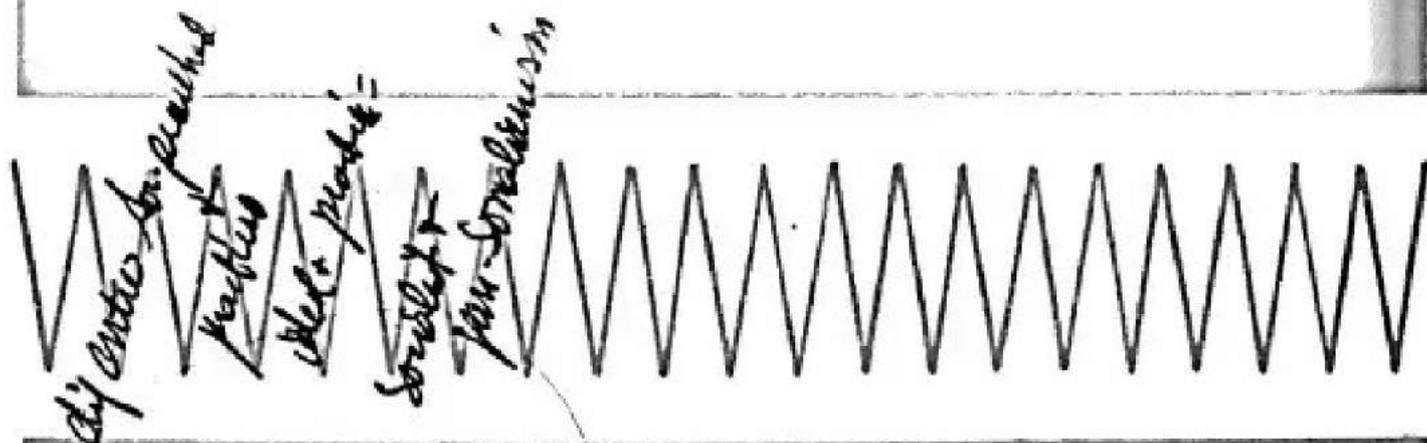


# MY COUNTRY and MY PEOPLE



The collected Speeches of

Maj-General Mohamed Siad Barre

President, The Supreme Revolutionary Council.  
Somali Democratic Republic.

October 1969 to October 1970

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

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

## INTRODUCTION

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

**Lt. Col. Ismail Ali Aboker**  
Secretary of State for Information and  
National Guidance  
Mogadishu.

October 21, 1970.

A few days after the Revolution assumed control of the country, on October 24, 1969, the President appealed for the cooperation of the whole country in achieving the new national goals, because, as he said, the Revolution had come to remove the evils that had stalked the land unchallenged for almost a decade.

# There was no choice

I would like to state clearly the reason for the take over of the country by the Armed Forces. I want our people to know that everything is going on as usual, and that no problems have arisen as a result of the Revolution. The entire country is in the hands of the National Army and the Police Force. The people are happy and everything is calm.

Intervention by the Armed Forces was inevitable. It was no longer possible to ignore the evil things like corruption, bribery, nepotism, theft of public funds, injustice and disrespect to our religion and the laws of the country. The laws were thrust aside and people did whatever they wanted.

No group or family can live happily if they do not respect their laws and regulations. There will be no development or any sort of progress for a nation, if the laws of the country are forgotten. We have noticed several evil things such as the misuse of state property and public funds. The tax collected from the people

was used for their own benefit and the country has been misused for private purposes, thus endangering the very existence of the nation, which nearly fell into enemy hands.

The corruption has culminated in the assassination of prominent leaders of the country. Somalia was on the point of collapse, not economically and politically alone, but disaster threatened historically and nationally as well.

We are the guardians of the nation and its laws, and we have now been sworn in to do just this. How can we therefore remain silent while the laws we are guarding are about to collapse. That is why we intervened in the running of the affairs of our country. If people think we have stepped in to gain more power, they are mistaken. We have stepped in to restore the laws of the country, and to return the nation to the place from which it had fallen. It was necessary for us to act urgently.

If we look back on recent events in the country, we will see how a peaceful land was changing to violence. Dr. Abdirashid Ali Shermarke, the late President, was assassinated by a simple askari, who did not know him and who had no quarrel with him. He simply sprayed bullets into the body of Abdirashid in the presence of other leaders, including the President of the Somali Parliament.

How can we tolerate such things — and many others — which the Somali people are aware of. We hope that with the help of Almighty God, we can wipe out all the evil things in the country, and replace them with happiness and prosperity and thus give our people the peace they need. We will not give a chance to wrongdoers and law-breakers.

We want to see that the country's constitution is respected; that its people follow the constitution, and that every citizen respects fellow citizens. We will abolish bribery, nepotism and tribalism. Tribalism was the only way in which foreigners got their chance of dividing our people. We will wipe out all kinds of imperialism — and their stooges in our country. We do not want to see unfaithful people. We will bring those who are caught behaving

Sub-  
Nairobi

unfaithfully in front of the people, and then lock them away from the rest of the citizens.

We will close all roads used by colonialists to enter our country and into our affairs. We will build a great Somali nation, strongly united and welded together to live in peace.

We will make people respect the Islamic religion, if necessary by all the force and strength we have. We will make Somalia a respected country in its internal and external policies. We want the Somali people to use the wealth and prosperity hidden in their land and avoid begging other nations.

We will seek the friendship of all nations who are prepared to accept us and to show their friendship. We will support world peace and oppose imperialism and all kinds of colonialism, whether from our brothers here or abroad.

We have taken power on behalf of the Somali people and on behalf of their beloved land. I would like to ask all Somalis to come out and build their nation — a strong nation; to use all their efforts, energy, wealth and brains in developing their country. At all costs avoid begging.

As you have heard, cars belonging to the State have been captured while they were being used as public taxis. We have been in power for only three days, and here is proof for the people. Other evidence will follow. I appeal to all Somalis to work with us in achieving the progress of the country and of normalising the situation in general.

The imperialists, who always want to see people in hunger, disease and ignorance, will oppose us in order that we may beg them. They will spread many types of lies to try to misinterpret our noble aims and objectives. They will try to persuade the world, and even other African States, to believe their lies. Apart from these lies, they will call us many evil names. They are at present collecting arms, money and many other necessary things for them to work against us.

We are very happy and thankful to see the unity of the Armed Forces and the Somali population. The nation has given us true support for which we are very grateful. Nothing will harm us if we go on supporting each other for the sake of our country and nation. Let us join hands in crushing the enemy of our land.

Long live the unity of the Somali people!

Long live the Revolution of our country!

*MY COUNTRY and MY PEOPLE*

The comments that appear on the following pages were made by the President to local and foreign journalists at the Officer's Club in Mogadishu on October 25, 1969, at which he answered questions about the Revolution and the course the Somali Democratic Republic intended to follow.

## Restoring order

I have gathered you here today, on behalf of the Revolutionary Council, to brief you on the latest developments in our country.

To start with, when the Armed Forces takes over power in any country or a military coup d'état takes place, it is usually a sign that in that particular country there exists disorder, chaos and the aim is always to restore order.

We, jointly as the Armed Forces, here in Somalia, have taken power after having seen the danger that was threatening our independence and existence. We took power with the aim to normalise, to restore true democracy which was being threatened, to carry on all possible developments which would lead to progress and the prosperity of our people and to hand-over power again to a civilian government at an appropriate time and after that we return to our barracks.

*Signature* 11

I want to assure you in the name of the Revolutionary Council, that power was taken-over by the Armed Forces, peacefully and there was no bloodshed anywhere in this territory. Normal life is completely in the safe hands of the Armed Forces. Business and other activities are normal everywhere as before.

I want to assure you also that we have not faced any opposition anywhere. On the contrary, those who were present here in the capital or other parts of the territory, have witnessed the great enthusiasm with which the public welcomed this change, making massive demonstrations in support of the military and police take-over.

We also want to make it clear that our friendly relations with all countries stand as before and we welcome also any new friendship with those countries which do not have any diplomatic relations with us.

We support all nations who are fighting for their freedom and self-determination and the settlement of disputes between nations through peaceful means.

We stand for world peace and brotherhood in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations.

The Revolution also wants to make it clear that we remain a member of the Organisation of African Unity and we are prepared to fulfill all that is contained in its Charter.

We do not support those actions leading to interference in the internal affairs of other countries.

We do not tolerate discrimination between men, but we firmly believe in the equality of men.

Ladies and gentlemen, having explained that everything is in safe hands, and having outlined some of the fundamental aims of the Revolution, and as we have the right to make the necessary changes in our internal affairs, we advise you to inform your respective countries about these changes.

**In the interval between independence and the Revolution, there was a steady deterioration in the country. This situation was recalled by the President in the following speech on November 1, 1969.**

# Things went bad

OUR country has been independent for more than nine years now. During this period, the Armed Forces existed but did not interfere in the politics of the country.

This shows that the Armed Forces were not interested to take over power. Since independence the country has faced many problems, but all this time we hoped that things would become better. At the last moment, you were all aware of the great difficulties and problems the country was facing. There was not a single place functioning properly.

The people faced a lot of difficulties and felt a sense of hatred. The reason for this was that the country's leadership was not good. I do not want to accuse the previous leaders of this country, though there were some to blame at times. There are many things they have done for the country. I have ordered that they should not be touched. They should not be called criminals, unless crimes committed by them are proved. For this reason, I will not speak about persons, but in general, there was nothing good.

Corruption and tribalism became common, everyone was helping his relatives. People were asked not «WHAT DO YOU KNOW?» but «WHO DO YOU KNOW?».

