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Lives of Arab women restricted

by Lynn Stow

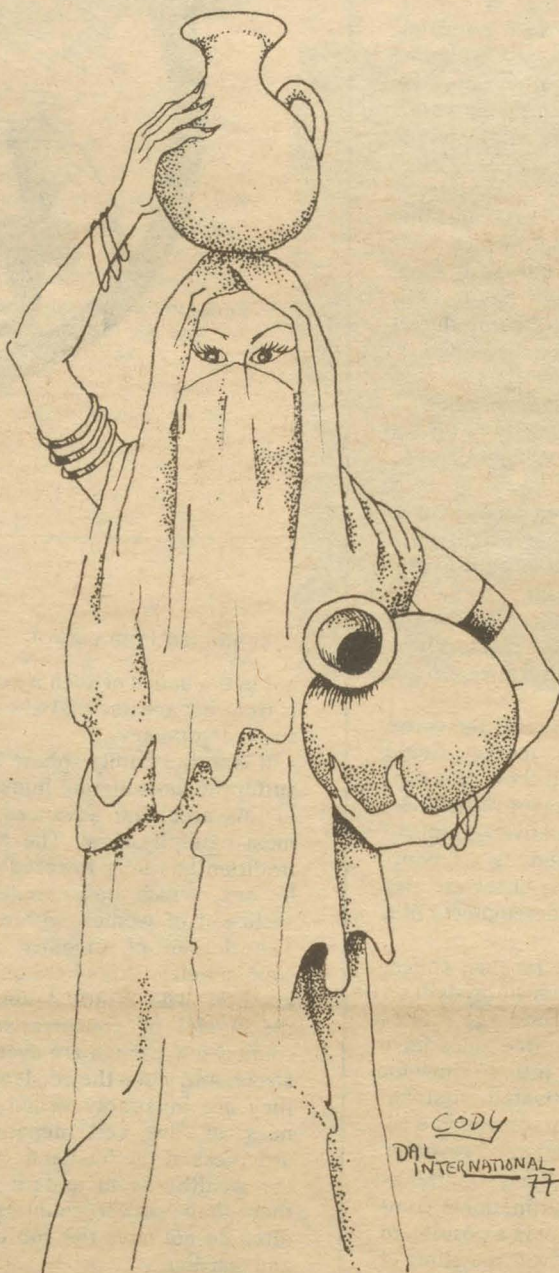
The lives of the vast majority of women in the Arab world are still narrowly circumscribed by entrenched male attitudes and social traditions. A recent report produced by the Minority Rights Group* examines the current situation in various Arab countries and documents the progress that has been made, notably in the areas of voting rights and educational opportunity. Such positive signs are counterbalanced by an extreme reluctance on the part of many governments to reform discriminatory laws relating to marriage and the family.

Women are caught in a Catch-22 situation: governments are anxious not to provoke unrest by introducing law too far in advance of public thinking, and men will have no reason to change their attitudes until such laws exist. In addition to this barrier, ideological arguments against the liberation of women are employed from differing political perspectives. Countries with avowedly socialist governments, such as Algeria, Iraq and Syria, see such liberation as following a "western bourgeois" model. In Egypt, on the other hand, it is claimed that women's emancipation "opens the door to communism, socialism and foreign ideologies".

The need for concentration on economic development undisturbed by radical social change provides a further rationalization for the low priority given to legislative equality for women. Both Egypt and Algeria use this argument, while Tunisia and South Yemen have succeeded in instituting far-reaching reforms without serious repercussions.

In the face of all these obstacles, what real achievements have been made, and who has benefited from them?

An educated woman has become less of a rarity as educational programmes



have expanded in recent years. In Oman, for instance, the number of pupils in primary schools grew from 900 in 1970 to 35000 in 1974. Of these, about 8000 were girls. In some other countries with similarly dramatic growth rates in education the proportion of girls to boys in school has dropped as absolute numbers have climbed.

Even the handful of girls who manage to push through to higher education may suffer discrimination at the university level. In Saudi Arabia, where women make up only 7% of the university population, the quality of their education is lower than for men. For example, the university at Riyadh offers no library access to women and books are brought out to them. Many of the women's classes are given by television for lack of suitable women teachers.

