

COLLECTED SPEECHES • 1970—1971

VOLUME II

**MY COUNTRY AND  
MY PEOPLE**

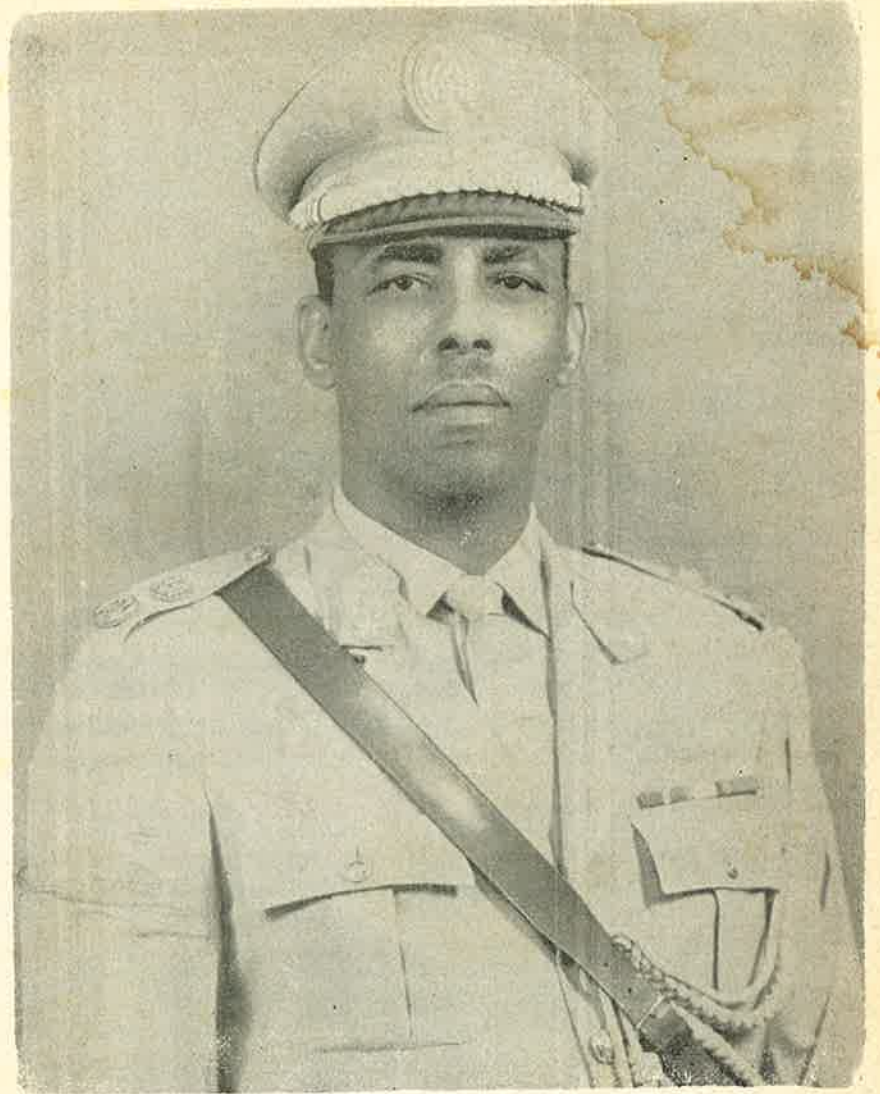
# **MY COUNTRY and MY PEOPLE**

**Vol. II**

**The collected speeches of  
Major-General Mohamed Siad Barre,  
President, The Supreme Revolutionary Council,  
Somali Democratic Republic**

**Published by  
The Ministry of Information and National Guidance,  
Mogadishu**

**October 1971**



Major-General Jaalle MOHAMED SIAD BARRE  
President, The Supreme Revolutionary Council,  
Somali Democratic Republic

## INTRODUCTION

*THE Revolution that created the Somali Democratic Republic just one year ago was not an exercise in the seizure of power for power's sake. It sprang from disillusionment and the blatant misuse of authority that gave privilege to the few and poverty to the masses.*

*Fortunately a sense of true dedication to the cause of Somalia still beat strongly in those who saw the coming crisis and had the means to avert it.*

*Since the Revolution there has been no attempt to hide the grim truth about our condition from the people. Every attempt has been made, honestly and sincerely, to galvanise our nation into positive action in solving by our own means if we can, the enormous problems that face us.*

*We have called upon our people to recognise the importance of self-reliance; to make that gigantic effort*



of mind and body to create a better Somalia. We have addressed this appeal to the educated and the illiterate, because Somalia belongs to both.

We have at all times insisted that the whole nation should see our problems in realistic terms, and in seeking to devise solutions, to attempt always what lies within our own capacity.

The fruits of these revolutionary endeavours are very plain for all to see in our urban centres and in the remote rural communities throughout the whole country. The people of Somalia have, through the dynamic leadership of the Revolution, discovered a latent ability that has become the new force for achievement in our country.

The cardinal points of our Revolutionary philosophy are enshrined in the numerous public utterances to our people by Major-General Mohamed Siad Barre, President of the Supreme Revolutionary Council of the Somali Democratic Republic. Those speeches, now the content of this book, have been our inspiration to achievement.

**Col. Ismail Ali Aboker**

**Secretary of State for Information and  
National Guidance  
Mogadishu.**

**October 21, 1971**

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# A SECOND REVOLUTION

October 21, 1970

TODAY we celebrate the first anniversary of our second Revolution, so to speak. Last July first, we celebrated the tenth anniversary of our independence.

Why this second Revolution? What is the substantial difference? Africa has often experienced revolutions of this nature.

Some revolutionary states face enormous difficulties, often created for the purpose of discouraging them. Some leaders have shown herculean endurance in facing the challenge. I would like to remember one of the last victims among these giants: President Gamel Abdel Nasser, and I ask you to dedicate one minute of respect and prayer to his memory.

For us it is enough that the people have understood the basic motive of our Revolution. It is enough for us that the results of this year are in evidence, and



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it is not possible to describe these results in one phrase.

The social projects achieved by our people under the established self-help system are remarkable. The whole city has changed its face. Our people decided that dilapidated houses, slums, and the like, have no place among us. Our people are coming to realise that in order to change a situation, it is not the financial resources that count as much as the determination of men and their ability.

Education is achieving a success that has been inconceivable until recently. Despite the limits of a multi-lingual and unsuitable educational system, our teachers and the department concerned, animated by the Revolutionary spirit, are preparing an adequate programme for the coming year.

It is our intention to revise and overhaul our schools and the system of bringing up our students and sending them to foreign academies. This latter practice must be brought to an end. We want our students to understand our own environment. We want hard workers and real innovators.

Even mass literacy is not an end in itself. It has the specific function of enhancing the awareness of the masses to their own condition and their commitment to the responsibilities of social coexistence and the methods of production. The self-help schemes are now a part of our educational system, especially in the role of developing the community's conscience.

Our present budget does not allow health assistance to be as ample as it should be. The increasing

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number of hospitals and dispensaries built or under way, the integrated policy of medicine, the presence of doctors in the regions, and the creation of professional schools for nurses will enable us to meet the growing needs of our people.

In security and justice, new criteria and principles have been adopted. From a state of confusion, incoherence, injustice and never-ending tribal conflicts, we have moved to a situation in which we have restored the sovereignty of the State, guaranteeing the security of the citizen and the just and firm application of law. This has shown an immediate and remarkable decrease in common delinquency and disturbances among the nomadic population, and has brought with it a great sense of responsibility in the urban centres.

In many countries the exercise of power by the Armed Forces has not been crowned with the success that was expected. But we want to make some key concepts clear. Our soldiers are not the products of a privileged class. They are the sons of farmers, nomads, small craftsmen and ordinary workers, and they draw the smallest salaries in the Republic. And if they took over a year ago, in the name of the people, the difficult responsibility of depriving authority from a clique that claimed a self-styled parliamentary democracy, it was because they felt themselves an integral part of the people; the nation which had become the victim of flagrant plunder.

After a decade of waiting and of vain hopes for improvement, their faith was betrayed by what one African leader called «clique sovereignty.» The Revo-

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lution acted to gain control of the nation's destiny, and in so doing they have fulfilled the aspirations of the people. And it is our firm intention to meet these aspirations in a worthy fashion.

The structure of our society and the framework of our economy contain the only possible alternative for a rapid economic and social rise. In Somalia there are no classes in the Marxist sense; rather we are nomads, farmers, small employees and soldiers.

In our Revolution we believe that we have broken the chain of a consumer economy based on imports, and we are free to decide our destiny. And in order to realise the interests of the Somali people; their achievement of a better life, the full development of their potentialities and the fulfilment of their aspirations, we solemnly declare Somalia to be a Socialist State.

We are perfectly aware of the fact that many declarations of the Socialist doctrine have fallen short of the expectations of the people, largely because many nations have taken up socialism as a mere object of ornamentation, without in any way endeavouring to satisfy its minimum requirements. Consequently, there are many adaptations and versions that are used as a guide.

We do not want to delude ourselves by accepting some formula or a set of untenable concoctions in the belief that these will solve our problems. What we propose is, very simply, the adoption of the most scientific method that will enable us to realistically face the conditions of economic underdevelopment in our society.

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All the means of production will be controlled by the State. This move was set in motion by the nationalization act of last May. The purpose of this is obvious. We are convinced that if the economy and the means of production are in the hands of a particular group or organisation, it will be impossible to free the masses from exploitation, and it will be impossible to distribute the national income equally.

In order to utilise powerfully our means of production, ministerial and technical committees are already working on a three-year plan for the economy. The stress in this programme will be on two traditional sectors of Somalia's economy: agriculture and livestock. Any attempt to launch into industrialisation will be doomed to failure until these two sectors have been transformed.

Our agricultural methods of production are not entirely adequate for our programmes. Only a small proportion of the arable land available is presently under cultivation. On livestock development, the shortage of water is our main problem, and in the move to solve this, hundreds of «wars» were dug under self-help schemes.

The first stage of our general strategy is to carry out fundamental projects. These are the Fanole Dam in Juba, the salt works of Hafun in (Bossaso Region), and the Mogadishu-Bossaso-Burao road. In accordance with our principles and philosophy, these require careful examination to avoid hasty action and unnecessary pitfalls.

We maintain that Socialism is a more acceptable ideology because it gives dignity to man and his che-

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rished values, and equality of rights and opportunities for prosperity and happiness. We affirm again our faith in the Charter of the United Nations and in the Charter of the OAU. As we have often said before, we follow a policy of neutrality, adhering to the spirit of the Bandung conference.

But we cannot close our eyes to the deadly threat that faces the African continent today, and we do not confuse our real friends with our enemies. The threat that faces the UAR and other African countries, is a threat directed against the whole of Africa.

We have declared ourselves neutral, but we recognise that neutrality has its limits in the face of violations by our enemies. The Africa of 1970 is moving toward realisation of the need for a concrete unity in intention and a common concern for its self-defence. In this connection, Somalia always promotes, either within the OAU or with other African countries, new instruments capable of thwarting direct and indirect aggression from outside.

Esteemed friends, you have honoured us with your presence on our happy anniversary. You will see that Somalia does not wish to remain isolated from international problems, nor does it intend to remain indifferent to conflicts and divisions that are taking place in the Third World. I extend a message of peace and solidarity to all through you, our honourable guests.

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*Islam  
and Socialism*

## THE ROAD TO PROGRESS

October 22, 1970

YOUR gathering here today is in support of the principles we have proclaimed. We thank you — while thanking God, that you have understood with us where your interests lie. We must not refrain from realising your interests for any reason whatever.

Your gathering here today resembled the one you staged when, together, we removed the ugly cover under which the imperialists used to hide. By doing so, we are declaring what we want, and the things in which our interests lie, as well as the road along which we can progress at full speed.

Coming down to the crux of the matter, I have to tell you something of what socialism is all about. Socialism, work and wealth-sharing mean that we should realise the unity and cooperation of the Somali people, by pooling their strength and their wisdom in making a good life. Then, wearing the honour of their nation-

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lism and socialism, to move in one direction, and to be freed from what is called seeking help from others: inferiority, begging, social discrimination and the like, in order to become free and independent from all of these.

Socialism is the only way by which we can realise what we want. It is the only way that will lead to justice and equality among the people. It is the only way through which the people can have the same rights. It is the only way that can put an end to the situation where there is one who is fully contented, and one who is starving.

Socialism will enable every Somali to get medical attention, and it will ensure that every Somali can work for the better life he should live in this world. The people can then share this life in an honest, just and equal way. The Government will guide the people along this path. This is what socialism is all about — basically, it means work and wealth-sharing.

Socialism provides the way in which the people can really govern their own country; a government run by the workers and the intellectuals. It is the principle that fights against a few people, or groups of people, exploiting the majority and sucking their blood. This is socialism.

Socialism means that the person who toils should enjoy the fruits of his toil. It does not provide for the person who did not toil, but sat in the shade, to receive benefits while the hardship falls on the workers and other people. This is not socialism.

Socialism is the only way through which it is pos-

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sible to preserve and hold high Somali honour, internally and externally.

Anyone who deviates from this road is putting Somali honour, unity and progress under his foot. We say: down with him! The one who is against socialism is the bad one we threw away from this red-brick building that belongs to the Somali people. He is the one who used to sit in it and was colonised in it. He is the one behind which the colonialists used to hide. He is the one who opposes socialism.

Socialism, as I have said, takes us along the road to justice, equality and a dignified life.

Where did socialism originate? Who brought it about? Many people are in confusion about this. We say that it has come from the Muslim people. We say that it has its roots in Islam. It is not, as has been interpreted by those I referred to sometime ago as «Wadad honka» (the pseudo-religious man), and the «ta'liin honka» (the one with the bad education).

I called him «Wadad honka» he who does not know the religion of God, but who corrupts it and misinterprets it.

I called him «Ilmi honka» he whom knowledge and education did not soak through his skin; who did not follow it down to its roots. He who does not know its application, but on whose shoulder perches the mere copy, I called him «Ilmi honka.»

Any other person — with the exception of those two — who is really educated and who knows the meaning of socialism, can talk about it. Any religious person who knows the fundamentals of religion or the history of Islam, can also talk about it.

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Do not listen to any of those two bad ones; they are useless.

I say that those two bad ones are the real enemies. We know very well those who were exploiters in the past, and who now stand ready for the resumption of their occupation. We know what they are, and the way we can counteract them is clear to us. But the unknown ones who hide among us are the «Wadad honka» and the «Ilmi Humaha». And they should be brought out into the open.

That my words have a solid base is supported by the story I am going to relate. It took place historically at the time when Islam was engaged in its Holy War, as we are today.

I take our prophet Mohamed as an example, may God be pleased with him. When the Muslims were going out for a holy war, such as we fight today against humiliation, disorganisation, discord, colonialism, hunger and ugliness and against non-believers, a man brought two horses with him, because he was wealthier than the rest of the people. Some people brought provisions with them, while others had nothing to take along.

Then the Prophet made them all sit and share what they had. He told them to take with them equal things and in this way move out to fight the enemies. This accord was implemented. He who had two horses, gave one to a horseless colleague, and the one with provisions, shared it with others. Then the holy war was waged, and the Moslems won the day, since there was justice and equality among all of them.

The imperialists lost no time in getting to work among the loyal and honest public, secretly spreading

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the lie that «Socialism means the sharing of wives. It means the confiscation of all property.»

Whose custom is it to hide themselves and avoid publicity? That is the habit of the thief and the cheat. He who speaks the truth or believes in a good principle or has a clear objective, no matter where that objective may lead, does not hide himself but comes out into the open. We must refute their allegations and say that there is no truth in their talk.

In accepting Socialism, it was our intention to free our people from enslavement. We take into account our country, our interests, and our enemy. This is in full accord with the principles of Socialism.

Those I have been talking about, the «ta'liin hune» say that camels in the Haud should be confiscated, and they thus twist the principles of Socialism. They say that the sheep in Mudug should also be confiscated. Since they have only heard about Socialism and know nothing about its principles or how these are applied in order to be successful, they say that the retail shop at Bulow Eillay should be nationalised, without even understanding the meaning of the word.

We do not agree to this. The camels in the Haud and the sheep will be held by their owners. Its owner will retain the shop. What we are going to do is this: we will stop the situation in which people can exploit the workers. That should no longer exist. No one should be on the top of two, three or four hundred people, but people will all work together and will eat together. This is what we want, and that is Socialism. The riches of the country — those possessing property and shops will continue to have them — but the essential things for life and progress must be shared

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by all Somalis in a just and equal way. These are our principles.

The hyenas who repeat the words of the imperialists and talk about confiscations and urge the people to take their money out of the bank, will continue to say these things. We say that those who want to side with them can take their money from the bank. We do not want it. We are satisfied with you who are standing here with those of us who have the same principles and are honest Somalis. We have no need of the reactionary or his followers. Nevertheless we will try to orientate them.

Time does not permit me to go into as much detail as I would like in making these clarifications to you on this occasion, but I would like to express my thanks in the name of the SRC and the Government to all the Somali people who are united and are heading in the same direction.

We are united and tribalism is with us no more. Long live Somalia in place of tribalism. May God keep you in peace.

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## THE TEACHER IN SOCIETY

October 30, 1970

IN the name of the Somali people I extend my thanks to the teachers and students who took part in nation-building activities since last October 21.

Reviewing your activities over the past twelve months, I have noted your support for the Revolution and the SRC, thereby approving the Army's assumption of power and the plight from which we saved the country.

When we proposed to the nation that it was better for us to rely on ourselves and concentrate on our own interests, you clarified your concurrence with us, and you acted accordingly. You realised that we could do something for ourselves.

You followed this decision with actual fulfilment, and have played a notable part in the orientation of our people towards progress. Your stand has made it possible to strike fear in the hearts of our enemies



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who prefer to see us limp and unable to do anything. It has also elated our friends who want to see us in a position of prestige and ability with the rest of the world.

As the younger generation who have inherited this country and are now guiding its destiny, I would like to talk to you about the politics of our country. You are a most deserving group, and I would have liked very much to have had the workers here as well so that I could address them as well as the students and their teachers.

What specifically are the responsibilities and duties of teachers and students to their nation and country? This is an important question which every group should ask themselves so that they may understand clearly.

The teacher the world over shapes the will, the mind and the dignity of the people. He instills a knowledge of science, the frontiers of which have today been extended to the moon and space. Students get all these from the teacher, and the student in turn will become the teacher. The teacher plays an important part in the realisation of all that we call progress today — whether that is science and technology or such abstract values as nationalism, liberty, humanity, dignity and others. So you will see that the teacher is a key figure with these factors that make it possible for any country with a backward economy to develop. Economic development does not come about by itself. It is not a conjuror's act, but man creates it with his own mind and his own actions. But these are shaped in the right way by the efforts of the teacher over a

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long period of time. A politician, for example, does not come out of the blue. He must be brought up by the teacher who gives him the necessary ability to become a suitable politician for his people and his country.

In short, what is a teacher? He can truthfully be regarded as a father or a mother, in the same way as we refer to the country as a mother. There is nothing more respectable.

What are the responsibilities of such a person in present day Somalia? What are the responsibilities of the student, the would-be teacher, politician, scientist, philosopher or economist?

The first duty of both the teacher and the student is the understanding which you have shown of the true stage of the development of your country — an understanding for which I thank you. We have to leave behind the old lies, the hollow pretensions to use-<sup>pr. dt</sup>less pride and all other negative attitudes. We have to regain our true selves as Somalis who always look after and defend the interests of their country. A Somali must not take himself for what he is not, nor should he forget what he really is. He should always be willing to defend his rights.

What does it mean to take one's self for what one is not? It is when a person likes an economy which does not belong to him; when one takes the knowledge of others as his own, and when one believes that he has gained heights he has never attained.

This should not be taken as discouragement. Far from it. It is intended to find the true and realistic basis from which to launch the future development of the country. If I buy a suit, put on a tie, and walk



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down the streets telling myself a lie by pretending to be what I am not, then it is impossible for me to do anything for my country.

Our knowledge of ourselves should not be based on how we look, that is the appearance that is created by our clothes; not on our pretensions, but on our true worth as human beings and as educated people. One should make sure that he does at least one good thing for his country and people every day.

I would now like to sum up the role of the teacher and the student in nation-building by saying that you are the people who are going to lead the country tomorrow. Your responsibility therefore is not confined to your defense of the country only in thought, plans, allusions and education, but also by taking into your own hands the economy of the nation and its defense against the enemies of the Revolution. We must value the Somali man whose humanity was denied him. We must plan to coordinate our thoughts and actions. They should have no flaws whatever through divergence of thought and action. May God bless you. Let us proceed to build every aspect of our country.

I have said let us proceed, but where?

I shall tell you where we should proceed and the principles we should follow. We proceed to realise the principles of Socialism, but we should not proceed before we understand them thoroughly. If Socialism has no benefits for us, then we must throw it away and take something else instead. But if it has value, we must adopt it.

When we adopt it, we must be sure that the interests of the masses of our people are served by it. If

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it doesn't, we must throw it away. We must ask ourselves why we are adopting Socialism.

It is our considered opinion, and I am sure you will agree, that we are under no compulsion to do disservice to our people and our country. We should rather choose to die before we do that. This is why we have adopted Socialism.

Lately there has been a profusion of comments on the subject. Many people do not understand Socialism well, or it has wrongly been interpreted to them. There are differences from one country to another. Every nation has certain characteristics: its laws, its economy, the way a nation thinks. Differences must arise from these peculiarities. Our Socialism must lead us along the shortest possible way to unity, justice and a better life for the masses.

This leads me back to our traditional way of life as a nation. If we ignore our traditional life passed down to us from father to son, we cannot achieve anything. We have to promote the good aspects of our traditional life and warn our people against evil ones, lest their efforts go with the wind.

Many are the examples of a man who travels all the way from Las-Khorey to Ras-Chambioni with nothing but his own stick in hand. With no provisions at all, he travels, relying on his fellow countrymen. What is this? Is it not Socialism?

It is a traditional law of ours to feed one's guest. Which one of us goes to bed at night without taking good care of our guests? What is this? Is it not Socialism?

This man did not work for the food, drink and the

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bed he was given. Why does the other man offer them? Is it not because our customs have deeper roots in Socialism — in helping each other.

If I try to count all these Socialist manifestations in our traditional way of life, it will take a great deal of time. This is so because, thank God, I know and love Somali life and history. I did not come through the window. I have always loved my people and all that is Somali above those of other people and nations, no matter how good they are.

I can cite these in poems and proverbs which are now becoming alive again. To cite one example, a poet said:

I ask him who has tasted knowledge,  
Is it something of which one ever has his fill?  
I ask him who has travelled the country,  
Is food something to be miserly with?

You will see that the poet is against those who eat alone and never care about the rest of the people.

\* We are Muslims. What is the incompatibility between our religion and socialism? Some people say that since we have adopted Socialism, we have to dispense with Islam. This is not true. Why should we throw away our religion? Does our religion oppose the economic development of our people? Our religion promotes it. We shall preserve our religion and build a socialist society.

The only way we can break the hold of poverty is by working hard. To those who think they are rich, I want to tell them that we do not want their money, and it is too small to help us anyway. We counsel the

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Somalis to have confidence in themselves. To foreigners, we say you have been doing business in this country for some time. We will not accept colonialism. You are no longer our colonisers because we are an independent nation today. We have nothing against you if you choose to live among us.

