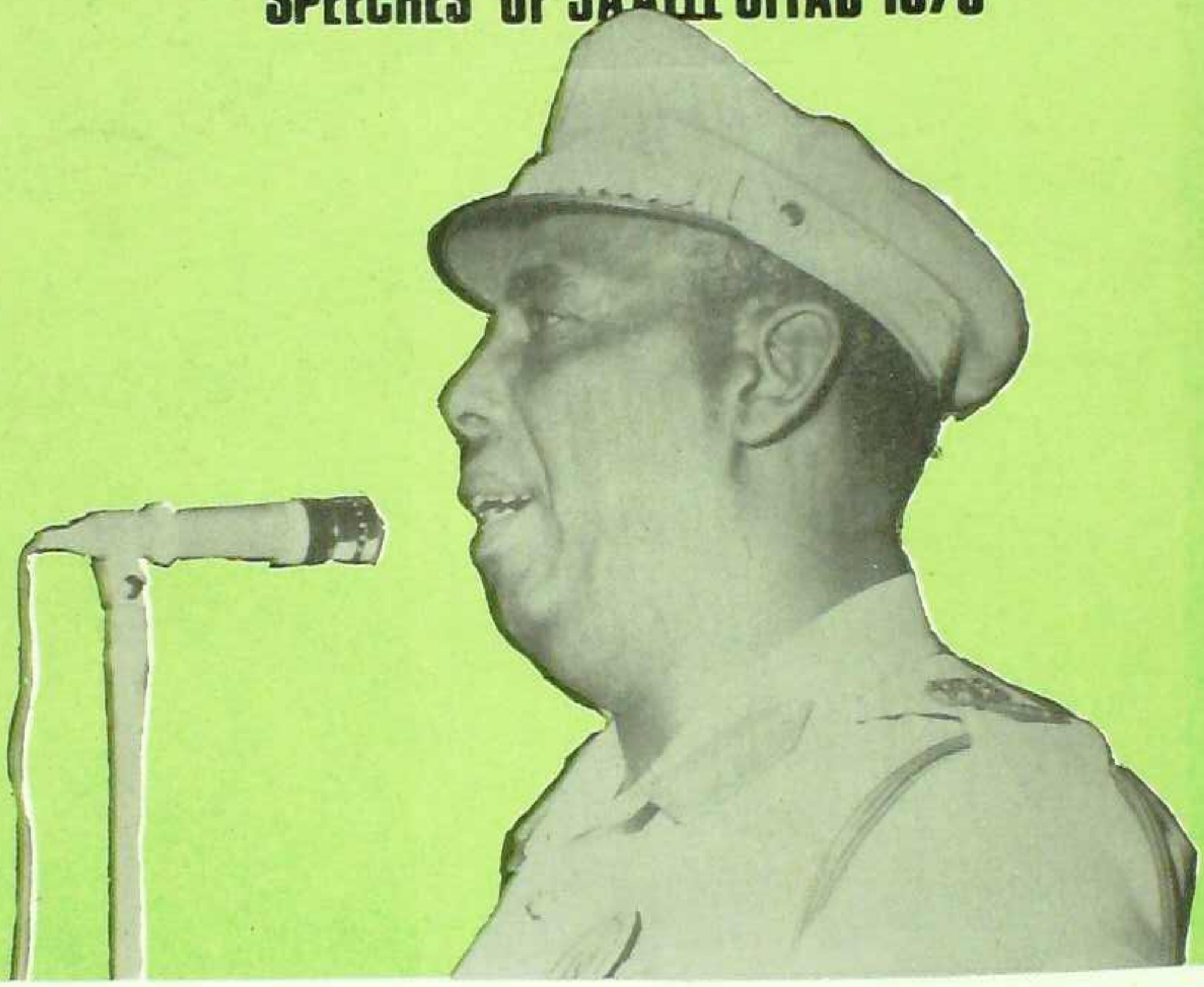
MY COUNTRY & MY PEOPLE

SPEECHES OF JAALLE SIYAD 1975



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My Country and My People

Selected Speeches of Jaalle Siad, Chairman of the SRC 1975

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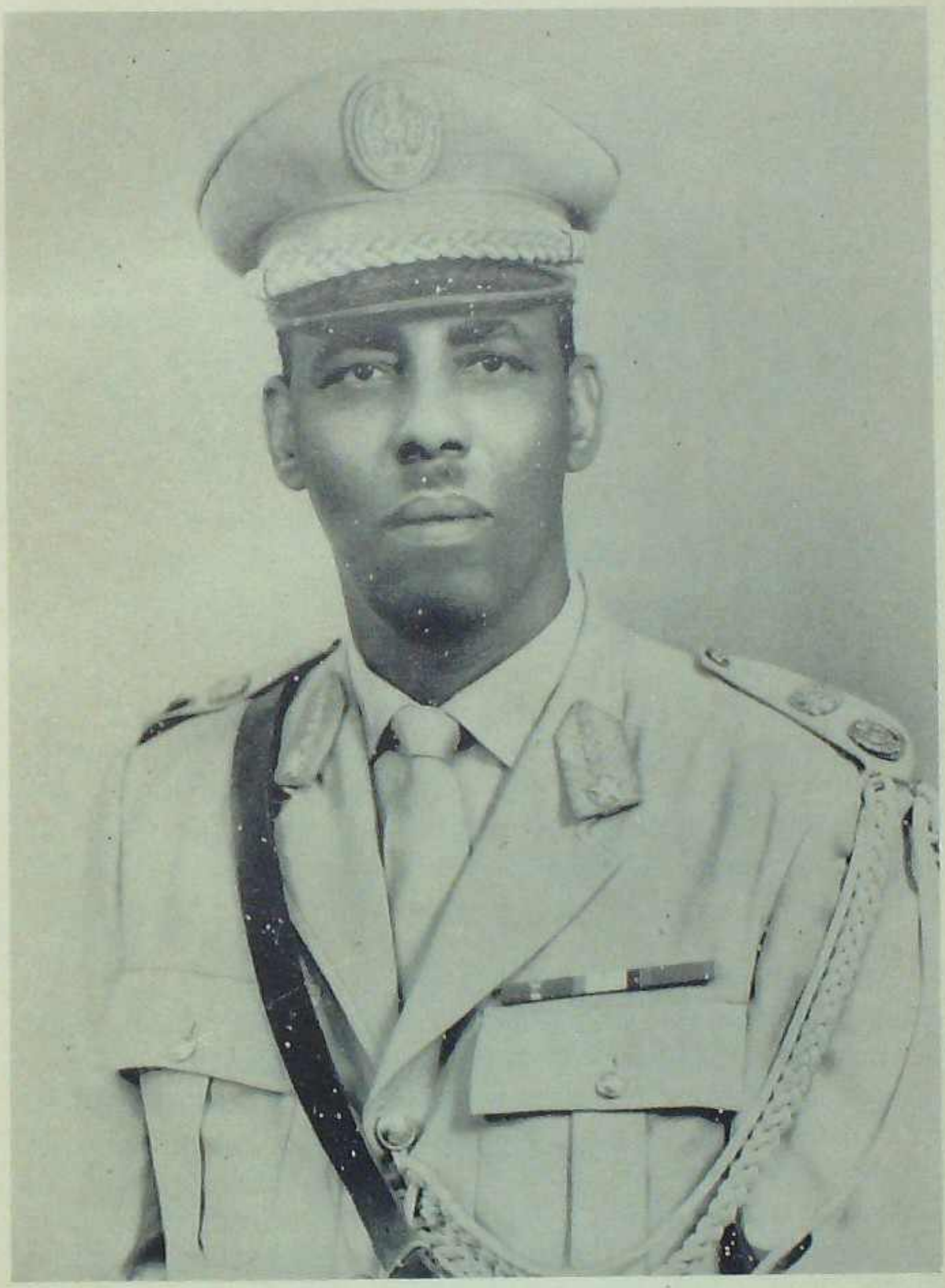

Jaalle Mohamed Siad Bare
The Secretary General of Somali Revolutionary Socialist Party
&
President of the Somali Democratic Republic

INTRODUCTION

The Secretary General of the Somali Socialist Revolutionary Party, President of the Somali Democratic Republic, Jaalle Mohamed Siad Barre has made it his habit to communicate with the Somali people directly by continously giving them honest, wise and sagacious speeches which are aimed at awakening, mobilising, orientating and raising the political consciousness of our workers, youth, women, students, victory pioneers, flowers of the Revolution, the armed forces, the civil servants and the members of the general public.

The speeches, which are contained in this book also throw light on the economic, political, social, and cultural matters as well as other topics of local and international interest.

My Country and My People — Jaalle Siad's Year Book is written in a simple, clear and precise language, which can easily be understood. The 1975 book contains speeches emphasising Somalia's chosen path of scientific Socialism, which is based on equality, justice, unity and progress.

It is, therefore, a great honour for the Ministry of Information and National Guidance to pass these selected speeches of our beleved leader Jaalle Siad to the masses of the Somali people. We earnestly hope that each and every member of our society would be able to get a copy of this precious book which has been simultaneously issued in Somali and Arabic languages to give every citizen a chance to use this rich literature to the advantage of our people and country so that we can implement the programme and the constitution of our Party and thus achieve our cherished aspirations and together build a unified and prosperous Somalia.

Minister of Information
and National Guidance,
Jaalle Dr. Abdiqasim S. Hassan.

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Victory For The Somali Women

Jaalle Siad Announces Important Decisions Giving Equal Rights to Men and Women on Januray 11. 1975.

Comrades, we have gathered here this evening to remember those we who have sacrificed their lives for the Independence which we are enjoying, and who had driven the imperialists from our beloved country. The time of their death is not too far back, and we still remember them as distinct personalities and not mere names in history.

It is our duty to commemorate the deaths of those people for they had sacrificed their lives to make possible for future Somali generations to live in liberty and the persuit of happiness, and to take their rightful position among the independent nations of the world. In particular, we are singling out for commemoration today the death of Hawa Osman «nickname: Hawa Tako». The reason we are paying particular homage to her is that she had played an important role. She was first Somali woman to die in the struggle for independence. Her patriotism and death had taught the Somali women that they could play a meaningful role in the struggle of their country for independence. She had taught her Somali

sisters to fight side by side with the men, and to take their full share of whatever was being done for the country. The particular homage we are giving her is based on the importance of the example she had set for our women.

We are paying homage to all those who had died for independence when we commemorate the death of Hawa Tako. At the sametime, we are reinforcing our belief that it is better to die for liberty than to survive in oppression, or to be shot in your sleep. It is a fitting occasion to point out that the (UNO) had named 1975 as the year of Womens' advancement. Since we are in a Revolutionary Movement that does not brook stagnation, or slow movement toward progress, we would be among the first nations to expendite women's advancement. Since the equality of -all human beings and the ameleoration of their lives had been part and parcel of our revolutionary principles, the decision of the United Nations to call on all nations to take effective measures to advance women merely reinforced our previously held beliefs.

It pleases me to see that even the reactionaries and imperialists are realizing now that they can not hold the people down indefinitely from getting equality, and that their political awareness is increasing all the time. As has been said before, all the people in the world would eventually get equality by hook or crook, and it would not be long before the death knell tolls for the forces that want to keep down part of humanity. There would not be inequalities in wealth and rights; there would not be imperialism and colonialism; there will not be subjugation. The United Nations resolutions for human rights are harbingers of the eventual triumph of socialism over capitalism. Once there is equality of all the human beings on earth, there will not be anyone left to exploit, and that would signal the death of capitalism.

THE EQUILITY OF MAN & WOMAN.

The Supreme Revolutionary Council (SRC) and the Council of Secretaries had passed a resolution today giving men and women equal rights and an equal share in inheritence. In our country it used to happen that if a man died and had only a daughter, other people used to inherit the properties and any money that the deceased might have left behind. This was nothing short of robbery for by right only the daughter left behind by the deceased should have inherited her father, and not some other people.

As of this date the Somali man and woman are equal. They have the same equality, the same rights, and the same share of whatever is inherited from their parents. This indicates that the man and woman who are married to each other are equal and have equal rights. Giving equality of rights to men and women is an implementation of the United Nations call on all countries to effect a meaningful advancement of women. We hope that those who are lagging behind in according equal rights to all human beings would see the light and join the movement toward giving equal rights to people, men and women.

BAD WADADS!

We know there would be grumbling. Most of the grumbling would emanate from a particular group which is collectively called «Bad Wadads», or the ones who don't know the value of human beings, or the ones who are opposed to equality, or the reactionaries and the imperialists who are using them as catpaws, or those who want to sow the seeds of discord and who want to turn the hands of the clock back.

They would say «that is not what the Islamic Religion says». I am going to give the answers to the questions they are likely to pose. When God had first brought down to earth the Islamic Religion, there were certain prevailing conditions in the world. These conditions were terrible because there was robbery, gross injustice, slavery, aggression, and tyranny bordering on animality. The Islamic Religion, since it was a correct Revolutionary Movement, waged war outright on the eradication of most of the evils that could be done away with, and took

gradual steps towards the elimination of the thing that could not be wiped out without ripping the society apart. So we can ask «Bad Wadad», who interprets the Qoran wrongly; where has God said it is right to perpetuate slavery? Where has God said the human beings should be destroyed? Because if slavery is condoned, then there would be destruction of human beings.

In those days if a girl was born for a man, she used to be buried alive because the primitive man of that time thought it was better for her to die than to become a source of shame for him if she got astray. Since this was an issue that was replete with emotion for the society of that time, those primitive men were persuaded not to kill their daughters, but they had to be conceded that the sons had more value and more rights. The purpose of this oblique approach was to liberate the minds of the people before they were called on to accept things that seemed inconceivable to their minds. Thus the Islamic Religion came in verses and chapters to that the primitive human mind can have time to digest each message.

I hope that the more intelligent among you would explain the equality of man and woman in the right way, and would ecounter the falsifications of those who are slow to understand things, the people with little knowledge of Islam, the ones who interpret the Qoran wrongly, and the ones who suppress the more progressive elements in the Qoran.

We have now come to the transitional period. These are the times when the progressive and the patriot would tower above the reactionary and the self-seekers. These are the times when the men with stamina and conviction would stand out.

THE DROUGHT - ENGENDERED PROBLEM

I now turn into an issue which has nothing to do with the occasion for which we are gathered here, but which cannot be left out. We may ask ourselves: What

are the conditions created by the drought? I would say these are very hard times for the drought-striken areas of the country. 136,700 people are now in relief camps and others are seeking relief at the rate of 4,000 - 6,000 a day. This is a serious situation, and it seems that the areas the drought had affected are so far apart and extensive that we might not be able to handle its effects unless we get assistance from a great many really true friends. You can all imagine the staggering expenses the country would have to incur in feeding, clothing, sheltering and giving medicine and water facilities to 136,700 people and the others who are daily coming into the relief camps. To take care of all these people in everyway would really be a great task. If 136,700 people were in relief camps last night, you can be sure another 5,000. 6,000 had come in since then. When you add this rate of increment of destitutes over five months, and when you know there is no rain expected for at least seven more months, the number of people who would be destitutes by then staggers the imagination, and the aftermath of the drought would be clossal.

According to our tentative, rough estimates at least 700,000 people would be destitutes. This would also mean that a great part of Somila's livestock population would be wiped out. In addition to this, the resources we have earmarked for development would have to be met with this emergency. Under these circumstances what is the extent of outside assistance? It is true that some friendly countries have volunteered, to give us assistence for this great emergency, but after how many months will their assistance reach us? It will reach us after we have been spending ten million shillings a day on relief; it will reach us after we have been taking care of our people on our own for one month and a half. The people in relief camps are too many, and the world has given us humanitarian assistances, or would assist us for at times of calamity human beings have to help each other. Some countries have given us a mere token assistance. They must have told themselves «Let us just make our presence get noted without giving them any substantial

things». The reason I am explaining these things to you is that you have to realize that the greater part of the burden of this emergency is going to be on us and we should be ready to take care of our people.

The Somali people have to realize the magnitude of the great responsibilities that circumstances have thrust upon them. What is at stake today is the saving of hundreds of thousands of lives. It is the duty of every Somali, whether he is inside or outside the country, to contribute towards the aliviation of this misery which nature has beset upon his brothers and sisters. Paying deaf ears to this call is tantamount to betraying one's brothers, country and nation at a time of a great danger. I could think of nothing worst than committing such a sin. Every Somali must know, and know it now, that nothing at the disposal of the Somali Government and people would be spared. We must be prepared even to divert the salary funds to this emergency, if it comes to that in order to save the lives of the drought victims. It is indispensable that every Somali with the tiniest particle of patriotism or humanity should volunter to help out his brothers and sisters with his brain, energy and resources, and he should give it willingly and with good heart. All of us could do nothing short of that.

Looking after the interest of the Somali people is the constant objective of the Government. To give you an example, the Government had paid 140,000,000 shillings in food subsidies to cover the increase in food prices in world markets. This was done to make possible for the Somali people to buy food at prices much lower than the real value. The purpose of paying food subsidies is to keep food prices down so that the workers, the public and the poor people can afford to buy food at prices they can easily pay.

Every District had been given the responsibility of distributing food to the people in the relief Camps there. The authorities in each of the drought - striken areas in the country should appoint special people for the manage

ment and distribution of food. The people given this task would have to see to it that each person in the relief Camps should get his daily food allocation. Each person, or family, should have identity papers, to make sure that each person, or each family is given the exact quantity of food allocations. It shouldn't happen that some get extra food, through oversight or mistake, and some get less than what they are entitled. There should be a strictly fair system of distribution.

The mettle of the Somali nation has been exposed to great test today. They must prove the stuff they are made of for these are times of great trial. The Somali people must be equal to this trial, and and must stop anyone, whether he is a treacherous Somali or foreigner, who would want to detract them from their great responsibility.

Long live Somalia, Long Live the Socialist Revolution, Long Live the Progressive Nations of the World, down with imperialism, may the reactionary Somalis see the light and join their brothers in their march to prosperity.

The Role of the Youth.

President Siad Urges The Somali Youth To Commit Themselves To the Task Of Building Better Society on 31.1.1975.

It is a pleasure for me to participate in this competition in scientific knowledge, history and the culture of our people which touched every aspect of our life taking pride in the realization that the improvement of the education of our young men is going on by leaps and bounds. I extend my congratulations to the authorities of this school in general and in particular to the committee which took it upon itself to bring the centre up to this stage.

The committee and those of you among the youth who are somewhat more advanced than others should bear in mind to help students to understand the lessons given here in science, history and matters pertaining to our culture.

Our Revolution is almost six years old; taking this fact into consideration, have we attained our objectives? it is important to remember that we should have reached a stage higher than this in every field of human endeavour especially in the level of our political consciousness, ideology and the science of management among yourselves.

This centre was not meant to bring up orphaned children or miserable outcasts. It was established with more noble ideals. This centre should be the training school of the future teachers of the revolutionary youth of the country. For this

reason their training should be aimed at, first and foremost, how to manage, how to rule, in other words how to run such a centre.

It is therefore doubly important to train even those who are retarded how to manage themselves and to remember that this centre should never be confined alone to those enrolled at this moment. The intake should be continuous allowing those who have attained maturity to occupy themselves with more responsible tasks of the class.

Now I would like to talk to you about the role of youth in a socialist country. To begin with, what is socialism? What is revolution? What are the responsibilities of youth in regard to this? You are well aware of the fact that capitalism is the offspring of conflicting idealogies. And it gave birth to the socialist revolution which is against exploitation and it stands for justice and equality. It advocates that the fruits of the nation's labour should be shared equally by all.

The bourgeoisie and their lackeys do not give up easily and they are locked in deadly struggle against the revolutionary masses. Such a struggle is historically a long one and our revolution is in no way different from those other revolutions that have come about as a result of such prolonged conflicts. The imperialists and their lackyes usually use local agents to try to kill a socialist revolution whose sole aim is to destroy capitalism and thence build a society based on justice, equality and equal opportunity for all its members who are committed to over-all development.

The question arises. Where do the youth fit in this picture of class struggle? The answer is, first the youth should understand well in whose interest is the revolution. It is to the welfare of big capitalists or is it to the advantage of the younger generation? They should also ask themselves of whom will the society of tomorrow be composed? Who will be the leaders of tomorrow? Certainly these will be the youth on whose shoulders today devolves the task of contribution to the development of human society. Such a responsibility entails the waging of a long and tireless struggle aimed at de-

molishing the old edifice of bourgeois ideology and creating the new socialist society in which every one does his bit to the best of his ability and earns his livelihood accordingly without fear of exploitations.

The youth should commit themselves to the task of the society in which they will be the citizens of tomorrow. But they cannot undertake such a responsibility unless their consciousness brings to their understanding the essence of the struggle of our world today. This struggle has ultimately the objective of bringing a good life to Somalia by raising the level of its development up to the standard of other well-advanced nations.

Side by side with the task of building a new self-sufficient Somalia the youth should remember that their country has the extra duty of giving moral and material support to those unfortunate nations who are still suffering under the colonial yoke politically and economically; that is why they should be ready to defend the revolution against the reactionary class and world imperialism which advocates exploitation of man by man everywhere, be it in Somalia or everywhere else. Reactionaries have many ways and methods. Sometimes they come in the guise of religion, sometimes it will come by day, sometimes by night. The youth should reply to them thus: «my dear you may come in a white dress or black or red, we know you well, we can distinguish you well. And we know where you come from, your colonial master. So you will not trap us». Students know well the Somali verse which runs; «Are you hiding from me the knives with which you mean to murder me». Somali Youth should always base their songs and poems on poetics originating from their culture and printing to their future destinies, they must distinguish their friends from their foes and foresee the obstacles they are bound to come up against and the way they are to pass such difficulties.

This Centre is five years old. By now you should have been in a position to run it and be the managers of this place, looking after the welfare of the students as well as of the centre.

Look! Is it not a pity that it should strike one as if it were desert. What prevented you from taking the initiative of

planting trees while you are aware of the fact that trees have a great value to human environment? You are solely to be blamed for this, for the authorities would not have objected to such an idea. This only shows that you have no ambitions. While I was coming here it stuck me that all that area could be made beautiful with trees. I asked myself how? And it occured to me that this could be done by assigning each student the task of planting a single tree which he could water and manure until the tree is fully grown. Thus the most beautiful garden could be established here. And why not since you are the future hope of the country, the flowers of the Revolution, you are the minds on which we rely to provide us with all necessities of life, food, clothnig and lodging and even education and medicine.

I advise you to work on such a poem of assigning each one of youselves one tree. There are stages in life. If I am not mistaken I think today there is unity among yourselves or that it is time for such unity, that it is time for you to have thought of improving your way of life, your homes, your ideas and your future, keeping uppermost in your minds how to live together tomorrow. There is one distinguishing feature between a revolutionary and a reactionary. A revolutionary has good conduct and is disciplined while a reactionary is the exact opposite and is destructive. The first hallmark of a socialist person is discipline and a sense of duty. People under socialism should be linked together like the parts of a chain, enabling the command from above to pass through without a hitch and with a sense of fellow feeling. The best person in socialist society is one who respects discipline bows to his authority and has a high opinion of his brother.

Now that some of you are leaving the centre after completing their education or considering that a considerable time has elapsed for all, it is necessary to open a record for everybody so as to be able to follow day by day the good and bad deeds of each student judging thereby how much he has improved in respect of discipline, personal manners, the depth of his horizon, his maturity and political consciousness. You, who are sitting before me now are no more mere grown-ups. As revolutionary youth your knowledge is superior and the level of your understanding is very high.

Let me conclude by saying: Long Live Somalia! Down with colonialism! Down with lackeys! Down with imperialism and its supporters! Down with opportunists! Down with the Bourgeoisie confronting Somalia! Long Live Socialism! Long Live Somali Youth!

Let us Think in Terms of ‹we›.

Jaalle Siad's Address To Workers And Co-operative Technicians on 10. 2. 75.

It is a pleasure for me to meet with some of the workers of the country and some of the members of the cooperatives.

I highly commend members of the cooperatives for having struggled for so long to depend on their labour to produce what they needed specially during the period we have passed through when their level of consciousness was lower and the opposing forces greater than they are today and for having found the power, courage and a belief in the future to continue their work. Secondly, I commend very much the Ministry and the various branches concerned for having given you the necessary you will have confidence in your power, skills and your couraged you through the past years until now, so that trust in himself and have confidence in his knowledge training or helped you in other tasks and for having enfuture. For it is essential that above all a person should and his future, and to have the zeal to attain one's end.

What guides a person is how he thinks and it is his thoughts also that determine the level of his creativity. But what is even more important is the degree of his awareness of the forces that can oppose him on his way to his goal. One of these forces can be nature itself which, as often as not is not inclined to facilitate for a per-

son to realize his cherished aspiration. There can also be some unfavourable people whose intentions may not be bad but who may not be far-sighted enough to appreciate the efforts of a revolutionary person and wonder at his efforts, or there might be the society itself which may not give moral support to such a devoted person and single him or her out as a mad person and point out «Where is he or she headed for?»

Nature and the benighted usually bestow their favour upon those who do not retain what they possess or lose it to others. So the force that always creates or produce in opposition to contrary circumstances are those who honestly and wisely struggle for their own interests and better future.

It was not an easy task to have passed through the long road you have taken. It is therefore pertinent that I should tell you something about cooperatives. To begin with workers and cooperatives are not two different things. Cooperatives are part of the workers put together. And workers are that section of the population that earns its living by its labour, its sweat and muscles. They are not parasites living on others; they live on what they produce. The members of a certain cooperatives may belong to various places. Some might be working for the government, they might be soldiers, or they might be technicians or other skilled labourers. What is important is that they are people who earn a clean livelihood. So co-operatives form part of a workers union, but they work with a; purpose based on the country's or Revolution's plans and objectives. And although they may work independently, cooperatives are not chaotic organisations that can do as they like in defiance of the general organizational structure of the Government and its planning machinery. They have to work in line with the country's policy, namely with that of the Socialist Revolution.

It is not that the Revolution or the Socialist system would prove an obstacle to the initiative of the co-operatives. The aim is to coordinate their activities within the framework of the general Development plan so that there should be an assurance that tragets would be reached leaving no room for a waste or failure, thus satisfying individual as well as national ambitions.

Why should the Revolution bother itself about all this? Why should it take the trouble to manage co-operatives at all both in their personal as well as in the national interest? The answer is that the Revolution's aim is to fight those who in the past used to profit personally from the cooperatives and line their pockets.

There is also another question that is usually raised. People ask how does the Revolution help the unenlightened and the not so politically mature masses? Well as you know we have declared for scientific socialism. It is a great ideology that has been proved to be the only correct one and the best system for building human society in which there can be a harmonious life realized in justice, equality, the improvement of technology, political consciousness, broad mindedness and recognition and upholding of human dignity. The choice to be made today is between a system that advocates all these ideals asking oneself which is nearer to truth, humanity, justice, a good life, security and freedom. Some inevitably choose capitalism and the expoiters and others choose the system which preaches justice and equality among all humanity. Then another question comes to mind. What does man need? Man needs, is the answer, to live a good life with health, more knowledge, better skills and all the necessities of life. Some will again think that these things can be attained through exploitation, others through their personal efforts. This will lead to the choice between the shortest way to amassing profit at the expense of others who are short-sighted, politically immature and the dupes of false propaganda, and the generation of wealth for the society at large however difficult and long might be the road to it, the road that calls for the struggle to free one's mind, soul and energey and the improvement of knowledge and political consciousness.

There is also a difference between a man who thinks only of himself and his immediate family and the selfless revolutionary who tells himself that it is no use that he should live well alone while others around him should live in priviation and misery and who logically comes to the conclusion that he is prepared to follow the the path that will lead to the prosperity of all and this is the underlying contrast between «I» and «We», some think in terms of «We» and they are ready to sacrifice everything for the sake of the overall development of national resources, education, the health system and security. Others think in term of «I» and they say if we are satisfied and are enjoying ourselves why should we bother, thus shunning all responsibility. It happens sometimes because of political circumstances time is on the side of the selfish. This leads these to believe that they are more clever, wiser more willy and more skilful than everyone in the art of string-pulling. But they are not like that and they fool themselves not realizing that it is only the political conditions prevailing at the time that is helping them.

So if I have said so much about how human society has developed and others have told you the same, one thing is certain and that is that the cornerstone of this development has been the type of ideology man has been holding from time to time. This will also be the determining factor of man's future. And on this basis we can divide people into two categories, capitalists and socialists not only in so far as personal property is concerned or in the mode of thinking for you can be either capitalist or socialist in both senses. Yes we can be capitalists by education, by training; we might have been oriented to believe that we are superior to others, that we are the brains of the nation and the aristocrats. Even more dangerous is the way this was instilled in our minds and it was through tribalism, backward system which many nations have left behind many centuries ago. We cannot dispense with tribalism perhaps for it was a useful lever for raising us above our people. Tribalism can also be equated with regionalism, favouritism and

nepotism. Such an attitude has been instilled in us by colonialism through its system of education that teaches that some are born high and some others low. This was put across through, films and the press.

What was the aim behind it all? It was to divide people into exploiters and exploited. But we should be able to identify who the workers are and who are not. Naturally, the exploiters will defend their class and they will do so in a subtle way that may elude you to grasp. But we are well aware of their machinations. Anyway do the workers know each other? And do they know how to defend themselves? I do not think so, and I will tell you why. For one thing there is the difficulty of distinguishing between classes. A worker should first know and be able to indentify his colleague irrespective of any town, birth or colour. His criterion should be common interests and the need to form a common front in order to defend such interests and to wrest from the former capitalist beats their own rights. And since workers are in the majority they will be able to win the upper hand for it is on their sweat that exploiters subsist. And if the exploited join forces how can there be any exploitation and the exploiting class.

So as I said the genuine workers should defend his fellow worker with whom he has identical interests. If he acts that way he will be individually all the happier througout.

How does an exploiter work? Such a person is generally known as a capitalist and capitalists know each other. They spend money and they hire workers. They break resistence by setting some workers against other workers. Sometimes they use more subtle methods. They increase the pay of their workers or they offer some other privilages such as long-term credits with which cars and other facilities are bought.

But so far as we are concerned how are our workers undermined? Through tribalism, your brother is set against

you, or your, mother, your father or your cousin are used as tools for this purpose by dangling before them trivial interests. At other times they are shown that tribal interests are in jeapordy and you are made to believe that it is right to defend them. But even tribalism itself is only a mask for no genuine tribal interests are at stake but those of the opportunists.

There is also another venue and it is religion and the psydo-religious Sheikhs. Here no religion is at stake. It is the interests of those who use it to attain their own selfish ends that are defended.

Religion is very close to the heart of many people and it is used by those agents cleverly manipulated by their masters, the colonialist and the capitalist exploiting class. This is nothing new. This one of the stages of humanity has passed through; it is in other words another stage in the c l a s s s t r u g g l e. It will not serve living in a world of makebelieve. We must look at reality in the face brushing aside all speculations. This is to say that if you belong to a workers' cooperative you should think along the lines I have outlined and understand well that what you are defending is a force called the proletariat. This segment of the population that lives on its own labour-power and sweat, trusts in justice and equality among the peoples of the world. This is how your struggle should be founded. It should not be founded on earning a few miserable cents today or losing them tomorrow or on being in high spirits today and feeling gloomy tomorrow. You should tell yourself that you are defending the majority of the peoples of the world known as the proletariat who use their physical and mental energies to earn their daily bread, firmly devoted to the principles of equality. fellow-feeling among humanity and the right to education and a good life free from disease and injustice.

This is your ideal and the guiding Star in your struggle for which you will sacrifice everything else in the interest of defending the rights of workers, reassuring

yourselves that this is not a duty to yourself but to the movement of the international protetariat and especially the Somali workers whom you will give support to the end of your days.

But if your beliefs are not of such a nature and your sole object is to amass a fortune for yourself then I advise you not to cheat the workers for even without you they will go on making progress.

Comrades, I tell you that the forces that is going to emerge will be one that will not compromise with colonialism, whose minds the value of Somali nationalism will not be deleted. It will be a force that will not be daunted by any foreign power however mighty it might be. And it will eventually bury such a power. If a revolution is socialist by nature it will defend the force I have been describing irrespective of sex, colour or physionomy, upholding the value of humanity. So Please I entreat you to understand that the course of events is determined by the will of Government. And government is either power or material resources. The power is in the hands of the workers and they will use it to destroy all opposing remnants of resistence of the exploiting class. The Somali workers who form the majority of the population will live to see each morning a more prosperous moment than the day before and their enemies inside the country will come nearer to their doom each day. By this I do not mean to guarantee you just tomorrow all your problems will go. I am fully aware that here and there pockets of bourgeois resistence are to be found but I assure you that gradually they will be dissolved one by one. So they had better mend their ways soon for a wind which neither they nor the colonialists can stop is blowing. It is the wind of progressivness, freedom, courage and enlightenment. It is really a wind too powerful for them to resist. If I may give you an example this wind is like the one blowing from across the oceans. Can you lift your hand and turn it back. No! well it is just like that. So when I am telling you all this you should distinguish your genuine colleagues from your enemies. Your colleagues

are those who live on their own labour. They are not the parasites, the exploiters. Your enemy is clever. He knows how to win over people. He will flatter you by commending your personality, your brains, your intelligence but these are mere brandishments for he knows that there is a force opposed to him and his own interests. It is an asset to know how to defend yourselves. And the Revolution is ready to stand by you.

The bourgeoise or their brains should not rule over us. They have lost all power. We do not mind them spending their money the way they like but we will not accept their exploitation anymore.

If the exploiting group knows how to defend itself it is up to you to defend yours in the same manner. Their language is anyway to denegrate the Revolution so as to undermine your coopertives and to attain their own narrow personal ends. You know this well. The Revolutionary policy is to support and develop the co-operatives. This is a duty, not a favour. For otherwise it can neither be called revolutionary nor socialist.

I have been profoundly touched by the speech made by the gold smith. It was full of meat. The point is to differentiate between the two classes and to able to classify people accordingly, and to teach those with whom you share the same interests how to struggle. It is not important what you lose. The speech has shown us that the worker is not concerned about his interests but those of his colleagues. It has shown us that he can be said to have reached a high level of maturity when he can identify the two opposing classes and is ready to defend the rights of his fellow-workers.

As for our policy our country is passing through a difficult period of drought unprecedented in our history. We have lost much in human lives as well as In materlal resources.

But I tell you that there is no situation in life that is constant. Drought, plenty, disease and health follow

each other in cycles. Life is full of ups and downs. But the extent to which these ups and downs are turned to good account is a measure of the degree of maturity by the people affected. It reflects the intensity of their battle with nature and the cooperation among themselves. And the keener the struggle the less the magnitude of tne crisis and the greater the advantages to be derived from it. You can see this from the way people die un-necessarily from diseases. The drought is really very serious and it has focused attention on parts of Africa that are also affected. It is also of the type that caused a great deal of suffering to many nations of the world in the past as we must have heard of. But so far as we know those of our people who have been hit by the drought are neither without food nor any other sort of help. This is not something that has occurred by mere chance. It has been brought about by conscious effort on our part and by full mobilization of our resources in the firm belief that saving human lives is dearer than any thing else, to which end we have sacrificed expenditure on many projects. You very well know that even recently the drought has overtaken several other countries and that the death toll has run to 300,000 or half a million people. It is possible that these affected countries were far ahead of us economically or that they took their independence earlier than us. In spite of that at present we are proud to say that we have almost reached the stage of resettlement. This clearly throws into sharp relief the differences between bourgeois and socialist ideology.

It also shows us how much spirit of unity there is under socialism. Had we opted for capitalism the attitude would have been one of nonchalance and everyone would have said it was none of his concern. come hell or high heaven. In other words people under another system would not have been guided by a sense of personal or national duty. Such people would have thought that they were being asked for a favour. But we, on the other hand, do believe that it is our duty to help those in distress, not a favour. And our feeling for them stems from such a knowledge.

Generally speaking I am inclined to believe that every nation attains what it aspires to achieve. It attains what it struggles for. You cannot get what you do not desire to have. It has first to occur to you that you get what you believe you can have; it is then that action follows. And generally in such action your aspiration manifests itself. To put it differently, every nation is responsible for its degradation or for its uplift. For example, those perfumery girls are divided into two groups. Some say that the ingredients are available in our country, others believe that they should be imported from abroad. The truth is that we have not yet studied thoroughly the possibilities here for making perfumes. But I tell you that the day we are determined to manufacture them here we will find all the necessary elements. That is a fact Our country is full of these elements. But I ask you is it the ambition of our female workers or that of their daughters and their husbands not to put up with un-imaginativo girls in their cooperative and to pass this stage they are in just now so as to build a factory for perfumes. You have already taken several commendable steps. Are you prepared to realize this too? Sweet smelling objects are not confined merely to the perfumes women use. They can be found in soaps for example, and in other types of perfumes. There are several stages to those objects. The point is to tell yourselves, «we have reached this stage, we should pass on to another». Side by side with this, do those who have speacial knowledge in perfume-making have any plan to do research in their country to find out whether there are any plants from which perfumes can be made! I mean is there any such initiative? Of course we know that women are your equals and they are contributing much phsically but as men do you have any such idea cooperating with them in their normal duties? Quite naturally no one cares about money if he is satisfied that his children are brought up by the State but I do doubt that he is ready to fight as one of the workers who are ultimately destined to win victory. China used to be the most backward nation in the World. But when their Revolution staged a prolonged struggle the Chinese decided to establish industries. But there we-

re hardly any good scientists, technicians or any other mechanics. They however brought together a tailor. a driver, a blacksmith and an assorted number of skilled labourers who had no any mechanical knowledge at all.

They built for these people a house and told them: «we want you to build a ship». But the workers were surprised and inquired. But how on earth is a ship built? The reply was «Al-right start by constructing a small motor», That is how the Chinese started establishing the manpower that initiated working. And as you know China has attained inconceivable heights in technology so much so that today it is a nuclear power to be reckoned with. In Somalia we were not short of political maturity and consciousness but the will to do things was lacking What is required, as in the case of China, is the personal and national determination to free oneself from dependence on others.

This is the motive force behind great initiatives that leads to the undertaking of superhuman tasks. It was not the technical know-how of China that was the deciding factor in their progress but the supreme will that directed such knowledge and astounded even those who had ahead start on the Chinese scientifically and technically.

But -we will not make any progress here so far as we are confined to what we have been taught in text books at school. We should bear in mind that such education is of little value to our nation and that what is more useful is knowledge that is committed to productivity. And it is time that we thought along these lives. By this I do not mean to despise our knowledge as such but we should desist from thinking that all knowledge is of one source. We should benefit from all sources available. I have said several times and I repeat again that the Somali nation is considered among th best in mental and material resources. This is the truth and we should appreciate it. The question is only how to benefit from these resources. Clearly there should be resolution

from all quarters and then general mobilization of all resources. We the leaders of the Revolution will stand by all such efforts and determination. We can certainly do this. What we cannot do is to dissect you and recreate you in order to make of you clean and perfect person free from tribalism, greed, inferiority complex and hesitancy. No one can cure you of these diseases but you yourselves.

Let me conclude by congratulating once more the officials of the Ministry, the factories and the Political Office of the Presidency on their efforts to improve your working methods and conditions for your own future as well as that of your children and your people in consideration of the fact that you are part of the Somali people and country with which the Revolution is concerned for their well being and survival.

Tribute To Somali Air Force

Speech Of The President On The Occasion Of the 15th Anniversary Of The Air Force on

14.2.75

I greet you all. It is a pleasure for me to participate in the celebration held to commemorate the 15th anniversary of the founding of the air force of the Somali Army. Only those who witnessed the birth of the airforce and then saw it through the stages of its infancy, develop and mature until it became self-sufficient can understand well. Only such people can realize the long arduous road the air force has traversed and can have confidence that in the future it will overcome the obstacles in its way for fullest development.

In spite of its infancy the air force has undertaken and fulfilled many tasks. What confronts us today is the problem of how to improve our knowledge of scientific aviation, how to ensure that our force is built on scientific knowlegde towards which end the efforts of that force is directed day and night. If we achieve that it will be possible for us to take part, with a measure of legitimate self-confidence, in the world-wide competition for the search of more useful knowledge of nature. I do believe that, especially the leadership of the airforce, is on the way to identical training so that those who will be graduated will be made up of like-minded groups that will have a continuous communication in whatever unit of the armed forces they might be working later on.

I would like to tell you that you have people in the air force who were born with it and have been here for some time now, some who are not that old in the service and some others who are quite new and are younger. I would like to advise you to take to heart the value this force can have and to try and convince the crew to lay their heads together so as to be able to appreciate the responsibility they have to their country and themselves as well as the security of their lives.

The Officers of the force, high on low - ranking should, if they have any love for the force and the nation, see that justice prevails and that every member should get his rights. I therefore say that if we want to have our force discharge its responsibilities to the satisfaction of all it is essential that justice is of special significance to it. It often happens that the law-breakers violate the law in the name of justice. They do so at the expense of the larger interests of society, hoodwinning the tender-hearted. But we want to get justice that is based on law. In addition it is inevitable that there should be a strong discipline that cannot be undermined But how can such discipline established if there is the jungle of the law and every-one does as he wishes? No! there should be a clear-cut organization and every one should respect it. Those who do not abide by it should be punished for such organisation is in the common interest. The law-breakers cannot hide behind it, nor can those who spent time on idle talk all the day the cunning intriguers should not be confused with the honest and hardworkers. The two should separated and the only way of doing so is to oblige every one follow the clear path of discipline whereby those who fail to do so should be singled out for action.

Our administration and the methods by which we execute our duties should enable us to discriminate the various levels of devotion. and therefore the ranks and degree of responsibility that is to be assigned to each individual should be one of tasks that have to be considered in planning the development of the produc-

tive forces. Promotion should be made on merit rather than on favouritism and other personal considerations. This will allow all to realize that what is to be done is not the prerogative of one person but the duty of every one and that each individual is responsible for his own alloted task.

You all know that we are applying and living under scientific socialism. We have not adopted this system just to talk about it or to satisfy some international public opinion. When we were adopting it we asked ourselves where do the interests of the Somali nation be? How can it solve the problem it is faced with? What system can serve as a cure and a shartcut to prosperity? These were the questions on which we based our option for socialism. Every country in the world chooses the system that benefits its own nation, and thinks of how best to raise the level of the country's economic, social and political development. This is the basis of any policy of any nation. That is why we too have taken-scientific socialism, having pledged ourselves to struggle for our nation and find the best and shortest way possible for attaining our goal.

In retrospect history teaches us that man has been from time to time passing through a certain stage of development, step by step, improving his scientific knowledge, medicine, his economy and the harmony in his own society. At the same time, while such salutary efforts were being made there have been among the various types of political systems and there have been some jolts to this development.

Among the various types of political systems that have been known to exist only two are worth mentioning for the rest are more or less extinct. These two are capialism and socialism. The former is on the decline and it is losing ground to socialism. If socialism were not beneficial why are more people going to join it and are leaving capitalism? There is no doubt that of the two capitalism is the weaker and socialism is its off - spring

having been brought into being by the difficulties it has created. The Proof is that humanity is passing from capitalism to Socialism. Such will always be the history of nations, for mankind is tirelessly striving for equality and justice and to satisfy his own personal as well as general needs of society with the greatest degree of ease possible. Man is also aspring to see a day when he will be able to reward each member of society according to the amount of work he has put in and at present this is not the case for a small clique called the bourgeoisie are exploiting the majority. But the majority are moving in the direction of socialism. And the majority will definitely prevail. So if the defects of capitalism are obvious like that can we afford to bow to it? It is a system that enslaves people, it exploits and cheats, and thinks of nothing but personal profit. But Socialism is above doing any such mean thing. It enjoins us to work and believe in justice and equality. This is where the two systems differ.

Man's thoughts can be classified today as emanating from either one of the two systems. And how do you yourselves think? For example. if while I am giving you a talk here tonight your thoughts are directed towards treachery and theft it means you are thinking in the wrong manner. What is useful is that you should think constructively and compare the two systems, asking yourselves which is beneficial and which is harmful and oppressive? How can we differentiate which is better? We can know by the preference of nations of one system to another, by the appeal of socialism to the exploited millions. Isn't this enough for us a guide to the differences between the two system?

Therefore you should try and put into effect the laws of socialism so that eventually your efforts towards that end will bear fruit for the future of your people. You should start by defending the rights of each individual whatever his position or rank might be mutually your rights will be defended which will result on both sides joining forces to attain their end and share with each

other with a sense of justice all you produce. I tell myself that it is inevitable that one day soon this Somali people if they have seriously embraced socialism, should say we have been freed from personal slavery because we have given up greed, telling lies, jealously and perfidy and we believe in the defence of human dignity, co-operation and working for the common weal collectively and individually.

The armed forces are part of the organised power capable of defending scientific socialism that has been opted for by the Somali people for their own benefit which they should work hard, studying this science profoundly because otherwise they will not be able to know their own rights and what they are defending. They will not also be able to cooperate, they cannot know what is theirs by right and what is not. So how can a confused person be able to appreciate the long-term goals of the Revolution and socialism which so many nations of the world hanker after and particularly the Somali people? How can he be cured of the small diseases that poison his relations with humanity at large and how can be outgrow these bad habits? The important thing is the mastery of the subject of scientific socialism and this is your duty if you want to defend the share of the responsibiltios that have been alloted to you.

It is fitting that I hereby solemely remind you of the first anniversary of our People's merger with the Arab League. Why did we become a member of this League? If you remember I expect I said at the time we merely reverted to what we used to be. There was nothing new in that. That is to say that we merely formalize our identity as Arabs. We gave legal form to what used to be a fact of life. We say that we are one of the Arab nations. But we are known as «the Democratic Republic of Somalia» situated in the Eastern part of Africa. This is what we really are. At the same time we are a member of the Organization of African Unity because we are living in Africa.

If I have personally studied this problem seriously or if those of us who share the same problems have done the same thing I can say we have joined the Arabs of which we are an integral part as a nation because we are Arabs as a people.

Justice Day honourd

Jaalle Siad Calls Upon Judges To Protect The Weak And The Poor Members Of The Society on 15. 2. 75.

Today we are celebrating the anniversary of Justice, the meaning of which might be interpreted in different ways by different peoples. That is to say that what looks to be just to me might not be just for another person. Hence in order to avoid such conflicting interpretations which at times are coloured by personal prejudices and interests, general laws have been formulated. It applies equally to all but at the same time it is also the basis for the application of Justice in particular cases. These laws must emanate from some visible and concrete background. So what is this background? It is the social and cultural conditions of every nation that is reflected in its constitution that in turn is the well-spring of its laws and regulations. As I said the purpose of laws is to defend the interests of the nation, the majority as against the few unjust and acquistive members of society. It is well to bear this in mind.

People can understand this if they come to know that the laws of the land are part of themselves. And although certain codes are unwritten they come from the social life of the nation. its customs, culture and the way they think. There might be here and there some erratic elements but what the majority support is what

is important. It is also the Majority who decide what is just and what is not. It is therefore here that the importance of the written constitution comes because it represents what the majority think is right, what is legal.

However, laws are not a static thing. They are not enternal in nature. This is so becuse if we accept the reality that they reflect at large they cannot but develop with that society they represent. If a Society changes its norms change people begin to see thing in a different way. If it develops socially and economically the level of its cinsciousness rises higher than what its laws represented in the past, then inevitably such laws should also be changed to adopt to the conditions, for as I said the constitution of a certain nation represents the interests of the majority and defends these interests against the exploiting minority.

At the same time the codes of a society are based on the policy of the country concerned. These codes are formulated according to and are a guide to what that country understands by justice, whether that counry's politics upholds the existence of classes and supports the unscruplous people who live by their wits overstepping all laws that have been formulated to protect the weak, or whether it sees justice as being something to be shared by all and is ready to stand up for those who cannot defend themselves.

Thus in talking about law, the most important thing is politics which, if it avows to defend the interests of the masses, should follow a clear-cut and strong line that will not allow for any loopholes in its laws.

What I am coming to is the need to differentiate between the laws that govern capitalism and those that govern scientific socialism. The former aims to maintain the superiority of one class above another and the **latter stands for the defence of the exploited majority** who may easily be robbed of what they have earned by the sweat of their brow.

I would like to remind you that today our country whatever its difficulties has laws that are formulated in the interest of the majority and those who are too weak to protect themselves. I do believe that you are all aware. I mean particularly the men of law that there do not exist now any foreign laws and that no branch of government is without any regulations. What does this imply? This implies that our society shall not be governed arbitrarily by a person's whims who sleeps with something on his mind and executes it on the following morning when he gets up. No! it is to be governed by the written codes that have been passed as laws.

Secondly, our politics is aimed at the development of all the aspects of our nation's life, politically, economically and socially. We do not want our laws to be more carbon copies of those of other foreign countries. They must be representative of the customs and traditions of the Somali people. They must emanate from their spirit and minds and these laws should be such as can be grasped easily by the people and enable them to see what is just and what is not. People should be in a position to know before they appear in Court to difend themselves or even as listeners what background these laws have emanated from: how Somalis used to live in the past? How they used to share with each other what they have? How they used to cooperate? How they used to judge? It is with such knowledge that the magistrates and the general public should be armed with, so that both will be able to participate in the hearings as judges for this is going to have its impact on the villages and the nomadic settlements for our laws are applicable to all and the voices in support of justice should be raised by the broad masses, injustice also being condemned in the same manner.

To further illustrate what I mean by that is this. Every nation has its peculiar laws. Just take as an example the white traditional robes our judges are dressed in at this ceremony. Do they not symbolize our typical Somali way of dressing? If we have made it imperative that our judges should dress like this instead of putting on that red gown

borrowed from foreigners. This is because we know that since our judges are Somalis, they should look like their people. This serves us to show that whenever a law is formulated it should be in consonance with Somali traditional life. Dtherwise our people will not understand them and they will be at a loss to distinguish what is just and what is not.

So much in general about the subject of justice. Now speaking about the judges themselves, I would like to repeat once more what I have already pointed out several tims in the past. As judges of the Somali people, as socialist judges, it is not enough that you should confine yourselves to merely interpreting the laws and merely say that I do not care who the accused or the plaintiff is, I will merely see who comes up with the right arguments. If you opply socialism, if you believe in justice, it is inevitable that you should profoundly study the cases before you and judge with your conscience. It can happen that a person may not be able to express his views well in a court of justice. It is possible that a difendant might have a case deliberately prejudiced by some unscrupulous or due to the maladministration of the past regimes. But to have a clear and strong Conscience it is necessary for the judge to know something of the psychological make-up of Somali society so that he will be able to know the moods of those with whom he is going to deal. Truly speaking there are many people who are inclined to play with justice. These are those who wish to undermine it. But in contrast our people are lovers of justice and are renowned for not forging anyone who tries to cheat them in administrating justice. They stop at nothing and in most cases they take he law into their hands to satisfy themselves.

It is therefore iscumbent upon our judges to see that justice reigns supreme in our country bearing this point in mind. For this the judge must have the courage of his conviction in deciding cases as they are, without being influenced or prejudiced by those who love to talk much.

This is the duty of every judge as it is duty of every one else who has a sense of responsibility and is politically conscious to convince the Somali people of the need of justice and cause them to reach a level where they will forego telling lies, hatching intrigues and taking bribes. This ideal will be attained if the Somali judge becomes the seeker of truth and does not confine himself to the interpretation of legal books but keeps an open mind. This attitude will discourage those who might be inclined to win their case by telling lies or by talking too much, thus enable everyone to get his need before the law. Such justice will be attained when our judges persevere in their duty and show a great degree of efficiency. And what will be the principles outcome of all this. It will ease and simplify to work of the judges. It will alleviate the difficulties of a society that set people at loggerheads with each other. And this will encourage all to think and work constructively by channelling energies used in litigation to more useful efforts.

So it is the duty of our judges to think in terms of helping the nation to be led towards justice and equality. It is not an easy task. It is a task that might have to be undertaken sometimes in offices that have no electric lights and use lamps. But one should work and be guided by the light of one's conscience. Certainly this task is not of such a nature as would draw the clapping of hands from the public. It is not a stimulating and glamorous task. But what is it that a matters most? It is not the ambition for a reward that facilitates the task of searching for justice, nor is it the fear of criticism. It is the national conscience that should spur us onto attaining the truth, it is the political maturity that should colour our attitude towards justice and meting it out properly.

By now it should be bear hat the Revolution is going forward at a rapid pace and that therefore no government department should be out of step with this movement. I want judges and the authorities of the Ministry of Justice to understand this and appreciate the fact that there are still too many obstacles along the way to justice. There

have been of course several changes that have shown themselves in personnel, equipment or ideology. But still we cannot claim that meaning of justice required by our people has been fully grasped, that judges have all understood this, or the people themselves realize this. We cannot say that we have achieved all but we can say that we have taken the right steps and the path is clear to us but that we have not gone far along it yet. Rumours are circulating about courts and some lawyers that in respect of justice they leave much to be deserved and that therefore they need to be overhauled.

It is my ardent desire that justice should march forward the progress the Somali nation is making today, and I abhor justice being stretched too far in the interest of those who do not deserve it or do not themselves have the slightest ground for justice. I remeber talking to an advocate during the Administration of the past regime. This fellow happened to be defending a case that was a mere fabrication.

I tried to make him desist from taking up the case telling him that since he had a conscience, a sence of nationalism and dignity, it was a shame that a man like him should get involved in such a case. He told me be did not see anything wrong in doing so since he was getting his money anyhow.

I insisted that he should withdraw since money was not important but when he replied again that it was everything for him, I told him that we should party company and have nothing common from now on. I do admit that a lawyer should earn his fees. There is no question about that. This is justice. pure and simple. But what we will not bear to see is a lawyer who stabs his nation or his country in the back. We will not also bear to see a man who teaches the rising generations the bad habit of working for money implanting in their minds with poisnonus ideas that are destructive to the developing Somali society - a society that is being built up on justice as we see it, as our healthy society see it, or as those who have been

cured of the inhibitive weaknesses see it. We trust confidently that the Revolution is leaving no stone unturned in its efforts to arm it with a degree of consciousness that will help it rise above the difficulties that are blocking its progress. But this by no means implies that the Revolution is oblvious of the crimes that are committed against the nation and that it will not act resolutely where action is needed.

So I hope that let me repeat myself, we should stand by those who have justice on their side but are not treated fairly and not vice verse. Justice stems from society, and it stems when the people are no more putting to you false cases or have given up perjury. Somali society should understand that it is they who can do this. that it is in their power to bring about justice and that if they do not give up claiming fabricated cases the evil consequences of injustice will dog their steps still even the Police, who have taken an oath to work honesty for the people, become corrupt. We will never pardon and we shall deal with the extremities of jutice with a lawyer who is found guilty of brining to court a wrong case when he can put it right just to satisfy his own personal interests or the interests of others. For this is one of the most serious crimies that can be committed. So I said judges should not act as mere tools of the law. But what can be worse is the lowering of half to the level of being a slave to money and thereby in the name of false justice, undermine the Revolution. This indeed is a serious matter that has to be meditated upon. But let us study ourselves more closely what are the objectives of the Revolution? And we its spokesmen, what do we want? Do we ask you for a favour? Do we ask you to consider our personal interests at the expense of Justice? No. We want you to protect the weak and the poor who will never occur to them to corrupt you and buy your conscience. We only appeal to your conscience remembering how many times we have been saying this to you and for how long. In any event we should not discourage ourselves by saying that not much has been achieved. If we look back over the last years, this current year and the previous one, we can say that big strides have been made, although I do believe that had

we seen eye to eye the meaning and role of justice and what is best for Somali society, by now we could have gone further.

I would like to commend the Ministry of Justice, the judges and all those connected with the execution and knowledge of the law. There is no doubt that they have worked a great deal. I urge them to give a wide berth to the dealings of those who among us, are by nature detrimental to justice and to work with and satisfy the honest, the straight foreward and the peace-loving members of society. I am waiting for these men of law to rectify the weak spots I have indicated so that the machinery of justice will function smoothly. It seems that those judges who have spoken have shown themselves to be sensitive, revolutionary and socialist. I am sure that many of those previous judges who have had special illegal privileges in the past might think those who have spoken too daring to be able to administer justice properly. But I would like to alleviate their fears by reassuring them that it is not our intention to liquidate the bad bourgeous and exploiting elements blindly without the proper process of justice. Our policy is to give them enough rope to hang themselves with and certainly they shall hang themselves for by nature they are inclined to defy justice. But this is not to say that they will be changed and tried in absentia. What we mean is that we will not put up with anything wrong in the way of our nation's progress and we will not procrastinate in deciding what should be done in the interest of the people. If the necessity arises we will meet, decide and implement on the same day what we have considered and discussed to be the right thing. This is because we are revolutionaries and the very meaning of revolution means going foreward rapidly for the benefit of the people.

It is for us of paramount importance that our people should attain justice. The reason why we made it imperative that the mass should participate in the administration of justice is because they know of the aspiration. the outcrises and joys of the society they are living in and such

justice is based on the traditional codes and customs from which our laws stem. If we want to achieve social justice, such justices as would satisfy the masses whom these People's judges speak for, it would be unfair for us to make a distinction between man and woman.

