

# The Dalhousie International

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Liberation or Neo-colonialism

## The Fight for Zimbabwe

by Jim Robson

The current preparation for a "negotiated settlement" in Rhodesia must be closely scrutinized if the historical obstacles to full independence are to be understood. The fact that majority rules was eventually conceded by the Smith regime is by no means assurance that Africans will be able to control the direction and orientation of the new state of Zimbabwe.\*

The Most difficult task for the African nationalists currently jockeying for power in Salisbury will be to acquire control over the economy, particularly the industries that provide foreign exchange earnings. In order to make sense out of a complex problem it is necessary to look at the historical roots of underdevelopment in Rhodesia.

### Historical Background

The African people occupying Zimbabwe before the British colonial invasion can be roughly divided into two major groups, the Shona and the Ndebele. Both pre-colonial states contained certain structural weaknesses which enabled the penetration of British colonialism under the leadership of Cecil Rhodes and the British South Africa Company (BSAC). The Matabele state was highly centralized, containing diversified economic activities which ranged from pastoral farming to raiding neighbouring tribes for needed economic goods. In the northern part of Rhodesia the decentralized Shona kingdoms had developed a more advanced type of agriculture and were not dependent on raiding. By 1898 the BSAC had undermined the economic and political institutions of both the Shona and Ndebele people. The Ndebele in particular were robbed of both their cattle and land and were placed on totally inadequate reserves. Their land and cattle were sold to white farmers and speculators. With their only economic resources expropriated these African peasants were forced to sell their labour on the colonial market. In addition, as Giovanni Anrighi, an Italian economist, suggests: "The imposition of Pax Britannica released the labour time (and the means of production) previously allocated by the Shona to the production of the surplus appropriated by the Ndebele (tribute and raids) and to a variety of defense preparations." Labour time became geared to the demands of a white settler economy through coercion and the introduction of the colonial market economy. In fact, as the development of white settler farming and mining grew, the demand for labour increased and both the Ndebele and Shona people gradually became divorced from their traditional subsistence economy. This in turn developed the basis for the division of the economy into European and African areas, in many ways similar to the Apartheid system established by South Africa. The Monis-

\*Zimbabwe is the name Africans have chosen to call the colony of Rhodesia. It is a name rich in historical significance. The ruins of Zimbabwe in southern Rhodesia attest the fact that Africans had advanced civilizations at the time Europeans were entering the Renaissance.

Carter Commission of 1970 made the division permanent while the 1931 Land Apportionment Act transferred 17.5 million acres to white settlers while only transferring 7.5 million to African farmers. Of the land suitable for use in

over the Army and Air Force in December 1963. The British thereafter refused to consider a military solution to the illegal state of Rhodesia.

In a recent book by Martin Loney,

In 1975 alone the Rhodesian government received 60-70 million through trade with the U.S., particularly through U.S. purchase of the strategic material, chromium. Rhodesia accounts for 86% of



forestry, fruit farming and beef production in 1970, 98 percent was controlled by Europeans as was 82 percent of the land suitable for intensive farming.

### The Power Play

Control of land and industry are potentially the most explosive issues in any transfer of power to African majority rule. After generations of appropriating surplus labour and profit from African workers and peasants how much will white Rhodesians be willing to share? If the United States, Western Europe, and Canada contribute to an indemnity fund established to re-imburse whites for any economic losses if they leave Zimbabwe, what favours or pay-offs will these countries expect from the new state of Zimbabwe? The compromising actions of both the United States and Britain must be watched closely to avoid a sell out of the people of Zimbabwe.

Historically, British colonial interests created the conditions for the survival of the settler community and yet at the same time sought to insure that African farmers were integrated into the colonial economy. This antagonistic contradiction between the dominant interests of the colonial metropolis and the white settler community is certainly not a new development. Clashes between Portugal, the People Government of Angola, and the white settler community in Angola eventually led to the repatriation of over 200,000 whites. Similar repatriations have taken place in Zaire and Algeria. The Rhodesian case is different in some aspects. Here the white settler community has taken complete military and political power from the British metropolis. They did this formally through a Unilateral Declaration of Independence (UDI) in November 1965. There was no need to stage a coup d'etat such as the OAS attempted in Algeria because the British had already acquired militarily and gave the settler community control

**Rhodesia: White Racism and Imperial Response,** evidence is given that many leaders of the Rhodesian Air Force and Army did not support UDI and indeed that there was no evidence that the Rhodesian Army would have refused to restore constitutional rule in Rhodesia. Instead the Labour Government of Harold Wilson chose to limit confrontation by using economic sanctions. However, the implementation of sanctions proved to be as impotent as those introduced by the British government against Italy after Mussolini invaded Ethiopia in 1935.

Access through Mozambique (until March 1976) and South Africa continued to buttress the Rhodesian economy. British financial interests in South Africa continued to reap profits from the import-export trade. The British government supplied arms to South Africa which enabled the country to send military forces to bolster the Rhodesian army in their fight against the guerillas of Zanu and Zapu. The interests of British capital were left intact while the British government's equivocal reasoning floundered in the numerous constitutional talks from 1966 to 1972.

### US Interests

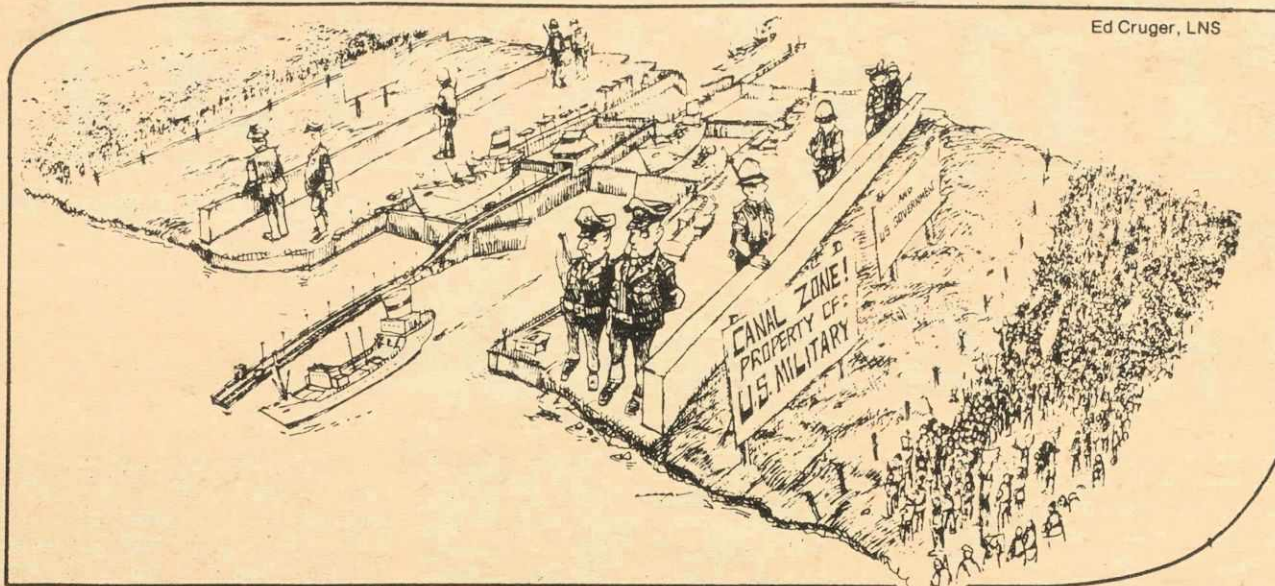
Recent attempts by Henry Kissinger to bring about a "negotiated settlement" will not help bring full independence to Zimbabwe. The United States failure to remain detached from issues in Southern Africa is based on her own selfish economic and strategic motives. In the former case, a large number of American based multi-national firms are actively exploiting African resources in Southern Africa, particularly in South Africa. With the exception of South Africa, the U.S. has done the most to break the economic sanctions established by Britain and the UN.

the world's supply. These mines would probably be flooded in an all out war with the African Nationalists. Hence the U.S. has an obvious concern for the establishment of a negotiated settlement. The strategic interests are related to U.S. interests in the Indian Ocean. Despite the fact that Rhodesia is landlocked, a moderate nationalist government would enable the U.S. more leverage in both monitoring and undermining the socialist governments of Angola and Mozambique.

"Failures" in Mozambique, Angola, and Vietnam have been particularly embarrassing for the U.S. The scuttle-shuttle diplomacy of Henry Kissinger was designed to give the U.S. image a face lifting in Southern Africa just before the 1976 Presidential election. The Kissinger Five point plan contributes nothing to the movement towards independence in Zimbabwe. So Many concessions were made to the Smith regime that a neo-colonial situation seems likely. In the five point program there is no discussion of the distribution of wealth, only an innocuous statement that settler assets will be protected and insured by the advanced capitalist nation of the World. In fact, the main program calls for "massive investment funds into Rhodesia for the development of the country's resources". A cursory glance at the state of economic dependency prevalent in newly independent African nations such as Kenya and Ivory Coast shows the dangers in foreign control of industrial development. Zimbabweans must face this fact and continue to struggle against a U.S.-UN imposed settlement. Concessions and compromises endanger the prospects for liberation.

Those who seek "negotiated" solutions have ulterior motives. The past record of U.S. and UK involvement in Southern Africa speaks for itself.

