

The Dalhousie International

Volume 2 Number 1 September 1976

The Roots of the Current Crisis

By Lal Singh

Everyone who even marginally follows international events knows that Indian society has undergone a series of upheavals recently which culminated in the declaration of a state of emergency. However, in the face of erratic media coverage, a distorted popular image, and rhetorical accusations and counter-accusations about democracy vs. law and order, there has been a great deal of confusion generated about the situation. Few people seem to understand clearly the logic of current events on the subcontinent. That is understandable, since these events, like all political changes of consequence, have a long pre-history in the economics and politics of the region.

The Feudal Legacy in a Modern state

To many, India still remains the land of a picturesque and intriguing culture, at once medieval and modern, with many valuable lessons to teach western culture about meditative ways of achieving personal liberation; a nation which has been "making a go" of democratic modernization, but which has recently been dragged down by the accumulating problems of food production and poverty. In actual fact, the current crisis of India has been ongoing for most of this century and is nothing short of a crisis of a 4000 year old civilization on the verge of collapse.

The irony of it all is that the very material conditions which fostered the Indian culture now being offered for sale on the Western market as the greatest thing since tranquilizers are the very material conditions responsible for India's chronic poverty, and for the slow disintegration of those cultural values on the home soil. Population is not the problem; feudal agriculture is.

After all, what was India for thousands of years? An overwhelmingly agrarian society with a culture typical of a mass rural lifestyle. The famous caste system served to ritually define acceptable social behaviour for all groups in society, including the upper classes. The predominance of the group over the individual in daily life helped foster the lack of a sense of individuality on which all mysticism is based. The world was made of cotton, not nylon; wood, not steel; and the musical phrases, poetic images, and religious metaphors of the high culture reflected a nonmechanized life close to nature. This is the pastoral culture discovered in the 60's by Western youth who had a quarrel with the industrial pattern of their own society. This is the face many Indians would like to present to the world, yet the facade is melting. Why?

Essentially, the system which in 500 A.D. made Indian one of the most developed cultures in the world could not compete with the new European societies organized around the new principles of scientific method and capitalism. Rather than undergo a similar transformation, however, Indian society became, with the active encouragement of colonialism, even more feudal and anti-democratic. Contact with the commodity economy of the West transformed the caste system into a much more efficient form of oppres-

sion, now utilized to extract even more wealth than before. Upper class/upper caste Indians now want the latest/digital electronic toys from America, the finest scotch, the latest L.P.'s. And somehow that has to be paid for. The social stratification in the cities and countryside increasingly serves less than ritual purposes.

Clearly, the central problem of India's developmental crisis today is the question of land and the relationships between people in relation to the land. The system has been called feudalism in analogy to the European pattern of agriculture in the middle ages. There certainly exist landlords, tenant farmers, and landless agricultural labourers and understandably the caste system has rightly been implicated as the major ideological prop of the economic system.

Yet the analogy with Europe is misleading, for it implies that the same processes which destroyed feudalism in Europe-free enterprise and democratic revolutions-will work in India. Indeed, many see in India's Independence in 1947 such a democratic revolution; moreover, the entire economic effort of the Congress Party, despite its lip-service to socialism, has been based on this premise: the extension of market relations, the mechanization of farming, and the supposed destruction of casteism through legislation--in short, the creation of a modern democracy and economy-would lead somehow to an automatic prosperity.

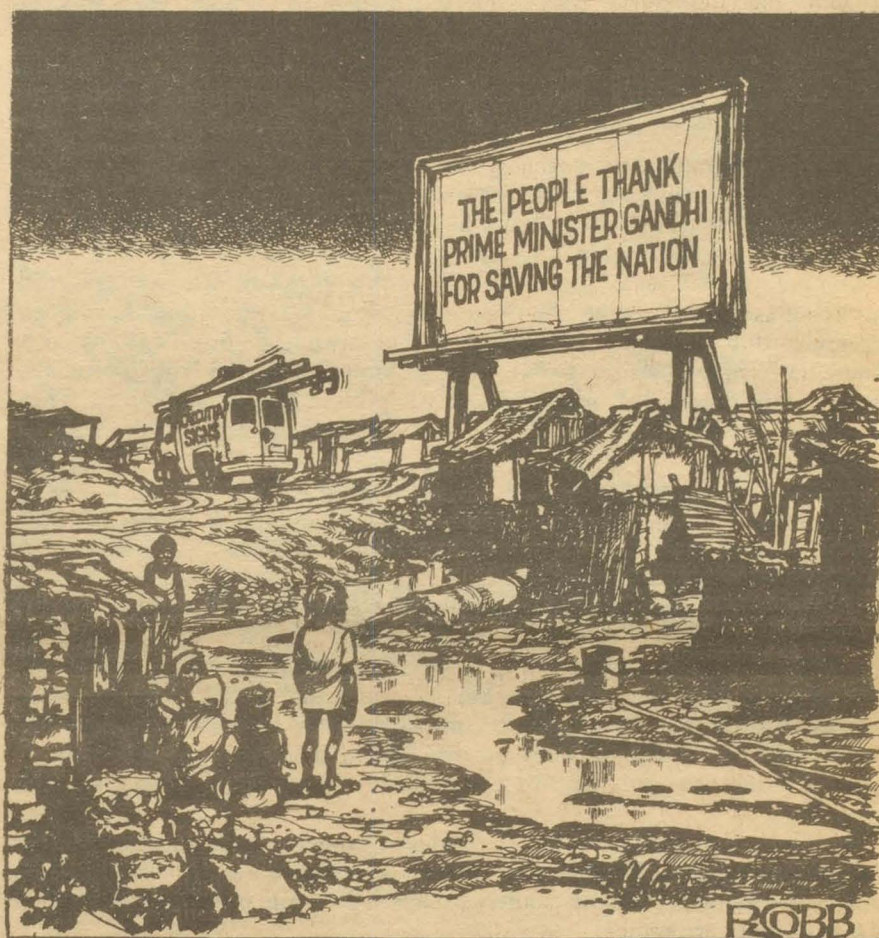
If land relations in India were of the sort that existed 500 years ago in either Europe or India, that might be true; but the crucial point to understand is that India's current form of feudalism is a relatively recent phenomenon, structurally different from classical feudalism. It is a land system that is not dissolved by capitalist development, rather, it is reinforced by it. Thus, with each foreign loan, with each new factory, the conditions in the country side get worse rather than better. India is not backward today because it got "left behind" in the great economic sweepstakes, or because poverty inexplicably refuses to go away in the face of computers and satellites and nuclear bombs. Rather, India's underdevelopment has to be seen as an active process.

Few people realize that the landlord class as it exists today in India was primarily a creation of British colonialism. Lord Cornwallis went to India in the 1790's fresh from defeat at the hands of the American rebels, and his letters make clear that he was intent on establishing a method of indirect taxation that would make British rule more permanent on the subcontinent than it had been in America. Land was consolidated into large estates where "rent" was collected by native Indian landlords rather than by the British. Nevertheless, surplus produce/wealth ended up in the same place.

Even fewer people realize that Indian cotton goods technology, a potential source for the capital for industrialization, was highly developed and

competitive on the world market with the British industry. Considering the role that the textile industry played in the early 1800's in the industrialization of Britain, it is not surprising that the native enterprises were eliminated by

tiller, since it was a mass movement in favour of democracy and freedom. However, when the leadership of that movement was taken by the very men who grew rich under British tutelage, the Indian National Congress was in



Cobb, Los Angeles Free Press

the new colonial authorities. The subsequent development of industry and agriculture in India was conducted in tandem with British needs, and necessarily with British financing. The economic development of India as a century-old dependency of Britain has led to number of features in Indian society that have a direct bearing on the current crisis.

Firstly, the extraction of agricultural surplus in the countryside was determined not by the relatively modest consumption needs of the landlords as in the old days, but by the needs of the British economy in the period of its epochal expansion. Thus feudal relations and obligations between landlord and tenant were already being put under a strain not seen in ancient India. More and more tenants burdened by the high rents fell into a vicious circle of debt payments lasting a lifetime, usually owing them to their lords, and becoming virtual slaves. Naturally, the peasant population has been becoming restive in this century.

Secondly, the landlords and industrialists historically have had a much more comfortable relationship with Britain and the West. This had great implications for the independence movement led by Gandhi and Nehru. That movement certainly represented a genuine possibility for modernizing agriculture on the basis of land to the

control of the most conciliatory and cautious group in society.

The monopoly of political power held by the Congress party, essentially a party of the rich, over the last 30 years since Independence, must thus throw into doubt the kind of freedom that has existed in "the world's largest democracy"; one must question whether Indira Gandhi abolished anything of significance in the declaration of Emergency. Certainly for the poor peasants in their hundreds of millions the everyday violence and denial of democratic rights was always present, even in the heyday of parliament and a free press. It is now not suddenly worse because a few newspapers are censored, though it probably will become so. After all, with each agricultural crisis the Westernized rulers have gone running to the World Bank for aid rather than instituting land reform. To expect the Congress Party, a party with strong landlord influence, to preside over a serious reform would be like expecting the U.S. Republican Party to call for the nationalization of the oil industry.

(The First of a Series)

NEXT: The failure of the Green revolution and the politics of the recent turmoil.

