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Reagan Makes Poor Suffer

USA-The number of people living in poverty (incomes under \$10,200) in the USA has climbed to 35.3 million, increasing nearly 40% since Reagan took over among families with children below the age of six. One out of every four American children below age six was poor in 1983. Nearly 50% of all black children in the same age group are poor, and those numbers are rapidly increasing. Reagan has severely cut back social programs aimed at helping poor children; food stamps have been cut back by \$2 billion, welfare by \$1.5 billion, child nutrition (including the school lunch program) \$1 billion, Medicaid \$1 billion. Spending for low income programs was reduced by 1/6, over \$6 billion, 1981-4. Nearly three million fewer children eat school lunches; 500,000 fewer get school breakfasts; fewer mothers and children are helped by community health centres and day care programs. In 1980 a family of four living on the poverty line paid \$467 in federal taxes; today the same family pays \$1079. Real tax burdens for families on the poverty line have risen from 5.5% in 1980 to 10.1% in 1984. (Village Voice 11-9-84 p11).

Peace Camp Resists Eviction

GREENHAM COMMONS, ENGLAND-Women peace protesters at the cruise missile base here have forestalled the latest eviction attempt when a High Court judge acknowledged that a 20-foot-wide piece of land was not covered by the Ministry of Transport's eviction order. Hundreds of previous evictions have failed to remove the campers who set up again at different points on the base's perimeter, while increasing the group's publicity and support. At one point, the Ministry dumped tons of rubble on the camp site and the women turned it into a rock garden. (Manchester Guardian 23-9-84-p5.)

Fewer Hours Means More Jobs

HOLLAND-The two major Dutch trade union federations and opposition Labour party are pressing for a reduction of the work week to 36 hours by 1986. Last January several Dutch companies did shorten the work week, and of these 40% will have increased their work force by the end of 1984. (Canadian Tribune 10-9-84.)

Police Violence Mounts

GREAT BRITAIN-Once noted for its relative tolerance, the British police force is acquiring a Gestapo image as it enforces the Thatcher government's brutal decrees. British miners, striking to save 20,000 jobs the government wants to eliminate, are frequently arrested and tortured by police; 3,758 were arrested March 14-June 28. Police are also threatening their wives with arrest for "harbouring" travelling miners from other districts who are helping to mobilize strike support. Police frequently attack strikers with clubs, horses and vicious dogs; two miners have been killed by scabs; news of police atrocities is censored from the press. The dockers' union has launched two national support strikes, while other unions including transport workers, seamen and doctors have shown active support. (Canadian Tribune 3-9-84.)

Report on Children's Deaths Censored

NEW YORK CITY-Under political pressure, the city investigations commissioner has altered a report which originally attacked the role of the city's Special Services for Children for covering up the SSC's role in the death of nine physically abused children. (Village Voice 4-9-84.)

Sexist Entertainment for Republican Women

DALLAS-One highlight of the recent Republican convention here (characterized in the New Republic as a gathering of "greedheads, Barbie dolls and fundamentalist Ayatollahs") was a reception for Jeanne Kirkpatrick and Reagan's women cabinet ministers. Entertainment was provided by a conga line of nearly naked black women who weaved through the crowd to the beat of a conga drum, whooping and chanting. (Village Voice 4-9-84.)

Peasants Murdered in Brazil

BRAZIL-While the government claims that seven million acres of land have been confiscated for land reform, Brazil still has 10 million rural families who don't own their own land, despite a relatively small population (130 million) and more unused, arable land than any other country. Peasants and sharecroppers are evicted by hydroelectric schemes, cattle ranchers and speculators. Those who resist are often murdered; others defend themselves, creating a civil war in which dozens have died in the past two months in Para state, Amazon. (Manchester Guardian 16-9-84.)

SAN JOAQUIN VALLEY, CALIF.-Of the eleven U.S. communities with the highest proportion of welfare recipients, six are in this valley. Cesar Chavez's United Farm Workers Union has been powerless to stop growers from cutting wages to the minimum level, and the number of workers under UFW contracts has been cut in half since the boycott victories in the early 1970s. The union now devotes its resources to electioneering and computer-directed boycotts of food chains that stock non-union lettuce; there is little or no picketing and the last major strike was six years ago. By launching endless appeals, the growers are invalidating the state's farm labour law. Workers are still killed and maimed; at least one was shot to death in 1983. (Village Voice 14-8-84.)

Israeli Prisoners Maimed

LEBANON-Chemical tests by Israel on Palestinian prisoners have resulted in many prisoners at Ramallah prison being severely burned, developing grave lung diseases, and in some cases losing their sight and hearing. Israel has occupied Southern Lebanon since 1982 despite U.N. calls for its withdrawal. (Canadian Tribune 27-8-84.)

UN Rejects South African Constitution

UNITED NATIONS-On 17 August the Security Council rejected South Africa's new constitution, declaring it and the elections planned in connection with it null and void. The resolution declared that the new constitution is contrary to the principles of the UN Charter, and that its enforcement would further aggravate the "already explosive situation prevailing inside apartheid South Africa." (The constitution provides separate parliamentary chambers for Asian and mixed-race South Africans while continuing to deprive blacks of the vote.) The resolution was adopted by a vote of 13 in favour, with the USA and UK abstaining. Elsewhere at the UN, the Acting Chairman, of the Special Committee against Apartheid has urged all Governments, organizations and individuals to condemn the arrest and detention of a number of South African leaders who had been calling for a boycott of the constitutional elections. (UN Weekly News Summary 24-8-84.)

Suppression of Minorities Examined

GENEVA-Highlights of reports to the UN Sub-Commission on the Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities in August included:

- a request by 34 Nobel Prize Laureates to send an independent observer to the USSR to locate physicist Andrei Sakharov and his wife.
- the British Anti-Slavery Society told the Sub-Commission that Kenyan security forces had killed 300-1400 nomadic herdsmen in northern Kenya earlier this year, after subjecting them to three days of beatings and torture.
- Amnesty International reported that the Sudan had imposed 58 sentences of public amputation since introducing a penal code based on Islamic law last September.
- expert testimony that in Sri Lanka hundreds of Tamil people including women and children had been killed by security forces.
- observer reports on the gravity of the situation facing black South Africans.
- a report that rights and fundamental freedoms of ten million Kurds living in Turkey are being consistently and systematically violated. (UN Weekly News Summary 24-8-84.)