# Who will control Panama?



by Don Kinseley

The emergence of Panama as a nation in 1903 was closely related to construction of the canal. After the French had tried unsuccessfully to build a canal, the U.S. negotiated a treaty with Colombia -- of which Panama was a province -- to continue the project. The Hay-Herrán Treaty gave the U.S. one hundred years of administrative control over the land required for construction and operation. When the Colombian Senate hesitated to ratify the treaty, a plot to secede was formulated and carried out by a group of Panamanians who feared to lose the canal to Nicaragua. Panama then hurriedly signed an inequitable canal treaty in exchange for U.S. military protection from Colombia.

The treaty was written by neither Americans nor Panamanians. It was a Frenchman who managed to secure the appointment of Panamanian Minister in Washington and who railroaded the treaty through both governments in an incredible display of political maneuvering. The U.S. Secretary of State, John Hay, readily admitted that the terms of the treaty were, "not so advantageous to Panama."

The main issue of contention in the treaty is that it gives the U.S. control in perpetuity over a fifty by ten mile strip of land, "as if it were the sovereign." In effect then, the Canal Zone became a U.S. colony bisecting Panama. This problematic situation has been worsened by the relative opulence which U.S. Zionians enjoy within a small, developing country.

However, it is more than the physical presence that disturbs the Panamanians. At present the U.S. pays a paltry 2.3 million per year in Canal Zone annuities to Panama. Given that Great Britain receives 35 million per year for the U.S. military base in Malta, it is surely an in-

justice to pay one-seventeenth that amount for 550 square miles containing the canal and 14 military bases. Though the U.S. State Department maintains that a substantial proportion of Panama's G.N.P. is derived directly or indirectly from the Canal Zone, it is also true that low tolls have meant that Panama in effect subsidizes world shipping. Moreover, the chief benefactor of these low rates has been the U.S., for nearly 70 percent of the traffic passing through the canal is bound for or coming from that country.

Panamanian resentment of the massive military installations within the Zone is particularly strong. There are some 12,000 U.S. troops currently stationed in the area. There seems to be no justification for this level of military occupation, as virtually all observers agree that defence of the canal is nearly impossible whatever the troop size. One can only conclude that this force serves as a symbol and reminder of overt action such as that taken in the Dominican Republic in 1965.

The most hated of these military bases is that euphemistically called the School of the Americas. It has been the training ground for a number of repressive Latin American regimes and its existence violates the 1903 treaty which authorized only those bases needed for canal defence.

## The Present Era

The January, 1964, antipathy toward the U.S. over the canal resulted in riots in Panama City which left twenty-four dead including twenty-one Panamanians. Diplomatic relations were cut, only to be quickly re-established by President Johnson. By 1967 both administrations had agreed on the terms of a new treaty, which were prematurely made

public, creating a furore in both countries. As a result, the proposed treaty was shelved until General Omar Torrijos came to power following a military coup later in the same year. Torrijos found the document totally unacceptable and proceeded to make the acquisitions of Panamanian control over the canal his political *raison d'être*.

Little progress toward a new agreement was made until 1973, when an incident in the U.N. Security Council recharged the issue. A motion which would have promptly restored sovereignty to Panama was defeated by a U.S. veto. The victory was clearly Panama's however, as the incident attracted much international attention and caused great embarrassment to the U.S. State Department.

The appointment of Ellsworth Bunker as chief negotiator shortly thereafter indicated that the U.S. was serious in working toward a new treaty. Bunker, an experienced elder statesman, is highly respected in diplomatic circles. This appointment set the stage for Henry Kissinger's visit to Panama in February, 1974, when he and Panamanian Foreign Minister Juan Tack signed an eight point statement to serve as a beginning point in any new negotiations. In essence the statement concedes the use of land necessary for canal operations to the U.S. and returns the rest of the Canal Zone to Panama. It also calls for elimination of the perpetuity phrase and provides for modernization of the canal. While many specifics have already been agreed upon, there remains several areas of contention: the duration of the new treaty, the share of economic benefits to each country, the actual amount of land required for canal operation, and an acceptable policy respecting non-discriminatory use of the canal by other nations.

## New and Emerging Developments

Some observers have speculated that Torrijos may not be as ready to gain control of the canal as he says. The Zone issue may be the one that has most solidified his support, but Panama has many pressing problems. As long as the canal remains a national cause, attention is somewhat diverted from deficiencies of Torrijos' rule.

The emergence of the canal as a U.S. political issue will probably delay agreement on outstanding problems. A sizeable group of congressmen have seized the issue as one in which the U.S. is about to give away sovereign territory, said to have been "bought and paid for." Their arguments are largely false as the Zone was never purchased, nor is it sovereign. Such rhetorical campaign proclamations serve only to appeal to the American voters sense of nostalgia. Any new treaty will ultimately require congressional approval, and the outcome of the November elections will give an indication of whether or not that approval is forthcoming.

On the other hand, the U.S. State Department (supported by a portion of Congress and more recently by the business sector) has urged that negotiations proceed toward giving Panama a major responsibility in, if not outright control of the canal. In addition to pointing out that the current treaty is unfair and outdated, the State Department maintains that the canal is of decreasing importance to the U.S. and to the world. Today's sophisticated weaponry has to a large extent negated the strategic significance of a waterway between the Atlantic and Pacific. Most American carriers are too large to even pass through the canal. Changing world shipping routes also make the canal less necessary.

It must be concluded that the conciliatory stance adopted by Kissinger is not the product of altruism, a sense of justice, or realization of the declining significance of the canal. It is based rather on hard economic and political realities. Latin America is united behind Torrijos in the canal dispute. There are a number of possible ways of putting economic pressure on the U.S. to give up the canal. Latin America is an area of extensive U.S. foreign investment, and threats to nationalize industries are likely to have a substantial effect. Panama also has a new economic carrot to dangle before the U.S., with the discovery of what has been referred to as the world's richest copper deposit. An assured supply of copper might figure prominently in a new canal treaty.

In view of this situation it should come as no surprise that U.S. business is allied with the State Department in the effort to negotiate a new and more equitable treaty.

The real aim is not "to demonstrate the qualities of justice, reason and vision that have made and kept our country great," but rather to sacrifice one form of imperialism for the sake of another.

## The staff and contributors for this issue included:

- Keiji Skijama is a Japanese graduate student at Dalhousie
- Mike Clow, author of a book on education, is a Dalhousie political science student.
- Liz Crocker currently works at the Children Hospital; she visited China last summer.
- Lal Singh, is an Indian student presently studying at Dalhousie
- Mike Lynk, a former Dalhousie student, is at McGill this year for graduate work in political science.
- Harvey MacKinnon is a graduate student in sociology at Dalhousie.
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- Don Kinseley is an American student in the School of Social Work.
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## Letters

### To the Gazette:

I was under the impression that the anti-Zionist hysteria which evolved as a result of the infamous United Nations resolution had died down somewhat, but it seems that I was mistaken (your article "A Jewish Alternative to Zionism," September 16, 1976). It was small comfort to note that the article did not originate in Nova Scotia, but was an "import" from the student newspaper at York University in Ontario.

The article, written by a group calling itself "An Alliance of Non-Zionist Jews," exemplifies not only unbelievable ignorance in all matters concerned with Jewish and Israeli history, but, even worse, is based on an international misrepresentation of facts and flimsy statements which are adapted to fit the thesis presented by the authors. There are also photographs of "Israeli brutality" which, even without going into the matter of their authenticity, I would question on their relevance to this seemingly scholarly debate on Judaism and Zionism.

It would not be difficult to disprove all the statements put forth in the article by counter-facts, figures and photographs, but rather than tax the readers' patience, I wish this time, only to comment briefly on the distorted concept of Zionism as expressed by the "learned" writers.

There is no doubt that Zionism evolved, among other things, in order to find a solution to the problem of anti-Semitism. According to the authors of the article the solution should have rather been a "fight against anti-Semitism". However, is it not true to say that this struggle did, in fact, exist for hundreds of years while Jews were in the Diaspora and long before the birth of Zionism? The Zionist movement was born, to a large extent, as a result of the failure of such struggles against anti-Semitism. This failure, as the authors are no doubt aware, was exemplified in no uncertain terms in the Dreyfus and Bailis trials, the pogroms in Eastern Europe in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, and only a little over a generation ago, by the Holocaust in Europe during which six million Jews were slaughtered. History apart, did the

## Revolution

## India on the eve

by Lal Singh

A revolution is coming on the subcontinent. It may take 5, 15, or even 30 years to achieve power. But it will come. Since 1967, all major developments in the region have been concerned, either explicitly or covertly, with that coming thunder.

In a previous article I tried to show how the socioeconomic structure of India developed with the active encouragement of British colonialism: the development of underdevelopment took time and imagination. However, the net result was a country that could not, given the prevailing conditions of the world market, achieve the kind of developmental miracle it needed to secure its independence.

This is one of the hardest facts about India to grasp, with a population so large, with a considerable agricultural and industrial base in absolute terms, with a fairly well-developed state bureaucracy, and with a loud, if impotent voice in world affairs. India since 1947 seems like an independent state. To understand the dynamics of recent development, however, one has to pierce that image and realize that India has been a colonial nation except with indigenous rulers.

