

HAALGAN



Xisbiiga Hantiwadaagga Kacaanka Soomaaliyeed

(THE STRUGGLE)

◦ THE FRANTZ FANON CENTER MOGADISHU CONFERENCE

- Reflection on the Somali Economy
- The Role of Political and Social Organisations in Health Development
- The Artist in Socialist Society.

Struggle to
learn, in order to
learn to
struggle better

HAILGAIN

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HALGAN

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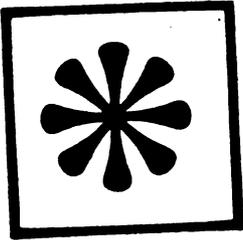
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EDITORIAL



Days worthy of genuine celebration

The 19th Anniversary of the independence and unity of the two former colonized parts of the present Somali Democratic Republic, was highly and enthusiastically celebrated. 26th June, 1960 marks the first day that a Somali flag was erected on a free and independent Somali soil, after colonialism divided the Somali territory into five parts during the scramble for Africa, centuries back.

It also marks the historic day which the English colonialism was ousted from the northern part of the Somali Democratic Republic, after 80 years of colonizations.

Equally important is, 1st July 1960, the independence day of the Southern part of the Somali Dem. Republic which was under Italian colonial oppression and exploitation for about 70 years.

Considering the aspirations of the Somali people which; among other things, was to wage a persistent struggle against colonialism and re-unify the partitioned Somali territory, 1st July, marks the unification of the two independent Northern & Southern parts which consist the present Somali Democratic Republic.

More important historical significance of 1st July, indicate the founding of the Somali Revolutionary Socialist party (SRSP) after 7 years of revolutionary transformation; since the birth of the 21th October, 1969 revolution, which ushered a new progressive era in the history of the Somali people.

These historic days signify, the joy and happiness of the Somali people which didn't come by mere gift, but borne out of the severe and staunch struggle of the Somali masses against colonial domination and for freedom and independence.

The Somali liberation struggles has passed through many stages which differ according to conditions, historical richness and the quality and quantity, attained in order to fulfill its mission.

But, above all, the Somali people's struggle had one great objective: to fight and smash the colonial oppression, to ensure the unification of the Somali people, and to build a Just society.

In respect to the above aspirations of the liberation struggle of the Somali people which experienced the his-

torically different stages of its development, such as: The heroic struggle of AHMED GURY in the first half of the 16th century; the nationalist struggle of SAYED MOHAMMED ABDULLE XASSAN at the beginning of the 20th century; the Patriotic struggle of the Somali Youth League founded at the end of World War II, engendered a vivid atmosphere in respect to the political mobilization and structural organization of the struggle.

The outcome of this protracted struggle of the Somali people were the gains that we are, today celebrating for.

But the question to ask is whether the Somali people reaped the fruits of the 1960 independence — particularly before the Revolution — which they fought and suffered for it. The answer is no, due to the opportunistic few whose policy was directly connected, and become in line with the neo-colonial one.

Apart from becoming a neo-colonial power, the then existing regime like any other country in the realm of neo-colonialism lacked to formulate & elaborate an economic development plan which leads to the well-being of the society and the consequences were the sufferings of the true fighters of the independence — the toiling Somali masses.

These oppressive and neo-colonial conditions led to the victory of the glorious 21st October, 1969 Revolution which opened a new page for the history of the Somali people. The major objective of the Revolution was to establish a new society based on justice and equality; independent from all kinds of imperialist subjugation, in economic, political and social matters, so as to reach progress. The revolutionary aspirations created and added a Revolutionary impetus to historical progress of the people's struggle.

In respect to the political leadership of Revolutionary Somalia, the Somali Revolutionary socialist party (SRSP) was founded in order to guide the policy of the country and to carry out the multi-dimensional aspects of the development strategy of the society.

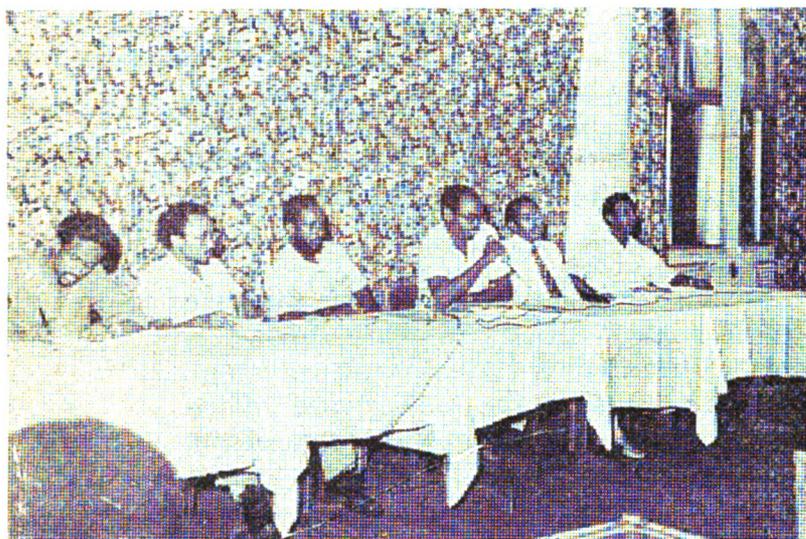
Unlike the pre-revolutionary gloomy days, today's celebration for these historical days, of 26th June and 1st July, is full of vigor, enthusiasm and revolutionary spirit, for it manifests the confident atmosphere of the Somali people upon the revolution, and the realization of their age old dreams of equality, justice and progress.

These revolutionary feelings gained during the 9 years period of the existence of the revolution created stimulation and incentive among the Somali people in executing the overall development programmes and to participate fully in the protracted struggle geared for the fulfillment of its objectives of freedom, unity, and independent economy.

Political, Economic and Social Affairs



The Fanon center Mogadishu conference



INTRODUCTION

The Frantz Fanon Research and Development Center held its Third International Conference in Mogadishu, Somalia, from Monday June 18th to Sunday June 24th 79. The Conference was attended by delegates from academic institutions mostly in the United States of America, the Caribbean and Panama. Two delegates came from Kenya and one from Tanzania. The total of 90 delegates from abroad were joined by about 70 Somali participants and 30 members of the Somali Conference preparatory Committee.

The Conference was opened on Monday June 18th by Jaalle Mohamed Aden Sheikh, the Chairman of the Ideology Bureau of CC of the SRSP. During the course of the Conference, the participants heard keynote addresses by Jaalle Ibrahim Megag

Samantar chairman of the Central Committee Affairs, whose speech focussed on Somali political developments and the role of the SRSP; Jaalle Ahmed Mohamed Mohamoud, Chairman of the Commission, focussed on aspects of Somalia's economic trends; Jaalle Mohamed Ali Nur, Vice-Chairman of the Social Affairs Bureau focussed on Somalia and the International Children's Year and Dr. Mary Ella Robertson, of Professor of Social Policy and Director of Community Studies, University of Louisville, who focussed on the role of women in social change.

The Conference was officially closed on Saturday June 23rd by Dr. Ahmed Askir Botan, Minister of Higher Education and Culture. That same evening, the participants and other invited guests attended a sala reception at the Juba Hotel hosted by Jaalle

Ibrahim Yusuf Aburas, the Mayor of Mogadishu.

ON FRANTZ FANON

The Fanon Research and Development Center takes its name from the late Dr. Frantz Fanon, a Psychiatrist from Martinique who had become known through his heroic involvement in the Algerian Revolution of 1954-1962. Among other tasks, Fanon helped to edit *El-Moudjahid* (The Struggler), organ of the FLN, the body that was leading the war for Algerian independence.

Born in the West Indian French Colony of Martinique in 1925, Frantz Fanon died of blood cancer in a hospital in the United States in 1961. However, he left behind a wealth of revolutionary ideas in famous publications such as:

- A. Black Skin, White mask
- B. A Dying Colonialism;
- C. Toward the African Revolution and

D. The Wretched of the Earth. Fanon's writings, particularly the last one, analysed class formation in post-independent Africa, challenged neo-colonialism and pointed towards a socialist reconstruction of society.

In one of his notebooks, Fanon once wrote: "To put Africa in motion, to cooperate in its organization, in its reg-

rouping, behind revolutionary principles. To participate in the task of changing a continent - this was really the work I had chosen,»

Fanon's writings have contributed towards the radicalisation of Third world Scholars

THE TRINIDAD CONFERENCE.

The Second Frantz Fanon International Conference was held in part-of-Spain, Trinidad in February, 1978. The theme of the Conference was, «The Theory, and practice of Social Scientists in the Context of Human Development» It was very successful and included scholars from America, the Antilles and Africa.

At the Trinidad Conference, a unanimous decision was taken to request the Government of the Somali Democratic Republic to facilitate the hosting of the Third International Conference.

The Director of the Fanon Research and Development Center, Dr. Lewis King, together with an associate, Dr. Hussein Abdullahi Bulhran, visited Mogadishu in March this year in order to prepare for the Third International Conference under the theme:

«HUMAN DEVELOPMENT MODLES IN ACTION».

A great deal of the success of the Conference is due to the dedication and untiring efforts of the Somali preparatory Committee headed by the Chairman of the HALGAN Editorial, Jaalle Mohamed Aden Sheikh. Its core members consisted of the Senior Editors and other full-time

and part-time staff of HALGAN. The SPC worked in committees and later moved on to assign individual and group responsibilities as follows:

- Agenda Planning
- Speakers Coordinator
- Technical Assistance Activity
- Panel Coordinators
- Papers and Recordings
- Film Documentation.
- Photographers
- Housing and Boarding Affairs
- Air Travel
- Ground Transportation
- Information and Registration
- Guidance and protocol Affairs
- Entertainment and Festivities
- Health and Safety

The Somali Preparatory Committee met several times before the Conference. It also collected several relevant documents on Somalia which were distributed to the participants from abroad

THE MOGADISHU CONFERENCE

The Trinidad Conference placed a great deal of emphasis on the role of the social scientist in promoting social change. The Mogadishu Conference, on the other hand, laid stress on the question of mediating practically dialectical relationship between theory and practice with in historical of particular and singular social formation with special emphasis on the Somali model of human Development.

In order to better grasp the Somali Experience, the Conference participants were divided into the following research oriented field-visit teams:

Group H: Health Migration and Rural Development.

Group R: Health Development.

Group W: Women, work and Human Resources.

Group Y: Youth and Children.

Group C: Culture, Language and Consciousness.

Group S: Social Mobilization and Reconstruction.

With regards to Study Explorations, Groups R and H





visited the Kurtunwarey Agricultural Resettlement programme; Groups W and Y visited the Lafole and Afgoi Revolutionary Youth Centres. Group C visited the sand-Dune project, the Agricultural Crash programmes Qoryoley Refugee Camp and the Fishing Resettlement programme for former nomads situated outside the ancient city of Barawe. The various groups were also able to hear briefing from ministries (Health, Education), agencies (The National Planning Commission, the Somali National University) and social organizations (The Somali Women Democratic Organization).

THE TENTH YEAR OF THE SOMALI REVOLUTION

Accordingly, the Third Fanon Center International attention to the Experience of social transformation acquired in Somalia ever since the Revolution of October 21st 1969. In order to enlighten the conference delegates from abroad the Somali participants presented papers on the following topics:

- Dynamics of Social Change in the Resettlement Area
- The Public Sector in Somalia
- Human Resource Development in Somalia
- The Revolutionary Development of the Somali Language
- Research on the plants used in Traditional Somali Medicine
- Agriculture Development in Somalia
- The Somali Nomadic Education project as an Instrument of social Change
- A Community Health project

Jaalle Amed M. Dualee Vice-Chairman of the Economics Bureau of the CC of the SRSP, delivered an important paper on the «An Overview of planning in Somalia». The other Somali papers presented and participants were drawn mostly from the Somali National University, SIDAM the Academy of Arts and Sciences, the Ministry of Education, the Ministry of Health and the organs of the SRSI

and the social organisations

It is indeed fitting that the Fanon Center Mogadishu Conference on social change and models of human development has been held a few months prior to the Tenth Anniversary of the Revolution at a time when the whole nation is examining our decade-long revolutionary Experience. HALGAN plans to edit and publish the Somali material related to the Conference in order to mark this year's October Anniversary.

The importance of holding such international conferences was highlighted by the General Secretary of the SRSP and President of the SDR and who paid a surprise visit to the participants during their Friday (June 22nd) evening session at the Uruba Hotel. Jaalle Mohamed Siyad Barre exchanged frank views with the delegates who expressed their gratitude to the president for his attention and insights and to the Somali people for their warmth and hospitality.

On June 24th most of the delegates left for a brief visit to Cairo on their way back to the US and the Carribeans. A group of about 20 participants left for a brief visit to Nairobi, Kenya and returned to Mogadishu on Thursday June 28th.

On Friday June 29th, the returning group held a highly stimulating panel discussion at the Central Auditorium of the National University on the theme: «The Role and Responsibility of Intellectuals in the struggle against Under development».



Reflections on the Somali Economy

Considering the theme of the topic, one has to provide a clear picture of the «Economic Transformation in a framework of nomadic pastoralism and Aspects of challenges of Development strategy in Somalia».

Former articles has, no doubt, dealt with topics relating to various aspects of this theme in more depth and detail. I shall, therefore, take it up in a very general way and confine myself to certain aspects of our development strategy

Let me start with, by highlighting very briely, some basic and key data to serve as background information on the sectoral Economic structure of Somalia.

Area: 640,00 Sq.km. or 64 million hect
Coastline: 3000km
Area suitable for crop production 8 Mill. hect. Area suitable for grazing 35 Mill Hect.
Population: around 4 mill.
Nomadic population: over 70%
Agricultural Popul. 15% - 20%
Urban: the rest. Estimated rate of population growth 2.83%
Estimated per capita income 110 US dollars (the figure adopted by the UN)
Rainfall: Two rainy seasons.

1. The «Gu» season (March - April to June),

2. The «Deyr» season (Sept. October to December). Over most of the country annual precipitation varies between 50 to 400 mm. of rain

Rainfall is very erratic with respect both to distribution and to timing and total failures are quite frequent.

Rivers: The only two permanent rivers are the Webi Shabelle and the Juba both in the Southern Part of the country.

Exports: Live animals, Hides and Skins, canned meat, canned dried and frozen fish, Frankincense & Myrrh and finally Banana.

Total value of exports is just over 100 million US dollars a year. More than 85% of this is accounted by livestock products. Remaining 15% comes mostly from Banana.

Imports: Consists mainly of some basic food items, textiles, medicines, fuel, machinery and development equipment.