1.8 Million Afghan Refugees

IRAN-The U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees will open its first permanent office in Iran to increase aid to people fleeing the fighting in Afghanistan, estimated by the Iranian Government to number 1.8 million. Over \$7 million will be spent on assisting Afghan refugees this year, and considerably more next. UNHCR has also made an allocation of \$300,000 to cover the needs of asylum seekers from the Indonesian province of Irian Jaya in Papua New Guinea, where many have died from hunger. (UN Weekly News Summary 31-8-84.)

Namibia Still Under South African Military Occupation

NEW YORK-August 27, Namibia Day, was marked by a message from the UN General Assembly President that the UN is still battling to assume effective control of Namibia; South Africa continues to ignore several UN resolutions. (UN Weekly News Summary 31-8-84.)

Police Massacre Indonesians

INDONESIA-At least 25 people were killed in Jakarta's worst outbreak of violence in ten years, when a demonstration by Muslim groups turned into a riot and the military opened fire. The Muslims helped the present military government take power in the mid-60s, but are disenfranchised by its dependence on western capital and ideas, forsaking of Islamic values, and denying them political power. Many fear that the government's insistence that they adopt the state ideology of Pancasila, a 5-point doctrine emphasizing religious freedom is really a plan to force them to renounce their Muslim identity. (Christian Science Monitor 13-9-84.)

CIA Bombs Nicaragua

NICARAGUA-Two intelligence sources have confirmed that the CIA supplied four planes used in a September 1 attack the U.S.-backed rebels against a Nicaraguan military school. The U.S. built airfield of Aguicate, Honduras was used to mount the attack (Christian Science Monitor 13-9-84.) By supplying the planes at little or no cost to the rebels, the U.S. government circumvents a \$24 million cap imposed by Congress on U.S. spending for the covert war. (Christian Science Monitor 13-9-84.)

Chinese Prisoners Slaughtered and Tortured

CHINA-From its London headquarters, Amnesty International has urged China to adopt wide-ranging reforms to protect human rights. It reports: "In prisons, detention centres and labour camps throughout China are held prisoners of conscience detained solely for the non-violent exercise of their human rights." Several thousand executions occurred in August-October 1983, some for serious crimes and others for minor offences such as hanging a "counter-revolutionary banner from a hotel window. Many of those executed were in groups of 15 to 40 who were paraded in public in the streets or during mass rallies and then shot. Since 1981 China has doubled the number of offences carrying the death penalty; they include theft, briber y, molesting women, gang fighting, drug trafficking and pimping. Political prisoners are held in solitary confinement and tortured for weeks; political prisoners include workers and students active in the "democracy movement" that emerged in China in 1978, Roman Catholic priests loyal to the Vatican, and Tibetans accused of supporting nationalist groups. (UPI, Montreal Gazette 26-9-84 pA12.)

Amnesty Attacks Amputations

SUDAN-Amnesty International has recorded 58 cases of public amputation of criminals' limbs since President Numeiry replaced the country's secular penal code with a new Islamic code in September, 1983. Under the new code, amputation is mandatory for anyone caught stealing items worth more than 80 pounds. 12 were cross-limb amputations in which the criminal's right hand over left foot were severed at the same time. Many more were flogged. Sentences are carried out immediately with no appeal. (Manchester Guardian 2-9-84.) After Egypt, the Sudan is the USA's chief ally and aid recipient in Northern Africa.

A GUIDE TO CANADIAN COLLABORATION WITH APARTHEID

The information on the next three pages is from A Guide to Canadian Collaboration with Apartheid, researched and published by the South African Congress of Trade Unions Solidarity Committee (Canada), P.O. Box 490, Postal Station J, Toronto M4J 4Z2, September 1983. It tells those of us who are serious about resisting apartheid in South Africa what products we should avoid buying (a large number of common household products are manufactured by companies included on these lists.) The University of Toronto Divestment Committee has prepared a list of a few of the products we should avoid buying, which include:

- Beers-all locally available brands except Northern and Superior are produced by Rothman's, which is part of a South-African-based transactional corporation.
- Cigarettes-Better avoided altogether, but if you must smoke avoid Rothman's, Craven A, Number Dunhill, Dumont, Black Cat or Peter Styvesant. All are produced by Rothman's.
- Fruit-Granny Smith Apples, Outspan Oranges and Lemons. Canned fruit: Loblaws No Name apricot halves, peach slices, Bartlett pear halves, fruit cocktail; Dominion no name sliced peaches and apricot halves, Libby's Canned Peaches, York Apricots, Pantry Shelf Pears, Fortune sliced peaches, Bartlett pears and fruit cocktail, D.C. Apricots, Gold Reef Apricot halves and Fruit cocktail.
- Liquor-Paarl, Rembrandt, Richelieu brands, JVK Liqueur, Bonne Esperance Wine, La Residence Win

