

brief theoretical outline of 21st october revolution

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BRIEF
THEORETICAL OUTLINE
OF 21st OCTOBER
REVOLUTION

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P R O

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P R E F A C E

Since our 21st October Revolution we as a nation, have taken a great leap forward in the transformation of our multi-economic structure, which was oriented towards a capitalist system of development. We have nationalised the key, economic resources of the nation such as banks, major foreign enterprises, insurance companies and the importation and distribution of vital commodities. These progressive measures were in line with the basic concepts of the tenets of Scientific Socialism, which mean the public ownership of the means of production, and the equitable distribution of the material wealth of the nation each according to his ability, each according to his work.

Once the basic economic structure is transformed from one socio-economic set up to another, that transformation itself carries with it the social superstructure for the consolidation of this new socio-economic formation.

This social superstructure is ultimately to cause the great moving power of all the important historical events in the economic development of society. It is to bring about the changes in the mode of production and distribution and the resulting polarization of society into definite classes, which leads to the universal class struggle.

What fundamental theories or natural laws govern this social superstructure?

Basically this emanates from the fundamental law of social change. This is also the natural law which governs the mode of production. The social revolution is thus a result of the conflict between the growth of the forces of production and the existing relations of production.

As long as this law of social change is a true historical concept proved time and again, and as long as we have already established policies and taken measures towards the basic transformation of our mode of production it is inevitable and a natural consequence to change our social superstructure.

It must be clear in one's mind to differentiate between the material transformation of the economic conditions of production and the ideological consciousness of the conflict between the exploiting minority and the productive majority.

The economic conditions can be determined by the exact sciences and the technological know-how. The ideological — legal, political, aesthetic and philosophic — transformation depends upon the new mode of production and exchange.

The new socio-economic change has its particular institutions, ideas, and organizations both political and social.

It is clear from this that the time is now ripe for us to transform, with all due considerations, our

socio-political institutions to meet this demand necessitated by the change in our economic structure. It is only through struggles about institutions and ideas (new and old) that the economic structure effected.

It is therefore essential to change the bad, old institutions in order to strength and consolidate the changes in our economic structure which is oriented towards the noble ideas of Scientific Socialism which is the only guarantee to equality, justice and unity between the citizens in our society.

This task of political and ideological orientation to raise the consciousness of the masses is the most difficult of all. It needs persistence, patience, stoicism, tolerance, understanding, elucidation of communications and coherence of thought.

In this respect all revolutionary, progressive forces should close their ranks and harness their talents, both muscle and brain, to disseminate the objectives of the revolution and the principles of Scientific Socialism to all strata of our society — workers, peasants — youth — intelligentsia, armed forces, students and all urban and rural populations.

This needs comprehensive and well-planned programmes to involve the whole nation in the transformation of old institutions and the adoption of new ones to suit the social and economic changes:

Worker's seminars and worker's orientation lectures and discussions must be held in worker's palaces to make them conscious of their historic role

in the ideological and economic development of our society.

Farmers and nomads — peasants — must be wooed into the political arena, by the Ministries and authorities concerned, by giving them their **rightful** share of the national wealth to which they are prime contributors. They form the potential force of our society since they constitute the majority group of our nation. This fact must always be kept in mind. Because since we have embarked on the creation of a healthy and well-balanced society, leading to the socialist system, the economic, social and political standards of the majority of the society must be on the forefront of all improvements undertaken, in accordance with the principles of scientific socialism.

Youth and Students — the future leaders of our society — must be recruited, trained, tested and selected to protect the achievements of the revolution and utilise their inexhaustible energy in the production and the development of the socialist relations of production.

People in the inhabited areas — cities, towns and villages — must receive a **regular programmes** of orientation through lectures, symposiums, seminars, debates and discussions, film shows and concert performances in order to get an insight into the new socialist values and spirit of collectivism and to develop our national culture as a form and socialist culture as a content.

Participants in all national programmes for the ideological orientations and national-reconstruction

should give their heart and soul to imbibe and digest the spiritual substance of the principles and objectives obstacles hindering the progress of our nation and to ensure the smooth running of the development plans for nation building.

Militant Revolutionary Vanguard — must volunteer their services to the nation unconditionally without the expectation of any material rewards or otherwise. They must dedicate their physical and mental powers to the orientation of the uninitiated elements and to the clear explanation to the masses the components of scientific socialism in accordance with the historic situation, which our nation is passing through. They must join the rank and file of the masses to put theory into practice. They must give freely of what they know and benefit from the experience of the people.

In this revolutionary era in our history, the conscience of the militant revolutionary will not let him spare a single moment in the realisation of his ideals, and the upholding of his nation's interest which are both concurrent with the principles of Scientific Socialism.

Major General MOHAMED SIAD BARRE
President, Supreme Revolutionary Council

WHAT IS A REVOLUTION

Revolution, as a phenomenon, has been known to human societies since the dawn of history. It has, always been used, as an instrument of changing the existing socio-economic relations, by the broad masses of working people, whose interests was opposed to these relation, and who was aspiring for the establishment of a new order of things.

Revolution is a historical phenomenon. It is always connected with historical development of the society; so it has particular significance with the emergence of class society when the oppressed classes wages a serious struggle against their oppressors who are dominating the economic, social and political life of the society. The ultimate aim of these revolutionary classes has always been to destroy the prevailing mode of production and to replace it with a more favourable one to their class interests.

All revolutions preceding the socialist revolution, however, could not abolish the exploitation of man by man. On the contrary, they substituted one form of exploitation for another. This was due to deficiency of social political technological and ideological experience in pre-capitalist societies as well as the lack of proper understanding to the scientific laws governing the historical development of human society.

While the productive forces in any society are proceeding under constant development, the production relations are, unlikely, unable to cope with

these productive forces. Indeed, at a certain stages these production relation become impediment to the development of the productive forces. Hence this fact necessitates the abolition of the existing social relations and its replacement with a new social relations, leading to intire reconstruction of the whole society.

This historical process, in the primitive communal society, because of the simplicity and primitivity of the productive forces and production relation which is based on simple co-operation, as well as the absence of antagonistic classes and class struggle took place automatically. Hence there was no place for the social revolution in this type of society. Only the constant development of the productive forces led to the disappearance of the primitive communal system and its replacement by another kind of society i.e. mostly the slave-owing society.

In class societies, on the other hand, i.e., the societies characterized by class antagonism and exploitation of man by man, the developmental process is effected by class struggle which ultimately leads to the revolution of the exploited classes interested, as they are, in the establishment of new social relations and the destruction of the old ones.

Thus, a revolution is an instrument employed by the exploited classes for the fulfilment of their historical tasks of destroying the outdated mode of production and its accompanying social political, and legal structures, which has become hinderance in the face of the development of the productive forces.

It is here, that the relation between revolution and class struggle becomes quite clear. A revolution is intimately associated with class struggle and represents a final step taken by the exploited and the progressive forces, in their struggle against oppression, and for the destruction of old society. Thus a revolution is inconceivable without the society being divided into antagonistic class with irreconcilable interests. Clearly, then, the potentialities of a revolution was, first, emerged after the collapse of the primitive communal system, and after the emergence of private ownership of the means of production. Definitely, under these circumstances, the class struggle developed, culminating, always, in a social revolution which brings about a complete transformation of the society.

The capacity of the revolutionary forces, in demolishing the human oppression, has been growing with the development of society itself, and through the different socio-economic formations. However, all revolution prior to the socialist revolutions as has been stated before — have failed to abolish the exploitation of man by man. These revolutions merely led to the substitution of one form of exploitation for another. This was mainly due to the absence of appropriate development of the Productive forces and the lack of proper understanding of the scientific laws governing the historical development of human society i.e., the revolutionary classes could not discover the real causes and factors behind human oppression and exploitation; they

could not grasp the reasons behind the division of the society into antagonistic classes; namely the private ownership of the means of production as the very reason of all social evils.

THE REVOLUTION & THE CONCEPT OF SOCIO-ECONOMIC FORMATION.

