

The \*Dabadheer\* Drought:
Somalia's Greatest Natural
And Environmental Challenge

- · On Economy and Crime
- Debates on Socialism in the Third world
- · Culture and Society

Struggle to learn, in order to learn to struggle better



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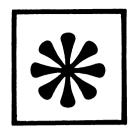
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#### **EDITORIAL**

# The Baghdad Summit

In the first week of November, Presidents and Kings of Arab states held their summit Conference in Baghdad.

This conference was called by the Iraqi government. Further the conference was held at a hot time concerning the divergent views of the Arab states with respect to Camp David accords between Egypt and Israel. Therefore other main theme of that conference was the prevention of schism in Arab Unity, solidarity and strengthening of their cooperation. Thus, the majority of Arab states have accepted Iraqi invitation for the above conference. Obviously each Arab state realises the immense need for strengthening Arab solidarity.

The heads of state conference was proceeded by foreign Ministers conference which prepared the agenda for the aforesaid summit. The summit conference studied the agenda prepared by Iraq, Syria, Jordan, Palestine and Kuwait. Consequently divergent views surfaced to the floor concerning certain matters. For example, the question concerning Camp David accords ways and means of re-examining of the strategic balance of power in the Arab-Israeli conflict.

In the examination of the divergent views of each state concerning the topics under discussions efforts have been made to pinpoint the small points that could be agreed upon. The President of Iraq Ahmed Hassan Al Bakar, has made reference to these points at the opening of the summit conference.

Accordingly, each state presented its view points concerning the agenda under discussions and after the holding of the bilateral discussions among the delegates present in the conference, a political declaration has been made, summarising major items of agreements. Among these agreements were:

Arab people's rights in general and in particular the rights of the Palestinian people, that is an understanding has been reached to strengthen pervious decisions arrived by Arab heads of state conference held in Rabat, and Algiers. These decisions concerned the determination of liberating Arab Territories occupied by Israel in the war of 1967, the first being the Holy City of Jerusalem and the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people in returning to their homelands, their rights to self-determi-

nation and the establishment of an independent state of their own state by the Palestinian Liberation Organisation which is the sole legal organization representing the Palestinian people.

On the other hand, the Summit conference of Baghdad has unanimously agreed upon the refusal of «Camp David» accords and their consequencies in the political, economic, law, etc. Moreover, declaration has been made to issue decisions compatible with the present new stage confronting the Arab Nation and as well safeguard-ding its objectives.

Other news circulated in the conference pointed out that secret decisions were made at the summit of heads of state concerning steps to be undertaken against the Egyptian government in the event of her signature of the «Camp David» accords. Likewise, the conference agreed on extending economic assistance to Arab States in direct confrontation with Israel. These states are: Syria, Jordan and Palestine.

It is doubtless, to say that Arab solidarity is the backbone of the Arab-Iraeli conflict. Any weakness of such solidarity will foster Israel political obduracy in her refusal to recognise the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people.

In fact Israel has been pursuing this dangerous policy because of her intimate ties with international impeperialism. As a matter of fact, strengthening of Arab solidarity and unity is the most viable way of eliminating Israel plots against the Arab nation.

In the light of the aforesaid, the summit conference of Baghdad was a foreward step in the right direction by removing misunderstanding undermining Arab solidarity in general and particularly in arriving at a consensus concerning vital issues confronting the Arab Nation. Among them is the vital issue dealing with legitimate rights of the Palestinian people and the Camp David accords which are seen by the majority of Arab states not representing a viable solution to the Arab-Israeli conflict. Lastly, it must be admitted that the Baghdad Summit Conference represent broad consensus of political outlook of the Arab States that is arriving at a common denominator for the continuation and consolidation of the Arab states solidarity and unity.



#### POLITICAL, SOCIAL & ECONOMIC AFFAIRS

# DABADHEER DROUGHT: Semalia's greatest natural

and Environmental Challenge

By, EREG

Mankind has had to face endless series of challenges and to surmount various kinds of hazards in the course of its long march towards survival, stability and progress. Political upheavals, economic crises, and social or environmental disturbances can cause major repercussions in a society. Such problems can be traced to man's own wrong judgment or mishandling of situa-But over and above this, there are objective processes also contributing to man's suffering. But natural calamities, far beyond human control, turn out to be potential sources of untold danger to mankind. Earthquakes, the thunderstorms, landslides. floods, outbreak of epidemic diseases etc, cause large-scale destruction in the World.

A few years ago, Somalia was hit by severe storms along the North Eastern coastal areas In addition, scorching

drought has been a regular source of untold destruction. Of these bouts of dry spells, eleven had caused large-scale suffering in the country, the worst ones having been those in 1817, 1847, 1950-51, 1958-59, and 1964-65.

The «Daba dheer, drought of 1974 has, however, broken all the previous records of destruction. By November 1974, the country had got into its painful grip and the magnitude of the drought and its destructive scope were immediately realised by the Government and people. However the challenge of nature was faced by the entire population with immense courage and conference. Strong means were taken to mitigate the suffering of the people. The very foundations of normal life were shaken but the Revolutionary government adop. ted well-planned measures to check the extent of damages and to onen un nom allevs.

The flourishing agricultural and fishing cooperatives are the outcome of these measures.

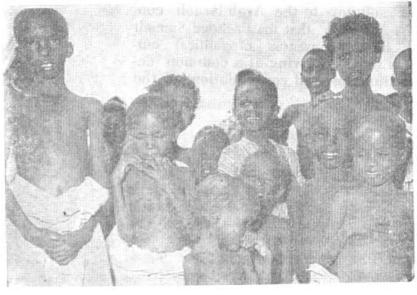
The drought began sweeping down the eastern slopes of the Sahara belt by the early months of 1972, the fiery streaks of drought began showing up in the eastern regions like Togdheer, Sanaag, Bari and the Nugal plains.

#### A BRIEF GEOGRAPHIC DESCRIPTION OF THE SDR

The Horn of Africa juts out of the massive second largest land mass on its north eastern region. It is weighed down the Ethiopian high mountains on its base. Two rivers carefully cut across the mountainous eastern side and descend gently towards the fertile plains untill they reach the fish invested Indian Ocean.

From these Ethiopian eastern slopes began the creeping drought. By the early month of 1972 the fiery streaks of licking drought blasts steadily showed up in our Eastern regions like Togdheer, Sanaag, Bari and the Nugal plains. By 1974 the Eastern and Northern regions completely changed into extensive dust. bowls. The drought gradually crept to the Southwest in a few months and consequently crippled eight regions drying up both lifesupporting rivers, and began the process of wiping off traces of human life.

The drought first swallo-



wed up plant life, affecting livestock next. It brought the nomadic people to their knees very soon. The drying of the two rivers caused untold destruction of products, with the attendant shortage of food products and rising prices.

THE POLICIES OF MOBILI-SATION TO COUNTERACT THE DHOUGHT.

By November 1974 the destruction had reached such proportions that on the 31st S.R. C. was alerted.

Their meetings resulted in the imposition of a state of emergency, with the declaration that this constituted a dangerous and ominous natural calamity. It was a grave moment and it needed concerted action. Fortunately enough, the right decisions were 1mmediately taken, and there was no equivocation as to the steps undertaken. Two important steps which led to the most effective means of facing the challenge were taken. The first step was the mobilisation of the nation's potentialities. The second was the immediate allocation of a huamount money (152,500,000 Shs for the drought stricken areas).

The ministeries, the armed forces, various government agencies, social organizations and the student community were all called upon to spare no efforts in the saving more than one and a half million Somalis from the grip of the disaster. Doctors, and other medical personnel and equipment were put at the disposal of the people in affected areas.

The literacy campaign was in full swing in the rural areas at that crucial time. Students and teachers engaged in this campaign in different



parts of the country in the field had earlier sent reports the impending drought and the likelihood of destruction and suffering. The declaration of the drought outbreak to the world was followed by the nation. The president delivered important speeches calling for the urgent co-operation of the people. «It is our ultimate objective to reassure our people that the lives of every Somali will be saved from hunger and thirst», The president firmly declared. This in fact became the ideal objective of every Somali citizen.

The motto was to «Save the people first, and the ani. mals next», it was in fact a battle for survival. The initial move was to take food, water and medicine to the affected areas. Both Government and private transport were assigned to meet the dire need of taking necessary medical and relief food material to the affected areas. Various international organizations and friendly countries responded to the call and came to our assis. tance. Material aid and he'p came from many institutions.

The intensive studing of reports from the drought affected areas led to the classification of the areas and peoples concerned according to the degree of loss suffered by them. Those people who lost only part of their animal wealth belonged to the first category. The others who were completely deprived of all their animals belonged to the other category deserving special consideration.

The former category were sold cheaper food as a concession for their material loss. Their animals were instantly transported to better areas. The latter category were given free water and food. The resources of the entire nation were directed so as to work around the clock, and this of course increased the financial burdens to be met by our revolutionary state.

Suffering brought hearts and minds together and the common goal in the alleviation of misery forged a sense of unity. And varied civil servants took the initiative by forming committees and subcommittees. The impoverished people were grouped in appropriate places. Soon after huge centres known as the Rehabilitation camps were set-up in December 1974. By January 1975 the number of Rehabilitation camps reached thirty

seven (37) which were afterwards reduced to twenty (20) in eight regions. Poor homeless people journeyed to those camps with gov't help. It was estimated that 1988 persons joined the camps each day. Based on reliable statistics 268,000 persons were well-cared for in the Rehabilitation camps and 1.250,000 were given help outside them Those were people whose animals had partially perished but were still left with some

International institutions. friendly nations and humani. tarian societies provided technical assistance. Social organisations and business-men in Somalia collected 7.300.000/apart from putting in maximum technical and other efforts. The experience of previous disastrous events and the practical lessons learned from the various campaign like the illiteracy campaign and the optimistic efforts of the people helped much in dealing with and controlling damages caused by the drought.

