

# The Dalhousie International

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## Columbia faculty and Students protest Kissinger teaching

NEW YORK (LNS/CUP) -- A few choice plums have fallen Henry Kissinger's way on his return to private life.

After eight years as "doer," shaping and executing US foreign policy in places like Vietnam, Chile and the Middle East, the former secretary of state and national security council advisor is now at work on his memoirs, has signed on as an NBC media consultant, and is pursuing new posts in academic where he can hang his hat. He has said he's "very much at peace."

At New York's Columbia University, however, where the political science faculty voted 24 to 5 to accept Kissinger into the department, some students and faculty members are considerably less content.

The Ad Hoc Committee Against Kissinger has so far collected the signatures of about 600 students, faculty and workers at Columbia opposed to Kissinger joining the faculty. They plan to present the petition to the student senate and to university president William McGill.

McGill is not known for his responsiveness to petitions, however, and a majority of Columbia students are reported to favor Kissinger as an addition to the faculty.

"I think if McGill can get Kissinger to come, he'll do it," said committee member George Gewirtz, a Columbia junior. "It



would be a real coup for the school. Kissinger would bring money and a lot of connections to Columbia."

Many Columbia and Barnard students have said the petition violates academic freedom and have refused to sign it. Many students also argue that "a man with his experience, even if we hate him, we can learn from this experience."

"We think the issues are bigger than that," explained Gewirtz. "Albert Speer, who designed the Nazi concentration camps, was a great architect. Do we want him to teach us?"

Columbia petitioners are not optimistic that their petition will stop the university from hiring Kissinger. However, they say that raising the political issue about "Professor Kissinger" has been positive process at a time when Barnard and Columbia undergraduate colleges are "pre-professional for the most part," and political activism is at a minimum.

Although a majority of graduate students at the university political science department are reportedly in favor of Kissinger coming, a small group is currently drafting a

letter in opposition to Kissinger joining their faculty. According to graduate student Alan Draper, they plan to raise the issues of Kissinger's role in the 1973 overthrow of Allende in Chile, Kissinger's unresponsiveness to anti-war demonstrations, and the "Halperin thing" (when Kissinger bugged the office of his own staff member.).

"We want it known," said Draper, "that the political science department isn't completely enthralled with it, that there's a militant minority not in favor of him coming here."

## British officials charged with torture

by Michael Chinoy for Pacific News Services

BELFAST -- High British officials "knew and approved" the use of torture methods on 11 internees in Northern Ireland, a former Northern Ireland official has charged.

The charges come from John Taylor, who as Ulster's former junior minister for home affairs cooperated with the British in their efforts against the Irish Republican Army (IRA). Taylor says both Edward Heath, then British prime

minister, and Lord Carrington, then defense minister, condoned the interrogation techniques when they were first used in 1971.

Taylor's charges came after the British government decided earlier this month not to contest a report issued by the European Commission of Human Rights. The report upheld charges by the Irish Government that suspected members of the outlawed Irish Republican Army interned without trial had been subject to the so-called "five techniques" of torture.

British refusal to contest the Commission report has been interpreted as a tacit admission that its security forces used the technique—hooding, subjection of intense lights and continuous noise, forced spread-eagled wall standing and deprivation of food, water and sleep.

In announcing the decision not to contest the report, British Attorney-General Sam Silkin promised the techniques would "not under any circumstances be reintroduced as an aid to interrogation."

Consequently, he asked the Dublin authorities to drop the case pending before the European Court of Human Rights and cooperate in bringing peace to Northern Ireland. But Irish Attorney-General Declan Costello rejected the request and announced that Dublin would continue to press the case to insure that the five techniques not to be used in the future.

Meanwhile, there have been widespread calls for complete disclosure of the names of all those responsible for the torture before the case can be fully closed. Amnesty International has urged the government in London to name all individuals who knew the

techniques were being used, and to say what positions these people now occupy.

Even the staunchly anti-IRA Catholic Bishop Edward Daley of Londonderry said, "Many people are asking if those who have been indicted for torture by the European Commission of Human Rights are to be brought before the courts, as they should be. Many people are asking if these people are still members of the security forces. These are questions that should be answered, and answered honestly."

The names of those associated with torture were not revealed in the Commission's 563-page report last fall. The report did say that "official tolerance (of the mistreatment) existed both at the level of the direct superiors of those having committed the acts in question and at higher levels."

The report implied that those connected with the torture could be criminally liable for prosecution. Under intense pressure from the British government, however, the Commission agreed to disguise the names by using a letter and number code.

Up to now, there has been only one serious attempt to break this curtain of secrecy and pinpoint responsibility. Last year, the Dublin magazine *Hibernia* succeeded in decoding the Commission's report.

Two *Hibernia* reporters then prepared a series of articles naming 26 Northern Irish policemen and six British Army officers "who were in positions of authority...and were directly or indirectly associated with the torture."

The articles claimed that none of the 32 men had been disciplined in any way, that all had remained in the security forces and that some even had been promoted.

Reportedly under pressure from the British government, however, Irish authorities convinced *Hibernia's* printers not to publish the articles.

The British have adopted other means as well as prevent public disclosure of the names of those involved. Sources in Belfast report that anyone who has tried to bring legal action in Northern Ireland against those who carried out the torture has been offered large sums of money to settle out of court.

Nearly \$1 million has been paid out over the past five years to people who were subjected to the five techniques, including almost



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# Brazil — behind the warm sun

The Reverend Fred Morris went to Brazil in 1964 as a missionary of the United Methodist Church of the United States. Ten years later he was working with the urban poor in Recife, a city in the north eastern part of the country. Whilst there he was arrested and tortured. In this interview\* he explains what happened and analyses the violence of the secret police, the government and the international business corporations through his Brazilian experience.

On June 24, 1974, *Time* magazine published a full-page article on Dom Helder Camara, a Catholic leader in Recife who has been very active in the fight against the use of torture. The article was very complimentary toward the Brazilian regime, and since I occasionally did a little part-time writing for *Time*, the army officials in Recife wrongly assumed I was the author.

In fact, I didn't even know the article was going to be in the magazine until I bought a copy and read it.

But as a result of this article, I was called for questioning on three different occasions. Finally, at the end of the third period of questioning, the colonel said that if I avoided any further contacts with Dom Helder, stopped all journalistic activities, and minded my own business, everything would be all right.

But it wasn't. On the morning of September 30 I left my apartment with a very close Brazilian friend, Alanir Cardoso. As we were getting into my car, about a dozen men materialised out of nowhere, with machine guns and .45 calibre automatics. They hustled us into the back of a station wagon, covered our heads with cloth hoods, and forced us to lie down on the floor.

In the prison we were separated and I was put into a five by seven foot cell. After a few minutes I began hearing my friend's voice screaming in obvious pain. Of course, I knew as soon as they got us what we were in for. Torture is very common in Brazil. It's what happens to everybody who falls into the hands of the army. It's just what they do to warm you up.

Actually, I was still nurturing some hope that they might just be trying to scare me. But as I lay on the floor feeling the unreality of it all, I found myself very self-consciously and deliberately repeating Psalm 23. It wasn't that I thought God was going to come down and deliver me, but it was reassuring to know that he was with me.

In Brazil it's usually a three to four week period of torture, for openers. After that you may get out, you may be dead, or you may be in prison for years. All this was going through my mind — and here was my friend screaming.

I kept reminding myself that there was more to me than anyone could touch. "Yea, though I walk through the valley of the shadow of the death..." They could kill me, but I wouldn't have to be afraid because I was in God's hands.

Ten to fifteen minutes later they came and got me. They took me to one end of what was the torture chamber and handcuffed my hands behind my back. I had a hood over

my head and had no clothes on except my shorts.

There were a number of men in the room who immediately began yelling questions at me. Hoping that as an American citizen I might not have to go the whole route, I reminded them of that fact and said I wanted to see the American consul. That was the first time they hit me. The guy hit me in the belly and said, "Here's your consul".