Every society, in the world, is based on particular socio-economic formation. The economic system of any society is basically founded on the instrument of labour by means of which its individuals exploit the given resources such as their different technological tools, power etc. Besides these instruments of labour, the economic system is based on the objects of labour which include all types of natural resources, such as land, forests, minerals, water, etc.

The objects of labour together with the instruments of labour constitute the **means of production**.

However, the means of production alone cannot produce the means of livelihood. It is imperative that human labour is employed for the utilization of the means of production. The combination of the human labour with the means of production constitutes the **productive forces**.

But, in their pursuit of livelihood, people do not exert their labour power upon nature, by the aid of the means of production, as individuals; for produc-

tion itself is a social process. That means, that people, during the process of production and distribution enter among themselves, into definite social relations. These relations are always based on the character of the ownership of the means of production; so if these means of production are owned by the working people, commonly, the production relation will be characterised by co-operation and fraternity as well as the equal distribution of the material wealth among the working people. On the other hand, if the means of production are owned privately, while the working people are expropriated, and deprived from their means of production, then relation of exploitation will prevail the society.

To sum up, these relations, which arise among people during the process of production are called **Production Relations**.

These production relations together with the productive forces constitute the **mode of production**. The human society has, already, experienced five modes of production (system) namely: The primitive communal system, slave-owning system, feudalist system, capitalist system and socialist system.

Each one of these modes of production together with all its social, philosophical, religious legal political and aesthetic aspects, which make up the superstructure of each mode of production, constitute a particular socio-economic formation; therefore each mode of production represents a definite socio-economic formation.

These socio-economic formations developed, in succession, as a result of the constant development of the productive forces. At the same time, this development of the productive forces was continuously leading to contradictions between these constantly developing productive forces, and the social relations which can not develop at same pace.

In fact, at a certain stage, the production relations become a fetter in the path of the further development of the productive forces. From this arises the class struggle between the exploiting classes trying to defend the existing social relations and the exploiting classes seeing their interests in the destruction of these relations and the reconstruction of the society as a whole. The revolution has been always the means of the latter classes for the attainment of this goal. Here lies the significance of the revolution as a means of transforming the society from one socio-economic formation to another.

We have mentioned earlier that all revolutions prior to the socialist revolutions against capitalist system, could not abolish economic and social injustice as a result of lack to appropriate development of the productive forces as well the lack of proper understanding of the scientific laws governing the historical development of human society.

It is noteworthy to mention, here, that only the socialist revolution has, for the first time in human history, succeeded in putting an end to the exploitation of man by man.

Due to the great feats achieved in the technological progress, brought about by capitalist mode of production, and the great advancement in human scientific and philosophical knowledge which culminated in the appearance of Marxist philosophy, the revolutionary forces could discover the scientific laws governing the social development. This led these revolutionary classes and forces to grasp the reality of exploitation ;its forms and cause. Karl Marx and F. Engeles discovered that the private ownership of the means of production is the source of all social evils and that its abolition is the only means of emancipating mankind from exploitation.

The socialist revolution is differentiated from all preceding revolutions by its leading forces and its objectieves.

Due to the conditions, under which it was born, and developed the proletariat is the only revolutionary class up to the end. Therefore, the organised worikng class, in alliance with the other exploited classes (the poor peasantry) leads the socialist revolution. The objectives of the proletariat is to eliminate the bourgeois class by abolishing the capitalist system of production, and by the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Hence, the proletariat ,after taking political power from bourgeois class and establishing its dictatorship, destroys the private ownership of the production, and, consequently the social relations based on exploitation, and supplants it by socialist relations of production.

By the further development of the productive forces and the constant progress of technology under socialist relations, the working class fulfils the objects of socialist society in realising the society of abundance, equality and justice.

The socialist revolution is, also singled out by the organisation of its forces, as the success of the revolution is conditioned on the presence of a vanguard party, i.e., the party of working class.

In addition, the socialist revolution adopts a clear-cut scientific ideology; namely Marxism-Leninism. From this perspective, the working classes are able to fully grasp the scientific laws of human development. And through the employment of this scientific laws, it achieves radical changes in the society, abolishes all types of exploitation, and establishes a socialist society.

Finally, the socialist revolution and its success in great part of the globe has enabled the colonised countries, which had lived under pre-capitalist modes of production, to bypass capitalism, and to go through the non-capitalist way of development up to the socialist revolution.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF THE REVOLUTION

Somalia has a long and turbulent history behind it. It has been known as far back as the pharaonic era as the «Land of Punt».

The phoenicians knew the region well from times immemorable and their navigators called it the «Region of Incense». The Romans named it «Terra incognita» or the unknown land.

The Arabs and Persians had taken a great interest in the Somali Country, since about the seventh century A.D., and later many of their immigrants settled here as merchants and propagators of the Muslim faith in the country. They settled in the coastal cities like Mogadiscio, Merca (Brawa and Warsheikh in South, and Bender Abbas, Berbera and Zeila in the North.

Considerable record exists which proves early contacts with the orient i.e. China, India, Persia and Arabia.

During the 15th and 16th century powerful Muslim sultanates developed in different parts of the Somali country.

The Awdal sultanate, whose capital was Zeila, defended in different parts of the Somali country against invasions by portuguese and various ethiopian kings.

One of the great heroes known to history was a Somali leader, Ahmed Ibn Ibrahim better known as Ahmed Guray whose organized military forces intercepted the combined Ethiopian and portuguese invaders between 1528 and 1535. And after a decisive conquest captured large territories of the Ethiopian highland and killed the king of Ethiopia. The Ethiopian cruch appealed for further portuguese military help, and in 1542 Ahmed Guray was killed in battle.

During the reign of colonialism in Africa, the Somali people have been subjected to the worst forms of division and colonial exploitation. At the turn of the century, the people and land were partitioned into British Somaliland, French Somaliland and Italian Somaliland, Ethiopian Somaliland and N.F.D. of Kenya. This was part of the territorial division of Africa among the biggest Capitalist power concluded in the Berlin Conference in 1884.

At that period the European Industry was sufficiently developed to absorb the vast number of unemployed workers. The countries of Europe lacked the raw materials necessary for an industrial development and there was little chance for improvement. Emigration had become as permanent feature of the European National life and the problem of overpopulation and underemployment in these countries became a secondary argument for colonization so that to find an overseas colonies in which to settle the surplus population under their flag. This as a result of infamous Berlin conference

1884, capitalist Europe needed to further its development by the capture of new lands in Africa through military conquest, through diverse economic pressure, through bribery and corruption, through conspiracy with disgruntled elements, colonialists penetrated the African continent and fought to keep African nations within their imperialists orbit. To keep the African continent as raw material appendage, as source of cheap labour and huge super profits, the colonial powers did not hesitate to fan religious tribal and regional antagonisms, so that around such turmoil they could win more economic and political concessions. Colonialist arises from the incessant drive to get cheap raw materials and primary products from the colonised countries, and in turn to sell their manufactured and capital goods at the highest prices. Moreover, the pattern of colonial exploitation entails the distortion and impediment of the growth of national economy in the colonised countries forcing them to rely in specialised export.

The really crucial phase, which ended in the triumphant division of the entire globe between a handful of European powers, came 1885. The European achievement in this period marked the dawn of a new era in human history; characterized by an imperialism of a new type, the response to distinctively new economic and financial pressures in Europe itself.

It was to result in the unification of the globe as a single social system. That of oppressors and

oppressed that of exploiters and exploited that of capitalism. It was a world-order founded on conquest and maintained by force, the new world was no egalitarian family of nation, it was essentially a systematical. At one pole stood industrialized Europe, at the other disinherited.

COLONIALISM:

Colonialism is political and economic subjugation as well as exploitation and spiritual enslavement of countries which are, as a rule, less developed socially and economically, by the ruling exploiting class of other countries. The term of colonialism is also used to denote colonial policy; i.e. a policy designed to impose and preserve through military, political, economic and ideological coercion, a system of national and colonial oppression, dependence and exploitation.