Educated people were at the bottom and worthless people with not much value were at the top.

Somalism was destroyed and ignored and everyone had at heart «Who is my next of kin?» «Who is my relative?» and «Who is from my tribe?».

The State was like a country without people; a country where anybody who wanted could come in and everyone could go out.

Foreigners interfered in the sensitive parts of the country's affairs and were excused.

There was no justice or law, and the personal ambitions and opinions were considered or valued higher than law and justice.

People's lives and property were in danger. This ended with killing of the leaders of the country for no reason and when they were fulfilling their duties.

I think further details are not necessary. When the country reached this stage, the heads of the Armed Forces thought that this was not the right thing, and that it was not the way Somalia should be run, and that it needed to be put straight.

This was the cause of the revolution. The principles of the revolution were not personal, or a mere excuse for the takeover of power. It was undertaken for the betterment of the general interests of Somalia and the Somalis, for the progress of the economy, people's health, education, defence and honour. This indispensable step should have been taken long ago, and if it was done, Somalia would have gone far ahead of its present position.

The disease that gripped us should have been fought and eradicated. Justice and law should be strengthened, so that the people's lives are not endangered, and everyone can exercise his rights. National unity should be promoted and tribalism should be banished.

As we announced before, these are the principles of the Supreme Revolutionary Council and the friends we called here are

those selected to takeover the country's leadership. This shows that the revolution was not a matter purely of taking over power. We took from Somalis and handed it over to Somalis. This selection has been made according to education, ability, responsibility and moral standing.

We have handed over the country to you and we hope that you will fulfil and follow the principles of the Revolution.

Our country, as you know, is poor, and its economy and education are backward. You, having the brains and education, and we, having the strength and the Somali nation supporting us, let us now jointly work together to take our people and country out of ignorance, begging, hunger and disease.

Let us first rely on our strength, on our ability and on ourselves. If something is left to be done, or a gap is still left to be filled, it is not then a shame to ask for assistance or help. But assistance should be something to support what you have done yourselves and not, as it used to be, that everything should be done for us by foreigners, or that we should wait for everything to come from foreigners.

The Government's programme shall be worked out, but our principles should be based on the truth. We should not formulate a beautiful and detailed programme which is worthless.

If we can cultivate only a single farm well, let us work on that single farm and work hard on it. And, if we could do more, let us try. Our plans and projects should be realistic and formulated to the level of our ability and our education.

We shall be in need of experts. They should do for us what we want, and not what they want. This is because we know the difficulties and problems of our country and people. A foreigner knows the problems of his country; you know what your country needs.

Our goal is to catch up on what we lost — and we lost a lot of time, but let us make good use of the rest. The truth is that we did not call you — as educated people — for your personal interests, but we call you for the interests of the country. You

must be loyal to it. We shall support you with our strength and mind, and the Somali nation is behind you. We are sure that such good faith would bear a lot of fruit. What I am saying now has enemies. This is because there are some countries which believe, and are convinced, that they shall lose interests if Somalia becomes truly independent economically, educationally and militarily. These countries have always tried to be an obstacle to our progress. *Since we not feel*

Gentlemen, let us all unite; the people, leaders and intellectuals — and face the enemy.

If we do not tell the truth to each other and continue lying, it is not possible for us to get anywhere. The truth is that we should make a plan for what should be done and how it should be done. We should tell the people to hold hands and work hard together and not expect everything to be done by the Government.

In every town, people are seen asking for jobs, ignoring the country's natural resources. Government's duty is to do what the people cannot perform. We should tell the people that we should not wait for a miracle to happen. We should not wait for milk and honey to pour down from the sky. We should tackle our problems only by working together.

We, the Armed Forces, promise that we shall support you on the hard duties assigned to you. We promise you that we are ready for anything that is in the interest of our country and our people. We should start from self-reliance; reliance on God and reliance on our country. If these three are achieved, God will lighten the burden for us.

I wish you good luck and hard work, and I am sure that the Somali people will get what they are expecting from you. All of us — the Armed Forces and the nation as a whole, are behind you.

Nearly three weeks after the successful, bloodless Revolution, the President spoke to members of the Armed Forces and to the nation in a broadcast speech on November 9, 1969.

## A heavy responsibility

NINETEEN days after the Revolution I am addressing myself to the Armed Forces. I am talking to you because I want to make you understand the responsibility we have for the nation. As you all know, we have sworn to be sincere and trustworthy to the country and the Somali people. The foundation of our sincerity for the country and the Somali people is the conviction that we are the servants of the nation. This service to the nation needs to be explicitly understood.

Imperialism and those with the colonial mentality left in the minds of our people that they were the cream of creation and others were their servants.

The truth is that anybody who draws a salary from the government is the servant of the people, because the people pay his salary. This salary comes from the Somali people in the form of taxes. It had been a principle of imperialism — and we have been following it after the termination of that imperialism — that we

should expect from the public, the learned, the youth and the families a specially flavoured respect. This attitude which persists is wrong, and one can easily see that it is a colonial hangover. It has been left in the minds of the people that the nationalist man is an ignoble creature.

We have launched the Revolution to eradicate colonial hangovers in all their various forms. The purpose of the Revolution is to guide us back to our true Somali characteristics; to clearly understand what we are, and what we stand for, and to work for our people in sincerity and devotion. We must convince the people of the efficacy of a joint, concerted effort with us. We should attack together and on equal terms, hunger and ignorance; at all times uphold and protect the flag, the dignity, the welfare and the defence of the nation.

We have to defend the dignity, the rights and the livelihood of every Somali person. While we are uprooting the evils that have beset the nation, such as tribalism, favouritism, nepotism, corruption and injustice, we should train ourselves to uphold the dignity of the Somali nation, to uplift the image of the Somali nation, both internally and externally.

We have to embark upon the task of creating a nationalism that will not detrimentally differentiate the rich from the poor, and the educated from the illiterate, the urban from the nomad, and the high from the low. In sum, what we are striving to create is a nationalism of oneness. We should start shoulder to shoulder, without anyone slighting anyone else, in our joint efforts towards the solution of the problems that our country faces.

Since we now understand the hardships that confront us, and since we staged a Revolution for the sole purpose of uprooting the repulsive previous conditions in which our country stagnated, we have to show that we are going to complete what we set out to do.

We have to eliminate the unpleasant features that were foisted upon the Somali people — the injustice, the shameful goings-on, rampant corruption, nepotism, favouritism and unjust discrimina-

tion; of sitting with one's hands outstretched in the expectation of timely rain from heaven, and the fanning of troubles among people, and of putting some people in the position of servitude. These are the direct remnants of imperialism.

Some people have used public funds as their private personal funds and have tried to convince others that their use of these funds was legitimate. Our religion, which is the foundation of our faith, our nationalism, and our guard against temptations, has been replaced by lack of principles and insincerity. We have taken on the responsibility to wipe out the lies, the back bites, the insincerity and the lack of faith. If a nation lacks justice, sincerity, dedication to work, honesty and concerted efforts towards betterment, such a nation would definitely flounder.

It has been one of our aims to convince the people — for they have forgotten it — that education is of the utmost importance, and to wipe out the attitude that: What is the use of education when one can get along without certificates or with faked documents.

It happened — and we cannot deny it — that ignorant people paraded themselves as erudite individuals. The people then reasoned that since the obtaining of papers and posts in government was easy, why toil for higher learning? Faked papers and the pulling of strings do not lead a nation. It only colours the scene, and makes ignorant people appear to know something.

The foundation of every nation's economy, its prosperity and aspirations, is education. We should, therefore, give education the important role it deserves. People of knowledge, in every aspect of learning, can lead the nation out of the quagmire in which it has been bogged down for so long. If education had been neglected and consigned to limbo, how do we expect to emerge as an advanced nation, politically, socially and economically?

We know the level of output — in terms of jobs done — has been pathetically low, and no one sweated for his salary. Every one just expected to get his salary at the end of the month. There

is a principle of «give-and-take» in employment. The employee is paid to work.

A nation's brain, prosperity, self-respect and dignity depend on the level of educated people in that country. If a nation wants to tap its natural resources, how does it do it? By having the qualified men to do the job, and proper education provides such personnel. The way we can wipe out hunger, disease and ignorance, is to have the personnel who are qualified in teaching, agriculture, medicine, mining, politics, geology, and in every other field that is necessary to benefit the nation.

One of the aims of the Revolution is to recreate our lost nationalism. The word nationalism may be interpreted in different ways. What is nationalism? A nationalist is a person of dignity, who honours his word, one who abhors dishonesty, thievery and injustice, and who puts his energy and creativity at the disposal of his nation.

In a nation in which nationalism abounds, its people do not aid and abet each other in crime. They are ashamed to lie, and discourage others from lying. They restrain each other from setting out to undignified things. They keep their faith undiluted, and put more value on the cripple lying on the streets than the erudite, learned and rich foreigner. The Somali and the foreigner cannot be equated. Somalism is the inherent bond that ties the Somalis together and puts their common interest in a nutshell. We can only bring about the oneness of Somalism by working together.

If the description of the situation of our country before the Revolution was despicable, then it is incumbent upon us to embark upon a meaningful change of the situation.

Going back to the beginning of my speech, then, the gist of the matter is: let us work diligently for our country and our people.

I am sure there are many people who are talking to you in the same language in which they managed to divide the Somalis into factions. What was that language? It was as «RER X» how many soldiers do we have in the Armed Forces? How many officers do

we have? How many people do we have in the Revolutionary Council? Let us divide it according to tribalism. How many men does each tribe have in this and that?