DEVELOPMENT OBJECTIVES AND IDEOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK

Because of the adoption of «Scientific Socialism» by Somalia as its chosen ideology after the October Revolution of 1969, and in line with the party guidelines, the broad goal of economic policy is to bring about economic transformation within a socialist framework, taking, of course into consideration our special conditions, present stage of development and our whole environment.

More specifically, objectives of policy are:

1. To achieve an increasing rate of Economic growth and general development.

2. To ensure that benefits of economic growth and development go to the people as a

whole and to eradicate all forms of economic and social exploitation.

3. To provide employment for the people.

4. To ensure the direct participation of workers at all stages in the process of policy formulation and execution.

5. To meet the «basic needs» of the population in term of education, Health, food, water supply etc.

INSTITUTIONAL APPROACH

To attain the objective of economic policy, an institutional framework has been adopted which, while placing major reliance on the Public Sector and the formation of co-operatives still accords an important role to the private sector.

PUBLIC SECTOR.

Policy is to give a leading role to this Sector. The aim is to ensure :-

a) That the most strategic sectors of the economy such as Banking, Insurance, key Industries etc. are publicly owned.

b) That the state takes full and direct responsibility for basic utilities such as the provision of electricity, water supplies telecommunication systems and so on.

c) That again the State takes full responsibility for the provision of education and similar services.

d) The establishment of Public Sector monopoly over

the importation and distribution of essential food items, medicines and the purchase, collection and marketing of important agricultural crops.

e) That State takes a leading role and directly participates in the productive sector of the economy through the establishment of State farms, state industries, and other State enterprises in fisheries, shipping, commerce and all other sectors of the economy.

How far has this policy been implemented? The answer is: to a considerable degree as far as the modern sector of the Economy is concerned, the predominant part of this sector especially in all the areas mentioned earlier, is either state owned and managed or else closely controlled by the Government. More than 50 Public Agencies and enterprises engaged in various fields of economic activities have been established since the last nine years in addition to the services directly run by the central Government or local authorities.

In this connection, however, it is necessary to remember that the subsistence sector occupying more than 80% of the population is generally outside Government control from the management point of view. It is also worth to note that while expansion of the State Sector represents a movement in the right direction and accords fully with Party policy guidelines towards the attainment of social and economic objectives, problems and challenges, some of which are of a major proportion have confronted us. I shall discuss some of the issues involved later, but here I just want to mention that, apart from financial constraints and

other resources limitations the shortage of management, professional and technical skills have created formidable problems in our attempts to organise an efficient and expanding Public Sector throughout the economy.

Co-operatives :

Apart from reliance on an expanding public sector for the attainment of economic objectives, we have been according a very high priority to the establishment of co-operatives. These now exist and operate over a wide range of economic fields: In agriculture, industry, handicrafts, fisheries, retail trade and so on. Moreover, with the help and guidance of the Party the movement has organised itself into a very active social organization closely allied with the Party. The movement has developed an elaborate structure starting at the village level and culminating with the Federation of Somali Co-operatives Movement which has its Headquarter in Mogadishu.

The Co-operatives, like the State Sector have also been handicapped by the lack of resources and shortage of technical skills. Consequently their contribution to the national output still remains limited and has fallen somewhat short of expectation particularly in agriculture. However, our needs to bear in mind is that the history of the movement is very recent in the country, and that it needs time and encouragement to overcome the varieties of problems it has been confronted with.

The Private Sector.

I mentioned earlier that over 80% of the population of this

country is engaged in livestock rearing under conditions of nomadic pastoralism or else subsistence farming. Around 90% of our total earnings of Foreign exchange and more than 60% of basic food consumption in the modern sector originate in the subsistence sector. Banana cultivation which constitutes the backbone of our modern agriculture export item, is still in private hands. A sizable part of our industrial production is accounted for by the private sector.

It is quite clear that in the light of our present realities and objective conditions, and in view of the need to mobilise all available resources including our entire population for the purposes of development, the role of private enterprise has to be recognised and given a place in our development strategy. Consequently in the party programme, the private sector has been accorded full recognition, however, it is to be observed that in the modern sector of the Economy the operations and activities of private enterprise have had to follow certain general guidelines with the intention to prevent or minimise the exploitative tendencies of private enterprise on the one hand, and with a view to harness or channel their resources, initiative and dynamism towards areas that would genuinely contribute to development on the other.

Thus private enterprise encouraged to engage mainly in the productive sectors such as farming, small scale industries, handicrafts and so on. Exportation and marketing of livestock and retail trade in general, have been left in private hands. The formation of co-operatives in the latter fie-

lds of activity has been gaining ground lately.

Private Enterprise has been excluded from areas such as Banking, insurance, imports, Trade and wholesale distribution areas which normally tend to attract private enterprise in the developing countries an account of the opportunities they offer for making quick profits, but which for the same reasons, also tend to be more exploitative and wasteful of national Resources.

Sectoral Priorities:

The preponderant role of the livestock sector in the Somali economy and its continued importance for the foreseeable future, is evident. Consequently its claim as a very high priority in the allocation of resources is also clear. But for purposes of our long term development strategy, doubts will necessarily have to be expressed about our continued dependence or reliance on a pastoral Economy.

This has certain implications for the establishment of any order of priority between sectors. Agriculture occupies the next position to livestock in relation to the proportion of the population engaged in it and in relation to its contribution to the national output. However, what is much more important is by far the greater this sector offers.

As regards Fisheries, we have over 3000 Km. of coastline, implying that there are tremendous opportunities for the future and present exploitation of our sea and ocean resources.

With respect to physical infrastructure, the importance of this sector cannot be overestimated. The country is

large and long distances separate the settled parts of it. The development of basic communications still remains embryonic.

The provision for basic needs to the masses such as food, health services, education, water supplies etc. Continues to be urgent in spite of the heroic efforts of the Revolution since 1969, and the attainment of some impressive results particularly in the field of literacy and primary education.

Under these circumstances, the determination of sectoral priorities in terms of resource allocation in any definitive manner would not be an easy task. More so when we recognise the close inter-relationship and inter-dependence of development activities in the various sectors, and give due consideration to the complex social and political factors that inevitably play their role. The fact is, that the development of these key sectors is essential and in line with objectives. Therefore, unblinded approach towards allocation of resources would appear to be a practical choice. Rational utilisation of resources through co-ordinated programs, careful selection of projects, and proper monitoring of investment could only give the necessary impetus to production and the achievement of the desired rates of economic growth.

CONSTRAINTS AND CHALLENGES TO DEVELOPMENT STRATEGY :

The problems which have confronted us in our struggle towards the attainment of national development objectives are many. But I shall take up briefly a few basic ones that have proved to be a real challenge.

First of all there are the kind of problems associated with and actually inherent in transformation of an economy based on nomadic pastoralism. Nomadism is not unique to Somalia but I know of no other country which depends on this kind of economy to the extent we do. For us, nomadism is not something practiced by certain section of the population primarily out of habit and for which they have deep attachment. May be an element of that too. But most certainly in the case of Somalia it is more of a very complex socio-economic system for which people have not been able to find a better and practical alternative as yet. The system is efficient within its own framework. It is not entirely primitive. The nomadic population is closely connected to the monetary sector of the economy, have almost up-to-date informations about markets, provides a substantial market for the products of other sectors, and is highly conscious politically and socially.

From a development standpoint, the problem here is that there is a very delicate ecological balance; between man and his environment; between livestock and availability of grazing on the rangelands, water resources pattern of rain and even the pattern of movement of herds and their type (from the point of view of adaptation). Thus it would prove to be an extremely difficult job to devise schemes to bring about transformation within that framework. For instance any attempt of resettlement within the primarily nomadic areas which cover most of the country, would inevitably imply serious danger for the conditions of the ran-

geland and the very real threat of desertification. The same thing applies to unplanned drilling of wells or the prospects of any substantial increases in livestock and human populations in those areas.

It would appear therefore that the only alternative is to divert the whole future increases in population and even remove a substantial proportion of the present nomadic population to cultivated agriculture and fisheries. We do have large areas with agricultural potential particularly in the inter-riverine regions and to a lesser degree in the North-west part of the country. There is also no doubt about the development potential in the fisheries sector.

But this Scenario will not be easy to realise in practice :

First of all the nomads who form the bulk of the population are growing at the rate of about 2.83%. So is the rest of population. The total numbers of people that could eventually be observed into, from the long run point of view, offer perhaps a better opportunity.

Secondly when we refer to the absorption capacity of agriculture and fisheries, we are only talking in terms of their potentialities, but the development of these sectors even at a rate that could ensure the absorption of future increase in population, looks like a forbidding task a country like Somalia with very limited resources and technology.

Thirdly removal or transplantation of communities to a different environment or way of life may not prove to be a practical proposition ex-

cept under special circumstances like the ones we experienced after the drought of 1974-1975. At any rate it is no easy task.

Finally gradual absorption of growing numbers of people into agriculture and fisheries might seem to be a realistic approach, but in the meanwhile we are haunted by the spectre of a looming image of desertification as a result of the pressure of a growing livestock and human population on the rangelands to say nothing of the exodus of people from the unemployed.

In Somalia, we recognise the urgency, complexity and dimensions of the problem. We regard it as a challenge and we are determined to win. As you have already observed during your visits to some of the resettlement areas in this region, we have already made a start.

The implementation of fishery development projects in many places along the coast, the imminent construction of Bardhere Dam on the Juba, the realisation of the Fanole Dam about to be completed and the many agricultural and other schemes underway, are all but a living testimony to our determination to face up to the challenge.

There are other constraints to our development efforts which, while different in character, yet reinforce the basic dilemmas and difficulties involved in the transformation of nomadic pastoralism as described earlier. One of these, is the limited availability of resources: financially, technologically and in terms of trained manpower admittedly a characteristic feature in the developing world, but defini-

tely more acute in Somalia (listed officially by the UN among the least developed countries) an account of two considerations: First, in view of the geographical proximity to Somalia of the high-income oil producing countries, of Middle East such as Saudi-Arabi and the Gulf states, and because of our close links with those countries, we have been losing large and increasing numbers of our skilled, semi-skilled, professional all experienced people of these countries through migration. The process has proved difficult to contain and the loss of trained cadres is inevitably having adverse effects not only on our central administration and the management of Public enterprises but more seriously on the implementation rates of development projects and programs. Certain measures to counteract the situation have already been taken and some more are under study.

The second consideration is our dependence on foreign aid for the financment of major part of development projects in the plan. Somalia, relatively receives substantial amounts of aid from various sources. But the point is that the conditions normally attached to the use of foreign aid are such as would impose false limits to the absorptive capacity of a country like Somalia. The reason is that apart from the labyrinth of standard bureaucratic requirements and political overtones, by far the biggest hurdle is the requirement for the recipient country to meet the local cost of all foreign financed projects and programmes. Poor countries do not and should not raise local finance by way of the printing machine. It has to be raised through

xation or other means from the local population whose incomes are already very low.

Actually most services run by Government Agencies to meet the basic needs of the people require to be subsidised. But then we are all aware that a major element of development aid policy, from the donor's point of view is to promote the sale of equipment and other goods and services by the donor country and not necessarily to respond to the true needs of development in the recipient country.

Finally, talking of constraints to development strategy in Somalia I should like to refer to another problem which, while different in character than those discussed earlier, yet still have its relevance in this context. This relates to the economic effects of the political conflicts in the Horn of Africa. Here the situation is ambivalent: In respect of Western Somalia under Ethiopian Colonisation, the reality is that while Ethiopia has always kept the region under military occupation, lacked to

cope the struggle with the liberation movements mounting air attacks against civilians and poisoning wells, the actual operation of the economic system of the area has always, since time immemorial formed an integral part of the pastoral economy on which this country is so much dependent. Apart from consideration of political, social, linguistic, religious historical and family ties, the compelling impositions of a pastoral economy and geography have rendered the economy of the area inseparable from that of the Somali Democratic Republic. A certain proportion of the livestock exported through our parts comes from that area, and an even greater proportion of our imports of essential commodities, and non-essential ones for that matter, end up in that region.

In the case of Somalia — Kenya relationship the fact is that Kenya is industrially more developed than Somalia and one would have expected that the Kenyans would take full advantage of the situation. However, due

to Kenya's unfounded suspicions about our political intentions in the NFD, cooperation between the two countries in the economic field, has never really got off the ground substantial way, lately there have been some positive initiatives taken on both sides to correct the situation's development which gives us a better hope for the future. However, the most serious implication of the political and territorial conflict in the Horn of Africa, for development in the Region as a whole is two fold. In the first place the countries of the Region are prevented from being in a position to work out complementary strategies of development and to benefit from regional schemes and programmes of common advantage.

Secondly by maintaining large armies and diverting scarce and urgently needed resources to the purchase of arms, the pace of economic and social transformation in each individual country and for the region as a whole will necessarily be slower.

The role of Political and Social organization in health development

At the outset, I want to offer you brief reflections on the general question of mass mobilization for the promotion of better health generally and, more specifically, the promotion of better foods and nutrition policies and practices. Obviously, political and social organisations are involved in all aspects of development, health promotion being one aspect of the

overall development strategy.

To begin with the main political organ of our country; the Somali Revolutionary Socialist Party has adopted a party programme which spells out the socialist oriented strategy towards self-reliance and development. The SRSP programme provides an outline of national development policies, including health development. The recently held Extraordinary Congress of the

SRSP has also adopted the new three year Plan. The plan envisages total expenditures in the health sector of 101.4 million shilling for the three-year period. The annual break-down of these expenditures are as follows:

Party guidance of development planning in Somalia, therefore, gives this political organ the crucial policy and budget formulation role in health development.



promoting various types of co-operatives. The agricultural co-operatives are involved in, among other things, the crucial task of producing more and better food. They constitute a backbone in the national attempt to attain food self-sufficiency by 1980. There are also co-operatives involved in distribution of foodstuffs and medicines, including vitamins and vaccines which are important in assuring better nutrition and health.

Party organs are also involved in the task of implementing such policies. The Central Committee of the SRSP has a Bureau for Social Affairs which helps, not only in the formulation of health, education and related social policies, it is also provided with the means to overview and assist in governmental implementation of social policies and regulations.

Party organs at the lower levels are involved in implementing development policies. At all levels, including the very grass-roots levels, the SRSP has a party Secretary responsible for Social Affairs including the promotion of better health. In various tasks connected with preventive medicine, in campaigns against small-pox, tuberculosis, bilharzia, malaria and other diseases, the party person responsible for social affairs plays a key role in mobilizing the masses in his district or area. The Party is also involved at the grass-roots level in assisting health education including nutrition and domestic science schools.