Ours is a society in which there is equality of opportunity for all. This will also be the basis for our future administration be it in regard to the law of the family, the way women should participate as People's judges or in the manner they are going to contribute to the tasks of national development. This is the policy we believe in and nothing will stop us fulfilling it. This is because when our conscience tells us to do something in matters of social justice there can be nothing that can obstruct us. This was the case in proclaming the family or in declaring that women should take part in reconstruction. We cannot but pause here to remind ourselves that women are dividied into two categories. The first are those whom I would like to call as the people's women and they may be composed of young women or mothers. The second category is made up of the learned group of our society. They are educated and sophisticated. After studying these two cases for the past five years, it is our duty to assert that the first category of women, the people's women deserve to be commended by all of us. Without prejudice to the educated women who have contributed something can we say that they have shown the same enthusiasm as the uneducated ones? Can we say that they have fulfilled the role they were expected to play? Have they done something for Somali Society? I do not mean they have not worked in the various jobs and the various hours they have been alloted for they earn their pay. But can we say that today this is enough for educated Somali women? Don't they have more responsibilies for our future in this revolutionary era in which they are part of a new-born socialist society that is moving fast.

Considering the fact that today there are thousands of Somali women who would like to have their eyes opened and educated so that they too would be able to take part

in the national duties, how much have their educated sisters helped them? Very little indeed. They have not done as much as was expected of them. And I can say they lack also the necessary leadership, and I would like to say that they have not aroused the common mass of women, they have not educated them and they have not applied themselves seriously in his direction. This of course is a duty for all of us but in particular that of the educated female section of our society because I, for one, cannot talk to a woman like them for there are many things from which she will shy away from tolling me. But there are educated women to whom she can open her heart provided she sees in them a readiness to listen and orient her, what have Somali women done in this respect? And what are their views? It is not necessary to be emotional. What is needed is action, and not dreaming idly; there is no room for empty talk in the revolutionary Somali Society, no room for rumour-mongering at home or in the bars as some young men do. This is not the time for that. It is action, real concrete and tangible action that will bear fruit for the future and be a useful legacy. If we have proclaimed the family law and have made you equal with men is it not fitting that you should acquire a Ministerial Post? In't this your fair share? Aren't you on an equal footing with men by law as well, as far as social justice is concerned? But you must work hard for it, you are faced with a severe competition, so do not slacken off.

But if you turn up your nose against the poor women who carry their children on their back they too will consider you to be beneath them. So also will power and dignity consider you to be like that for the Revolution was born for these people. It trusts in them and it trusts in those who will go out to them. That is their rendezvous with the Revolution. So I said laws are made in the interest of the nation and it supports their aspirations. They are not made to divide people and confuse them. They are made to eliminate the difficulties of misunderstanding among the society so that they will be able to live together in harmony. The implication is that each woman will

raise her family in such a manner that her children will become health members of society. This is the substance of the family law, if we care to study it closely and preserve it free from a harmful misinterpretation. Thus no man or woman will be foregiven if he or she tresspasses the law meant to build a good socialist society. This law touches everyone since it comes down to dealing with the basic unit of society, the family. It therefore requires of each one of us to acquaint ourselves with it so that we will be able to protect it, apply it and benefit from it. This is the objective of this family law. I wish the Ministry of justice, the judges of the country and the young men working in the Ministry a success, hoping that they will be able to close all the loopholes in the law and doing their duty here and for the hereafter with dignity and a good name.

There is no doubt that the Revolution has not set the Administration of the country on its feet completely. Obviously this cannot be done overnight. However, we will try our best to give a very wide latitude of authority to the judges and other administrators of Justice so that they will be able to fulfill their duty satisfactorily. Thank you very much for the patience with which you listened to my speech. It is my ardent desire to see you next year as being able to say. «We have fulfilled your Counsel». Thank you.

A Great Leap Forward

Father Of The Nation Assesses Somalia's Educational Progress In A Speech At The College Of Science on 23. 2. 75.

First of all I would like to express my appreciation of the efforts that have been put in regard to the equipment and facilities here to which great care has been given to their establishment. Five years ago our ill-wishers used to try to impress on us that no university can be started in this country because for several alleged reasons. First, it was supposed that such a venture would be a heavy burden, second that not enougth students would be available for enrolment and third no sufficient number of teachers could be found. What came to mind after the Revolution was how to start a university based on our policy full well knowing that any where abroad it is the political line that determines the type of economy and social structure that a country needs to have.

So disregarding the old misconception that university education is not feasible we decided to found a national University in line with our revolutionary policy. In spite of the difficulties that this might present us, we knew that its realization was only a question of time. Of course, difficulties and setbacks were liable to arise but since no solutions can be found if difficulties are not brought about on purpose, our policy was aimed to let things take their course and later on after thorough study has been made of them to find our way out. This was the first question that face us. We have stumbled along

for some time. But, I ask you, has not an initiative been made? And hasn't this been the brain - child of our policy? Such progress will go on being made by leaps and bounds and the false belief that university education is not comptable with our condition will completely give ground. From now on the country will have a national university. What is the logical consequence of this? That the necessary buildings should be looked for and that the college should be set up. Then there will arise what should be set? Then there will arise what shall we teach? What subjects should be given priority considering our needs in Agriculture, veterinary science or medium? Then the problem of where to look for teachers arose. This obliged us to confine our already limited resources to what we were most in need of. Then came the solution for the problems of teachers.

The answer was to employ those who have already graduated here as teachers in the particular fields they have specialised in, allowing them thus at the same time to get more practice.

We can safely say that in the five years of our existence, to have established about a dozen university colleges is a tremendous achievement. There has been great progress really and the proof is that we have travelled so far with our plans in spite of the almost impossible difficulties. And what remains to be undertaken is no more difficult than what we have tackled until now for the back bone of the task has been broken.

The problem of teaching those who do not trust Somali society is serious; if you who are students do not believe in your Somali professors you should bear in mind that in your turn no one will care to listen to you. If you do not extend recognition to the lessons they give you, if you do not appreciate their erudition then this shows that your eyes and thoughts are still concentrated on things that are foreign and are farther than our boundaries, our oceans and seas. For every thing depends on the will of the individual. We are cons-

tructing a new society that is socialist and that is situated in the Continent of Africa. And every nation builds its own society and its education and this depends on the political outlook of each country concerned. The aim is to improve the economic, political and social condition prevailing at that moment. So what is needed is that those who formulated as well as those who execute it and those who are taught such policy should be of one mind and see things in the same way telling themselves that they are out to build a new society and that they are doing so in the manner their interest lies. It is then that they will be successful in their efforts without doubt. The recent campain on which you should conduct research, was an attempt at liquidating illiteracy and a policy to arouse the people to an awareness to their own dignity and to reform their way of thinking. It was also meant to show them to value and improve what is their own by rights. You remember how It was easy for anyone to murder his brother for security had been in danger at the time of the birth of the Revolution and it was not easy to eliminate this habit from the people's minds.

We had also to show people how to take the necessary preventive measures against the diseases that had been raging for so long and this has helped to minimize the incidence of such illnesses as bilharzi by about eighty percent ever since the student's campaign. This killer disease used to be caused by drinking unhygienic water from the rivers into which people used to throw dirty substance. This was really a necessary step in the direction of social welfare.

Another thing which these students demonstrated to the people among whom they worked was how to control pests that were destructive to their livestock and how to isolate those that fell ill in order to avoid contagion among the animals. These students had organized cooperatives for the farmers. They showed them, for example, how to raise chicken and how to sell eggs' produced, thus creating interest in forming groups of people into cooperatives of various kinds.

I personally visited a farm at a place called «Hawai» It was not very big. It was about, say 7 or 8 hectares. It was a rice field. There were about eight girls there and I tell you that their harvest crops could have kept us for about a month.

For actual fact it was not the students that benefited from this initiative but local inhabitants. I visited the place for the second time again and I was surprsied to see the dramatic change taking place then. The town was modest in size but the whole population turned into farmers.

My wonder was so great that I was concluding that if others could imitate these citizen we could have dispensed with importing rice.

I would like to show you that value of census taking by way of winding up the value of this compaign whose central theme was self-reliance. At first we invited some experts on the matter in order to help and advise us. They told us that we would need so much transport, so many million litres of fuel, so many spare parts, so much labour and manpower and at least three years before the task was complete. Of course, this was not feasible, as far as we were concerned. We could not afford twenty six million shillings as was the estimate for such an operation, besides we were also in need of twenty million shillings for the relief of the drought-striken let alone only the other expenses that would be incurred in teaching how to learn the principles of preventive measures against diseases and not the required medicines. Thus we mobilized our students to whom, together with the people, the credit goes, for without the spirit of the people no such initiative would have been successful. The final result of this campiagn is inestimable. It is profitable not only to Somalis but to African countries who can drive from it the objective lesson that self-reliance is the only remedy to avoid employing experts. If we had not courageously embarked upon this task we could not have attained what we have achieved. Anyway everythings needs time and

we should not expect to complete everything at once. The time factor is an important element in any initiative and we should avoid making unnecessary haste. I hope that the teachers will appreciate the transition period we are passing through and that only part of our work has been completed. So it is required of them to set their shoulders to the remaining task in collaboration with students, concentrating on what is essential, for it is a duty that they should grasp the significance of this period and help us to pass this stage.

Our education has reached the university stage. But how are we doing at the Lower level? We are trying our utmost, in spite of our meagre resources to encourage the creation of children's association called «Kaaha» (the light) in every village and district, the aim being to bring together children so that instead of growing as dirty and way ward children they would be able to make a very good start in being raised as decent citizens of tomorrow. For this reason they will be taught revolutionary songs, how to play and make gymnastics and they will be protected from diseases in these places. This scheme will ensure that children will not waste their time while they are away from their parents. Then they will join the first grade of the elementary schools upon which they will be formed into groups known as «Ubax» (Flowers). Here they will be trained in sports, taught songs, oriented and mutured in nationalism and brought up that way until they attain University. We have made education compulsory, at least up to Intermediate. This meant to guarantee that children are taught up to that level in every village and district. Parellel to this, you have the technical education which shall be spread throughout the country.

We do not want to build higher education alone ignoring the lower levels. While intellectuals are being prepared with various fields the Middle technical personnel who will put into operation what has been planned at the top should also be trained in great numbers. It will not also serve to avail University Education only to Mogadishu and oblige all to come to the capital, now we are forced to do

so because of the prevalent situation. But soon it is important that University facilities are made available in the other regions e. g. in Hargeisa, Kismayo and other towns. This is ultimately inevitable. It is one of the human needs to have more knowledge, a better economy, a higher level of political consciousness. This stems from the deeper desire to make one realize dignity and perfection. But while it is legitimate to aspire for such lofty ideals, it would be selfish for anyone to seek them only for one's own personal satisfaction. One should try and seek them for all.

Looking back a little we can well appreciate that very many people have missed the chance to get education, due mainly to lack of equal opportunity and adequate facilities. That is why we have now made education compulsory. This will entail that those who will benefit from such education must perforce pass on to Higher Education. And then the question of adequate funds for such a program will arise. Are we prepared to meet it? Be that as it may one of the reasons why we made education compulsory everywhere and abolished the boarding schools in Mogadishu was precisely because of this.

If I may refer now to the economic situation you all know well of our plight, particularly aggravated by our drought-stricken people whose problem it is time we have solved. Most of our livestock have been decimated. Those that have survived in certain regions will not be of any account in economic terms. They only serve as the progenitors of future offspring. It seems that some regions are still in every great danger. The problem facing us in regard to these is not the provision of the daily bread to the people there only. It is a question of how to keep the surviving animals from dying, and this requires that we should find water and pasture for them so that they will go on living and producing their kind.

This is the puzzle; drought is no problem. There have been droughts and over the centuries. The other problem is that concerning the affected people who have been lea-

ding a nomadic life. What do they need now? I do believe that you are the youth of the country and that you are among the few who attained the higher level of education. I expect too that what you are learning here and what you can learn from your own people are not very much removed apart from each other.

I know that you are well aware of the way your people live. You have seen it with your own eyes. But I want you to add to your experience whatever the financial implication you will improve yourselves by going to live among these people in distress because you are their future leaders. So, it requires making a serious prolonged study of young men to know what difficulties the drought has brought in its wake. Why your country has turned into desert? How our animals were wiped our, how your people were deprived of their property and left in poverty and in lonely places, how to resettle them once more, and once settled what will they require as necessities, when will they be self-sufficient and before that will they not need houses to live in, education, medicine, food aned clothes? It is indeed a very serious problem to deal with. The difficulties we have been grappling with during this crisis of drought are indeed of very great magnitude. And only those who have been involved in its administration or planning, the deliberations concerning it or the fund-raising problem can appreciate this. The efforts have been crowned with success so that today they are visible and concrete.

We are on the right path. And I implore you oh Youth! only not to be carried away by the sentiments that are natural to your age. You should think clearly with a cool head and avoid the pitfalls of irrational calculation so that we will reach one goal in the short period we have at our disposal. We should never leave anything to chance and we should never put up with red tape. We should work according to plan and never waste time. We say we shall move foreward. We will be able to have the capacity to put things right. It is said that if you do many things all at once you will make many mistakes, if you do

little your errors will be small and if you do not do anything you will never commit any error. But we will not accept not to do anything and we will not be satisfied with doing little. Our motto is to try and do many things although there might be too many errors. We want you too to have this as your guiding principles because it is only this mentality that can put Somalia forward in development. Education alone is not everything for the nation. It is our duty to try everything by way of experiment and as a good example to show our people that they can tap the resources of their own land by themselves.

Just until recently we have been blind to the riches of our oceans. But now we benefit from them although we have not attained our cherished level. Our shores are 3,000 km long and even more. But we have not been eating much from our seas. And though the inhabitants along these shores have been competively few they have never had any relations with the rest of the people, the country and the government included. But today a force of fishermen is emerging and at the same time there is a spirit of give and take between them and others which for a beginning is not bad at all. It can be improved further. Another example is the situation of our banana crop. Effforts had been made to stifle its export before the Revolution. But we declared for Socialism and the defence of our own wealth; we could not fold our hands in a spirit of despair and see foreign ships which we hired with our money take our bananas too late to their destinations after other countries had sold their at expensive prices. No! We could not stomach such mean intrigues. So we decided to buy ships which would nor be stopped at any place and are able to arrive whereever and whenever we wanted.

Our livestock exports had been in a worse situation, machinations had been hatched not to take our animals and ships had been sent elsewhere. But seeing that this was a sort of war we were obliged to buy ships. Thus our Livestock were exported to Mombasa. But heavy burden was our lot for the cost of our imports doubled. If it had cost to import a quintal of good at 50 Shs. It now

cost 100 Shs, we had to export everything at our own expense, tractors, water pumping motors and many other capital goods. The reasons for this was that we were not a member of the International Association of shipownres. Hence our voice could not have any impact. Consequently we were obliged to buy three ships and enter this association. And we did raise our voice».

By citing these exomples, I want to drow your attention to the question of how many branches of our national economy we had been crippIled, in our how many attempts had been made to undermine us? In contracts our policy has always been to leave no stone unturned in looking for a better life for our people be it in its economy or anything else.

We might not be perfect in every endeavour but still it is worth trying. If you see a certain clique pocketing the wealth of the country please try to murder them with knives, but if you see that efforts are being made in the interest of all, and if you do not get your personal share this is a national sacrifice. You know that recently committees have been formed, one of them being the economic Committee that has been charged with thinking up plans that have to be recorded, put them to the other committees for consideration and then pass them after approval to the concerned ministries for necessary action and follow-up.

You also know that there is a committee. Its duty is to look for ways of improving our social and educational life and how to solve problems connected with our society as health, morals etc. There is another committee, the Justice. As Somalis we really cherish justice. But it also happens that we have a propensity for breaking the law; We tell lies, we commit perjury, we lack patience & charity. We have an acquisitive habit. This committee was created to remedy all this. We have also directed that jobs that do not require special knowledge or skills should be within the competence of the Orientation centres to give to those who deserve them, those that require at

least intermediate or some technical education should be decided by elected committees under competitive examination and that students who have passed Secondary or University should automatically be employed.

We have established these various committees in order to co-ordinate our formerly far-flung efforts. Every Ministry is asked to submit an annual report which serves as a good blance sheet.

We are fully aware that we are moving in the direction of a feasible plan that takes every hour, day or year into consideration. We are on the right path leading to the regeneration of our nation. We should bear in mind that nothing works without a plan be it in regard to intermediate or technical schools, the policy of the country, its economy or its social welfare. I started my speech by teling you that you are an enthusiastic group and it is a pleasure for me to see you as being all revolutionary. This is easily discernable, for a reactionary cannot disguise himself completely. He betrays himself by certain aspects of his character. He is too hypocritical to be able to cover his traces. But you young people have certain distinguishing features which have manifested themselves through the point you have touched upon. What you have told us should be put into effect sooner or later.

We have extended the base of education so as to free it from the monopoly of the past. I have referred to election, Jaalles, we do not need it as Somalia is not in need of it. We are socialists. You should all throw it overboard. This is because our politics cannot be the monopoly of anyone. This should be known by every Somali. He should open his eyes and mind to our policy and be mature enough to realize this and embrace it fully, convinced that the only evenue to the national salvation is socialism.

Socialism is the only system that can enhance our value as human beings and it is only the road that can lead you to your ideals in the shortest time possible. For-

eigners have not done anything for us. During the 5 years of the Revolution we have been relying on ourselves and our own resources. You should clearly know how much you have achieved for you have contributed something. This will help you to know where you stand & what remains to be done by you. Such a mathemetical and realistic calculation will give you heart to try harder. When we think along such lines and consciously apply ourselves to finding a solution to the sufferings of our people we will be able to make coordinated efforts and direct our energies towards our goals.

No time will be wasted on fruitless debate, a spirit of understanding will prevail and it will be easy to undertake the necessary tasks.

For the last five years our efforts have been directed towards putting things straight; stamping out the habit of telling lies, hatching intrigues, misunderstanding and lack of security. And now we have entered another phase; the phase of socialization of all sectors. It is a phase in which much has to be done and little talking. If you get educated with a sense of national responsibility you can live on the meangre financial allowances you receive. It will be economical for you to pool your allowances and live together, cutting down on luxuries and liesure hours. The value of the education you are getting depends on the sort of frame of mind you put yourself in. The tasks that await you ahead are tremendous. How much prepared are you to shoulder them? How much are you ready to sacrifice?

I conclude by thanking you for listening so attentively and I express my admiration at the way you have explained the difficulties you are confronted with. I wish you success.

Thank you once more, Jaalles, I pray for a successful endeavour and good leadership for you and a satisfactory reconstruction for the Somali society.

I would really like to see you teaching mothers and children at the Orientation Centres sometimes in the evenings when you have put your-books aside.

I would like to see you entering the second stage of the battle so that your people would be aroused and ultimately be able to manage themselves.

Raising of political consciousness.

Jaalle Siad's Address To The Fourth Students Group Of Halane On 26 February 1975.

I greet you all. It is a pleasure for me to participate in this closing ceremony for the 4th course ending for high school students of the country.

First of all in the name of the Somali people I commend you and thank the leaders of the national army, the director of the school and all other staff concerned who have made every effort to teach the students and raise the level of their training to such a stage as has enabled them to demonstrate to us until this evening what they have learned of military tactics and ideology or how they have improved their political consciousness on their sense of nationalism which is basic to the Unity of their people as well as of the youth.

I do not think there is need to make a long story about this school called Xalane and the aims behind making of it a Central Training School for students from various places and civil, military and state employees, although it might be necessary for new comers to grasp the ultimate objective behind this centre, probably somemight not have heard about it from Radio MOGADISHU and might not have been present during the lecture in which the objectives of this place and those of the police Academy where misilar training is given.

I think that it is necessary to briefly examine the motives behind the School for the benefit of the students as well as their parents. Such training was initiated after the birth of the Revolution and the SRC was responsible for it after having considered the benefits to be accrued from it from all aspects and especially considering the fact that it would be in the interests of the nation, which although it was made of good human elements could solve many problems if it could be made to acquire self-confidence. There had been chaos, dis-unity and other difficulties which had been caused by misunderstanding, a lack of confidence in and knowledge of each other and haughtiness that were all insignificant. So once a Revolution had been brought into being the logical conclusion was to study the interests of the Somali nation. The right place to begin understanding cause the people to know each other. It was decided that those of the same profession should be given the opportunity to live together for sometime so that they would be able to know who is who by birth or so far as the educational, social, politicol, or personal qualities are concerned. And in consideration of the fact that they should collaborate us, have mutual understanding and respect even before the drought had occurred, it was essential that they should meet together, hold discussions and come to know each other from the views expressed thereby and be able to play their heads together.

Such being the aims of such a school the SRC decided that not only those who work together but also those at school who are reguired to be our leaders should be brought together and gain experience and knowledge from each other. This could not be done but by allowing students and trainees brought together to hold debates in which each one of them could freely express himself on a such subject as politics, such a school could also serve the useful purpose of acquaiting graduates from various cultural backgrounds.

Looking back about five years ago when these courses were started we can know today that the steps taken

to start such training were the right ones and that it has borne the necessary fruit. I want to tell you that things have changed for the better and this you can see from the changing impression on us in foreigners. For whenever we go abroad we come across people who a few years ago would have harboured ill-will against us and our national interests but who today are in a favourable frame of mind and are not only sympathetic to our efforts but are even willing to forge friendly links with our country and help us if the need arises. As for the fruit that the efforts at training have borne I have a living example in the persons of these youth in front of me.

These then are, if I am not mistaken, the basic elements in the founding of Xalane School. Secondly, we must bear in mind that another important motive was to raise the level of the polical consciousness of the trainees here with a view, so far as personal interests are concerned, of their human values & to convince them to believe in themselves, in their country and in their nation. The object of this exercise was to show students that politics is not something that is ideal that had to be talked about at random or in theoritical terms but a reality that had its roots in personal as well as in common and national interests. That was why it was necessary to make a start here in training students to attain a superior level of political awareness, personally and nationally, & to train them to look upon themselves as integral parts of their nation with which and for which they will work and increase the national wealth and to allow them to acquire better skills in the task they will be required to fulfil for the nation. We know that when we were making our revolution no one would have allowed us without some jealousy to become a free nation capable to manage its own affairs independently, concerned to better the knowledge of its people and able to defend its interests and our national dignity.

We know that colonialism which has enslaved all the world and particularly Africa & has not yet retreated would not have allowed us all this. Therefore the nece-

ssary conclusion for us was to prepare ourselves for the creation of the force with which we would defend the freedom of the Somali nation and its dignity. This was I should say the third motive behind the founding of this school.

When a person has a profound understanding of things, he knows what he is defending and he can forbear the difficulties he might encounter. He acquires more courage to give his life for the sake of his country and its dignity. What remains is that it is therefore essential that the he should know how to master the use of the weapons needed to defend the country. Hence these are in short the reason of founding this school. From this the logical conclusion is that the Somali nation at large should be prepared and trained how to follow the right path for a period in the reconstruction of their country. This long period should not mean to be endless. It is only endless the sense that Somalia will exist forever. Of course people will get old and sick or die from other causes Individually we pass away one way or another. But Somalia will go on existing and hence the road will be long and the generation that follows us will build on what we have started. Modes of construction might change but there shall never be any retrogression.

What do I have to tell the youth. The majority of you have fulfilled the duties required of each of you or those connected with school. And now you will be faced with task of shouldering your share of national responsibilities. If I go back a little it is pertinent that we should recall the preceding training course, Yours being the fourth of its kind. What merits have your predecessors brought to the youth and what demerits? Generally speaking, we can say that they have brought a good name to the youth and they have played their role well to the satisfaction of all.

They will bring new blood to the system of Government and the educational system. They will also add new ideas and fresh enthusiasm wherever are needed. Mind you my description is general and therefore I am talking about the majority, warning indirectly those few

who have not lived up to our expectations. Certainly there are some who have not done well their part and have not upheld the good reputation of the youth. They are those who have been overpowered by personal ambitions or have been misled by reactionnaries. These can be an example of those who have unabashedly stolen the wealth of the people with which they have been entrusted. Such is the type of these who work in Government agencies or departments and have decided to make governments their own personal property. Truly these young men have injured the Somali youth as some others have harmed themselves and have created problems for our youth and shame to the honour of rising Somali nation.

There are those who have chosen to lead an easy life or to enjoy themselves. This is the bad aspect that is found in every group but usually it is represented by a small minority. If I come to those others who have been discrediting and undermining us while we were struggling for them so that they could be the leaders of tomorrow, I tell you that you would have been shocked to see the way some of them live in foreign countries such as in Europe. Personally the other day I came across some such youth in America who. although I knew had betrayed their country I could not turn away my face from them. In the course of my conversation I asked them how they managed to live during these five years of the Revolution because to my knowledge we had not heard of any scholarships offered to them and I answered myself telling them that they lived by selling the blood of the Somali nation to foreigners while we worked for and lived on that nation.

Such tragic sights are one of those that make you feel sad for there are such youth who claim to have connections with our younger generations or the Somali nation. But in spite of that we believe that this will not discourage us for the very existence of such bad young misfets will strengthen the moral of our good young men and women. Such is the law of dialectics which confronts one thing with its opposite.

Now you are passing to the stage of serving the nation, the great masses whom you know are in need of you or your help whether you are going out to the country side or you are going to join the national service. Those who can make a permanent and lasting contribution are those who have a national sense of duty. He does not serve the nation who is motivated by selfish interests and he cannot keep pace with development. But the person who commits himself without any condition will earn the merit of his and will be highly placed and have a spotless reputation. The greedy and rapacious will be out-lived by the honest however long the march will be.

You will meet with many things in your task that will bring to light your lack of experience. You will be surprised in their stride and consider them as normal, others will be stuck or even suffer or come to harm. You will meet with the unusual for what awaits you is an administration, a life and a new way of doing things you have never come across before.

Those of you who will go out to the national Education Service will undoubtedly meet with all these things. You will probably work under authorities whose behaviour runs counter to all the principles I have been outlining to you. It is then that the conscience of some will be tried and refuse to toe the line and that others will bow to all that is illicit. If we make a careful analysis or judge from past records in the case of those who have joined the Administration or have taken up compulsory teaching who makes a lasting impact, the easy - going who has preferred to follow the wrong lines or the one who has resisted because of his strong conscience. Definitely the conscientious will carry the day, the clean person whom the still small voice tells him, oppose the wrong do not do it and be ready to take the consequences». He will win the end and there is no doubt that the master of vice and his student will eventually both go to wrack and ruin for the Somali nation will go on progressing and constructing and these two aspects of development is a historical necessity and no force will reverse it.

Therefore what I am driving at is this, my dear friends you are young, you are not advanced in age and your educational standard is good. Somalia is passing through a happy stage and it is a period in which a healthy society is being formed. And as I have said those who can help found such a siciety are those innocent of any national crime or have no grudges towards the people and highly value Somali nationalism or human dignity.

I think that by now you know our qualities, the qualities of the leaders who have brought about the Revolution. Five and half years was time enough to show us who we are for five years if we had been bad people. A bad per and our motives. We could not have hidden ourselves son can hide himself for sometime. Say for a few months but not for that long. And hence we cannot swerve from our avowed path. The point is that we do not mean that we want to be stagnant. Our task is to liquidate the few who threaten you and you fear, the few rapacious things who disguise themselves for you as good people and then to leave you deal with your equals.

You should work for your people for that is how you will also attain your own ends. This is the only way, anything else is a mirage an evanercent thing. There is nothing else for which a person should work but for his principles. The only way you can serve the nation is that inevitably you should have criteria by which you can distinguish each other. This can be a political principle. Each person has his own personal character and peculiar trait, and each family has its own way of life. But what should bind together all is the common political ideology which aims at improving the lot of the nation. This is a right we owe to our nation and the feeling of humanity compels us to do so. It is not a right we owe to those parasites who live off on the sweat and labour of our people be he an official, a trader or a colonialist lackey.

It is not by such people that we can win God's favour What do I mean when I tell you to help the masses? I

mean the people who are honest and true to their nation and their country but who are in need of guidance. You should teach such people, demonstrate to them and defend them when they are treated unjustly.

Such help can only come through the application of scientific socialism. This is what can only benefit the Somali people and Africa because it is the only ideology that can bring people together for any other ideology discriminates against the masses and encourages the creation of supper and other normal classes - But the one that unites people and advocates equality and justice is socialism. It is also in the interest of the economic and technical development of backward countries that are in need of catching up with the more advanced nations. Other ideologies waste time and energy on dissention among the people whom they set against one another. And any nation can attain their ideal only when they are united and they are all motivated like one man for then no power on earth can stop them. This is what scientific socialism achieves. Hence if you are the Youth whom we want to send for a campaign and we rely on you, it is our desire that you come out of the battle with victory.

As I have said socialism is not by nature transferable if I may so speak. You cannot move it from one town to another, nor from one country to another. It follows also that it is not the monopoly of a certain nation. It is a political and economic philosophy, a human ideology and it is a system for building a society. Therefore it belongs to all humanity and it is not the monopoly of any particular country.

Why do we say that socialism is not transferable? This is so because this international ideology should be put into effect with a view to adapting it to the conditions of the particular locality concerned. This requires a serious and long study so that such application should not be an imitation of others.

The reason for this is this. Every nation in the world has its own peculiar way of life which no other country

can share with it. Therefore it is impossible for us to export our own culture and social characteristices unless we do it through colonization as it has been done in Africa and Asia in the past.

Certainly there are common basic principles but application differs from one country to another. So it only stands to reason that we should stress the point that in the application of Socialism in a country its social, cultural, economic, educational and philosophical peculiarities should be taken into consideration. Otherwise Socialism cannot be effective.

For example, we are a nation of muslims one hundred percent. If therefore in applying socialism we followed the example of other countries that are different from us in this respect Socialism would be brought to nought. That is to that bearing in mind that we want to utilize socialism in the interest of our people we must not diverge in its application from our national peculiarities.

Socialism is not something stagnant and something forbidden to be talked of. As is already known it is scientific and it has emanated as an ideology in support of the interest of the great majority as opposed to the appropriation by a small minority. If it is meant to serve the masses it should inevitably then conform to their aspirations. It should grow with the masses economically and educationlly and such growth of nations is natural.

Today we are in 1975. That is to say that the progress of mankind is so great now that even the landing on the moon has been possible and knowledge and economy are highly developed. I am sure that these youth sitting before me did not think as they are thinking today. It is that way too that nations also develop and improve ideologically and socially. This development is commensurate with their improvement in education and creative capacity. We assert it that if socialism is in the interest of the masses it is essentially that it should always be revised scientifically and that the restructuring of society on socialism should be scientific.

So speaking of Africa, we see this problem thus that socialism should be put into effect in Africa considering the peculiarities of that continent in general and particular cases. Should there be any traditional conflict? I say no. It is not necessary that such a conflict should be created for we are not dealing in this with the vested interests of a minority. We are dealing with the welfare of the masses and there is no ground for dissention there.

Just recently for example the two Councils passed the law on family code well aware of the reaction that would come from passing a new law. So you know it has always been the aim to formulate such laws as would improve the lot of the masses with a view of enabling the country to take one step forward each day and to prevent it from being ruled arbitrarily by unscruplous adminstrators and judges. The law in question was the law on the family. It was meant to serve as a good recipe for living in harmony for members of the same family, as mothers or fathers or children from the day marriage takes place until the day children are begotten, raised and get old or die. And the task of observing such a law is the responsibility of every Somali.

The resolution was political in nature and it was passed for the benefit of the people and to solve many national problems which could not be solved without the formulation of laws.

The resolution was· as you remember misinterpreted and motives behind it misrepresented.

A hue and cry was raised about socialism and religion being at variance. But never there had been such a lie. A the time of the Revolution Islam, the careed of all Somalis was a contraband religion, so to speak. It was freed by the Revolution. It had been despised and trampled underfoot before we came. Missionaries had been busy converting our children and the children thus rescued and taught their religion. Islams could be counted by the thousands. Somali nationalism and religion had both been at stake and those who upheld both had

been considered as uncivilized foreign agents or worthless people.

You yourselves bear witness that such had been the case. We began by lifting Islam from the degraded place it had been consigned to because it embodied the lofty principles of this nation which deserved respect from all of us. Instructions were issued that each religious lesson should be broadcast from the Radio and that the «Suras» of the Holy Quran should be all read and translated and expounded. You all know that such a programme is carried out daily and that the translation is made for you in your own Somali language which you can fully comprehend. We also issued a warning that small chidren should not be taught religion in dirty and unhygienic places where garbage is dumped. We have planned further that each town should have a mosque and each orientation centre a place of worship where people should hold their prayers at the prayers hours.

We liberated our religion from the strangle - hold of the devil and have cleaned it from all dirt. We have retrieved to religious leaders the honour that was their own made «paid officials of the (imaams) and repaired all the roads leading to Mosques.

How did our religion work before the Revolution? I think you can answer that question. And where are those who now aspire to be our religious viceroys? Why have they not done before what we have for our religion if they are sincere and serious? The point is that there is no conflict now between religion and socialism and it is wrong to think in terms of taking advantage of this. No one who thinks this should expect clemency from us, for he is opposed to the progress and welfare of the Somali nation.

Let me come back now to our real Sheikhs? Where are they? What has prevented them from coming foreward if they claim to be our religious leaders? This is proof that these are pseudo - religious people and they

are the lackeys of colonialism as pseudo socialists can be such lackeys. If we talk of our objectives and we want to chart for it a correct political line then we cannot afford to go about it at random. We should take out cultural and traditional background into consideration measuring it against the level of our national economy, our education, our technical know - how and our political consciousness without diverting from the basic principl. es of socialism, that are meant to tap our economic potential, and construct our political and social life. We should also keep in mind the way people are divided into an exploiting minority and an exploited majority; support the aspiration and needs of the latter who may not be politically so mature as to defend themselves, and ward off the wolves from them.

I want to conclude by saying that the responsibilities you are going to shoulder are very valuable to the Somali nation and that you are going to leave behind an indelible impression. The fruits that will be borne will be to your credit.

Long live Somalia! long live Somalia! Down with colonialism! Down with the lackeys! May we attain Somali Unity!

Thank you all.

Socialism and Islam can work together

Speech Delivered By Major General Mohamed Siad Barre At Teachers College In Lafole On March 6, 1975.

Comrades, greetings to you. We must realize that we are in a revolutionary era; we are at a time that we should be able to distinguish the revolutionary from the others; we are in times of great trials. It is our patriotic duty to fight against the harmful effects of nature. We should be able to overcome whatever difficulties we encounter. That is our solemn duty.

You are the educated of this country and you should know, more than anyone else, the great task that lies before your nation. You have been given the opportunity to study in this college to benefit your nation in the future. That was the purpose for which the college was established, and since your nation reposes so much hope in this institution you must measure up to the objectives for which you were sent here. It is your patriotic duty to turn into a group of youth who can contribute to the advancement of your own people and country. The Somali people should be prepared to die for the truth, and this outlook must become part of us. If there is something we cannot do, we must have the guts to tell the truth to ourselves and not evade it. We must never entertain an illusion for that would merely detract us from what we can accomplish.

If we all keep in the back of our minds that the ojectives for which this college was established is to help the nation to wipe out ignorance then no one would be able to forget this great and admirable objective. Each nation's achievement, degree of enlightenment, economic and political advancement is equal to the efforts it makes to move itself forward.

If a nation shrinks from making the efforts to overcome the difficulties that it encounters, there is no doubt that the problems that ensure from such difficulties will snowball and make the nation suffer more than is actually necessary.

It a nation has the stamina to face what ever problems it meets, it can succeed in finding solutions for its problems.

When we truly understand the value of human biengs, we value the worthiness of our own people.

When a person gets education and enlightenment, he pierces a fog which has been previously clouding his mind, and he can make full use of the capabilities of his brain. If a person's mind is dormant, he cannot accomplish all that he is capable of achieving.

He cannot realize all his potentialities.

Let us ask ourselves, what has it cost us to establish this college? What has it cost us to make this college a successful institution thata cn be of athe greatest benefit to the nation? What is the purpose for which our youth were sent here? Was the whole undertaking a haphazard thing that had no planning, or objective? No. The purpose for which the Revolution turned what had been a mer school into a college was of the utmost importance to the nation.

The Somali nation could ill afford the funds it spent on t he establishment of the college when one thinks of the other priorities like food, health and other equally vital areas. Why then was the establishment of the college given such a high priority in the order of things? The reason was to eradicate, as quickly as possible, the lack of higher education, a problem

from which the country has been suffering for a long time, and which has kept it from making as much progress as it should have made. That was why the establishment of the college was great importance to the country. I belive that the key to any nation's economic and political advancement is education. If this key to progress is not found, what is likely to happen?

How to find this key involves great decisions, planning, which itself involves the painful decision of starving of funds which itself involves the painful decision of starving of funds other fields which are equally important. The great hope is that the other fields which have been starved of funds when education is given priority would be revived later through the benefits to be derived from education. That is the main objective of giving high priority to education.

Our Revolution had vowed to wipe out the three most deadly enemies of mankind, hunger, diseases and ignorance. I am not saying that we can wipe them out overnight, but what I am saying is that we can keep waging war on them until they are completely wiped out from the face of Somalia.

We have planned our education systematically. In the first place, we started with laynig down the proper basis for child rearing. We made sure that the child gets medical facilities, educational facilities, and to get the proper directions and orientation towards life as soon as he is old enough to go to school. We have established kindergartens for the children so that they can have consultations and special training preparing them for their future responsibilities to the society so that they could understand the roles they would have to play when they grow up. We can ill afford to embark upon such programmes of education, but we realize that unless a proper foundation is put for a child's education, he would not be able to grow up into an ideal citizen even if he is given college education.

What we started to do in the field of education was to lead our youth into the right path; to disuade them from astraying into picking up the bad habit of feeling indifferent to the fate of their country and people. The bringing up of the youth in the proper manner is something indispensable to the Somali

nation. A sense of responsibility, patriotism & honesty must be inculcated in the minds of the Somali youth since they are ones among whom would emerge the future leaders of our country. It is important that they should be given the proper training to shoulder such a great responsibility. The future presidents, teachers, scientists, economists, industrialists & many others of great importance to the country would emerge from the youth of today. How can any nation affrod to neglect the upbringing and education of such an invaluable national treasure? A nation has to build the characters of their future leaders and that is what we are trying to do.

Comrades, the administraters, teachers and students must all understand the ultimate goal of our educational policy, and why we have organized our educational system the way we did. The governent's duty is to lay down a sound educational policy, but the planning and the execution of that policy is the responsibility of the educators and teachers. The time to be allocated for each subject to be taught each period and similar things come in the realm of the teacher and the administrators responsibility, not the government.

The aim of giving everyone the opportunity for education and the chance to make use of that education is to make the nation free itself from want and the need. When a nation has reached a high level of educational and economic advancement it can be said to have freed itself from the constrains of hard living which demeans human beings. It is a known fact that people think more constructively when they have no worries about the necessities of life.

What comes next? There is a historical moral responsibility on the shoulders of colleges and universities. They cannot escape from that responsibility and if they try to do so, history passes a verdict of «guilty» on them. The multi-legged centipede does not stop moving if it loses a leg. Similarly, the society does not stop moving towards progress if an individaul, or individuals shirk their responsibilities and put themselves on the wayside where they belong and wreck their lives. It is the duty of every citizen to contribute to the advancement of his nation for whatever progress his nation makes

is also the extent of the progress that the citizen himself can selves on the wayside where they belong and wreck their lihope to make.

The administrative organs of the government has the duty of executing the policies laid down for the country. Anybody in administration who does not execute policies in the spirit in which they were made is hampering the progress of the nation. Smooth administration is something very vital in every field, and the administration of educational policies is no exception. The students in this college should be able to remember how rotten the foundation of our educational system had become during the corrupt era after independence. They should find no difficulty in recalling when school certificates were for sale, when nepotism, favoritism, and tribalism were playing havoc with the very existence of the nation. In those days no one could hope to get education, or an employment after the completion of his education, without either buying it or begging someone to pull some strings for him. Today you all know that anyone can get education not as a favour or payment, bu as the right of the citizens. Anyone who completes his education, no matter what level, can count on finding a job ready for him without going through the humiliating motions of running around to find someone to pull strings for him. Since the Revolution has freed everyone from the ignominy of degrading oneself before others to get what should have been given to him as his right, it is only fair to expect from every one to protect what he himself has gained. Some people get bogged down by paying attention to trivialities instead of focusing their sight on the goals to which the nation is moving. They should be careful not to trip over the barriers that are straining themselves to imped the nation's movement toward its destination, which is to reach a state of prosperity, justice, equality and self-reliance. The indivitual has to ask himself: do I have the mental capacity and maturity to see clearly what may nation is trying to accomplish and what that accomplishment means? Do I have the stamina to contribute to my nation's efforts to overcome whatever difficulties it might encounter? Do I really know the objectives of my nation?

If a person has mental maturity and knows that the way to progress is usually strewn with thorny hurdles, he would not be thrown off balance, or detracted by trivialities. He would be sustained by this dignity, courage, and his sense of patriotism and responsibility. He would be determined to help his nation reach a state of prosperity. The forces of sincerity and determination and the desire to gain something admirable cannot be beaten. Everyone has a responsibility not less than that of anyone else because we are in a transitional period when we want to effect a great change for the better. If a person takes a good training and has had a good experience, he is capable of helping both himself and his nation. For example, if a teacher does not prepare himself for the great role he has to play in the society, he would definitively fail in fulfilling his duties. The reason is that he who does not equip himself for a task ahead of him, falls all over himself when the time comes to do what is required of him. That is why the nation is spending a great part of its resources on the preparation of teachers and professors to help the nation eradicate ignorance. That is why the cream of our young people are being sent to this college. Why is so much training and preparation necessary? To answer that question we have to ask ourselves another question. Does the individual come into the world at birth complete with his character's make-up? Of course not. The ideas he picks up from his society, the influence of his environment, what he is taught and how he is taught, the political philosophies he is induced to imbibe and the personalities who shape him while he is young all go into the character formation of the individual. Thus one can say that the society, with its system of education, political outlook, norms and mores molds the individual to a large extent, into his personality.

In view of the importance of education in character formation, Somalia had to organize its system of education in a way which would make possible the eradication of the detrimental effects of colonial education, and the noxious influence of tribalism which existed in the country before the birth of the Revolution. The memory of the noxious system of tribalism is badge of shame, and anyone who still has the least allegiance to it is committing an offence against humanity and

his own nation. Such a person is hampering the progress that his country, is making in education; he is trying to adulterate the political revolutionary ideas of the society, and he is a reactionary. What is a reactionary? He is a person who always advocates retrogressive political ideas and influences. That is what characterize a reactionary person. Such a person can be dangerous when a society is in a transitional period because at a time like that people are sensitive to many political winds which blow on the society from many sides. Somalia is now at a transitional period because it is at the stage when it has emerged from tribalism and regionalism and is moving towards the advanced state of scientific socialism. The nation wants to make such a big jump and it has to make it. In view of what we want to accomplish, what is the responsibility of the youth of the nation? It is a great responsibility and it may weight on some of them, but it is their duty to see to it that they create the future society in which they want to live. The responsibility of the youth toward their society and themselves is self-evident, and there is no reason for me to belabor the point. I would like to talk now about the principles which our society has adopted, and what their application means to this college.

I think the shortcoming of this college is that there is no systematic propagation of scientific socialism here. The reason for that seems to be the textbooks this college uses are infused with capitalist-inclined ideas. The reason for the existence for such an anomaly is not very difficult to see. The learned men and women who are given the responsibility to teach the youth in this college are still clinging to their previous style of education, and have not yet adapted to the new system. They are propagating in here what they have been taught and trained to do abroad without thinking about it, and without seeing whether all they had been taught abroad is useful to their country. The mindless propagation of capitalist-inclined ideas is tantamount to the perpetuation of the «cultural domination» which colonialism was trying to impose on us. The people who think that all the ideas that they have imbibed from foreign societies are all of use to the Somali society are day-dreaming. They are closing their eyes to the realities of life. The ridiculous behavior of some people aping the mannerisms of

foreigners are not only laughed at by the Somali society, but are held in contempt by the majority of the Somali people. At sometime we did not have enough teachers who had the required level of education. We were forced to hire some teachers from abroad who neither knew our way of life nor believed in our principles. Naturally, they were not expected to propagate our principles, or our culture.

The principles of a nation are the quintescence of its economic and political beliefs. It is a body of ideas which makes possible for a nation to differentiate the progressive from the reactionary, the honest from the dishonest, the patriot from the lackey, the nationalist from the self-seeker, and the courageous from the coward. To give you an example, the lackey is always running after foreigners and aping their ways of behaving and doing things, instead of identifying himself with his own people, and, of cource, those he apes look down upon him. Who would not? Thus, the principles in which one believes are the basis of one's outlook, political and economic setting, and they are the measuring rod against which everything is measured. True principles are not a mirage; they are the driving force behind all the admirable actions of the people.

As I said before, in the transitional priod we want our society to make a transformation for a low level of development to the highest stage of human development which is scientific socialism. This is a stage of development which all mankind will come to in the end. It is a historical inevitability. It is a scientific fact which is a result of a nation's political, economic and social advancement. What are the benefits of socialism? It brings about a political and economic belief which maintains that all human beings are equal that every person gets what he earns, and that no one can live on another like a parasite. It stipulates that if a person works four hours a day, he should get the full value of those four hours. If he works two hours a day, he should be paid the value of those two hours and not part of what he earns. Socialism rejects the idea of parasitism for it is an anathema for anyone to live off the sweat of another. Anyone who believes in the principles of socialism must understand that it is necessary to eliminate the reactionary forces of regionalism, tribalism, and parasitism. When we want to wage war on these forces, we must pinpoint who the are. We must ask ourselves what are the forces that reactionary elements can use against us? We must be able to tell the ones whose minds, outlook and education have been shaped by the forces of imperialism so that they can be used catpaws against their very own people. It is known that the people whose minds have been weaned on the illusion that they are something special, that they are an elite far and above their society, an elite who should always have special privileges. When these people whose minds have been filled with illusion come against a system advocating equality and justice, they bolt back like a mare that has not been broken in yet for they think that such a system has been devised to demolish their own status.

The idea of elitism has been propagated by international imperialism which does not want the majority of the human beings to advance, and especially the people in Africa, whom imperialism thought of as its own property, and does not want to see them make any progress. They want the Africans to be kept in the dark caves of ignorance and poverty.

Where poverty and ignorance prevails, the individual does not think of bearing hardships a bit longer so that he can reach a state of prosperity later on. Usually, the individual thinks only of himself where poverty reigns. Some people complain that there is more emphasis on economy than explanations on the political content of socialism. If a person is hungry is he likely to digest elaborate political theories? The answer is no, because when someone's stomach is growling with hunger, a film of fog clouds his mind, and in order to make the people understand the principles of socialism they have to be shown how economic difficulties can be over come through socialism. What then should be done? The society should focus on the ultimate goal, and strictly follow the strategies it has laid out for its future progress. At the same time, it should guard itself against those which want to impede its progress towards prosperity. That is the way the Revolution can make the Somali people reach prosperity.

There is a Somali proverb which says: «animals communicate to each other by the sound of their voices, while

people communicate with one another by speech.» This means that people can usually tell what another one is trying to do, and what his intention are. Now Somalia has reached the stage where its people can tell the revolutionary from the others. As a rule the revolutionary has no special interest to advance or protect other than what is good for his country and people. He makes no favoritism among his people. He does not love some more than others unless some emerge from the heap by showing the correctness of their thoughts, actions and responsibilities. Such people who transcend the pettiness of the shortsighted deserve the love of the true revolutionary. The revolutionary does not show one personlity the day he is happy, and another one the day he is hungry. The revolutionary does not vacillate; he shows a constant sense of purpose, and has an unchangeable goal to reach. His vision, purpose and attention are focused on the ultimate objective.

It is the duty of the true believer of socialism to protect it from misinterpretation. Socialism is not something stagnant. It is not something dogmatic that no one can elaborate. Some people engage themselves in the futile argument of whether socialism is only a beautiful theory, or whether it is something practicable. The idea of socialism being only a beautiful theory has long been exploded because many nations have already put it into use, and it is working beautifully, better than anything that mankind has ever devised. Socialism is not a rigid dogma. It can be debated and examined everyday for it is part of the human nature to be constantly debating things to see whether their ideas can be improved on, or whether some of the ideas they previously held to be true have been negated by new experiences and scientific facts. Yet no one has yet managed to confute the great body of socialism and it is not likely that anyone would. The reason I have talked at length about this point is that I want to emphasize the necessity of protecting socialism from erroneous interpretations and fabrications about what it means. As I have pointed out before. socialism is body of ideas that had been thought out very carefully and it should be applied as it is.

When had the first socialist revolution taken place? It had taken place in 1848. How many years have elapsed since then? How many other revolutions have taken place since then in the thinking of the human beings? What great knowledge has mankind acquired since then? What econmical, political, social, and technological changes have taken since then? Who can deny that socialism was the root cause of most of these changes? The great thinkers of Marx and Angles were not ivory tower thinkers, or dreamers for many socialist thinkers had preceded them but none could come up with a system that can be viable and practicable enough to withstand the onslaught of those who wanted socialism to die. When Marx and Angles brought out their system of socialism the world realized the greatness of socialism and its relevance to the lives of the human beings.

The most admirable human developments came about as a result of socialist thinking, what has been learned from the nations that practiced socialism, the difficulties that have been met in the execution of socialist principles, and the success made in socialist economic programs. Are the actions and activities of the society the «fundamental element» or is the «fundemental element» dialectical materialism? Naturally, dialectical materialism is the fundamental element. That is what the development of nations is based on. Dialectical materialism is a continous process which shows that socialism is not a dogma, but a process that influences the thinking, the economy and the lives of the human beings.

Coming down to Somalia, let us see how far Somalia has put into use the great principles of socialism, this system which all the nations in the world would eventually embrace. Once we have adopted this system, we must find ways of implementing this body of ideas. There are two tasks involved in the implementation of socialism. One is the dissemination of the principles, and the other is the implementation of the actions that ensure from the principles themselves. How should the principles be implemented? It is necessary that should think things out very carefully. We must make scientific studies. We must engage ourselves in greater productivity and broaddening the minds of the people so that they can enlarge their vision. Socialism is like an enormous tree which has many branches. The trunk is the basis, or the foundation of socia-

lism. The branches are the nations in the world. Each branch represents a nation and when that nation joins the family of socialist states it can claim its branch of the tree.

When a nation comes to its branch of the trees, it has to change its former way of thinking, its first econmic and political system and its defence mechanism. It has to effect all these changes for unless all these changes take place, there will not be effective implementation of socialism. Unless all these things are done, the nation's branch of the tree will bend, dry and break. But when Somalia implements socialism, its branch of the tree will blossom and give forth flowers and green foliage. The branch will be loaded with succulent fruits which would nourish the Somali people. When a tion is implementing socialism, it must take into consideration the factors that are particular to its environment and the conditions that it shares with no other nation in the world. When this is done socialism will flourish in the country. What do we mean by this? We mean that we must practice socialism in its true form and not merely copy it without comprehending what it means to our country, and how certain features can be applied under particular circumstances. This does not mean a deviation from the true principles of socialism. The trunk and the branches of the tree are interdependent. The trunk absorbs nourishment from the earth and passes it on to the branches, and the branches absorb vital nourishments, like oxygen, from the air and pass it down to the trunk. That is how one part of a tree cannot live without the other. Similarly, the principles of socialism and the application of the principles cannot live apart.

Our people have a way of life, a way of thinking and they want to advance from these ways step by step until they reach a true socialist state. Their faith is Islam, and hundred percent of the Somalis are moslems as everyone knows. It cannot be allowed, however, the true tenets of Islam to be twisted and tortured to fit into the preconceptions of some people who have ulterior motives. Who were the people who used to use Islam as an instrument to impede the progress of the nation? Who were the ones who used to take arms in the name of Islam against progress without finding a shred of

evidence either in the Hadith (the sayings of the Prophet handed down from generation to generation) or in the Koran for the fabrications they were mouthing? Had not imperialism used such people before, and is it not still around to use these people as instruments against progress?

Some people say socialism is one thing and Islam is another, and they think they would be thought of as progressive people. Usually the people who have this kind of attitude are either tribalists in disguise, or they are ignoramuses trying to practice the art of deception. I swear we can tell such people a mile off. Who are the people who misinterpret socialism? They are those who either read, or heard, the contents of the first pages of a book on socialism. These people are bad socialist who grumble: «where is socialism being practiced? There is no socialism here. Something else would have to come into existence». There are also the bad **wadadis** (lay priests) who try to mislead the simple minds in the society by feeding them with fabrications and falsehoods. These **wadadis** put up fake arguments, and they are stooges for imperialists. The people who are in danger of falling prey to these fakers are the people who have not made enough studies on socialism and who did not listen to what I keep telling them about socialism day and night.

Coming to the crust of the matter, are socialism and the Islamic religion categorically opposed? Aren't some people purposely making them seem opposed to one another? Aren't some people trying to make capital out of this in order to serve some imperialist intrigues? The typical man who fabricates falsehoods about the Islamic religion and the system of socialism is the bad wadad. Usually he is ignorant, a spy, and can be bought out for pennies. He is an urbanite and broke most of the time. He is a common feature in most of the urban centres of the country.

In the past when the country was fighting for independence, he was working hand in glove with the colonialists, and now he gives a hand to the perpetraters of neo-colonialism. That is a typical bad **wadad.** He is a man who has astraved from the truth and uprightness. This does not mean that he

has no some knowledge of the Islamic faith, but it means that he misuses whatever knowledge he has about religion. He has no conscience; he has no human feelings; he has no value because he is cheap; he has no partiotism, and he is a lackey He leads astray those who mistakenly regard him as a religious person, especially the young people who have a smathering of religious knowledge and who become fanatics. The young fanatics follow the footsteps of the bad wadadis, and they are tricked into doing things that are contrary to the interests of their people and country. The fanatics are poor misled people. There is no sufficient reason for them to be eliminated. What is to be done about the bad wadadis? And the bad socialists? They must die; they must be done away with for both of them are lackeys; they are both enemies of the Somali nation. They are both cheaters and liars, and those two should be taken out of the Somali society. What should remain then? The honest, the upright religious man and the good socialist. There are the ones who would build the country, and it is the duty of the educational institutions to turn out men and women who are patriots and would have their nation's interests in their hearts. Those who whisper around falsehools and misinterpretations of both socialism and Islam are not honest people either with themselves or their nation; they are all the time thinking of ways to harm the nation, and are the number one enemy of this country. The one who fosters the unity and the cohesion of the Somali people is the true patriot. The man who says, «have patience with your brother; be on peaceful terms with him», is a good man. The one who whispers to people, «have your back on so and so,» or the one who preaches the people to do what is bad, is neither a Somali nor a human person. He is not a socialist, he is not educated, and he is not a good human being. He cannot be the friend of good-thinking Somali people, and he should be isolated from the scoiety. The people should be aware of his treachery.

Now I would like to turn to the drought situation. 205, 000 people are now in the relief camps, and there are still

others for whom vehicles carrying food and water are in constant search for their where abouts. The latter either

could not manage to come to the relief camps, or they are are on the other side of the so-called boundary. Unless they are helped by the whole Somali nation, they would starve to death. There is no one else to help the drought victims whose livestock population had died out. Today they need the sustenance of life, and in the future they would need to be resettled and new means of livehood created for them. The number of drought victims would far exceed what is known so far. The problems created by the drought are very extensive, and the worst part of it is that many parts of the country seem to be turning into a barren land. The majority of the people would survive in some way or another, but the damage done to some parts of the country might be irreparable. A problem of even more serious nature is that a large part of the livestock population in the country have died off. This state of affairs will have a detrimental effect on the economy of the country. The seriousness of the drought situation has taught us to know who our true frieds are and who are our enemies. At the sametime, the Somali nation has learnt to take care of its people and how to act in concert when it is faced with a problem or a great manitude. The nation has to feed, shelter, cloth, and, give medical, water and electricity facilities to the drought victims so that they could be turned into useful citizens and not remain to be perpetual parasites on the nation. In fact other nations had given us an extensive assistance to handle the drought situation. But when did this assistence reach us? It reached us when we were taking care of the drought victims for three months. It reached us when we diverted most of our resources to the drought situation and its attendant problems in order to save the lives of our people. If we had not mobilized our resources at the appropriate time, there is no doubt that at least half of the drought victims woud have died before the outside had reached them. We have saved the lives of thousands and thousands of people because we acted promptly in handling the drought situation. If the problems is of such great magnitude, should we buckle under the weight of the problem and groan with the pain of it? No. We should face the problem and overcome it. If one goes through a great hardship, one learns a great deal from it. The country faces such a hardship and it must stand up to with dignity. We would welcome whatever outside help we get

for this problem, but if no further aid comes our way, we will handle the situation ourselves.

From today on the country would embark on the problem of planning and working for the resettlement of the drought victims. There will also be the task of teaching them new professions, whether it is farming or something else. We cannot base our plans on outside help. We may not be able to build modern houses for the drought victims at first, but we can give them shelter, food, clothes, water electricity facilities, medical treatment and the other necessities of life. In another words, we can make possible for them to have a decent life, We can equip them for their future by teaching them the skills and education to earn their living in the future. The drought victims know that their nation would not spare any efforts to help them, and we all know that we are going to do for them all we can.