The person with this kind of mentality used to argue right in the government offices that «as Rer X we don't have our share of the government». Now we are simultaneously talking about government and the share of «Rer X». Are these two things compatible? Government progress, sophistication, national interest, raising of educational standards, and the level of production of the economy, are incompatible with groupings on tribal lines.

The incompatibility of nationhood and tribal allegiance makes a marked contrast, and the vivid manifestation of this incompatibility was very easily seen in our situation before the Revolution.

Those who led us back to this dismal misery are still around, and we know what kind of language they employed to keep us apart and sow the seeds of doubt in our minds. They used to employ cheap ruses and language to get what they did not deserve and had no right to have. What ruses are they going to employ today? They will resort to the same ruses and language. Who do these divisive people represent, and who are they talking for?

They are employed by foreigners, and they have their pay in their pockets. They have sold their brother's blood and future, and yet they come in the guise of Somalis. They were the ones who were better off when most Somalis were begging for something to eat; a place to sleep, schools and medicine. These exploiters were the ones who got well-off on the people's misery. They will come to you pretending to guard your self-interest, and they will try to lead you astray, because their sole purpose is to regain their cushioned place in society. You will find, if you care to take a look at those who want to work a rift among you, that they are personally better off than you, and still want to have more.

The Revolution set out to recapture the nation's lost independence in order to restore Somali dignity, unity, purpose and future aspirations. Those who are systematically discouraging the

emergence of the nation stand for things that are contrary to the aims and hopes of the Revolution.

Will you let these people have their own way? We have agreed on a policy of never unjustly doing any harm to anyone, and to treat the people equally, no matter what their station in life. We want the people to have the same rights, the same opportunities, the same treatment, and an equal share of our resources, which are enough for all of us if we do not steal from each other, but share it in a legitimate manner.

Those who want to work a rift among the people are the blood-suckers, the traitors, the servants of other nations, the greedy ones; and they should not find a place among you.

Now that we have succeeded in our first step, and the people have supported us, applauded us, and come out in huge demonstrations for the sake of order, we have to work for them in the spirit in which they support us, and we must work for their interests in unity and honesty.

We want the people to support us, and put aside the misguided philosophy that the «government has a long arm».

We must pull ourselves together and work in unity. Individually the people and the armed forces must work together and do something for themselves. We must refrain from meaningless chatting in coffee-shops, corruption and ingratiating ourselves with foreigners.

God gives you what you want most from him; good or bad, dignity or slavery, freedom or servitude. Throw out of the window the errors of the past era. Make a new start; set yourself on the right path, never swerve from it.

As I said before, those who used to suck the blood of the people, whether they sucked it by themselves, or whether they shared it with others, and took it as an article of faith that Somalis would never forego hardship and difficulties, are still among us.

The imperialists who decided long ago to keep us in misery for their benefit, are also still around. Their sole interest is to regain their favoured positions.

I say that you Somalis have to be ready for them if they attempt an application of force. God has given you freedom today; don't lose it. If they apply underhand methods, like interfering in matters of kinship, and spurring on the people on the false grounds of tribalism; if they offer you benefit from the sale of your brother's blood and dignity, throw them out. Today, this is equally appropriate and applicable to every Somali in the Armed Forces.

Let us tell each other not to sleep. Our children, and the generations after, are waiting for us in expectation, and they will benefit from the map we design for them. If it is a good one, we can reach an admirable height of dignity, freedom and integrity by our own efforts.

Wake up for your interests and your nation's interests. Defend the nation from its enemies — whether they appear in the form of kinship, or reward for the sale of national interests.

Although my address is intended to remind the Armed Forces to carry out its promise, I would like to make a small addition concerning foreigners. By the term foreigners, I include not merely people of other nationalities whose purpose is to further the interests of imperialism, but indigenous people who are the tools of imperialism.

The past era is over, and the Somali Democratic Republic will not tolerate any hinderance to the progress of the Revolution and the new era of liberty and dignity to which the nation is committed.

Everybody will get what he deserves from our nation. We are warning foreigners to keep their hands from our internal affairs; if they don't, they will not succeed in outdoing us. We will take definite, courageous and serious steps against anyone who meddles in our internal affairs. We are warning those working in the shadow of foreigners to desist from their activities. There will be no pardons for culprits.

It is characteristic of a healthy nation to reward those who serve it with honesty, and to take revenge against those who work against its interests. Today, everybody who has not done damage

to the nation before, has a blank page. It is up to the individual to determine what goes into this page — whether it be good or bad.

Let the past be forgotten; and let us see what everybody does with his blank page. Whether he fills it with goodness or otherwise remains to be seen. In this new history of Somalism, let us observe justice, honesty, equality, oneness and the furtherance of the nation's dignity.

The reactionaries know that they have been luxuriating in what they have not earned. They have been eating illegitimate fruits — wealth they have stolen and hidden — wealth whose rightful owners have been in starvation and misery.

If they work with their nation in honesty, they will get something that might not be much, but which is clean and obtained in a dignified manner. They will be in a position to walk the streets without earning hatred. They will be better off, and will not perish if they see the light and quit the ways of corruption to which they have become addicted.

This needs confidence in yourselves; in our nation and its people. If they master that much, they will not be losers.

And now, to go back to the Armed Forces: I congratulate you on your success, and hope that you will further succeed in your efforts.

One month after the Armed Force's take over, the President spoke to the nation on November 21, 1969, when he expressed his pleasure at the support of the Somali people for the change in the country.

## A serious talk

I would like to express our gratitude to the Somali people on their notable stand and for the support they have given us since we brought about the Revolution. Your support has inspired us to work harder, and it urges the Somali people to work in unity.

Today I want to talk seriously about the situation of our nation. Some people have assumed that the leaders of the Revolution are not aware of the problems facing us such as unemployment and economic backwardness.

We know that many of our nationals are roaming the streets unemployed, and are looking forward to the achievements the Revolution might make. It is true that before the Revolution there was some economic movement, no matter what kind it was and how it was misused. Many people lived on these opportunities that existed before the Revolution.

Now that we have sealed these illegal sources, naturally many people have lost their means of income and hunger has increased.

I wish to reiterate that we saw this likelihood before we carried out the Revolution. We can neither promise to eliminate all hunger overnight, nor to drop gold upon you from the sky. But our intention is to give you real freedom and to alleviate hunger the best way we can.

This means that it is inevitable to pass through a difficult period and to toil hard and to leave behind something useful for our future generations. We feel that this is better than the continuous misappropriation of public funds which was widely practised.

In order to overcome this problem we have appointed a commission on economic planning, composed of experts and technicians, to work out a plan for long and short-term employment programmes. This commission is working hard, and it will present its preliminary findings during this week. We shall let the nation know the results immediately, and we shall implement the commission's recommendations without delay.

We shall begin by giving employment to the biggest possible number of unemployed people. When the plan is ready we will give instructions to all authorities in the regions to carry them out in their respective areas. The state will help in implementation of these programmes. I call upon all of you not to dream for prosperity through alms and by begging from others.

Hunger with freedom is far better than to be humiliated by others. I urge all Somalis to get ready for the difficulties facing us. This is the only way to achieve prosperity: our efforts alone will enable us to arrive at our goals and to build a better society. Let it be known to all of us that we can emerge victoriously over our difficulties by facing them. With loyalty and hard work for the country, our efforts will be successful. There is no doubt, then, that we shall achieve prosperity. We shall dig out the numerous resources in the bowels of our country — and dispense with begging.

I want every Somali to understand this fact: not to retreat before difficulties, nor lose patience. Impatience is against success.

You all know that prices have risen in the market. We want to tell the people that the Revolution did not stop trade that was

lucrative and profitable. The import and export trade received full encouragement. If some jugglers spread propaganda that was contrary to the facts, I hope you will not believe them and will seek the truth. I don't believe that some people's food has disappeared, or even gone short. Consumer goods will be in short supply only if the Revolution issues orders to restrict trade, and this has not happened. What did happen was that the Revolution encouraged, and will continue to encourage, commercial activities. It is possible that people were terrified after the Revolution — and to those people I say there is absolutely no need to fear. You should work quietly and rest assured.

Now I want to turn to the economic policy of the Revolution. Some irresponsible people are working clandestinely within the masses and spreading lies and fabrications. And here and now I declare that the dignity of the Somali people is the first consideration that moves us. We say that every Somali individual must get freedom and security, whether he be in a public institution or in a private place; that nothing should block his way or frighten him, so long as his properties derive from a legal source. If he did nothing evil or bad, he will not be exposed to harm. Well-intentioned traders can be confident of the future.

Some of the foreigners and evil people hope that the Revolution will nationalise and confiscate. They are putting fears in the hearts of traders, and they want them to believe that their properties will be robbed. I want to ask them: Do you think we will rob the rightful property of Somali individuals when we undertook the Revolution for the dignity of the Somali people? We want to lead our country with mutual confidence. We want to convince our people that dependence on begging is useless. We do not want to dispossess people of their personal property in order to divide it, when there is not enough for distribution. We say to traders, no matter what their nationality: You can rest assured of the future of your trade — but the era of bribery in commercial dealings is gone for ever.

Every merchant is free to trade within the limits of the law, and can make any plans for commercial activity without fear of interference, and with the assurance that full protection is provided.

We have already given instructions to those responsible that there should be what is called real security in the country, whether this involves individuals of different nationalities, or traders, or the rest of the country's various sectors.

