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OUR FOREIGN RELATIONS

— A review of our
revolutionary policies

**MOGADISHU
JUNE - 1974**

**PUBLISHED BY:
THE MINISTRY OF INFORMATION
AND NATIONAL GUIDANCE**



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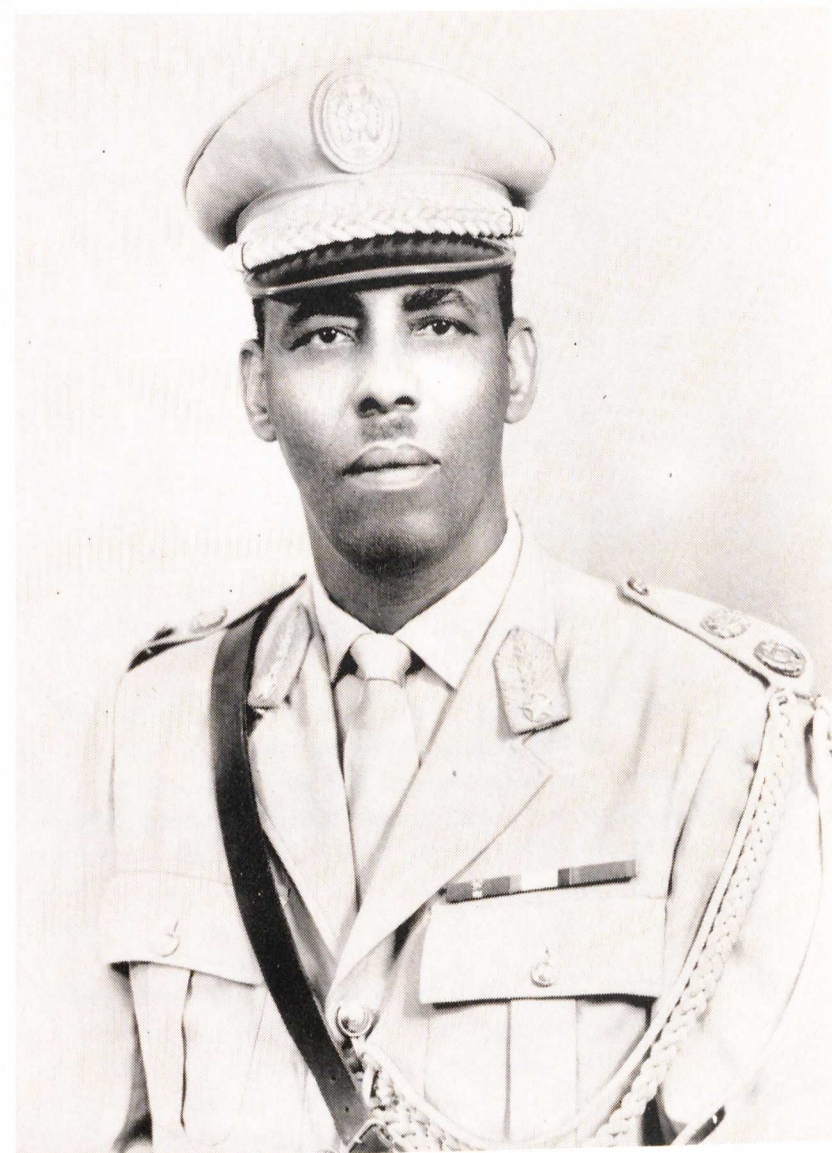
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*Jaalle Major-General MOHAMED SIYAD BARRE
President of the Supreme
Revolutionary Council*

INTRODUCTION

A. Our Foreign Policy before the Revolution

The success or failure of any particular country's foreign policies is fundamentally determined by two factors. Firstly, the soundness of its internal policies and the range of progress made in the economic field. Secondly, the extent of popularity and enthusiastic support that the general public gives to the political and economic policies of its government.

These two factors are particularly true of the developing world where only through unity of purpose and action can the national aspirations be realized. In this respect, the people of Somalia experienced two distinct periods during its fourteen years of national independence.

During the first-nine years that followed the independence in July 1960, the successive civilian governments played havoc with the internal affairs of the country and

despite occasional, rhetoric pronouncements and someti-only lin-service to the outside world or were merely for local consumption to appease the Somali public, whenever the naturally progressive attitude of the masses seemed to threaten the positions of those politicians in power.

B. Our Foreign Policy-Since the October Revolution.

The second five-year period that started with the birth of the Revolution in October, 1969 were in complete contrast with what the nation experienced during the years before October. Here we witnessed the rebirth of a nation-state and for the first time a people working hand in hand with its government emerged.

All the actions and policies that followed the First Declaration of the Supreme Revolutionary Council were consistently kept to the letter and spirit of that Declaration.

Our first Charter provided the necessary Foreign Policy guidelines as follows:-

1. To support international solidarity and national liberation movements;
2. To oppose and fight against all forms of colonialism and neo-colonialism;
3. To struggle to maintain the Somali National Unity;
4. To continue and preserve the policy of positive neutrality;
5. To recognise strongly the principle of peaceful co-existence between all peoples;
6. To respect and recognise all legal international commitments undertaken by the Somali Republic.

C. We choose Socialism

The nation unanimously welcomed the long awaited

decision that Socialism was the only way to economic prosperity.

In a solemn political statement, the President of the Supreme Revolutionary Council, Jaalle Mohamed Siyad Barre said, "We choose Scientific Socialism, because it is the only way for the rapid transformation of the country into a developed and economically advanced nation".

In fact, the decision was more of a national choice rather than a mere government policy declaration.

The consequences of this decisive declaration were far-reaching and, with the responsive attitude of the people,

it has effectively transformed the entire nation within a short period of time. The economic achievements, mare through the hard work of a determined people became nothing short of a miracle and the nationally declared war against poverty, disease and ignorance is still waged with the same degree of will and determination. Socialism meant the elimination of inequalities, mass participation in production work and fair distribution of outputs. It also meant drastic change in a number of fundamentally traditional life patterns; such as the tribal practice of influence etc.

D. The New Outlook

With the advent of the Revolution, the Declaration of new foreign and internal policies and the adoption of socialism as a way of life, all contributed to herald a new outlook to our relations with the outside world, thus bidding farewell to a period of stagnation and national frustration; and once the ball started rolling soon after these principles were made public; a number of main issues presented themselves as "priority issues" as regarding the reshaping of our national image in the field of foreign relations. These "priority issues" were summerised in the First Charter under the heading "Foreign Policy".

Within the first few years of the Revolution, the active and sincere implementation of these principles were capable

to take Somalia out of the political and diplomatic isolation which the nation endured for nearly nine years. It was followed by a period of relentless efforts which proved capable to redress the appalling situation and restore the nations respect and dignity.

As a result, our relations with the African countries, the Arab World, the Muslim World, the Socialist World, the non-aligned World, the liberation movements and the peace-loving peoples of the world at large were considerably consolidated and cemented. Internally, the Socialist system we adapted helped further to achieve this consolidation.

The sons and daughters of the present New Somalia have every reason to be proud of what their blessed Revolution, through its determined and patriotic people has already achieved in less than five years. This pride in their immediate past has also contributed to an unlimited confidence in their future prosperity.

Jaalle Colonel ISMAIL ALI ABOKOR
Vice President of the Supreme
Revolutionary Council and
Secretary of State for Information
and National Guidance

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CHAPTER I

SOMALIA AND THE O.A.U.

In describing the post-independence years of Somalia's role in the African arena and especially in regard to the OAU, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs has this to say in one of its political pamphlets:-

"Although the Somali Democratic Republic is one of the original signatories of the Charter of the Organisation of African Unity, yet previous civilian regimes have hardly contributed to the realization of the objectives of this continental organisation. These regimes only paid lip-service to even the most noble ideals of the Organisation. Co-operation with African independent states in the economic, social and communications fields was limited. Even at the international level previous civilian regimes did not bother to co-ordinate their stand with other independent African states and thus were, no more than disinterested onlookers".

To-day Somalia is more than an onlooker. Instead there have been more positive activities. Its principles which are in conformity with the principles of the Charter

of the O.A.U. guide the policy of the Somali Democratic Republic towards the African continent. This naturally necessitates a closer co-operation with the O.A.U. and independent African States at all levels. In the short span of just over four years since the birth of the October Revolution, the Somali Democratic Republic has emerged from its position of obscurity and isolation into the mainstream of African politics. Within these four years, the Somali Democratic Republic has strengthened its bilateral relations with many African countries while proving to be the champion of the African cause in the O.A.U. and outside. As a result, Mogadishu has played host to many African Heads of State and Government and other high-ranking African personalities and acted as the venue for various African conferences. To-day we are at last able to find the courage and enthusiasm to play host to the rest of independent Africa.

These activities are varied and range from the political and economic to the cultural. Somalia has displayed its sincere intentions to the East African Community. This interest came in the form of Somalia submitting an application for membership in the East African Community which was at that time composed of only Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania. Other interested East and Central African countries to join the Community along with Somalia were Ethiopia, Rwanda, Burundi and Zambia. In this respect the negotiations for joining the Community started before the October Revolution, yet the rate of progress has been very slow. Being aware of the vital role that regional economic integration could play in transforming the economies of independent African States, the revolutionary Government despatched a special mission to Arusha to reaffirm our determination to join the Community and to hold talks on the ways and means of effecting this quickly. Since then, regular contacts have been kept up with the Community ending with the visit to Mogadishu of a two-man delegation from the negotiating team of the partner States in 1972. These sincere efforts still remain to be there, but certain unfortunate events in the area rather pro-

longed the ultimate economic association which aimed at the complete integration to materialize in the long run. Besides "existing goodwill and all round determination to establish an economic community there is every reason to believe that the few remaining obstacles will be removed in the next few years and will hopefully open the way for final integration".

In the cultural field Somalia played as host to the Preparatory Seminar on African Folklore, Music and Dance Festival in October, 1970. The desire of Somalia to enhance this important cultural event in its capital Mogadishu was underscored by the opening speech of the Director General of the Ministry of Education:

«For centuries the colonial powers were destroying the African Culture and blackening its history. We were told that African peoples had no culture of their own before the arrival of the white man in spite of the fact that Africa has a very rich cultural heritage. European cultures and civilizations were taught at schools while no mention was made of that of Africa.

«In a situation like this, it was only natural that soon after independence African countries had to start a programme of cultural revival. Today member states of the O.A.U. are paying closer attention to the cultures found within their boundaries as well as in other African countries. This general concern to give a priority to African cultures led the O.A.U. to hold a seminar on African folklore, dance and music.

«In response to the convening notes of the O.A.U., the Somali Democratic Republic with its rich culture invited the O.A.U. to hold the seminar in Mogadishu on 21st October, 1970 to coincide with the First Anniversary Celebrations of the 21st October Revolution.

«During the seminar, the Somali Democratic Republic presented a comprehensive document on Somali folklore, music and dance which indicated the main sources of Soma-

li folklore and its distinctive aspects».

At the end of its deliberations, the Seminar which was chaired by the Director General of the Ministry of Education took important decisions and submitted concrete recommendations aimed at promoting African culture. Needless to say, the recommendations were later adopted by the O.A.U. and are now in the implementation process.

In addition to this active participation in both the economic and cultural fields, Somalia's part in African politics was more responsive and alert. We may cite here only few occasions where Somalia's foreign policy actions were not only acknowledged and appreciated, but further urged by other African sister states to play similar parts.

AGGRESSION AGAINST GUINEA

The Portuguese colonialists and foreign mercenaries with the help of all the might of imperialism staged a naked aggression against the State of Guinea. Somalia was one of the first African independent countries to respond and condemn in the strongest terms all the sources of aggression. In an immediate telegram sent to President Ahmed Sekou Toure, Jaalle Mohamed Siyad Barre, President of the Somali Supreme Revolutionary Council said in part:

"I am extremely aggrieved to hear of the colonial invasion of Guinean territory by Portuguese forces reinforced by mercenary troops from Portuguese-held Guinea Bissau. This is a serious threat to the hard-won independence of African States and a fatal blow to our organization. We hail your courageous repulse against these forces of evil which are the enemies of peace and progress. We also hail your brave and proud people who have vigilantly defended their country with faith and determination. I have the honour to ensure of our full solidarity and support to the government and to the valiant people of Guinea including military support if need be. Please rest assured that you will always triumph as long as you are on the side

of justice of the African people».

This was further followed by despatching a strong delegation to attend the 7th Extraordinary Session of the Organization of African Unity's Council of Ministers and the Defence Commission which were convened in Lagos from 9th to 12th December, 1970. In that Session the African states examined the situation and recommended ways and means of safeguarding the Republic of Guinea against future aggression.

When that Extraordinary Session ended in Lagos, the Somali delegation proceeded to the Republic of Guinea to convey the following on behalf of the President of the Supreme Revolutionary Council Jaalle Mohamed Siyad Barre:-

- a) Convey to President Ahmed Sekou Toure, Government and people of the Republic of Guinea the unreserved support and solidarity of the President of S.R.C., Government and people of the Somali Democratic Republic in the courageous struggle against the invasion;
- b) Offer to that sister nation military and material assistance.

THE QUESTION OF DIALOGUE WITH SOUTHERN AFRICA

It was for the first time in the history of the white racists in southern African that after successive apartheid regimes showed signs of outward looking policy in its relations with the rest of the independent African countries.

This so-called outward-looking policy on the part of the white rule in South Africa was so deceptive both in form and origin that certain African leaders were wrongly led to believe that such an outlook which was expressed in the form of an open dialogue could either help the political struggle waged by the African people in that country or even ultimately help in solving the entire problem.

It was necessary here for the independent African countries to either preferably take a united stand within the O.A.U. or if that fails express their unilateral policies. Since the issue meant more than solving a discord in the African ranks, the Somali Democratic Republic together with most other African countries completely rejected the issue. In doing so these countries realized the danger inherent in the dialogue as proposed by the South African racist regime which in spirit and letter aimed to destroy the hard-won African unity in the OAU. The nature of that dialogue was also planned to destroy once and for all the Liberation Movement and to lead its men and leaders to an endless, ruthless prosecutions at the hands of their own enemy.

The Somali Democratic Republic maintained along with those African countries who had a similar stand that such a dialogue on the part of Southern Africa lacked in the first place all principles related to human dignity and equality of all men regardless of their colour or creed.

The Somali Democratic Republic proposed that South Africa should first open direct negotiations with the leaders of the liberation movements. Any useful results reached in such negotiations may be considered as important bases for any future talks with the OAU.

The issue was further rejected in the Seventh East and Central African Summit Conference held here in Mogadishu in 1971 where the famous "Mogadishu Declaration" says:-

"The leaders of independent Africa intended, through the Lusaka manifesto, to dispel any misunderstanding by the international community of Africa's reasons for its united opposition to the racist policies of the Government of South Africa. It was also intended to reaffirm their conviction of the equality of all men and women and of their inalienable right to human dignity and respect without regard to colour, race, religion or sex».

The Lusaka Manifesto was presented to the United Nations Organization at the twenty-fourth Session of the Ge-

neral Assembly by the President of the Federal Republic of Cameroon, H. E. Ahmadou Ahidjo as Chairman of the Organization of African Unity. After its discussion and debate it was adopted and made a United Nations document. The voting at the United Nations was overwhelmingly in favour of the document with only South Africa and Portugal voting against. In other words, out of one hundred and twenty six members of the United Nations these were the only two countries whose policies were under scrutiny and attack and who opposed the contents of the Lusaka Manifesto.

Having defined the objectives of the liberation of Southern Africa, the leaders of independent Africa made it known to the whole world and in particular to the Republic of South Africa and Portugal - that there could be no compromise or concession made on the freedom, dignity and respect of the oppressed peoples of Southern Africa. Consequently, the only alternative left to Africa was to use all means available to them to change the abominable and hateful policies of apartheid, colonialism and racialism.

THE OAU CONFERENCES

For the first time since its independence in July 1960, the Somali Democratic Republic had the chance to initiate new policies and to play as a host country to a number of African gatherings. Among these were:

Preparatory Seminar on African Folklore, Dance and Music Festival, Regional Preparatory Conference of Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity Organization (AAPSO) two conferences of OAU Liberation Committee; East and Central African States Summit; Conference of World Progressive Youth jointly sponsored by the Political Office of the SRC Presidency and World Federation of Democratic Youth (WFDY), and attended by many African countries and representatives of Liberation Movements.