Coming down to the administration, the colonialists had not trained for the country personnel which have great administrative skills for what the colonialists planned was the collapse of the country the day they got out of it. The time of independence is always sensitive, and it is imperative that a nation should know that the days of oppression are over, and the time for mental and economic growth has just started. It is important for a nation to know that this fact is basic to the lives of the people in a country that has just got its independence.

I hope that the students in this college, and elsewhere, have understood that they are no longer at their parents apron strings, and that they have entered a stage of their lives to prepare themselves for the great responsibilities that is coming to them. They should not expect to be pated on the shoulders and cosetted. They should not be thrown off balance by the little problems that they might encounter from time to time. If they meet any problems, they should learn how to face them and not shrink from them. If they face them boldly, they might learn a great deal from the experience of finding solutions for these problems. I expect of them to have understood the role they are expected to play in the society and to respect

the profession they have chosen, which is to teach brothers and sisters. The secret of success in any profession is the application of one's energies and brain to it, and to have self-confidence in oneself. Self-application and self-confidence would carry you through life, would make serve your country and would give your life a meaning it would not have otherwise.

We want to accelerate the preparation of enough number of teachers to staff our expanded system of education. For this reason we have started an intensified two years teachers' program in which the material previously planned to be covered in four years can be finished in two years. Those who have started on the four-year program would continue with it, but anyone who enters this college from this year on would go on the two-year program. That is the policy and it must be executed. Until such time when enough teachers shall have been trained for our expended school system the two-year program of this college would be an unchangeable policy, and everybody would have to follow it. This means that the students would have to apply themselves to the maximum because they are expected to cover the material they would have covered in four years. Some of you may think that it is difficult to go through such program in half the original time, but at the end of the two years when you graduate, you will feel differently.

A nation has both visible and invisibe enemies which Somalia wants to wipe out. There are the enemies of imperialism and the presence in the society of people whose minds are in darkness. Such people are the bourgoisie. The point is one should not allow anything harmful to happen to one's country and people. One must be prepared to sacrifice one's life, one's property and everything else for one's country. There are no two ways about this matter. For example a severe drought had hit many parts of the country. The youth of the country should realize their resposibility toward their brothers and sisters whose means of lifelihood had been wiped out by this natural catastrophe. The reason I am emphasizing this is that there is so much for the youth of this to whom the future of this country belongs, to achieve, and the cannot accomplish anything unless they take their role seriously. Delicacy and

emotionalism would not take them anywhere. They should have a great sense of responsibility for the future belongs to them, and they should stand united to protect the things that are building their future.

Tribalism is one of the instruments that imperialism can use against a nation. It is a means that imperialism can use to infiltrate a nation. When a person gives allegiance to tribalism, that person must know that he is giving allegiance to imperialism, against his own nation. There is a Somali proverb which says: Biting one's lip stokes the embers of one's anger». That least one can do is to bite one's lips to stoke one's anger against his enemy. Colonialism and imperialism had done this country too many wrongs that cannot be easily forgotten, and anyone giving allegiance to tribalism is giving aid and abetting this very same imperialism which had done so many wrongs to Somalia. A tribalist is demolishing his own future and the future of his own future and the future of his own country with his own hands. It is worth to remember that. Tribalism is not something that one can be proud of for the Somalis have been slaughtering each other in its name for centuries. The Revolution had buried tribalism. Some doomsters are saying that it has come out of its grave. That is not true; it is dead and it is going to stay dead forever and no any amount of idle talk would bring it out of its grave.

One should think of his country as if it were his own blood stream for if one's blood stream stops, one's life is extinquished. Similarly, whatever harm befalls one's country directly affects the citizens of that country. When one commits a crime against one's nation, he lives on earth as a contemptible person, and sizzles in hell fire in the next world. The quizzlings of the earth have no place either in here or in the next world. The nation will not forget the crimes one may commit in the name of tribalism, and the Revolution will not forgive the person who, in this day and age, tries to to perpetuate the evil influence of tribalism because such a person is a traitor. One might force oneself to overlook the peccadillo of a nomad, but one could never forgive the tribalistic action of an educated person for he knows quite well that such an action is a crime against the nation.

I would like to conclude my speech on two points that concerns this college. Every lecture must be preceded by fifteen minutes lecture on the principles of socialism, its value and the value that socialism has for the country as well as good mannerisms. Secondly, it is strange that a college of this size with so many young people in it does not have sports activities. I think you all know the importance that sports has for the construction of the body, and that a healthy mind is in a healthy body. At the same time sports teaches one a sense of responsibility, cooperation, friendship, and cultivates in one qualities of leadership.

Lastly, I would like to state that it is necessary that the youth of this nation should understand the struggle in which this nation is engaged for they are ones who would benefit from it most. The whole nation should be united for whatever it wants to achieve for no enemy can defeat a nation whose people are all struggling for the same thing with determination and perseverance. We know our enemies and should keep our eyes pealed for them.

I wish to thank you for listening to me so patiently.

On Rural Develoment Campaign

Jaalle Siad Hails Students Role in a Speech At Cons Stadium On 7. 3. 1975.

I great you all comrades. You may remember that about seven months ago we sent a great number of students, that form a portion of the Somali nation to the Regions and Districts.

They were sent from here the capital in a campaign against the Somali people's enemy with a view, as was the solemn pledge of the October Revolution on its inception, to eradicate disease, hunger and illiteracy.

It is a victory and a matter of great credit that today the campaigners are back from their mission after defeating the enemy known as illiteracy or having given it a deadly blow from which it may never recover.

We do believe that you get from Allah in the world only what you pray for or deserve to have. When we decided to launch a campaign against this enemy of the Somali nation, «illiteracy», it was our intention to wage the fight against it by successive and continuos stages. It is really for us a red - letter day that today we are celebrating our victory against it.

From the date of October 1969 until now we have been in a struggle, a struggle that has been going on at various levels. First we fought against illiteracy, then we fought against the foreing mentality and attitude ingrained in the minds of our

people by the former colonial masters. This was followed by the campaings to better the economy of the country, put an end to tribal fueds among our people and thereby create an atmosphere of security and seize our usurped properties and wealth from foreign exploiters.

Finally, we launched this last campaing to reconcile the towns and the countryside, as it were.

We have committed ourselves to the firm conviction that such action was the avenue to full freedom, development, equality, justice and that it was the way to unity and freedom, in short, to all these factors. So it was contrary to our avowed principles that the towns should benefit by the campaigns launched against the enemies of the Somali people while our nomadic and farming population did not. Had we taken such a step, we would have been guilty of having committed a very serious error indeed. So fulfilling our duty like one man we committed ourselves seven months ago to making a decisive attack in the countryside against illiteracy. For we could not exclude the inhabitants there from the benefit and fruits of the Revolution in terms of economic development, security and prosperity in which the whole Somali people was joining to share.

What did we mean by saying that we were going to fight the enemies of the Somali people and why did we divide these enemies into three categories? We meant to liberate our people from all that held them in the chains of ignorance, disease, bad morals etc in order to give them back a full freedom that was complete in every sense.

How was the man in the country side different from his counterpart in the town? The purpose of the campaing was more profound that it appeared on the surface. We did not aim at merely curing the livestock or the people nor was it to make the people literate. The strategy was to plant a tree that could never be uprooted any more, with strong immovable foundations of health, economy, and a new political outlook with wider horizons in which people had to be oriented and be made conscious of each other as brothers, their humanity,

unity and social life, demonstrating to them the advantages of holding together and the futility of living separately, each for himself and his narrow interests.

Now that our language has been written down I leave the task of recording of what has been achieved by the selfless young people so that this may be read by generation to come. What have these campaigners and workers done during this crusade for rural development? Have they taught the people only how to treat disease and how to read and write? No they have also taught to prevent disease.

For example the percentage of the incidence of bil-hariza has fallen by 80%. The people have also been taught how to manage themselves collectively. They have been taught how to form cooperatives, how to produce their food from their own land and more important how to rely and have confidence in themselves, their country and their society.

But the most important thing is that those people have been taught the recognition of their brothers in the towns. It is true that the youth force has been mainly sent to spread literacy in the rural areas. But what we are apt to forget is the board civilization they have brought to these areas during the campaigns. I thank all those Somalis who have participated in this historical task, those who have planned as well as those who have supervised it and those who have prepared and organized the campaign.

It is possible that some rumour - mongers (The afminshars) or the unconscious elements among our society will again wage their tongues as they have done before when we were sending the youth in the rural development campaigns trying to demoralize the parents of these young people by telling them stupid stories until some fathers and mothers were obliged to go into the interior and witness with their own eyes and be satified that all this was pure nonsense. It is a victory that this evening all the participants, the youth as well as the workers are back with us safe and sound.

It is a fact that nothing worthwhile can be won without opposition or difficulties. For this reason we pray to Allah

to give his blessings to those who died during the campaign. It is certain that those who died during the campaign will remain in the memory of the Somali people forever.

I am sure that if I say that we, as a nation, are all satisfied with the successes of these young boys and girls, I am expressing what is in the heart of every one.

Here stand in front of me our young girls who are dressed in the traditional costumes, representing our customs and culture. This shows that with each passing day things foreign or colonial are receding into the background. That is why we made the pledge to shed all tinsel brought to us by foreign travellers and hold on to our own. This is one of the achievements we are scoring each day.

So I said I am of the opinion that the youth should not go out into the countryside only to teach the alphabet but to benefit their people in many other ways and benefit themselves as well.

I am sure that the young campaigners are today more knowledgeable than many so - called graduates in so far as Somali culture and traditions are concerned. And were it not for a question of seniority the Chairs of the various faculties should have gone to them by rights. I have got this much to say to the youth. You have gone to the campaign with misgivings in your heart. But you have seen with your own eyes that the enemy is never willing to allow you to be successful. You have come back with flying colours. So what are you going to do now? Are you going to rest on your oars and be robbed of your gains or are you going to defend them?

I hope and I encourage you not to allow those enemies who have lacked your courage, your humanity and nationalism to divest you of your honour, the honour you have brought about with your muscles, thoughts and political awareness, your capacity to sacrifice and your nationalism. So it behoves you to die for your victory and good name.

To go on a little further what will be the next thing to do after the successes of today's youth and those of yesterday? What will be the role of the youth in the Socialist Revolution, in the tasks of reconstrucion? What will our future look like? what will be the legacy left?

Young men and women should know one thing for a certainly. The older generations have lived and seen enough. What is being built in a new Somali society which belongs to the present generation. It is possible that your parents might have been one of the capitalists or the exploiters. But you have nothing in common with them for your social life is being built currently while their time is coming to an end.

So what will you do? Will you broad over the past which is no more, or will you be counted among the new society, the new socialist society that is built on justice and equality, a productive society that has self-confidence? What do you exactly want to do? Your parents might tell you, «you are a child. You do not know anything and we have brought you into being?» You should reply to them that you want to take part in the building of the new society that is forming just now and that if you do not cast your lot with it, you will be left behind. I am not by nature a firebrand who is in the habit of setting parents and children at logger-heads. But I hate to to see children being misled or told things unscientific and untrue. I say it is the duty of the youth to defend their society because it is theirs and no one can snatch it away from them. This is a historical necessity and it is required by the period we are passing through. I believe that those who have struggled from the birth of the Revolution until now are fortunate and those who have tried to oppose us and have aligned with our foreigners are doomed.

You should also know that those among you who have not had the morale and the valour to join you in the campaign are today worthless. This has been realized by the majority of you. Those who have hesitated to come forward should realized by the majority of you. Those who have hesitated to come forward should realize that the campaigners have come back with a great victory. This victory has not come

about easily. It has come about through a spirit of nationalism, a socialist out-look, confidence in one's own land, a sense of national duty and transition from the egostic attitude of «I» to a sense of belonging to a community bound together by one common purpose.

So I say those who have covered themselves with shame are those who have hidden themselves in Mogadishu and other towns and how can they justify themselves? How can they face the youth who have earned the gold medals. Where will they find schools? Where will they go? The only thing they can do is to admit their faults and ask for mercy, then try to work hard so that they will be counted among those who brought victory and have become more determined, more human and learned and experienced, those youth who undoubtedly will make their people more prosperious and happy. Let me thank here Jaalle Abdulrazak Mohamoud Abobakar, who has been chairman of the Committee for this campaign, the former Secretary of State for Education. He was also responsible for the organization and co-ordination of the Campaign. I also highly commend Jaalle Dr. Mohamed Ali Nur the Secretary of State for Health, who has been Abdulrazak's compaign and has been out to all the places the student-teachers have gone with the enthusiam of discharging their duties in the full knowledge of the value of their mission. I also commend those committees who have worked in Mogadishu and the other committees in the villages as well as those who have been working with them.

Our struggle has not ended here. I hope that you are all aware that the teachers, the committees, and the authorities have, according to orders issued, created committees in all the places they have been to. On these committees there will be teachers, nurses or medical assistants veterinarians, guulwade, (pioneers), to supervise security and people representing the Political Office. So this is not the end of everything. We must keep on with our campaign until the last vestiges of illiteracy are wiped out. Now we have learned much of everything; economy, the social sciences, health, etc.

But in passing this knowledge on to our people our struggle in which we eradicate disease, illiteracy and hunger should be constant and consistent. This is historical campaign is not the only one of its kind. We have been waging campaigns throughout since the birth of the revolution. And always we will go on with out battles concentrating on all the aspects of the three above - mentioned enemies of the Somali people. I think the Central committee for the Rural Development campaign as well as all the branches of the committee. If I may revise what the various campaigns have been, let me ask why have we not got tired? Why have we not been daunted? Why have we not fallen short of our aims? The answer is that we have passed from the old to a new way of thinking, a new mode which is getting popular in the whole world and to which all humanity is moving. We are passing from the capitalist, reactionary way of looking at things, that was based on tribalism, regionalism, greed egoism, rapacity and ignorance, where are we heading? We are heading for self-reliance, the recognition of our humanity, a sense of nationalism and the recognition of human rights and dignity. We have moved on to the appreciation of producing more. We have moved on to the correct principles of scientific socialism. So what is the dynamo that is behind all this movement? Truly it is the correct system of scientific socialism. Previously we have been living in choas. We have lived on theft and treachery. We have been led by colonialism. But now why have we rejected it. We have decided to be on our own and think of our national interests. We have attained self-confidence. This is the reason. And what has bred in us self-confidence. It has come to us through the knowledge of the principle of scientific socalism.

Scientific Socialism has enlightened us on our identity, our human value, it has opened our eyes to the resources of our country, to the power that derives from uniting our people and it has shown us the value of justice and equality. What does scientific socialism has to tell us about the historical development of human sciety? There should be an answer to that.

where has capitalism come from? It came from the very wo-

Socialism has been brought into being by capitalism. And

mb of monarchical rule which in turn has come from fuedalism. And fuedalism has come from tribalism and such dirty systems. So socialism has passed through all these stages. Ours is the type that was born in the capitalist world of Western Europe, it is of the nature that has come to the developed countries. Our socialism is the off-spring of tribalism. Look! We have skipped over several stages. We have not passed through a monarchy. We have not known fuedalism nor capitalism. This is the reality. We have jumped from tribalism to socialism, a political system that is the best and most modern in the world. So it would be foolish not to fight tribalism while in Europe people are demolishing the system of capitalism. We should know what is preventing us doing so. And we should preserve our socialism pure from bad old-fashioned and poisonous thoughts and be aware of routine idle talk that will not take us any where.

What I am driving at is this. We should know that our arch - enemy is tribalism. Of course we should also do battle with capitalism. But where is it located in our society, considering the fact that there are classes here. It is to be found in tribalism. This is where the capitalist, the bourgeois class is to be found. And through which door does the enemy come, where does colonialism, agents and lackeys make their penetration? They all penetrate through tribalism. Socialism was not dreamt up. It is a scientific discovery based on a scientific research into human society, the way a man lives and the laws governing the members of that society.

After its discover by the great social scientists following a profound and scientific examination, socialism was put to the test. So it developed alongside the progressing human society for a real scientific social science is inevitable bound up with the historical development of human society. So let us begin with the moment socialism was scientifically declared and the direction it was to move in. What happened then? How many stages has humanity passed through? How much has education changed? How much has human knowledge changed? How much has the economy, human thought and ingenuity have developed. Man has witnessed the change from the use of the steam engine to modern discoveries such

as the satellite. And how has man's thought developed alongside such great discoveries? Has it remained fixed in one place? I mean do we think like the day when the steam-engine was used? As science has developed so also has human knowledge, thought and ideas developed and grown. So has the economy, health and social intercourse developed. Socialism should develop, not remain stagnant. It should not be a dogma, that is as the last word as it is interpreted by some hidebound persons. For it is based on scientific knowledge and scientific knowledge comes through an arduous research that knows no end and gives rise to fresh discoveries. The second obstacle to socialism in addition to dogmation is what is called empirecism. It upholds that past traditions and modes of thoughts are immutable. Socialism is an applicable science and it should be applied in the construction of a society so that it produces enough for itself and frees itself from ignorance, disease and poverty and wins for its citizens security, dignity, justice and equality. We should also remember that there are those who say that socialism is incompatible with the religion of Islam. But that is not true, for Islam enjoins us to seek knowledge even by travelling as far as to China. And socialism is scientific knowledge. And both, Imean Islam and socialism, advocate the uplift of human society. So much for scientific socialism.

I would like to warn our people of two hypocrites. One is the psydo-religious person, the other is the psydo socialist. There can also be the bad Somali nationalist. Especially to the youth my advice is: Do not fall into the error of becoming little socialists as you should avoid becoming little Sheikhs and had Somalis.

It seems to me pertinent here to point out one thing and that is that colonialism is once more making much noise. This is nothing new for it has been behaving like this before whenever it finds out that a nation is making progress in the belief that Africa is still slumbering and that she has not developed and changed in the mental and moral outlook. So the imperialists are spreading lies again about Somalia. Of course imperialism will never get tired. And how soon it has forgotten the division it has caused recently to the nations of

Africa, Asia and Latin America. We have already declared that Somalia's main enemy is imperialism.

Secondly, another facet of the policy of imperialism is the sowing of dissention among the African and Arab countries for fear it would lose its vested interests. Whenever an incident occurs between one African state and another it exaggerates it and makes it appear of continental significance.

But we say that the Africans will not accept this meddling in their affairs. Nor will the Arabs do so for imperialist crimes against the Arabs are still fresh in their memories. Africans and Arabs have common interests; they have suffered identical indignities at the hands of colonialism and they are both the victims of neo-colonialism which has frustrated them in their efforts to make progress and economic advancement. So none of the peoples of these continents will fall prey to the machinations of imperialism and propaganda spread by its mass media. They will continue pursuing their rights and interests As you know we have been hit by a serious drought and our ultimate goal has been to save our people at whatever cost. And we have done our level - best in rescuing the affected and helpless, turning a deaf ear to the voices of imperialism. Just soon new camps are about to open in Mudug, Galgudud and in any other place deemed indispensible for such an intiative.

Just meditate on the expenditure that will be incurred in the gigantic operations of carrying & settling many thousands of destitute people and how this will paralyse our economy. True, there are some friendly countries that have helped us put me have been grappling single - handed for almost three months and still the greates share the burden of the task will foll on our shoulders.

But there is one important lesson to be derived from this calamity and it is that any misfortune teaches you how to arm yourself to survive. This particular calamity has especially taught us how to fight our enemies, that come through ignorance or poverty and disease or through the shackles of poli tical slavery. And we are sure that one day soon we will be

able to say that «Look! This is how we have overpowered the drought» and then when victory comes to us our people and the future generations will be able to live in prosperity.

Finally, I would like to thank all those whose who have participated in this campaign, the youth, workers, members of the the armed forces, all the authorities and the pioneers. I am sure that you have written yourselves in history indelibly in one of the gold pages of history.

Thank you.

Empty vessels make most noise

President Siad lashes out At Those who Make Fuss On The law On Family Code In Speech On International Women's Day in 1975.

Many greetings be upon you all. As you all know, we have gathered here to commemorate that important day when humanity has given recognition to the fact that all human beings are equal; the day humanity has recogni zed that women have the same rights and the same mental powers as men. The recognition of women's rights has benefited the process of human beings and the world deserves congratulations.

At the same time we congratulate the women in the world for the victory they have won. Women have been always taking a lion's share in the progress of Mankind, but until recently they had not been given complete recognition for their contributions to the progress of humanity. The commemorations of women's Day is a tribute to growth of the human mind for it has finally seen that women are as important as men and they had to be given equal right with men. This mental development of humanity has made possible the recognition of women's rights. If the rights of half of the human race were not recognized, the advancement of humanity might have been in danger. Justice and equality could not have been said to reign in the world if the rights of half of the human race were unrecognized. The world used to say: «Women are not useful; they could not be considered to be complete human beings; they have brains whose po-

wer is less than that of men; they don't deserve to be given the respect men are getting». What had created such a mentality? The degree of the people's mental development and the past economical, social and political conditions of the world had all conspired before to deny women their God-given rights. With time the human beings have come to realize the unreasonableness of depriving women of their rights. The political, social, economic and technical advancement which the human beings made in recent history had helped a great deal the recognition of women's rights. One can easily understand that the human mental development is too a great extent directly linked to the degree of his economic development. Before the people on earth had succeeded in making the economic and technological advancement from which they derive great benefits, they went through great harships. They went through the ages when human life had no more value than that of an animal; when the strongest subjugated, robbed and killed the weak; when whole populations were reduced to slavery; when whole continents were stripped of most of their resources and its people oppressed by invaders. Even more dismal existence proceeded these stages. There were the times of stone age, tribalism, feudalism and the times of royal Empires. All these developments led to capitalism. In capitalism few people form a cabal which manipulates the economic system in a way that they get everything while the workers who produce the wealth live in abject poverty and have no power to change this unfair economic arrangement.

What brought about then, the recognition of human rights? The flourishing of scientific Socialism had retrieved for mankind the rights and value most of which had lost. There is no doubt that all people would eventually embrace socialism, but some would embrace it sooner while it would take others some time to join the majority of mankind in adopting socialism. How does socialism benefit human beings better than any other system? Under socialism everyone gets what he desires most; everyone gets the best possible life. Socia-

lism makes possible for the greatest number of the people to have decent lives, health facilities, educational opportunities, equal rights and justice. Socialism also liberates from the people arrogance, injustice, robbery, exploitation and all the other bod qualities which capitalism breeds. What creates bad qualities in the human beings? Need breeds bad characteristics in the human beings. When there is too much need in a society, there is a high probability that there would be unsavory practices in that society. Need is what causes confrontations among human beings? In order to have a healthy society one must set out to wipe out poverty. But before a nation reaches a stage of economic prosperity, it must chart the road by which it wants to reach economic advancement. At the same time society which wants to make economic progress must have a citizenry which has a high mental maturity. When these conditions are fulfilled, a nation can choose the correct principles which would lead it to economic, political and social development. The fulfillment of these prerequisites prevents from the people of a country to do something which is immature and contrary to the interests of their country. Political maturity brings with it a state of mind which precludes injustice, jealousy, and all the other bad qualities of human nature. When the people's minds have been cleansed from all impurities, the nation can pool its resources, its brains and manpower and apply them to the creation of economic prosperity. In such a society the public would protect the rights of the individual. and the individual would not infringe the rights of others. In this way the individual would serve the public and public would serve the individual. When blatant selfishness is exercised from the majority of the people in a society, there will not be exploitation and similar bad practices in such a society. When the people are liberated from the obsession of money-grubbing, the society can work for the common good.

The only system which recognize the full value of the human being is societific socialism. When we talk about the human being, no distinction is being made a-

mong people either in color or otherwise. Any society anywhere in the world which does not recognize the value of the human being would find itself torn apart by disunity. If there is no unity in a society, it will not be able to work for the common good. If the whole society is not involved both in the decision-making and in the execution of plans, part of the society would be the decision-makers, part of it would be thinkers, and yet another part would be the mere tools who would be employed as long as they have use and discarded when they outlive their usefulness.

Capitalism regards women as an ornament of the house and receptacles for children. This attitude does not recognize the brains, strength, the usefullness and the role women can play in the society. In the period of feudalism the strong and the cunning managed to own large farms. They used to hire many people to work on these farms. These workers were paid nominal fees which were very much below what their labor was worth. After sometime, the people realized that they were being blatantly exploited, and started fighting their exploiters. As anyone might know victory is always on the side of the greatest number of the people. Next came the royal Empires. Kings roe up to swallow up the properties of the landlords and to reduce them to vassals. These new overlords became much more oppressive and exploitative than the landlo-rds. The Kings ushered an era of injustice, robbery, mass killings, and the worst subjugation human beings had ever seen. They brought out in people of the worst qualities. The driving force of the Kings was greed. They were not content to rule part of a country, or just a country. They wanted to swallow up whole countries and their populations. They kept on demanding more and more, and more. They kept fighting each other over land. Whole populatons were put to the sword for supporting one King or another. Countries in which armies clashed were devastated. When this went for a long time, the majority of the people realized that they had to fight for their survival or perish. The workers. peasants and the white-color workers forged a purpose: to fight back their oppressors.

The next stage of human development was capitalism. Under this system, the people managed to live better than they did in their previous existence. But a class, which was out to exploit the masses to the maximum, immediately emerged. Many classes emerged under capitalism. There were the capitalist group which wanted to amass wealth at the expense of the public. There were at the same time those who served and defended the capitalists. There were also the greater thinkers who saw that unless the rights of human beings were recognized, unless justice and equality reigned in the woruld, humanity would be bogged down in a quagmire from which it would not be able so extricate itself. The people who were thinking along these lines were the ones who thought up the system of scientific socialism. The essence of this system was that the means of production and distribution had to be in the hands of the whole people and not a few of them. This was the only way to end the exploitation of the people and the usurpation of their rights. There was, however, the question of women's rights. Most of the societies in the world had for generations looked down upon women and held them to be inferior to men. There was no logical justification for this attitude, but there is no logic in prejudice. It is blind and it clings to the minds of the human beings. When socialism has flourished in some parts of the world, it started to combat that blind prejudice. Women's rights were recognized immediately. This recognition is at the core of Scientific Socialism because it stipulates that all human beings are equal; that they have the same right to justice, decent life and happiness. It stipulates that the production of the people in each country should be justly distributed among them. This means «you would get something equal to your productivity and nothing more than that». This means no one should cavet something which one did not produce. What is the result of this? It would be the peoples' participation in decision - making, in taking equal share in production, and getting a just share of what is produced. This basic tenet of socialism which holds the equality of all human beings is the foundation of the

equality of men and women. This principle enjoins both on men and women that they should work together and to share equally and justly the production of their country.

We are a nation which emerged from the clutches of capitalism and embraced socialism. We had to fight hard to effect this change and it was necessary for us to apply the principles of socialism. Since we embraced socialism it followed that we had to fight injustice in all its forms and shapes. In Whatever we do, we must uphold justice and the dignity of human beings. We hold that men and women are equal. The criteria on which we must judge people should be, «is this human being? and nothing else. We must make this principle of man and woman's equality part of our laws, and no one should be allowed to contravene this law which makes human beings equal. We must tell the imperialists and their lackeys: «listen, this is our law and if you break it you would get the punishment you deserve».

The Somali men and women must understand that there is no competition between them. Their common endeavors on eqaul terms for the common good is in their interest, in the interest of their children and in the interests of the society as a whole. If all the men and women in the country all work together, they can accomplish a great deal. If they all pool their ideas, they would be able to solve any problems they might face. It might so hapen that either a man or a woman would think of something great because on one has a monopoly on good ideas.

A healthy competition between men and women, between the women, between the youth, between the workers would be of tremendous advantage to the society. If everyone tries to excell in whatever he is doing, what could be better than that? But this competition must be healthy; it must be socialistic; it must be revolutionary; it must be patriotic. It must have such a purpose if it has to serve the community.

We must, both men and women, increase our productivity; we must enlighten ourselves on the problems that might crou up from time to time; we must all work together in order to reach the desired goal of prosperity. We must not just advocate good principles. We must all apply the principles we advocate so that what we are doing would have a sense of purpose because that is the only manner we can all carry out our national duties. When a person really understands his duties to his nation, he would have more confidence than he have had before what he is doing; he would not fall into temptations; he would not be a venal person serving everyone who offers him something to do something which is against his nation's interest. The understanding of one's national duties would prevent one from doing anything which degrade or demean the human being. When a person understands the value of the human being and his duties, he has grown up mentally, and this naturally leads him to the right path.

The women must understand their role in the society. The purpose of the family Law is to strengthen the family unit which is the basis of the whole society. The environment of the Family must give the child an ample opportunity to grow into an upright citizen. It must give the child the opportunity to learn what is good rather than what is bad. What is the right upbringing for a child? Both the father and mother must pay great attention to the way their children are growing up. They must wheedle them to the right path. They take them by the hand and lead them away from temptations and pitfalls. The parents must set an example for their children. If the children see their parents engaged incheating, hypocracy, theft and so forth, the children would think that what their parents are doing is normal. It would be too late when the children grow up and realize that their parents were doing the wrong things. So it is essential that the parents should set a good example their children, otherwise they would not be able to teach the young ones anything. This is the true purpose of

the family law. It wants to strengthen the family unit which is the real foundation of the society.

Some people had raised a fuss when the Family Law was enacted. Who are the people who raised such an unnecessary fuss? There is a Somali proverb which says: «The least valuable among men is the one who would rather inwardly eat himself up rather than state his case». What could be worst than a person who cannot logically state what he feels about anything. Let us ask ourselves, who were the people who raised so much fuss about the Family Law? The fact is they were unpatriotic, imperialist lackeys who wanted to create confusion and instability in the country. They wanted to create problems and crises for the country so that the Somali Revolution, which safeguards the interests of the people, would be hamstrung. The question is: Would this Islamic nation allow hried lackeys to nullify the achievements it had made? No. It will not. It is the duty of every citizen to block chicanneries of hired lackeys. The lackeys do not like other people to talk about religion, but we are going to talk about it. Allah said: «No one can represent another before me. Everyone would come before me as he is». We have not appointed anyone to represent us before Allah, and we are not going to allow anyone to act as our representative to Allah. Our purpose is to create a society which has great knowledge about its religion, and at the sametime to have a high political awareness. We don't want our society to be like a receptacle into which anyone can pour anything one wants. Our people have been acting for many people like a receptacle for a long time. We must lead them out of this despicable state. We want to spread education so that we can wipe out ignorance and create a modern state which can depend on itself in every respect. Education and enlightenment is a shield which can protect the society. Our society would not remain a pawn which a clique can manipulate.

We might ask ourselves, why has God given religion to his people? He had given them religion for

their guidance to do what he requires of them. He had given them the Islamic faith so that they would know the right from the wrong, and to know the right way to behave and act all the time. God's laws are immutable and unchangeable. Nobody can twist them into something they are not in order to serve his own selfish purposes. If someone advocates something that is against the interests of the society, is he not an infidel. Hasn't he contravened God's laws? Isn't he a lackey thief? It does not matter whether such a person was hired by imperialists or others. As long as we live by tenets of Islam and understand them no one can really harm our society. Our faith does not allow us to be used as receptacles by other people. We are not receptacles in which anyone can put anything one likes: we are human beings. Why have to great thinkers of Socialism thought of Socialism? They wanted to create a system which would enable human beings to safeguard their rights, their dignity, their lives, and by which they can improve themselves in every respect. The father of Socialism was a great thinker who studied human history, economy, social set-ups, the relations between production and labor, the ways resources are used, who produced wealth and who actually enjoyed that wealth. He had been studying and thinking about these things for many years. At the end he thought up scientific socialism. a system designed to weed out all the bad qualities and practices of human beings and to enhace the good ones. The quintescence of socialism is justice, equality and the common ownership of the natural resources of the country. What can be better than that?

If both Islam and socialism advocate justice, equality and the improvement of people's lives, who can tell me where they differ? Where do they contradict one anothher? What harm is there in having the faith of Islam, and at the same time applying socialism as economic and political system through which our country can make progress? I would say there is none. Who are the people trying to make Islam and socialism seem opposed to one another? The people who are trying to

create controversy between Islam and socialism are defending selfish, special interests. Such people are like the tribalists whom we want to fight against their machinations. The creators of controversy out of thin air are like someone who wants to let the society remain in a barren land when it wants to go to green pastures. But we will not allow them to succeed in their machinations because God has given us brain and intelligence to differentiate between what is good and what is bad. No matter who forths at mouth, Somalia's political and economic system is socialism, and the religion of its people is Islam. Anyone who does not concur with this social arrangement can go his way and can take back whatever he ha been giving us. We have refused before. assistances to which strings are attached and we will not accept them now. We just want our freedom and independence. Nobody would make us lose our independence and no one would be able to frighten us into losing it. And that is the factual truth. Are recent converts to Islam who should be toyed with? Had anyone converted us into Islam? Hadn't we been Moslems for generations and generations. We are true Moslems and we apply the true tenets of Islam as God had intended them to be used. If at this day and age someone wants to manipulate us through our own religion, there must be something wrong with his head. . As I said before, socialism has been thought up as a system through which the people in the world can make progress in an atmosphere of justice and equality. From whom do we want a certificate proving that we are good socialists? From no one. We do not want anyone to pat us on the back for our adoption of socialism. The reason is simplicity itself. We hadn't adopted socialism for the sake of anyone else. We believe that it is the only system through which our country can make a rapid economic progress. What is behind the machinations of bad socialists? Imperialism, of course. One can see the perverted mind of imperialism ticking in the hollow minds of the bad socialists. The superficial knowledge about socialism, which they ostentatiously parade, is no more than a facade. Imperialism is the fountain from

which the unpatriots, the un-Somali, and the bad socialists all drink. Who should fight against such people? The real Somalis, the real patriots, the real socialists, and the real religious men. It is a historical inevitability that the good forces would defeat the evil forces. As we have often stated before, the political and economic system of our country is socialism and the religion of our people is Islam. We don't want to enslave anyone; we don't want to set ourselves up as superiors to anyone. We want to live in peace, equality an justice with everyone. That is what we all want. We are a free nation, and we would overcome the difficulties we encounter because no one can really solve our problems for us.

Let me congratulate all the Somali women. I hope they all understand their valuable duties to their society, and that they would comprehend what is in the interest of their nation. I hope they would fully understand that when there is justice, equality and the recognition of human beings such a society would prosper in time. I would like to wish them success in their participation of the economic developments which would enable the country to make progress.

If you had no opportunity before to play any really constructive role in the progress of the society, now you have all the opportunities you want to show what stuff you are made of. It is necessary that the women who have not been prepared to play a constructive role in the society should be now given the means to play a useful role in the society. They should be educated and taught useful professions.

I would like to congratulate the women for the excellent way they had helped their drought victims. They had managed to contribute toward the alleviation of the misery of their people. The contributions they made were an index of their political maturity and sense of patriotism.

In conclusion, I would like to point out that we are passing through difficult times. These difficulties were

partly engendered by the magnitude of the economic development we wanted to effect and the short time within which we wanted to accomplish such a progress. At the same time selfish interests and imperialist interests had tried to put up barriers in our way to progress because they did not want us to prosper. Despite these difficulties, some of which are man-made and of which have been spawned up by nature, we have reached an appreciable level of achievement. But the achievements we have made should not lull us into complacency. We should not say: «We have progressed far enough, let us rest». We have not progressed far enough as long as some of our people are unemployed and as long as some of them are still hungry. As long as these conditions and similar ones exist in our country, we have not progressed far enough; we still have a long, long way to go.

The nearer we get to prosperity, the more enemies we would have. But our political and economic maturity would also increase and we would have adequate defenses against those who want to do us harm. So we are always steps ahead of the enemy. If one has principles, one can baffle one's enemies and defeat them because principles give one courage and determination.

What could happen to us then? Nothing can really happen to us. This does not mean we would not face any problems. It means, however, we can overcome these difficulties and at the same time learn a great deal from them. The experiences we gain would temper us like steel which our enemies would not be able to bend in the future.

I think I would close this speech by extending congratulations to the women of the world, to the Somali women, and to the Somali nation.

Down with enemies of Somalia! Down with imperialism!

Thank you for listening to me.

Somalisation of our education

Speech Delivered By Jaalle Siad At The Teachers Centre In Mogadisho On 17. 3. 1975.

Before I say anything else let us all pray for the hero of knowledge, education and patriotism, Mohamed Hassan Adan (Gahayr) who have recently died in the service of his nation. Let us all pray God might take him to Heaven.

It is pleasure for me to be here to highlight the achievements we have already made, and to give an indcation of what we have yet to do. First of all I would like to congratulate you and the others who have participated in the Rural Development Campaign. Some people call this campaign the «Illiteracy Campaign», but I think that is a misnomer because this project has had more ambition than just reducing the rate of illiteracy. The rural residents had gotten more benefits than reading and writting. The illiteracy Campaign as part of the Rural Development project had a special meaning for the nation. It was said that only three per cent of the Somali population could read and write. This statistics has been turned upside down. Today 60 or 70% of the Somali population can read and write. This is a high rate of literacy by international standards. It is a high achievement for a nation which had such an illiteracy rate. Yet I think that the task in which the teachers, the students, Government officials, the Regional & District authorities all participated was much more greater than the part of the project which concerned the wiping out of illiteracy.

One of the greatest achievements of the Rural Development Campaign was the Unity it forged among the Somali nation. People from all walks of life had synchronized their activities for a common cause. Unity is the foundation of cooperation, brotherhood and the cohesion which is necessary for attaining economic. social and political advancement. We had first intended to launch a literacy campaign, but it soon became apparent that educational, economical, and health features had all to be added to the project. It was a logical step for instead of having to mount separate campaigns for the various improvements which needed to be made in the lives of the rural residents, an overall project combining all these features had to be initiated. I think we can say that the features of this program have been met with success. The success of this programme can be seen from the changes which have taken place in the lives of the rural residents. We can say the life in the rural areas has undergone a transformation.

Now, you are about to embark upon another national duty and I would like you to convey my greetings and that of the Supreme Revolutionary Council (SRC) and the Council of Secretaries to the people among whom you would be working.

The Revolution has been in existence for five and a half years now, and looking back on this time through which we have passed, we can say we have achieved a great deal. We know what we have accomplished and what we have yet to achieve. We also know our capabilities. I expect we have now all realized that we can achieve whatever we want to achieve. I don't think we would ever tackle a task greater than the one which we have just finished with success. At the time we decided to launch the Rural Development Campaign, many people, among them people in responsible posts and highly educated ones, had doubts about the feasibility of the project. They were asking themselves «would it succeed?» Many people used to say «this programme would make the Revolution fall flat on its face». But we had confi-

dence in ourselves and people and knew we could pull it off. People can do the impossible. That is what we believe We believe that nation can do anything if its people have the determination and the perseverence to move ahead. A nation can make progress if it has unity and if it has the ability to brush aside those want to impede its progress, and if it makes its plans not on empty dreams but on concrete objectives which can be realized.

When the students had returned from the towns, villages and rural areas, the patriots and the revolutionary people had welcomed them back with open hands and one could see on the faces of the people the happy expressions and pride in the victory their country had won in the battle against ignorance, disease and hunger. We had started many projects which kicked off controversy and uncertainties, but they all ended in complete success just like the Rural Development Campaign. We had gained political maturity and experience in the execution of many plans which some had doubt their succes. success.

Every nation creates the conditions under which its people live. It is the architecture, the planner, the expert and the creater of the lives of its people. That is how it should be for no other people can think for us. No matter how much of a friend he is, can actually understand the aspirations and real objectives of another people. He can only make a calculated guess, and the probability is he would be completely wrong in what he thinks is good for the people he is trying to help. even if he has the best of intentions. No foreigner can fanthom the thinking of our nomads, or understand why livestock has so much value for them. The foreigners cannot understand why the Somali nomad thinks that he is leading the best life there is. What I am driving at is that there are cooperations among the peoples in the world and they help each in many ways, but there are certain things which no one can do for another, and we mean to do these things for ourselves. Before the birth of the Revolution, what was

the level of education in the country? What respect and value did our country have in the world? How did our people see the teaching profession? How did they value education? Did our people value either of them? Colonialism has many colors and forms and each one of them can be wiped out only by waging war against it. The worst form of colonialism is mental dependence. When people are mentally and morally subservient to other people's way of life and thinking; they are in the worst form of subjugation without knowing it. The worst inability is when people are incapable of sloughing off mental subjugation. All actions have their origin in the mind, and if some people's minds are in chains, they cannot be expected to take actions which can be thought of to be proper. What is the objective of our educational policies then? I think there is no more suitable place where I could have elucidated our educational policies than here. Our education is «SOMALI». If anybody thinks education is a foreign language, he must know that it is not. The Somali language, has as much value as any other language. Why should not one have his education in Somali as a medium of instruction? Knowledge can be gotten by the medium of any language, but only those whose languages are to be destroyed have the stupidity to value other languages more than their own. We have crossed the stage of fearing the obliteration of our language, and now have to train our focus on better things than the revival of a language. The two Councils (The Supreme Revolutionary Council and the Council of Secretaries) have passed a resolution making the Somali language the medium of instruction in our schools and Arabic the second language.

(Your applause is an agreement with the resolution, and in socialism anybody who opposes what has been agreed upon by the majority of the people is considered to be a traitor).

Under Socialism issues are discussed in a democratic manner, and people can express their ideas in an open manner. They can also impregnate their expressions

with zeal, but in the end a vote has to be taken. When the majority of the people vote for an issue, their decision is binding on all, and it becomes a law. That is the difference between the bourgeois and socialism systems. Under bourgeois systems certain groups form themselves into opposition groups which fight against the majority decisions, and they try to strengthen themselves by secretly wooeing support. But under socialism everything is above board. Issues can be debated and people can express their opinions quite openly, but once the majority makes a decision, no one has the liberty to stand in the way of the majority of the people. Anyone who opposes what has been discussed and agreed upon is considered to be against the common interest of the people, and cannot be tolerated. In fact, he is not given any mercy.

To go back to our educational policy, the languages of instruction from the elementary schools to the Secondary schools would be Somali and Arabic. That is a decision which we are not going to change. No amount of grumbling or idle talk would change it. If the imperialists withhold the petty aid they used to give towards education, they can do so; we are ready for such an action and it is not going to do us any harm. In a word, the medium of instruction in the schools of the country would be the language of the people in it. Some people might be wondering, how can this or that subject be taught in Somali? Well, we are going to teach in Somali, my friends We can translate all textbooks into Somali. That is the truth. We are not going to recoil from this task because of the expenses and efforts involved in it. It might be a tremendous task, but we are going to undertake it because that is what is in the interests of the nation. We were not being carried away by emotion when we were saying «we are going to liberate the minds of the people». It was not the topic of mere discussion either when we were saying «let us liberate the education of the nation; let us retrieve the dignity of the people for them» We did not intend to talk about these for few days only to relegate them to oblivion. It was a long-

standing policy. **We should never abstain from doing what is in our interests for fear that some people might say this or that.** You are the army, Comrades, who would eventually destroy the enemy of the Somali people. We have got what you would need. We would provide you with the food and the ammunition. While you are engaged in the battle against ignorance,we will build you houses. That is the truth. The people in the forefront of the war against ignorance are the teachers. You have to keep breaking down the barriers against knowledge until everybody feels the wind of change. The road of knowledge is strewn with huge stones, thorns, difficulties and enemy forces, but you would go through them like a knife goes through hot butter because justice is on your side. You would be doing what is in the interest of your nation. and the victory would be yours.

This campaign was putting down the foundation of education for a lot of people who never have had the chance to learn anything. These people were both in the rural areas and the urban centres. We set out to liberate these from one of the deadly enemies of mankind, ignorance. What was needed was to put proper foundation for their education by several successive stages. Among the people whom we set out to save from the fate of perpetual ignorance was a large number of young people among whom could be geniuses whose minds would have been wasted if their people country have not come to their rescue. How many geniuses the nation might have lost in not caring for their youth before the birth of the Revolution? How many men of potential ability and leadership might have perished before the eyes of the nation? We said «No. No more waste of people». It was intolerable to look on the complete waste of the youth of the nation.

Today it is our national duty to give education to the children in the villages, towns and cities in the country. It is now compulsory for all school age children to attend schools, and it is compulsory that parents take their children to schools. This is a law and it is binding on the

parents. Anybody who impeaches this law is liable to Legal persecution. This law has been already promulgated, and I am certain that the Regional and District authorities are going to execute it. I am also certain that the teachers, who are among the courageous people in the nation, would carry out their duties. The promulgation and the execution of this law would not suffice to spread education. The execution of policies needs diplomacy. All the authorities in the country should use persuasion to convince the people that having education is in their interest, and in the interest of their nation. The people must be adviced, cajoled and wheedled into accepting education as a necessary part of their life. Once they are awaken to this reality. I am sure they would develop an insatiable appetite for knowledge. I am certain that every Government organ in the country, including the Ministry of Education, would initiate a special programme aimed at wiping out illiteracy, and within the coming few years I hope no child of school age who does not attend school would be found anywhere in the republic. As a society which knows what it wants to accomplish. there is nothing we would not be able to accomplish, no matter how we do it. If a road gets blocked, another road would get open, because when there is a healthy mentality in a society, and if such a society has objectives and unity there is nothing it cannot achieve.

If a society has unity, cohesion, sound policies, objtives and strong desire to accomplish what is in its interest, it is certain that it would succeed. The children who need schooling are too numerous. The resources, the teachers, and the School facilities at the disposal of the nation are too too small compared to the immenseness of the task. Despite these facts, I think we can have unity, and we can pool our mental powers and whatever material resources we have. Suppose there are thirty or forty boys and girls in a village. Which is better for them to have education, or not have it? We must put this question to our brain. What is the interest of the residents of such a village? Would'nt the education these children receive be of benefit to the residents of the village? There

is no doubt that the education these children recieve will be beneficial to the community of this village and the nation as well. If this village made the chairs, tables, and built the classrooms, wouldn't that be a way they could fight ignorance? Naturall, the Government would give them whatever assistance it has been giving them in accordance to its ability, but wouldn't it be better if they made such a small contribution which would not be too much of a strain on them? If the chairman of a District or Region sees the efforts each village and community is making, and if he values the education the youth are getting and the importance it has for the nation, couldn't he make provisions to cover up the rest of the expenses? I think he can do it. It is a national duty to do so, and I think anyone who fails to carry out such a duty is completely lost.

The task of convincing the people in the efficacy of education is tremendous, and the good hearted narrow-minded people have to be wheedled into getting education. The headstrong, blackhearted, narrow-minded elements can be forced to have education because there is no another way of dealing with them, but the art of persuasion must be employed on the good people who are willing but who haven't yet quite understood the importance or the necessity of getting education.

I think we are about to embark upon more struggles for further improvements in education this year. Even though you have just returned from an arduous task from which you have had no physical and mental rest,, I do not think you would get the time for the schools would reopen soon. The students, most of whom have also returned from the rural development campaign, would not get the time to rest either for they would have to make up for the time they have missed their lessons in order help their brothers and sisters in the rural areas. I think that education is also in the transitional period in which our Revolution is passing through. During a transitional period a society is about to shift from an older system under which it has been living to a new system which is

superior to the older one by far. At the same time there are doubts about the new things which are of great benefit to the society, but we know doubts are inherent in changes and we can cope with them.

I am going to close my speech with a clear political declaration: The human being cannot realize his aspirations unless he has political foundation on which he can lean on. Education must have sound policies which can act as a foundation for it. Mathematics and geography are knowledge which can be taught, but the society needs more than learning various subjects of knowledge. It needs a sound political foundation on which it can build its progress.

Our political foundation is Scientific Socialism which cannot be twisted out of shape. We are applying the principles of socialism while taking into consideration the ways of life and the thinking process of the Somali people as well as their religion. Which is first: the action or the thought? Theory is the mother of action. Actions are an outcome of the thoughts of the members of the society, its ways of life and thinking. When I make such a statement, you must know that I have a purpose. I am talking at the bad socialist who might say to you «this is what Socalism teaches, but is not being applied. Tell him: «Comrade, human action was bron before Socialism, and the human action is going on. Educational, economic, social and political progress is being made and that is what counts most. How can you talk like this? Haven't you refused to gain knowledge, Comrade?» You can tell from the word «go» that the bad Socialist is out to mislead you, or else he is ignorant. Our basic principle Is the one I have just told you. It is the duty of every individual to take the special conditions in the country into consideration. He must take into consideration the level of advancement which many people in the world have made and the level of progress in Somalia. For these reasons we say the religion of the people in the country is ISLAM and they are going to keep their faith. At the same time, the political system of the country Is

Scientific Socialism. The level of human mental development of today wants such a combination. The human knowledge which is not built on thin air but on Scientific fact requires such a combination. and we must apply it in that way, and we are going to build it on nationalism, revolutionary action, socialistic principles and the value of humanity.

It is necessary that these thoughts should be included in the classroom lessons.

Thank you, Comrades.

No one man rule

President Siad's Speech To Heads Of Regional And District Authorities of The Country On 18.3.1975.

Greetings. I think that you have all benefited from this short Seminar, and that the exchange of ideas you have had with the higher authorities have been of mutual benefit to both sides.

This Seminar had dealt with rural development, and the Regional and District authorities have been asked to participate in this Seminar because they are the people who are directly connected with the rural problems. When the project of rural development was first launched there were many uncertainities in the minds of some people. Many people might have been asking themselves, would this project succeed? These uncertainities were engendered by the fact that no rural development campaign of this kind had been launched in anywhere in the world as far as we know.

At the same time, I do not think that the people or even the middle echelon authorities in the country, were expecting that a rural development campaign of this magnitude would be launched. The two Councils (the Supreme Revolutionary Council and the Council of Secretaries), had promised to the nation that they would tackle, to the best of their abilities, every problem that the country might face. The rural development campaign

stands as one of the major achievements the country had made, and the credit of victory goes to all the people who participated in this campaign, whether they are members of the public, the armed forces, students, teachers, and Regional and District authorities as well as the people in the Central Government who took a great share in this campaign. Apart from the successful conclusion of the campaign, it had side benefits. The experiences of the campaign, it had side benefits. The experiences confidence, and it taught them to solve the problems they counter. Each nation has to guard the interests of its nation, and the Somalis have finally learned that to rely on oneself is the main key to development.

The Rural Development Campaign was a big undertaking, and the other programmes in which the nation is engaged might not be of such size but whatever the nation might undertake, it must face it with the same courage and determination.

I would like to congratulate the Regional and District authorities and the whole nation for the commendable way in which they had carried out the rural Development Campaign. We have successfully completed the first phase of the campaign, but we have to carry it on so that it can put down roots that go so deep into earth that they could not be uprooted. It is essential that rural development projects should bear fruit from which the Somali nation would benefit. The rural development campaign has been a multi-faceted project. One of this facets has been the spreading of education in the rural areas. Committees for education have been formed in the villages small towns and the rural areas. On top of these Committees, a sufficient number of teachers have been assigned to these areas so that they could initiate education programmes for the residents of the rural areas. These educational rural programmes must be implemented and constantly expanded for that is the only way the nation can combat illiteracy. At the same time, inspection Committees have been formed to see to it that the educational rural programmes are going according to the Regional

plans, and to suggest whatever needs to be changed or modified.

Before the Rural Development Campaign was launched, many Somalis knew very little about what was going in many parts of the country. The authorities in the country had really got involved in the affairs of the people for the rural Development campaign had made it necessary that they should travel wide througout the country, and to get first hand information about what was going on in the country. In this way the authorities have become intimately involved with lives of the people in every part every part of the country. This intimate involvement with the people had made possible for the authorities to execute their duties in a such more responsible manner. Similarly, this coming together of the authorities and the people have made possible for the public to get their rights much more speedily. The bulk of the nation's resources and its people are both in the rural areas, and it is necessary that great attention and much more time should be given to Rural Development.

We have already made Somali language the medium of instruction in schools. Although the script for the Somali language has been recently written (in terms of the number of years it has been in use), still it has been through various stages of refinement. It had reached in 1975 - 1976 a level of refinement which made possible for the country to use the Somali language for schools. When the Somali script was written Government employees were first taught how to read and write it . Then a campaign was launched to teach it to the people in urban centres througout the length and breadth of the country. Then the people in the villages, cooperative farms and farming settlements were taught how to read and write their language. Lastly, the campaign to teach the reading and writing of the Somali Language to the people in the areas, which is the majority of of country's population, was launched.

It was then decided that languages of instruction in the primary schools should be Somali and Arabic. When

students reach the level of secondary and higher education, they can be taught a foreign language as one of the subjects taken by the students. Before Somali and Arabic were made languages of instructions, many students in the Intermediate Schools were taking their education either in Italian or English. These students will continue to take their education in the language of instruction they have been following, and those languages are phased out. The reason that students who had been taking their education in Italian or English were allowed to continue with them was that we did not want them to lose time by a sudden switch to another language. So they continue taking their education in English or Italian until they come to the Secondary Schools. After this point, Somali would become the language of instruction, and at the same time students would be given an option of a foreign language.

Both in the Secondary Schools and the University, Foreign languages would be taught as this is essential for communicating with the outside world. It is incumbent upon every state in the world to produce people who know foreign languages.

I have talked about education in such a detail for a reason. For one thing illiteracy has been singled out as one of the stumbling blocks to the nation's progress. The Revolution has put education in its priority list, and it will continue to give it a high priority rating in the future. The execution of educational policies and plans cannot be left to the two Ministries of education, but must be made to work by all the authorities in the country. The real foundation for a proper educational system has been laid down when Somali was made the language of instruction in Schools. This means that education has been liberated from the constrictive limitations of a foreign language.

Some people, especially those in urban centres who have had their education in one foreign language or another,, may still entertain the illusion that education must

be had in a foreign language to be worth of its name. That is a mistake; education can be had in any language, and Somali is no exception. I have said before that being educated does not mean knowing a foreign language. One might know several foreign languages, and yet be classified as uneducated.

Couldn't every subject be taught in the Somali language, including the science subjects? How many nations are there in the world? Don't the citizens of every country take the education they receive in their mother tongues?

In the Regions you might face some difficulties In making Somali the language of instruction in the Schools. These difficulties will not be created by reationaries and anti-revolutionary people, but by honest Socitizens whose minds have not yet been liberated from the influence of a foreign education. It is up to the authorities to win over these people through proper guidance and orientation, and to make them understand that nothing could be better than to have education in one's own language. It is said that it is not enough to do justice, and that the prerequisite to the administration of justice is to make people understand the meaning of justice. It is the duty of us all to make the people understand what is in the best interest of the nation. We should not, however, allow the people to run after mirage, and to flout the laws of the country.

Both the students and the parents must understand the advantages of taking education in one's own language. In truth, the students are young, clean people who are the cream of the nation, but at the same-time they are at an age they can be easily misled, or harbor illusions, and they can easily convince themselves that they are doing fine while they are actually at loss.

Since they are the cream of the nation, we must at all costs lead them to the right path and prevent them from losing their way in the tangled by ways of life. We

must all be like fathers to them. The youth can be more sincere than many grown-ups, and can at times understand much more quickly than the gorwn-ups; the youth represent the future and destiny of the Somali nation.

As you all know, compulsory education begins this year. This means that any child of school age, who is anywhere near school, has to attend that school. It is also complsory upon the parents to send their school age children to school. All Regional authorities must execute this law, and the central Government will supervise the execution of this law. You are all aware of the added responsibility which would result from compulsory education. Schools and educational facilities would be needed, and that would cost money. At the same time you all know that the country is passing through difficult times because of the drought problem. We had received a sizeable assistance from friends and others, but it is a fact that outside assistance is never sufficent to solve a problem of such a scale. It is not wise to base one's plans and future action on outside help. In view of these problems, I think you all realize that the central Government has no budgetary provisions for the expenses which would ensue from compulsory education. Thus, the Regional authorities and the people in each Regions must work on the principles of «rely on yourself and be self-sufficient». The Ministry of Education cannot shoulder the task of compulsory education, and none of you should ever say to do it by yourselves». It is the responsibility of the Regional and District authorities to see to it that compulsory education gets off the ground and becomes a successful project.

I would also like to touch upon the task that are still waiting for the nation. For the five and half years the Revolution had been in existence, it had made great achievements. Yet the achievements that have been made should not induce complacency, or make us puffed up. There are still too many things that needs to be done. If all the people had made a little more effort, I think we could have accomplished much more than we did, and

of course, that would have lessened the urgency of what we have to do now.

First of all there must never be opposition within the authorities. Stabbing in the back, or mistrust, telling each other lies, or each-one-for-himself attitude must never occur within the authorities working together. They must all act like a body in perfect harmony with itself. This does not meant that anyone committing a crime against the State and the people have to escape punishment. But the rest of the authorities must be working together with sincerity because what they are asked to administer belongs to the nation as whole. Short-sighted or inexperienced people in the administration may clash over the ways and means of doing things and create unnecessary problems for themselves and unwittingly damage the national interest in the process. This amazes us often. For the five and half years the Revolution had been in existence, we have been trying to cure every one of the malady «I want this» and we wanted them to go over to the stage of saying «We want this». We have been also trying to grow out of personal ownership and to reach the mature stage of common ownership. This means that everything belongs to the nation and not to any particular individual. Everyone must realize, then, that whatever we are doing is being done for the nation, and that we are all servants of the people. When the authorities in each region or district are in perfect harmony with one another, they are serving the people. but when they expend their energies over bickering and petty jealousies, they are not doing anything for the nation, and are actually creating stumbling blocks for it. Bickerings and petty jealousies can only damage the national interest. We are not going to allow the national interest to be damaged by pettiness and trivialities, or over anything for that matter.