I want to add to this that it is not the habit of Somalis to treat their guests badly. Of course there are in every country those who have no honour; but the general practice of our society is to preserve the honour of hospitality. We say to foreign traders in this country that while the aim of the Revolution is to reform the conditions of the Somali nation, we are not unmindful of the safety of foreign traders.

We want foreign traders to be confident in themselves and in their business, but we do want them, on their part, to contribute to the progress of the country and to respect its laws. If this does not happen, then we will be obliged to take the necessary corrective measures.

I want to call your attention to the fact that some people are still under the influence of tribalism. We have said from the first day of the Revolution that we are strongly fighting tribalism, because it divides the Somali people and causes weakness and constant backwardness, and it keeps alive differences and divisions.

We all know that tribalism is our main weak spot. It was the door through which imperialism crept into our society and remained during its existence. We shall not accept tribalism, and we are waging a war against it. Let us ask ourselves: What did we get out of tribalism during the many years our nation practised it? Some used it to mislead the people; others used it as a means of livelihood. For example, the Deputies used it as a means of getting a seat in parliament, but the benefits, after victory, used to go to the Deputy and his family, and not to the tribe. Some uneducated, inexperienced people used it as means of getting higher posts in

the government. Did the masses benefit from this? The answer is NO. If tribalism had not been there in this form, all our projects could have succeeded, and we could have avoided many deaths, and achieved economic progress.

Now that we know the facts, we should not allow anyone to permit the triumph of tribalism in our circles. We cannot serve the interests of one person; we must serve our general interests and find satisfactory solutions to our problems.

Unity, cooperation and the readiness to work hard are our paths for success. Tribalists want to hinder our progress, and benefit from our problems. I say to you: beware of these opportunists — they fooled us enough, and we should not allow them to fool us again.

Some of these people sent me a telegram saying that a certain clan did not get their share in the new Somali Government. Have you ever heard of such rubbish? Is that something a wise person would utter? I believe that people should be ashamed of such words; and I am sure you will agree with me.

There is no reason for tribal conflicts in our society. It is sheer madness to create war, as those who fight under a tribal banner are losers. Tribal conflicts bring neither benefits nor good reputations. We warn everyone to beware of these evils. We have given instructions that anyone who does such stupid things will be punished severely and promptly. It is difficult for us to see the death of Somalis for no reason, and anyone who causes this is fighting the principles of the Revolution.

Every person must beware of the danger of playing with fire and igniting tribal disturbances in the Somali nation. Let it be known to all that authorities in every region and district have been given strict instructions to inflict severe punishment upon anyone who stirs provocations or disturbances among the people. We want the Somali population to increase in number and we shall not let anyone wipe them out. We have asked the authorities in every region and district to make it clear to the people that real freedom

has come to them. Now, with the emergence of the Revolution, the ordinary citizen will receive full protection and care from the authorities. Every individual must consider himself a free person. These are the instructions that have been sent to the authorities, and we hope they will carry them out honestly.

We ask the people to cooperate with the authorities in order to facilitate their tasks. We have issued urgent instructions that serious Revolutionary work should start in every part of the country, and at all levels. These include making roads and canals and digging pools so long as they are necessary and possible. We must bid farewell to laziness and slackness. Work needs strength and unity. There must be a capacity for implementation and, above all, security. For these reasons we ought to work with the security authorities, and cooperate with them.

It is the duty of every Somali to report on any misappropriations to the police authorities, and to know that thieves are very harmful to the common interests of the people. The thieves are a minority among the honest majority. If we agree upon fighting against corruption, we have to work hand-in-hand until we overcome this hateful problem.

I thank all for the cooperation and support they have given us. Long live the Somali people: Long live the Revolution and Somalia.

Among the swift changes that came with the Revolution was a reconstituted Supreme Court, whose newly-appointed President was sworn in on December 16, 1969. General Siad's remarks on that occasion are the subject of the speech that follows.

# Uphold our laws

It is a great honour for me to swear in the President of the Supreme Court into office and to open the Court again. I would like to point out to the President that it is a great honour for us to assign to him the responsibilities of the Court.

I do not want to comment on how the Court used to function before, because it is not worth wasting time on the ugly reminders of the past, but I would like to stress that it is important to talk about what is going to be done at the present time.

It is the aim of the Revolution to make the Courts of Justice function properly because without justice nothing can be carried out properly and honestly. Justice is the only way in which a person can have confidence in what he is doing.

Giving justice is not an easy task, and I hope the new President of the Supreme Court will make easy the giving of justice with the application of honesty and that he would erase all the dirt of the past and uphold the laws of the land.

The Supreme Revolutionary Council and the new government are aware of the lack of proper facilities in the Court and have promised to do everything they can about the matter.

I urge you and all other Judges to make the people equal before the law, whether they are strong, weak, rich or powerful.

The people talk about why the Armed Forces interfered in the politics of the country. Do not expect us to do the least unlawful thing. The laws will only become words on paper if you accept the doing of any unlawful thing from us or from anybody else. If you stand firmly for what is right everyone will support you and you can fulfill your duties honestly and sincerely.

The people should be oriented in the new spirit of justice, by the Ministry of Justice and the Ministry of Information and National Guidance.

I would like to tell the Judge of the Courts in the country that you have our support as long as you are on the right path and are fulfilling your duties honestly.

**The President has always stressed the need for men of conscience and character in public life. This theme was mentioned when he addressed the nation's judges in Mogadishu.**

## We want men of integrity

IF we glance at the recent history of our nation, we see that the entire machinery of justice nearly collapsed. But I do not want to put responsibility for that on any particular person or group.

If interference in justice had stopped, we could have avoided many mistakes which are nowadays known as «Musug Masug».

No matter who was responsible for it, what is clear is that justice was not what it should have been.

After the 21st October Revolution, we have opened a new page and we expect that everyone of us will follow a clear-cut path in order to achieve justice, dignity and integrity.

I was not able to meet all the judges immediately after the Revolution. But I call upon you now to place responsibility upon your shoulders.

You are the controlling organs of the State, and there are laws which should be enforced. We want you to enforce these laws justly.

History records that there were judges to whom monuments were erected because they fought bribery and injustice — and there is no reason why Somalia should not get such men.

If our judges fight injustice, corruption and all other malpractices, they can bring honour to our country. Therefore, judges should understand their value and enforce justice courageously.

The Supreme Revolutionary Council does not want you just to imprison people for them; but rather it wishes you to safeguard justice, to work with confidence and without fear or favour.

We want the judges to work hard and not report for duty late. This is unfair to those persons who are involved, and it hampers the economic progress of the nation.

I have never interfered in the day-to-day activities of the judges, and while I will never do that in the future, I advise you to realise that no human being is above justice.

We realise that you have many difficulties, yet you can perform your duties even under a tree.

The prerequisites of good justice are suitability, nationalism and understanding, and if these conditions are fulfilled, there will be no need for fine chairs.

The Supreme Revolutionary Council will provide all possible assistance and will bring before you anybody who tries to steal what we have in our coffers. We want you to give such people a fair trial.

**Speaking to members of the Police Force at the Police Academy in Mogadishu on December 31, 1969, the President urged his listeners to do their utmost to lead the country back to the road of justice and progress.**

## Stop being «humble beneficiaries»

THE Armed Forces took-over power not only to remedy the ailing public administration, but also to ward off serious blows to the general interests of Somalis and Africans.

The Revolution cannot and should not, limit itself in the prosecution of public evil-doers or merely in the removal of the ten-year old mismanagement that the country had inherited from the deposed regimes, but it should go beyond and embrace the necessities and aspirations of a people oppressed for a long time.

The gravest blow inflicted on this people is the attempt to undermine its conscience. We must get rid of the infamous system under which we remain a humble beneficiary of foreign aid.

Our country, because of colonialism first and the reactionary cliques later, preserved an extremely backward economic structure. The only living sector of our economy was external trade. But be-

cause of the constant deterioration of the terms of exchange, it is also aggravating our condition. Besides, this sector is almost totally under foreigners. And, it is not possible, in any manner to reconcile their interests with those of the nation. No foreigner had ever re-invested profits obtained in trading in other productive sectors.

They took advantage of the law on investments to send the profits to their countries of origin. This law, which was originally launched to draw foreign investments in a fruitful manner for us and for them, was transformed into an instrument of contraband.

In this state, our economy will never develop and will continue to depend on sources abroad, even for foodstuffs, which at present represent a high percentage of our imports. The immediate development of our products of exportation is objectively limited by the climate conditions and marketing.

Even in the sector of export, we are beneficiaries of determined preferential conditions. The duration of this assistance, as every other assistance of its kind, rests on the undisturbed and unquestioned recognition of the existing economic and political relations. Its nature, therefore is fully contrary to our determination to consolidate our national independence and to transform the archaic structure of our society, and to realise correctly the objectives of the Revolution.

Today our people face a great problem in the building of our country. There are no easy and cheap ways. The Supreme Revolutionary Council, with the aim of ridding the national economy of foreign control and to base the economic structure of the country on our changed political conditions, approved a series of measures, including: (a) the total withdrawal of the shares of SNAI; (b) the nationalization of Italo-Somalo Electric Society (SEIS); (c) the nationalization of oil distributing companies; (d) the nationalization of foreign banks, and (e) the institution of a National Insurance Company, with the exclusive right to exercise its operations in the territory of the Somali Democratic Republic.

I seize this opportunity also to announce that our government guarantees and will guarantee private initiative and will encourage foreign investments, provided that they are in the framework of the development plans of our country.

The government commits itself to compensate in a satisfactory manner all those who are affected by the nationalization measures.