- Alcan Aluminum Ltd.**, 1 Place Ville Marie Montreal.
Holds 24% interest in Huletts Aluminium Ltd., worth \$20 million, which manufactures aluminum products and operates the only aluminum rolling mill in South Africa.
- Barringer Research Ltd.**, 304 Carlingview Drive, Rexdale.
An associate company, Barringer Surveys Ltd., carries out geophysical and air pollution survey work in South Africa. In 1982 Barringer Surveys was listed as dormant (registered but not trading.)
- The Bata Group**, Batawa, Ontario.
Employs 700 workers at Kwazulu Shoe Company in the bantustan, where minimum wage laws don't apply; wages are the equivalent of \$20 Canadian per week.
- Bayforin**, 121 Richmond St. W. Toronto.
99.4% controlled by Bayer AG, West Germany (a pharmaceutical/chemical producer), Bayforin holds 38 foreign subsidiaries for its parent including a chemical firm, Chrome Chemicals, and Bayer South Africa.
- Canada Development Corporation**, 200 Granville St., Vancouver.
Until 1983 a Dutch subsidiary of the CDC owned Dumex Ltd., which manufactures drugs, antibiotics and milk-based food products for sale in Third World countries; its marketing practices for baby formulas have been condemned by the World Health Organization. The CANTERRA Division of CDC has become the largest participant in the sulphur export trade to South Africa.
- CIL Incorporated**, 630 Dorchester Blvd. W., Montreal.
Joint owner of Jarvis Clark, a mining engineering company dealing in underground mining equipment.
- Cominco Ltd.**, 200 Granville St., Vancouver, B.C.
Operates a small scale alluvial diamond mine in Northwestern Cape Province employing 53 people. Initiates small scale diamond production through Brazil Diamante. Maintains exploration office in Johannesburg.
- Convenco Ltd.**, 910-930 Brock Rd. South, Pickering Ontario.
Holds interest in a South African company involved in wire and plastic manufactures.
- Dominion Textile Inc.**, 1950 Sherbrooke St. West, Montreal.
Produces and sells garment underlinings for clothes manufacturers under DHJ brand name.
- Falconbridge Nickel Mines Ltd.**, PO Box 40, Commerce Court West, Toronto.
Exploration and gold mining activities. Major owner of Camites copper-silver mine in Namibia until it was mined out in 1982, then sold it for scrap to a small South African company. Exploring Namibia, South Africa and Zimbabwe for gold, oil and uranium.
- Ford Motor Company of Canada Ltd.**, Canadian Road, Oakville.
South African subsidiaries produce cars, trucks and tractors; customers include the South African military establishment.
- G.T. Fulford Co. Ltd.**, 161 Alden Road, Unit 9, Markham.
South African subsidiary manufactures and sells variety of health products.
- Hudson's Bay Company**, 77 Main Street, Winnipeg.
Operates for brokerage business selling SWAKARA furs from South Africa and Namibia in Canada.
- ICS Construction Ltd.**, 483 Modeland Road, Sarnia.
Controls a Durban-based industrial instrument contracting company which is one of the largest independent contractors for process control instruments.
- INCO Limited**, Sudbury Ontario.
Owned battery operations and a nickel marketing agency in South Africa; claims to have had no operations there since 1975.
- International Thomson Organization**, 3515 Royal Bank Plaza, Toronto.
Publishes 30 trade journals, magazines and books in South Africa.
- Kennecott Canada Ltd.**, Toronto Dominion Centre, Bank Tower, Toronto.
In 1980 Kennecott of Canada placed its 31% holding in Richard's Bay Minerals, Natal, under a Netherlands holding company. A 1980 strike for union recognition led to mass firings, arrests and continued detention of one union official.

Laurasia Resources Ltd., 330 Bay St. Toronto.

Leases a former gold-producing mine near Johannesburg.

Massey-Ferguson Ltd., 200 University Ave., Toronto.

In a report commissioned by the U.N. in 1981, M-F was identified as having played a strategic role in propping up apartheid through both its agricultural implements and the Atlantis Diesel project, which has a monopoly on large diesel engines in South Africa and gives the government self-sufficiency in diesel engines for the first time. A large Afrikaner holding company now controls farm machinery manufacture.

Moore Corporation Ltd., 1 First Canadian Place, Toronto.

Produces and distributes business forms, data information cards and related products through its subsidiaries in South Africa.

Noranda Mines Ltd., P.O. Box 45, Commerce Court West, Toronto.

Had until 1977 an exploration subsidiary active in South Africa (now apparently based in UK.) Produces and manufactures cables in South Africa through Canada Wire and Cable, the world's largest wire and cable producer. Part ownership in Placer Development.

Placer Development Ltd., 700 Burrard Building, 1030 W. George St. Vancouver.

Exploration activities, owns inactive manufacturing company, which it sold in 1981.

Reed Stenhouse Companies Ltd., Royal Trust Tower, Toronto Dominion Centre, Toronto.

Holds 60% equity in Stenhouse Hogg Robinson, active in insurance, reinsurance, brokerage business in Southern Africa.

Scintrex Ltd., 222 Snidercroft Road, Concord Ontario.

Offers scientific and geophysical instruments, geophysical contracting services through its South African subsidiary.

Seagram Co. Ltd., 1430 Peel St., Montreal.

Bottles liquor in South Africa, operates distribution and sales network there.

G.F. Sterne & Sons Ltd., P.O. Box 130, Brantford Ontario.

Operates associate company in South Africa which most likely produces similar sealants, coatings and construction chemicals as its Canadian parent company.

Tinto Holdings Canada Ltd., P.O. Box 206, Toronto-Dominion Centre, Toronto.

This holding company for the Canadian interests of Rio Tinto Zinc Corp. of Britain holds a 10% interest in the Rossing Uranium mine. Tinto Holdings (South Africa) is held by Tinto Holdings Canada and controls Jetstream and Rio Tinto South Africa.

W. Garfield Weston Group, Weston Centre, 22 St. Clair Ave. W. Toronto.

A multinational corporation whose South African interests are technically held in Britain. Operates South Africa's third largest food company, Premier Milling, which employs 23,000 workers at wages below the minimum living level.

CANADIAN BANKS FINANCING APARTHEID

The banks and the International Monetary Fund stepped in to prop up apartheid when super-profits from racial capitalism seemed at risk. In the first six weeks of 1982, foreign loans to South Africa exceeded the total loans advanced in all of 1981. Canadian banks were to some extent involved.

Bank of Montreal.

Direct participation in loans to South Africa totalling \$100 million in 1972, loans and bond purchases of nearly \$500 million in the 1970s.

Royal Bank.

Extensive loans to South Africa, totalling nearly \$500 million, were made through banks in which the Royal Bank has an interest.

Canadian Imperial Bank of Commerce.

Participated in \$260 million dollar loans 1972-5. Has 3.5% interest in Credit Commercial de France, which participated in \$1,158 million loans 1972-5. A subsidiary is the largest identified shareholder in Fluor, the major contractor for South Africa's oil-from-coal conversion plants, with just under 5% of the total.

Bank of Nova Scotia.

Bilateral loans in 1981 (one worth \$5 million), distributes Kruggerand gold coin here.

Toronto Dominion Bank.

Loaned South Africa over \$130 in 1970s, issued "no future loans" policy in March, 1980.

American Subsidiaries:

Allied Chemical Canada Ltd.
 Allis Chalmers Canada Ltd.
 Bechtel Canada Ltd.
 Black & Decker Canada Inc.
 Borden Co.
 Bristol Myers Canada Ltd.
 Burroughs Business Machines Ltd.
 CR Inc.
 Canada Starch Co.
 Canadian Cannery Ltd.
 Canadian General Electric Ltd.
 Canadian Gypsum Co.
 Caterpillar of Canada Ltd.
 Celanese Canada Inc.
 Chesebrough Ponds Int. Ltd.
 Chrysler Canada Ltd.
 Coca-Cola Ltd.
 Control Data Canada Ltd.
 Cyanamid Canada Inc.
 Dresser Canada Inc.
 Dow Chemical of Canada Inc.
 DuPont of Canada Ltd.
 Eaton Yale Ltd.
 F.W. Woolworth Co.
 Firestone Canada Inc.
 Fruehauf Canada Inc.
 General Motors of Canada
 Goodyear Canada Inc.
 Greyhound Lines of Canada Inc.
 Hewlett Packard (Canada) Ltd.
 Honeywell Ltd.
 IBM Canada Ltd.
 ITT Canada Ltd.
 Imperial Oil Ltd.