They began asking where I was going, where I was taking my car, and what I was doing with my friend Alanir. They weren't interested in the answers; they asked the questions and started hitting me before I

meaningful I'm not sure how much the questions were to gather information and how much was just simply a structure in which to intimidate me. Anyway, shocks with the electrode on my breast went on for probably fifteen or twenty minutes. The current would increase in voltage to the point of producing muscular convulsions, and I would just be thrown to the floor. And then he would turn the current off, and if I didn't get up rapidly enough, even with my hands handcuffed behind my back on the wet floor with no clothes on, he would turn on the current with light doses, like a cattle prod. As soon as I would get on my

of that, they stopped, because they don't want you to get to that position: you aren't hurting enough.

So they took me back to my cell and took the handcuffs off from behind my back and put them through a bar in the door, and fastened them at eye level, so that I was forced to remain in a standing position. Then they left me in the cell for about ten or fifteen minutes.

And then back to it again. This we were to do all day long. They would torture me until I would get in that blurred state of mind, and then take me back until I got myself back together, and then back for more.

Almost all the interrogation was aimed at Dom Helder and *Time* magazine. They were trying to get me to say that I was a communist, that Alanir was a communist, and that Dom Helder was cooperating with the Communist Party.

I think they were hopeful that if they tortured me for two or three days I would confess to being a communist, and then they could tell the State Department that I was a confessed communist and in that case the Department probably wouldn't give them any static.

By Wednesday I wasn't being tortured to the same degree. I found out later that the US Consul had now begun to put the heat on to get me released. The next day I was taken to see him, I don't suppose I was ever as glad to see another human being in my life. The torture was all pretty small potatoes after those first four days. Finally, after a couple more weeks they took me out to my house, had me pack a suitcase and put me on a plane to New York.

One purpose of this torture is information gathering. Brazil successfully wiped out a rash of urban guerillas in 1969 by use of torture. They would get people they suspected of being involved in a subversive group and torture them for the names of all their friends. Then they would bring in all of their friends and ask for more names.

Out of 500 people tortured, they probably found three or four legitimate subversives. That's a massive overkill, but it does work in that kind of situation.

But the main purpose of torture in a society like that is social repression and inhibition. Torture just isn't very effective as a means of getting information, because once people break under torture, a lot of what they say is just not accurate. The main purpose is social intimidation. And it's extremely effective.

In Brazil, labor unions have been wiped out, wages are controlled by the government, profits are completely free, management does what it wants. It's an investor's paradise (See Diagram II). And they deliberately choose to make the rich richer and the poor poorer in order to increase investment capital (See Diagram I). Now when you have a government like that, over the last ten years the poor people, the bottom 60% of Brazil, are worse off now than they were ten years ago. When you have that kind of skewing of income, with a government that is unpopular, that came into power by force and not by anyone's choice, it requires repression to stay in power. It requires the appearance of



An anonymous victim of torture.

had a chance to answer. I was subjected to about twenty minutes of this kind of questioning, which was designed to disorientate and thoroughly intimidate me. I was kicked in the groin three times in succession, until I was laid out altogether, and then I was forced to get up again for more questions and beatings.

Then all of a sudden there was this complete silence and everybody left except for one guy. I heard him filling a bucket with water which he poured on my legs and on the floor around me. Then he came back with electrodes, fastening one to the second toe of my right foot and the other fastened with a spring clip to the nipple of my right breast, cutting right into the flesh. I knew what I was in for because electric shock is their standard torture technique. He went back and sat down at what must have been a table and began asking the same questions — only this time, with each question would come an electric shock.

The questions themselves weren't

feet again, it would be the same thing; more questions, turning on the shock, increasing the voltage until I would be thrown to the floor again.

After about fifteen or twenty minutes of that, he came and took it off my nipple and put it on my penis. Not only is that extremely painful, but it triggers a nerve reaction in the legs. I was in a standing position, and when the current would get to a certain point, my legs would just simply fly up in front of me, contracting at the hips, and I would fall on my back from this height to the floor.

I think the whole first session was about an hour and a half, counting the beatings and the shocks. By that time I was really just sort of in limbo, which is I think a physiological and psychological defense mechanism. You get to the point where it is not real. YOU are really not even there any more; you are just kind of hanging on. It was all sort of a big blur. And when they became aware



# Canada supports regime in Chile

by Lynn Stow

Canada is providing direct support to Chile's military regime by means of heavy financial involvement in that country, according to a CBC television report. (Fifth Estate, Feb. 1977) It was stated on the programme that the Canadian government had either already guaranteed loans to Chile or was about to do so. However, it was the private sector, and particularly the Noranda copper mining company, which came in for the most direct criticism in the half hour documentary.

Noranda is among the top twenty Canadian corporations. It has many mines and factories in this country, as well as operations in such countries as Nicaragua, Guinea, Mexico, Ireland and the United States. It also has a small mine in Chile, and is proposing to invest a further 350 million dollars in the extraction of Chilean copper. It competed with several international consortiums for the right to develop the mineral in a desolate area of Northern Chile.

Noranda claims to believe that its tranquility and stability in order to

investment will bring advantages to the Chilean people. The company's geologist remarked that the mine is to be sited in an economically depressed area, and that welcome jobs will be provided to the local populace. He left it to his interviewer to spell out the benefits to Noranda itself: the average wage in Chile today is 50 dollars per month, and strikes are not tolerated.

The Chilean generals who seized power in the bloody coup of Sept 1973 have taken the American Milton Friedman as their economic mentor. Friedman is an avowed enemy of the welfare state, claiming that it is responsible for inflation. He denies any ties to the notorious regime in Chile, but his theories are being put into practice there by a group of his former students.

According to this report, inflation has been brought down to 170% per year since the coup. Meanwhile, one in four Chileans is unemployed and a large proportion of the population is malnourished. Soup kitchens organized by the Catholic church are regarded as subversive, and the

"Tyranny beheads the bards, but by secret subterranean springs their voice returns from the bottom of the well to the surface, and even in the darkness rises to the lips of the people."

—Pablo Neruda



Chilean workers at a joyous May Day celebration during the Allende years.

women working in them refused to be filmed for fear of reprisals. A Chilean described the result of the Friedman experiment in these words: "I can tell you that in Chile there are fewer rich, but never so rich as now. And there are many more poor people who have never been so poor as at this time."