Educated women however represent only a small elite, and liberation cannot be measured in terms of their prospects, limited as they are. The overwhelming majority of women in Arab countries are illiterate, except in Lebanon, which has a female illiteracy rate of only 20% (men 13%). This compares with 75% illiteracy in Syria, 80% in Egypt, 85% in Jordan and 96½% in Libya. (The figures for men are 59% in Syria, 60% in Egypt, 50% in Jordan 62% and in Libya).

In 1975 all Algerian women sociologist described the situation of a typical Algerian woman in a rural or poor urban area in the following words:

"Their fathers, brothers, or paternal uncles, and later their husbands and sons, decide everything for them and manage their property. If a man abuses his authority, the woman will become his slave, in the strictest economic sense of the word...If he is good, she will have to give thanks every day of her

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World unions oppose apartheid

Trade unionists throughout the world joined in a protest against the racist apartheid policies of South Africa last week, Jan. 17-22.

The Canadian Labour Congress has urged Canadian trade unionists to contribute to a special fund to support black and coloured unionists in South Africa in their battle against apartheid.

The international protest was organized and supported by the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, the World Confederation of

Labour and the World Federation of Trade Unions.

The WCL stated that "the protest" should not be a symbolic action for one week only, but a sustained effort which will affect the economic and strategic interests of South Africa (a boycott on South Africa produce, cessation of arms deliveries and investments, etc.)"

CLC president Joe-Morris has said that "South Africa is now at war. Lives are being lost daily and to the extent that if we do not act we must accept respon-

sibility for this situation."

"Apartheid is a crime against humanity and a threat to world peace. It is a whole network of discriminatory laws which deny human dignity to a majority of 20 million people, bestowing privilege on a minority of four million and, of course, yielding super profits to vested interests.

"Thus if we condemn apartheid, we must also condemn those investing in it who are directly and indirectly helping to maintain this rabid system."

The labour protest did not appear well organized or too active in Canada, however, throughout most of Europe protesters were quite active and "consciousness was high."

Dockworkers in Australia and Holland refused to handle ships transporting South African cargoes. In Italy, service to South African airlines was refused. Rallies which were held throughout the world with the best success in Western Europe.



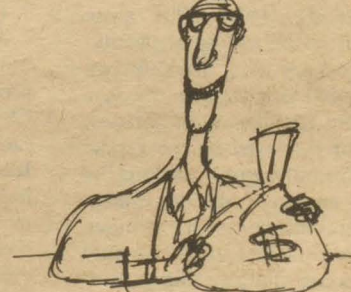
AS A CANADIAN I FIND APARTHEID ABHORRENT TO MY DEMOCRATIC SENSIBILITIES



AND, AS A BUSINESSMAN I SEE MY SOUTH AFRICAN SUPER-PROFITS A DIRECT RESULT OF THAT VICIOUS SYSTEM!



IN FACT I FIND THESE PROFITS SO DISTASTEFUL THAT...



I SPEND THEM AS FAST AS I CAN!

MC

EDITORIAL

Coffee boycott?

Before you decide to join the coffee boycott, or to applaud the efforts of researchers who are developing coffee substitutes, consider the following facts:

- 1) coffee provides employment for more than twenty million people in fifty producing nations
- 2) coffee accounts for more than a quarter of the export earnings of eleven Latin American and African nations.

Coffee, like other primary commodities produced in the Third World, arrives on the supermarket shelf as a result of "free trade" between countries. The unequal nature of trade relationships between developed and developing nations has been obscured by the myth of fair exchange. In reality, the coffee producers are trapped by the laws of supply and demand: when the harvest is good, prices will fall; when it is poor, prices will rise but there will be less to sell.

Either way, the coffee producing nations are at the mercy of their buyers. The value of the product increases considerably once it has been processed into instant coffee. This takes place mainly in the rich countries, which have erected tariff barriers against finished products in order to discourage developing nations from manufacturing goods prior to export. Brazil has recently managed to develop a processing industry. However, other coffee producers have been unable to break the strangle-hold of the multinational companies, which manufacture instant coffee in the consuming countries.

The dynamics of present world trade systems can be summarized briefly:

- 1) Developed nations have the industrial and agricultural capacity to offer a wide variety of products for sale. Developing nations usually have to depend on one or two primary commodities.
- 2) Developed nations can alter their production of manufactured goods to meet fluctuations in the world market without severe economic repercussions. Developing nations have less flexibility, as a commodity such as coffee takes years from the time seedlings are planted until the trees bear fruit.
- 3) Developed nations receive a rising price for their manufactured goods, and are busy developing synthetic substitutes for raw materials. These factors have contributed to a drop in the purchasing power of the agricultural exports of developing countries.