Transport facilities posed the most difficult problem. Lorries were available but needed expensive spare parts. Rehabilitation camps were remo te and far inland. and the roads were in terrible condition

The 496 vehicles working for them travelled along dusty. rough and sometimes badly damaged roads. The problem of communication was adequately solved by setting up a Telegraph system in every

camp which was directly connected to their Central Head-quarter, in Mogadisho. The Armed Forces Communication's Centre and their outposts were strictly instructed to keep in touch with all troubled areas and relief camps. The Central Headquarters Directly Communicated with the Government outonomous Agencies and Ministries. Food and other supplies were efficiently carried to the camps by the ENC and the ADC

The alertness and the spirit of dedication displayed by the 1300 University Students in the field, the Government civil servants, the represenatives of Social Organizations, bers of the Somali red cross, the Guuldayaal and others deserve special mention this context. They contributed a great deal towards sa. ving and rehabilitating their badly affected countrymen. The outstanding administration of the relief camps was due to the cooperative efforts of various branches such as:

- a) The statistical operation centre
- b) Water and food distribution
- c) Sound distribution of medicine
- d) Job training and orientation
- e) Recording, accounting and better communication.

All the above function worked in a smooth, honest and effective way.

The following table slows the details of food distribution.

FOOD	ADULTS	YOUNG			
	(GRMS)	(GRAMS)			
Rice	250 Gr.	100			
Maize (	or millet) 30	0 150			
Ghee	47	20			
Milk	20	40			
Meat (3 days a week) 250 250					
Sugar	50	25			
Dates	30	30			

Maize, Millet and Rice were given to every person alternately.

When the drought was over the Statistical Committee Assessed the magnitude of the damages suffered by the country, which stands as follows: 700,000 cows, 720,000 camels, 5,700,000 sheep and goats. The toll of human life was estimated reached a little above 19,000.

In conclusion the daba-dheer was a highly damaging drought, but in a way it was bless in disguise since it inspired and brought into reality one of the most beneficial programmes our revolution has thus far implemented. That is the resttlement programme which to day is a viable one, and is playing a transforming role. This will be discussed in further article in the coming issues of Halgan.

Both Carlotter Bridge State

# On Economy and Crime

By Mohamed H. Tani

at the same

Economy is one of the factors that influence a criminal act. However, the main issue is how poverty affects the committment of criminal.

Some scholars contend that neither need, nor poverty facilitate the commitment of a crime, but it is a sobering fact that both need and poverty which result from an inadequate economic situation cause the commitment of a crime and in particular robbery, theft, looting, and prostitution.

The statistics of Shaldon indicate that poverty is the cause of the crimes the youth commit. In his research Shaldon studied 500 youth in the U.S.A. and his results were supported by another research study on 200 youth by Harvard University in 1950.

Similar results were reached by other researchers in Somalia on 70 criminal boys in 1974. The results of this study show that all these youngesters who committed theft were illiterate and were brought up in the regions and not the main city of Mog. and were suffering from a lack of education or lack of care or as a result of their parents' divorce. (See the artice by Dr. Mohamed H. Tani in the law magazine, issue 5, published in Oct. 1974) The other results of such researches is that the commitment of certain crimes as the economic situation improves while such crimes increase as a reesult of an ecnomic crisis examples of such crimes is murder ,robbery, bribery and embezzlement. Some of the cri. mes that increase in economic improvement are humanity cheating, and a high rate of

liguar consumption or alcolholism.

The expects in criminology prove that inflation increases Even if the price of bread or other neccessaryitem increase by one cent the rate of crime increases and multiplyseveral times in theft, bribery, and embezzlement

The inflation of the price may cause the scarcity a market as only far could afford the consumption of the dear items. This hence may result in unemployment and those who lost their job would en\_ danger the society as they will join the other criminals An adequate solution is regiu. overcome unemplored to yment and the economic problems that emerge from price fluctuation which is common in the capitalist developed In the socialist countries. world unemployment, econo. mic problems or price flactuation don't exist. Even if price inflation occurs the necessary measures are taken so that the masses don't suffer because there is a planned economy that solves unemployment problems and an economic crises in the capitake place talist countries with all the aforementationed crimes that it engenders.

Numerous debates and wide disagreements arise from the relations between the general economic policy and the commitment of a crime.

Although political scientists differ on opinions about crimes according to the various systems they live under, it is becoming more and more clear that under capitalism the crime wave is greater than in so-

countries. William cialist Adrain says, capitalism is the source of crime, for it encourages competition in commerce for the greates surplus value. Since capitalism safeguards such interests it naturally acts as an instrument for spreading crime such as treachery and murder that serve to boast the capitalist economy by finding a suitable market for goods; what is also characteristic of capitalism are the offences committed by the news paper and this is due to the Unlimited Freedom of the press given to them.

The view of crime has been debated by many authorities one of them being Ra'uuf Ubeyd who says' «murder and teachery are not peculiar to any political system just as extra hours of work and ignorance are not used by any particular group».

Truly this view is not sup. ported by the realities of life because the life of a nation, its economy, its customs and traditions may be at a different level from another. Lienocomic problems are not determined by an economic sytem because nations are different from one another in economic development and historical experien. **Nations** also differ in terms of natural Poverty and the realities of life of culture and civilization

Nevertheless, from experience we know that this idea is not based on reality and the fact that from the beginning we can say that capitalism is the main cause of the spread of crime. Is there disagreement that unemployment is one of the main factors that

cause the commitment of a crime? Is there any debate that poverty and economic problems are the source of crimes such as prostitution, loating, theft etc? There is no debate about the cause of such crimes that is based on economy.

The is no debate that the capitalist world faces daily economic problems of permenant fluctuation, a peculiar feature for capitalism, inflation of price at an increasing rate day after day and other economic crises. Similarly, these is no doubt that poverty of the lower classes is caused by the capitalist system.

All the aforementioned mishaps are directly or indrectly related to the economic situation and they are the factors that influence the commitment of such crimes; most of political sytem

For an illustration: Illite. racy is one of the factors that result in the spread of crmies Therefore, socialism struggles against illiteracy and encourages mass education compelling it on the whole society. A sobering fact is obvious in a comparative analysis of statistical estimation between the illiterate Somali idividuals before the Revolution and the present mass literacy. We all remember the struggle and the victories achieved in the illiteracy compaign for the rural development.

Such a campaign is a common act for all socialist states as it is based on socialist principles. In the capitalist states, there is no equal opportunity for education as it needs a considerable finance and poor have no access to knowledge. Thus many people don't get the opportunity for education as for as they are not finacially well off.

Moreover, the class difference, the exploitation of the weak and the authority of the rich to block the progressive opportunities for the poor create a feeling of injustice and the emergence of banditry and armed groups rebelling against the politico-economic system of capitalism, as the case is in some parts of Western Europe, such as Italy and West Germany where the Red Banner Mafia and «Badi. rmeyn Hof» create instability. Every country has a certain amount of natural resources and there is a great difference in technological development and historical inheritance and their transmission which may or may not affect the commitment of crimes. But there is the possibility that an economically developed country may suffer more crimes than an undeveloped country. Thus there is no other way to justify occurrery of crimes except to indicate the main source as the political system.

In the above analysis we see that economy is the main factor to influence the momirment of crimes although some scholars contend that the politico-economic system has no relation with crimes, but as we have mentioned it is not based on the scientific facts that there is a strong relationship between the two.

As an illustration here follows a statistic research concerning the criminal activities in Somalia during the Revolutionary era in comparison to those before the Revolution.

In the year 1969 when the Revolution was born 6236 were brought before the regional and district courts for punishment. And in 1974, 7076 punishable cases were recorded in the country. In 1975 the number of such cases was 8,872

and in 1976, 9125.

In the last two years crime the rest are affected in a general and indirect way by the was on the increase and this was due to the long period of drought that hit the country, bringing much suffering and distress to the nation's economy or to the life of individuals As a result, crimes of and embezzlement robberv multipleid. The percentage of imbezzlement was estimated at about 46.36%. Statistics show us that:

- a) The economic situation determines the rate of crimes and that ni 1975-76, the rate rose especially in regard to the crimes connected with theft of public funds.
- b) The political situation plays a great role in the fluctuation of the rates of crimes. This is manifested by the fact that crime rates were low in 1974 and in 1975.

It is also noteworthy that the incidence of such ugly crimes like murder has fallen. In 1969 in the Benadir Region only 30 murders were committed in 1975 only 8 throughout the country and since then there have been very few cases.

One of the determining fac. tors for this political change is the political system we have adopted which is socialism and the administration of the socialist economy, because we have come very near abolishing all unemployment And this has been made possible by the educational opportuni. and facilities put at the disposal of the people, without economic or language limita. tions, in the conviction that knowledge breeds a love for society in the individual and a sencse of fellow feeling and cooperation.



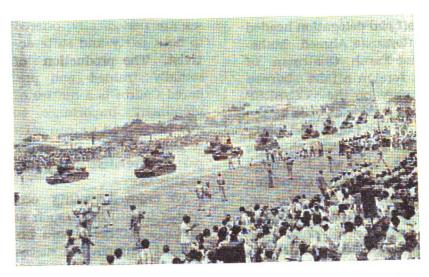
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#### PARTY LIFE

# 9th Anniversary Celebrations of the 21st October Revolution

Since the inception of the 21st October Revolution it has became habitual and a regular practice for the Somali nation to widely celebrate this occasion highly every year. The October celebrations are not solely conducted to commemorate this historical day, but most crucially in is an opportunity when Party, the state and the entire Nation pause for a critical assessment, eva. luation and reapraisal of the tasks implemented, and the new ones to be embarked upon.

This year's celebrations were rather different and contrasted with the previous ones on two main grounds. On the one hand, it was necessary to compare between two periods: that is the first 9 years of indepedence when the country was under predominantly bourgeois regimes, which was the case in most of the liberated countries. The comprador and bureaucratic bourgeosie along with the national bourgeoisie was successful to seize power since they championed the nationalist cause, and in fact led It at the same time. The immaturity of the proletariat or its non-existence facilitated the bourgeoisie to gain mo nopoly over political life. Inspite of anti-imperialist slogans the bourgeois regimes thoroughly attached and integrated themselves with in.



ternational monopoly and their capitalist way of development, which resulted in mal-administration, corruption, nepotism, tribalism, economic underdevelopment and chaos. The second 9 vears of the revolutionary era, on the other hand wit. nessed gigantic socio-econo. mic transformations made possible by the non-capitalist path vigorously pursued by the country. Thanks to this, great gains were made of develand the pace opment increased resulting in fundamental changes in the system of social relations. On the other hand it was essential to authentically prove and demonstrate the unity and militancy of the Somali working people on this partciular occasion. Since the colonialist and neo-colonial forces are launcampaigns ching tireless and are hatching numerous conspiracies against the democratic forces and the Somali people in general, their main target being to destrory the socialist path of development and undermine our people's unity and sovereignty.