A characteristic feature of the imperialist colonial system was as some form of political subordination designed to serve the interest of the colonial country's ruling class as to provide it with the most favourable conditions for exploiting the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

In 1889, Italy bought the coast of Benadir from the sultanate of Zanzibar, being a heir at that time to the sultan of Oman-Arabia.

The Northern territory formerly the protectorate of British Somaliland, had been declared a British protectorate after signing treaties with the Somali chief, and Sheiks first in 1827 then consecutively in 1831-1886.

The British Government betrayed the Somalis interests by entering into another treaty with Ethiopia in 1879 transferring large territories to Ethiopia, without the Somali people being consulted or even informed.

The Somali people's resistance to the colonialist rule was gaining momentum day after day right at the First of the twentieth century the colonialist were faced with the stormy national liberation movement headed by Sayid Mohamed Abdulla Hassan.

National Somali state began to emerge in the interior areas of Somaliland on the eve of the first world war. Mohamed Abudlla Hassan and the other leaders of the liberation movement succeeded in building up an integrated military and political organization. Economic life on a country wide scale began to take shape and it was only after the vigorous offensive land and air raids by Britain after first world war that the normal development of the young somali state was interrupted fortresses of the Somali liberation Army in medish and Taleh were subjected to fierce bombardments. This has had set back upon the growing liberation movement in Somalia but was never the finishing stroke. In almost all the regions of the Somali territory there were large-scale anti-imperialist actions.

He fought a tough sporadic war far over 20 long-years to free his country from the shackles of foreign domination. The British having found that the Sayid was a man to be reckoned with, brought expeditionary forces from India, Nayasaland (Malawi) Kenya and Sudan to fight against and suppress this national movement.

Meanwhile, Italians and Ethiopians forces assisted in the campaign to prevent his movement spreading into other parts of the country. Heavy losses were suffered by all sides during the twenty years war and in 1920 he was overcome, but never caught by the enemy.

Sayid Mohamed Abdulla Hassan died a natural death and was buried at Iimay, in Western Somalia presently under the Ethiopian rule. The Drawish movement failed mainly because of the technological and military superiority combined with organizational superiority of the colonizers opposite to the divided, ignorant and unorganized Somalis.

In the second world war, the allied forces defeated the Italians, in East Africa in 1941, the entire Somali territory except the French colony came under the British rule. The future of the former Italian colonies was to be decided after the end of the war Britain harboured a plan for joining former Italian Somali-land to its protectorate but upon the recommendation of the four big powers, the United Nations General Assembly decided, in its 4th session November 1949, to place the former Italian So-

maliland under the trusteeship of Italy for a term of 10 years and to grant it independence in 1960.

The postwar period has witnessed the crystallisation of new social forces in the country. There was the emergence of a small scale local bourgeoisie comprising of merchants mainly. The number of workers in industries, Transport and construction was limited. Agricultural workers and heroismen made up the majority of persons working for hire. It was also during this time of the trusteeship period that the first political parties and other social organizations appeared the liberation struggle in the trust territory was headed by SYL founded in 1934 (SYC) uniting in its ranks tradesmen, artisan and the rising Somali intellectuals. It was in the face of this organized mass resistance and the imminence of the independence year (1960) that the Italian administration showed a change of tactics — the creation of its agents from the rank and file to whom they could entrust the administration of the country after independence. The seven years development plan of the trust government shades light on the fact conditions of the people.

Almost all the livestock section sector was abandoned since livestock was tied up to the world sterling zone through trades with the Arab world across the Red sea. The trade has however been always under control since it was subjected to colonial heavy taxation at the ports. It has nevertheless developed into a high commercialized sector giving rise to merchants, traders, brokers, etc. since 70% of the

total population engaged in nomadism. In the agricultural area, dual economy was introduced as early as 1911. According to laws the most prospective land was exclusively reserved for the foreign settlers depriving the Somali peasants of their land to become workers/server in the Italian plantations.

Struggle for political independence gained in intensity and in 1956 the territory under Italian Trusteeship gained self-rule. This success had given fresh stimulus to the Liberation Movements in the British and French colonies too. In 1957, a legislative council, presided over by the British Governor was formed. The members of the Council, however, were not elected but appointed by the Governor and the two largest massive political parties in the British protectorate, heading the liberation movements came up with their demand of immediate independence and reunification with the Trust Territory. In the French occupied Somaliland the struggle for independence continued, various political parties appeared on the scene. Most powerful being the popular movement party headed by Mohamud Harbe. The French administration to curb the growing intensity of the struggle offered a bogus referendum in 1958 on a new constitution by which it kept the colony in the French community with the status of an overseas territory.

The British protectorate of Somaliland was proclaimed an independent state on June 26, 1960, and the trust territory of Somalia gained formal inde-

pendance on July 1st 1960. The two reunited to form the Somali Republic on July 1st 1960. Thus Somali people freed themselves from the shackles of colonial bondage to enter a new era of political independence, a pre-requisite conditions for the total liberation of the whole Somali Nation still sagging under foreign colonial yoke and uniting them under the banner of National Unity, Freedom, Peace and Social progress.

The SYL rule of the country was managed by the local bourgeoisie and comprador groups who were compelled by their narrow class and selfish interest and fear of the political awakening of the masses, to compromise with neo-colonialism dominance of the Country.

Very often the national bourgeoisie clashed and carried out bitter struggle for political supremacy in the country this resulted in that tribalism, corruption, and nepotism were rife in the country, public funds were embezzled and the ruling elite grew richer while the masses became still more impoverished.

The independence of the judiciary proclaimed in the constitution was a dead letter. The judges were closely linked with the administration by reciprocal interest. Corruption was wide spread. Arrested criminals were set free the next day. Embezzlers caught red-handed were never brought to trial.

Non-governmental organizations were in a sorry state too. The more than ten trade unions and

similar number of youth and women's organizations were controlled by agents of the reactionary regime and their activities were partly financed by foreign embassies.

The Western, especially the American, press encouraged the anarchy prevailing in the country and comments like «genuine democracy» or «an example which all African countries should emulate» were not infrequent in its columns.

Politics were a short cut to wealth. Administrative posts and votes were sold, the bargain being made publicly. He who paid more got more votes.

The 1969 election campaign involved more than 88 parties. Parties were so numerous because anyone could rally his tribesmen and found «party», with the sole aim of securing election to parliament. Cabinet members bribed candidates from public money in exchange for the promise of support in parliament. Some districts had no polling stations at all, but the boxes turned out to contain ballots with the name of whoever was wanted. The election turned into farce. The political situation was extremely tense during the campaign and there were many clashes of tribal nature in which many people got killed.

This state of affair led to in October 15, 1969 the assassination of the President of the Republic. The subsequent five days saw a fierce struggle between the bourgeoisie for political dominance.

The people had had more than enough of rulers who for ten years had been disrupting the economy and national unity and undermining the country's prestige. They refused to stand for this any more. But where were they to seek support?

The working class had no organization defending their interest so were the peasants. The only hope and the only force was the progressive section of the armed forces.

In the wee hours of October 21st 1969, troops occupied Mogadiscio according to plans established the SRC. All district's Commanders were ordered to take power and set up local revolutionary councils. While the troops were carrying out the operation not a shot was fired nor a drop of blood shed. It was a peaceful revolution baked by the people.

CAUSES, AIMS AND OBJECTIVES OF 21st OCTOBER REVOLUTION

Somalia has been an independent nation-state since July, 1960 — the year of Africa. Yet, for nine years the Somali people have not tasted the fruits of freedom. This was mainly due to the domination of the political and economic scene by reactionary groups who monopolised political power in the de facto single-party system led by the Somali Youth League (S.Y.L.). These elements consisted of local

reactionary groups both in the Parliament and bureaucracy in alliance with, and at times coinciding with, the national capitalists.

