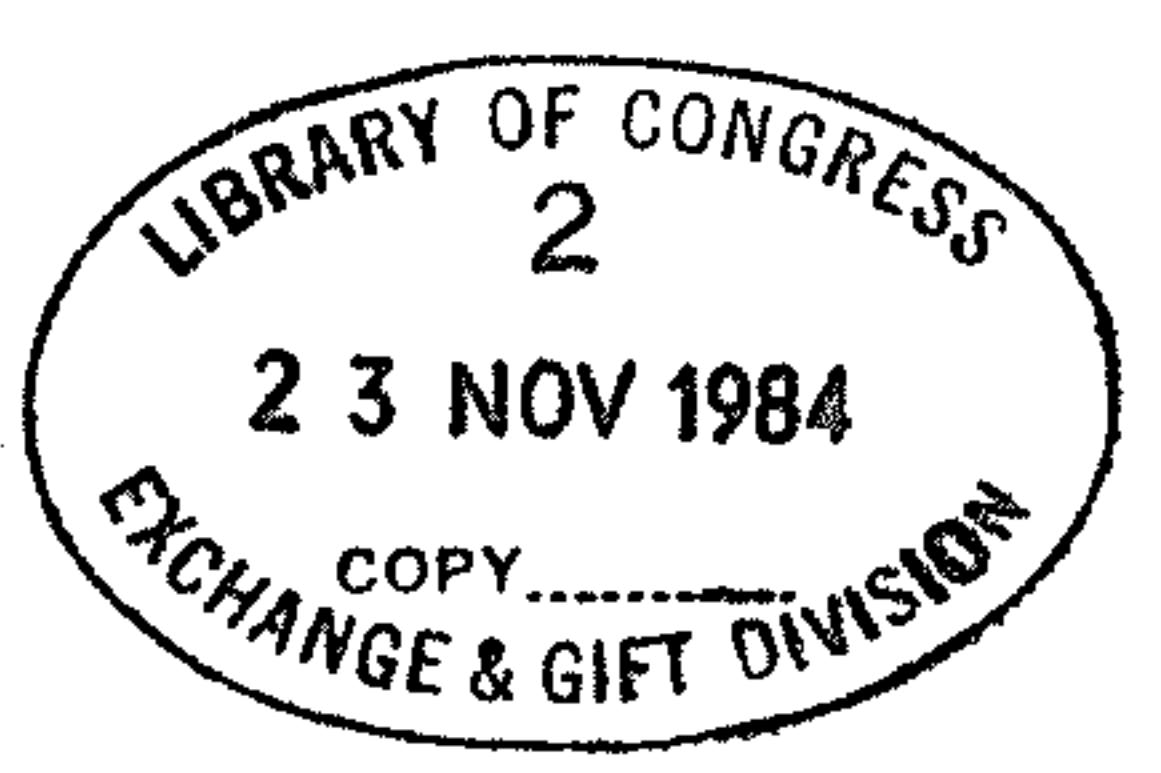




SOMALI DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC
MINISTRY OF INFORMATION AND
NATIONAL GUIDANCE

WAR AGAINST THE EVILS OF TRIBALISM IN OUR COUNTRY

Mogadishu — 1983



The Secretary - General of SRSP
President of the SDR

Mjor - General Mohamed Siad Barre



**Minister of Information and
National Guidance**

Col. Mohamed Omer Jess

INTRODUCTION

The world is in constant change of development and positive measures based on scientific analyse are adopted for further changes. Man is thoroughly passing through many things that paralyse his struggle for an advanced life such as tribalism, noted to be a remainder of ignorance.

The Social consequences of tribalism are known to create an atmosphere of conflict, enmity etc. among people of the same boundaries and religion. Such tendencies grew to the extent of begining adversity between two families belonging the same brothers.

Studying comprehensively these and other bad deeds of tribalism in which the Somali people experienced, the 21st October Revolution passed the Nov. 1970 resolution condemning the practice of tribalism. That law was fully implemented and hence it lead the people towards achieving security, brotherhoodness and a feeling of love towards each other that resulted in justice and joint unity of action for a rapid progress of the country.

Finally, making no mistake about the fact that the Somali people are always busy in their interests with the leadership of the revolution, we hope that this book will contribute much to its warnings about the measures employed by imperialism and its henchmen who seek tribalism fitting to their individual interest.

It is the task of the Ministry of Information to publish yearly books extensively dealing with the October celebrations. Therefore, it is of great pleasure for the Ministry to print this book which scientifically tells more about the problems of tribalism.