Working hand in hand with the party in carrying development policies are the social or mass organisations: the General Federation of Somali Trade

Unions (GFSTU), the Somali Revolutionary Youth Union (SRYU), the Somali Women Democratic Organisation (SWDO) the Movement of Somali Cooperative Organisation (MSCO) and the «Guulwada-yaal» (Victory-Pioneer militia Forces). These organisations have executive organs at the national, regional, district and area levels. In these organs there is invariably someone responsible for social affairs (health and related sectors). The women organisation, the WDO for example, is actively involved in matters pertaining to mothers and child-care: food nutrition, basic hygiene, domestic science education etc. The MSCO is involved in

Let us all recall that the Party and Government structures implement pricing policies aimed at assuring modest prices for basic food-stuffs for the benefit of the poor majority of our people.

In case of scarcities, these structures assure fair distribution through a system of rationing. Our political and social organisations have, through mass orientation centers, distributed sugar at a modest fixed price throughout the country. This important task was conducted for several months during the period when the world-wide crisis had created sugar shortages. The alternative would have been to allow the market to skyrocket national sugar prices there.





by making this basic foodstuff available only to the well-to-do few. Today, sugar is once again sold in shops with the party and government still fixing the price in order to make this vital commodity within the means of the many. The on-going Juba Sugar Project will eventually not only make Somalia self-sufficient in sugar production, it will enable us to enter the camp of sugar exporting countries.

The party organs and those of the SRYU are actively involved in the various Agricultural Crash Programmes aimed at attaining self-sufficiency in food and other agricultural commodities. Accordingly, we can see that the political and social organisations are playing crucial roles in food production, distribution and mass mobilization for health education campaigns and projects.

A good start has been made, but more remains to be done. The SRSP was established very recently, on July 1st 1978. The social organisations mentioned above were reconstituted during 1977. Therefore, they have not yet realized their full potential as organs for overall development, including health development. Nevertheless, the Party and the

social organisations linked to it did not fall from the sky in 1976 and 1977. They have behind them a solid history of organisational efforts aimed at promoting developmental campaigns. Soon after the Revolution the then Supreme Revolutionary Council created a Public Relations Office, which soon developed into a Political office for mass political mobilization, education and organization. The Political Office consisted of a proto-party structure linked to departments for workers, youth, women and Victory Pioneers (Militia).

In 1974, an ambitious Rural Development Campaign was launched consisting of:

- i. Rural literacy,
- ii. Animal health and
- iii. Public health campaign,
- iv. Census

The public health component involved:

1. Preventing Communicable diseases from spreading in the villages.
2. Prolonging life and
3. Promoting health and efficiency through organising the community for :-

- a. Sanitation of the environment;
- b. Control of communicable infections;
- c. Organization of medical and nursing services for early diagnosis and preventive treatment of diseases and
- d. Education of the individual in personal hygiene;
- e. Development of social structures capable of insuring everyone a standard of living adequate for the maintenance of health.

The RDC health unit covered communicable diseases control including vaccinations, health education, maternal and child health, family planning, hygiene in housing and some phases of general medical care. Dr. A. S. Abbas in his paper on «Health Implications of the Rural Development Campaign»,

1. observes: «Since the districts are subdivided into a variable number of villages and sub-villages, accordingly a curative and a vaccinating team was assigned, composed of 2 vaccinators, and a nurse accompanied by a trained Guulwade».

2. In fact, the Victory-Pioneers (Guulwade) as well as other elements under the Political Office of the SRC, played important roles in the RDC involving rural mass literacy and health.

All regional and district representatives of the then Political Office of the SRC were actively involved not only in the organization of the RDC but in all the day to day tasks carried out to insure its success.

3. In his paper, Dr. A. S.

Abbas remarks: «The district health officer in command of the rural health unit felt accountable to the local community for successfully carrying out his responsibility for protection of the health of the community in the most efficient and economic manner, within the limits of resources made available by the community».

4. Now, «being accountable to the local community» could imply various things depending on the concrete historical conditions of various countries. In some countries, this could imply being accountable to a local chief or king, together with his entourage of local notables (mostly landlords). In revolutionary Somalia, this essentially implied being accountable to the organised representatives of the community constituted in basic committees of the political and social organisations.

At another point in his paper, Dr. Abbas writes: «The availability of good roads and means of transportation had their impact on the shape and pattern of health organization. Development of health facilities at points within easy access to homes has been kept in mind and considered to meet the needs of the rural areas».

5. During the RDC, the political and social organs mobilized the masses to create new roads. These not only facilitated the implementation of the campaign, they also bound the previously isolated village with the district market. Thus trade and other social activities began to emerge in these previously isolated villages.

The health aspect of the RDC involved, among other things administering blood

sample tests to 129,696 persons of which 18,526 showed positive malaria cases. Extensive work was also undertaken to detect tuberculosis and small-pox cases. A total of 1,613,125 individuals were treated of various diseases during the RDC.

The RDC helped to close the urban-rural gap. It has made the rural person conscious of the need of preventing the preventable and curing the curable diseases. Dr. Abbas concluded thus: «Without local involvement, participation, stimulation of community interest and dedicated assumption of responsibility by the local people, public health programmes would not have achieved the obtained results. Small-pox and cholera which had their outbreak in the neighbouring countries and tuberculosis which is a manace to the nation, would have remained uncontrolled in the majority of the rural communities, if it was not covered with preventive vaccination».

6. The Political and social organisations played pivotal roles in the «stimulation of community interest and dedicated assumption of responsibility by local people». This fact was once again demonstrated in the campaign to fight the severe drought that afflicted Somalia in 1974-75. It was also demonstrated in the campaign to wipe out small-pox from Somalia. The excellent WHO film on the small-pox campaign fully reveals the role of political and social organisations (for example, several shots depict mass health education gatherings held at revolutionary orientation centers).

In involving itself so actively in the RDC and other campaigns, the Political Office of

the SRC and its structures were able to mature and develop into the SRSP and the social organisations mentioned above.

Let us once again emphasise the point that much more needs to be done. In order to facilitate greater progress in future, it is necessary, among other things, to break down the barrier between the so-called reds and experts, in terms of health this means closing the gap between the political and social cadres and the technical cadres of the Ministry of Health and related agencies. Among other things, it is necessary:

a. To select more technical cadres from the Ministry of Health to attend the Party Political Institute and related courses for political education, mobilization and education;

b. To include Courses on health, hygiene, food and nutrition sciences and policies for the cadres of the political and social organisation;

c. Creating or strengthening development oriented committees consisting of political and technical cadres;

A political or social organisation cadre or leader who is also professionally an expert is better able to win the confidence of the local people he is expected to mobilize and organize. Such a leader/cadre is also better able to participate in the process of formulating sound health policies, programmes or projects.

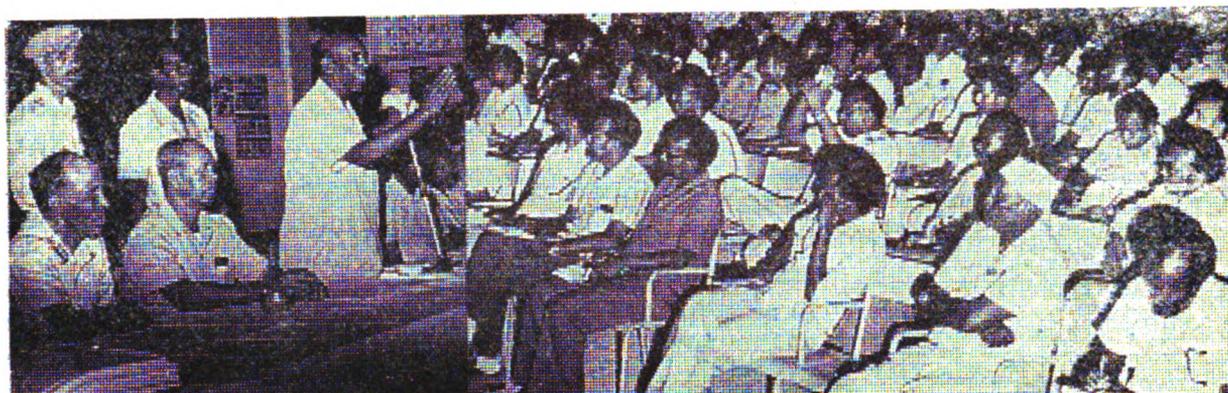
The philosopher Aristotle once talked about philosopher-kings essentially he meant men of action, decision makers who are at the sametime highly knowledgeable. The division between reds and experts

Continued on Page 33

PARTY LIFE



Jaalle Siad closed a seminar for the Secretaries and Party representatives



The General Secretary of the Somali Revolutionary Socialist Party, President of the Somali Democratic Republic, Jaalle Mohamed Siyad Barre closed a seminar for the Secretaries and Party Representatives at the Police Academy on 23rd June. In the Seminar issues concerning the articles of the National Draft Constitution and its referendum were discussed. Lectures were often offered by the Somali intellectuals who were responsible in the preparation of the draft constitution.

Jaalle Siyad's closing speech emphasised that the constitution was the product engendered by the 1st, 2nd

and 3rd Charters of the Revolution and for that sake all parties and progressive people are expected to give special consideration and respect.

Jaalle Siyad also mentioned that the constitution is one of the fundamental pillars of nationhood, it is the law that manifests the life and freedom of the Somali people. On the other hand it assures the inalienable rights and tasks of the individual. Jaalle Siyad called upon the members participated in the Seminar that it is their task to implement the laws set forth to safeguard the rights of the members of the nation, development of

the country and defence of the motherland.

The President requested the Party Secretaries of the regions and districts to consistently cope with the peoples concerned so that their problems may be alleviated sooner. He urged them to increase their revolutionary diligence in order to fulfil the awaiting tasks.

Eventually the President extended thanks to the technical committee for the preparation of the draft constitution. Before the General Secretary a ward of introduction and report was delivered by Jaalle Huseen Kulmiye Afrah Vice-President and Assistant in the Presidential Affairs.

Party cadres seminar closed

The Assistant Secretary General of the Somali Revolutionary Socialist Party and Vice President of the Somali Democratic Republic

B/General Ismail Ali Abokor have concluded a Party Cadre Seminar held at the Party Headquarters.

The five (5) days seminar

which began 3rd and ended 8th July have disclosed an overall study concerning the 14 articles of the draft constitution of the nation and

the laws governing its referendum.

The study programme and the courses offered during the short period of the seminar were given by Somali intellectuals and experts who as well participated in the formulation of the draft constitution.

In his concluding speech, the Assistant Secretary General Comrade Ismail Ali Abokor pointed out, the role of the Party Cadres in propagating the draft constitution and likewise transmitting to the Somali people the seminar.

Further more, Comrade Ismail Ali Abokor stressed for the preparation of the Party Cadres to sincerely take pa-

rt the tasks laid for the constitutional referendum. Moreover, he emphasized the role of the partisans in the execution of the national draft constitution.

«As pointed out by the 7th article of the national constitution», Comrade Ismail said, The Somali Revolutionary Socialist Party is the highest power in the leadership of country, pioneering to genuine equality, justice and overall progress». He also stated the responsibilities of the Cadres and the other partisans in safeguarding the wealth of the nation, in defending the achievements of the Revolution and fighting against the baseless and provocative propaganda of the

phrase-mongers.

Comrade Ismail discussed the tasks confronting the seminar Cadres and the way of transmitting their experience and knowledge of the draft constitution to Somali people.

Before, Comrade Ismail's speech, an informative report welcoming and receptive remarks was given by the Chairman of Mobilization Bureau of the Central Committee, Comrade Abdulqadir Haji Mohamed.

In his remarks Comrade Abdulqadir showed the general and detailed overview of the significance of the seminar, its contents and objectives.

The 2nd session of the central committee of SRYU



In Mogadishu, the capital, the Second Session of the Central Committee of the Somali Revolutionary Youth Union (SRYU) was held. The session which was staged at the Organisation Centre on 5-7th July, 1979 have

discussed a wide-range of organisational activities. During the two-days Session of the Central Committee of the Somali Revolutionary Youth Union (SRYU), significant and comprehensive reports were delivered by

different Committees of the respective Sections of the organisation, such as; the Executive Committee; the Inspection and Auditing Committee of the Central Committee of the organization. Within these reports the Committees have disclosed the different and many-sided tasks executed during the life span of the organisation, the mobilisation level of the organisation and other current tasks to be done. Moreover, the Central Committee of the Somali Revolutionary Youth Union have discussed fruitfully the presented issues, of work plan, the statute of the organisation and the by-law. Among other things, the Second Session has, also, discussed tasks related to world economy and poli-

tics; the national draft constitution, the preparations for its referendum. Within that framework, the Second Session of the Central Committee of the Somali Revolutionary Youth Union have made a clear decision of calling for the full participation of all the organisation members and generally all the Somali youth in the tasks pertaining to the fulfillment of the draft Constitution of the country.

The Central Committee of the Somali Revolutionary Youth Union in its Second Session has made amendments and additions in the Statute of the organisation and more concretely significant changes has been made in the by-law of the finance department while as the sametime the Second Session adopted and approved the by-law of the Organisation. At end of the Session an invitation was made for the member-participants by Comrade Ahmed Suleyman Abdulle, Member of the Polit-Bureau and the Commander of the National Security Service.

The Resolutions adopted at the Second Session of the Somali Revolutionary

Youth Union (SRYU) have called for; the realisation and execution of the Resolutions of the extra-ordinary Congress of the Somali Revolutionary Socialist Party (SRSP); the establishment and strengthening the fruits and achievements of the Revolution; strengthening the just struggle aiming at the realisation of the objective purposes of the Somali nation which is securing the genuine unity of our people; supporting the just struggle of the Western Somali and Atto-Liberation Movement and defending the sovereignty of the Somali nation; Organisations, unification and raising the political consciousness of the Somali You-

th; to raise the upbringing, training and educating the flowers of the Revolution U.K.O. Taking a great role in increasing the labour productivity, raising the quality of production and the development of socialist emulation in the working centres.

Lastly, the Resolution of the 2nd Session of the Central Committee of the Somali Revolutionary Youth Union has severely condemned all colours of colonialism and particularly the repressive policy and the unjust massacring of the Western Somali, Abbo and Eritrean peoples by the Abyssinian regime.