Ingersoll-Rand Canada Ltd.
 International Harvester Canada Ltd.
 International Minerals & Chemical
 John Deere Ltd. Corp.
 Interprovincial Pipe Line Ltd.
 Kellogg Salada Canada Ltd.
 Kimberly-Clark of Canada Ltd.
 Johnson & Johnson Ltd.
 Kodak Canada Inc.
 Mobil Oil Canada Ltd.
 Monsanto Canada Ltd.
 Motorola Canada Ltd.
 NCR Canada Ltd.
 Otis Elevator Co.
 Pepsi-Cola Canada Ltd.
 Rohm & Haas Canada Inc.
 Sherritt-Gordon Mines Ltd.
 Sperry Inc.
 Spruce Falls Power & Paper Co.
 Standard Brands Ltd.
 Texaco Canada Inc.
 3M of Canada Inc.
 Union Carbide Canada Inc.
 Uniroyal Ltd.
 Xerox Canada Inc.

Consoltex Canada Inc.
 Courtaulds Canada Ltd.
 DRG Ltd.
 ERCO Industries Ltd.
 Harding Carpets Ltd.
 Hawker Siddeley Canada
 Imesco Ltd. Inc.
 Hoechst Canada Inc.
 Honda Canada Inc.
 Howden Group Canada Ltd.
 Johnson Matthey Ltd.
 Lever Brothers Ltd.
 Mercedes Benz Ltd.
 Nissan Automobile Co.
 (Canada) Ltd.
 Philipps Cables Ltd.
 Philips Canada Ltd.
 Redpath Industries Ltd.
 Rowntree Mackintosh
 Canada Ltd.
 Shell Canada Ltd.
 Stanton Pipes Ltd.
 Total Petroleum (North
 American) Ltd.
 Toyota Canada Inc.
 Volkswagen Canada Inc.

Other Countries' Subsidiaries

BASF Canada Inc.
 British Petroleum Canada Ltd.
 Blackwood Hodge (Canada) Ltd.
 Bonar Packaging Ltd.
 Boots Drug Stores (Holdings) Ltd.
 Brooke Bond Inc.
 Cadbury Schweppes Powell Inc.
 Canadian Motor Cycles Ltd.
 Ciba-Geigy Canada Ltd.

SOUTH AFRICAN INVESTMENT IN CANADA

Statistics Canada #61 lists 23 Canadian corporations as controlled in South Africa. Of these, all but nine are controlled by either the Anglo-American Corporations or Rothmans International, which account for 42 and 37 respectively. The Anglo-American holdings are controlled through the company's Bermuda-based holding company, Minorco. Holdings include the Hudson Bay Exploration & Development Company Ltd, held through an American based Minorco subsidiary. Despite the sale of 50% of Rothmans International to Philip Morris of the USA, Rothmans and its subsidiaries are still controlled by the South African magnate Anton Rupert. These include Rothmans Tobacco Holdings Ltd, Alfred Dunhill Ltd, Rothmans of Pall Mall Canada, Carling O'Keefe Ltd., Argonaut Football Club Ltd., Carlsberg Breweries of Canada Ltd., Le Club de Hockey les Nordiques Ltd., O'Keefe Brewing Company Ltd., Pacific Brewers Distributors Ltd., Jordan Valley Wines Ltd. and Gold Seal Champagne Ltd. The other nine South African-controlled companies range from the Quebec Casing Company (a supplier of sausage casings), Asam Minerals (a small mineral exploration company), Adageo Exporters (an exporter of sewing threads) to No Moose Lake Estates (a wholesaler of lumber and building materials).

Like those who profit from apartheid, those who profit from Canada's branch plant resource extraction economy are international in character also. The new Canadian government will evidently encourage more such profiteering. One way of resisting this exploitation is to refuse to buy products of these international cartels.

by Narayan Desai

reprinted from: Ground Zero Sept./Oct 1984

Narayan Desai shared these thoughts during the National Conference on Networking, Education and Action for Nonviolence in the Black Hills of South Dakota in early August, 1984. Narayan grew up in Gandhi's ashram where his father, Mahadev Desai, was Gandhi's secretary. Narayan has worked extensively with the Gandhian movement in India, particularly with Vinoba Bhawe and J.P. Narayan. He is now beginning a training school for people interested in nonviolent social change, the Institute for Total Revolution, near Bombay. Narayan is married and has four children and two grandchildren.

I am going to enjoy the luxury of beginning with an anecdote. As children we used to walk with Bandhi, on both sides of him, and he would call us his walking sticks. Tuesdays were reserved for the children if they wanted to ask questions. On one of those Tuesdays I asked a question. We read his very basic book From Yeravda Mandir in which he explained the eleven ashram vows. He said something about nonviolence, and I asked him a question based on that. I said to him, "Bapu (Father, that's how we used to refer to him), Bapu, in our spinning classes we try to attain speed. In your book you have said that speed is violence. How do these two things go together?" So he said, "Have you read the book carefully? I have not said speed, I have said haste. And destruction of distance and destruction of time is what I call violence." When we were coming here I was amused by a remark of one of the people with whom I was travelling. He said, "People in this area take things easily and they go slowly." I was reminded of my talk about speed, and I was also wondering what they would think if they came to India. They would find that if this is slow speed, in India it is something else altogether! This applies to the time given to me. I am not going to be conscious about the time.

This gathering is committed to nonviolence, or at least interested in finding out something about nonviolence -- so I'm not going to say anything about why nonviolence. I will try to say something about what I understand about nonviolence, and what according to me are the roots of nonviolence. I do believe this is a group of people who have faith -- faith in the goodness of people. This is a group which also believes that power lies not in the barrel of a gun but in the hearts of the people. So if we take these two things together, goodness of humankind and power of the people, it touches both the individual and society. We also believe that nonviolence is an instrument of change. This world has seen enough of two incentives for change: Greed has been one of the incentives for change, and fear has been another incentive for change. We are those who want to have love as an alternative instrument and incentive for change. A society created out of greed, a society created out of fear, has made the two giant systems of the world today, which threaten the very existence of Homo sapiens. We would like to think, contemplate, and so far as possible, live on the principles of the third incentive to change.