## The Roots

The roots of the current crisis lie in the 30 year old interplay of shifting foreign dominance and continued domestic stagnation; and of course, the question of socialism vs. capitalism, the central question of our time, must occupy a prominent place in the discussion.

During World War II the Indian Congress Party acquired the rather powerful patronage of the United States. While verbally the romance revolved around the slogans of freedom and democracy, the United States was not exactly the disinterested champion of morality and justice it claimed to be. American policy in India was merely the logical consequence of their drive to break up the sterling area; the tough bargaining with the British government over financial and material aid for the fight against Nazi Germany showed that even in the midst of a crusade, America could do good business. Thus it was not surprising that with Independence, India gained a new friend, ready with the wheat and the dollars, should the need ever arise. As the whole world knows, the need did arise, and quickly.

When Nehru and the Congress Party came to power, there was a lot of rhetoric about socialism which has continued to this day. Congress built up the state sector of the economy and supposedly enacted land reforms, all in the name of the poor.

Indeed, the initial report of the Congress' Agrarian Reforms Committee, published in 1949, was quite a radical

document. It called for land to the tiller and the commuting of rent in kind to cash. However, by the time the actual legislation was passed and then "implemented", rural vested interests had succeeded in diluting it out of existence. Ceilings on the amount of land one person could hold were circumvented by "redistributing" it to several members of a landlord's family. In some areas, landlords actually **increased** the amount of land they held.

## Pseudo - Socialism

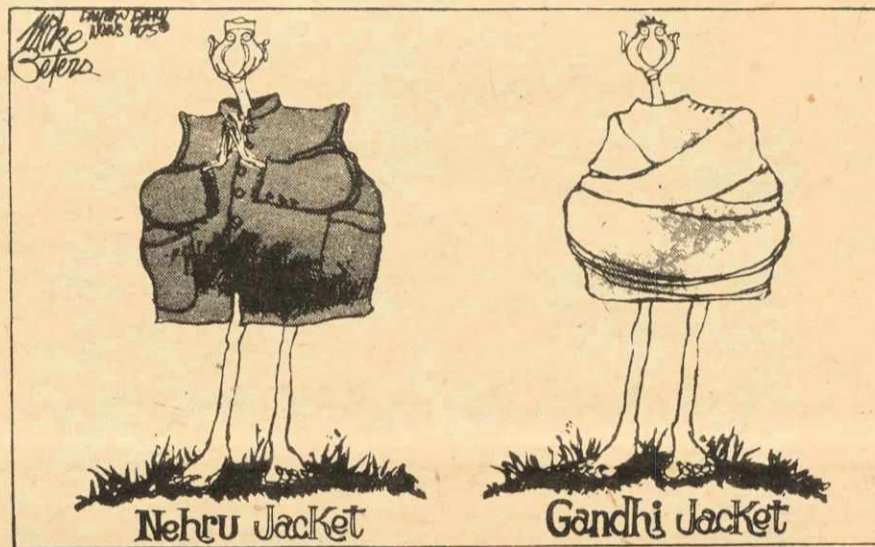
The pseudo-socialism of the Congress can also be seen in their industrial policies. The big Indian industrialists have always had a big say in the formulation of the Five Year Plans. The private sector actually welcomed the large public sector created after Independence; after all, the state generally stepped in only where private enterprise was unwilling to invest, effectively subsidizing the corporations. The net result has been state investment in infrastructural industries, while the private sector has stayed in consumer

deficits that began in the late fifties, India had to turn to foreign "aid". Indian denials to the contrary, foreign private investment had been steadily growing ever since Independence, with American capital gradually displacing the British. Now through the mechanism of government to government aid, the U.S. was able to consolidate its position.

The U.S. was able to step through the door by proffering large amounts of grain as loans. In the early sixties the United States was the Arabia of food production, and, running surpluses of unsold wheat, they were only too glad to buy political influence at such low cost. They "generously" accepted payments for the food in rupees which they deposited in Indian banks. (By the early 70's the U.S. had 40% of India's circulating money supply in their bank account!)

## The "Solution"

With the increasing debt, there was a steady erosion of India's bargaining position vis a vis the debtor countries and the Wise Men of the West in the



Peters, Dayton Daily News

goods and enjoyed profit rates among the highest in the world. According to the Reserve Bank of India, gross profits rose by 65% during the first plan, and by 42% and 55% during the second and third plans respectively. On the other hand, wages of factory workers earning less than Rs 200 (\$23) per month showed almost no improvement from 1951-64. It is small wonder that industrial unrest has been increasing as a result of that kind of "socialism."

The result of the failure of land reforms was that the overall growth of the economy began to slow. Agricultural production lagged behind industrial production, savings and investment fell, exports dropped, and the downward cycle of devaluations began.

With the series of balance of payments

International Monetary Fund. Thus, what little foreign exchange was earned went back to the West to service the debt, foreign aid was increasingly tied to specific infrastructural projects, while pressure from the U.S. government and "persuasion" from the World Bank led to a relaxation of many controls on foreign investment for the highly profitable private sector. While the problem was initially one of capital shortages rather than food *per se*, as the economic crisis deepened with the increasing burden of the foreign debt, food did become a problem. By the time the famines started in 1965-66, the U.S. was in a position to dictate its "solution" to the food crisis.

Basic to most analyses of the food question is the assumption that the lag in

aspects of human endeavor.

This, incidentally, meant also the creation of new Jewish farming and working classes. Indeed, it is in "reactionary" Israel rather than among the "salon leftists" that these classes were created as well as the unique forms of cooperative and collective settlements exemplified in the moshav and the kibbutz.

Zionism was and remains among the most humanitarian national movements. From its inception it did not come to the Land of Israel to uproot someone -- there was enough room for both Jews and Arabs alike -- but rather to join together in building. From its inception it desired to reach a compromise with its Arab neighbors and was ready to accept minimalistic programs. Unfortunately, the position of the Arab world for more than 50 years was one of absolute non-recognition of the rights of Zionism and a war to the end against it. Israel's policy since its independence was to attempt to reach peace through discussion with its Arab neighbors on the basis of mutual recognition and to solve all the outstanding problems. The answer was invariably hostility and threats of annihilation.

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agricultural development within the Third World is a product of the unfortunate but inevitable circumstances of population. Due to the seemingly technological nature of the crisis, the West claims that the political duty of nations like India is to emulate the productive techniques and social relations of the advanced sector. That was the whole rationale behind the imposition of the Green Revolution on the Indian peasantry.

However, India's food problem is not a problem of population, as is widely believed. France, for instance, has a ratio of arable land to population similar to India's yet her grain production tripled from 1955-67, far greater than **anyone's** population increase. The reason lies in the heavy use of fertilizers and machinery.

## Capitalist Roadblock

The Green Revolution was an attempt by the American and Indian governments to foster just such a form of agriculture. The problem, however, was that while population was not a roadblock capitalist economics is; since the program was capital intensive when India is labour abundant, the net result was an even further penetration of U.S. capital, especially in the petrochemical-fertilizer industries. There were indubitably immense increases in production, but the benefits of these flowed only to a small minority since only large scale farmers could afford the inputs in machinery and supplies. As an example, I remember one highly educated gentleman who had a 100 acre farm, a house in Delhi, house in the Village, and one for the summer in the mountains: because he knew how to talk and to whom, he was receiving a grant from the U.N. to boost production! Not exactly your average starving peasant. On the other hand, thousands of middle peasants have been driven into landlessness. Thus the very people who suffer most from the food crisis and for whom the Green Revolution was supposedly made now don't have the incomes to pay for the food. Grotesquely, while production has increased so too has starvation.

I have not talked about the Soviet Union's penetration of the Indian economy primarily because its presence is much more obvious to the world. Recently it has been growing at a very fast rate, though the U.S. is still the dominant power economically. Politically, however, the U.S.S.R. has a considerable advantage over the U.S. in that their relations with the Indian State are better, primarily because they can offer it a facade of socialism to present to the masses.

In the final analysis, the competition between various foreign powers is a secondary question. The major one is the speed with which the peasantry takes up active resistance against the daily poverty, hunger, humiliation and physical violence of the present order. The capitalist world has tried every strategy possible in order to avoid agrarian. Now the Gandhi regime has even begun the fascistic program of forced sterilization, an equally futile gesture.

A hundred formulas and stratagems from Harvard and MIT and Princeton have had their day and failed. For over 30 years, the Indian ruling classes have grown financially more bloated, politically more cynical, and morally more bankrupt. In the last decade, however, the peasant masses have begun to have their say. Indeed, there are now hundreds of Hunans all over the subcontinent; the Indian people will eventually have their Yenan as well. It is in response to that coming storm that Indira Gandhi declared her martial law.

Part Two of a Series

In the first part of this series the author analysed the roots of the current crisis in India. He attributes the problem to the feudal agricultural system and not population. He questions the actual democracy before Gandhi's declaration of emergency and outlines how the current form of feudalism is reinforced by foreign capitalism. This article describes what will happen to the 4000 year old civilization "on the verge of collapse" - Editors Note.

authors not consider Jewish communities in less enlightened countries? Have they not heard of 3 million Russian Jews whose rights are being denied them and have they not heard of the Jews living in Arab countries who are virtual prisoners? Furthermore, even if there is no longer official anti-Semitism in the enlightened countries, can we honestly say that it does not still exist in one way or another? And does the "struggle against anti-Semitism" solve the problem of the **individual or family** which is effected? The authors' comments can only be received with disdain by the hundreds of thousands of Jews who found in Israel simply a haven from persecution, a chance to start life anew as equal citizens in every way. What are the authors' suggestions to them -- perhaps to return to the countries from which they came and to "struggle" against anti-Semitism?

