so as to develop a healthy society. The family is the single smallest unit of a society. The family has to think and set in union if harmony is to prevail among the its members. The family has to have a plan of life and a sense of nationalism. Similarly, the nation, which comprises the individual families, should be regarded as one indivisible entity with its members acting like that of a single family.

In this world in which we live in, there are many parts of it whose people are highly advanced. These sort of people lead decent living. Do they enjoy the benefits of advanced economy, good health? The question here is, how did these people reach this highly advanced stage? What are the factors that they thought are the prerequisites for reaching that stage.

That is an intriguing query with knotty issue which invites a lot of thinking and understanding of the world around us. Man is

responsible for everything done or accomplished on earth. He is the driving force.

This is directly related to the ripe political consciousness of man. It is not the Socio-economic status that offers the key factor to civilization. Man had to understand what is good for him and what is not. He seeks always what is in his interest.

What is politics? Politics which works with the principle is an art of possibility. It is a system of alternatives. It undertakes to offer what is possible. In the light of that, we can anticipate the channels to be taken and principles to adopt. But if we are thrown into a state of confusion and contraversion woven by personalities who unfortunately are misled by some of alien ideologies and cultures which are from their own ideas far from the norms and moral codes of their people, far from the existing realities and the problems that afflict their nation. We will not be able to reach a unity of thought and hence unity of action. One should not deceive his people with the imposition on them of foreign elements that are incompatible with

indigenous cultural values. A small knowledge gained from a university, an idea obtained from a book or slogan cannot steal the minds of a society and loose the grips of its nationhood. The one who is loyal to the Somali people is the one who is immersed in their feelings and their lives, to their thoughts, in their sorrows and in their prosperity, is the one who can diagnose their ailment and then prescribe the remedy. This is the gist of what I should say. If you are suffering from malaria and have been given a tuberculosis treatment instead, you don't recover. That is analogous to run Somalia with a foreign thinking.

Here we are responsible for the shaping of our future. It is we who are to decide, understand, plan, direct, integrate, and implement our national interest. We shouldn't be led by baseless theories that had been imported from outside and preach about other people's Long and arduous struggle and the difficulties had encountered during that overhauling.

It is common fact that knowledge, experience and know-how could be exchanged. The exchange in turn expresses the quality and quantity degree of the demand. Your interest should dictate the type of knowledge and experience to be imported. That knowledge, if it doesn't satisfy you your needs is a lost treasure.

It is no wonder that knowledge could be borrowed provided it quenches the thirst of the borrower. However, it should agree with all respects the indigenous environment all the prevailing conditions characteristic to the people whom the knowledge and experience is to be imported. If it does not resolve to meet such a demanding task, then it is a failed experiment.

Now you are in a position to choose the shortest and the safest path to be taken to reach your goals. Said differently, what is the simplest shortest method to employ to have your people reach their destination? Or how can you help your people out of this problem?

It is surprising a matter that frays the nerves. It needs absolute patience, insight and a sense of nationalism, complete reliability on your people, your country, and yourself. If you lack these virtues you are native, and all your efforts are a drop in the ocean.

Somalia, as I said before, is really a rich country with a small population living on it. It is teeming with riches that are hitherto undiscovered. The land only needs to be tilled. The people shouldn't dilly-dally. They should forget gossiping and fooling around. They should be out for work. Everyone should develop a

kind of skill that could contribute to the overall development of the country.

You shouldn't do work for your own ends or to fulfill your particular purposes, and you should not do it out of fear. You should do it complacently bearing in mind that you are working for your country. Thus it is a holy mission. And it is you who is to reap the rewards of your work.

We need a good leadership. The leadership requires unity. The leadership should not exist in mere talk, but should have laid down foundations which is practically-oriented and have good leaders. We choose socialism as our benefitting system of development. We don't have the wealth of those developed countries who adopted either Socialism or capitalism. Their ideologies and political system of have nothing to do with our system of government and hence our system of life.

Our struggle since the inception of the Revolution was the alleviation of this Nation's problems and, on the same token, to promote the economic status of our people, the health, Education and other social obligations. All the problems were tackled with tactiness so as to offer opportunities whereby the country's plentiful resources are untapped. Our plan was and is to make people unite, and dispel the curses of poverty through hard work and perseverance.

We don't have much material resources to boast of the centuries-long rivalry that exists between the world political systems of Socialism and capitalism from a realistic perspective, is nothing more than the exploitation of capitalism that hoarded a lot of wealth at the expense of the exploited. There the victims of exploitation are the workers.

How can we be exploited if we don't possess anything? Similarly who is to exploit us? Is it the small scale livestock exporter who gets a sack of rice, a sack of flour and a sack of sugar in return and after selling to us pockets for a small commission? Is that our interpretation of capitalism? Is the person who happens to possess a small house regarded as a bourgeoisie? Is it the one who owns a car with a chauffeur, or a man who holds a small bar or restaurant? Can these meagre possessions amount to anything or can we say these make a good capital? On the other hand, can we confidently call that «Capitalism in action? Either case the answer is no. those sorts of properties. The livestock salesman, the man with the small house, the barman, and the man with the car, all poor down to the core in

relation to the international economical hierarchies, and categorisation of incomes.

If there is no material wealth, then there is virtually no capitalism. We Somalis don't have material wealth other than what nature has offered us together with what our people do possess. That is truly our treasure.

Again, we don't have capitalism in here. You don't have to beat the bush about and cry selfishly: «I am safeguarding my property», look, your property is not worth a penny. May be it is too great with you. You are a poor thing. If you got a damn house, no one is going to disposses you. Why should you betray your country. Why should you halt your people's progress, their struggle towards full freedom in all aspects and life?