\* Tribalism has been abolished, but genealogy has not been abolished. What has been abolished are those aspects of it that harmed our interests, our nationalism, and our statehood. But this should not harm the country, Somali dignity or progress. It should not be used as a cover either.

We all know the Somali traditional way of life. It was based on tribalism, and it had to sustain it a «hir» and a folklore passed down from father to son. When it was misused to cheat people, to worsen things, to divide people and to sow discord among them, it became ugly. That is why we abolished tribalism.

In reality every tribe was a small state. Which are we to choose: a Somali state based on nationalism and unity, which is strong and able to stand against its enemies and is in a position to compete with other nations, or a multitude of small states? We chose the bigger state and abolished tribalism.

We have abolished dia payments because it led to division among the people. It provided the incentive to the killing of Somali people in exactly the same way as one would slaughter animals. «I will kill you in the street and only pay two shillings,» became a common boast. There is the example of the teacher, soldier or civil servant, stationed at Ras Chambioni, whose livestock inherited from his father, are looted in Galkayu

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? } because a member of his tribe killed a person. If a person has killed another, why is he not held responsible for murder? The tribe should not pay for the action of the criminal. In this way we have only made a hero of the person who has made a mockery of the law, religion and the principles of human dignity. We have abolished everything that had been in the name of the tribe, and such institutions as Ugas, Iman, Boghar, Mallag, and others. These are no more. We want every Somali to be satisfied in his own country, enjoying full justice and his legitimate rights. We have nothing against those who held positions of tribal leadership. There are many good men among them, who contributed to our struggle for independence, and we know them to be enthusiastic supporters of the principles of the Revolution. Personally no blame attaches to them. But this is not to say that there are no black sheep among them.

This country will never break faith with its good sons. To the aged persons who served their country in the past and who are now loyal to the Revolution, a bright future awaits them. The country needs its good citizens in many capacities.

We want the young and educated generation to understand very clearly the realities of the country's politics. I have been told that one of those foreigners who do not like us, told a young educated Somali that he could go to the foreigner's country on a scholarship if he so wished. The young man declined the offer, saying that he wished to put himself and his education at the disposal of his country and his people. The foreigner shook his head. «It is impossible that the Somalis will ever achieve unity,» he said. «It is only Mohamed

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Siad and a few others who talk about it, but things will go back to where they used to be. Why don't you spend a short period in my country?»

This foreigner is still here, and he meets many of us. I am pointing this out to you because these are the principles of the foreigners. We are not going back. Never again will we seek aid from him, his country or his like. We will grow our own maize with our own hoes. We will prove these prophets of doom wrong. We have to begin our work in earnest. The task of nation-building stretches before us.



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# A NEW MILITARY BARRACKS

November 1, 1970

I Am happy to see that the principle of self-reliance, the keynote of the Revolution, has borne fruit in such a short time. You have done an excellent job in the construction of this new barracks.

The credit goes to those officers who directed and supervised the work, and to the technicians who proved their capability and talent in the good work they have done, and to the Army men who toiled during the construction of this barracks.

Millions of shillings have been saved on this project, and this money will be spent on development programmes that will give employment opportunities to Somalis.

You are not only defending your country from internal and external enemies, but also from disease, hunger and ignorance. By undertaking valuable work on self-help schemes that save money you are defeating our major enemies.

The Army should continue to set this kind of good example in nation-building.

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## CHANGING THE COUNTRY THROUGH SELF-HELP

November 7, 1970

IT is a great honour for me to meet you here this morning and to commend you on behalf of the people, the Revolutionary Council, and the Government for the good work you have done during the past year. I have been informed of the great deal of work done in the city of Hamar.

The nation has passed the test of whether it could do something for itself or not. You have contributed 48,000 shillings towards the reconstruction of the fire-gutted Juba Hotel, in addition to other contributions you have made to other diverse development projects. You have also taken part in the general clean-up of the city and taken the lion's share in the preparations for the October 21 celebrations.

You have helped also in giving the capital city of Mogadishu a better face than it ever had before. Mo-



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gadishu was the main window through which other people viewed Somalia, and the foreign guests who were here for the October celebrations went home with very favourable impressions about Somalia.

The enemies of Somalia have increased since the nation had decided to rely on its own resources, but «we are not the slaves of anyone except the Almighty God».

I call on those of you who are on the right path to re-orient those who have been led astray and were engaged in anti-revolutionary activities.

Let us abandon the idea of begging from others, whether they be friend or foe. Today we are able to pay the salaries of the State employees out of the revenue collected from our meagre resources. The wheel of government machinery will not be slowed down.

Our sovereignty must be upheld by rising to all challenges and accepting all sacrifices and possible reductions in salaries. We must try harder and persist in our work, so that we can forge ahead with the utmost confidence in ourselves, and relying only on God.

A large number of our urban people live in Mogadishu, which is the most densely populated city in our country. In order to maintain good health standards, the cleanliness of the city is of paramount importance.

We will soon start to construct new roads in nearly all parts of the city, with the cooperation of all the people. We will also construct playgrounds for the general well-being of the children.

We should also advise the people to paint all cor-

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rugated iron roofing sheets in order to prevent them from rusting and frequent replacement. The people should also be orientated to rid themselves of the hatred of the past, and begin to love each other instead. We have to guide our people to the correct path and oppose all corrupt deeds prevalent among our society. He who undermines us is our enemy and we will not allow him to inflict damages on the masses of the people.

I thank you again for what you have achieved in the past and for what you will achieve in the future. The achievements attained by a person or a group for their country will be justly rewarded.

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## ORGANISING PHARMACIES INTO COOPERATIVES

November 21, 1970

THE government has decided to organise the pharmacies in the capital into cooperatives in order to safeguard the health and welfare of the people.

At present, profit-seekers bring in various kinds of medicines and sell them at exorbitant prices. This will no longer happen.

In Somalia it was the practice for people to set up the same kind of business as that opened by others a few days previously. The government will watch very closely to see that this practice is discontinued.

As a nation which has decided to follow socialist policies, we will work with our own strength, wealth and knowledge. We shall no longer allow the country's wealth to flow into the hands of foreigners as in the past.

We have staged the Revolution for the sake of the Somali people. Therefore the government has a great responsibility to safeguard the welfare of the people.

There will be laws for these cooperatives and each cooperative should have its own experts in every field.

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## IDD - EL - FITR GREETINGS

November 30, 1970

IN the name of Allah, the Merciful, the Compassionate.

After sending my greetings to you all, I thank God for enabling all of us to survive thirty days of hard test. It is a great pleasure to end the fast today after everyone of us has ascertained the extent of his endurance. It is the wisdom of «Allah» that Moslems should recall the sins they have committed during the past twelve months in order to repent and seek pardon.

It therefore gives me great pleasure to congratulate you on this occasion in which we are today celebrating the passing of thirty days of test, and are asking for God's forgiveness. Our Holy prophet has decreed that no Moslem should be allowed to fast or feel hungry or be left starving on such a day. The deeper significance of this order is that any Moslem



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who can afford to do so should feed those who have nothing to eat on that particular day. It calls on us all to share what we have, without letting anybody have what others don't, and thus teaches the lofty principles of socialism. This applies not only on Idd day but also during the month of Romadan when both well-to-do and poor Moslems are required to fast in order to enhance the equality and the brotherhood of the Moslems.

Islam decrees that the rich have to feel the pangs of hunger and starvation during the day time in order to be familiar with the plight of the poor. The wisdom of Allah is further manifested in that whoever lives in luxury has to help those who are underfed and support them.

My heartiest congratulations to you all for having done your religious obligations in regard to your Almighty God. I wish you happiness on this Idd Festival which purifies the soul and delights it. May God help us in creating a prosperous Moslem world.

I take this opportunity to commend Islam for directing human efforts towards the creation of a prosperous and healthy community. It refutes that weak assumption that Allah will feed everyone, and that one need not worry or exert himself in order to earn a living; but that he should be seated in the Mosque worshipping his God and waiting for an unearned livelihood.

God does not only like prayers but also good works and he rewards you when you feed your children with lawful earnings. When our Holy Prophet saw a man who was begging, he said, «It is better to go

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and collect firewood than to beg from others.» I would like to expose the colonial trick in which the old colonisers taught that Moslems will own the other world while others own this one.

Islam teaches that we should work equally hard for both places i.e. this world as well as the other one. The Holy Quran mentions that we should look after our trade and business even after attending Friday prayers and when other prayers are over. I therefore call upon the Somali people to follow the right path of Islam which teaches us to work both for this world and the eternal life.

By leaning on Almighty God we should strive to be independent as individuals — especially of relying on others — thus becoming slaves to man rather than to God. The Somali people should be freed from dependence on foreigners.

As we are an Islamic state we have many things linking us to all the Islamic peoples and States of the world. The religious ties bring us together in the same faith and establish natural and mutual respect among us.

Our policy is to go along with the Islamic States which advocate the common sharing of wealth and riches with the human race in general and the Moslem world in particular. It is because of these natural fraternal ties that we strongly condemn Israel for its aggression against the Arab people and for making the Palestinians homeless and for its seizure of the Holy places of the Moslems such as the El-Aqsa Mosque.

We Somalis are also a member of the African

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States. Our aim and objective is to live among the African peoples. We want the dignity and personality of the African peoples to be respected among the human society, thus taking their place and role in the world.

Finally we belong to the human society. It is our policy that the world family should live together in peace, mutual respect and non-interference. We stand against all forms of invasion or threats directed towards any nation by another, however stronger and wealthier the invading nation may be. We stand for the right to self-determination, the right to choose whatever social system is suitable for any society. We strongly condemn any form of colonialist and racial discrimination. We stand on the side of world justice, peace and equality.

In conclusion I pray to God that all the Moslem people generally and the Somali people in particular, old and young, may live in prosperity to see another Id next year with peace and happiness.

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## THE FLAG IS SYMBOL OF UNITY

December 1, 1970

MAY Peace be upon you in the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate.

It gives me great pleasure to say a word on this occasion when we are conferring honorary battleflags on the youth, workers and students.

These battleflags symbolise our Motherland, our independence and our own dignity, which we must defend at all costs. These symbols are carried when going into battle against the enemies of our people, against those who envy us and against imperialism.

It is essential to have an ensign by which we can recognise one another on the battlefields defending a just cause.

We must defend our unity and remove everything that imperils it. We know there have been long perio-

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ds when we were divided on tribal grounds, and many other things were brought in to keep us apart. But we must, once and for all remove all forms of evil which stand in the way of our progress.

There are many good people among us Somalis who are being confused by wicked elements who implant in their minds ideas of personal interest, tribalism and all sorts of things which are intended to promote imperialism. These people are wishfully longing for the return of the old system.

We are not worried about the prevalence of such unhealthy ideas for we are in the right path and are doing the right things. What we are doing is entirely consistent with our faith, our religion and our aim to make a bright future. We will firmly march forward and never hesitate.

It seems as if we have just obtained our independence and hoisted our flag. It seems as if we have just removed hatred from among us. We now know that we have to count and rely upon ourselves alone. We have to lead the younger generation of the Somali people into an era of prosperity for all, despite the imperialists.

Since we have never been afraid of imperialist slanders and the misrepresentations of fact which their papers report about us, their intimidations and their predictions that we will never be able to forge ahead because of the economic setbacks they endeavour to inflict upon us, we will make gigantic efforts for the progress of our country and people.

Somalia will remain independent for ever. Sweep

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away injustice, envy, division, tribalism and imperialism old and new.

Never accept humiliation or degradation. I salute the workers, the youth and all categories of our people. I call upon you to hold this flag high. Never let it touch the ground. Defend it always against the enemy.



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# ADDRESS TO CIVIL SERVANTS

December 18, 1970

WE have met here today to consider again how we can run our administration smoothly. We believe that things are still going the wrong way.

On the day of the Revolution, we spoke to you about the dangers that faced the country and we outlined the things we thought were important to lead the country in the right way. Your role in all this is not a small one and we therefore regard you very highly.

On several other occasions we indicated to you how the countries affairs should be handled and of the great responsibilities. I have met and talked with many people in different categories of government service and have always spoken to them of their part in building a new nation. Despite all this however, we are still dismayed by the apparent failure of the civil service to keep pace with the Revolution.

Civil servants are the backbone of the State. They

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are the technocrats who ensure the smooth-running of the nation's administration. It is they who provide good or bad leadership. We know the country has passed through dark times. Many of you in the civil service have served for long periods going back to the colonial days. You were in the service when things went badly, but the blame for that rests with those who held political power at the time.

The ways of the old corrupt system made it necessary for us to orient the people in new systems and to take the trouble to see that they understand what these systems are about. We have tried to start afresh together and to determine where our true interests lie and in this way to achieve prosperity for the Somali people so that they may preserve their dignity.

I am sorry to say today, however, that I am not happy about the way things are going. True, there are people who are trying their best, who show sincerity and who appreciate it when we instruct, direct or inform them. But there are others who do not understand where we are heading. We suspect that many are hiding themselves behind a smoke screen. They are confused, and sometimes they obstruct the progress of those who are sincere and hard working. They would like to see the wheels of government brought to a stop.

But we must look into these shortcomings within the service if we want to maintain our progress and move towards a brighter future. We are concerned that the instructions of the central government do not take effect in the distant areas of the country where corruption, tribalism, neopotism and rumour-mongering still exist, and where the meaning of everything is twisted.

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It is imperative that we create a normal attitude towards work. The country belongs to the people as a whole, even those who are looking at things from the wrong angle. They share in the ownership of the country and so do their children. Let us consider them as part of us and allow them full rights until they show themselves to be enemies.

We must engage in a dialogue to examine the the problems of the administration, to go thoroughly into all the problems that impede our progress. There are still disturbing rumours going about. One of these claims that soldiers are a handicap to progress. Who do these rumours refer to? Do they mean me? Do they mean the Revolutionary Council? Is the sight of a khaki uniform all that troubles them, but I do not get satisfactory answers.

There are some who say that the Secretary of State did not assign them to any particular work. Does this mean that the Secretary of State causes the trouble? We have adopted a system under which powers are delegated to the senior members of the service so that they may carry out the burdens of government. I cannot therefore see why anyone should find himself in the position of having to wait upon the Secretary in order to carry out his duties.

Others say: «We are not trusted». I would like to know how this distrust comes into the picture. Can you hold a responsible post and still claim to be distrusted? If this is seen clearly, every member of the service will go about his tasks with sincerity and the degree of responsibility we expect of our civil servants. We must no longer resort to unreasonable arguments. These can no longer be accepted. I have found no ju-

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stification for many of the reasons advanced to me.

A civil servant is empowered to make responsible decisions that affect the public. Many do not go to work on time, and others when they get to work read newspapers and listen to music on tape recorders. They neglect their duties and do nothing until instructions come through from the Secretary. Correspondence is allowed to go unanswered and government transport is left idle. In many of the outstations, there is little or no contact between government departments. This is totally unsatisfactory.

Even with regard to such important facilities as providing wells, letters requesting urgent help go unanswered. We have been told that those who slander the Revolution have their requests considered. Others are sent away with the intention of creating hatred. In yet other centres people are asked to come back day after day, even patients in need of medical treatment are sent away and asked to come again. This situation must not be allowed to go on. We will not accept this from anyone who offends the Somali people and the Islamic religion. Anyone who does this is a traitor who seeks to distract the Revolution from its noble aims. The civil servant will be rewarded according to the sincere efforts he makes and the results he achieves.

Our aim is that Somalia should forge ahead as a unified nation steadily pursuing the course it has chosen. We have taken the decision that the civil servants should undergo a course of training, the objective of which is to remove all grounds for the kind of excuses we have had in the past. We have also resolved that graduates should not be left to roam about the

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streets. They too will take a course to study the aims and objectives of our socialist Revolution. They will be trained in the systems and the procedures of the work they are to perform. They will be familiarised with administrative laws and penal and other branches of the civil laws. They will be schooled in the principles of leadership so that they can shoulder responsibilities in future.

We want our civil servants to know each other well. The unity of the Somali people cannot be achieved by words alone. Our graduates come from many countries, China, the Soviet Union, Britain, America, the Arab countries, Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia, and each one has a high opinion of his education and himself. Furthermore each has acquired the culture and the way of life, the systems and the experiences of the countries they have been to. It is a matter of vital importance that we bring them together so that they can mix with each other and understand each other for the common good of a united and progressive Somalia. Unity is the beginning of good leadership, and good leadership will enable us to surmount the difficulties that face us. We want to instil a better sense of nationalism in our leaders. Civil servants also will be given an orientation course.

Many hardships are to be encountered before we can reap the fruits of prosperity. Without hardship we shall make no progress. We were a nation without a sense of direction. Two things will no longer take place: there will be no deviations from the aims of the masses and from the socialist policies of the Somali government. Second we will not allow the appointment of someone who is not equal to the responsibility de-



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manded, while a responsible person is humiliated. We have to obey the government. Nothing should hinder the proper execution of the orders of government.

We must get rid of the attitude that was based on opposing one another, spreading propaganda and creating needless arguments.

There will be a public debate to find out why we are still practising tribalism, corruption, and favouritism, and why we hold prejudices against others. I will gladly be present at the debate and take part in it. We will not antagonise anyone who frankly states his opinion. Those who accuse us of being wrong will be asked to clarify the points of their accusations, and should they prove these points, we will be courageous enough to follow their advice. If they cannot substantiate their arguments, we shall laugh at them — but no other harm will be inflicted upon them.

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## A BUSINESS DELEGATION

January 1, 1971

ALTHOUGH you have visited our country at a time when drought has hit certain parts, we welcome you.

As we have declared before, our main objective is to fight against the most dangerous enemies of mankind: disease, hunger and illiteracy.

We are determined to win the battle against these enemies by fighting against them with our economic resources and manpower.

Although the country has natural resources, these resources have not yet been tapped for lack of initiative. We are determined, however, to develop the resources of the country so that we can tackle the economic and social problems of the country. We know we cannot do all these things by ourselves because we lack the technological know-how and the financial me-

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ans to do it, and that is why we welcome the help of all the sincere friends we can get.

Although we are prepared to enter into mutually beneficial deals with friends, yet we want to make it clear that we want to preserve the sovereignty and the dignity of our country.

Entering into mutually beneficial deals with friends does not mean that we would have to lose the freedom to take independent political actions on international affairs.

We condemn all injustices in the world such as colonialism, imperialism, aggression and unjust wars; we oppose all wrong-doing.

We welcome the opportunity to cooperate with a new Italy and new Italians. Since the Revolution we have emphasised many times that we do not consider the Italians as foreigners. We reserve a particular position for the Italians because of the historical and cultural links which bind us together. These links could be further strengthened and developed.

I hope that you would enjoy your stay here and that you would see for yourselves the vast efforts the Somali people were making to build a society based on justice and hard work.

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## FINDING SOLUTIONS TO OUR PROBLEMS

January 4, 1971

YOUR Ministry deserves praise for organising this seminar. This is an excellent initiative and I hope you will organise similar seminars in the future to encourage the exchange of ideas that will lead to solutions to existing problems.

We are determined to wage a fierce war against poverty, disease and ignorance. It is possible to win victory in this war through hard work and the collective efforts of the people. The policy of our country must be based on collective enterprise and the rejection of any reactionary experiment contradicting this policy.

For the sake of achieving the aims and objectives of the Revolution, there is no alternative to adopting the socialist system for our country. Socialism is based on justice, the elimination of exploitation of man by man, of planning for economic development and

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the liberation of the masses from want and insecurity. That system will enable us to achieve a better future.

In our march along the socialist road, we will meet numerous difficulties and obstacles, but we must be ready to surmount these.

In order to serve the country and consolidate the national economy, you must work in accordance with the declared policy of the Revolution.

Animal resources are the foundation of our national economy and the Revolutionary regime will take every step to safeguard this sector because of its great importance.

Workers in the Veterinary Services make constant contacts with the popular masses. It is therefore imperative that they play their role in a positive way so as to encourage the people to contribute to nation-building and socialism in Somalia.



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## AWARDING DEGREES AT UNIVERSITY GRADUATION

January 9, 1971

THIS is the first time that educational degrees are being awarded in Somalia and it is a great honour for me personally to grant these degrees. In the past, our students earned their degrees abroad, and I am delighted to extend to you, the first graduates of our National University, my sincere congratulations. This is an honour which the entire Somali people share with me.

You have earned these degrees under difficult circumstances and you have had to pass tough examinations. By your very example even some of your friends have changed their minds and want to go to university.

There is no greater honour or tribute to a person who has won victory in the war he has fought than the holding of a ceremony testifying to his courage and manhood.

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During the fifteen months since the birth of the Revolution, we have met one difficulty after another in turning the former University Institute into a full-fledged university. We have already agreed on the need for talking to each other frankly no matter how bitter the truth may be. Our plans in connection with the university were strongly opposed by many educated Somalis who proved to be our major obstacle in realising this project. Although I cannot blame them for the opinions they held, they nevertheless came out strongly against the establishment of the university. They thought we did not have the means necessary for such a project, and they did not believe we could attain the right level of university education here in Somalia.

My attitude was: if we do not begin now, we will never be able to establish a university. Therefore let us begin now. And so we went ahead with the project.

Today four Somalis are graduating from our National University for the first time. This is a highly significant development. But the question which must be asked is: Why have I been insisting on the realisation of this project? And why have I refused to act on the advice of my nationalist colleagues who thought otherwise?

It is essential that I inform the Somali people of my reasons, because it is necessary that we understand the value and importance of every step we take.

Nothing in this world is made completely right from the beginning, and there is nothing which God sends down to us which is complete in every respect. God never gives you anything ready on a plate.

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I believe that education is the beginning of a good life and that you will never have your fill of it if it is not available inside your own country. There is a Somali proverb: One drinks from the water to his satisfaction only with his own hands.

The other reason I insisted on the university here is that prosperity has to begin in your home if it is to benefit all your children. Thus, higher education must be available in your country to enable the majority of our people to benefit from it.

We all know that our young people used to go abroad for their higher education because we did not have the facilities in our country. Now let us consider: How did our youth return?

They came back greatly changed. Their attitudes were so conditioned that there was a wide gulf between them and their people.

Without being aware of it, the culture, the education, the history and the life of the host country carried us further and further away from our national identity and from the way of life and customs of our own people, making our own background and traditions seem ugly.

It occurs to me that those who have been changed in this way cannot manage the affairs of their own people and country, — nor can they even understand.

The fact is that in order to lead their people, they must first understand them. They must understand their difficulties, the way they think, their social code, their emotions, and the language in which they communicate with them must be their mother tongue. I believe that they will eventually come to understand these

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things. But it will nevertheless take a great deal of time.

It is very difficult to recondition a person's attitude and mentality. It is very easy to reconstruct a building in any way you want with the help of architects and builders, but it takes a great deal of time to understand a person with a different social and cultural background.

Was all that we had been learning good?

I believe that most of it is; but not all of it. It is no longer necessary for me to point this out to you now. From now on, the difference between those who learn at home, and those who return from abroad, will be apparent to all, especially where nationalism and the understanding of their country and people are concerned.