The view of Zionism as based solely on the solution of the problem of anti-Semitism is also rooted in ignorance. Historically, Zionism was founded simultaneously with other nationalist movements in Europe on the identical desire to create an independent, national

life rooted in a homeland. (Perhaps it would have been better had Zionism been called Jewish nationalism and then we would have been spared much of the current misunderstanding. However, due to the centrality of Zion-Jerusalem in the lives of the Jewish people this name was chosen.) The difference between Zionism and other nationalist movements was perhaps that with the others even if there was no national independence the nations actually occupied their homeland and there was little danger of disappearance. With the Jewish people, dispersed among the nations and threatened not only by anti-Semitism, but by all-out assimilation, the question was simply that of national survival. The survival instinct is as strong in the nation as it is in the individual -- and clearly the Zionist movement offered a relevant solution. I don't know what Judaism means for the non-Zionist Jews, but for many others, Judaism was equated with a strong national-religious identity, worth preserving. Many understood and understand yet that only in a Jewish state is it possible to live a full national life and develop a Jewish culture encompassing all

# A visitor's view Health Care in China

by ELIZABETH J. CROCKER

At the time Elizabeth J. Crocker, MEd, visited China and wrote this article, she was Research Associate at the Atlantic Institute of Education, Halifax, N.S., Canada

Seventeen days does not sound like a very long time, but the 17 days last summer (summer 1975) that I spent in the Peoples' Republic of China added up to one of the most profound experiences of my lifetime. Not only did I have the opportunity to travel through some of the vast and beautiful countryside of China and the chance of visit schools, factories, communes, hospitals, homes and places of historical and cultural importance, I also had the opportunity of talking with Chinese people and learning from them about the significant changes that have taken place in China in the last 25 years.

But let me back-track for a minute and tell you how it came to pass... Last winter I noticed a newspaper clipping saying that an education professor at a nearby university was organizing a trip to China. One thing led to another and my husband and I applied for visas. The visa applications were accepted and we, along with 28 others, were on our way billed as the "Acadia University Educational Tour Group." The majority of the people in the group were school or university teachers; the group also included an artist, a nurse, a librarian, a housewife, a retired banker, and a lawyer. We knew we would see some schools and universities in China, but we were also told (a) that we would see many other

**"Chinese children had become the most mentally, physically, and psychologically healthy children in the world."**

general places of interest and (b) that we could make special requests regarding personal interests on an individual basis.

## Overview

While in China, we visited Peking, the capital of the Peoples' Republic; Shanghai, the largest city in the world with a population of ten million people Hang-chow, a beautiful "resort" city just south-west of Shanghai; and Kwangchow, formerly called Canton and for years China's center for foreign trade. We traveled by plane, train, and bus and always had six interpreters with us. Our days usually began with a visit somewhere by 8:30 or 9:00 A.M. and often visits were scheduled into the nights. When we had free time, we were able to go wherever we wished; no restrictions were placed on our activities and we were only prevented from taking pictures from planes. In every sense of the word, we were treated royally by our Chinese hosts. We were impressed constantly by their patience, their honesty, and their dedicated efforts to try to meet all our requests and wishes.

## Health Care - Past/Present

As a whole group, we visited a clinic on a commune where we met and talked with "barefoot doctors," a large general hospital in Shanghai where we saw two operations using acupuncture anesthesia as well as the hospital's orthopedic unit, an urban residential area's clinic, and a high school in Peking where we saw students working in a "health care workshop" learning both acupuncture and how to grow and prepare over 200 kinds of traditional medicines. By special request, I was also able to spend a full afternoon at the Peking Children's Hospital and another full afternoon having a private interview with a leading pediatrician in Kwangchow.

As a general introduction, one can only say that the Chinese have made huge strides in the quality and quantity of their medical treatment and delivery of their health care during the last 25 years. In the first half of this century the infant mortality rate in China was 200 per 1000 live births; it is now 15 to 25 depending on whether one is referring to an urban or rural area. The average life span used to be 28 years of age; it is now 70. Infectious diseases such as the plague, smallpox, diphtheria, cholera, typhoid, and polio took heavy tolls each year as did malnutrition and worm

infestation; now mass sanitation and immunization campaigns have either completely eliminated these diseases or brought them under control.

W.A. Scott, who lived in China from 1930 to 1950, paints a striking picture of China's past in his comments on his return visit in 1965: "I searched for scurvy-headed children. Lice-ridden children. Children with inflamed red eyes. Children with bleeding gums. Children with distended stomachs and spindling arms and legs. I searched the sidewalks day and night for children who had been purposely deformed by beggars...I looked for children covered with horrible sores upon which flies feasted. I looked for children having a bowel movement, which after a strain, would only eject tapeworms. I looked for children slaves in alleyway factories. Children who worked 12 hours a day, literally chained to small press punches. Children who, if they lost a finger, or worse, often were cast into the street to beg and



Yang Tsui-ping (left) visits a young mother at home with pointers on how to take care of herself and her newborn baby.

forage in garbage cans for future subsistence."

But Mr. Scott did not find the Chinese children he remembered from the past; instead he found that, in his own words, "Chinese children had become the most mentally, physically and psychologically healthy children in the world." I, too, would concur with Mr. Scott's findings - certainly Chinese children look alert, clean, healthy, and extremely physically fit. The quality of maternal and child health in China bears no resemblance to what it was over 25 years ago and what I saw and learned of health care in China gives some indication as to how these phenomenal changes have come to pass. □

## A Community Clinic

The Nan Yuan People's Commune that we visited outside of Peking has a population of 40,000. Within this commune there are several clinics as well as a hospital. The clinics are staffed by "barefoot doctors"—people who have been identified and selected by their peers to receive several months of medical training—spaced over a few years. These "paramedics" are able, after initial months of training, to identify and treat minor problems. They also prescribe selected herbal and western medicines, give acupuncture treatments, provide birth control information and devices or pills, and carry out pre- and post-natal instruction. One of their roles is to teach hygiene and give inoculations; it was interesting to note a large poster advocating immunization against tuberculosis on the wall of the local grocery store. These "barefoot doctors" do work in the clinic as well as go from house to house; they also do their share of the work in the fields and so do not have a different status within the commune.

Communes have low-cost co-operative medical care systems enabling all people to financially afford health care; the average cost for this co-operative program is \$1.00 per year per person or family. Within the boundaries of this commune

there are 200 "barefoot doctors" which mean a ratio of one to every 200 members of the commune. Given that 80 percent of China's population lives in rural areas, there has been an effort to put the stress on the rural areas with the evolution of "barefoot doctors" and co-operative medical programs. This accessibility at a primary-care level has contributed to the increased health of Chinese people; before, people in rural areas had no access to health care and now there is access, both geographically and financially.

## A High School Workshop

At the Peking No. 15 secondary school, we were surprised to see students learning acupuncture, tending herbal gardens and making traditional medicines. This practical work is part of what going to school in China means; all students must do some work in a workshop or factory and this one just happened to be a health care workshop.

that the average salary in China is \$28.00 a month and that rent is less than five percent of one's salary, the costs would be absorbable — another example of the financial accessibility of health care in China.

## Peking Children's Hospital

My visit to the Peking Children's Hospital had been arranged in response to a special request I had made to one of our guides and it was overwhelming from several points of view. We (three of us plus our guide) were given a briefing about the hospital by a leading pediatrician and a head nurse and then taken on a tour. On every floor there was a blackboard inscribed with colourful Chinese characters saying "a warm welcome to our Canadian friends"; we were moved by this touch of hospitality.

The Peking Children's Hospital was founded in 1955, is for patients up to 14 years of age, and has 600 beds. Other general hospitals in Peking also have pediatric beds. The amazing thing is what a change this represents. Prior to 1949, there were only 25 pediatric beds in all of Peking and they

**No longer must one be very rich and very sick to receive help.**

were in a private, expensive hospital. Now, not only have the number of beds increased, but also a heavy emphasis has been placed on preventative and ambulatory care. For example, the Outpatient Clinic at the Peking Children's Hospital see between 2000 and 3000 children each day. Further, the hospital medical staff go out into the communities and provide direct preventative service in schools and homes. No longer must one be very rich and very sick to receive help.

The admitting complaints at the PCH are similar to what we experience in North America: diarrhea in the summer, pneumonia in the winter. Gone are the children described by Mr. Scott. We saw children with arthritis being treated in physiotherapy, children with various medical problems on the inpatient units and children being treated in the acupuncture clinic for things like enuresis, headaches and hyperkinesis. There is a playroom on most units where the nurses supervise play activities; children are encouraged to keep up with their schoolwork. The visiting hours (disappointing to me) were only three times a week because "of danger of infection". Although I found the physical environment dull in terms of visual stimuli, I was assured that children receive a great deal of attention and stimulation from the staff. Given the huge strides the Chinese have made just in terms of providing extensive and accessible health care, it would not be fair to fault them for lack of coloured paint and mobiles.