Nonviolence begins with the awareness and the respect for human dignity. I think that's the essence of it. The whole business is about respecting human beings. Wherever we find violence, in Bombay or elsewhere, it's disrespecting human beings. In the largest sense it goes beyond human beings and respects the unity of life. It is a search for truth as Gandhi termed it; it is also a search for justice. And here I am reminded of a small couplet by Rabindranath Tagore. I'm not going to try to translate that in poetry, but to pick up its sense--that it is equally wrong to accept injustice as it is wrong to perpetrate it. Very often we think that it is only the fault of the exploiter. It is only the fault of the aggressor. But Tagore and Gandhi made us aware that it is equally wrong to accept this fact of injustice, and the minute you say "no" to it, you begin your own nonviolent struggle against it.

Nonviolence means, of course, the negation of violence, but it's the renunciation of violence both regarding method and also in attitude. I find that among some peace workers there is a debate: Whether it's a quality, an attitude, or whether nonviolence is a method of working. The debate goes on to discuss whether nonviolence is a technique or whether it's a way of life. But I am one of those who cannot see how these two are juxtaposed against each other. Because

nonviolence as a technique, without being rooted in a way of life, may breed a counter revolution. Nonviolence only as a way of life, without fully understanding the techniques of nonviolence, can make nonviolence ineffective. So both of these go hand in hand together. In fact, they are inseparable, like ends and means. Nonviolence means acceptance of love as an instrument to overcome evil. This applies to evil within and evil without. It applies to one's own self as well as to society. Very often we make the mistake of taking it for granted that we are all nonviolent because we profess it. And we want the world to be nonviolent. But we have realized that it has to be a constant process of making ourselves nonviolent, and making that process reflect on the world. So it's a double process of changing the satyagrahi and the society. This process involves four different steps:

First of all, the process of nonviolence needs what Paulo Freire calls conscientization. We have to be conscious, and we have to make the people around us conscious. In the end, we have to make even the oppressors conscious about what they are losing by their very acts of oppression. That's the first step. The second step is the organization of nonviolence. I would say organization within us and organization in the society, beginning with grass roots organizations in our neighbourhood, affinity groups, and so on -- until we can reach the horizons of this planet. Gandhi used to call this process the process of swadeshi, or neighbourliness. To give it a graphic picture, he called it oceanic circles, as against the pyramid-like structure that we have today. The third step towards this nonviolent process would be what Gandhi called constructive work. This is the whole business of change; I would like to call it the business of revolution. Revolution that has something to do with values, attitudes, with relationships, with structures. In this revolution there are two aspects. One is called "razing to the ground," and the other is "raising from the ground." You raze to the ground poor values, violent values. You raise from the ground nonviolent values. Raising from the ground is the constructive work side of the fourfold process of nonviolence.

And the last, but not the least, is the process of struggle. And anybody who goes away with the idea that nonviolence is a process of flight from the earthly world probably does not understand the meaning of nonviolence. At any rate we can say Gandhi gave this new meaning -- that there cannot be any nonviolence where there is flight or where there is escape. Struggles cannot be avoided. We will try to make our struggles richer and richer in the sense that the person who is involved in the struggle is enriched at the same time as the other party is enriched. But it has to be a struggle. It is a struggle within and a struggle without. It's a constant endeavour to change oneself as you try to change the society.

One of the principles of nonviolence is to be willing to suffer joyfully. Sometimes I hear people using the word suffering in a very negative sense. In 1969 during the Gandhi Centenary Year, when I was in the midst of a conference, somebody announced that someone who had been arrested for burning his draft card was sentenced to three years. I was about to applaud at that time, and I was shocked to hear that the whole audience gasped in dismay. So this somebody being sentenced to three years was something of a shock, something of a tragedy. It was an American audience. I was one who was born in an atmosphere that when my father went to jail we used to wish him farewell by saying, "Father, next time you must have a longer sentence." A different kind of reaction! Gandhi tried to teach us suffering in a positive way. Suffering had nothing negative about it. If you consider yourself to be part, even of your adversaries, then you have the faith that if you suffer it is going to have an effect on them. That makes it positive. Of course I think it goes without saying that nonviolence excludes all sorts of retaliations. Retaliation in deed, of course, but also in words. And if possible, in thought.

GROUND ZERO is published by the Centre for Nonviolent Action, 16159 Clear Creek Road, NW, Poulsbo, WA 98370 USA. It appears 4-6 times per year, and asks for a donation rather than a set subscription price. The publishers are members of the northwestern U.S. pacifist group whose most publicized activities have included rowing out to symbolically block U.S. nuclear submarines and sit-downs along the route of the "White Train" carrying hydrogen bombs to the Trident submarine base at Bangor, Washington. Most of the articles have a Christian pacifist orientation.

The Palestinization of Central America
by Rechelle Marshall
slightly abridged from U.S. Farm News July, 1984

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The author, a civil rights advocate in California, is a member of the International Jewish Peace Union (IJPU). She has made several tours of the Middle East.

While President Reagan repeatedly blames Cuban and Soviet intervention for the violent upheavals in Central America, we hear hardly a word about Israel's involvement -- which directly connects the Middle East with what is happening in Central America today. There are several links to this connection. One is that since the mid-seventies Israel has been a major arms supplier to Latin dictatorship -- in Paraguay, Chile, and Argentina, as well as in Guatemala, Honduras, El Salvador, and Nicaragua under Somoza. Another link lies in the three billion dollars in yearly aid Israel receives from the United States. As a U.S. dependent, Israel can't help but be a willing partner in the superpower's strategic plans for Latin America.

Israel's right to exist within secure and recognized borders, and the Israeli Government's role in opposing struggles for liberation are two distinct issues. But unfortunately, criticism of the government's actions is often deliberately interpreted as being anti-Israel or even anti-Semitic. That may be why there is so little discussion of Israel's role in Central America. Since it is so easy to confuse legitimate opposition to Israeli policy with anti-Semitism, Reagan does not hesitate to use that confusion to promote U.S. intervention in Central America. Last June, Reagan set up a Central American Outreach Group in the White House to work on convincing various ethnic groups that supporting his policy in Central America was vital to their interests. On June 17, 1983, the Washington Post reported that "Jewish organizations are being told that forces most hostile to Israel -- including the PLO -- are supporting leftists in Central America." When the anti-Defamation League conveniently accused the Sandinistas of "driving the entire small Jewish community of Nicaragua into exile, confiscating Jewish-owned property, and desecrating Nicaragua's only synagogue," Reagan promptly and publicly accused the Sandinistas of anti-Semitism. In fact, investigations by the United Nations, the Organization of American States, Americas Watch, and even the U.S. Embassy in Managua, found no evidence of anti-Semitism in the Nicaraguan Government.