The coffee market is controlled by eighteen multinationals, and the coffee growing nations compete with each other for a share of that market. Could they follow the example of OPEC and combine to assume control over the supply and price of coffee? In doing so, they would be faced with many difficulties. Oil can be turned off at a tap and left underground, so it is relatively simple to restrict the amount sold. Coffee growing, on the other hand, is a labour-intensive industry, involving millions of small farmers. Coffee beans are also perishable, so stockpiling on a large scale would require the development of a manufacturing industry in producing nations.

Even if the developing countries were to receive a fair price for their coffee, this would not ensure a just system of exchange. In Brazil, which produces a quarter of the world's coffee, much of the crop is harvested on large estates owned by wealthy landlords. By the time the benefits of coffee sales have trickled down to the workers on such estates, they have very little to show for their labour. In Tanzania, on the other hand, coffee is cultivated on small-holdings farmed by a single family, and growers have been organized in a co-operative structure. This has led to a much fairer distribution of revenue.

Given the current terms of trade as described above, who is likely to suffer as the result of a North American coffee boycott? Will the multinational companies be prepared to reduce their profit margins when they are in a position to pass the loss down the line to the producing nations? And will the elites of those nations absorb such a loss when they control the living standards of their peasantry?

Yes, North American families will be adversely affected by a rise in the price of coffee. But it is ultimately the poor families of Latin America and Africa who will be punished by a drop in demand motivated by self-interest in the West.

CBC bias

To the editor:

We wish to draw your attention to what we consider extremely partial reporting of the war of independence in Simbabwe (Rhodesia) by the mass media in Canada. Newspaper articles and newscasts uniformly present events in this country from the perspective of the illegal minority regime.

Just one example of this type of coverage was the lengthy report by Chris Morton on "The World at Six", Monday, December 21, 1976. This quite lengthy account of the killing of twenty-seven black workers in a Simbabwean village reproduced uncritically the version of the white Rhodesian authorities. The main point conveyed by the report was that Simbabwean nationalist soldiers have engaged in the unprovoked, indiscriminate massacre of black civilians. We were asked to believe that the nationalists are slaughtering at random the very people whom they represent and are seeking to liberate.

Our principal objection, however, concerns not so much the implausibility of this type of story as its bias. In this case, as in many others, the main report was based on information provided by the illegal government, and included an interview with one of its officials. The version of the incident given by the Simbabwe People's Army (attributing the

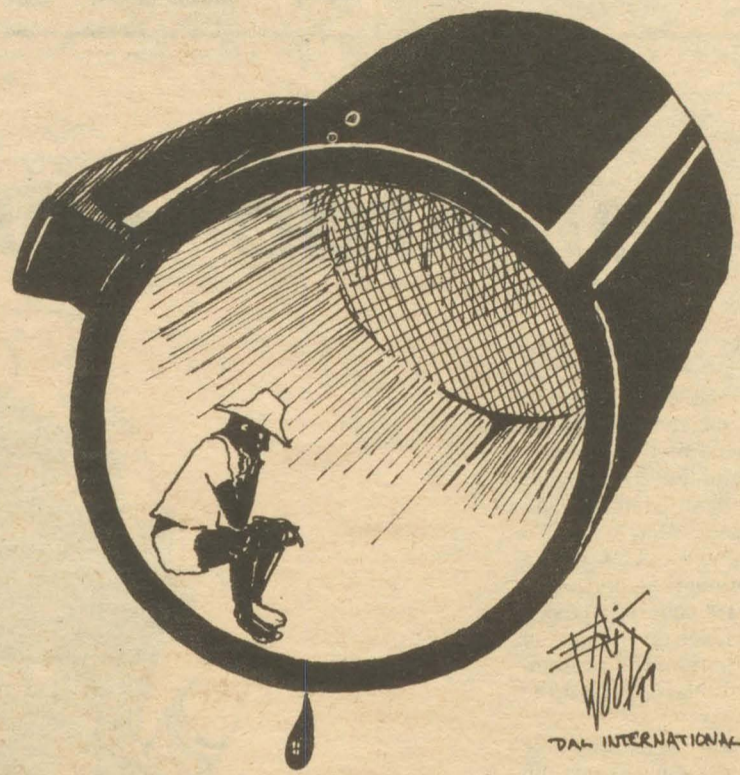
massacre to Rhodesian Security Forces) was appended to the story as a brief, parenthetical two-sentence remark.