Co-ordinator's seminar closed

Somali Women Democratic organization

The Vice-President of the Somali Democratic Republic Comrade Huseen Kulmiye Afrah has officially closed a Seminar for 130 member of the Co-ordinators of (SWDO) on 19th July at the Police Accademy.

The Seminar continued for one month in which the participants learned various lessons concerning the programme of the National Constitution, Children's Year Programme, the role of the working women in

the nation-building and their tasks relating to the work-centers of SWDO.

At the end of the Seminar the following issues were put forward to be implemented:-

1. To increase the mobilisation of the members of the SWDO at the work centers.

2. To link up with the working members of the union at the district.

3. To motivate the working women with the principle of love for work.

4. To play a great role on the contribution for the children's account and offer it to 41,700/= So. Shs.

5. The need for building other kinder-gartens.

6. The women workers

should take part in implementing the family law etc.

Among the economic aspects that SWDO resolved in their plan, there include:

To initiate economic sources which could benefit the union such as establishment of super-market, small factories etc.

— To launch a struggle against corruption, tribalism, regionalism and so on.

— To support any just struggle including the Somali West, Abbo and Eritrean Liberation Movements

against the Ethiopian colonisation.

— Comrade Kulmiye emphasised in his closing speech the need for such seminars specially for this period of preparation for the referendum of the Constitution and the 10th anniversary of the October Revolution.

The Vice-President also mentioned the role of women in nation-building at this revolutionary period.

Lastly, Comrade Kulmiye told the SWDO to double their activities and diligence.

A friendly visit

A delegation of the Communist Youth Union of the Peoples Republic of China, led by the First Vice - Chairman of the Union Leiu arrived in Somalia on June 18th.

The delegation consisting of 5 persons among them include the General-Secretary of the Chinese Students arrived here after an invitation extended by the SRYU. The delegation remained here for a period of two-weeks from June 18th-July 5th. The delegation held visits to North-Western Region, Lower Shabelle



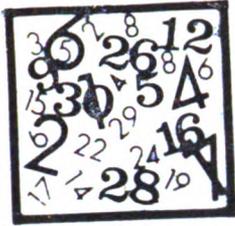
and Middle Shabelle in which they were hosted by the SRYU of the respective regions.

The delegation held talks with the Executive Commi-

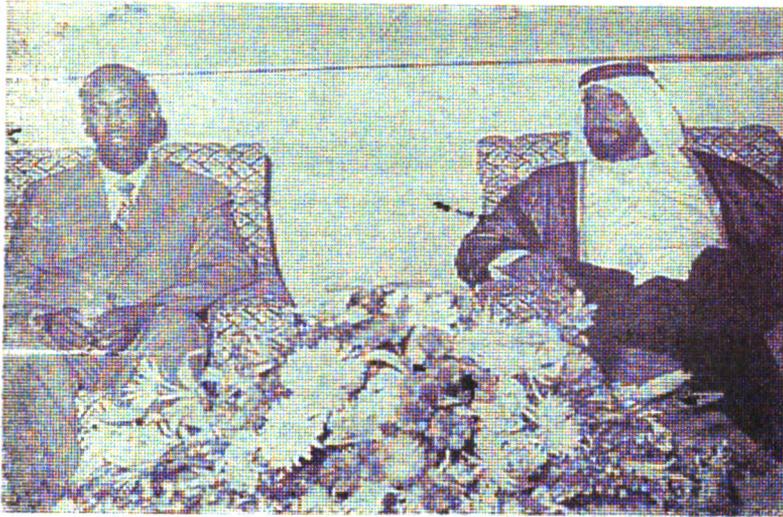
tee of the SRYU concerning the consolidation of the friendly relations existing between the two Unions and unanimously agreed that a delegation from the SRYU should go to China next year.

The delegation also met with the Assistant Secretary General of the SRSP Jaalle Ismail Ali Abokar and the chairman of the Mobilisation Bureau Jaalle Abdullaqadir H. Mohamed. They left the country with jubilation and enthusiasm towards the Somali people, government and the SRSP.

MONTHLY BULLETIN



Jaalle Siad tours Arab states



The Secretary General of the SRSP and President of Somalia Jaalle Mohamed Siad Baire and members of his delegation returned home on 12th July after a ten day tour of Six Arab Countries - Saudi Arabia, Iraq, Bahrein, Kuwait, Qadard and the United Arab Emirates.

Speaking to newsmen at the presidency, the President said that he was accorded cordial and warm welcome by the leaders and peoples of the countries he visited «Our talks with the leaders of these countries dealt with the brotherly relations between Somalia and their countries as well as Arab affairs and international Issue», he said. Answering a question on strengthening the unity of the Arab world, Jaalle Siad expressed

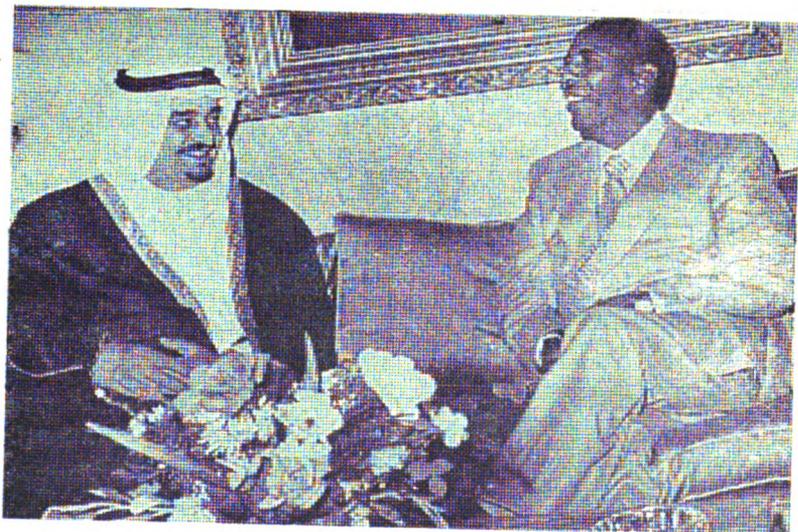
firm belief that the Arabs would soon come to a closer understanding, find solution for their present problems and gear all their efforts towards the consolidation of Arab Unity and interests. The president hoped that Arab discord would not be serious as the enemies of the Arab Unity

would have liked it to be.

On the then forthcoming summit of the (OAU) convened at Liberia capital of Monrovia, the President Siad that due to the similarity of their circumstances, the Arabs and Africans share common interests which necessitate the further strengthening of their cooperation and unity.

The president disclosed that he held various meetings with the Somali communities living in the countries he visited, «The communities», he said, «expressed their readiness to contribute to the defence and development of their country»

In Abu-Dhabi on 10th July official talks between the Somali Presidential delegation and the leaders of the UAE took place.



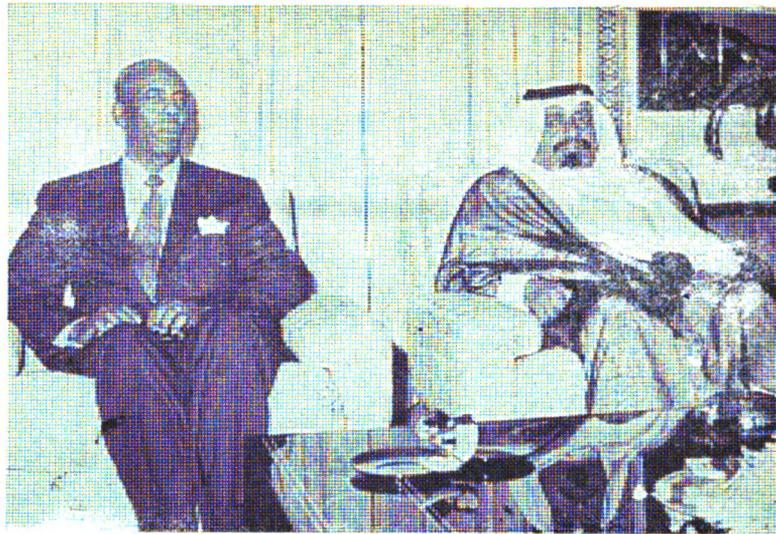
The talks focussed on bilateral relations as the well as the middle East, the Horn of Africa and International Issues.

President Siad and the Minister of Agriculture Jaalle AHMED HASSAN MUUSE, and Minister of State at the Presidency, Jaalle OOMAR ARTE GHALIB took part in the talks on the Somali side. While the president of the UAE Sheikh Sayid Bin Sultan Al-Nahyan, the UAE Foreign Minister and defence and other senior officials participated on behalf of their country.

In Doha on 4th July following a warm reception upon arrival by Emir Khalifa, heir apparent Sheikh Hamad bin Khalifa, Senior Qatari officials and the Somali community living there, official talks between the leaders of Somalia and Qatar were conducted covering bilateral relations, Arab Affairs and international issues.

In Riad Saudi Arabia the first stop in the Arab tour on 6th July, the two leaders (President Siad and his majesty Khalid Bin Abdulaziz of Saudi Arabia) began talks.

The talks concerned ways of further strengthening bilateral cooperation in the economic, cultural and social fields. Attending the talks were Somalia Ministers and the Ambassador in Riad, SHEIKH ABDULLE MAHAMUD; on the Saudi side, the crown prince Fahd bin Abdulaziz, defence Minister Amir Sultan, Finance Minister, Mohamed Abulkhyr, Minister of Health, Hussein AL-Jazari; and Saudi ambassador to Somalia Mr. Taha Al-Deghatar.

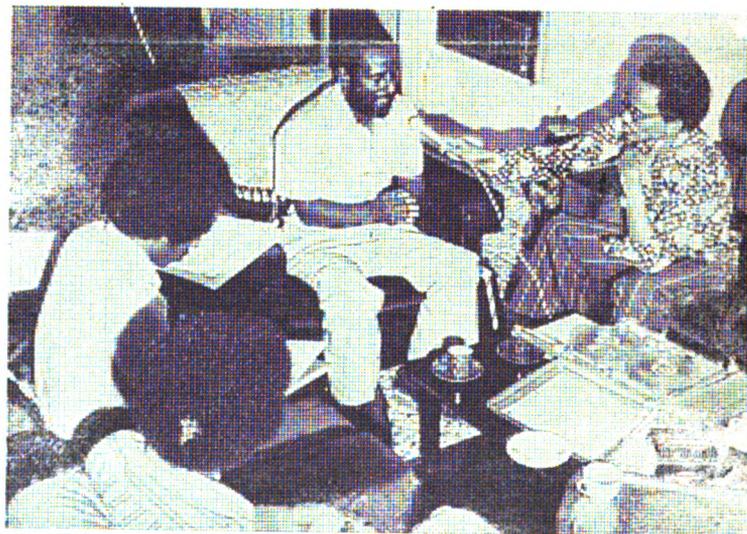


In Kuwait on 9th July President Siad concluded official talks on further strengthening the excellent relations between the two countries, Middle East, the Horn of Africa and International issues, with the Emir of Kuwait, Sheikh Jabir

Al-Ahmed Al-Sabah.

The Presidential delegation included; Agriculture Minister Jaalle Colonel Ahmed Hassan Musa, Minister at the Presidency, Jaalle OOMAR ARTE, Minister of Finance Jaalle. MOHAMED YUSUF WEYRAH.

The National draft constitution



«The Constitution is the determining factor shaping the economical, social and the political activities of a society. It is essential that a sovereign country should

have laws defining the relationship between its society as well as its linkage with the rest of the World. It is the cornerstone and highest judicial form organizing the

life of the society, «said Jaalle Ahmed Ashir Botan, the chairman of the technical committee for promulgating the projected Somali constitution.

Jaalle Botan who is also the minister of culture and higher education gave an interview on 5th June 1979 to local newsmen.

Referring to the different stages which the formulation of the draft constitution has passed, he stated that the founding Congress of the SRSP held in July 1976, decided on the establishment of a constitution within five years as well as the setting up of a committee to prepare with the assistance of the various government organs.

«The constitution», he said generally reflects the feelings, environment and social conditions of the Somali nation as laid down in the 1st, 2nd and 3rd chapters of the October revolution, as well as articles 17, 18, 19 of the law formulated by the founding Congress, party and social organizations Statutes and programmes, and in general all the laws established since the inception of the Revolution».

Jaalle Botan stated that in drafting the Constitution Arab, African and other international laws were referred or consulted approaching from three perspectives namely, countries we share the same Islamic faith, those we share the same ideology and those we have in common with the same natural environment.

He said that the constitu-



tion consists of 114 Articles which mainly deal with the foreign Policy, economy and the rights and duties of the Somali citizen, adding that Somalia is socialist Republic led by the SRSP and that the social organizations should play a significant role in the country's development.

It also spells out that Somalia would follow the policy of positive non-alignment and maintains the principles of peaceful co-existence among all people of the World.

The Chairman said that the constitution declares that Somalia gives an unswerving support to liberation movements who are fighting for freedom and independence and at the same time it guarantees for Somali citizens full freedom and rights.

Speaking on the differences between the old constitution which existed before the birth of the Revolution and the present one, he said that the former was not in compliance with the social situation and that foreign personalities who did not

consider Somali peoples' interests were involved in its Drafting, whereas the current constitution is in harmony with the actual social life and proceeds from the experience of the nine years of the Revolution.

The Chairman pointed out that the constitution follows socialist national plan and at the same time encourages and appeals to private enterprises to participate actively in the economic development of the country, provided they do not contradict national interest.

He also declared that the proposed constitution will be put to public referendum in which every citizen «who is sane and not less than 18 years would cast his vote» adding that polling stations would be set up throughout the country.

The Chairman said that the constitutional campaign has officially been declared open. Meanwhile a mammoth mass rally-wounding up the weeklong constitutional campaigns and demonstrations in support of the national draft constitution and regulations for the

referendum was staged at the 21st October square on the 24th of July.

Taking part in the Rally were huge crowds of people exceeding 500,000 persons comprising workers, social organizations and members of the armed forces and other city dwellers. They carried placards and chanted slogans showing their total support to the draft constitution.

Addressing the mass rally was Vice-President and Assistant Secretary General of the SRSP Jaalle Brigadier General Ismail Ali Abokor.

In his speech Jaalle Ismail praised the Revolutionary forces for their patriotism and enthusiasm in expressing their total support to the draft constitution by staging such a mammoth gathering.

Jaalle Ismail pointed out that the constitution was one of the pledges made by the Revolution at its inception and added that it is a result of ten years of Revolutionary experience in the country. «The constitution which is a product of the Somali people's struggles for political, economic and social progress indeed, provides a useful guide for the nation» stressed the vice president.