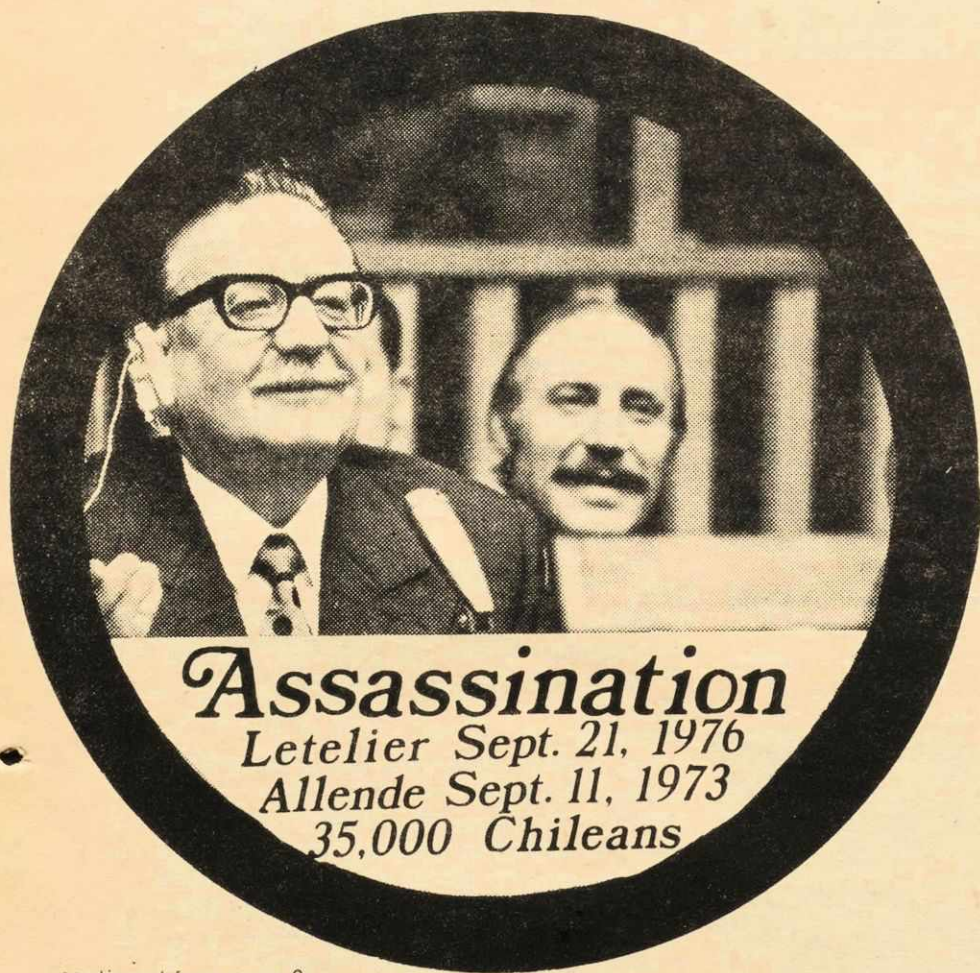
In the current economic climate, even the President of the Chilean Manufacturers' Association, Orlando SAENZ, disagrees with his government's theory of development: "development must involve all the people from the very beginning." Chile is described as a re-created pre-World War I never-never-land for a small group of Chilean businessmen: no unions, no labour troubles, just profit. Money is concentrated in so few hands that there is no competition to bring prices down.

Chile has a foreign debt amounting to 4½ billion dollars. Some international financing institutions have refused to extend the deadline for debt repayment unless the imprisonment and torture of political dissidents cease. The government refuses to meet these conditions and is trying to pay off the debt very

rapidly.

The widow of Orlando Letelier, murdered in Washington last year commented: "repression is a one-way street; once there, you are caught." Letelier fought successfully against a 62½ million dollar investment by a Dutch company earlier in the year.

Debate about investment in Chile continues. The investors argue that Chile is only one of at least sixty countries where torture is alleged to exist and that their investment provides much-needed jobs. Opponents demand an economic embargo as long as torture and repression continue. A Noranda representative, when questioned about the morality of dealing with such a regime, had this to say: "from our point of view, we feel that the actions of the past were justified in terms of having a governmental system which is in the best interests of all the people. Not that some of the actions that were taken to get that point were correct. But this is their country, and they govern their country as they deem fit." In other words, it has nothing to do with us, just as long as we stand to gain from it.



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encourage foreign investment.

One of the things that any American multinational group would emphasize over and over again is the stability of the regime. That's an immeasurable plus to foreign investors. What they don't want to recognize is the cost of this stability—not just the cost of this stability—bodies that are tortured, but also in the millions of people who are hungry and who are staying hungry and who are condemned to perpetual pauperism.

When you have that kind of development model in operation, you have to use repression to keep the thing going, because otherwise it will fall apart.

Unfortunately my friend Alanir Cardoso was tortured for at least a month and a half after I left. He didn't have any American consul to get him out. He is still in prison, and they haven't even tried him.

\*Reprinted from *The Other Side*.

## Chilean junta extends reign of terror

SANTIAGO (CPA/CUP) -- The military dictatorship of Chile has banned all political parties, imposed mail censorship, and press restrictions and extended for another six months the state of seige under which it can hold prisoners

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\$25,000 given to one former IRA man now living in the Irish Republic.

Every person who has received such compensation has been required to sign a pledge not to pursue the matter any further in the courts. Since virtually all the cases that were brought before the European Commission have been dealt with in this manner, none of those accused of carrying out torture has been publicly identified in court.

without charge or court order.

The junta banned "the existence, organization, activities and propaganda of . . . all political parties, entities, groups, factions or movements with a political character." Disobedience can mean fines, imprisonment or exile.

The ban of political parties came after the junta allegedly discovered a plot by leaders of the Christian Democratic Party to overthrow the government. The Christian Democrats were the ruling party in Chile before the election of former president Allende and the bloody military coup that ended democracy there.

AFL-CIO president George Meany, meanwhile, has denounced the fascist dictatorship for "the documented persecution, jailing and torturing of Chilean trade unionists . . . guilty of nothing more

than their firm belief in democracy and freedom."

Meany said in a letter to the Chilean junta that "the excesses committed by your government in the name of anti-communism are typical of the most tyrannical fascist regimes of our century."

### Lost army found

SAN FRANCISCO (ZNS-CUP) -- An army of Persian soldiers who got sidetracked while invading Egypt 2,500 years ago has been found.

Archeologists digging in sands 300 miles west of Cairo report they have uncovered the skeletons of a complete army, including swords and spears. According to the scientist, the troops were probably buried alive by a violent desert sandstorm.

Until the discovery the fate of the missing army, led by King Cambyses the Second, was a mystery.



# An interview with Men of the Deeps in China

The "Men of the Deeps" is a group of singers made up of men who, at sometime during their lives, have worked in the coal mines of Cape Breton. Formed in 1966-7, the group took part in Canada's centennial year celebrations. They sang about the mines and the men who worked in them and through these songs they have spread understanding and appreciation of the history and culture of Cape Breton and its people.

In 1975, after a performance at the Arts Centre in Ottawa, they were invited, by representatives from the embassy of the People's Republic, to visit China. The trip was scheduled for November that year, but had to be postponed because, although all expenses inside China were paid for them, the group had to find money for the journey there. The Canadian government gave no help and it was only their own efforts, together with assistance from individuals and organizations, that they were able to make the trip in July 1976.

The **Men of the Deeps** spent three weeks in the People's Republic China, performing and making friends with the people. Most of their trip was spent in the north-east where many of China's coal mines and heavy industries are located. They visited communes, coal mines, factories, schools and hospitals and sang "O Canada" on the Great Wall of China. Everywhere they went they roused enthusiasm and at the end one of them could say "We are a group of working people who have done more to stimulate friendship toward Canada than any one since that great proletarian doctor, Norman Bethune."

During a recent visit to Halifax two members of the group, Bill Copeland and Alex Bezanson, talked to members of the Canada-China Friendship Association, and the following pages are a transcript of their experiences and impressions of China as they related them to us.

**CCFA:** I'd like to ask you what your expectations were before you went to China.

**Alex:** As far as I was concerned I had an open mind. I had very little idea what the Chinese people were like. But all the Chinese people around Glace Bay, where I've lived all my life, were very friendly people so I figured there was nothing special to worry about.

**Bill:** To tell you the truth to me it was kinda

the mine, and in the factories and the schools and every place. We even sang on the Great Wall of China.

**Alex:** That wall goes thousands of miles across the provinces. It's not too steep to walk, but after a while you get pretty tired.

**Bill:** Only eleven of us made it but we sang 'O Canada' and 'I love Tien an Mein'. We also went to the International Club in Peking. We were on the stage and entertained all the diplomats and their wives and afterwards we danced with them and drank with them if we wanted to.

**Alex:** And we sang to the people in the streets as well. What happened was that we decided to go out for a walk one evening and we looked behind us and there was thousands of people following us. After a while one of the interpreters said to us, "Why don't you stop and sing a couple of numbers?" So we decided to do that. We came to a fairly open spot that was well lighted. When we started to sing more people stopped to listen. The crowd got so big that the buses could not get through. It looked like traffic was backed up for miles. After that we were not allowed to sing outside like that again. There's no denying it, the people were well pleased with us.

**Bill:** When we finished our performance they would clap and clap and you had to clap back, even the performers would have to clap with the audience. And we got entertained in return.