Some of the methods used by these groups to perpetuate their oppression of the Somali masses included fanning and encouragement of tribal animosities and rivalry; corruption and nepotism in the state machinery; rigged elections using national security forces; and lastly but not least personal enrichment by looting state funds including aid from foreign governments which gave our country the name — «Grave-yard of aid».

These policies led to the continuous impoverishment of our popular masses and the retardation of socio-economic advancement. Business was mainly in the hands of foreigners — both big and medium sized enterprises. Only small business remained in the hands of Somalis. The commercial

banking system was foreign-owned and these banks constituted branches of metropolitan ones. Their credit policies were therefore, diametrically opposed to the healthy development of the national economy. The major part of the loans were in the commercial sector where the principle of the quick buck was observed. Agriculture, industry and animal production (and particularly industry) were seriously neglected. Needless to say that foreign businessmen benefited most from this credit system.

In the agricultural sector, the system of monoculture in the form of banana plantations owned mostly by Italians continued. No serious attempts at agricultural reform and diversification were made. The dangerous consequences of these policies were revealed by the closure of the Suez Canal in 1967 following the Israeli aggression in the Middle East. The main agricultural cash crop — banana — found separated from its traditional market in Europe by a very long distance which made this perishable commodity to reach these markets only at extremely high costs.

The other most important sector in the national economy, namely, animal production was also neglected. Animal health was not given due consideration and new markets were not seriously sought. There was great deficiency in trained animal health personnel and disease free zones, holding grounds and other facilities conducive to the improvement of our livestock were not given priority by the authorities.

In the cultural field the Somali language remained unwritten not because there was no suggested suitable script, but because of the political cowardice of the leadership succumbing to foreign and local pressure. This led to the perpetuation of multiple foreign tongue aggression in both schools and offices.

A REVOLUTION IS REALISED:

It was this background which led some patriotic army officers to overthrow the corrupt regime. Two questions should be clarified here. Firstly, why has the army waited so long? As has been explained on several occasions by Jaalle Mohamed Siyad Barre, President of the SRC the army saw its role primarily as a national security organ especially against foreign aggression. It tried to stay away from meddling into politics. But, the grave situation in the latter part of 1969 which could have led to a civil war in the wake of the permeation of corruption in all of national life culminating in the assassination of the head of state precipitated the decision for change.

Secondly, why the army? It is a fact that discontent was widespread among all social strata in our country. However, our army has certain characteristics which made the role it played in other African countries. In the first place, it became the only truly national army by the merger of the former colonially created forces in the Italian and British colonies. This led to the emergence of an army with a national base and in which was reflected the spirit of the unity of the Somali nation. (Witness the use of Somali terms of the unity army while the bureaucracy failed to adapt them). Secondly, this wider national unity to which all Somalis were aspiring have been entrusted to its officers and soldiers. In 1964 during the Ethiopian

aggression, our army fought heroically for this cause. Thus, this was, unlike other African armies, the army of a divided nation which was seeking reunification. Thirdly, from the dawn of independence most of officers of the Somali army were being trained in the academies of the progressive world. Fourthly, the Somali army has embarked on national construction on the basis of «Iskaa Wax u Qabso» (self-help) in a spirit similar to the one prevailing at present in all parts of the country even before the revolution.

Of course, this does not mean that our army had no similarities with other African armed forces. The main factor which led to the change of the status quo was the use of the armed power at its disposal.

REVOLUTIONARY ACHIEVEMENTS:

On the 21st of October, 1969 at the very inception of the Revolution, the leaders declared major policy statements both at the internal and external levels. The balance sheet of revolutionary achievement will always be judged against this background. The seven points in the internal policy programme boiled down to the effecting of economic and cultural revolution.

On the economic plan, the major achievements of the Revolution are based on the liberation of the national economy from foreign domination.

This was effected through the nationalisation of banks, other financial institutions and major industrial units in May 1970. Also, ENC (National Agency for Commerce) was reconstituted to cater for foreign trade and abolish the unnecessary chain of commission agents and middle men for vital nationalised import items. It could be ultimately used as an import-export stabilisation weapon. Moreover, multipurpose crash agricultural programmes were initiated so that we can attain self-sufficiency in the basic food items, for better utilisation of our cultivable lands and for the engendering of agrarian culture in nomadic youth and students. The ADC (Agricultural Development Corporation) is another organ which served revolutionary policies in the agricultural sector. It led to the abolition of the exploitative middlemen in grain marketing and stabilised prices of the vital commodities of sorghum and maize throughout the country. This is hoped to be extended to other commodities. A separate agency was created for banana — ENB — (National Banana Agency) our main export crop, so that its production techniques are improved and its marketing system improved and extended.

In the cultural field, the greatest achievement of the revolutionary era was by far the reduction of the Somali language to a written form. The importance of this measure for school instruction, public administration, and illiteracy campaigns is obvious. Also, national orientation activities have

been extended to the whole country and have been constantly improving. These orientation programmes have been based on the theory of scientific socialism which has been declared as state policy in the Second Charter of the Revolution in January, 1971. The strong nationalist feelings of the Somali people were appealed to for national construction and defence of revolutionary gains against the conspiracy of local reactionaries and internal imperialism.

At present there are orientation campaigns against corruption, nepotism, tribalism and other social evils that hinder the implementation of social justice to which the revolutionary government have been committed and which was one of its declared objectives in the First Charter in October 1969.

The foreign policy of the Revolutionary Government has also followed the six point programme enshrined in the First Charter. The active support for liberation movements in Africa, the Middle East and S.E. Asia has been recognised by revolutionary everywhere. Opposition to all kinds of colonialism and neo-colonialism have been one of tenets of our foreign policy as declared in international conferences at such forums as the UNO, OAU and the non-aligned. The policy of positive neutrality which the previous regimes gave only lip service were correctly interpreted and applied. It was recognised that the lofty principle of peaceful co-existence was the most reasonable way of preserving world peace and prosperity. In the struggle for the re-unification of the Somali people, therefore, this same principle

was applied and the peaceful solution of the outstanding border questions were sought. Armed conflict between sister African states was aptly recognised as benefitting only imperialism, the creators of the dispute in the first place, and not the African peoples concerned. Thus handling the problems in a responsible manner was inevitable and co-operation in many fields of common benefit was sought. Somalia whose image in Africa was that of a quarrelsome neighbour has now become recognised as a country which was strongly committed to peace and stability in Africa. The crucial role of Somalia in the quick termination of the Tanzo-Ugandan conflict was a clear example of the peace-loving nature of the Somali people. Our head of state Jaalle Siyad has been hailed as Africa's leader of peace.

THE NECESSITY OF HAVING IDEOLOGICAL THEORY.

DEFINITION OF THEORY:

Theory means a subjective study of material and historical reality of a certain human society in a sound and conscious manner. It requires the study of the provisions and image for the transformation of the said society towards a better prespective through the realisation of a goal. The study of said forseen theory, equally requires, a perfect knowledge of the reality of the society which is to be transformed.

As theory expresses the interest of a class or a community or group of communities or classes it was expedient for every society to have its own theory. Theories differ according to the interests of communities and environments contribute, to the some extent to their specifications or the division there-of according to the necessary stages in each theory. It is strategic; in other words it is an ultimate end. Hence, the transitional objectives are only considered as tactical. The two objectives the transitional and the ultimate should never be confused; the transitional being only a part of the ultimate but not the whole furthermore, the transitional objective should not contradict with the later, as that will mean a betrayal to the theory itself.

In our Somali experience the 1st Charter could be taken as an example. It states that the policy of the revolution is to create a society founded on the principle of the popular sovreignty, equality and social justice that is the ultimate objective; the strategic of the revolution of 21st October. This objective will be realized by the application of the principles of scientific socialism in our country. Hence, the application of scientific socialism is the ideological theory by means of which social justice will be realized for the Somali society.

Therefore, such other measures as the nationalisation of foreign companies and banks etc., are only tactical objectives leading at the end to a strategic objective viz: to create a society founded on

the principle of popular sovereignty, equality and justice.