The Israelis started arming Somoza after Jimmy Carter banned U.S. shipments to Nicaragua, citing the government's gross violations of human rights. In the late seventies, Israel began supplying other Latin American dictatorships that had been similarly blacklisted by the United States. These markets were a boon to Israel's economy, which is suffering under a 150% inflation rate and an 18 billion dollar national debt. 37% of Israeli domestic investment goes to the arms industry. Sales of military equipment -- amounting to more than 1.3 billion dollars a year -- now account for 40% of Israeli exports. By 1980, Israel was the world's largest supplier to Central America and sub-Saharan Africa. (The United States isn't totally out in the cold where these deals are concerned. At least a dozen U.S. corporations now invest heavily in Israeli military industries, where wages are lower and profits are higher than those in the USA.) Because of Congressional restrictions on U.S. military aid, Israel plays an especially crucial role as supplier to El Salvador, Honduras, Guatemala and Costa Rica. Between 1972 and 1980, Israel provided over 80% OF THE MILITARY EQUIPMENT USED IN El Salvador. On October 10 1979, when the New York Times reported that Israel was training Salvadoran officers in counter-insurgency, one of these officers was Roberto d'Aubuisson, whom former Ambassador Robert White has accused of masterminding the death squads and ordering the murder of Archbishop Romero.

Israel supplies El Salvador with machine guns, advanced fighter planes, and special electronic equipment that keeps track of the population -- essentially a sophisticated form of identity check. This computer system even monitors changes in water and electricity consumption. Israel is also a strong partner in the U.S. military buildup in Honduras. General Ariel Sharon visited Honduras in the fall of 1982, right after the massacres of Sabra and Shatila, and arranged to provide Honduras with fighter planes, radar equipment, military advisors, and -- for the contras -- guns captured from the PLO in Lebanon. Most of the Honduran air force has been rebuilt by Israeli specialists. In Costa Rica, Israel is training the police force in

counterinsurgency and helping to develop a settlement zone along the border with Nicaragua. According to columnist Jack Anderson, this development, along with the military buildup in Honduras, will "create a giant strategic pincers physically isolating Nicaragua by land."

Israel's best client in Central America is Guatemala, which has one of the worst human rights records in the world. Israel has been the main source of military support for Guatemalan regimes since 1977, when the government's systematic use of assassination and torture led Congress to cut off U.S. aid. In addition to supplying planes, armoured vehicles, and other equipment, Israel has staffed and funded the Transmissions and Electronics School, which trains Guatemalan officers in counterinsurgency warfare, using the same kind of computerized equipment as El Salvador to control the population. Israel ~~also~~ also staffed and funded the Transmissions and Electronics School, which trains Guatemalan officers in counterinsurgency warfare, using the same kind of computerized equipment as El Salvador to control the population. Israel also provides 300 military advisors, who help set up strategic hamlets in the Indian highlands. Since some of the tactics Israel uses on the West Bank are being used in Guatemala, people there now speak of the "Palestinization of the Indians," a term that geographically illustrates the Middle East connection.

The significance of the Middle East connection in Central America to concerned North Americans is that Israel is becoming an increasingly effective proxy for U.S. intervention. Professor Benjamin Beit Hallhami of the University of Haifa wrote in the New York Times of January 6, 1983: "Consider any Third World area that has been a trouble spot in the past ten years and you will discover Israeli weapons and officials implicated in the conflict -- supporting American interest and helping in what they call 'the defense of the West.'" Through out the Third World, Israel has succeeded in using force to blunt the edge of native radicalism. Some American policy makers may have qualms about what Israel does to aid countries like South Africa and Chile, but they can hardly disagree what Israel has done to advance their own concerns." In 1981, when Congress set a limit on U.S. military aid to El Salvador, Israel willingly lent 21 million dollars to El Salvador from the aid funds it had received from the United States.

So the Middle East connection has another dimension. A member of Congress can safely respond to pressure and vote to cut aid to El Salvador or the contras, but he cannot afford to vote against aid to Israel -- the political cost would be too great. In recent years, Congress has not only steadily increased aid to Israel but turned most loans into outright grants. Even if Congress should cut off funds for American intervention in Central America Reagan could at least for a time, simply channel money through Israel, as he has done in the past.

The Middle East connection comes full circle when one realizes that Israel and the United States act on a basis of a quid pro quo. The Israeli Government knows full well that its dealings with Latin American dictators are not only serving its own interests as an arms merchant, but also helping to carry out the policies of the U.S. Government. In return, the Israelis can be sure that the United States won't press for return of the Occupied Territories or criticize Israel for its treatment of the inhabitants of those territories. The people of Central America and the Middle East have very different historians and cultures. They live thousands of miles apart. But today they are part of the same struggle, and they are linked in ways that too few North Americans are aware of.

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25 DAY FAST TO PROTEST 25 YEAR SENTENCE

Prisoners' rights advocates Liz Elliott and Claire Culhane are organizing a 25-day fast on Parliament Hill for May 13-June 6 1985 to attempt to increase public awareness of the harmful effects of long-term sentencing (including mandatory 25 years without parole for certain types of offence). Murders, suicides, assaults are increasing inside prisons as situations get more violent for everybody; taxpayers are being forced to spend \$100 million on building more prisons. The fast will be on a rotating basis, with nobody fasting the entire 25 days. For information: Liz Elliott, 32 Stillwater Drive, Nepean Ont. K2H 5K2, 613-828-5294
Claire Culhane, #303 - 2075 East 12th, Vancouver B.C. V5N 2A9, 604-873-3070.

NOTES ON PRISONERS' RIGHTS

Claire Culhane, the most prominent figure in Canada's prison abolition movement, has written Network from Vancouver to make the following comments about recent material in Network on prison abolition:

-Since I believe most of your material for the Abolish Prisons (v 2 no 3) may have derived from some of my writing, please note correction regarding solitary confinement. The reference in the last paragraph to the type of cells does not really apply to the newer versions which, while a little more 'civilized' in appearance, but still described as being confined in a pressure cooker (because of its all steel furnishings) -- do not feature the 'no light or ventilation, no blanket, just a bucket.) That particular description applied to what are called the 'Chinese Cells.' These existed in Dorchester Penitentiary (and may still, but I'm not certain)...So much for the record.