**CCFA:** Who entertained you?

**Alex:** We never expected to see it, but every place we visited, in the schools and factories they all had their own groups for singing and that.

**Bill:** We went to one place in Peking and could hear the tremendous singing and the music and it was bothering me and I wanted to hear it. The next thing we went upstairs to a main class room and there were about 35 or 40 people, men women, and a line of accordion players across the room and they started to sing this revolutionary song and you could have heard them 50 miles away. Talk about the volume and beautiful voices. I've never heard anything like it.

**Alex:** The musical instruments they have you

interpreter would keep us informed. They were very good in that respect.

**Bill:** There's one thing I find about the students there and the people, they go out with such confidence when they step onto the stage. Even the kids in school that step up there, they're so confident in what they do. They don't hesitate, don't lose a word. And not only that, it's the motion of their hands and the way they stand. A little girl would come out and announce what they would do. She would stand there and give it right out.

**CCFA:** When you found all these people in China singing and playing did it make you wonder whether there was as many people in Canada who could do these things?

**Alex:** No, we're very backward in that respect. Down our way they're only starting to play music in the schools. So you can't expect to find that number of people showing that much talent. No, they are ahead of us in that respect; and its the same thing with the museums. Now we have our Miner's Museum in Glace Bay and it has a few displays and that. But at this museum we went to in China, there was a good sized room with a model of



the whole city including the collieries under glass and they could light up one section, or light up the whole thing, and it was all mechanized.

**Bill:** We brought back some momentos for our Museum. They presented us with a painting of Chairman Mao with Dr. Norman Bethune who died of blood poisoning working in China during the Revolution. And they gave us a great big block of coal and that was taken back to the Miner's Museum.

**CCFA:** Did you find that you got a special welcome because you were from Canada, the home country of Dr. Bethune?

**Bill &**

**Alex:** Yes.

**Alex:** Norman Bethune is one of the best known men in China.

**Bill:** We're Canadian workers, Canadian coal miners, working class and therefore we're on a pedestal as far as they are concerned.

**Bill:** Every place we went there were these big posters saying "A Warm Welcome to the Singing Coal Miners of Canada".

**CCFA:** Tell us something about how these visits to the mines and the factories were organized. What happened when you went to visit a colliery for instance?

**Alex:** First there was this briefing period. We all sat around a table and they told us how bad the conditions were before the Revolution and the changes that were made and the production they gained and how production went ahead again after '66.

**Bill:** After the briefing we asked questions and they asked questions. It was good you know, but we got tired of so many of them. Everywhere we went we had two or three or four in one day.

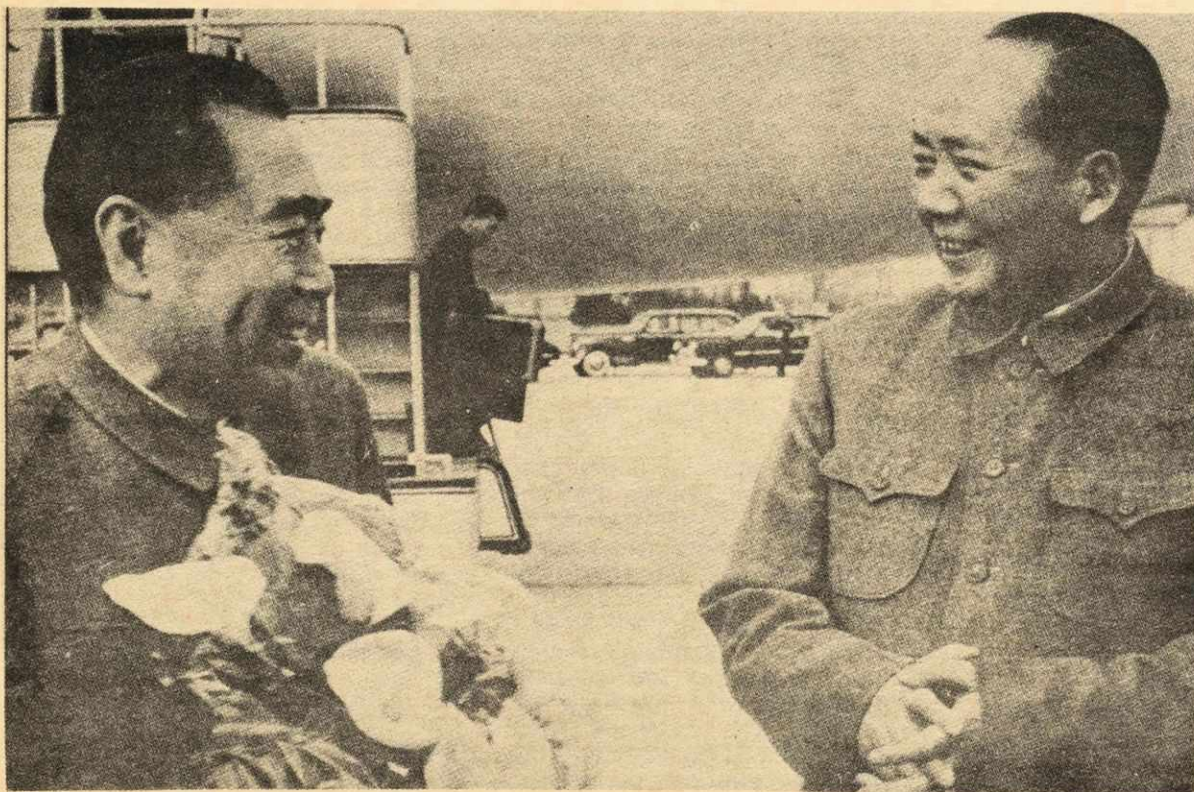
**CCFA:** What kind of questions did they ask you?

**Bill:** They asked us how we did things in this country. What gas detection systems we used, what machinery we used.

**CCFA:** What about the general working conditions in the mines. Did the people seem over-worked?

**Alex:** I don't think so. They're taking things there pretty cool.

**Bill:** They didn't seem to be working hard, but



vague. I didn't know what to expect.

**CCFA:** I understand you were invited by the Chinese government to make a cultural exchange.

**Bill:** In fact we are the only Canadian group that we know of in the last few years that entertained the Chinese people, and we sang just about everywhere. We sang in the mines and once in the cages as we were going into

know are very strange to us, and at first we were kinda taken with that high pitched sound the younger girls had when they sang, way up and very high. But one girl we saw, she sang in a lot of operas and she was one of the most beautiful singers I ever heard. And the piano player in the same programme, there was a lot of talent there. In the operas you could understand what was going on, because the



they are moving all the time.

**CCFA:** How did their gas detection systems and machinery compare with what we use in Canada?

**Alex:** They don't have safety shoes for instance, they wear ordinary shoes. But they have helmets and they have made an awful lot of strides in gas detection machines and warnings of gas.

**Bill:** Some of this equipment they had built themselves for detecting gas and fighting fire was quite ahead of us.

**Alex:** And I think that a gas warning of 1.1 would be sufficient to take the men out of the mine there, while in Canada we have 2.1. They would come out sooner than we would. They are ahead of us in some respects, and the machinery they had in the pits; we went into this open pit mine, 390 feet down to the first level, and there were big tubes that took up 28 tons of coal every two minutes all day long. They also mined oil shale and five different sorts of minerals. It stretched as far as the eye could see. It must have been a mile down with shafts connecting with the same seam of coal. Three shifts were working there around the clock. Meals are prepared for all the shifts, all in a buffet style, and they could eat as much as they could carry I suppose.

**CCFA:** What happens to old people in China when they finish their working lives?

**Alex:** It seemed to me that the old people when they retire aren't just pushed aside. They still take part in things, whether on the commune or in the city. They're active, teaching and helping the younger people, telling them about Old China and things like that. Most of them live with their families and help out with the grandchildren. In China the young people honour the old and look after them. We went to one special home though, for retired miners. Some of them had worked in the mine for fifty years. There was only one man there that was married and his daughter lived in another province. The reason why there were single men was because when they were young they were too poor to marry.