The Vice-president said: «There exists anti-revolutionary and anti-Somali elements bent on mis-interpreting the draft constitution and misleading the Somali people, but the draft constitution is devoid of any loopholes to be exploited by the reactionary elements». Jaalle Ismail stated that the constitution stipulates



that Somalia is a socialist state led by the progressive working forces where the citizens regardless of sex enjoy equal rights.

He declared that the articles of the constitution provide for a democratic leadership and administration guaranteeing full freedom to the individual.

The Assistant Secretary General of the SRSP said that the constitution, if respected and abided by, is one of the best constitution in the World.

REFERENDUM POSTPONED FOR AUGUST 25th.

Meanwhile Somali Vice-President Jaalle Major General Hussein Kulmie Afrah who is the chairman of the National committee for the constitutional referendum on 25th July announced that the date of conducting the constitutional referendum originally scheduled on 16th August has been postponed for nine days - until the 25th of the same month.

He added that this postponement followed the ap-

proval by the SRSP politbureau of recommendations made by the national committee for the constitutional referendum.

Speaking about the reasons which brought about the postponement, Jaalle Kulmie stated that this arose out of the need of the Somali people to get sufficient time to learn and digest the contents of the draft constitution.

«Another factor is that those who are living in the rural areas must be provided with adequate time so that all of them must have an access to the draft constitution» added the Vice-president.

Jaalle Kulmie called on the regional and district officials as well as Party members to exert maximum efforts in enabling each and every citizens of the country to fully understand the contents of the draft constitution by continuously holding seminars and meetings for the people. He also urged the people on their part to prepare themselves fully in order to cast their votes.

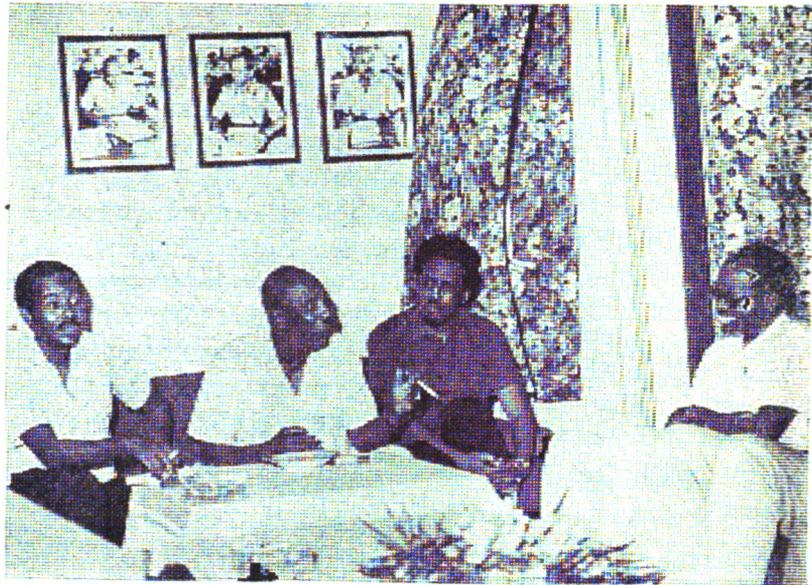
Fanon center's Mogadishu conference

The third international conference of the FRANTZ FANON research and development center opened in Mogadishu Somalia on June 18th, 79 and ended on 24th June 1979.

It was attended by leading Black intellectuals from the United States of America, the Caribbean and Panama on one hand and on the other, by Somali intellectuals.

The conference was declared «Open» on the eve of June 18th, 1979 by Dr MOHAMED ADEN SHEIKH the Chairman of the Ideology Bureau of the Central Committee of the SRSP, and was reciprocated by a speech from the leader of the delegates, Dr. LEWIS M. KING Director of the Fanon Research and Development Center and Professor of Psychiatry at Drew Post Graduate Medical School and University of CALIFORNIA at LOS-ANGELES, USA.

In his opening speech Jaalle Mohamed highlighted his remarks by an apt quotation from the late FRANTZ FANON: «People must know where they are going and why: The future remains a close book so long as the consciousness of the people remain imperfect elementary». Interpreting FANON's idea with the noble task of nation-building and political awakening, Somalia has embarked upon the choice of a socialist mode of development. The Chairman gave a leng-



thy description of how socialist Somalia is dialectically linking socio-economic change and political development. By citing some of the salient features of Somali's development, the chairman depicted Somalia's change from mass spontaneity to political consciousness from nomadism to communalism and ultimately toward socialism.

Commenting on the October 21, 1969 Revolution, the chairman emphasized the declared objectives of the revolution is that of constituting a society based on work, social justice and equality.

The theme of the conference; «HUMAN DEVELOPMENT MODELS IN ACTION» was extremely fitting for the Somali environment in which it took place. For Somalia today is undergoing a tremendous socio-political and economic transformation which is positively affecting every face of this nation's life.

The theoretical elaborations, the contents of the papers presented, and the empirical examples cited in the entire seminar evidenced the great significance and affinity between theory and practice or research application.

What crowned the conference with the success it achieved, however, were in fact the various field trips: to Kufunwarey, Qoryooley, Barawe, the Revolutionary Youth Centers and other Orientation Centers. The visit to these areas gave every participant the unique opportunity to observe and see with his own eyes how theories of migration, resettlement and cooperatives are being practically lived in Somalia.

Furthermore the dedication, the work ethic and selflessness shown by the people in these areas were a true source of inspiration for the entire group. The trips precipitated a social milieu filled with warm hu-

man touches, a feeling that will hopefully set a precedent in the bridges we are all building to link black people every where.

To cap it all, the conference reached its climax and felt greatly honoured when the president of SDR JAALE MOHAMED SIAD BARRRE, paid an unexpected visit to the conference. The president responding candidly and informatively discussed each participants questions adequately and exhaustively. The President wished the conference a week of productive work and success.

The conference was declared «Closed» on June 24, 1979 by JAALLE AHMED ASKIR BOTAN, Minister of Higher Education and Culture. The Minister in his conclusive speech praised

the exchange of invaluable ideas between the Somali and the visiting Scholars. While commenting on these excellent intellectuals' contributions, the Minister reminded all the delegates the tough work ahead and said «to implement such ideas requires concrete proposals or projects, reliable methods of communications, patience and optimism». He then promised the guest delegates that «We on our part will do everything in our power to facilitate the exchange of personnel and material between Somalia and black peoples everywhere».

Prior to their departure to Kenya and Egypt the entire delegation, and all Somalia participants were invited to a reception at Hotel Juba by Jaalle Ibrahim

Yuusuf Aburas, the Mayor of Mogadisho.

It was a night of sincere intimacy among all that were present. After the wellcoming speech by the Mayor, there was poetry recited and performance by the «Flowers of the Revolution». Late on gifts and souvenirs were given to the FANON Center and the Leaders of the delegation.

In a bid to acquaint Somali Scholars and students with the visiting scholars a panel entitled the «Responsibility of intellectuals towards social change and development» was held a few days later. It focused on the role of intellectuals, their commitment in the struggle for self-determination and the fight against racism and social injustice.

Non-aligned meeting in Colombo

The ministerial coordinating Bureau of the non-aligned movement ended in Colombo its 7day meeting on June Current international issues.

Here are the main political points of the final communique adopted.

1. Policy and role of the non-alignment movement in international affairs;

The bureau welcomed the dismantling of certain multilateral military alliances such as CENTO and SEATO, and warned against new arrangements and alliances which would serve the purpose as the military

alliances of the cold war era.

They reaffirmed that the essence of non-alignment involved the struggle against imperialism, colonialism, apartheid, racism, including zionism, exploitation, great power and bloc policies and all forms of foreign occupation, domination and hegemony.

while noting the progress made in the U.S.—U.S.S.R. negotiations on strategic arms limitation, the Bureau expressed great concern over the intensification of the arms race, particularly the nuclear arms race.

2. Peaceful settlement

of disputes among member states. The bureau noted with concern the danger of the weakening of the Resolutions of the movement by the growing escalation of bilateral disputes into armed conflicts.

It took note of the SRI-LANKAN proposal for the establishment of a commission for the settlement of border disputes within the non-aligned movement.

3. International Question—Africa: The bureau reaffirmed the definitive recommendations contained in the MAPUTO (MOZAMBIQUE) final communique to achieve the objectives of southern Africa.

It denounced the economic and military support given to south Africa by the U.S. France, Britain, Germany, Israel, Japan, Belgium and Italy, and it reaffirmed that not withstanding the Smith-Muzorewa regime Rhodesia remained a British colony and illegal and racist regime.

The bureau reaffirmed its solidarity to the patriotic front of Zimbabwe, to the South West African peoples organization (SWAPO) and to the Republic of COMORO «IN its struggle for the freedom of the Island of MAYOTTE illegally occupied by France».

It welcomed the establishment of an organization of African Unity (OAU) adhoc committee on Western Sahara and supported the rights to self-determination of the Saharan people.

Middle East: The bureau said the solution to the Palestinian question must be within the framework of the United Nations and on the basis of UN resolutions and non-aligned decisions.

CYPRUS: The bureau called for the immediate withdrawal of all foreign armed forces and every other foreign military presence and stressed the urgent need for the safe return of all refugees to their homes.

— Indian Ocean: The bureau called upon the U.S. and the USSR resume talks which must be based on the declaration of the Indian Ocean zone of peace

SOUTH EAST ASIA: The bureau noted with grave concern rising tension and conflicts in the Region and hoped that the countries of the region would try to solve them on the basis of the non-aligned principles. An consultation on the establishment of a zone of neutrality in the region.

LATIN AMERICA: The bureau supported Argentina claim on the Melvinas Islands, and confirmed the rights of the people of Puerto Rico and Belize to self-determination.

It asked for the speedy re-institution of democratic rights in Chile, condemned the «Somoza Tyranny» in Nicaragua and affirmed its solidarity with the government of Grenada.

HUMAN RIGHTS: The bureau reiterated the need for strict respect for human rights and affirmed that this matter should not be exploited as a political instrument of the great powers in the competition between social systems or for interference in the internal affairs of sovereign countries

SEVENTH SUMMIT: The bureau will recommend to the next summit in september an offer from Iraq to host the following summit, and an offer from India to host the conference of non-aligned foreign Ministers in 1981.

The non-aligned countries finished the full policy debate with Iran and Pakistan saying they were ready to join the 88 Member movement.

Representatives of the countries told a meeting of the

25 Nation coordinating bureau they severed links with the Central Treaty Organization (CENTO) earlier this year and were genuinely non-aligned.

They denied they were interfering in the internal affairs of other countries.

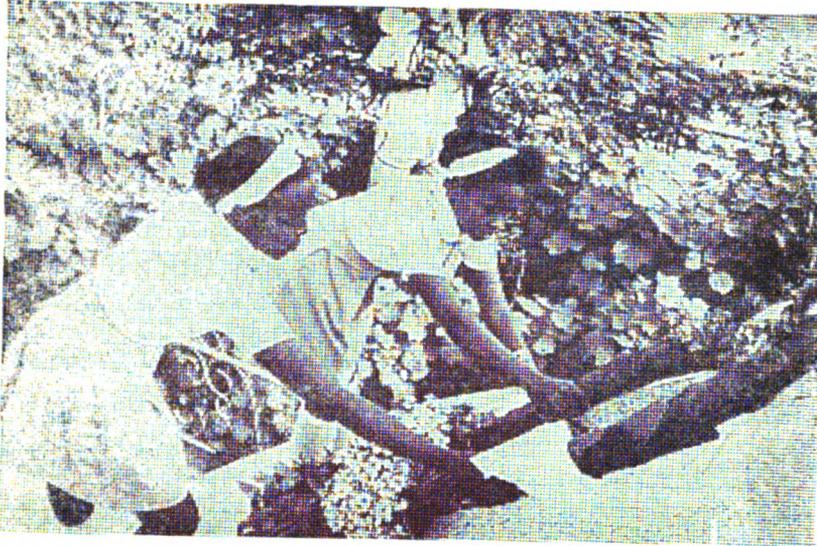
Deputy foreign minister of Iran, declared that Iran will support the UN charter and uphold the principles of the non-aligned movement.

Pakistan's delegate, said Pakistan was deeply committed to the Principles of non-alignment and it looked forward to act in concern with the other members to strengthen the movement and to build a new world order.

Most of the delegates welcomed these two countries membership and have also supported similar applications from Grenada, Suriname and Bolivia.

NICARAGUA following the fall of SOMOZA has applied for full membership in non-aligned movement, asking the coordinating Bureau of non-aligned countries to decide on this application during the sixth Summit of heads of state and governments to be held next september. Nicaraguan foreign Minister sent a letter to Bureau chairman and Sri Lankan foreign Minister A.C.S. Hameed, pointing out that the Nicaraguan National Reconstruction government has firm intention to follow foreign policy consistent with the principles of non-alignment.

Children's day marked



Party Secretary and President of Somalia Jaalle Mohamed Siyad Barre on 18th June attended a ceremony marking the eighth anniversary of Flowers of the Revolution (FOR).

The ceremony held at the National Theatre was also attended by Vice President KULMIE and C.C. Members and representatives of Social Organizations.

A play depicting the unforgettable role taken by the Revolution in safeguarding and promoting the conditions of children was presented by the flowers of October Revolution.

The actors, playwrights and also those who participated in the activities aimed at marking the children's day were complemented by the president in a speech he delivered on the occasion.

Jaalle Siad extended his greetings to the members of the flowers of the revolu-

tion and their parents wishing them many happy returns.

The President spoke about the objectives for which the (FOR) were established and achievements attained this end.

He pointed out that the for have contributed much to the promotion of the image and dignity of the country adding that the role they have played in the efforts towards National development is manifest for everyone to see.

On the international year of the Child, Jaalle Siad called upon Somalis to leave no stone unturned in promoting the conditions of children in compliance with the declaration made by the United Nations.

He called for the establishment of centers for maintaining child conditions in all districts of the country.

Meanwhile, on the same day the SDR Vice-President Jaalle Hussein Kulmie Afrah laid the foundation stone for a construction project to be set up for stimulating children's welfare at Yaqshid district in Mogadishu.

The construction project consists of centre for Flowers of the revolution, mother and child care hospital Home economic School. This is the first phase of a series of projects to be undertaken for the international year of the child.

The inauguration ceremony, which was held in commemoration of the 8th anniversary of the founding of the Flowers of October Revolution, was attended by SRSP, C.C. Members.

Similar projects were inaugurated on the 18th of June by the Ministers for Health and Education at Bondhere, Wardhigley, Waberi and Hamar Jab Jab districts.