Moreover, distinction must be made between the transitional and ultimate objectives and accordingly, we should not confuse one with another or try to dispense with one, as it is a denial to the reality and will consequently lead us to failure. We must also divide the objectives into stages since each stage has an objective.

IMPORTANCE OF THEORY:

With regard to the dialectical history as a phenomenon of interpretation of the evolution process of the society and social contradictions it is indisputably affirmed that no group, organisation or party will triumph without a revolutionary theory. That is knowledge of the reality and a method for the transformation there-of because, the inadequacy of such understanding to the organisation or the revolutionary leadership will lead the leadership and the revolution to act at random and consequently everyone will act ad libitum and commit errors which will bring about a set back of the revolution.

The revolution must be a response to the demands of the majority of the people or class which the organisation or the party or revolutionary leadership represents. However, should the organisation or the party or party represent not the demands of a class or group of classes it will be isolated

from the masses and will therefore be doomed to failure for the lack of support. With regard to 21st October Revolution the contents of the 1st and the 2nd Charter make out a comprehensive programme expressing the demands of the toiler class, as the revolutionary leadership demonstrated its sincerity to their interest and for this reason the support of the majority of the Somali people led to the success of the revolution.

THE REVOLUTIONARY THEORY:

The Marxist scientific socialism is the only theory which represents the interest of majority of the people composed of workers and farmers.

These groups which make the bulk of society are the oppressed classes under all conditions. In capitalist societies it is the workers that are oppressed whereas in backward societies both the farmers and agrarian workers which together make up the major group are oppressed. Indeed these groups who have the army and revolutionary intelligentsia as their natural allies are historically qualified by virtue of the exploitation under which they suffer to make revolution. Therefore, according to Marxist theory, the only theory that can solve their problems scientifically, their point of view should be preponderant and they should be free from oppression and exploitation as well.

The meaning of scientific socialism is the change of the means of production from the private

ownership to collective ownership as well as provision of work education and medical care and social security for every member of the society on the bases of one for all and all for one. Because with absence of this rule the base of the socialist society will be non-existent.

Closely connected with the question above is the use of industry and science as fundamental bases of progress.

Moreover, there should be a minimum of mass awareness and collective spirit as well as the absence of individualism egoism and for private property, so that wage labour disappears and individuals become productive force. Furthermore a mention must be made of the fact that backward societies such as ours must go through a preparation period better known as the stage of NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC REVOLUTION, on the way to socialism before actually passing to socialism.

THE PERIOD OF NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC REVOLUTION

The national Democratic Revolution is meant over-stepping the capitalist development (in other words by passing the establishment of conditions for socialist orientation. The national Democratic Revolution is a prerequisite for countries that had never developed the real basis of capitalist economy, but have the feature — of a pre-capitalist devel-

opment (economically, socially and culturally capitalist oriented) then it is obvious that countries which opted for the non-capitalism way of development, with a semi-primitive capitalist development, and also where the national bourgeois failed to make economic progress ——— will have to shorten the way to socialism——by passing the capitalist stage and embarking to go through the stage of national democratic revolution. Of course it is an experience of several developing countries that the national bourgeois failed to create an industrial and mechanised agricultural economy, rather it engaged itself in merchantile economy by extending and providing super profits in the form of services to the international institutions of monopoly capital, of course this facilitated the national bourgeois to dominate the political and economic life of that given country.

The developing countries have experienced difficulties in the transformation process to socialism, and therefore, it has been historically proved correct that the stable national democratic revolution was the only alternative for these countries in order to shorten the period of realizing the socialist society and by-passing the capitalist development. In such period (NDR), the state takes the dominant part in the development programmes (previously assigned to the bourgeoisie) with the participation of national capital investment. The integration takes place according to the central government development plans and with its complete supervision and control.

The stage of national democratic revolution entails rapid economic development and transformation to socialism. In this transformational process all the potentialities of the nation is pooled together with the aim of creating an industrial base and an independent national economy force from the world capitalist sphere where unequal economic relations exist.

THE FORCES IN POWER IN THE PERIOD OF NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC REVOLUTION.

In such countries (under developing countries), since the working class is characterized by its undeveloped political class consciousness, the temporary alliance with other social classes having different political ideologies, but temporarily are ready to co-operate in certain tactical objectives in the transformational period and bear the anti-imperialist attitudes dictated by its national interests in participating in the political power. It is a must that the allied democratic forces are led by a revolutionary mass party equipped with ideological class conceptions emanates from a Marxist-Leninist thoughts.

In our country the, Somali Democratic Republic, conditioned by the prevalent objective conditions, the alliance of workers, peasants, soldiers and revolutionary intellectuals and petty bourgeois with anti-imperialist attitudes in a prime importance and necessarily in demand according to our specifics.

THE TASKS OF THE PERIOD OF THE NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC.

Through experience, the preceding social groups could, according to our objective condition in the Somali Democratic Republic, work together in most of the cases.

There are always definite prerequisites to be achieved in the stage of the national democratic revolution in the socio economic spheres.

IN THE ECONOMIC SPHERES:

The major steps to be taken in this sphere is determined by national features of the economy (the level of industry, agriculture, transport, commercial establishments etc.), and thus the universal application of the principles of socialisation is decisive.

In this respect, the nationalization of the key economic resources of the nation such as banks, major foreign enterprises, insurance-commercial houses, transport. In the Somali Democratic Republic, the Supreme Revolutionary Council and the government took progressive measures transforming our multi-economic structure, which was oriented towards a capitalist system of development through the application of the universal principles that are in line with the basic concepts of the tenets of scientific socialism, which mean the public ownership of

the means production, and equitable distribution of the material wealth of the nation.

Indeed, all these measures constitute a concrete tangible steps in the transformation of the socio-economic structure of our society.

IN THE AGRICULTURAL SPHERES:

In the period of National Democratic Revolution, the introduction of land reform by abolishing the old land tenure system, is among the basic prerequisites for the transformation of the socio-economic structure of the society, fulfilling the principle of «the land belongs to those who tilt it». It also calls for the creation of agricultural co-operatives for the small peasants and establishment of «financial institutions» that will provide long term credits to the small peasants as well state owned farms is the immediate required steps in transitional period (National Democratic Revolution). The development of the overall economy depends on many factors:

1. The private sector should be given due consideration in the planning of the economic development of Somalia. In fact, it is not possible to transform in a day, the economic structure. For the moment, consideration should be given to the firm control of the economy by the state and this will make possible to direct the economy according to national interests. With the nationaliza-

tion of the banks, some key industries and a greater part of external and internal commerce big strides were taken in this first period. Henceforth in conformity with our proclaimed socialist objectives, the direct state participation in the productive sectors should reach large proportions. In a socialist economy, the state has the task of organizing the production according to the community benefits with the coercion of agricultural farms, industries and trade organization.

Though our ultimate objective is that of constructing a totally socialist economic structure, the realities of the moment advise us the continuation on basis of a mixed system. Besides, in consideration of our struggle against poverty and unemployment, the battle for development should be conducted both in the state sector and the private one. It will be possible to gradually organize the private sector in co-operativas for production and commerce.

Our economy is at the first stage of economic development, in which an increase in exportation and the substitution of some imported products with locally made industrial products are the only possibilities offered. As long as agriculture and livestock, which constitute the prevailing activities, will not sustain evolution both in method and techniques, the national income will remain low and there will be no enough demand to justify the existence of many

types of industries. Industrialization requires among other things, low-cost raw materials. It is possible that with employment of every simple technique, such as rotation of crops, manuring, irrigation, ploughing (where possible with bulls and camels), the agricultural income will increase remarkably. Our task should be the introduction and generalization of some of these concepts according to environment conditions. The Crash Programmes could be the vanguard in this technical evolution.

It is also equally important and economically workable that small land scattered handicraftsmen (Artisans) be grouped in the form of co-operatives with aim of eliminating exploitation and increasing the production.