Rhodesian Liberation

War in Southern Africa is escalating. In recent months the white-minority government of Ian Smith has come under increasing attack by guerilla units operating both from Mozambique and from northern Rhodesia (Africans call it Zimbabwe).

The war is being escalated by both sides with the Smith regime increasing its ill-fated campaign to eliminate the nationalist guerillas while the nationalist units have been engaging in sporadic yet mounting fights with the Rhodesian "security patrols" and armed forces.

During the past month the Rhodesian forces have invaded Mozambique causing heavy casualties in pursuit of the liberation forces. These incursions are in response to some of the "dramatic strikes at points in Rhodesia previously regarded as safe".

With the white minority ruling class representing only about five per cent of the population, many experts are predicting a collapse of Smith's government within the year. The minority simply does not have the "economic or manpower base to sustain" the prolonged and intensive military campaign.

The nationalist forces, despite their arms inferiority, have a large and solid base among the people of Rhodesia (Zimbabwe) and the neighbouring African countries. Their struggle is also supported by most third world nations and many anti-racist groups in the developed world.

The Rhodesian government's support appears to be weak on the surface, not even South Africa will make an open commitment to support the Smith regime. Nonetheless they are surviving with the covert support of multi-national corporations and various right-wing elements in South Africa.

While Prime Minister Vorster of South Africa has revealed a preference for a negotiated settlement even at the expense of black majority rule, the rightists in his country are pushing for military intervention to aid the Smith government. While this is currently happening on a limited scale, full-scale involvement in Rhodesia is unlikely.

Despite international sanctions and world pressure Rhodesia is still surviving as a racist society. Various multi-national corporations have been circumventing the economic blockade in their search for profits at any cost. These powerful corporations are lobbying, through U.S. and British officials, for a compromise government which will protect their investments. They hope to do this by establishing a 'moderate' black government 'favorable' to western interests.

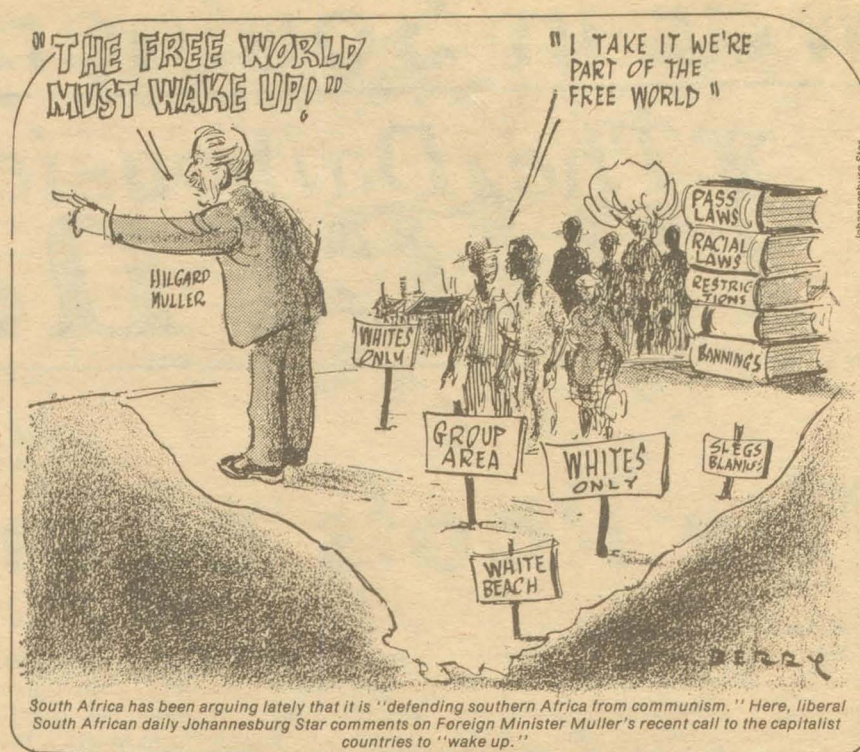
The 'moderate' group idea - also being attempted in Namibia - is widely recognized as an attempt by the west to set up a puppet or comprador* regime which will cater to multinationals and continue the plunder of Rhodesia's resources.

Another stratagem likely to be used will be 'the loss of freedom'. With the recent victory by the Marxist led MPLA forces in Angola, it is expected that Smith and others will invoke the spectre of communism in order to maintain the tenuous existence of his government. Smith and his intransigent white supremacists will undoubtedly link the maintenance of the status quo with the preservation of freedom. They always fail to mention that Rhodesia is currently only free for the five percent white population controlling the country.

In Vancouver at the recent Habitat conference, Z. Gamanya told the delegates that native Rhodesians "have been forced to live in 'concentration camp conditions' or flee the country because of a white minority which rules the nation at gunpoint."

Smith has said publicly that majority rule would never come "in my lifetime". It is obvious that after so many years of repression the African people have only one choice left.

Unfortunately - and people in the west must recognize this reality - freedom will not come through the establishment of a 'moderate black



South Africa has been arguing lately that it is "defending southern Africa from communism." Here, liberal South African daily Johannesburg Star comments on Foreign Minister Muller's recent call to the capitalist countries to "wake up."

government' but through armed struggle, by those groups who will cater not to the foreign interests which exploit the country but to the vast majority of people in their country. This means that power will be put into the hands of the majority so that they can determine their own destiny. Just as China, Cuba, Vietnam, Angola and even America were liberated by armed struggle, so too will Zimbabwe be liberated. It is in our interest to support the liberation struggle for the outcome is all but assured.

*Comprador: A colonial economic agent of an imperialist power, who sells his country's resources, industry and people with the objective of benefitting from the various types of payoff or "commission" that his masters provide.

The International

This issue marks the beginning of the second year of publication of The Dalhousie International. This is an opportune moment to greet new readers and to explain the purpose behind this paper.

The International was established as a forum "where people can discuss issues of a nature which heretofore have been relegated to a peripheral role at this university; we can not afford to remain isolated from the world around us". This year we intend to remain faithful to this mandate.

We feel that a basic knowledge of different cultures, politics, and peoples is essential in order to make a correct analysis of world events. We hope to provide this basic service.

For various reasons our local media have neglected this responsibility. Affairs of an international nature receive scant coverage. The coverage we do receive is generally interpreted first by the U.S. media. Therefore, part of our duty is to provide both quality material and an alternate perspective. But, perhaps more importantly, we hope we can engender an interest in 'foreign' countries and international affairs. We must be able to understand why nations act like they do if we are to maintain a responsible position in the world today.

In general, it is fair to say that Canadians appear to have a rather facile understanding of the increasingly important Third World. Recognizing this problem, we may tend to emphasize the concerns of the 'developing nations' in this paper. But the focus of the International is not limited to this type of coverage. (Note the articles on Scotland and Ireland in this issue.)

Our purpose is to provide a platform for the discussion of issues and problems of all countries. However this is your responsibility. Let us know your interests because as our readers you decide our content.

We appreciate your contributions and criticisms.

The staff and contributors for this issue included:

Margaret Atwood is a well known Canadian poet and novelist. **Chai Chu Thompson** is a Chinese Canadian who recently visited the People's Republic of China. **Karen Gellen** is an editor of the *Guardian* a New York weekly. **Malcolm Guy** is a McGill student and a staff writer of the McGill Daily News. **Victor Jara**, a famous Chilean poet, was executed by the junta of Pinochet. **Jim Morrison**, a teacher from Economy, Nova Scotia was a CUSO volunteer in Ghana for two years. **David Rollo** is a Scottish nationalist presently living in Canada. **Lal Singh** is an Indian student at Dalhousie. **Dorrick Stow**, a volunteer in Bangladesh refugee camps in 1971, is a Dalhousie student. **Lynn Stow**, a Dalhousie graduate student, is Metro Chairperson of Amnesty International. **Abe Weisfeld** is a York University student and the chairperson of the Alliance of Non-Zionist Jews.

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I am a man happy to exist
at this moment
happy because
when one puts one's
heart, reason and will
to work at the
service of the people
one feels the happiness
of that which begins to
be reborn.

-Victor Jara

Bangladesh

by Dorrik Stow

Five years ago Bangladesh was born. It was a violent birth that promised a turbulent future, a dear price to pay for an elusive freedom.

Towards independence

Bengalis can barely remember a time when they were their own masters. More than two centuries of British domination left them socially and economically crushed, ruthlessly split in two by partition, and junior partners in the new Pakistan. In the quarter of a century after 1947 a strong colonial relationship developed between East and West Pakistan. The East had a larger population in a sixth of the land area; but 70% of the public sector investment, 68% of the development funds, 80% of all foreign aid and 70% of all government expenditure. And this was while exports from the East earned over 60% of the country's foreign exchange. The army, the government and the economy were dominated by West Pakistan.

In the elections of December, 1970 Bengal united behind Sheikh Mujibur Rehman, leader of the Awami League Party and champion of the Six-point programme calling for equality and devolution of power in a Federated Pakistan. Mujibur Rehman gained an overall majority and would rightly have become Prime Minister of Pakistan. However, President Yahya Khan and Mr. Bhutto, Leader of the majority party in West Pakistan, could not tolerate this prospect. After some attempt at negotiation, on March 26th 1971 they finally unleashed the full weight of the army on the people of East Pakistan. Ten million people fled from the bloodbath that followed, and more than a quarter of a million died in the struggle for independence. The world seemed to stand by and offered milk powder instead of political mediators.