Overall expenditure on these projects is estimated at 3 million Shillings including self-help and voluntary labour of the masses.

To crown the festive ceremonies and activities pervading on the occasion the flowers of October Revolutionary Youth Organization laid wreaths of Flowers at Hawo Tako, Seyid Mohamed and the Unknown Soldiers Monuments to mark the 8th anniversary since the foundation of the flowers of the October Revolution similar celebrations were held all over the country.

Information spokesman issues statement

A spokesman of the Ministry of Information and National Guidance gave a statement on 10th July 1979.

The contents of the statement depicted as follows:

«Baseless accusation, naked threats of aggression against the government and people of the SDR, have now become a familiar hallmark of almost every major speech or public statement made by the leader of Addis-Ababa regime.

While actively engaged in preparation for undertaking wide-scale armed aggression against Somalia, he wishes to create a convenient pretext for such action, he wishes to create a convenient pretext for such action by indulging in the repetition of utter falsehoods and sheer fabrications of direct Somali involvement in the Western and ABBO Liberation struggles.

These aggressive statements emanating from Addis-Ababa are a clear indication of the bankruptcy of the policies of the regime who in their short-sighted belief thought that the Eritrean, Western Somali, Abbo and Tigre and other questions could be quickly and brutally resolved through military means.

Following the escalation of armed struggle by WSLF, SALF, ELF, TPLF and other the temporary gains achieved

by the regime through active military support of foreign troops, are being gradually eroded.

Their military inability to totally crush the valiant liberation forces and kill their determination to free themselves from alien subjugation, has now led the Addis-Ababa regime to act in desperation by engaging in hostile and aggressive actions against Somalia and other neighbouring countries.

The statement continued, «Their aggressive designs on their neighbours seems to well into the scheme of super-power ambitions in the strategic Horn of Africa region and the adjacent areas. It can therefore be safely assumed that the Addis-Ababa regime is assured of the continued support and military backing of this super-power in their effort to create destabilization and insecurity through acts of constant provocation, escalation of hostilities and armed aggression.

In assuming this highly dangerous role, they expect that the super-power in question will be committed more thoroughly to the preservation of the regime in power, whose very survival totally dependent upon foreign military, economic and political support.

«Within this broad perspective, the current preparation for war and threats of

invasion against Somalia by Mengistu and his cohorts assumes grave implications for the maintenance of the already fragile peace in the area and for the security of the whole region and entire world.

Despite years of senseless killings, bloodshed and violence the Addis-Ababa regime has failed to appreciate the futility of wars of aggression and remains blind to the disastrous consequences of major escalation of hostilities in the area.

«Somalia seeks peace, understanding and harmonious relations with all nations, more particularly with its immediate neighbours. Those war-mongers in Addis-Ababa whose sole aim is to disturb peace and embroil the area in endless wars are served advance notice that, if they continue in their folly, they shall be dealt a devastating blow, which they shall never forget.

«If their aim is to intimidate Somalia and its people into abandoning the legitimate cause of peoples under alien Ethiopian domination, they are in for big disappointment for we shall remain motion of the just aspiration firm in our commitment to the charter principles of U.N. and OAU for the and freedom» concluded the spokesman. «We call on the peoples everywhere to realize their inalienable rights to self-determination statement.

The 16th OAU Summit

The 16th session of the assembly of heads of states and government of the organization of African Unity

(OAU) ended a 4day conference in Monrovia on 21st July after intensive discussions on the vital issues

facing the continent.

On the eve of the Summit conference the president of Somalia Jaalle Mohamed



Siad Barre left Mogadiscio at the head of a high level delegation to attend the meeting.

Briefing newsmen at the airport earlier, President siad expressed his hope that the summit would come up with decisions beneficial to the African people.

The opening ceremony in Monrovia was attended by 26 heads of state, three deputy president, five prime Ministers, and three Secretary Generals of International Organizations.

Countries represented by heads of state were: Somalia, Algeria, Angola, Benin, Burundi, Comoroun, Cape Verde, Comoros, Congo, Egypt, Gabon, Gambia, Guinea, Guinea Bissau, Upper Volta, Liberia, Mozambique, Nigeria, Uganda, Senegal Sao Tome, Sierra Leone, Sudan, Tanzania, Togo and Sychelles.

Kenya, Equatorial Guinea, and Ruwanda were represented at the summit by their deputy presidents, while Lesotho, Mauritani, Swaziland, Zaire and Zambia were represented by their Prime Ministers.

Secretary Generals of International Organizations

were; Kurt Waldheim (U.N.), Amadaus Mahtar Mbow (UMESCO) and Chadli Klibbi (ARAB LEAGUE). The European Economic Community was represented by CLAUDE CHEYSSON, Zimbabwe-Rhodesia Patriotic Front co-leaders Mugabe and Nkomo and SWAPO President were also present.

The 4day conference debated 10 point agenda finalized by the OAU foreign Ministers earlier for the heads of state and government summit.

THE AGENDA INCLUDED:

- The nomination of the summits bureau
- OAU Secretary Generals report on the period from July 1978 to July 1979.
- Adoption of recommendations of the 32nd and 33rd Ministers council's ordinary sessions.
- Ad Hoc commission report on the Western Sahara.
- Report on the setting up of Pan-African News Agency and decision on its headquarters. and also issues confronting the continent that include:
 - Political situation in Chad
 - The Middle East
 - OAU Defence force
 - economic and political strategy for Africa.

— Liberation of territories under the colonial rule.

The 16th OAU summit conference held in Monrovia, Liberia at the end of a 4day deliberation at times heated debate passed the following resolutions:

1. Eradication of colonialism and apartheid in South Africa.
2. Support for Frontline states
3. The setting up of Pan-African NEWS AGENCY for OAU Member states to be housed in Dakar.
4. The Western Sahara question was treated in accordance with a joint report submitted by the Ad Hoc. Committee. A cease fire was resolved to be followed by general referendum.

5. The strengthening of Afro-Arab economic cooperation.

6. The OAU's recognition of the patriotic front as the sole legitimate representative of Zimbabwe Rhodesia: of Africa heads of state that include NUMEIRI OF SUDAN, OBASANJO OF NIGERIA and ALBERT RENE OF SEYCHELLES STRONGLY CRITICIZED TANZANIA's armed invasion of Uganda.

Addressing the closing session William R. Tolbert President of Liberia and current chairman of the OAU declare, «We look forward and march onward for the Laurels of freedom and productivity, cooperation and unity. He emphasized the intensification of the support to the liberation movements and the front line states, «We are again called upon to honour those material and moral obligations which are vitally in

southern Africa to achieve their complete liberation from the oppressors and transgressor». Tolbert attached importance to the unity of the continent by saying «We cannot permit our quest for freedom to be impeded by fraternal hostilities». He appealed we should never permit internal incidents or external interferences to occasion infractions of the peace, and thus direct our attention and divert our actions from the noble course of total emancipations.

The liberian president pointed out that Africa inherits an enormous spectrum of challenges; there are racism and colonialism in all their abhorrent forms and the gravity of the economic plight of Africa. He urged integrity of economy and self-reliance in Africa, adding the assembly has taken the decision to convene an extraordinary assembly of heads of state and government in Lagos, Nigeria, within the ne-



xt few months on the subject of African economic development. «The peoples of developing countries of Africa, Asia and Latin America, their leaders should be represented rather than excluded from the frequent, closed doors discussion of world economic issues which so acutely affect their vital interests. By the people of Western Sahara, through a free referendum as well as reviewing of the OAU Charter.

The assembly announced that the 17th session of the

Heads of state and government of the OAU will be held in Freetown, Sierra Leone, in 1980.

It was worthy that during the 4day meeting of the summit, leaders of OAU member states dealt with many crucial and complex problems facing Africa, stressing the unity and solidarity of Africa, supporting the struggle of the people in Southern Africa and Palestine, establishing an African defence force, strengthening Afro Arab economic cooperation.

Press Conference on refugees

«The number of refugees cared for in 20 settlements dispersed in five regions of the SDR total 228.859 Persons comprising of women, children and men», this was disclosed at a press conference on 4th July by the coordinator for refugees Affairs Jaalle SAEED M. Gees.

The refugees displaced by the constant savagery and horrrassment subjected to them by the Abyssinian Regimes continuously cross the de-facto border and reach these settlements devoid of any property, which was either looted or destroyed by the Abyssinians.

said the coordinator.

Jaalle Gees, siad that the SDR having signed the refugees Declaration of 1951 and protocol of 67, accordingly, helped the refugees settle in camps and provided them with the necessary social amenities i.e. food, shelter, clohtes, medicine, education etc. by making use of the experience gained from the drought which affected the country in 1974-75 and with the assistance of friendly countries, European Economic Community, USAID and UN-HCR.

He pointed out that the

number of refugees, reaching the camps daily, and who require immediate assistance total about 500 persons.

The coordinator for refugee Affairs declared that the humanitarian assistance provided to the refugees by the Somali government and people is not sufficient to cater for the needs of the refugees and appealed to the international community to extend assistance to the refugees and help the Somali people and government solve this problems created by the Abyssinian colonialism.

CULTURE AND ART



The role of the Artist in a socialist society



The ideological consciousness of a society is always determined and conditioned by the economic relations that exist amongst its members. The group that possessed the means of production, that is, the land and its resources and the instruments of labour needed to work on it was able to impose its will upon the mass of the people and thereby appropriate the material wealth of the society necessary for sustaining human life. Because of this factor the dominant class has an absolute political, as well as economic power concentrated in its own hands. They were in a position to set forth and formulate the course of thought and opinion in their favour, in order to maintain and defend their class interest. The founders of Scientific Socialism, Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, have stated that the sum total of

human history prior to the advent of Socialism was nothing else than the case of a given social class dominating another. Bourgeois theoreticians, on the contrary, denied this fundamental point and viewed human history as merely the doings of kings, nobles, churchmen etc. In their reasoning the popular masses, the majority of mankind, played no significant role in history, save that of spectators and on-lookers. This is an obvious distortion of the historical process of mankind, for, in reality, the people are the true makers of history, as well as the principal bearers of human culture and civilisation.

As a given social formation grew sterile and obsolete, it became an abstacle to the further progress of man. It therefore had to disintegrate and give way to a new and

more vigorous social system. The whole pattern of social ideology, of which art is one aspect, forms a superstructure built upon the economic basis, upon the strength of social production.

The social consciousness of the man of the primordial community for instance, did not go beyond simple forms, such as thinking of how to survive, how to win his daily food from Nature. He knew no art, no science, for he was then at the stage where man and the lower animals branched off from each other, following their diverse evolutionary processes. Primitive man, perhaps, wore a crude necklace made of the fangs or claws of the wild animals he killed for food, just to show off his manliness and courage in hunting. His wife, too, felt perhaps some feminine pride and dignity in her apparel of leopard skins or ostrich plumes. That was incidentally the beginning of man's aesthetic appreciation.

On the contrary, the capitalist class, who appropriate social wealth, devised power which to defend and maintain their dominant position. Their laws, philosophy and administrative institutions were all so framed as to safeguard the person and property of the ruling class. The benefit of the arts and sciences was reserved for the enjoyment of the capitalist class who not only exploited wor-

king people physically, but also sought to corrupt and dilute their thoughts and conscience in order to keep them in perpetual subjugation. The men of the arts, the poets, musicians, painters, singers and dancers, all with few exceptions found themselves loudly proclaiming the supposed virtues of the capitalist class. In their distorted works of art reactionary theoreticians depicted capitalism, as it is still being done even in our own age, as thought it was the most perfect, just human society on earth. The inhuman exploitation of man by man, the predatory global wars unleashed by monopoly capital, so as to swallow more and more foreign lands, the false values and ideals, the profit mania which blinded the conscience of men to all these evils and many more were glossed over and did not find expression in the commercialized artistic works produced by the apologists of capitalism. These artists were rewarded for their cheap flattery with mere crumbs thrown to them by the rich. That was the price for which the reactionary artist of the age sold his soul, the capitalist became an omnipotent deity for him.

The purposeful distortion of artistic truth by the bourgeoisie was an affront to the conscience of mankind, as well as a serious hinderance to the natural progress of the art of the world. For, as Aristotle noted nearly twenty three centuries ago, the nature of art is in the recognition of truth and the special way by which art discovers the truth is in the illustration of realistic human characters and actions.

It has been indicated ear-

lier that the possession of the means of social production was always the principal factor upon which the supremacy of a particular class over another was based. On that economic basis the ideologies of a given society, its laws, philosophy, jurisprudence, politics and so on were built as a superstructure. Therefore, the development of the arts and science of a given society was always commensurate to the strength of its economic potential or material wealth. The common ownership or socialization of that wealth and its fair and just distribution amongst all those citizens producing it at last puts an end to the age-old class antagonism and social contradictions which hitherto prevented the harmonious development of human society. With the advent of socialism genuine social equality amongst its citizens is finally achieved. A just distribution of social wealth could be assured by means of measuring how large or small is the contribution made by the individual citizens towards the creation of that common social wealth. From here developed the well known socialist principle which declared «give every citi-

zen according to his capacity». Practically all the violent social conflicts and contradictions, which ultimately destroyed all the non-socialist formations occurred, because class interests excluded the strict observance of this fundamental principle. If a man puts one spoonful of rice into the common bowl of social wealth he must not be allowed to take two spoonful out of it.

Socialism however does not only aim to create abundant material wealth for its citizens, but also seeks to promote their highest spiritual development. Men do not live on bread and butter alone. Under capitalism, as as we have indicated earlier, the benefits of the arts and sciences were always reserved for the ruling class, the popular masses being kept in perpetual darkness. Socialism corrects such wrongs and dictates that, since everything of value, be it material or spiritual, is created by means of the labour of man, he should then reap the fruits of his own toil. This is a fundamental principle of Scientific Socialism.

In a class society differen-



ces in peoples' social activity and in the level of their political and cultural development give birth to a system of individual types with diverse views and opinions on life in general. The reactionary artist seeks refuge in narrow individualism to escape from the contradictions of the society of which he is a member and from reality. The representatives of the decadent or reactionary theory of art for a long time openly proclaimed the independence of art from society, asserting that artistic creativity is the preserve of a select few «What business have I with the people?» asks the retrogressive artist; «I want to sing my song alone and loudly for myself. The artist should be alone, freedom, you see, means loneliness. «Every man should be a responsible citizen and do his duty towards his fellow citizen, society tells me. But I do not want to do this, I do not wish to subject myself to social obligations: I am an individual. Individualism is freedom» he reasons.