IN THE SOCIAL & CULTURAL SPHERES:

Before 21st October Revolution, the educational and cultural institutions in our society were as such that it provided the local bourgeoisie and foreign monopoly establishments all the elements of consolidating both their political and the economic position in the country which means more repression and severe exploitation of the masses. Experience of socialist countries, it is a condition that the bourgeois oriented structure of education and cultural institutions be altered to suit the basic tenets of scientific socialism proclaimed by us. This gives us the right to consider that the struggle for reform and democratization of education can only be concei-

ved in the frame-work of its unification with the struggle for the transformation of society, and in revolutionary and pro-progressive contents, of the socio-economic structure of a society in a given country. There are basic or could be termed general criteria of the democratization of education i.e..

Free access to education without any economic, social or cultural types of discrimination. This free access should be obtained on the basis of a struggle for increasing the effectiveness of the form of education and the abolition of cultural and social antagonisms, and not according to the purely formal formula of «equality of opportunities upon commencement of strides.

The elimination of the priority granted to rhetoric expression, to the detriment of the acquisition of real knowledge.

The transformation of culture, in order to free it from alienating imperatives of bourgeois ideology, obsolete ideas and superstition.

SOCIALIST REVOLUTION & BUILDING OF SOCIALISM

Scientific socialism has covered the laws of social development that determines how one socio-economic formation is replaced by another, and shows the inevitability of the collapse of capitalism and establishment of socialist society. The replacement of one formation by another does not come

about spontaneously or automatically, but it only makes way for another as a result of a bitter class struggle, in which classes that are in decline (the formation) disappear, in spite of putting up a desperate resistance, while the classes which linked with future productive forces and which for this reason ascend come to power. The working class under the leadership of a revolutionary party equipped with a good knowledge of the laws of social development — scientific socialism — is the grave digger of capitalism. For dialectical purposes it is noteworthy to mention here that in a matter of two or three centuries capitalism brought about an economic progress far greater than anything seen in the whole of man's previous history. Capitalism, however, did little to ease the burden of the toiler, for capitalist exploitation, replaced slave and feudal exploitation, and all the more so because in a whole number of capitalist countries, there remained a handover of feudalism, with capitalist oppression being often supplemented by that of feudalism. One result of this was a growing discontent among the working people, a sharpening class struggle that is conflict between the factory owners and their wage labourers, lacking means of production. Obviously this change was observed in the spiritual life of the society.

There have been several attempts made by Utopian writers, here they called for the replacement of capitalism by a new system of socialism. While conceptions of this society remained hazy and would be a system without private ownership and human

exploitation, a system in which all world have equal obligation. The immaturity of the Utopian writers soon surfaced when they failed to provide a sound and scientifically substantiated answer to the questions as to how and by what means capitalism could be abolished what social force would put an end to capitalism and inaugurate new society. Several varying view points were advanced. Some held that the ideal socialist society could be conceived by asking the propertied classes to give up their property. Their power and privileges in favour of the majority (the unpropertied) and therefore, capitalism will give way to socialism. Others also held the views that such ideal socialist society will come about through education and enlightenment, which is a total negation of the laws of social development.

The science of socialism was worked out by Karl Marx (1818-1883) and Frederick Engels (1870-1895). This was a time of rapid growth of the rise of a new class the industrial proletariat and its entry into revolutionary struggle.

Marx and Engels rendered a great service to the humanity by establishing the materialist conception of history.

Marx and Engels based themselves on the fact that before men engage in politics, philosophy and art, that is, in intellectual labours, they must have at their disposal the necessary minimum of material things (food, clothing and shelter). But in order to obtain these things people must work and produce.

And it is this labour activity of the people and their production of material things that provide the basis for social development. This discovery showed that history, far from being an accumulation of fortuities, was a law governed, natural and requisite process of the replacing of one social system by another, by a higher and better system, and that this process rested on the advance of material production. Primitive society had given way to slave-owning slavery to feudalism and the latter to capitalism.

Since development of society is a law governed process of replacing of one socio-economic formation by another, it follows that capitalist society must, with the same inevitability, make way for the new socialist society.

Of great significance for Marx's scientific substantiation of socialism was his discovery of SURPLUS VALUE the source of capitalist profit and of capitalist exploitation. The worker in the capitalist society deprived of the basic means of production (factories, machinery and means of transport), owns only his labour power, his ability to work and produce material values. In order to live and provide for his family he is obliged to appear before the owner of the means of production, the capitalist and offer his labour power for sale.

A bargain is struck between the worker and capitalist, with the former selling his labour power and the latter buying it; the worker works and the capitalist pays his wages. Penetrating into the essence of this bargain, Marx showed that it is far

from being equal, as it would seem at first glance. The point is that labour power is a commodity of special kind.

In production men not only act on nature but also on one another. They produce only by co-operating in a certain way and mutually exchanging their activities. In order to produce, they enter into definite connections and relations with one another and only within these social connections and relations does their action on nature, does production, take place.

These social relations into which the producers enter with one another the conditions under which they exchange their activities and participate in the whole act of production, will naturally vary according to the character of the means of production.

With the invention of new instrument of warfare, firearms, the whole internal organisations of the army necessarily changed; the relationship within which individuals can constitute an army and act as an army were transformed and relations of different armies to one another also changed.

Thus the social relations within which individuals produce, the social relations of production, change, are transformed, with the change and development of the material means of production, the production in their totality constitute what are called the social relations, society, and specifically, a society at a definite stage of historical development,

a society with a peculiar, distinctive character, ancient society, feudal society, bourgeois society, are such totalities of production relations, each of which at the same time denotes a special stage of development in the history of mankind.

Capital, also, is a social relation of production. It is a bourgeois production relation, a production relation of bourgeois society. Are not the means of subsistence, the instruments of labour, the raw materials of which capital consists, produced and accumulated under given social conditions, in definite social relations? Are they not utilised for new production under given social conditions, in definite social relations, and is it not just this definite social character which turns the products serving for new production into capital.

Embarking on the foregoing facts it is necessary that guidelines are given in realizing the socialist society in the various spheres of life.

1. THE ECONOMY OF SOCIALISM:

Common socialist ownership, in harmony with the social nature, of production, forms the base of the economy of socialism. In socialist society there are two kinds of common ownership public and co-operative. The first mentioned derives from the socialist nationalisation and its the property of all the people, the second has its source in co-operation in production and belongs to groups or collec-

tives of people, who are members of a particular type of co-operative. Public ownership occupies the foremost place in the socialist economy firstly because it embraces the decisive branches (heavy industry, fuel and power, transport, etc.), and secondly because it greatly exceeds co-operative ownership in development levels and in degree of socialisation of the means of production.

Corresponding to these are two types of socialist undertakings: state-owned enterprises (factories, state farms, etc.) and the co-operatives the collectively owned property of peasants and handicraftsmen. The two types, as with the undertakings with — in the two types, are linked economically through commodity — money relations which, of necessity, are intrinsic to the socialist society.

Public socialist ownership does away with the division of people into rulers and ruled, precludes any exploitation of man by man and establishes production relationships of friendly co-operation and mutual help.

This signifies that the means of production, and, consequently, all the production and all the material and spiritual values belong to the people, signifies also the profoundly humanist aim of socialist production which is: ever fuller satisfaction of the constantly growing material and cultural needs of the working people. This purpose is the very opposite of capitalist production, which is pursuit of maximum profit. The capitalist is not over

much concerned with what he manufactures, be it atom bombs or foodstuffs; his sole concern is profit and the bigger the better. Socialist production, on the other hand, not being designed to enrich the handful of the privileged, has for its purpose satisfying the needs of the people.

All able-bodied members of society are obliged to work and enjoy the equal right to receive remuneration from society in accordance with the quantity and quality of work performance. Socialist property and the principle of distribution that flows from it do away with the division of people into a small minority of exploiters and the overwhelming majority of the population whose fate under capitalism is to toil for the benefit of others and who very often have no guarantee that their vital needs will be met.