Ten months later the Indian army moved in support of the 'Mukti Bahini' (Freedom Fighters) and Bangladesh came into being.

Dreams and Illusions

Under the leadership of Sheikh Mujibur Rehman, the young nation showed both unity and determination. For the first time internal divisions seemed unimportant. Nonetheless, the obstacles to progress cast ugly shadows on the bright optimism of the new government.

- 1) The devastation caused by the war was immense-land, property and food had been destroyed; many of the most able men and women had been selectively massacred; the return of millions of refugees to looted homes and flattened villages was beginning.
- 2) Natural disasters, in the form of floods, droughts and famine, are perennial weeds in the garden of the world's poorest and most densely populated land. These continued unabated.
- 3) There was still a feudal system of land ownership, political power and education. Money and control was firmly in the hands of a small elite - a lasting remnant of British rule.

Bengalis set to work to rebuild their land. People's Unions and cooperative farming enterprises began to evolve in the countryside. Pockets of Bangladesh came under communist control. Despite (or because of) their apparent success, these efforts were seen as threatening by the landowners and ruling elite. Mujibur Rehman found himself forced to move against the vibrant reshaping of rural society.

Losing control

The land and tax reforms which had been promised, and even to some extent implemented, were withdrawn under

the squealing protest of the rich. The army was prevented from effectively cleaning up corruption in the government, which included the illegal smuggling of large quantities of rice to neighbouring India.

Mujibur Rehman began to lose the esteem of his people. He was either unable or unwilling to face up to his colleagues who were too busy lining their own pockets to be concerned with good government. He may have been a genuine idealist, merely inept at ruling; more likely he was a megalomaniac himself.

Towards the end of his third year as Prime Minister he began to tighten his grip on the reins of power. In January 1975, under the guise of fighting corruption, he declared himself executive-President and eligible for another three years in office. His opponents were dismissed or imprisoned. Western-style democracy was replaced by more authoritarian rule, which in fact did nothing to alleviate the situation.

Three troubled months

Few accounts of the months from August to November 1975 bear any resemblance to one another. What is clear from the confusion of reports is that Sheikh Mujibur Rehman, and two hundred of his family and followers, were killed on August 15th in a coup led by a group of junior officers. How much support or planning was behind this blood letting is uncertain; but there was little mourning for the nation's father and founder.

The new ten man civilian government which formed was overthrown on November 3rd. by Major-General Khalid Mosharraf, who appointed himself army chief-of-staff. However, widespread mutinies four days later ousted Mosharraf and introduced martial law headed by the triumvirate: Major-General Ziaur Rahman (army chief-of-staff), Commodore M. Hussain Khan (naval chief-of-staff), and air vice-marshal M.G. Tawab. These three

men have retained power up to the present time, and have promised to hold elections in the fall of 1977.

How much longer?

Bangladesh is now established as a non-aligned nation with close ties to other Moslem countries, including Pakistan, and growing financial support from OPEC. The government is fervently anti-Indian and cool towards the USSR, but has good relationships with both China and the United States. It appears little closer to liberating its people from poverty and oppression than it did five years ago.

The outside world seems quite unable to assess the reasons for Bangladesh's continued gloom. Over-population, entrenched religious attitudes and unmatched corruption are often blamed. A far more significant factor is subject poverty, nurtured by the political domination of an elite which refuses to relinquish its power.

Fundamental changes are urgently needed in both education and fundamental changes are urgently needed in both education and agriculture. The educational system is such that only the rich can afford it; in the countryside the numbers of landless peasants increase, the small landholders struggle on, often deeply in debt, while the landowners and moneylenders prosper.

As conditions continue to worsen there is some hope that the poor will be forced to organize themselves for political action. There may have been flickers of hope in this direction in the past, there may be the beginnings of a social stirring now but both political sophistication and an obvious leader are lacking. Bangladesh probably faces a long period of bumbling, caretaker government before radical and imaginative changes take place.

(This study has arisen from a personal involvement in the liberation of Bangladesh, and from many useful discussions with Bangladeshi students at Dalhousie to whom thanks are extended)

FIGHT FOR RIGHTS

by Lynn Stow

"First they arrested the communists, but I was not a communist, so I did nothing. Then they came for the Social Democrats, but I was not a Social Democrat, so I did nothing. Then they arrested the trade unionists, and I did nothing. And then they came for the Jews and the Catholics, but I was neither a Jew nor a Catholic and I did nothing. At last they came and arrested me, and there was no one left to do anything about it."

(Clergyman imprisoned by the Nazis)

Members of Amnesty International believe quite simply that people have a right to freely express their political and religious convictions. They are also aware that many governments are literally "getting away with murder", under cover of a benign facade and empty promises. The U.N. Human Rights Commission provides a comfortable fence for government representatives to sit on, while they take a course on "How to Make Friends and Influence People". Meanwhile, political repression and the use of torture continue to occur on a wide scale, and ignoring these facts will not make them go away.

Comment on Amnesty's work has ranged from the very positive through the sceptical to the hostile. Few people agree with everything it has done, while most agree with something. Some governments have disputed its motives and shown resentment at its somewhat presumptuous tactics. Potential supporters, on the other hand, have expressed doubts as to its effectiveness and its relevance. Arguments arising out of mild or serious cases of paranoia can be refuted without too much difficulty. Those resulting from an awareness of the complexity of the issues involved, and of the relationship between political freedom and other fundamental rights, deserve careful

consideration as the organization evolves.

Biased?

A frequent charge levelled at Amnesty by governments is that of selective blindness amounting to political favouritism. This view-point polarizes the world into 'friends' and 'enemies' and categorizes the organization as promoting the cause of capitalist or communist imperialism, as the case may be. It leads to a highly subjective interpretation of human rights violations:

"no evidence can be found of your equally strong interest in mobilizing world opinion against crimes which bypass national frontiers, such as South African apartheid...." (Somalia)

"if you are really concerned about the lot of underprivileged and oppressed peoples, it is suggested you approach certain prominent member - states of the Organization of African Unity and your friends behind the iron curtain..." (South Africa)

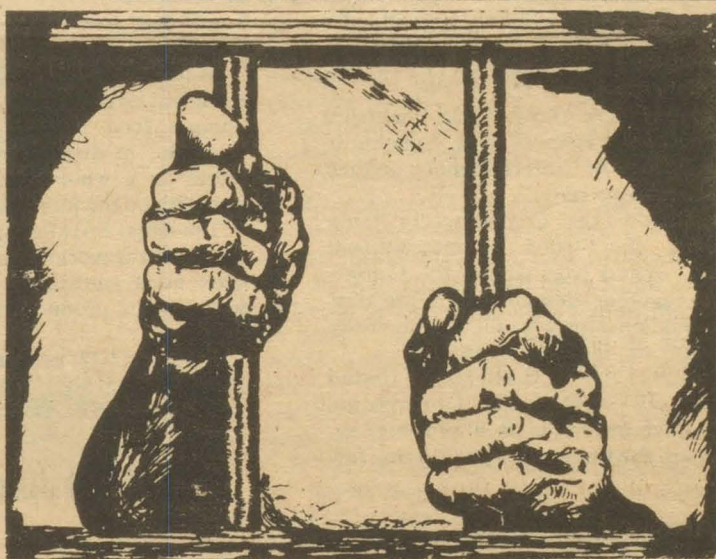
A strangely ambiguous attitude may often be apparent:

"Amnesty International is in a leading position among organizations which conduct subversive anti-soviet propaganda. It disseminates falsified materials in capitalist countries...." (U.S.S.R.)

"Amnesty International has issued a revealing document...it comes to confirm, with the authority of this humanitarian organization..." (U.S.S.R. on publication of report on Spain.)

Interfering?

A further line of defence for governments is to brand Amnesty as a group of interfering foreigners. Underlying this accusation is the assumption that the actions of a government are sanctified by virtue of its having come to power, by whatever means. It is a dubious kind of nationalistic self-



determination that relies on coercion, and that denies participation to "interfering citizens" who step out of line.

Naive?

Amnesty does not adopt prisoners who have used or advocated violence to achieve their ends. This has led to the charge by some that it is "out of touch with reality". The boundaries of violence are rarely clear-cut, and economic and social exploitation can be seen as a less sensational, but no less damaging form of violence than the physical kind.

However, the arguments used to justify acts of violence against the authorities often come close to those used to justify imprisonment and ill-treatment of dissidents. The anticipated end is seen to justify the means, and the concept of a 'necessary evil' is propounded. To accept such a concept would be to prejudice Amnesty's claim to be a humanitarian organization, a claim which, as long as it is justifiable, is one of its greatest strengths. Amnesty constantly faces dilemmas as it tries to ensure both maturity in its judgment and consistency in its response. This particularly true in cases where the spirit and the letter of human rights protection appear to conflict.

Irrelevant?