The aim, then, is to Liberate ourselves educationally. There is no difference between economic, political or educational enslavement. Each takes its toll. We have been enslaved in all these three aspects, and this is a step forward in our educational liberation. We have to take similar steps in other fields as well. For this reason, this graduation ceremony is an honour of special significance for me.

I call upon all the Somali people, and especially the youth, to grasp the real meaning of this step which now makes higher educational degrees available to you in this country.

We sincerely extend our thanks to the University of Padova and the Italian Government who have helped us in this project. We thank them in the context of

Italy and Padova  
University

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the Somali proverb which says: He who forgets what has been done for him, does not understand what is done for him. They have helped us in the realisation of our dream and in the fulfilment of our aspirations.

I also extend my thanks to the professors and to the President of the University and his staff who have managed the Univeristy's affairs with such excellence.

I praise the Somali students — those who have graduated here today, and those who expect to do so in the future; all those who have been struggling for the establishment of the Somali National University.

I also extend special congratulations, in the name of the Supreme Revolutionary Council, the Government and the Somali people, to those four graduates who have today demonstrated to us the victory of our principle and conviction.

My brothers, the young people of Somalia, you who are associated with knowledge; I say to you that we can achieve whatever we desire so long as we have faith and the will to succeed. So stop being afraid and march forward.

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## GREETINGS TO THE PEOPLE ON IDD-EL-ADHA

February 6, 1971

On this holy Idd-El-Adha feast, I extend my hearty regards to the Somali people in every part of our beloved country as a Moslem should greet his fellow Moslems. Our greetings go out also to other Moslem peoples to whom we are bound by eternal Spiritual ties. We remember specially the pilgrims who in their devotion to God endure great sacrifice in order to perform the ritual of Haj.

The Somali people form an integral part of the Islamic world. We share the hopes, the frustrations and the victories common to all of them. The Somali people continue the tradition of being pioneers in our glorious Islamic history, playing a particularly notable role in the consolidation and unity of the Islamic world. The Somali Democratic Republic has sent a Haj Mission to take part in that great annual confe-



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rence. The present Mission is headed by the Secretary of State for Justice, Labour and Religious Affairs.

Because of our strong relations with the Arab countries through faith, brotherhood and friendship, and because of our commitment to the principles of justice, the Somali people have adopted a determined attitude against the aggressive Zionist occupation of the holy land of the Prophets and parts of neighbouring Arab countries. The Zionists are carrying out plans and programmes of expansion engineered by imperialism against the peace-loving countries.

Only a glance is enough to show how the Africans have been divided, dominated and exploited by international colonialism and imperialism. Some parts of the continent are still in this horrible and inhuman situation, while the majority have attained political independence after great hazards and hardships.

The imperialists succeed in maintaining their privileged position by perpetuating the economic, social and cultural domination of the African. They work in league with local African lackeys eager for personal power and wealth and thus frustrate the plans for fulfilment of the independent African masses.

But the progressive independent countries, because of their determination to move towards economic, political and social progress, have earned the disfavour of the imperialist nations. The imperialists and colonialists spare no efforts in their bid to thwart Africa's progress, and when they fail they resort to the kind of aggression we saw recently in Guinea.

We Somalis have had our share of colonial domination and we must be fully conscious of our position

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and responsibility. You will agree with me that the nation-building process we have embarked upon based upon our chosen Socialist principles is the only road that can lead us to our objectives of political independence, justice, economic and social progress. We have to pursue our aspirations with vigour and determination so that future generations shall be free of our present burdens and difficulties. We must join hands with the progressive African and other peoples with whom we share common ideals and interests.

In our Holy Quran we have a certain «Aiat» which means that God has created the world for our use and benefit. He orders us to create our means of livelihood, enjoy good health and the fruits he offers us, and it tells us that at the end we must go back to be judged by Him. So Islam makes it imperative for the Moslem to do his best to get what is necessary for a decent life and to realise the general good of his people, clinging to God's faith.

The Revolution extends its hand to every faithful citizen who is ready to support it with courage, determination and resolution. There is no place for indifference or setback. We have no way for realising our aims except for uprooting non-Moslem vices, from our society. Since the beginning of the Revolution the Somali people have sacrificed much of their money and effort for the projects of self-help, but there is still much more to be done. Under the present circumstances we must cooperate and double our efforts to exploit our land and wealth. May God watch over you and help you to do what is good and useful. Once more, accept my happy wishes and hearty congratulations.

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## **A TALK TO AGRICULTURAL OFFICERS**

**February 23, 1971**

IT is a pleasure for me to take part in this session at which all agricultural officers from the regions are present. The policy of the government aims at enabling each Ministry to discharge its responsibilities to the nation and to play its specific role in the development and progress of the whole country according to a clear and well defined policy.

A three-year economic development programme covering the years 1971 to 1973 has been prepared, and under this plan each Ministry has been assigned a particular role. Every organ of the government has been given a definite share which it is required to achieve within these three years.

The role of your Ministry is a particularly heavy one because the whole economy of our country is based on agriculture and animal husbandry. There are some sectors of our economy, such as our marine resources, which we do not utilise ourselves, but which is exploited by foreigners.

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Since we want to become self-sufficient in food, the importance of tilling the land must be apparent to all Somalis. But to become self-sufficient we must attain the required levels. It is the person who eats who is able to learn, to preserve his honour, and property and to aspire to other matters related to man's life as a whole. Even in worshipping Almighty God, it is the person who eats who is more likely to worry about it. It is said that «A hungry person does not behave nobly.» Hunger is the mother of all evils, the cause of all the bad things with which the Somali people as a nation are generally associated.

Knowledge and education therefore are tied to freedom from hunger. If we do not work, God will not relieve us of hunger, and when God decides to relieve us of hunger, He provides us with a means to do so.

We used to sit idly and say «Prosperity will come! It is bound to come! It will come!». But we waited in vain. We stripped ourselves of human dignity by wanting to eat what we did not toil for ourselves. We filled our lives with degradation, thievery, backbiting, envying and plotting. That was our harvest in the past.

Today we have put all these things behind us. Let us first accept the principle that if we do not work we can achieve nothing. You must sweat and toil and plant and reap before you can eat the fruits of your labour.

The entire Somali people look to your Ministry to provide them with the technical advice for the growing of food, and help on modern techniques and proper management to increase production. Farmers have no one else to turn to for guidance.

The other Ministries also have their part to play.

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The army will defend the nation and keep guard over you, while the police will prevent crime by arresting thieves, cheats and those who break the laws of the land. Others have the task of processing the produce of the farms. Still others will go abroad and find markets for our exports. Each branch of government has its part to play, but as your role is the central one, this makes your responsibility still greater.

There is an annual drain on our currency of several million shillings on products that we could produce within this country. Not only can we produce them in sufficient quantity to meet local needs, but we can have a huge surplus. The fact that we have not yet been able to do this can be attributed to the lack of effort by individual farmers, the use of out-dated techniques, lack of organisation and perseverance and, above all, inadequate education.

Because we did not develop a large-scale and diversified agriculture, we have had to rely upon importing foods. This situation arose because of the wrong policies that insincere people advised the country to follow.

I want to underline that nationalism goes beyond mere verbal protest. Its real meaning lies in the sincere and dedicated services one performs for his country. Nationalism has its strength in directing the people and orienting them towards unity.

Do not pay attention to those who say that Socialism is anti-religion, and who claim that property is going to be confiscated. In their unfounded comments they try to turn Socialism into different unacceptable ways.

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Many of our people have been led astray. They want to draw high salaries and if they do not get that they claim that everything is wrong. He is the person who wants to drive a big beautiful car, and if he does not get it, he becomes angry. He wants to live in a spacious and well furnished house with a refrigerator, and if he does not get these, he says: «Down with the Revolution». I have already spoken about these people before.

It is not the economy of the Somali people that has been adversely affected, but that of the thieves who used to ride in big white cars.

I have said that we have chosen Socialism. We have done so in order to help the true Somali people, not those who were led astray. We are not going to deprive those who have wealth. Let them have it. We have no objection either to people working to amass more wealth, so long as they are not exploiting anyone. But if they try to do so, we will not let them. We want to go to the aid of those who were degraded and oppressed by colonialism and later forgotten. These people are the farmers, the workers, the poor, the pastoralists and the honest and true Somali. These are the people who did not go astray. We want to advise and support them and guide them in the right path.

The Ministry of Agriculture is very well staffed now with highly qualified people in terms of experience and knowledge. What we want to do is to direct our people towards collective wealth, to pool their strength and to face up to their difficulties. When cooperatives are formed we must ensure that they really work by providing all the necessary equipment and

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technical know-how. The officers concerned should live among the people, and guard the cooperatives from subversion and the old methods by which they can be wrecked. Cooperatives are part of the government programme for the development of the country, anyone who hinders its realisation is an offender. Untruthful praise or hypocrisy does ourselves and the country no good.

My brothers, we have been living by thievery for a long time. The sovereignty of this country has not been lightly achieved. There are people in their graves now as a result of the struggle for independence. Others went to jail. What did the Somalis want when they struggle for independence? They wanted men from among them to lead them to a better life, to preserve their honour and human dignity. But in truth we did not realise these aspirations of the people. I put the blame for this failure squarely on the shoulders of our «teachers,» and the fact that we did not have enough experience to run a state. Today we know better.

I pray to Almighty God that the Ministry of Agriculture discharge its responsibilities fully and thereby realise the aspirations of the Somali people. I hope the officers and the young educated personnel will understand their work in this light. I hope that they will abandon all the Musug Masug tactics of the past. They should be motivated by a desire to solve the difficulties of the Somali people more than by money and promotions. The springtime is approaching and you have an interest in work ahead of you. I hope you will accept this challenge and lead your people to prosperity.

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## TALKING TO SPORTSMEN

March 8, 1971

IT is a real pleasure for me to meet all the people concerned with sports tonight. Although I do not take part in sports, I still have a special love for sports as I know and appreciate its value.

Sports creates a healthy body in a healthy mind, and naturally, people with healthy bodies and minds are bound to be good citizens. A good spirit of sportsmanship creates a commraderie which in turn creates an atmosphere in which such social evils as tribalism and regionalism cannot flourish.

«One can say, then, without exaggeration, that sports contributes indirectly to the progress of the nation. If sportsmanship can create an atmosphere in which commraderie among the Somalis can flourish, then one can say for sure, that sports is one of the pillars of progress».

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Sporting activities should be spread to the smallest and remotest village in the country.

You should inculcate in the minds of the young people the importance of sports. The young people are the ones who shall have the responsibility of leadership in the country and the experiences they gain from sports in their youth will teach them fairness, giving their best to the task before them, and the valuable experience of team work. All these experiences and the knowledge of their value are important elements in leadership.

I urge the sportsmen to show good sportsmanship. You should consider sports not as a battle between two hostile forces, but a game to test each team's strength without any bitter feelings.

You should show an excellent spirit of sportsmanship, which will bring credit to the image of your country, especially when you go out of the country to play elsewhere.

I am fully aware of the fact that there are many difficulties — that sports equipment is imported and is very costly and that some facilities are non-existent. Sports must be developed for the benefit of the whole nation, as it is an activity that has far-reaching significance. Sportsmanship cannot be divorced from nationalism.

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## THE IMPORTANCE OF INFORMATION

March 16, 1971

WE have made it our duty to inform our people whatever we believe to be of interest to them and to the country. We disseminate this information over radio or in direct talks with the people whenever possible.

What is the responsibility of the Ministry of Information and National Guidance? I believe the duties of this Ministry were not understood in the past. I cannot repeat the descriptions which the popular masses used when referring to it. Nevertheless it cannot be hidden.

What is our opinion of the work of the Ministry today?

We believe that this Ministry is the only organ of Government which can bind the Somali people together in unity, disseminate news to them or guide them to the right path.



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We believe that it is the only organ that can warn our people of the corrupt practices that were made permissible during the past regimes. I mean those mental attitudes of mind which, although they may lead to corrupt practices, can at the same time lead them to the right path.

The Ministry of Information is the only organ which can broadcast, at the same time, to the man at Loyado or Ras Chiamboni, or in fact, to the whole nation, about what the Government is doing.

It disseminates to the people what is good and what is in their interest and advises them on politics, life and government laws. It does this in terms that are understandable to them. Our people know what is right better when these are based on nationally shared principles; on honesty, on progress, on unity and not on individual interests — when these are in the interest of the popular masses. The value we attach to this Ministry lies in this. What then, is the value of the people who man it?

The people who run the Ministry, comprise the senior officials who are implementing the major policies of the government, or are passing them on to the nation. They also organise and coordinate the work of the staff, down to the peon without whose job the Ministry cannot properly function.

The staff of the Ministry should especially in this Revolutionary era be composed of nationalists — responsible people — who are ready to fight their enemies. These enemies are everything that contribute to their backwardness in relation to the rest of the world.

One of these enemies can be an economic one, for

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a poor person cannot become a good person, or a nationalist. One must first wage a holy war against the poverty which he shares with the rest of the nation. Then, there comes the children of poverty — envy, polemics, plotting to gain higher posts, nepotism in employment, back-biting, favouritism, tribalism, regionalism, injustice etc., All these are the off-spring of poverty.

That is why it is right and proper for us to fight against poverty, because it is the mother of injustice.

I have said that the staff of this Ministry should comprise of responsible people who can interpret things in the language and in the same frame of mind as the people. They must be able to make lasting impressions on them.

It is said that one picture is more effective than ten speeches on the same subject. This means that what the person sees with his own eyes is more valuable than what he hears with his own ears.

The majority of our people are illiterate. The different types of work of the Ministry are complimentary to each other: One evolves the ideas, one voices them, one provides the technical support, one writes them in the newspapers, one makes films, and one coordinates these various activities. One who is not interested in them, cannot understand them, but he who is, or knows their value, must know them well.

When all these activities are properly coordinated, the people get the news of the country. The nation would pool its abilities and its principles would become national. Then the people would be united and would

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be in a position to fight their enemies: poverty and its off-spring.

I become aware of the importance and value of this technical and specialised Ministry especially in these times when we have embarked on the socialist transformation of our society. We believe that the value of this Ministry is great.

How could the Ministry's work be useful to the Nation?

The whole staff should be loyal to its people, country and God. It must have confidence in the ability of its country to progress. Everything is possible and God gives each what each wants. Those who want enslavement get it. So do those who want freedom.

This means that every person is capable of achieving either of these two alternatives. Every person then can do what he wants. It is you who makes the choice, and whether it is a bad one or a good one that can help your life, dignity and off-spring, entirely depends on you.

Honesty is a primary base, so is poverty, so is it to know your own ability. As long as you belittle your own abilities, it is impossible for you to achieve anything. So long as you continue to base your work on whether you could get some benefits in advance or not, you cannot achieve anything. These small amounts that come one's way in unlawful ways, do not last long. Let every person count how much is still left to him of whatever gains that have come his way in such ways since the beginning of internal self-rule.

It is said that one can drink from the water of the

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well to his satisfaction only by his own hands. Those with sound minds and principles and those who know the value of nationalism say «Everything, other than what belongs, causes indigestion.» What does not belong to you is not only the cause of indigestion, but it also never satisfies, while a little of your own does.

No matter where one is assigned to work, as a farmer, a soldier who is assigned to the defence of the country, a security officer, a judge, a national guidance officer, it is only when we work with honesty that there is nothing that can stand in our way.

Many people tell me that I am an old man. What is wrong with me? Why don't I relax and enjoy myself? I tell them it is true that I have been around for quite sometime now, but I did not do anything of value. Now I take my stick and until I die, I shall continue to be on the right track.

To tell the truth, I have always disliked imperialism, its brothers, its lackeys and even the Somali who hails it. I still dislike the one who follows imperialism, he who leads Somalis into the imperialists' fold, and he who betrays the people. He who does not know it, I like him to be oriented, but I do not hate him. I hate him who while knowing what he is doing, still continues doing it.

I wage war on the egoistic self-centred characters among us who never think in collective (we) terms. These characters always complain «I did not get an increase in salary. I have not been given the right post. etc.» Once he says «I», the next thing he will say is «our tribe.»

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If we continue to be in a state of perpetual division how can we achieve anything for ourselves?

A human being is better when he has a principle. The only way he can achieve anything is for him to have principles and goals. These principles and goals must be ones by which he is supporting his life as a human being, and which can leave an inheritance to his off-spring.

One can be satisfied with what he shares with the rest of the nation. When I say that I am defending my human dignity, if the rest of my people do not have dignity, then I also have no dignity. Everyone works for his off-spring to get a good inheritance. Although the idea is present in everybody's mind, he must also consciously work towards that end.

Such is the situation of our people. We do things intentionally. We are here today. We are responsible for the major parts of the state organs. Therefore how we plan for the nation to reach prosperity is very important. If we misguide it, then it will end up nowhere with the people fighting each other. Therefore, they will continue to be the most backward nation in the whole world, including Africa.

I believe that the staff of the Ministry have made some progress since the advent of the Revolution, although as we all know there have been some falterings. This judgement is based on the reports of the leaders of the Ministry as well as on some briefings which I have obtained. They have not quite attained the required level.

It is the policy of the government to provide this Ministry with all that is necessary to enable it to func-

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tion properly. I believe that the bulk of the staff is temporary. I cannot say they will all be made permanent. Neither can the Secretary say so because this depends on committees, on regulations, on laws and on general principles covering the whole civil service. But I say this: «We will not allow an honest and sincere person to be left by the roadside, once there is no longer any need of him.» I take Mr. Ali Hussein and Abdillahi Qarshe as examples. We cannot say to them: «You are no longer of any use to us, so you have to go!» They will continue to be taken care of as long as there are Somalis alive.

We believe it is our responsibility to show no mercy to anyone who betrays his country — to do away with him. Similarly it is also our responsibility to reward those who do good for the country, otherwise what we have fought against will not be eliminated. This is something on which the leaders of the country must reach a definite solution.

It is our opinion that the Ministry should have a branch in every region. The necessary equipment and staff who have technical knowledge should be provided. In order to raise the standard of efficiency of this Ministry it is proposed to increase the qualifications and know-how of its staff. It is much more useful to coordinate work rather than leave it to individual efforts.

We are not going to tolerate anyone who is obstructing the work of the Ministry — we will tell him to go. It is possible that such a person may go undetected for sometime, but he will soon be caught out.

This is the government programme. We are confident that each year we will make some progress. Let



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that progress be small but let it be in line with the realities of our country. This is also true of the other organs of the government. We want our policy with regard to organs which occupy a place of special importance to be made clear.

There seems to be some confusion as to where we are heading, but we are not confused at all, and I take it that you know very well where we are heading. But the reactionaries seek to confuse our goals.

I wish to point out here that we are a socialist country. That is where we are heading. When I say Socialist, we do not want to delude ourselves with false names. We want to make true socialism a reality here, because we believe it to be in the interest of our nation. We will realise our goals in spite of the threats of the foolish person or infidel.

How is Socialism in our interest? Why did we choose it? What is Socialism itself?

Although my colleagues and I have tried to explain it on many occasions, the residue of the past still remain in our minds: the Musuq Masuq and the misinterpretations, and the liars, who spread many lies and try to deceive the people. We reiterate that Socialism will be fully realised. No person can turn Somalia from its course.

To answer what is Socialism; it is when put in a nut-shell, what the Somalis need and want. Somalis want unity, justice, equality and to improve their lives generally. Do the Somalis want anything else?

I request you to answer in this way whenever the reactionaries talk to you on the subject. When we

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achieved independence — it used to be said that there was justice, equality and progress. But, I ask you in the name of Almighty God was it true?

No, there was neither justice, equality nor progress. It has all been untrue. But we will make this a reality because we have declared we will follow socialism.

Socialism does not believe in inequality between men. It does not believe in apportioning things unjustly. It does not believe in pardoning an enemy of the country. It knows no Musuq Masuq. It believes in rewarding each person according to the work that he does. Nevertheless the way by which to achieve the declared principles and the road along which one has to proceed are difficult. To rid ourselves of our acquired habits and thereby surmount the little difficulties that arise along the way is also difficult. It will take time.

Which is the road to the true principles?

Its base, truly, is the economy. We say that we must develop the economy, but are we unanimous on this? Would the well-to-do Somali consent to joining the front of the people and take part in developing the economy?

I believe that he would not. But I say that since we — the poor ones — are in the majority, we must force him to yield to us. Let the rich have the little amounts which they have obtained. May God deprive them of their faith! I ask myself and even ask some of them why are they opposing it? Especially those whom the country has made rich — and who — may God be my witness — when I was an Inspector, used to say

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to me, «the children did not have anything today.» Even though I was so poor, I used to give them something from my pocket. Today they have five or six stone buildings and they say; «there is no livelihood here if the Westerners have left the country. If the wealth has left, hunger and confusion will prevail.»

I say to them:; «Didn't I help you yesterday? If you are prosperous today, from where did you get it? If God, the people and the country enabled you to become rich, why do you refuse to help those who are still poor?»

What I want to emphasise here is that the economy is the basic thing and so we must look after the economy. You, the musicians, the broadcasters, the journalists, the reporters, impress this upon your minds. We must struggle so that we may overcome.

The foundation of socialism is the economy, so we must develop the economy. Justice must be woven into it. Equality is the paramount principle.

If I am to digress a little, some people say that to adopt socialism means to fight religion and that socialism is atheism and what is akin to it.

In the first place does the person who says so know what socialism is? Do you know what he knows about it? He knows only what the imperialists have told him when they wanted to mislead him.

The imperialists said that socialism is a beast with long tentacles that attacks people at night and eats them up and throws them into the sea. They said it is atheistic and that everyone stabs the other with a knife etc.

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He should also learn our version of socialism. Forget what you have been taught by the imperialists.

You should not always think about yourself. Remember that you have children who have their own destiny. How did the imperialists go to outer space? It was made possible by sweat, hardship and struggle.

Having confidence in yourself, why don't you take the same road? Remember that God did not have any prejudices against you.

The imperialist lackey never asks himself that much. Instead he says that he has visited such and such country, and that the level of prosperity was high. He talks about the wealth, the economy, the buildings, the nightclubs etc of that country.

What must be asked is this: The cars have been made by people, so were the planes, the night clubs and the many-storeyed hotels. What did you make for yourself?

Nothing! You have made afminshaars! you have worked to misguide your people and lead them to indignity. You have worked to divide them instead of uniting them. You have sown discord among them and created tribal strife.

You have ruined yourselves. Why didn't you work in a different way so that you may fulfil your aims? At first you could have built a «baraka», later a stone building, and then you could have built a storeyed building. Have confidence in yourself and wait until you achieve it.

I say that Socialism is what fights against all these evils. It is what preserves the dignity of the hu-

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man being, guides his education, and is responsible for his knowledge of himself. A person must be able to read and write and know what is right from what is wrong, otherwise he will be the one who fights against the health and life of the people.

I believe that you know of the difficulties and the disease that has been caused here by the drought. There is nothing without its hardships.

The other morning General Kulmie told me of a serious difficulty reported from Gull Haraire. It is a somewhat isolated place and the people hid their disease, hunger and other difficulties. They are a very contented people. Only two hours elapsed between the time we heard news of their difficulties and the time that the transport loaded with the necessary relief moved out to Gull Haraire.

I relate this episode in order to point out that we are learning how to meet hardship as men should do. Once we have sincerity, the little we have is more valuable than the devil's help that we wait for, year after year, and which is coupled with humiliation, indignities and boastfulness.