Many laws protecting the public have been enacted and it seems these laws are not being executed in the right manner. Among these laws was the one creating Committees to participate in the decision-making process

of the Regions and the Districts. But it seems that it is difficult for the Regional and District authorities to form these Committees even though the purpose of their formation and the advantages which can be derived from their existence has been explained to the Regional and District authorities many times. It amazes me why it should be so difficult for you to form these Committees. It is a law to form these Committees, and anyone who does not execute this law has committed an offense. If a representative of the Central Government goes to a District and finds that no Committees have been formed there, the head of that District's authorities can be brought to Court, and he would be found guilty for the infringement of a specific law. Don't you all know that this is what can happen? Don't you all know that no one can break any law of the land and escape punishment? I sometimes ask myself: «Can one entrust any responsibility to the man who cannot do the simple job of forming Committees?»

If we look at the matter from another angle, one can see that the head of a Regional or District authority who shirks the responsibility of forming Committees is actually harming himself as well. He has been given the opportunity to create Committees which would shoulder part of his heavy responsibilities. Why should he not want to have some people working for him? This shows that this kind of person does not understand the constructive value of the Committees. Each person has certain brain power, certain creativity and certain amount of ability. No one is complete and no one should be foolish enough to dream it. What does a person in authority need then? He needs to have consulatations and exchange of ideas with many people, and to have the ability to extract the best ideas among the better of talk, and then to implement the best plans and ideas. This is in the best interest of the nation as well as the person in authority. Why, then, don't you take advantage of it? It is disappointing to realize that the person who was asked to execute the law is himself contravening it.

Another law that has not been executed by the Regional and District authorities is the one stipulating

that all Government transport in each District should be in a pool managed by a Committee. Anyone carrying out an official duty would get a transport from the pool. No vehicle would be assigned to any particular person. That was a law passed sometime ago. The purpose of this law is to protect the public property from misuse & to confine its utilization to a national service. Why should anyone be using a Government car at night? Why should anyone be at liberty to use Government car and petrol for his own personal affairs? Are we too rich to consider such a thing? It is the duty of all of us that we should do something which is beneficial to the whole nation. Since we have neither automobile factories nor oil wells, it has been decided that all vehicles in the same area should be all be put in a pool from which anyone carrying out a duty can draw a car.

I would like to turn now to the subject of «self-help» schemes. The aim of this project is to pool the manpower and resources of the country so that we can tackle each problem that faces us in a concerted action. This program is in the national interest, and it must be made to succeed. Naturally, the Ministry of Finance wants return accounts so that it can see whether the finances of the project are in good shape or not The Regional and District authorities are there to serve the people and they must fulfill their duties conscientiously. To give you an example, suppose delegations come to the capital. If the districts in Mogadisho accommodate the delegates as their guests, should the expenses which the Districts incur be put in the self-help accounts? No: That is a special case, and it should be regarded as such Similarly, if a District outside the capital receives delegations, and if the residents of that District make monetary collections to cover the expenses of their guests, every collection made should be recorded, and at the end of the delegation's visit, the District authorities must submit an accounting in which the collection and expenses has been scrupulously recorded. Any District authority, that does not submit such an accounting of the people's money, can be regarded to have committed an offense against the nation. If the po-

tical Office of the Presidency of the Supreme Revolutionary Council (SRC) in the Districts and Regions does not make sure that such accounts have been submitted it is also committing an ever greater offense against the nation. This means Government treasury and special project accounts must be separated, but each must have a meticulous accounting system. The need for the separation of accounts is made a necessity because at one time the Government wants a rendering of accounting, and another time the public itself, when it comes to self-help projects, wants an accounting of the contributions it has made. When the public gives contributions to one cause or another, they should be given an income and expense statement. This would forestall the tempatation of anyone pocketing any public funds if anything is left over from the expenses. It may so happen that no one is pocketing any public funds, but unless an accounting is made, there might be misturst and suspicion that something has been misappropriated Why shouldn't you all make this accounting in order to clear up any lingering doubts and misturst?

Many grumbling has cropped up about the self - help schemes. There is a law which stipulated that no one is under legal compulsion to make any contributions toward self-help. Whatever contributions to be made are to be given on voluntary basis. But suppose that a school is being built on self-help basis in some village which has 30,000 residents. Suppose 25,000 of the residents make voluntary contributions towards the construction of the School. Would the children of the 5,000 residents who had not made anl contributions be prevented from attending that School? No. The children have carte blanche right to attend school whether parents make contributions toward self-help schemes or not. Contributions are something given on voluntary basis, and not by pressure or compulsion. The law is specific on this point, and none of you has the right to contravene it.

There should not be any compulsion. but it is up to the authorities to persuade the public through reason

what is in their interest. The people should be convinced of the necessity for self-help schemes. The majority of our people are quite intelligent and if one appeals to their reason, they can see what has to be done. But if they are talked to haughtily, they can be very stubborn for they hate to do anything under compulsion.

As you all know, we are now facing the problem of feeding, clothing, giving houses and medicines to the destitutes whose means of livelihood has been wiped out by the drought. They need also education and everything else that gives the life of the human being a meaning. Everything that everyone of us needs, they also need. Apart from us, they cannot count on anyone else although the weight of the problem is immense. The drought is spreading and is hitting more and more regions and districts throughout most of the country. We should make preparations for the way and mean of tackling this problem for there is no point in expecting the drought to abate. The livestock of many people have already been wiped out, or will be wiped out, and these people would not have any place to which to go back. We would have to, then, create for them a new means of Livelihood and to settle them for good so that they would not be at the mercy of the vagaries of the weather.

The most readily available sources from which the destitutes can earn a living are fishing and farming. These professions need a great deal of preparations. The people would have to be taught new skills first, and then they would have to be given farming and fishing facilities, equipments and all the other things necessary for them to make a success of the new means of livelihood. When you all go back to the Regions you must all make research on the drought problem, and must transmit exact information to the Central Relief Committee. It has been discovered that the majority of the people in the Relief Camps are women and children. The question is, where are the men? It is one of two things: either the men are still roaning about with few camwel and other livestock left for them, or they felt ashamed to enter a destitute Camp. You all know how proud Somali men are.

What is the number of the destitutes to be settled? They are far too many. The people who would execute the settlement plans are you, the Regional authorities. No one among you can shirk this duty. The Regional Revolutionary Councils and the District Revolutionary Councils are the appropriate organs to execute the settlement plans. These Councils are going to administer the execution of these plans, and not a single member of the Councils would decide things by himself; these organs as a whole would have to decide everything. We must all be prepared from the outset how to execute the settlement plans for we don't want to find ourselves in a confusing situation when the time comes to carry out the plans for settlement.

The drought is one of the natural catastrophies that hit the country (the cyclones was another), and I think we can manage to tackle it as we did the others.

The human being is the most valuable of all God's creation, and whatever energies and resources expended on his wellbeing are well spent. The saving of a human life is the first duty of every human being. When you have good intentions you can find ways and means of carrying out such commendable actions.

What are the political distinctions by which the responsible people can recognize one another? What is the basis of our policies? The foundation of our policies is Scientific Socialism, and it is the system through which social, economic and political progress will be made. Scientific Socialism requires from the person who believes in it to look deeply into his most inner thoughts, otherwise he would not be able to carry out his duties honesty. The responsible people in the country must know Scientific Socialism for they cannot be expected to carry out their dutie unless they have a great deal of knowledge about the principles which form the basis of their actions. If we keep asking how Scientific Socialism should be made to work, we are labouring under falsehoods for there is no doubt about how to execute Socialist policies.

For example, we have recently finished a national Campaign. Why has it become successful? Because it was based on Scientific methods; it came out of the brains and thinking of the people themselves who know the nature and the problems of their own country. Socialist principles are applied to the characteristics of every country, its traditions and its culture. Self-reliance is the main key to progress, and this adage has been ascertained through experience.

The Somali people are moslems and nobody can make them lose their faith. The conditions prevalent in every country has to be handled in the best way possible for if one tries to ignore such conditions, one would not be able to accomplish anything.

Let me give you an example, and I am used this example, before. Socialism is like a tree. The tree has roots, a trunk and branches. The roots absorb nourishment from the earth and feed it to the tree. That is the real purpose of Socialism. The rule of Socialism is the trunk of the tree, and the branches are the ways and means each nation uses to make Socialism work. If one tries to make Socialism work in exactly the same way in diverse countries with different languages, different levels of economic progress, and different ways of life, what is going to happen?

The end result would be chaos. Socialism would be like the broken branch of a tree which would not bear any more fruits. What we want to apply in Somalia is Scientific Socialism that has health roots, trunk and branches. It would be like a tree whose roots get nourishment from the earth and whose branches would give forth flowers and give fruits. We must not allow the dilution of the principles of Socialism for if that happens it would be as weak as skimmed milk.

If one is a religious person, he must tell the truth about Islam and not turn it into a commercial activity from which he makes a living. It is the duty of every ci-

tizen to do what is best for his people and country and he must never try to confuse them, or to whisper to them falsehoods. It is easy to confute these falsehood. but it takes an unnecessary time and energy, and the people know falsehoods when they hear them.

You deserve commendations for all you had done for your country, and I am also certain, and the Somali nation is certain, that you would carry out the responsibilities you have been given, and that you would succeed in overcoming the current problem.

Thank you.

«We Want To Liberate The Somali People From Oppression», Says Jaalle Siad on 22.3.1975.

Greetings be upon you. I congratulate the Ministry of Justice and Religious Affairs, and Ulima (Learned Religious men) who had planned and organised this short seminar. It has been a policy of the Revolution to enlighten the people as much as possible; to give further enligtenment to those who have a degree of knowledge, and to educate those who have none. We want to lead our people out of illusions and false dreams; we want them to think for themselves, and to know at first hand the economic, social and political situation of their country; we want them to realize that the laws are made to protect their lives, rights and interests.

You recall that it had been decided at the birth of the Revolution to wage war on ignorance, disease and hunger. Most people think that ignorance is lack of education, but ignorance has many faces. Whatever a person does not know, he is in ignorance about it. Those who had some education used to think that they were above the people. That was a prevalent attitude of some people during the pre-revolutionary days. The Revolution has been working on wiping out such mentality. We want to make the people realize the interest of their nation, which is also their interest. They must be made to understand that their dignity, their interest and their humaness are

all dependant upon their realization of the human value. They must be made to realize that what the Revolution is trying to achieve is for themselves, for their children, and for the future of their country.

No clique would be allowed to dominate the people in Somalia. They would all be given an equal opportunity to education and knowledge, and that should make them equal in all respects.

I think you all know that we have been in a long struggle. In this struggle, we have been trying to lead our people out of the darkness in which they have been groping for so long, and take them out of the gloomy cave into the light. I think you can all recall that shortly after the birth of the Revolution, it had been decided that verses of the Koran should be read over the Radio each day, and that these verses should be explained to the public so that everybody could understand the meaning of the Sacred Koran. These religious lessons over the Radio have given everyone an opportunity to learn the true tents of the Islamic faith, and to be able to confute the false arguments of the semi-illiterate, semi-religious who do not know much about Islam and yet pose as experts on religion. The people who give lessons over the Radio are among the most learned of the Ulima of the nation, and one can rely on their interpretation of the Koran. These religious programs over the radio are part of the enlightenment program of the Revolution. God had given the Islamic Faith to the people for their own interests. Some people leave worship and religion when they gain a bit of secular education. It seems such people had never actually wholeheartedly believed in Islam because secular education could not have had influenced them to abandon the practice of their religion. It is always better to look for the root cause of every happenstance. If so mething happens and you could not readily grasp what has caused it to happen, you must search deligently for the root cause. The religious radio programmes give the people the opportunity to open verses that are being read and explained. In this way, they can open up their

Koranic books and listen to the verses that being read and exploined. In this way, the can learn the meaning of national plan to combat ignorance, the religious, political economical, social, cultural and scientific ignorance. We must fight against all types and shapes of ignorances.

Those who do not want justice to reign among people, always try to create misunderstanding and mistrust among the people. Such people do not want harmony to prevail among human beings for they do not value human beings. We want to create harmonious relationship among people. At the sametime, it would be tantamount to defeat one's own purposes, if one tries to force people to live in harmony with each other. The people themselves must, on their own accord, learn the value of harmonious relationships among human beings. Only then, would such a relationship have efficicious influence in the lives of the human beings. The purpose of this careful nursing of enlightenment is to make the people understand their interests, the interests of their nation and country and the value of their lives. The individual in the Society must learn how to get out of the cave of darkness, and how to value his life, his nationhood, and the value of his fellow humans. We have embarked upon a long road by which we want to create a society that justice, equality and respect of the human life is an integral part of its philosophy. We want our youth to be weaned on sense of justice, responsibility, a sense of knowing automatically what is right so that when they grow up tomorrow, they would be just men and women living in healthy society. They would grow to be men and women who know their nationhood, the dignity of their own people, and who would know their duty without being told when they become the leaders of this country in the future. That, my friends, is the ultimate purpose of the enlightenment program which the Revolution had initiated.

If I may now come down to this seminar, I would like to point out that the people gathered here are part of the machinery which administers the affairs of the nation. In

particular, you are the people responsible for the administration of justice and religious affairs. These are two fields which have great importance for the moslem Somali nation. The Ministry of Justice and Religious Affairs is responsible for the two most sensitive, most difficult and most important fields of human affairs.

I have said before that the foundation of a healthy Society is the creation of a healthy family set-up. If that is so, to whom should the creation of such an entity be entrusted? Naturally, the Ulima of the nation. If the child does not grow up in a healthy family environment, what is he going to become when he grows up? It is indisputable then, if a nation wants to have a healthy citizenship, that it must first establish a healthy family enviornment and build on that solid foundation. Who have been given the task of building such a foundation? Who have been given the task of the administration of justice and to bring about equality before the law? It is you, the people who are today here before me. You may not have been enlightened before on the weight of your responsibilities and what it means to the nation. Your responsibility is not like other responsibilities. It is the greatest and the most important responsibility that can be put on the shoulders of any human being.

The Judge has a great responsibility, the greatest that any one can have. The administration of Justice is not an easy task. If one wants to plant a free, one must dig up a hole in the earth; put good soil in the hole and then put the tree in it. When he completes that process and secures the tree in its place, he must occasionally water it until the tree grows. Your responsibility has resemlance to that process because you are to plant a society that would grow full straight like a gigantic tree which had been nourished well during its growing period. That is the kind of Society we want to emerge; a society whose members are so upright that they would have goodness in their hearts, justice, honesty, integrity and humaneness in their minds; a society whose members are so well versed in their duties and responsibilities that no

one would have to tell them what to do. This may sound to be an ideal society that one may never see in the world, but ideals have a way of turning into realities. Too many ideals which, in the part, were derisively called too idealistic materialized into concrete reality. A Socialist Society was once held to be an unattainable ideal, but it has become reality as you all know. So there is no reason to think that the society we want to create in Somalia is an unattainable ideal. With good, hard work and an unwavering determination, we can create a good, healthy society. Therefore, you must all understand your national responsibilities in this light.

The human beings are not equally divided among good and evil. True there are good people and evil people in the world, but the majority of the people on earth are good. The good ones are the ones who want to make progress at the expense of none; they are the ones who advocate justice and equality; they are the ones who do things in a democratic manner; they are the ones who want to do battle with injustice, arrogance, aggression, oppression ad exploitation wherever it might be. We want to point out to our people wherever injustice might appear, and how one may unintentionally be committing injustice. What we want to pull down and what we want to create are too far apart, and it may take quite a long time to reach the desired goal.

Anyone who does injustice may escape one, two, or three times, but aren't you all sure that such a person would be caught in the end? Venal Judges might also succeed in procketing the wages of their sins, but they will one day be brought to justice and get the just punishment they deserve. How many times can on just punishment they deserve. How many times can one get away with doing injustice? The man who is being led into the dark alleys of sin does not hear any good advice, does not see what is good, and his heart is made of stone. He thinks he is so clever he can pull wool over everyone's eyes. But God is making him blind to reason, and he falls into a pit from which he cannot climb out. The

wages of his sins would be of no use to him then. He has a stone of heart, he has no dignity or respect in the society, and whatever he cheats out of people would be ashes in his mouth. The man who makes material gain, especially a gain he makes through cheating, is lost. He has no place either on earth or in the next world; his life is a counterfeit and not a substantial thing.

Every true Muslim believes that Allah takes care of his creatures, and whatever material wealth one may get throughout one's life has been determined at the day one has been conceived. The one who has confidence in this principle is ispritually rich. There is a Somali proverb which says: «Faith in God's generosity fills one's stomach». This does not mean that one has to wait for manna to fall from heaven; it means one must not try to earn a living in a sinful way.

What I have been driving at is that you must realize the enormous responsibility that your nation has given you. If you are harboring the illusion that you are an independent group, you must realize that you are not. You are among the personnel of the Government who run the administration of the affairs of the nation on behalf of the public. At the sametime, you have been given a specially important responsibility from which you cannot escape. The people on whose behalf you are acting, want to make progress in a short time; they want to overcome difficulties from which they have been suffering a long time, and they want to build their own future with their muscles, resources and brains. Anyone who wants to stop this determined march towards prosperity, or who wants to slow this on-the-double march, would simply be trampled underfoot and would not be looked at to ensure whether he is dead or not. When one is serving such people, he must keep what they want to achieve in mind. It is advisable to avoid being stampeded to death by a nation on march to progress. It is in your interest, in the interest of your children, and in the interest of the society in which you all live, to do justice. You would be doing

your nation invaluable service if the people know that they would get justice in the Courts, no matter who is in the seat of the judge.

The Revolution, then, would know that the administration of justice is in good hands.

Everybody must be doing his part in the creation of healthy society. If that happens, such a society would come into being. The healthy society we want to create will come into existence, and the nation would see its dream coming true.

What is the duty of every Somali? It is that he has to, no matter what responsibility he has, contribute toward the creation of the new Soicety by first carrying out his own duties conscientiously. Before the Revolution, how many weaknesses did the Society have, which the spy, the exploiter & the imperialists could exploit? Now that you are responsible for the management of the most important organ in the Government machinery, it must not have any weaknesses which anyone can exploit. This organ had weaknesses before, and it is your duties to remove such weaknesses and to prevent the growth of any more weakness in the future. The Revolution had laid down the proper, systematic body of law, and prevented any ambiguities to enter into the phraseology of the law so that no one would interpret the law in the wrong way. Thus, the body of the law in the country is clear, and proper and the public itself would know exactly what it means if one cares to read it. The laws have been enacted to serve the public as a whole, not individuals or groups. Everybody must understand that quite clearly. You must make the people understand the purpose of the law. The honest, the sincere, and the patriot would know that to do justice for all is the purpose of the law. The honest judge would make sure that the laws of this Islamic nation, which promulgated just laws for its people, would be administered fairly and justly with no distinction made between one person or another except whether one is guilty or innocent.

The Revolution has prevented the occurrance of two things; one is a one-man rule. The rule must be made by bodies so that no single person would be able to give orders.

Since you are the Ulima, the Judges and Lawyers of the nation, you must adopt a communal decision-making process. It would be in the interest of the nation if you have meetings like the one of this evening, and discuss the problems which crop up in the administration of justice. Once you all exchange ideas, you can make improvements in the judicial system because many minds are better than one or several of them. Anyone can express his opinion in the debate, but everyone must follow the ruling of the majority once a ruling is made. No one has a right to say: « I said so, and it must be so». No one must try to create misunderstandings or confusions if his ideas happen not to be adopted by the majority of the participants in this Seminar. No one must stick to «I am opposed to that idea» and no one must get angry ifhis opinion are not favoured by the meeting. Your resolutions must be the ideas backed by the greatest number of the people in this Seminar.

The purpose behind getting bound by the decisions of the majority is that there si a high probability that the majority is right. No human being on earth is complete in all respects, and there is a great likelihood that the individual would be wrong rather than the majority of the people. The majority may be wrong on rare occasions, and a single person who has the right idea may be outvoted, but such cases would be rare indeed.

Another thing which the Revolution wants never to happen is whinsical ruling on law. If the judge makes one kind of ruling the day he had slept well and content the previous night, and another kind of ruling the day he is in bad mood, there would be a mockery of justice. A Judge has no right to make legal rulings in accordance with his moods. He must follow the law regardless of his changeable moods. The laws of the land cannot be

allowed to be interpreted according the moods of the people who interpret it. The absence of one-man rule and whimsical ruling would breed justice. The absence of those two factors in all the organs of the Government, would create a healthy atmosphere in which the nation can reach out for a State of prosperity in all fields. Thus one can see that upright citizenry is a key to prosperity in the final analysis. Once a nation has a citizenry which upholds justice, equality in all its aspects, and the administrative machinery to channel the energies of the people, that nation can build anything it wants.

There are no foreign-inspired laws in our country. The country has its own laws which are based on the religion of the people, their way of thinking, their culture, traditions, economic and social conditions and so forth. Our people understand this kind of law, and they would not able to understand laws imported from foreign countries. Our people cannot understand imported laws because all laws reflect the mental processes of the people in that country, the economic conditions of that country, the culture and traditions of that country, the nature of the crimes which are committed in that country, and so many other factors that are the characteristics of the people of that country. How could, then, a law imported from another country have a meaning for our people the majority of whom are living in the rural areas of the country? When such people come to Courts, how would they judge themselves whether the judgement of the Court was right or wrong? But they can judge the correctness of our Court decisions becuase the laws by which the Judges base their decisions reflect the thoughts and ways of life of the Somali people.

I think I have said enough about the administration of theJustice. I hope the Ministry of Justice and Religious Affairs would organise Seminars like this one so that you can have opportunities to discuss legal questions and how the administration of justice can always be improved as there is always room for improvement. Every Somali who is responsible, who knows the value of his nation, who knows the value of his people and country,

who knows the value of human dignity, has a special responsibility towards the correct administration of his nation's affairs. This responsibility consists mainly of proper adminstration and the rendering of justice. Since this is what is required of us, we have laid down sound policies for the nation so that we may get the people who would pool their ingenuities, thoughts, brains, and manpower to build their country by themselves, and who would eventually reach a state of prosperity.

Our policy should then be to carry out our duties by giving the public justice and equality; to give the public a protection to their dignity and honour; to safeguard its nationhood. The people must be made to understand that the level of their production is what would make them attain prosperity.

Once the nation gets started to really do something it can, in fact, accomplish a great deal. To give you a simple example, shifting sand along the coast between Afgoi and Marka was threatening to block the main road, and was creeping, inch by inch, upon the most important farming land of the country. This creeping danger had to be stopped. What happened? Simply, the people waged a war against it. Trees have systematically planted right in the midst of the shifting sand and along its outer boundaries. A fertile soil was spread on the sand to prevent it from getting blown away by the wind. The trees planted there were watered. Now the whole area is green, and the sand is not shifting any more. That is a good, simple example of what the people can do in unity.

How was such a feat accomplished so easily? Through hard work, and the harder one works the more one could accomplish. Great accomplishments, however, need knowledge, great brains, great efforts, and the determination to make great achievements.

The basis of our national policies is Socialism. As I have said before, Allah had given the Islamic faith to the people for their own interest. Allah did not intend Islam to be an instrument of suffering. Anyone who interprets

Islam as a cause of a suffering is a liar and we must be prepared to fight against him because he is propagating falsehoods. What is of no use to Allah, but is of benefit to the people is the worship of Allah. The rest of religion is for the benefit of the mankind. Allah said «You will be awarded according to your actions».

What, then, does Socialism say? We have been living under Socialism for five and half years. Have you seen in the application of Socialism anything that does not uphold the dignity of the people? That does not promote their wellbeing? What is the call of the Revolution? The call of the Revolution to the people is: «Come out of darkness into the light; Come and work for yourselves; have dignity and honour; live in peace with each other so that each one of you can have a secure life; don't whisper falsehood to your brothers and sisters; stop killing each other; don't divide the nation against itself; come and let us help our people in distress; come and get education so that you can get out of your state of ignorance and benefit yourselves and live in dignity and honour. Don't sit by idlely by playing checker games on lines drawn on the ground forming a checkboard; stop mouthing falsehoods; stop committing sins; come and turn yourselves into useful citizens; stop lying and fear Allah; recognize the dignity of the society in which you live; stop perpetrating injustice; stop stabbing your people in the back». The Revolution is protecting the people; it is defending their interests. That is the truth. The Revolution is fighting for the people. I know that the people who have gathered here to participate in this Seminar are part of the Government machinery. I am certain you are part of the people who live in huts; I am certain that you are not the ones who had exploited the people and fattened themselves on illegal earning; you and some people like you had thrown off the shoulders of the people the oppression and the exploitation under which the public had been groaning for such a long time before the birth of the Revolution. Those who used to rule you in this Ministry itself were part of the machinery which was set up to rub the people's faces

in the dirt; they were part of the machinery which had dividedthe people into warring factions; they were the ones who used to employ religion as a facade for the commercial exploitation of the public.

You are part the people for whom the Revolution was born. The Revolution is struggling for you, and the others like you among the workers, the farmers and the rural residents.

We want the Somali people to get free of all oppression; We want them to get liberated from ignorance; We want the Somali society to get liberated from hunger; We want the Somalis to be free from the hypocricy by which imperialism wants to deceive them; We want the Somali Society to be united; We want the Somali people to build their future with their labour, resources and brains; We want them to utilize the resources of their country for it is rich. That is what we want.

In conclusion, the faith of the Somali people is Islam, and the political system of the country is SOCIALISM. We are not going to change the Socialist system because we know it is the right way, and that it is in interest of the nation to go by this system. It is the only way by which the country can get out of dependence on others. The Somali nation must get out of the ignominous state of dependence on others.

Comrades, the duties you shall yet have to perform for the nation are great. Allah had send us for this nation. We, the responsible people, must help them to reach a better life which would reflect glory on the lives of the people and the dignity of the nation. We must have the determination to wage this war and Jihad so that our people would finally put behind them the uncertantities of life and get security. Every Somali must be able to have a decent life to which he has a right. Every Somali must have the proper education and knowledge with which he shall be able to make useful contributions to his society. The Somali unity, nationhood, dignity, peace and existence must be defended at all costs.

Increase production

Speech Delivered By Jaalle Siad On First May 1975.

Comrades, accept my congratulations for this happy festival. I am sending all workers, wherever they are, happy greetings and I wish for them an eternal prosperity in their lives and future. At the same time, I am sending the workers all over the world, with whom we have inseverable ties, happy greetings on this happy occasion. The people all over the world who earn their living with the sweat of their brow are linked together with the aims of independence, justice and equality for all. May the Almighty God crown their endeavors with success.

Allow me, Comrades, to congratulate on your behalf the Vietnamese people who after long struggle with what seemed a combination of unbeatable forces have won their independence and their unity. There is no more appropriate topic to talk about today than the history and the vicissitudes of the fortunes of the workers during the colonial, after-independence and the Revolutionary era. It is most opportune that we should evaluate realistically the conditions under which the workers have been living during these three distinct periods.

In consonance with the system we have adopted, all the people in this country are workers. I have said this before and I would like to emphasize it again. If there are still groups among us who have the illusion of being

something other than workers, they are following a mirage. 90% of the people in this country earn their living with their muscles and the sweat of their brow. If these are the undeniable realities in our country, what shall we call the people who are still harbouring the grandiose illusion of being something other than workers? I would say they are lost people.

Even the nomads are workers for they are constantly in search of pasture and water for their livestock. They rear their children and earn a living for their families. The people in the urban centres and the farmers are also workers. The people who live in urban centres know themselves to be workers. The few among them who refuse to identity themselves with the workers are labouring under a colossal illusion. These are the people who think they are something which they are not. They may think that they are capitalists, or something else which is equally illusory, but they are simply deluding themselves. The truth is that the people who entertain such ideas are suffering from a poverty of an objective evalution of themselves. Instead of falling in step with the marsh of the the people in their country, they shame-facedly entertain idiosycracies in direct contradiction to the aspirations and interests of their own people.

The Somali nation consists of workers whether they are members of the armed forces, the Civil Servants, the the farmers, the nomads, and the public. As of this date at least one member of every family goes to work. Our main objective, the obejctive toward which we are all working, is to make possible for all the members in each family to go to work. Of course, work can be given many classifications. The people who set out each morning to go work are workers, and the people who are left behind in the houses are also workers because they, too, perform valuable services for the society. It is imperative that our people should understand and remember the goals for which we are all working for it is not suitable that we should waste time once or twice each year on the reiteration of the objectives for which we have set our-

selves. Since at least one or two persons of each family go to a salary-earning job, and the rest of the people are perfoming in one way or another essential services for the community, the inevitable conclusion is that all the Somalis are workers. If we want to split a hair we can say those who go to salary-paying jobs are workers while the rest of the people might be called the public. No matter, how one may want to split a hair the Somali people are in general all workers. One cannot get away from this fact. I am confident that Somalia would progress to a point when everyone will have a salary-paying job.

The reason I am talking about these things at such a great length is that unless we know ourselves, our aspiration and aims, we will not be able to reach the objective which we have set ourselves. Talking for the sake of talk would not do us any good. What will benefit us is facing boldly the realities before us. We have to keep our goals before us and must not lose the path we are following which would take us to our goals. At the same time we must not lose sight of our position among the nations in the world, and our role in the proletariat movement in the world. In order to fully appreciate these roles, It is necessary to define the term «workers». If I may re-emphasize what I have been saying, the Somalis are all workers, and the few lost people in the country have no place in which to hide themselves.

From the inception of the existence of the human beings, there has always been workers. I have explained several times to the nation how the advent of organized workers had come about, but I would like to delineate it even further on the commemoration of the workers Day.

Great thinkers had studied the deprivations of the workers who actually created the capital and properties which few people come to own. These thinkers had seen, through studies and observation, how a few people ived in luxuries created with the muscles and sweat of the workers. In order to stop the exploitation of the wor-

kers by the few, the great thinkers concluded that the workers had to get organised and establish a system which would make possible for them to own the resources and distribution of the resources of their countries. It was evident that without a systematic organisation and the concatenation of labour activities in the different countries of the world, the establishment of a system giving the workers the power of control over the ownership and distribution of the natural resources of their may never materialize.

It followed from this political and economic awareness that the workers had to have common principles if they wanted to achieve what they set out to do. Thus, they adopted the principles of Socialism, and the workers all over the world started educating themselves in Socialism. In the proliferation of Socialist education, it became imperative to raise certain questions. Who is opposed to the progress of mankind? Who perpetrates injustice upon people? Who robs them blind? Who sucks their blood like vampires?

The answers to these questions have helped the spreading of Socialism for the answer to every question posed above in the word: «Capitalism». To realize who your enemy is half a battle won. The philosophy of Socialism advocated that once the enemy has been pointed out, and the workers have embraced a socialist system and its attendant organisational method, they had to embark on wresting the ownership of the means of production and distribution from the capitalists and strip them of political power.

That, my Comrades, is the fundamental idea of Socialism. The Somali workers have in general understood this basic idea for they know that Socialism is a system that has been thought of for the protection of the workers. But some elements seem to have missed the whole point. They think that once the capitalist had been pushed aside and the workers have taken over the reign of power, every worker should «sit in a big seat» and «carry out

the planning and execution of all policies». They also think that the national income should automatically be evenly divided among the workers outright. That, my Comrades, is a misconception of the basic aims of socialism. To begin with those who are planning and executing policies are themselves workers and they are toiling for the interests of the workers. Secondly, if the national income is automatically divided evenly among the workers, how is the Socialist State going to make progress? How is it going to do economic construction? How is it going to make up for the lost time when the capitalists have been waxing fat on the misery of the people? Anyone who ponders on these questions, would see that the workers, would have to pool their resources, their energies and ingenuities to build a prosperous State before they reach the ideal socialist goal of «From each according to his ability, to each according to his needs».

It is evident from this exposition that the means of production and distribution could only belong to the whole people and not to individuals. At the sametime the rule of country could only be carried out in accordance to what the whole nation wants to be done and not in consanance with the wishes of an individual or few people.

The objectives of a Socialist is to create the means by which the whole nation can prosper, to give opportunities of education to every member of the Society, to give employment opportunities to every able-bodied person in the country, to develop the economy of the country to a point where its citizens are free from the painful shackles of want and to develop the political consciousness of the people to a high point so that it would be impossible to lead them astray.

Such a system is based on a conviction that the human being is the most valuable being on earth, and, subsequently, his education, health and the removal of all those who want to reduce him to a mere animal to be exploited is a cardinal principle in Socialism.

Some people are under the mistaken notion that all the workers doing the same job should be getting the same salary no matter how small or long hours each puts in his job. That is not so. If someone works three hours a day, he should be getting a salary equal to the number of hours he worked. If another worked ten hours a day, he should be paid accordingly. That is only fair, and fairness to all is the motto of Socialism. The principles of Socialism stipulate that those who want to have increments in their salary should increase their productivity. Anyone who works six hours a day asks to have the same salary as another who worked ten or twelve hours simply wants to live on the sweat of another, a desire contrary to the principles of Socialism.

We must all take cognizance of the realities facing us. What are these realities? So far we have the rule in our hands, and we own whatever there is in the country. At the sametime there are so many things that need to be done. The question is how should we match our resources and needs? I said earlier that only one, or two persons in each family go to a salary-paying job. Is it not our policy and the aims of the Revolution to eventually create jobs for every able-bodied Somali? Is it not the aim of the Revolution to provide all the people with medical treatment, and education opportunities? If we have to achieve all these things, we must create an economic and political atmosphere that can make the accomplishment of these things possible. To tell the truth, we are not in the economic crisis that some countries are going through. But most of the Somali people are in ignorance and illness. Who is going to make possible for them to get rid of these petilences? A Socialist system, which have been adopted in their interest, would make possible for them to get rid of proverty, ignorance and diseases, the three scourges of mankind. What is needed then? What is needed is for all the Somalis to exert their utmost to increase productivity.

Do you think economic edvancement would fall in the laps of the Somalis like a manna from heaven? No

To bring about a high economic advancement, the Somalis must toil and sweat; they must have a revolutionary zeal; they must work together shoulder to shoulder in brotherhood; they must have political awareness, and must fully comprehend the quintescence of Socialism. The system of Socialism is not how the hypocrites interpret it: it is not how the petty mercenaries interpret it; It is not how those safeguarding their selfish interests interpret it. Socialism is a system whose aim is to uplift mankind from misery and to elevate it to a level of economic advancement and political maturity so that there would not be any exploitation of man by man, or injustice or inequality. Any person who propagates, or advocates ideas and principles contrary to these broad aims is against Socialism and the ameleoration of the existence of mankind. He is against the Revolution; he is against the Somali nationhood; he is against humanity; and he deserves to be driven out of the Society.

If we take a look at what the workers have passed through for the past five years, there is no doubt that they had met with some difficulties. No one can deny the difficulties which the workers had been through whether these problems were engendered by the administration, by misunderstanding, by the prevalent conditions in the country, or by the hurdles which imperialism puts in the way of an upcoming Socialist State. The country passed through hard times, and at times even nature did not favour us. But we have lived through these times. We came through hardship hurdled on us by nature, and it seems we have been tempered by such experience and are better for it. We have accomplished what seemed imppossible a little while back.

The last hardship that strained us all to what seemed a breaking-point was the general drought which had hit most of the Religions in the country and which had deprived hundreds of thousands of people of their livelihood. If the economy of the country would allow, I would all put you in planes or cars and take you to the Camps where 250,000 people who don't have anything

are living. I am sure that would have moved many of you; it would have taught you the meaning of commiseration with a brother in misery. The story is the same all over most of the Regions of the country, and beyond. It would have been good if you had seen these people, whom we are all trying to help, for you would never have lost sight of the truth. With the help of God, 250,000 people have been so far taken care of, and there are still more to take care of.

The number of people who are given relief beyond the Republic are 500,000 - 6,00,000 people. You may appreciate the magnitude of the problem when you imagine at times thousands of miles have to be traversed in order to take relief to some of the drought victims. When you think of the task involved in feeding, clothing, sheltering and giving medical treatment to 250,000 people, you would see that this is a heavy task.

What did we have to do then? Did we shrug our shoulders and said this was «What God wished» and left it at that, or did we face up to our responsibilities and answered to the challenge? We rose up to the situation. The Somali nation had shown its revolutionary spirit; it had shown its foresight, and had shown that they could tackle any problem that confronts them. Some people, in fact, volunteered to be sent to the worst places so that they could help those which the drought had hit the hardest. Some were so eager they wanted to plunge right into the problem and had to be curbed so that the problem can be tackled in an organized, planned manner. In truth the Somalis did not shirk their duties they had discharged them in an admirable manner. They had locked horns with adversity and and defeated it. It had been said before, in unity people can perform something akin to miracles. I believe the Somali nation had done just that because they had saved the lives of more than 250,000 people. These people are now living in good conditions and had been nourished after they had reached the brink of starvation. Even their minds which had been pre-occupied before with survival have now turned to better things, and are improving.

How did the Somali nation accomplish so much? They achieved what they had done with unity of purpose; they had seen through the mechinations of international imperialism, and had avowed that they would not be lured away from their purpose, or deceived, or be tricked into falling into pitfalls. If people realize that much, they can handle every difficulty which they encounter.

What are the oustanding problems which need to be overcome? For example, there is the problem of food shortage in the world caused by droughts which hit many parts of the world. Of course, people all over the world would feel the aftermath of such a world-wide calamity, and Somalia is not isolated from what is happening all over the world. One hears grumblings in Mogadisho and some other parts of the country about inadequate supplies of maize. We haven't managed to grow maize in the quantities we wanted, and the world had not been able to grow enough quantities of maize either. So where can one get abundant supplies of maize? Doesn't one have to do with what is available in view of the prevalent economic conditions in the world? I would say to those who are grumbling about inadequate supplies of maize, go to the countries neighbouring us and see if you can find maize which they want to sell. Go to Europe and see if they would sell you some maize. I would say to the people who are grumbling about these things, which nobody can do anything about, are neither honest with themselves nor are they thinking straight. They are not upto date on the economic situation of the world. The people who are heard grumbling about inadequate supplies of maize have some other ulterior motives. These people may whisper to each other, «Do you see that there is no maize? Why shouldn't it be imported? Why shouldn't we get it?» But I would like to ask these people, «Don't you know there is a general grain shortage in the world because of the droughts and crop failures over many parts of the globe? Somalia had started shopping for maize three months ago in many markets, but every country said that either the supplies

it had was just enough for the needs of its citizens, or it was itself shopping around for grain. This situation was brought about by natural calamities and no one can be blamed for it.

It is known, however, that some forces benefit from natural calamities. And who are these forces? It is international imperialism and its lackeys wherever they may be. To give an example of how the imperialist minds work, they thought the drought that hit Somalia would finish off the Revolution in this country. They thought that was the end of it. Man proposes and God disposes. What has God disposed? One and half million people in the countryside who used to hear only about the Revolution have got involved, and have become the most militant of us all. The imperialists calculated, mistakenly, that the after effects of the drought would ring the bell for the demise of the Revolution. To their dismay the Revolution had gained momentum and added into itself new forces hitherto untapped. What a surpirse the imperialists had! The mass media of imperialism had mounted a defeaning smearing campaign predicting doom for the nascent Revolution, but when the predictors of doom fail in their pontification they collapse on themselves like a deflated baloon. Whatever they say after is mere whistling in the wind.

To whom do the fruits of the Revolution belong? When we keep saying «The workers, the workers», who are we referring to? We are referring to the forces who are toil for the success of the Revolution, the forces fighting for justice and equality. When these forces have the power and the means to push out of their way those who are hampering their progress, should they hesitate and vacillate to do so? Should they be led astray by falsehoods? The truth is we might face difficulties of no lesser in magnitude than those we have been through, and it is incumbent on the Revolutionary forces to be prepared for them. The reason for such preparedness is clear. When the imperialists have come to reckon with the strength of our determination to succeed in

what we had set out to do, they have worked out new tactics to create new problems for us. Thus, it is the duty of every patriot to be alert for dealing with all eventualities at any given time.

The Somali workers have embraced Socialism and they have overcome whatever doubts some of them might have entertained in the beginning. They have proved the sincerity of their convictions in Socialism in what they had achieved in the fields of industry, agriculture, education, health and in many other fields. The Somali workers of today have no need for elaborate lectures. They know what is expected of them and what they have to do. The workers are united today and they have the means with which to defend themselves.

I call upon the workers to increase their productivity so that they would dispense with the dependence on anyone outside their circle. You workers have a country that is potentially rich. All you need to do is to exploit your own resources without any dependence on anyone else. That is all you need to do to reach a state of self-sufficiency.

Long Live Somalia! Long Live the workers! Long Live the progressive countries!

Somali—Saudi relations

are excellent

Address By Major General Mohamed Siad Barre To Somali Community in Jedah on 10. 5. 75.

First of all I would like to convey to you the heartfelt greetings of the Supreme Revolutionary Council (SRC), the Council of Secretaries and the Somali nation. Secondly, it is a good occasion for me to carry out my duty to give you a report about your country, to give you whatever advice I can, and to listen to whatever comments you might want to make

I am sure you get constant flow of news from home, but I would like to talk about the drought problem on which you might not have detailed information. There are 250,000 people in relief camps, and if the country does not get rain, another 10,000 people are expected to come into the relief camps. On top of that, there are a great many people who are beyond the artificial border who could not come to the relief camps. It became the duty of the Revolution to take food, water and medicines to those as well. In addition to all these things, the Revolution has to help farming communities which have not produced any products for lack of rain. The number of people whom the Government gives assistance is between 500,000 to 600,000, in addition to the quarter of a million who are already in relief camps. That makes the total number of people the Government has to look after 900,000 people. It seems that the heads of fami-

lies and young people, especially the men, have felt ashamed to come to the relief camps because the vast majority of people in the camps are women and children. The question is, where are the youth of the families in the relief camps? Where are the fathers of the children and the husbands of the women in the camps? One can get the answers to these questions quite readily . The pride of the Somali men is such they cannot bring themselves to go to a destitute camp. Our estimate is that another 150,000 men and youth have fled to the towns and cities and are dependent on relatives. I want to show you through these statistics that about 1,200,000 people have had their livelihood wiped out by the drought.

What damage has the drought done to the economy of the country? We can see that a great number of people have had their livelihood wiped out. It follows, then, that their pattern of livelihood had been uprooted and they would have to have a new means of livelihood. What other losses has the drought caused? You can easily imagine the other damages the drought has inflicted upon the Somali nation. Livestock is the backbone of the Somali people's economy, and the majority of our people make a living out of livestock in one way or another. In many respects even the economy of great many of our towns and cities is linked to livestock and livestock products. If we take a small town as an example, we can visualize how the very existence of the people in it depends on livestock and livestock products. The people in the rural areas bring to the town for sale animals, skins and hides, ghee, milk and so forth. When they sell these things, they buy the goods available in the towns. Thus one can see how the life of such a town is interlocked with the life in the rural areas. What has the drought done to this economy which is directly linked to livestock and its product? Before I answer this question, let me point out that vast number of Government employees in the villages, towns and cities all used to earn their living out of the revenues which accrue to the Government from livestock transactions. Since a vast majority of the livestock population in the country was wi-

ped out, the drought have had far more repercusions that cannot be easily discerned. The merchants have had their business crippled; the revenues which used to come from livestock and its products dried up; thousands of people who used to make a living out of livestock in one way or another have suddenly found themselves in bad straits. In addition to these difficulties, the hard currency which the country used to get from the exportation of livestock and its products have dwindled into a trickle. I think you all know that the economic transactions between nations depends on the importation and exportation of the different nations. The scale of a country's exportation determines, to a great extent, the importation it can make as the imported goods, machinery and equipments have to be paid for with the proceeds of the exports. Thus if a nation's exports are low, it cannot afford to import all the things its people and its country's development might need.

The drought problem has inflicted heavy damage on the export sector of the Somali economy, which in turn have started off numerous problems because most of our exports were either livestock or its products, and when the livestock population has been largely reduced, the result was catastrophic. The overall losses which the drought has engendered would exceed four and a half billion shillings for this year alone.

There is no doubt that if the country receives good amount of rain soon it would recover from most of the bad effects of the drought, but still the country would not have as much livestock population as it had before the drought hit the country. The difficulties which the drought has caused will be with the country for some time to come.

At the time of our departure, some parts of the country had received good amount of rain, especially the farm land areas. But it seemed that the places which were the pasture lands had not yet received sufficient amount of rain. Places like Sanag, Galgudud, Mudug and the

greater part of the Eastern Region haven't yet received sufficient amount of rain.

As you might all know, there could not be continuous drought condition in any part of the world, as there couldn't be continuous prosperity. There are ups and downs in the world, and that is how God balances nature. How would Somalia overcome the vast problems which the drought has created for it. It could only overcome these difficuties through the efforts its people make. If its people act conscientiously, patriotically, and responsibly, it can overcome most of these difficulties. The Somalis are the ones who feel the brunt of the drought problems. It is up to -them to alleviate these difficulties. They have to make maximum efforts to overcome these problems. What is the Revolution going to do about the 250,000 destitutes in relief camps and about the other 150,000 people whom we expect to come to the camps? We intend to settle about 80,000 of them at farm lands so that they can become farmers, and another 90,000 of them at the Coastal areas so that they can become fishing communities. We have -estimated the settlement expenses at one billion Somali shillings. These people need to be given food, shelter, clothes, medical treatment, education and professional training. Huge expenses would have to be incurred until they are able to earn their own living. At the sametime, they would have to be provided with the farming machinery, tools, equipments, and the fishing equipments they would need after they are given professional training in these fields. This is how the Revolution wants to tackle this problem for to keep the people in the relief camps would not solve the main problem. These people have to be given a new means of livelihood so that they can once again become useful citizens.

You might be thinking, where can Somalia get the billion shillings needed for the settlement project? Where can it get, since it is even more than the yearly budget of the country? The Somali people have confidence in God's generosity, in its country and people; we know

that each nation's prosperity is in proportion to the efforts it makes to get it; we know that no one can achieve anything by sitting idlte. I gave an order before I left the country to the two Councils (The Supreme Revolutionary Council and the Council of State Secretaries) to convene meetings and to come through with the ways and means of raising the funds necessary for the settlement of the people in the relief camps.

The Settlement project has two phases: First the people have to be transported to their respective areas of settlement, which have been already maped out for them. When they are transported to these areas, they are given shelter, food, medical facilities and so forth; 300,000,000 shillings will be needed for the first phase of the project. Once they have gotten nourishment and their lives have returned to normal, they have to be prepared for the future. As you can see, this project is too big for the Government to handle it by itself. So all the Somalis, wherever they might be, would have to make contributions to this project: They cannot do anything less for the lives and future of too many people are involved in here. We expect that the settlement shall have already been started by the time we go back. The transportation alone would cost seven million shillings, and the plan is to complete the transportation by the middle of this month.

We have based all our plans on our resources but there is an understanding among nations to help one another when one of them is hit by a natural catastrophy. It is human to give assistance to a nation that has been hit by catastrophies like severe drought, floods, earthquakes and so forth. Somalia had given, in the form of assistance to nations who had been hit by calamities about 30 million shillings for the past five years. The other nations have also been giving such assistance for it is humane duty to do so. Thus, if Somalia has been fulfilling its humanitarian duties, it expects that the other nations would carry out their duties as well. We have based our plans on whatever resources we have, and whatever assistance we might get is an addition. The Somali nation

has to depend on its resources, and should not pick up the habit of waiting for the others to solve their problems for them. We have to inculcate in the minds of our people to strive for self-sufficiency. We are fortunate that our people have certain admirable characteristics which would enable them to remain united and to act in concert on whatever problems they can encounter. If the people of a nation have admirable qualities, they can make progress and the country which has such kind of people is rich. What is missing then? The confidence the people can have in their ideas, their abilities, their country and its resources; that is what has been missing: That is what can give people courage and determination to overcome whatever difficulties they might encounter. To give you an example of a responsible planning, there was a man responsible for a relief camp in which there were six thousand destitutes. He saw that he could not give the people meat everyday. So he said the people should have fish two days of the week. We came upon this camp one morning when we were on an inspection tour. It so happened that we arrived at the camp on one of the days the people were going to have fish. Two hundred people were trained for fishing. A whole lorry, with its trailor, was brought into the camp. I asked the camp Manager how long it look to catch so much fish. He said two hours. I was amazed. I knew our sea was rich in untapped resources, but it never occurred to me it was so easy to utilize them. I asked him whether the catch of the two hours was enough to feed the people in the Camp for whole day. He said: «much of the catch would be thrown away after the people eat their fill for we don't have the refrigraters to preserve the fish. But fortunately, we can catch as much as we like any time we want». Really, this was an amazing thing. It occurred to me, «Since there is so much fish here, why can't we build a fish factory there which can produce canned fish that can be exported»? When I say the Somali people have admirable characters, I know people of the caliber of this Camp Manager are among them, and the country is rich with untapped resources. Our sea resources alone are inexhaustible oil, and that is what nature has given us.

There is no reason why the 6,000 people who are at the Camp I have just told you about cannot earn a very confortable living. Why shoudn't they? Because their brains are not functioning properly, and are whirling about thinking about things that are of no use to them and to their country. If people's brains are asleep, they cannot do anything.

The drought had caught everybody in the country unaware for no drought of such severity and duration had ever hit the country. But the nation had done its level best to save the lives of the people and to take care of them. One can easily imagine the expenses involved in taking care of such a great number of people, but we managed to meet them. For the first three months of the crisis, no one had given us anything. But after that the United Nations and some friendly countries had extended to us some help. We had been taking care of the people by ourselves for the first three months.

Now the Somali people have to look down at the resources in their own country instead of peeling their eyes for things in other places, which they might never get. Their eyes should focus on what is in their interests. I think that is how they can overcome the difficulties they have. Anyway, that is what we told them, and we are going to urge them to act upon them. Now that we gained expeirences in handling drought problems, we are not going to be taken unaware any more, and we have learnt valuable lessons in combting great many problems. I am not saying that we can prevent natural catasrophes like a wide spread drought, but we can take steps to lessen their effects and make preparations for such eventualities . It is possible to make adequate preparations so that no lives would be lost from the effects of droughts that can be done, and that is what we have learnt from the recent crisis.

It is the duty of the person in the know to give exact information to the people since it is their interests that is at stake. There has been a drum-beating in Somalia for sometime now. The drum-beating was going on for a

long time, and it was heralding a new dawn everytime it started beating. The drum was beating recently for the Family Law which we had promulgated on eleventh January, 1975. Our duty told us that the basis of every society is the family, and if a proper foundation was not put for the society it would be standing on rotten props which would collapse sooner or later, it became incumbent upon the Revolution to pass a family law which everybody could understand, a law which everybody can live by and which anybody who breaks it can get the just punishment he deserves. In the choatic law of the jungle in which the people used to live, it used to happen that every person used to try to top his opponent by corruption. So this corrupt legal system used to be the means by which people used to get cheated and foal crims perpetrated upon them. For example, a wife would be divorced, and fake subterfuges would be employed. A man would beget four or five children from a woman, and when he sees that her beauty is not all that it used to be, he would start looking at other women and would one day tell her, «get your things together and get out of were». The children would lose the care of a mother, and we know what can happen to children when they don't have the care which only their mother is giving them.

Right after the birth of the Revolution, we collected all the children who did not have anybody to take care of them. When we had placed thousands and thousands of of them in children welfare homes, we discovered that broken marriage was the main cause of these children's miseries. 80% of the children the Revolution had collected from the streets had come from broken up homes. Since everybody was at liberty to divorce a woman anytime he felt like it, there was no protection either for the woman or the children against the arbitrary decisions of men. One can get married when he is able to fulfill the responsibilities of marriage, but if one cannot fulfill the the responsibilities of marriage it is not for him to get married.

Anyway, these were the social problems which we wanted to solve with the family legislation. Now the

nation has a body of laws, praised be Allah, which covers adequately most of its needs. None of these laws has been extracted from the laws of other nations. The Revolution had decided from its very inception that there should not be anyone in the country who rules by his own whims. The law of the land must be known and must be executed as it is, not as some people, or an individual might want. It must have its aviation laws, its marine laws, its social laws, its economic laws, its revenue laws, its financial laws, its political laws and so forth. There is nothing for which there are no laws, and none of them have been borrowed from anyone. These laws have been formulated for the country. The purpose of formulating all these problems was to make impossible the ruling by whims, or according to the wishes or moods of people. No one should be at liberty to make a legal ruling according to good mood and to make a bad ruling when he is in bad mood. The law of a nation should be specific and must be followed as it is.

The leaders of the Revolution have never thought and would never think of using the Revolution as a means to further their interests. They would never think of using it that way. They merely wanted to benefit the Somali nation as a whole, and to make possible for them to make the progress which the imperialists and their lackeys have prevented from making. The leadership of the Revolution had set out to effect economic changes which would benefit the present and future generations. Every action of the Revolution was based on the objective of building something from which the Somali nation can benefit for a long time to come. It was pointless to expend tremendous efforts on transient things. When we embarked upon this hard road, the imperialists and their lackeys, who have never had enough brain to think for themselves, began to beat the drums of war against the Revolution. In fact, there were some misled people among the drumers, but who was the drum major of this parade against our objectives? It was, and is, international imperialism. -I can give an example of this war. I think you have read in many newspapers and magazines

that there is a foreign military base in Somalia. How many of you have come from Berbera recently? It is possible that many of you might have been to Berbera recently. Where is the Military base? Does a Military base exist which the Somalis, to whom the country belongs, do not know about? Who have entered an agreement with the nation who owns the base if the Somalis do not have an idea about its whereabouts? Berbera belongs to us, and there is no Military base in it. If anyone can grant the establishment of a Military base to anyone, it is us and we have not given such rights to anyone. If any one asked us to give them a base in our country, we would not have granted such a base. The reason is that we cannot play with our hard-won independence. Are we going to jeopardize the independence for which we had sacrificed all that we did? No, my friends. That is an impossibility. Military bases are a threat to the peace of the world. When one power establishes a Military base at some place, the other power would have a similar base at a place not far from the other. The result would be a confrontation, and a conflagration which would involve the whole world. A Military base is a danger to world peace.

Every right-thinking person in the world must realize that if the technological advancement of humanity has to have any meaning, people must realize that killing would solve nothing. The people on earth have been engaged in mass murder for a long time, and they must know by now the futility of this action. The people on earth must realize by now that the best way to solve human confrontation is to talk over things logically and on terms of equality and justice. If human technology have reached the level of going to the moon, which has been an undreamt venture only recently, why can't they solve petty problems with the brains and ingenuities which have created such a knowledge and expertise?

As far as the propaganda of the existence of base in Berbera is concerned, we have tried to expose this falsehood. We have invited people from all walks of life to visit Berbera and find out the truth for themselves. We

told them: «Come, see for yourself whether there is any truth in what you have heard, or read in papers».

The truth is the Imperialists and their lackeys have mounted a massive propaganda against the Revolution. and we knew they would mount malicious propaganda. We know they would try to do things worst than what they have already done. The imperialist strategies are known, and they are not going to inflict much harm on the Somali nation. They would only have the effect of spurring on the Somalis to greater activities to make progress and to take measures to protect themselves. I would like to clarify for you that the Somali nation has always been a Islamic nation and it is going to remain so for ever. We are going to live by the tenets of the Qoran and the Hadith (the sayings of the Prophet). If someone has the clossal illusion of believing that Somalis are going to be something other than Moslems, he needs to have his head examined. There might be civil laws, which every nation has just like this country. Civil laws are formulated and executed. The truth is the Somali people would always live by the tenets of Islam, and no one can change that fact.

The reason I have told you this is I want you to know our policies. What is our policy, and in what direction are we going? It emerged from the Islamic tenets, and no one can change it. We don't want, and we are not going to rule our country with things that had been imported to it, We are going to obliterate the rest of the things that had been imported to our country. What is still left? Some mental torpidity which is still discernable in the actions or behavior of some people. When a person's action are contrary to the interests of his people and country, that person is a Somali only in appearance but a foreigner at heart. It is our duty to tell him: «Brother, you have been misled. You have been given false notions and bogus aspirations». We must give him a true sense of values so that he can turn out into a real Somali.

So we are not going to allow any foreign ideas, often copied from books which were never intended for them, to penetrate the hearts and minds of our people. You can measure the struggle of our determination because we have been defending our objectives for five and half years, and if they were not good objectives they would not have succeeded. Lies have been told to the Government of the country in which we are now. The purpose behind these lies was to create frictions among the two brotherly nations. Some people have spread the falsehood that this country was opposed to the holding of the Arab Summit Conference in Somalia. That is a lie. Nothing could be further from the truth. Some people might have said, let everyone believe what he might. But we did not do that; we have come here before you to enlighten you on this matter. The truth is we are on brotherly terms with one another. The Saudi Arabian nation and the Royal Family have never thought ill of Somalia. We believe that the Saudis, from the days of the Al Saud, were progressive people who made Saudi Arabia what it is today through revolutionary change. Their guiding policies are based on the true tenets of Islam, and the principles of non-alignment. The relations between Somalia and Saudi Arabia go back into the distant past, and it will go on forever and ever. It is impossible that the Saudi nation would start now to work against the interests of the Somali nation. Who can profit from enmity between the two brotherly nations? Only two types of forces have interest in trying to create enmity between these brotherly nations. One is the ignorant who cannot understand the meaning of nationhood and the relations between the two States. Who else? International Imperialism, zionism and all those with whom we have no relations have a stake in creating friction between Saudi Arabia and Somalia. Allah be praised, we have nothing but love, sincerity and a deep feeling of brotherhood for the Saudi nation, and no amount of falsehood can change that fact. Truth always triumphs over lies. The lackeys of imperialism will not succeed in what they are trying to do. We can defeat the machinations of lackeys and imperialism. It does not matter whether imperialists or

their lackeys print lies about us; we would defeat them. My purpose in delineating our position and what is going on is to make you understand what is at stake since you are the Somali community here and it is your duty to have an intimate knowledge of the policies of your country.