Mr. Morton stated that "the massacre represents the largest killing of civilians so far during the war." This assertion contradicts a report made last August by Dr. Hugo Idoyaga, director of the United Nations High Commission for Refugees in Mozambique. Dr. Idoyaga confirmed that Rhodesian troops massacred 670 Simbabwean civilians, including many women, children, and elderly persons, at Nyazonia on August 9, 1976.

As noted this type of coverage is not an isolated instance: it is typical of the preferential treatment which regular CBC Radio newscasts give to the illegal, racist, and brutally oppressive regime in Rhodesia. The Southern African Information Group of Nova Scotia wishes to express its profound concern about the effects of presenting a biased view of events in Simbabwe to the Canadian public, and urges the media to offer more objective and accurate reports in the future.

We would also ask people to carefully examine the source of news reports to determine if they are now the illegal racist regimes. It does make a difference.

Southern African Information Group of Nova Scotia



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her in the hands of such a master. For it is from her master that she derives her social legitimacy..."

It is in the family sphere that women suffer the most blatant injustices, and it is in this area that advances have been most painfully slow. The Middle East tradition has long fostered segregation by sex, which has essentially meant seclusion of women within the home. The degree of mobility afforded to women today varies from one country to another, with Saudi Arabia providing the model of conservatism. In that country few women are ever seen in the street, and when they do leave the home they are invariably veiled. The thickness of the veil depends on the strictness of the husband. The wives of the wealthy seem to fare little better than their poorer counterparts. They often do not have the run of the house and garden.

The cult of segregation has its roots in the inordinate importance attached to female chastity, especially pre-marital virginity. So-called 'honour murders', in which a girl may be killed by her father or brother if she sins against the strict sex conventions, still occur in the villages of most Arab countries. When the murderer is brought to court he is often treated so leniently as almost to sanction the crime.

The laws of North Yemen still allow for the stoning of a woman for adultery. While in practice the judge "invariably rules that the stones shall be very small and be thrown from such a great distance that they do not reach their target", the very existence of such a law is indicative of prevailing attitudes.

With respect to marriage, divorce, inheritance and property the basic

Islamic provisions are nearly everywhere in force. In marriage the man must make over a dowry to his wife, although in practice the bride's father often takes part for himself. This dowry provides some safeguard for the wife in the event of divorce. In spite of this, her position remains precarious. A man may divorce his wife without giving any reason, merely by telling her of his intention to do so three times before witnesses. In contrast, it is very difficult and in some countries virtually impossible for a wife to institute divorce proceedings. Once she gets to court she has to prove serious misconduct by her husband. Tunisia is one country where women are now given equal rights in asking for a divorce. In most other Arab nations, unilateral divorce rights are still operative.

Polygamy is still legally permitted in most countries, although it is practised little. According to Islamic Law, a man may have up to four wives. The contributor to Saudi Arabia in the Minority Rights Group report points to close friendship between a man's wives as a sign that such marriages "can be happy in a way quite incomprehensible to western minds". This glosses over the fact that as long as polygamy is sanctioned it debases the status of a wife.

Arab feminists have been campaigning for the right of women for many years, and their efforts have achieved limited positive results. Pressure must be maintained there, as in the West, if the issue is not to be quietly shelved by governments who consider it to be of relatively minor importance in their grand designs.

*'ARAB WOMEN', revised edition October, 1976 Minority Rights Group, 36 Craven St., London WC2N 5NG, England.

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Interview with Mike Lynk

The Tanzanian experiment

Mike Lynk is a former Dalhousie student who recently returned from Dar es Salaam, Tanzania where he was studying for a year. He was interviewed late last year.

Tanzania is widely known as a leader among 3rd world countries in its attempts to overcome underdevelopment, and particularly in its effort to minimize income disparity. Could you elaborate.....

Lynk: There are several distinctive features of Tanzania that have become known to people interested in social change and the Third World.