Minister of Information & Nat. Guidance
Col. Mohamed Omar Jes

WAR AGAINST TRIBALISM

It is generally that different peoples live in the world and they are grouped accordingly into five continents namely:- Africa, Europe, Asia, America and Australia.

Each and every race we mentioned has its own unique way of life quite different from the other. This leads to a variation in religion, laws, culture and environment, languages, resources and other social activities pertaining to life.

In addition to this, it is also interesting to determine the racial character of these peoples. Some are very short, others are tall, some are black in colour, others are white, while others have deep set eyes. These differences in the world determine where men live, the type of work they do and even their ideas.

A vital question arising from this is the fact that tribalism has no place in this new world where man is concentrating his energy in advancement. For the last decades man has made a great progress in science and technology for the betterment of his life and in order to get apart of what is called «tribalism».

The Somali people are among those who live in Africa. They had their own religion, laws, language and culture which is homogenous, and where there is no difference at all. We could say therefore that the Africans are the only that people are united in every way.

We know that the colonialists of Somalia including Britain, Italy, France, Ethiopia have made their own history in order to disorganize the Somalis and to extend their colonial policy. In that way they divided among the Somalis giving each partition a different name as the colonial principle of «divide and rule» clearly dictates related to this was the colonialists. Principle of uprooting the strong feeling of unity of the Somalis.

They formed «chiefs, sultans, ugasis etc», and each of these was responsible of a clan or the family he belong to. They were given salaries and allowances so as to persuade their peoples to cooperate with colonialism.

From there grew smaller and larger families, and the birth and competition of recruitment of a larger number of people. This lead to family conflicts, enmity initiated by colonialism who believes that this conflict would increase their stay.

Any how, every body who cares and gives much attention to the freedom and self determination of the Somali people can not deny the fact that tribalism is a dangerous enemy which generally acts counter to the progress of the society.

Today's independent and sovereign Somalia came as a result of tribalism being worn out and the unity of the people into oneness. Colonialism at first triumphed over the Somali people because it employed tribalism as a weapon to disorganize them but eventually they were defeated when the people united together for common cause.

Tribalism leads to the society hatred and enmity among people whereby every one kills his brother and so loses a greater support.

Tribalism takes the lives of the young generation and the intellectuals who would have contributed much to the progress of the society. It destroys much of the resources the nation would have put into beneficial use and it also acts as counter to the peace and settlement that is essential for human being.

Many Somali poets have composed poems and songs expressing the setbacks and the problems of tribalism. These poems and songs are meant to present to the people a true picture of the disastrous consequences of tribalism.

One of the staunch poets who ever opposed tribalism and repudiated it is Abdullahi Sultan «Timadde». In most of his poems we find the same common element repeated. Tribalism is a disease, and he further demonstrated how many great thinkers were victimized by tribalism, and that tribalism and nationhood are two opposing forces. Abdullahi Sultan tried to convince his people to pass through the backwardness of tribalism, he tried to make the people realize that it is weakening the people struggle for progress and development.

Moreover, he prophesied that the people would not have attained "today's independence and any government that practices tribalism can not and will not resume independence.

Abdullahi Sultan is well known for appealing to his people to work hard, and giving more energy to fight tribalism. Until his death, his voice never remained passive and his nation praise much for him.

Needless to say that tribalism leads always to failure and we should raise our voices whenever we feel that something matters or there situations that need a united action. Essentially, when we are talking about our unity of action, we have to look our past history since it reminds us many good and bad things that have passed. Events are presented in order in which they happened so, you can comprehend the unity of the Somali people before colonialism has arrived and clumsily partitioned our people. More than that, we find the victories gained by our people through their great leader Ahmed Bin Ibrahim «Ahmed Gurrey» and though their unity.

From our past history, we can also find the long struggles our people fought against their enemies until the rise of the Dervishes lead by Sayid Mohamed Abdulle Hassan and the subsequent struggles for independence lead by the political parties which were free from tribalism.

By giving a focus to our past history, we can easily understand our existence. More of its study permits us to understand its value and that we can neither do anything for ourselves nor defeat our enemies.

Through solidarity and unity of action, we have succeeded in starting our glorious revolution which gave us a world wide reputation and advanced progress. Cooperation is essential for one existence because we are very small in number. Similarly, the most populated and the strongest nations in the world can not go on without cooperation.