The democratic forces of our country have proved in the celebrations of October this year, their capability to counter-attack the imperialist forces and their agents in the country by cementing the unity of the people and holding aloft the banner of Scientific Socialism.

The honourable guest delegations of journalists, writers and the various others who have been either officially invited or came on their accord, all witnesses by themselves the gigantic strides registered by the SDR and most certainly will pass their own experiences

to their respective nations and peoples.

The facts, figures and a true and an honest picture of Somalia in the Revolutionary era will emerge. The Somali experience has further demonstrated the unacceptability of the capitalist system an obsolete and out mode d one, whereas socialism has proved itself to be the result of the richest experience and legacy of cumulative human thought.

The struggle of the working class all over the world has proved the inevitability of socialism in our globe, as it alone ensures freedom, peace and prosperity.

# Party delegation visits Rumania

On the 4th October 1978 an official delegation headed by Comrade Ahmed Mahamoud Farah, Chairman of the foreign affairs bureau member of the CC/SRSP paid an official visit to the CC/of the Comminist party of Rumania. The objective of tht visit was to streng. then the bonds of friendship ship between the two respective parties and peoples. The visit more than anything else contributed to the exchange of ideas and experiences characteristic of the creative application of shared socialist principles in the specific conditions obtaining in the two countries

The CC/SRSP delegation were welcomed by comrade Vasile Muscat CC member of the CRR and head of the international relations department, and his deputy comrade Constantin Vasiliu. While in the socialist Republic of Rumania the Somali Party delegation met representatives of the different departments of the CPR, and social organisations. We had extensive discussions with the organisation departments; Women and Youth representatives.A visit was also paid to the party academy of San Gheorghe where we gained a com. prehensive idea of how party and states cadres were trained both theoretically and practically, and how

popular refreshment courses are periodically offered to both party and state activist. The production of soundly trained and prepared Cadres is a matter of preminent importance to any party, and we can safely vouch for the Rumanian party's relative successes in this score.

We enjoyed visiting eco. nomic institutions such as factories as these paid homage to the obvious successes at socialist economic transformation which Rumania achieved in the last 30.yrs from a weak, predominantly agrarian society socialist Rumania has attai. ned a medium sized technological development which is a precondition for the multilaterally cialist society which the 11th Party congress Committed itself to. The flouri. shing of socialist democracy at the shopfloor through the workers council, and comrade working toge ther of both management and workers ensures the rapid socio-economic development which Rumania is registering.

Our understanding of the role of socialist Rumania in the world arena hinging on the tireless struggle for peace and socialism, the new economic order, the strengthening of the non-alignment and democratic forces became more mature

and enlightened. The So. mali Party delegation could but appreciate Rumani's strong advocacy of disarmament and correspondingly the support for greater and unconditioned aid to developing countries. Rumania's hostility and vigorous opposition to interference in the internal affairs of other countries since this rules out naked foreign aggres. sion won our blessing

The strong condemnation of imperialist aggressive designs against the developing countries was a stand which our two parties unmistakably shared.

The CC/SRSP delegation submitted our party's thinking regarding the complex world situation with speci. fic reference to the affairs in the African horn and our party and state's political assessment of the situation. We spelt out the Somali Revolutionary Socialist Party's support for the national liberation struggle in the Somali West Abbo & Eriteria. At the sometimes we expressed our disquiet at the Russo Cuban dangerous interference in the purely African affairs obtaining in the horn We stated that the violation of state sovereignty, and the fundamental rights of peoples right to self-determination as dic. tated by socialist principles militates against the best

interests of the toiling masses in our countries. The increased instability in our region, the heightening of the chances of the break out of war, contradicts the peoples urge to live in peace, and the dedicate all re. sources available to economic reconstruction and social emancipation. We impressed upon our Rumanian Comrades Somali Democratic Republic's stated policy in sparing no efforts to consolidate the ties of friendship and good neighbourly relations will all countries

and peoples in the horn, on condition that this takes stock of the historical inequities and injustices, to meet the interests of the people which lies in democracy, socialism and peace.

The exchange of views and experiences between progressive parties, on a continuous and permanent basis obviously contributes to bring them closer, and at the sametime goes to iron out the minor differences that from time to time arise. On the whole the two

parties basically agreed to accelerate the process of cooperation and mutual, re. ciprocal assistance to one another in all fields parti. cularly in cadre training Doubtlessly the SRSP's visit to the Republic of socialist Rumania on all grounds can be assessed as a successconsolidation of ties with the Rumanian Com. munist Party. We can only fervently hope that the years to come will see fur. ther consummation of the undying ties between the two brotherly parties.

# Friendly Visit

ples for.

Comrade King Pio and his delegation visited, during their stay in Somalia several Projects accompli. shed with Chinese assistan. ce namely the Cigraette and match factory, the Mogadisho Football Stadium and Benadir Maternity and Chil. dren Hospital. During his visits, our guest accompanied by Vice-President Hu. ssein Kulmie Afrah - Mem. ber of the Central Commit. tee of the S.R.S.P. were warmly recieved by the So. mali workers in the respective projects

Comrade King Pio also met many high ranking and important personalities and had lengthy discussions with them as to the ways and means of further strengthening the relations between the two countries.

Before his visit came to

an end Comrade Keng Pio had an offical meeting with the Secretary General of the SRSP, the President of Somali Democratic Republic Jaalle Mohamed Siad Barre. The two leaders have exchanged views on the iternational situation and discussed problems which are of mutual interest to both parties and nations.

Comrade Keng Pio was the second high ranking Chinese delegatino to Soma. lia since the beginning of Similar Somali this year. delegations have paid visits and participated in seminars held in the peoples Re. public of China. All these visits seminars and discu. ssions are nothing but signal that the two countries and leaderships are seeking to consolidate all possible and mutually benefical fiel. ds of co-peration between the two socialist states.

The visit which was concluded at the first week of this month by an official delegation led by comrade Keng Pio the Vice-Premier of the Peoples Republic of China to SDR was of signi. ficant importance to both countries and peoples. Since independence in 1960 So. malia has developed friendly relations with China, and since the inception of the 21st Oct. Revolution in Somalia, relations between the two countries has developed

at a rapid hence. Consequently the Chinese govern. ment has sponsored many projects in Somalia, either on an aid basis or on long term loans with the low interest rates. Therefore, the warm welcome accorded to comrade Keng Pio and his delegation on arrival at Mogadisho International Airport was a strong proof for the warm cordiality and affection linkens the two peo.

# Chairman of foreign Affairs Bureau Meets the Rumanian C.P. Delegation

On the 25th of October 1978, a two man delegation from the Romanian Communist Party headed by Comrade Cisu Ilie, CC member and Deputy Minister of Labour and Comrade Nicolae Ion, from the foreign Relations Department of the CC of the Romanian Communist Party, left Mogadishu for Bucharest, after a four day friendly visit to the SDR.

The delegation was invited by the Somali Socialist Revolutionary Celebrations for the 21st Oct. Socialist Revolution of 1969.

Therefore, in the morning of the 25th of October, the Chairman of the Foreign Affairs Bureau Comrade Ahmed Mohamoud Farah, met the Romanian Communist Party delegation headed by Comrade Cisu Ilie, where they exchanged views pertaining to all round cooperation and the further cementing of the good existing relations between the two fraternal parties, governments.

and peoples of the Somali Demoratic Republic and the Socialist Republic of Romania.

Likewise, they discussed the burning issues of the world such as, the present conflict in the Horn of the Africa, the Middle East and Southern Africa, and they expressed indentical views pertaining to the above issues. However, with respect to the question of the they agreed on the immediate withdrawal of all foreign troops from the area inorder to arrive at a peaceful solu. tion of the present conflict and that lasting and just solution of the conflict lies in the application of the principle or self-determination to the people of area. During the delegation's stay in the SDR, they paid visit to the LOWER and CENT RAL SHABELLE REGIONS. They were warmly received by the party Regional and District secretaries, social organizations reperesentatives, flowers of the revolut. ion, and the masses at large.

In the LOWER SHABEL

LE Region the delegation paid a visit to the stab lization of sand - dunes at Shalambot, Agriculture commne of the ex-nomads at Kurtunwaaray, the National Bannans farm at Golweyn and the Village of Jannale. While in the central Shebelle Region they visited Balad Taxtile Factory, and its irrigation Scheme and in Jowhar, the Snai Biasa factory and its Dam Reservor.

In conclusion, the Roma. nian Communist party delegation in their vist to the above regions were highly impressed with the party activities and the social organisations. Further they have seen on their eyes the Somali people,s desire for peace and their continuous work for the socio-economical and political development for their country under the leadership of the SRSP, the party of the new type and guidance of the secretatry General of the SRSP and president of the SDR Jaalle Mohamed Siad Barre.

COMRADES DO'NT MISS

YOUR ENGLISH ISSUE OF

HALGAN EVERY MONTH



#### WORLD AFFAIRS

## REPORT ON THE CONFERENCE

### "Socialism and the Third World"

On the 25th 29th of October this year, a Conference with the above title was held in the beautiful small village of Cavtat which is situated in the Croation Republic of the federal Republic of Yugoslavia There in Cavtat with exquisite beauty lending itself to quiet, but controversial thought provoking interllectual debates and discourses was held. A great number of socialist theoreticians, in both the academic and practical spheres met for the third time running to peruse and exhausitively deal with the content trends and tendencies of the struggle for socialism in the vast territories that constitutes the third world. Doubtlessly the reason why countless socialist scholars from all the five continents considered this topic tance to be elaborately dealt with ih underlined by the fact that as vet successful conclusions to the enormous social emancipation struggles in the immensely exploited third wor ld countries await to manifest themselves to prominence. It is here that the two contending social systems are tocked up in acute competion with capitalism trying to keep firm grips to its ill gotten booty whereas socialism, as the emerging social system is fast proving its viability, and its inevitable superiority over the Capitalist World order.