The first is its unique attempt to minimize rural-urban disparity. Most third world countries are largely agrarian based; that is, most of their population lives in the countryside, earns its living by farming and is desperately poor. Tanzania is no exception to all this. Ninety-five per cent of its population lives in the countryside, and I would guess that at least ninety per cent of those earn their living directly off the land. At independence, Tanzania's peasants mainly grew subsistence crops. The tiny enclaves of cash crops were destined either for the cities or for the rural market. The ultimate effect of this was to leave very few benefits for the farmers. Among the peasants themselves there was disparity, with a few farmers earning a great deal of money from the cash crops, and most, earning next to nothing.

In order both to minimize class

by it remains in the country.

For all these reasons, Tanzania is in the vanguard of social experimentation.

Why is it, that Tanzania has been able to introduce such seemingly progressive and equitable innovations where so many other 3rd world countries have either failed or not attempted to do so?

Lynk. The best way to answer that is to look at the historical conditions that Tanzania found itself in by the mid-60s. It had first been colonized by the Germans at the turn of the century. They lost it to the British after the first World War and it was ruled as a British trust territory until 1961, when independence was granted. Throughout the colonial period there was little in the way of industrialization or even extensive agricultural cash-crop growing in Tanzania. It found itself, at Independence, to be a very poor country with a great many resources, but all of them very poorly developed. It hoped in its first four or five years of independence to be able to achieve development through massive investment of Western capital and foreign aid. The leaders took stock around 1967, and in looking back over the first six or seven years of independence found that, not only was foreign investment far below expectations but also, that it was the wrong type of investment. Private capital was invested mostly in get-rich-quick schemes that

The Tanzanian experiment with its brand of socialism is almost 10 years old, beginning with the Arusha Declaration in 1967 - what lessons does the Tanzanian experience offer to other developing countries?

Lynk. There are both positive and negative lessons which we can glean from



Mike Lynk and friends on the way to Mt. Kilimanjaro, Tanzania.

the Tanzanian experience. First of all, on the positive side, I think the Tanzanians are correct in arguing that the only way in which their country is ever going to develop is through self-reliance. This means decreasing the part which foreign aid and foreign investment plays in the country's industry and agricultural sector. But it also means something much more fundamental. It means removing the colonial mentality inherited from the British. This mentality has left the Tanzanians, and the people of almost every 3rd World country, with a sense of inferiority. It has given them a desire to imitate the industrial technology of the West, its culture, religion, dress, everything. In substance, it leaves the Tanzanians without a sense of innovation, without confidence in their own culture, their own achievements and their own history.

As well, I think the Tanzanians are correct in stressing the need for the resources of the country, both industrial and natural, to be placed in the hands of the people. While nationalization provides no guarantee that Tanzania will ever become developed, it is, I believe, and they believe, the necessary prerequisite for development.

On the negative side, I think we can point to some of the Tanzanian dealings with transfer of technology. Large-scale, capital-intensive units are still being built without adequate planning and without adequate information as to their ultimate impact on and benefit to the people.

We can also see, I think, the negative effects of foreign aid, which has tended to enrich the donors far more than it has enriched the Tanzanians themselves.

Thirdly, the experience of the Tanzanians can teach us that the raising of production levels in agriculture is not simply a matter of better tractors and more fertilizer, or a greater amount of capital invested. It also requires a transformation of people's attitudes towards each other and towards the society in which they live. It is, above all, a political question; the people will only begin to actively take part in collective agricultural production when they believe that the benefits of their work are being felt by those who help in the producing.

It's interesting to note that the Africans and you believe that foreign aid isn't always necessarily a benefit to the country that is receiving it. Could you cite an example where Canada, which

has given foreign aid to Tanzania, has exploited that country?

Lynk. That's a good question. That's a really good question. One of the worst myths prevalent in the West is that aid given by the Western capitalist countries to the 3rd World is a marked example of the benevolence and generosity of our countries. I think very few things could be further from the truth. For, by and large, aid tends to benefit the donor countries far more than it does the recipients. An example of this is the building by Canada of a new bakery in Dar-Es-Salaam. Previously Dar-Es-Salaam's bakery needs were met by approximately 10 bakeries employing around three hundred people. The New Canadian Bakery will only employ 60 people, it being built as a capital-intensive project. In addition, all of the machinery was to come from Canada, which means that if and when the bakery breaks down, not only will Dar-Es-Salaam be without any bread (its new bakery will have put all the rest of the bakers out of business) but production of bread will be delayed until the parts can be obtained from Canada. In addition, the cost of the equipment purchased from Canada was twice that of the same equipment of the world market. And the final anomaly, which adds insult to injury, is that the machinery can only grind and mill Canadian wheat. So the Canadian farmer has now found himself an assured market in Tanzania.