With these measures we do not intend to create bureaucratic public companies in the place of private ones, but we intend to arrange effectively the direction of the decision-making organisms in the economic field, to gear all the resources available towards the realization of the objectives in order to satisfy the immediate necessities and needs of the great masses.

These same measures will permit us to follow some intermediate objectives such as the creation of public savings available for investments, the development of a national industry, the reduction of import and the expansion of exports.

I am convinced that in our country, the necessities for development are already ripe and that they could be satisfied if we succeed to face with determination and resoluteness the obstacles and difficulties and the intrigues and pressures of the enemies of the Revolution.

We should therefore multiply our efforts to achieve our goals and be vigilant in every moment and in every place against those who want to see the corrupt unpopular regimes back.

The recent foiled attempt to overthrow our Revolutionary institutions, which was unearthed by our vigilant people and faced with resoluteness by our security services is proof that the reactionaries are determined to go to any extent to achieve their ill-advised ends. What would be the main aim of those plotters if not to deprive our people of the recent achievements and to blockade its further progress.

These lackeys hired by certain foreign circles were a docile instrument behind which wicked men acted.

In six months of existence, our Revolution has mobilized the immense forces of our masses by increasing their political conscience and their organisational ability. Today the shepherd feels himself as an important part of this nation, and the same applies to the peasant and the worker and every other person. This is very important because it constitutes the first step in the right direction.

We should bear in mind that as long as we proceed in this direction, the reactionary forces in collaboration with imperialism will not cease struggling against us politically and ideologically. The conditions of life among our people remained unchanged for a long time. Droughts followed one another. The animal wealth and the agricultural production decreased rapidly in comparison to the colonial period. These are the problems ignored by the previous cliques, and which our Revolution should face.

The previous reactionary regimes, while draining out the treasury of the government, contracted remarkable debts and sold the national sovereignty for their shady interests and used to turn with regular punctuality towards foreign states to solicit continuous aid to the population hit by natural calamities.

Notwithstanding, some states have responded readily to the appeal with good faith, for this aid had in the majority of cases extremely negative effects on our development. The leading cliques of the past governments had no faith in the capacity of the masses and they never supported their initiatives.

This had as a corollary, the subordination of our sovereignty to designs hatched by the imperialists to hinder the process of emancipation of the African people.

We will never forget the words of praise expressed by our former leaders for the fascist cliques of Rhodesia, their strange alliances with reactionary groups and the constant alignment towards imperialist positions.

I would, first of all, like to express to all countrymen, the gra-

fitude and admiration which we nourish towards you for the solidarity you demonstrated to the Revolution in every stage of its development. If this shows anything, it shows you have understood and that you will understand how necessary this Revolution was not only to seize power, but also to lead the Somali people to the road of their true objectives.

As you are well aware, the Armed Forces, as the supreme guardians of the national sovereignty and integrity, never sought to meddle in the active politics of the country during the previous regimes. But as it was their duty to defend the nation from any external aggression, they also believed it their sacred duty to intervene in internal politics when such clandestine aggressions were brought to light.

**Deeply conscious of the problems of emergent African countries, the President responded to an appeal for help from Equatorial Guinea by sending a Somali Army medical team. The President's remarks to the team before its departure from Mogadishu on January 15, 1970 are the subject of the following speech.**

## Helping each other

WE have responded to the appeal for assistance that the President of Equatorial Guinea made through the Organisation of African Unity to all the independent African states.

The imperialists left Equatorial Guinea in a very delicate situation. They destroyed even the light industries that produce the basic things for human needs. The aim of the imperialists was to force an African country into a state of dependence upon other countries.

We have decided, like other African countries, to give Africa and its people the personality, the dignity and the prestige that is theirs. In order to do that, we have decided to help each other in any way we can.

You are among the best in your professions. You should remember that each of you represents his or her nation, and you will be a mirror that will reflect our people, our customs and our culture.

You should work diligently, and be a good model of responsibility, conscientiousness and a spirit of collaboration. You should set a good example wherever you are, and always remember that your mission has two purposes: One is to help a young African country that needs your services; the other is to be a credit to the name of your country.

**The importance the Revolution attaches to national guidance is seen in the address of the President to a Seminar on National Guidance, which opened in Mogadishu on January 16, 1970.**

# The war on hunger, poverty, disease

I am glad to open this meeting which I consider a revolutionary step towards achieving our goals. I have pointed out the objectives of the Revolution many times. The most important objectives of the Revolution are the eradication of hunger, disease and ignorance; these are the enemies of every developing nation in the world. To eliminate them is not an easy task. It needs patience, level-headedness, hard work and a great many sacrifices from those who want to see an end to hunger, disease and ignorance. There are so many difficulties ahead of us, we cannot expect someone else to come along and remove the difficulties from our way. We cannot conjure away our difficulties either. That means we have to do everything ourselves. If necessary, we have to be ready to work days, months and even years with the minimum of time-off for rest.

We have had a good lesson of what could happen to a nation in over nine years of stagnation, and we can feel the effects of that

period on us. During these nine years who were the stooges of the imperialists who penetrated into our country? You have seen the multiple so-called political parties in the last election. Do you think that all these so-called numerous political parties were nationally inspired? I am sure that some of these parties were stooges for imperialists and the enemies of our nation.

I am sure tongues will wag about this meeting; what was the purpose of the meeting, who were the participants, was it for this or that? Similar meaningless questions will be asked about our meeting. I hope every Somali will fight the enemies who want to create friction among the Somalis.

We have reached a stage where we have to use every media available in teaching nationalism. Hard work is a prerequisite for prosperity.

The occasion of Idd-al-Adha provided the President the opportunity to focus the attention of Somalis on the tenets of Islam in building the nation. This speech to the nation was made on February 17, 1970.

## Let us follow Islam's way

ON this auspicious holy Idd-Al-Adha, solemnly and fittingly celebrated throughout the territory of the Somali Democratic Republic, I desire to extend to all my best wishes for happiness, prosperity and wellbeing.

On this occasion, our thoughts also embrace Islam's Holy Places, where at this time hundreds of thousands of the faithful are gathered to fulfil their pilgrimage, according to the dictates of our religion.

In this spirit, I exhort all of you to meditate upon the high moral teachings of the Islamic faith, in which lies the path towards mutual understanding, cooperation and peace.

We are still on the threshold of a new era, initiated by the 21 October Revolution. It is a time deep-laid with difficulties. We do not wish to conceal that the problems that confront us are manifold and of diverse nature, and that they impose upon all of us,

indiscriminately, personal sacrifices and a firm dedication to guarantee to the country security and justice in progress.

Our Islamic faith teaches us that its inherent values are perennial and continually evolving as people progress. These basic tenets of our religion cannot be interpreted in a static sense, but rather as a dynamic force, as a source of inspiration for continuous advancement.

Muslim leaders, besides being propounders and propagators of the Islamic faith, were also statesmen who contributed to the political, economic and social development of the countries they governed. They were the teachers of nations and peoples who are now on the frontline politically, socially and technologically.

Hence the need for our religious leaders to probe within the social reality of our people, and wrest from our religion its practical teachings, thus making available its ideas and actions in the interest of general progress.

Among our people, religious leaders must play a galvanising role to activate a society advancing towards the high values of Islam, which have always been the foundation of our social and political organisation.

The Somali Democratic Republic will spare no effort to follow the path to prosperity, through the efficient efforts of its citizens. This path is clearly laid out by Islam, and the active work of the religious leaders in the field of education and morals, will be a source of inspiration and assistance.

A greater dedication to the wellbeing of all; a common effort for the building of the nation. These are the tasks that challenge us upon these holy days.

To help our bretheren and our fellows, we must go beyond the concept of charity, and reach the higher and more altruistic concept of cooperation on a national scale. We must strive with enthusiasm and patriotism to attain a state of general welfare for all within our possibilities.

The living conditions of our people rest largely upon us. We must all try to search for and define the obstacles hampering our

progress. We must shape our own destiny. It is impossible to build a solid State when one does not think and act in terms of the common good; the welfare of all.

Our country must emerge from underdevelopment, but in the final analysis the success of this depends upon our joint efforts. From the work and actions of all we shall strengthen the foundations laid by the Revolution and enter upon a more dignified and prosperous future.

My Somali brothers, in renewing my best and most heartfelt good wishes for a happy holiday, I beseech upon all of you the blessings of Allah, and pray that our aspirations and efforts for progress and peace in our country may be crowned with success.

The Revolution has insisted that all those in official positions should receive some training, however basic, to fit them for the role of leadership. There was always room for improvement, the President emphasised, when he opened a course for senior administrative officers on March 3, 1970.

## Training for leadership

You will be given professional courses that will enlighten you on the spirit of the Revolution. They will give you an inside knowledge of a para-military administration so that you can contribute more efficiently to your country.

This is not intended to degrade or demoralise you. Far from it. It is intended to improve your ability; for there is always room to learn more.

Some people believe that you were responsible for most of the injustice during the elections. I do not hold that view because I know you were working under orders. It is true that some of you exaggerated things in the process of executing those orders. It is also true that others saw fit to relax the orders. We, too, were sometimes obliged to carry out orders which, in our view, were wrong.

The Revolution has not come to light any particular individual, group or class. We thought that there were many things which

were done that were wrong. And the authorities at the time were unable to correct them because of the corrupt system that functioned at the time.

The subsequent injustice and maladministration, the lack of social progress and economic development, coupled with the sinking national morale, compelled us to bring about a change.