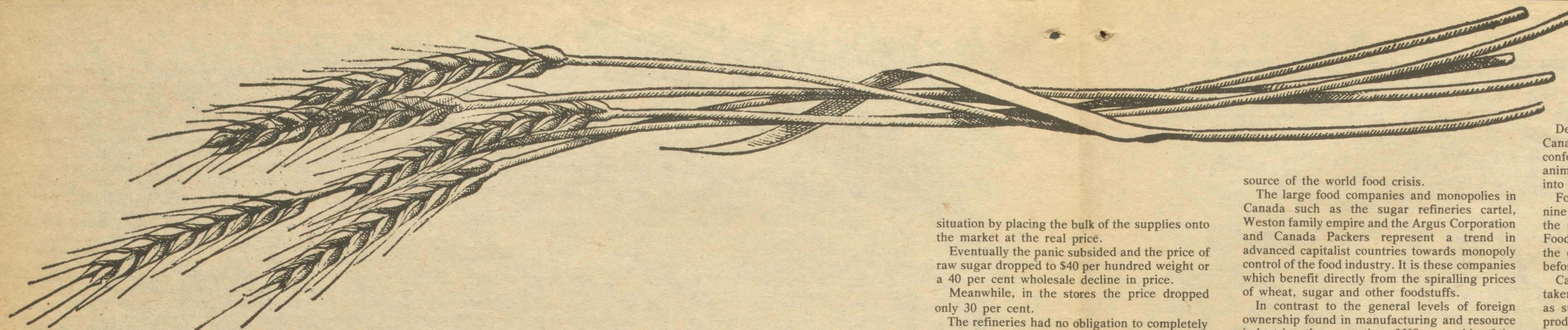
The vast majority of Amnesty members and supporters are to be found in western Europe and North America. This is partly due to the difficulty of operating in some areas (in 1975, members were arrested in Nepal, South Korea, the U.S.S.R. and Peru). A further factor is the issue of Amnesty's relevance in the context of denial of basic economic, social and political rights on a mass scale.

The organization seems to be developing towards a more preventive approach to complement its technique of individual adoption of prisoners. Irrevitably the preservation of political rights must be seen against the background of broader questions of social justice. Effective ways must be found to inform people of legal safeguards that are there to protect them from arbitrary arrest as 'agitators' of one kind or another. Knowledge of one's political rights may often be a prerequisite to changing an oppressive situation, and doing so from within.

Ineffective?

To write a polite if insistent letter to an official in some far-off place may seem a feeble gesture that can have no impact on a ruthless government. For

continued on page 8



starvation

by Malcolm Guy

Reprinted from The McGill Daily.

If Gerry Connolly invited you to lunch one day you might think twice before accepting...

Connolly is associate director of the American Freedom from Hunger Foundation. When he invites a group of people to a "banquet" he waits to serve the meal until stomachs are growling and heads begin to ache from hunger.

Then he serves one third of the guests juicy prime ribs, steaming baked potatoes and all the trimmings.

The other guests are served rice and tea.

In an original way, and on a minute scale, Connolly succeeds in reproducing the eating patterns of the world's population. A world where two thirds of the population is malnourished, half the people are hungry all the time, and 32 nations are close to starvation.

Death by starvation

To most Canadians, hunger is an occasional pang of delayed meal or a skipped breakfast. But for an estimated 700 million people, hunger is common-place and the prospect of an agonizing death by starvation, a grim fact of life.

In the past few years Third World countries have united around the issue of food, bringing it into the limelight of international politics alongside the "energy crisis".

Last year's World Food Conference in Rome demonstrated a new trend in international relations. Third World countries at the Conference, standing together, demanded a better deal in their trade relationships with the economically developed countries, including Canada.

More recently, the 135-member United Nations Food and Agricultural Organization ended its stormiest meeting in its 30-year history. For the first time, the three-week conference saw

For 700 million people, the prospect of an agonizing death by starvation (is) a grim fact of life.

confrontations between industrialized and developing nations.

In a demonstration of growing Third World power the Palestine Liberation Organization was granted observer status and Lebanon's Edouard Saouma was elected to the six-year post as FAO Director-General.

The Third World countries are no longer content to talk of the world food problem in terms of technical problems, such as fertilizer shortage, climatic changes, population growth, and inefficient farming methods.

These countries realize that the FAO and World Food conferences have been discussing food while ignoring the economic and political bases of these technical problems, and for years more and more of their people have been dying of starvation.

Humanitarian concern

At the Rome conference and the recent FAO meeting, Canadian delegates continued to voice humanitarian concern for the plight of the starving masses and emphasized the need for more solid food aid to cope with the short-term crisis of starvation.

The Canadian delegations, like those from the U.S. and other developed countries, carefully avoided discussing the political dimensions of

Third World people are becoming more aware that malnutrition and food shortage is a result of the imperialist control of food production and distribution by countries such as Canada.

the food crisis.

Third World countries, on the other hand, challenged the wasting, hoarding and destruction of food resources and the recent cutbacks of food aid by the developed nations.

They challenged on a political level the trade and development policies of the developed powers and the channeling of food resources from the Third World through international agribusiness to the developed capitalist markets of Europe and North America. For these people know that the world food shortage is not a "technical problem".

Many food experts have admitted that in purely technical terms the world is capable of producing enough food to meet everyone's needs. For example, to dispell one common myth, in the world as a whole the production of food has outstripped the increases in population numbers.

The latest FAO figures show that between 1970 and 1985 the world population can be expected to grow at an annual rate of 2.1 per cent while the world's food production will grow by 2.7 per cent per year.

From 1962-72, population growth annually was 2.4 per cent while food production expanded 2.7 per cent annually. But, if this is the case, why are people still hungry?

Maldistribution

The fact is that the world food problem is primarily a problem of distribution.

And it is becoming clearer that the controllers of food production and distribution in Canada are playing an important role in assuring that the majority of the world's people go to bed hungry.

Canada has a major export and import role in food products which ties it directly to the economies of other countries.

Don Mitchell, in his recent book *The Politics of Food* states that, "With a double role as both food colony and food colonizer, Canada has a complicated place in world food trade. In general Canada is dependent on the US for markets for food exports, and as a supplier of food imports."

"But Canada also plays the role of colonizer in relationship to resource exporting countries of the Third World."

Canada is one of a group of developed capitalist countries, including the US, Europe and Japan, which consume a hog's share of food relative to world standards.

It is estimated that 210 million Americans consume as much food in grain equivalent as the 1.5 billion people who live in the most populated nations, India and China.

In total, the 20 per cent of the world's population that live in the most industrialized countries consume as much food as the other 80 per cent of the world's population.

In order to support the consumption habits of Canada and the other industrialized countries, the world's agricultural resources have been gradually converted toward the production of

luxury and high protein food commodities, such as sugar, meat, tea, coffee and fruits.

Third World countries are drained to feed the already overfed populations of developed countries while their own populations are starving. This can be most clearly illustrated by the sugar industry in the US and Canada.

'Sweet-tooth' diet

Sugar is a luxury commodity which caters to the "sweet-tooth" diet of the developed countries. In the North American diet, sugar and grain are included in virtually every article of consumption with the exception of fresh fruit and vegetables. Sugar is one of Canada's major food imports, since only 12 per cent of total market needs are filled by sugar beets in western Canada.

Canadian sugar refineries, as part of the international sugar cartel, profit directly from the apartheid policies of South Africa and the exploitation of land resources and labour in other third world countries.

Up to 1973, an International Sugar Agreement kept prices stable but low relative costs of production. This meant that the hiring of cheap black labour in South Africa and the exploitative labour conditions in other countries was encouraged. In Canada it was not profitable, even with migrant farm workers, to maintain the sugar beet industry.

But this did not mean that the North American price of retail sugar was necessarily a bargain. As in other segments of the food industry, large monopoly companies and cartels were controlling the price, and had the power to pass on inflationary price increases despite their overly cheap supplies.

In Canada, the big three Eastern refineries of Atlantic Sugar, Redpath Industries, and St. Lawrence Sugar are part of the international cartel of sugar refineries and have twice been dragged into federal courts for alleged price fixing at artificially high levels, with little effect.

Sugar shortage

When sugar prices rose in 1974, it was a result of speculation by the refineries themselves and petty speculators. It started from rumours of a world shortage of sugar, even though production at that time matched demands.

Fears of purchasing and hoarding by Arab countries, holding of supplies by refineries, and threatened cutbacks in production by some sugar producing countries (where sugar plantations were almost all foreign owned), pushed prices up and panic spread throughout the fall of 1974. The price rose from \$16 per hundred weight in August 1973, to \$72 per hundred by December 1974.

Since 60 per cent of the Canadian market for sugar is for industrial use in canned fruits, soft drinks, confectionaries and baked goods, a jump in sugar prices affects a great many consumer items. The sugar refineries exploited the

situation by placing the bulk of the supplies onto the market at the real price.

Eventually the panic subsided and the price of raw sugar dropped to \$40 per hundred weight or a 40 per cent wholesale decline in price.

Meanwhile, in the stores the price dropped only 30 per cent.

The refineries had no obligation to completely return to earlier prices for refined sugar. When they decided to increase their margin of profit, they had the power to decide what the price of refined sugar would be.

The candy manufactures, bakeries, canneries, ice cream plants and so on, naturally climbed on the band wagon and all the products with sugar additives remained at higher price levels even after the price of sugar fell.

This example of price manipulation is the sugar industry demonstrates how closely the Canadian food industry and the Canadian consumer are tied into the world food structure.

Canadian sugar refineries and companies using sugar benefit from exploitation of third world labour and at the same time exploit the consumer at home.