**Bill:** The place was nice. The rooms were clean. They have games rooms and reading rooms. They all got together and sang us a song and we gave them Nova Scotia pins. The oldest guy is 92.

**CCFA:** Were there many examples in the mines for instance of the workers taking part in running the mines? Was there much evidence of that kind of thing?

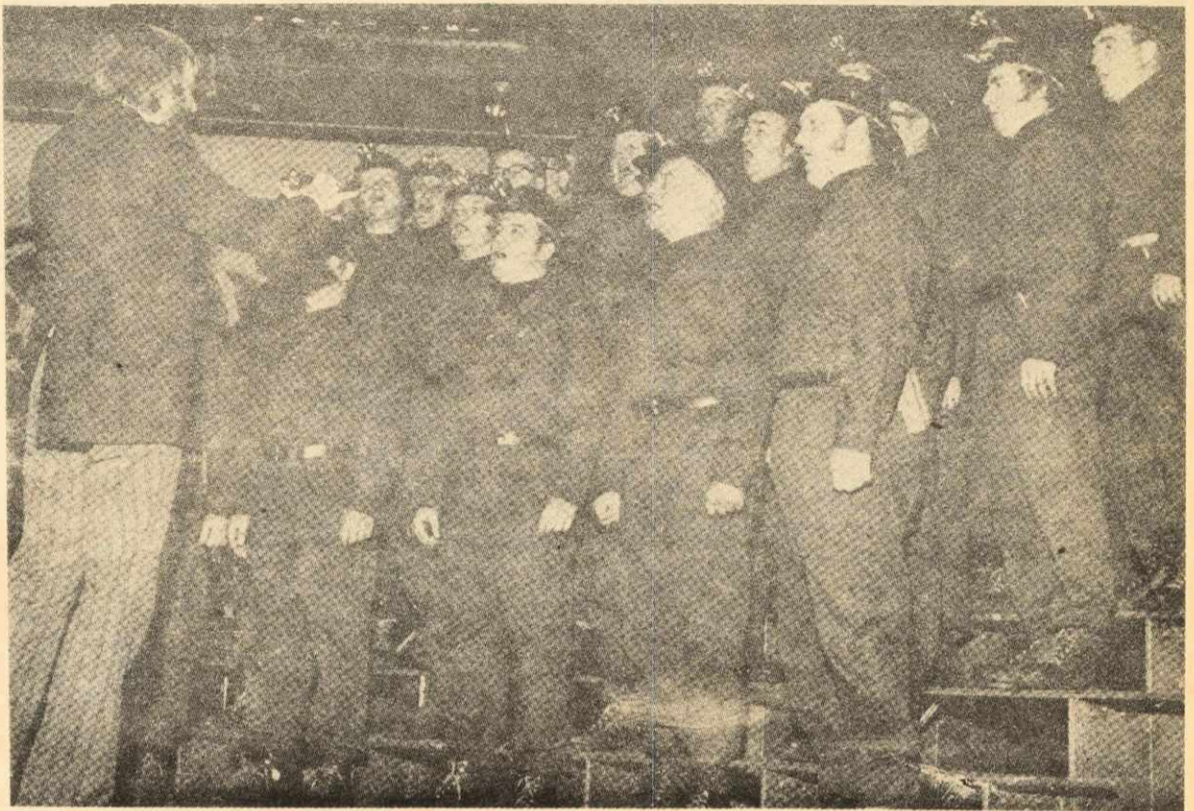
**Alex:** I thought that the whole thing was run by the people. At each commune and factory and colliery they elected the head of each particular part there, and they had general meetings to discuss what's to be done. I think its done right from the ground, from the roots up to the top. I think much more so than they do in Canada for instance. We're told what they're gonna do in No. 26 colliery maybe six months before its gonna happen, but the men don't have anything to say about what's gonna happen.

**Bill:** I found the same thing true. They have what they call night classes there. They work all day long in the fields and factories and in the night time they get together as a body, as a group of working people and they pick their leaders. Where we have what you call an overman in a mine, or a manager, they have leaders; when you go to a meeting there's a leader, when you go to the schools there's a leader, there's one in the mines, everyone has their own leaders. When you go to a meeting and you are briefed, the leader tells you all about their system, how it runs, how it is operated. They're the ones that administer the work and tell the others what to do. That's how things are run in North East China.

**Alex:** And it makes a big difference to the working people. Now, down our way when someone invents some machinery that'll throw men out of work, only the people who invented the machines and the people that are using it get the benefit of it see. But China spreads the benefit across the populace and brings everybody up at the same time, not a few millionaires here and the richer you get the poorer you get like in Canada and the

United States and all that.

**Bill:** Everybody there works. They don't get big money. The factory guy, or the man there in the mines, he was making 80 yuan a month and that's only \$40. We asked one woman there what she was paying for her lights for the year and it was \$1 for the lights and the power. Her medical was 50 cents for the year and the children's was 20 cents, so you can



*The "Men of the Deeps" is a group of male singers who have worked in the coal mines of Cape Breton. In July 1976, the group toured China for three weeks performing songs about the mines and the men who work them.*

figure how cheap they live compared with us.

**CCFA:** Was that one of the things that impressed you most about China?

**Bill:** What amazed me most was the people themselves. Their culture, their ways of living, their confidence, their determination.

**Alex:** No matter what position they have there, they have to spend so much time working in the factories and in the fields. The people who go to school the professors, everybody. They level everybody out, more or less.

**CCFA:** What do you think it comes from, that confidence?

**Bill:** I think that it is taught in their youth. They learn it from learning what their forefathers went through the last while back.

**Alex:** You know they never forgot to tell you how bad it was years ago. Now I know that over in England and Wales and Scotland as well as in Canada and the United States years ago things were pretty bad. Over in Wales, for instance, if a man got killed in a mine and he had no family old enough to go into the mine, the wife had to go and they worked until they dropped, just the same way they did in China. But we forget about that, we don't keep on telling everybody and keeping it in mind; but they don't let the people forget.

**Bill:** You know, their own people misused their own people, the kings, the big business people, the landlords. And the British went in there and the Japanese and the rest and they exploited the country. Those poor guys didn't receive much money and they were pushed around and oppressed over the years. You can't blame them for being a little bitter. I think I'd be bitter myself. They had a long, hard struggle to get where they are today.

**CCFA:** Did they show you any monuments or museums, anything like that, to commemorate the fight they had?

**Bill:** There was one place we were taken to, a valley where the Japanese invaded in 1931 or 1932. In this valley there were 3,000 people, poor people, farmers, peasants. They had no ammunition and they worked in this valley; the Japanese raided them and killed them, and only three of them escaped out of the 3,000. They beat them and shot them and beat their brains out and spread gas over them to hide the evidence and burnt them. Some of them weren't even dead. They burnt them

alive and then threw earth over them. So the Chinese sent an army up there and killed every one of the Japanese. It was a real slaughter-house. Anyhow the Chinese started looking around and they moved the earth back and found bodies. So what did they do? They built an immense building over them of concrete, and they built a small ridge around. You walk around it and you look in and see all

the skeletons there. A little baby with its skull crushed in, a man and wife with his arm around her.

**Alex:** And another man lying on a small skeleton like trying to protect a kid. They found them that way so they left them that way. Its the most gruesome thing you ever saw in your life.

**CCFA:** After the revolutionary wars were over did they get any help from other countries to build themselves up again?

**Bill:** Joe Stalin was the first to give them a lift, they all tell you that over there. They like Joe Stalin and he sent experts to their country to start them out. After they got a start and Joe Stalin passed on they continued improving themselves and improving their machinery and all the rest they did themselves. But they are not very friendly with the Russians at the present, there's a little bitterness there.