We have honorable relations with Kingdom of Saudi Arabia; Somalia has sincere, brotherly relations and cooperation with this great country. As far as the Somali community is concerned, we know you have some minor difficulties but these can be overcome. We are aware that some times you don't all get passports and things like that, but I expect you will not get bad impressions about the Revolution because of these minor problems. You know that I had talked to the King about working permits for the Somalis here in 1971 when I paid a visit to this country. I have talked a second time to the King about this matter. But there are two difficulties about this matter. Firstly, a lot of Somalis enter this country in an unsuitable manner. Secondly, quite a number of you haven't got the professional skills needed in this country. These are the difficulties which are before you. As far as the passports are concerned, I think people should get passports by leaving their country in a proper manner for the person who is carrying a passport is clothed with the nation's honor and a particular attention should be paid to the person who can take it and who can't.

I am stating here and now, before the Somali authorities here and before you, that any Somali who has a job should ge given a passport. But the person with whom we are enemies is the foreign lackey, the one who sells his nation, his country, his religion, his honor, and his people. Such a person has no value for us.

No matter how long it takes, the chapter of history which imperialism had written about Somalia must change. The imperialists had written that the Somalis are poor, that they had been poor all the time, and they live in a barren land and have no valuable possessions. This

malicious propaganda can be refuted by concrete facts for the country is rich, and its people cannot be described as poor. Our objective is to make the Somali nation reach a level of self-sufficiency, no matter how long it takes or how much it costs.

It is our policy to unite the Somali nation which imperialism has divided, no matter how long it takes us and how much it costs us. It is our policy to make the make the Somali nation respected by the other nations in the world. These are our policies no matter who might tell lies about them. We are not furthering interests of our own in the name of the nation; we are not building houses for ourselves; we are not establishing plantations for ourselves and we are not opening special accounts in foreign banks as our predecessors used to do. We don't even want to do any of these things. We are even prepared to contribute what we have to the advancement of the nation, and that is how we are going to act for the rest of our lives. We are striving for three major objectives: to make Somalia reach a state of prosperity, economically, socially and politically; to unite the five parts of Somalia and to make sure that no Somalis live under imperialism; to make Somalia a respectable member of the nations in the world.

Now who is the Somali who cannot agree with this three-point policy? Who are the real Somalis whom these policies can give pain? I don't think the policies can give pain to any intelligent Somali; they can give pain only to the person who is working for imperialism. The person who stands in the way of a Moslem nation which wants to make progress is not Moslem because he is trying to prevent a vast number of Moslem people from making the advancement to which they have a right. This person who sold his nation, his honor and dignity, his people, his religion, this unrespectable person can be very easily recognized. The other enemy of Somalia is international imperialism and there is nothing but was between us.

You people who live in this country have one major shortcoming which I know about and which harms your interests very much. Your shortcoming is tribalism which has deep roots in the Somali Community here. If you think deeply about it, what benefits can tribalism have for your future and the future of your children? When you have allegiance to tribalism, you are unjust, and when you perpetrate injustice you are naturally harming another human being. Allah, may his name be praised, said «I can forgive you for the offenses you commit against me if you seek my forgiveness, but I cannot forgive you for the offenses you commit against your fellow human beings». If you are giving allegiance to tribalism, which involves the harming of your fellow human beings, aren't you committing sins for which even Allah would not forgive you?

If you take a look at the advancement human beings have made, can't you see that their minds have progressed to the point of going to the moon? Can't you see how far human beings have progressed? Don't you have a country and a nationality? Isn't tribalism the obstacle to a high level of political, social and economic advancement? Isn't tribalism the tool which imperialism uses in the subjugation of the people it oppresses? What uses has it got for you? Why shoudn't you reach for the progress which a vast majority of humanity has already made? What is in your way? Are you going to stay in the doldrums of backwardness because of tribalism? Why don't you have the Somali nation as your tribe? Because that would have much more benefits for you.

There is an evolutionary progress that goes on in the world. That is inherent in human nature. The evolutionary progress which human beings are making advances everyday. We should not remain at the point where the bulk of the people in the world had left centuries and centuries ago. We have no right to remain at that point, and you must all realize the irrefutability of that fact.

Brothers, take a stock of yourselves. See the level of technological, political, scientific, industrial, educational and economic advancements other people have made. You must realize that you should have been right by the side of those people instead of lagging behind them. Tribalism have had no benefits for us and it cannot have any now. If the people of this country have permitted you to make a living here, what is your responsibility? I mean how would you repay their kindness? The people of this country have given rights to those who have legal documents, and they even have the generosity to look away when they come across some of you haven't got proper papers. What should we do then? We are an honorable nation which has generosity, courage and honor, and those of you who are living in this country must honor the laws of this land from which you are making a living. You should repay the generosity of this country with generosity, but you shouldn't ever think of doing anything which might reflect badly on your nationality.

I would conclude my speech by saying I wish you success, unity and brotherhood. I hope you would be a group of people who benefit themselves and their nation.

Dark days are over

Father Of The Nation Addresses The Youth On Youth Day, 15. 5. 1975.

May greetings be upon you all. It is a happy occasion for us all to hold a second conference for the youth of the nation. The Revolutionary activities of the Somali youth goes back to times immemorial. Unfortunately the Revolutionary activities of the youth of the nation had never been given its due recognition before the birth of the Revolution. It had neither been written nor given recognition, and a great part of the history of the Somali nation had been neglected. A great part of the nation's history, literature and culture had all been buried under heaps and heaps of trivialities.

We are here to commemorate the past long struggle of the Somali Youth, and to take courage from it in order to effect economic, social and political advangement. Somalia must redouble anew its struggle and must continue this struggle until it liberates all its parts and reaches a high level of economic progress.

I would like to pose a question. What is the use of history? What is the use of remembering the past? When does history benefit? It benefits the nation. Personalities can come and go, but the nation and the country remain. Generations die off and other generations take their place. If a nation's history is not written, how can the future generations know what their forefathers

and fathers of their forefathers have been through? How can they benefit from their experiences and knowledge? History has a great significance when it is seen in this light. The educated Somali youth read the history of other peoples in books. They can see how other people have preserved their history generations after generations. They preserved their victories and the technological, scientific, political, social, economic and educational advancements they had made. It should be very easy for the Somali Youth to get the implication. It means these people have preserved their history for their future generations, and it is up to the Somalis to write the history of their nation and preserve it for the future Somali generaions. It is a national duty to write the history of the nation so that all the experience, struggles, and economic and political progress of the nation can be recorded. The coming generation would be able to look at this record and judge us. They would have a vast reservior of knowledge from wihch they can draw knowledge. They can use what is of benefit to them; they can avoid the pitfalls to which past generations might have fallen? they can feel pride in the achievements and victories of the past generations; they can build on the accomplishments of the past generations. What is the purpose of all this? The writing of history is not just the recording of punk. The history of all mankind is based on a cycle. We have benefited from the history of past Somali generations. The future generations will in turn benefit from us. Thus, this cycle will go on. Each generation benefits from the generations that preceded it, and the present generation has to pass on its history and the history of the generations which preceded it to those who come after it.

There is no doubt that history is formed in this way, and there is no doubt that we would pass on what we know to the coming generations so that they can build their progress and future on what we have already started.

After this commentary on history and how it is formed, I would like to address myself to the struggle for

independence so that the Somali youth can understand the value of independence and what had been sacrificed for it. When had the movement for independence started in his country? We cannot tell the exact date our history was not written by the ancient Somalis. We can trace back the movement of independence to the time of Ahmed Guray (Ahmed the left-handed.) It is the first time we could pinpoint when an organized mass movement had started to fight for the liberation of the Somali territories. The second struggle for independence is the independence movement headed by Mohamed Abdulla Hassan. The third leg of the independence movement was the struggle against colonialism which culminated in the political indepedence of Somalia. The fourth stage is the one in which we are engaged now, that is the struggle of the Revolution.

Why are we interconnecting all these separate movements? Because if we do not record the previous Somali struggle for dignity and independence and we start with the struggle in which are engaged, we would be burying part of the history of the Somali nation. If we do not do that we would be demolishing the human value of the Somali nation; we would be forgetting the misery and the difficulties we experienced for indepedence; we would be forgetting our enemies as well as our friends. Thus, it is necessary that we systematically record and recongize the history of the Somali nation.

The Youth are the most straight forward of human beings. They are the most straight forward of the people in Somalia, in Africa and the developing nations. The people in the world are engaged in a continuous evolutionary progress. They are trying all the time to improve on their lives so that their children can have lives better than theirs. The people in every century try to build for future generations a better economy, political enlightment and the knowledge and expertise to handle whatever problems they might encounter. The youth is the catalyst which foments societies to exert themselves. If we take our Revolution as example, it is not a stagnant

movement; it is a movement which is going forward all the time. It is a movement which is engaged in a serious struggle; it is a movement which encourages the youth to participate in the struggle for attaining a level of self-sufficiency; it is a movement which recognizes the value of the youth, and in fact, which has been born for the youth. The Revolution believes that the youth have to have its share in the struggle of this movement, and the Revolution is planning the education, knowledge, and the conduct of the youth in a way they would be able to lead this nation in a just manner when it comes their turn to lead it. The Revolutionary movement is preparing the youth of the nation for their future responsibilities so that they would be men and women who would lead their nation to a continous progress, who would give their people justice and equality. They should be refined people who would gain for their country respect in Africa and the world in general. The duty of the nation is to train its youth in their responsibilities and to give them the knowledge and political awareness to be people complete in every respect.

Comrades, the Revolution is a progressive movement which looks after the youth of the nation. No distinction is made between the girls and boys because we know they are as strong as steel when they united and no one can defeat them; they can accomplish more if they are united. The youth, on their part, should understand what the Revolution is doing for them in this light. In reality, the Somali Youth has passed the stage which we might call «the dark days of our country», a time of confusion, chaos, disunity; a time when the individual could not make head or tail of what was going on; a time when corruption of all kinds had become a normal part of the Somali way of life. There is no doubt that those days have left an effect on the youth in the Secondary Schools and the University. It was possible that the grown up people in those dark days thought they were doing fine. Such people are now beating the drums of confusion for some people in the streets. We call such kind of people «the rotten Somalis» who want to turn the

clock back and bring back the «dark days» which Somalia had passed. Some people whisper falsehood in the ears of foreigners. These whispering lazaruses are blind to their future, the future of the Somali nation, and the future of their children. They are blind to all these things because they are narrowminded, have no political maturity, have no sense of nationalism, have no humanity, have no knowledge of the level of advancement that the greater part of the world has made and cannot realize that the Somali nation has a right to make progress too. The question is, what is the position of the youth? Are they nostalgic for the dark days? Are they looking back with fondness at the highway robbery that used to go on in those days? Or are they going to work for their future now that they have got the chance? Today no one has to get anything to which he has a right through nepotism, favouritism or pulling strings. No youth has to go through the degradation of buying certificates in order to get employment. Today the youth of the nation can get employment which has been prepared for them by the time they finish school. They get education anywhere they want, in the villages towns and cities.

What is the duty of the youth then? Don't they have to be militant in protecting what they have gotten? I think that the aged and the grown-up can make terrible mistakes because their eyes cannot completely focus on the future prosperity the country can get and the fantastic progress the world can make in a few years because ignorance has blinded them and hardened their hearts; ignorance has coarsened their feelings and thoughts. But I think the youth can visualize their future. In fact, the youth are the force which stirs up the world into a spate of new activities. This day, which we are commemorating here, had been written indelibly in the history of Somalia by the youth, not the aged. The aged were blind even in those days, and used to take pennies from the imperialists. the Youth had the courage and the vision to say «No» to the imperialists, and demanded independence for their country and people.

Those who had sided with imperialism during the struggle for independence realized that they had made a serious mistake. They know now that the Somali nation can shape its destiny with its ability, knowledge and political astuteness. It would be to their interest if the grown-ups, the aged and the parents understood what the knowledgeable members of the society are telling them day and night and follow the sincere advice they are being given. The aged should understand that it is necessary for their children to get liberated from the difficulties which the older Somali generations have had to endure. In sum, I say the youth of the nation should egg on the nation to take the right measures which would build a good future for the whole nation. We are prepared to work hand in glove with the youth. Even though the signs of old age all evident in us, we are young at heart, in aspirations and in hopes. We are with the youth all the way. We have common interests with them; we are on their side; we are one of them. That is the truth. I think age affects the body, but the number of years one lives does not necessarily mean he has aged in the mind as well. The aged in mind, whether they are young or old in years, are the ignorant, the ones who have no patriotism, political maturity, and who cannot envision what the future would be. The aged in mind are those who cannot go along with their generations; they are ones who cannot think straight. I believe these are the characteristics of those whose minds have aged well before their time. What is in the interest of the aged? To have confortable, decent, peaceful life for the rest of their days. It would be an honor for them to achieve something worthwhile from which their children can inherit. The best that the youth can inherit from us is to give them hand in their struggle for better life, education, political maturity, and their patriotic struggle for economic independence. That is the best inheritence we can leave them.

The youth should be given a chance in the administration of the national affairs. They should not be forced to remain idle. Africa should hand over the power to the

youth if it wants to liberate itself from the shackles of neo-colonialism. If the African youth are not encouraged and trained for the future leadership of the Continent, Africa would never be completely independent. All the high flown speeches about the future of Africa would be an empty talk if the youth are not prepared for their future responsibilities for they are the ones in whose hearts the spark of freedom, independence, honor and dignity are burning. If the African youth are not allowed to participate in the adminisrattion of their nation's affairs, imperialism would find new ways of making the independence of the Continent null and void. Praised be Allah, the Somali youth have the power to guide and administer the affairs of their nation. They have all the opportunities in the world to shape the future of their nation. They can set an example for the African, Asian and the progressive world youth.

After these brief comments, let me go back to the struggle for indepedence. Let me talk now about the struggle for the unity the nation forged for the independence of the nation, and for the Revolution of the Somali nation. I can say that the Somali nation has been subjugation, fragmented and nearly ruined by imperialism. The barriers which imperialism had erected in the way of the Somali nation to progress are still apparent. Let me remind you one thing. Nothing can block the unity, the progress, and the economic independence of of a determined nation. Why couldn't the concerted action of imperialism prevent Vietnam from getting back its independence? Imperialism had been using every known weapon against the independence and unity of Vietnam, why had international imperialism failed? Why couldn't it block the independence and unity of Vietnam? Let us take Africa as an example. How long had it been under the yoke of colonialism? Hadn't it finally shrugged off the burden of oppression? It had finally won its independence. The last countries to win independence were Angola, Mozambique and Guinea - Bissau, and the rest are about to win back their independence. Who drove off the colonialists from the continent? Naturally the peo-

ple to whom the continent belonged had driven them off. That is the truth.

What is the purpose of the Somali Revolution that has been going on for hundreds of years? It wants to liberate the Somali nation which had been colonised & fragmented. The Somali Revolution wants to unite its people, & make them live in peace, in prosperity and in brotherhood. This revolution would go on until such an objective is attained. The imperialists cannot stop the Somali Revolution. They cannot harm it and they cannot prevent it from realizing the objectives it wants to reach. We may not realize all our objectives overnight, but we must all realize that we can, and we are going to, reach all our objectives in the end. The most precious thing on earth is freedom. Vietnam and Cambodia had called the shots of imperialism and exposed it as a force that is powerless against an iron with to attain freedom. Somalia must be free; it must win independence and its parts must be united.

All Africa must also win independence, and it must have unity. There is nothing that can prevent it from attaining these goals if its people are determined and have an iron will to win independence & unity. Imperialism might use money, lies, languages, colour or creed to divide Africa, but in the end all these ruses would fail & Africans would unite and all its parts would get independence. The world must realize in the end that it would be in the interest of all to let every society shape its own destiny; to shape its own economic, social and political policies. International imperialism should stop interferring in other people's affairs. If this interference stops, the nations of the world can live together in peace, can cooperate with one another and assist each other.

Imperialism has been also interferring in the affairs of the Arab nations. It has been trying to drive a wedge between the unity of these nations. No matter what din of propaganda the imperialists let lose, the Arab youth are going to realize their destiny; they are going to realize that the key to their independence, strength and victory

lies in unity. They would be the ones to shape their destiny, and no one would succeed in putting insurmountable barriers in their way.

Somalia has been struggling for progress for five and a half years. We have achieved a great deal in these five and a half years. But it is not necessary to list all our accomplishments. It may so happen some of the youth don't know all that we have achieved, but it is not in the nature of our people to boast about the achievements they make; they would rather point out what yet needs to be done. There is an Arabic proverb which says: «There is no need to be thanked for doing your duty». This means you are not to be thanked if you do your duties, and it is not good Somali manners to crow about what you have done. It is better to think about doing what yet needs to be done.

What I am driving at is that we have accomplished something, but what we have yet to accomjlish are quite extensive for we haven't achieved self-sufficiency. We must realize that we have to make bigger and bigger efforts to reach our goal.

In the field of education, you know we reached an appreciable level of progress, and we would keep improving on that progress. How about our economic level of progress? We have called ourselves a socialist society. We are, and we are going to remain a socialist country. What is the base of socialism? It is the economy. If the person does not have a decent standard of living, he cannot be a socialist; he cannot be a Moslem; he is not free; he has no respect and honor. He has no love for his nationality.

It is the duty of every man and women in this country, no matter what their professions might be, to work for an economy which has strong foundation. We must reach a level of economic prosperity which would enable us to be independent of everyone. The youth of this nation must struggle for the economic prosperity

which their nation wants to have, and should safeguard the economic progress which the country is making from anything that might trip it. You should safeguard it from the intrigues of those who could not be weaned of corruption. You must contribute to the national effort for economic advancement. If you go to schools in the morning, you should do something which would contribute to the economic progress when your lessons are over.

You can contribute to the economic progress of the nation by enlightening your people in what is in their interest and the country, and to increase their political awareness. If a person does not have mental independence, he cannot have a freedom of action and thought; Mental independence, mental maturity and awareness can spur on the person into action. The people's minds should first be cleansed from corruption before they can think of big things. A mind which is clean from corruption and which has understood its human value, can think of how to contribute to the economic progress of its nation. Only such a mind can forge unity and brotherhood, and can understand the value of its nationhood. The youth must try very hard to go to the orientation Centres and give lessons to the public. You must persuade the people to make greater efforts to improve their lives by contributing to the overall economic progress of the nation. You shouldn't waste your time in coffee-houses after school. That is not the action of revolutionary people. An example of a revolutionary action is the commendable way in which you have participated in the recent rural development campaign. Now you must mount another campaign in the towns and by going to the orientation Centres and teach what you know to your people. You must teach your people the meaning of independence. At the sametime, the administrators of the orientation centres and the Political Office of the Presidency of the Supreme Revolutionary Council (SRC) should from a Youth wing in the Centres so that the youth can have a place where they can gather, talk things out and plan their contributions to the progress of the nation. The youth should then spread knowledge and

education in the society. They should be able to increase the political awarness of the society. They should have common outlook and have unity of purpose. They should protect the Revolution and the achievements it has made, because the accomplishments of the Revolution is just like a garden whose fruits would be picked and eaten by the youth of the nation. That is the advice I am giving to the youth.

I think the youth of the nation deserve commendation for the laudable role they had played in the struggle for independence and the praise worthy role they have been playing in the Revolution for the five and a half years it has been in existence. It is worthy to remember the significant role they have played in the Rural Development Campaign. During this campaign they taught many people how to read and write. They have taught many people the meaning of unity, independence, health, peace and nationhood. I must say they have earned the gratitude of the nation.

I am giving special thanks to the women of the nation. If the truth must be told, the Somali women especially the mothers, are the most progressive, most revolutionary, the most courageous and the most valuable of the Somali nation. Although I at times wonder why the workers and the youth should not excell the mothers. I can still say the youth had done a great deal for the country. Now what is done and the youth must redouble their efforts so that what could have been achieved in a long time can be telescoped into a short time.

Our gathering here is not for tribalism; it is not for furthering special interests. If it did not have higher purposes than that, we would not have gathered here together at all. What could bring us together and link us together are the principles which are just and right, with which we want to guide the nation and lead it to the right road to progress. The foundations of common endeavours are principles for people who do not have common principles cannot work together in harmony.

What can the principles be? The principles can be the value your country has for you. When we talk about human value, how does everyone see it? Someone would think it is patriotic to grovel before the imperialists. Someone is a coward, and thinks that if one exchanges words with the imperialists the whole world will turn upside down. Someone is prepared to fight and die for his rights. May be patriotism cannot be seen in the same light by all, but what can be viewed in the same way? People can have common principles whose base is nationalism. The foundation of the principles must be right and it should be tempered by experience. It should have been ascertained and must have scientific basis. The principles must be capable of heralding economic prosperity, political advancement, enlightenment, increase in productivity, self-sufficiency for all the people on earth. The principles I am expounding are all embodied in socialism. And that is the truth. It is not possible to grope in the dark and achieve something. I have talked hundreds of times about the world and I haven't yet met anynone to refute what I say. The one who wants to refute what I say about the world is a reactionary; he is an imperialist who does not care for Somalia; he is someone who wants to choke the youth to death; he is an ignorant who is grovelling before imperialism. There is no one who can refute the vercity of what I have been saying. The motivater of economic, social, health, industrial, education and scientific advancement is sound political policy. Are these policies socialistic or capitalistic? Under which system is this country being led? Which of these two systems can unite our nation? Which one can wipe out tribalism? Which one can drive out colonialism? Which one can value the youth of the nation? Which one can help the nation utilize its resources? Socialism is the one that is best suited to bring about all these things. It is the system that values humanity.

What can be achieved under this system? It lights the way to progress because it is based on true science and not on lies; it is not built on personal interest; it is not built on group interest; it is not built on exploitation

It is built on the common interest of the Somali people, or the general interests of the people in the whole world. When there is a coterie which is out for its intersets only, such a group must be wiped out. The general interest must be above the personal and group interest. There must be justice and equality in a society. There must be peace and order in a society. The society must bury the capitalist, the exploiter, and the unjust. Justice and equality must prevail and that is the way socialism can spread throughout the world. That is how capitalism would inevitably die out. That is the truth. The question is, how are we going to establish Scientific Socialism in our country? Are we going to imitate other countries. Or are we going to take the true principles of Socialism and apply them to the principle in our country? Are we going to apply the principles of socialism to the conditions prevalent in our country? To our ways of thought? To our culture, traditions and religion? This nation has a way of thinking; it has its culture and traditions; it has certain particular characteristics which are special to it. No matter what system is adopted, unless these things are taken into consideration no principles can work here. For these reasons we have to apply socialism in accordance with the Somali way of life. A nation needs its culture, its traditions, and other things which give the lives of its people a meaning. It needs independence and unity. What can give it unity is its traditions and culture. Thus, we have adopted Socialism, and the religion of the Somali people go with it; the traditions and the culture of the people go with it, and everything else that the Somali people cannot discard because of their usefulness to the nation.

What are the things that are in the way of the progress of the Somali people? What was the major weakness of the Somali society, which used to be exploited by imperialism and its lackeys? What is the point which the greedy, nepotist, and the unjust used to exploit? It was regionalism. the mother of injustice nepotism, favoritism, inequality, in sum, the mother of all corruption was tribalism. Socialism, and only socialism, can

wipe out all these things. This system values the human being. This system stipulates that «There should not be anyone who exploits another person». It prohibits the exploitation of man by man. Every person must be rewarded according to his level of production.

Comrades, I wish you victory. You must keep going forward and carry on our progressive Revolution. You must keep on defending your nation; you must defend your future and your nationhood.

Long Live Somalia. Long Live the Youth of the nation! Long Live the Somali workers, farmers, the rural dwellers, the mothers, and the progressive youth in the world. Death to the reactionary. Death to the imperialists. Death to colonialism. Death to those who want to exploit the Somalis, or other human beings.

Somalia must be free

Speech Delivered by the President at the National Theatre On 16.5.1975.

I congratulate all the group leaders as well as the youth who took the trouble to show us here the play intended to orient our people and teach them how to be confident in themselves and their country, pointing to them the objectives the youth are aiming at as a nation.

The play was interpreted with poetry and songs, and it was very pleasant and relaxing indeed.

I highly commend the small boys for their natural aptitude which seems to be far ahead of their age as it has been evident in their acting roles.

But there is no doubt also that though they may be small in age their level of maturity is high. I also commend the orchestra and the teachers as well.

I do not think you will expect me to talk at length here since I have already explained in detail this evening to the youth the policy of the SRC or that of the Council of Secretaries and other socialist minded Somalis and their political attitude. And I would not have deserved to be called a revolutionary, a socialist or a Somali if I had not then taken the opportunity to tell the truth to the Somali people, to those who have opened their eyes as well as to those who have not.

Let me tell you that Allah gives to everyone according to his ambitions. It is another truism that every nation builds its

future and it depends on itself for the path it charts for itself to attain political, economic and educational level. It depends on the people of that nation to win and preserve their own dignity.

The amount of prosperity of a nation is reflected in its political and social philosophy. Its plans, strategy and tactics. Those nations that are backward are those that do not conform to the correct attitude of starting early. Such is the case of African countries and the difficulties they have encountered in the past and the present. Such is the case of the other underdeveloped countries in Asia, Latin America and those that are still suffering under the colonial in yoke. In contrast you have those countries that are materially advanced. The difference between these two groups is that the former have had head start in awakening and working hard for themselves while the latter have been slumbering for quite sometime.

Much time has really been lost with us and the African people. But it is no use crying over spilt milk. We Somalis have personallyseen the consequences of having slept for a long time. We have witnessed the burden of the lagacy bequeathed to us by remaining stagnant such as disease, choas, disunity, insecurity, nepotism and injustice. We have witnessed the tarnished image we have projected abroad as worthless people without a modicum of the spirit of nationalism.

What have we achieved during the past five years if we have struggled, relying on ourselves and our political maturity? This is the question that matters. To begin with we have managed all by ourselves. We have tested our strength, our knowledge and he level of the humanity of our people. And we have been successful so far. And this has made us deserve to be written in a new page of history and to be imitated by other nations.

It is said that a liar calls a witness those who are dead or those who who are far. What have we really achieved in concrete terms? You remember that there used to be abandoned children who roved the streets wasting their time. Who collected them? Are they beggers any more? Who advised us to take this step? No one of Jaalle! Who advised us to make

of such children real human beings? Who has helped them to attain such a degree of consciousness of standing by their own people, who has taught them to be among the vanguard of the nation? Which nation has given us the blueprint, which foreign country? Or have we been lent a hand by colonialism? Not at all, Jaalle! It is the ense of responsibility to our nation and ourselves that has been the source of inspiration for all these efforts?

What role can they play today, and what role have they played formerly? Today they can be said to be able to defend the dignity of the Somali people, its development and its freedom. How have they fared in the past! Have they not starved to death in the streets? Had they been cared for properly could they not have been counted among the youth of today, the elders of tomorrow or the future woman and mothers? It is the Revolution that has rescued them. What has been the motive behind it all? It was to free the Somalis in a very short time as a nation so that it would attain a numerical strength, knowledge and a sound economy.

This has necessitated that there should be a very good seed and then to grow it properly. This seed is the Somali youth, Somali women, workers, and the farmers. It is when these people are built that a true Somali nation will be born. This will not be realized by idle talk in the bars and spreading rumours and by living in corruption and an easy life. Thousands of those who are today in the Relief camps are suffering because their wealth have been stolen by dirty politicians and we said that nothing more will be stolen. And today these destitutes are not living by begging foreigners but on what their nation has toiled for them and they will get back what has been stolen from them. We members of the Revolutionary Council are of the opinion that the value and dignity of these people should be improved. We should not teach the children of these people to be hooligans or opportunists but to be very good citizens.

As I said it is up to each nation to map out its strategy to attain a certain end. Our creator has given us muscles, brains, eyes, ears, a country and a nation. So what else do we expect from him. What do you wait for? On whom do you rely?

If you do not use your head and think, if you do not use your hands and your eyes are not directed towards your own land and work for your people do you expect others to do what you should do for yourself?

Do we want only the few dozen unscrupulous politicians to thrive? No Jaalle! We want to have wider life, a vaster prosperity, education, health, and a bigger nation. And we should pass the former unrealistic life in which every thing was for us wishful thinking. Our objective is to realize a united Somalia and remove from the scene anyone who opposes this because he is an enemy of the Somali people whether he is a foreigner or a so-called Somali.

Somalia should be freed in thought and in action, in education and in economy, and be able to live in harmony earning the respect of all. Somalia should produce what it needs without any outside assistance. She should not wait for anyone. Everone should bear his hoe and have his sickle in his own hand. Everyone should improve his education and all should turn their attention to being more useful to his society.

There should be no theft in so far as common national property is concerned. We should not have a few people thriving at the expense of the great majority. All should share equally.

Anyone who claims to be a true Somali should safeguard the dignity of Somalia and its worth; whether he is a male or she is a female, young or old, and even a child, for we share in the common good of the country equality and no one is better than the other.

These are our guidelines, comrades. This is the motive force behind our efforts.

Iremember that for the past five and half years we have been living in dreams, and we lived in obscurity. But now a change has been brought about in the balance of forces. We should by now be able to know what we have achieved keeping our goals before our eyes and making haste to catch up with what want to get.

I thank you all for listening. I only wait for you to have unity, freedom, equality, production and justice.

Thanks to President Kim Il Sung.

President Of The SRC Made This Speech On The Opening Ceremony Of Balad Irrigation Dam On 23. 5. 75.

May greetings be upon you all. It is a happy occasion for me to participate in the celebration for the completion of the first part of the Balad Irrigation Dam, a project which is part of the nation's overall plan to overcome our number one enemy, hunger.

I am happy that this project which is the first of the projects we are doing jointly with our Comrades, the Koreans, is completed. It pleases me to know that the Somali workers who have participated in the construction of this dam are confident in their ability to maintain it and manage it.

The Almighty, Allah, helps the human beings who make great effort to improve their lives. The lives and future of the human being depend on the efforts and plans people make for themselves. If people acquiesce in tolerating hunger and wretchedness, they remain in that condition for good. If they struggle for prosperity, they overcome poverty and create for themselves better conditions of living. A good example of people who have tremendously improved their lives are our Korean brothers who are now helping us in the development of our country. The imperialists went to the extent of

burning alive the Korean people in order to kill their morale. But they persevered until they won their independence, and brought about a high level of economic progress in their country. When they had driven the imperialists out of their country, they embarked upon a planned, systematic economic development. They had waged war on the salvery of ignorance, poverey, and nursed along their people until they reached political maturity and mental independence. Political independence required the least efforts, compared to the tremendous efores they made in education and econmic advancement. The truth of the matter is today Korea can be counted among the most advanced countries in the world. The Political, economic and technological advancement af Korea is on par with that of the developed nations of the world.

The Somali nation whose people value their humanty and whose country has great economic potentialites should embark upon a extensive program to exploit the resources of their country. If the Somali people focus on economic advancement, they can make a great deal of progress within a remarkably short time. Economic progress does not come about by its own; it has to be created; it has to be worked for, planned for and struggled for. As you remember, there used to be idle talks about this very spot on which we are standing. There were speculations that a rice plantation would be established here. But nothing ever came out of those talks. Today this dam which has been just opened up would irrigate five thousand hectares of land. The plan is to increase the area it can irrigate to 10,000 (ten thousand) hectares of land. or even more if the need for it arises. While our country has tremendous agricultural potentialties, we cannot allow any of our people to go hungry. We must make the requisite plans and efforts to wipe out poverty. This project could not have gotten off the grond if the Somali technicians, who have been working with their Korean Comrades, were not dedicated honest men who understood the importance of this project to their people and country.

We must thank the President of Korea, Kim Il Sung, the Korean Ambassador, the Korean experts who have been working in our country, and the Korean people for the brohter way they have been helping us in the field of economic development. It is human duty to express our gratitudes for what they are doing us. The Somali nation would remember to repay one day those who help them make economic progress, no matter what date that might be. We made the plans for our economic progress, but we might need brotherly helping hand here and there in carrying out the plans to a successful conclusion.

I hope that the Somali technicians, workers, farmers, and the others who are engaged in other activities would all make greater efforts to make a success of what they are doing. They should obliterate from their minds selfishness and must always have the interest of the general public in their minds. One should never think in terms of: «I.» the proper attitude is to always think of «WE», for when you say «We», you too are included. If you think of «I» only, you are thinking only yourself and won't go far by adopting that kind of attitude. If everyone thinks only of himself, the country will not make any progress. If the country does not make progress, no one can really have much of a permanent prosperity. Collective efforts can bring about speedy progress in whose prosperity everyone can have an equal share. When a nation is making continuos progress in which avery member of that national can have fair share, the whole people of that country can count on prosperity.

When a planning is made, certain goals are set and have to be met. The goals set can be surpassed, but anything below the set goal cannot be tolerated. For example, if the plan is to make 10,000 baskets and 15,000 baskets are made, then the plan can be said to have accomplished more than has been expected. The people who bring about that can of success deserve rewards. But if 9,000 baskets are made instead of the 10,000 that has been planned, the people who are responsible for

such a shortage deserve denunciations. This means planning anticipates increase but not a shortage. The point I want to emphasize is: always set your hearts on producing more than what the planning sets as a target, but you must shun shortage as the plague. That must always be your aspirations. You would benefit from whatever increase in production you make, and the objective of the socialist is to always try to surpass what is in the plans. That is why more progress is made through socialism than any other system.

In the capitalist system, everything revolves around selfishness. Of course, selfishness engenders cut-throat competition in which every one is trying to get the best of everything while trying to ruin the chances of the other to get ahead. Under socialism a healthy competition is made because everyone is trying to increase his productivity for the sake of the whole society and no selfishness is involved. That is why the socialist society reaches a level of self-sufficiency.

The Somali society has embarked on a road which would take it to prosperity, and we must keep on that road until we obliterate poverty, diseases and hunger.

The people in the district of Balad are known to be people who earn their living with their muscles. The truth is that the Somalis are mostly good people, but there can be some bad people in responsible positions. I can say if the leadership of a society is good, there would not be bad people in such a society. That is what I am saying.

The responsible person in a position of authority should guide the people to the right path, and should set an example himself. He should lead the people in work, in honesty, in righteousness, and in everything good. The people, on their hand, should understand what is in their interest and should answer readily and in the greatest number when they are called upon to work for what is in their interests. The projects connected with this dam,

I am sure, will all succeed and you must have confidence in them and work for their success.

I am also sure that the other development projects which are going on in this district would all succeed for I know the people in this district to be hard working.

I must give my commendations to the Korean experts who have been working on the dam, the Somali who have participated in the construction, and the authorities which have executed the plans as they have been laid down. All these people deserve commendations for the successful completion of the first phase of the irrigation dam project. I am confident that the other phases of the project would be met with success. At the same-time, I urge the Regional and district authorities in this area to make sure that everything goes according to plan.

I must thank the people in the district of Balad for the brotherly welcome they have given us.

I hope that you would all benefit from the dam project. There is plenty of water at your disposal; you have plenty of fertile land, and you have strength. There is no reason why anyone of you should go hungary. There is no reason why you should be poor while there is so much resources waiting for you to exploit them. I hope you would all be rich people in a rich country.

Lastly, I would say, long live the friendship between the Korean people led by Comrade Kim Il Sung, and the Somali people. Down with the lackeys of imperialism. Down with imperialism. Down with colonialism. Long Live Somalia.

Thank you.

Achivements of the Revulation

This Address On the Country's Development Policy Was Given By Jaalle Siad On 8. 6. 1975.

I greet you all. It has always been a matter of principle for the Revolution and the SRC to pay homage to the nationalists and revolutionaries and give serious consideration for their welfare in the future. It has never been our aim to be self - centred or egoists like the bourgeois and the capitalists who are in the habit of appropriating all that belongs to the people and then seek support from those whom they rule.

It was one of the first decisions of the SRC made upon the birth of the Revolution not to seek for self-aggrandisment either materially or in any other form of personal honours. It seems therefore obvious that we make our own sacrifices to benefit our nation, ever ready to be the first to confront any sort of difficulty. Our worries and thoughts are centred on the well - being and prosperity of the Somali people at large, those basking in the sun of freedom as well as those enslaved by the colonalists, or those roving abroad in foreign countries due to some sort of necessity.

This has been our line. But in spite of these personal sacrifices and the spirit of altruism we have been well aware all along of the probability the way the short - sighted opportunists might misrepresent our motives. But our revolution was not to be surprised at such a misbehaviour, not to get ner-

vous and not to be swerved from the right path we deemed necessary for the progress of the Somali nation.

We decided to wage a relentless struggle. The proof is, for example, the way members of the SRC have discharged their responsibilities on every occasion to the full satisfaction of all concerned, whether in their capacity as politicians or administrators.

Although it has been in my power to extend to them the rewards they have deserved for their self-devotion I have not worried much about this problem. What has worried me more was the continuity of the struggle and how to uphold the principles during the five years our Revolution has been in existence.

We have already agreed during all this time to issue medals as a sign of valour, nationalism, revolutionary goal the socialist attitude, a sense of responsibility and a high degree of political maturity for those who have deserved them and have fulfilled their duties for the prosperity of their people and their land, economically, politically, in security matters, educationally, in health and social orientation questions so that Somalia should take place among the nations of the world as one founded on a good system that is in conformity with their interests.

If I may refer to education the basic policy has been to spread mass literacy. You will remember the situation our educational system has been in the past and what stage it has attained today. We shall not stint doing our level best in raising our educational standards. We will utilize to the maximum limits of our resources in a human way and in a nationalistic spirit, learning how to live in harmony with others while we care for their health at the same time.

You may recall that one of the objectives outlined in the First charter of the Revolution was to abolish illiteracy. But to do this it is essential not only to plan in such a way as to draw some applause from the public but to make people politically mature and improve their scientific knowledge.

Where should this lead us to? To begin with education has many branches.

Parallel to fields of learning that are normally followed. say from elementary up to Intermediate, there are other fields as well without which our educational system cannot be said to have reached our cherished goals. I mean by this the the technical knowledge that is necessary for health, economy, construction or engineering, industry etc. This knowledge requires special consideration; without it our education would be defective. We would produce doctors without any special skills and graduates who cannot contribute but are ambitious only to rule.

As you know such technical education is going on and developing side by side with the other fields that have been followed until now as a matter of course. Had it not been for the calamity of the drought that has seriously paralyzed our economy, by now we would have been near self-sufficiency and we would not have been in any need of help except in such things as building heavy industries, creating big farms or such other projects that would require huge sums of money.

Such having been the case of the drought what has been achieved in agriculture? The most important thing in this respect has been to convince our people of the importance of uniting idle minds and idle muscles with unused land. The result of this has been the self - sufficiency which the masses and particularly the farmers have brought us from 1973 until the beginning of 1974 so that we were in a position of dispensing with importing foodstuffs from foreign countries.

The moblization of the masses or the increase in the produce has enabled our people to know more about their land or to master the techniques of better farming and production methods. And I can safely say that had we been able to procure the necessary equipment today and use it with the knowledge we have acquired and our labour - power we would not be in need of experts in tackling the problem of resettling our affected people. What we would like to get from the friendly countries would be such things as tractors or bulldozers and the like. I say we would not need any experts for we have attained the stage of self - reliance in that matter. The drought has taught us a very valuable lesson indeed. It has

demonstrated to us the futility of relying on the rains at all. Rather we should utilize our rivers to the best of our ability to produce enough food for our people. This should be our long-term target.

As for industries what has been achieved? It would be wasting time to count the number of the various industries we have established. I would like you to make some stock - taking for yourselves. I think that their number is greater than those with which other socialist countries, like us, started. No country has attained what we have attained in five years. In addition we have not confined ourselves to merely concentrating our industries in one place, nor have they been built at random or on unrealistic systems. They are of such a nature as we can make them our own and manage ourselves. They can also serve as a basis for the future industries the country will be in need of when it is fully developed in all aspects of its economy. We will certainly be in need of such industries as we would utilize our farm produce when agriculture expands and develops and likewise there will be industries that will process the products connected with our livestock, mining or fishing.

This plan if realized will be the breeding ground for the type of the future workers we would like to see to have. These are the workers whom today we are fighting to mould along the correct political line and technical education. The majority of them should be the managers and teachers that tomorrow will run those future industries I have described. And inevitably such a cadre should be bron if we persist in our struggle.

Anyway we can conclude that, considering the time that has elapsed since the beginning of the Revolution, not a small number of industries has emerged. We are also far ahead of the developed countries if we make a comparison in regard to the stage they have reached and between the progress we have achieved within the short space of fiveyears in the teeth of the tremendous difficulties we have encountered.

We have seashores that are some 3.000 Kms. long. We have never used them and they have never been beneficial to

us in any manner. What have been our goals and which ones have been realized? Certainly we cannot pause and say «oh we are satisfied ». What is important is that the struggle we have waged & the change that has been affected in our attitude towards the resources of our oceans have made it possible for us to benefit ourselves. This has also given us heart to accelerate our activity so that we will be in a position to help the inhabitants along the sea shores with all the power at our disposal.

We have, for example, bought several ships in spite of our limited resources. There are at least sixteen ships today that fly the Somali flag and work independently of any country. The management and the crew of these ships are 802 Somalis. This does not include the ships of the navy. I mean purely the fishing ships or those used for trade with foreign countries.

Indeed this situation of our seas should warm the heart of each nationalist. Our intention is to recruit more young Somalis as our crew instead of leaving them roam the seas in foreign ships from which they are thrown overboard.

We have a long way to go. So you know there are several factories for sea products that were established before the Revolution but have been working effectively only after the downfall of the former regimes. Our ambition is to establish new factories in places that will eventually be central to the fishing zones and they will be divided into such as are charged with the task of freezing or canning. And such factories will entail much work and they will entail finding more ships for transport, ports and other infrastructure. All these are the main factors for the realization of our plans and they are within our own possibilities.

I have dwelt long on the subject concerning the benefits of the oceans, but I have done so on purpose for I am aware that you do not appreciate much their importance and our eyes have been habitually directed towards such foods as rice, ghee, butter, milk etc. We have been brought up in the belief that despite the vast expenses of water before us, we are not a seafaring nation but rather a nation of farmers.

As for mining, it is obvious that it is the most difficult enterprise to undertake because of its extraction problems. Prospecting for minerals costs a fortune and advanced technology. But we can say that even in this field we have achieved much. A lot of prospecting has been going on to determine our position and then decide which minerals are worth extracting and then which ones can be extracted in commercial quantities.

We have passed the stage of prospecting. We are now in the second stage of verifying the type of minerals that are available and their quantities. I can say we are doing well in regard to several minerals. Let me leave this subject here.

In matters of security, I do not think we could have suffered a more serious crisis than the drought, for in such a situation it is only human to be inclined to think only of saving one's own life even at the expense of committing a murder or theft or any other crime.

Moreover the doors could have been thrown wide open to a flood of speculation and profiteering. It was a precarious situation in which our security could not have been in greater danger. But we were determined to see that, whatever the cost, the security and stability of the country should remain unshaken and that everything should be done to save human lives.

You know that in every respect we have done our best to overcome the crisis and you are well aware how much value the Somali nation has in the eyes of the world, Africa and the Arab World. This has not come about by sheer chance. The foundation of this has been the management in the country and the leadership of our people.

It is said that charity begins at home. This has been the basis of our dignity. We have earned the credit of the masses, our workers, our youth, our soldiers, our women, our peasants, our nomads and everyone whose sense of nationalism is so strong that he is ready to defend it. This is what has projected our image abroad as being a united nation, a nation which knows and pursues what is good for it and is

ever on the alert to stand by what is just and upright and slum all nonsense, at the United Nations, at the OAU, in the Arab World or anywhere else. The motive force behind it is our internal policy that goes well according to plan. We may say that still it leaves, much to be desired. That is true indeed. But we cannot achieve all at one stroke, for the material we have been committed to achieve all at one stroke for after we have been committed to reshape man himself. The important thing is to disabuse of our people's minds, the old-fashioned and reactionary outlook and mentality and to supplant it with a correct methodology. And this will take time.

But where do we stand today if we take into consideration the starting point that we left off from only a few years back? Of course there have been too many shortcomings in regard to our target. But I should say there has been great progress. We have searched and liquidated most of the evil things and the few that linger on will be banished with the passage of sometime. If the majority are satisfied and are united, it is unnecessary to worry about the remaining blind few. It is because of the leadership that a good base has been built and progress in all fields has been made possible. The proof is that there had been a country and a nation and we have been living together in freedom for nine years before the Revolution. Why had there been stagnation and chaos?

Had we been treading on the path we are going along now there would have been no need for revolution for our economic, educational and social performances would have been far better than they had been during the reactionary regimes. The leadership is to be blamed for it should have looked upon itself as the springboard for progress and behave with a great sense of nationalism and self-confidence, trusting in the land and its people.

Where is this long-winded speech of mine leading to- I am coming to this question of awarding me with a medal. I ask you who has been leading the country? Do you believe the rumour - mongers that Mohamed Siad alone has been at the helm all the time. No! This is not true. Truthfulness

is very important. It gives birth to the revolutionary spirit nationalism, uprightness and integrity and human dignity. The credit for the initiatives, far-sightedness and the devotion shown during all these years goes to those soldiers who are still wearing the kaki uniforms they come with on the day the revolution saw light, namely the members of the SRC who have been working day and night. But we should not minimize the role of the masses who have had the political understanding and maturity to accept the challenge and work for their own prosperity. Without the necessary leadership would we not have been able to score the successes we have made for as I said it is this same nation that has lived on this land. Hence the medal with which you have decorated me tonight really belongs to these SRC members. If you allow me to give it to them I will do so for we in the Revolutionary Council cannot give each other anything and if you do not, I will not pass it on to them.

Then the members of the Council of Secretaries come next. These, too, have worked with us keeping clearly in view the objective we have been struggling and they too deserve their credit. And this credit you are giving them is not of any material interest to them. It is only a token of recognition that does not imply that they have completed their work. It is a source of encouragement to spur them on to further achievements. I thank you for the medal you have given me. And God willing I will be working with it. I appreciate that you have given me bigger medals before and I thank you for them also. So far as the youth are concerned, what is the purpose of the short seminars held for them? It is impossible for all our people to conduct long courses at once, for the country needs work and the people need a means of living; and we do not have adequate resources at our disposal. Therefore since we cannot do without training it has been decided to increase the knowledge and political education of our people according to the limits imposed upon us for it is then that they can manage themselves doing things by themselves and realizing their own value as human beings..

Our mission is to leave no one illiterate so that everyone will be able to be conscious of what is going on around him

in his own environment and express his personal opinion on matters of national interests. Hence if we cannot open many schools, the necessity arises to teach and train our people by social groups, youth workers, mothers, farmers, soldiers and so on, and on the basis of short courses in which general information is given and then the trainees are made known to one another. For all Somalis are brothers, those who come from Ras Kambone as well as those who come from Lawya Addo and they share the same interests and each complements the other. Only if they know each other can they appreciate each other and know that they are brothers. So it is important that we acquaint them with each other and encourage them to enhance their experience and knowledge and benefit from each other in any other way possible so that they will keep in touch together when each goes back to his place of origin. This type of training should be conducted for women, youth, worqers farmers and for autonomous agencies & should never cease. It should go on in the districts for people from the villages, and in the regions for those from the districts or for all those in the capital.

The advantage of such a collective training course is that whenever a national issue is to be debated about, or criticized or when the various world systems are discussed in the light of history and decisions or conclusions are made, there is no doubt that this is a sign of the country's progress. For this is democracy, collective labour, socialism and collective judgement. It is an expression of the support given to national interests, it is a defence of the nation's dignity and humanity. We should bear this aim in mind.

And the youth should be the pace - settlers of revolutionary zeal, they should be a source of inspiration for wavers and those who are apt to lag behind. They should be a reservior of the spirit of nationalism. They should be the torch and standard bearers of the Revolution.

The youth are without any serious blemishes. We cannot charge them with having worked with colonialism, nor can we say that they have stolen from government funds and acquired illegal property. The youth, male or female, have a

clean record. So if they have been so fortunate as to meet with a healthy regime, is it not incumbent upon them to struggle hard? Why dc they are going to live in tomorrow is being bcause the house they are going to live in tomorrow is being built today. And this is the time to prepare to takeover from their elders.

If we want to be able to discharge our duties satisfactorialy and retrieve our rights we should have sufficient knowledge. The principles of scientific socialism are not idle talk or a mirage. It is a profound science. It is a science that teaches you what your duties are, your duties as a nationalist, as an individual, and how to defend your rights as a social being and how to fight for them if you lose them. Socialism is a system by which you can build your life, abolish scientifically starvation, and establish a discipline that can bring about harmony among the members of society. It is a science that can mould your minds and your political outlook, your scientific and technical knowledge along correct lines.

Through scientific socialism lies the path to prosperity and it is a weapon with which the people can fight for their rights. Scientific socialism needs to be studied. It is only when you have understood its significance that you can fulfill your duties for youth, the natior. and the Revolution. If you are ignorant you cannot be of any use either to yourself or to your country. It might happen sometimes that you may not be able to know what is good for you. But it is time that the youth have given up daydreaming and tried and learned socialism.

What is the meaning of socialism? The youth should study socialism in two ways. They should learn it as a matter of academic interest and as a practical method of solving the problems of the nation. It is only when you have mastered the subject of the science of socialism that you can appreciate the value of what is defending you, what you are defending what you need in struggling and what obstacles are in your way.

I believe that the political office of the presidency has made its plan to see that as from today, the training courses

will be continuous, and that they will be divided into special courses and courses that will be conducted in the regions, districts and villages as well, inspite of the limitations of the office. Responsible people should first and foremost be made to participate, I mean particularly those whom the public complains very much about and who by now have heard too much about such grumbling that it is time they should be displaced.

However, we maintain that the trouble with these notorious authorities is not a lack of principles on their part but a lack of knowledge for have they known that by harming the interests of the nation they are harming their as wll, ehy would not have misbehaved. A person who professes Islam cannot have ill-will towards his brother unless he is ignorant and cannot differentiate between right and wrong. I do not consider a person wise if he merely carries a big certificate and boasts a wide experience. I consider him mature if he shows it in his thoughts, his concern for this life on earth as well as the other, his nationalism and humanity and if he manifests broadmindedness. And if he is not broadminded he is nothing at all. If we do not have an ideal we cannot have understanding among ourselves. So you must be aware of any thing the good name of Somali youth, progressiveness, if you understand the volue of nationalism, humanity, if you long to see your country being in great demand by other nations instead of being a beggar and if you have trust in your country's wealth.

Even if you are imprisoned do not swerve from your right path and do not be daunted to follow it. And go along with your conviction till death, for to die for what is right is better than to live in misery and servitude. Accept to die rather than be an instrument of oppression of your people and die in a battle for your country. And if you cannot propagate your principles do not fear to be jailed if you are forced to do so. Life as such has no meaning if it is not related to the welfare of your nation and country. And die certainly you will. So what is the use of dying without achieving anything.

There is an often quoted Somali proverb «Allah does not leave a courageous person alone in time of difficulty». So if

you support a just cause and the interests of the Somali people Allah will stand by your side. And Iremind you of one important thing, that evil deeds cannot last long and the evil doers will ultimately be caught however long many more hide themselves, what is of permanent value and is invincible is your convinction that are founded on truth.

What I am stressing is that, as youth, you should have courage and never to be demoralized, if you are a coward and if you do not believe in any principle except that of earning more money, I advise you not to waste time and energy and to mix with Somali youth.

I have just said that the foundation of scientific socialism and correction nationalism is truthfulness. So please never tell lies about any Somali; and never commit a perjury against him even if he is your enemy. I wish you all good work and a happy journey. I commend you for the resolution you have read to us here. If I may refer to the former resolution concerning the workers and their resports, I would like to tell you that I have accepted their resolution and that we should execute everything we do democratically whatever its nature. consulting those whom it directly concerns and telling them in detail about it and its aims. For it is said that people are divided into two categories. Some propose, other follow. Hence if you want to have a following you must have the capacity to elucidate your point, convincing your audience of the advantages of what you dant do, its aims and its benefits. I have already advised the workers to put one of their resolutions into effect, namely that they should put some money aside for themselves in what w e may call «the workers Safe». This also concerns the youth. It is of national interest. We could not have taken such a step previously, for we have not been mature e nough to come up with such an idea. We, on our part, have been desisting from issuing such a decision in the form of an offical order. We have been shouting for so long in orienting you. The purpose being to prepare your minds for digesting the aims & principles of the Revolution and for adopting yourselves to the new Somali society that is seeking genuine freedom, economically and socially.

Although we have praised you for the resolutions that have been passed, we want at the same time to make sure above but that it comes spontaneously from their deliberations and proposals, and that every citizen should take part in the and proposals, and that every citizen should take part in the adminstration of his country. We would like als° to see committees of the various social groups to freely express their opinion and then to follow the majority decisions. I have already advised the worqers to follow the line. If they have started working like that well and good but that this is the only democracy way and that since we want to create a genuine democracy it is essential to train our people to take part in mass meetings in which issues are decided democratically. It is not our purpose to create the impression that only a few are nationalists and that they should rule over the rest of the people.

I would like to say something about the serious drought that has recently hit us. We have established about twenty relief camps for the affected people. How did the people fare when they were being brought to the camps, what were the difficulties that were encountered by the economy, the workers and the authorities before they were brought up to the level you are witnessing now? Truly they were tremendous. About 250,000 person were admitted into the camps. If we had not understood our human and national duty and had not joined forces against this crisis what would have happened? The moment would have earned the name for us as being the day on which we have been exterminated and abolished from the face of the earth as Somalis. For it is not the numerous people that I have counted that would have died. No there were many more others who have come to the camps and after receiving relief had left for their families and relatives.

The credit that this did not happen goes to all the Somalis people as a nation. I would like to remind you that any nation can overcome any crisis, whatever its magnitude, if it is united and single -minded. But if everyone thinks of himself only then will all fall individually victims. You should therefore grasp fully the value of unity for it is such unity

that has made it possible for us to serve the thousands of lives or more exactly a million and a half people.

You can appreciate our concern for the drought victims from the fact that we are trying to give to each one a new lease of life. Sure, this we are doing by trying to settle them in various professions, farming, fishing, cattle - raising, each according to his natural inclinations. But what have some unscrupulous reactionaries told this people just in order to undermine this noble undertaking? They have told them that they were not going to be given farms but that it was the intention of the Government to have them die by malaria, or enslaved and liquidated.

This cheap propaganda worked to such an extent that some of the inmates of the camps ran away. This made it necessary to launch a campaign to falsify their prejudice so as to start life anew for them. This is what happened especially in the camps of Beer, near Burao.

Who are those that spread such dirty lie? Mind you if our intention had been to kill these people why had we transported them from the Haud? why had we treated them until they had fully recovered their lives? I mean it is the bad people who are responsible for such propaganda. The drought teaches us to differentiate between the worthless and nationalists, our friend from our foes and those that can be relied upon and are near to us and those that canot be. But the truth remains that as a nation you can do for yourself whatever you are determined to do and we can satisfy our people with our own resources and should satisfy them.

In the resettlement programme we will be able to tell which country is our friend and which is not. Those countries that will help us in this initiative are our friends and those that will comment on us adversely in thier press during the battle which we are waging in the aftermath of the drought crisis, are our enemies.

As Somalis we should persevere in our struggle and never forget those who will help us in this dark hour. We should in fact, inscribe such succour in gold ink in the pages of history. And we should never forget our ill - wishers, who

will try to sause us to stumble or stab us in the back by attacking us over the raidos and in the press, and should never mistake them for what they are not later on if they come to us disguised. We shall not compromise with anyone who hides himself today. We will not accept any more among us a friend who tries to demoralize us by denigrating our efforts in his mass media. We have no place for him in our heart, he is not our friend, nor does he have any value in our eyes. Our task is to oppose and fight him and we will do so far we are already engaged in a battle. What is this battle we are fighting today? It is a battle we are fighting for the sake of the Somali people? It is a battle in which we are discharging our human, national and Islamic duties? What is the aim of our enemies? They do not want to live, they do not want us to have human dignity, they want us to live as beggars at their feet.

But our aim is different. We want to settle our people and enable them to survive, and we shall be successful, cashing in on the political maturity, usefulness, the enthusiaism and nationalism of the Somali people. I think it is good or customary to tell our people the truth of whatever happens since we do not work from any ulterior motives.

This is very important particularly in informing them of important events that directly concerns them. We should give a wide birth to reporting tendentiously. So it is pertient now to tell you something about the projected Arab Summit Conference that was due to be held here in Mogadishu. As you know at their seventh Summit in Rabat in October last year, in which all heads of sate except one or two participated they unanimously voted to hold their next meeting in Mogadishu in June of this year at an unspecified date. Our reaction was to say welcome to them. To do so required by our sense of national duty. Second, it was an honour to us. For it was a very big meeting and we have always made welcome our visitors. So twenty countries were not all a problem, although we were in difficult times.