The over 200 scholars who met in Cavtat for those 5 days represented the whole spec-

trum of the socialist movement, and represented parties, social organisations and independent groupings. Delegates from the European, socialist movement had an incontestable numerical superority, nonetheless Afro-Asian and Latin American countries were reasonably represented. The improportionality numerical did not in the least detract from the rich conceptual analysis of the multiple dimen. sions of socialist struggle in a third world context. Numerous articles were submitted on a host of topics pertaining to the subject - matter of the seminar. Most importantly articles were submitted on the nature of socialist orientation, the relationship between the socialist and third world countries and the nature and role of the State in Various fields in the third world. Topics such as non-alignment and the struggle for socialism in the third world were taken up and comphensively dealth with. Moreover the specifics of the struggles for socialism by marxist-Leninese and demecratic parties in individual countries, and socialist application and construction in others were reasonably underscored. Comrades from advanced Capitalist countries enlightened the audience on the novel situation obtaining in their countries, and the new paths of combined strategic and tactical assessments this necessitates. In this regard the new doctrine of Euro-Com-

munism was approached, and as a new doctrine it attracted quite an attention, some of which was favoured, whereas strong critical remarks and evaluations were registered against it. All the same the discussions on all the Topics extremely interesting and intensely receptive. Not with standing the fact that at times wide disagreements were expressed on certain fundamental issues, yet it could confidently be stated that on the whole the Communion and identity of both theoretical conviction was the more predominating and decisive factor all along. A spirit of tolerance pervaded the conference, henceforth dissenting voices were given an attentive hearing, though a quick and justifiable counter balancing replies were given if the dissention went to the extreme of casting aspersions to the fundamentals of socialist theory and practice.

Certain articles submitted in the conference by representatives of the new French philosophical school and some indepedent Italian socia. lists amounted to heretical negation of the essence of scientific socialism and accordingly a well deserved rebuff from the vast number of hodelegates nourable These heretical views spelt out adistorted and revisionist conceptualisation of socialist theory and thus did not go well with the principles which



the vast majority of the par. ticipants upheld. This is a proof that the purity of the socialist theory has its dedicated adherents and friends who will never allow it to be tampered with and compromised The same treatment was meted out to those scholars who tried to cast doubt on the efcacy of the principles of socialist orientation by potraying it as a strategy impossible to be carried out. The idea was whole heartedly agreed upon that whatever hardships which were to be confronted, whatever hurdles were to be scaled, in order to build socialism in the third world it was worth all the efforts engaged in this indisputably showed the minimum and maximum view of dialectically uniting the minimum and Maximum programme, or in other words harmonising the tactical and strategic unity of any socialist programme. A Socialist view of the world by its very nature is a humanistic, democratic and progressive interlink of the best alternatives available to a particular or set of countries, and as such it does allow itself to be browbeaten ordefeated by the numerous obstacles and hurdles it has to surmount.

It was in the context of the pursuance of the path of socialist orientation that the question of the state role was brought to the fore. There were certain ideas which took an extreme and dogmatic attitude to the role of the state. The State according to Lenin's conception in his book, «The State and revolution», is the organised and coercive organ of the rulling class. Of course Lenin is absolutely right to characterise the state as the consummeted constellation of the powers in the executive, legislative and juduicisary dimensions vested in the ruling classes. All the same this does not lend itself to an ext. reme and dogmatic intrepretation. A true dialectician as Lenin will never allow such a myopic or short sighted view to overshadow and negative the all-rounded analytic view of looking at the state as a dynamic category continously undergoing change.

In point of fact the discussions on the role of the state

were the most controversial and thought provoking, and it was tentatively agreed upon that next year's round table be dedicated to the state's nature and role. Needless to state this line of reasoning was felt to be a genuine one, in as much as the theoretical and practical value vested in topic is of utmost priority. Hence with the expression of our purposive gratitude to our Yugoslavian Comrades with their efficient organisation of such conferences we impatiently wait for another year in the hope that the possibility of one again meeting and exchanging highly relevant and beneficial ideas on the struggle for socialism will be a practical reality. This ye. ars conference was an all-roundedly successful one, and it is our hope that next year's conference is crowned with the same success. Somali socialists and progressives only express their wish to spare no efforts in contributing the living Somali experience at socialist transformation in cuch available forums as the one held in the beautiful village of Cartat.



# ARAB UNITY: Indispensable for lasting peace

The first week of November 1977 has witnessed an important gathering of significance to the historical struggle of the Arab Nation. That is the Summit Conference held and attended by Heads and Kings of Arab States. The main topic of discussion at the conference was the examination of the steps to be taken in the light of the Camp David accords between Egypt and Is-

rael.

This major criticism of the said accords lies in its ambiguous stand with respect to the Palestinian question. Obviously, the essence of the Middle East conflict is the recognition of the Palestinian people's rights to establish their own state. The evacuation of the Arab Lands occupied by Israel in 1967 war, as well as the question of Jerusalem be-

By, Ali Mohamed Ahmed

ing a Holy shrine of all muslim nations.

Likewise, among other matters which the conference dealt with was the question of allocating nine Billion Dollars to the Arab States in direct confrontation with Israel and the Palestinian Liberation Movement.

The out come of the Summit



was the rejection of the Camp David accords. Because it is not an occord which can best serve the basis for a just viable lasting peaceful solution to the present conflict in the Middle East. For it ignors the essence of the conflict that is the Palestinian question and the foreceful occupation of Arab Lands.

Other objectives of the conference were to resurrect Arab unity and solidarity which has been as of late in a state of disarray. Aptly, Arab Unity and solidarity has been set loose especially after the 1973 war. Needless to say, President Sadat visit to Jerusalem in November 1977 has contributed to further division in the Arab unity.

In retrospect, by scrutinizing the Middle East conflict, its couses as well as its solution lies within the framework of the of the following: Firstly, the recognisation that the essence of the conflict is the Palestinian question, that is a nation evicted by force from its home land.

However, due to its preserance through out the years of displacement it has forced itself on the world community. This was the result of fierce

struggle, of the Palestinian People, in the political and military arenas for the attainment of their rightful cause. In the other words, the withdrawal of the present occupiers from their homelands and the establishment of a democratic state embracing all the in habitants of Palestine.

Above, all, through their prolonged years of politico militry truggle the palestinian people have established a national liberation movement of high calibre and experiences. That is why to day they are highly considered by friends and foes alike as potent force to be reckoned with. Today, this movement is the sole legi-

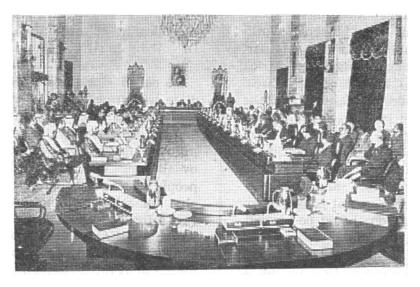
timate repressentative of the Palestinian people.

Therefore, it is relevant to observe that experiences gained through the years concerning the Middle East conflict have demonstrated conspiuous and essential fact that is, any lasting solution of the said conflict can not be thought of or even achieved without the full participation of the legitimate representive of the Palestinian people as equal partener in any future talks aimed at finding just and lasting solution to the present conflict. Suffice it say, their full participation as equal member is SINE QUE NON for any just solution of the Arab Israel conflict.

In contrast, any other solution called it Camp David accords or any other name is doomed to failure.

Secondly: Israel obduracy and its expansionist policies on which it was founded more than thirty years ago can not be checked in peaceful negotiation or in war without having a prior unity and solidarity of the Arab States. This fact has been vindicated by the experience gained throughout the existence of the Arab Israel conflict. Con-

(Cont. to page 24)



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#### MONTHLY BULLETIN

# Jaalle Abdirahman addresses United Nations

The Somali Foreign Minister, Jaalle Dr. A. J. Bare addressing the General Assembly of the United Nations on 6th October, denounced superpower in trusions into the African continent for hegemony in collusion with foreign mencenaries.

In his speech, the minister dwelt at length on world economy and ways of balancing the economies of developing and devoloped countries. He touched on the vast sea food resources which, he said, is exploited only by developed countries.

The minister also underscored the need to maintain peace and security in the Indian ocean which, he said, should be kept out of super power rivaly. He called for arms limitation both in the conventional and nuclear fields.

Jaalle Adirahman spoke about the current World troubled political spots par ticularly southern Africa and Middle East. Isreal should withdraw from the Arab lands it occupied during the 1967 war in accordance with UN resolution 24 and 338 of 1967 and 1973 respectively and the Palestininan's right to self-determination should be recognized, he said.

Speaking on the current si-

tuation in the Horn of Africa Jaalle Abdirahman said that the issue remains to be highly tense and critical «Massive weaponry, supplied by a supper power and Cuban mercenary troops are being used to perpetrate violence, havoc and destruction against the people».

He appealed to the world body to understand the plight of these oppressed people and render them assistance in their struggle against colonialism and genocide. The minister told the assembly that the people of Western Somalia are only demanding to exercise their right of self-determination.

«The time has come for the international community to proclaim that Africa belongs to the Africans and to demand that all parties of whatever colour or creed desist from imposing their tutelage on the pretext of any slogan or any guise». Dr. Abdirahman declared

He called for the immediate withdrawal of all foreign troops from Western Somalia so that peaceful solution could be worked out by allowing the colonized people to exercise their right for self-determination. He informed the General Assembly of Abyssinian provocations against the Somali Democratic Republic,

which he stated, is being intensified with everyday that passes. «Large armies of the Warsaw Pact and Abyssinia are being massed at the S.D.R. defacto border», he stressed.

Elaborating on the present situation in the Horn, the minister appealed to the General Assembly to consider the status of the huge influx of refugees from Western Somalia who are well above 600,00 people mostly women, children and disabled.

The Minister further said that Russia with Cuba as its military arm is devising a devious tactical plan against the neighbouring countries in fulfillment of its imperialist designs and hegemonistic ambitions.

«Somalia warns against the grave consequences of such an evil imperialist design which poses a serious threat to the peace and security of the region as well as to international peace and security» he stated. The foreign minister went on to say that it is a matter of grave concern and profound disappointment to So malia that the big power, on ce the self-proclaimed champion of third World causes. is an active and prominent participant in the new scramble for Africa. «The direct intervention of such



a power, with Cuba as its surrogate, in the affairs of Horn of Africa is the most dangerous example of this recent trend, he declared.