**Alex:** They are terribly scared of war with Russia. That's the reason why they are going underground in Peking. We went into their shelters. We went into a store behind the counter and all of a sudden the floor opened up, and as far as the eye could see there were miles and miles of tunnels going in every direction. They took us to a briefing room where they have the whole thing displayed in lights; they could light up the whole panel, or just sections of it and they could tell you where all the tunnels went. If a bomb drops on one section there is another dozen ways they can get out. They have a sort of fire drill twice a year. They say they can evacuate the whole city. At some of the schools the students were doing their own excavating. And they are starting to plan their underground railroad.

**CCFA:** It seems as if China has made great progress since the People's Republic was established in 1949; how do you see the future of China?

**Bill:** I think that today its the first time down the centuries they've had their freedom and that's why they're staying with the system. There's no doubt about it, its working for them over there. They are happy with it, they get along. And there's no doubt about it, China's on the move. In the last 26 years there's an awful difference there and if you put another 30 years on you'd never know China if she keeps on going the pace she's going now.



British Guyana

# Struggles to overcome colonial legacy

by Barbara deMarsh

Guyana shares the struggle of the world's newly independent countries as it strives to rescue economic and political control from the havoc of its colonial past. The full dimensions of the Guyanese struggle are suggested by Walter Rodney, a reknowned Afro-Guyanese political activist and historian, in the excerpts which follow from an interview he held in 1976. However, first, a brief description of Guyana is warranted.

The 83,000 square miles of Guyana, bordered by Venezuela, Brazil and Surinam, includes a vast coastline which covers 270 miles of South America's northwest. With only about 800,000 inhabitants in total and 200,000 of these living in the capital, coastal city of Georgetown, the country is sparsely populated and in fact, under-populated. Often labelled as the "Land of Six Peoples", Guyana is inhabited by peoples of African, East Indian, Portuguese, Chinese and European extraction, and by the native Amerindian tribespeople. The people of East Indian descent now account for over half the total and those of African descent for nearly a third. Sixty-five percent of the remainder are people of mixed blood.

The Amerindians were the first people to settle in the country prior to the 16th century. Shortly thereafter, Guyana became the scene of political contests between various European powers headed by Spain. By 1814 the country was ceded to Britain and in 1831, the three colonies of Berbice, Demerara and Essiquibo merged to become what was then known as British Guiana.

The plantations of British Guiana were worked by African slaves until 1838 when slavery was abolished. Portuguese immigrants were subsequently brought from Madeira to meet the labour shortage and were followed by the Chinese and indentured East Indian labourers.

Significant events in more recent political development date from 1953 when the first elections under adult suffrage were held. Dr. Cheddi Jagan of the Peoples' Progressive Party was joined by Forbes Burnham in mobilising the working forces throughout the country. They won 18 out of the 24 seats at that time. After the party had been in power for 133 days, the Constitution was suspended and an interim government was installed. It remained in power for the next four years.

By 1956 the party ranks split into two groups which were known as the Jaganite and Burnhamite factions of the P.P.P. Later the Burnhamites became the People's National Congress. Since this time voting has largely taken place along race lines, with the East Indians supporting Jagan (also of East Indian extraction) and the Afro-Guyanese supporting Burnham who has African roots.

The elections of 1964 were held under the system of Proportional Representation with the P.P.P. winning 24 seats and the P.N.C., 22 seats. The newly formed conservative party, the United Force, gained 7 seats. A Coalition Government was subsequently formed between the P.N.C. and the United

Force, with Forbes Burnham as Prime Minister.

In May 1966 the colonial war ended when the country gained its independence. Two years later when the elections were held, the P.N.C. had gained a clear majority with 30 seats while the P.P.P. held 19 seats and the United Force, 4 seats.

February 23, 1970, Guyana became a Republic within the Commonwealth.

From the writings that have emerged in the past ten years of

expense of the Indo-Guyanese, are widespread.

The Rodney interview was conducted by Colin Prescod, a black political sociologist and senior lecturer at the North London Polytechnic, who is currently in Trinidad. It was printed for the Institute of Race Relations in England (by the Russell Press Ltd.) in 1976.

But, speaking as a member of the Working People's Alliance (the WPA came into existence a year and a half ago as an alliance of four left-wing factions or groups).



The Honourable Linden Forbes Sampson Burnham, O.E., S.C., Prime Minister.

P.N.C. government, it is clear that the energies of the Co-operative Republic of Guyana are to be directed toward the creation of a socialist society, "competent to feed, clothe and house its members individually, or as family groups, a society that is united, self-reliant, egalitarian, culturally rich and vibrant, and economically independent" (*Guyana, A Decade of Progress*, compiled by the Ministry of Information and Culture, Georgetown, December, 1974.)

Yet, poverty presently infests the lower middle class, the workers and unemployed in Guyana, with several thousand people living below the breadline decreed by the United Nations. The economy itself, largely supported by two of the main industries, rice and sugar, is in critical shape.

Despite some of the seemingly progressive moves of the government such as the nationalization of one Guyana's three most important industries, the Demerara Bauxite Company (formerly a wholly owned subsidiary of Alcan-Canada), the government's involvement with the Small Industries Corporation and the Marketing Corporation and its willingness to help Freedom Fighters in Africa, much more is necessary to achieve true equality, social justice and economic rights for Guyana's people. Urgently needed are large egalitarian changes in the educational system, the distribution of property, resources and incomes from work and the location of powers within industry and agriculture. For the most part cultural groups seem to remain largely differentiated and cries against racist government policies grow louder. Charges that Burnham operates increasingly in favour of the Afro-Guyanese at the

## Interview with Walter Rodney

Twenty-three years ago Guyana — then British Guiana — was the scene of direct British intervention to overthrow the administration of Cheddi Jagan, who is still leader of the People's Progressive Party. The PPP has always been a communist, Soviet Union aligned organization. It is due largely to the organizational, educational and propaganda work of the PPP that the political consciousness of the masses in Guyana is so highly developed today. Of course, there have been other more recent radicalizing cultural and political forces. The largest organized parliamentary party opposing the PPP has been the People's National Congress, at present headed by Prime Minister, Forbes Burnham. Compared to the propaganda platform of the PPP, the PNC has always been characterized as the dominant conservative party in Guyanese politics. So that when Burnham and the PNC were manoeuvred into power in 1963 through CIA-admitted intervention and disruption of the elected PPP government, there was widespread disapproval but little real surprise. Further, when in 1968 and 1973 the PNC were seen to rig and manipulate the ballot to get themselves returned, there was again widespread protest but little real surprise, given the corrupt and

repressive practices of the previous PNC government. In 1971 state troops were brought out to put down a protest of workers in the bauxite extraction industry.

And yet, in 1976 the PPP under Jagan is once again in participating parliamentary party in opposition. The ruling party in the Guyanese parliament is still the PNC under Burnham. The policies being energetically pursued by the PNC include virtually all those once pressed by the PPP, and some even more radical than anything ever tabled by the PPP. Before PPP's re-entry into the parliamentary system, which is had boycotted for 3 years, it had been losing members, and some significant personnel had transferred their loyalty to the PNC. So convincing are the moves to some kind of socialism that there is much talk of possible foreign intervention to disrupt present-day Guyanese affairs. Brazilian and Venezuelan troops are said to be massing on the borders. And, most ironic of all, state circles rumour that the USA and its CIA are attempting to disrupt the Burnham government which they themselves helped into power 13 years before. At first glance, all of this new era politics is surprising. But it must be remembered that Burnham began his political career as co-founder of the PPP with Jagan.

In 1966 Guyana was granted independence from direct British rule. In 1970 Guyana was declared a republic. Guyana was to be a cooperative republic, pursuing nationalist-socialist goals. The slogans of the peaceful 'revolution' have been several, perhaps the longest lasting being: 'Make the poor man a real man'. Internationally the government takes a leading role in non-alignment and support of left liberation forces. Internally, the media and public relations propaganda of the Republic is impressive. Citizens address each other as comrade. The state has nationalized and now controls the dominant foreign production activities: firstly, all the bauxite extraction industry, and then in 1976 (to coincide with the tenth anniversary of independence) the state took control of the entire sugar production industry. In order to do this it was necessary to buy-out the single most important monopoly of Guyanese colonialism and neo-colonialism: Booker Brothers.