Basically, some of them formed new names after several independent federal states united together. The Americans named themselves «U.S.A.», the United States of America, the Soviet Union «U.S.S.R.», United Soviet Socialist Republic, England «U.K.», United Kingdom.

The key to the progress of these and other countries is through mutual cooperation. Probably, these people do not have the same religion, language of culture but they understood the importance and the value of cooperation.

Since we learned then that the most powerful and the most industrialized nations have attained their goals through a united action, why don't we as a single family with one goal follow the same path of uniting so as to overcome our enemies and difficulties.

Only those societies who feel an attitude of friendship and cooperation towards each other could reach progress but tribalism is an enemy to them if they don't eradicate it.

After having seen and studying scientifically the problems and the bad consequences of tribalism, the revolutionary government of Somalia drafted laws and resolutions forbidding to practice tribalism.

In November 1, 1971, the President of the Somali Democratic Republic, Jaalle Mohamed Siad Barre passed law No. 67 absolutely forbidding tribalism and its practices.

The law was passed as a panacea for eradicating the evils that hinder the progress of the society such as tribalism, regionalism, favouritism etc. So as to make the law fully functioning. Such titles as Sultan, King, Ugas, Islaw, Iman etc. were forbidden.

That anti-tribal law is of vital importance to the Somali people. The law also includes eradication of collecting and receiving contributions on the form of tribal organizations.

Law No. 76 which completely denies tribal existence, expresses also the fact that the workers should not take part or encourage tribalism.

Immediately after the law was passed, national demonstrations protesting tribalism were organised in all parts of the country. In every region, districts and villages, the revolutionary government organised mass rallies meant in making the people understand that tribalism is weakening the strength and the unity of the Somali people.

The Somali people learned much from the anti-tribalism campaign they felt that tribalism acts as an instrument for colonialism. The colonialists engage tribalism so as to weaken the peoples cooperation and dissolve their sense of unity through that means they are able to get their individual interest of colonializing.

When the people put the law into its practical use, they showed up strength and the advantages of helping each other, cooperating together and unity of action were seen later.

The law was the basic foundation for a rapid progress in economy, strong basis of social affairs and the glorious revolution maintained a clean and clear diplomacy which gained world wide and international fame.

Social cooperation of the masses resulted in a united feeling or vigilance for executing revolutionary programmes. The social progress attained through the eradication of tribalism were the building of industries, schools up to the level of university, hospitals, roads and highways joining regions and districts, and giving jobs to many people who were un employed.

However, even though it is clear that the Somali people were busy in national construction and economic progress, there were two elements who were agents of colonialism and acting counter. These people spared much of their effort in disorganizing and breaking the bonds of unity these people act as puppets of colonialists such as the Ethiopians and others.

Those puppet elements are trying to create crisis among the Somali people but fortunately the revolutionary government tirelessly dealt with them and they never got a weak point from our revolutionary regime. The revolution always guards the interests of the people and it always takes severe measures against those agents of colonialism who always, use tribalism as a weapon.

Habitually, they try to disintegrate the masses and divide the people into regions, districts and clans. Strangely, the bad results go to their own advantage and happiness.

It is therefore essential to remind the people and give light to the bad effects and consequences these agents are always after. It is also essential that the law passed by the President of the Somali Democratic Republic, Jaalle Mohamed Siad Barre on November 1, 1970, be made more strick in order to act as a penelty to the law agents who want to make disorder and chaos. More important is the fact that the people should consciously learn the evils of tribalism.

Giving much consideration and importance to the matter, a national symposium partecipated by the lecturers and professors of the Somali National University was held in this year. The symposium was also attended by other intellectuals of government agencies and other senior offficials. The theme of the symposium was to discuss, show and analyse the bad effects and the wicked-ness of tribalism.

In the opening ceremony of this symposium attended by members of the Somali Revolutionary Socialist Party and the People's Parliament, the President of the Somali democratic Republic, Jaalle Mohamed Siad Barre made an important speech clearly expressing that nationalism and tribalism are two opposing forces. He further criticizing its unworthness and showed how it affects society, economy, politics and generally the development of the nation.

Jaalle Siad further said that tribalism always existed and all countries have passed through but many countries successfully passed through not instantly but experiencing various occasions and situations.

"No nation can attain full prosperity unless scientific consideration is given to the problems that hinder the society to achieve its goals in the fields of economy and social matters. The main factor that hinders such progress is tribalism", said Jaalle Siad.

The President declared that we ought to know the standard of advancement of other nation. In understanding this, we should have readiness in doing the same thing of seeking opportunities. The truth is that we are only able to do this if we came on with whole heartedness and feel free from the force of backwardness.