A change can come either through social evolution or through revolution, and the circumstances in which we found ourselves justified the latter.

Our primary objective in making this vital change was to avoid bloodshed — and, thank God, we were successful in this. Our second objective was to ensure that revenge and vindictiveness did not creep into the administration during the transitional stage of the Revolution.

We have been very cautious in dealing with reports and accusations of anti-revolutionary activities and corruption and now, after four months, I feel that we are doing well in this connection, too.

A new chapter in our history has been opened and I call upon the nation to forget and to forgive one another. There is now opportunity for everyone — civilian or soldier — to play a role in nation-building, and it is up to the individual to take advantage of this golden chance.

We have established an orderly system in which there will be no-one to fear. No one will be affected because he is a relative or a friend of someone who was guilty of this or that crime. We are here to build the nation, not destroy it. No one should have cause for unnecessary alarm. The civil servants are the backbone of the nation, and we offer them all the security and opportunity that the country can afford.

It is not true that the Armed Forces are superior to civil servants or to ordinary members of the nation.

I, as the most elderly and most senior in rank in the Army, hold this view, because it was the masses and the civil servants — in a sense — that gave us the green light to act and to save the nation.

Our constant contact and conversations with officials and ordinary citizens encouraged us to act. Therefore the Revolution is yours, as much as it is ours, and you must support it and see that its objectives are achieved wholly and quickly.

**From its outset, the Revolution was left in no doubt of popular support. Joyful demonstrations continue to be held throughout the country, expressing approval for specific acts of the Revolution. It was at one such demonstration on May 15, 1970, that the President said he was «overwhelmed» by the response of the people.**

# We are not beggars

YOUR presence here is evidence of your solidarity and unity as far as the Revolution is concerned.

The entire Somali people have already demonstrated their loyalty and support, and have shown that they want to decide their future destiny without foreign intervention. You have shown more than once your approval of the rebirth of the nation and your hatred of continued begging for foreign aid. Although the colonial powers helped us, their ultimate aim was to humiliate and dominate us, and to destroy our prestige.

The Somali people are today prepared to work hard in order to overcome our economic difficulties and to remove the need for begging from foreigners.

No nation can achieve real independence unless its sons are prepared to make sacrifices and show selfless dedication to the national interests. People can hoist a flag, but this cannot be described as freedom unless it is linked with economic independence.

I am overwhelmed by the large crowd standing in front of me, and I want to say again that the Revolution was not meant for the Armed Forces. It was staged in the interests of the masses and the entire Somali people — without discrimination. The Armed Forces are serving the people, who continuously condemned, hated and struggled against the corrupt former regimes.

We have promised to take you to real economic independence, and today you are witnesses to the fact that we have fulfilled our promise and gained that independence for you. We cannot reach our ultimate aim, however, unless we fight foreign exploitation and work harder.

I cannot forget your historic gathering here today, and I am convinced that you will continue your support and solidarity, because otherwise we cannot achieve our Revolutionary objectives.

To achieve our noble aims, there are many conditions that have to be fulfilled:

1. We must wage a relentless struggle against the colonialists and their puppets. This can only be done by uniting our forces and cooperating with each other.
2. To forget the imperialist designations that make some of us royal families and others slaves. I assure you that the Somali people are equal. There are no slaves. That is a pure myth.

If we gained our independence from the colonial powers by struggling, then we can free our children from hunger today. Our colonial masters have claimed that Somalia is a poor country. We must strive to disprove this mentality.

I can only conclude my speech by saying «Down with colonialism and neo-colonialism». But I would like to remind you that the colonialists never leave their prey, unless they are forced to. The remedy lies with us.

The importance of a good civil service to good government is a matter on which the President has made repeated references. Here, in a speech on May 22, 1970, he describes the good civil servant as «the backbone of the nation».

# The good civil servant

THE good civil servant is one who understands that he is not the master but the servant of the people.

The philosophy of the October Revolution is directed against a rotten system, and not against any particular group. That system was the remnant of the negative and destructive colonial mentality. Civil servants collaborated with that system, and whether consciously or unconsciously, their stand enabled that rotten system to flourish in every level of the nation's life.

Today, we will uphold justice, and cite examples of how to execute one's duties. A policeman, while doing his duty, must not maltreat his fellow citizen.

Men and women are equal, each to the level of his productivity. Our women made a valuable contribution during our struggle for independence, and our women can play a vital and equal part in the future development of our country.

While former regimes were in power, nepotism and corruption became the rule rather than the exception. Their only aim was to enrich themselves at the expense of the Somali people. In order to perpetuate themselves in power, they resorted to the discredited colonialist tactics of «divide and rule» by encouraging tribalism and sowing disunity and discord among the people.

Before going further then, let us ask ourselves: What is the philosophy of the Revolution? It is not merely to exchange the civilian government with military rule.

- ✓ The Revolution came about:
  - ✓ TO rescue the nation from the dangers, both internal and external, to which it had been exposed by the misrule of the former civilian regimes;
  - ✓ TO restore hope and dignity in place of despair and humiliation;
  - ✓ TO combat tribalism and corruption;
  - ✓ TO create conditions for sound and rapid economic and social development; and
  - ✓ TO lay down the foundations for policies which are aimed at the realisation of our national goals and aspirations.

Hence, the philosophy of the Revolution can be expressed in very simple language. It means doing away with the injustices of the past, the restoration of faith in our destiny, and the mobilisation of our resources for the task of nation-building. Let our motto therefore be: JUSTICE, HARD WORK, PROGRESS.

Now, as the civil servant of our beloved country, you are the backbone of the nation. You have a key role in running the country, irrespective of who is in power. You have an indispensable contribution to make to the social and economic progress of the country. Governments come and go, but civil servants are perma-

nently employed by the State to keep the machinery of the administration going and to ensure continuity.

It is therefore vital that you, as the civil servants of the State, should fully understand the importance of your responsibilities to our nation. Loyalty to the State, honesty and hard work are absolutely essential.

Those civil servants who show concern only for their own wellbeing, and who put their interests before those of the people, will not only be failing in discharging their responsibilities, but will be betraying the spirit of the Revolution. As such, they will have no place in the new order.

Having said this, let me now reassure all of you that the Revolution is duty-bound to safeguard your rights and interests as civil servants, and that patriotism, honesty and hard work will be rewarded.

Today, I wish to assure those who are prepared to work hard, and are willing to identify themselves with the spirit of the Revolution, that they need have no fear about their future. But to those who are not ready to throw their lot in with the Somali people by showing loyalty to the Revolution and by dedicating themselves to the work, I would say: There is no place for you among us.

The Supreme Revolutionary Council and the Somali people have no place for the lazy and the dishonest, and alminsharism is gone for ever.

I want to speak a word of warning: The Supreme Revolutionary Council will not tolerate subversive activities. Anyone found to be so engaged will meet with the full force of the law. Let there be no misunderstanding about this. The Supreme Revolutionary Council is well aware that those who were accustomed to ill-gotten gains will continue to spread anti-revolutionary propaganda. They are the alminshars who were used as hirelings by the discredited politicians of the old regimes to create disunity within the ranks of the people in order to keep themselves in power. They refuse

to adapt themselves to the new Revolutionary spirit, and try in vain to fight a losing battle under the guise of tribalism.

The Revolution does not want the police to prosecute anybody who was innocent of crimes against the nation and was an honest worker. These people have nothing to fear and can work with pride.

We will be severe with those who deprived the people of their sacred rights. The Revolution means the total uprooting of the social and economic structure of the country.

It happens that a Somali graduate is appointed at a salary of Shs. 600, while his white wife receives Shs. 2,000. This shows how little the Somali was valued in his own country.

In this situation, it was the responsibility of the Armed Forces to lead the country into the path of justice, equality and progress.

**When Somalia observed the anniversary of its independence on July 1, 1970, the occasion provided the President with the opportunity for a wide-ranging policy statement.**

## The state of the nation

JULY 1st is the day when the Somali people emerged from the darkness of foreign rule and ushered in a new era of hopes and expectations, and took over the reins of their country in dignity and pride. The problems inherited from the colonial period were numerous. There was no sound economic and social plan to develop the country. There was acute unemployment. Political problems were rife, and the Somali nation was in a state of disintegration.

The Governments which ran the affairs of our country from 1st July 1960 to 21st October 1969 have dismally failed in building a viable nation based on firm social and economic foundations. Corruption, tribalism, nepotism, injustice and embezzlement of funds became the order of the day and the existence of the Somali nation was threatened. Revenue collected in the form of taxes from the Somali people, many of whom lived on a hand to mouth basis, was used for personal interests. The financial and technical assist-

once poured into our country by friendly states was criminally robbed from our people.

The Supreme Revolutionary Council makes no dishonest promises in seeking a mandate from you. We shall formulate a feasible programme in which every Somali, men and women, young and old, can participate in the task of nation building so as to translate our aspirations into reality. The economic and social problems we inherited from the colonial powers and the former regimes are colossal. We must take up the challenge and by hard work help the government's efforts to succeed. This will only be possible through the cooperation and participation of the people. Let us pool our resources and energies for the progress and everlasting prosperity of our country.

The most pressing issue facing the Revolution is the economic problem. We fully realise that we will be judged by our economic policies, and the gains and failures we record in this field. Economics is the central issue. On it depends the success of the social, political and other activities of the nation. It is a simple question of bread and butter, and economic development is a matter no government can disregard.