All this has been accomplished along with significant political, social and administrative reform. (Yet when Walter Rodney was appointed to an academic post by the University of Guyana, he was blocked at high ministerial level from taking up that post. Rodney is a revolutionary socialist intellectual. It can only be assumed that he has been denied the right to work in his homeland because of his reputation as an activist.

## "Cooperative socialism in Guyana"

CP: Jagan and the PPP, who were most clearly against Burnham and for some kind of socialist trans-



# Dal student in Sweden

Stephen Syms, a Masters student in Public Administration, has returned to Dalhousie after spending a year at the international Graduate School in Stockholm, Sweden.

Syms was one of five Canadian students invited to attend the school for the 1975-1976 academic year. He was able to secure a leave of absence from Dalhousie to do so.

The *Dalhousie International* talked to him about his impressions and experiences.

Q. What prompted you to leave for Sweden?

A. I first became interested in the country during my undergraduate years in Winnipeg. We have a bit of a socialist

tradition there, as you know, and Sweden has always been heralded as a model of social and economic reform. I started planning a trip to Sweden about five years ago, although I wasn't sure how I was going to get there. Then I heard about the International Graduate School. It became a launching pad for experiencing the Swedish way of life and learning about the country.

Q. Were you satisfied with the programme at Stockholm University?

A. Ja! Seminars were conducted in English and covered a broad range of topics particular to Sweden. I appreciated the fact that most of the seminar leaders maintained this Swedish orientation. The seminars were really

designed for independent study, which led to criticism for those accustomed to the tradition of "spoon-fed" education.

Q. Any difficulty with the language?

A. Not really. Sweden is virtually a bilingual country and there is always someone around to help you out. There was an introductory Swedish course at the International Graduate School, and you could take this for the whole year if you wished. This certainly helped those who took jobs for the summer. I only completed the introduction, but that did not stop me from getting work or meeting people. I was surprised by the number of people who could speak several languages. It made me think how unrealistic and perhaps petty we Canadians are regarding the French language is our country.

Q. What about jobs and money?

A. I was pretty fortunate in this respect. The Dean of the Programme provided me a contact which led to a six-week job teaching conversational English to fifteen-year-olds in a school. I also played the drums with a Stockholm trio for several months, which was great! Then I got a job as a bartender on a passenger cruise boat. The pay was

around five dollars an hour and no tax deductions. I worked on the boat for six weeks, which gave me enough for the flight home, as well as some memorable evenings with some very close Swedish friends. Toppen!

Q. Sounds like you could have stayed?

A. I almost did. Sweden is certainly an achievement. Unemployment was 1.5 percent when I left. Sure there are gripes, but that is necessary and allowable in any democratic society. For me, it was a living and learning experience. It wasn't all roses, I assure you; there were difficult times but I think that's what made it worthwhile. No doubt I did not get as much out of it as I might have done. But realizing that is part of the value of the exercise. Anyway, Canadians are well received in Europe, so perhaps I had a slight advantage there.

Q. Steve, I am sure there are some Dalhousie students who might like to find out more about the International Graduate School? Whom should they contact?

A. I sure hope people will follow up on this. It is a tuition-free institution, which might be a further inducement to some! They should write to the secretary, Karen Westerdahl at the following address:  
International School for English Speaking Students  
Stockholm University  
Stockholm 104-05, Sweden



Staff for this issue included:

**Editor** Harvey MacKinnon

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formation in Guyana, have now been impressed by Burnham's new state responses. What is your reaction to the regime's new policies? Are these moves towards a dynamic socialist transformation of Guyana?

WR: First of all, I'm not so sure of how impressed the PPP are, and I don't want to speak for them. But I would say that however the PPP evaluates what is going on, their strategy at this stage is for a loose alliance with, and critical support for, the state and the party in power, for three reasons. One is to prevent the possibility of the government backsliding; two, to deepen the socialist content of transformation, and three, to avoid or weaken the possibility of counter-revolution from the right. I have grave doubts about the likely effectiveness of that. My own feeling is that it is a mistake to see the right wing outside the PNC as a particularly important social force for reaction. This is partly for reasons outlined earlier (the lack of the development of the petit bourgeoisie) and also because that section of the petit bourgeoisie which did develop more powerfully here is the Indian sector in commerce and industry, and they have been effectively displaced by the PNC, the policy of statization and the power of the bureaucracy.

The petit bourgeoisie don't represent the same kind of social threat as in a lot of Third World countries. As for preventing the PNC and the government from backsliding and helping to deepen the revolutionary transformation, one has to consider two factors. First, is it not true that the government's apparent move to the left, as is always the case with left opportunism, is a reflection of the strength, organization, mobilization

and consciousness of left forces, rather than a genuine change of heart? So that I don't see support as necessary to deepen the socialist content of any left move.

Further, talk of support and an external right-wing threat tends to obscure the fact that so many elements within the hierarchy of the party are reactionary. I'm not talking about the membership, which is drawn from the same social classes that comprise the whole of Guyana's society — workers, peasants, housewives — but about the leadership. No different from that of any other Caribbean party, it is dominated by the petit bourgeoisie and a few elements recruited from the peasantry or the working class which has become bourgeoisified in the process. The PNC really does incorporate, to my mind, a large proportion of the most reactionary and right-wing elements in the country — groups that used to be in the United Force, groups that used to oppose even the nationalist struggle back in the 1950's. That is not to say that any given individual is incapable of transformation. But we are talking not just of one individual, but of a large number who are clearly representatives of a class which has given no indication, public or private, of any transformation in their world view, their life style or their social objectives.

They are encrusted within the party and the government, they represent the party at the highest level inside and outside the country. Overnight they have been given new slogans to shout and it does amaze me how these slogans don't stick in their throats.

Under such circumstances the threat of counter-revolution lies within the very social force that appears to propound socialism at the moment. They are tied up with a

leadership which is more far sighted in so far as it says to the class, 'our future really lies in making serious readjustments to reality and accepting the socialist position as far as jargon goes, accepting statization and moving towards working alliances with communist countries'. For many members of that class, however, this is a very uncomfortable position because it's historically new, it's fraught with the danger of being trapped in its own rhetoric.

But, speaking as a member of the Working People's Alliance (the WPA came into existence a year and a half ago as an alliance of four left-wing factions or groups), our contention is that, first, what is going on can only be interpreted as one stage in the development of the nationalist revolution, and this must be completely separated from the idea of a socialist revolution. Secondly, the transformation towards socialism must come through the deepening of working-class power and the defence of this class against all others who seek to continue its exploitation either overtly or covertly, and who seek to deprive that class of political hegemony. So that our policy is that of critical exposure rather than support.

We see the necessity to continue to expose the present social formation which dominates the working class and to seek to evolve over the long run some new strategy for self-emancipation on the part of the working masses.

## Economic victimization

CP: Can I turn now to what has happened to you in Guyana, and what your situation now is.

WR: I will try to keep that to just a few sentences because I don't think it's worthwhile posing it as my personal predicament. I applied for a position at the University of Guyana in the usual way. I was granted the position as far as the academic machinery of the University was concerned, but this decision was reversed by the Board of Governors, which is largely government controlled, on the initiative of the government itself or prominent ministers. Since then I have been kept out of the University of Guyana in spite of certain protest locally and abroad. I intend to remain in Guyana as an independent researcher.

Partly I wish to remain as a member of personal preference, to be here with my family and friends, and partly because my situation is not unique. It is part of a very widespread economic victimization which has developed in Guyana. The government consciously uses its control over jobs to discipline and intimidate people. This control is important, firstly, because we are a small, underdeveloped economy with a large unemployed sector — to retain one's job is a matter of life or death. Second, the government, through nationalization with its extension of economic administration has now become the dominant employer. So there is no room for manoeuvre as between one employer and another. Economic victimization is a very real threat in Guyana today to workers at all levels and a real barrier to political mobilization and expression.