Mogadishu - the capital city-received a number of prominent leaders while Jaalle Siyad paid similar visits to a number of African countries. The talks exchanged were

useful in planning the future relations of Somalia with its African sister States.

The official visits made by Jaalle Mohamed Siyad Barre President of SRC and the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs Jaalle Omar Arteh Ghalib did not only ensure co-operation with other African States as envisaged in the OAU Charter; but also paved the way for the conclusion of a number of bilateral agreements in economic, political and cultural fields.

Since the birth of the October Revolution, the Somali Democratic Republic began to make effective contributions to all the conferences of the Organization of African Unity and the dynamic part it has played on most issues; especially on the decolonization questions earned the Somali people respect and dignity among their African brothers.

Somalia was further honoured when the Rabat Summit unanimously agreed to hold this present Summit in Mogadishu.

THE SEVENTH SUMMIT CONFERENCE OF THE EAST AND CENTRAL AFRICAN STATES

The Seventh Summit of East and Central African Heads of State and Government and the Conference of Foreign Ministers were convened in Mogadishu in October 1971.

The two conferences dealt with questions of co-operation between the East and Central African States in the political, economic and social fields as well as questions of African and international importance.

In the political field, the two conferences gave priority to the promotion of good neighbourly relations and the total emancipation of African territories still under colonial domination. To this end, the Seventh Summit adopted the Mogadishu Declaration.

SOMALI PEACE INITIATIVE

It should be recalled that the 16th Ordinary Session of the O.A.U. unanimously elected the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs as Chairman of the Session in recognition of the dynamic role played by revolutionary Somalia in the affairs of the O.A.U. The task of the Chairman was complicated by the crisis which arose even before the Council could consider the first item on the agenda. This concerned Uganda's representation in the Session since there were two Uganda delegations contending for the Uganda representation. The problem was, therefore, which of these delegations could legitimately represent Uganda. In the course of the discussions that ensued, the Uganda problem gave rise to a heated debate which showed that member states were deeply divided on the issue. Indeed this division endangered the very existence of the O.A.U.

This issue no doubt posed a real challenge to the Chairman of the Session, Jaalle Omer Arteh Ghalib who guided the discussion with patience, tact and resoluteness. The Chairman opposed the view that the problem should be voted upon since he rightly felt that this was not conducive to the maintenance of unity and cohesion in the Organization. Instead the Foreign Secretary carried out intensive consultations with Heads of delegations so as to reach a compromise solution and without a vote. In the end there was a consensus that the session be adjourned and this compromise solution was adopted unanimously by the Council.

Because of consultations carried out in the following months, the Uganda issue was solved by the time the 16th Ordinary Session was resumed in June 1971. While the session was in suspension, President Amin and his Foreign Minister, Wanume Kibedi, his government and people proved to Africa and to the peace and progress-loving world that the Revolution in Uganda was an African Revolution

destined to regain the lost dignity of its people and take them out of the poverty, disease and ignorance that were deliberately perpetrated by the imperialists in a country which was later described by President Siyad as a paradise. In a matter of four days, the resumed session concluded its deliberations. Thus despite the expectations of the enemies of Africa, Africa had once again demonstrated its faith in the O.A.U. If anything the 16th Session will go down in history as the session which proved to the world beyond any doubt that Africa can stand and close its ranks in the face of the imperialist intrigues and designs. Africa had indeed come out more united and more forceful than ever before.

Because of the weighty consequences of the challenge and the seriousness it presented to all Africa further O.A.U. consultations and meetings were convened in various parts of Africa.

The response of the outside peace-loving world was no less important and the part played by the Somali Democratic Republic was always hailed and respected.

The crisis which flared up between the two sister states of Uganda and Tanzania was the concern of every African who is worthy of that name. If allowed to develop, it could have endangered the peace and security of not only East Africa but the whole of the African continent. Realizing this, the Somali Democratic Republic immediately decided to intervene and offered its good offices to the two sister states. The reasons which led the Somali Democratic Republic to take this line of action are the following:-

1. The fraternal relations which Somalia maintains with both Uganda and Tanzania;
2. Our closeness to the troubled area;
3. Our belief that all types of disputes that could arise between any two African States could be solved through negotiations, mediation and arbitration;

4. Both countries are progressive members of the O.A.U.;
5. Our policy to maintain African unity so that the imperialists and racists may not benefit from our disunity;
6. Our belief that disputes between African states will slow down the war of liberation particularly when countries bordering the racist minority regimes are parties to such disputes; and
7. The time element.

After taking this decision, the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Jaalle Omer Arteh Ghalib, was despatched to Uganda and Tanzania with a five-point peace plan worked out by Jaalle Major General Mohamed Siyad Barre. After the necessary consultations with Presidents Nyerere and Amin, the two parties to the dispute responded positively to the mediation effort by the Somali Democratic Republic and consequently agreed to send their Foreign Ministers to Mogadishu with full powers to work out the details of a peace plan submitted by Somalia.

These talks were held in Mogadishu in October 1972 under the Chairmanship of Jaalle Arteh who guided the deliberations of the meeting to a successful conclusion and in the presence of the Administrative Secretary-General of the O.A.U. who was invited by the Somali Democratic Republic to be present for the talks.

At the end of the discussions which were held in a frank and friendly atmosphere, the five-point peace plan was accepted in the form of a Pledge which ended the hostilities between the two states and restored peace.

The conclusion of this pledge was a victory not only for Uganda and Tanzania but also for the East African Region and for Africa in general. It forestalled any serious drawbacks to the smooth functioning of the East African Community which all countries in East and Central Africa

hope will be the nucleus for economic integration. It was also a triumph for the O.A.U. since any hostilities between members are detrimental to achieving the aims and objectives of the O.A.U. and its Charter. The pledge indeed reinforced the conviction that all types of disputes including territorial ones could be resolved peacefully between the African states in the spirit of African brotherhood. The Uganda-Tanzania and Gabon-Equatorial Guinea disputes have proved beyond any doubt that such disputes can be resolved only if the parties to them have the necessary goodwill and determination to do so. We believe that other African countries could follow these examples so that we may get closer to our aspirations for continental unity and unimpeded progress and prosperity for our peoples.

The success of the peace talks was indeed a blow to the imperialists and colonialists who would like to see Africa weak and divided so that they may exploit our weakness and misunderstandings for their own selfish ends. Above all it was a blow to the racist minority regimes in Southern Africa and their allies who hoped for a prolongation of the crisis in the hope that the war of liberation being waged will be weakened. It is no secret that more than other O.A.U. member States the Republic of Tanzania has been committed to this war of liberation and in fact acted as a springboard for regular attacks against racist minority regimes in the South. Consequently any prolongation of the crisis would have weakened the liberation struggle. This possibility necessitated the immediate cessation of hostilities between the two sister countries.

Above all the continuation of the crisis would have given a chance to the big powers to meddle in the affairs of Africa as experience has shown with other crises in the world. The cold war would have been extended to this part of the world, thereby endangering the policy of non-alignment as expounded in the Charter of the O.A.U.

Somalia's role in this respect was hailed in all the African gatherings and on occasion the OAU Secretary General had this to say: "The General Secretariat would like to spotlight the very significant role played in the settlement

of the Uganda-Tanzania crisis by Jaalle Major General Mohamed Siyad Barre, President of the Somali Democratic Republic and by our good friend and colleague, his indefatigable and tenacious Foreign Minister, Omar Arteh Ghalib.

"Their prompt initiative and their sacrifice in time and material are only commensurate with the deep sense of devotion and dedication to the cause of African unity which we know is a basic characteristic of the present regime in Mogadishu".

The 20th Session of the OAU Council of Ministers also despatched the following cable in this regard:

"Excellency, the 20th Session of O.A.U. Council of Ministers expresses its deep appreciation and gratitude for the effective role you played in resolving the conflict between the sister Republics of Tanzania and Uganda. Council is more than ever convinced that the settlement of the conflict will contribute to the maintenance of peace and the promotion of co-operation among the countries of the region. Highest consideration and esteem".

Baba Hassane

Chairman, Council of Ministers

CHAPTER II

SOMALIA AND THE LIBERATION MOVEMENTS

As noted in the previous pages, the Somali Democratic Republic played a significant part in the efforts made to promote the cause of the Liberation Movement in Africa.

The desire and determination of the African peoples to liberate the entire continent was not a question of yesterday.

One of the main objectives of the Pan-African Movement particularly in modern times was the total emancipation of the African continent from all forms of colonialism and imperialism. The Sixth Pan-African Congress held in Manchester in 1945 affirmed the right of all colonial peoples to control their own destiny. The same Congress demanded autonomy and independence for Black Africa and envisaged the use of force, as a last resort, in the effort to achieve freedom and independence.

This objective was later on embodied in the O.A.U. Charter. At the same time a Liberation Committee was

specifically set up to co-ordinate the efforts of the O.A.U. to liberate the continent from the colonialists' grip and to assist the liberation movements to establish common fronts with a view to strengthen the effectiveness of their movements. It is no exaggeration to say that the Liberation Committee has succeeded in carrying out the task assigned to it. In the period since the formation of the O.A.U. nine new states have joined the O.A.U. family of independent African countries mainly as a result of the military, diplomatic and financial support given by the OAU to the liberation fighters in these territories.

Moreover, during this period, the O.A.U. and the Conference of East and Central Africans have passed in all their meetings resolutions condemning the racist policy of apartheid and the minority illegal regime in Rhodesia while emphatically calling on Portugal to abandon her colonialist and racist philosophy. In the same meetings the O.A.U. and E.C.A.S. have reaffirmed their unflinching support to and solidarity with the liberation movements.

In their efforts to mislead world opinion the imperialist mass media repeatedly inform the world that the OAU is bent on kindling the fire of destruction in Southern Africa. To dispel any misunderstanding, however, the O.A.U. had adopted the Lusaka Manifesto prepared by the Fifth Summit Conference of East and Central African States in 1969.

The aim was to make known to the world the position of the independent African States on the racist policies practised in Southern Africa. The Manifesto was also intended to reaffirm the conviction of the O.A.U. regarding the equality of all men and women and their right to human dignity and respect.

After defining the objectives of Liberation, the O.A.U. indicated its preference to achieve the total liberation of the continent by peaceful means and without physical violence. This message was addressed to the racist regimes in South Africa, Rhodesia and Portugal in the hope that they would change their policies and accept the principle of

self-determination for the people under their domination.

However, when the Manifesto was submitted for adoption to the twenty-fourth session of the U.N.'s General Assembly, both the Republic of South Africa and Portugal voted against its adoption although the United Nations overwhelmingly supported it. In effect this was a rejection of any peaceful settlement of the problems of Southern Africa and Guinea-Bissau as well as of the principle of self-determination and majority rule by the racists in Southern Africa.

THE MOGADISHU DECLARATION

Immediately after this, it was obvious that the O.A.U. had to change its strategy contained in the Lusaka Manifesto and instead adopt a more militant stand on this very important question of decolonisation. This new strategy was enshrined in the Mogadishu Declaration adopted by the Seventh Conference of East and Central African States held in Mogadishu and later adopted by the O.A.U. in Rabat.

After realising that the plea for peaceful solution of the problem was falling on deaf ears, the Heads of States and Government meeting in Mogadishu declared in the Seventh Summit "that there is no way left to the liberation of Southern Africa except armed struggle to which we already give and will increasingly continue to give our fullest support". In this statement they completely rejected dialogue with South Africa.

Long before the adoption of the Mogadishu Declaration, many African states, including the Somali Democratic Republic, held the view that the O.A.U.'s strategy to liberate remaining dependent African territories through peaceful means was no more than mere appeasement to the racist minority regimes in Southern Africa and advocated instead a more aggressive and militant policy. In fact the Somali Democratic Republic has on several occasions pointed out that plans to liberate African territories under colonial domination peacefully are no more than wishful thinking since

the only language that the governments of the Republic of South Africa, Portugal and the illegal regime in Rhodesia know is brute force. The Somali Democratic Republic genuinely believes that the harder we hit these racist regimes, the closer we will be to our objective of total emancipation of our continent. This is the only realistic approach to this difficult task which we face. This is why the Mogadishu Declaration was a step in the right direction and more in line with our policy as contained in the First Charter of the October Revolution.

CHAPTER III

SOMALIA AND THE MUSLIM WORLD

The battles of life are mainly won or lost in the minds.

A WISE WORD

Self-confidence and determination are the first two essential qualities to be built and reared so that in the end one may emerge as victorious, the action has then born its fruit; even if it fails, the fight is still worthwhile.

But in order not to regret or reach a stage of self-congratulation, one has to aim at the possible best for regret and self congratulation are sure to add numerous deeds to subsequent ones.

Therefore we turn to the Holy Quran first for guidance and deliverance.

In the name of Allah, the Merciful and Compassionate.

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

- 1) Allah says: "Ye are the best of peoples evolved for mankind"

(١) قال الله تعالى : — «كنتم خير أمة أخرجت للناس»

2) Allah also says: "And He then joined your hearts in love, so that by His Grace, ye have become brethern"

(٢) وقال تعالى : — «فالف بين قلوبكم فأصبحتم بنعمته إخوانا»

3) Allah the Great says: "And their affairs is subject to exchange of views among themselves"

(٣) وقال الله : — «وأمرهم شورى بينهم»

4) And Allah also says: "And be not like those who were divided amongst themselves and fell into disputations"

(٤) وقال أيضا : «ولا تكونوا كالذين تفرقوا واختلفوا»

(1) The fundamental Aims:- In these words from the Holy

Quran, unity, brotherhood and oneness are invariably preached throughout its "Suras".

Islam as a religion does not recognize any differences whether these are based on nationality, race, colour or individual material gains among those who believe in Islam and faithfully follow its principles and teachings. Allah says in the Holy Quran, "Who truly fear Him signify a great deal; for to be near to Allah, the faithful of the Muslim has to prove by his actions and deeds while still alive on Earth that he is true to Allah's teachings in the Holy Quran as honesty conveyed to us by our beloved Prophet Mohamed, Peace be upon him".

It is these heavenly teachings that guide and govern, not only the individual Muslim's attitude towards his other Muslim brethern; but also draw divine relations among the Muslim countries.

It is however, equally true that Muslims after centuries of sacrifices and promotion of the cause of Islam under its

sacred teachings began to slight Allah's command that, "Ye are the best of the peoples evolved for mankind" and therefore started to disintegrate and finally lost their unity and power to non-muslim nations.

The events of the last one or so decades have however, confidently pointed to the renaissance of the entire Muslim world through the recent Lahore Summit Conference in which thirty Muslim countries gathered to discuss the present Muslim affairs.

(2) The Islamic Conferences: Objectives and Principles:-

The concept of an Islamic solidarity on a firm, formal basis has been initiated by Somalia; but it took a calamity in the desecration of the **Masjid - Al-Aqsa** to bring home the need for such unity. It is said that many a calamity brings in its wake a blessing and so it was the sense of outrage felt by Muslims the world over which resulted in the first Islamic conference at Rabat, Morocco in September 1969. As a measure of the importance attached to that historic milestone in Islamic unity, 25 Heads of State attended the Rabat Islamic Summit Conference.

Since then the conference has been gaining strength and prestige with the convening, to date, of three Islamic Conferences at Foreign Ministers' level. There were also various other conferences at expert level dealing with the drawing up of a Charter of Islamic Solidarity, the creation of Islamic Cultural Centres and the establishment of an International Islamic News Agency.

The Islamic Conference is composed of:

1. The conference of Kings and Heads of State and Government;
2. The Conference of Foreign Ministers; and
3. The Central Secretariat and subsidiary organs.

A. The objectives:

The objectives of the Islamic Conference shall be:

1. To promote Islamic solidarity among member states;
2. To consolidate co-operation among member states in the economic, social, cultural, scientific and other vital fields of activities and to carry out consultations among member states in international organisations;
3. To endeavour to eliminate racial segregation and discrimination and to eradicate colonialism in all its forms;
5. To co-ordinate efforts for the safeguarding of the Holy Places and the support of the struggle of the People of Palestine and help them to regain their rights and liberate their land;
6. To strengthen the struggle of all Muslim peoples with a view to safeguarding their dignity, independence and national rights; and
7. To create a suitable atmosphere for the promotion of co-operation and understanding among member states and other countries.