That's just one example.....

Another more commonplace example which has not been severely recognized or criticized as yet is the quality of the world bank aid being given in Tanzania. The World Bank, particularly in the years since the Arusha Declaration in 1967 has more than quadrupled its presence in Tanzania to the point where it holds 30% of Tanzania's external debt and as such, exercises a great deal of influence over the decision-making for coming industrial and agricultural policy decisions in the country. The World bank is an institution set up by the major capitalist countries in order to speed up the export of capital for the benefit of private firms and multinationals.

Some of the examples in Tanzania can help illustrate this case. Recently there has been a move by the World Bank to speed up agricultural processing industries in underdeveloped countries in order to ensure that the supply of cash crops stays ahead of demand which will ensure low prices.

In Tanzania the World Bank is setting up major tobacco, tea, coffee and sugar projects all with the aim of exporting

"They had far more patriotism and nationalism than I'd even seen here."

these on the world market. Not only is this maintaining the orientation of Tanzania's economy towards primary export crop economy but it is little different from the colonial economy left behind by the British. It is also introducing the most modern capital intensive, labour saving techniques into these countries to help in the processing of the tea, cotton, and so on. This means that there is very little stimulation of the manufacturing sector in Tanzania since most of the machinery is imported from abroad. Consequently Tanzanian manufacturers gain very little expertise which restricts the advance of their own industrial technical skills. Lastly this means a great loss in foreign exchange by these countries. This process, if anything, is going

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"One of the worst myths prevalent in the West is that aid given by Western countries to the 3rd World is a marked example of the benevolence and generosity of our countries."

differences in the countryside and to ensure increased production of cash crops, Tanzania has since the late 60s begun its innovative program called UJAMA, which is the Swahili word for 'familyhood.' It means essentially that peasants are regrouped from individual landholdings scattered around the country into more modern villages where they share such facilities and provisions as water, food and clothing. They also attempt in a collective manner to grow cash crops destined to earn the villages more money.

As well, Tanzania is innovative in its foreign policy. It has become known as a leader among third world countries in pushing for a new international economic order which would guarantee a more equitable pattern of wealth distribution between rich and the poor countries.

Thirdly, Tanzania gained renown through the issuing of the Arusha declaration in 1967. Its aim was to cut down conspicuous consumption among party, military, and government leaders. It's an all too familiar pattern among 3rd World countries that a tiny, self-perpetuating elite indulges in such consumption, while the great mass of the people remain in conditions of desperate poverty. Tanzania has attempted to ensure that party, military and government leaders are answerable to the people from whom they earn their livelihood.

Lastly, Tanzania is becoming a hot-house of sorts, for its attempts to set up small scale industry.

Most industry in the 3rd World is of the large scale capital intensive variety, imported from western countries. In the end, such industry adds little in term so employment, wealth or technological knowledge. Tanzania is attempting to reverse this age-long process by setting up small scale industries with locally manufactured machinery. The skills of learning how to build and operate this machinery are directly acquired and assimilated by the Tanzanians themselves, and the bulk of the wealth produced

were of little benefit to the Tanzanians. Intertwined with this realization was the basic humanism (I guess you would call it), of the leader of Tanzania, Julius Nyerere. He has written a version of what he calls African 'Socialism' which attempts to reach back into the roots of precolonial Africa in order to rebuild actual societies that were known before the Europeans came.

It's probably a combination of these two factors, the lack of Western capital to develop the country, plus the ideological foundations of socialism that made the Tanzanians realize that the only way in which they were going to achieve development was through the people depending upon themselves. In



Mike Lynk when he was Community Affairs secretary at Dalhousie.

other words, they began to follow a socialist path realizing that to follow the capitalist path in Africa would only mean dependence upon foreign capital: That foreign capital's first interest would not be to the benefit of Africa, but rather the enrichment of Europe and North America.