First, the ordinary worker who believes in struggle and cooperation cannot budge an inch. Because he has nothing at hand or there is nothing he can do. Is he not? On the other side of the coin, this particular worker is ambivalent. He hypocritically preaches what he is not willing to practise. He is delegated by a foreign enemy. The essence of my purpose is that we live on falsification. We live on deception. But we should live on reality. We are expected to abandon treachery and mischief. We get to be honest and realistic.

I had been inculcating this phenomenon for the last 12 years and still the wind blows on the same direction. Let us not fight with the air. Let us wage a holy war against the core of the problems and ignorance which nourishes malfunctioning and lack of planning. Nothing could be further from the truth.

Secondly, our people are played by poverty, disease and ignorance in which we have done a great deal in the latter, though so called traitors or saboteurs should bear in mind that the country's progress in any field of reform contributes to their own well-being.

Now, let us analyse socialism in its own perspectives. Socialism is a political method or form of government which attempts to regulate economic factors in favour of the majority. We choose socialism because it is the method that assuage our socio-economic grievances. We are not going to export our form of Socialism. It is home-made, therefore, home-bound. Through Socialism we intend our society to go under complete overhauling. we like to develop a society based on work, self-reliance, self-development and one which is scientific oriented. One which is against humili-

ation backwardness and subjugation. Succinctly, we have to have a philosophy of life. We have to have aims and objectives, that are based on the sole interests and aspirations of our masses. Thus, that is the actual story of our adopting socialism. It is built on our basis and not merely taken in favour of other peoples and governments.

A political method established for the safeguarding of the interests of a certain people requires organization and leadership. The Somali Revolutionary Socialist Party (SRSP) is the vanguard of the nation. The highest authority of the State is vested on the SRSP. The SRSP seeks to guide its people to their ultimate destiny and at the same time, strives to put them in a situation where they can resolve their long-standing problems. It provides to accomplish certain defined goals that are vital to the welfare, existence, and humanitarian values of the people. Those are the fundamental obligations of the SRSP.

There could be certain odd elements in the Party machinery. For that the party is not answerable nor Socialism is. It is the sole responsibility of the offender and the penalty is his alone.

After the formation of Somalia's party, the SRSP, social organizations in the country including the General Federation of Somali Trade Unions, GFSTU, underwent a restructuring process which endowed them with formal legal status.

Our state administration, workers and general masses are one entity. Who are the masses? They are a part and parcel of the entity. Who are the mothers? They are the home managers who are also within the entity. Who are the youth? They come from the same homes. Who are the armed forces? Again from the same homes. What are our roots? The masses. Thus the masses taken as an entity, are the ultimate or de jure holders of our sovereignty.

Now, the Somali Workers. The Somali workers, acting in union, accomplished tangible achievements during the 12 years of their establishment. The successes are brought about by the Somali masses who comprise workers its women; its armed forces and its teachers, who previously played a wide role in the quest for rapid progress but were lagging behind these days. The teachers were the motivating force that urged the masses to attain their ends. The teachers helped the masses recognise their stumbling blocks, their menacing problems.

When a nation steps into the new or discovers a kind of new technology that is long passed by other nations it regains its pride

and confidence. A short while ago, we were flying over water for more than 8 hours at a stretch. The passengers seemed restive at first. Later on they were tired and felt like sleeping. I was alone in my thoughts. In my contemplations, I saw that the plane which took us belonged to Somalia. The engineers, pilots, technicians and stewardesses were all Somalis. What a boon! I thanked very much to the heaven above. They are mastering their own.

As I previously noted, we are on a march and it is sheer stupidity to halt it half way as some one said before, «half way is no way to paradise. Major innovations were made during the long march and others are bound to be attained in the future. In this regard we will never forget the help of some fellow Arab brothers. We will never hesitate to forget the indispensable aids of the Gulf regions like Saudi Arabia, Abu Dhabi, Qadar, Kuwait and Iraq. We will not back on our promise with Egypt. Among other things, it took part in our struggle to independence and it is still with us. Unfortunately, while we were fighting on the fronts, thinking that peace and stability prevails at home, we were stabbed at the back by an unexpected enemy, who was formerly a recipient of our favours.

Our conscience does not permit us to do away with that subversives because it did us a favour previously. The subversives, an enemy within the people, rewarded our favour with outright enmity by lining with the undisguised foe and shooting us on the back.

My warm appreciations go to the government of Italy and its people. Italy is a close ally that helped us in many hectic situations. It opened the doors for our university, which were on the brink of closing for the lack of efficient professors. My thanks go to all those who helped us during the difficult times.

To cut a long story short, I remain to say workers should wake up. Forget to trade in untruths, do not accept humiliation nor would you practise fraud and deception. Don't betray yourself by neglecting your work. It is hard for a person to recover if the backbone is broken. You workers are the backbone of the nation. Cooperatives should wake up. They should wake up. Mothers should wake up. All social organisations should be alert all the while. They should unite their effort in preserving this nation's dignity, pride, existence and nationhood. They should not tolerate blackmarketeering and misappropriation of government funds. They should watch for those elements who, unnoticingly, are exploiting them.

Last but not the least, I encourage the workers to evaluate what they have achieved so far in their 12 years of dedication. They

should also commit to memory what needs to be done and they should be tackled. They should corner, without delay, those who are evading the law. Once found, give them their due.

Finally, I warmly congratulate the Somali workers on their heroic achievements, hoping, with all my heart, that they redouble their efforts so that they could attain the prescribed goals.

Thank you for listening.

Long live Somalia



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