In his opening speech at the symposium, the President of the Somali Democratic Republic, Jaalle Mohamed Siad Barre said; "With clearance and nationalistic point of view, when we discuss and finally resolve the ways tribalism could be overcome, no doubt then we succeeded in up-rooting the main pillars that support it".

Jaalle Siad commenting on the basis factors that build the structure of a society said, a nation can be established only when the masses fell free from the evils of tribalism.

The President of the Somali Democratic Republic, Jaalle Mohamed Siad Barre particularly remained the Somali intelligensia the essential role they ought to play in the process of the nation wide policy of seeking progress. This can be made possible when the intellectuals suffuse their thinking with the day to day activities of their society and campaigning against tribalism.

Jaalle Siad in mentioning the obligations of the intellectual said, "A true intellectual is the one who tries to get means of saving his people the evils of tribalism and leading his people to the path of progress. Our thinkers should pay back the price the nation did for him by showing the people the means and the ways of seeking prosperous life. He should be self-reliant and nationalist at the same time", said the President.

The President concisely revealed that history explains what ever body does for his nation. Therefore, the intellectuals are supposed to be the vanguard of the continuos struggle of the people for the improvement of its social and cultural living conditions.

Jaalle Siad showed to the intellectuals that their resolutions are to be considered as the basic foundations for the elimination and eradication of tribalism in order to establish non tribal society struuggling for further development of its people.

The President of the SDR, Jaalle Mohamed Siad Barre informed the intellectuals who attended the symposium to implement their tasks justly and with nationalist fervor so that the results of the final resolutions of the symposium suit our needs. The symposium also debated more on the such issues as tribalism and its history. reports explaining tribalism and its unworthiness were presented, giving much emphasis to the fact that tribalism is a deceit acquired by puppet agents who are characterized as individualists.

The intellectuals further emphasized that tribalism acted as the means in which colonialism divided among our people who are famous for courage and nationalist spirit.

The Somali intellectuals who attended the symposium held at the Somali National University perceived the nation that where tribalism exists, justice does not count and could be labelled as an un healthy place where there is illiteracy and where economic and political levels of development are generally very low. Included in the agendas of the symposium were the topics of nationalism and tribalism. The participants comprehensively showed that the aim of a nation is to improve political, social and economic conditions of the society and their peaceful co-existence.

On the contrary, tribalism is the real enemy of the society leading to backwardness and social disorder. We should make no mistake about the fact that tribalism is always encouraged by the enemies of the Somali people. The symposium was going on in an excellent atmosphere from the time the President of the Somali Democratic republic, Jaalle Mohamed Siad Barre opened the symposium and on.

The intellectuals attached significance to the evolution of living things. Particularly human beings. The evolution of man depends on the changes in his activity as declared by the scientists.

The intellectuals also declared in their reports the social groupings of early men. Group life was more regular and more highly organized. Food, land everything was communally shared by all members.

The intellectuals also mentioned in their reports the origin related to the human development. They defined family as a permanent unit composed of parents and their offspring, which serves the purpose of care of the young, division of labour, acquisitition and transmission of property. It is the smallest social unit and the most important. The role the family unit played in the social development of human beings is as follows:-

1. It organizes the relationship between men and women and their children.
2. It is the basis foundation of the struggle of human society.
3. It originates the future working force.
4. It organises family economy and management.

In these reports was the struggle of tribalism was compared parallelly to the struggle of anti-colonialism of the Somali people. Colonialism was a strong force that dominated the Somali people. Imperialism discovered tribalism as a means of ensuring its continued presence and fulfilling its legitimate aspiration of "divide and rule". They formed chiefs and clan heads who pronounce colonial interests. They compelled any one seeking job to consult first with his tribal chief.

The intellectuals revealed and noted that after colonialism the Somali people made other three uprising struggles:

1. The Dervish movement opposing both colonialism and tribalism.
2. The struggle for independence in which imperialism created communal dissents and manipulated their hideous policy of "divide and rule". They formed many political parties based on tribal ends but the united national spirit of the Somali people victoriously defeated the colonialists and won independence. Unfortunately, the regimes that came into power failed to respond to the needs of the masses and many tribal based political parties emerged.
3. The 21st October Revolution began at the cilimax of tribal dissention. The revolution benefited two factors the former regimes did not get:
 - a) The administration of the revolutionary government was free from tribal connections;
 - b) Lost of appetite of tribal leaderships and traditional allegiances. These two factors established a joint campaign of the masses and the revolutionary regime and solemnly expressed the ultimate victories.