Book review

Southern Africa: The new politics

Basil Davidson, Joe Slovo, Anthony R. Wilkinson, **Southern Africa: The New Politics of Revolution**. Penguin Books, 1976. 374 pp. \$3.95. Reviewed by J. MacLean.

This is a book about revolutionary war. War, even when it is waged by an oppressed people in their quest for freedom, is not a pleasant subject, and this book, although rarely dull, is not always pleasant. Whatever feelings the reader may have concerning the moral legitimacy of or the admissible conditions for a violent response to violence, this book will drive home to him an important fact: the enslaved peoples of the Southern African subcontinent, exasperated after decades of seeking peaceful redress of their grievances, have come to view armed struggle more as a necessity than as a choice. As the South African nationalist leader Joe Slovo puts it: "The path to which South Africa's national liberation movement is committed is not one which it has selected from a group of viable alternatives. There is no other path to the winning of majority rule over the whole of South Africa, for the simple reason that all other routes are permanently barred" (p. 114).

In a sense this volume is really a collection of three small books, each with its distinctive approach, on three separate but related wars: a past war in the former Portuguese colonies, a present war in Zimbabwe (Rhodesia), and a future war in South Africa. As such it is a valuable source of background information which can help us interpret the fragmentary reports on bombings, shootings, riots, arrests and negotiations in Southern Africa fed to us daily by the media.

Portuguese Africa

Basil Davidson examines the long and painful process by which the liberation movements of Guinea-Bissau, Angola, and Mozambique drew the Portuguese army to what one of its generals called "the limits of neuro-psychological exhaustion." His story is that of dispossessed peoples who, starting with literally nothing, succeeded in bringing to its knees a huge military force armed with the most sophisticated Western

weaponry. But it is also the story of the step-by-step creation of new social structures which have enabled the peoples of these countries to regain their own destiny.

Except perhaps when dealing with the confused Angolan situation of 1974 and 1975, Davidson does not present a detailed chronicle of the particular events in each country which led to

independence. His exposition is rather a kind of phenomenology of successful revolutionary warfare, drawing upon the common experiences of the different liberation forces in Portuguese Africa. The author's principal thesis is that "successful guerrilla warfare is always and above all political war" (p. 21). He shows how the revolutionaries of the Portuguese colonies mobilized the population by understanding and identifying with the peasants and workers, and by progressively eliminating structures of oppression in the liberated areas. At the end of his study Davidson points out that social justice is not an automatic concomitant of independence (even with a socialist regime), and he notes that the revolutionary movements

must at present cope with elitist and reformist elements within their own ranks.

South Africa

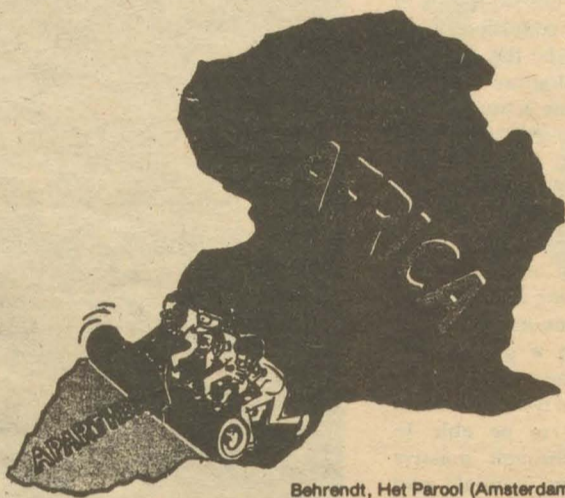
In the second part of the book, Joe Slovo argues that a liberal, evolutionary process of change is not possible in the Republic of South Africa. To support this claim he observes that the recent

depends upon favourable conditions both inside and outside of the Republic's frontiers. Such conditions, he believes, are in the process of becoming a reality; the manifest failure of reformism is engendering a new militancy among the Black population, while the formation of new, friendly states bordering South Africa will facilitate military operations against the racist regime and its infrastructure.

Anthony Wilkinson's concluding essay, "From Rhodesia to Zimbabwe," chronicles in a dispassionate manner the nationalist insurgency against Ian Smith's White dictatorship, as well as the horrifying programme of White counter-insurgency, with its concentration camps and its bombing of villages. The Zimbabwean nationalist movement is not pictured as virgin-pure: we read not only of its factionalism, its blunders in negotiations, and its disagreement on military tactics, but also of its use of questionable techniques (like the mining of roads) which result in black civilian casualties. In spite of all this, the Black insurgency has achieved no small success.