Distribution according to work done is, understandably necessary for socialism. It provides the worker with an incentive to work better and it encourages him to brush up his skill, actively to participate in the production process and to improve quality. He who works better receives more accordingly

Although under socialism all have the equal obligation to work and the equal right to receive remuneration in keeping with the labour expended, this society is not yet in a position to provide full economic equality for all.

The individual producer receives from society in line with his contribution to society, excluding that

part which goes but there is in equality in the share of goods received by members of society. It will be seen that the principle of equal pay for equal work is the application of an identical measure to people who in many ways are different. People differ in skills and not all are gifted in the same way; families differ in size, so that in remuneration for labour they receive what are, in effect, unequal incomes. This, however, is inevitable in the first phase of the new society, the phase in which it is not yet producing a complete abundance of consumer goods, in which not all its members are at the same levels of consciousness. In this phase, then, an equal wage for all workers is impossible; violating the principle of socialist distribution, it would weaken the material incentive to work.

This is not to say that the economic organisation of socialist society is ideal, that the economy functions smoothly all the time. Many of the difficulties and contradictions countered are chiefly of an objective character.

PLANNED DEVELOPMENT — A LAW OF SOCIALISM:

In contrast to capitalism, socialism was brought about by the people, for the people. That being so, it cannot and does not tolerate the ups and downs of market spontaneity. Public ownership of the means of production unites all producers in a coun-

try-wide economy which functions and can only function under the planned guidance of society as a whole in the shape of the state. Planned, proportional growth is an objective necessity, a law of socialism.

Public ownership and the identity of producers' interests and aims effected under socialism make it possible to forecast what output, trade and demand are likely to be in the immediate future, to guide expansion of the economy as a whole in keeping with the enunciated aims.

In the process of building socialism the market spontaneity typical of capitalism is replaced by social production organised according to plan and calculated to satisfy the needs of society as a whole and of each of its members. Planning facilitates effective economic guidance on the scale of society, establishes the necessary proportions, ensures a rational allocation of the forces of production and provides the economy with materials, labour and financial resources.

The plan is the result of the most exact calculations. Synchronised with the tasks of building the new society, it plays an active, transforming role.

The socialist planning had its beginnings with the replacing of private ownership by socialist ownership. One of its conditions is that the state must be in possession of the commanding heights in the economy large-scale industry, means of tran-

sport and communications, the banks and foreign trade. This condition appeared during the transition period as a result of the socialist nationalisation, industrialisation and co-operation in agriculture. Planning keeps pace with the extension of socialist property and, with the predominance of socialism, gradually embraces the entire economy. At this stage the overall state plan becomes the lode-star guiding the fortunes of the national economy. The market, with its spontaneity, its law of supply and demand, with its free play of prices and its competition, no longer plays its role of the chief regulator in the economy.

THE CLASS STRUCTURE OF SOCIALIST SOCIETY AND ITS POLITICAL ORGANISATION.

CLASS STRUCTURE:

With the advent of socialism the class composition of society undergoes considerable change. Both in the urban and rural communities the exploiting classes, that is the capitalists, landowners, merchants and (big farmers) are abolished.

Under capitalism there is an antithesis between town and countryside, since the urban bourgeoisie jointly with the big landholders and the merchants (rural bourgeoisie) exploit the working peasant. Socialism, having emancipated both urban and rural workers, has done away with this antithesis.

Under capitalism we find distinctions also between mental and manual labour. The ruling classes with their monopoly of intellectual work use brains for their profit aims, for sweating the manual labour of the worker in the factory and the peasant cultivator on the land. Under capitalism professional people are on the whole obliged to work for the exploiters. Socialism does away with the antithesis between mental and manual labour, since the professional people, now drawn largely from the ranks of the working population, join with the industrial worker and the peasant in the common cause of socialism.

THE POLITICAL ORGANISATION OF SOCIETY:

Emerging from the proletarian democracy of the transition period from capitalism to socialism, socialist democracy represents a higher type of rule by the people and for the people. In this process democracy for the majority becomes democracy for all, this being the main distinguishing feature of the political organisation of socialism.

In addition to proclaiming the rights of citizens the socialist society ensures their realisation. All citizens, irrespective of social origin and status, sex, nationality and religion, enjoy the right to work to rest and recreation, to medical aid, security in old age and in the event of sickness and loss of working capacity, and the right to education. The op-

portunity for each to use his rights is guaranteed by law and by the steady growth of the socialist state's economic might. The citizen enjoys freedom of speech, of the press, assembly to hold street processions and demonstrations, the right to join mass organisations of his choice, inviolability of the person, domicile and secrecy of correspondence. Women have equal rights with men in all spheres of public life, including the equal right to work. Mother-and-child welfare is provided by the state, including grants for large families and for unmarried mothers; maternity leave with pay is provided before and after confinement.

The growth of socialist democracy finds expression also in the enhanced role of the elected representative bodies and of the numerous mass organisations the trade unions, co-operatives, youth organisations, educational and cultural societies. The process of the gradual evolution of government into public self-rule is on the way.

A striking manifestation of this is the changing over from the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat to the political organisation of all the people.

On the way from capitalism to socialism the working class was the dominant and leading class; during socialism and also in the course of advancing towards the higher phase of socialism this leading role is retained.

What, it may be asked, entitles the working class to this role?

The title-deeds derive from its being employed in industry, the backbone of the entire economy, from

with the working class in the foreground, in other words, the state of the whole people. **its labour based on the leading and most developed form of socialist ownership, that is, state ownership, ownership by all the people.** Moreover, it is renowned for its revolutionary traditions, for its tempering in class battles against capital and because it is the most consistent champion of the socialist ideology. And, being the most numerous class, well organised and disciplined, it is the most advanced force of socialist society. This leading role of the **working class** will terminate only when society is to arrive at socialism at a completely classless society.

This role of the working class does not detract in any way from the role of the other social forces the peasantry and the intelligentsia. For the working class cannot pursue merely its own particular aims and interests. Being an indivisible part of the people it expresses their interests and realises their common aims.

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Having won for itself prestige and the confidence of the people in its self-sacrificing struggle against the exploiters and in selfless endeavour for socialism, the working class also in the process of building socialism acts as the most consistent and the best organised force of the entire people. Its goal is the erasement of class distinctions and the enthronement of the classless society. An ardent champion of patriotism, it is in equal measure deeply committed to the international solidarity of all

working people.

Between the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the state of the whole people there are no clear-cut-dividing lines, since in substance they are states of a uniform socialist type and their differing forms are but stages in the growth of the socialist state. The socialist nature of the state is not altered by its evolving from the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat into the state of the whole people, for this is growing and maturing in line with the advance to socialism. Its social base the alliance between the working class and the peasantry remains and is consolidated; its leading role in society is maintained and socialist democracy is extended. The state of the whole people is the logical continuation of that broad democracy for the working people which, right from its very beginning lies at the heart of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

In the socialist phase the state undertakes the management of public life and, what is more, it manages the economy without departing one iota from democratic methods. It hardly needs saying that in this phase there are still lawbreakers and anti-social elements, and to cope with them definite measures of compulsion are retained. But these measures are not to be identified with action to suppress the exploiters, which is a function of the dictatorship of the proletariat; they are aimed not against hostile classes, but against the misfits in society, those still afflicted by hangovers from the

past. In effect, the state performs, elaborates upon and improves the basic functions of the state of the suppressing the exploiting classes. As a result of the triumph of socialism and the abolition of these classes this function becomes redundant.

In the sphere of foreign policy the state helps to consolidate the unity and cohesion of the socialist countries and furthers their fraternal co-operation. It fulfils its duty to the international working class, to the peoples everywhere; it assists the working class in its revolutionary struggle in the development capitalist countries, gives aid and support to the newly free nations and also to those still battling for liberation. Special attention is devoted to maintaining world peace and normal relations with all countries. And, bearing in mind the danger of attack on the part of the imperialist forces, the socialist state takes care to reinforce the defence capacity of the country and of the socialist system as a whole.