B. The Principles:

The member states decide and undertake that in order to realise the objectives mentioned in the previous paragraphs they shall be inspired and guided by the following principles:

1. Total equality between member states;
2. Respect for the right of self-determination; and non-interference in the domestic affairs of member states;

3. Respect of the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of each member state;
4. Settlement of any conflict that may arise by peaceful means such as negotiations, mediation, reconciliation or arbitration; and
5. Abstention from the threat or use of forces against the territorial integrity, national unity or political independence of any member state.

THE SUBSEQUENT EVENTS

Nearly five years separate the first Summit meeting of Heads of Muslim States at Rabat in September 1969 and the second Summit meeting at Lahore. During the intervening period the Foreign Ministers of Muslim States have met four times at Jeddah, (March 1970), Karachi (December 1970), again at Jeddah (March 1972) and Benghazi (March 1973). These meetings have passed their fair share of resolutions.

Some resolutions have progressed to the projecting and planning stage while a few have reached the initial phase of actual implementation. They include the setting up of an Islamic Secretariat, an Islamic Development Bank, an International Islamic News Agency, Islamic Cultural Centres in major cities, and the adoption of an Islamic Charter which at last has subsequently been ratified by the minimum required number to bring the Organisation into formal existence.

Other resolutions have remained as such, e.g. the one for an Islamic university, while the remaining resolutions have been concerned with expressing a common point of view and an agreed set of exhortations on various world problems, in particular those involving Muslims and on colonialism and racialism.

AN ISLAMIC ISSUE

The keystone is, of course, **al-Quds** (Jerusalem) and the burning of **Al-Aqsa** Mosque there by the Jews in August

1969 was the direct and immediate cause of the Rabat Summit. Palestine has always been a Muslim issue, but Jerusalem's plight after the June 1967 war and the 1969 burning, transformed this decisively from being primarily an Arab to being a truly Muslim issue, even if the Arab States in the immediate vicinity of Palestine continue to bear the brunt of the challenge.

Jerusalem is a microcosm of the tragedy of Palestine. A victim of political and cultural vandalism for the past six years, it lies bleeding under the heels of Zionist occupation. In its present state Jerusalem, in a weird way, represents all the suffering, all the injustices and wrongs the Palestinian people have gone through during the past 25 years.

Jerusalem has always been a land of peace and tranquility, piety and devotion to which people from all over the world have flocked for ages for prayer and meditation. Over the centuries it had acquired the status of a truly international city, a city unlike all others under the sovereignty of a society at once tolerant, open, hospitable and universal. But the "Capital of God's Universal Kingdom on Earth" is today a land of murder and terror, shootings and killings. Fear stalks Jerusalem these days, and life for its Arab population is an unending misery and trial. Thousands of them have so far been cruelly put to death; many more are in Israeli prisons undergoing untold suffering. The Israeli authorities are also trying to change both the inner character and outer appearance of the Holy City. New urban development schemes have done great damage to Jerusalem's centuries-old architectural visage and cultural ethos.

CHAPTER IV

SOMALIA AND THE ARAB WORLD

The Somali Horn is strategically placed at the crossroads of world cultures. To the East and across the Indian Ocean is the ancient cultures of India and the Far East, to the North is the Arabian Peninsula and Iran, and to the North West, and West lies the cultures of Ancient Egypt and others. But since time immemorial Somalia's close proximity to Arabia and the common Islamic faith we share made Somali-Arab links be accomplished and steeped in history and custom. The Somalis are 100% Moslems, a fact which furthers our horizons of brotherly feelings toward the non-Arab Moslem world, both far and near. Our common struggle vis-a-vis imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism, racism and Zionism has locked the destiny of the Somalis to the Islamic and the Arab World. Even at its layday, imperialist colonialism could not succeed to break the umbilical chord that linked Somalia to Islam and the Arab world. Somali pilgrims frequented the Holy Places of Islam and our merchants and workers kept open both trade and cultural venues to the Arab countries. Contem-

porary brotherly relations in the political, economic, cultural and other fields firmly consolidated Somalia's historic ties with the Arab countries. This culminated in the epoch-making event of February, 1974, when the Somali Democratic Republic became the twentieth member of the Arab League.

THE MIDDLE EAST

The Somali Democratic Republic has always taken a firm stand in the Middle East question. In a message to a mass rally in solidarity with the Arab cause soon after the 6th October war, the President of the SRC Jaalle Major General Mohamed Siyad Barre said:-

"It is the indelible ties of history that prompt the Somali people to support the Arab people's struggle, to be happy with their victories and sympathetic to their shortfalls. There is another reason: from time immemorial, the Somali people have upheld liberty and all things that pertain to human dignity. The Somalis always supported and will always be on the side of justice and human rights. We supported the Arab nation in their just struggle because of these reasons and many more".

In this succinct statement, the President of the S.R.C. eloquently expresses Somalia's unequivocal commitment to the Arab cause not merely because of our close traditional links with the Arab nation, but also on the basis of the Somali people's inherent belief in justice and the inalienable rights of man. It is for these reasons and many more that the Somali Democratic Republic has become internationally renowned, in the United Nations Organization, in the Organization of African Unity, in the Non-Aligned Conferences, and in every international forum at which we have been represented for championing the adoption of issues in defence of peace, democracy and self-determination for the oppressed peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America; to table motions in support of the Arab cause and the restoration of the rights of the Palestinian people and to effect the return to their homeland. The Somali Government has

unreservedly and incessantly condemned Zionist aggression and the continued violation of the United Nations Declaration of Human Rights and other resolutions by the Israeli terrorists. The Somali Revolutionary Government has devotedly upheld the necessity for the withdrawal of Israel from Arab territories, it occupied during its wanton aggression in June, 1967.

During Somalia's non-permanent membership of the UN Security Council, our UN representative relentlessly championed Arab rights and sponsored resolutions which among other things decried continued Israeli aggression against Egypt, Syria, Jordan and Lebanon, and called for the total withdrawal of Israeli forces from occupied Arab territories as a pre-requisite for a workable peace in the Middle East. In the United Nations, Somalia contributed — out of all proportions to its size — to the various resolutions adopted by the General Assembly which condemned the acquisition of territory by force, and called upon the aggressor state of Israel to withdraw from the Arab territories it occupied by force while taking steps to restore the rights of Palestinians at the same time.

In the same way, the Somali Revolutionary Government has remained an indefatigable supporter of the Arab cause and the rights of the usurped Palestinian people, in the OAU, and in the Non-Aligned Conferences. Indeed, the Somali Democratic Republic had been instrumental in convincing independent African states of Israel's intransigence and its arrogant mockery of world opinion.

It is most gratifying that this led to the severing of diplomatic ties en masse by practically all those independent African countries that had relations with Israel, soon after the Zionist state started hostilities against Egypt (a founding-member of the OAU) and Syria in October 1973.

The Somali Revolutionary Government cemented traditional ties with the Arab nation by expanding Somalia's diplomatic links. At the moment of writing, Somalia has

Embassies in Aden, Cairo, Jeddah, Khartoum, Tripoli, Doha, Kuwait, Abu-Dhabi, Algiers, Syria and Iraq.

In turn, Saudi Arabia, Egypt, Libya, Syria, Sudan, People's Democratic Republic of Yemen and the Yemen Arab Republic have embassies in Mogadishu. Abundant contacts between Somali and Arab diplomats are further strengthened by the constant exchanges of visits at State or Government levels. But although establishment of diplomatic relations between countries is said to gauge the level of friendship between them, Somali-Arab ties can hardly ever conform to this dictum since the long-standing brotherly relations between the Somali and Arab nations are psycho-cultural rather than politico-diplomatic.

THE EXCHANGE OF STATE AND OTHER OFFICIAL VISITS

Since the 21st October Revolution, the President of the SRC Jaalle Major General Mohamed Siyad Barre paid state visits to most Arab countries. In November 1971, Jaalle Siyad paid his first state visits to Saudi Arabia, Egypt, Syria, Iraq, Libya and Sudan. These visits were most significant since they served as a weather-cock for strengthening Arab relations with the Revolutionary Government.

In January 1972 the SRC President paid state visits to the Sudan and Libya, in response to official invitations from the leaders of these two countries. Again in late 1973 and early 1974 the SRC President led to Saudi Arabia, a high-powered Pilgrim delegation, which proceeded on further state visits to the United Arab Emirates, Bahrain, Qatar, Kuwait, Oman and the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen. It was at the end of these state visits, which lasted for twenty three days that history was made in announcing that Somalia was admitted into the Arab League. The President of the SRC has also been to Rabat during the OAU Summit in June 1972, when the Mogadishu Declaration was adopted, and attended the Non-Aligned Conference in Algiers in 1973. In all these state visits the joint communiques and statements published after they ended reaf-

firmed the time-tried brotherly relations between the Somali and Arab nations, and cemented the solidary between them.

By the same token, the burning issues of the world were discussed during these visits and common grounds evolved, with particular consideration to the mercurial nature of international politics, the explosive situation in the Middle East, and the Michaelavellian trappings of imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism. The SRC President had also explained to Arab Heads of State the progress Somalia made since the inception of our Blessed Revolution.

These Presidential visits were further augmented by constant official visits to Arab capitals by SRC members, Secretaries of State and high ranking civil servants.

Meanwhile a number of Arab Heads of State paid visits to the Somali Democratic Republic in the more than four years of the Revolution. These included President Ja'afar El-Numery who came to Somalia in July 1972 and again in June 1973; the President of the United Arab Emirates, H. H. Al Sheikh Zayid Bin Sultan Al-Nahayan in November 1972 and since Somalia joined the Arab League, President Mu'ammar Al-Qaddafi in February 1974. Official visits of Arab Ministers and high officials are also a common feature in the intensified economic, trade and cultural relations between the SDR and the Arab World since the birth of the 21 October Revolution. Hardly a week passes without the "Pearl of the Indian Ocean" being fetted by a visiting delegation from one or more Arab capitals, and without a Somali delegation arriving in an Arab State.

THE KINGDOM OF SAUDI ARABIA

Saudi Arabia — the homeland of the holiest shrines of Islam — has always been the traditional market for Somali livestock. Apart from the deep-rooted cultural and religious links Somali banana has also made significant inroads into Saudi markets. The busy port of Jeddah is also an entrepot for Somali exports of meat on the hoof and agricultural

products destined for the Arab Gulf States, e.g. Kuwait and the United Arab Emirates.

In the pilgrimage season of 1972, Jaalle Major Osman Mohamed Jelle, SRC member and the then Mayor of Mogadishu City Council led an economic delegation which included Foreign Secretary of State, Jaalle Omer Arteh Ghalib, to conclude with Saudi Arabia an economic co-operation agreement under which they are contributing a lot to the economic development of revolutionary Somalia.

In the cultural and religious fields, the centuries old links between the two peoples flourish unabated. Many Somalis continue to frequent the Islamic Institutes in Mecca and Medina, and the Kingdom has agreed to undertake the construction of a huge mosque in Mogadishu.

THE ARAB REPUBLIC OF LIBYA

Relations between the SDR and the Arab Republic of Libya has made significant progress since the birth of the two revolutions in the two sister states in October and September 1969 respectively. In 1972 agreements were concluded in the fields of finance, trade, industry and culture. In order to implement these agreements many trade and technical missions were exchanged, as a result of which tangible undertakings including the construction of Kismayo airport were finalised. Libya opened its markets for Somali livestock, tinned meat and bananas. These were further consolidated by the state visit of the Libyan President, Col. Mu'ammarr Al-Qaddafi in February 1974. At his airport speech on departure, President Qaddafi stated that Somalia and Libya agreed to cooperate in the fields of agriculture, communication, trade and industry. He said that Libya and Somalia would establish joint ventures in agriculture, sea transport and banking. President Qaddafi elaborated that an agricultural company will help Somalia's agricultural revolution, and a Libyan-Somali-Arab Bank will assist other development projects. The joint communique published on

his departure reaffirmed the conclusion of this agreement of closer mutual co-operation in all fields.

THE UNITED ARAB EMIRATES.

Commercial and cultural relations existed between Somalia and the Arab Gulf States from time immemorial. At the height of the Kharif season the North East Trade winds helped sailing dhows to bring dates and other goods to Somali ports. These exotic freighters returned to the Arabia Gulf laden with livestock, hides, skins, ivory, frankincense and myrrh. In contemporary times, and particularly in the Revolutionary era, the communications system has been modernised and reorganised to optimise mutual benefits accruing from the exchange of Presidential and other official visits. In the joint-communique issued after the five-day state visit of UAE President, H.H. Al Sheikh Zayid Bin Sultan Al-Nahyan, in late November 1972, Somalia and the UAE agreed to exchange ambassadors and to establish air links to facilitate trade and communications between the two countries. The two sides also emphasised the brotherly Moslem countries on permanent basis and in all fields including political, economic, trade, cultural and mass media. Commenting on the significance of the state visit the weekly DAWN of 1st December, 1972, editorialized:

«The exchange of ambassadors will definitely remove the anomaly in relations between our two countries which has such strong cultural ties and centuries - old traditional links. Having regular air links with the rich Arab Emirates will decidedly open new vistas for Somali agricultural products».

The return state visit of Jaalle Siyad to UAE in January 1974 further contributed to the consolidation of Somali ties with the Arab Gulf States. The presence of a large Somali community is an added advantage in promoting all-time co-operation between Somalia and the United Arab Emirates. Scheduled flights to Abu Dhabi by Somali Airlines which started recently will indeed further the con-

stant contacts and close brotherly cooperation between Somalia and the UAE.

THE ARAB REPUBLIC OF EGYPT.

Relations between the SDR and Egypt are strongly entrenched in the political, economic, trade and cultural fields. From Pharaohnic times contacts have been maintained. This facilitated the establishment of unbreakable ties between the two brotherly countries. The earliest Pharaohnic expeditions in record date back to the first «Pepie» era, the most significant of these was of course that of Queen Hatshupsut of the 18th Dynasty.

Somali-Egyptian relations are especially noteworthy in the field of culture. A large proportion of the best-educated Somali youth, including a number of SRC members, received their higher education in Egyptian Universities and other higher institutes of learning. Besides, Egyptian teachers have assisted in our struggle against ignorance, and the creation of qualified manpower. In the technical field, Egyptian medical doctors have been seconded to assist Somalia in the fight against disease.

In the field of trade, Somalia exports to Egypt tinned meat, livestock, hides and skins. On her part, Egypt exports to the SDR white cotton fabrics (BAFTA), tinned foodstuffs and other manufactured goods. These trade relations are based on mutual understanding and good-will.

In the political field, Egypt was a member of the International Trusteeship Committee over Somalia in the fifties, and its delegate Kamal El-Din Salah was assassinated while vigorously resisting the plots and intrigues directed against Somalia's independence. More recently, the state visit to Egypt by the SRC President, Jaalle Major-General Mohamed Siyad Barre in 1971 was the high water-mark of the good relations between revolutionary Somalia and Egypt. Furthermore, many SRC members, Secretaries of State and high government officials have made a series of

visits to Egypt. Somalia has staunchly supported Egypt and the Arab nation against Israeli aggression, and the two countries share common views on many international issues including support for liberation movements.

THE ARAB REPUBLIC OF IRAQ

Palm dates from Basra have always been a cherished delicacy on Somali dinner tables. Apart from this, Iraq is no different from many Arab countries in having economic, trade and cultural ties with the SDR. Iraq exports palm dates and manufactured goods to Somalia, while the later exports bananas and other agricultural products to the former. In 1971 a trade agreement was concluded between the two sister states to promote commercial relations. The two brotherly countries have also entered into economic co-operation in many fields, e.g. road construction materials. Iraq is also a share-holder in the Somali Insurance Agency. As for cultural relations, many Somalis have received their higher education in Iraq.

The state visits in 1971 of the SRC President to Iraq highlighted the brotherly relations between the two sister states. Since the birth of the Blessed Revolution many SRC members, Secretaries of State and high official frequented Baghdad to promote contacts and cooperation between the two countries.