On the contrary, the moulding of the individual in a socialist society should take place as an all-round growth and maturing of the citizen's thoughts, feelings, aim and of men under socialism should be based upon the confirmation and strengthening of the socialist principles of equality, collectivism, internationalism, brotherhood of peoples, freedom and full responsibility of the individual before his fellow citizens. Here the qualitatively new and higher level of labour organization and ideological consciousness brings the toiling masses to an active participation in the reconstruction of social life. The role

of the individual in society thus assumes a socialist direction and is raised to a higher level of ideological consciousness. In a socialist community, where the benefits of the arts and sciences now belong to the working people who create them, the artist has no right to escape from the hard facts of life, from social obligation, as the apologists of decadentism sought to do. The significance of his role, therefore, is in his active participation in social work, in his profound faith and interest in the confirmation of socialist principles.

Any form of art that is divorced from the reality of human life cannot satisfy the spiritual quest of man. It is necessary, therefore, that art should reflect the eternal aspirations of man to reach new heights of cultural and scientific progress. When the artist has this desire within him, he believes in the great power of truth, then the pictures he paints and the books he writes about the life of his society will all be understandable to the common people, to his readers. In his artistic creations the progressive artist objectively illustrates the existing social relationships and mercilessly criticizes its shortcomings, the inequality, oppression and exploitation of man by man, which lowered his natural dignity. The artist is born in a society in which he is brought up and educated. As a citizen he shares in the cultural heritage of his society and therefore, has his spiritual roots deep in the cultural life of his people, in his country of birth. Whatever artistic talent the individual may have is the product of

of that native cultural background, which nurtured and formed the artist. Without that inexhaustible spiritual source of inspiration, there would have been no Shakespeare, no Dante Alighieri, no Ahmed Shawqi, no Rage Ugas and Mohamed Abdille Hassan the history of world literature. It is, therefore, illogical and a pure fantasy for the artist to identify himself and his artistic creations as an entity independent from the life of his people and their fortunes. The progressive artist, therefore, fights with his art against social evils and defends the interests of the toiling people. His art then becomes a powerful weapon for the reconstruction of society as a whole, an effective means of ideological instruction for the people. Should the artist fail to play such an honourable role in society, then his would be a voice in the wilderness, and the world today has little use for such an «artist».

It may be fitting to close this chapter on the role of the artist in a socialist society by quoting from an OAU publication, the Pan-african Cultural Manifesto (OAU General Secretariat, Press and Information Division, 1968, pp. 2 - 3 and 4):

«Colonialism is an evil that has been experienced and endured by all our people, first in its most distinctive form, the slave trade, which devastated almost all the African continent, and in its most tangible and insolent form, political domination, over which we must strive to triumph. In order to survive it has to justify itself morally and intellectually by force and coercion to extend its hold over

all fields of human activity. In order to exist as such, it must exercise in addition to its concrete and material hegemony, a social and intellectual hold, particularly over the ruling classes on which it relies». The Panafrican Cultural Manifesto goes on: «Culture starts with the people as creators of themselves and transformers of their environment. Culture, in its widest and most complete sense, enables men to give shape to their lives. We must

go back to the source of our values, not to confine ourselves to them, but rather to draw up a critical inventory in order to get rid of archaic and stultifying elements, the fallacious and alienating foreign elements brought in by colonialism, and to retain only those elements which are still valid, bringing them up to date and enriching them with the benefits of the scientific, technical and social revolutions so as to bring them into line with

what is modern and universal. The African man of culture, the artist, the intellectual in general must integrate himself into his people and shoulder the particularly decisive upon him. His action must inspire that radical transformation of the mind without which it is impossible for a people to overcome its economic and social underdevelopment. The people must be the first to benefit from their economic and cultural riches».

Continued from Page 14

must be bridged to create reds who are also experts and experts who are at the same time red. It is important to have Ministry of Health officials and cadres who understand, appreciate and also participate in the task of better facilitating the role of political and social organisations in promoting overall development and health development in particular.

A political cadre who simply talks about «mass mobilization» often falls into the pitfalls of opportunism, demagoguery and «afminsharism» (rumour mongering). He or she often fears for the loss of his job and this narrow concern may make him lose sight of the general good. His lack of technical or organisational ability quite often makes the masses turned off by his endless speeches and slogans. On the other hand, a «technician» who shuns the need to mobilize, educate and organise the people for their own self-improvement falls into the pitfall of «bureaucratism»: he or she becomes a narrow «techno-

crat» and cannot inspire the people to accept and implement whatever he is supposed to teach them. That is why we stress the need to develop personnel who are both politically aware and professionally competent. At the very least, professionally competent people, the experts, must realise, appreciate and facilitate the role and function of political and social organs in order to promote development. They must do their best to improve the functioning of all committees or units in which they jointly serve with the political cadres.

Let me add a few remarks with regards to the current stage of our political evolution: the stage of adopting a national constitution with a provision for a National Assembly. This organ and related bodies at the local levels could play a vital role in adopting health policies and in overseeing their administration and implementation. The National Assembly and related organs will most likely, look into health affairs budgets, foreign aid and

relations with regard to health matters public complaints about health and social matters etc. This new organ will complement the others mentioned above.

Thankyou very much for listening to these exploratory reflections.

1. Dr. A. S. Abbas, Health Implications of the Rural Development Campaign in Somalia, paper presented to the third Frantz Fanon Center International Conference, Mogadishu June 18th - 24th.

2. Ibid, P 3.

3. See, also in this connection, the paper by Mr. Omar Osman, «The Impact and Contribution of Literacy towards Rural Development in Somalia», paper presented to the Third Frantz Fanon Center International Conference.

4. Dr. A. S. Abbas, of. Cit; P.4

5. Ibid, P.5

6. Ibid, P.5

THEORETICAL ISSUES



Commercial capital and its role in under-development

In Geoffrey Kay's book, «Development and underdevelopment: A Marxist analysis», a whole chapter is devoted to a detailed study of the role that merchant capital (it could as well be called commercial or trading capital) plays in the process of development and underdevelopment. Obviously he associates commercial capital with underdevelopment and he is right since commercial capital holds normally in underdeveloped countries, and by and large contributes to the continuation of underdevelopment.

To recapitulate briefly on the history of commercial capital it only stands to reason to mention that it preceded all industrial capital, and appearing as it did well before the inception of capitalism as a system. Commercial capital, along with as Marx states is one of the most antiquated form of capital. The form of movement of commercial capital is M-C-M (M being money, and C standing for commodities while the last stands for money greater than the former m, in quantitative terms. The movement is a process of purchase for the sake of sale at a profit and accordingly M' ought to be bigger than M or the primary advanced capital.

Commercial capital in the developed countries now plays second fiddle to industrial productive capital, which since the advent of the capitalist system has occupied the pri-

mary role in the process of social reproduction. However in underdeveloped countries, particularly in a number of African countries commercial capital still has it conceded first place to industrial capital, and as such plays a fundamentally important role, which goes a long way to existence of a sizeable comprador bourgeois class, essentially parasitic in nature. A comprehensive analysis of commercial capital, its tendencies and dynamics of development, its relationship to industrial capital, both of internal, and the external expatriate capital will shed light on the difficult process of finding a way out of the oppressive underdevelopment to which our countries seem to be endlessly condemned.

Commercial or merchant's capital was introduced into the third world by the former colonising powers from Europe several centuries back. Thus today's alliance between expatriate and local commercial capital have long history of infamy to their credit. Initially expatriate commercial capital cornered the market in the colonised countries. Underdeveloped countries modern economy is traceable to the first advances of European merchant capital, which on the one hand built the world market, and thus constituted the modern history of capital. But on the other hand the intrusion of commercial capital and its creation of empire in

the East was successfully consolidated on the basis of pillage destruction of life, oppression and exploitation of peoples. In point of fact the roots of development and underdevelopment, and the grotesque and unjust division of labour today existing, were firmly laid down.

When we associate commercial capital with underdevelopment we proceed from our experiences of today but at the sametime we are armed with the theoretical substantiation of its inherent characteristics. Commercial capital does not normally revolutionise production but is designed to control markets, thereby centralising and concentrating capital into fewer and fewer hands. Commercial capital, like other forms of capital, and more so is weakened by competition vis-a-vis producers and consumers, and thereby monopoly gives it an advantage which otherwise it would not enjoy. In both the national and international areas commercial capital struggles against competition and seeks for monopolistic privileges.

To elaborate on the intrinsic nature of commercial capital it is relevant to point out that commercial capital is usually met, and its role is underlined in the process of circulation. In the general formula of capital: $M-C$ Labour Power process of production = New Commodity (C') = Means of production. M' (New

money), Commercial capital operates in between C' - M'. This is the process of realisation of surplus value, i.e. the process whereby the newly created commodities have to be sold in order to get the new money to restart the reproductive process. Of course the industrial capitalist can, if he deems fit, undertake the realisation of the new surplus value and profit embodied in the new products. But since this involves transportation and storage expenses, etc, he leaves to the commercial capitalist. But then since commercial capital is far from being the creator of surplus value, the role it plays in the direct imposition of the law of value, unlike industrial capital is pretty limited.

The attribute above illustrated defines further the mode of transition of commercial capital into industrial capital. In this transition commercial capital has both aspects of the universalistic attributes as well as its law of specificities. In Western Europe commercial capital on the basis of a long span of time, and due to the objectively determined and conscious development of the economic base commercial capital was ultimately transformed and reduced to a secondary role. In developed capitalistic economies, therefore, commercial capital is an aspect of industrial capital. Notwithstanding this commercial capital in the underdeveloped world, and corollarywise the class it gives rise to:

A. Is a foreign transplant since its roots are not the country but imposed from outside, that is in historical perspective. Even now that we are supposedly independent the compradore bourgeoisie

who happens to be the major commercial class is by thousands of threads linked to expatriate capital, and subsists on the handouts which on and off is thrown to it. This compradore bourgeoisie, unlike the national bourgeoisie which subsists on the industrial capital locally available, is singularly incapable of taking an independent stand. Lack of independence objectively reflects lack of independence of local commercial capital from the international market.

B. In the underdeveloped world commercial capital exists as the sole, or as the sole capital whereas in the developed world it exists as an aspect of industrial capital, as already noted in our analysis. Accordingly commercial capital, a form of capital dominating in pre-capitalist modes of production is allowed to give a new lease of life to the extend precapitalist modes, which in development terms ought to be as rapidly cast over board as conditions would allow commercial capital which in the West is forced to behave in a sophisticated and civilised manner can in the underdeveloped world retain its well known ugly faces. Inasmuch as commercial capital has accepted a secondary role in the developed world, it can not in the intra-relationship between the developed and underdeveloped world aspire to more than a very dependent position.

One of the ways in which commercial capital contributes to the aggravation of underdevelopment is its act as an agent of industrial expatriate capital. Historically I - commercial capital's historical role in I establishment of I modern economy.

Vast accumulation of wealth

in I form of capital (it drew I world together by increasing productive powers, while at I sametime splitting it through grotesque of division of labour leading to oppression and exploitation).

Merchant's role is not revolutionary production but control markets - centralising and concentrating capital - competition weakens merchants vis-a-vis I producers and consumers thus monopoly vs its advantage - locally internationally - no laissez faire but monopolistic privileges.

i) Operation in I process of circulation and could not impose I law of value directly

2. Transition to industrial capitalism-generalities and specificities of monopoly capital.

i. Foreign transplant.

ii. In 3rd World as sole capital but in others as aspect of industrial Capital. Monopoly Capital left independently but reduced to a role of agent.

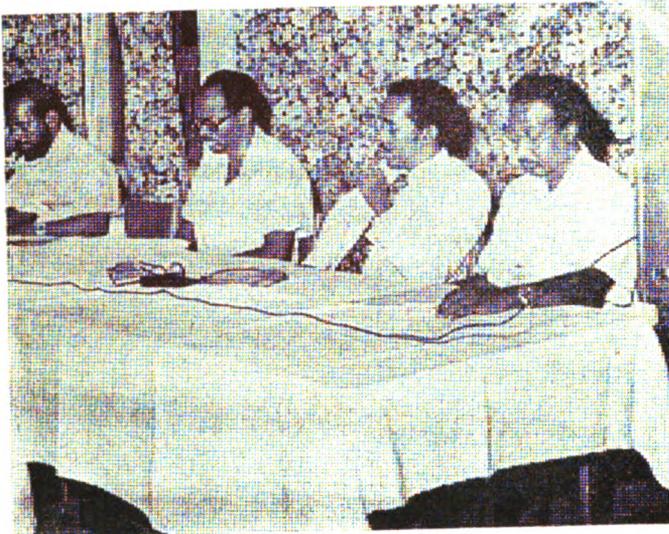
K. Marx - quote P. 100 depression of I soc advance of production since it is agent of expatriate capital - compradore role capital concerned with quantitative aspects of commoditative but industrial capital has to concern itself with I qualitative aspect as it is I mainspring of material production i.e. as use values. P. 101 - more civilised. Rate of profit not to fall takes the form of commercial capital i) Indispensable source of recess means of production ii) rate of profit, iii) vast potential market.

Dependence relationship - does not grasp I problem underdevelopment - cost law of value is turned away.

BOOKS AND DOCUMENTS



OPENING ADDRESS TO THE FANON RESEARCH CENTER BY MOHAMED ADEN SHEIKH THE CHAIRMAN OF THE IDEOLOGY BUREAU OF C.C. OF THE SRSP



Dear Comrades, Dear Participants, Guests & Friends,

It is my duty and pleasure to welcome you to Somalia. Most of you have come from very far and we feel honoured that you have overcome all obstacles in order to travel all the way to Mogadishu to hold this Conference. Permit me to convey to you the greetings of our Party, Government and people and, in particular the special greetings of our President, Jaalle Mohamed Siyad Barre.

The Conference has generated a great deal of interest and enthusiasm among our people and we believe you will see evidence of this during your brief stay with us.

Let me pay special tribute to the Frantz Fanon Research And Development Center and other interested parties who have contributed, in one way or another, to the sponsorship

and organization of this Conference and to the Director of the Center, Dr. Lewis King and his staff for the efforts they have undertaken to convene such a unique gathering.

The name of Frantz Fanon is cherished because he symbolizes an intellectual who linked his own struggle for self-liberation with the struggle for a people's liberation, the struggle for the liberation of Africa and the rest of the world from the shackles of colonialism and neo-colonialism. Fanon lived and died as an activist intellectual who dedicated himself to promoting social change and human development.