Moreover it seemed to us that it was our duty for the Arabs or their Heads of State to see the land of their brothers who have recently joined them and to be acquainted with the

Somalis in the flesh, for it is one thing to hear about a people and quite another to know them with your own eyes. The purpose was to show them the value of the nation that has become one of them, their natural resource, their livestock, the in humanity and their capacity. The Arabs might have judged Somalis by those who knock about in their countries in pursuit of education or jobs. But that is not enough.

Another factor that motivated us to welcome the summit in Mogadishu was our knowledge of the stability of our country and its security and the belief that our nation has always safeguarded its dignity and that therefore it was the right place to decide important issues that would come up in the summit in regard to the Arab World or the world at large or relations between the Arabs and Africans, whom we have always looked upon as brothers and neighbours and interdipendent and deemed it important that they should collaborate and face neo-neocolonialism in a concerted effort. Even particularly important problems of each country could be decided here, such as those of the Middle East, Africa, or the world at large vis-a-vis its responsibilities to the Arabs or the multifaceted colonialism that still lingers in some Arab lands and threats them daily.

A month ago the Arab foreign Ministers should have met and prepared the agenda for the Summit and then pave the way for it, outlining all important issues. But a moment of speculation intervened and it was rumoured that the Summit should not be held in Somalia. You know where this speculation came from. Except a few Arab countries all were agreed that it could not be considered where the venue of the Summit should be or on which date it should take place because this has been already decided by the heads of state. Neither could foreign Minister and Secretaries talk about this matter. But this was interpreted wrongly as you know as meaning that Somalis and those who have raised doubts should talk about it together and reach agreement. Such being the case it was imperative that we should go there and I in person and in your name went to the Arabs and discussed this problem with those alleged to have hesitated to have the summit here. As you may expect I have talked to all

the heads of state and after frankly exchanging views we come to the conclusion that the Summit should be held in Mogadishu as orignally planned.

On my return with that promise I addressed the Somali nation imploring it to prepare for this grand meeting and welcome their Arab brothers. I for one and anyone who might have cared to observe can never forget the enthusiastic response of the Somali people to the projected visit which showed itself in feverish activity of building, cleaning and decorating that places particularly in the capital by way of preparing to receive our brothers in Somalia. It was a priceless initiative which you the Somali people have taken in hand, initiative that mirrored the purity of your heart and the spirit of brotherhood and hospitality with which you could have welcomed your Arab guests. I thank you all for this.

Such an attitude towards our visitors is what helps always to earn a good name; and we have earned one. But to come back to the conference. Why was it not held here? It is really difficult for no Somali could stomach its cancellation for we by nature, keep our promises.

To appreciate the problem let us examine in retrospect the history of the Arab League. When was it founded? How many summits have been held until now? Has each conference taken place on the date originally fixed or has it been postponed several times? Even the Rabat Conference had been postponed twice before it was eventually held. So it is nothing new. I mean to point out by this that in judging issues that especially concern us as a nation we should never be emotional. We should examine and study them with a sober mind and scientifically.

So what has happened is not anything peculiar to us. It is possible that, because Somalis are very sensitive by nature, the postponement of the conference might have wounded their pride to a certain extend after a seemingly firm commitment to hold the summit has been made and after a period of so much preparation and expenditure. But certainly the postponement was not made to deliberately offend us. It is normal that sometimes unforeseen circumstances interfere with the work of such projected conferences and cause it to be put

off. So there is nothing to worry about much. Of course the narrow-minded or those who work for colonialism will make stories about the postponed conferences but we will not heed them. If we examine a little the history of the Arab nations, or for that matter the African, Asian, and Latin-American countries and try to find out through which doors colonialism has penetrated into them and how it has attained its end through what forms of propaganda and intrigues it applied to divide the people of these countries, we will come to realize thta its strategy has always been to drive a wedge between them for, unity is its undoing.

So can we be hoodwinked by the well-known tricks of of colonialism. No! For if we did that we would only be standing in our own light.

We will never mistake imperialism for what it is not. We will study and watch closely its machinations and close all its roads. We will not be taken in by the various faces it puts on or its various dresses and colours, it disguises itself in.

The aim of world imperialism is to make mountains of this small modelhill of the incident of the conference. It will make much noise for it wants the Arab, African and other nations to disperse and never to be united for otherwise its very survival will be at stake. It will not easily forget the setbacks it met with during the October Israeli war and the fuel weapons with which it was brought to bay. Isn't the fact that parliamentarians, some governments and responsible people have spread the story in their mass media that foreign bases were being built in Somalia one of its tricks.

Let me conclude be saying «Long Live Somalia, Long Live the Youth, Long Live the Workers, Long Live the the Armed Forces. May Somaliz be freed mentally and politically. What is the difference between mental and political freedom? Mental freedom means that those of us who are free here should be freed in our minds, hearts and spirits and trust our country, our nation and ourselves.

Political freedom means that those who are under alien rule should be liberated.

Revolution fulfills its promise.

President Addresses The Learned Men In Islam (Ulimo) At A Seminar on 17.6.1975.

May greetings be upon you. This is the forth religious Seminar on Islam held since the birth of the Revolution five years ago. I cannot cope all that had been discussed in this Seminar. It would cover books and books if I try to cover the ground that had been covered in all these Seminars. So I would only confine myself to the main themes.

If you might remember, we have promised the Somali nation at the birth of the Revolution that we would give them constant reports. Why did we make this promise? We have told the nation that we had not taken over power to further our interests; we had not taken over power to harm anyone in any way; we had not taken over power to bask in it. We had taken over power in order to further the interest of the whole nation. It seemed to us that the administrations which had been ruling the country since independence in 1960 had ruined Somalia politically, socially, economically and religiously. Since the armed forces were part of the public, it had become their duty to save the nation from the abyss into which it was falling. They had to come into the rescue of the nation since it was their duty to protect the people and country. As you all know, the armed forces are sworn to defend the people, the constitution and the country, and

when they saw all three of them were being ruined, they had to carry out their duty and bring about a change of ruling.

The objectives of the Revolution had been delineated in the first Charter of the Revolution. The internal and external policies of the country were all set down in that Charter. I would ask the learned religious men, who are sitting here before me, to reread that Charter and see whether all the points set down in it has been fulfilled. What part of the promise we made have not been fulfilled? There was nothing to really force us to fulfill these promises. We neither had an eye for getting votes, nor did we have to buy the confidence of the public. We had made the promise on our own volition and we fulfilled it on our own volition. Have the promises been fulfilled? There is a Somali proverb which say: «Whispering is not speech and peering in the darkness is not seeing». This means what is needed is to come to the brass tacks of things. What part of the promises made in the first Charter have been fulfilled, and what parts needs to be fulfilled? First we had to struggle, in cooperation with the patriots, the true Moslems and the honest among the people, to create security for the Somali people. As you might recall, there was no peace anywhere in the country. There was robbery, feuds, wanton killing and so forth. Thus, the first priority had to be given to bringing about peace in the country; to obliterate the enmity, the hatred and vendettas which had been playing havoc on the lives of the people and had endangered the very existence of the nation. We had embarked on a programme of orientation whose aim was to cleanse the people's minds from the impurities of thoughts that had plagued their lives. The public had to be convinced that their interest and the interest of their nation lay in unity and brotherhood.

There might still be isolated cases of an individual, or a few individuals, harming others. But there are no groups who invade others en masse to kill them and rob them. The next stage was to create equality among the people of the nation. We said: «all the Somalis are equal, no matter who they might have been, or might be. Anyone

who harms another, no matter in what respect, would get the just punishment he deserves». Only in this way could the Somali people be put on a basis of equality. We had passed a law which stipulated that anyone who inflicted harm on another would be punished, no matter how far or near he might go. Going over the so-called boundary would not help any culprit for he would be hunted even there, and would be made to pay the penalty.

In the administration of justice, one has to have two vantage points. First there is the formulation of the laws which give the people of a nation certain rights and duties. Secondly, there is the execution of these very laws. These two aspects are the faces of a coin, but they are distinct. We have been trying to instill in the minds of the people that the keeping of peace and order is in the interest of every individual in the society. To consider the law above every person is in the interest of everyone since each person's security and rights is directly linked to the upholding of justice. If every person upholds justice, there would not be the anomally of some people being above the law while the rest of the people become the bluf of the law. Laws should be means to justice, people's rights and the specifiers of peoples duties. The promulgaters of laws don't have any one particular person in mind when they are formulating law; they do not intend to harm one particular person or persons. What they have in mind is the interest of the overall society. They have peace, security, justice, equality, people's rights and duties in mind. They formulate laws for the welfore of the whole society. They have in mind the people's education, health, national policies, finances, revenues, social affairs and so forth. The Revolution has formulated laws which are in consonance with the culture, traditions and ways of life of the Somali people. The laws which were imported from foreing lands, and which did not in the least reflect the Somali way of life, were all abrogated. If a law does not reflect the conditions in the country and the ways of life of the people in it, there is no reason for it to be part of the laws of the land.

Another consideration in the formulation of laws is the religion of the people of the country. The foundation of the laws must be the religion of the people in the country. A third consideration, without which no laws can be made to work in a country, is the consent of the people Unless the people in a country consent to live by the laws which its country promulgates, such laws would be only an ink on paper. As you might all know, human beings regard some laws as something abnoxious. They regard some laws as unjust and oppressive and it makes them feel resentment. At the sametime, they regard some other laws as just, and this makes them feel proud, dignified, and honored. The formulation of laws are based on this three essential factors. The laws of this country have been based on the culture, traditions, way of life, religion, and the mentality of the Somali people. Somalia today has a body of laws which have been formulated solely for the interests of the public and nothing else.

Now let me turn in to the field of education. A high level of aducation in a society is prerequiste for the advancement it can make. Education is the blood stream of the society for without it no appreciable level of advancement can be made in the fields of industry, health, technology, science, administration, finance, economy and so forth. Every human activity in this modern world needs a high level of education which gives the people of a nation the knowledge and expertise to make progress If a person does not have education, he simply goes through the motions of living and his existence is not very much above that of an animal.

We have started education at the very beginning. That is, facilities were made available everywhere for the child to start education as soon as he is able to talk. Kinder-garten schools where children can be taken care of have been built. It is an important scheme, and, considering our obligations and resources, it is heavy burden, but since we have diverted the largest portion of our resources to education, we had to start at the prima-

ry level of education. Religious education has been increased so that our people can be well-reserved in the true tenets of their faith.

A healthy programme for children has been initiated so that they can be given a weekly medical check-up. In this way children can get medical treatment and transmission of diseases among school children can be kept to a minimum, or prevented completely. The kinder-garten schools are worth whatever the nation spends on them. The children get care there. Instead of eating sand off the streets or roaming around, or being hit by cars, they can spend the day in these special schools and get professional care.

What are the purposes for which the kinder-garten schools have been built? It is to give the child a good beginning in behaviour, in manner, in the proper way of picking up knowledge, and preparing him correctly for the education which he would get when he grows up a bit and goes to the elementary school.

What is the very basis of our educational policy? The main objective is to give every Somali an opportunity for education so that a small percent of the people would not have monopoly on education, as was the case before the Revolution. In order to give the public an equal opportunity, educational facilities must be made available to them at the villages, towns, cities, farm settlements, cooperatives and wherever the Somali people might be. The people must be persuaded to take their children to School. Therefore, Schools must be built wherever there are people willing to learn. At the Intermediate level of education, schools have been built whrever twenty five children who have finished the elementary education have been found regardless of the community of that place, and regardless of the place's significance in the district and regional scheme of things.

The construction of secondary schools cannot be established on guesswork. It became necessary to build

secondary schools in the places which have enough students who had finished the intermidate schools. That meant scondary schools had to be built for the communities which can feed these schools with students. In the field of University education, I think you have heard me talk about it on several occasions. I expect that you know the objectives of the nation for higher education and what has been accomplished so far. Does education end at the University? No. Education does not end there. It is a continous process which goes on for life. At the sametime, education has many aspects. There is psychological education; there is religious education; there is technical education; there are so many fields of education, and unless a nation gives its people well-rounded education, it cannot do all the things it wants to do for itself. Therefore, technical schools, to which people can go when they finish primary education, must be built.

Before I go out of the field of education, let me point some of the difficulties the nation have faced in the spreading of education and in the establishment of a good system. At the birth of the Revolution, there were not sufficient number of teachers in the country. The Revolution had an ambitious programme of education, and it had embarked on the construction of schools at a grand level. Then it soon became clear that there were not enough teachers. So we said. «if we want to execute this plan, where are the teachers?» As a matter of fact, there were sufficient number of teachers, but most of men were in other fields. Teachers were not given the recognition and respect they deserved during the pre-revolution era, and the majority of them drifted into other fields, mostly in the field of administration where they had a better chance for promotion. They were engaged in demonstrations and agitations for their field was relegated into oblivion and they had to make whatever struggle they could. There were many people in the payroll as teachers, but who had never taught anything. They merely put in appearance on pay day to collect money for which they had done nothing. The major problem which the Revolution had met in the field of education was not the

construction of schools; it was not the provision of school facilities. The biggest question of all was, where to get good teachers? It became necessary to launch a pragramme of teachers' training, no matter what this programme might cost the nation. The scope of the nation's new educational policy had necessitated the mounting of a large teacher's training programme to that the nation can have the men and women to man the new system. The nation had been kept backward by an education system laid down by a colonial mentiality. If the nation had to move forward and take its place among the nation's who are making progress, the whole rotten structure of educational system had to be demolished and a new one built in its place.

In order to attract people into teaching professions, we had tried to improve their salaries and working conditions. The teacher cannot be expected to go before students and scribble something on the blackboard. He **must be given hope and aspiration to egg him on. We** provided him with an opportunity to go to a teachers' College where he can take specialization in the field of his choice. Any teachers who carries out his duties and proves himself to have capabilities can go to this college which has been founded for the teachers only. How can a teacher be described in terms of the contributions he makes to the Society? The real teacher is the one who leads the people from the darkness of ignorance into the light of knowledge. The person who can do this work must be himself thoroughly trained. He should have his worth recognized and have his rights. At the same time, he should have a continuous training and must take yearly examination so that it would be known whether he has retained what he has been taught or not. Today, there are 1,500 teachers at one place, 750 at other place, and 1,200 at another place, who are all undergoing special training. Some of them have just graduated, others would graduate soon, and the rest would be graduating sometime later. The plan is that within the coming five years, we shall have trained sufficient number of Somali

teachers to enable us to dispense with the services of foreign teachers.

Looking back at the pre-revolution education system, why were there no enough schools in the country? Why were there only few schools to which the children of a few people used to go? Why hadn't a University been founded in the country? What was the ulterior motive behind the pre-revolution system of education? Who were the masterminds of that system? The imperialitsts used to say if a University was founded in the country, there would not be enough students to attend, it, and it is not worth to build a university for a small number of students. From where did the nation get the ones who are now in the National University? Have they been imported from abroad? The imperialists used to say: «a University needs large buildings and expensive facilities and you cannot afford all these things. The maintenance of a University is too big». Do they maintain our University for us now? Do they contribute to its maintenance? Have they built our University for us, and have they given us the students to attend it? What was their aim? They wanted us to depend on them all the time; they wanted us to be their lackeys; they wanted us to squirm in their iron grip forever. That is the truth. That is exactly what they wanted. What have we done? We have understood their machinations, and we formulated strategies to foil their intrigues. We have formulated policies whose results are refutation of their lies, fabrications and mealy-mouthedness.

We had embarked on a programme which gave everyone an opportunity to further his education. How can each person further his education? If we think back on the ways imperialism used to impede the Somali people's advancement, you could see that he had used ignorance as a tool with which to prevent the country from making progress. Ignorance was an enemy of Somalia, and we set out to wipe it out so that it could be possible for the nation to make the progress they deserve. We decided that they should have education in their own language.

Imperialism had divided Somalia into five parts and put each one under a different administration so that the Somali people would have five different administrative languages, systems of Government and so forth. It wanted the Somalis to forget one another. Why hadn't imperialism succeeded in its hellish policies? Why couldn't it succeed in achieving its aims? Why hadn't it succeeded in breaking down the overall unity of the Somalis wherever they might be? There were two barriers which neither the policies nor the strength of imperialism could storm. These barriers against imperialism nurtured the unity of the Somalis. There was the Islamic religion which acted as a bastion which imperialism cannot scale, no matter what tactics and strategies it employed. The other barrier against imperialism was the Somali language. The people spoke the same language, had the same traditions, culture and folklore which cemented their unity.

Imperialism planned to fragment the Somali nation to bits so that the imperialists can exploit the rescources of the land and make the Somali people part of the wretched of the earth. But why hadn't imperialism succeeded in its plans? Because the Somalis had the cohesive elements of common religion, tradition, customs, culture and language. That is why imperialism failed in its machinations. That is why it will fail again an again.

It became necessary to produce a script for the Somali language, no matter what difficulties engineered by imperialism, its lackeys and the brain-washed had to be overcome. The Somalis had to be given opportunities to take education in their own language. The worst death is the death of one's brain, one's nationalism, one's humanity, and one's sense of right and wrong; when a person considers his people and his country to be someson thing unimportant; when he values other people and other countries more than his own. When a person does not value his people and his country, he has swallowed the imperialist propaganda; he has fallen into a trap which imperialism has set up for him; he has been conditioned into mental slavery. Such person's brain had been slowly

killed; his personality has been destroyed; his humanity has been wrecked; he has been turned into a toy which imperialism can wind up whenever it wants.

This is the state from which the Revolution set out to liberate the Somalis. Today, an overwhelming majority of the Somali people can read and write their language and can have education much faster than before.

We have made education free so that people from all walks of life can have education without paying any fees. They all have a right to education and the Government had to provide them with free education so that no one would have the excuse of saying, «I cannot afford to go to school». We have not left education at just making it free for all. We made it compulsory on children of school age, and ayone who does not take his children, who are of school age, to school is liable to prosecution under the law.

We have also made medical prescriptions and medical check-up free of charge. No one has to pay anything for it. Anyone can go to a doctor and ask for medical examination and prescription for any illness he might have. Suppose he is sick enough to be hospitalized? He does not have to pay for the hospitalization and the treatments he gets.

The Revolution had given this importance to the health and the education of the people, and had given first priorities to these and other equally important fields.

In the field of economy, we have not accomplished anything to boast about, and we are not going to brag about the economic progress we have made. I think we have done our level best to effect economic progress. We ask ourselves, if that much has been achieved, couldn't more have been accomplished? Il I put that question to myself, I would say yes. Much more could have been achieved. Are all the people in the administration of the people's affairs acting in concert and thinking the same light? Are they all working for the interest of the

nation with sincerity? I would say, no. That is unfortunate. There would naturally be certain amount of delaying tactics and actions designed to cripple same parts of the economy. Some misguided elements of the society would, unwillingly or deliberately, perpetrate this crime on their nation. But if the laws and regulations, guidelines and directions of the Revolution were followed to the letter, the country would have made four or five times as much progress as it has made already. The people account for both their good and bad deeds before God on the day of resurrection, but it seems the perpetrators of bad deeds get away with a lot of crimes here on earth, employing some subterfuges.

In the field of industry we have made enough progress according to our abilities; in the utilization of our sea resources, we have taken good steps in tapping hitherto unexploited vast resources; in the field of mineral resources and oil explorations, we have managed to pinpoint traces that gives us good hope for future prosperi- The question is, if Somalia realize this prosperity would it need anyone, and wouldn't lot of others needed it? Somalia would not need anyone. What is the key to freeing Somalia from need? It is correct planning, correct execution of plans, the ulitization of the brains, ingenuities and abilities of the people of the country. The people of the country have to have confidence and trust in the resources of the country, and have to face realities. They have to drive out of their minds all illusions and unrealizable dreams. That is all the people of the country need to reach prosperity.

Education, economic progress, good standard of health and peace are brought forth into existance by a good political system. If there is no good political system, there would not be a good system of education; there re would not be a good standard of health; there would be trampled upon with out a good political system, nothing can go right. When there is a political confusion, everthing would be confu-

sed, and one cannot make head or trail of anything. When there is a political system which is based on the interests of the people in a country, everything has a base on which a nation can build the progress it wants to make. The general interest of the public, naturally, entails the looking after of the whole people and that is what is in the interest of every individual too. What does the public interest entail? It involves guiding the whole nation to economic, political, industrial, technological, scientific and educational advancement. What is the foundation of all this? A sound political system.

Our religion enjoins on us to protect our unity, nationhood, dignity, honour and humanity. I would like to paint a picture of the «bad religious man». He is a learned man in the tenets of Islam, but he is so crazed by worldly gains that he would sell his country, his people, his dignity and honour down the drain for a petty material gain which is dangled before his greedy eyes. The «bad religious man» is a man who has knowledge but who employes his knowledge in making trouble. He creates dissessions within the society: he takes too much; he is ill-mannered; he boasts too much; he pushes his company on everyone; he is a show-off; he is in every office. That is the bad religious man.

Then who is the good religious man? He is the upright, the honest, the sincere; he is the one who uses his knowledge in the right way; he is a nationalist who safeguards his humaness, his dignity, his honor and the true tenets of his religion.

Can these two be compared? Can anyone mistake one for the other? How can anyone make no distinction between these two? We are going to make distinction beetween them, and you should make distinctions between them. We are going to teach the qualities of each one of them to the students, the youth, the nomads and everyone else. Eech one has certain characteristics. The good religious man gives good advice and guidance to the people. He preaches unity, brotherhood, love, forgi-

veness, righteousness, justice, equality, and worship. He denounces all bad deeds, and advices people not to do them. He is dignified, honored and respected. He abstains from uttering anything that might sound ill-mannered. He respect the people of his country and tries to guide them to the right path. That is the man who can be described as a good religious man.

I have been told that you had some interesting debates on many important issues which you might have misunderstood before your attendance of this Seminar. You were right to discuss and examine these issues. I have been also told that you had been listening to the lessons you were being given here. And I expect you have benefited something from the people who have been coming to you to give you lectures. They have told me that they have benefited a great deal from the exchange of ideas they have had with you. The exchange of ideas have been of mutual benefit.

I would like to give my commendations to those who planned and organized this Seminar. I would also like to congratulate you for the responsible manner in which you participated in this Seminar. I believe that the rule of the country should belong to the nation. Therefore, the masses should participate in the administration of jusice. The people are all united, and everyone might be keeping unto himself whatever good ideas he might have. So I would recommend to all that there should be forums in which people from all walks of life can express their ideas, be heard and their ideas valued and respected.

We must all make efforts in understanding each other, in working for the common good, and in realizing our objectives.

Thank you. May peace be upon you.

Leaders of tomorrow

Jaalle Major General Mohamed Siad Barre Delivered This Speech On the Fourth Anniversary Of the Foundation of the «Flowers of the Revolution» on 19.6.1975.

May greetings be upon you. It is a happy occasion for me to be here tonight to commemorate the fourth Anniversary of the «The Flower of the Revolution» and the completion of some projects. I would like to give my commendation to the Ministry of Education which has not confined its activities to classroom teaching but which has taken a lion's share in the creation of a new Revolutionary Society, especially in regard to the Youth of the nation.

Education, as we have been saving since the birth of the Revolution, is the foundation of the existence, economy and independence of a nation. It is the basis of our equality with the other nations in the world because the knowledge, technological advancement, and the political maturity of a nation is in proportion to the level of education its people have. A person's ability, his aspirations, his political maturity and knowledge is all linked to the degree of education he has. That is why education is the basis of nation's degree of progress. I don't expect you not know this fact. When a person has a sufficient amount of knowledge, he can value humanity and can gear his actions towards what is good.

If we talk about economy, who can create a sound economy in a country? Naturally, a person who has expertise in economy. To have such a knowledge he must have had his education in this field and had marticulated in it. Where does all knowledge, no matter what kind it is, come from? It comes from schools. Although people have different levels of intelligence, the source of knowledge has been, throughout the history of humanity, the Schools. The educational system of Somalia had been planned on different basis over a long period of time. What is the basis of the system of education in Somalia today? What is the basis of the new healthy mentality which needs to be created? We must create a mentality which has confidence in itself, in its country, in its religion and in its humanity. We must create a society which values and respects the human being. If such a mentality is created, it is created in everyone of us and there is no doubt that there would be a sound basis for equality, justice, uprightness, freedom, productivity, respect & the human progress which all human beings need. This kind of atmosphere is congenial to the advancement of th human beings. When the individual is living in a healthy society, he is capable of producing more than he would if he were living in a rotten society.

Now let me talk about «THE FLOWER OF THE REVOLUTION» whose fourth anniversary we are commemorating here tonight. What is the real basis of the society? Or, for that matter, where does education begin? The basis of the society is the family, and education begins at the home of the family. When we have started paying particular attention to the family, we have realized that it is the basic unit of the society, and in order to create a healthy society one has to build from the foundation. Unless we build a healthy family environment for our children, we cannot hope them to grow up into responsible citizens. All of us have to orient the fathers and mothers to rear healthy children who would be an asset to them and to the family when they grow up. The children who grow up in a healthy family environment will in turn become mothers and fathers when they grow up

and would strive for having healthy family unit. This fissiparous process would affect the whole nation, and a healthy society would come into being.

What comes next? The child who comes from a healthy family unit should not have a chance to be led astray by those in the streets. The healthy child should be given the opportunity to get trained in his responsibilities right from the beginning. That is why we have established in every section of the cities, big towns, villages and settlements kinder-gartens, where the children who have just started to talk can be given the proper guidance right from the beginning.

What is the next stage in child rearing? The group age of the children right here before you, whom we call «THE FLOWER OF THE REVOLUTION», are the ones who come in for particular care and attention. These have to be taught good conduct, proper education and the value and aspirations of their nation. If they are taught properly, they are at the suitable age to grasp things quickly and retain them.

The «FLOWER OF THE REVOLUTION» are getting the proper care and attention. When they finish primary education and go for higher education, they will be part of the youth of the nation who have had the proper guidance and education for the role they would have to play in the guidance and direction of the society to the road which would lead it to prosperity, tranquility, peace, and security. The group age above the «FLOWER OF THE REVOLUTION» should also have partiotism, humanity, good conduct and responsibility inoculated in their minds. A particular care should be given to the training of the youth of the nation so that they can grow into men and women who know their duties to the country and people. The most dangerous stage of growing up is when boys and girls are in their teens. The teenagers have lot of energy, which has to be given a constructive outlet. The teenagers have arrogance, illusions, dreams and aspirations. and at the sametime they don't have enough experience

and knowledge to guide them through the jungle of life. In essence, they are half way to becoming grown up but they dont' yet have the mental maturity to pick the right path on their own. Some of them consider the majority of the grown-ups as ignoramuses; people who don't know anything and whose span of life is about to end. At the sametime they regard those who are younger than them as mere children who can only prattle. Therefore, the educators, the parents, the educated and the knowledgeable people in the society should gently lead the teenagers into the right path until they reach mental maturity and can take care of themselves.

What are the responsibilities of the grown-up people? They have a national duty to give their utmost contribution to the production of the country. It is essential to keep increasing production if the nation has to reach a high level of prosperity. When a nation has economic prosperity, it can have respect, honor and recognition in the world. A high level of prosperity is an indication of the ingenuity, knowledge and expertise which is much valued by human beings.

The «FLOWERS OF THE REVOLUTION», whom you have heard sing patriotic songs, were born at the sametime with the Revolution. They have already reached the point where they can help out their younger brothers and sisters in certain aspects of education. That is the fruition of proper upbringing of children. They have been reared in patriotism, and thousands and thousands of them everywhere are today passing on what they have learnt to others.

Let me give my commendation, in the name of the Supreme Revolutionary Council (SRC), the Council of the Secretaires and that of the public to the people who have been working day and night to educate our youth. They really deserve to be given credit for the work they have been doing for the nation for the five and a half years the Revolution has been in existence. They have overcome great many difficulties in the creation of healthy mentality in the youth, and in increasing their political, partriotic, and revolutionary consciousness. I would tell the educators of the nation «may your great work be crowned with success». I am sure they would not let up on the great work they are doing.

Now let me touch on the value of the teacher for the society. I have said before that prosperity, sound economy the creation of a healthy society, and sound political policies all emanate from the teacher. What benefit can schools have without teachers? Would they be any different from the houses where people sleep? Good teachers would produce other good teachers who would be of benefit to the society forever and ever.

I think you are cognizant of the difficulties we have met in the construction of schools, in the training of good teachers for the nation, and getting adequate supplies of school equipments. Even though these difficulties have been tremendous, what are our aspirations? We want and we must reach our educational objectives. How could we have accomplished the achievements we have made already if we have waited for others to do for us what we want to have? It is a fact that thousands of class rooms have been built throughout the country. Who would have done all that for us? Where did we get the material and manpower resources to accomplish all that? We have achieved what we did because of the trust and confidence we had in our abilities, ingenuities, and resources. The foundation of achievements is the confidence one has in being able to do whatever one sets on one's heart. At first we put down on paper what we wanted to do and the necessity for doing them. Then we planned how to achieve what we wanted to have. The next stage was to set priorities for certain things which were more needed than others. We set out to execute our plans in unity, cohesion and determination.

What are the current problems in the field of education? There is no doubt there are still difficulties in getting enough teachers, shools and equipment. But I belie--

ve we can overcome these difficulties because there is nothing a nation cannot accomplish once its people wake up to their interests. We must move forward very fast to make up for the time we have lost. We cannot catch up with the developed countries unless we take giant strides of progress.

The number of schools which have been built on self-help schemes must have been handed over by now to the Ministry of education. We would announce their number in October when we commemorate the birth of the Revolution and review the achievements we have made that year. A nation must make a periodical review of its achievements otherwise it would not be able to tell the extent of the achievements it has made; or what is left to be done. I was asked to officially take over the possession of the schools built on self-help schemes and hand them over to the Ministry of Education. I told them: «This is not my day; it is your day, so go on with it». There is a day which every Ministry, agency or institution would have to render account to the public by telling it what it has achieved. Every Ministry, Agency and Institution whi. ch achieved more than what is exected of it will get the recognition and reward it deserves. Similary, any person who achieves something notable for the nation will get due recognition and reward. Achievements would be weighed, and I am going to postpone my announcement of the yearly achievements to October.

Compulsory education caused some people to grumble about it. These people are the ignorant people who do not want their children to come out of the darkness into the light. We have made education compulsory because we wanted our people to have education which would light the way to progress for them. Now we have built the schools and prepared teachers for them. Have we called these schools. «The schools for compulsory education?» No. We call them «The schools for intensified education». We are not going to allow anybody to ruin the lives of children by preventing them from having education. I must congratulate all those who have participated in the

planning and execution of the compulsory education projects. I must tell these people in the name of the Supreme Revolutionary Council (SRC) and the Council of Secretaries, «You are born for and from an honorable society which has woken up to the necessity for making progress». We must give thanks to the achievements we have made. However, we should not sleep on our laurels, but we must have to make greater efforts to achieve even more. We must constantly ask ourselves, «What is left for us to do? «We must keep doing whaterver is left for us to do. We must set priorities on our needs. As example of a project which was given first priority was the drought problem. When students, workers and Government employees were being sent to the destitute camps, what was the purpose behind it? Why were these people being sent there? Why did they have to make such long trips? Why where tyres of vehicles being worn out in travelling? Why petrol oil and other expenses were being incurred? These questions need to be asked. We must put these questions to ourselves were these things being done to no purpose at all? No. It was an indication of what unity can accomplish. And the way the nation tackled the drought problem must have proven for everyone what a nation can do when it has unity of purpose. We had saved the lives of more than a quarter million people who might have died of thirst or hunger. That is what a united nation can do.

The transportation of the destitutes to their new areas of settlement have already started. The first 300 people have already reached Banadir, and a great many of them will be transported tomorrow. It is estimated that the transportation of such a number of people will take about five months. Can we accept being engaged in the transportation of people for such a long time? We must divert our resources and manpower to this task and finish the transportation process within a month. We must not waste too much time on the transportation of the people for if it is let to drag on, the problem would weigh even more than it does now. So we have to speed up the process so that we can get on with our march to

progress. We must be able to recognize those who are harming us as well those who are helping us. We would stoke the fire of our hatred for those who have divided, subjugated and oppressed the Somali people. Even though we haven't taken our vengeance on them yet, we are going to mark our time. How about our friends? As an honorable nation, we are going to keep in our hearts those who befriend us until we are able to repay their kondness. For example, the Soviet Union has given us 130 lorries, and 6 planes each of which can transport 200 people at a time. The USSR have paid the fuel and maintenace expenses as well. You can imagine the expenses the Soviet Union has incurred in this matter. Suppose you fell into a well and you could not swim. If you raised your hands for help, and someone saved you from death, what is that person to you? And what is the person who looks at your predicament and laughs at you? That is what we have to realize; that there are friends and enemies. We might hear some reactionaries, who used to feed themselves with the crumps off the tables of imperialists, say «what has Russia done for us»? It has come to our aid when everybody else turned their back on us. That is the truth, my brothers. I am not going to talk about what the Soviet Union has done about the advancement of our economy, our defence, our education, our industry and so forth. I am not going to talk about the Soviet experts in various fields who have been helping us in making progress. I am not going to state how the Soveit Union have trained about 90% of our skilled workers and how it had given education to countless Somalis. I need not talk about those matters for those who have given a hand to Somalia would be remembered by the Somalis, and their deeds would be recorded in the history of the nation. And nobody will be able to rub them out. We thank the Soviet Union, and we will repay its kindness when we are able to do so.

In regard to the destitute people, we have succeeded in saving their lives, but what else do we have to do for them? We must prepare them for making a living for we don't want them to be enternal parasites. We have

to train them for a profession and the training has already started in the destitute camps. They must be able to farm by the Autumn. For the time being what needs to be done? We must make a concerted effort in helping these people. They need clothes, food, houses, beddings, education and everything that a human being needs. Would outside assistances suffice to satisfy the needs of such a great number of people? No. Does the Government alone has the ability to satisfy their needs? If we cripple our economic progress and divert all our resources to the needs of the destitutes, the Government can take care of them. But can we afford to cripple the economic progress for which we have been struggling so long? No, we can't afford to do so.

The Somali nation, as a whole, can satisfy the needs of the destitutes if everyone contributed, in one form or another, to the solution of this national problem. Talking doesn't fill a cup, as the Somali proverb says. There must be action. Every member of the society must make a contribution. Clothes, household utensils, money, furniture and everything else can be of great help to the destitutes. Any person who does not make contribution cannot be described as a true Somali and is utterly useless. The way we rise up and be counted in tackling this problem would be an indication of our unity and cohesion. At the sametime it would be a great experience on which future generations can look back with pride. The Somali people have already made great contributions for the destitutes. There is hardly any house in the cities, towns and villages which has not made some kind of contribution. Still we have to make more contributions to the settlement of the destitutes, and we must keep helping them until they learn new professions and make a living. During the settlement period they would need healthy centres, houses, schools, water and electricity facilities and all the other things that a settled community might need.

How long will it take to turn them into a productive community? Let us tabulate the time they will need

to preparethemselves. Now the Spring is over and they will not be able to plant anything. These people are nomads and don't know anything about farming. First they will need time to learn farming. They will need time to plant things and to wait for harvest time. During all this time the nation would have to take care of them. Therefore, we have to exert maximum efforts in turning them into productive people. I am certain that they will repay the kindness of the nation; I am sure they would benefit the society in the long run; I am sure they will indiricty repay the investments made in them. But we would have to help them reach the point of productivity. We are going to ask the world to give us a hand in the task of settling the destitutes as we have been helping others whenever we have been called upon to do so for the five and a half years the Revolution have been in existence. It is said that those who help themselves can be helped; so we must make maximum efforts to help our people.

It seems that the drought have created problems, for the residents of the regions which the drought have hit the hardest. We would like to give these people some brotherly advice which is to their interest. and to explain to them the policies of the Revolution. At times of severe droughts people sometimes rob those who have livestock left for them. I wish to thank the nation for the responsible way they have behaved during this crises for there is very little robbing or stealing. There is always some irresponsible people in every society. I have heard that some people think of raiding other people and running away with other people's camel herds. I hear also some people are thinking of settling old scorces at this time of all times. This is the time of cooperation and helping each other. What can be the result of robbery and vengence? It would create more problems for the nation; it will cause bloodshed; it will cause disunity; it would destroy the peace and order which the Revolution has been safeguarding for five and a half years; it would destory the brotherhood which the nation has ma-

people «please, brothers, face the realities». It is the duty of us all to save the lives of our brothers. The Government, the workers, officials, and doctors are sacrificing everything dear to them to save the lives of their people. It is criminal to take the life of another when so many people are doing everything they can to save the lives of others.

Peace is precious, and we have had stability since the birth of the Revolution. The credit for this peace and order goes to the Somali people, the educated, the religious men, the elderly, the forces, Government officials and so many others. If you have a vessel filled with God-given milk, and if you deliberately kick the vessel and spill the milk, God may never give it to you again. I must ask you not to be foolish enough to destroy the precious peace you have been enjoying for sometime now.

What would the Revolution do about those who endanger peace? Anyone who takes the life of another Somali would be brought to justice and would not be able to escape from us no matter where he might go. It is impossible for him to escape the just punishment he deserves. We would chase him until we cathch him. It would not do him any good to try to hide behind colonialists.

This means we are not going to allow any Somali life to be taken playfully. We are not going to let some unpatriotic um-moslem killer to take the life of any Somali The life of any murderer would also be taken. We would like to advise those under the illusion of being able to rob others and get away with it to clear the cobwebs from their vision. It is no longer possible to get away with such things. It is better for them to think of ways of making an honest living. They must not endanger the lives of other people as well as their own lives. We have the prosperity and the means to make a living. Let them come to us. We would give them employment. We can show them how to make an honest living out of the land, but that is if they want to lead an honest living

But if they want to kill and rob others, LET them do so and we will see what comes out of it. I would like to say to everyone «in the name of your nationhood, nationality, the brotherhood of your people, your religion, and everything dear to you, don't have the blood of any of your people on your hands». Live in peace with one another: BE protection and defense for one another; recognize who your enemy is; and he is not your brother who is living with you, or living nearby, but he is the one who is colonizing some of your people; he is the one who is in colonizing some of your people; he is the one who is in your way to progress; he is the one who does not want you to make economic advancement; he is the one who is threatening your peace, your nationhood, your health and your honor. That is your true enemy and he can take the form of imperialists or their lackeys whom the former use as catpaws. That is your enemy against whom you can use your spears and bullets. Keep your love, your respect and honoring for your brothers. I hope this brotherly advice would soften the hearts of the elements in the society who have not yet started working and living in harmony with their brothers.

Some people are saying these days that tribalism has come back to life again. Some people are saying the Revolutionary people have have seen that reation is on one and that they are extinct. It is also said that when the Revolutionary people have seen that reaction is on the ascendance they have hidden themselves.

As you all know the main source of employment is that of the Government. Since we wanted to give every one a fair chance to employment, we laid down employment procedures. We have prohibited from any individual to give employment on his own. Not even the Ministers of Government can give employment. The University, Intermediate and Secondary graduates and technicians can go straight to Halane where they are given short training and where those who have been abroad for sometime can reorien themselves in the conditions pre- each gets employment straight away. He does not have

to feel obliged or to thank anyone for the employment he gets.

We have made it a rule everyone should get employment through competetive examinations. The examinations are given and supervised by Committees whose members cannot possibly all agree on resorting to corruption.

I have talked to you about this before and I am going to remind you of it again. We are not going to brook injustice, favoritism or nepotism in the administration of the affairs of the nation. A girl who is a victory pioneer and who has been struggling for the Revolution for five and a half years and who has been cast away by her family must not go unemployed while another one who has been in the bossom of her family gets employment No injustice of that kind is going to take place. The public who used to denounce the previous governments for injustice has been put in the hands of the people. We said that the people who do not have skills to enable them participate in competetive examinations but who can yet perform some useful services would have to come through the orientation centres. Each orientation centre would send some of the people in its area to where their services are needed. But we expect that the orientation centres would make the selection on a strictly just basis.

We have not appointed the Chairman of the District Revolutionary Council in the capital to perpetrate injustice. I am censuring the Chairmen, the mothers, and members of the Committees in the Orientation Centres, and all those who accept or condone the perpetration of injustice. Why should anyone tolerate injustice? Why don't they shout and tell us where there is injustice? I have told you thousand times that we are out to wipe out injustice. We are never on the side of injustice. I get sad the days I meet members of the public in my Office because lot of complaints about matters on which we have already made a ruling come into my notice. If a girl and a boy apply for the same job and if they have

the same qualifications, the girl should be given the job because she is in more danger of destroying her future by getting her virtue ruined. If a single person and a person with children apply for the same job and if they have the same qualifications, give the job to the person who has children because the lives of more people are at stake. If a person has been struggling for the Revolution since its birth, don't let someone who has just jumped into the bandwagon to get empolyment ahead of the former. Don't do injustice. I have told you this again and again and I am telling you now.

I have told the people in the Orientation Centres to keep record of all the residents in their area. A record should be kept of those who have children, those who are single and whether they have employment or other means of income. Why can't they keep such a record? Each district is subdivided into zones. Can't each subdivision keep a record of the small number of people who live in its zones? Why can't each zone make sure that the members of its residents get their rights?

I have outlawed nepotism and if you think you can do it while working under me, you must have something wrong with your heads; you must be too narrow-minded. You are simply digging your own grave. We are now engaged in large scale investigations, and those against whom evidence of corruption is found have to remember that they will be given their just dessert. You cannot get away with perpetrating the injustice we have been fighting and to harm the cause for which we have been endangering our lives. It is not going to be possible for you to do it. You might still be secretly perpetrating injustice, but when we get evidence against you, justice will triumph.

If I am a revolutionary, if I am honest person, I am not going to hide you ill-deeds, or your good deeds. I would valent in their society. When they come out of Halane, ld have to tell both. I cannot recount all the good deeds you have been doing for five and half years because they are too numerous. How can I enumerate all your achieve

ments? When I visit the residential areas or the food centres, I don't see all those people I used to know. What happened to them? Where they telling us lies before and have feded out of the revolutionary activities, or have they been systematically eliminated from the activities of the orientation centres and from the leadership? I don't know. What is wrong, my friends? I don't understand. There is something wrong here, and I am putting the blome on the Political Office of the Presidency of the Supreme Revolutionary Council (SRC). A review must be made of this matter. The person who has been struggling by my side for five and half years must distinctly seen in the picture of revolutionary activities. The jumpers on the bandwagon can go to hell. We are not going to allow, and it must not happen, new people to get into the picture each year. We would be unprincipled if the people who have been fighting for the Revolution are left by the wayside. That must not happen, my friends. The old woman who have been fighting for the revolution is my friend, no the cosmetic-covered girls who have just joined the activities of the revolution. Yes, I am their friend too, but the old guards are my real friends.

The truth is that this nation will reward those who do it distinquished service, will punish those who do it harm, and would leave alone those who does it neither harm nor great service. This principle must be implimented. There are somethings that are not being done as they should be, and they must be corrected. I would tell the people who have been fighting for the Revolution not to get bulldozzed. You must never give up. I am telling the people in the administration to give their re-- cognition and right to the people who have been fighting for the Revolution. We are creating new atmosphere; we are creating youth; we are creating a new society. But that does not mean the people who have been creating these things have to be trampled upon. They must get their recognition too.

Thank you all. Long live Somalia! May Somalia get united! Down with international imperialism and its lackeys!

Production of useful citizens

President Siad's Address To The Teachers Of The National University on 6. 7. 75.

May greetings be upon you all. It is a happy occasion for me to be addressing so many young people who have been trained to help out their brothers and sisters who are still in the darkness. I wish to thank, on behalf of the Supreme Revolutionary Council (SRC), the Council of Secretaries and the Ministry of Education, the teachers who have planned and organized the training of such a numerous young people who would help their nation in the alleviation of ignorance from which the nation has been suffering a long time.

The young people who have just finished their teachers' training course have had their primary and secondary education in Somali Schools, and yet the education they have had in these schools had been foreign-oriented, and the thinking, culture and behavior they had imbibed there had been alien to the Somali culture and way of thinking. What I mean is that the books from which they were taught were foreign and the teachers who taught them had a foreign education. I believe there are three kinds of teachers: The home, the books and the teacher himself. I expect that, in the final analysis, the type of education which the people received in this country before the Revolution was totally alien to the Somali way of life, and had many detrimental effects on the society.

The youth of the nation were receiving, before the birth of Revolution and before the writing of the Somali language, an education which had foreign orientation and thinking. The purpose of imperialism in imposing this kind of education on the Somalis was to deflect the educated peoples' thoughts from effecting any meaningful change which would enable the Somali nation to catch up with the nations in the world who had made progress.

The people who have changed the past educational system dererve commendation. One can undestand that the changing of the educatianal system of a country is not an easy matter. The changes made in the educational system were necessitated by the objectives which the nation had set for itself. It may sound simple to some people, but the complete change of an education, under which people were taught to think and behave in certain ways, is not to be scoffed at. It is difficult for a people who have had certain type of education to adapt to a new system within a short time. This fact can be borne out by history and the experience of mankind. At the sametime the establishment of a national educational system is not easy for the road to such a progress is strewn with thorns, enemies, falsehoods, intrigues and opposition to the success of such an undertaking. A proof of the difficulties encountered in the establishment of our new national educational system can be remembered very easily. How many boys and girls had left the country because they and their parents did not believe in the new system of education? Those who left believed in imperialism and its education. They did not believe in their nation and its value; they did not believe in the human value of their people; they did not believe in their national duty to fight for their country and people who wanted to catch up with the progress those nations who used to scorn them had made. How many people who had disregarded all these had left the country ?

The answer is too many of them, and we have an account of them. Those who left the country ranged from primary school to University students. Many of

them were Government employees. The question is why have they left the country? The truth is as I have just told you, foreign education got impressed upon their minds. The homes from which they left have had the samething impressed upon them. There is a void in their heart, in their thoughts, in their training and education, a void which should have been filled with patriotism. They don't have high regard for their society; they don't have the courage to face challenges; they don't value the future destiny of the Somali nation. Why have they lost so much valuable qualities? The cause of these people's disorientation toward the realities had been the kind of education they had been receiving before the birth of the Revolution. They were taught to consider themselves to be above the masses and to be entitled to a life far and above that of the majority of the Somalis. They were also weaned on the illusion that they should avoid the contamination which could result from having contact with the masses, and to avoid being influenced in any way by their backwardness. That is what the youth of the nation used to be taught, and what they used to read in the books from which they learnt. What should the students be taught in the new era? What are the new educational objectives? The student is molded by the ideas, thoughts and philosophy of the teacher. Therefore, it is the duty of every teacher to mold the student in such a way that he would be a useful citizen who can benefit his country and his people.

The basis of education should the production of useful citizens with principles, and not unpatriots, mercenaries, irreligious and unnationalistic people. The youth of this nation should be prepared for their future responsibilities, they should be trained in thinking how to contribute to the advancement of their nation; how to contribute to the enlightenment of their people; how to lead their nation from the darkness to the light; how to help their nation to slough of the backwardness which imperialism had imposed on it. They should be constantly thinking of how the society, in which they would spent all their lives, can be improved. That is the type of stu-

dents which we want to come out of the schools in the country.

One can very easily visualize the future of the youth and others who had left their country because they had no confidence in its ability to shape a better future for them. There is no doubt that they would be patriach's in the world for the human being has value, respect and dignity when he is living in his country. The ones who had faith in their country would live in a society in which justice reigns; they would live in a progressive society which is self-sufficient; a society which shapes its destiny and has respect and recognition in the world; a society that can contribute to the progress of mankind and can be among those that can lead it to better life.

What would be th-e future of those who left their country and people? They would be begging for scholarships from foreigners; they would be spies in the end and would wind up being dead in a gutter. That would be their inevitable future prospects. Those who have left their country are in the streets of Europe and elsewhere.

It seems I have talked extensively about the misled group who had ruined their future by leaving their country. I would like now to commend you for the way you placed great confidence in your country and people. I would like to call you the brave socialist revolutionaries who would create for the youth, the aged, the children and the yet unborn, a prosperity which would enable them to live in peace, dignity and respect. Why do I praise you in this way? Do you have to be praised for doing your duties? Yes, you deserve commendation because your brother who were just like you had betrayed their duties, had slinked away from their responsibilities, had escaped from their country, and had run away when they were needed. You have said, «I am not going to leave my country for the mirage of foreign education; I am going to teach what I know to my people». Then, aren't you the heroes of the new society? Are you in the same ca-tegory as those who deserted their country?

They shirked their duties, and you have carried out your duties and you are prepared to continue fulfilling your duties to your nation. Somalia cannot place in the same category those who worked deligently for the five years and eight month the Revolution has been in existence, and those who have been grumbling all this time «this is madness and it cannot be done». Aren't you and the grumblers equal for the duties of the country and what prosperity it achieves? If you filled your duties and they have shirked theirs, how couldn't you be described as heroes? The distinction between you and the betrayers has been made by your commendable actions. Our socialist principles make distinction between what is wrong and what is right, and differentiate between the useful and the useless. We have promised to the Somali nation to make these distinctions and we are not going to go back on it. I wish to congratulate you for having the patience and determination to take an intensified course which had not permitted you rest, or holidays, in order to telescope the studies which might have been taken within a long time into a very short period.

Now let us turn into our policies. Why are we training a great number of teachers? Why are we building numerous schools while some of our people are hungry? Why have we diverted a large portion of our resources into the construction of schools, the provision of school facilities and the training of teachers? This is big question, and it is based on our fundamental policies. I would appreciate if everyone of you pondered on this question, and found its answer himself. What would be the result of this policy? When everyone of you understands the aim of this policy, he would be worthy of the name of teacher. Only then would he be able to carry out his duties in a patriotic, responsible manner. The one who does not understand the ultimate aim of this policy would not be able to fulfill his mission.

The principles of Socialism enjoins on us that the nation must have good education for only then would it be able to make an appreciable level of political and eco-

nomic progress. It is the responsibility of every honest citizen to work the advancement of his own society. The reactionaries and international imperialism work hand in glove to try to stop, the Somali nation to make the progress desired by its people. The reactionary, the mercenary, and the selfish do not wish this country to prosper. The patriot, the honest and the progressive can readily comprehend the reason we are training numerous teachers, and why we are spending so much in education. They can understand why we are building a vast number of schools, why we have made education free of charge, why we have made medical treatment free, why have made livestock drugs and medicines available to the public free of charge, and the reason for our continuous struggle, for advancement.

Another question we have to face is that Africa is in deep slumber. But who put it to sleep? Imperialism had put it to sleep and it wants that great continent to remain asleep. Are we going to remain asleep? No. We must wake up and we must realize why we are being left behind by others. We must make progress for we can do it.

The nub of the matter is we must utilize our manpower and resources to the maximum in order to make the economical advancement which would benefit the people of the continent. What is the straightest road to progress? It is education. There is no any other road that can take a nation, or a continent, to progress. One must realize from the outset the type of education which capitalism spawns is not geared towards economic advancement based on justice, equality and the recognition of human rights. Such an education is based on exploitation, selfishness, personal and group interests. The education which is geared to the common interest and the advancement of all mankind is based on socialism.

I expect that in your teaching profession you would come across some students who might come from the homes of reactionary people. Who is responsible about such students? The Ministry of Education, the teachers

and the parents are responsible about them because the young students are like a raw material which has to be molded into a finished product. They must be trained to becoming men and women who understand the value of the human beings, the value of the country and people, and the necessity for contributing to the progress of their nation. We must be prepared to sacrifice everything for education. We must enable our people to have a high level of education which would make possible for them to make the technological advancement necessary for economic advancement and the political maturity to use their economic progress in the best possible way. We must have the educational advancement which would light for our people the difference between what is right and what is wrong, between their interests and illusions, and between their enemies and friends.

Our goal must be to utilize the brains and intelligence of our people. None of our great minds must fall into disuse, and none of our geniuses must get wasted by not getting any systematic education. All our people must eventually be given education so that they can all have the opportunity to apply their brains and intelligence for the benefit of their people and country.

You might all know that our country's soil is quite rich. There is hardly any place where you put in seeds and water which would not produce whatever one wants to get. Your country has 3.000 kilometres of seashore in which natural resources abound. Our country has tremendous agricultural potentialities. It has untapped wild life resources; it is rich in livestock from which countless uses can be made. It is rich in water; it has sea resources which only a fraction of it has been tapped. If the country is rich in resources, why shouldn't we be able to make a rapid economic progress? We can, but the reason the people in the country hadn't made any progress before was that they had no confidence in the resources of their country. There was an absence of confidence, of actions, of thinking, and the political atmosphere in which these resources could have been utilized. There was

an absence of the proper frame of mind, and the people's focus was trained on the wrong dirction. An example of the absence of confidence was the people who left the country, and who said: «can one learn anything in the Somali language?» Why not? Are the foreign languages anything but a means to education? Why can't the Somali language be the means of communication through which the Somalis can get education? Why can't they understand that language by itself does not constitute education? People all over the world get their education in a multiplicity of languages. Why shouldn't the Somalis get edqucation in their own language?

When we have made the Somali the language of instruction in schools, we simply removed the foreign languages from the picture because they were more of an obstruction than anything else. What was the result? For one thing, the whole people have been given an opportunity to have education without having to waste years in learning foreign languages that were neither spoken in the homes or social circles of the people, nor had relationship with their culture and tradition. Now the child and its parents can be studying together in their language. The language facilitated, for example, the dissemination of the principles of Socialism which is the system that can lead the country to prosperity.

Since the dawn of human existence, the people on earth have been struggling for advancement. They have been engaged in struggles, wars and confrontations in order to make their lives better than they were. What had they been striving for all this time? What exactly do they want? They want justice, equality, decent life, freedom, independence and peace. How can people get what they have been struggling for all this time? They can get it by attaining a level of self-sufficiency. People can get peace and independence when justice and equality reigns in the world. How can you get what you want in peace if you are getting more than I do? If you are stealing from others, how can you get peace? If the arrogance from part of humanity drives it to scorn another part of humanity, how can there be peace and prosperity? Is not the duty of those who get neither justice nor equality to keep on struggling? What humanity is all struggling is for every human being to get equality and its needs. That is the primary cause of the conflicts in humanity, and no one can deny it because history can attest to this fact. The capitalist cannot refute this statement, and the socialist cannot deny it because it is stated in socialism. So no one can deny this fact.

Then why can't humanity agree and get what it wants? Because small number of it has amassed wealth, weapons, armies, and created political and economic machineries to prevent humanity from getting justice and equality which is the key to what humanity wants. Some part of humanity, however, has managed to defeat the evil forces in the world and to get independence. The part of humanity which got independence obtained it through socialism. That is why we have embraced it so that we may retrieve our God-given rights to independence, to equality and justice. We have adopted socialism in order to be able to stand before a mirrow and see our color, our value, our dignity and honor, and in order to weigh the extent and value of our resources. We wanted to utilize our resources and to be free of dependence on others, whatever achievements we have made was made possible by socientific socialism. Whether it is liked or not, the Somali society would manage its affairs by Scientific Socialism. Those who embrace socialism would be among those who would participate in the task of leading the Somali nation to prosperity, and those who want to harmstring the society because they want what they used to get from imperialism can go their way. There is a Somali proverb which says «the multi-legged centipede does not stop moving if it loses a leg». Similarly, the Somali people would not stop moving towards prosperity if some people, a very small number of them, do not contribute to what the society wants to achieve.

The progress of socialism will not stop at the borders of Somalia. It will spread to Africa; it will spread

to the places to which some people have been running, and they will have no where to which they can run. Now let me turn to the socialist students, and the purpose of the training they get. I have pointed out the type of education students get under capitalism. I have also pointed out why we have diverted so much of our resources to education, even though we have equally important obligations. I have stressed that our educational policy has been derived from Scientific Socialism. The only thing that can liberate the Somali masses is the system of socialism which is the only system that can free the whole world. I think I would point out only this fundamental idea since I have already talked about what humanity is struggling for. What does all humanity want? It wants socialism. Capitalism will be overthrown, whether this change is done through uprising of the masses, or through something else. The changing of capitalism is a foregone conclusion. It is only a question of time before it disappears from the face of the earth. Why? Because the struggle of humanity will go on, and this struggle would use guns and bullets. There is no doubt about that. But the whole world would in the end embrace socialism. Now let me pose a question for we can benefit from each other's opinions. Why has not socialism spread to the whole world so far? There are several reasons which has prevented socialism from spreading into the whole world. At the birth of socialism, imperialism had pooled its resources to first destroy the few first countries in which socialism had been established. When these countries could not be destroyed, imperialism tried to circumscribe socialism to the few countries in which it first flourished. At the sametime, imperialism had spread its tantacles to Africa, Latin America and Asia.

The other means which imperialism had used to preevent the spreading of Socialism was the prevention of the children of laborers and, the armed forces to get higher education. This, of course, placed the majority of the people in the capitalist and colonized countries in an object poverty. The end result of this was few capi-

talist people in these countries always had the reigns in their hands.

At the sametime, the workers were given fake rights such as the so-called freedom of speech and demonstrations. When they rose up they were given fifty cents raise. What could fifty cents raise do for them? Could it make them realize all the rights that had been usurped from them? Of course, they had a right to more than half a shilling raise because they were the people who created the luxuries others enjoyed. Those who saw the raise was a sugar-coating for a bitter pill were systematically taken care of by thugs paid by the capitalists.