THE STATE OF KUWAIT

Since the inception of the 21 October Revolution, contacts at all levels have kept apace between the SDR and this Arab Gulf State. During the state visit of SRC President Jaalle Siyad to Kuwait in January 1974, talks centred on bilateral relations and the international situation as well.

The rich Kuwaiti market, which has connections with other Arabian Gulf States, imports Somali livestock and banana. In fact, trade relations between the two brotherly countries have immensely increased in the last four years.

There are also ample indications that the two sister states hope to promote and develop co-operation in other fields too.

In the fields of economic co-operation, Kuwait provided for the Somali Development Bank a loan which plays a vital role in financing agro-industrial and other development projects in the country.

THE DEMOCRATIC PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF YEMEN

Geographical proximity has had no doubt a lot to do with the close historic links between Somalia and PDRY. Traditional, commercial and cultural links, and constant social intermingling of the peoples of Somalia and the PDRY encouraged the development of a sense of belonging between the peoples of the two brotherly countries.

In more recent times, a trade agreement was concluded in 1971 to organise and promote these deep-rooted relations. Somalia exports livestock, hides, skins, frankincense and myrrh to the PDRY. Imports to Somalia from this sisterly Arab state included ready-made wares and clothing materials.

«The two countries have relations as old as centuries», said the SRC President, Jaalle Major General Mohamed Siyad Barre, to the Somali community in Aden in May, 1972, during his state visit to the PDRY, after his Far Eastern Presidential tour. Jaalle Siyad made yet another state visit to the PDRY in January 1974 to portray Somalia's close links with a country that is considered by many Somalis as their second home. On the other hand, Yemeni communities have existed and lived peacefully and fraternally in the Somali urban centres for ages, a fact which gives added weight to the brotherly understanding, goodwill and mutual co-operation between the two countries.

THE YEMEN ARAB REPUBLIC

Somalia and the Yemen Arab Republic have had close cultural and trade relations from time immemorial. Tradition-

nal ties between the Somalis and the Yemen Arab Republic have been strengthened furthermore by the existence of a large Yemeni community who have made Somalia their home, and who lived in unity among their Somali brothers and the intermittent flow of communications between the leaders of the two governments are added factors in enhancing brotherly relations and mutual understanding.

THE DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF THE SUDAN

Deep-rooted similarities in the cultural plane, folklore, modern songs and traditional dances had been a major contribution to the age-old cultural and historic ties between the Somali and Sudanese peoples. Many leading Somalis, including some members of the government, received their education in the Sudan, and Sudanese teachers assisted Somalia in the national struggle against ignorance and the creation of skilled Somali manpower. To cement these cultural ties the two countries concluded a cultural agreement in 1968.

The long-standing historic ties between Somalia and the Sudan were eloquently summarised by SRC President, Jaalle Siyad, during his state visit to the Sudan in January 1972. At a state reception held in his honour by President El-Numeiry the SRC President said:

«In the past, our two peoples fought gallantly a common enemy: the colonialists that were scrambling for Africa with the intention of invading and dominating its countries and peoples. The people of the Sudan defended their land relentlessly against the colonialists and imperialists under Sayid Ahmed Al-Mahdi. And almost at the same time, the Somali people were fighting under the great leader Sayid Mohamed Abdulle Hassan against the colonialists who coveted to dominate the land as well as against the local reactionaries allying themselves with the colonialists and imperialists. Also, the two peoples are

linked by the May and October Revolutions of 1969».

The SRC President also visited the Sudan in November 1971 during his first major trip abroad. On the other hand, the Sudanese President Ja'afar El-Numeiry paid state visits to Somalia in 1972 and 1973. All these exchanges of Presidential visits, as well as constant official contacts and communications at all levels, bear testimony to the brotherly traditional relations between the two countries and their peoples.

THE ARAB REPUBLIC OF SYRIA

The SDR has economic, trade, cultural and political relations with this Arab sister state. Both countries are moreover, committed seriously to the eradication of colonialism, imperialism and Zionism. The state visit of Jaalle Major General Mohamed Siyad Barre, President of the SRC, to Syria in November 1971 highlighted the good brotherly relations between the two countries.

The two countries have entered into economic co-operation in agricultural equipment, and promoted trade relations. Besides many Somalis have received their higher education in Syrian universities and colleges.

Syria participated in the International Mogadishu Fair in October 1971, and Somalia reciprocated by participating in the International Fair in Syria. This is another pointer to the great importance the two countries attach to developing trade and commercial relations.

OTHER ARAB COUNTRIES

During his major trip to the Arabian Peninsula in January 1974, the SRC President, Jaalle Major General Mohamed Siyad Barre paid state visits also to Bahrain, Qatr and Oman, to underscore the brotherly co-operation and traditional links between Somalia and the Arab Gulf States.

In Bahrain a joint-communique issued after the Presi-

dential visit stated that the two sides agreed that it would benefit both peoples to strengthen trade, economic, cultural and technical relations. They also agreed that world peace cannot be achieved unless all countries solve their territorial disputes by peaceful means according to the principles of international law. Earlier in Doha, Qatr, the joint communique issued stated that both sides agreed to establish diplomatic relations at ambassadorial level. It was also agreed to reinforce cooperation in all fields.

The Somali Democratic Republic has also brotherly relations and co-operation with Lebanon, Jordan, Tunisia, Algeria and Morocco. During the Rabat OAU Summit in June 1972 and the Non-Aligned Conference in Algiers in 1973, the SRC President had talks of mutual interest with King Hassan II of Morocco and President Houari Boumedienne of Algeria. SRC members, Secretaries of State and other high government officials had also paid visits to most of these countries to pave the way for the strengthening of brotherly relations between the SDR and these Arab states. Mauritania, which is another new-comer to the Arab League, is well known to Somali diplomats and other high officials, as a very active member of the OAU. It is hoped that this new brotherly relationship will further add to the existing mutual understanding between the two countries. Besides, President Mukhtar Ould Dada paid a state visit to Somalia early in 1969.

THE ARAB LEAGUE

On Thursday, 14th February 1974, the Somali Democratic Republic at last made historical reunion with her Arab sister states and became the 20th member and the 8th African state to join the Arab League. There is no doubt that this epic step, taken jointly by the SRC and Council of Secretaries, transferred the concept of the Somali Revolution to a new level, that made it the embodiment of radical transformation as well as its instrument. Below is produced the translation of the epoch-making decision of the SRC and Council of Secretaries in joining the Arab League;

The SRC and Council of Secretaries had reached the

decision to join the Arab League in a meeting they had early in February, 1974, after carefully studying the following considerations:

1. After deeply considering the historical ties and mutual solidarity between the Somali and Arab nations;
2. Knowing that the Arabs always supported the Somali cause;
3. Knowing that former Somali governments and the current Revolutionary Government played an important role in the promotion of the Arab cause;
4. That Somali Revolutionary Government supported morally and materially the Arabs in the struggle against world imperialism and zionism, while emphasising constantly that Arab interests lie in their unity and solidarity, until they succeeded in restoring their honour in the October Six War of 1973.
5. That Somali Revolutionary Government never let up in convincing the governments of African nations that the machinations of colonialism were meant to divide them and create disunity among them, and to prevent any cooperation and entente among the Africans and Arabs.
6. That Somalia played a great role in African unity and Afro-Arab cooperation, till they understood the enemy amongst them, which led to the severing of relations with Israel by many countries;
7. Owing to the success of this role a new era dawned for Afro-Arab cooperation on equal and just basis, and mutual benefits;

8. That the Revolution constantly assured the Somali interests and fulfilment of international obligations, and having thus took appropriate measures at all times;
9. That Somalia still continues the rightful struggle against imperialist domination, so that Africans, Arabs and the entire world can utilise their natural resources on an equal and just basis;
10. In fulfilling the obligations mentioned above, the Somali people will work for their sovereignty, their principle and their economic, political and social progress according to the First and Second Charters of the Revolution; and
11. In order to continue the victories of the African and Arabs, the SRC and Council of Secretaries decided that the Somali Government would join the Arab League.

Addressing over 150,000 persons who came out in a massive spontaneous demonstration in support of Somalia's admission into the Arab League, the SRC President Jaalle Siyad said that successive Somali governments had failed to take this decision «But today we have moved in the right direction and thus facilitated the development of our education, health and socialism».

Meanwhile, in Cairo, the special session of the Arab League to welcome Somalia's historic re-union with the Arab World was opened by League Chairman and its Secretary General Mohamud Riyad who affirmed the fact that Somalia's entry will strengthen the joint Arab struggle by virtue of Somalia's strategic position on both the Red Sea and the Indian Ocean in the way as it will possibly contribute to the realisation of the Somali national aspirations. The third speaker was Foreign Secretary Jaalle Omar Arteh Ghalib who said:

«I find myself unable to express gratitude to my brothers who have welcomed our membership in the League.

«It is a great honour for me to stand among you on this historic occasion in order to convey to you the greetings of the President of the SRC Jaalle Mohamed Siyad Barre, the Government and the Somali people; greetings that are coupled with the historic decision to join our great Arab League which has been the dream of millions of our Somali masses both in the urban and rural areas of the country.

«We are proud of having joined the League and we wish to express our deep regard and warm brotherly gratitude for the reception you have accorded us and to the members of the Arab League, their governments and peoples on behalf of the Supreme Revolutionary Council and the Somali people.

«We should have effected our joining of the League a long time ago in fulfilment of the wishes of our people who have been calling for it. When I say «joining» (I mean formal joining of the League i.e. the official measures which are held on such occasions, since in fact, we have been actually part of the Arab nation). We have confirmed this fact by our affinity to it and by our behaviour as individuals or groups who live in a part of the African continent in accordance with the same customs, traditions and living conditions and culture that are practised by our brothers in the other part of the Arab country. We are influenced by what goes on in the Arab land. Our activities and behaviour in the international scene are still part of the Arab world. But our formal joining of the League has been delayed by reasons outside of our real wish and that of our people. This is so because, as you are aware of, Somalia has fallen a prey to colonialism; its country has been partitioned by three European states namely France, Britain, Italy and an African group. It is worth mentioning that these European states are the same ones that had divided the Arab countries among themselves. The tragic element in the whole affair is that this multifarious colonial aggression had been perpetrated on a country whose population did not exceed several million at the time. It is because of this that the burden had been particularly painful to our people. They had to face the French, Bri-

tish and Italian fleets in the sea as well as an African neighbour who was strengthened by the same colonial forces on land.

«Perhaps I am not mistaken to say that the reason for this had been due to the fact that the Arab lands are situated right in the very heart of the old world upon which all the major cross-roads of the world Asia, Africa and Europe lie. This important strategic characteristic has never changed up to our present times.

«We all remember the fact that mainly because of this the Arab lands had been a target for invaders throughout history. Moreover, the echoes of the bitter struggle against the colonial vanguard which came under religious guises are still alive in our consciousness. This has taken place during the eleventh and twelfth centuries and after and particularly during the campaigns known as the Crusade Wars. The aims of these colonial campaigns were to have been the wish to control the land communication routes to the Far East and the exploitation of these lands of great civilizations, riches and resources. And although the Crusaders' waves had soon turned back in utter defeat, yet they have renewed their attempts in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries with the object of conquering this strategic area in the very heart of the world especially after the geographical discoveries have further increased the importance of the Arab lands contrary to the expectations of all those explorers whose prime motives were to completely discard the old routes and to find new ones. A newly acquired importance was thus given to the Arab World; the old seas and oceans were then quickly filled with Spanish, Portuguese, British and Dutch warships; that were eager to descend upon the prey like hungry vultures.

The fact is well-known that since the Somali coasts stretch eastwards from the Southern entrance to the Red sea on the African side and along the whole Horn of Africa and then southwards along the Indian Ocean until beyond the Equator, these coasts form the southern line of protection for the Arabian Peninsula and the Red Sea. It is pre-

cisely because of this that the Portuguese pirates made them the target of their attacks: Vasco da Gama attacked Mogadishu in 1498; Albuquerque invaded the port of Brava in 1507; Lube Suarez burnt the ancient port of Zeilah in 1515 and Saladanha attacked Berbera in 1516. The Somali people have staunchly rebelled all these invasions drawing strength from their faith, patriotism and cultural heritage in the same way as the Arab nation in all their territories withstood such attacks.

«There is no doubt that the colonialists have from the very beginning of their colonial operations noticed the fact that they were up against a nation protected by strong and solid cultural barrier whose penetrations or conquest was not an easy task, unless they first understood the characteristics of such a barrier, as well as its ins and outs. It is for this reason that neo-colonialism, after being successful in conquering most of the Arab lands, began to implement its programme that aimed at the obliteration of the Arab personality in the societies they have conquered and sowed the seeds of discord and suspicion in the Arab values and culture.

«There is no doubt that you are all well-versed in these things more than I do and that you still feel some of its after-effects now, in spite of colonialism's evacuation from our countries. Colonialism has been playing the same game also in Somalia but in a much stronger and more cruel manner, exploiting the conditions of disunity from which the Arab nation had been suffering especially after the plight of Palestine in 1948. Colonialism sought by every means available to it in order to replace the Somali and Arab languages by its own ones. It also endeavoured to instil in the minds that only the European civilization is the final salvation of mankind in the world and especially in Africa and that the Arab affinity in Somalia is but a cultural backwardness. But colonialism did not succeed in achieving these ends to the degree it envisaged. The Somali masses,

in their consciousness, used to reject this logic and despised it for the cheap ruse it was.

«I would not hide from you the fact that right at this moment there are millions of Somalis who are completely denied the learning of the Arabic language in the occupied territories. However, the masses began to open special schools and institutions soon after the independence of two parts of occupied Somalia in 1960 and the Somali Government has done a lot in spreading Arabic through its school system.

«Many sisterly Arab states have also contributed to the opening of more schools since that time. During these times the Somali masses brought the issue of joining the Arab League to the surface of the political life in the young Republic. But colonial influence and the difficulties it has created and the mines it has left there made the political parties that used to rule the country hesitate in pushing the issue any further. Colonialism then became active in burying this issue by raising many side issues to occupy the minds of the people.

«This is what I have meant a little while ago with regard to the external reasons which were completely outside the real will of the Somali people and which had caused the delay of Somalia's joining of the Arab League. By these historical glimpses I meant to clarify the fact that Somalia has been and still is part and parcel of the Arab World that had shared the same consequences of these events and had shouldered its share in the responsibility.

«Nothing had been able to prevent it from playing its role fully whether in or out of the League.

«When the Revolution of October 21, 1969 under the leadership of Maj. General Mohamed Siyad Barre came, it eliminated all the artificial barriers created by colonialism in some people's minds whether in or outside Somalia. Dur-

ing the past four years which were full of corrective measures, nation-building activities and the regeneration of self-confidence in the Somali citizen, Somalia has, by its national conscience and principles, been dealing with the Arab problems as part of its own, which really is the case. It began to defend the Arab rights and cause in the regional and international arena. We know that the Arab World did not lose its vital importance to the prosperity of the world and the development of its economy especially for the Asian and African countries on top of its history and cultural position being the cradle of noble religions. The continent of Asia and Africa with all their legendary treasures have been the ones that enabled modern European civilization to emerge and continue. European colonialism was not content with the usurped riches of these two continents but it has also usurped their civilizations and culture as well, during their sustained attempts to occupy and dominate them. Upon their shoulders have been built the welfare and prosperity it enjoys today.

«Even though many of these people had evacuated colonialism from their countries, nevertheless it has left behind in each and every one of them certain chronic problems through which it can continue to use its influence in them: to practice dirty plots and machinations. The share of the Arab World as a result of this, appeared after the second World War, in the arena of international politics, what is now called the Middle East problem; the Arab peoples became threatened in their own homes by the weapon of Zionist colonial settlement in Arab Palestine with the support of one of the two most powerful states in the world.

«If revolutionary Somalia used to defend the Arab cause while it was outside the League, it was defending what was right and just which happen to be what the entire Arab nation was also doing.

«I won't be lying to you if I submit that during the past stage in which we were outside the Arab League we have greatly helped the Arab cause since we have been able together with our friends in eliminating the barriers and in

clearing the mine-field left behind by the colonialists to keep the Arab and the brotherly African peoples apart. We have also been able, no matter how little might have been our efforts to clarify what the Arab rights are and how just and legal they are. We have exposed the colonial motives that aimed at preventing the establishment of closer links between the brothers in the two continents. As the Somali proverb holds; «There might be a word which can be aptly said in your favour, by your brother rather than by yourself».