Dr. Abdirahman stated that Somalia has no illusions about the nature of the driving forces behind the recent foreign intervention in purely Africa conflicts. We believe it to be motivated by the desire for World hege-

mony and it is using blantantly opportunistic policies in persuit of this end, he added

More than 100 delegations welcomed the S.D.R. foreign minister's speech and called for the immediate withdrawal of foreign troops from the Horn of Africa. The Morrcan minister of state for foreign affairs, Mr, Mohamed Buncette said that the

African continent was under assault by the forces of hegemony, domination and exploitation at present.

He continued to say that it was becoming the theatre of contention betwen the great powers with conflicts flaring up and proxy wars breaking out. He called for the withdrawal of all foreign troops from the African soil.

# 33rd Anniversary of the United Nations

Each year, the 24 of October anniversary of the Ratification of the U. Nations Charter, which began the Organization's historic work is celebrated.

In a message on the occassion of United Nations Day. 24 October 1978, the Secentry General Dr. Kurt Welheim stated.

In the years since 1945. the world has undergone changes which the founders of the United Nations would scarcely have forseen or imagined. It is, today, a cos. tly different organization than it was when the charter came into force. It is larger and more representative, with 150 member states as compared to the 51 founding members. It is much more complex, concerned as it is with virtually every aspect of human existence; from the maintainaance of international peace and security to the establishment of a new interna-

tional economic order and to ensuring respect for fundamental Human Rights. Thousands of people all over the world are engaged in UN activities to promote economic and social develop. ment and in providing relief and humanitarian assistance to refugees and to those affected by emergency situations. The UN has thus over the years become a microcosm of the world as a whole, which, above all affords unique opportunity to seek common solutions to the vast number of common problems which confront mankind in this in creasingly interdependent world. It is both significant and encouraging that today nations are, more and more, turning to the United Nations to help resolve the most pressing issues on the agenda of the International Community.

Earlier this year, the leaders of the world gathered in New York for a special se-

ssion of the General Assembly on disamament which adopted a set of principles and a programme of action for future negotiations. At the same time, the United Nations has been actively involved in attempts to find a peaceful solution in South Africa, in the M. E. and Cyprus. Today, over 12,000 soldiers from 27 nations are serving in six separate peace-keeping operations. Next year, the International Year of the Child will focus attention on an essential aspect of the continuing effort to improve conditions for the majority of the world's people, whose lives are impaired by inadeguate care, shelter and nutrition. The UN, in attempting to meet International Community fulfils functions - as a meeting place for statesmen, as a catalyst for new approches, as a safety vanue at times when conflict threatens and as agent of peaceful change and adjustment.

# At the Parade square

Hundreds of thousands of people from the Benadir Region and the surrounding districts gathered at the 21st October Square to celebrate the 9th anniversary of the October 21st Revolution in Mogadishu.

The General Secretary of the SRSP, President of the SDR Jaalle Mohamed Siad Barre, reviewed a parade staged by units of the armed forces, social organisations, students resettled communities, sports youth, revolutionary flowers and representatives of the various regions of the country

The celebrations were also attended by the three Vice-Presidents of the SDR, Bureau Chairman, Ministers and Party Officials, Gu-

ests from the Arab World, Africa, Western Countries and International Organitle communities, foreign dip. lomats in Mogadishu and Re presentatives of the Somali communities living in for-The Presieign countries. dent, Officials, guests and the general public watched acrobatics performed by revolutionary flowers after which came parading in an orderly way by thousands women in traditional dress. They were followed by workers, youth, peasanstudents ts. med forces all demonstra. ting the Revolution's achie. vement in improving the lives of the people and the country's development in every aspect and their readiness for the defence of the country. They

all reciting patriotic and revolutionary songs.

The parades carried placards coloured in all shades displaying the country's development in education economy, politics, health and other fields. They also demonstrated the aspirations of the SRSP, the government and the cause of the Somali Liberation Mo. vements.

After the parade, the mammoth crowd at the 21st October Square watched jubilantly a chain of moving armour personnel carriers and jetfighters.

The modern weaponry with which the armed forces participated in the celebrations in spired joy and confidence in the Somali people in their country's defence apparatus.

# Foreign delegations

Among the distinguished dignitaries attending the 9th Anniversary Celebrations of the Somali Revolution were: Djibdati premier Mr. Barkhad Gurad Hamadu and a large delegation accompaning him, the prime minsiter of the Yemen Arab Republic Mr Abdulaziz Abdulgani, a British Parlimentary group headed by Mr. James Johnson, and U.S. Assistant secretary of state for African affairs Mr. William C, Harrop. Also innumerable journalists participated in the Anniversary Celebartion from over the world Amongst them was a Nigerian writer and political analyst Eugirie Onwumere.

Speaking to newsmen

shortly before his departure on the 23rd of October, Mr. Hamadu thanked the Somali Government and people for the warm welcome extended to him and his delegation during their stay. The Djibouti Premier said his visit to the SDR will further promote the historical fraternal relation between Diibouti and the SDR. He said that the Government and people of Djibouti will never forget the major role played by the Somali government and people in Djibouti's struggle for independence. He disclosed that he had visited the SDR in 1972 and 1976 and added that he had observed the tangible results in Somalia's thrust towards the development

#### arrive

of the country since his last visit.

Speaking on the change of Government in Djibouti earlier in October Mr. Hamadu said that the Djibouti President appointed him as the new Premier of Djibouti when it became clear to him that the former government was not fulfilling its responsibility of uniting the people of Djibouti and developing the country.

The Premier declared that his government will take positive steps in uniting the people and constituting a society based on social justice and equality. Commenting on the Red Sea issue, Mr Hamadu said: «Even

though we are aware that superpowers and other small countries Covet the strategic location of the area, my government believes that the Red Sea should be a zone of peace.

The Prime Minister of the Yemen Arab Republic, Mr. Abdulgani, speaking to reporters at the end of a four day visit said «I note with pleasure the progress achieved by the Somali people under the guidance of the revolutionary government» and added «his people congratulate the brotherly people of Somalia on their successful achieve.

Asked on his talks with Somali government leaders, Mr. Abdulasis said matters of bilateral interest were discussed, in particular ways of furthering cooperation between the two countries.

On the Red Sea and Indian Ocean security, the

prime minister said his government supports the view that the two areas be maintained as zones of peace from big power rivalry.

U.S. assistant undersecretary of state for African affairs Mr. William C. Harrop wound-up his stay on 23rd Oct. after attending the 9th Anniversary celebrations of the 21st October Revolution.

In the course of his stay Mr. Harrop met president Jaalle Mohamed Siad Barre to whom he conveyed greetings and congratulations from U.S. President Jimmy Carter.

who was one of the guests invited for the aniversary celebrations.

Prof. Onwumers, a contributing editor for the Nigerian dailly times, times international and a TV commentator, in an interview with Somali jurnalists said Somalia has created an impact in Africa in its socialist construction and has worked harder for promoting Afro-Arab solidarity and cooperation than any other African country.

The majority of our people respect respect it participat in any issue that feces the African continent, he said, adding that Somalia's role in the Festac colloquim had left endlible an impression in the minds of many Nigerian people.

Mr. Onwmere said the two countries, Somali and Nigeria, have much to gain from each other in development al experience and cultural life.

## MARINE EXHIBITION

An exhibition marking the 3rd Anniversary of the Marine Day which falls annually on 23rd of October was visited by the Vice-President and Assistant to the President on Presidential affairs Jaalle Major Gen. Hussein Kulmiye Afrah.

The exhibition was held at the Central Bank Club at Lido in Mogadishu.

The show which exhibited items of off-sea nature was also attended by Party Bureau heads, Government Ministers, members of Diplomatic Corps and the general public.

In an opening speech he made to mark the occassion, Jaalle Kulmie commended the authorities and staff of the Ministeries of Fisheries and Ports and Marine Transport, and their various or gans for making the anniversary a success.

«The coordinated efforts of these two Ministries in devising measures have won our Revolution yet another victory», the Vice-President said.

Jaalle Kulmie explained that the Revolution, taking note of the broad resources along the 3,333 Km Somali Coast, made it imperative to lay heavy emphasis on establishing extensive Marine equipment and staff and enhancing the study and expansion of fisheries.

Before the Revolution, he said, no attention was paid to the sea and its value, as the Somali people was traditionally familiar only with Livestock wealth.

«However, now in our Revolutionary era, the SRSP and the Government have decided it a must for our people to become good fishermen as well» he said.



Jaalle Kulmie paid tribute to the Governments and International organizations who rendered assistance to Somalia in tapping her Marine treasures. He cited Sweden and FAO an example. Earlier, in a welcoming speech, the Minister of Ports and Marine Transport Jaal le Brig-General Mohamoud Gelle Yusuf spoke on the progress achieved in Marine exploitation and the bigger tasks envisaged to be achieved in future.

The Vice-President awarded presents to winners who took part in swimming, boat and dhow racing contests.

# Jaalle Ismail Attend Farewell Party

Attending a farewell party held in honour of the Regional delegations who participated in the 9th Anniversary celebrations of the 21st Oct. Revolution, Vice Pre. sident and Assistant Secretary General of the SRSP J/lle Brigadier General Ismail Ali Abokor, took the occassion to brief the delegates on the historical struggle of the Somali people for freedom. He said that the Somali people have always loved freedom and have bitterly fought for it.

The farewell party was held on 26th Oct. at the Policy Academy in Mogadishu.

The Vice President spoke about the achievements of the Revolution in the political, economic, education, health and other fields

He also spoke on the foundation of the Somali Revolutionary Socialist party which he said, has been necessitated by the need of the Somali people for a party of the new type to lead the country to progress, justice and equality.

Jaalle Ismail urged the Regional delegations to work hard towards the maintenance of the unity of the Somali people, the development of the country and the improvement of the living standards of the people.

The delegations which numbered 1400 represented the various social organizations of the regions and districts of the country.

# A Review of Small-Pox Eradication

A review meeting on the Somali Smallpox Eradication Programme was held in Mogadishu on 26th October 1978. In a press release delivered on the occasion, the Minister of Health Jaalle Col. Muse Rabile Good said, «It is a great satisfaction and happiness for all of us to come to this Press Conference and import to one another the information that we are on our way to eradicate Smallpox from Somalia, and celebrating one year free from Smallpox».