The food industries in the developed countries are intimately connected to the state. Through a system of trade and tariff policies and protection of the interests of huge monopoly companies the Canadian government, amongst others, supports the present inequitable distribution of food in the world.

'Bread basket' of the globe

Along with sugar, the other main constituent of Canadian diet is grain. Canada has always been considered a major supplier of world grain reserves, with the wide expanses of the prairies viewed as the "bread basket" of the globe.

And, it is true that Canada contributes substantially to world food markets. We are second in volume as a food exporter to the United States, supplying, for instance 20 per cent of all wheat exports.

Yet, and here comes the crunch, we produce less than our capacity and we produce for markets that are least in need of our resource. Contrary to the myths about feeding the hungry masses of the world, 80 per cent of our agricultural exports go to European, Japanese, and American markets.

Since the demand for our food produces comes from these primary trading partners, they control to a great extent what Canadian farms produce.

At the moment their demand is shifting from cereal crops to protein crops—animal feed grains and beef and pork products.

What this has meant in Canada is a reduction in wheat and other grain production and the starving millions in need of Canadian grain are very quickly forgotten in the rush to fill the very profitable demands of European, US and Japanese buyers.

The Soviet Union as well as the other leading capitalist powers, has played an important part in contributing to the rapidly rising price of grains in the world market.

'Great grain rip-off'

After the world's largest wheat producer had a disastrous crop in 1972, Russian buyers took part in what has become known as the "Great Grain Rip-off".

They raided the US wheat market and helped drive the price of wheat up from less than \$2 per bushel to over \$6 per bushel in a matter of twelve months. Under the guise of "detente" the Russian government had pulled a fast one on the Americans.

The disastrous effects on consumers of the Russian government's tactics were felt all over the world. This deal affected world prices, which tripled, contributed to further hardships in the Third World, and created higher domestic prices in Canada on bread flour, cereal products and meat products.

The examples of the grain prices in 1973 and sugar prices in 1974, each of which in their respective years was the greatest single contributor to overall food prices on a world scale, are not unique.

They represent a major feature of food distribution under capitalism and are the primary

source of the world food crisis.

The large food companies and monopolies in Canada such as the sugar refineries cartel, Weston family empire and the Argus Corporation and Canada Packers represent a trend in advanced capitalist countries towards monopoly control of the food industry. It is these companies which benefit directly from the spiralling prices of wheat, sugar and other foodstuffs.

In contrast to the general levels of foreign ownership found in manufacturing and resource industries, the proportion of US ownership of the food beverage and farm supply sectors in Canada is small.

The dominant source of capital investment for agribusiness in Canada has been Canadian banks, investments and the network of Canadian capitalists centered in Toronto's Bay Street.

But the Canadian-based food corporations are no more responsive or accountable to the needs of the Canadian people or the people of the world than American branch plants.

Weston's monopoly

For instance, Weston is Canada's largest food corporation, and it has companies located in Britain, Australia, Ireland, Rhodesia has been South Africa as well as representatives in many others.

The monopoly consequently has a stranglehold



on the Canadian economy and influences the world market. Weston's involvement in South Africa and Rhodesia has been particularly rewarding and humanitarian considerations have disappeared.

The exploited indigenous work force, and the racist governments the police it and keep it in place, have long made these nations a favoured haunt of multinational corporations such as Weston.

Through large monopoly corporations such as Weston, and through government policies that protect the big companies, the affluent, developed countries dictate the flow of food items in the world market.

Despite all the rhetoric that you hear from Canadian government representatives at the food conferences, the lion's share of the food and animal feed moving in world market is streaming into the well-fed Western World.

For example: one half of all beans and peas, nine tenths of the peanuts and three quarters of the oilseed cake from soybeans and peanuts. Food is marketed on the basis of profitability, as the examples of sugar and wheat have shown before.

Canadian companies and governments have taken part in the raising of prices of staples such as sugar and wheat and the diversion of food products from countries where they are grown and needed.

Canada has been a very important factor in turning the agricultural resources of third world countries toward the production of "luxury" high protein food commodities to support the highly profitable marketing of cash crops such as sugar in the industrialized countries.

In 1974, the Canadian Council for International Co-operation claimed that, "Rich countries export three million tons of average protein high protein grains to poor countries while four million tons of high protein foods flow from poor countries to rich countries each year. The rich have the power to command food from the market which is denied to the poor."

Through the export of capital, the use of tariffs, and other devices, the Canadian capitalists take part in the imperialist division of labour that creates a situation where people die of starvation in the midst of plenty.

The fact that these distributive problems are basic to other food production problems and that these distributive problems have a political nature is illustrated by the case of China.

Before the socialist revolution in China, the population was ravaged by problems of starvation and malnutrition. It was only through the socialist revolution that it was possible to bring about the end of an exploitative economic system that had served other country's imperialist interests.

By creating an economic system that provides a fairer distribution of goods among the people, the Chinese have been able to employ science and technology to their potential and it is in this way that they have reached the point of virtual self sufficiency in food production.

Despite the fact that the Chinese do not have a very high standard of living, both their diet and their general living standard are at an acceptable level.

Malnutrition: unknown in China

Because of their distribution system, starvation and serious malnutrition problems are unknown in China today.

As the Chinese delegation pointed out at the World Food Conference, in the three previous years, China's \$2 billion in food imports of grain, mostly comprised of wheat, had been balanced by about \$2 billion in food exports, mostly of rice, including food aid to other countries in Southeast Asia.

Enforcing this policy of self-reliance, in which food trade mainly serves to create variety in their diets, has only been possible because of land reforms and collectivization after the revolution. This has been a most significant achievement in a country of 800 million people with a minimal amount of mechanization.

In contrast to India, the Chinese example shows the crucial importance of political change in conquering the food problem.

The two countries have about the same population size and massive agricultural lands. In the past 25 years they have both had the world's scientific advances in agriculture available to them to improve their situation.

While China has taken the political steps necessary to make scientific advances serve the population, India still has problems of starvation and malnutrition because class, caste, regional distinctions and other forms of oppression continue to exist.

The people in power in Canada are very content to see the world food situation problem remain unchanged.

The problem of maintaining high profit levels by cutting down on grain storage, the destruction of vast amounts of food, as was common during the great depression and more recently the case of the 28 million rotten eggs that were destroyed in Canada are good examples of agricultural waste and manipulation that is involved in maintaining an economic system that clearly does not meet the needs of the majority of the world's population.

In Canada, like India and the other countries of the world, food is an indispensable commodity. In Canada, there are different people in our midst dying of both overconsumption and malnutrition. This is the exact situation in the world at large.

If one looks at some of the meetings and conference that have taken place in the past two years—The Law of the Seas conference, the World Population conference, and the World Food conference—it is immediately clear that they have all been marked by debates between the developing countries, debates revolving around the issue of who has to get what resource from where, and how.

The successful formation of a cartel by the OPEC countries to control their hard won oil resources has sparked similar moves by other countries around commodities such as bauxite and bananas.

The Third World countries are now realizing that their strength lies in their unity against the countries that have exploited them.

The great scientific and technical breakthroughs of the past decades have released a tremendous potential to feed the entire world—and feed it well.

Yet, exploitative economic relations, inherent in capitalist and imperialist powers such as Canada and the remnants of feudalism in many parts of the world, prevent technical innovations from being effective in solving the food problem.

These economic problems create inequality, poverty and prevent the people of the world from dealing with rapid population growth and starvation. The world food problem is a political problem, and will only be solved with a political solution.

Imperialist Control

Third World people are becoming more aware that malnutrition and food shortage is a result of imperialist control of food production and distribution by countries such as Canada.

A JEWISH ALTERNATIVE TO ZIONISM



Israeli security police brutalizing Arab women during mass strike of Palestinians conducted in Israeli-occupied territory March 30.

(Historically anti-Zionism has been seen as anti-Semitism, the authors of this paper argue that this is a presumption. They feel once a can oppose anti-Semitism and yet still not support Zionism. **Editor's note**)

The alliance of Non-Zionist Jews, founded in Toronto last year, is critical of Zionism and has supported the rights of the Palestinian people.

Based at York University, the Alliance is comprised of student and non-student Jewish members. The following is their critique of Zionism, first published Nov. 11, 1974.

The central historic claim made by the Zionist movement since its inception until this very day is that the creation of the Jewish State in Palestine, would provide the only solution to the Jewish Question. Moreover, the left wing of the Zionist Movement claimed the implementation of the Zionist enterprise could lead to the social emancipation of the Jewish workers and farmer, both those who would emerge through the creation of the state.

Largely on the basis of these claims, the Zionist movement came to command the allegiance and active support of millions of well-meaning humanitarians, liberals and social democrats, both Jews and non-Jews, throughout the world.

The Zionist enterprise has also during its history gained the active support of many powerful institutions, governments, and states which commanded the concrete power to insure the establishment of Israel. In fact, without the support of these, the Zionist enterprise would have remained no more than a utopian fantasy.

Until the holocaust, Zionism had little basis to claim any kind of substantial support among the world dispersed Jewish population. The historically unparalleled, systematic attempt to physically annihilate the European Jewish population during the second world war was decisive in their stampede towards Zionism, even though the Zionist leadership refused to fight to open the doors of even one country (to Jewish refugees) except for Palestine.