«I thank Almighty God that we have finally achieved this wonderful solidarity among the Arab cause with all its dimensions and circumstance. But we cannot merely say that and rest back on our laurels. We must maintain the momentum and safeguard these tremendous moral achievements. This is a unique opportunity through which we can build a civilized structure based on justice, understanding and brotherhood that emanates from the wealth, thought and efforts of these two continents that have always used to be robbed and have been subjected to destruction and racial domination. Such a structure must be built upon lofty moral basis which are characteristic of these peoples who have long suffered from injustice, suppression, deprivation and domination.

«The industrial revolution which Europe is witnessing is nothing but the fruits of the continents of Asia, Africa and Latin America. The raw materials and cheap manpower are still the fuel that drives the wheels of the European civilization and we must find a suitable formula for the technical, economic and political cooperation between the Arab World and Africa, so that our upcoming generations may enjoy what their predecessors were deprived of.

«It suffices to point out to the great benefits that may accrue to us by any united and coherent effort. We have before us the wonderful efforts exerted by our brothers in clearly presenting to the world the explosive Middle East issue which has been pushing ahead by a solid block of Arab states that have solidly stood up to the dangerous chal-

challenges during the recent Arab-Israel conflict of last October. This is the very unity which Maj. Gen. Mohamed Siyad Barre preached on many occasions. Through these unified efforts of which we are proud and which has earned for us the respect of the world on the one hand and through which we have established new landmarks in international relations we have attained heights of especially deep significance in the ability of the small nations to stand up to the giants and to wrest respect from; to make them listen to them because of their unity and solidarity. This is a lesson that we have learnt very well. It has also been learnt by the peoples of Asia, Africa, Latin America and the other peoples who love freedom, justice and peace.

«The world of today is a world of economic and political groupings and the Arab and African peoples, have all aspects of fruitful co-operation for the benefit of all.

«Somalia is ready to play its role fully, in accordance with the aims and objectives of the League in the service of the great Arab cause. Somalia will spare no efforts in reuniting the dismembered Somali people and will restore the integrity of her territory. Moreover, it will never hesitate a moment in contributing to the Afro-Arab understanding which, no doubt, will constitute an honest vision of the problems of the contemporary man and will help our insistence to liberate Palestine and the African territories still under colonial and racial domination.

«As you can see I have the honour to stand among you on this historic occasion, as the Foreign Secretary of sisterly Somalia and talk and embrace you all as an expression of our joy on this great historic occasion. It is what all the Somalis everywhere are doing.

«Please accept our sincere congratulations. May the peace and blessings of Almighty God be upon you».

Jalle Secretary Arteh also made history by being the First Somali Foreign Secretary to attend the 61st Session

of the League's Council of Foreign Ministers held in Tunis in late March 1974. The Session approved sweeping proposals for approaches to Europe and Africa, and for steps towards reinforced Arab solidarity which included an armaments industry and a communications satellite. They also called for effective Arab participation at a high political level at the April UN Special Session on raw materials and energy — called by Algeria — in concert with the non-aligned nations.

These few glimpses are indeed inadequate to sum up the deep historic ties between the Somali and brotherly Arab peoples. There is no power capable to jeopardise the genuine brotherhood and tenacious solidarity between the Somali people and the Arab world on the one hand, and between the Africans and the Arab nation in their struggle against the common enemy and for the realisation of the their common aspirations in the achievement of prosperity, happiness and full sovereignty at all times on the other.

CHAPTER IV SOMALIA AND NON-ALIGNMENT

It is just about a score of years since the adoption of the concept and policy of non-alignment by many newly independent countries. The non-aligned movement had in fact outlived most of its prominent architects like Nasser, Nehru and Nkrumah (Marshall Tito of Yugoslavia is still alive and active), and has gathered momentum in recent years. It was actually the Belgrade Declaration of 1961 that laid the foundation for the policy of non-alignment which was consolidated by the subsequent Summit Conferences in Cairo in 1964, Lusaka in 1970, and Algiers in September 1973.

These four summit conferences of non-aligned countries were further augmented by a number of high level preparatory and consultative committees, notably in Dar-es-Salaam and in Georgetown, Guyana, in August 1972.

The Somali Democratic Republic is a founder member of the Non-Aligned movement, but before the inception of the 21 October Revolution, the policy of non-alignment in Somalia was based on an opportunistic tendency. The former civilian regimes were nothing more than hangers

on of international capitalist monopoly, and only branded hypocritically neutralist phraseology for home and international consumption. Our policy both at home and abroad was so inconsistent and timid as to render our position obscure.

The last four years of the Revolution had seen a turning point in our Non-Alignment policy. No longer are we passive spectators in international politics. As Foreign Secretary Jaalle Omer Arteh Ghalib stated in the Non-Aligned Foreign Ministers Conference in Georgetown: «Non-Alignment has never meant non-involvement, indeed, the obligations of member states, under the Charter, to work for peace and to promote the cause of human rights are supported not nullified by the principle of Non-Alignment. The fact that we are pledged to consider interventions in international affairs will be in the interests of justice and peace».

«To continue and preserve the policy of positive neutrality» is one of the cardinal principles of Somalia's foreign policy as enshrined in the First Charter of the Revolution. Somalia's adherence to this true spirit of neutrality has guided our position taken in the conferences of Non-Aligned Nations in Lusaka, Guyana and Algiers; no wonder the major role we played in those deliberations earned for Somalia the honour to be cited for its contributions by other Non-Aligned countries.

The pronouncements of the SRC President, Jaalle Major General Mohamed Siyad Barre, that our non-alignment is a positive one contributing to the consolidation of the international anti-imperialist front has been duly and concretely applied. In the Fourth Summit Conference of Non-Aligned countries held at the Palace of Nations in Algiers, in September 1973, Jaalle President Siyad proposed «the creation of a permanent secretariat for the movement of Non-Alignment, so that its activities may be organised, coordinated and its decisions implemented». The SRC President warned, however, against envisaging such a Permanent Secretariat «as a substitute for existing other regional and international organisations» but to supplement the work

of existing international and regional institutions. The SRC President emphasised that:

«The effectiveness of the Movement certainly ties in the degree of commitment of member states to its principles and objectives and that the Non-Alignment policy demands from its members that they should work for peaceful co-existence».

The SRC President also hoped to lead the Somali delegation to the Summit Conference in Lusaka in September 1970, but became preoccupied with urgent matters at home. In a message addressed to the Preparatory Committee of the Lusaka Summit, Jaalle Siyad pointed out that:

«The critics of Non-Alignment have made considerable capital out of our reluctance to deal with thorny problems according to the standards which we claim; that is an unbiased stand in each case».

The Non-Alignment movement has, of course its critics who argue that it is inept and some of its members can more accurately be described as aligned to power blocs, even to the extent of allowing military bases on their soil. Jaalle President Siyad must have had this in mind when in his speech in Algiers he said:

«It is regrettable that... there are some member states who have organised themselves into military blocs in conspiracy with imperialist forces thereby violating the very principles which the organisation stands for. This is not only a breach of peace but also constitutes a serious threat to the national independence and sovereignty of other states».

Another problem that sapped the vitality of Non-Alignment from the outset was the laxity in examining the credentials for membership. The SRC President, Jaalle Major General Mohamed Siyad Barre, has deplored this lack of precise definition of NON-ALIGNMENT in his message to the Preparatory Committee for the Third Non-Aligned Summit in Lusaka in 1970:

«Because unless we have agreement on the precise meaning of the term (Non-Alignment) we may find ourselves talking at cross-purposes».

The SRC President stated that according to the Revolutionary Government of Somalia Non-Alignment means «the desire of a state to exercise an independent judgement on the question of foreign policy.... We see then the importance attributed by the Non-Aligned states to:

- (a) an independent foreign policy;
- (b) peaceful co-existence;
- (c) anti-colonialism and imperialism;
- (d) disengagement from military alliances and bases in the context of great power conflicts».

In his speech in Georgetown, Guyana, in August 1972 the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Jaalle Omer Arteh Ghalib stressed that under the present circumstances of detente between the big powers, the term Non-Alignment needs redefining because of the rapidly changing situation in world politics with political dividing lines of the past becoming blurred. Jaalle Arteh said that a Non-Aligned country should have a reputation for being free to make its own political decisions without pressure or compromise, have no foreign bases on its territory, and not belong to military alliance. «This means that countries which do not belong to military alliance or power blocs are not necessarily Non-Aligned. This unequivocal definition if taken to the letter will indeed qualify, very few countries as Non-Aligned».

The problems of Non-Alignment are of course the problems of the Third World. These include the struggle against the evils of apartheid, racism, imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism and Zionism in Africa, Asia and Latin America, it is the struggle against economic domination and subsequent exploitation of Third World raw materials by international capitalist monopolies, and consequently the

ever-widening gap between the **haves** and **have nots**. On the solution of these formidable problems lies not only the fate of Non-Alignment, or for that matter the United Nations Organisation, but the very existence of mankind. The call is for spelling out a programme of action and emphasising priorities. It was in the Lusaka Declaration that the Non-Aligned countries pledged themselves to cultivate the spirit of self-reliance — a concept that forms that very basis of socio-economic progress in revolutionary Somalia.

At the Foreign Ministers' Conference of the Non-Aligned Countries held in Georgetown, Guyana in August 1972, Jaalle Omar Arteh Ghalib said:

«We must recognize that an effective action by states does not depend solely on a Security Council decision under Chapter 7. Such action might be necessary to induce positive response from the non-concerned or recalcitrant states but we as member of the Non-Aligned Group if we are true to what we profess, have a firm commitment to the observance of the rule of international law without which our own security would be seriously impaired.

«Consequently, we should adopt a programme of action consistent with our Charter obligations, even though it may have limited application on limited results».

On the concept of self-reliance and putting our priorities in order, Jaalle Arteh stated in Georgetown:

«I will dwell for a moment on my Governments' concept of what these priorities should be. First of all, to meet our international obligations effectively, our own house must be put in order. Many of us are under-developed countries beset by a multitude of problems, chief among which are the colonial legacies of illogical geographic or ethnic boundaries; economies hobbled by restricted trade and communication patterns; non-existent

or sketchily built infrastructures and political and cultural traditions. Since independence, most of us have struggled through a period of continued dependence on the aid, methods and cultural impositions of the former colonial powers. As pioneered by the leader of our Revolution, Jaalle Major General Mohamed Siyad Barre, we in the Somali Democratic Republic are upholding our national pride, encouraging dependence on our own resources and arousing in all the people a sense of national identity and purpose. It is my firm belief that this kind of national reconstruction is an essential basis for the carrying out of international obligations which all member states of the United Nations have assumed.

«On the international scene, the first priority of the Non-Aligned states should, we believe, be the strengthening of the United Nations. We should constantly insist on the full use of the provisions of the Charter and we must not remain silent when the Organisation maintains regional or international peace. We must also be unfailing in our censure of all states which habitually ignore the consensus of all the states international community when it is clearly expressed in UN resolutions, particularly those of the Security Council.

«To an African state like my own, the three D's of Decolonization, Discrimination on grounds of race, and Development with the support of the multi-lateral channels provided by the UN are of paramount concern. But these major interests do not preclude my Government's concern for a willingness to participate in the essential tasks of working for disarmament, increasing the scope and effectiveness of peaceful co-existence, and co-operating in any way we can in reducing the threat to the environment».

This statement encompasses in a nutshell the concept and policy of the Somali Democratic Republic as far as the

Non-Alignment Movement is concerned. It could also be deduced from the foregoing the active role played by Revolutionary Somalia in the movement of the Non-Aligned countries. The contributions of the SDR have been widely acknowledged, particularly as regards those resolutions that champion the cause of the liberation movements in South Africa and the Middle East, and in fact has been instrumental in effecting resolutions concerning apartheid, racism, colonialism, imperialism and Zionism.

No wonder, the Somali Democratic Republic had been elected as Vice-Chairman to the Preparatory Committee of the Non-Aligned Countries in Dar-es-Salaam, in April 1970 and was a member in various other committees, thus being able to influence the outcome of Dar-es-Salaam, Lusaka, New York and Georgetown. At the latter Jaalle Omer Arteh was requested to present a major paper on the question of Southern Africa — because it was explained, of Somalia's record in championing, over the years, the struggle of the African people against the racist and fascist regimes of Pretoria, Lisbon and Salisbury. Foreign Secretary Jaalle Arteh also attended the conference of the seventeen Non-Aligned Foreign Ministers and other delegates, which called for a new international order that would be fairer to the world's poorer nations, the final document approved by the Permanent Bureau of the 75 - nation Non-Aligned Movement called for «a thorough structural change of economic relations which hitherto have been based on inequality, domination and exploitation».

Non-Alignment has indeed come of age. After a decade of soul-searching, its member states announced, adopted, discarded or implemented many resolutions. The emergence of a positive grouping of states in the cause of peace, freedom and progress was decisively instrumental in super-power rapprochement, and the current trends of international relaxation of tension which virtually put an end to the cold war and minimised the threat of a nuclear holocaust. Some argue that since the Non-Alignment Movement was born as a reactive necessity against cold war politics, it had become an anachronism at a time when

the conditions that once made it a necessity had been outgrown.

Nothing could be far from the truth. Non-Alignment is at a crucial stage whereby it can develop into a strong body that can resist the hegemony of super-power tendencies, and offer its members economic and political independence in accordance with the UN Charter. Colonialist suppression, imperialist exploitation and Zionist aggression are still rampant. The task of the Non-Alignment Movement to eradicate these evils which beset its member nations has yet to be completed. The ever-widening gap of the **haves** and **have nots** makes it incumbent upon the Non-Aligned member states to seek better prices for their enormous wealth of raw materials. The methods of the oil producers in using their oil wealth as an economic weapon to secure political leverage may well be imitated by other Non-Aligned countries of the Third World to consolidate their political freedom and economic progress.

The late President Nasser of Egypt held the view that the role of the Non-Aligned nations was to be the «conscience of the world». Be that as it may, a Third World which is uncompromising in its opposition to imperialist or colonialist ideas of world domination, and which unencumbered by the trappings of power politics continues to have a stabilizing gyroscopic effect in the dynamics of international relations.

In accordance with the First Charter of the Blessed 21 October Revolution, under the wise leadership of SRC President Jaalle Major General Mohamed Siyad Barre, the Somali Democratic Republic has staunchly advocated and honoured the aims of the Non-Aligned Movement. The economic reforms that have been carried out in order to boost the public sector, the consolidation of our relations with Africa, the Arabs and other progressive states and the increasing moral and material support we have been rendering to the fighters for genuine independence are all a true reflection of our healthy Non-Aligned policy. We cannot boast to have overcome all difficulties, but we know the path we

are taking is the right one. It can indeed set a good example for many equivocators wearing the cloak of Non-Alignment. In an era where nationalism, racialism and ideological conflicts still abound, Non-Alignment cuts across the boundaries of race, religion and social systems thereby promoting mutual understandnig and co-operation. That is unity in diversity.

CHAPTER VI

REUNIFICATION OF THE SOMALI NATION

The foreign policy and diplomatic relations of a country are a reflection on its internal policies and salient interests. The degree of implementation of any country's internal policies and special interests, using its foreign policy as an instrument of execution, is dependent upon its military power, economic strength, social and cultural standards, and all other aspects that enhance the planning and co-ordination of these factors.

Somalia's internal policies had been unequivocally spelt out in the first seven articles of Part A of the First Charter of the Revolution put out on the inception of the glorious 21st October revolution of 1969.

The way these historic articles are executed acts as a back drop for the norms that govern and the manner we conduct our revolutionary policy as regards socio-economic transformation, and the overall concept of self-reliance are displayed or ought to be displayed by our foreign policy is the instrument for the execution of our Internal Policy.

The changing context of international relations brought about new problems relating to communications and transport, policentrism, neo-colonialism, regional and other world organizations.

In modern times, it is certain that the former individualism and independence of every country, in conducting its political affairs, had been diluted a great deal. Modern trends seem to favour closer international relations economically and socially, and in matters of world security and peace. The planning and conducting of foreign relations has therefore been reined in and has lost its rough edges of individualistic chauvinism. Despite this, every nation is determined to play a major role in world affairs. International inter-dependence is highlighted by international economic ties (high prices and pollution), scientific and technological development (weapons systems and intelligence), wars of containment and liberation; the need for definitive non-alignment.