We are highly flattered by our interest to observe and study the efforts we have undertaken during the past ten years to promote social change in our society.

Development in human so-

ciety is a many-sided process. In these brief reflections, I do not wish to enter into a theoretical or philosophical discourse on the broad subject of human development. All I wish to do is to highlight certain aspects of the Somali experience in promoting Social change and development.

Our experience, and indeed that of others, has confirmed a number of the observations made by the late Dr. Frantz Fanon as early as 1960. It has taught us that, for example the achievement of any of those aspects of personal or individual development is very much tied in with the State of the society as a whole. Everywhere you visit in our country you will find some evidence of the stress placed on the dialectical connection between the development of the individual and that of the community. Our experience has also taught us that there is an indisputable link between socio-economic change and political development. We have also learned, as Fanon emphasised, that mass spontaneity is not enough in order to promote human development, a people must plan, organise and channel their efforts and at the same time constantly raise their political consciousness.

During the turn of the century, imperialism brutally divided and colonized our people, it also encouraged and assisted the feudal Abyssinian

kingdom to expand and colonize a part of our people as well as other peoples of the Horn of Africa in order to create the Ethiopian Empire. For decades now, the history of our people like that of millions of other peoples all over the world, has been a history of struggle for liberation and unification. This struggle has taught us to up-hold and cherish the principle of self-determination which provides a sound basis for reconciliation, peace and development, especially in our region. In our struggles for liberation we learned to create national political parties.

These parties channelled the spontaneous efforts of our people towards one goal/independence. The part of Somalia colonized by the British in the North and the part colonized by the Italians in the South both attained independence and unification on July 1st 1960.

In the *Wretched of the Earth*, Fanon gives a brilliant analysis of the strengths and weaknesses of the African nationalist movement. Though we had, like in other parts of colonized Africa, learned to form political parties bent on gaining freedom, our parties had not yet developed ideologically and organizationally to be able to cope up with the situation of neo-colonialism which followed formal independence.

Somalia experienced the worst aspects of neo-colonialism during the years 1960-1969. Neo-colonialism implies the continuation of the political economy of colonialism, that is, the situation of non-industrial exploitation, the perpetuation of under-development. It implies urbanisation without creating the



means to cope with the problems of unemployment and their social consequences.

For us the years 1960-1969 represented the neo-colonial era, during which the economy flundered and therefore, the politics reflected confusion and tribalism or rather clannism, social relations were corrupted and our cultural heritage was allowed to disintegrate. This is evidenced by the fact that our national language remained unwritten, neglected and condemned to gradual extinction. Over 80 political Parties competed for 120 seats in the corrupt elections of those days-those so called parties represented nothing but petty selfish interests.

The Revolution of October 21st, 1969 was motivated by the need to struggle against neo-colonialism. This struggle for social change and development reflects a many-sided process. The First Charter of the Revolution, dated October 21, 1969, declared as its objective that of constituting a society based on work, social justice and equality. As Jaalle Siyad, the Secretary General of our Party Democratic Republic said, «We have chosen Scientific Socialism, because it is the only way for the rapid transformation of

the country into a developed and economically advanced nation».

Our revolutionary Government began to adopt policies designed to ensure that planned economic growth makes a full and wise use of human resources, respects human values and maximises human satisfaction. Measures have been taken to create and expand free health services to our people. Significant steps have been taken to promote women equality, in education, employment and matters pertaining to marriage and family life.

The Crash Agricultural Programmes, the Rural Development campaign involving mass literacy and health campaigns and the Settlement Programme of drought-stricken nomads in agricultural and fishing communities are vivid examples of our firm policy to enhance manpower development, and promote the material and social welfare of our people. The writing of our language since October 21st, 1972, gave us the necessary weapon to wage war against illiteracy and ignorance, it also provided us with a basis to promote grass-roots political participation of our people in the decision making process. The writing of our language is an invincible

tool against cultural alienation so vividly described in the books of Fanon.

You will have, I hope the opportunity to witness these programmes during your brief stay with us. You will also be reading and analysing papers on these topics by Somali presenters. What I wish to emphasise to you is the fact that these crash programmes, literacy campaigns and resettlement communities would not have been achieved without the ideological and organisational changes promoted by the Revolution under the leadership of Jaalle Siyad.

Indeed, as soon as the birth of our 1969 Revolution; a Public Relations Office was created and given the task of systematically organising our people and raising their political consciousness. By 1972, the PRO was transformed into the Political Office of the Supreme Revolutionary Council. The Political Office established a network of Orientation Centers in residential areas all over the country. It also carried out its tasks of political organisation and education at work-places in administrative offices, educational institutions, factories, farms and co-operatives. It published books, pamphlets and magazines in the Somali language. In 1975, it opened a Political Institute at Halane for the national training of cadres. The Political Office came to possess an embryonic political party structure.

This structure played a crucial role in organising and promoting the agricultural Crash Programmes, the Sand-Dune Project, the Rural Development Campaign, the Nomadic settlement Programme as well as the numerous self-help and self-reliance oriented projects. In this way, hundreds

of schools, hospitals, roads, offices, irrigation canals etc. have been constructed through the organised, voluntary labour of our people.

Thus a revolutionary political institution was created in order that, in the words of Frantz Fanon, «the people must know where they are going, and why, the future remains a closed book so long as the consciousness of the people remain imperfect elementary, cloudy».

Mass participation in such development projects resulted in a dialectical interaction between socio-economic activities on the one hand; and the development of political consciousness and organizational effectiveness on the other hand.

Legislation was enacted to provide for worker's participation in the management process. Within Orientation Centers, committees for Youth, Women and Workers were established in order to involve them in day-to-day issues affecting the lives of the people. The writing of our national language and its adoption as the official medium of communication profoundly enhanced this aspect of political development, namely the process of mass participation in

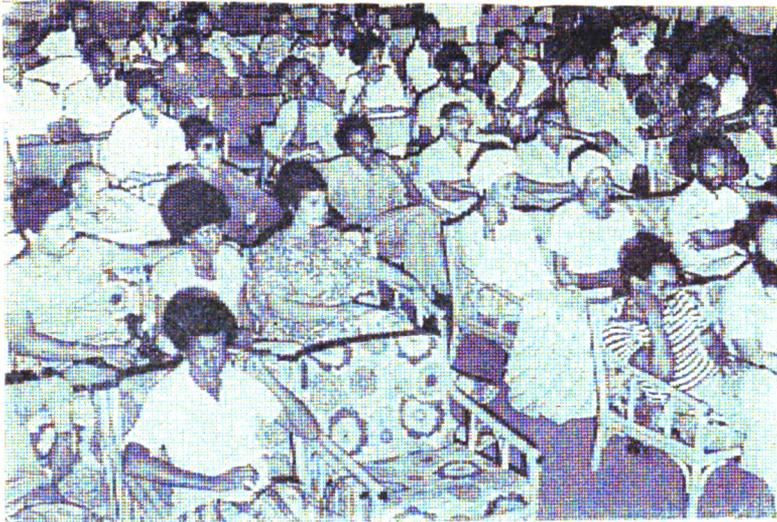
the decision-making process.

By July 1st 1976, this dialectical process of interactions resulted on the formation of the Somali Revolutionary Socialist Party (SRSP). At this point let me once again recall the words of Frantz Fanon: «A country that really wishes to answer the questions that history puts to it, that wants to develop not only its towns but also the brains of its inhabitants, such a country must possess a trust worthy political party».

Our Party is further linked to our people through the mass organisation for the youth, for the Women and for the Workers. These political and social institutions permit us not only to wage unprecedented campaigns, they also permit us to sustain such efforts in a planned and systematic way over a period of time. For example, they are all involved in the follow-up programme to the mass literacy campaign, they were involved in the successful campaign that eradicated small-pox from our country, in the campaign to promote food self-sufficiency, better hygiene and other aspects of preventive medicine.

The Somali Co-operative Movement is also involved in the effort to promote develop-





ment by raising production and consciousness simultaneously.

Nevertheless, let us face it: what we are dealing with, is a historical process. The consciousness of our people is not a tabula rasa, we have inherited various defects and shortcomings from our colonial past our rural traditions and so forth. The individualism and alienation of colonialism analysed by Fanon continues to permeate certain sectors of our society. Social change and human development is, in the final analysis, an evolutionary process.

Obviously, the objective factors, our natural resources and level of technology for example, are not conducive to rapid social transformation. We are also obliged to constantly engage in a dual task of building new institutions while combatting inherited neo-colonial attitudes and mentalities. In promoting our national language, for instance, our efforts are absorbed in several directions at the same time,

a) In spreading literacy among the people;

b) In developing the vocabulary of the language itself while simultaneously establishing for the first time, institutions of higher education;

c) Combatting the neo-colonial attitudes and habits. Periodically, we have also to combat the effects of serious unexpected droughts like the one that afflicted our people in 1974 causing us to divert from the objectives of the 1974-78 Plan. These are serious obstacles, they sometimes result in frustrations and tensions.

Our historic experience has taught us to cherish self-determination and independence as the basis for promoting social change and human development. It is also the basis for promoting national reconciliation and international co-operation. As a consequence we strongly support the struggle of others for their basic human rights, including the right to self-determination. That is why we supported and pledge to redouble our efforts to support the legitimate struggle of the national liberation movements waging a bitter war against racist oppression and colonialism, in South Africa, Zimbabwe, Namibia, Eritrea and Western Somalia. We also condemn obnoxious Zionist practices against the Palestinians, and the other Arab people in the occupied territories. As a result of our principled stand on supporting national liberation movements

we often find ourselves endangered by foreign interventions.

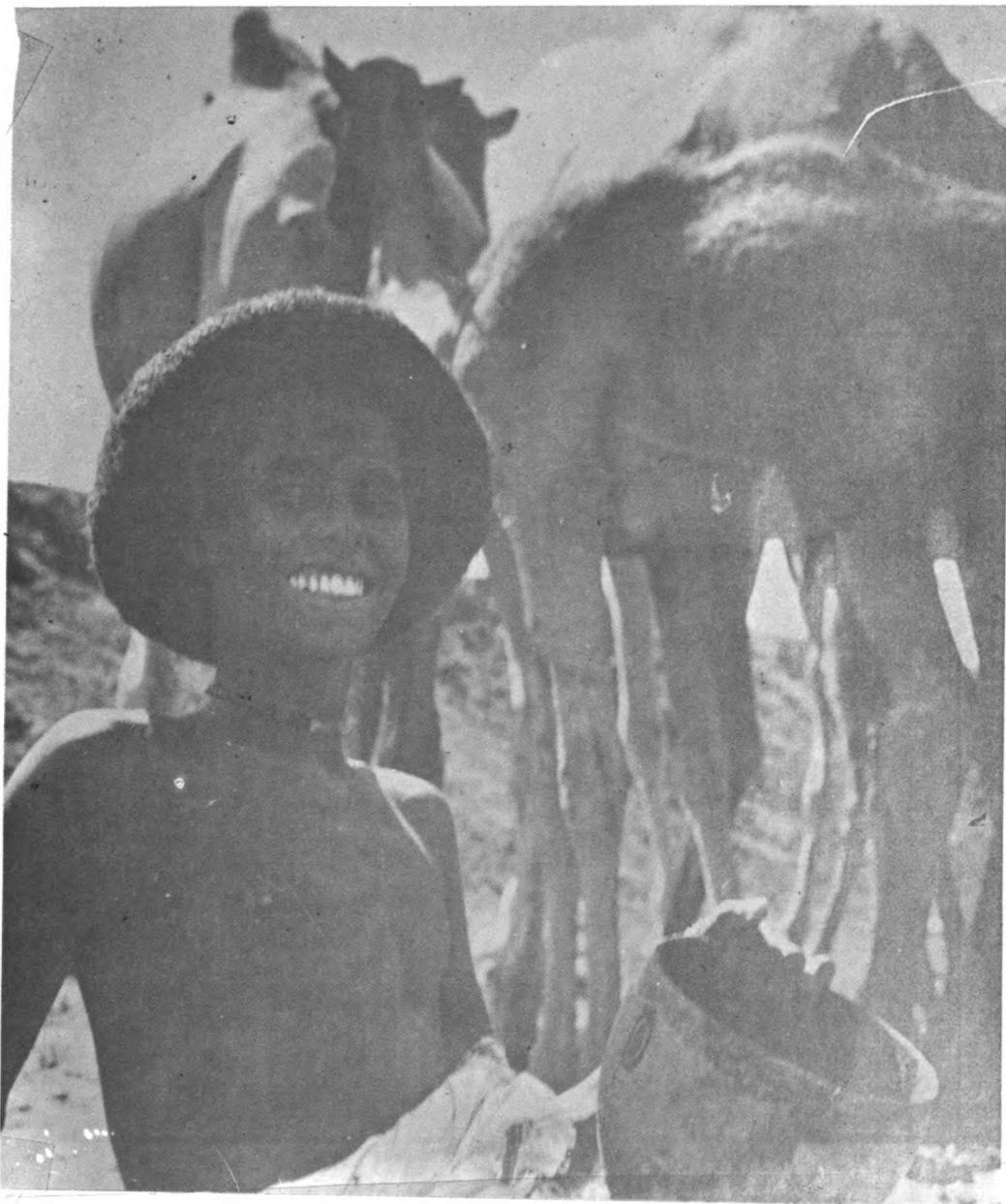
We also pledge to redouble our efforts to sustain and enhance peaceful social change and the process of increased mass participation I have described above. This is the Tenth Year of our Revolution. It is time for serious reflections, a time for taking stock of our cumulative experience during these hectic and challenging years. It is also time for further innovative actions aimed at promoting our political development. This is the year in which our people will discuss and hold a referendum in order to adopt a Constitution. The proposed Constitution guarantees and ensures a more institutionalised framework for promoting these social changes in our country. The Constitution provides for an elected National Assembly advancing the democratic participation of our people in state affairs at the highest level.

You will hear about these and other issues during your stay here. You will have time to exchange views and perspectives on these and several other important issues reflected in your conference Agenda.

Objective conditions do not permit us to offer you the best Conference facilities for holding such a demanding International Conference. I am sure you will suffer inconveniences and even discomforts. I hope and trust that you will consider these as secondary to your major goal and objectives. We on our part will do our best to assist you in accomplishing your task.

Permit me to declare «open» the Third International Fanon Center Conference and to wish all the participants a pleasant and productive experience in our country.

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THE JOY AND THE SELF CONFIDENCE OF THE SOMALI CAMEL HERDER



THE SONG OF THE ARTIST ON THE BANK OF THE RIVER.