Everyone of you recognises the gravity of our economic situation today. As one of the less developed countries we face a common Third World problem of neglect, discrimination and lack of interest from the so-called rich man's club of the world. We also have our special problems which could have been ameliorated by a government which was at least aware and sensitive to the needs and aspirations of the people. The sad and ignominious record of the defunct regime shows its mark on our people and on our country. There is rampant poverty, hunger, mass unemployment, chronic government deficits, etc. The list of our economic ills is too familiar for me to repeat. The defunct regime's attitude to development questions and their total neglect of the people's interests is a sad chapter in the history of our country.

The coming to a head of this situation was one of the major causes of our Revolution on October 21st 1969. For the past nine

months the Supreme Revolutionary Council, government and the Somali people in recognition of the present economic situation have begun to address themselves in earnest to redress these ills and put the country on a sound economic footing.

In the country's planning for the development of the future, the Revolution foresees progress only after the complete overhaul of the former regime's defunct and unworkable systems. The mistakes and failures of the past decade have to be rectified and compensated for in the shortest time. To this end all public organs and the entire population is called upon to take part in the full implementation of our economic programmes. The broad development objectives and general strategy for the future will be to develop the country's full economic potential, to raise the standard of living of the people, to provide full employment and to bring about justice and eradicate all forms of exploitation.

In achieving these objectives priority will be given, sectorwise, to Livestock, Agriculture, Industry, Water Resources Development, Mineral Exploration and Exploitation, Tourism and Training. In all these fields, greater importance will always be given to projects involving directly productive activities as opposed to uneconomical prestige projects. The state will have to progressively participate more directly and on a wider scale in the development of the country. We must mobilise more resources for this purpose, and the public must engage in more co-operative projects and self-help schemes.

New markets will be sought and traditional ones consolidated for local products. At the same time essential food and major commodities of consumption for which raw materials are available within the country, will be produced locally. More financial resources will be diverted to development rather than consumption.

We have not publicised our development projects because we do not want to raise the hopes of the people prematurely. We are determined to press ahead with progress, rather than to talk about our plans.

The unsolved problems of the past will be tackled, and the mistakes of the former regimes will be rectified. All the efforts of the Revolutionary Government will be directed towards the development of every part of our country including remote and forgotten districts. The «Crash Programmes» in progress will educate our people to realize the untapped vast potentialities through self-help schemes and co-operatives. With the full co-operation of the people we shall marshal our energies and mobilise all available resources to achieve national well-being by fighting man's greatest enemies: poverty, disease and ignorance. We ask you to play your role in the most exacting way for the fruits of our efforts will be yours and yours alone.

With regard to the foreign policy of the Somali Democratic Republic, the first pronouncement of the Supreme Revolutionary Council has laid down the following objectives:

- (1) Support for international solidarity (and national liberation movements).
- (2) Oppose and fight against all forms of colonialism and neo-colonialism.
- (3) ~~Struggle to maintain Somali national unity.~~
- (4) Recognise strongly the principle of peaceful co-existence between all peoples.
- (5) Continue the policy of positive neutrality.
- (6) Respect and recognise all international commitments undertaken by this country.

Since the popular Revolution took place on October 21st, 1969, the Somali Government has been playing a tangible role in international affairs: We participated most effectively in the meeting of the East and Central African States held early this year in Khartoum in which it was decided that the next Summit Conference be held at Mogadishu in June 1971. The selection of our capital as

a venue for meeting of the Heads of State and Governments of East and Central African countries naturally gives us honour and pride. The Somali delegation also participated effectively in the Islamic States conference held at Jeddah in March 1970 and the Non-aligned States Preparatory Meeting held recently in Dar-es-Salaam.

In addition to all these plausible efforts and successes of the Somali Democratic Republic in the international platform, the Somali government has materially and morally contributed — however modest, to the assistance of Equatorial Guinea. This country suffered undue hardship in the hands of neo-colonialists immediately after its independence. Today, Equatorial Guinea, one of the progressive countries of Africa, is a close friend of our country, thanks to the spirit of brotherhood which the African countries have demonstrated during her darkest hours of its statehood.

Today our voice is heard more loudly than ever before; our weight is being felt by the international community and our fervent implementation of positive neutrality has enhanced our image and prestige among the progressive nations throughout the world. The African Group in the United Nations have elected the Somali Democratic Republic to a seat in the Security Council which is the most important organ of the United Nations.

Consistent with our declared policy, we have recognised governments in exile, which have proved to the world that they are enjoying the support and confidence of their people and who have the right to self determination and independence according to the United Nations Charter.

In recent declarations we have made on international issues, we have unequivocally demanded that countries in Indo-China be left to run their own affairs to decide their own destiny without foreign troops in their territories or political pressure on their leaders.

We signed the Treaty on the Non-proliferation of Nuclear Weapons because we believe that the wealth wasted on these destructive weapons could be diverted to the welfare of mankind.

Although at the time when the popular October Revolution took place, our relations with the neighbouring countries were friendly, yet no final agreement was reached on the well known disputes. As a result, the Somali people particularly those in the rural areas were left to live in a state of anxiety and lack of security. The Revolutionary Government in accordance with its pronouncements intends to find ways and means of settling our disputes with the neighbouring countries in a responsible manner and I repeat in a responsible manner and in accordance with the Organisation for African Unity Charter.

We in the Somali Democratic Republic do not intend to kindle a fire in the Horn of Africa. We have heard, and some of us have seen the effects and repercussions of war, which twice struck this world and left behind untold sorrow and suffering. What we intend to do is to press for a peaceful and amicable settlement of all disputes which engulf us and our neighbours, and which sow the seeds of suspicion and hatred between the peoples and governments of our part of the world. If these perennial and thorny problems are eliminated by peaceful means in a spirit of goodwill and neighbourliness, the efforts of all states concerned, including the Somali Democratic Republic, will be concentrated on the eradication of the arch enemies of mankind — disease, ignorance and poverty, and on the economic and social betterment of our peoples.

We shall no longer content ourselves with diplomatic and hypocritical statements to our neighbours. We shall bring to the round-table conference concrete and bold proposals that touch the crux of our disputes with our neighbours, aimed at creating prosperity, progress and everlasting peace in the Horn of Africa.

The Revolutionary Government welcomes the atmosphere of cooperation and harmony between the Somali people and the French authorities in French Somaliland. But this atmosphere should lead to the independence of that territory. As a progressive and historically revolutionary country, France should grant independence to French Somaliland, as it has done in the case of

other African countries who are today the greatest friends of the French for all times. In this context I firmly believe that the people in that territory must be given their right to exercise the principle of self-determination in a free and democratic manner, and free from any pressure or interference from any quarter or from any country, no matter what vital interests that country may claim to have in shaping the future of French Somaliland. It is our conviction that it is the best solution to that thorny problem. On our part we shall reserve no efforts and explore all avenues to forge an everlasting friendship between the Somali Democratic Republic and France in all fields of cooperation. We shall also strive to make a positive contribution towards the noble goal of bringing about the true independence of our brethren in the «French Somali Coast».

The policy of the Supreme Revolutionary Council and Government with regard to the Middle East question remains unequivocal, and has the total support of the Somali people for their Arab brethren and their condemnation of Zionist aggression. We shall continue to support them to the best of our abilities in their struggle to regain the territories in the United Arab Republic, Syria and Jordan occupied by the Israeli aggressors. Our non-recognition of the Israeli claim to these territories stems from our adherence to accepted principles of international law which do not recognise any rights acquired through aggression.

The expansionist principles of Zionism and the terrorist tactics of the Israeli Military Administration in these areas is a matter of concern not only to us but for the whole international community, which has been shocked by the neo-Nazi tactics of Israeli military authorities.

The Supreme Revolutionary Council and Government stand to examine any proposals aimed at arriving at a just and lasting settlement of the conflict solely on their merits. It is common knowledge however, that the misguided leadership of Israel continues to disregard international opinion and all sensible proposals aimed

at a settlement in the interests of international peace and security. They must be made to heed and respect the various United Nations resolutions. Israel must be made to implement the 22nd November Resolution aimed at easing tension in the area by the withdrawal of all Israeli forces from occupied Arab territories.

The truculence, bellicosity and false vanity of the Israeli aggressor is fed and nourished by world imperialism at its free-front.

The closure of the Suez Canal does not only affect the United Arab Republic alone but also the countries in and around the Red-Sea basin, including the Somali Democratic Republic.

The European countries should not pretend that it does not affect their economics. The significant and important reasons for the cutting of the Canal more than a century ago are still valid in the modern world of today. We should not all lose sight of this reality.

Apart from our close links with the Arab World, our strong support for their just cause is animated by two main factors. As a member of the Organisation for African Unity, we have an obligation according to the charter of this organisation, to consider any aggression against a member state as aggression against us. The human aspect of the matter is also important. In this era the United Nations has bridged the gaps existing in the world, and geographic distances have been rendered insignificant as a result of modern technology. People on this planet have become so interdependent that we should be governed by international conscience. Israel seems to be forgetful of its own history. It was only in the last world war that the Jews gained the sympathy of mankind because the atrocities committed against them were inhuman. The beastly way in which innocent children were massacred could not be tolerated by the rest of the world; the ghastly manner in which Jewish men and women, young and old, were indiscriminately mutilated and cremated alive in gas chambers could not quieten those who valued humanity. It was because of this that mankind condemned Hitler, who fell victim to his own fallacy. We are con-

Arab  
Support

demning Israel for the same reason because she is using the same tactics in physically eliminating innocent people and evicting them from their legitimate homes. The Zionists are following the very policy which they once complained was the cause of their destruction. Their self-destruction and their doom will be assured if they are not mindful of the realities of history, which for them was a favourable witness in the second world war, but is against them today.