While on the neonatal unit of the Peking Children's Hospital, I stood and looked at a three-day-old baby girl for a few minutes and I was struck by how different things will be for her. She was spending her first days of life in a hospital, warm, fed and cared for. She would be able to grow and develop without the fear of famine and plagues. She would be assured, ultimately, of work; she would not be barred from any occupation because of her sex (85 percent of the staff of PCH are women). How different this is from the days when girl babies were sometimes killed because girls were not considered to be important; when masses of children died of starvation and disease; when women stayed home with bound feet and were viewed as unable to make a contribution to society.

## Kwangchow—Dr. young

Again by special request, I was able to have a three-hour private interview with a leading pediatrician from the Chung Shan Medical College of Kwangchow. This was a very rich experience and to report it fully would take an article in itself. Our conversation was wide-ranging and covered the following topics:

1. The organization of hospitals, by specialty, in Kwangchow;
2. Visiting policies of the Children's Hospital;
3. Administrative structure of the medical schools and its affiliated hospitals, e.g., who makes decisions about what;
4. Psychosocial approaches used with children with chronic diseases;
5. Incidence of mental retardation;
6. Abortion;
7. Pre- and post-natal care;
8. Incidence of and approaches to psychiatric problems;
9. Training of health professionals.

I think one of the things that was particularly delightful about the interview was that it seemed to be a true "exchange" of ideas — not always my questions being answered, but questions and

discussions coming from both Dr. Young and myself.

One of the interesting things I learned from Dr. Young is that the visiting policies for parents, when children in Kwangchow are hospitalized, are

very flexible. Parents are encouraged to stay overnight and children without parents staying or regular visitors are assigned a "special nurse" who maintains consistent contact.

Dr. Young also talked about the general level of



Jen Nai-hsiu giving kindergarten children a regular checkup.

very different from those in Peking. The visiting hours in all hospitals affiliated with the Chung Shan Medical College are "Daily from 3-7; Sunday 10-12 and 3-7; two visitors at a time". He added, however, that siblings can visit. If a class of students visit, the rule "two at a time" becomes

pre- and post-natal care for mothers. He explained that because both the quality and quantity of care has improved so drastically, the incidence of congenital deformities and/or retardation has dropped drastically. Parents are visited in their homes after the birth of a child and are shown how

## A personal account

# Two sides of earthquakes

by Chal Chu Thompson

"A bad thing can be turned into a good thing", Mao Tse Tung once said.

The philosophy of dialectical materialism has become the common viewpoint of people in China today. It seems that the Chinese can always see two sides of everything.

An earthquake which registered 7.5 on the Richter scale in Tan-Shang and 5.3 in Peking was certainly a bad thing for those affected. Many died and many more were injured. Heavy damages were also suffered by buildings, and by whole industries. On the other hand, all kinds of heroic relief work was carried out immediately by the People of Tan-Shang, Tien-Tsin, Peking and all other parts of China. The Chinese Slogan for this is: "If one corner is in difficulty, then eight corners will support!" The spirit of self-sacrifice and brotherhood spread to all corners of China in an effort to rebuild the damaged areas.

As an overseas Chinese travelling in China and experiencing the earthquake in Peking, I was deeply moved and impressed by the Chinese people's selflessness and their orderly social organization.

Miracles occurred, such as in the case of the coal mine where 10,000 miners were trapped and rescued and the railway lines that were broken and damaged both of which started to function again only 10 days after the earthquake.

China was determined to repair all the damage by her own effort. She refused all international aid, but was grateful for the offer and the messages of sympathy and moral support which were sent from all over the world.

Medical workers rushed to Tan-Shang from all directions. Materials were brought to Tan-Shang from all parts of the country. The People's Liberation Army worked day and night, rescuing fellow citizens and repairing damage. Workers in Shanghai decided to produce more to make up the loss that Tan-Shang suffered.

I would like to tell you a little more of my personal experience during the time of the earthquake.

On the morning of July 28th, around 3:40 a.m., I awoke from a dream. I was dreaming of riding in a train, a train that stopped suddenly... and then I woke up. I saw lightning across the sky

and knew that I was actually lying in bed in the Peking Overseas Chinese Hotel. I felt the hotel rocking and realized it was an earthquake, not a dream!

Then, I heard our travel guide tell us all to go downstairs. So we all got dressed and went down. There was a crack in the ceiling and a broken



RESIDENTS SPENDING NIGHT ON STREETS  
A gigantic refugee camp.

water pipe on the 5th floor, where we were staying. However, when I returned to the room about an hour later to get some of my belongings, I found the dust had been swept away and the water pipe had already been fixed.

We stayed out all day and all night in a bus, for there were many aftershocks. That night, our travel guide and our bus driver stayed with us in the bus. Our travel guide brought her knitting. She knitted all night to keep herself awake in order to look after us!

to best care for their child and how to play and stimulate the infant.

## Summary

We in the Western Hemisphere can learn a great deal from what China has done regarding health care and how it has happened. The Chinese believe sincerely in the slogans "Serve the People",

**The average life span used to be 28 years of age; it is now 70.**

"Put the emphasis on prevention", and "In health work, put the emphasis on the rural areas", and they work very hard at applying the spirit of these slogans in practical ways. I think that perhaps the Chinese have shown that by putting people and prevention first, progress in health care can be made without a great deal of medical specialization and sophisticated technology.

I have been home now for six months. While I realize there's also a great deal that perhaps the Chinese can learn from us, I sincerely hope that we in North America will begin to take the posture that we can and should be open enough to learn from the progress and successes of other countries. And I keep thinking about that baby girl in the new-born unit of the Peking Children's Hospital... have we done as much in the last 25 years?

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There was anxiety and confusion among the tourists. However, when we looked around, we were very surprised to find that the residents of Peking were unbelievably calm and organized. □ They all moved out to stay on the side-walks of Peking's streets. It started to rain: first they used umbrellas; later they made temporary water-proof shelters. First they brought out little stools; later they brought out chairs, single beds, double beds and dining tables and began to live outside. We were told that the neighborhood committees and their leaders organized their own little units and looked after them. We saw older ladies putting babies to bed, small children playing card games and chess. No noise, no complaints from any one just as though this was a normal part of their life!

We left Peking in the evening of July 29th. All the residents of Peking were still outside. In fact, they stayed out for the next two weeks.

In Changzhou, I was talking to a group of young Chinese-Japanese and telling them about the earthquake in Peking. They were sorry that they would not be able to see the capital on this trip. Their guide did all the translation for me (from Chinese to Japanese). Later he asked me if I knew how seriously Tien-Tsin was damaged. I replied that I did not know, but I thought it must have been quite serious, for it is very close to Tan-Shang. The guide then told me that his wife and children live in Tien-Tsin. I immediately felt sympathy and respect for him.

I looked at this calm face and asked "Did you try to phone and find out how your family are?" He replied "No," and added, "Just as you have said, at a time like this we can only rely on the people and mass organizations. Even if I did go home now, it would not make much difference anyway."

After this he continued to translate for us, and we knew he was right. In Shanghai we saw many exhibitions around the theme of scientific knowledge of earthquakes and methods for their prediction. The theatres were showing movies on earthquakes. Modern China is indeed relying on her people to fight natural calamities as well as to prevent them. Yes, the earthquake was a bad thing for the Chinese people in the short-term. However, the experience has been an educational event for the people of the world.

Oxfam - Canada

# Bringing it all back home

by Eleanor MacLean

Where is the Third World? In Senegal, Bangladesh, Cape Breton or the North-West Territories?

OXFAM-CANADA is a private, non-profit organization that asks this sort of question often.

It funds development projects both in Canada and in its main areas of concentration — Southern Africa, the Caribbean, the Latin American Andean region, the area of East India and Bangladesh, and Native Peoples (including Canada). The aim of these projects is to combat underdevelopment by creating or assisting local self-help projects.

Canadians who watch TV or read newspapers know what the results of underdevelopment look like — poverty, malnutrition, disease, illiteracy, unemployment, unhealthy and unsafe housing, complete vulnerability in times of natural disaster. But few people have been encouraged to determine what the causes of these problems are.

The basic causes of underdevelopment are complex, but one thing is certain: they have a lot to do with the way the richer countries like Canada control the world's trade and resources.

So OXFAM-CANADA proceeds on two fronts.