The fact that world political balance has shifted, and individual planning and conducting of foreign policy has to submit to controlling factors, there is no doubt that world diplomacy and the conditions that governed it must change. In the past, professional diplomats were people trained to master the conventions of protocol and etiquette, and acquired the habit of telling witty but inoffensive anecdotes at cocktail parties and in the dining halls. While equipped with suave respectability and urbane mannerisms modern diplomats must also be adept at the more serious business of fulfilling the special interests of their individual countries. Diplomats of developing nations, especially the revolutionary and progressive ones, must have ample political, scientific and technical training. For they are expected to play a big role in reflecting how well the internal policies of

their countries are being implemented. Meanwhile they must have the ability to assess correctly the implications of international events, and convey accurate information on prevailing local conditions and the state of stability, trade, economy and all other matters connected with scientific and technical know-how to their country.

Somalia's foreign policy is guided by the six articles in the second part of the First Charter of the Blessed October Revolution.

The salient features in this document include the unification of the Somali nation, our special economic and strategic interests, proletarian internationalism, Pan Africanism, our strong support for just liberation movements, and our relations with capitalist countries. But without being based on comprehensive scientific data, the instrument of decision-making on this revolutionary foreign policy (which ought to reflect the nature of our internal policies) cannot be fully realised, the independence of our socio-political administration would be lost, peace would not be for long and national sovereignty will not be lasting. Luckily, the Revolutionary Government has realised the vital importance of a strong foreign policy and SRC President Jaalle Siyad gives special care to our foreign interests, as can be observed from his well-balanced state visits abroad and the hosting of numerous Heads of State within the four years or so of our Blessed Revolution.

Concerning Somali unity, the unification of the Somali nation is something venerated by every Somali patriot. Going back to history we read that the great Somali Heroes, Ahmed Gurey and Sayid Mohamed Abdulla Hassan both fought for the unification of the Somali people.

On the foundation of the first Somali political party the Somali Youth League in 15 May 1943, the first article of the party's constitution was to unify the dismembered Somali nation. A similar article was enshrined in article 6 section 4 of the now defunct Somali Constitution of 1961. It is therefore obvious that the unification of all Somalis under one flag has always been the prime aim of every

responsible person that has the interest of his nation at heart. Where disagreement used to start was the method to be followed in effecting this long cherished ideal.

The former corrupt civilian regimes did not care much for attaining this goal apart from passing lip-service declarations which were solely meant for local consumption. They did not therefore make any headway in fulfilling this cherished goal of all Somalis. It is pertinent to note here that the last civilian government wrapped the whole thing under the notorious cloak of «major» and «minor» problems. Its purpose was to tackle the **minor** problems first and leave the **major** ones in cold storage.

The trick in this ambivalent policy was that it did not define which problems were to be considered as minor or major. Moreover, no time limit was put on solving the minor problems and then crossing over to get into grips with the major problems. The whole thing was shrouded in fabulous semantics and political double-talk. The way things went, the struggle with the minor issues would have continued indefinitely.

History repeats itself. Portuguese colonialist forces helped to oppose the unity Ahmed Gurey sought 450 years ago. Western imperialists still disfavour the unification of Somalia which they helped to dismember and partition. The Turks which supported the forces of Ahmed Gurey are now replaced by assistance from socialist and other friendly countries. But when the chips come down everything will have to depend on how well-dedicated every Somali is in achieving complete unity, and how sincere every African is about the development of good neighbourliness among African sister states. Working for the unification of homogeneous peoples would be the best foundation on which to build regional commonwealths that could ultimately lead to meaningful African Unity.

At any rate, it should be emphasised that Somali Unity is one of the fundamental aims of every good, revolutionary, patriotic citizen. The fact that this is spelt out as one of the six cardinal principles of our revolutionary foreign po-

licy is not just a historic accident nor a political nuance; it underscores and conveys the most heart-felt yearning of every Somali. The unification of the entire Somali territory crowns all other achievements, for this fundamental goal is subordinated to all other national aspirations. But it is necessary that a detailed programme is laid down for the attainment of this national objective. The Revolutionary Government have already taken steps in this direction. The tenth summit of the OAU in Addis Ababa resolved in May, 1973, that an eight-nation committee chaired by the Nigerian Head of State, General Yacubu Gowon, be formed to mediate in the long-standing territorial dispute between Somalia and her sisterly neighbour of Ethiopia. The Committee is expected to report to the OAU Summit which is to be held in Mogadishu in June 1974.

Since the birth of the Revolution the oneness of the Somalia nation has become the order of the day as against the rivalry and chaos that prevailed in the past. This great achievement has become a source of pride and joy for our friends and a jolt to our foes. The Revolutionary government has a different approach from the previous stand taken by the former civilian regimes. The Revolutionary government takes pride in the fact that it does not hide the truth from the Somali people. Cheap publicity and false statements to deceive the people in order to gain their sympathy are not the kind of shade with which it is associated. Pragmatism and candid politics are more in line with our socialist policies.

As regards re-unification of the dismembered Somali nation the policy which the Revolutionary government has adopted is primarily centred upon peaceful negotiations as enshrined in the Charter of the Organization of African Unity. Somalia shall continue her quest for peaceful settlement in the spirit of African brotherhood. It is thus hoped that this colonial legacy which has disintegrated our people will be overcome by this formula.

The President of the SRC, Jaalle Major General Mohamed Siyad Barre, has repeatedly talked on this issue. On

the occasion of the tenth anniversary of the OAU in 25 May 1973, Jaalle President Siyad said in his address to the nation:

«I have stated before and I am saying again that the territorial dispute between Somalia and its neighbours should be settled realistically, sincerely and in an atmosphere of brotherhood without outside interference so that everybody can get what is rightfully his. After differences had been ironed out, then real African Unity can be forged. That is our policy. We think it is appropriate to take African problems to the Organization of African Unity and we have confidence in its decisions and resolutions..... it is our policy, it is our aim, and we say that Africa should settle its own affairs amicably and peacefully in an African manner...». (My Country and My People, Vol. IV, pp. 133)

CHAPTER VII

SOMALIA AND THE SOCIALIST WORLD

Among the main reasons behind the inception of the Revolution in Somalia was the existence, during the past regimes, of foreign policies tied to world imperialism in spite of the fact that the civilian governments of those times used to deceive the public by hiding governments' relations and collaboration with certain foreign countries that were well - known for their enmity toward people's freedom. But here in Somalia we find the people to have been mature and to have had a clear vision of the fact that relations with the socialist countries had to be the basis of our foreign policy.

We recall the fact that the socialist countries were ready to extend a helping hand to Somalia in the economic field soon after its independence. But the civilian governments used to place obstacles surreptitiously in their way lest the

people be angered had they frankly declared their intentions.

Some of the development projects, especially those financed by the USSR at that time were subjected to plots by the then ruling clique and vast quantities of money and materials were wasted. Some of the clique's members even tried to get rich through the non-implementation of these projects and by pocketing whatever assistance these countries may offer.

In this highly antagonistic atmosphere, the socialist countries tried their best to contribute to the economic development of this country in spite of all the difficulties facing them. Through their perseverance Berbera port was completed with Soviet assistance. So were the Kis Mayo Meat Factory, the Las-khorey Fish Canning Plant and the Mogadishu Milk Factory. Other projects, however, could not withstand the sabotage of the ruling clique and failed.

The people were well aware of what was going on. They realised that the government's plots and machinations directed against the Soviet-financed projects all of which were production ones were not directed against the Soviet Union in-as-much as they were directed against the Somali people themselves. The reactionary regimes wanted to isolate this nation from its real friends, in its efforts at nation-building and in challenging the enemies that had dismembered its people and subjugated them for decades and decades.

The inception of the Revolution has come as a corrective measure and has been the clear expression of the people's wishes for finding a foreign policy that was able to distinguish between friend and foe, between those who were lurking in the dark corners in order to put an end to the very existence of this people and those who wanted to contribute to their continued progress so that they might not become a stepping stone for the coloniser.

Without the least hesitation our Revolution began to

establish strong ties with all the socialist states out of its belief that the socialist states work for the elimination of colonialism and imperialism since its principles made it absolutely necessary for it to play this revolutionary role in the contemporary world.

Our Revolution views the socialist states as the best allies for the forces of liberation in the Third world and that without these states the future of the Third World would have been a dark one.

There is every reason for us to extend our hand to the peace-loving states of the world and who call for the independence of all peoples, and together walk side by side. It was not possible for us to ignore what has been going on everywhere in the world. The present struggle today is between the forces of imperialism and reaction on the one side and those of liberation and the socialist states on the other. In the jungles of Angola the freedom fighters are armed with socialist-made arms and with the same weapons Egypt and Syria bid goodbye to the era of defeat and humiliation. Our enemies, be they in Israel or in South Africa are receiving arms and assistance from imperialism and we get the same from the states who harbour profound hatred for all kinds of injustices: the socialist states.

Since the inception of the Revolution and adoption of the socialist principles we have established strong relations with our comrades in the socialist system. Thus we found the President Jaalle Major-General Mohamed Siyad Barre paying a state visit to the USSR where new agreements with regard to the building of a dam on Juba river, the expansion of broadcasting transmission facilities as well as assistance in the development of fisheries and other projects were concluded.

In 1972, the President Jaalle Mohamed Siyad Barre visited the people's Republic of China and the people's Democratic Republic of Korea. We may recall the fact that China is engaged in the construction of a number of big projects in the Somali Republic. Among these projects is the

main trunk road that connects the north with the south in an over 1000 mile stretch.

Moreover China has already completed the modern water supply for the city of Hargeisa and is now engaged in the final stages of establishing the Cigarettes and Matches factory.

A big hospital, the Mogadishu new stadium and other projects are on the drawing board.

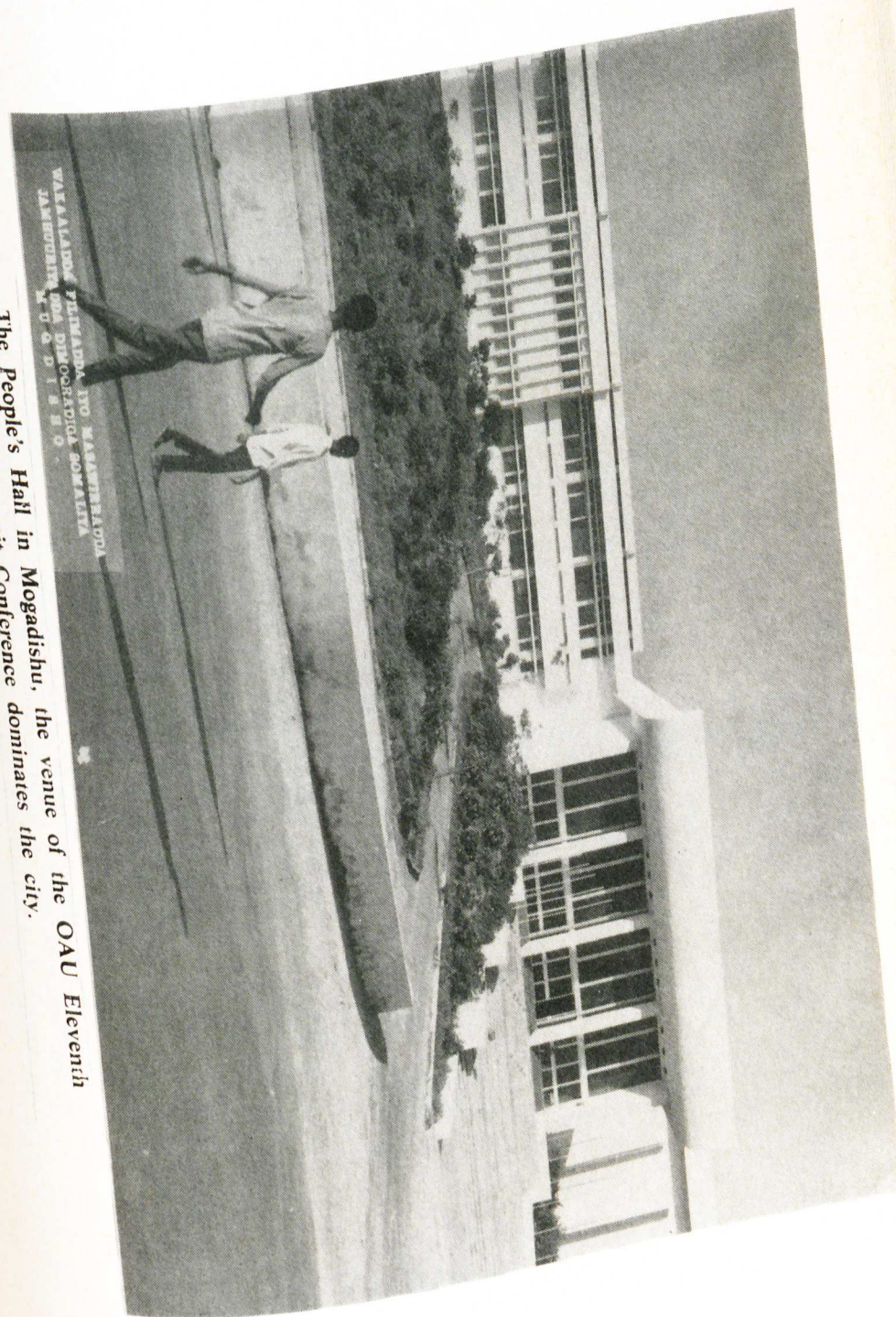
The Somali Democratic Republic recognised the German Democratic Republic in 1970. The GDR has helped the SDR in establishing the Revolutionary Youth Centres, Cooperatives and also in many other fields. The GDR also imports a sizeable quantity of Somali banana.

The PDRK which is situated on the North-western parts of Asia wished to contribute to our efforts in economic development by sending experts to work in the SDR in as well as in financing many projects. In spite of the great distance that separates the two Countries, Revolutionary Cuba has been quick to consolidation relations with our Republic in her belief in our unity of purpose and destiny in the face of the enemies of our peoples.

Thus we find that the socialist states, having seen our revolution developing the economy of its country, greatly contributed to the implementation of many development projects that will soon change the features of our economy.

There is no doubt that socialist states' assistances are guided by their socialist principles that call for liberation of subjugated peoples from imperialist dependence and for work so as to utilize the wealth of every country for the interest of its people. We believe that the achievements of socialist revolutions are not only those that were undertaken inside their countries but it is also in the sincere, valuable assistance that they extend with the view of eliminating the tight grip of imperialist monopolies over the economies of these countries so that as to strengthen the fronts that fight against imperialism, the enemy of the people and that of the socialist world at the same time.

The People's Hall in Mogadishu, the venue of the OAU Eleventh Summit Conference dominates the city.