In actuality this compliance with the anti-Semitic closed-door policy of Canada, of the US, and of Britain was the logic of their sectarian loyalty to Zionism and so their program could not serve the life and death needs of the Jewish people.

The establishment of the state of Israel and the worldwide activities of

Zionist institutions and organization have only now reached a high level of material power and historical maturity. The time has clearly come to subject these "achievements" to the test of critical analysis and evaluation, from the perspective of those deeply concerned with the liberation and social emancipation of the Jewish people, in particular, and with social progress in general.

It is evident to us that not only has the Zionist movement failed to advance the social goals it claims for its objectives, but moreover its practical effect has been to thwart them. Rather than providing a haven for Jews in Palestine, the Zionist movement has created a historic trap for the Jewish people.

The Israeli state now faces a perspective of continued war with people increasingly unified and organized, with mounting support throughout the world. The consequences can only be a tragedy, a tragedy which may likely involve the mutual use of tactical nuclear weapons.

What twist of logic considers that the solution to the Jewish question could be realized by the record of the Israeli state? That is:

- 1) The Israeli leaders have turned their state into a military fortress at war with all the nations surrounding it.
- 2) The material costs of Israel's war policy have been increasingly loaded on to the backs of Israeli workers (through an inflation rate of about 35 percent and the mid 1974 devaluation of 43 percent which resulted in the current crises) while at the same time a new generation of millionaires has risen to prominence and political power.
- 3) Israel's "black-skinned" Jews are suffering from oppression and misery in the white-dominated social structure.
- 4) Despite Israel's claim to be democratic, it still has in force a series of emergency regulations imposed in its time by British imperialism and characterized by Zionist leaders at the time as "fascist laws".
- 5) The Israeli state, since its inception, has been allied with most reactionary forces on a world scale.

(The Zionist Organization of America can quite correctly state in its open letter to Nixon published in the July 30, 1974 New York Times that "A secure and strong Israel is vital to our country's global interests. Your administration, Mr. President, has consistently recognized this to be true. What was true before October 1973, remains true

today, Israel still remains the only reliable friend and ally of our country in the Middle East. The de facto alliance between the United States and Israel remains the firm bedrock of our position of the Eastern Mediterranean").

6) Israel was and remains a militant supporter of US imperialism in southeast Asia and was among the first to extend diplomatic recognition to the brutal military dictatorship of Chile.

For the past period, all Jews have been identified with the Israeli state simply because they were Jews. In fact, a Jew who did not identify with the interests of the Israeli state was considered to be a selfhater.

We reject the slander of the Zionist establishment which equates critics of Zionism with anti-Semites. We consider the fight against anti-Semitism not to be identical with Zionism.

By reducing the role of Jews in the diaspora to that of surrogates for Israel

and as such scurrying to cultivate friends in high places; Zionism cuts across the perspective and desire of Jews to combat anti-Semitism in their countries of residence.

The present predominance of Zionist thought among Jews is a substitute for the recognition of this necessity and in fact Zionism can be an escapist diversion from fighting anti-Semitism as shown by the fact that Israel's ally, ex-president Nixon, turns out to be an overt anti-Semite (as revealed in the Nixon tapes) and America's highest ranking military officer, General George Brown publicly affirmed anti-Semitism recently.

The reason that critical Jews are considered selfhaters is based upon the belief, in Zionist ideology, that all non-Jews are conscious or potential anti-Semites. Thus any solution to the Middle-East crisis that rejects the view that non-Jews are in evitably anti-Semitic but accepts them as potential allies in our struggle against anti-Semitism is labelled as being a rejection of Jewishness. As a consequence of this sectarian attitude towards non-Jews, Zionism removes the need to consider the national rights of the Palestinians and in fact engenders a racist attitude towards Palestinians and Arabs in general.

While seeking a path to Jewish self-determination, Zionists have denied that very same right to the Palestinians. In place of the "law of return" for every Jew, we would rather seek a solution for Palestinian self-determination and therefore a solution to the continual war in the Middle-East by supporting the "right to return" for every Palestinian instead.

It is for the purpose of further discussion these evaluations among ourselves and in the community that the endorsers have come together. Although we may not have all the same evaluations as contained in this entire statement, we do agree on the general approach to the questions involved.

We are all Jews and non-Zionists who generally approach these questions from the point of view of those within the labour and progressive movements and the intellectual milieu. We include among us participants in a broad range of social struggles, and so we all bring to these particular concern as deep and abiding interest in human progress and social justice.

Alliance of Non-Zionist Jews

(Reprinted from the Charlatan)

c/o: Student Union,
York University,
4700 Keele Street,
Downsview, Ontario.

IT CAN HAPPEN HERE

by MARGARET ATWOOD

I don't belong to very many organizations, especially international ones. I do belong to this one, for a very simple reason: I'm glad it exists, and I realize it's poor enough and small enough so that its existence isn't a forgone conclusion. I'm glad it exists because I think I might need it someday.

It may seem paranoid for a Canadian citizen to be worrying about political imprisonment and deprivation of human rights. We look at the events in Chile and Russia and parts of Africa and say, "it can't possibly happen here." But it has happened here, and more than once. It will happen wherever a government decides that its own power is more important than its responsibility to and for the people; that its own power places it above the law; that its own power makes it unnecessary to answer for its acts or apologize for them. Governments do have these unfortunate tendencies, and the government of Canada is not exempt.

I was out of the country at the time of the imposition of the War Measures Act in October, 1970, and what little I could learn was from foreign newspapers. Allowing for distortion and sensationalism, it still seemed to me most alarming that the Canadian government was arresting people without warrant and

imprisoning them without charge or trial. To give the army and the police powers of this kind is to make the people subject to the mere whim of those doing the arresting and to leave them without protection of law. The other thing that alarmed me was that so few people were speaking out against this. Were the Canadian people really so susceptible to government propaganda? We tend to forget that though the so-called crisis was soon over, the War Measures Act remained in effect until April of the following year.

The experiences of October '70 may seem tame in comparison to what goes on in other countries. Not such physical torture, no long term imprisonments, no murders by the authorities; just a little intimidation and harassment here and there, and a few unpleasant and humiliating weeks in jail for a lot of people who didn't have the faintest idea why they were there. Maybe we should shrug it off and be thankful for small mercies. But once a government is able to assume this kind of power with so little protest from a people, the rest is no longer inconceivable.

Amnesty International has no temporal power. It has little money, it depends on volunteers, it represents no governments or political interests, and it is able to achieve what it does by moral pressure alone. In the face of the massive fascist techniques being

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IRELAND: BEHIND THE IRA

In this interview conducted in August, Dennis Cassin neglected to deal with the religious racism within the IRA, he attempted to instead focus on the issues of the class struggle within Northern Ireland. A large part of the class struggle which he speaks about is between the advantaged and the disadvantaged, represented by the Protestants and the Catholics respectively. (Editor's note)

Reprinted from the New York weekly *The Guardian*.

by Karen Gellen

"The revolutionary call in the north of Ireland at the moment is for peace," according to Irish Republican Movement representative Dennis Cassin.

"That might not sound revolutionary, Cassin noted, "but it is, because it provides the only way to go forward with normal politics—that is, revolutionary politics, socialist politics. You become totally irrelevant, for example, if you're talking about massive unemployment when a 100-pound bomb goes off down the street 100 yards away from you."

As the fifth anniversary of the 1971 internment without trial order was marked Aug. 9, the Republican Movement, which includes the Sinn Fein Party and the Official Irish Republican Army (IRA), was blanketing the north with leaflets and posters with the key slogan, "Sectarianism kills workers." This antisectarianism campaign is aimed, Cassin said, at the principal roadblock confronting the liberation movement in Ireland, that of "a divided working class, each seeing the other as the enemy and killing each other, while the real enemy—British and American imperialism—is allowed to go scot-free without any major attacks being made on it."

The assassination of the New British ambassador in July by the Provisionals, and ultra-"left" split-off from the IRA, has, in this context, caused a further setback to the movement. "While I hate the British ambassador as much as anybody, and there are fairly good indications that this guy was part of the British intelligence network," the Republican spokesman explained, "a revolutionary has to be able to account for his actions and his actions have to be progressive. He must think out the reaction to what he does as well. With this British ambassador, it's arrogance, I think—an action that says 'we can't wait for you, the working class,' and that the working class is stupid."

"Now, in the southern state they are in the process of introducing further repressive legislation, and this action will be used as the excuse to do it. In what way did it really attack the basis of the system in Ireland? It's the same sort of action as those of the Symbionese Liberation Army here. It separates the revolutionary movement from the people, and it hasn't achieved anything."

Sinn Fein and the IRA condemn individual terrorism divorced from the needs and consciousness of the masses, while upholding the right to use violence and to wage armed struggle. "It's only an armed and trained working class that will be listened to with respect," Cassin said. "We realize that the powers in Ireland will not hand us the country on a plate to make it a socialist republic. We know that in the final analysis we are going to have to defend the gains we have made and we're going to have a physically fight for the revolution in Ireland, but we, the Irish people, not an isolated elite, will decide when it is the right time to use force, and we will pick the battleground."

In this period, he continued, the movement is not involved in a military campaign, but is implementing a military policy of "defending any working-class area against incursions by the British army or the Royal Ulster Constabulary or right-wing mobs of whatever religious persuasion. Also, we will take retaliatory action against the British army or anybody else for

activities against the working class—and we have done that."