This is the aspect I want to emphasize, that today in Guyana the norm of political life is that one must conform to the government in power or run the risk, almost a certainty, of not being given the opportunity to earn. This is important.



Snow has fallen

# A letter from Jerusalem

Mike Greenfield, a former associate editor of the Gazette sends this opinion from Jerusalem, where he is presently studying.

by Mike Greenfield

This winter, for the first time, snow is swirling groundward onto the ancient stones of Jerusalem. It is under this winter sky that man and time are moving toward obtuse futures. The human leaders of center stage countries are attempting to grasp destiny with their own hands, before resorting to the easy trick that supports their majesty: weaponry.

Shiekh, dictators, and Prime Ministers are dancing in small circles, strewing so many catchy phrases into the atmosphere. It is difficult to understand the meaning behind the dancing or discover the real words behind the phrases. Are the small circles about to be broken? Will someone finally move in a straight line? Is all this real or is it just newsprint? Is peace possible?

In the case of the Middle East the absence of fighting does not imply a tolerable situation. From the Israeli point of view, the fear that the achievements of the Zionist movement could be nullified instantaneously by a lifetime's concentrate of hate flooding over the border from all sides, mocks the justification for the revived Jewish State. For the Arab neighbors that today proclaim their drive for peace also admit of their readiness to resume the fighting.

One may, with certain justice, point out that the war the Arab leaders are speaking of would be a limited, territory recovering venture; not a total war of annihilation. But despite all the debatable points it remains a fact that not one of Israel's neighbors has formally recognized her existence. However one might press on that, with all, this is the time for less conservative moves in order to obtain a peace, it is not quite so easy for the one who may be sitting in the cat-bird seat.

Remember, it is just a few short months since the half-century old democracy in Lebanon was

liquidated within a relatively short space of time, pillaged by the very extreme forces that threaten Israel: Syria and the PLO.

However much of these fears may promote a conservative Israeli policy there are growing numbers who

Escape from the political quagmire necessitates imagination and skill. Diplomatic maneuvering is called for. This puts Israel at a disadvantage on a couple of points. While Arab leaders can and do proclaim one thing and mean

another). Except for the city of Jerusalem the conquered possessions have only defensive military value. If the Israelis feel that the Arabs are earnest in their desire for peace then at least the possibility for accommodation exists. And if the PLO is brought to supporting a Jordanian-Palestinian West Bank territory then chances for agreement on this point are also possible.

The key issue is whether or not the Arabs are willing to accept the Jewish State into the Middle East. Those who argue that justice for the Palestinians is the core issue are mistaken or are willing to see the dissolution of Israel. Justice for the Palestinians is certainly a necessity, but as any elemental political philosopher will tell you the concept of justice is created only after people agree that they will live together, and not before. The community of nations must agree on some type of social contract before peace can prevail. The establishment of a Palestinian State as a negation to and not a neighbor of Israel will lead to more war and not peace.

For an answer to the question of Arab-Jewish co-existence one can first look at the situation inside Israel. Many Arabs feel that they have profited from peaceful co-existence and show allegiance to the Israeli state. However, all Arabs are placed in the dilemma of dual allegiance. One Israeli Arab declared in a discussion that he was in full support of a Palestinian State but that he himself would not feel obliged to go and live there. How can the Israeli Arab ever fully feel part of the state if the Arab Nations have conducted a pan-Arab war against Israel for the past 30 years. The solution to this problem is peace.

The blunt arbitration of the club has failed. Neither side can enforce peace with arms.

Rain and slush wash down the streets of Jerusalem. A cold damp wind sweeps through the hills and the valleys, around the ancient walls and the modern hotels. Thousands of miles away, undergoing similar weather conditions, lies Halifax. But how different the climates really are!



Jerusalem in snow,

view this policy as negligent intransigence, a pitfall toward positive diplomacy. The times call for opportunism, and a sluggish Israeli Cabinet, burdened by the legacy of its own stiff backed irresolution, is having difficulty living up to the times.

Statements of seeming moderation from Sadat are going unparried by an Israeli response. Although Sadat's declarations are perhaps not as moderate as they at first seem, their public relations effect is good. Meanwhile, the Israeli image is accentuated as one of obduracy and hawkishness. The danger is in the appearance of an Arab peace offensive and an Israel no-peace defensive.

Israel needs the peace. While older Israelis may feel that peace is not possible in their lifetimes such a prospect to the young is intolerable. Of the more pessimistic youth are many contributors to the significant number that emigrate from this country every year. Some see little future under a lifetime of constant pressure.

another in Israel this sort of equivocation is not considered proper. One feels that each statement made by an Israeli official must be able to withstand the scrutiny of the Parliament and ultimately the vote of the people, an electorate which has always been assumed to be somewhat conservative.

The accurate mood of the electorate was reflected more precisely in a recent survey taken of Hebrew University students. The ruling, Labour Party was not included among the two most popular. Most support went either to the hawkish right wing party of Menachem Begin and Likud, or the newly formed reform party headed by famed archeologist Yigal Yadin, the Democratic Movement for Change. So the center ground of moderation and vacillation received little confidence. Reality reflected this situation when the government just recently dissolved itself, pushing ahead elections to sometime this spring.

Soon all the warring sides will meet at Geneva (in some form or

## Israel provides arms to Chile and South Africa

Liberation News Service

Israel, which in recent years has been the largest recipient of U.S. military aid, has in turn sprouted a booming arms export industry.

Israel exported an estimated \$500 million worth of sophisticated arms to over 20 countries in 1976. Aviation Week, citing U.S. sources, expects the figure will rise over the \$1 billion mark in 1977. This represents a percentage of the Israeli Gross National Product (GNP) that exceeds the arms export percentage of the GNP of the U.S., the world's leading arms exporter.

The arms industry provides Israel with badly needed foreign exchange revenues. In addition, it gives Israel a way to expand its arms producing facilities, thereby lessening its dependence on the U.S. for armaments. In 1976 Israel received over \$2.2 billion in military aid from the U.S.

Much of the Israeli arms trade is surrounded by secrecy. As an Israeli Defense Ministry official explained to a New York Times reporter: "We never discuss who the countries are. Our customers have the privilege of anonymity."

According to press disclosures, Israel has found a lucrative world market, especially among U.S. supported countries which in some instances find it difficult to receive arms directly from the U.S.

South Africa has been the most prominent and controversial example of this practice. In a recently negotiated deal, Israel sold South Africa six long-range gunboats equipped with surface-to-surface missiles. The deal was worth \$150 million. Two dozen Israeli-built Kfir jet fighter planes are also slated for possible future delivery.

Israeli supporters claim that the country's arms trade with South Africa is small compared to arms sales to the apartheid regime by European countries.

However, the Israeli gunboat deal comes close to rivaling the total French arms sale to South Africa from 1965 to 1974, which totalled \$224 million. France has been South Africa's largest arms supplier.

Jennifer Davis, a researcher at the American Committee on Africa, explains that at a time of increasing international isolation of South Africa, Israel has rapidly expanded its trade ties with the apartheid regime, allowing South Africa access to sophisticated technology. Trade between the countries could potentially include Israeli nuclear technology and South Africa has indicated it will supply Israel with uranium in the future.

Israel has also sent army advisers to South Africa to give instruction in counterinsurgency techniques. An Israeli arms producer recently opened a subsidiary in South Africa, and South Africa last year indicated that it will invest in the expansion of the arms industry in Israel.

Both the U.S. and Israeli governments are reluctant to comment on the political significance of the Israeli arms trade. A staff member at the Middle East Research and Information Project (MERIP), however, describes Israel as playing the role of supplier to countries such as South Africa and Chile which the U.S. 'cannot supply' "visibly, easily and openly" without receiving public flak.



Peg Averill