-Headline PEACE ACTIVIST TORTURED AT ONTARIO DETENTION CENTRE (v 2 no 4) is hardly borne out by what follows -- given the connotation that the word 'torture' has in terms of what really happens to our Central American friends. Or what it really meant when used in Vietnam -- or, for that matter, what REALLY happens to so many prisoners in our own maximum security/SHU's these days. Maltreatment/humiliation/destroying dignity/physical and psychological abuse -- of course -- is truly rotten, but it seems to me the word "torture" should be saved for when it really reaches that level -- in terms of how we want the reader to conceive of it and not be 'off'd' when the real heavy stuff needs headlining and vigorously opposing.

-While doing time in prison, for any length of period, or under any circumstances can be a bloody good education for some -- I would be prepared to give people the benefit of the doubt that they are sincerely committed and genuinely concerned without necessarily having done time. Keep in mind all those who are doing time -- heavy time -- but who don't necessarily profit from the experience in terms of becoming more socially conscious, or more compassionate for others doing worse time, etc. So I'd say that doesn't become a valid measure. And while on the subject -- to sneer at those who for whatever reasons (good, bad or indifferent) burn-out, or cop-out, or simply stay on the side lines and never come forward to be active-activists. Once again, I find it too narrow an approach to attack groups (not far removed from basis of racism/sexism in a way) -- mainly because everyone has their own reasons for the extent of their participation; some happen to be very valid reasons, like deep sense of responsibility to other prior commitments which would be jeopardized by stepping forward at the wrong time/wrong place, just to 'prove themselves' to the likes of such assurers. For example, to neglect one's children while playing the brave revolutionary happens to be an ass-backward show of conviction, in my view. To suggest, instead, all the many other ways people can show their support (all the behind the scenes shit jobs which can be 'safely performed) -- in other words a strong team sense, rather than a finger-pointing one would be more consistent with our truest/ people-loving role.

-Apart from that, I do enjoy reading NETWORK, especially your life after death article. All the best.

-Claire

Comment by Gary Moffatt: As the compiler of the material on which Claire is commenting, I feel that her criticisms are generally well-taken. Two points, however. My definition of torture extends to placing a prisoner in solitary confinement and depriving him of food; I don't think a word with less impact should be substituted simply because other prisoners are suffering worse forms of torture. My comment about "stupid people who have no idea what prison conditions are really like" was directed not at people who have not done time (the truth is I haven't myself), but rather at those who are screaming publicly for harsher treatment of prisoners when they have no idea how harsh present conditions are.

ALTERNATIVES OR ABOLITION

submitted by Claire Culhane to International Prison Abolition Magazine, Toronto June 30.

Never has the power of words been more exploited than in prison jargon. While most would support prison reform, particularly in areas such as medical care, visiting rights, etc. do we really mean to perpetuate the prison system itself, indefinitely? When we call for alternatives, such as half-way houses, do we mean: more sophisticated methods to incapacitate without incarceration -- or -- NO MORE PRISONS? Alternatives which extend the criminal justice system's range of control -- 'net-widening' is the new terminology -- operate through channels such as probation, parole, halfway houses, community service, family court (instead of domestic counselling), treatment centres (more often psychiatric prisons), and the latest projected plan -- penal colonies, dubbed L.A.C.C. (Limited Access Correctional Communities.) To demonstrate the extent to which this pattern can escalate, already 1% of the State of Maryland in the United States is said to be living under supervision in one form or another.

And then there are the other more insidious alternatives operating under the guise of "abolition": high tech(nology), i.e. surveillance leading to house arrest whereby electronic bracelet attachments signal the wearer's movements out of their circumscribed area. Experiments in brain implantation can be expected to follow, which in turn is only a step removed from the violent, mind-control weapon E.C.T. (Electro-Convulsive Therapy.) To reach the goal of prisons as a last resort, for the fewest number of people, for the shortest period of time, the following crimes must first be eliminated:

death penalty (over 1300 on Death Row in the USA at present)
solitary confinement (segregation, administrative dissociation, special handling unit, or by whatever name it will be known next.)
excessive sentences (including indeterminate, which means forever.)
forced involuntary transfer (thousands of miles from home base.)
physical and psychological abuse

By concentrating our efforts on behalf of those who are the chief victims of economic and social deprivation, as well as of racial and sexist discrimination, we would be protecting prisoners' rights at the same time as we were aiming for abolition of prisons. It would also more accurately qualify the term "victim" as we see a resurgence of victims' groups thirsting for vengeance, not solutions.

In the meantime, prisons can be abolished on an individual basis in the here and now. Every prisoner whose sentence has been successfully appealed represents a victory for decarceration, which means keeping them out of prison. Every prisoner who wins a speedy parole release as soon as eligible represents a victory for exarceration -- getting them out of prison. Meaningful access between prisoners and community can be reinforced by placing in each prison an Independent Prisoners Advocate accountable to the community, NOT to the Solicitor-General's office.

However, the community itself must build into its own structure a strong accountability process in order to avoid any individual or collective corruption, so often generated by inexperience and/or a taste of power. Recognizing this tendency, the Philadelphia Bar Association featured an article in its journal, THE SHINGLE, which bears amazing relevance to current confrontations: SHOULD THE CRIMINAL JUSTICE SYSTEM BE PUT OUT OF BUSINESS? An end to Crime and Punishment. (vol. XXXIX, no. 4, May 1974.)

Two roads face us as we search for the most expedient solution to the present chaos in the prison system: Accept the trend towards control, which historically begins with the most vulnerable section of the population--in this instance, prisoners. OR Dismantle the billion dollar prison industry with all its vested and political interests. The most effective contribution to the abolition of prisons would be to join forces with those fighting for universal abolition of poverty, abolition of war, and abolition of injustice.

WHY IT DOESN'T MATTER WHO WINS THE U.S. ELECTION

by Gary Moffatt

When Ed Broadbent told a Halifax rally on Hiroshima Day that the NDP would favour Canada increasing its conventional weapons supply, he confirmed that the NDP has moved so far to the right as to be virtually indistinguishable from the other parties (it still, of course, opposes nuclear weapons; however several articles during the past couple of years, some of which Network has reprinted, demonstrate that the military can destroy as many selected targets with conventional weapons as with nuclear.) Having gone through an election in which conservative, liberal and "socialist" parties offered near-identical programs (or, more precisely, lack of programs) Canadians can now turn their attention to the ever-more-fascinating election south of the border. Here it may seem at first glance that there is a real difference between the policies of Reagan and Mondale; although Reagan has the election sewn up there is always hope of a miracle; Remember 1948. (We might also remember how scared we were of a possible Goldwater victory in 1964; two years later peace movement leaders were saying it would have been better had he gotten in.)