What were the other ways which capitalism employed to prevent the spreading of socialism? For example, everybody knows that the Somali people are hundred per cent Moslims. Suppose somebody gathered them together in one place and told them, «You must abandon your religion». What would they do? They would fight to death in defending their religion. In order to make the people fight against socialism, capitalism spread the falsehood that socialism was incompatible with religion. The big question is since socialism protects the interests of the greatest number of people, why should not the masses embrace it and protect it? The answer is the individual is conditioned by the ideas, prejudices and the attitudes of his society.

Socialism had its beginning in «utopian socialism» but it soon died out because it was billed as something which would never materialize in the world. When Socialism was based on scientific theories, it became irrefutable. The great thinkers of socialism had made scientific studies on the society, the relationship between production and wages, the relations of power and wealth and so forth. They made historical, political, sociological and economic studies of the then industrialized world.

What caused the thinkers of socialism to postulate the theorties of Scentific Socialism? The econo-

mic, social, political and cultural conditions had forced them to think of ways and mean to create new societies that can live better and which can have lesser contradictions. The thinkers of socialism were really good human beings who were moved by the suffering of mankind. They were people who believed in justice and equality and who were utterly opposed to exploitation and colonialism, suffering and oppression. They believed that the human beings were destined for better things than to be used as animals of burden. These conditions existed in the societies of Europe. How far apart are we from Europe in thought, in traditions, in culture, in the way of life and so forth? We are too far apart from these societies. The only thing we can have in common with them is good human conduct. That is the only thing we can have in common with them, nothing else.

The first successful socialist uprising took place in 1848, but socialist movements have been going on long before that time. At what stage of development was Europe then? The legal systems, the economic and political system, the educational and social conditions all have an influence on the individual. The development mankind has made since 1848 is phenomenal. For example, a ship from any part in Europe used to reach Somalia in three or six months. What is the technological and economic advancement of the human beings today? They have landed on the moon. Are the people of today the same people who used to live in those days? The people of today have descended from the people who used to live in the old days, but the minds of the people living in these modern times have taken giant leaps.

What do we mean when we say «Scientific Socialism». Scientific means anything which has concrete reality, anything which can be analysed and whose origion can be found out. Who produced Scientific Socialism? The brain of a human being. Has the human mind gone into slumber after it produced scientific socialism? No, it kept on ticking until it landed space ships and human beings on the moon. The human mind is

in a continuous fomentation and it would keep on inventing things.

The level of technological, industrial, and scientific advancement, which humanity has made bewilders some people.

In those days when scientific socialism had made its appearance, the religions of Europe were in cahoots with the ruling classes, and the European churches used to partake in the spoils of the exploitation of the masses. The churches did their share of suppressing and exploiting the people. The church owned real estates and poor people used to work in these lands for penies or for nothing. This is the role that christianity played in the suppression and exploitation of the people. But Islam is different. It is a liberating movement which has a history of getting back for the people freedoms they had lost. It is a revolutionary faith which upholds justice and abhors injustice; it commands people to be upright, just, honest and sincere. Since socialism also upholds justice, equality, liberty and the protection of the people, there can be no contradiction.

You might come across some people who misinterpret scientific Socialism. As Mao Tse Tung has said: «the execution of Socialism is being impeded by people who cling to the past, who say thus and this never used to happen», and others who read the first pages of Scientific Socialism, whom he called: «those with whom one should not talk about socialism». The ones who read the first pages of socialism are dogmatic and have understood socialism the wrong way.

Now I would like to turn to the duties of the teacher. If you go into a classroom and teach the student: «A, B, C» just to kill time, are you going your duty? Are you going to behave like the imperialists and those they trained? Or are you going to teach him nationalism, human value and how he should contribute to the future advancement of his country? You should do the latter for that is the main duty of the teacher in this new era.

The child is like a red-hot steel in a factory, which can be shaped and molded in a way it can be best used. The task of teacher does not end at passing his knowledge to the students; he should be able to mold good personalities out of the raw materials which come to him. I don't know if some had some properties in the corrupt era, but I had never seen a teacher who owned buildings and farms. The reason is that the teaching profession is not one of the places where one might get an opportunity embezzlement. What does the teacher produce? He produces doctors, engineers, economists and scientists; he produces a society which has the same objectives, the same aspirations, and which acts in unity for its own interests; he gives the individual something with which one parts only at death. And what is that? It is a sense of human value; it is nationalism; it is ideas; it is philosophy; it is the recognization of human rights; and it is the understanding of the machinations of one's enemy. Who can take these things from the individual unless he was killed? The teacher has no buildings; he has no farms. The teacher is the one who owns a single shirt and a trouser. That is the real teacher. If that is what the responsible teacher can do, what can the irresponsible teacher do? He can destroy the future of whole generations. That is why the Revolution believed that the reactionary teacher should have his head cut off because he can inflict untold damages on the nation by misleading and corrupting its youth.

I hope you would be the pioneers of knowledge, the disseminaters of good education, the creaters of generations who have mental independence, and real good human beings.

No mass employment of teachers had been done before, but this process of turning out large numbers of teachers at a time would go on. You are the first group of teachers who have come out of training in such a great number, and I think you should be proud of it. I hope you would fulfill your duties which would not be an easy task. When you start teaching, you would realize the difficulties your own teachers have had with you. There is an Arabic proverb which says: «Time is a sword; if you don't cut it, cuts you». You must make good use of the time.

Somalia has to speed up its rate of progress in order to make up for the lost time, and catch up with the other nations which have made good use of their time. What brings about progress in a nation is the brain which utilizes the resources of a country and effects change for the better. When Somalia reaches that stage, there is no doubt people would come to it to beg off it. That is the truth. A house cannot stand without a good foundation, and the good foundation of a nation is good education which you yourselves must create.

Apart from your duties which are all connected with your profession, you may find yourself playing other roles. You may be sent to villages and you may have to play the role of a Policeman; you may have to play the role of the wise man for some communities; you may have to play the role of the Akills (Chiefs), or you may have to play the role of a judge. What would you do about these great responsibilities? Would you have the ability, the capacity for work, and the patience and tolerance to carry out these duties? Would you jump to serve the community in which you are living? Or would say: «Since I give my lessons, why should I bother with other thing»? If you do not wor closely with the parents of the students you are teaching, would the parents give you a hand in molding the children in the right way? Would the students have proper education unless the parents and teachers work together? You may be assigned to a place where you would be the most highly educated person in the community. Shouldn't you, then, benefit the society in which you are living in every way possible?

You are part of the Ministry of Education which is linked to the Presidency. If you come across anything that is harming the country, or if you find yourself in

difficulties which are preventing you from fulfilling your duties, you have permission to write straight to me. We are all engagd in creating a modern socialist society and that is not easy task. So we have all have to work together.

The clash between capitalism and socialism is based on class struggle. But why should there be any clashes within the Somali society? What is preventing us from pooling our resources, brains and manpower in order to achieve self-sufficiency? Who is the enemy who is in our way to progress? That enemy is tribalism and you must work hard to wipe it out if you want to live in a society in which justice and equality reigns; if you want to live in society that one can sleep anywhere he wants without danger; if you want to live in a self-sufficient society. A society of that type cannot be created unless tribalism is wiped out. You must orient the public and students and point out to them the difficulties tribalism creates for the developing nation and how it is the main obstacle to their progress. Unless there is a unity, independence is without substance.

Do we want independence and unity, or do we want factions and tribalism? You must remember the havoc tribalism had played on our society. You must remember the men and women, who might have served their nation, whose lives have been taken by tribalism. For how many generations has tribalism kept back Somalia from going into the main stream of human advancement? How would we be able to tell whether we are responsible, revolutionary patriots? We would know when we come to hate tribalism, lies, hypocracy, dishonesty and all the other bad qualities which a person who is not dedicated to a cause might have.

If a person is a liar, unpatriotic, unjust, unsocialistic, dishonest and teacherous, he has no right to live in a society let alone participating in the task of leading it. One must have control over himself, and should curb himself from anything that is bad. If one makes a mistake and

confesses it he has taken a gaint step in being honest with himself and with the people with whom he works. Such a person would be valued by the public and his superiors as an honest person.

Brothers, can one compare the honest and the liar? Before today you were under the care of teachers and parents, but today you yourselves have taken on a great responsibility. You must understand that responsibility quite well. I have told you that children are the flowers of the nation, and from them would emerge the brains and leaders of the country. Since you have taken on the great responsibility of preparing the women and men of tomorrow, you should realize the magnitude of this tremendous responsibility.

You all realize that our society have weaknesses and unless we obliterate these weaknesses we would not be able to reach our objectives. So we must keep hammering on them until we get rid of them all.

Some of our society's weaknesses were lack of unity, illiteracy, lack of deliberations on important issues, not keeping time, and so many others. These weaknesses, and the others which can all add to the list, have done a lot of damage to our nation. You must all set an example for your students, their parents, and the public in general for the focus is going to be on you.

I must congratulate all those who have participated in the training and teaching of all these fresh teachers who are prepared today to shoulder the responsibility of bringing the torch of light to thousands and thousands of people.

Thank you for listening to me.

Unity is strength

Jaalle Siad's Speech To The Nomadic Community Who Have Been Resettled in Kurtunwarey on 20.7.1975.

First of all I must thank you in the name of the Supreme Revolutionary Council (SRC), the Council of Secretaries and the Somali people for the brotherly welcome you have given me and my delegation. I must also congratulate you for the way you have heeded the call and the direction the Revolution had given you in overcoming the problems you had encountered. You have not wasted the energies and resources the Somali nation have spent on you to overcome the difficulties the drought had created for you. I must recommend you for the way you acted.

I must also recommend the Somali workers, whatever might be their rank and station in life, who have been on the go since the first days of the appearance of the drought in order to save the lives of their brothers and sisters. These workers have left their families and engaged themselves in encountering the drought problem even though they expected neither reward nor anything for what they were doing.

These dedicated workers were composed of the armed forces, doctors and their assistants, teachers, students, the victory pioneers, and the Red Cross. In

fact, I cannot exhaust the categories of people who participated in the struggle against the effects of the drought. All these people dropped everything else they were doing, including their family responsibilities, in order to help you, and the others like you who are not here today but who can hear what I am saying to you through the radio, or read what I am saying in the papers. I think these dedicated people who have been helping you ever since the inception of the drought deserve praise and the nation must have gratitude for them.

I would also like to praise the leaders who had organised the Relief Camps, the transportation and the resettlement of all the people whose livelihood had been wiped out by the drought. Without proper organization and the coordination of activities, nothing or little would have been accomplished. I am giving the organizers of the whole problem my sincere thanks and that of the nation and I am sure you would agree with me that these people deserve the highest commendation.

The nation had to take a decision on how to tackle the drought problems, and it was broken down into various stages. The nation could not have made any other decision except to mobilize its resources and manpower in overcoming this great problem. Of course, it was not humanly possible to save the livestock that died off, or to make rain. Therefore, our resources and manpower had to be mobilized for the saving of the people who are the most valuable of all God's creations, and who are the valuable treasure of every country. I think you can remember that the whole nation had mobilized itself to save your lives.

The second stage of handling the drought problem was gathering the drought victims into Relief Camps where they can be taken care of in a responsible manner. This was a delicate task because it was the first time the Somali nation had to tackle a problem of this kind, and the people who were handing the problem have had no previous experience of tackling such a problem. Such

an inexperience must have caused few mistakes, but there were good intentions and when people have good intentions they can handle great problems which might appear insurmountable at first.

The third stage of the drought problems was the transportation and the resettlement of the people who were in the Relief Camps. It was necessary to settle you at places where you can make a fresh start and make a living. This is an ambitious project, and the Revolution was worried about its success at first. The cause of this worry was the drought victims. We were thinking «if they are settled in new places and are to be taught new professions so far removed from their previous means of livelihood, would they be able to adapt to the new way of life? Would they have the determination to make a fresh start? Would they have the ability, and sense of responsibility to make a success of the new way of life?» These were the questions that were whirling in our minds. It is a happy occasion for us all to see that you made a big start in making a success of your new way of life. This is a proof of the fact that God gives people what they try to get if they make great effort for He knows what is in their hearts. We know that there is nothing that cannot be achieved.

When there is strong desire to achieve something and when one knows what one wants to achieve, the probability is that one succeeds in whatever one undertakes to do. One succeeds when he distinguishes his friends from his enemies and when he realises his interests.

What was expected of you was to come here with determination to make a success of your new life. Your fellow countrymen were prepared to teach you new professions, to give you the facilities and equipment you need and to guide you until you became self-sufficient communities. It is a characteristic of the Somali people to succeed in whatever they undertake to do if they get a good leadership. This is not the first time that we encountered great problem and overcame it. Since the birth of the Revolution, we had overcome great

many problems which many people thought would strain us to a breaking point. Everyone of you was there when the Somali nation had been battling against overwhelming odds and I think you can appreciate the efforts your nation had been making to stand on its own feet. In what respect is the drought problem different from the problems the nation have faced and have overcome? It is different from the problems the nation had handled before in many respects. Hundreds of thousands of people were to be settled in places they had never seen before. They had to be taught new professions which were alien to their previous ways of life. At the sametime the success they could make of the new life depended on so many factors that could not be determined at the time of the settlement. It depended on the enthusiasm, determination, caliber, and abilities of the people to make success of their new means of livelihood. However, you have shown your mettle for you have set out to make success of your new profession, and the good start you have made already abodes well for your future, and I am sure the nation have made a good start also in overcoming the drought problem.

There is no doubt our resources at present may not cover all that we would all like to have, but we should have the courage, the sincerity, we would all like to have, have the courage, the sincerity, and unity to exert maximum efforts. If we don't get enough trackers, don't we have enough muscles to fill the gap? Don't we have enough manpower? How can we wait for tractors which factories abroad could not produce in sufficient numbers? Are we going to sit idlely while there are plenty of untapped resources in our country? Hasn't Somalia passed the stage when its people used to go hungry when their country abounded in potentialities for prosperity? I think Somalia has passed that stage. We are going to make up for whatever we might lack in ready capital with unity, determination and perservation. We must understand our enemies. We must understand what is in the interest of our nation and the future of our country.

I expect that your arrival at Kurtunwarey had coincided with the rainy season and the area of settlement had become muddy. I hope you would not be discouraged by a bit of mud. A good drainage system would be built for the settlement and there would not be so much wetness and mud after the drainage is built.

I expect that you haven't got all that you require yet in the way of the organization of the settlement, but I assure you that you would get what you need to make this settlement a permanent Community. You would be given legal organizational structure which would not be subject to changes by the whims of individuals. This structure would delineate your duties, methods of your production, and how you would share the fruits of your labor. This organizational structure would be quite different from the everyone-for-himself Somali way of life. The new structure would cement the community in a way that each individual would be an unseverable part of the whole settlement. The community would exact duties from every individual and would give each person certain rights.

I am sure that you would see the advantages of the organization. There would be a division of labor. Some of you would be working on the farms you would have; some of you would be looking after the health of the members of the Community; some of you would be working in the houses you will have and so forth. The settlement would be just like a huge family with each member having a specific job.

In your old way of life, each man used to live with his livestock and family at some place, and would not allow anyone else to come anywhere near his camp. Well, you must forget all about that. Now we are socialist people, and this means we are going to work together and share equally the fruits of our labor. We must embrace the principle which stipulates that no one should live off the sweat of another. This means that everyone of us must be working, and he must get payment in propor-

tion to his productivity. No one can with-hold what any individual earns. This means equal division of labor and the fruits of that labor.

We have realized since the birth of the Revolution that «unity is strength». This Somali proverb (and other nations have exactly the same proverb) means people can accomplish more when they are united. We have a lot of sayings which have a lot of truth in them, but we, more often than not, never apply them to our lives. National unity multiplies the production of the people of a nation, and I hope you would apply the Somali adage that «unity is strength» which is a fact of life many nations have realized. Quite a number of victory pioneers, who have come from other districts to help your community until it can stand on its own feet, are here with you. The victory pioneers have come to welcome you to your new area of settlement and they are saying to you: «Come, brothers; we have been waiting for you to get settled». There are also mothers, youth and other people from the adjacent districts who have come to help you get settled. There are here with you also members of the armed forces, Government employees, workers, university students and so forth who are ready to give you a helping hand in your various activities. Are all these people going to stay with you forever? No, brothers. These people are going to be here until you are able to run all your affairs. Those whom you cannot spare may remain with you a little longer, until such time when you produce people who can take their place. An example of the people who may stay with you a long time are the doctors who would be needed by your community for a long time to come.

It would be the duty of the doctors who are with you to train some members of the Community to become assistance doctors, and the doctors must train these people within the shortest possible time. You would also need tractor engineers to remain with you a little while longer. None of the members of the community are tractor engineers now, but you would have them later on when some members of your Community get trained for this important job. The long-range plan is that this community should ultimately be able to rule itself, should have its own workers who are trained in all the professions which are useful to the community, and should be able to reach a state of self-sufficiency.

When is it going to reach that state? That depends on you. It depends on the magnitude of efforts you make in persuit of what you need as a community. The prosperity of your economy is in the earth. It is up to you to get it, and to force a living out of his earth right under your feet. The labour you put in the land would produce wealth for your schools, hospitals, industries, and everything else which your community might need.

When would this prosperity be realized? When you forge unity, and have equality and justice within your community; when you obliterate the poisonous mentality which used to value nepotism, favouritism and tribalism; when every member of your community realizes that his life and future is linked with the other members of his new community. When you realize that much, you would be able to produce for yourselves all that you need. I know the life you led in the rural areas where you used to live was quite different from the one you are about to start. You were used to life frought with danger and hardships. In the rural areas people used to cooperate on tribal lines, and took pride in the strength of their tribe. But let me ask you, what benefits did tribalism have? What was the reasons for having allegiance for tribalism? The main reason was that it was the most available protection a person could have. But do you need it here? Your country guarantees you protection; your country is providing you with the sustenance of life; your country is the provider of your nourishment; the people in this community are your people; they are the ones with whom you are going to share everything for you are going to live with them. I am pointing out this to you in order to stress that tribalism is a crime tantamount to murder. You should know this from the outset. Anyone who is found guilty of tribalistic action would get an incarceration from

which no one would free him. The person who engages himself in tribalistic actions deserves severe punishment for he is a foundation of poison from which the whole community can get poisoned.

We know trabalism has been the cause of the death of the best of our men, and you know that was a great loss for the country. Each tribe used to hunt for the bravest, the most generous, the wisest, the wealthiest and the most intelligent of the tribe with whom they wanted to settle a score. That was tantamount to a systematic killing of the best men in the nation. This was its old effect.

I believe that tribalism was the stumbling block to Somalia's progress. It was a cancerous virus that had been slowly rotting away the very fibres of the society. It was our number one enemy.

I urge you to benefit from the University students who have let their classes and life which was better than the one they are leading here, the administrators, the workers and the others who are all here to help you. The key to revolutionary progressiveness is honesty, truth, uprightness, righteousness, devoutness, integrity, and devotion to the fight against imperialism and its lackeys.

There were some people who were barking after us when we embarked upon the settlement project, and who were saying: «How can they take care of all this people? Where would they get the money? They are lying; they are misleading the people into believing they can do something which they can't».

These propagandists did not care about what happened to you, or the nation for that matter. They were conmen and lackeys, and they were telling lies. They would come to you in the shape of relatives, friends and many other disguises and they would pour forth to you unadulterated lies. What are you going to do? You would

tell them «I would give no succor to the one who throw me away when I was in need». Why should you heed what the people who threw you away yesterday might say? I hope you would put ropes around the necks of the trouble makers and hand them over to the authorities.

I should point out to you that no one can have business of his own in this community. All the things you need would be organized and brought by the Community itself. The Government would open up stores for you and members of the Community would man it. Your community would be a socialist settlement which would share equally the work and the fruits of its labour.

I wish you good health. If any of you falls sick or if any member of the Community, feels sick he must not be given any quack treatment, but should be taken to a doctor. If you encounter any problems, you should go immediately to the authorities. You should know there is no shame in stating your problems to the authorities because they are here to serve you.

I would like to say few words to the women. What I am about to say is something that is not compatible with our old Somali way of thinking, but which needs to be said. Women get special diseases from which they can die and which affects their children, and which at times prevents them from having children. The Somali women feel ashamed to go to a doctor and tell him the diseases from which they suffer. So they hide them. There is no reason for them to feel ashamed to see a doctor. It is normal to go to a doctor and tell him your troubles. You might save yourselves instead of needlessly ruining your lives through vanity. People get diseases and they owe it to their lives to get medical treatment. You would have women doctor, and there would be no reason for you to feel ashamed in telling them what ails you.

The reason I am compelled to state this to you is the concern I have for your health, for the health of your

children and the yet unborn ones. A healthy person begets a healthy child, and the diseased begets a sick one.

I wish you victory, good health, prosperity and a good future. I hope you would be among the army of men and women who would reach the mental maturity and vision to realize that what is in the interest of their nation is in their interest too. I hope you would realize that exertion of efforts is the key to prosperity.

Somalia is engaged in a long struggle to reach a state of self-sufficiency. Our flag is a symbol of independence, but if the country does not have economic independence, the flag would be like a twenty year old virgin surrounded by ruffians.

What is needed? We need to calculate how to make progress. The person who has no strength, possessions or education cannot produce anything. As the Somali proverb states, «the person who cannot help himself cannot help others». We must make progress as rapidly as the flight of an arrow.

You must do with enthusiasm whatever you want to do, and learn with enthusiasm whatever you are learning. We must free our people from ignorance, disease and hunger. We are responsible for accomplishing everything we need.

Self—sacrifice

This Speech Was Given By Jaalle Siad On 23. 7. 75 To The Teachers Of National University At Halane.

May greetings be upon you. The base of the administrative structure is the village. The decisions are made at the village, and executions of the decisions follow the ladder of the administration until it reaches the highest Councils. Decisions also follow down from the higher Councils all the way to the village. This two-way process attests to the fact that the masses are running their own affairs. They can discuss issues, make dicisions on them, and execute the decisions they make.

This shows that no coterie gives orders and takes decisions. There is no one in Somalia who can give an order which has not been agreed upon before. There is no question of anyone saying «I tell you so and it must be so». The masses participate in the decision-making process in various ways. Some participate in it as members of certain communities; some participate in it as members of workers' Committees. Some participate in it as employees in a Ministry or Agency, and in many other varieties of ways. In this way, every individual has the opportunity to discuss and decide the issues which have a bearing on his life and the country.

I think that a University anywhere in the world should have deep roots in the Society it serves. The way it

can have roots in the Society is to nourish the culture, the traditions and the ways of life of that society. It is known that imperialism had tried to bury our culture, our traditions, our literature, and knowledge. It is, the responsibility of this University to revive the national heritage of this society. There is a wealth of treasure that the people in this University can dig up, and serve up to the nation. You are the people who can make research and write books on your literature, traditions, economy, culture, politics and everything else. You can do better than any foreigner no matter how well-qualified he might be, because you know your country and people better than anyone else in the world.

The person who can teach at the University level should be a person who has knowledge, ability, personality and humanity. Some people might be under the illusion that they have got all the knowledge they would ever need when they take their first degree. It is not so. The right-thinking human being could never say «enough, I have had enough of knowledge». There is no limit to knowledge. One is learning something througout one's life. The person who teaches at a University should have an unsatiable appetite for knowledge. He has the keys to the doors of knowledge, and it is up to him to open these doors and to keep opening them. Embarking upon the road to knowledge entails hard work, research, patience, perseverence, foregoing sleep, and a stubborn persistence to get to the bottom of whatever you want to find out. Why should a person embark on such a difficult road? To benefit himself and his people.

What are the objectives for which this University was established? Do we want to have few faculties in this University which are confined to the capital? Or do we want to establish branches in the regions which can maintain branches? The question is, how do people manage to accomplish something? How does any nation make achievements for itself? The society is composed of individuals, and the way a nation can make progress is to pool the ingenuities, manpower, brains and resour-

ces of the country. The majority of the people should be thinking the same way, should be working toward the same goals; they should know their enemies and friends; they should know where their interest lies; They should know the extent of their ability; they should know what is possible for them to do; they should have clear-cut objectives; and know what can prevent them from realizing these objctives. Thus, the first prerequisite to accomplishment is a unity of purpose. The purpose for which civil servants were sent to Halane, was to give them an opportunity to know each others' personalities, abilities, ideas, opinions, knowledge and way of thinking, and political views. This throwing-together of different personalities would naturally bring out what is old, what is not realistic, the illusions which some people have and which have been bred by imperialism and the by-gone systems of Government. The discussions and debates which people condone in a friendly atmosphere can make the people realize the crucial interests of the people and the country and how they can be safeguarded.

For example, one of you might have been laboring under the illusion that you are far and above everyone else in the country. Another one might have thought of the same person as untutored, unintelligent, puffed up and a show-off. It is inevitable that the one who is puffed up would have his balloon of a head punctured when he is thrown into an arena where there are so many educated people. It is human nature for people to discuss, debate and argue when they come together in one place to do things together. The individual can benefit from such close association with so many people at one time. If people have the same interests, they come together to discuss these things and to benefit from each others' ideas. To fulfill these purposes, it has been decided to bring together in Halane the people who are running the administrative affairs of the nation so that they can know each other.

At the same-time, this country has a political and economic system, and this system has to be debated. It

shoud be argued about; it should be studied so that everyone would know it quite well and would be able to give a learned opinion on it. In addition, some people have responsibilities for which they have no knowledge. Many Government employees used to get into the service through the rear windows by means of nepotism, favoritism, tribalism and so forth. This resulted in the ridiculous situation of finding many people holding posts for which they have had no training. Naturally, these people used to make a mess of the assignments they were given for they did not have the required knowledge to carry out the duties they were given. Their inability to carry out their duties bred in them psychological complexes which hid under a cloak of lies, hypocracy, bootlicking, and hiding their inabilities behind a smoke screen. The consciences of these people nagged them for they knew they had no knowledge, but at the same time they clung to the jobs they had with a tenacity. So they should be given help here and taught the methods of administration and organisation on top of the other studies they get in Halane.

In the capitalist societies, there are groups and classes. These groups, or classes, are all out to further their interests even though the top class organize the whole society and power structure in a way it gets most of the national income. Each class in the society is given specific functions by the top class, and no class can get out completely from the pigeon-hole in which it is placed. For example, the armed forces are told: «You have nothing to do with politics. Your job is to keep guard, to protect the country, the Government. That is your responsibility and you should confine yourself to it». An image was created for the armed forces. They were painted as people doing a lowly job so that they could be looked down upon, and lose respect. This mentality used to be created in the people, especially the educated group.

Every other group in the society used to be pigeonholed like that. The purpose of this division was to crea-

te an impression in each group that they were the only ones underpinning the whole system.

Thus, of course, this artificial division used to create group confrontation within the society. Therefore, we have brought together here people from all walks of life so that these fake confrontations can be exposed for what they are, and the differences among the society to be ironed out.

Now let us look at these things from the socialist point of view. The socialist sees the armed forces as the protection of the whole nation. Without it the nation cannot exist. At the same time, the socialist sees the people of the nation as the different organs of a body. If part of a body malfunctions, the effect of this malfunctioning would spread to the other organs in the body. Thus, there could be no confrontations in a socialist society. It should act like a body working in a perfect harmony. Most of you have studied in Universities abroad and you know these things.

Those of you who have been taught that socialism is bad, should first study it, examine it and see for yourself that what you have been taught about socialism was absolutely false. Everything can be learnt. For example, in order to negate the propaganda about the forces, some of them have been appointed to administrative posts and they are doing quite well, much better than the incompetent civilians who used to have the job. And civilians are taking trainings in military affairs as well, while military men are doing administrative jobs. This makes possible for each group to see the responsibilities of the other professions. This cures the misunderstandings and complexes each group had from the other.

We have demolished a capitalist system which imperialism had created in our country so that it may protect its own global interests. There is no doubt, then, that imperialism would fight us for we have harmed its interests. It is necessary, therfore, that every individual

in the socity should have enough knowledge and political principles to defend his nation. So ways and means should be created to make possible for the people to intermingle with each other.

For example, regional, district and national sports events have been organized for the youth of the nation so that they can have contact, from friendship, and discuss things that concern them. I think the youth can benefit from such contacts for it can give them political, social and physical training which they might never have had. When national sports events are being held in Mogadisho, the sports team from every region become the guests of the fourteen districts of the capital. Each district distributes the members of the team it hsots to the families in the Community of the district. So each member of the team lives with a family. In this family of the guest and hosting family become friends. Thus the people of two regions who might never have had contact become friends. This contributes to the creation of national unity. The organisation of sports events have such additional advantages.

When we mounted the Rural Development Campaign, another beneficial advantage had ensued from it. It had given the youth of the nation an opportunity to go to the rural areas and to see with their own eyes how the majority of their people live. They had also imbibed, while they were in the rural areas, their culture, traditions and folklore in their purest forms, unadultrated by foreign infusions. Another side benefit was that when students were sent to regions and districts other than their own, their parents used to pay them visits occasionally. Naturally, the parents of the students and the families with whom the students were staying had struck friendship. This friendship does not end with the students' departure from the rural area. It goes on for the hosting families visit the parents of the students.

If a person does not have political consciousness, a sense of responsibility and nationalism, his knowledge

and education does not have much use for the nation for he would be a mercenary, a self-seeker and dishonest.

The teachers have a great deal of influence on the lives of the people they teach at one stage or another. Students go to the extent of imitating their teacher's handwriting. If a teacher can have an effect on the students' handwritings, how much effect can he have on their minds? The teachers can have a great deal of influence on the students' minds.

Our country have passed through many stages. We have passed the stage of colonialism when imperialism had inflicted untold harm on us. The we entered another period in which neo-colonialism played havoc with our lives, and then we entered the choatic period after independence and before the birth of the Revolution. We need not have had these travails if we had unity and a common sense of purpose. The truth is that we have a country rich enough to make possible economic progress if we work on it. Our country can be self-sufficient.

We must first give our people a sense of unity, common political thoughts, common objectives, and the common desire to reach a state of prosperity. When these preconditions to progress are fulfilled, it would be possible for us to reach the goals we have set ourselves. In the application of socialism, a person's age, knowledge or educational level does not count. What counts is whether he is principled, whether he has good personality, humanity, nationalism, and abilies. I think a person's worth can be weighed by putting on the scale his thoughts, his preparedness to participate in the struggle for progress, his readiness to serve his nation, his integrity, his nationalism, his courage to face realities, and his political convictions.

Now, what is the additonal responsibility of the educated people and why should they have this extra responsibility? Their responsibility is to ma-

ke contribution to their society which wants to have independence in economy, in politics, in education and in every other field of human endeavor. The reason they should have extra responsibility is that they have knowledge and education, and they can help their nation to make progress. They can help their people to understand the real meaning of justice and equality by setting an example for them. The nation had given them education, and it is their duty to repay their society by putting their knowledge, education, and ability at its disposal. There is time and occasion for everything. This is the time that the nation needs its educated people, and I think none of you can escape this historical responsibility. I think you should understand your responsibilities in this light.

I could advice you to be ready for sacrificing even your lives for your country and people. It is the duty of every citizen to do so.

At first, we put heavy emphasis on enlightening the people but that period is over. Now the accent of our actions should be put on the construction of the economy. If anyone cannot join by now the nation's march to progress, he can be left by the wayside; he has been given enough time and entightenment to see the light. That, my friend, is the reality and one has to face realities.

Thank you.

The mother is best teacher

Speech To Teachers Of The School Of Home Managment On 4. 8. 75.

May greetings be upon you. In truth I believe that this short training, which is about to open for you, has great importance for the nation considering your important role in the society. The question which we needs to be asked is, what are we trying to build ? Every action has a purpose and an objective which is in the interest of the Somali society as a whole. The policy of the Revolution is to lead the nation from darkness into the light. The process of leading the people to the light involves political maturity, economic progress and a high level of education. What does everybody need? Everybody needs to have a decent life, health facilities, education, political consciousness, and to have the ability to judge what is in his interest and what is not. One can say that these are conditions for taking a proper action. Unless a person fully comprehends what is in his interest and in his nation's interest, he cannot take the actions needed to do what needs to be done.

This training program on home management is based on the nation's policy to create a Somali society which is self-sufficient in every respect. This national policy encompasses all the aspects of the society's life. Not a single aspect is neglected or overlooked.

Of course, the creation of self-sufficient society has many fucets. Where does home-management and child care come into the program of national development? The home is the first training ground of the child and unless the parents take special care of their children and give them the training they need to become useful members of the society, he children would be lost. The children would be maladjusted if they are not given good background in behaviour at home. Therefore, one can see that home is the base from which a good society can be build. For example, there is a home economy. The mother is the Manager of the income of her home. She has a responsibility to plan her home economy in such a way that the income of her home covers the expenses of her home. This home planning is a miniature of the planning that a Government lays down for a nation. Just like the mother has to balance the income and expenses of her family, the Government tries to strike a balance between national income and expenses. This may sound a simplification of a big field of human activities, but that is the crust of home economy, because each person and family unit of the society has to plan its own life in a responsible manner and strive for self-sufficiency. If a person draws a salary of two hundred shillings, for example, and if he spends it within the first ten days, what is he going to do for the other twenty days of the month? He is going to go hungry, or he is going to be forced to borrow money. Borrowing money reduces the value of a person because a person who is always in need cannot get much of a respect from the community in which he lives. At the sametime, a person in need might tolerate anything.

Thus, it is essential that each family should have home economic planning so that one can refrain from the things that are not necessary and can balance one's income and expenses. Who is to do this planning? Naturally, the mother is the one who has to do the planning for the family. Thus, the mother is the person who has the greatest responsibility in the family, and whatever preparation she gets for shouldering such a responsibility is a

great contribution to the welfare of the society as a whole.

The mother has also the responsibility of looking after the health of the members of her family. Not only does she know the importance of health, but she knows how to keep her family healthy. The mother does not have to play the role of a doctor for her family, but she can do a great deal in the prevention of diseases which is much better than cure. The disease can have breeding grounds in the house itself, in the home utentils and in many other things, and if the mother knows the importance of health she would keep her home so clean that diseases would not have any place to breed. Naturally, the people who live in such a house would be healthy. Cleanliness is ninety per cent of the prevention of diseases, and when a person knows this much, he can fight diseases. If the mother manages her home in a proper manner, there is a high probability (99%) that her family would be healthy.

In child rearing, the most important things for a child is nourishment and cleanliness. If the child gets those two things, there is a great likelihood that the child would be healthy. It is equally important that the mother should teach her children proper behavior, and how to shoulder the responsibities they would have in the future.

The Revolution had been engaged in the evaluation of the society and the personalities of the people. We can tell whether a child comes from a Revolutionary home or not by his behaviour. When a young boy behaves in an irresponsible manner, we know he has come from a home that leaves much to be desired. When a young person joins the march of his nation to progress, we know he has come from a good home. Thus, the personality of the young person is molded, to a great extent, by his parents and his older brothers and sisters. The young person gets the bulk of his ideas and behavior from the home itself, and whether he becomes a useful citizen or not depends

on the kind of training he gets at home. The parents should be constantly thinking of how to turn their children into men and women who would be useful citizens of their country when they grow up. That is what is expected of the parents, especially the mother. Let us now look at the responsibilities of the teacher, which is much greater than that of the mother.

The responsibility of the mother does not end at proper home management: She has to plan for her children's education as well. She must make sure that they get the highest education they can get. When you give your children education, you have opened up the doors of knowledge for them and have given them opportunities for better life and usefullness. What guides the individual in life? His thoughts and intelligence guide him through the tangle of life. If his thoughts and intelligence are not sufficient for the experience of life, he would only live for a day at a time. He would only survive instead of living. The society has a political and economic system, if the person's intelligence is not good he would not be able to comprehend these complex matters and would be left behind in the march to progress. A person should have political maturity, nationalism, humanity and mental astuteness to benefit himself, his family and his nation. The person should have mental development and political consciousness. If a person does not have political consciousness, he cannot be of much use for his society, as the case was during the pre-Revolution days. It is impossible to direct a society whose majority does not have political awareness. The vast majority of a society must have political awareness and comprehend the different major political and economic systems of the world so that they can choose for themselves the system most suited to the kind of progress they want to make. There are a vast technological, industrial and economic changes which are going in the world. Where do we want to be in all this change? Don't we want to be among the nations that are making progress? What road do we want to take to this progress which we want to make?

When you are teaching someone, you should give her constant directions in the political principles of the country. This tutoring in politics should not be confined to the political system we have adopted; it should include other systems so the student can evaluate systems and choose the one that is best suited to the progress his nation wants to make. The person wants to have a decent living, health facilities, education, a permanent security; he wants to see justice and equality reign in his country. What system is best suited to the realization of all this? The person should be able to comprehend all these.

The people in the world are not going around like bats. The majority of the people in the world are guided by the principle of two political and economic systems capitalism and socialism. The dismal conditions under which the people used to live under capitalism had given cause to the development of socialism, and if capitalism was a good system, socialism would not have evolved into rival system at all.

Capitalism evolved from the evil roots of feudalism and royal Empires. These systems were evil and they had sown the seeds of their own destruction, but they spawned capitalism. The human being had been making political and economic changes throughout the centuries, and they had been struggling all this time for justice and equality, for economic advancement, for good health facilities, for better education, for getting their inalienable rights and when all the people realize all these, they may not want any more changes to take place. Once mankind realizes its aspirations, there would not be much of a meaning in changes.

The changes wind up in socialism because it embodies all the aspirations of mankind. It entails justice, equality, prosperity which all the people can share equally, and obliteration of the barriers in the way of human progress.

In your capacity as teachers, you yourselves must first get well-versed in the major political and economic systems in the world to be able to make comparison.

When you get well-versed in both systems, you would be able to compare them and then to take your decision on which of the two is best suited to your future and the future of your nation. Your mission as teachers does not end at giving lessons to students. You must be able to mold the personalities of the students you teach, and the best way to influence people's minds is through political thoughts.

For example, murder, robbery, wars of vendetta, embezzlement, disunity and economic backwardness all prevailed in our country before the Revolution. What was the best way to fight against the continuation of these conditions? It was the creation of unity and nationalism What is nationalism? It is the creation of a society which has the same purpose, the same aspirations, and which can share the resources of its country in a fair manner. There must not be favouristism, nepotism or tribalism in a society if it wants to make progress. The members of the society should all have the mental and political maturity to understand that justice and equality would have the effect of creating an atmosphere in which everyone can prosper. If the teacher does not attain such a level of political maturity he would not be able help others in getting political maturity. The person who has a high level of political maturity, who can tell the right from the wrong, who can value humanity, who fights in justice and equality, can help others along.

What role can the woman teacher play in the people's mental development-? She can play the most important? What role can the mother play in people's mental development? She can also play a role equal to, if not more, that of the teacher. Teachers and mothers play an imporant role throughout the world in the educational-political, sociological and economic development of mankind. When students realize your importance to their lives, they would come to you and seek your knowledge and advice. Teachers' contacts are not confined to their students; they get in contact with the families of the students as well. When a teacher properly orients a student, the student himself orients one or more people, and the process can snowball.

It is necessary then that only those who are nationalists, who are principled, who are sincere and honest should be become teachers for their profession is too important and the people who are entrusted to such an important part of the nation's life must be worthy of the mission they are given. The person's obligations must be commensurate with the right he gets. It is not logical to give a person huge responsibilities and very little rights. To make a person get snowed under with responsibilities without giving him his rights is neither logical nor is it in our principles. Our principles are built on the preposition that anyone who renders good services to his harms should be rewarded accordingly, and the one who harms his nation should get the punishment he deserves. The one who does neither harm nor goodness is a nonentity who can be allowed to go through the motions of being alive. There are many people in the society who do not do anything useful for the society even though they do not do it any harm. Such people cannot expect any rewards from their society for they haven't done anything for it. So we say, let them just live. It is one of the principles of the Revolution that everyone should get rewards in proportion to his productivity. When payments are based on productivity, no one can be cheated and no one live off the sweat of others. The rights of the teachers of home Management would be protected by the Ministry of Education and the Ministry of Interior, and we will see to it that you get your rights for we believe that every member of the society should get whatever right he or she deserves.

If some of you cannot fulfill your mission in the capacity of teachers, you may serve the nation in other ways in which you can make contributions to the society. If there are other jobs available, you can try your luck in the competitions people have in getting employment. We cannot put one person or some people's interest above that of the nation. If personal interests are put before that of the nation, there would be no integrity, courage, justice or equality, and anyone who entertains the idea of doing such a thing is not a nationalist. The natio-

nal interest should always be put before that of the nation.

Education is not something that starts at one point and ends at another. It is a continuous process which goes on for life. The teachers for home Management should have a yearly conference in which they can discuss the ways and means by which the teachers of home affairs can have their knowledge and political awareness increased. Your duties have been explained to you in no uncertian terms and your mission is very much needed by the Somali society, and you should carry out your duties quite well.

I expect that your duties are not confined to the classrooms, but extends to the homes which form the foundation of the society, and from which we want to build a modern society that can make progress in a very short time. You should also teach at the Orientation Centres, no matter how heavy a burden this may be on you, if you want to lead your society from the darkness to the light. There are some people who are not yet prepared to go to schools, and if we want to make them come to schools, we must go to them and convince them of the value of education. It would be necessary then that you give lessons at the Or. Centres. There is a women's wing at every Orientation Centre, so you should volunteer to give lessons to the women who can go their. Every mother who learns something would be a great tribute to your dedication. The more mothers we teach proper home-keeping, the more our society would have better health condition, and anything that contributes to the health of the members of society is a service of the highest order. The learning of proper child care and home economy is a duty on every woman for they are the base of the society and it must be solid. The Somali society is today on march to progress, and anyone who lags behind might not be able to catch up with the society when he wakes up to the reality that he has been left behind. The society is moving, but who can keep up with its march to progress, and to where is it marching? It is marching to a state of prosperity, justice and equality, peace and tranquility, high level of education, good

health and all the other things for which all mankind is struggling. So you must all help in prodding the society towards progress and to prevent some of our people from lagging behind the society because it would be difficult to make them catch up with the society if they are left too far behind.

Some people whose life does not seem to be much, can be helped along until they are able to participate in the nation's progress and make contributions to it later on. We can tell the good teacher from her background. We discovered many ways in which to evaluate the individual. We can make conclusions from the unity and cohersion the mothers have in fulfilling their mission to the nation. What kind of person can make other people get interested in things? The person who have some valuable knowledge and knows how to import this knowledge to others is the one who can persuade people to learn what he is teaching.

We have passed the stage of orientation. Now, we are at the stage that everyone has to render the accounts of what he has done for his country to the nation. At the end of each year, every individual should ask himself: «What have I done for my society this year»? The greater your contributions, the greater should be your rewards for we have said everyone should be rewarded according to his productivity. If your productivity falls down for a year, it means whatever rewards you have been getting should be decreased in proportion to the reductions in your productivity. If an individual had done disservice to his country, he must be given punishment equal to the damage he had done to the nation. There would be no mercy, and you know there would not be any mercy for anyone who damages the interests of the nation. There would be stocking-taking at the end of every year, and the deciding question would be «has this person fulfilled his duties to the nation?» I am not going to accept any lame excuses from anyone. Each institution should keep a record of the actions of its employees, and at the end of the year an evaluation should be made of every individual in accordance of what has been put in his record. A useful person should get promotion, and the useless one

should get demotion. The people who are carrying out their duties are the people who are contributing to the progress of the nation while the useless ones are pulling back the society. Naturally, those who are pulling back the society should be pushed down into an abyss because one has to always think of what is in the interest of the Somali masses rather an individual, or few individuals who are harming their national interest. The reality and truth are quite distinct and one cannot make a mistake if one clings to the truth in all matters. When we compare the interest of the nation and that of an individual, the person would be very insignificant in the scheme of things if the individual is bad. If an individual contributes to the progress of his nation, the whole nation is endebted to him.

I would conclude my speech by wishing you success in your mission. I hope you would be among those who realize that one cannot have a life quite different from that of the people of one's nation. To live for one's nation and to live on one's nation are two philosophies of life that are quite apart.

The person who lives on the society is the one who thinks only about his salary, who just wastes time in his job and does not do anything useful for the society which is paying him. The person who lives for the nation is the one who is thinking day and night about how best to serve his nation. I hope you would all be among those who live for their naiton.

At the sametime, I am certain, as I have pointed out before, that serving your nation honestly and deligently would bring to you rewards you might never have dreamed of getting. If you benefit your nation, it would give you benefits.

Long live Somalia. Down with the reactionaries. Down with imperialism and its lackeys. Down with tribalism, and may all the tribalists die. Down with injustice. Down with those who engineer troubles for the nation.

Thank you.

A friend in need is a friend indeed

Jaalle Siad's Speech At Cons Stadium On The Occasion Of The Resettlement Of Drought Victims On 20. 8. 75

Comrades, greetings. We have gathered here for the inauguration of the resettlement of the drought victims. Now the drought victims have gone beyond the survival stage, and are about to embark upon a new phase of their existence. They are at the point when the nation has to think of how to turn them into useful citizens. We are not going to turn the closing down of the relief camps and the resettlement of the drought vicitims in the new areas into a festive occasion. As has been our habit, we are going to handle the resettlement task quietly and with no fuss and fanfare.

The question of resettling the drought victims is of immense importance, and its attendant difficulties are enormous. The resettlement of such a great number of people involves building houses, medical centres, schools, cultivate seeds, farm equipment, fertilizers, and fishing equipments. After the nation provides them with all those things, then they would be able to learn new ways of earning their livelihood. We are not going to commemorate today the occasion of giving relief to the drought victims for we have passed that stage successfully. What is worth recalling, however, is the commendable way in which the Somali nation, the Somalis outside

and inside the country, and the world in general had all extended a magnanimous assistence to the drought victims. In particular, the Somalis outside the country had proven the esteem in which they hold their brothers and sisters and their country. They had shown the love they have for their people and their country by the generous contribution they had made to the drought relief.

Handling the drought situation and its attendant problems needs to be classified in order to see clearly what great tasks lie before the nation. Firstly, the resettlement needs the mobilization of resources and the manpower with which to tackle the problem. Secondly, plans have to be worked out to supply them with the necessities for life, such as food, shelter, clothes, electricity, water and so forth. Thirdly, they would have to be taught how to read and write as well as how to acquire new professions so much unlike their nomadic way of life. This by itself is a tremendous task that calls for a concerted effort by the whole nation.

The most suitable places to resettle the drought victims are the areas adjacent to the two rivers and the coastal areas so that they can be turned into farming and fishing communities. These communities would have to be permanent settlements whose members would benefit their communities first and their nation as well. When these communities learn how ta make a living they shall have done their service to the nation. The success of this multi-faced project would be the yardstick by which the nation's success would be measured. When the two communities are on their way to becoming productive settlement, then there would be an occasion for festivity.

We have not commemorated the first stage of the relief project, as you may know, because to talk about this stage needs the gethering of huge data. There were too many people who had done herotic deeds and who deserve to be given credit for what they had done. There are too many statistics which needs to be collaborated in order to have a complete picture. I am not going into all these because they will be mentioned at the appropriate time and occasion. Today confining my speech to the resettlement of the drought victims.

We have proclaimed at the birth of the Revolution that we would build our country with the efforts of its own people, with their brains and the resources of the country. The quintescence of this attitude is the principle of «self-reliance.» The basic point in this outlook is to realize that you cannot rely on anything other than your own efforts, and that you have to depend on yourself alone. Whatever outside help one might get is peripheral. The name of nationhood is built on national efforts.

The Somali proverb that «one can quench thirst only with the use of one's own hands» substantiates the correctnes of this proverb which is a vindication of the principle of «self-reliance. What the proverb means in everyday language is that one's success is dependent on one's own efforts. The purpose behind self-reliance is that it safeguards the interests of the nation. It brings to the surface the intrinsic values of the people, and forces them to use their own resources, energy and brains to bring about economic prosperity. A nation that depends on itself can achieve a great deal that would not have been accomplished if it relied on outside sources for development. What have we so far accomplished by the adoption of this philosophy? What difficulties have the Revolution faced during the five years and ten or eleven months of its existence? How many victories have we won? Imperialism and the shortsighted had maintained that the Revolution would not succeed. They said: «they would not succeed for they do not have the brains and the ability to bring off a successful Revolution. They to not have the unity and the will, and they could not do much for themselves». Well, those predictions have all turned out to be a mist that dissipated itself after the sunshine have come up.

Our political and economic struggle was not confined to uplifting the lives of our people, though this was of great importance, but we had also to teach them to recognize their own values, their nationhood, their dignity, and the responsibilities of the citizens of a country. We had to inoculate in the minds of the people their human value and what their brains can be capable of accomplishing. In another words, they had to minds of the people their human values and what their brains pable ofaccomplishing. In another words, they had to be minds of the people their human value and what their brains be weaned of their mental and economic reliance on others. If

we had not relied on our economic resources and mental powers, do you think the Somali people could have accomplished what they did in the nearly six years the Revolution have been in existences? I would say no, comrades. If there had not been political consciousness, many people might have lost sight of the main goals even if they had the best of intentions. The success of our accomplishments depends on the clear principles we have been following, and by which we have been guiding our actions. Clear principles, precise actions based on these principles and the measurement of the results of actions against the principles have been our guidance. The achievements which Somalia have been making are the fruition of clear thinking. The principles we have been following are embodied in scientific socialism and without strict adherence to this body of political and economic system nothing would have been accomplished.

The transportation of the drought victims to the resettlement areas have been done successfully. The people who have been engaged in the organization of the transportation and the systematic settlement of the drought victims in the new areas have done a wonderful job without complaints or weariness. The whole process of transportation and resettlement had taken seven weeks. All facilities, houses, food, utensils, medical and educational facilities as well as water and electricity facilities had been planned for to be provided to the drought victims. The burden of transportation and resettlement are behind us. What is left for us to do is to provide them with the necessities of life in their new settings. A lot of people had been working on the transportation and resettlement arrangements. A committee headed by members of the Supreme Revolutionary Council (SRC) and Secretaries of State had been working on the arrangements made for the destitutes. At the same time there was another committee headed by an SRC member Abdirazak Mohamed Abubakar, whose function was to organize and execute the plans for supplying the necessary provisions to the new communities.

During the time of the transportation and the resettlement students, and thousands of civil servants, students, teachers, members of the armed forces, and members of the public had

been present at every embarkation and disembarkation point in order to help the destitutes. The army of people who were helping out their brothers and sisters were the best the country could offer, and they had done a marvelous job. All the government institutions had also taken part, in some way or another, in this great project. It was wonderful to see University students who had never been to the countryside helping nomads. They never before helped any nomads, but on this occasion they were medicating to sick people with their own hands, and were actually in stiff competition with each other to render the greatest service to the people. Such things never happened on such scale in the world before; this was unique to Somalia. Where in the world had the youth of a nation participated in such great numbers in rescuing a disaster-stricken people? The way the whole people came to the rescue of the destitutes had shown that the whole nation had felt the same way about the drought situation and they had acted as if they were a single body. They were all one and the same on this matter.

The armed forces had taken a lion's share in the transportation and the resettlement of the destitutes. The role the armed forces had been playing all along in tackling the problems of the nation as well as this problem, does not need any exposition for it is known to every body in the country. And they need not be given any special thanks for they have been carrying out their duties. As the Arab proverb says, «one need not be thanked for doing his own duties.....»

The resettlement of the destitutes involves more expenses in both material and manpower terms than has been anticipated. The burden on the Somali nation was heavy, but it was made even more heavy by the nation's determination to settle the problem within a short period of seven months. This determination was based on a decision to speed up the transportation, the settlement and the creation of a means of livelihood for the destitutes. The acceleration of activities had cut short the load of the burden which would have been even heavier if the problems were allowed to drag on a longer period. The Ministries of Defence and Public Works had completed within seven days the preparation of landing strips for the pla-

nes transporting the drought victims. To prepare landing strips for the heavey planes used in transporting the destitutes in such a short time is something that many people would have thought inconceivable. Somalia made the inconveivable conceivable. The Somali partriots who had scoffed at the idea of anything being inconceivable if one had the determination and the courage, had made the achievements something tangible that the nation can be proud of. Nothing is impossible if one had the determination and the stamina to exert oneself to achieve something. And in fact that is how the idea of overcoming what at first seems impossible come about.

Many ministries, victory poineers, mothers, youth, the public and the armed forces have all played a commendable role in the great task in which the nation was engaged. The drought victims had been given whatever they needed.

The medical doctors of the Armed Forces and the Ministry of Health and their assistants had also taken an important role in the resettlement project. I am sure that without their invaluable role, the resettlement of the drought victims would not have been easy. There were many people among the drought victims constantly giving them medical treatment. When I think of victims who were suffering from diseases, and the doctors were the remarkable way in which the Somali nation had tackled the drought situation, I can truthfully say that the nation had forged a national unity. Unity is the safeguard of freedom which in turn is the foundation of equality and justice. The presence of these equalities in a nation are the basis of making one's economy viable, and the idea of self-reliance fulfills the prerequisties of a nation's goal to achieve economic independence.

I am not going to leave out the Somali military air force, the Post and Telecomunication which had done a remarkable job of facilitating communication between the various sectors of transportation and resettlement points. Without such marvelous coordination, there might have been foul-up with serious repercussions. It would be a serious omission if I do not mention the mulitutes of people from the various government agencies, the ministries, and other government institu-

tions which had all selflessly participated in the resettlement project.

I would like to say that all those who have participated in this project, «comrades, I need not thank you, but I would like to point out to you that when you pool your resources, your brains and manpower, your abilities and ingenuities, you can accomplish anything you want to do. That should make you realize what you are capable of doing».

Assistence of the Soviet Union.

When the first part of the drought problem had been handled, the two councils, the Supreme Revolutionary Council and the Council of Secretaries, had decided that a means of livelihood should be created for the drought victims for they have nothing left on which to fall back. The creation of such a means of livelihood involves a great deal of time and money, if we had decided to handle all that was required by curselves, how long do you think it would have taken us? How many billions of shillings would it have cost us? How much sacrifice would our people have made? The transportation of so many people over great distances would have been a clossal burden on our people to bear it by themselves. When we had gauged the magnitude of the problem, we appealed to the world to give us a hand in this problem, which was the transportation and the resettlement of over a quater million people made destitutes by the drought. It is human to answer to such a call, and it has been a standard practice among nations since the advent of statehood and the beginning of cooperation among them to help one another when one of them is hit by a natural calamity. Somalia had always taken part in the assistences given to other nations when they were hit by a natural catastrophe. In view of this human cooperation among nations we asked the world to give us whatever assistence it could toward the solution of the drought problem. The Soviet Union had answered to our call promptly and in an appropriate manner without wasting time on corresponden-ces and talk, the Soviet Union said, «we are going to give you transportation planes, vehicles, the personnel to man them, and the men to supervise, repair and coordinate the different

activities. The Soviet Union had given the Somali nation all this gratis. They had not charged us a penny for all this.

At first we estimated that it would take Somalia at least six months to transport and resettle the 250,000 people, but with the speedy help of the Soviet Union the whole thing had taken about fifty days. The credit of the quickness and the smoothness with which such a great task was carried out goes to the people of the Soviet Union who had understood their international obligation and their great friendship with the Somali people. The personnel of the Soviet Union maning the planes and the vehicles had shown admirable qualities. They had sometimes gone without sleep for days and nights. They were truly a remarkable people who had done a remarkable job in a remarkably short time. The committee who had planned the transportation system should also be given the credit they deserve.

The fact that no accidents or breakdown had taken place shows that there was an excellent planning and coordination involved. This is an indication of the knowledge and experience of the people who had been running the communication system.

You might recall that at the beginning of the drought, I said it would inflict a great damage on the economy of the country, and that it would take the country a long time before we manage to recover from the aftermath of the drought. Depsite the heavy damages it inflicted on the nation, it had forced into the open the admirable qualities of unity, courage and the sense of brotherhood of the Somali people. It brought out the capabilities of the Somali nation, and it had shown the Somalis who their friends are, whether they are outside or inside the country. The enemies of the Somali people try to hamstring the nation, but they fail and fail again in their treacheries for the Somali people know them for what they are. Have we reached the point where we can tell our friends from our enemies? Yes, we have. It is a simple thing to differentiate a friend from an enemy. Your friend helps and supports you when you need him, while your enemy always tries to do you some harm. Is it human to try to harm

man to gloat over the hardships of other human beings? Is it human to belch over human beings who are in the pangs of hunger? Is it human to unleash propaganda against human beings toiling against the travails of a natural calamity? The answer is no.

I must thank the Somali nation which had shown its capability, courage, unity and the sacrifice that the Somali people are capable of making. I must thank the Supreme Revolutionary Council, the Secretaries, government officials, and the Somali people as a whole, whether they are inside or outside the country. I must thank, on behalf of the Somali people, the people and government of the Soviet Union. I must thank the Communist Party of the S. Union which, since the birth of the first socialist revolution of great note, had been helping countless people all over the world to struggle for their independence and win it. I must also thank the leaders of the Soviet Union who had fulfilled the international obligation of their people and cemented the friendship between the Soviet people and the Somali people.

