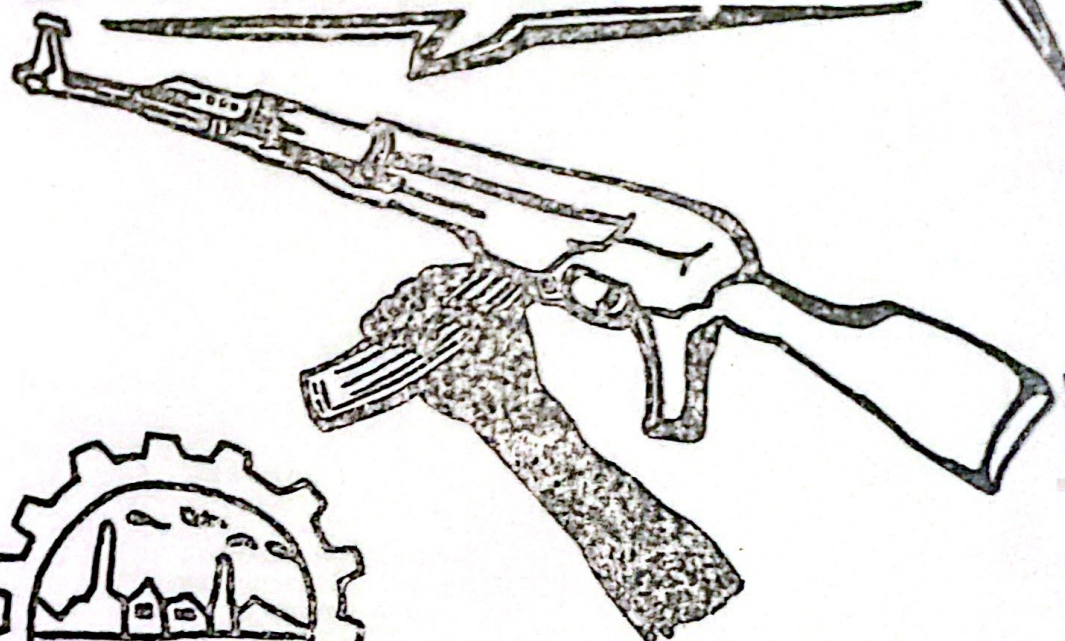


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MAJI MAJI



AUGUST 1971

NO. 3

THE CRISIS AT THE HILL
AND
REPRESSION IN ETHIOPIA

TANU YOUTH LEAGUE
THE UNIVERSITY OF DAR ES SALAAM

U. A. J. I. U. A. J. I.

AUGUST 1971

ISSUE No. 2

Published by
The TANU YOUTH LEAGUE
University District Branch
P.O. Box 35034
Dar es Salaam
T. A. U. Z. A. U. I. A.

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OPPRESSED OF THE WORLD, UNITE!
YOU HAVE NOTHING TO LOSE BUT CHAINS!
YOU HAVE A WORLD TO GAIN!

 "MAJIMAJI" NEW EDITORIAL COMMITTEE:

Ramesh Chauhan

Wilhelm Kavische

Fratern Minja

 Editorial Notes:

1. first, we would like to salute members of the outgoing editorial committee of MAJIMAJI for their work upto now. We promise to carry on the task they have started. We shall endeavour to carry even higher the banner of socialism and anti-imperialism.
2. We would like to take note of the deplorable events that have been taking place recently in Sudan. We want to condemn in the strongest terms the Nimeiry clique for the murders that it has committed. By slaughtering some of the best cadres of the African Revolution, Nimeiry has openly declared himself an enemy of the African people. We promise that the youth of Africa will avenge all his killings! The next issue of MAJIMAJI will contain an article analysing the historical roots of the murders and their implications for the people both of the Sudan and of Africa generally.
3. Finally we express our solidarity with all the students in East and Central Africa who recently have been struggling hard for progressive ends. We have in mind the students of Congo Kinshasa who have now been suppressed by the Gorilla Mobutu, and the Zambian students who pleaded for a more serious and consistent policy on South Africa.