Wilkinson views Rhodesia as a de facto colony of South Africa -- yet a colony which the metropolitan power is willing to abandon when the increasingly effective guerrilla war threatens its own security and desire for detente with Black Africa. If this analysis is correct -- and I believe that recent events prove it is -- the inevitable accession of Zimbabwe to independence must be seen as the successful outcome of a protracted military struggle.

History will undoubtedly view 1976 as an important year in the development of Southern Africa. It is a year which has witnessed the consolidation of government power in Angola, the outbreak of widespread disturbances in South Africa, and international recognition of the achievements of the Zimbabwean resistance. The publication of this book is therefore timely, and by contributing to our understanding of the roots of conflict in this region, it may in itself be a small but significant event in the struggle against White supremacy.



Behrendt, Het Parool (Amsterdam)

economic expansion of this country has widened, not narrowed, the gap between Black and White. Slovo's analysis of South African society shows that distinctions of class and race are for all practical purposes coincident in South Africa. He concludes that "true national liberation is impossible without social liberation" (p. 139), i.e., without a destruction of the exploitative economic system.

After tracing the history of the nationalist resistance in South Africa -- and the ruthless repression which it elicited -- Slovo turns to the question of the future prospects of this movement. He emphasizes that the liberation of South Africa's non-White majority

Mike Lynk

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to maintain Tanzania and other undeveloped countries as hewers of wood and drawers of water rather than providing any self-reliant indigenous growth. It will maintain the present international division of labour.

You were on an African campus for a year studying with Tanzanian students. In what way are their goals, conceptions of themselves, lifestyles, different from ours?

Lynk: Well, it begins at their whole conception of society, I guess. There they are actually trying to build, at least verbally, a socialist society. Most of the students have entered university only after doing a two year service to the nation after high school. This would mean either a rural, statistical office for example, or serving their two years with the army or working as an agricultural extension officer or teaching literacy in the countryside. So once having come to university, they are probably more mature than our students here and they probably have a greater feel for life and for the struggles of the common people than the students here do. This in turn influences what they do at University and the kind of career they have in mind. That is, they're interested principally in gaining a skill or a profession that will enable them to go back to the countryside and pick up where they were before, trying to uplift the lives of the working class people in Tanzania.

By and by I was very much impressed with the earnestness and the dedication

to which the Tanzanians felt toward their nation. They had far more patriotism and nationalism than I'd ever seen here. They're far more serious in their work and efforts and are much more willing to get their hands dirty more so than I've seen in North American students. They seem better integrated into the social life of the country. For one thing we must remember, no university's an ivory tower that always serves some body of people in that country, and to a lesser or greater degree, is integrated with the interests of the ruling group. If the ruling class in that country are peasants and workers then it is to be expected that the students there will have a related conception of life and their contribution to that society will enable them to gain skills and an education which they can use to build a new nation. Another important point I think, is the differences in the conception of education between a developed country, there is, I suppose far more looking out for oneself. There's far more commitment to the gaining of worldly possessions. In an undeveloped country, however, this is partly true. But our conception of country is little more than a sum of the parts. There, the 'whole' is a lot greater than the sum of the parts. There is both an antagonism that arises from the colonial heritage of the past which they're very bitter about, and a brighter future in which they hope they can overcome disease, illiteracy, lack of technical skills and a backward agriculture which colonialism bequeathed to their country.

So finally, they see their education far more practically than we do. They have a greater collective conception of what they will do with their education than students on North American campuses.

Brother from the West

Brother from the west-
(How can we explain that you are our brother?)
the world does not end at the threshold of your house
nor at the stream that marks the border of your country
nor in the sea
in whose vastness you sometimes think
that you have discovered the meaning of the infinite.

Beyond your threshold, beyond the sea
the great struggle continues.

Men with warm eyes and hands hard as the earth
at night embrace their children
and depart before the dawn.

Many will not return.

What does it matter?

We are tired of shackles. For us
freedom is worth more than life.

From you, brother, we expect
and to you we offer
not the hand of charity
which misleads and humiliates
but the hand of comradeship
committed, conscious.

How can you refuse, brother from the west?

-Frelimo