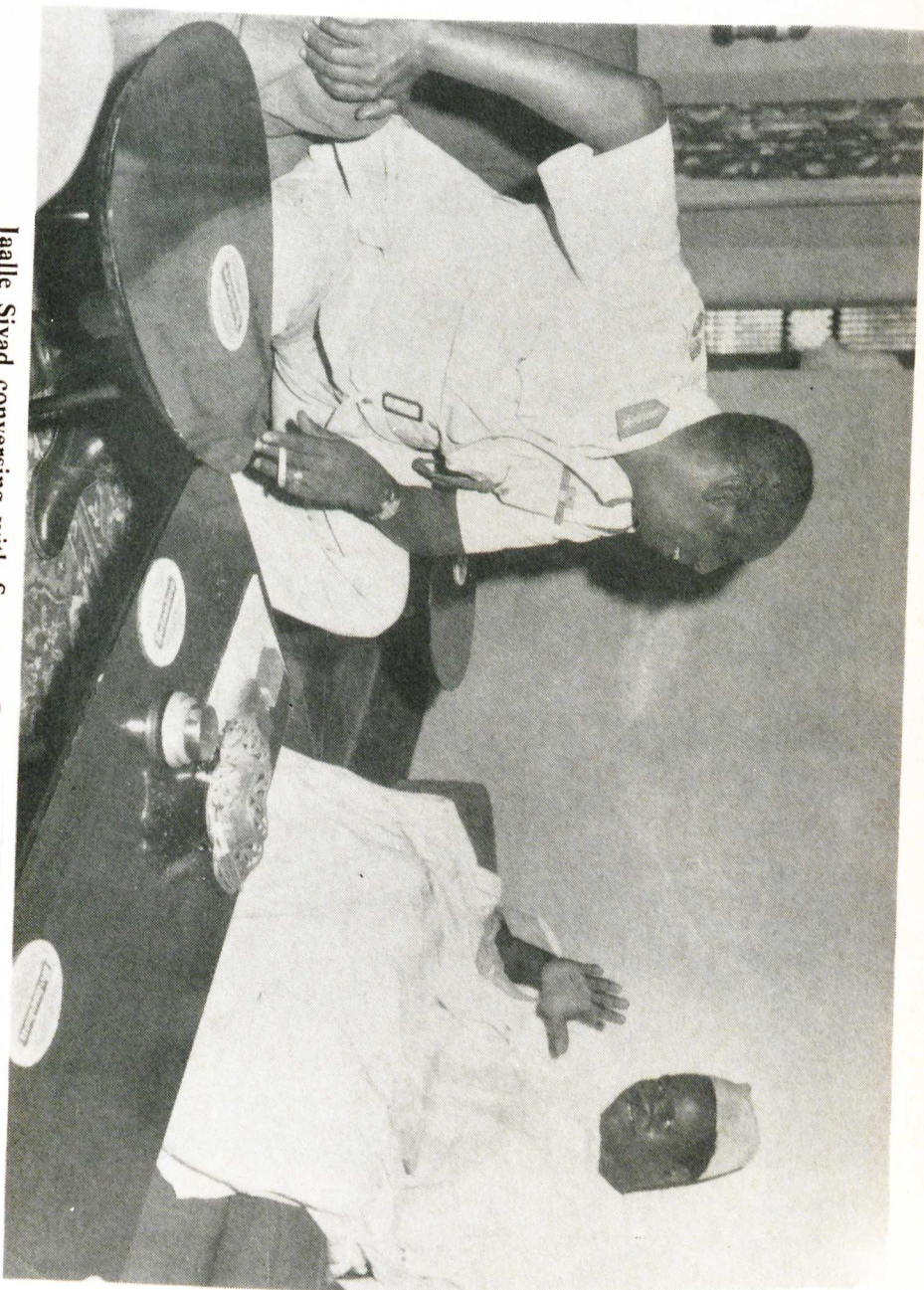
Jaalle Siyad being welcomed by King Hassan II of Morocco to Rabat, venue of the 6th OAU Summit. Vice-President Jaalle Ismail, Ali Abokor and Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs accompanied him there.

Jaalle Siyad delivering the Chairman's address at the East and Central African States Summit in Dar-es-Salaam in 1972.





Jaalle Siyad, President Nyerere of Tanzania and Somali Foreign Secretary exchanging some remarks.

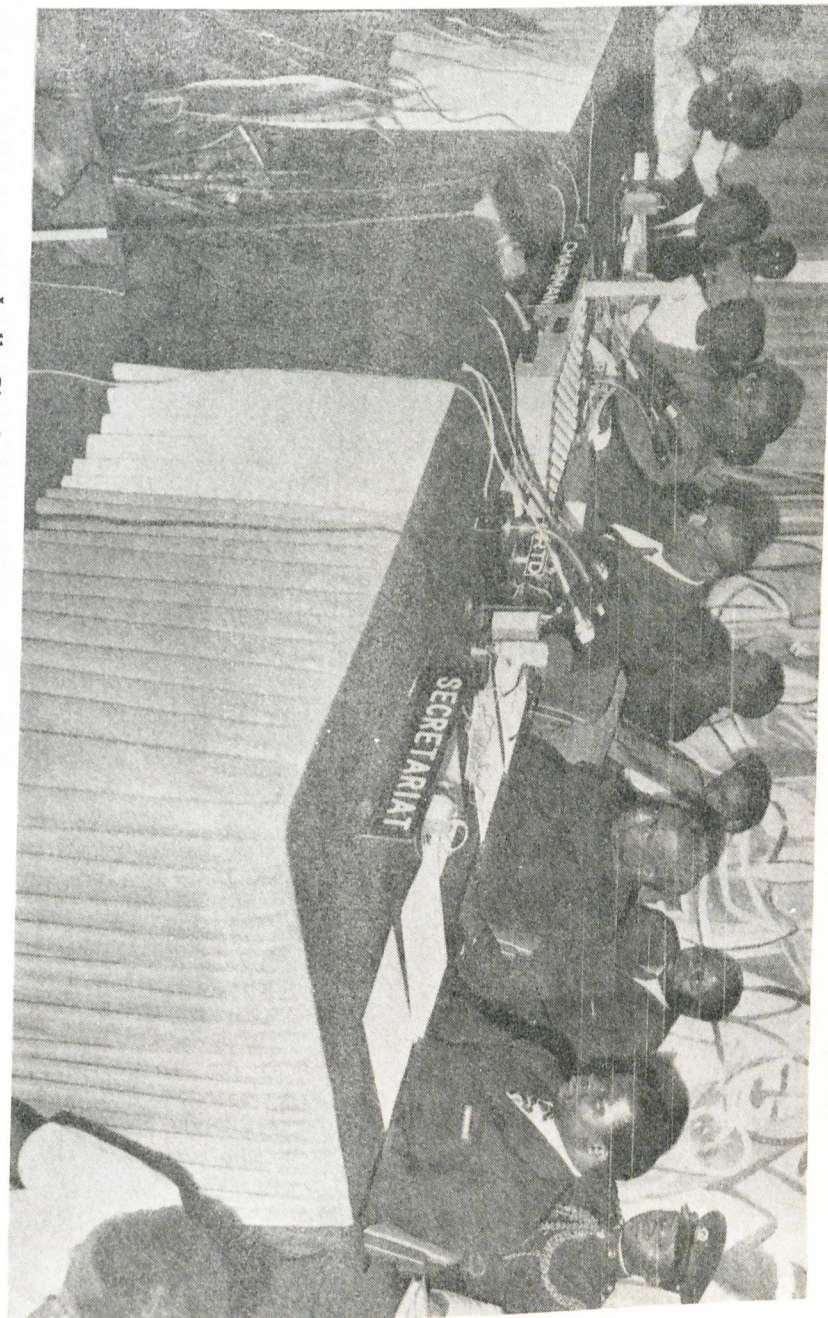


Jaalle Siyad conversing with Secretary-General Nzo Ekganki of the OAU in one of his frequent visits to Mogadishu.



President William Tubman of Liberia has been one of the many African Heads of State and Government who paid official visits to Revolutionary Somalia.

Jaalle Siyad delivering the Chairman's address at the East and Central African States Summit in Dar-es-Salaam in 1972.

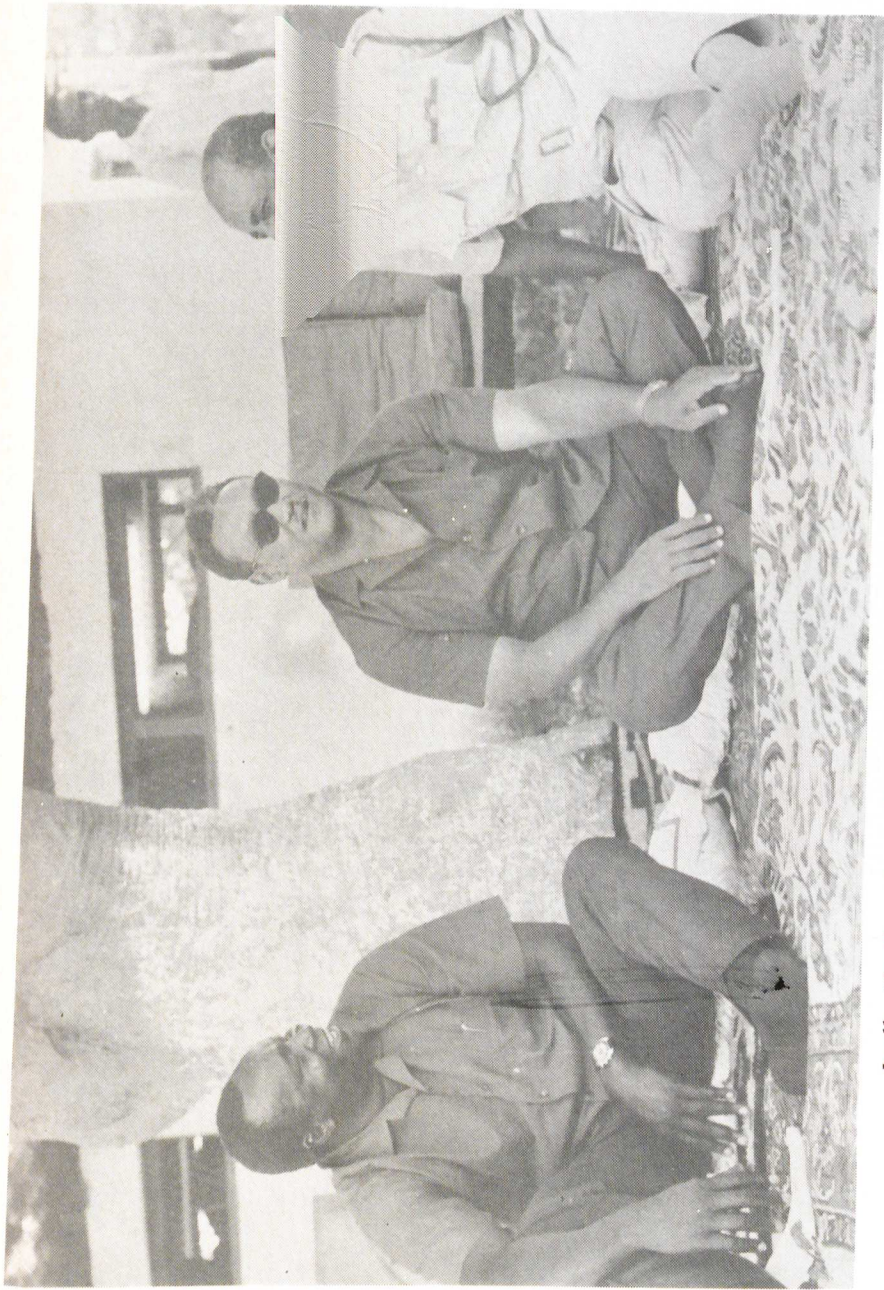




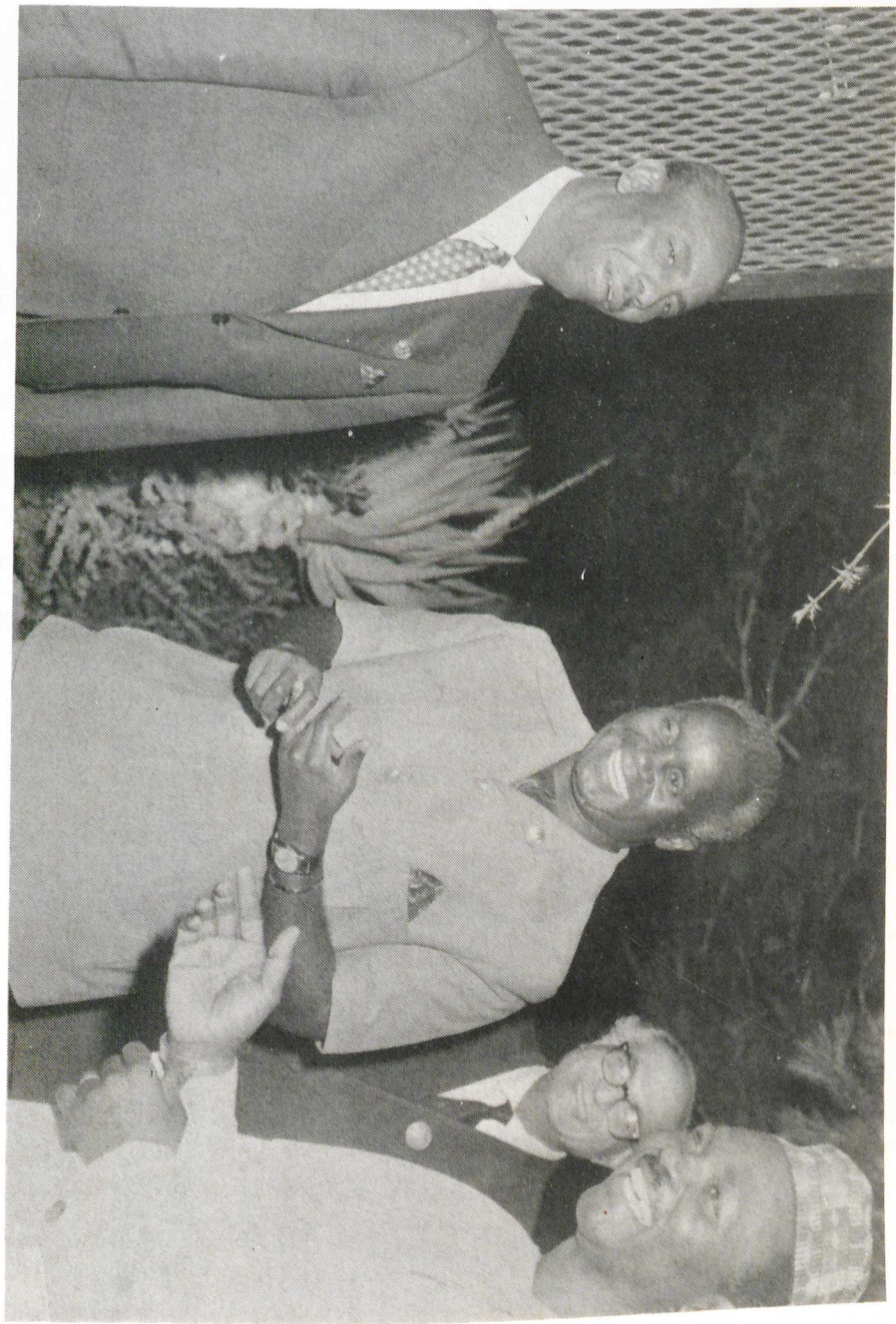
Jaalle Siyad, President Nyerere of Tanzania and Somali Foreign Secretary exchanging some remarks.



Jaalle Siyad with President Jean Bedel Bokasa of the Central African Republic on his visit to Somalia.



Jaalle Siyad and presidents Amin of Uganda and El Numeiry of the Sudan in their famous «mini-summit» in Baidoa — capital of Bay Region.



Jaalle Siyad converses with President Kaunda of Zambia and General Yakubu Gowon of Nigeria — the 1973-74 OAU Chairman.



Presidents Siyad, Sadat of Egypt and Houphouët-Boigny of the Ivory Coast in Algeria in 1975.



Jaalle Dr. Mohamed Adan, Secretary of State for Culture and Higher Education addresses a conference of the African Liberation Movements here in Mogadishu.



President Mobutu Sese Seku of Zaire confers the highest honours of his country on Jaalle Siyad.



H. E. King Feisal of Saudi Arabia welcomes Jaalle Siyad to the Holy Land during one of his tours in the Arab countries.



Iddes Siyad and President Qaddafi of Libya in a friendly
discussions in Tripoli.

Iddes Siyad and President Sadat are seen here prior to one of their
friendly consultations and exchanges of opinion before the
October War





On the stand with President Hafez Al-Asad of Syria, Jaalle Siyad stands at attention while the Somali National Anthem is being played shortly after his arrival at Damascus late 1971.



President Houari Boumedienne of Algeria welcomes Jaalle Siyad who was attending the Fourth Non-Aligned Summit Conference in Algiers in September 1975.



Jaalle Siyad exchanges a joke with H. H. Sheikh Zayid Bin Sultan Al-Nahayan of Abu Dhabi and President of the United Arab Emirates, during the latter's official visit to Somalia.

Soon after Jaalle Siyad's arrival in Baghdad, he is seen here with President Al-Bakar of Iraq.