First of all, we must keep in mind that whichever party or candidate wins, the corporations will be calling the tune. William Pfaff writes in the Winnipeg Free Press (13-7-84): "This year's campaign for the presidency will spend in the billions of dollars, most of it by far on the purchase of television time...The supposed democratizing of the presidential primaries has, in practice, limited the presidential race to men sufficiently ambitious and well enough financed (by whom?) to devote two or more years of their lives to the mere quest for nomination. Are they the best the republic can offer?" The mass media will occasionally allow someone to ask who is financing political campaigns, but they will not let anyone answer the question since an answer would show that the corporations finance these campaigns. Clearly they will only finance candidates who can be relied on to carry out their wishes. Pfaff goes on to contrast the \$20 million spent on a campaign for a seat in the U.S. Senate to the \$6,000 spent by a British election candidate with a chance of winning (he thinks this shows that the British system is more democratic, though it is just as likely that with money in scarcer supply in Britain a smaller sum there will accomplish the same purpose as a much larger one in the USA.) The corporations wish to continue exploiting the Third World, and will not allow politicians of either party to advocate policies which would permit national liberation movements to challenge this exploitation. And it is this exploitation, not fear of the Russians, which causes the arms race to escalate. Even if a writer like Pfaff is aware of this he would never be allowed to state it in the Winnipeg Free Press, so he is left to suggest election spending reforms on television which won't be carried out because the present system suits the television and political industries well.

A truly democratic political party would of course challenge corporate control of the electoral process, but no such challenge will come from the Democrats. For one thing they have no truly democratic instincts. Two years ago they were holding a conference while Israel was shelling hospitals and torturing prisoners to death in Lebanon; there was not one dissenting voice to their decision to send Israel a congratulatory telegram. At the 1984 convention the Democrats crushed by a two-to-one margin plants which would have renounced first use of nuclear weapons, reduced defence spending sharply and abolished second primaries in some states (second primaries enable white candidates to "gang up" on black ones who win the first primary.) At one point, they conspired with the fire marshall to prevent members of the Hispanic caucus who wished to carry their fight against the Simpson-Mazzoli immigration bill to the floor from attending the caucus meeting which decided not to do so. (Winnipeg Free Press 20-7-84 p7.) The entire convention was manipulated by party bosses determined to have Mondale nominated at all costs, and the results showed that they have the party firmly under their control.

We may well ask, as does Walter Karp in Harper's (July 1984): "How was it that from 1981 to 1984 an American President who undermined liberty and laid siege to equality managed to be held in esteem by a nominally democratic people? What strange immunity shielded a President who promised to get 'government off the backs of the people' while making govern-

ment more intrusive than ever, who showered favours on the favoured while hounding with unexampled severity the poor, the disabled and the powerless; who promised to control government spending while generating the most enormous deficits in American history; who promised steady economic growth sustained by savings while giving us a false recovery fed by a spending spree; who promised to make America "proud again" while vaunting his military triumph over a country a great deal smaller than Long Island?" He goes on to point out that in 1980 surveys consistently showed most Americans opposed deep cuts in spending for health, education and other social programs. Reagan reduced the income of the poorest Americans by up to 25%, taking nearly \$400 away from households with incomes of \$10,000 a year or less, while giving (via tax cuts) \$8,000 to households with \$80,000 a year or more. He misled the public about Soviet nuclear "superiority" by confounding rubles and dollars, and by counting nuclear weapons instead of warheads. In all this program he was aided and abetted by the leaders of the Democratic party, who wished to keep the alienated citizens apathetic so Mondale could be nominated. To help Reagan get his budget through Congress, the Democrat Speaker of the House devised a "budget reconciliation" program which deterred challenges to individual spending cuts by packaging them in omnibus legislation. The Democrats turned a blind eye to malfeasance and official corruption, ignored Reagan's violations of statutes and federal regulations, offered Reagan "bipartisan" support when his Lebanon "peacekeeping" force became perilously entangled in a civil war, and helped to keep the MX program alive.

Karp's article doesn't probe deeply enough into what is wrong in U.S. politics; he might equally well have asked why liberals keep looking to the Democrats to rescue the USA from militarism despite the fact that it was Democratic regimes which launched most of the USA's militaristic endeavours in this century, including both world wars, Korea and Vietnam (although the immediate causes of WW2 and Korea were attacks by Japan and North Korea, it is not difficult to find U.S. provocation for these attacks.) The Democrats have done as much as the Republicans to keep dictators in power (FDK helped Batista and Somoza take over Cuba and Nicaragua, LBJ invaded the Dominican Republic and so forth.) Since 1945, presidents of both parties have consistently threaten to nuke Third World countries reluctant to fall in line behind U.S. policies.

Reagan has waged war on the poor, both domestically and abroad, a little more openly than his predecessors. We know that this war will continue if he is re-elected, but there is no reason to suppose that it will be mitigated if Mondale wins. Anyone who believes that the Democratic Party has the ability to throw off control by the bosses and become responsive to the needs of the people should hope and perhaps even work for a Reagan victory, since clearly such reform can only come when the party is out of office. Since I have no such faith--the financial interests are too well entrenched--I find myself completely indifferent to the election's outcome.

While it is a disaster from the standpoint of those who are starving as a result of Reagan's policies, the retreat from the welfare state could in the long run be a boon to the human race. Welfare has never been a satisfactory answer to the problem of poverty; its recipients remain poor and are often discouraged from doing anything to improve their own condition (for instance, those who are caught doing parttime work to supplement their welfare pittance are deprived of this pittance.) If welfare continues to be the best we can offer the ever-growing number of unemployed, many people will face the prospect of an entire lifetime on the dole. Surely a better solution is to encourage the formation of an alternative economy based on the concepts of human-scaled technology discussed by such writers as Bookchin, Schumacher, MacRobie and Sale. It is most unlikely that any state government will ever adopt these ideas, since they directly contradict the state's process of centralizing political and economic power. We must therefore look beyond the state, and its political process for the means of establishing such a system. A few particularly talented people have already learned to meet their economic needs in this fashion; we must devise the means of making this option available to everyone. This will take enough of our energy not to leave any for the pursuit of mythical political solutions.