## Projects

On the one hand, it continues relief and supports development projects in the fields of agriculture, nutrition, medicine, literacy and community development. Thus it works to eliminate the results of underdevelopment. The projects that are chosen must be able to be copied and adapted easily by other communities in the area, and they must be based on

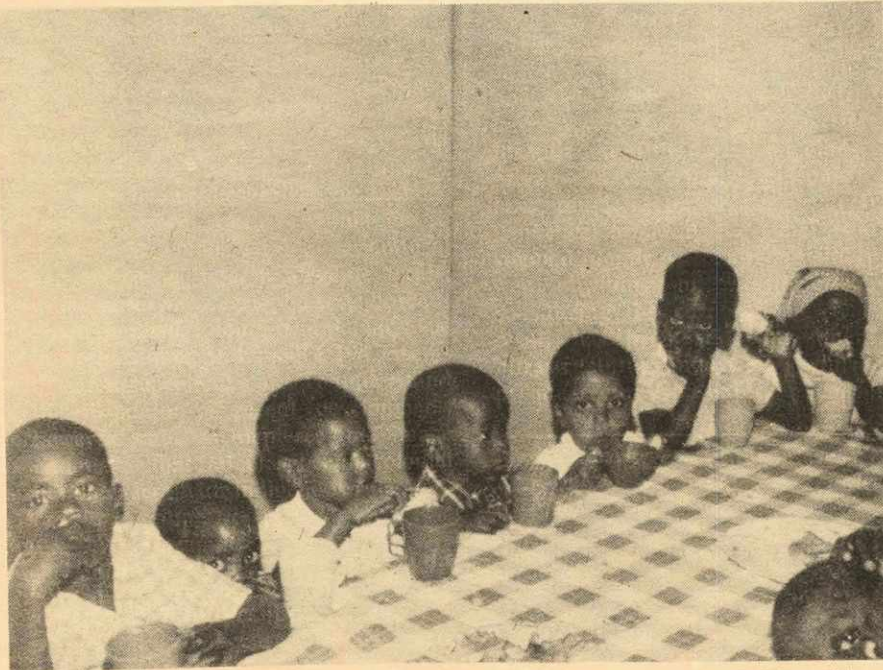
community action and a technology appropriate to that area.

## Mozambique - an example

OXFAM-CANADA projects for Mozambique, Angola, Cape Verde - Guinea-Bissau are good examples of this policy. Speaking recently to an information meeting on Southern Africa, Judith Marshall, Programme Development officer for OXFAM-CANADA in Southern Africa, described projects approved for

first time, schools are open to all Mozambican children (formerly only 12% could attend). All the textbooks are being revised so that emphasis is now on teaching the children the importance of establishing sound rural communities with productive farmlands. OXFAM-CANADA has approved funding for such a project.

"The new texts teach the young the extreme value of agricultural develop-



End of the Independence Celebration "treats" for school children in Maputo, Mozambique, June 1976.

newly independent Mozambique, still in the process of reconstruction after colonial wars. Since independence, education policies have changed. For the

ment in the overall achievement of attaining self-reliance in their country. The government hopes to turn out literate farmers", Judith commented.

## Northwest Territories

As part of its work with Native Peoples, OXFAM-CANADA has funded the Indian Brotherhood of the Northwest Territories for work on land claims. OXFAM-CANADA contends that the native peoples of Canada constitute developing communities with very much in common with those that are being helped overseas. If the problems are similar, perhaps the solutions should be as well. Economic poverty — which is the Dene's [Indians] present lot — causes the even more serious problem of political poverty. The Dene know that within a private enterprise economy such as Canada's, the only way to secure their own participation as equals in it is to own property.

## Local issues: The Price of Fish

On the other hand, a very important part of OXFAM-CANADA's work involves education — making Canadians more aware of this country's role in shaping the economies and politics of other countries; making Canadians aware of how their own country can be developed and "underdeveloped" at the same time.

The recent play, "What's That Got to Do With the Price of Fish?", is an example of how OXFAM-CANADA has attempted to realize these educational objectives. Created and performed by the Mimmers Theatre Troupe of Newfoundland and produced by OXFAM-CANADA's St. John's Committee and the Resource Foundation, the play opened in Sydney and Halifax, Nova Scotia, and ended its tour of Canada in Vancouver in mid-summer. It has just finished playing in St. John's to capacity audiences.

An evening of songs, skits and comical anecdotes about the not-so-comical history of Newfoundland since Confederation, the play looks at politicians, carpetbaggers from abroad, industrial tycoons and strategies that were supposed magically to improve their lot and make them Canada's "Happiest Province".

For those who have seen the play, the question, "Where is the Third World?" becomes "What can we do about the inequalities suffered by the people who actually live behind our sub-heads and categories of 'Third World', 'Regional Disparity', 'Cultural Minority'?"

## Local activities

For the Martimes, OXFAM-CANADA has 2 staff people in Halifax who are involved in education programmes and in fund raising for development projects. Education activities make use of DEV-ERIC, OXFAM-CANADA's educational branch in the region, which consists of one part-time staff person, a library and news clipping service, and audio-visual and curriculum materials. Staff and volunteers have conducted workshops and public meetings on such issues as Food, Canadian Aid Overseas, Underdevelopment in Canada, and are ready to work with students, teachers and community groups on suggested issues.

The newly reconstituted Halifax-Dartmouth local OXFAM-CANADA committee is looking for interested volunteers for their programme for this year. OXFAM-CANADA's Third World Crafts Shop on Barrington Street, another branch of the organization, is run by volunteers. It aims to provide a fair market for products of Third World co-operatives, to educate Canadians about conditions in developing countries, and to offer them an alternative to the system of mass production and mass consumption.

Anyone interested in doing work with the local committee in any of its various activities can contact:

Mike MENARD or Eleanor MacLEAN  
at: OXFAM-CANADA  
1539 Birmingham Street  
Halifax  
Phone: 422 - 8338

# Spiritualism in Japan

by Keiji Akiyama

To many Western observers, Japan seems a strange, almost an incomprehensible country. The travel editor of "Saturday Night" magazine, who visited Japan in 1975, reported his sense of shock at discovering a persistent juxtaposition of Western and traditional Japanese images: the Shirto shrine just a few yards away from a MacDonald's hamburger stand in Kyoto's pedestrian shopping district; the grandmother in a kimono walking in Tokyo's Ginga with her granddaughter, the latter wearing an American football jersey and blue jeans.

It seems odd to me that he should find such situations and events so very strange. Nobody remarks upon the bizarre conduct of a Frenchman who eats with chopsticks in a Chinese restaurant in the Champs D'Elysee. Nobody is taken aback by the sight of a Canadian girl in a poncho and snow boots. In the same way, in Japan it is now regarded as natural to eat at a MacDonald's hamburger dressed in a football jersey and sitting on straw mats in a room with paper windows. After all, Canadians may drive a Japanese car. They may sit back in their rocking-chair in their carpeted living-room and watch their favorite programme on their Japanese colour T.V.

Daily life is influenced by rational principles, which lead people to do whatever seems to be convenient, preferable and economical. Mixing various components from different cultures is often the best way to achieve to this principle.

In spite of this cultural blend so evident in modern Japanese life, certain events unique to that country continue to occur. These point to a spiritual framework that is often only dimly perceived and understood by outsiders. Indeed, many Japanese themselves express a certain bewilderment in the face of such happenings.

As an example, in the fall of 1970, Mishima, a world-famous novelist who was in the running for a Nobel Prize, trespassed on the grounds of the Defence Dept. His intention was to inspire certain officers to carry out a coup d'etat. When

he found no allies, he killed himself in the ceremonial manner, Seppuku. By this method, one cuts open the abdomen with a sword.

There was another 'strange' incident in 1974. A soldier belonging to the Imperial Japanese Army was discovered on a small island in the South Pacific. He had been in a state of military readiness for more than twenty-seven years.

A clue to the motives behind these actions can be found in the spiritual context of Japanese life. Perhaps the most outstanding and illuminating book of those that attempt to explain such phenomena is "lki no loozo" (the structure of lki) by Shyuzo Kuki. The major thesis of Kuki's book is that many words are untranslatable across cultural lines. They may have entirely different connotations in different languages, and their meaning may be reduced through translation.

Kuke chose to analyse the word "lki" as a way of exploring and elucidating the traditional Japanese spirit. The closest meaning to lki in English are found in the words 'stylishness', 'smartness' and 'dapperness'. However, these can account for no more than one-third of the meaning that a Japanese person would read into the three letter word, 'lki'. To them it contains the sense "beauty of life".

Structurally, 'lki' consists of three components, according Kuki's analysis. These are 'lkiji', 'Teikan' and 'Bitai'. Lkiji implies a deep commitment to life and is a certain philosophy of life. One lives by one's own implicit or explicit values. The second component, 'Teikan', is close to the English word 'renunciation'. It may involve unhesitant sacrifice in the face of duty. Social status, wealth, family and even life itself can be willingly given up by those in whom this concept or ideal is embedded.

At first sight, it seems that 'Ljiki' and 'Teikan' are mutually exclusive, or at least contradictory to one another. However, 'Teikan' exists only in so far as it is based on the premise of 'Ljiki'. For the sake of life, one must throw away contradictions in life, even if being alive is itself the

contradiction. It would be meaningless to throw something away for its own sake alone.

The third component of 'Lki', i.e. 'Bitai', is concerned with appearances and attitudes. The aim is both to attack and to impress others by one's actions. One looks at oneself through the eyes of others and assesses the effect on them.

Synthesis of these three complex concepts in the activities of daily life requires extreme self-discipline, both internal and external. If beauty is an art, and art is created by human, then the beauty of life is also subject to human creation and control. It is by using this logic that Kuki could assert that "Lki" means 'beauty' of life!

The operation of this cultural value-system was further demonstrated by the behaviour of the famous "Kamikaze" pilots during the second World War. They deliberately committed suicide in their attack on the enemy, after filling their gas tanks for a one-way journey. Their actions have often been explained by reference to Emile Durkheim's theory of a form of alternistic suicide stemming from great social solidarity. However, solidarity was not demonstrated in this way by the pilots of their countries involved. Kamikaze was not mandatory for Japanese pilots, but resulted from their own attitudes towards what they saw as their duty. One such pilot left behind a letter for his mother and friends:

Mitsuo Mazuda, Navy Sergeant, 22 years old.