A few days ago I said a word about the preparations made to meet the outbreak of the disease. Who made all the preparations? How many foreigners were there in the campaign? How much did they contribute to it?

Nothing. It was all achieved by our own efforts. The personnel, the medical assistants, the transport and the funds were all ours. What is more valuable to us is that everybody tested his own ability and knows exactly what his ability is.

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Socialism then is unity, equality, justice, the development of one's economy, education and health. The true principles of socialism do not hold that religion should be fought.

Some of these pseudo-religious men who used to associate themselves with the colonialists may say otherwise, but in reality our true religious men are much more nationalistic than we are. They are far more advanced in Socialism and true nationalism is what we want. Nationalism is based on life, education, economy and progress. Socialism is based on cooperation and collectiveness.

The way in which we are going to establish socialism here is easier than anywhere else in the world. Religion and wealth are not against us. Except for a few individuals who have some property, the rest are good, and since we are all poor there are no other obstacles.

I request you to read about socialism instead of being told about it.

I now direct my speech to the artists. It has been said on many occasions that the role of the artists here in Somalia is not known. In other parts of the world, the artists are the richest and most respected people. Since we have no place for rich people in our new society, we have to give them the necessary respect.

We do not notice our own artists here at home but we clamour for foreign artists. The gravest mistake which a nation may commit is to ignore its culture and be totally oblivious of its rich heritage. It is when nations neglect their potentialities as a nation that they ruin themselves.

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What helps nation to develop are its artists and technicians. Someone will always be around to manipulate politics, whether he does it badly or well, but doctors are not that easily found. They should undergo a long training.

I believe that the word artist itself has been misinterpreted here and has become a synonym for immoral street people, I take an artist to be one who either evolves ideas or acts upon them; the one who can expose the hidden aspects of the country, and the one who can explain it to others.

The artist brings the rest of the community together. What does this mean?

The people who respect their artists want to develop their countries, they want to advance their people, they want to explain things to their people and they want to give their people the essential human dignity.

Why do we have to hide and despise our artists? The imperialist told us to degrade them because if we develop our own culture we would get rid of colonialism. That is the truth.

It is absolutely essential that we understand the value of the artists in the present era of socialist Revolution. In order to run our country, we must use all available forces. To me these people have a special place. Since God gave them talents, I must perforce give them what is due to them.

Now I will address myself to them. The reason why artists command a very high social standing in the developed world is that they value themselves very highly. They avoid anti-national attitudes, deceit and

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bad habits. They look after their dignity. It is only with a beautiful voice, a *gabay*, a *hello* or a *heis* in which only the mouth is used, that one earns the respect of the people.

We, the Somali public, must know your value and hold you in high esteem. We must also research our history and bring it to light. We must enable these talented artists to take their rightful position in the country.

What then is the responsibility of the artists?

They must deserve that position in every way. We want the artists to point out to us the policies and principles which we have not tackled yet, and which are in the interests of the Somali people, in the rural as well as the urban areas. We do not want them to side with a former member of parliament who was elected over the bodies of twenty persons and to forget their nationalism because of the two hundred shillings with which they have chewed Kat!

We expect their ideas to be very progressive. These progressive ideas and activities are what we are aiming at. A person can realise this only when his nationalism is both great and mature.

I want to cite an example here. The other day I went to the Crash Programme fields and spent the night there. *Hello*, poems, and *Heis* were recited for me. I admit that I cannot express myself in the way that the poets did. When I tried to assess them I said: «This person is not educated. Neither is he an experienced, mature man. How could he express himself in this way?»

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My answer was that he was both sincere and a true nationalist. These gave him the power with which to express himself in that way.

Your motto should be «towards a better future.» It should not be retrogressive at all.

In the past there has been a lot of envy which was against the interests of all our people. There was also unlawful competition and degradation by which a man's worth was belittled by spreading malicious rumours about him.

When we say Crash Programmes, the aim is not the cultivation of fields or the construction of buildings alone. Creation of a suitable frame of mind for development is also aimed at. The ideas of co-operation, unity and hard work are fostered in the Crash Programmes.

Among the pillars that sustain the principles of Socialism which we have now adopted is the absence of envy, competitiveness, degradation and plotting. We are completely different now. If we stay together for life I will never offer you a 'bakshesh,' no matter how valuable you may be. But I would give you the reward you deserve from the country because it is yours. I will never give you a 'bakshesh' because I am not going to buy your freedom and honour.

We have said that we are going to have a revolutionary government that is Socialist, progressive and self-reliant, a government that preserves the dignity of the Somali people, improves their life, and raises their standard of education. Can we realise that with mere talk? No, action is needed. Each of you should do his assigned portion dutifully and sincerely.

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It is characteristic of the capitalist societies that every person is a slave to another. Some are nobler than others, some are more prosperous, and some more respected. Although all these divisions are arbitrary, yet they are enforced.

In a socialist society, however, no one owns property all by himself. Property belongs to all the people. The Somali Government belongs to the Somali people. If the job you now hold in the Ministry, belonged in the past to a Minister, a Director General, or a Head of a Department, today it does not belong to any of them. It belongs to all the Somalis. You must purge your mind of the past corrupt concepts. You must tell yourself: «I have a stake in the present set-up whereas I had nothing in the past. What I am doing now is something for my own good.»

Action is what we need and it is only possible when we couple it with sincerity and responsibility. A person should not be a burden on another. We must all work to reap the fruits of our labour.

The Ministry of Information and National Guidance has a special significance to us, and we want it to achieve its objectives fully. We will reward those who deserve to be rewarded and will not tolerate those who obstruct or impede our progress.

It is my hope, and I am confident that I am speaking in the name of the people, that this Ministry will fulfil its assigned responsibilities most effectively.

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## SUCCESS OF THE CRASH PROGRAMMES

March 26, 1971

ON behalf of the members of both the Revolutionary and Government Councils present here, those accompanying us and myself, I would like to extend our thanks to the staff and the management of the Crash Programme; and to the teachers and students of Merka for the entertainment and the warm welcome.

We have come here today in order to participate in the agricultural crash programme with you. Every Somali should sacrifice some of his time in order to help the nation-building efforts of the people, and develop his country. Maintaining public security and respecting law and order also come within the work of nation-building. Engaging in some kind of agricultural work falls within the scope of our civic responsibilities.

Dignity has no meaning for anyone who is starving. In order to uphold the dignity of our brothers,



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we should redouble our efforts towards greater food production.

We should struggle to overcome our common enemies of poverty, ignorance and disease. We have to also guard against imperialism and its henchmen, who are trying very hard to undermine our efforts to reach our goals.

At this stage in the development of our country, we need more action than words.

We should apply the principle not only of educating the masses but of learning from them in turn. We will also benefit by the patriotic poets and by the zealous verses composed by the students and teachers.

Whatever victory we achieve in any given field marks the defeat of imperialism. The basic essentials for any national work requiring mass participation is popular zeal and enthusiasm of the masses before anything practical can be effected. The significance of the Crash Programme is contained in one of the poems just recited. It crystallises the idea of mobilisation of our efforts towards the achievement of the common goals of the Somali people in the various fields of human endeavour.

There are many natural gifts which God can bestow upon human beings and fortunately He has given our people a fair share of valuable talents. It is incumbent upon us to develop these special talents by helping the people to acquire both practical and scientific knowledge.

It has given us great pleasure to enjoy the variety of displays, which have been so well prepared and presented.

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## ARMY ANNIVERSARY

April 12, 1971

THE Somali National Army, united with the people, celebrates today another April, 12, the anniversary of its founding. On this occasion the Somali people, the Supreme Revolutionary Council and the Government convey to you their warmest and most affectionate greetings — and I add my own.

Eleven years have passed from the date of the institution of the Somali National Army. They have been eleven years of hard work, anxieties and often forgotten sacrifices in the daily disciplined activities devoted only to the task to be accomplished. These years have placed eleven milestones on the long road we tread which bear witness, above other ideals, to that noble love for country and military honour.

In choosing the army life, you are neither seeking nor hope to get, money or other personal gain. On the contrary, yours is a hard life of self-discipline, renun-

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ciations and sacrifice, its rewards being the satisfaction of duty accomplished in the service of the fatherland. Our people can today witness to the fact that the Somali National Army has always identified itself as a valid and ready instrument for the defence of the national sovereignty.

On various occasions of national calamity — flood, famine and epidemic — the members of the armed forces have proved themselves equal to the tasks entrusted to them, regardless of the dangers. In all these operations, the best and the bravest of soldiers have either lost their lives or endangered their health; but this noble sacrifice of some members of the National Army has saved public and private property of great value as well as the lives of a considerable number of Somali citizens.

The Somali National Army placed its fighting ability in a favourable light during the border conflict of 1964, when it pushed back the aggression of overwhelming enemy forces, and brought honour to the traditional bravery of the Somali people.

In the dark years of the corrupt regimes, the Army stayed away from the mischief committed against the people, not only because of the inbred sense of patriotism and honesty of its members, but also because in the army, men have received the mental and spiritual moulding which they do not get in any other government organisation. The army uses laws and rules — used all over the world — which make it the greatest school of the nation.

Since its institution, recruitment for the army of officers and soldiers, has always taken place on a lo-

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cal or regional basis. Whenever a contingent of men was to be recruited, Army Command has never confined its recruitment to one district. The announcements have always specified the proportional number of men to be recruited from each district. Thus, when recruits from all over flocked to the training centre, they got their first introduction to the patriotism that is instilled in them as a national trust.

In these young people, who did not know each other before, but who share a common language, religion, way of life and traditions, even though they come from many parts of the country, a strong sense of patriotism was soon born. The daily lessons in patriotism have strengthened the minds and spirits of these young folk so that they no longer think in terms of tribal relationships but of a single allegiance to their country. In the course of their military training, they emulate their superiors (who were also trained in the same way), and they develop a strong sense of justice in everything that stems from a pride in their patriotism.

This is why the army has always remained strictly honest, always faithful to its commitment to defend the nation's independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and dignity. When events proved beyond any doubt that the country was being plunged into an abyss, and that no other force could change the situation, the army accepted the responsibility of overthrowing the corrupt regime, together with other sections of the armed forces and the oppressed people of the land.

By intervening on the morning of October 21, 1969, the army fulfilled its duty. The facts and political



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events disclosed that Somalia had lost, or was about to lose, its dignity and sovereignty as well as its territorial integrity, and not to intervene at that crucial moment would have meant that the army had failed in the duty it had so solemnly pledged to the nation.

The army today is the revolutionary vanguard because all its members come from the people, who are also the vanguard of the Revolution. These sons of the people who have been reared in the school of high moral values, patriotism and honesty are today disciplined and led according to the Socialist Revolution of October 21, 1969, which came about precisely to promote justice and the social, economic and political progress of the nation.

Your role in the new socialist Somalia is that of being the vanguard. Many officers, non-Commissioned officers and soldiers now perform managerial, administrative and educational functions in the various sectors of the government apparatus. You are not only participating in the economic building of the country; but you are also the men who are propelling the economy itself, an economy based on the principles of scientific Socialism. I have not failed to notice that while you are actively participating in the building of the country through all available means, material and manpower, you have not neglected your specific duty of defence. By closely following your activity, through daily contact with your superiors, I am aware that your training programme, organisation and construction, is progressing towards even higher standards.

While acknowledging your achievements over the last year, I want to express to you through your Se-

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cretary of State for Defence and your Commander, my thanks for the revolutionary loyalty and the spirit of self-denial you have shown. I also want to commend to your attention in the coming year, the following objectives:

AN intensification of your activities to consolidate the revolutionary achievement and the principles of scientific socialism, which we have freely and consciously chosen and solemnly proclaimed as the system to guarantee social justice and our rational and economic progress.

IMPROVEMENT of your professional knowledge and your fighting ability.

GREATER participation by the Armed Forces in the self-assistance programmes, and in all other spheres of the nation's political, economic and social life.

On those happy occasions, dear to all Somalis, I convey to you and your families my best wishes .



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# **\* PRESERVE OUR TREES**

**April 17, 1971**

TODAY is Arbor Day. We have decreed that the important task of tree-planting should have a day in the calendar of our country. Trees constitute a vital part of our lives and it is essential now that we have decided to remould our lives, by unanimous accord that tree-planting activities should take place in all parts of the Republic.

Since it is not our custom to plant trees but only to cut them, I should say something about the reasons for planting them. Every Somali should strive to improve our living conditions in as many ways as possible. It is the duty of every Somali to work for the common good of his country.

They are useful, they have aesthetic value. God loves what is beautiful and so do people. A green meadow is very different from a barren desert. The green meadow is beautiful.

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Trees help to sustain human life. They provide the produce from gardens and fields. Trees provide shade. Everyone likes to sit in their shade. Trees contribute to our good health. Trees help the rainfall in areas where they are found in large numbers. Animals get their food from trees. Therefore if trees become extinct throughout the earth, you can well imagine the difficulties we will face.

Lack of trees cause deserts. Where there are no trees soil erosion becomes a problem, the rainfall decreases and winds carry away the dry loose soil. These are conditions of great hardship for man. We do not want to see our country in which we cultivate our gardens and fields and raise our animals become a desert and thus threaten our existence as a nation.

While we do not want this to happen we still cut trees. You will now understand why one of the first things we did when the Revolution came was to stop the destruction of trees, and the export of charcoal. This meant the loss of government revenue, but of far greater importance to us is the preservation of our forests. I therefore appeal to Somalis everywhere not to cut trees but to plant them. Where trees are destroyed much ugliness comes and we are left with long-term destruction in many forms.

On behalf of the Somali people I proclaim that trees should not be cut from now on but that every Somali proud of his nationalism should plant trees. It does not cost much to plant a tree. A little water, even water used for washing, is enough to encourage the growth of a tree. By doing this we shall add beauty to our lives and we shall enrich our land.

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## ADVANCING EDUCATION SCHEMES

April 18, 1971

IT is imperative for the ~~Somali language~~ to be written.

The Revolution is presently embarking on a mass education project and this task will not be feasible without a script for the Somali language.

No political considerations should enter into the choice of the script for the Somali language. The script should also be chosen as soon as the text books are prepared.

Any delay in the choice of the script will add to the innumerable difficulties that the country has been through because of the lack of a script for the Somali language.

When choosing the script for the Somali language, you should have the Somali interests in mind.

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Your choice should not be influenced in any way by the scripts of the languages presently in use in the country.

Although the writing of a language is not an easy task, everything necessary will have to be done in order to make the writing of the Somali language possible.

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## **POLICEMEN HONOURED**

**April 26, 1971**

WE have gathered here today to honour you for having successfully completed nine months intensive training at the Police Academy. I know that both your instructors and you have worked very hard, and done a good job. You have been put through an arduous test, and the final assessment shows that you have assimilated your training very well.

In order to give equal opportunity to all Somalis, men of good educational standing were selected from all the different regions.

As you are the first graduates of the Academy since the Revolution, I have no doubt that your instructors have instilled in your minds the spirit of the revolutionary era and adequately explained to you the aims and objectives of the Revolution. You have also been taught the laws and regulations that will help you in carrying out your duties.



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You have studied the Penal laws, with special emphasis on criminal investigation and police record-keeping, so that you may uphold the laws of the land and help to improve the efficiency of the Force as required in this revolutionary era.

Your graduation day is auspicious because it coincides with a time when the whole nation is engaged in the eradication of tribalism and its influences.

While you are working, you must continuously try to better your education to improve your professional competency.

As you represent the armed forces in general and the police force in particular, it is your duty to constantly try to enhance the reputation of the forces and to do your best to add to the progress and good name of the country.

The duties of the policeman in a revolutionary socialist country are arduous. He is expected to keep peace and order and safeguard the stability of the country and set an example of selflessness.

In these times when equality and justice are the guiding principles and no one is above the laws of the land, the policeman must protect the sanctity of the law without fear or favour.

The police have enjoyed a good reputation and its good name depends upon all the policemen, those who are already in the force, and those of you joining it now.

It is your duty to enhance the competency, efficiency and the good name of the Police Force in the service of your beloved country.

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## \* THE EVILS OF TRIBALISM

April 29, 1971

We have buried the evils of tribalism. Nevertheless we need to know more about it. What brought it about? Why do we fight it now? We need to know the techniques used to promote it and the various motives. All this is necessary so that we may be in a better position to effectively prevent its revival no matter in what guises it may reappear.

Tribalism has its origins in blood-relationships. Those with blood ties group themselves together for greater protection against their enemies. These groups lived in particular places, and each group became a

«ref.»  
As the community grew in size and the overall population increased, tribalism soon took second place to nationalism, which was broader and more all-embracing. Security was one of the principal reasons for the upsurge of tribalism.

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When the different peoples in the world achieved statehood, tribalism disappeared. The tendency all over the world in modern times has been towards bigger groups of nations to provide greater security for their interests against exploitation and encroachments on other peoples' rights by some nations. The ultimate objective of this trend is the creation of one world nation. Although this has not yet been achieved, the attainment of this objective is enshrined in the United Nations. Until that larger unity becomes a reality, the grouping of nations with similar interests, religious ties and cultural affinities continues. The latest example of this is the Federal Union of the U.A.R., Libya and Syria.

When nations come together they do so because they recognise that they can no longer be separated and seek to protect their mutual interests, and to pool their strength and to collaborate for the progress of their respective countries. They benefit from working together rather than to be in opposition to each other.

While other nations have taken measures to come together in larger units to advance their progress, it is unfortunate that we in Somalia should find ourselves today fighting tribalism as one of our major national evils.

Tribalism still lingers in our midst largely because our educational standards are very low and our understanding of statehood is therefore far from what it should be. In this respect we have been lagging behind the rest of the world for a very long time. These are the reasons why we fight tribalism today when other nations are thinking in terms of world unity. They

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want to do away with individual states and replace them with an international unity.

Of course we in Somalia are not alone in being saddled with this problem of tribalism. It exists in many parts of Africa. While the white colonial powers formed greater groupings in their home countries to ensure their progress, in Africa they embarked upon a system of tribal division in the countries they ruled so that they could keep us under their domination.

Fortunately for us Somali nationalists — and may God bless them — came on the scene and with enlightenment and great courage proclaimed that Somalis should take its rightful place among the comity of free nations. Around these men we rallied and waged the struggle for independence. They were many. Among them Ahmed Gurray, Sayid Mohamed Abdalla Hassan, and the founders of the Somali Youth League (S.Y.L.), who started a nationalistic movement that was truly for Somali unity and not in any way tribalistic.

Many people, especially the younger generation, think of nationalism as a new-born movement. This is not so. Sayid Mohamed alone fought for over twenty years, This is unparalleled in the history of any country. The S.Y.L. founders achieved a great deal in developing the national consciousness that laid the solid foundation for the dignity and freedom of Somalia. A man referred to another as brother, and to a woman as sister in exactly the same way as Sayid Mohamed's followers were known as *Darwish* and *Darwishadda*. There was no room for tribalism.

However tribalism has remained to impede our progress. People have always promoted tribalism, es-



pecially since independence. They have used specific techniques which we must examine thoroughly and understand clearly if our attempts to banish tribalism from our society are to be permanently successful.

*p. 20*  
*p. 102*  
*p. 126*  
The Afminshaars were one of the principal evils. They fed our leaders with false information in order to gain personal benefits. They were weak and wicked and did nothing for anyone but themselves. And when our leaders fell into the trap of the Afminshaars, tribalism was triumphant.

This was the test that separated men of principle from those who were weak. So it was not long before many were advancing the interests of tribal groups over wider national interests. And the stage was soon reached when a leader would say: «If others are doing this for their tribesmen why the hell can't I?» When this happened another weak leader was helping to obstruct the progress of this nation.

Another example of the kind of weakness from which we suffered became evident when a weak leader found himself in a position of trust, and he felt that the others around him could not be trusted. He then brought in his own people into his department or Ministry — and again tribalism flourished.

A further illustration of how tribalism maintained its hold was when Afminshaars advised men in responsible positions on the kind of action to be taken against an «unjust» man. If the leader was weak enough to accept this «advice», tribalism was advanced a stage further. Finally many personal conflicts were aroused without any justifiable reason by «afminshaars» among highly placed officials.

A similar technique has been used by some who claim that there is no one else in the SRC except «the old man». This move was meant to make a fool of me by inducing me to accept the «compliment». But I have told this story to my colleagues in the Council.

Many other rumours are spread alleging that Mr. So-and-So has been meeting Ambassadors in his office lately. These rumours mischievously add: «it is not known what he is after». Other rumours say that SRC members have been clashing with each other.

We are unanimously agreed that tribalism should have no place in the affairs of the State — in government, in the SRC, among Secretaries, the Army, Police and the civil servants. We are the servants of our people and our country. We must not be like the former «leaders». We must fight against the use of these techniques from now on. There must be no return to tribalism. There must be no favouritism or other irregularities. Unless we give our people a clear-cut system to follow, we cannot achieve progress.

It is part of our responsibility to educate our people. We must convince them that we are not just giving them fanciful words. Everyone must carry out his duties and responsibilities by serving the interests of the country. There should be a sincere desire among all to serve the nation and to love their country. In this way we shall keep tribalism out and march steadily towards our goals in Socialism.



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## THE UNITY OF SOMALI WORKERS

May 1, 1971

THIS is a great day marking the unity of workers the world over. Who are the workers?

Some people consider the workers a small sector of the people composed of masons, painters, carpenters, mechanics and the like. These are some of the pioneers of the working class. The Somali people as a whole are workers. Our nomads are workers. Many of our workers are peasants. Included in the working class are the mass of our toiling people who sell charcoal and engage in a great many other activities by which they earn their living by means of regular labour. Among them are tailors, barbers, and porters. You are aware of how difficult it is for them to find their bread and to feed their children. Among the nation's workers are the soldiers who earn a small salary on which it is difficult to survive, yet they give up their lives in the defence of the independence and so-

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vereignty of the Somali people. All of you that I speak to today are workers. I, myself, am a worker for I do not come from a family of prosperous businessmen or an arrogant aristocrat or a dignitary.

What I want you to remember is the role Somali workers have played in the struggle for the liberation of the human race and for Somali independence.

Without that struggle our blue flag with the five-cornered white star and the help of God could not have been hoisted. It was because of the Somali workers, the soldiers, the skilled workers, the peasants, the herders and others who sacrificed their property and used their physical and mental energies and their guns that we won the independence we enjoy today. The start of the struggle came with the leadership provided by the S.Y.L. and it was achieved by the efforts of the Somali working people. It was therefore a great disappointment that the promises made to the people who brought the struggle to success were broken. The workers were the martyrs who fell in the battle, were disabled, lost their all and became poor. But all these people were replaced by those who opposed independence and rejected freedom by visiting the capitals of the imperialists to beg. These who gained unlawfully from imperialism and from the struggle of the Somali people are still disguised among you. But the Somali workers accepted neither servitude nor imperialism. They fought relentlessly against them. They withstood all the hideous schemes until victory came with the October Revolution which restored their freedom. I hail the Somali workers, Let them be ever victorious.

The October Revolution came for the broad mas-

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ses. It was born for the poor workers, the nomads and the peasants, and for anyone with a feeling of Somali nationalism. We are striving to develop the economy of the country, improving public health and raising the country's standard of education.