He continued, «It is worth while to give you the background information of how the Somali Government and the World Health Organisation had been waging the war against the outbreak or importation of

Smallpox in the Horn of Africa.

Somalia in collaboration with WHO had been awake ever since 1970. Intensive regular surveillance and was accompanied by continued and consistent mass vaccination througout the the country. This preventive-programme was promoted by Mobile Teams of WHO Epidemiologists and Somali Epidemiologists, paramedical staff, regional, district, village authorities, police forces and the people at large. This preventive process continue untill 1976. Therefore we confirm that WHO and the Somali Gove. rnment had succeeded in withholding Smallpox from the country since September 1976, and pay then the gratitude they deserve», the Minister stressed. Jaalle Rabile went on to say that, it was September 1976, when Smallpox was imported from the Somali territory colonised by Ethiopia and brought to us.

To substantiate measures aimed at mobilization of concerted efforts to detect the emergence of the desease, instructions were communicated to all Regional and District authorities and Medical officers to know that imported Smallpox had been discovered in Bakool, Bay, Gedo and Benadir.

To enhance the programme, immediate actions had to be carried out. This included general research, mass vaccinations, regular checking of air, land and

carrying out intensive surveillance on the de-facto boundry line with Ethiopia in order to stop further importation. In the capital, Mogadishu search operations were made at night for defecting Smallpox cases, by a work force numbering from 1500 to 2000 persons.

"After such preventive measures and search activities, we communicated to the World Health Organisation as ing them to join us in the war against Smallpox. We are obliged to compliment WHO for the prompt action they took and the readiness with which they joined us in laying down the stragtegies" for eradication of smallpox," said the Minister.

Following a joint survey 10 of the 16 Regions affected with smallpox at varying degrees of intensity. On 7th-October, 1976 a plan of action was drawn. It emphasised the following:

- 1. To continue and strengthen the surveillance activities.
- 2. To detect all Small-pox cases.
- 3. To contain outbreaks in order to stop any further transmission.
  - 4. To isolate all uses.
- 5. To establish HQ smallpox Office at the Ministry of Health to plan and superpise field activities.

In the wake of increasing discovery of outbreaks in May 1977 the Ministry of Health declared emergency situation in the country and government made an appeal for assistance to

WHO, UNDP and all countries for expanding the activities of the programme, and for making containment measures more effective.

The Minister of Health J/LE. Col. MUSA RABILE GOOD concluded his address with these words: «All activities performed this year give us the full satisfaction and confidence that Merca case was the last case of Smallpox in Somalia and there is no any possibility of any transmission in the country.

Last case of Smallpox was discovered on 26, October 1977, Merca Town, Merca district, and Shabelle Region.

To satisfy the whole world still we have to continue surveillance activities as to prepare all the documentations concerning the activities of the programme till the arrival of international commission next year to certify Smallpox eradication from the country».

Dr. Haldan Mahler, Director General World Health Organization delivered a message to the Somalia Smallpox eradication programme review meeting.

Following are exerpts from Dr. Wahler's message "This meeting marks one year of freedom from Smallpox in Somalia. I should, therefore like to express my congratulations to all of you who have contributed to this historical achievement. This is a truly significant moment, and I should like to briefly review the importance of this event.

The origin of smallpox is

obsure, but historical records suggest that the disea. se occured in the eastern part of the Asian continent many thousands of years ago. This scourage travelled westwards following movements of the population: these movements were relased to trade, national calami. ties and wars. By the eighteenth centny smallpox was rampant almost every where people lived, thoroughout th world. Milloins died, became blind or disfigured with Smallpox.

Man's first effort to control the disease occured in the late eighteenth Century. Edward Jenner, a British physisian, discovered a vaccine which protected people from Smallpox.

By 1950 disease tranmission had been successfully stopped in many countries in the Norhtern hemisphere

However, the first breakthrough to curb the disease in countries with tropical climates, where the vaccine papidly lost potency due to the lack of refrigration, came in the 1950's when DR. L.H. Collier, in the U.K. developed a method for mass production of freeze-dried vaccine.

The programme has been successful. Smallpox transmission, which continued for at last 3,000 years, has apparently came to an end. The last endemic focus in the world appears to have been eliminated one year ago today.

The contribution of Somalia to this historical event is considerable. Her national and international prog-

ramme staff have succssfully fought the final battle despite limited resources, limited communications and the recent conflict in the Horn of Africa.

In addition to the incredible work done in Somalia, I specifically appreciate the continuing efforts made for the last 12 months to verify whether nil evidence has truly been achieved. The surveillance teams have visited the remotest areas of the country to detect smallpox. And whole heartedly expect that on 26 October 1979 Somalia will have convincing proof of Smallpox eradication, so that the world community will have absolutely no doublts that the job has been properly accomplished. Unity is nece-

ssary to achieve better health in the world population. Smallpox eradication has shown unity is possible and the programme in Somalia is an excellent example of this. Furthermore, the country has shown tremendous self-confidence in discoveriing that if a nation wishes to do something can be done».

### 5 th NATIONAL FAIR

was clased an 5th November 1978 by the Minister of Commerce, Jaalle Mohamed Ibraahim.

The fair, which is conducted annually is usually open for fifteen days 20th October to 5th of November each year.

The closing ceremony held at the Fair Theatre was attended by Bureau Chairmen, Ministers and other SRSP Central Committee members.

In his closing speech, the minister highlighted the Revolution's objectives in staging the Fair.

«It was an exhibition of the achievements of the Revolution in the commercial, industrial, agricultural, fishing and cultural development of the country», he said.

«The purpose of staging these National Fairs is to demonstrate the socio-economic transformations in our country», the minister pointed out.

He said that th fair is a trading centre where our agricultural, industrial and sea food resources are marketed and added that sport competitions, handicrafts and other cultural activities were also staged in the 5th National Fair.

The Minister disclosed that the Fair will be tranformed into a supermarket next year where various commodities will be sold at economic prices.

He expressed his appreciation of the role played by various government departments and agencies which participated in the Fair in making it successful.

Earlier the General Manager of the Chamber of Commerce, Industry and Agriculture, Jaalle Ali Hashi. speaking on the occasion about the 5th National Fair, said that it was far better and impressive than its predecessors in every aspect.

He noted that all participants of the Fair had demonstrated efficiency and vigilance in exhibiting their products and services.

As usual, participation in the Fair had been enthusiastic and many ministries and various Government departments and autonomous agencieis had displayed their products or achievements in one way or another.

The most important asppect of holding the national fair was to illustrate to the masses of Socio-economic progress made during the Revolutionary era. The development made in the fields of livestock, Agriculture,, Fishery, Industry, Education. Health etc. had been shown to the Somali people and as well the foreigners living in the country.

The people could fairly evalute the economic and social progress made during these years and witness the speediness of the countrys industrial and agricultural output and the attainment of self-sufficiency in the near future.

It was evident from this year's Fair that the economy had a strong impulse and that the drive towards self-sufficiency in food stuffs was very near the target. The development of livestock and the National Industrial base were also inidicators of general progress, the the best means of fighting poverty.



#### CULTURE AND ART

# Culture and Society

By, Rashid Sh. Abdullahi

It is a weel\_known fact that man is the only social being that can enter with his world and enivornment into relations that can have a lasting impact. creatures live in harmony with the circumstances of nature around them, cating whatever they came across. But man is different and he is set apart by a definite thing called labour. definitely known that only human beings work, and not animals. Simalar are mo. tivated by the need of suri. val by which they satisfy the requirements of living under natural conditions. But man does not his enviornment to his needs according to his abilities.

Human labour is dependent on and peculiar to the type of equipment available because man does rely solely on his mucles and he prepares the necessary tools for his existences with which he works. Tools are invented with an eye to extending labour itself. The tools are used, so to speak, to enable man to tarne his enivorn ment to change and master it.

This side of the picture shows us the struggle man is waging to change the world in which man is living.

Related to this is the other side which is consists in the storing of equipment, knowledge of art and faiths that are the result of human existences itself.

We can say that the cornerstoms of our social existence is labour, because it is the very source of thought and it gives rise to the art of the faith of morals and anything connected with it.

Human labour has always a social nature, because human existence has never been known to be individualistic. Society is a historical fact and it posses through various stages of development, each stage having distrinct form and essences

Humañ life and its stage of development depend on the strength of the tools and the technical connected with it by which a livelihood is produced. There is also to be considered the relations among human beings which are determined by the dominant economic intercourse among them. The way work in carried out determines the relations of people and colours their so. cial relations. Collective ef. forts have resulted in collective thinking a common view and in the exchange of knowledge thus special eco. nomic groupings being formed. The way a society li. ves always is the test of human existence in general or is its expression.

Hence the depth of human relations with the world de-

termines the level of man's knowledge and development.

The Production for man's existence is related to nature

Such relations indicate the exyent to which man has mastared nature. Take any social formation, for example primitive man. We find that he can work only for the amount of effort he can put in day limited by the nature of the tools at his disposal stone impelments used for cutting trees, cutting roots or killing wild animals These are in addition the intensils used for carrying water and food on his journeys, such as untensilas made of wood or stone or the bark of trees and grass all of which are obtained form the environment in which he lives.

The best things in nature for any primitive social group are these that are permanently useful to it There is also a dangerous side to nature in this respect and these are the beasts, unfavourable winds, thun. der, thundebolt discases and all other calamities, primtive societies are conscious of these things and give them names and their know. ledge is commensurate to them. As for other things with which they have not been brought into contact they are not aware let alone knowing them. For exam.



(Cont. from page 14) sequently, thorough examination of Israel and its international backers, that is imperialism and zionism, it is logical or natural for Israel to strive for the arrangement of with every Arab State on individual basis. The major factor being that the Arabs in their unity are in a position of strength in any future negotiation with Israel and in their disunity lies their weak. ness which makes them an easy pray for Zionist and imperialist greed.

It is in the aforesaid perspective that the summit conference of Baqhdad could be viewed and analysed. Besides, its resolution concerning the Camp David accords the

saving earned marked for the national liberation movement and the liberation of the occupied Arab lands. Equally, it must be acknowledged that there is an immense need for any attempts which are meant to find a durable peaceful solution to the M. E. Conflict.

Obviously, such solution have to be always compitable with the wishes of the nations of the area.