The adventurism of the Provisionals, and the sectarian killings and repression that they bring in their wake, have led to a significant demoralization of working class and the loss of many concrete gains of the earlier mass civil rights movement, Cassin noted. This gives a particular urgency to the present call for peace, he said. "The people have been taken out of the struggle by the Provisionals, they have no will to resist. Where before, if a British army patrol came along a street the people would be out shouting and jeering, making whistles and catcalls, now, people just sit in their houses, they don't move. The will to resist has been bombed out of them by the Provisionals and beaten out of them by the British army reaction to the Provisionals. And all you have in Northern Ireland now is two opposing armies fighting, the people are no longer involved in that struggle. Thus, we feel there is no way forward until the violence stops."

The split in the Irish movement was precipitated in the early 1960s when the IRA, decimated and isolated after an abortive military campaign on the border of the Southern state, was forced to regroup and make an analysis of its errors. It was in this period that the organization made a decisive turn toward an anti-imperialist, working-class line. "Our only politics was the gun," Cassin recalled. "We were a military elite, a conspiracy, that couldn't see any further than the end of the gun." The movement then understood, he said, that while it had exclusively targeted the British administration—soldiers, judges and the like in the north, "the so-called free republic in the south had been completely taken over economically by, in the main, British capital. We saw that the south was a neocolonial state, with the majority of its politicians constituting a comprador class. We then came to the conclusion that the enemy of the Irish people was British imperialism and saw that the only way to defeat imperialism was through a revolution. Our definition of revolution then became the change of power from one class to another."

The faction that became the Provisionals opposed the goal of a united, socialist Ireland, and split over the decision to build a mass, democratic movement in the north. The civil rights movement which was subsequently formed has a mass, working-class base, and served to focus international attention on the oppression of the Irish people.

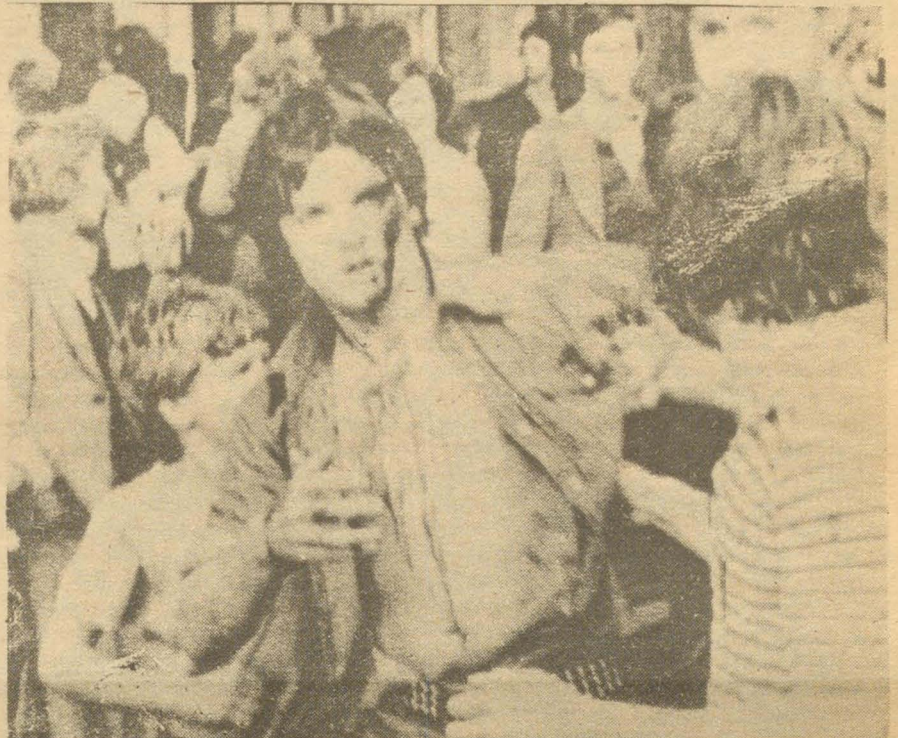
The Republican forces also at that time began to develop the internationalist outlook that is an important aspect of its program today. "We don't see it as being a little parochial struggle," Cassin told the *Guardian*. "We see ourselves as part of the international struggle against imperialism. We consider ourselves to be part of the third world. Lots of people wouldn't accept that," he acknowledged, "but we say we are in actual fact a third world country—that's basically what our economy is, and everything else. And we see the rest of the third world as being our allies. We find from the early 1960s tried very hard to create international solidarity and to internationalize the Irish struggle. We have, for example, supported the Vietnamese struggle for over 12 years; we have consistently supported the MPLA in Angola; and a member of the Palestine Liberation Organization attended an anti-imperialist festival we organized in Ireland last month... Our movement does not take a hard line vis-a-vis either China or the Soviet Union."

Commenting on the international relations of the Provisionals, Cassin said, "Like everywhere else, the people who would be inclined to support them would be the ultra-'left' of this country and others. Trotskyist groups such as the Socialist Workers Party and the

International Socialists have given them 'critical support.' People of this outlook label the Official IRA 'Stalinist.' The Provisionals have a support organization in this country which is of the ultra-right Irish Americans, very well organized, and supplying them with a lot of money. Libyan head of state Col. Qaddafi has come out in support of them."

Another political movement in Ireland is the pro-Moscow Irish Communist Party (ICP), which until 1970 had two separate parties in the country, one for the north and one of the south. "They thus recognized partition," Cassin noted, "which left them very weak on the national question." The ICP is a small party with a strong base in the trade union movement in the north, mainly among the Protestant workers. Party members,

he said, have won many high positions within the trade unions, including the post of general secretary of the Irish Trade Union Congress, by having an "economist" line. "They have never educated or politicized the trade union movement," Cassin continued, "and the part is so Moscow-oriented as to be ridiculous. For example, they keep screaming 'detente, detente, detente,' without relating it to the problems of the people of their city or country. In 1970, the Communist Party was not able to prevent 5000 shipyard workers in Belfast from laying down their tools, walking off the job and marching through the streets demanding the introduction of internment without charge or trial. And all of the shop stewards and leaders of the big engineering unions are members of the communist Party."



Wounded demonstrator against British security forces in northern Ireland. Demonstrations took place Aug. 8 in Belfast to protest fifth anniversary of internment without trial.

"The Communist Party does not, I believe, have the potential for revolution in Ireland. They do not have the structure, they don't have a real base among the Irish people. I think we have that, and also we have the tradition of struggle. We are the descendants of those who have struggled from 1916 on. Also, the Communist Party is, as I said, weak on the national question. They don't really adhere to the idea that in an oppressed country, nationalism and socialism go hand-in-hand—they extract from Lenin only what they want."

Within Sinn Fein and the IRA, there have been some important structural changes recently, in line with the more advanced political perspective that has been developed. "It used to be that the IRA was an elite group, separated altogether from the party—the party was just its front," Cassin explained. "Now, you must be a member of the party before you can be a member of the IRA—we don't want any military elitists—and you must adhere to the policies of the Republican Movement." Although Sinn Fein is not a Democratic centralist

party, "that is the position we are struggling to attain, and we believe we are getting very close."

The party is explicitly Marxist and socialist, he said, and "we don't hide our views, even when contesting for elections." Political repression has, however, made the organizational transition difficult. Sinn Fein is a legal party in the south, while the IRA is out-lawed—if the two were openly synonymous, Sinn Fein would be forced underground.

With the antisectarian drive as the key, the Republican movement is "organizing around every aspect of the daily life of the people," said Cassin. "Our organization is based in the working-class. Working people are the backbone of the organization. We're organizing on a long-term basis, we don't see the revolution happening tomorrow. We think a revolutionary phase has passed in Ireland—1969-71—and there's no sense harping back to the revolutionary momentum of the past. Learn from the past, and move forward."

continued from p. 6

employed by governments all over the world—and not only by governments we think of as "fascist"—what it can do may seem little enough. But its most important function is the puncturing of the wall of secrecy and silence that surrounds these activities. Even though it may not be able to get a prisoner released, it can investigate and tell his story. As more of the truth is known, it becomes more difficult for governments to lie to the outside world.

It can happen here. If it ever does, many people will be grateful for the existence of Amnesty. When your own voice is taken away from you, someone else must speak for you.

CHINA DAY

The Canada-China Friendship Association and the Chinese Cultural Centre will co-sponsor a celebration of China's National Day on Sunday, Oct. 3 in Room 147 of SMU High Rise 2 between 2 and 4:30. Featured will be a talk by Hagos Yesus who recently attended the dedication of Dr. Norman Bethune's birthplace in Gravehurst, Ontario as a National Historic Site. Also offered: food, recent slides of China, films of China, photo display, and a small display on Mao Tse-Tung.

CUSO AND THE THIRD WORLD

by **JIM MORRISON**

CUSO is an independent development agency which recruits and sends skilled individuals from all walks of life to help nations of the Third World train their people in the skills needed to cope with our fast changing, technological world.

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Canadian Teachers to Nigeria

Do you sometimes feel that your students don't appreciate the effort you put into the class you teach? Are there times when you wish you could teach, for once, only those who really want to learn, who cry out for education? Perhaps the answer would be to go overseas to a Developing/Third World Country that needs and appreciates your talents. The grass is always greener...and you know the rest. It would be wise however to examine this 'pasture' on the other side of the fence more closely and ask yourself if you will make the best use of it or simply trample it underfoot.