If we had guarded against the humiliation we suffered in the past, we would not have suffered much. Let me state that we were in debt to the tune of millions of shillings on the day the Revolution emerged — 459 million shillings in international debts, apart from funds that were wasted that could have been used on development. In these circumstances we had no alternative but to raise funds through international sources for our meagre budget to meet soldiers salaries, the running of state services such as petrol and medicines, among others. The Supreme Revolutionary Council decided to be frank with the people rather than misinform them.

This is an era of difficulty and hardship. But thank God we are in the position today where no government can say that Somalis cannot live without their help. Even if we stand still and do not move a single step forward we will be able to retain our independence and will at least be able to pay our army and our other state personnel, run our hospitals and other services of the state. I attribute this situation to the Somali people and especially to the working class.

The response of the Somali workers to our call was evident in such huge demonstrations that our foes were horrified and our friends amazed. In reducing salaries we were merely cutting down on the expenditure that went on luxuries and restricting ourselves

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only to necessities. These restrictions have enabled us to plan in accordance with our resources and by using our own efforts and finance. We have taken our own way to progress and prosperity without following the paths that either developed countries or the imperialists say is the only way to progress. We need not go through all the various stages they have passed. This is so because there is no country that resembles another in all aspects.

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## DAGAHTOUR IN THE NATION'S HISTORY

May 15, 1971

I THANK you for spontaneously staging this gathering, by which you demonstrate the unity of the Somali people and their ability to do things.

The Somali people continuously demonstrate their loyalty to us; their desire to control their own destiny and achieve for themselves economic independence without assistance from anyone. They have decided to oppose begging and colonialism — which while providing assistance to you — aim at degrading your honour, religion, faith and human dignity.

In the past Somalis had been led to believe that they could do nothing for themselves. Contrary to this, they have now discovered that they are exuding a new spirit of enthusiasm, which enables them to toil arduously and rely on their own resources to free themselves from the difficulties hitherto experienced.



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The Revolution was not that of the soldier alone: rather it was the Somali people's Revolution. The spontaneous demonstrations and loud cheering manifested everywhere has borne testimony to this fact. We have but merely taken over power in the country in your name, to return its sovereignty to you. We today pledge that we will realise all our interests together, no matter what obstacles may beset us. We wish to free ourselves from the aid and leadership of foreigners.

I now conclude my address by reiterating my thanks for this enthusiastic gathering attended by great numbers of beloved people. This spirit of oneness will enable us to free our children from colonialism and oppression.

When we rely on God and obtain support from our religion and Somali nationalism, it will be impossible for us to remain enslaved economically or otherwise. We are quite capable of managing our own affairs and of working the soil to sustain us.

I conclude by saying that everything has a basis. The basis on which we can free ourselves from enslavement is to prove our desire to do so by being, united. We must fight against false pride, tribalism, humiliation and dissension, and especially against the divide and rule policy which the imperialists used in the past to bring about disunity in the country.

I remember the time when we were struggling for true independence, there was a song which had these words:

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«This is a an UGAS and,  
This is a slave,  
Is something which we must forget.»

If we, by upholding this principle, have enabled the country to be liberated from enslavement to achieve independence, cannot we likewise enable the Somali child to be free from hunger, by rallying around the same principles?

There is no slave. That he exists is a lie. There is no Midgan. If you search through the Quran you will find that these are mere lies and fabrications. There is no «Add Midgan» — an outcast's portion. There is no Tomal. There is no Yahar. All Somalis are one and are equal. We will no longer permit people to revive these evils, in order to betray the Somali people.

I can see a united, self-supporting Somalia ahead moving forward. Let us march towards it.

May God be pleased with you and enable you to achieve victory. Let us use our strength and minds to unify the country. Let us liberate our country — its economy, its people, its education, its defence, and above all its absolute sovereignty.

The imperialists say that our country is barren and is a desert. Our country is rich, and the soil will support crops if it is watered and nurtured.

If we free ourselves from this kind of propaganda, we will be able to extend a helping hand to those who disbelieve, and we will find ourselves in the happy position of no longer needing outside help any longer.

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## THE FOUNDING OF SYL IS RECALLED

May 15, 1971

THE Revolutionary Government represents the grand principles that the SYL stood for during the struggle for independence. The SYL stood for justice, equality and hard work, and the Revolutionary Government stands for the same principles.

The armed forces has stepped into the role of rectifying the wrongs done to the nation by the reactionary civilian regimes.

Now that Somalia is once more upholding the principles for which you so valiantly fought, I urge you to take up your patriotic duties again.

Somalia had created admirable national unity which was nullified by tribal bickering fermented by the reactionary regimes which had ruled Somalia after independence.

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## A CALL FOR CONSOLIDATION

May 20, 1971

I THANK you for endorsing my MAY DAY speech in which I highlighted the role which the workers should play in a Revolutionary, self-reliant and Socialist Somalia.

A new Labour Code based on justice and equality is being prepared.

All jobs which can be done by Somalis should be Somalised, and others which require special skills should be taken over from foreigners as soon as Somalis acquire specialised training for these jobs. It is the intention of the Government to establish training facilities.

It is also the intention of the SRC and the government to ensure that the workers participate in the formulation of policies concerning their welfare.

I concede that insurance benefits are meagre. This

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is due to lack of sufficient funds to ensure better conditions for workers.

Social justice and equality cannot be attained unless the workers are prepared to make great efforts and sacrifices. The benefits of Socialism lie behind great mountains of hardship which we must struggle to overcome.

During this labour campaign lasting a month, it is aimed to make the people realise that no work of ~~any kind is to be~~ disparaged; idleness should rather be spurned.

Work hard to improve the conditions of the workers; try to acquire skill and experience which will increase production and better the lot of the workers.

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## THE TEST OF LEADERSHIP

May 28, 1971

THE aim of the leadership in Somalia is to work for the economic development of the country through socialism.

I therefore urge you to orientate your subordinates so that they can effectively cope with the philosophy and the ideology of the logical thinking of the socialist system. You must lead the people to the realisation of social justice, equality and a better standard of living. Whatever steps you take in your official capacity, must be directed toward serving the interests of the country and its people.

You should be fully conversant with the principles of socialism which we will use to achieve our goals.

I call upon you to establish a committee within the Ministry to voice constructive criticism when ne-

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cessary. It is important that we benefit by our mistakes.

You must create among your staff a feeling of nationalism and eliminate all grouping tendencies which may create divisions. No progress will be possible unless these principles are put into practice, and the aims of the leadership to create a strong, progressive society would have been thwarted.

The Government hopes to have many people with small salaries, rather than a few people with big salaries in the service. This will be unlike the previous corrupt regimes.

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## THE STRUGGLE FOR ACHIEVEMENT

June 2, 1971

I AM satisfied with your successful visits to the People's Democratic Republic of Korea and the United Arab Republic.

As you must have seen from your visits, all countries of the world are struggling for the achievement of a decent life for their people.

In Somalia today, we are also trying to build a society based on justice and are labouring for the welfare and interests of the masses.

Although there are differences between Somalia and Korea, I hope that you will use whatever knowledge you have gained for the benefit of the Somali people.

Our country has great economic potential, but what is needed is for us to exploit this potential with determination, perseverance, and patience.

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In the past, Somalia lived under an illusion, and the nation's energy was dissipated by meaningless tribal bickering, but now the power of the people has become a reality and we have to consolidate it.

THE Revolutionary Government has adopted a policy of decentralization so that the regional authorities have the power to deal with local problems on the spot without delay.

I call upon you to eliminate the hatred and the tribal divisions that plagued the nation before the Revolution.

I am well aware that the present administrative machinery is not as good as it should be. I therefore urge you to make it into a dynamic system capable of dealing with the problems of the times.

As Governors you must be aware that socialism is a system which gives all members of the society equal opportunities. It is also the only system which can guarantee speedy development within a short time. but the capitalist world depicts socialism as a monster.

The people should be encouraged to contribute all they can voluntarily to self-help schemes, but they should never be forced to do so. All misunderstanding between the authorities and the masses about self-help must be removed.

One shortcoming of the self-help projects was the lack of comprehensive planning. These projects should be carried out in accordance with the needs of the local people

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At all times justice must prevail in every part of the country. The guilty should face the consequences of their actions, but the innocent should not be harassed or kept in detention longer than necessary. The administration of justice should not be hampered by lazy judges or policemen.

You should never fear reactionaries. They must be isolated and publicly denounced, because they hinder the people from obtaining a better life.



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## A PROGRAMME FOR PROSPERITY

June 5, 1971

WE have begun the long fight to fulfil the promises to the nation of justice, equality and progress. This campaign is to make us face reality and jar us from the daydreams of the past.

The citizens of the country should be prepared to squeeze what they can out of their land instead of relying on the riches of other lands, as they attach strings to whatever help they were prepared to give us.

People who earn their living by the sweat of their brow occupy a much more respected position than those who try to earn their living by Aminsharism and begging.

I appeal to the Somali people to prefer a job that demands the use of the brain and the muscles to a desk job.


The worker is a man who wakes up at sunrise to earn his bread; the man who amasses wealth, or earns his living without too much efforts is a traitor and should be treated as such.

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## PRESIDENT SIAD OPENS YOUTH CAMP

June 18, 1971

You, the eyes of the country!  
You, the flowers of Somalia!  
You, the knowledge and brains of the future!  
You, the leaders of tomorrow!  
I greet you from the depths of my heart.



It is a great pleasure for me to have the honour of opening this Camp today. This camp is designed to promote the cause of the Somali youth — to preserve their honour and to lead them to the right and just path.

The main objective is to provide the students with a suitable place where they can enjoy good health, and attain the principles of justice, unity, equality and progress.

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The seeds of the Revolution are the youth, the students, the intelligentsia, the workers, the farmers, the pastoralists, the Armed Forces and those who are ready to sacrifice their lives for their country and people. All these groups should liberate their country from subservience.

The first and greatest liberation comes from the heart and mind, from the rejection of the bad habit of accepting humiliation and the elimination of ignorance of the value of one's country and people, for in these lies the greatest enslavement.

This camp is designed to take the youth away from the bars, the «Musug Masug» and the «Aminshaars», so that their ears will be cured of the bad habit of hearing bad things. They will learn to understand their own value as human beings, respect each other, and enable each individual to achieve a better life.

First the students should learn and then become teachers when they go back home. They are to guide the people and recognise corrupt characters for what they are worth, the reactionary who aims at retarding their steps, principles, humanity and nationalism for the sake of serving his own ends.

The camp is the first of its kind but we are going to open similar ones to orientate the students. Although we have made good progress, there still remains a lot to be done. There are many enemies who do not want to see this camp organised and your voluntary attendance.

We are going to teach you here to be united, to love each other, to fear God and to avoid what is bad.

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Your enemy is the enemy of Somalia. He is the enemy of our religion, our faith, our system and of the progress of the Somali people. Our enemy is the person who says that Somalis should not rely on themselves. These enemies come in different colours and guises. Our enemy may be one who has the bad principles of disunity imprinted on his mind. He may be a corrupt person or a servant of the colonialists. I hate the faithless ones most because he has sold us for a very low price.

The worst of them all is the one whose principles are sick. Some in turn become selfish when they have positions of responsibility and enjoy the riches of the land. Some enemies say «Long Live the Revolution!» and by night try to undermine it. You know the ones who spoil everything and then blame the Revolution for it. The Revolution has said that all Somalis are united, equal and that things should be apportioned to them justly. There should be no injustice. It has also said that every Somali should achieve a better life for himself, and that he should rely on himself. Anyone who says the opposite is a liar.

How can we overcome our enemy? If we love each other this will lead to unity. We should respect each other. Our cultural heritage must be regarded to be higher and more valuable than any other. It is a rich culture.

We have to revive and attach much more value to what we have. Only then would we make firm foundations for the progress of the Somali people, because when you value what belongs to you, you start loving

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your country. This leads you to defend it.

The imperialists do not want to see us rely on ourselves because they like us to be below their standards.

Who then is our enemy? He is not only the one who carries arms, but may also be the one who fights against our nationalism, the development of our economy, our unity, our self-confidence and the system that we have adopted. You should be on the alert!

We must make progress in education, health, economy, nation-building and human value. Each one must seek these virtues and improve on them.

I entreat you to fulfill your assigned roles letting nothing mar your performance.

I call upon you to ~~bar blood relationship~~ and envy ~~as being reactionary things to practise~~.

I request you to refrain from ~~telling lies~~. ~~Lies are the enemy of our progress~~. Lying and cheating are the signs of reactionary principles. He who has self-confidence in himself does not tell a lie.

The youth have a bright future before them. We pledge that we will not retreat in the face of danger. You must never fear. We are ready to face hardships so that you may reap the fruits of our achievements.

I would like to ~~address the educated Somalis as well as the youth~~ — we must turn our minds towards ~~Somalia~~. The people we visualise must be the Somalia people and their problems. Those who we attend to their needs must be the Somali people and not foreigners. Our thinking and attitudes must be Somali. Let us take only what is useful to us from others: Science and technology which are most essential.

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Education must not take us away from our nation and nationalism. It must fire us with enthusiasm.

When I hear of a foreign poet, I always contrast him with a Somali one. What value can a person have if his nationalism is lost?

We must plan for the realisation of our aims and objectives, and to serve our own interests. We should learn about the poets, singers, courageous and far-sighted men and politicians of our country.

We have decided that socialism is the only system by which we can achieve our ends. This system is based on justice, progress, equality, and the fostering of nationalism among the people. You should know those who help you as opposed to those who harm you. There is only one Socialism and that is Scientific Socialism.

Scientific Socialism is based on the fact that people should be equal, should have justice at the courts and should live by their toil. We have an important responsibility to fight for the dignity of the people.

We have come through difficult times when we experienced disease, drought, hardship and envy. It is impossible that we should face worse times because God will have mercy on us as we are a nation of pure Moslems. Capitalism makes use of people but only the capitalist enjoys the rewards of their labour.

Socialism proposes that we should all work, that we own together the wealth of the country and no one should have exclusive rights to it. The fruits of the labour should be shared by all in a just manner.

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Is there a reason why we should choose Capitalism?

The «Wadaad hunka» (the bad religious man) claims that Socialism is against religion. This is a political system which concerns you worldly affairs; it has nothing to do with prayer.

Others say that there will be no freedom of expression once Socialism is adopted. The system like Socialism which supports humanity is surely closer to freedom. Some poor children from Merca looked pathetically thin while they were singing for us. I wept at their miserable sight. I have been thinking how we can improve their condition. Do you dare to tell me that those who ignored us and lived in great prosperity loved freedom more than I do?

No, such a person is a criminal, an exploiter and a liar. We will not give freedom to such a person. He will not have the chance to make our country stumble again. No one can take the country backwards. It will never succumb to lies. The entire population is awake and is moving ahead. I know that I could die this very night if God so decreed. You are the seeds and nothing will be upset.

We are brothers and share equally in the wealth of the country. I prefer to be called Jaalle (Comrade). I dislike to be called President. I have no desire to be superior to you. I do not want to have more than you have.

Who then loves freedom: the one who loves equality or the one who loves to be superior to all of us. When they say there is no freedom, you should drive

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them away. They will never be reformed or cured.

LONG LIVE SOMALIA !

LONG LIVE SOCIALISM !

LONG LIVE OUR UNITY, FAITH, RELIGION,  
and ITS CONSOLIDATION !

We are bound to obtain victory so let us have confidence in ourselves and march forward.

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## **JAALE SIAD AT OAU SUMMIT IN ADDIS ABABA**

**June 24, 1971**

MR. CHAIRMAN, Your Imperial Majesty, Your Excellencies, Distinguished Ladies and Gentlemen:

It gives me great pleasure to speak to this august assembly, particularly as this is the first time that I participate in a Summit of Heads of State and Government of our Organisation.

I was unable to attend the 7th Summit of Heads of State and Government, not because I underestimated its role and importance, but because I was involved in vital programmes concerning nation-building in my country.

May I express my profound appreciation and gratitude to His Imperial Majesty Haile Selassie I, to the Government and people of Ethiopia for the warm welcome and generous hospitality which they have rendered to us since our arrival.

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I would be failing in my duty if, on this occasion, I do not pay tribute to President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia for his untiring efforts, dedication and determination to see the realisation of our unity, for which this very Organisation was established, and which we all cherish, as is so vividly demonstrated by our presence here in this Hall.

It is an indisputable fact that President Kaunda in his capacity as the current Chairman of the OAU, has carried out his responsibilities to a degree that qualifies him for the remarks and attributes which I have just expressed in this regard.

Mr. Chairman, as a founding member of the OAU, the Somali Democratic Republic has unshakeable faith in our Organisation. We feel it is the only salvation for Africa in the face of mounting pressures, from within and without.

It is also a bastion against the evil designs of the imperialists, who have a craving for exploiting our riches, and in doing so, of destroying our unity. This is why my country has all along fully associated itself with this Organisation, and supported all the actions, decisions and declarations which have been made in strict adherence to the spirit of the Charter.

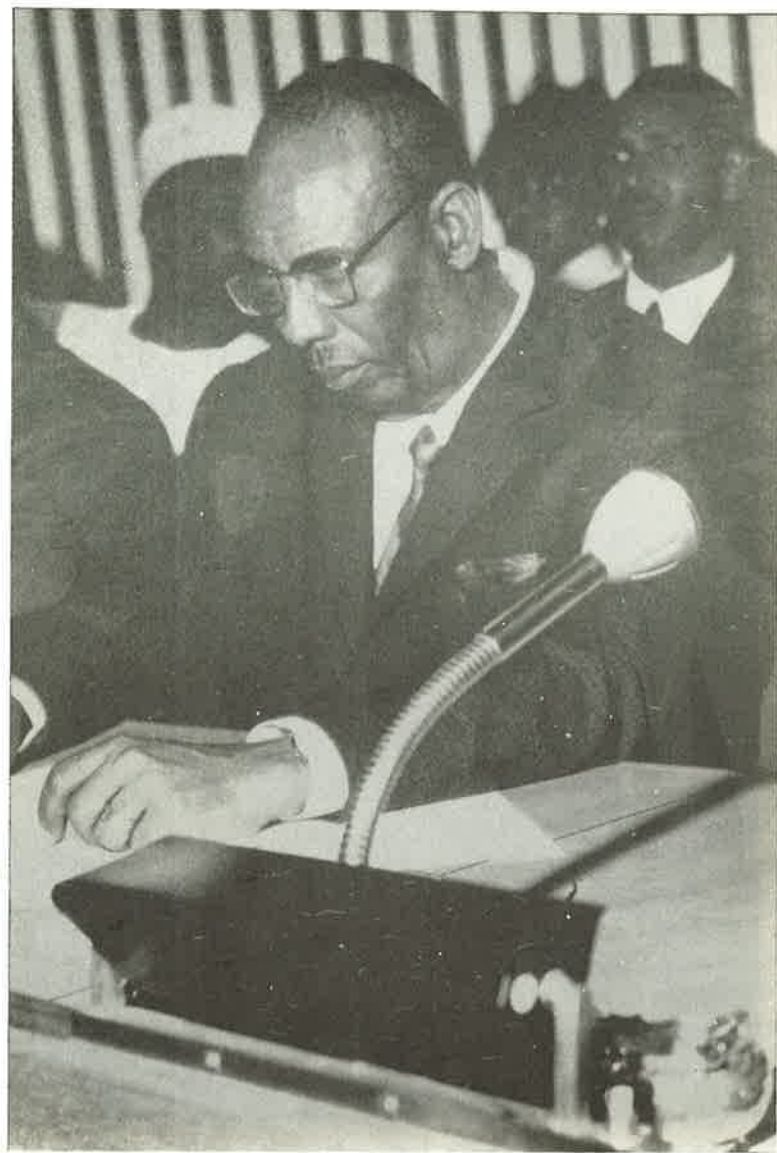
Mr. Chairman, our continent was colonised until the recent wind of change swept over Africa. This wind of change, however, has resulted in the emancipation of only some parts of our continent.

Then came the first decade of our independence. Looking back on the last ten years, we can say that they were full of contradictions. Our hopes and plans

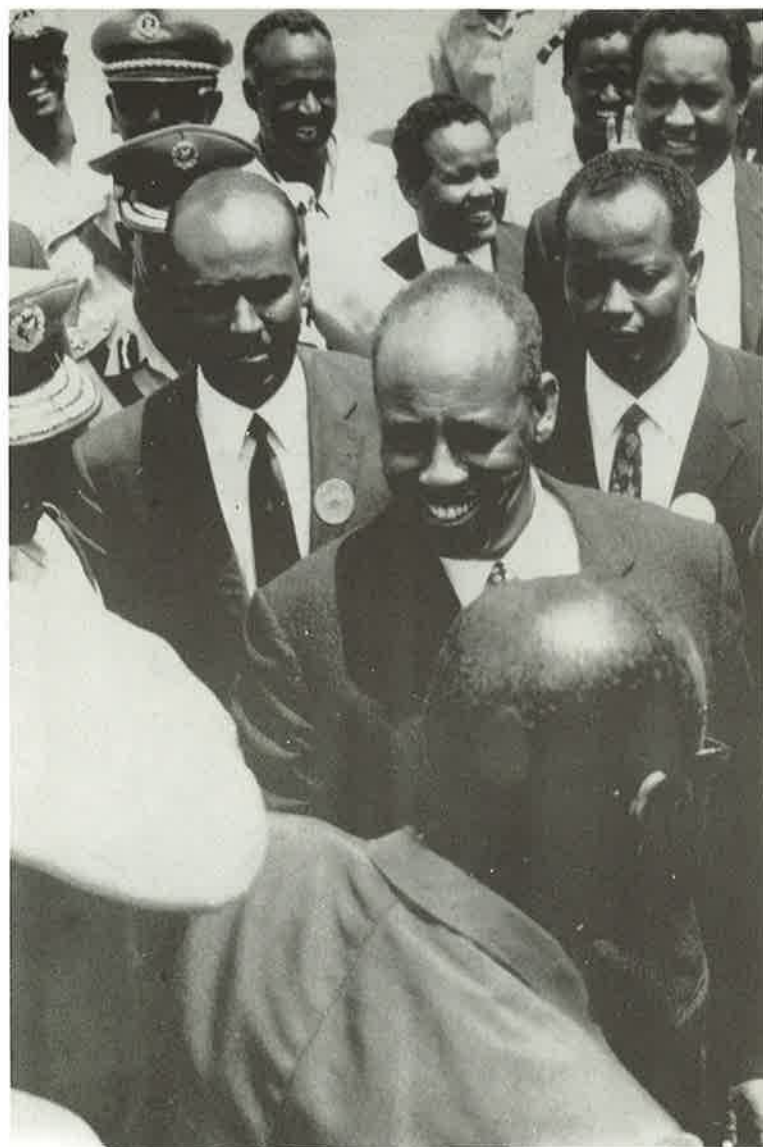
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Waving to the crowd that greeted his arrival in Addis.



Fololwing the OAU proceedings in Africa Hall Addis.



Meeting fellow delegates and dignataries in Addis.





At a formal occasion.