Accordingly, in the above light, the value of President Sadat's visit can not be ignored

However, the paramount attention and endeavours of all Arab Nation should be focused on the ways and means of sa-

feguarding and strengthening their unity and solidarity irrespective of all diversions deployed by the Zionist and the imperialists It is no open secret that the fate and the progressive development of the entire Arab Nation lies within the framework of their unity. That is why a lasting peace in the M. E. lies in the unity of the Arab Nation and not in the emphemeral of Israel par-«Modus Vivendi» or an imposed external solution from without. In conclusion any endeavour of unity which is meant to strenghen the present stage of the Arab Nation struggle is highly needed. Here lies the valuable and the timely significance of the Summit Conference of Baqdad.

# Culture and Society

(Cont. from page 23)

ple a premitive socilal group may live for a long time on a promitive of coal without having knowledge of its exisistence, with the ability to use it being out the question.

On the other hand, the knowledge of primitive people or their way of life in general depends on the skills they have arquired and their made of thought in an expression of it. The society of primitive man we have teken as an example knows only such words as it uses for gathering furit, or hunting and such other things that connecter with the tools it uses for its labour. If hunting is carries out or

other skills are facilitated by the environment new methods are created in accor dace with the tools made available and the necesary vocabulary is invented.

The relations wich man establishes with nature which relations leaves a trace, the view man and the tools he uses the technology and the methods he uses, and the thoughts reflected there in and the language he uses all represent the ecnomic life of a society that has this features. Whenever a group the value of labour and the aim behind it so as to be able to profit from nature and it to modify it in the interest of fulfilling their needs, and when the knowledge of tools and skills becomes part of the tradictions of theat group, it is then that we can say a certain social group has come into being.

A group of people feel separate existence when they make a conceted effort to live together, such awareness is also brought about by the human cooperation for survival, and the untited resistence put up in the face of common diffi. culties. It is also brought about by the possession of arms and the tools produc. tion, such awareness being manifest in the ideas and stories that pertian to the social existence of primitive man of which we shall write further .



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time to time, may need to refer to particular back issues of Halgan. This bibliographical list covers materials included in the issues of Halgan that have appeared during the past year up to and including the October second Anniversary issues.

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Imperial Ideology II



#### THEORETICAL ISSUES

# ONGOING DEBATES ON SOCIALIST THEORY

The world socialist system, and its marxist-Leninist ideology is vast becoming a decisive factor contributing to the resolution of pressing problems in the world arena. No single issue can be resolved without recourse to the mutually exclusive alternatives postulated by the two opposing social systems that today determine the course of social development. The veritable dialectics of the times in which we live assert the vitality of the socialist system, which has won the hearts and minds of millions of people in all parts of the world. Accordingly today the onward march of socialism cannot be checked by the draconian repressive measures adopted by the bourgeois order in its. State monopolistic stage. The intellectual conviction in the scientific socialist ideology, practical committment to its implementation, and for this reason the dialectical unity of the unity of the universal truth marxism-leninism, with its creative application to specific conditions gains in weight and importance. However list thought and practice, for its efficacy, and for its further deepening necessarily calls for a more extensive and thorough going analytical conceptualisa of all its categories. «Marxism is not a dogma, but a guide to action», as V.I. Lenin long lime stated, and this rings vividly true now as it did at time comrade. Lenin uttered.

Socialist intellectuals and scholars are entrusted with the heavy but valuable responsibility of creatively interpreting scientific socialism to an ever changing and unfolding socio-economic reality. In so doing they widen the horizons and effectiveness of the socialist ideology in the hearts and minds of countless million adherents scattered in all the parts of the world. The specific duty of progressive intellectuals and scholars, so far they specialise in the creation, and dissemination of ideas, and since this is intimately interwoven with the task of heightening the level of social consiousness of the working class and the forces in alignment with it, happens to be the continuous elaboration, elucidation and sophistication of socialist ideas and thought. Thus a task of educating the working class and the toiling masses into the component aspects of their tactical and strategic goals to social emancipation rests squarely on the shoulders of socialist scholars. As has been impressed on us time and again,. «Ideology comes to the working class from outside». This statement underscores the strategic importance of the intellectual's role in the social emancipatory struggle waged by the oppressed. The transmission of ideas to the working masses by intellectuals is not a paternalistic and one-sided relationship. In fact this oc. curs in an integrative process

when the unity of all the progressive forces in society is assured by shared goals which are manifested by common will, action and purpose.

THE ONGOING SOCIALIST DEBATES AND DISCUSSIONS

Sacialist thought is tailored to life, and its dynamic ongoing evolution, henceforth, it can but change with the chan ging times. Thus the temporal and spatial dimensions of socialist thought is limitless and cannot be confined by any set of factors. Ossification and dogmatism are foreign and absolutely alien to the revolutionary spirit of socialist thought and practice in the field of production, the multi-sided class struggle and the complexity of the cognition of reality as testified to, by the relativity of truth gives added weight to the ongoing debates and discussions raging in the field of marxist epistomology. Almost all philosophical categories and postulated are subject to refutation and and further elucidation. Healthy debating of even the basic and fundamental assumptions contributes to, but does not dilute their qualitative meaning. And it is in this spirit that socialist argumentation on the current problems takes place. A number of concepts are put to question, of course socialist, or so called socialist theoretic understanding is so manifold and contradicting that to the

uninitiated mind it may well look to be rather confusing and unintelligible that sociacialists debate essential questions. But socialists are strictly the most sceintific and humanistic people, and as such it is they, and no one else who pose to themselves the most perinent and controvesiel questions.

In the third world context questions on socialist construction take on added importathe extent that to nce, one is cognisant with the additional problems inherent in the specificities of a socialist, democratic and anti-imperialist revolution. Certain questions are posed which are of fundamental importance to the socialist and democratic transformation to third world progressive forces, and this undoubtedly are of importance for us to give the right ans. wers. Socialist Orientation or non capitalist path of development happens to be a political characteristic which is imputed to countries of which Somalia is indisputably one. In almost all scientific forums dealing with socialist themes this questions, normally occupies a preeminently cardinal role. Amongst the questions raised in this regard are: What do we mean by socialist crientation? Once this question is adequately and satisfactorily answered, corollary questions pertinent to one or several of its attributes and charactiristics are reasonably advanced. Amongst these questions the nature of the state under socialist orientation is naturally exposited. Equally the nature, scope and content of economic transformations under a national democratic state, as dictated by the path of non-capitalist development is invariably asked. More accurately the nature of the state sector created by supposedly progressive regimes of socialist orientation are unquestionably subjected to severe criticism. More than this, the class charactes of the national democratic state, and its allegiance to a thoroughgoing socialist transformation is expressed to be very much in doubt. These and a number of other disquieting qualifications are tacked to the newly worked out principle of socialist Orientation.

Obviously it is insuperably difficult to satisfactory an swer all the questions explicitly and implicitedly posited against socialist orientation or non\_capitalist path of development, all the same we are duty bound to honestly and impartially address himself to, on the one hand, spell out the nature of socialist orientation, and at the sametime to with enough luck advance convincing argumentation to refute the doubts that are being presently aired against a path of development which is reckoned by many to be the only one feasibly open for the progressively inclined political forces in the third world, with particular relevance to our African continent

SOCIALIST ORIENTATION IN THE AFRICAN CONTINENT WHAT DOES IT MEAN?

Lenin long time ago stated. «Life is richer than any theo ry», and that is absolutely true. Marx preceded Lenin by stating that one confronts history as a given, inherited and objective reality, which can only be favourably influenced by the understanding and mastery of its objectively given laws. Today's marxists are entrusted with the task of being as creative and militant as the well seasoned scholars who gave their name to the most Vigorous and life giving ideology which today holds the attention of the whole of mankind.

Our African continent attained its flag independence predominantly in the year of the wind of change, that is the year1960. In the life span of mankind 18 years is too short a period. But within that period we have witnessed social transformations of vast magnitude. We have lived through and experien ced our continent ripening from the fundamental contradication national liberation vis-vis physical and naked colonialism to its attainment of the more elaborated and high conscionsess of social emancipation Versus neo-colonialist and imferialist domination. Though the class process involved may well be roughly the same nevertheless the na ture of contraditions, the tempo and preority of struggle has quite undergone a qualitative change. This is food for thought for those ultra-leftist socialists who heddle with superficial Marxist phaselogy hinging on the primitive level of our socio-economic development, and the embyonic class structure there by obtaining in our socities. It is the practice of these arm-chair socialist theorisers to state that the attainment of socialist transformation is impractically distant for any realistic aspiration, on our part. There are other counterposing ideas, which belie any kind of accuascription the effect rate third worthat the ld is for the taking, and that any social system, including socialism, is on balance equally as successful as the other. As a hard-headed socialist one can neve∎ be swayed by the cheap recipes that are pushed forward for his feasting, neither would one shy away from the Veritably uphill challenges that confront him. Not for a moment could we overer timate or for that matter underestimate the challenges that life invariably throws up in one's on-well march to a future.

To come back to the topic, now under discussion, one understands socialist orientation as an analytical principle, a reasonnable one but never a waterproof one, which gui. des us in the intricate path undergoing the transition to socialist contruction, under extremely difficult conditions. Basically the non\_capitalist path of development is highly a transistional one where by the small marxist-leninst elements to be found in the th' world enter into an alliance with progressively minded revolutionary democrats on a common programme of creating an anti-imperialist, anti-feudal, a democratic state which is consonance with the interests of the Vast majority of the masses, at a given moment of an objective historical situation. Non-Capitalist path of development, or socialist orientation is therefore an expression of an alliance, a coalition, of a set of progressive social groupings, adopting tactical, and to some extent, strategic goals approximating to the minimum programme set down by a marxist-leninist party. The principle of advocating a non-capitalist path of development is securely founded on a creative principal stand taken by V.I. Lenin, which is below reproduced: «Are we to consider the assertion that the capitalist stage of development is inevitable for backward nations now on the road to emancipation and among whom a certain advance towards progress is to be seen since the war? We replied in the negative: With the aid of the proletariat of the advanced

countries, backward countries can go over to the soviet system and, through certain stages of development, to communism, without having to pass through the capitalism stage». The certain advance which Lenin refers to is the initial stage of the independent struggle of the colonised and oppressed peoples. However this statement clearly lays firm foundation for the socialist oriented development that today is a practical and living reality.