Looking 'over there' from here is very deceptive. One can read and listen and ask questions of those who have been to a developing country but one cannot escape the fact that a bias will always be present at the source. If you are fortunate enough to be able to travel to South America, Africa, or Asia, how much of your opinion of the country will be based on a few days at a hotel you thought not quite up to Canadian standards? Or just eating North American meals as you were afraid of what the 'native' food may cause? The beaches were nice but you didn't actually leave your culture behind. This experience will only provide a high

polish to the thin veneer of opinions you already had. After a two or three week stay one leaves a country not with knowledge of it but perhaps a nodding acquaintance with it.

This is not to say however that length of stay means wisdom. A long sojourn does not an expert make. I lived in West Africa for eight years, in Ghana and Nigeria, and the longer I stayed the less I knew. That is to say, I was an 'expert' when I first reached West Africa and a mute observer a month later. Things become much more complicated the closer one gets to them and both Nigeria and Ghana had their share of complications. One of the many is the education system and we can now return to the initial theme. Would you want to go to Africa to teach? If so, Why? Most importantly, do they need you? Will you be a burden when all along you thought you were making a sacrifice by going overseas to teach? If we may focus on a specific country, are you, as a Canadian teacher going to Nigeria, irrelevant to Nigeria's future?

To help you answer some of these questions, let's look at the Nigeria of today. With a population of over sixty million, ninety per cent of which is rural and illiterate, and a rapidly declining agricultural output, Nigeria may seem to be similar to the one hundred other nations in the Third World. However, Nigeria stands apart from so many of the others due to its possession of the one commodity that is in great demand in the industrialized world-oil. Nigeria is seventh in the world in oil production and it provides Nigeria with over eighty per cent of its GNP Gross National Product. With this oil wealth the Nigerian Government has decided to initiate a Universal Primary Education program for the country by next year or as soon as possible. This means that every child over five years old has the right to a free primary education. A good thing, you may say,

admirable. But what does one do with the literates that such a system produces? Perhaps ten per cent will go on to secondary school if there is room, but the rest? They are literate so they go to the towns and cities for jobs. The prevalent opinion in Nigeria is that only illiterates farm. Agricultural production goes down even further. Last year Nigeria so rich in livestock had to import beef. Will Universal Primary Education solve this problem?

One concern that is uppermost in the minds of many Nigerians is how the scheme is to be implemented. Will education be free and compulsory or free and voluntary? If its voluntary, perhaps farmers while keep their children at home on the farm. On the other hand if its compulsory, will the Moslems of Northern Nigeria be forced to send their children to a school teaching Western concepts instead of to the more traditional Korannio beliefs. A Western system would conflict in many ways with Islamic doctrine, and since the Moslems are over fifty per cent of the country's population, their discord cannot be taken lightly.

But wait. Before we can suggest a solution to this problem we must realize it is all part of a larger problem. Whatever it may be, when, if at all, are the indigenous religioner customs to be subserged for progress-to most of us 'Westernization'? Perhaps you may say that Westernization is the answer to their problems and the sooner they westernize the better for them! If this is the case than a consideration of the western influence on Nigeria's culture and how Nigeria is coping with it is more useful here than an outline of your teaching responsibilities. For the problems lie beyond the schools - the involve the world-view of the whole country.

Modernization for Nigeria is not questioned. What is questioned is how this process is to be controlled.

Modernization is the adeptation of the science and technology exhibited by Europe, Japan and North America to Nigerian needs. In many cases however, Westernization tends to replace modernization i.e. an adoption of western culture rather than an adaptation of its more useful aspects. However Nigeria escape the culture of the English-speaking world when English is the language of commerce and government in Nigeria? Before Nigeria became independent in 1960, this was not considered a problem. All subjects taught in Nigerian schools were British-oriented and in English. Now these subjects have been indigenized to become Nigerian History, Nigerian Geography, or Nigerian Literature. The emphasis has shifted from the Kings of England to the Emirs of the Sokoto Caliphate. Wole Soyinka and Cinus Chinua Achebe now occupy the bookshelf where once Dickens and Shakespeare reigned supreme. Nigeria now looks to Nigerian and African writers for its poetry, its novels and its history - a process that can only produce at this time, not a rabid ethnocentrism but, a recognition of self - of self-respect and self-confidence. Perhaps we do share something with this part of the developing world.

But yet to reach a multi-lingual population (over 350 languages) a lingua franca is essential and the colonial past has provided it-English. Recently it has been widely condemned as the language of the 'colonial masters' and therefore not relevant to an independent Nigeria. An African language, it is said, should be substituted - be it Hausa or Swahili- to overcome this problem. However, many Nigerians feel it is a matter of adapting the English language to indigenous dialects which would more clearly express African concepts. There is already a distinctive dialect based on English widely used in Nigeria. A working knowledge of English in government, business and academic matters facilitates communication beyond Nigeria and Africa. It is truly a two-edged sword-a potential destroyer of indigenous culture yet a consolidating force in a modernizing Nigeria.

In your journey outward than, observe and consider what is around you. Avoid false promises and hasty judgements. Comprehend the larger issues to understand the small school in which you teach. If you do you will eave behind friends and achievements but take away memories and a greater understanding of the world beyond that we see dimly through out Euro-centric spectacles. There are two things about Nigeria that will remain with me for a long time to come: first there are the people-the adaptable, energetic people and, secondly what they embody-their enthusiasm for life, for progress and the search for a solution to the problem that hinder them. After considering what I have written above, perhaps you will be a small part of this solution.

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its effect, Amnesty relies both on the strength of numbers and on the general desire of governments for an untarnished international image that will reap rewards in terms of political alliances and trade relationships. It seems to work:

"Believe me, only a person who has lived under subhuman conditions is capable of realizing the value of your gesture, which was of great spiritual and moral comfort to me.

"I was tried by War Tribunal in the midst of an atmosphere of expectation, because of the Declaration of human rights, and because of many letters of help from people like you. They contributed to create favourable conditions for us. As a result, we (ten of us) were set free..." (letter to Halifax member from Chilean ex-prisoner.)

IN MEMORY OF MAO TSE-TUNG



The people of Canada were deeply shocked and grieved to learn of the death of Mao Tse-Tung. His contribution to the liberation of the Chinese people and nation, to the building of a new socialist China, to the unity and progress of the entire Third World, to relations of peaceful coexistence between countries of different social systems, and to the development of friendly relations between the Chinese people and all other peoples, including the Canadian people, is well known and admired throughout the world. China has lost a great leader.

The leadership of Mao Tse-Tung as his nation's saviour is described in the anthem written during the 1930's "The East in Red"

*Red is the east, rises the sun;
China has brought forth a Mao
Tse-tung
For the peoples' happiness he
works,
He is the peoples' liberator*

He will be remembered for leading his nation on the first steps to renewing their dignity and freedom by showing them the path to overcoming hunger, privation and disease.

Mao Tse-tung was born on December 26, 1893 in the village of Shoashan in the central province of Hunan, China. He died at 00:10 September 9, 1976, in Peking at age 83. In his long life he made an unprecedented contribution to the history of the Chinese people. His thoughts and writings will continue to influence the people of the world and the people of China for a long time to come.

China's 800 million people are saddened now because they have lost this esteemed and beloved leader. This summer while visiting the Peoples' Republic of China, I had many opportunities to talk to the ordinary people in parks or streets. Whenever I mentioned the differences between the new and forward looking China of today and the depressed nation of the past, friendly faces would smile and say "It is really because of the correct line of Chairman Mao."

In twenty eight years the Peoples' Republic has been transformed from a semi-feudal colony into an independent and self sufficient nation. She has solved the age old problems of feeding and clothing her population and teaching over ninety percent of her people to read and write.

The Chinese people have also advanced in the world of science and medicine. China has also been able to provide assistance to the other countries of the third world based on a diplomatic policy of promoting friendship with all people's.

How can all these achievements made by a people in the brief historical period of twenty eight years be attributed to the correctness of Mao's line? This political philosophy was developed through the creative application of Marxism to the conditions of China. In particular it was his clear vision of the ultimate goal and his deep understanding of local conditions which are the basis of his social and political analysis. This has separated him from many of his revolutionary colleagues who have failed to remain to the task of guiding the Chinese people on the path of revolution. His understanding of his peoples social development as expressed in his writings, will continue to influence the Chinese people and the people of the world for along time to come.

Chairperson Mao is not merely the founder of the Chinese Communist Party of the Peoples' Republic of China. His analysis of the continuous nature of socialist revolution has illuminated the need for a series of cultural revolutions to ensure further progress on the path to socialism. The prominent campaigns to educate the people of China on the nature of the mistakes with Liu Shao-chi and Teng Hsiao-ping were making in following a "revisionist" line. Mao saw that the establishment of the Peoples Republic of China was merely the first stage in a long process of revolution.

I hope that Mao Tse-tung will be remembered as he wanted to be; not as a soldier, leader, statesman of author but as a teacher. A teacher whose students were a nation and whose lesson gave the courage, strength and direction to build a completely new society.

by **CHAI CHU THOMPSON**