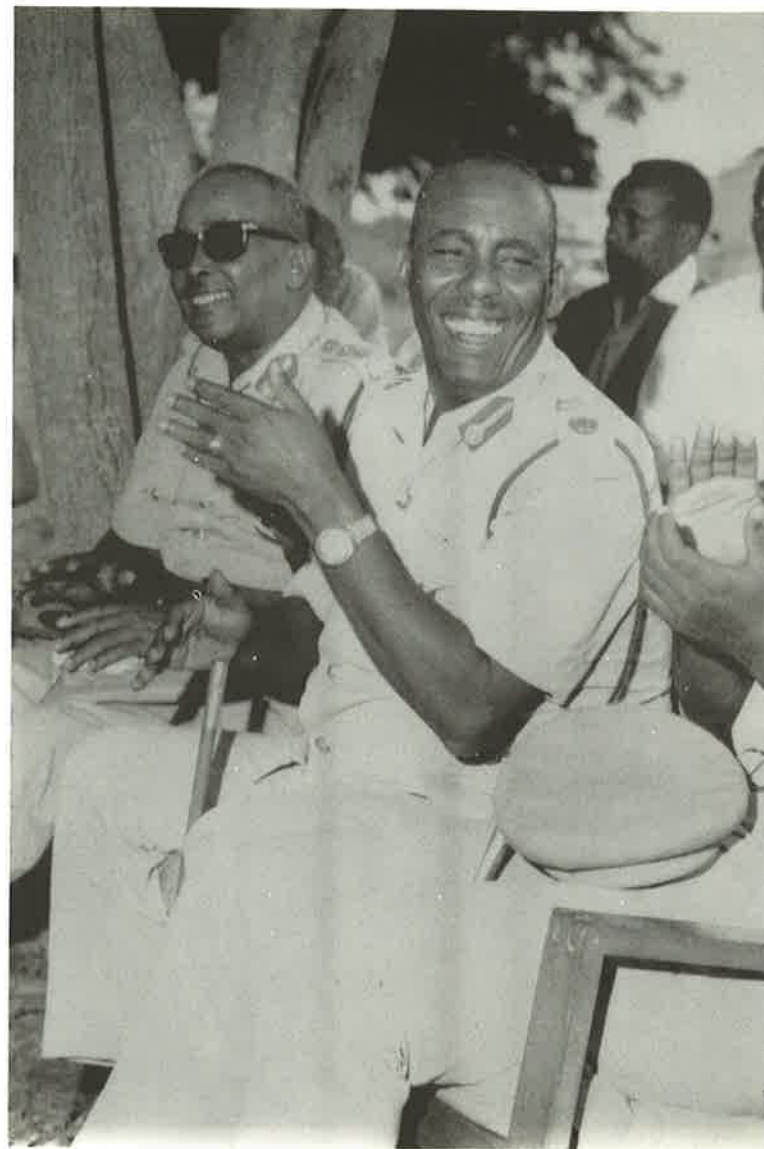


Walking to the aircraft for another flight on the nationwide tour.



Talking to the people.





When the people sing, the President is happy.



President Siad shares a happy moment with two little girls who garlanded him during his tour of the regions.

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were not realised. The colonial powers continued to meddle in our affairs and created innumerable difficulties in our way. This gave rise to a lot of confusion, and it is as a result of this confusion that the Somali people, with the assistance of the Armed Forces, staged the October 21 Revolution.

This was an African Revolution, similar to others staged in other parts of our continent. The style might be different, but basically all African revolutions, initiated by the great revolutionaries of Africa, some of whom are present in this hall, have the same objectives.

Mr. Chairman, we are now in the second decade of our independence in the 1970s, and it might be worthwhile to pause a moment and consider what fortunes this second decade of our independence holds for us.

Africa is one of the richest continents in the world. The OAU is the best continental organisation. We are enriched with human force, manpower. With these immense potentialities we can achieve great successes. The surest way to do this is through the realisation of the objectives of our Organisation.

Above all, we must coordinate and unite our efforts to ensure the total liberation of our continent from all forms of colonialism and racial discrimination, without being slaves to the obstacles created for us by the imperialists. We must have the courage and the ability to tackle and solve these problems in our own African way.

Mr. Chairman, our continent is the only one where colonialism still thrives, and it is the special responsi-



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bility of the OAU to ensure the total liberation of those parts still under foreign domination. Every African must contribute to the war of liberation so that our brothers would gain their legitimate rights to freedom and equality.

As long as southern Africa is colonised, our own freedom will be meaningless. We could have no security in our respective countries. I need not remind you of the recent overt aggression waged by Portugal and foreign mercenaries against a member state of our Organisation — the Republic of Guinea. Thanks to the courageous Guinean people, under the leadership of their great leader, Ahmed Sekou Toure, the evil designs of the aggressors resulted in utter failure. In this connection, special tribute goes to the OAU, which came to the rescue of the Republic of Guinea.

The important thing is to realise that this was not the end of the aggression against member states of our Organisation. Only last week, Portuguese forces planted mines in Senegal, which caused numerous casualties and destruction. All the member states of our Organisation bordering the racist and minority regimes are constantly threatened and bombed. What is worse, the racist minority regimes continue to populate our territories still under foreign domination with white foreigners, while uprooting the indigenous population. The construction of the Cabora Bassa Dam in Mozambique is only one aspect of these dangerous plans.

In view of this, we should do something now to frustrate these plans, because once they are realised, they will pose a great danger to our own security and

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independence. They will further complicate the realisation of the objectives of our organisation, the main one of which is the eradication of all forms of colonialism from our continent.

Mr. Chairman, the aggression being perpetuated by the imperialists, and their allies, against member states of our Organisation is not confined to the southern part of the continent. A large part of the territory of a sister state, the United Arab Republic, is occupied by Israel. Such occupation is being perpetuated with the assistance of the imperialists and international Zionism, which are supplying unlimited military and economic assistance to Israel.

Israel stifled the efforts of Ambassador Gunar Jarring to achieve a just peace in the Middle East. The United Arab Republic has taken many initiatives in re-establishing peace, but all these have been rejected by Israel, which maintains her stubborn attitude to the creation of a just and lasting peace in the Middle East.

Israel is therefore bent upon an expansionist policy, which she has pursued since she was forcibly planted in that part of the world. In view of this, Mr. Chairman, this Organisation must condemn Israeli aggression and give unqualified support to the efforts of the United Arab Republic in regaining all its territories. We should also reaffirm our support to the resolution of the Security Council of the United Nations, which calls for the complete withdrawal of Israeli forces from all occupied Arab territories, and the granting of legitimate rights to the Palestinian people.

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Mr. Chairman, the Council of Ministers has submitted to us their recommendations regarding the question of dialogue with South Africa, which we should be considering in our deliberations for the coming days. However, it would not be out of place to mention here the special responsibility entrusted to this august gathering of African Heads of State and Governments in this regard. It is my belief that all African leaders unanimously strive for the liberation of the parts of our continent still held by colonial powers and racist minorities.

It is also my conviction that we be not divided on the quest for achieving the legitimate rights to freedom, equality and human dignity for our brothers and sisters still oppressed in their own homelands. In marking out our strategy, we must consider the fact that these minorities are purposely embarking on this new campaign to drive wedges between us to fulfil their unholy designs.

While it is an African tradition to respect each other's views, we are convinced that no meaningful approach to the racist minority regimes in South Africa will serve the principles and purposes of our Organisation. I am confident, therefore, that all the efforts of the enemies of Africa will be doomed to failure, and once again we shall come out victorious and more united than ever before.

Mr. Chairman, in conclusion, we in the Somali Democratic Republic are convinced that because of the unity of purpose which we have demonstrated; because of the indivisibility of our cause and destiny, and because of the gigantic possibilities in natural

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and human resources in which Africa prides itself, we shall be able to surmount our difficulties, defeat our enemies, and achieve the noble aims and objectives enshrined in our Charter. We can only achieve these goals if we abide by our decisions and exercise our ability to implement them.

We should not fear or falter. We should march confidently along the path of African revolution until final victory — the ultimate unity of Africa — which is not a wishful dream, as the enemies of Africa may believe, but a living reality.

Long live the OAU.

Long live human understanding and cooperation.

Long live the progressive forces of the world.

I thank you, Mr. Chairman.

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## INDEPENDENCE ANNIVERSARY OBSERVED

July 1, 1971

To all the Somali People, wherever they may be, I extend my heartfelt congratulations, in the name of the SRC, the Government, and the Somali people.

As you are all aware it is now eleven years since the Somalis have won their independence and have sat under the shade of a flag that belonged to them since the foreigners left.

Independence means that a person should be free from humiliation, whether religious, political, or colour, by another nation. It happens frequently that people believe that when they attain freedom, they will be rich. Although we did not benefit much by independence, after we had won it, I still believe that it has at any rate, been better than enslavement.

I say to you, the Somali people, that you should fear God, that you should improve yourselves, live



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together in peace, and endeavour to achieve unity and cooperation. The economy, which is the basis of everything, should be developed. Hunger is the greatest enemy that has to be fought.

I advise you all to direct your energies to the ways in which we can develop our economy. I emphasise to you that the economy is in our hands, and that our soil is fertile because wherever water is poured, food grows, and that wherever the soil is dug, it contains minerals, and our livestock are more than the particles of the sand. There is no reason why we should suffer hunger unless it is due to our inability, to ill-judgement of things and to mismanagement.

What is more important above all is that peace must prevail. It is only when there is peace that economic development and the raising of educational standards are possible, and war and other calamities could be averted.

I advise you to work hard for the maintenance of peace and the preservation of our hardworking lives, that raise the economy — the lives that are learning, that are defending their human dignity and Socialism.

May Somalia live in uninterrupted peace and in continuous progress till the next anniversary and thereafter.

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## FREEDOM MEANS HARD WORK

July 1, 1971

THE meaning of freedom seems to have been misinterpreted in the past. Some people thought that they would gain riches from the day on which the Somali flag was hoisted.

When you finally win your freedom — no matter how long you may have struggled for it — you obtain great honour and you have to shoulder extra responsibilities.

Let us now correctly interpret the truthful meaning of freedom. We should always be prepared to defend our honour, freedom, and our nation, which will help us to realise a better life in our country.

Only when you have discharged these responsibilities properly, can you benefit by freedom. During the past month, the labour campaign has been in progress.

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Labour is the key to unlock the door to a bountiful life. Unity, initiative, hard work and great effort is required to achieve this on the part of all the people.

A man once said, «Freedom without bounty is no freedom.» It is even worse when your country is rich and you live in poverty, hunger, and enslavement. A person cannot be truly free when he is hungry, and therefore we need to banish hunger. If we have faith, we will realise that it requires but a short time to achieve these goals. Our country is rich and we must continue to grow more food on it. Crops will flourish when water is made available. We should make maximum use of our own resources in order to provide the water supply to irrigate the fields. If we make an effort we will reap a rich harvest of ripe fruit that is awaiting us.

Let our policies be based on the development of our economy so that we may be truly independent, and take our rightful position among the community of independent nations of the world. We will obtain respect and prestige when we improve the health standards of the people many fight illiteracy.

Unity, equality, justice and hard work remain to be the key to success.

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## IGNORANCE HOLDS BACK PROGRESS

July 3, 1971

IT gives me great pleasure to see the fruitful and successful conclusion of a task that we have set ourselves. At this ceremony here tonight, we are distributing ~~honorary certificates~~ to those unselfish people who came forward to help their ~~illiterate brothers~~. They did not seek pecuniary gains, nor praise, but came forward voluntarily filled with an understanding of their duties towards their brothers.

~~This is a source of great pleasure to us. It is only appreciated by those who understand the ugliness of ignorance, and how the ignorant are subjugated to colonialism.~~

It is customary for the imperialists to retard the development of the economy and education of the nations which they dominate. If the level of the economic and educational development is high, then it

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is possible for a people to defend their nationalism as well as their human dignity.

As you are all aware, the two colonial powers from which we won our independence, did not want our education to progress beyond that of elementary level. They also did not want us to go beyond being exporters of hides and skins and other similar activities. Their objectives were to continue their rule over us, deny us equality and honour, and subjugate us.

In reality we have not achieved educational independence, because over 90 per cent of our people are still illiterate. Education provides the aspiration to freedom as well as the endurance and courage with which it is won. It is the eyes and mind without which a person is nothing.

We thank all those who have participated in this literacy campaign. We should earnestly entreat all those who did not take part in the campaign to come forward and help their less fortunate brothers. Raising the educational level of the country means the safeguarding of its sovereignty and economic independence.

Earlier in the ceremony children were encouraging us to develop our mother tongue. I hope that the difficulties which we experience as a result of the various languages now being used in the country will soon come to an end, and that we will have only one language to use at school, in the office, and at home.

I would like to remind the teachers to try their level best to describe well the aims and objectives that have to be realised in the interests of the Somali

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people. They should be united in bringing the light of education to the people which is life, freedom and strength for unity. This is possible only when a person ignores his personal interests and understands the needs of other people who look to him for guidance. We call upon the teachers to become the leaders of the nation in matters relating to education, discipline and progress of the people.

You are now embarking on a training course which will be beneficial to you and will be in the best interests of the people. We must develop our economy and education and be always ready to defend our country.

We should be determined to manufacture for ourselves what we import from abroad. Firstly we should inspire our minds to think of original things. We should prevent the riches of Somalia from going outside the country. We should provide employment opportunities for our people who are starving in the streets. Finally we should contribute to the rapid development of our national economy.



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## AN OUTLINE OF SOCIALISM

July 4, 1971

We thank you for your warm welcome. In my speech I want to talk about commerce, religion, socialism, the system of ideology we have adopted and the responsibilities of the leaders to the nation. Although it is the duty of the government to protect business, it should also protect the people from the avarice of businessmen.

Some people had the mistaken notion that socialism meant the confiscation of all private property. This was a cheap ploy used by the propagandists to sow seeds of doubt in the minds of the people.

As a result some people buried their wealth. However the Revolution has not confiscated any property. It is now time that those who buried their wealth should dig it up and use it for their own benefit and that of the nation.

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Those who think that there is something holding back the government from nationalising property should entertain no such delusion. We nationalise properties for one reason: to return these properties to the Somalis who are the rightful owners.

## COMMERCE

Commerce has been floundering in this country in an irresponsible manner in the past. There were no principles governing commerce. Someone used to decree that a man should become a rich businessman because he served the interests of political chicannery. How was the enterprising, honest businessman to stay in business? He had no alternative but to go bankrupt sooner or later. Today no one will become rich by decree, no one will be cheated out of what his honest ingenuity might bring him, and no one will be deprived of his honest efforts.

This new policy of the Revolution will free commerce of decreed prosperity for a few people. The honest businessman can work within the framework of the Revolutionary principles and will be protected from encroachments of foreign enterprises on local business. We will not allow foreign commerce to smother local business.

We will not allow the businessmen to buy cheaply and exploit the people by selling to them at exorbitant prices. Such wide differences between the purchase and selling prices of commodities is totally unacceptable.

The basic aim of the Revolution is not to nationalise the properties of the Somali citizens, but to help

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all Somalis to reach prosperity.

We bless those who already have wealth and we want to help those who are poor. Some people in Mogadishu still harbour doubts and bought safes in which to keep their money. They mistakenly thought that their money would not be safe in the banks.

I ask the people of Baidoa to make good use of the banking facilities and use your money to build light industries, which will benefit the country and you. We will nationalise any wealth that is used to undermine the Revolution. At the same time we are going to safeguard any wealth that is put to good use in the service of the country and its people. We will also imprison anybody found to be practising corruption.

## RELIGION

The reactionaries and stooges of imperialism claim that religion and socialist principles are contradictory. If Socialism safeguards the interests of the Somali nation through national efforts, does Socialism negate the tenets of the Islamic faith? If socialism advocates peace, social justice and equality, does that contradict the Islamic faith? Which religion are these miscreants talking about? They are definitely not talking about the Islamic faith because it advises people to follow all these good principles.

Our Prophet Mohamed, may Peace be upon Him, had to fight misguided elements and enemies who wanted to destroy the foundation of the Islamic faith, but he triumphed over these difficulties.

The religious leaders should exemplify Mohamed's deeds and protect the people from distorted principles

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and cheap propaganda. If our Flag is to have meaning, then we have to live in economic independence, human dignity and deserved pride.

## SOCIALISM

The essence of socialism is unity, equality, enlightenment, good health and education for all.

## THE RESPONSIBILITIES OF THE LEADERS TO THE NATION

Responsibilities come in many ways. One may be chosen to be responsible to the nation, while another may take the decision himself to safeguard the interest of the nation. We are in the latter category.

The leaders of today should discard what they find to be harmful to the nation and protect what is of benefit to the nation.

First of all we must get rid of what has been detrimental to our sense of justice, human dignity and the interest of the nation. We should also eradicate injustice, shameful dealings and spying on one another. You should turn over a new leaf and implement the principles of the Revolution.

I visited a camp of five thousand destitute people whose condition was really pitiful. If you are truly patriotic, you should shelter them, feed them and cloth them today. If we do not share what we have with the poor, we are guilty of the hypocritical platitudes of the past.

We can be proud of our Revolution when we make our thoughts, declarations and actions coincide.

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Only justice has permanence; anything that is not based is bound to fall apart sooner or later.

I advise you now in your own interest never to bribe a civil servant. If you help corruption flourish, it will boomerang on you at some time and then you will regret the injustice of it all when it is too late.

We have to remember that we cannot reach prosperity overnight. Economic development needs hard work, courage, patience, and the will to succeed. National unity of purpose, wealth and manpower are a prerequisite to economic development. We must succeed.



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## **SPORT AIDS NATION – BUILDING**

**July 9, 1971**

AS Somalia is a nation on the move, it must develop all fronts simultaneously. Sports is one of the most important aspects of the progress of a nation. Sports promotes both mental and physical health. It also raises the morale of the people, fosters a spirit of brotherhood, and unites them. Sports develops social contact and a spirit of cooperation. These sports teams before us today are a symbol of unity and cooperation. What is undertaken collectively bears fruit, but what is done on an individual basis is bound to fail.

We therefore congratulate the men who organised the tournaments, those who participated, and those who have gained victory.

As sports is always beneficial, the youth as well as the elderly people like me, must work hard for sports whenever we have the opportunity.

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I would like to commend the judges, referees, linesmen and others, for the excellent conduct of the games. In particular I would like to mention the football referees, who conducted the games without fear or favour.

I would also like to extend special congratulations to the football teams of Burao and the Lower Juba, which struggled valiantly for victory for three days, although Kismayu won the day today, I still maintain that Burao has also won.

When we are not engaged in other nation-building activities, we must be engaged in sports. I do not mean that we should stop all other important activities save sport, but it is one part of the nation-building activities that we should not neglect. Our youth need sports and it is also in the best interests of the health of the elders like myself.

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## **SPEAKING TO THE NATION**

**June 25 — July 6, 1971**

**Members of the Armed Forces and the Civil Service**

WE, the employees of the State, have been responsible for the government machinery of this country for ninety per cent of the time since independence. It was we who apportioned things to the people. Let us then confess our responsibility for the deterioration of things in the past. We have also suffered for the mishandling of the affairs of the country and so did our children.

Each one of us must carry out his responsibility individually. We have all been wrong. Let us beg God for forgiveness and start all over again with a clean sheet. Mistakes can be corrected collectively as well as individually. We have taken care of the individuals who have misused government funds etc. But who are we to charge with the collective mistakes of the past?.

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We can charge no one because we have all been in the same boat.

In the past, most of us have given our loyalty to individuals instead of, to country. We have even tied our future to individual persons and thereby have put ourselves in a precarious situation should something happen to that individual or individuals.

We do not want you to have a special loyalty to us. Do not aim to please us. I ask you in the name of Almighty God to please your children and your country. It is essential that we should be loyal to the country and to the Somali people.

We have entrusted the civil service with responsibility. We have shown confidence in them, and have said: «We will support you if you discharge your responsibilities fully and no harm will come to you.» We have provided them with the clear policies and objectives of the government. What else can they want?

I am not entirely satisfied with the civil service. I am not happy with the administration. It is not keeping pace with the Revolution. It is too slow. I am not happy with the way government secrets are handled. There is still a great deal of leakage.

The principle of «making loud noises but doing nothing for the government» is still practised. Our responsibility to the country is not in our blood. We should be stirred with enthusiasm for our work.

The Revolution is not a static thing. It should not have been born in the first place, if it were not to move the country any faster. It must take the country from stagnation to dynamism. That is why we have asked

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the civil service to go ahead with their work with sincerity and courage. The Revolution must be dynamic, effective and progressive. It should not be static. The mind must also be practical, innovative, and dynamic. The main task of the Revolution is to build and construct. But who should do the construction? It is you who should do the work, so what is wrong with you?

**Burao, June 27, 1971**

In the past it was customary for those who work for the State, the Army, the Police and the Civil Service to meet separately. These separate meetings were not meant for honest competition in the service of the country, but they were aimed at sabotaging the work of any group which excels itself and does most for the country so that it may not be considered better than others. But this meeting here tonight is different. In accordance with the principles of Socialism which we have adopted, the employees of the State are all equal.

No one should be surprised when I refer to us as the employees of the State because we are all workers. In the past when an employee of the State reached a senior rank, he thought of himself as master of the people. This is no longer the case. We are all equal and we all work for the people.

All the Somali people are equal. Since they own the country together, and were born on the land, and want to live together, the first responsibility is that each person should know that he can claim its ownership — but not exclusively. He shares it with the others. Therefore he cannot be better than others.

Secondly, if we want to benefit, it is imperative that we all accept equality. If we want to achieve prosperity, then each one of us must work.



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There must always be meetings where the nation can meet to discuss things, make decisions and achieve unity. These meetings should be a testimony to the fact that the nation is united.

The employees of the State must meet to discuss the important affairs of the country, and to exchange information. The State belongs to the Somali people and you merely administer it for them.

Before the Revolution some friendly countries used to pay our salaries — the salaries of the employees of the State — or the expenses of our offices, hospitals, medicine, etc., so that the business of Government may continue. They contributed some 20 million shillings in 1970 to our budget. It is not possible for us to exercise our freedom while a foreign government continues to pay part of our own salaries, and contributes to the actual running of the State machinery. Logically, we have to give to that contributing State some of our sovereignty.

We asked ourselves: Should we do what is in our own interests or should we do what is in the interests of our children, our dignity, or our country?

We discussed the matter at length and finally agreed on doing what was in the interests of our children and our country. As a result we have been forced to abolish the Idd-allowances, some other similar allowances, and reduce salaries. Today we are absolutely free and nobody subsidises our flag. Our own resources take care of this.

There will be minor inconveniences to put up with, but a little adjustment could take care of these.

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This was one of the difficulties that we had to face since the inception of the Revolution. We were confident of your support for the measures we have taken to correct the situation, since we were not putting the money into our own pockets, but were preserving your dignity and freedom with it. Today our country pays for the cost of its own government and no one is in a position to harm its existence.

It is customary for developing countries to seek external assistance for their economic development as there is generally no self-supporting country. Loans are sought and given. But what a fully-independent country never does is to seek money for the actual running of its machinery from a foreign country. Independence is impossible unless a country is able to run its administrative machinery with its own funds.

Although we have a number of external loans, we still need more internal help for the development of roads, irrigation, canals, factories and the country as a whole. As we do not have sufficient money for all these things, there is nothing wrong in taking these loans as we are going to repay them fully.

In the past those of us who were employed by the State used to think that they were above the Somali man on the street. We were also accustomed to take our responsibilities and the tasks assigned to us by the people very lightly. We tended to neglect the needs of the people. We did not therefore discharge our duties as competently and as efficiently as we should have.