It is now thought fitting to go into certain salient points concerning the whole essence of socialist orientation, as well as its future prospects. In the present context we will address oursleves to the state, the state economic sector and the nature of class forces operating within a country of socialist orientation. With regard to the state Marx, Engels, and Lenin's views are too well - known to be contextually elab mited. A simple paraphrasing of their ideas on state, leaning heavily on lenin's book, «The state and revolution», fully demonstrates to us that the state is a repressive organ of class domination, and there by is not supra or above class and a neutral machinery, as is argued by bourgeois theorists. Be that as it is, marxian views on the state one more all-rounded and sophisticated than the above paraphrasing which on the whole gives us the very essential attributes of the state. The state, needless to say, within the parameters of bourgeois order being a state of the minority has to primarily serve its class, but over and above this has to take preemitive action against a detemorating class and civil war which could sweep away and cla-

im the whole

te. Therefore the state has to, at times curb the endreme actions of certain elements of the bourgeoisie, and as such mute and dilute the working class anger that otherwise might result in it demice. But in our present discussion turning on the nature of the state in coun'mes ci socialist orientation raised on the grounds that since a number of classes combine to form a coalition, the actual role of thece classes and their impact on the socioeconomic and political decisions in the running of the state is either critically fudged or more scientific analysis and information is genuirely elicited. Of course the life span of the concept of socialist orientation, with the exception of Asian Republics of the USSR and Rooples Republic of Mongolia, is short and undoubtedly thus raises novel questions, for which the correct answers have to be discovered within the objective historical processes unfolding in front of our eyes.

Obviously discrete and unfiltered class forces exist in countries of socialist orientation, and this is due to the low level of socio-economic development, which perforce gives rise to an immature class structure. The main rationale why respectable marxist view of the present contradictions in the third world welcomes and upholds the path of socialist orientation is more than anything else due their realisation to the embyonic nature of the working class rules out, for the time being, a singular do. manant role enjoyed by it. This genuine realistion on the part of African Marxist-Leninist elements impels them to look for strategic alliances

sta with the progressive segma-

ents of their society. Henceforth a strategic alignment is formed with the revolutionary democratic forces, thanks to whom a clear majority for an anti-feudal anti-imperialist, and democratic trans-formation is made possible. The main goals at this historical juncture boils down to a rapid economic development, with the help of which the social welfare of the toiling masses is relatively secured. An external and internal restructuring of socio-economic relations, a democratisation of social life, and purposive orga. nisation of the masses, and the raising of their educational, cultural and political consciousness which are integral factors that contribute to the deepening of the path of socialist orientation. A successful carrying out of the points heightens the chanes of transcending socialism. Below we over to the stage of building give a greater elaboration on socialist orientation and econo. mic transformation, through the state sector will be attempted. Furthermore certain evolution of the inner and outer dialectics of class struggle within the rubic of the highly dynamic path of socialist orientation.

THE ECONOMIC POLICIES OF COUNTRIES OF SOCIALIST ORIENTATION

The diatectical unity of the unity of the universal and specific holds true in our discussion of the economic policies pursued by countries of non-Capitalist development. On the one hand they fairly embark on certain shared general economic policies which essentially characterise them as countries of socialist orientation; at the same due mainly to the peculiarities and specificities of their societies each

is bound to adopt some particular policies dictated by one's own singular characteristics. The policies of nationalisation of expatriate capital, and vigorous steps to check the extreme ill-effects of local private capital, as well as emphasis on viable or semiviable industrialisation, and furthermore the heightened role of national planning to counteract the adverse side-effects of the international capitalist market, are rather unifying factors held in common by countries of socialist orientation. On the whole policies the economic of these countries boil down to a serious disengagement from the centre-periphery dependence. In other words a transistional type of economy, by and large harmonising with the rquirements of the new economic order, is attempted to be consolidated. Not al. ways do these policies bear full fruits. It is here that se. vere criticism is advanced against countries of socialist orientation. A relatively strong state sector is the sine quonon for a third world country which is trying to break away from centuries old reglect and backwardness. Inasmuch as private capital is rather small. or if not the case, is unprepared to be utilised as a fruitful investment fund, the state is called upon to be the major investor in the national economy. This observable fact which is attributable to reasonable and comprehensible logical conclusions goes to state sector with the socialisation of the economy. that is far from being the ca. se, to the extent that even the national bougeoisie in the third world countries is capable of creating a strong state sector, of course for reasons obviously in their benefit. In all honestly the nature of the

state sector created even by a country of socialist orientation does not per se qualify as a socialist sector, until and unless, a comprehensive transformation of the sytem of social relations, and a shift towards greater democratisation of the administrative and managerial power in favour of the working class has not ensued. Equally important as a gauge to the relative extant of satisfying peoples democracy, revolves around how seriously the revolutionary state combats the emergence of a parasitic bureaucratic and comprador bouggeois class, with intimate and interwoven interests to prey and get fat on the people's wealth. Just as all forms of nationalisation ane not to be conceived as socialism, not all state sectors are necessarily the consolidation of a socialised material base. Only a state sector clothed with the major criterion of socialist economic. political and ideological preconditions can assure a truly democratic and revolutionary restructuring of the given society, and it alone can straig. hten out the inevitable path to a healthy base for further socialisation. In conclusion the state sector of socialism oriented countries has masterfully reflected the internal and external upswings and downswings of the class struggle obtaining in those societies. To the extent that the coalition of progressive forces persists a democratic, more or less, a movement closer to throuthgoing economic change beneficial to the masses can be registered. However to the extent that certain sections of the alliance either overtly or covertly enter into a deal with the national bourgeoisie, or worst still soften up to the bureacratic and compradore bourgeoisie, the

greater become the chances of shipping away from the chartered progressive path, and the easier it then becomes to lose almost all the gains hitherto carried out for the toiling masses.

CONCLUSION: Discussions on socialist orientation is an open ended matter, there are still more light to be shed, a num-

ber of points to be illuminated A critical appraisal of the path of scialist orientation, despite the doubts and pitfall to which it is subject, has to content with its continuing relevance in the third world we live. It is a transitional path which if seriously embarked on is liable to bear fruitful results for the third world masses in the construction of viable and

independent national economy. Consistency and faithfulness to the progressive dictates of socialist orientation fits these couuntries into the mainstream of the world revolutionary alliance that is locked up in struggle with imperialism, in its state monoplistic stage, along with its multi-national companies that it invariably nurtures and subsidises.

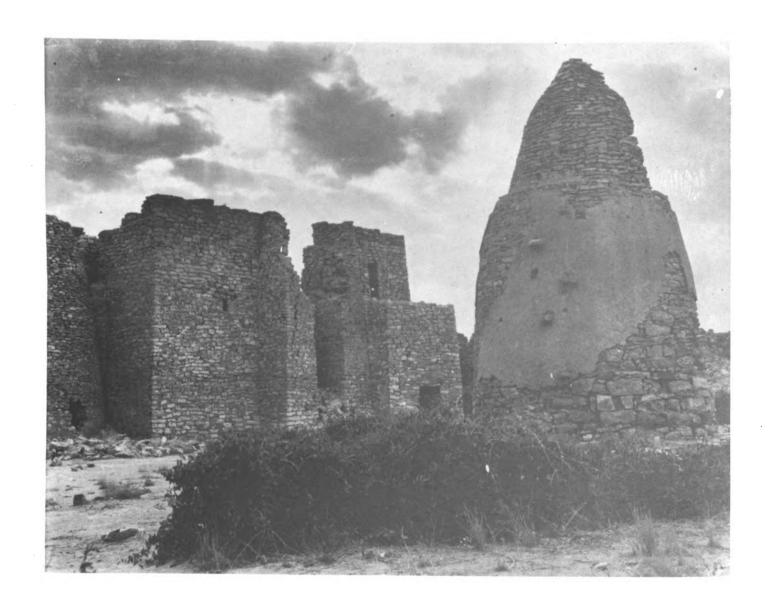
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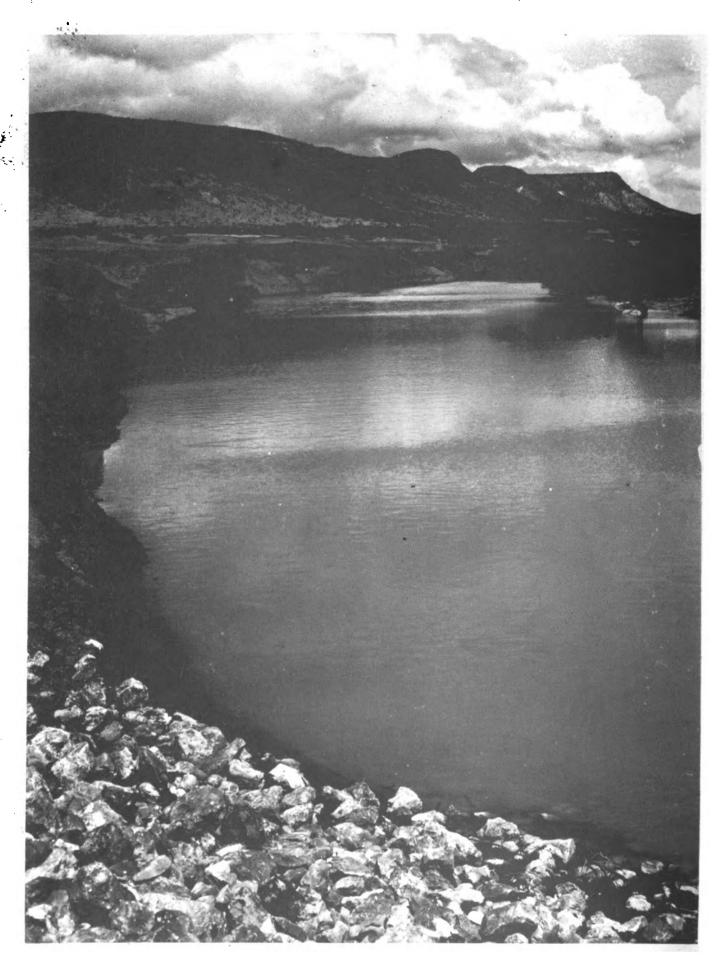
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