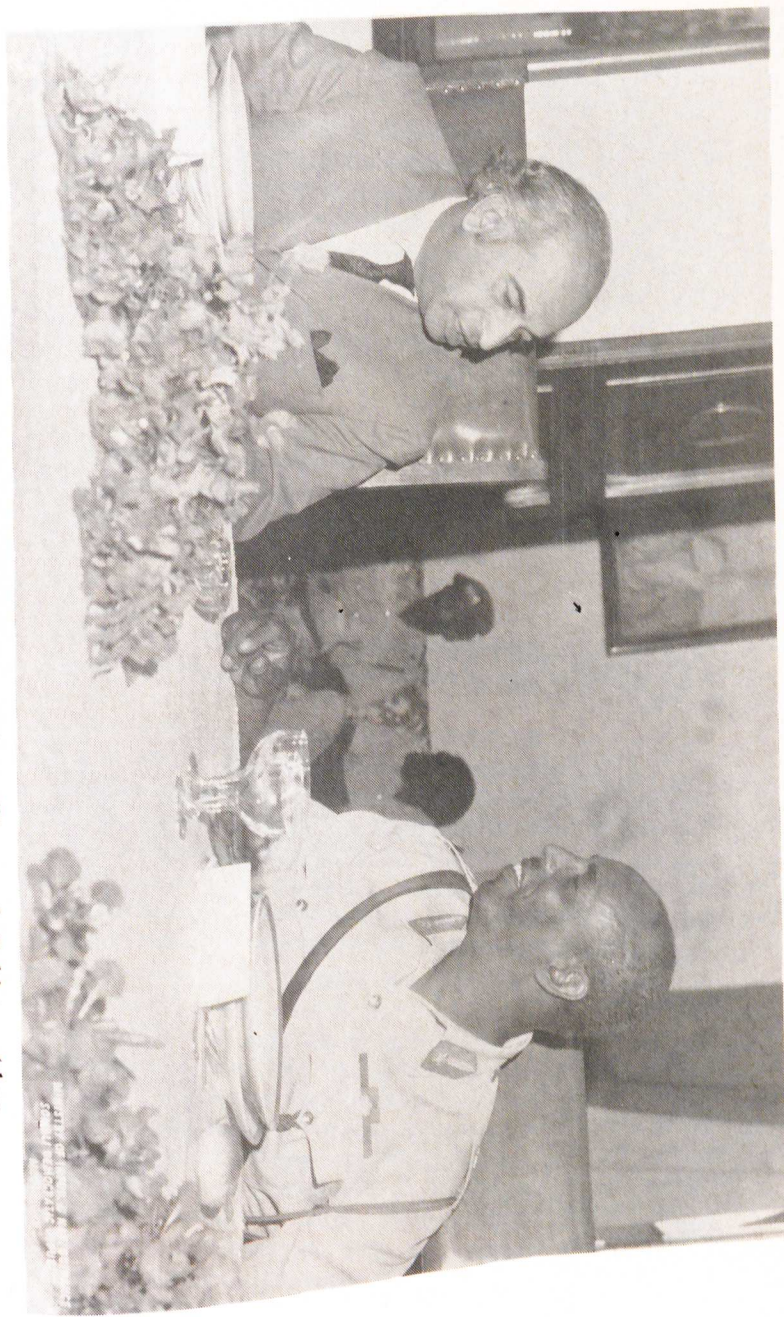
Jaalle Siyad and the Pakistani President Choudahry Fazl Ellahi, on the stand while the national anthems of the two countries are being played in Lahore.



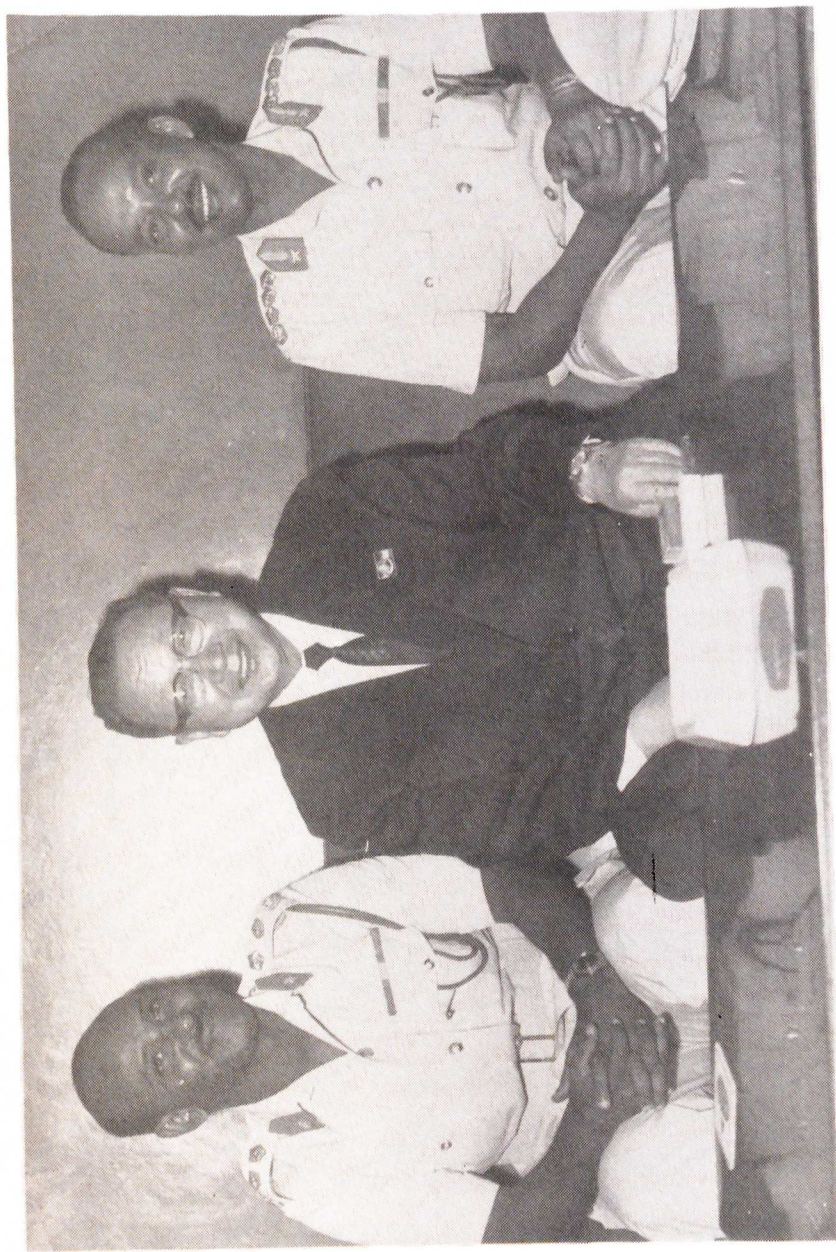
Jaalle Siyad being welcomed by President Podgorny of the USSR on arrival in Moscow for an official visit in the autumn of 1971.



Jaalle Siyad being welcomed by Comrade Kim Il Sung of Korea in the spring of 1972. Jaalle Siyad paid a week-long official visit to Korea.



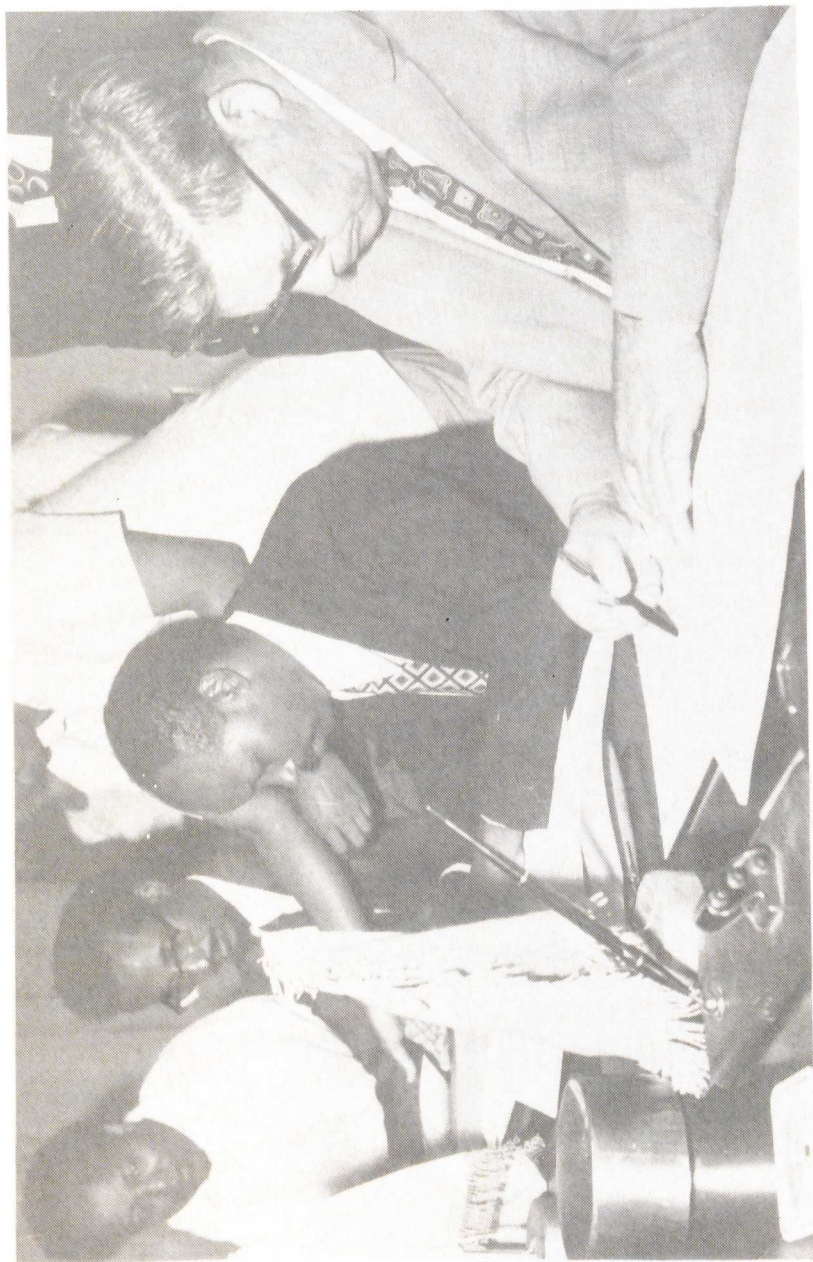
Jaalle Siyad entertaining Prime Minister Bhutto of Pakistan (then President of Pakistan) to a dinner at Villa Somalia



The Vice-President of the Peoples' Democratic Republic of Korea
sitting between Jaalle Mohamed Ali Samater and Jaalle Ismail Ali
Abokor Vice-Presidents of the SRC.



Jaalle Siyad invited Mr. Robert S. McNamara, President of the
World Bank to Somalia. Mr. MacNamara said he was very much
impressed with Somalia's achievements.



Somalia has bilateral agreements with many nations. Here the Secretary of State for Fisheries and Sea Transport signs an agreement on fisheries development with his Soviet counterpart.



The Secretary General of the UN Dr. Kurt Waldheim being welcomed by Vice-President and Secretary of State for the Interior, Jaalle Hussein Kulmie. Dr. Waldheim paid an official visit to Somalia on the invitation of Jaalle Siyad



Jaalle Siyad exchanges views with head of an Italian Government delegation.



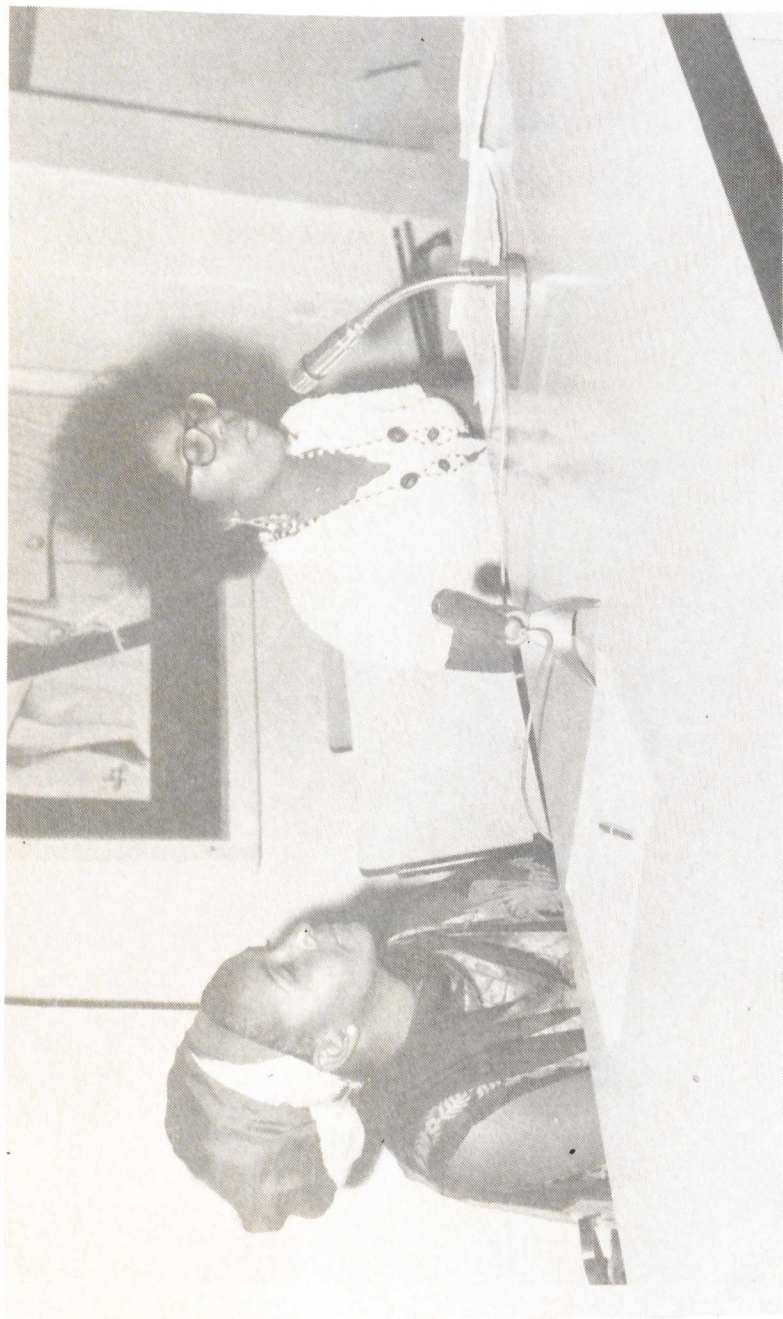
A high official of the European Economic Community and his wife being received by Jaalle Siyad.



A Cuban delegation visiting the agricultural regions near the capital.

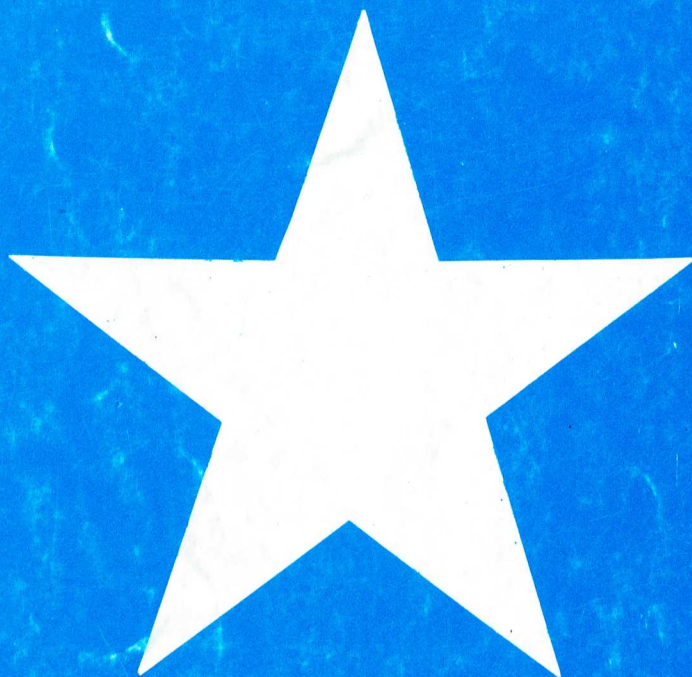


The World Progressive Youth had their last Congress here in Mogadishu earlier this year.



Somali governmental and popular delegations take an active part in
all democratic international organisations.





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