Mother, I apologize for my selfishness and the trouble I have caused. However, I am Mitsuo of the great Japanese Navy, and I am going to prove myself worthy to be your son. Although I grew up in a poor family, I believe my sincerity and loyalty to equal that of others. I shall be happy if what I do helps to defeat the enemy. I feel that painful burden of my responsibility.

Living eternally in the Pacific Ocean, I shall try my best until victory is ours. Thank you, mother. Thank you so much, friends and neighbours..."

continued on page 7

# An innocent in South Africa

by David Wegenast

The concrete effects of Apartheid are noticeable immediately upon stepping off the plane in Johannesburg. There are separate washrooms, cafeterias and lounge areas for whites and non-whites. In the city beyond, this segregation reaches more ludicrous proportions, for there you'll notice separate taxi-cabs, phone booths and even Post Office wickets!

As a seaman, I was flown to South Africa in January of this year to join the crew of the Halifax ship "GOEL I". The ship struck a rock and went down one hour after leaving Capetown, but we managed to spend four days in that city and half a day in Durban before being flown back to Halifax.

On first entering the city, I was concerned that there might be real signs of racial tension on the streets. This was not so, however, and the races mixed freely in shops, restaurants and parks. The government classifies people as "white", "black" and a third categorical "coloured" this generally refers to Asians. It was soon apparent that while some black and coloured people held good responsible jobs in officers, etc., there were no whites doing any menial work as, for example, bell-boys, labourers or kitchen help. Walking the streets

by night was very safe and even on Saturday night there was hardly anyone about. The black people had to live in a separate part of the city and whether by law or not, they were very scarce at night.

Most whites whom we spoke to or otherwise dealt with acted rather aloof and formal. Even at leisure in the park they seemed very straight with carefully cultivated accents and outdated British manners. With scarcely an exception, they were well-dressed and appeared to be always on guard; the uneasy, artificial elite.

We met a guy from Ottawa who had been working in Capetown for a year as a representative of a shipping company. He told us there was lots of work for educated whites in the country, but he'd soon be leaving as he found both the government and the social life to rigid.

Our dealings with the black people of the country held far more warmth. This was surprising, for I had assumed they'd look at all whites through the same jaundiced eye. Actually they were genuinely interested in meeting us and asking about conditions in Canada. Our casual manners and dress marked us immediately as foreigners and thus not only approachable, but real allies from the free world.

It soon became clear that the coloured

society in South Africa lived by quite a different ethos than that of the whites. Because their jobs were such a waste of time financially, they had to live on very little money. As a result, they lived communally in over-crowded housing, raised much of their own food and helped each other a great deal within the community. Obvious parallels can be drawn with the North American "alternate" culture. In their oppression, they seemed to have developed a good sense of humour, strong patience and deep respect for each other. With our ship at the dock in Capetown, we had to be continually on guard against down-and-out coloured thieves who would sneak onto the vessel to raid the food lockers. I thought they might be pretty dangerous

characters, but a few encounters showed me that they were surprisingly meek. When caught, they would smile sheepishly, throw up their hands, then walk off the ship.

After such a short visit to South Africa, none of the generalizations I've drawn can stand firmly in my mind except for the overall injustice of Apartheid. The strain it imposes on both white and black people is highly visible.

Although the whites claim to be gradually relaxing the Apartheid policy, (Unsegregated washrooms in the new Jo'burg airport building!) they're certainly taking their sweet time about it. From what I saw, the natives down there are not wild bushmen who need tight control, but seem more human than the domineering whites. Understandably their patience has come to an end and I'm sure the recent gunplay is, to the common men of all races, not a cry for blood but a sad and desperate gesture.

## Student leader jailed

by Conie Douma

AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL in its campaign for the abolition of torture publishes 2 specific cases in its monthly Bulletin and asks members to write to government officials requesting inquests and inquiries into police brutality.

This month a case is described which should especially interest students. It concerns Mapetla Mohape a 25 year old South African student leader who died in custody while being held at Kei Road Police station near East London. The official reason given for his death is that he committed suicide by hangin himself.

There is reason to believe that if Mr. Mohapi's death was indeed from suicide, the precipitating cause was torture. The death occurred 21 days after Mr. Mohapi was detained. He is the 24th known political detainee to have died in detention since 1963, and the second detainee to have died in the last six months.

His arrest in July was his second in two years. During his previous detention for 173 days without charge in 1974-75, he was allegedly seriously assaulted by security police. At that time he was arrested with other members of the S.A. Student Organization (SASO) and the Black People's Convention (BCP). He

the strike continued. In early June the students of the Naledi High School set fire to a police car when police tried to detain a student.

On the morning of June 16th, students marched to Phefeni Junior Secondary School but when they got there, found their way blocked by some 300 police with dogs. According to Sophie Tebia, a reporter for the Johannesburg World, many of the police were black, but only the white officers were armed. Two of the white officers had sub-machine guns.

As students approached the school they were singing black nationalist songs. The police arrived provoking taunts from the students. No warnings were given to the students to disperse. Then some tear gas was thrown to which the students responded by throwing stones. According to the World reporter, a white policeman drew his gun, pointed it, and fired. The other white police followed suit. A student was fatally wounded. Students started running and throwing stones as they went, while police continued to fire killing several children including a boy of about seven. As the uprising grew the police quickly surrounded the township.

Shadrack Kaunsel told David Barritt of the London Observer about his experience after his arrest. He was kept in a small room with the dead and injured:

"There was blood everywhere. I saw the bodies of small children with gaping bullet wounds and I even saw old grannies lying dead on the floor. Some of the injured were groaning and covered in blood, but the police who came into the room just laughed and kicked those who were lying on the floor.

(Reprinted from Southern Africa)

was released and subsequently "banned" under the suppression of Communism Act. Until his arrest this July, he had been working as an administrator with the Zimeli Trust Fund, a black organization which helps to rehabilitate newly released political prisoners.

Mr. Mohapi's more recent arrest is believed to have been connected with the unrest following the disturbances in June and July in the African townships of Soweto near Johannesburg; he was detained under section 6 of the Terrorism Act. This act and the newly introduced Internal Security Amendment Act empower the Minister of Justice to detain a person **incommunicado** and for an indefinite period without charge.

Over the years there have been consistent allegations of torture of detainees in South Africa by the security police during interrogation. In March of this year Joseph Mdluli, former member of the banned African National Congress, died less than 24 hours after being detained by Durban Security Police under the Terrorism Act. Four security policemen have since been charged with culpable homicide over the death of Mr. Mdluli. In view of the death of these people there are fears for the safety of those detained in the aftermath of the township disturbances.

Members and friends of Amnesty International are asked to write to the Hon. J.B. Vorster, the Prime Minister, Union Buildings, Pretoria, S.A. requesting, in courteous language, an immediate inquest into the death in detention of Mapetla Mohapi, a full and independent inquiry into the activities of the security police, and a full and independent inquiry into and review of the South African detention regulations.

It is important to put pressure on governments which sanction, officially or unofficially, torture - and pressure is one of Amnesty's methods to work for the abolition of torture. We know that as many as 20,000 people take part in these monthly campaigns and that is pressure.

We are a long way from our aim, and some may despair and not become involved, or give up, but consider this question: **Can we afford to be silent bystanders?**

In the near future the Halifax Group will organize a letter writing workshop in the SUB for those who wish to become involved, but want some information and direction. Also, keep in mind our Bread and Cheese lunch on **Friday, October 22 at the Dept. of Education, 1460 Oxford St. at 13:30 p.m.**

### NEXT ISSUE

Zambia

Guyana

Tanzania

## Background to Soweto

Students in Soweto had been protesting the use of Afrikaans in the schools since mid-May. Afrikaans is the language of the white settlers of Dutch descent or Boers (Afrikaners) and, along with English, is one of the two official languages of South Africa.

Soweto is the name for a township in South Africa. It was created miles outside of Johannesburg and designed for non-whites. Townships have no running water, electricity or industry. Residents must work in the adjacent white-dominated cities. The creation of

ruling Nationalist Party, the issue of Afrikaans is important ideologically. While English and Afrikaans have equal status, many Whites or English descent do not speak Afrikaans. Virtually all Blacks speak English. Few Blacks know any Afrikaans except that learned from the police when they ask demandingly "Waar's jou pas" - "Where's your pass?" To Africans, Afrikaans is the language of the oppressor. To Afrikaners it is at the base of their cultural/political identity and a rejection of it by Blacks represents a rejection of apartheid.



'Ignore them. If they won't speak to us in Afrikaans, we just won't speak to them.'

townships furthers the interests of the government's apartheid policy.

Government regulations require half of the instruction given to Africans to be done in Afrikaans. In the past this regulation has been strictly enforced due largely to the fact that few African teachers could speak the language. In 1975 the Transvaal Bantu Education Department decided to start enforcing the regulations. Many liberals warned the Government that it would "cause trouble". In May of 1975, former Deputy Minister for Bantu Education Punt Jason was asked if he had consulted "the black people" about his ruling. He replied: "No, I have not consulted them and I am not going to consult them." More recently, his successor Dr. Treurnicht said, "the government provides the buildings, gives the subsidies and pays the teachers, it is surely our right to determine the language divisions."