I think that the great friendship between the Somali and Soviet people does not need any elaboration. It is a historical fact on which books and books can be written. The Soviet Union has been helping us in the fields of education, industry, medicine, economy, defence, on which our very independence depends, and in so many other fields that cannot all be listed here. The large assistence that the Soviet Union has been giving Somalia is something that no Somali can forget because it goes beyond material value. The assistence that the Soviet Union had given us during the drought crisis is small compared to the other assistence it has been giving us, but its value is magnified by its opportunes and the critical time it was given. By tradition the Somali people value friendship and try to repay, in any way they can, those who help them when they are in need. In view of all this we can say to the Soviet Union and their leaders, «The Somalis are not the kind of people who say one thing to their friends and do another behind their backs. The Somali people have dignity, integrity, and value goodness; they fight against injustice, whatever shape it takes, and remember for all time those they have to repay their kindness».

When we come to the occasion of celebrating the complete resettlement of the destitutes, we will give credit to all those who had given a hand in that great task. No one will be overlooked, and I think that will be the most appropriate time to thank and to give credit to everyone who has participated in this great project.

The great lesson imlicit in the achievements the Somali nation has made since the birth of the Revolution is that: you can achieve anything if you struggle and work hard enough for it. The protection of your nationhood, independence, defence, dignity and resources are there for you to guard. How the Somali people had risen up to tackle the drought crisis has been ample proof for you to know that you can achieve whatever you set your hearts to on. If we continue doing things in the great spirit with which we have tackled the drought situation, we will accomplish great things.

Long live Somalia! Long live our progressive friends, and progressive countries! May the Somali nation live in prosperity! Long live the great people of the Soviet Union! May the human people in the world live in peace and prosperity!

Usefulness of Victory Pioneers

President Siad's Speech To Victory Pioneers On 21. 8. 75.

May greetings be upon you all. I would like to commend all those who have participated in the preparation of the celebration of this day which has a great value for the Somali nation. It is known that the Victory pioneers had been a force in existence long before they were given a nomenctature.

At first they were part of the public who were carrying out their duties in a responsible manner and ever since they were formed into a force the people of this country had known what the victory pioneers had been doing for their country and people. I would like to congratulate the victory pioneers and the public which gives them a hand in the protection of the achievements of the Revolution and the freedom and independence of the Somali nation.

I expect that all the achievements of the victory pioneers cannot be squeezed into a single speech for what they had done for the country is much too large for one address, and we know it. The first question about the victory pioneers is, why were they formed? For whom were they formed? And what would be their future? They have emerged from the toiling masses which wants to liberate themselves from the shackles of disease,

hunger and ignorance. They are part of the Somali nation who are actively struggling for reaching a state of prosperity with their own muscles, brains, and productivity.

They were among those who answered the call of the Revolution to rise up and be counted; to slough off lethargy, the degrading habit of begging for living, and to embark on a road which would lead the Somali nation to prosperity. Apart from being part of the masses which had answered the call of the Revolution, they had come out to take an unequivocal stand in contributing to the construction of the economy of the nation, and in defending the Revolution and the country in an open manner. But why were they formed into a force?

Every system creates the people who defend it. The creation of such people ensues from the policies of the system and its objctives. The policies and the objectives produce the people who defend the system; they produce the economic and political set-up; they produce the attitudes and thoughts of the people who run the system. Some people execute the policies of the system, and these people follow the political guidelines laid down for them by the system itself.

What were the Somali Socialist revolution's internal and external policies? What were its social, political and economical policies? I think the objectives and policies of the Revolution have been explained often enough to the Somali nation, but I would like to touch upon them briefly. The objectives of the Revolution were: to create unity, independence, and prosperity in which the present and future Somali generations can live in tranquility and peace. Somalia's policies were based on fighting everything which would harm the interests of its people; to be among the progressive nations which fight against colonialism, imperialism and exploitation; to be counted among the nations which value humanity; to be among the nations which have confidence in their resources and do not rob others of theirs; to be among

the nations which fight against injustice; to be among those nations which are contributing to the advancement of makind and not to be a useless appendage of humanity; to be a nation which gets off the mud to which it was stuck, and to join the nations in the world which have value, respect recognition and benefit for makind.

Since these were the objectives of the Revolution, it became necessary to form the force that would protect these objectives; the forces which would be alert for the protection of the achievements of the Revolution: the forces which would execute policies and explain them to the masses.

The emblem of the victory poineers which shows a huge unwinking eye attests that they are alert all the time; their flag which is red means their blood flows all the time and is not solidified. Who is the victory pioneer? He is the one who is living for the public; he is the one who is born from and for the public. Why should the emblem of the victory pioneers have a huge eye in it? The eye stands for untiring day and night vigilance for the protection of the achievements of the Revolution, the people and their prosperity, to protect the innocent and catch the culprints.

The victory pioneer is the curer of the sick in mind and in heart, including the reactionary who betrays his country and people for the pennies he takes from the imperialists. The victory pioneer directs the people to the right path, coaches them in their duties, urges them to safeguard their dignity, upholds the dignity of humanity, and protects the honour and safety of the country.

The victory pioneer plays these multiple roles. The victory pioneer is the vigilant, the untiring, and the alert. He is the one to whom the wronged, the robbed, and the threatened run. He is the shield of the people. He is the one who sacrifices his interest, his life for the public. The victory pioneer takes part in the establishment of the socialist system through which the Somali wants

to create a society in which justice, equality and prosperity reigns. The victory pioneers take a lion's share in the economic construction of the country, in health, and in peace-keeping.

In sum, scientific socialist Revolution had created the victory pioneers together with their comrades, the workers, the mothers, or let me say the women, the armed forces, the farmers and a variety of other entities. The Revolution had also created the administration, the leadership and the defenders of Somalia. Everything must have a foundation.

The question is, what have the victory pioneers achieved since their formation? Have they fulfilled the purposes for which they were formed? Have they carried out the duties they were given? I would say, yes. The presence of the victory pioneers is not confined to the cities, towns, and villages. They are in the rural areas as well. In fact, they can be found everywhere in the country.

What are the proofs of the usefulness of the victory pioneers? The reactionaries, the imperialists, and enemies, which are not too far, all get a shock when they see the victory pioneers. When they want to offend someone they say: «Get thee behind me, you victory pioneer». What they mean is that the victory pioneers are a heavy burden to them, and a constant reminder that there is a vigilant force which would not brook any nonsense from anyone. My measuring rod of a good victory pinoeer, however, is whether he is serving his nation or not. I think I have told the truth in all that I said about the victory pioneers. The essense of the victory pioneer is that they clarify for us the people who are revolutionaries and the ones who are reactionnaries. Their presence brings out the difference between the nationalist and the unnationalist. Their presence points out the reactionary and the venal, the foreign lover and the cheap traitor. Their presence brings out the difference between those who have confidence in

their country their people, their lives, those who have reached a state of mental maturity, and the ones who have neither confidence in their country or people nor have reached a mental maturity. Since the victory pioneers are everywhere and all times, the reachtionaries are bound to clash with them. The reactionaries get shocked when they see the victory pioneers because they have guilty conscience about the sins they committed against their people and country. What the reactionaries and imperialists say about the victory pioneers is a mere talk of bitterness and enmity. If one really shinks deeply about the victory pioneers, they are a beam of light on the enemies of the country, the cheap traitors and the useless. During the period we have passed, the victory pioneers were serving their nation while they themselves were feeling the pangs of hunger. While they were doing this, the cheap traitors were in the midst of prosperity and were talking idlely, and saying: «Somalia is destroyed» and ridiculous things like that. Why shouldn't they do something which is constructive. instead of engaging themselves in adle talk?

I should say to the victory pioneers, «Thank you, comrades, for the services you have been rendering to your nation». We know you have not been getting anything in return for what you have been doing except the gratitude and the appreciation of the nation. I would still urge you to keep on serving your nation for the victory would be yours, and Somalia is moving toward progress. The people who make progress have patience and principles, and they do not expect their labours to bear fruits within the twinkle of an eye. The hasty does not reach his goal and usally loses his way; be falls down exhausted right in the middle of the road. The one who has patience, perserverence, objectives, and principles achieves victory in the end. And Somalia will achieve victory; it is not begging it from anyone.

The victory pioneers are the main arteries of the society. For that reason I would say to you «achieve victory for the Somali nation» in cooperation with the best of our people.

I have talked to you about how you should treat the public. You have not been formed to suppress the people, but to protect them from the cheap traitors and to orient those whose minds have been confused. Since you have been fulfilling your duties in a responsible manner, I need not explain to you what you have to.

You should appear to the public as I have described you. When I say «appear», I mean the mothers, the workers, the farmers and the general public should understand your mission. The good people, and those who like goodness would be able to see the importance of your mission. You would have to work hard to corviince the people about the importance of your mission. You would have to continue liberating the people's minds, and don't you ever - as we agreed with one another - make your progressive people angry.

It is only correct that the cheap traitors and the reactionary should be weeded out of the people's councils. The reason is not very hard to see. They cannot represent the people, and they cannot be entrusted to the adminstration of the people's affairs. Naturally, no one would entrust the people's affairs to a reactionary in the first place, but some might for a time hide themselves behind a smoke screen of hypocracy and deceit, and those are the ones who should be smoked out. I would say they should be driven out of the people's Councils, should be driven out of the workers' Committees, should be driven out of the armed forces. The reactionary should be isolated because his time is over. The self-seeking should be isolated; the venal who is on the side of the foreigners should be isolated; the one who has no confidence in Somalia should be isolated.

There is a Somali proverb which says «contruction begins at the base». Similarly, the Somali society begins at the orientation centres. The person who eventually might participate in the task of leading this nation must first prove himself to be clean from the old mentality; he must be clean from favouritism and nepotism; he must

be clean from selfishness. He must be clean from crooked manoeuvres for the time that is over. He must prove himself. He must carry out his duty without fear or favour. The people for whom the victory pioneers would have no mercy are the unpatriots, the liars, the cheaters and the likes of them.

Thus, the self-seeking who want to serve their interests should be driven out of the orientation centres. Those who understand the objectives of the Revolution, those who have proven their honesty, integrity, and who have embraced socialism should remain in the centres to serve the public. Those who serve the people must have had their minds and hearts cleansed of all impurities. We have obtained political independence for no one tells Somalia what to do, as we all know, but we must reach a stage of ecnomic self-sufficiency. Such a goal can be reached through knowledge and technological advancement. Once we reach a stage of high educational level and technology, what is left is the application of the brain and mucles to create prosperity for our nation.

Who can lead the nation to such a long-range target? Not the corrupt, the opportunist and the self-seeker. I expect that the patriots, the victory pioneers who are among the patriots, the mothers, the workers and the public would drive the bad people of the Government service and the orientation centres. I say that those who are engaged in corrupt manoeuvres are the remnants of the corrupt era. Part of the corrupted have run away, part of it have been dismissed from the Government's service, part of it is still hiding behind a smoke screen. This last portion must be flushed out.

How can a revolutionary man or woman have anything to do with the corrupt? How can they be afraid of the tribalist and the venal? Couldn't the revolutionaries say: «We have the upperhand because we are working according to the correct, just principles, and the corrupt is trying to further selfish, personal interests»? The corrupt are hypocrites; they are traitors; they are liars,

and they are venal who have no respect anywhere. So there is no reason why the honest, the sincere, and the Revolutionary patriots cannot defeat the corrupt.

Some people say corruption has proliferation, and bribery is becoming too wide-spread. Why do you tolerate the corruption to flourish? How many times have I told you to fight against corruption? What are the victory pioneers doing when corruption gains ground? What are the mothers, the armed forces, and the workers doing if there is some corruption? Who are the one's stealing public funds? Why shouldn't they be apprehended and punished? The truth is there is no corruption. The talk about corruption has no foundation.

I have told you before that I would keep talking about important issues and the reason is I want to enlighten those who haven't yet got convinced about the best way to make the nation reach a stage of prosperity. When a person has conviction in his principles, he does not need any help in fighting against the corrupt and the traitor; the principled can alawys defeat the unprincipled. After we have been engaged in Revolutionary activities for six years, we must have reached a state of high political awarness which would enable us to defend our achievements, aims and principles.

Why should there be nepotism? There shouldn't be any trace of it, and if vestiges of it is found anywhere, the victory pioneers will be responsible for it. It has been decided before that if someone had joined the orientation centre one day ahead of someone else, the first should get employment one day ahead of the other.

Why should people who have just joined the orientation centres get employment overnight, while some who have been there for years still haven't got employment? How can such things happen in this new era?

You must uphold justice. The truth is we are upholding justice, but little things might happen which shouldn't.

The reactionary lingers, but the Revolution would keep hammering on them; the lackeys linger on but the Revolution would keep on lashing on them.

Justice must reign in this country. If someone is working day and night for his people, his country must give him the reward he deserves. No one must make him lose his reward which is his right. The one who harms his people and his country should get his just desert which is severe punishment. The nation must have its vengeance on the person who harms it.

There are nomads who live way out in the country with their livestock, what should be done about them? They have much right to the fruits of the Revolution as anyone else. They have as much right to protection of the Revolution as anyone else. If we may pose some questions about the nomads, are they not Somalis? Don't they want to live in the country for the rest of their lives? Are they harming the country in anyway? The answer is they are pure Somalis, have confidence in their country, and they are not doing it any harm. Therefore, it is our duty to protect them because they are part of the Somali public.

On this occasion I wish the victory pioneers happinees, hard work, mental growth and to gather into themselves more forces every year.

Thanks

Revolution Means a Change for the Better

This Speech Was Made By Major General Mohamed Siad Barre At Halane To The First Group Of Political Cadres On Sept. 3, 1975.

May greetings be upon you all. I have paid you this unexpected visit because I want to explain to you the purpose behind the training you are taking here. I know that representatives of the Supreme Revolutionary Council (SRC) have already explained to you the objective of the training you are undergoing, but I would like to add what I can to their explanations.

the training you are undergoing, but I would like to add that the Revolution had been rectifying what had gone wrong in the country. This rectification was a continuous process that had been going on for the past five years the Revolution had been in existence. You might all recall that blatant embezzlement of public funds, imperialist-- designed laws, disunity, exploitations and so many other conditions which were prevalent in the country had brought about the Revolution itself. To rectify what went wrong with the society had been part of the overall plan of the Revolution. Unless unity was formed and the moral and political bankruptcy of the country was made into nightmare from which the public had awoken, the coun-- try would not have been able to make any achievement.

The adoption of Scientific Socialism was part of the overall plan to make the Somali nation get into the stream of modern economic, social and political advancement. We had not accomplished all that we wanted to achieve in the past years, even though a great deal had been achieved. In training the personnel of the Government for their great responsibilities and making others acquire professions, many achievements have been made, and people were even sent abroad for training, but still the accomplishments fell short of what was expected to be done within five years. It was decided to launch a real training programme in which the people's political awareness, their sense of responsibility and their sense of values can all be sharpened. The People's Political awarness was at the lowest ebb, and it became inevitable to mount a programme whose aim was to turn the people into Socialist progressive people. The people might have had all the good intentions in the world, but they were like a vehicle that was started but could not move.

When it was seen after five years that we had not accomplished all we wanted to accomplish, it became a necessity to plan and organize a national training programme which had many facets. The first objective is to train political cadres whose function would be to make the people comprehend the principles of Socialism. But frist the political cadres themselves have to undergo a training in which they would be taught to understand the principles of Socialism quite well. Secondly, they must be taught how to pass on their knowledge about Socialism to the masses. Thirdly, they have to be taught how to create a Socialist Revolutionary Society. These are the aims of this training programme.

The truth is that the country would be run and led with the principles of Scientific Socialism. That has been the plan of the Revolution, and that is how it is going to be. As Scientific Socialism itself stipulates, a nation has to take into consideration its traditons, its culture, the mode of its people's thinking, the economic conditions of the country, and any other things that are particular

to that country. All these have to be taken into consideration when one is expecting the principles of Scientific Socialism. This means the establishment of Socialism in a country has to be built on solid foundation and not on illusions and dreams. Scientific Socialism cannot be built on shifting sand or a rhetorical rigmarole.

We are going to establish scientific Socialism in this country, but it would have to put down roots which can get nourishment. Those who have the vision and analytical mind can write books on the logic and veracity of this points. The blind imitation of what other people had done in their countries when they adopted Socialism, would not help the creation of Socialist society in here. The creation of a healthy socialist society might be likened to a tree which has deep roots in the earth, with a huge trunk and many branches. The roots and the trunk are the true principles of socialism, but the branches are the many ways different nations might follow in order to create a Socialist Society in their own way. When local conditions are taken into consideration, the tree would blossom, gives forth green leaves and bears fruits. This is what I have told before if you might remember. What I mean is that the body of socialist principles, and the execution of these principles are two different but akin things. Many people confuse these two things, and the end result is that they dash socialism against a rock. How many places in Africa have socialism been established only to fizzle out? Socialism has also been adopted in many countries in Asia, but not much of a success had come out of them. The reason for such a failure was that the conditions particular to these countries were totally ignored. The disregarding of local conditions was tantamount to putting a heavy load on a young camel which was not broken in for burden, and it was logical that the camel would throw off the load.

In order to avoid such a mistake, we have to take into consideration the realities and conditions of this country. We must take into consideration the enemies of Socialism in this country, and we must not give them the in-

struments with which they would destroy Socialism. We must take into consideration the level of the Somali people's political awareness.

Now let us take a look at what is happening in many developing countries. Although they have won their independence, they neither have political independence in the real sense of the word nor economic independence. Those countries have been cheated out of their independence by international imperialism. The era of the struggle for independence had not ended with the taking of power by the indigeneous people. It had to be carried on in a different from. The Armed Forces, although some of them were trained by the imperialists, had come into the picture of the new struggle. One might ask, where have the Armed Forces come from? After the departure of the colonialists, what role has the armed forces played in the advancement of the Society? They have a historical and classical role which is the creation of a socialist revolutionary society. Although the Armed Forces were created by the colonialists, where have its members come from? Have they been a hand-picked capitalist class or have they been people chosen by some other criteria? The people who joined the armed forces were from the poor section of the society and were not from a special group. All right, what role had they played in the struggle for independence? They were the strongest force of the independence movement for they were the most coherent group in the society, which could pool enough resources to contribute to the movement. They were rightly placed to inform the movement about the colonialists' strategies, aims, and plans. The armed forces were in a good position to know the secrets of the colonialists, and pass them on to the Movement. At the sametime, the Armed Forces were in a good position to know about the stooges of the colonialists, and secretly took care of them in order to prevent them from doing the independence any harm. The truth is that, the capitalist cuass of the Society.

The term capitalists might not be realy applicable to any section of the Somali Society, but what I mean is the

business people who think that they are capitalists. The sons and daughters of the business community, high Government officials, and interpreters never used to join the Armed Forces, who uesd to join Armed Forces? The poor used to join the armed forces. The reason for that was the imperialist propaganda machinery uesd to blacken the name of what it called «militarism». So it was an insult to those who prospered under colonialism to join the Armed Forces. Since the Armed Forces were an entity which could be a threat to imperialism, the colonialists created a bad image for the forces by continious propaganda. Thus, those who prospered under colonialism either through buisiness, or some services rendered to colonialists, used to think that they were above joining the Armed Forces.

The people who used to join the Ahmed Forces were the poor, the workers, the nomads, the poor formers and so forth who did not have much value for the imperialists or their friends. Members of the Armed Forces lived with the public and were among those who most felt the oppression and the arrogance of the colonialists. They were in daily contact with the people's heart-rending cries for help, their suffering and their groans for the members of the forces lived, ate, and slept where the people were. They were part and parcel of the people who were exploited, made to suffer, and feel the painful experience of colonialism. So the members of the forces had always been part of the masses. They always knew about the sufferings of th people. At the sometime they knew about the behaviour of the colonialists, their arrogance, their injustice, and their exploitation. But the armed forces had been planning and wroking for day they would settle old scores.

What had been the result of the experiences of the members of the armed forces? The members of the armed forces were by background and experience part of the masses and they had to be on their side all the time. The members of theforces had never been on the side of the imperialists and their lackeys.

What were the economic conditions of the armed forces? Since they were members of the poorest sections of the society, they were paid poorly. The treatment the members were getting at the hands of the colonialists created a resentment which smouldered in the he arts of the members of the forces.

Even though they had a first hand knowledge of what imperialism was doing to their country and their people, they were told that they had no right to join the struggle of their people, and that festered in the minds of the members of the armed forces anger and resentment against imperiailsm. This must be understood. There used to be some debate about «whether the forces can embrace socialism and make it the system by which the nation can live». Such speculations have been wiped out and its time is over. In order to understand the role the Armed forces play, one should study what is going in the developing countries. What are the basis of the armed? In relation to capitalism, what have the armed forces done to combat it? You can get at the truth that way. The capi talism, what have the armed forces done to combat it? You can get at the truth that way. The capitalist element in the society come from the bourgeosie class because they are the class which most benefit from capitalism, and which partake in the spoils of exploitation. Thus the armed forces of the newly independent countries have no resemblances to the armed forces ofii the capitalist world. The forces of the newly independent countries have always been part of the toiling masses while the forces of the capitalists have always been the tool of oppression employed against the masses. The forces of the capitalists are the shield which protects the bourgeois, exploitation, and are tools of oppression. Can such a force be honest? No, it cannot. It would only be an instrument for the implementation of the aims of capitalism and the protection of the selfish interests of the bourgeois. The people in the forces of the capitalist world could only be from the capitalist class for if they came from the proletariat class they would have trained their guns on the bourgeois.

Imperialism cripples the economy of the people it oppresses so that they would not be able to rise against it. At the sametime imperialism prevents the workers from having unity. So it fell on the armed forces, since they were the only united force in the country, to fight against imperialism and the lackey group it had bred in the country.

In the history of mankind, societies under-went changes committant with the advancement made in economy, politics, technology and so forth. We must understand then the stage of our society's political and economic development.

At what point is our society on the scale of the evalutionary process of man's political and economic development? When you pinpoint the stage of our society's development, you can start struggling for a more advanced stage of development.

Now the Somali society is at an stage which other societies have long passed. We are at the stage of tribalism and nomadism, but we believe we can make socialism work in the country. Is it possible for a person to believe partly in socialism and partly in tribalism? No. The duties of a socialist are quite clear and he must carry them out. If someone is seen not to be following socialism as it is, but to be following personnal interests, group interests, or favouritism, he must be gotten rid off without the least compunction. The true socialist abhors tribalism; he cannot live with tribalism for a single day; he does not promote special interests; he is not reactinary; he is an upright person whose guidance is his principles. The true socialists do not shrink from the difficulties they encounter in carrying out their duties; they have perseverence, forebearance and determination. They are the people who have the courage to face danger for their principles and who can withstand the temptation of selling themselves out. The people who protect socialism and truly believe in its principles are those who have reached high level of political maturity and have a sense of nationalism. Once one believes in socialism and has

acquired a deep sense of nationalism, for him personal and group interests and tribalism are dead. Where group interests are fighting for supremacy, there could not be nationalism, and socialism cannot flourish.

The true socialist who wants to participate in the task of leading his nation must have humanity; he must have behaviour and personality which can set an example for others; he must have creativity. He must be a person who cannot brook injustice and cannot condone what is wrong. He must be prepared to defend what is right no matter what it costs him. To give you an example, a liar cannot be a socialist, and he should be gotten rid off. The person who sets people against one another cannot be a socialist, and he cannot be allowed to participate in the leadership of a nation which wants to have unity. He cannot be allowed to be among those who would orient and lead the people to the right direction. The person whose responsibilities it becomes to lead a nation must be a nationalist. Who is a nationalist? He is the person who loves his country and people puts them above everything else. He is a person who values his country and people. When one reaches the political maturity to value his people, he does not love one person of his people more than the others. One fights for the dignity, economy the correct policies and progress of all his people. One is prepared to fight day and night for his nation's development and defence if one has political maturity, principles and a true sense of nationalism. When you believe in justice and progress, you realize that nationalism cannot be instilled in the minds of the people unless there is a cadre who cement the unity of the nation and lead the people in the right way.

When one fulfills the preconditions of being upright and a true nationalist one can be said to be a revolutionary as well. The meaning of revolution means a change for the better. A revolution may not be a socialist, but it has to bring about change for the better. A revolution may not be a socialist, but it has to bring about change for the better. It means the obliteration of existant difficultles. Once a person believes in a revolutionary change, he can

be taught to learn the principles of socialism and can be made into a true socialist. Unless a person has these qualities, he cannot be a socialist and can be anti-socialist, he cont a only be a reactionary.

You people who have been gathered here are all workers. What are your duties? Since you have been fortunate enough to be singled out for a great responsibility, it is incumbent upon you to understand that there is a necessity for studying in depth the principles of socialism and understanding them. When you are studying socialism you must keep in mind that it is the system through which your nation can reach prosperity, through which it would wipe out the scourges of disease, ignorance and hunger. Unless you understand socialism in this light, you cannot comprehend fully the significance it has for your country and its people. At the sometime, you must understand the contradictions of the world. The system of socialism is not confined to a nation; it is an international system. It is a continious process that would eventually cover the whole world. If we have been fortunate enough to embrace it even though our economic development is at a low level in comparison to the technological advancement, other nations have made, we must understand our socialist duties. Our material contribution to internationalism might not be significant, but the Somali Revolution is a sources of power that gives off rays of light. You must understand that our responsibility is not confined to our duties to our people; we also have international duties which ensues from our believe in socialism. This implies, of course, that socialism must spread in Africa; it must spread in Asia. One can have a neighbour which is an enemy or a friend. When one has a socialist as a neighbour, he has a friend. One can see that the spreading of socialism is the basis for peace and security would be getting stronger and stronger until it becomes unshakable and indestructable.

Thank you for listening to me. I hope this training in Socialism would bear fruit, and that you would benefit from it.

I wish you success.

Hailing The Police Force

This Speech Was Delivered By Major General Mohamed Siad Barre At The Police Academy In Mogadisho On 16. 9. 75

The leadership of the Police, as well as the rank and file, deserve commendation for the big role they played in the progress of the nation, for keeping the peace in the country, and for their contributions to the economic, political and social advancement of the people.

I recall having a meeting with the top officials of the Police in this very academy during the first year of the Revolution. I recall also how the Police force had carried out its duties in a responsible manner. I told the Police force who gathered here then that the aim of the Revolution was to make possible for the Somali nation to have independence in the real sense of the word, to throw off the shackles which imperialism had imposed on it, and to take its place among the rest of the free nations.

The Somali nation had lost its independence, dignity and unity during the dismal period after independence and before the birth of the Revolution. The Revolution set out to help the nation get back its independence, unity and dignity: just to have a flag is not enough. A nation must have economic, political, social and cultural independence if it has to have dignity and respect in the world. A nation has to have a unity and a common sense of purpose if it wants to make progress.

The Police has to take up a new, honest role in the construction of a new country and the creation of a new society. We all recall that the Police itself had participated in the consfusions, corruptions and the chaos which became a way of life in the country during the pre-independence civilian administrations. The Police, then, must go back to the commendable role it had played during the period preceding the corrupt era.

It is necessary that we ask ourselves, what has the Police accomplished during the five years and eleven months that the Revolution has been in existence? What role has it played in the progress of the nation? and what contributions has it made to the solutions of the problems which the nation had encountered? I would say that it has played such a great role which cannot be all described in words or in writing. The commendable role the Police has been playing in the advancement of the society is reflected in the reputation the Police has gained among the people. Another indisputable proof of the Police contributions to the society is the way it had helped the people during the national catastrophes of cyclones and the drought which had inflicted heavy damages on properties and in which some lives had been lost. The Police had also an important role in the transportation and the resetllement of the drought victims.

At the birth of the Revolution, the nation was in complete disunity and was wallowing in a slimy mud. It had fallen on the shoulders of the Revolution to extricate the nation from that mud and to forge unity among the people of the country. Without unity, it was apparent that the nation could accomplish nothing substantial. It was not easy to drive out of the minds of the people the mental abberations with which they had been living for more than nine years. At the sametime the society had weaknesses which imperialism used to exploit for its own

ends. It is not easy to convince all the members of a whole nation what is in the best interest of the country and its people.

What role has the Police played in enhancing the political maturity of the people and in the creation of unity among them? The Police are stationed everywhere in the country. Its presence is felt in every village, town and city. At the sametime they have an untimited opportunity in mingling with the people. The Police was the most important organ of the Revolution when it came to peace-keeping and the protection of the lives and properties of the people in the villages, towns, cities and rural areas.

You can all remember that murder, robbery, hatred, vendettas and disunity were normal and nobody looked askance at them before the birth of the Revolution. These things were part of the ways of the Somali life. We have now forged unity, and murder, robbery and hatred are anathema to the society of today. The prevalence of mayhem in a society has a retrogressive influence on a society because if the individuals of a community have no security to go about their business, they cannot accomplish much. The Somali society is now secure and It has reached a stage in which it can think and achieve whatever it wants in a peaceful atmosphere.

The question is, doesn't the Police have a bad side to It? Can one say that all the members of the Police act in a responsible manner? When one speaks about a whole force, the emphasis is put on the majority of the people in such a force. The few individuals who do not come up to the mark are not taken into account. If the majority of the people in the force are good, one can say that force is good. We can say that there is an individual, or who do not carry out their duties as they should. There could also be some rotten, tribalistic members in the force. There could be greedy, corrupt individuals and there could be some anti-revolutionary individuals in the Police force. But what importance could such individual have, and should we give him any importance? If 99% of the Police force is good, what importance could the one per cent have? In fact, this one per cent could have no significance what so ever.

Every society creates its own Police force. The objective of the Police force is to protect the lives and the properties of the people of the country it serves. The Police has the duty of protecting the public from the criminals.

How does the public view the Police today? The Police force of today is one of the valuable achievements the country has made. The training and the orientation of a good Police force is an achievement for any country, and it takes patience and time to create such a force. I am not flattering the Somali Police for I was born a Somali and for the Somali nation. Nothing can compel me to engage myself in flattery. If I knew anything wrong with the Police force, I would have pointed it out. I think most of the right-thinking Somalis would agree with me when I say that the nation has a good Police force. I think the Police force is fulfilling the purpose for which it had been created. It has carried out its duties with deligence and dignity. It is the duty of every Policeman, no matter what is his rank, to understand fully his duty towards his society and the responsibility which the society has given him. The society expects from the Policeman to carry out his duties fairly and justly. When he does that, his reward is respect and recognition from his people. One can say that: «a good Police force produces a good policeman, and a good teacher produces a good student».

Who produces a good society then? The Police force plays an important role in the creation of a good society which understands its own interests. The Police contributes greatly to the cultivation of the political awareness of the society and the protection of its dignity and independence. The Police plays a dual role. At one time its duty is to protect all the members of the society, and another time it has a duty to contribute towards the creation of a good society.

Although I have just told you that the Police have been carrying out its duties admirably, we can also say that if one thinks of what we have yet to accomplish, we have done nothing. We haven't yet fulfilled all our duties to the nation and a whole lot is yet to be done. There are still great tasks awaiting us, and this means we should know the right way to do what needs to be done. We have not yet reached the degree of prosperity which we want our nation to have. What is needed then is great effort, presverance and patience.

The Police have been carrying out its duties since the birth of the Revolution, but it must increase its efforts. For example, there is some petty thievery going on in some places in the country. Can we tolerate such thievery? No. Saving the life and property of the members of the Society has been part of the long struggle in which we have been engaged. The citizens of this country have to have stability, peace and security for their lives and property. We put together our resources and manpower in giving protection to the poeple. If someone takes a human life, his life must be forefeit no matter where he is. If somone lost his life, is it necessary to take another one too? Yes, it is necessary because if people know that they can get away with murder, there would be too much killing in the society. In order to discourage murder, we have to exact the ultimately penalty of death from anyone who commits it. We would never let anyone in the society to commit murder and get away with it. Murder and the division of people in society was some of the means imperialism employed when it was executing its notorious policy of «divide and rule». The purpose of this policy was to create friction and enmity among the people so that they would remain divided and weak. When this happened some groups sought the help and protection of the imperialists and ther friends. That was what imperialism wanted. As long as the people were divided and at war with each other, he was the arbiter of all things. That is the tool of the perverted mind of imperialism and no vestiges of it should remain in the Somali society. We will not allow it. Some weak form of the policy of di-

vide and rule might rear its ugly head in the urban centres. Of course the people who make an attempt to employ this old tool would be the imperialists and their lackeys. But what is our duty? We must show no mercy to anyone who is either aiding and abetting the machinations of imperialism, or who wants to cause divisiveness among the people in the country. We must never weaken, or feel discouraged to reach the goals we have set ourselves, or to go back on the decisions we have made. We must always understand the aims of imperialism and its lackeys. In this revolutionary period such tactics would be seen a mile off and would be squashed like a rotten egg before they have time to hatch. The revolution and its thoughts are miles ahead of the imperialists and their rotten lackeys. I have said before, and I would say it again, that the honest revolutionary would always defeat the lackeys, the dishonest, the treacherous and the unpatriots. In the end, the honest revolutionary will always be the victor. The reason the revolutionary always wins is that he does not make mistakes and if injustice is done to him, the machinery of injistice back fires on its creaters. The unjust swallow the poisons they prepare for others.

The Revolutionary understands the goals of his nation and he knows that there are barriers in the way to prosperity. He knows that the road to progress is strewn with thorns, that there are poisonous reptiles in it, and that all kinds of impediments can crop up like mushroom. But the revolutionary has confidence in his nation, in his country, in his people and their destiny and he knows there would be victory. He wades throug the impediments. He knows where he is going and no one makes him lose him way; he knows what he wants to accomplish and no one can make him forget; he knows what would be the fruits of his labor and no one can belittle them, or make them look insignificant. He has a strong personality, and independence of mind and he knows what is in the interest of his nation. But the traitor is like ship without a rudder in a stormy sea. He might labor under a clossal illusion for few days thinking that victory is at hand, but when his machinaitions and intrigues disappear into the

air, he cringes into the rathole from which he emrged. The traitor always sows the seeds of his failure, and the honest revolutionary expedities the doom of the betreyer of his people and country. That is always the end of the traitor.

The Revolution is a continuous process which neither tires nor stops. A proof of this revolutionary process is that for the five years and eleven months the Revolution had been in existence, the nation had been engaged in constant construction of schools, hospitals. wells, roads and so forth. This process will go an, and nothing can stop it. Will there be an end to this process? No the Revolution would bear new fruits each day, and it would get reborn in every year. This continuous process of birth and rebirth would baffle imperialism and would in the end bury it. The history of revolutions had proven that the existance of imperialists and their lackeys necessitates that the revolutionary people all over the world must be at constant war with the teacheries of imperialism and its lackeys. These evil forces are always on the look out for an out let for their energies. If revolutionaries are induced into suppression by their intitial victories, they would soon find out that imperialism has outmaneuvered them and demolished all their initial accomplishments. When imperialism is eganged in propaganda war, the revolutionary in Somalia must know that he is doing the right thing. If imperialists praise Somalia, or keep quite about it, this means the Revolution is not doing all it should have been doing, and new efforts must be made which would make imperialists and their lackeys shout loud and clear. It has been the habit of the imberialists and their lackeys to denounce revolutions; it has never been their habit to praise them. So their denunciations, grumblings and war propaganda is an indication that the Revolution is going ahead at full speed.

What is our purpose? And what is the purpose of the lackeys? Our purpose is to make our nation have prosperity, and to live in peace, dignity and respect in the world. And what is the purpose of the lackey? He wants to fill

only his staumch and have luxuries, He doesn't care whether the rest of the people are starving or not. He would ever betray them to the imprialists for personal gain.

Would you choose to be a revolutionary? Of course, you would chose to be a revolutionary.

We are fighting for the common interests of the Somali masses, and the lackeys are fighting for the interests of the imperialists and the crumbs they are given for their services.

Which is better, both in this world and the next, to serve the common interests of your people, or to serve the interests of imperialism? Who would have better destiny. the venal or the honest? I am stressing this to make you understand that the foundation of every revolution and the basis of every nationalist movement is justice, and justice begins at the Police Station. You must all remember that justice begins from where you work, and it is your duty to make sure that you will not be the cause of injustice. You must all undestand our community and how it thinks and functions. We must all understand the capacity of the human mind and the level of its political awareness. We Must be able to differentiate the common and personal interests when we are engaged in the administration of th peoples' affairs. We protect the rights of the human being.

The fulfillment of these duties would require that the Police should be given training. They must be taught to shun injustice, lies, hypocracy, intrigues and so forth. The foundation of the Revolution is justice and you must all fight for it.

The Revolution wants to wipe out from our society the political economical, and technical ignorance in which it had been floundering a long time. The Police must have certain qualifications which would help him in carrying out his duties. Firstly, he must have more than average political awareness, or at least his political awagress of the nation. I would say to the look-out for the

tise in Police work. Thirdly, he must have preparations for contributing to the political, economic and social progress of his nation. He has to be on the liik-out for the progress of the nation. I would say to the Police «be alert to safeguard the achievements you and your nation have made».

I would conclude my speech by congratulating the Police Force, both its officers and rank and file, for the commendable way it had carried out its duties during the five years and eleven month that the Revolution has been in existence. I urge the Police force to redouble its efforts.

Thank you.

On benefits of acquiring education at home

Jaalle Siad's Speech To Students And professors Of National University Who Have Participated In The Resettlement Of Drought Victims on 1. 10. 75.

May greetings be upon you all. It is an honor for me to participate in this celebration held in honor of the teachers and students who have just returned from carrying out a great national duty. This celebration has a historical flavor to it because it marks the first time that so many educated people have rendered a great service for the masses.

First I would like to point out the signifance of this celebration. It marks the first time that lecturers and professors of the National University and their students have togther helped their brothers and sisters who had been hit by a natural catastrophe. They had gone into difficult and remote places while they had been participating in the transportation and ressettlement of the drought victims. They have acted courageously and patriotically in rendering this great service to their nation. They have lent their brains, their abilities and their muscles to the solutions of the drought problems which had wiped out the livestock of innumerable people.

This massive participation of the educated people in the alleviation of the drought engendered people is an indication that the educated people in the country have understood clearly their duties to their country and people. I would like to congratulate you in the name of the Supreme Revolutionary Council (SRC), the Council of Secretaries, the Government, the others, the workers, the mothers, the Victory Pioneers, the farmers, the armed forces, and the public itself for the way you answered the call of the nation and carried out your national duties.

In truth, one cannot forget or under-estimate the fact that the educated people in this country, whether in the University or lower schools, have understood their destiny, the aims of their nation and its interests as well as the necessity for an economic, political and social advancement. They have also understood the desirable political and economic aims of the Revolution. Such a complete comprehension of what is required of them is a great achievement.

From its inception, the Revolution's political, economical and social objectives were all quite clear and distinct. It knew where it wanted to go, and it knew who its friends and enemies were. There was nothing muddled about its aims.

To give you an example which can substantiate the clarity of the aims of the Revolution, the SRC had passed a few days after its birth, a resolution which established the Somali National University. If you can recall there were some narrow-minded people who did not have the best interests of their nation in their hearts and who were opposed to the establishment of the University. Even some Ministers of the Government had resigned from their posts because of their opposition to the establishment of the University. I remember that one of them had asked me: «how can a University be established if there are no big buildings, huge liberaries, and if there are no grey-haired professors?» I also remember telling him, «My friend, the Universities in the world had

not all started with huge building liberaries filled with books and grey-haired professors. Every University had a humble beginning and it built on that simple foundation. Whether you like or not, the Somali National University is going to be established and it would have a legal existence. Like all the other Universities in the world, the Somali National University would start with the facilities available in the country, and its faculty would consist of the best brains in the country who are willing and ready to put their knowledge at the disposal of their people. If you have no confidence in this educational project, which is very much needed by the people of this country, then you are going to see both the establishment and the National University».

Haven't we succeeded in establishing a full-fledged National University? Aren't we today reaping the fruits of the efforts we spent in establishing it? It is true that the University had a humble beginning. We had to mount an educational campaign whose motto was: «If you know something teach it to the others. If you don't know anything, learn from the others who are ready to teach you what they know». The establishment of the National University had brought in its wake a whole lot of educational changes. The first thing that had to be thought of was the writing of a script for the Somali language. The writing of the Somali language had not come about as an emotional catharsis or chauvinism. It was a level-headed policy. As you can remember the Somalis used to be ruled and taught, whatever rudimentary education they were given, in different foreign languages. This entailed that the school-age child had to be taught a foreign language first in order to understand whatever he was to study. It so happened that each of the different colonial administrations which ruled the country had imposed its language on the people in its administration territory. The multiplicity of foreign language on the people in its administration territory. The multiplicity of foreign languages in the country had, of course, created untold problems for the country. In order to rectify this wrong which had been perpetrated on the Somali nation by colonialism, the Revolution had invented a script for the Somali language. After the script

was written and refined, a national campaign was mounted to spread the writing and reading of the language throughout the length and breadth of the country. When it was seen that the Somali people had mastered the reading and writing of their mother tongue in a remarkably short time, the next logical step was taken. It was made the official language of the country. Soon the mass media took it up as the only way best suited to the dissemination of news for instead of having a small of readers and listners, the radio and the press found themselves catering to the whole Somali nation. The creaky administrative machinery which had been ailing from communication problems ever since the advent of colonialism soon shook itself from the lethary of ages and picked up a fine tune. The judiciary system whose functions have been crippled by a problem of communication also sharted functions better than it ever did. The writing of the Somali language was a revolution by itself, and had made a tremendous contribution to the progress the country had made.

Of course, there had to be systematic plan in the spreadng of the Somali Language. Firstly, it was made compulsory on the Government personal to learn the Somali language, and to take it as the only language of communication in the Ministries, Agencies and instititutions. A special campaign was then mounted to teach the language to the residents in the cities, towns, villages farm settlements and so forth, and that campaign was a hunderd per cent success. Then all the foreign-run schools, and everything else that had anything to do with education was Somalized.

The next phase of the campaign was the teaching of the writing and reading of the Somali language to the people in the rural and the farming settlements in the whole country. All the phases of this educational campaign was pre-planned. There was nothing haphazard about it; it had no stop-gap operations.

When all this had been accomplished, it became necessary to liberate education from the straight jacket in-

to which it was forced by colonialism, and the corrupt administrations which had taken over the rule of the country on independence in 1960. Before the birth of the Revolution, only a limited number of the people had opportunities for education. In order to give opportunity for education to every Somali citizen the Revolution had effected a program of the free education. It was announced that every Somali citizen would have a free education. Money was no longer the open-sasame to the education. Making education free of charge was not enough. It had to be taken out of the main cities and towns to which it was confined and spread to the whole country. Schools had to be built everywhere and teachers and educational facilities provided to every community in the country, no matter how small were the members of that community. What was the use of making education free if the people could not have educational facilities and teachers. Each community was provided with facilities and teachers for up to the secondary education level.

The next stage of this massive educational campaign was the severing of the bonds of the foreign languages which had instilled in the minds of the people the idea that they knew nothing if they did not take their education in a foreign language. The people were brain-washed into believing such an apocryphal statement. So the peopl's minds had to be liberated from such a propaganda. They had to be convinced logically that their mother tongue was the key to a better education; that nothing could be better than studying in your own language which could make your comprehsion of things much better as there would always be difficulty in grasping completely what is written and spoken in a foreign language. There is always something that one cannot understand in a foreign language, no matter how well one knows that language. Thus, the mental dependence on foreign languages had to be wiped out. The majority of the people in the country had to be made realize their interests & the interest of their country. Everybody had to realize that economic independence would remain a dream unless the youth of the nation had taken their university education in the

country and a great number of them came out of the national university. Someone who have had his university education abroad would always have a fussy picture of the real problems and conditions in his country. His thought would always be coloured by a shade of foreign thinking. If that happens, the defence of the country, the dignity and nationhood of the Somalis, the culture and traditions of the nation, the economic plans and policies of the country and so many other things vital to existence of the nation, would all be unwittingly compromised. So University education with deep roots had to be established in the country. The Revolution knew very well that unless all changes were made, and new programmes were lanuched, there would have been little or no real accomplishments.

What fruits had this programme borne? One does not need to seek further than the people present in this hall to see the fruits of the educational programme the Revolution had launched. One was bound to be moved by the Revolutionary zeal with which the lecturers, professors and the students present here have all expressed the essentials of the nation's interests. More than that, the way they had sincerly have carried out their national duties is an adequate vindication of the correctness of the Revolution's educational policies. Of course, the fruits we have managed to get so far are not enough, but what are they? The educational programme the Revolution launched had blossomed and gave forth flowers. Next it will bear the fruits which would be picked by the nation. When enough people gain university education and pass their knowledge to the majority of the people, the nation can say it has picked & eaten the fruits to which it have been tending. We would be expecting from the vast army of people who had expected to appease this hunger are the plan and execute the future economic plans of the country, to raise the political awareness of the country, to defend their country, and to fill all the needs of the country with their expertise.

The nation has picked the fruits of education, tasted its succulence, and it wants to have more and more of it

until it has satisfied the great hunger it has for it. The people who had expected to appease this hunger are the youth of this nation.

What was the reason for all these accomplishments? A clean Revolutionary administration which was not built on injustice, nepotism, favouritism, degradation, but based on the solid foundation of justice, ability, patriotism, national interest, national unity and guided by the famous, known system through which many nations in the world had reached prosperity, political & economic independence and unprecedented technological advancement in a remarkably short time. This system is scientific socialism. If we han't adopted it, what achievements could our country have made? What could have made us think the way we did? What have made us realize that our nation was in a pit of packwardness? What could have made us aware of the pains and difficulties which made our people groan? What would have made us remember our nationhood and dignity? What have made us desire full independence in every respect? If continued with the system inherited from colonialism which was based on tribalism and colonialism, how could we have understood the interests of the nation, or achieved what we did since the birth of the Revolution? Would we have felt the misery of our people? Would we have struggled for the betterment of our nation? No could we have achieved all that we have accomplished through capitalism? No. If capitalism could have effectd progress, why hadn't it done before the Revolution? The people were dying, starving and living in the most abject poverty, why hadn't economic progress been made through capitalism? The reason is simple. Only a scientific Socialism can effect an economic change which makes possible the common ownership of tre means of production, and make a fair distribution of the nation's resources.

I would like to point out to the youth of the nation that they should master the tenets of Scientific Socialism so that they can derive the maximum benefits from it. What are the prerequisites of being a true Socialist? First

of all, he must have good manners and humaness. He must have clear understanding of what is right and what is wrong. He must have integrity, and must know the inestimable value of the human beings. These are the prerequisites to becoming a good Socialist.

What else? One must be a nationalist who knows the value of the rights of one's country; one must uphold the laws of this country, protect its dignity, and the nationhood of one's people; one must realize that nationhood is precious and is not based on tribalism, regionalism and so forth. He must be able to transcend the things that damage nationhood. The one who embraces tribalism and regionalism and who helps imperialism and its lackeys is not a patriot and cannot be a Revolutionary.

If you are a true socialist, what do you need to derive the maximum benefits from socialism? You need to study carefully and in depth the economical, political and sociological principles of scientific Socialism. You must have the horizon and mental capacity to see that socialism has more benefits for yourself and the people of your country than all the other systems in the world. If you understand that much but do not apply it or act on it, what use is to you? It won't do you any good. What benefit is it to you if you don't use it? What should you do? You must apply it and make use of it. You must apply the Socialist principles you have learnt.

It is the duty of the lecturers, professors and students to explain socialism in a way the youngsters, mothers, victory pioneers, the armed forces, the workers, the farmers and the rural residents can understand and retain it.

The courage, determination, perservence and the responsibility the educated people of this country had shown during the resettlement period of the drought victims had given me great encouragement and confidence in their patriotism and abilities. I think what the nation had done during the drought problem was the greatest

achievement. This means the nation has reached a stage of political, social and socialist maturity. Mental independence breeds an independence of action. The Revolution has been protecting the youth and it is going to protect them until they one day take over the reigns of power. As you know there are many countries in which the youth are put in prisons, or machine-guned, or live in misery and oppressed. The question is; are the leaders of these countries ruling wrongly? Or do they have wrong principles? Are the systems they are following utterly wrong for the countries they are ruling? Why are universities closed down? Why are schools under lock and key? Why are students being killed? What is creating all those problems?

The students are the flowers of the country; they are its light; they would be the leaders of tomorrow; they are the people whose brains are expected to think of the future economical, political and social progress of the nation. This is how a socialist views the youth, and we have led them and given them guidance in the light of this vision. What does the killing, the incarceration and the supperssion of students in some parts of the world reflect? It reflects lack of vision and complete waste of the future leaders of some countries.

The way the youth have been participating in the progress of the nation and the way the Somali revolution has been protecting and guding them reflects the fact that this nation has treasured its most valuable asset, its youth. It reflects the recognition they have been given as the leaders of tomorrow. It reflects that such a recognition is not a shadow but a substantial thing.

Our political and economic system is scientific socialism, and we must make it put down roots in the country. A Socialist society is built on the common ownership of the resources of the country, it is based on common decision-making and the common execution of the decision that have been made; it is built on the abiding by the decisions made; it is built on debating the current

and future isuues which have importance for the society. What is the nature and the purpose of this debate? It is a constructive one in which people can contribute toward the progress of the nation. It is a pooling of ideas, brains and minds which can benefit the society as a whole. That is why the revolution has created revolutionary committees in every section of the city, town in every village, settlement, region, district, Ministry instituiton in the country. This means there should not be a single person who by himself makes decisions that are binding on the society. There should not be a snigle person who usurps the power from the people. Not a single brain is power from the people. Not a single brain is powerful enough to rule society. So the brains of the members of the society should be pooled and use must be made of them. The decisions made by the Committees, wherever they are, must be executed. The decisions that have to be executed must be on issues that have been debated, examined, scrutinized and on which common resolutions has been passed. The actual rule of the country must be carried out according to these principles.

If we look at the stages which the lectures and students had passed, one can see that they had started their education at the elementary and finished at the University level. Others are still going through the same stages, or will be going through the same process, and will also finish their studies at the University. What role have the students played in the society? They have played a role whose value is tremendous. They were the ones who carried out their «National Service» duties in every village, every town and city, every farm settlement and the rural areas of the whole country. They were the ones who took a lion's share in the Rural Development Campaign, which was a condition of illiteracy and economic development campaign. They were the pioneers of every project. It would be a serious ommission if I don't give them the credit they deserve. Some of them even died on the national duty. They have played this important role in concert, and in cooperation with the armed forces, the workers, the victory pioneers, the mothers, the farmers, the personnel of the Government and the general public. I congratulate you for the responsible in which you served your nation, in the name of the nation, the SRC, and the Secretaries of the State. Comrades, you have proven that you are prepared to play your rightful role in the progress of the country. I would say; «carry on, my friends».

That is a credit for you, and happiness and encouragement for the good hearted Somalis. I am sure you have gained a great experience in the «National Service», which you might never have otherwise. I am sure you have immersd yourselves in the true and pure elements of the traditions and culture of your country. I am sure what you have learnt would be of great use to you in your life. I hope that every time you get a chance, you would live with the public and work with them.

Teachers, students, the administrators of the University and the youth in general, long live the students. Long live Somalia. Long live Socialism. Long live the unity of the Somali people. Long live the progressive nations, peace and justice. Down with international imperialism.

Thank you.

Advice to students

President Delivered This Speech To Students Who Completed Training Course In Halane. on 4. 10. 75.

What have the Somali youth understood about the Revolution after it has been in existence for six years? One can understand that the youth would feel disoriented and grumble for the first few days they are in this academy, but one can also understand such grumblings and disorientation are based on the personality of the individual. Of course, the initial disorientation disappears after the students get adapted to their new environment.

The Revolution would bear the greatest fruits for the present and future generations. Aspirations and hopes are driving forces of the human being. The human being cannot live by bread alone. He must have other things besides food. When the human being has liberty, independence, justice, a means of livelihood, then he can think of his future and destiny. Every human being has aspirations and thinks about his future.

You are boys and girls and everyone of you would naturally be thinking of his future, and it is correct that you should all be thinking of your future. When you ask yourselves «Is the Revolution good for my future?», what would be your answers after the Revolution has been in

existence for six years? Is the Revolution working the way you would like it to work and for the common interest of the masses, or is it going the wrong way and the people in responsibility are using it for their awn interests? Do we have clear policies which do not brook misinterpretations or confusions, and which can be unedrstood by everyone? Is there an economic plan which can be the foundation for sound political policies? Isn't there educational and technical advancement being made? Isn't the Revolution doing every thing possible to improve the standard of living of the people ? Isn't the Revolution defending the nationhood and dignity of the Somali people? Isn't a progress of that kind being made, which can make possible for the individual to say, «the Society is making a progress which promises a good future for everyone?» Isn't the Revolution engaged in the construction of an economy geared toward the betterment of the masses? Arn't there forces that can protect the common interest of the people in this country? What are our objectives, and what do we want to accomplish?

After the Revolution has been in existence for six years, we need to take stoke of ourselves. We need to question ourselves to see whether we are on the right track or not. Since you are the educated youth of this country, you have a historical duty to yourself and to the country to take stock of yourselves and the country. It is your duty to ask the people who administer the affairs of the country to give an account of what they are doing on behalf of the people. You must tell them «you have gotten off the main road to progress» if that is what you really think. You are the youth of the country for whom a good future is being built. What, then, is your duty ? Isn't it your duty to protect your future prospects ? Shouldn't you struggle for ensuring a good future for yourselves and your country? Shouldn't you be more productive than anyone else since you are the ones who would benefit from such a production more than anyone else? Shouldn't you excell in whatever you are doing since you are the people with fresh minds and fresh energies ?

I am posing all these questions for you so that you can weigh your role and your achievements. I think one has to constantly weigh his actions and achievements if one wants to know how well he is doing in whatever he undertakes to do. The systematic analysis of one's actions and achievements spares one a lot of trouble. After you finish your study in this academy, you shall be given responsibilities. But your responsibilities start today. Before you came to this Academy, you were under the protecion and care of your parents. In all the years you have been growing up, your country was tending to you like flowers since you are the cream of its people who would benefit it tomorrow. Today you have reached a stage in your life, which puts the focus on you. Now the people are saying, «What are they going to do?» Would they contribute to the alleviation of the country's problems? Would they constitute a clan administration? What are they going to do?».

When you go to a district, or any place, to carry out your «National Service» duties, everybody would be looking at you. You would be like an insect under a microscope for the people would be scrutinizing your actions and behalvior. The reason you are being singled out for observation is people have now political maturity and are no longer in the darkness of ignorance. The public can put everyone's actions on the scale, and say, «is this one carrying out his duties, or is he a corrupt person. This is the criteria the public would be applying against you.

I think that lessons on Government and administration should be included in your studies. The lessons you would be given are not going to be the ordinary lessons one usually takes in schools. You are going to be given special lessons on how to run the affairs of the nation. The special training you would be given would prepare you for shouldering your responsibilities in the new society which would not forgive you if you do not act in a responsible manner. We have been engaged in a gradual development. We had long passed the stage we could

tolerate the useless and the reactionary. We are now interested in helping the useful and the responsible people who are prepared to serve their nation with honesty and determination.

Part of your studies here would teach you how to initiate, plan and execute policies. Let me elaborate on this point. What is the art of Government? What are the duties of the individual when he is put in a position of responsibility? His first duty is to examine himself. He must ask himself «are there some parts of my personality which cannot go along with my new responsibility?»

For example, if one knows that he has a bad temper, he must be on the alert for his boiling point. He should crub it forcefully. He must be telling himself constantly, «I am going to carry out my duties in a responsible manner». If one rules himself first by denying himself what one wants and does what is right, such a person can be said to have taken a great step forward in becoming a responsible person. The person would be put in a position to choose between what one might want and the duty which is what the nation wants. Thus one must be careful not to be driven by the false desires of one's inner being. One should be someone who can see clearly where one's duty lies; someone who can be seen by the society as dedicated. The emergence of such a mentality in the majority of people in a society takes a long time. A Socialist society makes a rapid development when the majority of its people are serving their common interest. But who is the public? You yourself are part of the public. You are a member of the public. If the public prospers, you are going to get part of that prosperity. That is the real meaning of working for the common good. You must ask yourself «for whom am I working?» Of course, the answer to that question is «I am working for the public». Since you are one of the public and since you are bound to get your share of whatever prosperity the nation gets, then, it follows that you are working for yourself.

Now let us turn into talking about the Society. You are living and working with members of the Society. How are you going to act toward these people? Once you understand your duties, your responsibilities and how to carry them out, you would find no difficulty in knowing how to act towards the people with whom you live and work. The important thing is to differntiate what is persanal and what is a national duty. How would the people trust you and think that you are a responsible person ? You must be fair and just. When a person is in a responsible position, he must act like the head of family who rules. To the responsible person, public property and funds must be a forbidden fruit. They must never be put into a personal use. No one should ever be greedy enough, or foolish enough, to put them into a personal use.

The person in a responsible post should not be like a vessel in which the car men, the tricksters and the show-off can fill with whatever they want. He must be the one who winds them up like a toy; he must be the one who orients them to the right direction; he must be one who can teach them the right from the wrong; he must be the one who can steer them to right road.

I would like to end my speech by wishing you success and properity. I hope you would grow into upright citizens, and not reactionaries and imperialist lackeys. I hope you would be men and women who would help your nation in creating a healthy new society. I hope you would be among those who would win the praise and respect of your people.