First of all we must remember that we are the employees of the Somali people. We receive our salaries from them. The payee governs the paid, and it is our

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people then who govern us. We must always discharge our responsibilities faithfully and honestly. We must believe that we are working for ourselves, for our dignity, for our people, for our country and for our employer, the Somali people. We must change our attitude with regard to working.

**Baidoa, July 4, 1971**

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## **TALK TO BUSINESSMEN**

**June 25 — July 6, 1971**

SINCE the Revolution I have heard stories of the decline of commercial activities and of how commerce has been stifled.

It is necessary that we discuss this matter in order to agree on what is in the interest of all concerned.

I will outline to you the policy of the Revolutionary Government with regard to commerce.

As responsible leaders of the country, we thought it right and proper to free commerce from the prevailing atmosphere of envy which existed before the Revolution. Commerce should be freed from the practice of filling someone's pockets with foreign exchange. It should not be a monopoly for certain people. All Somali businessmen must have the opportunity of com-

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peting freely, depending on each individual's ability, knowledge and intelligence.

As commerce is the backbone of the country's economy, it must be regulated in such a way that it brings about prosperity.

We ask you to conduct your business honestly, legally and in accordance with the laws of the land. The old generation of businessmen knew commerce as an honest activity, which involved buying and selling, or importing and exporting openly and in accordance with the law. Lately there has been a lot of «Conterband». This is not a commercial activity. We call it outright theft. Smuggling is not commerce.

Commerce has a prescribed system that is governed by laws and regulations. So we ask you to pursue your activities within this system.

In the past commercial activities and also the meaning of politics were degraded.

Politics is the science by which a free nation can go about the achievement of progress in its educational, health, and economic fields and in the defence of its dignity and independence. You will agree that there has been nothing resembling this in the past.

Commerce is based on the exercising of one's mind. A businessman should know his market well, so that he knows at any one time what he should deal in and what he should refrain from. The more intelligent and shrewd one is the better he shines in business. Commerce must not be based on cheating and liberal bribing.

With regard to conterband, I hate smugglers and

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smuggling. A man can rob the entire people of the country through smuggling. Sooner or later, he will be caught and his wealth will evaporate. I call upon you to forget conterband altogether as it is beneficial neither to you nor to the country.

We strongly advise you against it. We will have no mercy on smugglers. We will make strict laws for them. A smuggler is not a good person. He is a thief. It is not good for a person who preserves his honour, dignity and religion to be called by this name.

Who are the brothers of smuggling?

Bribery is a big brother of smuggling. It is true that there are corrupt officials in government offices, who always told people to return the following day, Businessmen used to experience great difficulty in clearing their goods, and more often than not only after they had bribed the official.

I ask you in the name of Almighty God not to give any more bribes. If you are ill-treated at government offices, please inform us and we will deal with them most effectively. If you give bribes, then you are inflicting great damage upon your country, your principles and aims. You are also betraying your religion. The official who accepts bribes will suffer the consequences, because he draws a salary for his work. If he takes bribes, he becomes a criminal.

If you refrain from giving bribes for a short time, bribes will no longer be expected from you. Consequently your business will be dealt with quickly when you go to Government offices. As a result, the whole system would be reformed.

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In the final analysis, it is you who generally perpetuate this evil practice. No country in which bribery is rampant makes any progress.

There is one important economic aspect which has bearing on the policy of the Revolutionary Government. Your wealth is owned by Somalia and the Somali people. If you amass wealth, it will belong to Somalia and the Somali people, because your own children happen to be part of the Somali people and this country is the one in which we all live.

Therefore, we will not allow you to incur losses. You should not open a retail shop next to another or ape the other person in petty commercial activities. We use foreign exchange for the trucks that are bought. We will not allow you to support the factories of other people. The country should also benefit from business activity.

You must trust each other and form cooperatives. We find that with the present system livestock arrive at its destination in such poor condition that they do not fetch profitable prices. This is due to the limited ability of the individual merchants. This is a loss to the merchant as well as to the country. So we cannot allow the present system to continue.

We want all the merchants who export livestock to form a cooperative and we will help them in many ways: by the provision of veterinary services, and by advising them on marketing etc.,

External markets are not reserved exclusively for Somali livestock. Many nations compete with us for them. If we are associated with low quality products,

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we will have a bad name and no one will want to buy from us any more.

If a merchant opens a retail shop somewhere and another man sees several people in that shop, he concludes that retail shops must be very profitable. He then opens another retail shop next to the first one. What profits can they make? Nothing. Both of them lose. How can progress be achieved? The Government will not allow this state of economic disorganisation to continue. We want you to organise yourselves according to your special abilities. We want you to raise the level of commercial activities. We want you to start these cooperatives and not wait for the authorities to organise them for you.

We will not interfere with anyone who establishes a business in this country whether he be a Somali or a foreigner, as long as he conducts his business honestly and in accordance with the laws of the land. Furthermore, we will even help him, as long as he does not use his business or funds to work against the aims and objectives of the Somali people. This is an established policy of the Government.

Our country is big and there is wide scope for the activities of all Somalis. Therefore we should not suffer xenophobia. We should fight our enemies and not our friends.

**BURAO, JUNE 26, 1971**

We call upon the Regional Authorities to draw up plans for future self-help projects. Up to now the trend has been to construct schools, hospitals etc.

We should now engage in such projects that will

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help the economy and the general life of the people or the livestock in the region. We must direct our efforts towards projects that will raise the level of our economy and will not entail fresh and recurring expenditure by the Government, but will nevertheless yield revenue that can be re-invested in projects beneficial to the economic or general interests of the people.

Your projects should be based on the three-year Economic Development Programme of the country for 1971-1973. This Programme assigns funds for every Region's development, and it aims at raising the levels of the economy, health and education.

No matter how many funds or plans may be embarked upon, they may not realise their goals, if the Regional Authorities, the Self-Help Committees and the general public do not understand the long-term objectives of the projects and do not fully cooperate in achieving the tasks assigned to them.

I call upon you all to encourage our own culture and local industries, not blindly, but out of our understanding of their value to us. I have asked the Governor and the DDAO of Bender Beila to establish an industry based on raffia for the production of hats, baskets etc.

Similarly we want every district to have its own local industries based on its traditional handicrafts. We must encourage and develop Somali workmanship and products.

At Burao, I was shown a workshop which makes hoes, spades, hinges, hammers etc. These implements were made by the Somalis, and they hope to establish a factory which will supply all of Somalia's needs.

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This shows that we have the know-how but we lack self-confidence. If we encourage and develop traditional handicrafts in every district, the aim should be to satisfy the needs of the whole country.

We assure you that whatever can be made by the Somali will not be imported into the country.

It is impossible for the mind of a person who has a preference for foreign goods to produce new inventions and new methods of doing things.

**GARDO, JUNE 27, 1971**

It is eighteen months since the Revolution and in this time we have told you that we do not want to confiscate your money and property. We have come to help the poor and to raise their living conditions by providing them with employment opportunities.

Some people who did not have faith in the Revolution transferred their money abroad, by taking it out in the form of trucks, sheep etc and many other ways which we are aware of. You should not sabotage the economy of Somalia when the country is moving ahead. If you do so, you will be no different from the colonialists and will be classed as an enemy of Somalia.

We advise you to think again. We are not going to harm or touch your property. We thank God that you are not taking the soil or our Somali people with you.

The truth is that you got the money which you sneak out of the country from these starving people who stand before us. They will remain here and we will make more wealth together. You have only taken lasting shame with you.

**KISIMAYU, JULY 5, 1971**

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## UNDERSTANDING THE AIMS OF GOVERNMENT

July 10, 1971

I would like to take this opportunity to talk to you regarding the policy of the Government concerning Orientation Courses, so that there will be no difficulties, misunderstanding or suspicion. The people who are in positions of leadership must have a clear understanding of the goals aimed at by the Revolutionary authorities. This is one of the objectives of the Orientation Course. It is further planned that all State employees should undergo an orientation period, so that they may fully comprehend the aims, objectives and policies of the Revolutionary Government.

The country has adopted a new system of government, and is administered according to well-defined principles. These principles form the political system by which the country is to be guided, and are designed to serve the common interests of all the people.



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It is imperative therefore to cultivate a unified attitude in all Somalis, so that the country may be led by people who are always guided by the will of the majority of the people.

For example, once we have chosen Socialism, then we must all follow that path, and anyone who opposes this path should be regarded as being against the interests of the Somali people.

If we are to serve the interests of our country and people, then we must have unity of thought and action. We cannot achieve anything while we are disunited and disorganised.

Another aim of the Orientation Course is to provide the graduates with administrative knowledge, in order that they may truly understand the political, economic and social situation in the country.

All those concerned should therefore acquire a knowledge of other languages presently in use in the country so as to maintain the efficient running of the administrative machinery.

The country used to be an isolated one. It had no influence whatsoever in the world at large. It was not represented in the administration of international, continental or regional organisations. But despite the fact that we contribute annually to these organisations, we are under-represented.

We want to play an active role in the affairs of Africa and the world and have representatives in the leadership of these organisations. In order to do this effectively, we need to have people who are capable of undertaking this responsibility and upholding our principles and ideologies. Since every representative

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of a country abroad projects its image and reflects its internal situation, he must have a good basic education, possess administrative ability and be fully conversant with several languages.

One of the basic aims of the course is to train you to master the situation over which you will eventually have control, and thereby ensure that you will qualify for higher posts and a greater measure of responsibility. This of course will not be achieved overnight.

We have embarked on a new road since the Revolution and every new system requires its own men to make it work. It is the intention of the Revolutionary authorities to enable the graduates to play their part in the efficient administration of the country. It is necessary that you mature in every respect first.

I have strongly criticised the graduates in the past, but my criticism was directed against their lack of impact on the country. The graduates should have been more active because they are supposed to be more mature than the rest of the people. A graduate must be the first to understand the aims of the Government, the quickest to implement the policies that lead to the achievement of the declared aims, and he must be ever ready to defend them, because he knows how important the policies and principles are. He should not be preoccupied with petty personal gains.

When we were first making plans for the Revolution, we had hoped to rely on the education and experience of the graduates, who we felt were in a better position to value freedom and nationalism, and consequently run the country well.

We have been disappointed. Most of those who

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were arrested in the counter-revolutionary plots were graduates, who preferred their own personal interests to those of the Somali people.

I have thought a great deal about the opportunities offered them in order to serve their country and the great loss that the country has sustained as a result of their selfish behaviour. We cannot understand why they behaved in this way.

There are only three possible explanations for their behaviour. The first is that they must have been involved in the corrupt regimes of the past, and they could not work honestly for their country and fulfil their roles because they were afflicted with guilt.

The second explanation is that they could not get rid of their old habits. It is said that habit tends to become second nature. «Wahaad Barataaba Waa Baas-kaa». They could not free themselves from the influence of the imperialists.

Or else they were just unfortunate. It is said that «He against whom God is biased, He makes him miss the right decision». («Illahay Ninku Ka Heillanayu, Talado Daba Mariyaa»).

As graduates you should not regard yourselves as the cream of the nation, but you should always put the needs of the nation uppermost in your minds. You should play your role as leaders of our society, and be an example to the younger generation, who should be inspired to emulate your principles and activities. During this Revolutionary period we are very concerned about the honesty and ability of the individual.

We should do our utmost to fight class distinct-

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ions and we should endeavour to build a society based on social justice and equality. We should unite our efforts to achieve the goals we set ourselves under the socialist principles we follow.

I recall Sayid Mohamed's address to the religious men who sided with the colonialists in his famous poem:

«Did you prefer the ram with the big fat tail?  
The country is all yours.  
So why don't you become its government?»

Graduates must forget about their foreign backgrounds and join to make Somalia a better place to live in.

Although the people are poor, Somalia is a country rich in resources. The great agricultural potential of this land has hardly been touched.

The leaders have the responsibility of building a disciplined nation, by encouraging loyalty to the government and the laws of the land and respect for one another. We should discipline our minds to understand and accept what is in our best interests.

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## SAVED FROM A DIRE FATE

July 16, 1971

I recall that we gathered you here on the day on which the Revolution was born. We talked to you on subjects concerning the Armed Forces, the politics and leadership of the country and on the future of the Somali people in general.

I told you what was the best way for us to run the country. At that time, in the name of the SRC, I sought your opinion as to the validity of that policy or otherwise. You approved of our policy.

I would like to go back into history a little. Words and speeches quoted for the sake of history are like the fat of the food. No matter how well-cooked food may be, if it lacks fat or oil it is known as (Yaabis) or dry.

You are aware of the fate from which we saved

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our country, although some people are of the opinion that the country was in no danger at all. The country was in grave danger when we rescued it.

I believe that the path we have embarked on is the right one.

We are all aware of the conditions prevailing in the country in the past. We have not come here in order to do things for ourselves, or to better the lot of any particular person.

What then are the reasons leading to the assumption of power?

When we started our fight we knew of the grave danger that our country and people were prone to fall into.

We also knew that Somalia was a rich country.

We had accurate information about world development and we asked ourselves: «Why are the Somalis being left behind the rest of the nations of the world? Isn't it misjudgement that keeps them behind?».

Our conclusion was that the only way Somalia can advance is when our leaders put the nation before self-interest.

When a leader follows these principles he will win fame which will be to Somalia's glory.

Our gains and losses over the years have been many. I will touch upon the losses later on. I believe that the most significant gain is that today the majority of people know their value as human beings. They have learnt the wisdom of making do with what belongs to them. Only a few look greedily at the one thousand shillings I draw as a salary. Each one is

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content with what he draws in government employment.

A person should care about his human dignity generally and struggle for his own interests and for those of his country to advance. Without this attitude and frame of mind, progress is impossible. It is impossible for you to amass wealth, or become a nation, or achieve higher levels of education or anything that is beneficial to mankind while you have neither faith nor confidence.

What then were the losses that we have sustained? There were some like the drought which we could not fight. For the past twenty one months we have sustained losses. Many Somalis did not understand the truth and what was in their own interests. A Somali proverb says: «A coward loves victory more than you do!» (Fulle Ka Lib Je'il).

A Somali who believes in these principles and who fights to realise them will surely love to see his people achieve the same goals together.

Recently I went to Addis Ababa to attend the OAU Summit Conference which meets annually. Here the interests of Africa as well as those concerning African interests in the world context are discussed. Matters of mutual interest are also discussed.

We have in the name of the Somali people voiced our opinions — on matters concerning how Africa will free itself of its remaining enemies on its territory.

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Africa's struggle against its enemies has passed through several stages. The first part was the attainment of independence. It is common knowledge that when Africa achieved independence, it embarked on internal strife. No state has gained from internal strife. Many are in worse situations than ours. The public have been confused and disunited as a result. Neo-colonialism made its appearance.

A country which flies its own flag and claims sovereignty is not really independent at all. The imperialists have the real power. The people merely execute their wishes and plans. This has been the position in Africa until today. Therefore it was very important that we voice our stand on this problem. We proposed that Africa should free itself of the present conditions.

Let us shake the former colonisers from our shoulders. We should not be slaves to any state that offers us economic assistance and allow it to rule us, while we become enemies to those who refuse us assistance. We should not part with our honour and freedom in exchange for assistance. We should show our gratitude and appreciation in a way that does not injure our independence or humanity.

Another topic was ways to liberate Africa. We pointed out that the independent parts of Africa fought and achieved their independence with their own resources and help from Almighty God alone. Africa is capable of liberating the still-colonised parts, and it must do so. If we do not do this, we will be guilty of allowing the re-colonisation of these areas, and we will have it against us that we stood by and did nothing to rescue our brothers in their time of need. We can help them politically, militarily and financially.

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We proposed that Africa should be united in the use of its political, military and economic power to liberate the territories still under colonialism.

We have proposed that Africa should not be inactive but should become involved and have a say in world problems. If Africa does not take a clear stand on the problems and issues of the world, then it is possible that Africa may suffer the consequences of the problems created by other people. Africa must be ready to fight the unjust ones who invade others and ally itself with forces that are against war; and stand for freedom, equality, co-existence and mutual assistance. Africa must not accept small economic or monetary assistance given to it in secret, but must strive for world justice. All these proposals were adopted by the Conference.

It was generally thought that Africa would disagree and that each delegation would be influenced by its imperialistic patrons, but they were disappointed. The result was contrary. Africa was united and its decisions were unanimous.

After the conference we toured the eight regions of Somalia. I observed a change for the better in the Somali people I met. They have become a unified people, who would fight in the defence of the country, a people who have faith in their strength and toil, but who need clean, educated leadership to guide them to greater achievements. The most amazing thing was that nobody approached me for money or for anything else. This is the main sign of the return of faith to our people.

The other thing which I observed was the absence

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of people approaching me saying: «The Rer so-and-so owes us a dia and no one has exacted it on our behalf yet.» We talked to all sections of the people, but no one voiced any criticism of the Revolution, although we encouraged them to discuss things openly. Many chided us that we are too slow and should go at a faster pace.

Another commendable thing that I noticed is that the leaders who represent the Revolution in the regions and districts are generally united and do not oppose each other. The people have also displayed a sense of readiness to perform their tasks both in their work and on self-help projects.

Another good thing is that each place has planned and worked out its future development. Another encouraging observation was that there was a clear re-grouping of the people: there were the poor and hungry masses, who are the strongest supporters of the Revolution. We saw the educated youth who were filled with a greater spirit of Revolutionary enthusiasm than the residents of Mogadishu.

We also noticed that the rich were inclined to be more reactionary and retrogressive. We observed many reactionaries who could not look us straight in the eye. At other times they insulted us, spread rumours about the Revolution and tried to gain support for themselves. They were not interested in the betterment of the country.

We the Somali Armed Forces have a special responsibility to provide good leadership and run the country honestly and well.

Many of us have taken oaths of loyalty to the co-

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untry. It is unfortunate if the oaths taken and pledges made are lightly forgotten.

In the past many responsible people were critical of the faults and defects of other people. Yet they failed to admit their responsibility for what was wrong with the country.

We must lead the people honestly and justly. Justice is the way the people see it, not the way you see it. If you are honest and straightforward, your views on justice may coincide with those of the people. But when there is conflict, justice is the way the people see it. We should be free from envying, bribes and corruption. We should avoid oppressing the people, disuniting them, retarding them, boasting of tribal numerical strength, and creating strife among them. The government should no longer be referred to as the government of one tribe (rer). It must be the government of the Somali people.

We want to run the country by just and honest principles.

What are these principles?

These principles teach the Somali people not to kill, cheat and envy each other. They urge them to advance, be united and equal. They encourage the Somali people to develop their economy, education, health and all other aspects of life.

The name of these principles is Socialism. It is what we call in Somalia, «work and wealth-sharing.» It is a system in which nobody can find faults.

Whoever believes in these principles is our Jaalle — Comrade. Some people argue about the origins of

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the word. Some think it is an Amharic word. I remember that in my childhood I used to play a game known as «Yawyawtun,» or «name calling.» in those days children on the same side used to refer to themselves as being «Jaals,» or members of the same team.

Those who believe that Somalism and the principles of Socialism are in their own interests and those of their children, will feel it an honour to adopt it.

We welcome the «Jaalle-ship» of those who want progress. We must defend the safety of our opposers as long as they do no harm. But if they do, we must fight them fiercely. Isn't it said in Arabic, «Alfitna ashado minal quttle,» meaning that the creation of strife and discord is worse than murder.

Isn't he an infidel who sows discord among his brothers?

Our population is small. When you travel from Ras Chiambioni to Zeila, you will notice that hardly one percent of the country is populated.

In the past the responsibility for running this country was in the hands of the politicians, who misled the people. Today this responsibility has been handed over to us. We should not follow the example of the politicians, but we should lead the country according to the principles of socialism. We aim to unite the people to manage their affairs justly, to raise the economy, life and honour of our people and help them regain what they have lost. No more time should be wasted.

The Revolution is now twenty-one months old; during which time we influenced the history of the co-

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untry. It is appropriate that we ask ourselves what good we have done during this period.

I leave you to judge what each one of you has done for your country. Let your conscience be the judges.

We have promised that whoever serves his country well will not have to wait for promotion.

We will not run Somalia on opportunism. We are not going to subsidise anyone's loyalty to his country or serve his own interests. We are not going to practise corruption.

We are going to build a new Somalia. Each one of you must make his right and proper contribution. If you are by-passed because you did not do what you should have done, you will go back to your tribe for help. You will become an afminshaar. Then the principles will catch up with you and we will put you in jail.

If you want to serve your country honourably, go ahead and do it. There is no time and place in which you cannot serve your country. Your country is in a Revolutionary period, when it has adopted new principles.

Nobody will depend on another person. Neither hierarchy nor seniority alone will be considered in promotions. Each individual will be considered on his own merits.

As an old soldier, discipline means a great deal to me. I interpret discipline as the only connection or link between members of the Armed Forces. Men who are not disciplined are not fit to carry arms.

Lack of discipline was responsible for the prevailing situation in our country before the Revolution. A

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people who want to advance and realise their aspirations need discipline. There was widespread immorality in the country and the adminshaars were able to own buildings, taxis and cars. These impostors were people who claimed they could do things for us and they even hired mercenaries. Discipline is essential for the Armed Forces and the general public as well.

Discipline in the army was very slack, but only for a short time, as we had to live under the policies of the previous rulers. I commanded the Somali Army and saw the situation differently.

When drought is over, the pastoralists ask each other how they fared during the hard times. I overlooked discipline in the Army because I was engaged in another battle. I was however waiting for better times to come, lest I hurt a good and honourable person.

Frankly the idea of Revolution has never been out of my mind. I knew it was bound to come as things could not possibly have gone on in the old corrupt way. With the prevalence of cheating, injustice, hatred, killing, loose morality etc, Somalia could not have remained a sovereign state any longer. This is how I thought of the inevitability of revolution in Somalia.

Officers! you are responsible for this nation. As you are in positions of leadership throughout the country, you must administer the country justly and in accordance with the principles of Socialism.

An officer must be a clean person himself. He must avoid favouritism, corruption, bribery, tribalism and its attendant evils. You must also avoid and re-

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ject the practice of «Bah Oqoan». (Knowledge of relatives which leads to favouritism).

It is impossible for me to know everything about each one of you. The only way in which I can separate the sheep from the goats is to hold competitive examinations.

I was engaged in achieving a more valuable objective than the futile preoccupation of enforcing a rigid discipline under unfavourable conditions. The most important thing for me at that time was to build an army that could help the country. I wanted to improve the educational standard of the National Army. I wanted to recruit from 150 to 200 educated youth into the National Army each year. These young graduates were to pursue higher studies in technical, scientific and academic subjects. I was able to do this at the expense of the discipline of the Force, but I did not contribute to its deterioration. I had also to leave those who were ruling the country to be caught in the shifting sand that they themselves had created.

Officers! you must work hard to implement our principles. You are the servants of the nation. You must clearly understand that you are neither a politician nor a businessman. You have to remember that you are a soldier, and that there is a hierarchy in the Army. You are subject to army discipline and to the Penal Code. One's honour lies in knowing exactly what he is and what his position is.

You must treat your inferiors in rank according to the relevant laws and regulations.

We are aware that discipline was not enforced in both the Army and the Police in the past. Everything



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was tied to the authority of the Minister or to a deputy's political manoeuvres on behalf of somebody else.