Moreover, the intellectuals hinted that tribalism is reviving nowadays. The reason for this is that international imperialism supported by few reactionary forces are cooperating for failing the aspirations of the revolution and created violence and disorder among the Somali people. Meanwhile, the intellectuals further mentioned the backwardness of tribalism to Islamic societies. They emphasised that tribalism is an allegiance based on lineage characterized by the birth of wicked and shameful deeds, while islam is based on the Quran and the Hadith. As an example they mentioned the inevitability of unity which is the foundation for strength, peace, fame etc. The intellectuals defined tribalism as a society shattered into pieces, each piece acting superior and with benevolence.

How can a society deliberately practicing tribal factions achieve unity and social cooperation. Killing, pillaging and revenge are the subsequent consequences of tribalism. Similarly, they explained islam and unity and that islam actively urges people to unite together and not to disperse. Our Lord ordered us in his Quran to come and unite together. Again our lord forbids every body to kill another muslim and any one who intentionally commits such a crime will go to hell. Our prophet Mohamed (peace and blessings be upon him) mentions in the hadith that unity is mercy and disintegration is harshness. He said, seek with the unity of God. Again, in a hadith he mentioned penalize any one who intends to divide a united society.

The intellectuals elaborated the principles of faith and worship. They mentioned paying zakat and fasting of Ramadan are the foundations of brotherhoodness among the rich and the poor.

Similarly, Islamic religion doesn't allow any body to be robbed or violated.

Tribalism encourages proudness and personal fame while Islamic religion repudiates and denounces such attitudes. Our prophet Mohamed said that any one who has the slightest element of proudness would not go to heaven. The intellectuals demonstrated that the discipline and the moral values provided by Islamic religion are indispensable and contribute to the unity and organization of the society.

The intellectuals claimed that tribalism does not have any connection with Islamic religion. Having seen the failure of tribalism, having seen that it is strategically the target of the enemy in creating social disorder and chaos, we decide the following.

1. Tribalism should be seen as trully a disease and a problem heavier then any other burden. Therefore, it should fought with our best weapons which is:
 - a) Understanding and comprehensing fully the principles of Islam and that it should be widely fought.
 - b) Eliminating the norms that are acting counter to the religion.
 - c) More governmental pressures should be carried on tribalism and on every where noted to be in tribal function.
 - d) Any tribal writing should be considered as igniting disruption.

Another report presented to the symposium held at the Somali National University was focusing more on government and tribe First, they declared the struggle of human society and that this struggle passed through various stages of further development. The most recent methods employed by human beings for their future destiny was the one in which he framed his unity, laws,

morals and government organization. The intellectuals indicated that a government is a nation of people having land and independence with one flag. This is the only means which brings into agreement the general interest of the society and the individual interests.

A government has a set of laws and it is responsible in preserving the individual rights, ensuring personal responsibilities, encouraging programme meant for further political, social, economic and cultural development. The intellectuals pointed that government regulations oblige upon every body and that the government must maintain equality, justice and the unity of its people. The government seeks economic self sufficiency for its people. The intellectuals mentioned that government keeps order and peace of the lands, sea and air so that imperialism should not get a chance of beginning a widespread breakdown of law and order.

A government initiates a programme of education which gives a proper evaluation to the national requirements. A government also up grades health services and controls the national resources and revenues should not go into the pockets of individuals. A government places much consideration to its name and prestige. Another significant obligation of a government is the selection of authorities who are loyal and educated whose job is to inspect the administration of the government.

A government joins regional and international organizations so as to strengthen its ties with other government. The intellectuals also discussed more on tribalism and pointed that tribe means people claiming to have the same descent. They said tribe in Somalia is based on allegiance that can go further to any where to the extent of feuds and hatreds among children belonging to the same father but different mothers.

The intellectuals finally compared government and tribalism as two opposing forces. A new system of justice and an old method based on revenge and favouritism.

A government plans and works for general progress, unity, equality and justice while tribalism is disintegration, injustice and it contradicts the feeling of nationalism. It is a tool for imperialism and the reactionary forces.

The following points were the final conclusions and resolutions made by the intellectuals.

1. Strengthening constitutional agencies such as party, parliament, justice etc.
2. Fulfilling and maintaining laws of the state.
3. Severe punishment for any body encouraging tribal activities.
4. Elimination of favouritism.
5. Elimination of corruption especially misuse of national wealth, bribery etc.
6. Up grading the political consciousness of the society.
7. Strengthening the basic principles of Islamic religion opposing the evil deeds of tribalism such as injustice, inequality, favouritism etc.