For Afrikaners, who dominate the

For students there is also another aspect besides the insult of having to "learn" the white man's view of history in Afrikaans. Since they do not know Afrikaans it is very difficult for them to suddenly have to learn complicated technical subjects in this language. It greatly slows what little education they are allowed.

The Soweto students' response to the enforcement of the language rule was to launch a strike. The strike started at the Phefeni Junior Secondary School in the middle of May. It grew quickly to involve more than 2,000 students at seven Soweto schools. By June 16th, over 10,000 school children were demonstrating against the use of Afrikaans. It appears that the strike was organized by the South African Student Movement, the junior wing of the South African Students Organization (SASO), which is very active in the black universities.

The level of tension in Soweto rose as

# How Canada helps

*"The greatest enemy of mankind is hunger so we are fighting hunger with Canadian food...and help developing countries produce more and better food."*

*In an interview with the International, Dr. Lotta Hirschmanova emphasized that the path to development had only one route, "Self reliance, it is the way." Helping developing countries to produce their own food and creating indigenous manufacturing is the only hope they have of achieving a decent standard of living*

by Michael Clow

Dr. Lotta Hirschmanova, founder and chairperson of the Unitarian Service Committee of Canada, was interviewed during her recent visit to Halifax.

She described the history and aims of Canada's oldest aid agency, and offered her personal impressions concerning trends in the field of development and development aid. She expressed a hope that the concern shown by the young people of Canada for the future of developing countries would bring about a general shift of attitude from preoccupation with artificiality towards action on more genuine and significant issues.

The Unitarian Service Committee was

founded in 1945, as a response to the food needs of war-ravaged Europe. The following year, 1946, it received official recognition by the Canadian government as a non-denominational, non-political agency. The organization now has a budget of \$2,500,000 and a total of



Dr. Lotta Hirschmanova, founder and head of the USC.

147 commitments in twelve different countries. It sees itself as a "humanitarian agency, absolutely above politics", with two-thirds of its funds devoted to development and one-third to relief.

It is trying to escape the charity image so often associated with such agencies: "the aim of every USC project is self-support. We come as partners and friends. There is no happier day for us than when we can phase out".

When asked if she had seen much improvement in the area of development over the past thirty years, she replied that she felt there was now much greater awareness in the developed world of its responsibility towards developing nations. She was optimistic about the future of Lesotho and Bangladesh, having observed that progress had occurred between recent visits to these two countries.

As an example of a project in which the USC has been involved, she mentioned the case of women in Lesotho who have initiated "egg-circles", substituting cheap eggs for expensive meat imported from South Africa. She supported CIDA's change of emphasis towards agricultural production and commented that she felt that Canada was seen by developing countries as a non-interfering nation.

Unitarian Service Committee  
56 Sparks Street  
Ottawa, Ontario K1P 5B1

## Victor Jara Symbol of victory

Victor Jara was the son of a Chilean farm-labourer. He became renowned throughout Chile and beyond as a composer, singer, guitarist and poet. He was one of the leaders in the wave of the creative "people's culture" during the early seventies. As a socialist and a supporter of the Allende regime, he sought to combat oppression through his songs.

His tremendous popularity among Chileans ensured his violent death within a few days of the right-wing military coup in September 1973. He was arrested with hundreds of others who were gathered in the Technical University of Santiago, and taken to the new infamous stadium, where he tried to keep up the spirits of his fellow prisoners.

His wife was told of his death shortly afterwards, and went to the morgue to identify and claim the body. Evidence of torture was obvious in the broken bones of his hands, and he had received many bullet wounds.

A film to celebrate the life of this Chilean folk hero will be shown on Saturday November 6th at 7 p.m. in the Dun Theatre, Dalhousie Arts Centre.

## Coming events

Thurs. Oct. 21 -

'Greece, the seven black years' - BBC documentary of life under a dictatorship 1967-1974. 8 p.m. Killam auditorium.

Fri. Oct. 22 -

Jim Robson will speak on Tanzania at Amnesty International's bread and cheese lunch. 12:30 p.m. Education Dept., Oxford Street.

Sat. Oct. 23 -

Overseas students' social evening, sponsored by the International Students' Association. Music, refreshments. Bring your friends. 8 p.m. Room 314, SUB.

Thurs. Nov. 4 -

Film 'Last Grave at Dimbaza' is a documentary about South Africa - black and white. It was filmed illegally in S.A. and it tells the story that the S.A. government wants hidden. 8:00 p.m. in the McInnes. Free and everyone welcome.

Sun. Nov. 7 -

Benefit concert for Amnesty International, featuring Dalhousie Chamber soloists. 8:30 p.m. Dunn Theatre, Dal Arts Centre. Tickets \$2.00 students, \$3.00 others, available from Box Office.

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Applying Kuki's theory of 'Lki' to this case, 'Ljiki' for him was to protect Japan and defeat the enemy; 'Teikan' was to throw away his life; 'Bitai' was the desire to be positively judged by his family and friends. Mishima, the novelist mentioned previously, was influenced in the same way by these three concepts. The Japanese soldier on the South Pacific island had as 'Lkiji' the ideal of obeying a given order, which was to maintain guerilla activity. He knew that the war had been lost, and that the Tokyo Olympics had taken place in 1964. In his desire to obey the command he had been given, he threw away his personal desire and judgment, and consequently his own welfare. 'Bitai' is not very evident in this case. However, he had maintained a tidy appearance and regularly polished and cleaned his arms for more than a quarter of a century.

'Lki' was probably created by the influence of Confucianism and Buddhism. It exemplified religion, and social values, and hence the traditional spirit of Japan. Now its meaning is subject to distortion, and it is less widely invoked by the young generations.

I hope this attempt to explain these difficult and complex 'spiritual' concepts will aid in the understanding of Japanese values and culture.

### BOOK REVIEW

## Catastrophe or...

### "CATASTROPHE OR NEW SOCIETY? A LATIN AMERICAN WORLD MODEL"

by Dorrik Stow

It is a common cliché that the long range forecast for humanity is a gloomy one. The crises facing our society are mounting in their severity; over-population, mass under-nourishment, resource and energy depletion and environmental pollution threaten our very existence. This view was given substantially more weight by the 'world models' developed at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology for the Club of Rome, and by the subsequent publication of the new well-known "Limits to Growth".

In 1970 a group of Latin Americans met in Rio de Janeiro to discuss 'World Model III'. From this meeting came the

decision to construct an alternative model from the point of view of an "egalitarian, fully participatory and non-consuming society." "Catastrophe or New Society? A Latin American World Model" disagrees fundamentally with the "Limits to Growth" study. The report is interesting and refreshing in its refutation of inevitable doom, and in its demand for a major re-shaping of society.

The authors argue that the major problems facing society are not physical (population, limits to food and mineral production, etc) but socio-political. These problems are based on the uneven distribution of power, both within and between nations. The deterioration of the physical environment is not an inevitable consequence of human progress, but the result of social organization based "largely on

Afghanistan, which they had inhabited in the past."

These records are interesting reading, every point of the Zionists are rebutted while Palestinian arguments are apparently ignored. Your remark on the inappropriateness of the photos is correct, we were too tired at the time to think straight.

Editor's Note.

### To the Gazette:

In the time it takes to say this sentence, twelve children will be born in developing countries. Two will die within the year. Of the surviving ten, five will never set foot in a classroom and only two will complete the elementary grades.

This tragic situation may be very difficult for Canadians to visualize, but it is nonetheless a reality. And the Canadian public can do something to help remedy it by supporting the work of the United Nations Children's Fund. This is the time of year, as Hallowe'en draws near, the UNICEF Nova Scotia seeks support from the public -- children, students, housewives, businessmen and women.

When that friendly "Trick or Treater" knocks on your door on Hallowe'en night, clutching his orange and white UNICEF collection box, please contribute. The need is urgent.

Thank you sincerely,  
Buddy McCully,  
Youth Services Chairman,  
UNICEF Nova Scotia  
5614 Fenwick Street,  
Halifax, Nova Scotia

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tion. All the maneuvering of the authors will not eradicate the fact that it is still the avowed aim of the Palestinian organizations to destroy the State of Israel (see Palestinian National Covenant). Within the framework of the brutal war waged by the Arab countries against Israel, it is to Israel's credit that she granted equal rights to the Arab minority in her midst when it would have been simple to justify not doing so.

The distinguished members of the Alliance do not wish to be labeled as self-haters, but unfortunately that is exactly what they are. I don't hold much hope of eradicating their hate, but it would be a pity if your readers would be allowed to remain under the impression of such a distorted presentation.

David Kirschner

Extract from: The Official Records of the Transactions of the Second Session of the General Assembly Ad Hoc Committee on the Palestinian Question (1947)

"The struggle of the Arabs of Palestine against Zionism had nothing in common with anti-Semitism. The Arab world had been one of the rare havens of refuge for the Jews until the atmosphere had been poisoned by the Balfour Declaration and by the aggressive spirit which the latter had engendered in the Jewish community.

"The claims of the Zionists had no legal or moral basis. Their case was based on the association of the Jews with Palestine over two thousand years before. On that basis the Arabs would have better claims to those territories in other parts of the world, such as Spain or parts of France, Turkey, Russian or