Hierarchy was established principally in order to create a chain of authority from the top Commander down to the newly recruited agent. Each member of the Force must know exactly what his duties are. How can a member expect to obtain his rights while he ignores his duties?

How can a high ranking officer expect to be treated respectfully when he goes to bars and discusses how the officers perform their duties with his old pals? This officer should be deprived of his rank because he proves by his daily conduct that he does not deserve it.

He who works to further the interests of the Somali nation deserves a reward, but the reactionaries will not be given a chance to fight the Somali Revolution.

I call upon you to strengthen the discipline of our forces. You have also to fight Afminsharism. Discipline is a prerequisite for the existence of any Force. Slackness in discipline cannot co-exist with the demands of the present Revolutionary era.

Let the commanders hear me well. I will not tolerate opportunism and compromises. Our conduct should be governed by regulations. Those who cannot cope with the disciplinary requirements of the Armed Forces should leave the service altogether. The destiny of our future off-spring is in the hands of the Armed Forces and their liberty and economic prosperity depend on them. These should never be placed in the hands of an enemy.

The Armed Forces is today responsible for the country. The Somali people look to them for leader-

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ship. In achieving unity, equality and justice they will suffer hardships which are inevitable. The Somali people will benefit by these sufferings and the nation will achieve great progress. But what happens if the leaders prove to be cheats and traitors?

Since the Revolution, two treacherous plots were discovered, and both were hatched by the Armed Forces. The first plotters were Korshell. What did the country do for Korshell? Before the Revolution he was a Commandant of the Police Force. At the time that he plotted against the Revolution, he was Vice-President of the Supreme Revolutionary Council. He did not really earn these posts, but he was promoted on the assumption that he could become a good Somali. The right thing for Korshell to do was to thank God for his good fortune, and stay out of trouble.

I will deal with Gabeire and Ainanshe separately. We called Ainanshe at 3. a.m. and asked him to take part in the Revolution. He asked, «Why did your friends and you hide the Revolution from me?» I answered truthfully: «We were afraid because we didn't have confidence in you.»

In spite of this, we appointed him a Vice-President, a Minister and a member of the SRC. He also had seven Ministerial Posts as well. Furthermore his salary was Shs. 4,600/- while I only drew Shs. 1,800/- I do not have air-conditioners or refrigerators in my house, while he did. If God did not stop Ainanshe's plot, then the children would have suffered.

Salad Gabeire participated in the Revolution. Salad preceded Korshell when he involved himself in hatching plots aimed at staging a counter-revolution.



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He tried to solicit support long before the arrest of Korshell. We warned Salad that we knew about his secret plot which would never succeed. Those in Moscow will recall what he used to tell them. We asked him to call off his plot. I said to myself: «If this man wants to feel grand and important, then we will make him grand and important.» Many friends thought that he would only become more dangerous. In spite of the knowledge we had, we made him Secretary for Defence. I tried to save Salad but as he would not heed my warnings, I left him to decide the issue between him and his God.

We are all Revolutionaries and we should tell each other the truth. We should not forget that the Revolution disbanded a fully-constituted parliament, that it has jailed the leaders of the country and arrested many powerful thieves for robbing the people of their money. We cannot treat the Revolution lightly, and have it strangled so easily.

It has been agreed that anyone who opposes the principles of Socialism, allies himself with foreigners against it, or promotes tribalism should be hanged. This stand is advocated by over 90 percent of the officers of the Armed Forces, and not by me alone.

We have discharged our responsibilities well for the past twenty-one months. We have prevailed over our enemies.

I request you to initiate justice wherever possible. I ask you to apply the principles of Socialism, and guide those who are not on the right track. Officers of the Armed Forces should not be moral cowards, but they should voice their thoughts, neither cheating themselves nor their country.

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## A PLEDGE TO LIBERATION

July 23, 1971

WE pledge Somalia's support for the struggle of the Indo-Chinese people.

The struggle of the Indo-Chinese people has proved that a war of attrition can be waged against imperialism.

I am convinced that the Indo-Chinese people will continue their struggle against imperialism until they win the final victory. Imperialist forces, will naturally, put up resistance to freedom movements in Indo-China, as elsewhere, but in the end they are bound to fail.

One of the fundamental principles of the Somali Revolution is to give support to all those fighting for their freedom. We will support you in your just struggle, as we support the Arabs in their just struggle against imperialism and zionism.

One can see from the latest antics of the imperialist forces that they are in their death-throes.

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## PREPARING TEACHERS FOR THEIR ROLE

August 9, 1971

One of the purposes of the Orientation Course here is that of creating understanding among the people participating in this programme. When people understand each other, they evaluate each other's worth. People come to learn what ties them together and what causes friction among them. When civil servants understand each other better, they can work together in an atmosphere of cooperation. Absence of this cooperation through lack of deeper understanding creates an atmosphere in which little can be achieved, an irreparable damage is done to the interests of the nation.

In the past many of those who worked for the government found their way into the civil service. The work of the government is a professional one. It is not a question of just walking into an office. If you happen to walk into one this morning, what are you going

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to do? If you were not familiar with office methods you would not know what to do.

It was found imperative to organise courses in which people can learn their duties as civil servants, the management of their offices and how to provide leadership to the people. There was also the need to enlighten them on the desired objectives that we want to achieve.

We, the Somali people, have achieved independence because of our unity, understanding and knowledge of the goals we were aiming at. We also mustered all our strength and intellect for the struggle.

The purpose of this Orientation course is merely to create understanding. It is said that «Only when the advance parties at the wells agree, can the rest of the people from the settlements get water.»

We should reach agreement on how to run the country, exchange views on how things are to be done best, and place the interests of the people first.

We are a small country. We have a small economy. As we have many enemies, we should always be prepared and not be caught napping. It is said: «Spears cannot be made after hearing the sounds of war.» It has also been said: «Peace does not harm, but always be prepared for war.» How can we expect peace? It is not that we do not want peace.

If our policies are opposed to those of the imperialists and if imperialism is going to continue its unholy war against us until the day we throw off its remaining shackles, it is incumbent upon us to be always on the alert.

The final objective of the course was to have a

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better understanding of our own life. This is what the people who go to the Crash Programme learn. Although we would have liked to send you to the Crash Programme, in order that you would not only be able to teach with chalk, but also teach the people how to better their own lives, time has not permitted us to do so.

Although you may be a clerk it is a good thing to learn how to wrest good food from the soil. As you are the only teachers the Somali people have got it is necessary that you teach others about farming, although you don't have to work with the hoe all the time. If you are sincere, you can teach the people about farming, leave them to continue, and you may carry on with your own work.

Although you have not had the opportunity of going to the Crash Programme now, I hope that you understand its importance so that one day you may come to work on it voluntarily. You already know how to teach, you have passed through army training, and now you should want to learn how to utilise the rich soil as well.

The Revolutionary authorities think very highly of education and the teachers, who are the real backbone of the country.

Teachers impart knowledge to the young generation and also influence their minds and character. If he imparts the wrong kind of knowledge to the student, then he is our enemy; if he imparts the right kind of knowledge, he is the greatest friend and true nationalist. Teachers make lasting impressions on their students.

How would the country fare if the teacher worked

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honestly for his country and applied the principles of socialism, nationalism, Somali unity, justice, equality etc.?

The results would be tremendous: those minds which slumber would awake, those which were oppressed would begin to struggle; those people who were constantly fighting and envious would think in terms of brotherly relations. Consequently, they would pool their minds and strength and try to achieve a better and more dignified life.

I believe that there is nothing wrong with Socialism, which is a political system by which one builds his economy, education, nationhood, health, human dignity, nationalism etc., Socialism is the only principle by which we can attain the same standards as the advanced peoples of the world in education and health, for example. We should no longer be ashamed of being Somalis, but we should value our nationalism.

Socialism has discipline and definite organisation. Socialism also guarantees one's rights and eliminates bad ways.

Some people say that there is no freedom of expression in the country. Some people whom God has deprived of their faith are still crying for tribalism. The unfortunate thing however, is that there are many youngsters among them.

Can you tell me why an old man like me is endeavouring for freedom while young men of about twenty are behaving like this?

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I will tell you why. I have faith, a country, and a people; and a big love and honour for Somaliam is engraved in my heart. These people are spies, bloodsuckers and traitors. They do not believe in Islam, because it is based on equality and justice. No Moslem or true Somali would hate to see the Somali people united, equal, able to share things justly, and working for a better life. He who does this must be an infidel or an alien imperialist.

Socialism is the only road that can enable us to solve all our problems. We have been capitalists before yet we did not have any capital ourselves. We were, in fact, protecting other capitalists: their objectives, principles and property. We have been under the capitalists for a long time and we do not want what is theirs. We will manage our affairs with a clear ideology — called Socialism, that points out the way to unity, justice and equality. If you all work together, you will surmount every obstacle.

We have chosen to secure our own interests by pooling our strength, our resources and our brains. We have done this so that we can earn our own wealth and not depend on the imperialists.

Contrary to what people say we have a country that is rich in resources. Explorations we have carried out show that our country has an abundance of wealth in minerals under the ground. But we do not want to talk about this until we are ready to exploit these resources for the benefit of our people.

We are blessed with many advantages. In few other places of the world do they have more than one growing season in one year. We have three. Therefore

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I cannot see how we can be described as a poor country. All that is needed is hard work and water before you produce crops. If we starve today with all these resources and advantages around us, we have no one to blame but ourselves. In the past the imperialists were responsible for the poverty of our people, while our country was rich.

Our enemies are those infidels who used to enslave us and Africa as well; and who now want to lead us back into bondage. But still worse are those among us who cannot change their old bad habits and who are misled by corrupt people. We need to cure people of the bad things that they were taught in the past. Only when minds are cured will they be in a position to know what is in their best interest.

Finally, I want to say a word about this institution. «Bottego» is a very tough place. It is possible that you may have encountered some difficulties in adjusting yourselves to its rigid requirements and discipline. But I hope you will be men who can endure it, because your gain will be of no mean value. Once you learn the techniques, you are required to apply them to the people when you leave here. Our people must be united, well organised and must have solidarity. They should know where they are heading. Only then could they realise what is in their own best interests.

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## A TALK TO SELF-HELP WORKERS

August 28, 1971

I want to talk about the reason that these men who are not all that young had to undergo a period of training at their age.

In the past there has been a great deal of misunderstanding, distrust and grievances among our people. There has also been a great deal of envying, misleading and degrading. These grievances could never be sorted out and rectified. We had to forgive each other and begin our lives on a clean slate.

What are the things that each one desires most for himself?

These are freedom, peace, a good standard of living, and peace with his Almighty God. Nobody asks for misery and trouble. Nobody wants to be degraded and have his human dignity trampled on.



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What caused us to fight and quarrel with each other in the past?

The root cause was disunity. The only way in which we can achieve our individual desires is to have unity. Without unity, there is no freedom. We have collective ownership over the country, its agricultural produce, work etc.,

There must be justice and equality. We should stop envying and suspecting each. The five points on which we base our principles are unity, freedom, equality, justice, and progress. Anyone who does anything contrary to these principles and creates enmity between the people is not with us. Who does that mean?

We have to recognise each other by principles. Our principles are based on the five points which make up Socialism. We have to do our work together in accordance with these five points and then apportion the fruits of our labour among ourselves justly.

These are the objectives for which we are striving. You are old men and you have been in Somalia for a long time. You have a great deal of experience. By gathering you all together, we aim at achieving the unity which forms the basis for all our work.

If there is unity, we can hope for better prospects in the other world because God will not betray the words of the Holy Quran. If we envy each other, we are sowing discord.

A person cannot live by the food he consumes alone. He also lives by the fact that his conscience must be clear, by preserving his human dignity, by the knowledge that he is not degraded, wronged, humiliated or

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robbed. If a person cannot preserve his dignity in his own country, then even his identity as a citizen of that country is questionable.

Unity is the foundation which helps you in the other world as well as in the preservation of your worldly dignity. Nationalism also helps to obtain a better standard of living.

Our first aim in giving you this short course was to foster unity of the people by bringing together such experienced men in one place. So let us get acquainted and discover that each one should be respected and esteemed. When you come to know each other well, the propagandists and the afminshaars will have no way of playing their devilish roles.

We, who have experienced difficulties, are in a better position to overcome them if they should confront us again. You know how sweet freedom is and how difficult it is to regain once it is lost.

Freedom, prosperity and independence are only possible when people are united. The experienced person is in a position to judge things correctly if he is sincere to his country.

The orientation and the guidance you give to the people should be backed by a vast store of first-hand experience.

As Somali needs manpower, both young and old are needed in the service of the country. People should be assigned to the job in which they have the most experience, and which they can perform best.

We are working for our children, our country, our dignity and for a better life in the future.

As the President of the SRC, I and my colleagues

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promise before Almighty God that we will not mislead the Somali people.. We will fight against anyone who does injustice and sows discord among the Somali people.

If we achieve unity and if we orientate our people to clearly understand the right path along which they should go to achieve a better life, there is nothing else that we want. And therein lies our economic development. Once we put our trust in God and in our country, we need no help from anyone else.

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## RELIGIOUS LEADERS IN THE FOREFRONT

September 4, 1971

OUR religious men have played a prominent role in the development of our education, in fostering the unity of the people, as well as in the struggle against colonial enslavement, Throughout our history religious men have been in the forefront of the fight against foreign attempts at colonising Somalia.

We remember the martyrs who lost their lives in the freedom fight of the Somali people: men like Sayid Mohamed Abdulla Hassan and Sheikh Hassan Barsane.

There have been many attempts to divide the Somali people, but with the help of education and the Holy Quran, our religious men have taught the people to reject everything that was not either Somali or Islamic. They have also taught the people to refrain from aping foreigners. These teachings were based on the

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tenets of Islam. The religious men impressed upon the people that if they did something un-Somali they would be comprising their religion, and thereby forfeit their chances to go to paradise in the next world.

It was not only compulsory to learn the Quran but also to get an education. These enabled the people to follow what was good and repel what was bad. Without this religious background and educational training, it would not have been possible for them to play their leadership role as they have done.

Their contribution to education was great. Didn't our religious men Somalise the teaching of the Arabic language — «Alif La Kor Dabey.» «Alif La Hos Dabey,» «Alif La Godey.» Didn't our religious men teach both the Holy Quran and the Hadith in Somali?

I need not talk at length about these brave, wise, knowledgeable and far-sighted men. I believe that every Somali today understands what his human dignity requires of him. He should teach his children what his fore-fathers have passed down to him, in order that they may use this knowledge as a guide to their future.

This is important because a nation without history is like one that has never existed. In the past we were forced to learn foreign history while our history was ignored.

After independence at a meeting it was proposed that a street should be named after Sayid Mohamed Abdulla Hassan. But the name of the Sayid was villified and the street was named after a foreign coloniser.

Today all the Somali people should uphold their personality, honour and nationalism.

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What is the role of the religious men in this Revolutionary, Socialist era? The religious men should play their role well, in education, nationalism or in the struggle for human dignity.

If there is a religious man who has gone astray and broken faith with God and his people and is pretending to live by the Holy Kitab, he must be dealt with severely. We believe that religion is above commercialization. We want religious men to fight those degraded men who do not trust God but put their faith in the slaughter of black rams.

We believe that the Islamic faith is indivisible. But lately there has been strife between various factions of religious men. What is it that is causing this strife? Sectarianism! indeed!

God is one and our prophet is Mohamed and he who raises anything to create disunity among the people is an infidel. We have all fought tribalism, regionalism and other evils because they were against the unity and progress of the Somali people.

We have fought and are still fighting foreign educational backgrounds which tend to engage our youth in strife and divide their minds. Are we now to bring in religious strife that divides the Somali people? Anyone who causes division in the people is an enemy of the country and we must fight him, whoever he may be.

Religion is of no value unless it is strong. God has given religion to us and we should be vigilant in order to keep it pure. We can defend our religion by keeping to the right path, by serving our country and

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by liberating our people from enslavement. If we do this, God will reward us.

We should now do something to improve the «DUKSIS». The Holy Quran should be taught in clean neat houses, with special attention to the posture of the children.

I have asked the Mayor of the city to donate free plots of land for the building of religious schools. Each area should build its own «Duksi». Religious men who teach in these schools should be well qualified and dedicated, and not pose as religious men solely to get material gains.

There has been no progress in the field of education since independence. Education was badly organised in the past with the result that the nation did not derive any benefit from it. Our education began with religious instruction since the advent of Islam. When the colonialists conquered our country, they based education on their historical backgrounds. In our desire to get more education, we have all become lovers of scholarships abroad.

A desire for education is not wrong, but what sort of education is in our own interests? Is it one which we get abroad out of the kindness of other people; or is it one which we have to develop in our own country? We have sent many students abroad, but some have been lost and others are said to be in foreign subversion camps.

Others have returned but they have met with difficulties here; they cannot understand the realities of their country, its economy, its potentialities etc. A gra-

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duate expects to be paid a very high salary on his return but the economy of the country cannot afford to pay these high salaries. Thus as a result on his return, he neither benefits from his education personally nor is he able to solve the problems of the country. We have decided that education should originate here and not be imported from other people's countries, together with alien ideologies and social backgrounds. We should no longer send impressionable teenagers on scholarships abroad.

It is time to think in terms of localising our education. We do not need any more scholarships. If foreign countries are sincere in their desire to help educate the young, they should give us the money to build the schools, technical institutions and universities we need.

Our education must be one that is tailored to suit our needs and be in line with the realities of the country. This is the only type of education that can help us beat one of our deadliest enemies — ignorance.

I conclude speech by appealing to all religious men, Local Government Councils and the people to collaborate in providing acceptable places for religious instruction to our children.



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## **AN AGRICULTURAL PROJECT COMPLETED**

**September 8, 1971**

I wish to extend my appreciation to the Vice President of the SRC, Jaalle Hussein Kulmiye, his staff, other officials, and the entire people of Afgoi, who have welcomed us so warmly today. I also extend my appreciation to all those who have either participated physically or have sent in their contributions to help in the building of this canal, which we are inaugurating today. I thank you for the spirit of unity you have displayed in successfully completing this project. You have proved that you have the ability to do things for yourselves without help from outside.

The canal was constructed to help the people of this area to grow food on the vast rich land that we have, but on which people were dying from starvation because of the lack of water. This canal will provide the water necessary to irrigate the fields, and thereby enable the people to obtain more food. They will then

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be in a position to maintain their human dignity more effectively. The Somali livestock breeders have also benefited because they had experienced difficulties over their water supply, which has now been brought much closer to their pasture lands.

Lanta Burta was a place where the Somali people were divided during the colonial administration. This canal will bring a better life to the people, as they no longer have anything to fight over.

If we trust our God, have confidence in ourselves and our country; and also in the ability of mankind, then we need no longer beg from anyone. It will be possible for us to achieve great things by pooling our resources.

This is but the beginning of the great work that remains to be undertaken. The only way to end the poverty of our people is to follow the road of unity, freedom, equality, justice and progress.

If we follow the socialist principles, then by uniting ourselves we will be free from economic difficulties, ignorance and disunity. We should build our lives on the socialist system which holds that the dignity of man should be above everything else; and that man's standard of education should be raised, the economy should be developed, and enemies such as disease should be eradicated.

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## A NEW ACCENT ON HEALTH

September 11, 1971

IN this socialist Revolutionary era the aim is to radically change the old systems and ways — including our way of thinking. I want to listen to what you have to say as well. As you have worked in the various regions of the country, you must know many things of which we are not aware. Although you have been engaged in the profession in which you have specialised, you must also have been aware of how the affairs of the country have been progressing. You are therefore able to judge clearly and discern whether a particular thing is in line with the principles that we have adopted. You can competently talk about the difficulties and the problems of the people in those parts of the country. If there are things which are wrong, we will try to rectify them. However, we should say what we think on the general objectives of the country whether

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cial. The object of attaining unity is to enable us to achieve freedom. Without unity freedom is impossible.

A person should know his rights and his duties to other people. A person must have honour and prestige to make this unity and freedom complete. This is possible only when there is equality.

There must also be justice. The country should also be administered justly. If one works for the country sincerely and achieves bigger objectives, then he must be rewarded accordingly. Those who work less should be paid no more than they deserve.

At the courts of law there must be justice. A person must have confidence in the administration of justice. He must never suffer injustice at the courts through bribery, bargaining, nepotism or anything else. If a person commits an offence, he should know that the law would punish him.

The final arbiter must be the law of the land. Those who administer justice must not be carried away by other considerations.

We must all come to the aid of the people who are dying of starvation and disease. We can do so by pooling our strength, resources and brains. Although the country is rich, the people still remain poor, and the responsibility for this state of affairs is ours.

There must be progress in the economy, health and education of the people and an improvement in our personality and conscience. We must first honour ourselves, and then ask our brothers to honour us. Only then will the Somali people be able to defend their national honour and prestige.

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On what should this be based? This is going to be based on the principles of Socialism work and wealth -- sharing. Socialism enables us to achieve all these things. The main pillar of Socialism is equality and that is our basic objective. If you work sincerely in a revolutionary spirit, you will not despise those who are sick. The Somali peoples' greatest need is in the field of health. The best investment in the world is the one that is invested in man. It is futile to work on the other objectives if there are no people. I believe that health is the most important single aspect to tend in the social welfare of the masses.

In many of the regions there were no doctors two years ago. Tonight we are planning to send many doctors to all the districts by next year. We are now fully aware of our responsibilities to our people. The Somali people have great expectations from you — your services are very badly needed. We are placing on your shoulders a grave responsibility. Disease is one of our deadliest enemies, and we are entrusting the task of fighting it to you.

I pray that Almighty God will enable you to do your work successfully. The people should feel that there has been a change for the better. We believe that when we provide doctors in every region and district, we will be serving the real interests of our people by reducing the incidence of disease, which in turn may cause the people to multiply.

The Revolution is moving ahead.

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# SOMALIA'S SHOP-WINDOW TO THE WORLD

September 28, 1971

I would like first of all to thank all those people who have been connected with the organisation of this Fair, which is a great improvement on previous Fairs.

I also extend my thanks to our guests who, either as representatives of their governments or as private exhibitors, have honoured us by their participation in the fair.

The Fair is designed to show other nations of the world with whom we have economic relations what our country can offer, and at the same time enable them to show us the wares of their countries.

The main aim and objective behind trade fairs generally is to increase commercial and economic links between the organising country and all other exhibitors and visitors.

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The 1971 Fair has special significance because much of what was on display represented the fruits of Revolutionary endeavours to instil the spirit of self-reliance in its people. The exhibits, greater in volume and of a far higher quality than before, reflect the success of these efforts.

But all this would achieve little, if the Fair, in putting these products on public view did not stimulate the public to buy, and encourage an exchange of goods within and without the country.

Somalia would not allow itself to become an exclusive market for outsiders to exploit entirely to their gain.

It is imperative for businessmen — nationals as well as foreigners, to do their utmost to sell Somalia's products to the countries from which they import goods. The day of the businessman who concentrated his whole effort solely on the import of consumer goods is over.

Because the first year of the Revolution brought a period of change to the country's affairs, there was perhaps some justification for suspicion among them.

But since that time the Revolution has made it clear that «clean business» had nothing to fear.

In fact, we have made several appeals to businessmen to invest their money in this country.