SOCIALISM AND ITS CULTURE:

The new culture of socialism is the product of the cultural revolution following upon the socialist reconstruction of the economy and of the socio-political relationships. Its chief components are the achievements of socialism in education, science, art and literature.

Socialism, which abolishes what can be termed the two cultures typical of antagonistic class socie-

ty, one for the rulers and another for the ruled, replaces them with a single culture of the people to which all have free and equal access. Socialist and internationalist in content and pursuing the aim of consolidating and developing socialism, friendship and co-operation among the working people of the different nationalities, this culture, national in form (in language and other means of expression), which makes it especially prized by each nation, be it big or small, gives access to the intellectual life of other nations, enriching thereby the national cultures and furthering the growth of a common international culture. The ideology of this new culture is Marxism-Leninism, a scientific world outlook, which makes it serve the noble cause of socialism.

The ideologies of capitalism like to boast about the culture and civilisation of their society, about the superiority of capitalist culture. It should be recalled, however, that under capitalism culture and its blessings are mostly for the handful of the privileged, whereas under socialism they are enjoyed by all working people. Each member of the socialist society has the opportunity to acquire an education and to find creative work in industry, science and art. For the working man in capitalist society such opportunity is severely restricted, since creative work is largely the monopoly of the ruling classes. The essence of socialist culture is a profound humanism; it is designed for the working man and serves as a major means for his intellectual growth.

SOCIALIST ART:

Not the least of the results of this cultural revolution is the new, socialist art which, having assimilated the cream of the art of the past, continues its assimilation of the enduring aesthetic values of contemporary art abroad.

This art, with socialist realism as its working tool, is first of all a profoundly people's art, imbued with the Party spirit, with revolutionary humanism and civic consciousness; with its true and profound knowledge of life, it makes no concessions whatever to bourgeois ideology and ethics. It reflects the historical path taken by the people, their valiant struggle and their sacrifice in building the new society. It is most demanding in the ideological sphere, being irreconcilable to the decadent and to all that is on the way out; it is all for innovation and for a bold artistic questing, qualities which it combines with making use of everything progressive in world culture of the past and present. It takes, but it also gives, and in the giving it makes its own contribution and a valuable one at that to the treasure-house of the contemporary world culture.

But above all socialist art is wholeheartedly dedicated to the working people. In the most profound sense it is a people's art aproos of this Lenin said: «Art belongs to the people. Its roots should be deeply implanted in the very thick of the labouring masses. It should be understood and loved by these

masses. It must unite and elevate their feelings, thoughts and will. It must stir to activity and develop the art instincts within them».

Socialist art is, as we have said, a realistic art. It is called upon to be truthful, historically concrete and to reflect life in a highly artistic way. Reflecting life in its movement and in its revolutionary development, it helps the working people in the fight against the old, outgoing capitalist world, in the fight for vindication of the new, socialist world. In the best sense of the term, the Party spirit of socialist art consists in direct service to the working class and to all working people.

The adversaries of Marxism-Leninism, weighing against the principle of the art, against its class essence, say that these attitudes restrict the artist's freedom and encroach on his individuality. These critics, however, forget that in a class society there is no such thing as a «pure art». Access to art, its appeal, its power to convince and its emotional effect make art a powerful weapon in the class struggle.

For this reason the different classes in society use art ideas across. And far from restricting creative effort, the Party spirit enables the artist to make his contribution towards solving the current social problems and tasks. But the freedom to create, while it is of the essence of socialism, does not entitle anyone to encroach on the interests of society. The artist growing up under socialism sees his

civic mission in being an active participant in shaping this new world, a man conscious of his responsibility to his people.

Socialist art, which inculcates in people the loftiest political and ethical qualities, helps them to overcome those relics of the capitalist past that still persist in the outlook of people and in their attitudes; profoundly and truthfully opens up the rich spiritual world of contemporary man, his thoughts, his feelings and his aspirations, mercilessly castigates everything that hinders the onward march of society, and it inspires people to do and dare.

Art holds a special place in the aesthetic education of the working people. It reflects the splendour of nature, the rhythm and harmony of its mutations and the wealth and variety of its colour and sound. It lauds the grandeur of man and of human relationships, the grandeur of the labour of man. And the more brilliant the productions and the more the ideological content harmonises with a perfect artistic form the greater will be their impact. Art that is lacking in ideals, the art of the formalists and the naturalists, is neither uplifting nor possessed of aesthetic quality. Realism, that is a truthful reflection of life, is one of the great gains of man's artistic genius. Realism alone, and especially socialist realism, is aesthetically educative, since it leads the mass of people to an appreciation of art.

In socialist society art enjoys wide popularity, a development which has enabled millions to make

the acquaintance of cultural values and cultivate their aesthetic tastes, to develop their own talents through amateur performances.

SOCIALISM AND THE INDIVIDUAL:

By ending private ownership and exploitation and by ensuring equal political and legal rights and obligations for all citizens, socialism has created the political conditions conducive to man's reaching full stature. Differences in sex or age, in social origin or occupation, in nationality or religion present no obstacles to the working man finding his place in production and in public life. Having emancipated man from exploitation, socialism makes work — its quantity and quality — the main criterion of man's worth and postulates his place in society. It brings a completely new quality into production the aim of which is the working man, his needs and his interests. And it is this new element that clears the way for his development. The knowledge that he will always find an application for his abilities that society and production will use his abilities and simultaneously provide for his needs, with the measure of their satisfaction being the quantity and quality of work put in, this knowledge and conviction stimulate the people of labour to improve their skills and advance their skills and advance their education and cultural levels. Socialism, therefore, by inaugurating a new spiritual culture and placing it and the material culture in the

service of the working people, provides all the facilities needed for the intellectual and ethical growth of the individual.

Arising from the radical reconstruction of the economy, of social relationships and intellectual life, socialism elevates to higher levels those innate human features which take shape under capitalism and, what is more, engenders new features of a kind unknown to the man of the old society. In other words, with the affirmation of socialism ???

And of all the gains of socialism perhaps the greatest is the appearance of this new personality, the personality that makes history, the sole master of his society, the sole owner and maker of material and spiritual values, the conscious builder of the new and genuinely human socialist relationships.

The man of socialism appears above all as a worker in socialist production based on common ownership. Among his qualities are diligence, the desire to increase and multiply the public wealth, and friendship and co-operation with all his fellow workers. To these should be added his lofty spiritual qualities such as boundless loyalty to the ideals of socialism and internationalism, a high level of consciousness and responsibility to society and active participation in public life; the socialist ethic is firmly rooted in his life and in his labour. The man of socialism, living a rich spiritual life, has a wide range of intellectual pursuits, displays a keen interest in science and art and strives for all-round development and improvement.

We are far from suggesting that all people of socialist society display these features. We still meet with those who have a shyness for socially useful work, and who display social passivity and inertia. Nevertheless, the features enumerated are of the essence of the socialist personality. And the explanation is, first, that socialism provides real possibilities for inculcating these features in every individual and, second, because these features are innate to a large majority of people in socialist society.

The appearance of the socialist man is accompanied by a unity of the individual and society. This unity has a solid objective base in the public and personal interests. With the absence of exploitation and with work being obligatory for all, man's striving to improve his status is realised in working for the benefit of all society.

While this increasing unity of man and society is an objective trend, associated with the further development of socialism, it should not be seen as travelling along a straight line. Unity of the individual and society does not exclude the possibility of contradictions between them, seeing that socialism is not yet able fully to satisfy individual needs and makes the measure of their satisfaction the quantity and the quality of work, is still not in a position to provide full economic equality, equal conditions for development, for bringing out the qualities of all without exception. What is more, the individual is not always aware of the need to identify his inter-

est with the public interest and, at times, makes immoderate and selfish demands on society with the result that contradictions may arise between society or at least the bulk of its members with another part of its members. But in time these contradictions, should they arise, are overcome and the unity of the individual and society develops in the direction of a harmonious relationship. In the process of advancing towards this harmony both society and the individual change, and the condition for the development of the individual is the development of society and its reconstruction.

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