The symposium which was of vital importance to the Somali people showed that imperialism and the former regimes neglected the economy and misused public funds but, the revolutionary government has sought and found new measures of utilising the known resources which will ensure a sound economic foundation.

The theme of the symposium was to analyse precisely the history of tribalism and its bad effects on nationalism, unity and everything pertaining to the aspirations and goals of the society. The characteristics of tribalism are disunity, economic backwardness, illiteracy etc. The intellectuals emphasised that the cause of imperial domination of our country was tribalism.

The intellectuals commented on the subject of security and nationhood. They declared that security is the most important factor of life. In preserving peace the government formulated a constitution as a base for the laws of the nation, which clearly defines the rights and the responsibilities of the people. To strengthen national regulations, the government made agencies that are responsible in maintaining them.

The intellectuals drafted the following resolutions as a remedy for healing the effects of tribalism.

1. All responsible leaders and government heads should not take part in tribal deeds.
2. The forces instrumental in keeping security must feel free from tribal connections.
3. Such institutions as culture, education and training should vaccinate the young children from tribalism.

Another sub-title discussed during the symposium was tribe versus national economy. Another is a group of people having common language, traditions, religion and history. The prerequisites for national objectives are internal and external security, education, justice, better sanitation and standard of living. The intellectuals argued that economy serves the purposes of national production and distribution. Evidences

show that human history is marked by periods in which the individual was not certain of his daily living. Hunting period brought the organization of small tribal association with reliable economic sources. Reflections were made on the economy of Somalia and they concluded the following points :-

1. Modern economic structure based on the existence of nation-hood.
2. Primitive pastoral economy based on tribal organization.

They also commented on the economic policy of the nomads whose objective is to rear animals for breeding an increasing in number.

The intellectuals also discussed the issue of the market. They cited that Somalia is shown as one of the poorest nations in the world. In order to solve this problem and begin an instant, nation wide sense of relief, the following should be considered :-

- a) A programme of increasing workers who can afford to buy.
- b) Plans to improve economic resources where by their full development ensures better standards of living. In the final report, mention was made on the issue of an intellectuals and tribe. They said, an intellectual is a person who is able to reason, interested in activities which include thinking and understanding. An intellectual is the one who carries out the policy of taking his people to a forward leap in the fields of modern technology and science.

They mentioned the history of the Somali intelligentsia and showed that at the beginning of this century, rose a number of Somali intellectuals who were the founders of independence, unity and nationalism.

The sense of feeling of the intellectuals grew up at the time when corruption, tribalism, nepotism etc, weakened the growth of the national economy. It is known that many intellectuals were jobless during that period and were just idly sitting under the shades. Later, the revolutionary regime mobilized the intellectuals by providing them jobs and living opportunities. It is obvious that the intellectuals differ in their feeling of collaborating with the masses in national construction. They are classified into three :-

1. Nationalist intellectuals who readily undertake national objectives.
2. Opportunistic intellectuals who represent imperialism and its allies.
3. Reactionary intellectuals with premature conceptions of individualism, selfishness and imperial policy of blood sucking.

They finally laid down foundation which gained much applause. Among their conclusions were :-

1. An intellectual should give much time and attention to the upgrading of the political consciousness of the people.
2. Collaboration among the nationalist intellectuals in order to incorporate the mightiest instruments of nationalism, unity, hard work, brotherhood and justice.
3. Active participation in their role of the party principles and the administration of government institutions.
4. Orienting younger generations in developing a sense of feeling of unity and nationalism that are essential for national development.

Present in the closing ceremony of the symposium held at the University of Gaheyr were Chairman of the Bureaus, Ministers, deputies and other responsible members of the Party, government as well as invited guests.

The President of the Somali Democratic Republic Jaalle Mohamed Siad Barre made a speech on the occasion. He praised the Ministry of Higher Education and the intellectuals who organized the symposium and made its full preparations. He also pointed that is of immense value to the Somali society.

The President concluded that tribalism is a satan which acts as an instrument of imperial policy aiming at disruption, chaos, and social disorder.

In the closing ceremony, the President finally urged the Ministry of Higher Education and the National University to increase such symposium and other meetings dealing with the future development of the Somali society and helping the people understand the social evils such as tribalism that hinder the path of progress and advancement.