The African States are engaged in a bitter struggle against the minority regimes which are bent on oppressing the African peoples in South Africa, Rhodesia, Angola, Mozambique and Guinea Bissau. The efforts of the African States directed towards the liberation of all the African territories under colonial and minority white regimes have achieved some measure of success through the Organisation for African Unity Liberation Committee and through the United Nations. Pressure has been exerted on the Western countries which trade and invest in these territories to withdraw their material and moral support from the present minority and colonial regimes in Southern Africa and elsewhere. As a result Britain, Sweden, Norway and Italy withdrew their contributions to the construction of Gabora Bassan Dam. Due to the hard work of African States, many resolutions have been passed which called upon all States to cease giving aid and comfort to the oppressive regimes in Southern Africa. Despite these efforts of the African States the illegal Government of rebel Ian Smith is consolidating its position to such an extent that he has declared a Republic. Repressive and inhuman legislation which entrenches white supremacy and rule in that territory has been enacted. Assured of military and economic support by South Africa and Portugal and other allies and encouraged by the acquiescence of the administering power i.e. the United Kingdom; the rebel government in Salisbury has introduced apartheid into Rhodesia by the promulgation of South African type laws, which deny both civil and political rights and freedom to the African population.

The failures of sanctions against the rebel regime in Rhodesia

and the obstinacy of the South African Government and Portugal in Angola, Mozambique and Guinea Bissau to restore fundamental rights and freedom to the African majority is a direct result of the policy of the Western powers that pay lip service condemnation to apartheid and all forms of racial discrimination and yet maintain investment and trade with South Africa and its satellites in Angola, Mozambique and Rhodesia. This course of action no doubt makes a mockery of world opinion and flouts the United Nations Charter and its resolutions.

It is obvious that the African States should reconsider their strategy in their struggle against these regimes in Southern Africa and elsewhere and re-adjust their relations with countries that aid and comfort the arch enemies of Black Africa. Our enjoyment of independence and freedom is meaningless and futile when our brothers in that part of Africa are oppressed and denied their inalienable rights to self-determination. We, the African States should redouble our efforts to awaken the world to the dangerous situation in Southern Africa which may at any moment precipitate a racial conflagration, which may cause human sufferings of major proportions. As a member of the United Nations Special Committee on the apartheid policy of South Africa and as a member of the Liberation Committee of the Organisation of African Unity, the Somali Democratic Republic will continue to play an active role in the struggle against the unholy alliance and dominance of minority white regimes in every part of Africa. We shall morally and materially, support the Liberation Movements of Africa until the last inch of Africa is liberated from the usurpers of Africa's wealth, dignity and pride.

I would like to conclude my address by reminding you that the progress of our country necessitates the contribution of every one of us towards our national endeavour. If you build a school or hospital here or construct a canal there by self-help methods, I consider that to be a constructive contribution to the development and progress of our country. But we must hasten our tempo so that

we gain what we have lost since independence. Due to the curtailment of aid to our country by certain Governments, we must prove to the world, particularly the developing nations, the resourcefulness of the Somali people and our ability to develop and advance with our own resources, however meagre, without aid with strings. This is our sacred trust which we owe to our country, to our dignity and pride as a nation and last but not least to posterity. With regard to our relations with foreign countries, I would like to emphasise that as a non-aligned State, we extend our friendship to those who return it and as a complete sovereign state our destiny is determined by the dictates of our thoughts. This is the basis of our endeavour at home in nation-building and in the international issues of today and tomorrow.

**Somalia is a developing country and education is of paramount importance in achieving its development goals. In an address to teachers in Mogadishu's National Theatre on July 31, 1970 the President urged his countrymen to speed mass literacy campaigns by each taking upon himself the responsibility of teaching his fellows.**

# Education is the key to our future

THE Supreme Revolutionary Council attaches great importance to the standard of education in our country and the value of education to our society. We regard the teachers as the pillars of education, and if they fail to hold it up, the whole structure will automatically fall down.

Education is of immense value to the individual and to the development of the nation. It is the one thing that our economy, social life and scientific progress depend upon. We will forever remain underdeveloped if our standard of education remains at a low level. We will not have the minds we need to solve our problems. Therefore we must give education its proper place in our society.

For the past ten years we have been demoralised and dispirited, and we have even forgotten our sense of nationalism. The Somali people are very nationalistic by nature; they have good consciences and principles that unite them. But they need good leadership to show them the right path.

We must face realities and use our time wisely, not postponing for tomorrow what we can do today. We must recognise our aims and do what we can. Our needs are great and nothing will be overcome if we fold our hands and wait. We must do as much as we can.

We lack colleges, books, teachers and many other things, but we cannot get them all at once. I myself should teach, though I have the least training. Yet I should teach what I know to my fellow brothers. All civil servants and members of the armed forces should teach until we get a sufficient number of teachers. The illiterate must be educated.

We must build our schools under self-help schemes and not wait for assistance to come from outside. We should do this with the cooperation of teachers, students, parents, the Ministry and the general public. Teachers and students are the backbone of our nation and therefore they must help to fight our enemies such as tribalism, nepotism, ignorance, poverty and disease and create unity, cooperation and brotherhood among the people. They should strengthen our culture and inspire patriotism in the people.

A military man cannot defend his country if he lacks patriotism and does not know why he is fighting. We must recollect the good deeds of our forefathers and the love they had for their country. Meanwhile, the coming generations should inherit from us good morals and a sense of nationalism.

Your hearts should be clean, and the education you give to the children should not be confined to the lessons of their classes only, but should cover a wider range and the aims of our October Revolution. If you accept that you are teaching the men of tomorrow, then you are fulfilling your responsibilities.

In 1940, on a hill overlooking Mogadishu, a group of Somali nationalists hurled stones at colonial troops who opened fire on them, killing several. This incident was one of many in which Somalis died in the struggle for their freedom. On August 9, 1970 the President of the Somali Democratic Republic, gave his official blessing to the Dagahtour Monument that will commemorate the nation's heroes.

## The nation's heroes

IT is only sixteen years — six years of internal self-government in the south, and ten years of independence — since we started remembering the martyrs and the nationalists who struggled for the freedom of our country.

While one event was taking place here in Mogadishu, similar events were taking place in other parts of the country, such as Dolo on January 11, 1948 and again on October 5, 1949.

The martyrs were fighting for the cause of the country and the nation; and in defence of their freedom, religion, humanity and their children. They lost their lives.

We hope that God will have mercy upon them, and that those of us who are present here today will remember and respect them for ever.

Although the Army had taken control of the country's affairs, the President has repeatedly underscored the vital contribution of the people, acting in concert with the Army, on national programmes. In an address to civil servants on August 21, 1970, the President again made this point.

# We are in this together

RUNNING the affairs of the nation calls for frank discussion. It is an illusion to think that the nation's affairs are the sole business of the Armed Forces. It is your business as well as it is ours; we both share the discredits that may result from how we handle them.

Politics played havoc with the resources of our nation. It was never a secret that the politicians used to overburden the State Treasury by employing their political hangers-on, both before and after the elections. This had the effect of putting the State into heavy deficit. No one paid any attention to the dire consequences of these self-defeating policies, which created a deficit so huge that became an albatross around the nation's neck.

Sixty per cent of the government's budget went on salaries and benefits, and only forty per cent was available for services to the nation. Clearly, services to the nation were put second in im-

portance to salaries. Anybody with a modicum of intelligence can see that services to the nation should be set far above salaries among priorities. But even though services to the nation were reduced to a bare minimum, the government ran up a 40 million shilling deficit through overstaffing.

Since national services now function at a minimum, further reductions are unthinkable. We cannot go hat in hand in search of funds because that will be humiliating and contrary to the principle of self-reliance to which the nation is committed.

The alternative is to scrap 6,000 government civil servants from the service. If this is done, it will mean cutting off the livelihood of about 20,000 Somalis since it is reasonable to assume that 6,000 employed Somalis sustain no less than 20,000 people. Furthermore, dismissal of 6,000 Somalis will greatly aggravate the already chronic unemployment situation in the country.

The only sensible solution to the deficit problem is to tighten our belts and cut down on luxuries. Instead of high-priced imported goods, we should use locally made products. A switch to local goods will not only result in savings, but will encourage our manpower to be gainfully employed and show improvement of existing methods in the industrial sector.

The nation must face up to its problems. A coward will not get anywhere. We must not pay any attention to those who whine about reductions in their incomes.

Tribalism is the root and mother of disunity, disorder, economic failures, foreign interference in our affairs, and the sustaining power of the nation's weaknesses and its past political immorality.

Somalia was healthy before some self-glorifying politicians, officials and Alminshars soaked the moral fabric of the nation by resorting to disgusting methods of acquiring wealth and power. We have only to look back to turn away in disgust.

Although we have been talking about honesty and efficiency since the Revolution, there are no signs of betterment. On the contrary, inefficiency, bribery and nepotism have grown new roots. There are complaints from the regions of lack of response from Ministries in the capital to enquiries and requests. It is the responsibility of senior government officials in the capital to see that government activities, here and in the regions, are properly coordinated through efficient and prompt communications.

One of the aims of the Revolution is to recreate our lost nationalism. The word nationalism may be interpreted in many ways.

### **WHAT IS A NATIONALIST?**

A nationalist is a person of dignity, who honours his word; one who abhors dishonesty, thievery, and injustice, and who puts his energy and creativity at the disposal of his nation.

**Maj-Gen. Mohamed Siad Barre**

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