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EDITORIAL

It is not often that one hears criticism of Ethiopia in Africa. For historical reasons, Africa has tended to look upon Ethiopia as "the headquarters" which are sacrosanct. Because of the country's long traditions of resistance against colonialists, Ethiopia has tended to appear as the rallying point for all anti-imperialist struggles in Africa - thus shrouding the realities that have existed in the country for many decades. We think it is time Africa looked at Ethiopia more critically.

On the eve of the recent O.A.U. Heads of State conference in Addis Ababa, the Ethiopian authorities locked up in detention camps more than 3,000 students of the capital. These were mostly secondary school students and their ages ranged from 16 to 20. This brutal punishment given to the young students was the government's response to their demonstrations in the capital. They had tried to use the opportunity of the congregation of Africa's leaders in their capital to voice their various grievances.

What were these grievances? Were these boys and girls out to demand yet more and more privileges? NO! These courageous students were not even thinking of themselves, they were thinking of the downtrodden masses of Ethiopia - the working people who bear the brunt of imperialist and neo-colonialist plunder. According to the well-known British journalist and author, Colin Legum, the students were protesting against "a twenty per cent rise in bus fares, steep and sudden rises in food prices, the arrest of vagrants in the capital, and in favour of land reforms".

They were thus speaking for the toiling masses - those who ultimately have to shoulder the rises in bus fares and food prices. They were pleading with the authorities to at least stop harrassing the least privileged people, i.e. the unemployed, and they were fighting for the millions of Ethiopians who are perishing daily because they cannot scratch out subsistence - the land being occupied by the Church and the royal family.

Students in Ethiopia have long outgrown the narcissism and egocentrism that are usually associated with students in the underdeveloped world. Not only those at the University, but obviously even those in secondary and primary schools have for long recognised that it is basically the nature of their society that is the cause of their various social ills. Thus the only correct struggles in which students can fight and win are those aimed at eradicating general social and economic ills. In other words, students must fight for and with the masses - otherwise they are just engaging in self-adoration. They must be revolutionary and militant.

Ethiopia today is a rotting society. American imperialism has mercilessly eaten it for ages, and the regime of Haile Selassie has always used the harshest brutalities to suppress all attempts on the part of the population to gain even some minor political and social rights. His Imperial Majesty, The Lion of Juda, Emperor Haile Selassie, is the absolute ruler - nay an autocrat. He is not bothered by the starvation that goes on day-in day-out right under his palace in Addis Ababa - not to speak of that which takes place in the countryside.

Naturally, the Ethiopian people and the Eritreans in particular are courageously fighting to put this Lion of Juda where it belongs, in the zoo. This is of course ultimately a struggle against American imperialism and that is why it is necessarily a protracted armed struggle.

The Ethiopian students are part and parcel of this struggle. They have so far suffered immense brutalities - but they have always stood firm in their opposition to imperialism and neo-colonialism. That is why we are dedicating this issue of MAJIMAJI to our colleagues in Ethiopia. We express our solidarity with all the progressive students in Ethiopia who, today, are the bearers of Africa's anti-imperialist banner.

We are republishing in this issue an important document written by Ethiopian students in North America. This describes in detail the repression and plunder of their people.

It is perhaps an honour that in this same issue we are able to tell also of the struggles of the students at Dar es Salaam University. Compared to what their Ethiopian colleagues have gone through, those struggles are just a play of cards. Yet we believe the recent crisis at the University of Dar es Salaam, as our contributors point out, is an important landmark in the history of the students' development. At no other time have our students been so united and at no other time have they spoken so loudly about socialism and its implementation. This is a most welcome development.

It is becoming a habit in Tanzania for the various national institutions to at best pay lip service and at worst actually sabotage the party's political and economic policies. "Mwongozo represents just guidelines, these are not meant to change anything at the University". This is what a high ranking official of the University is said to have announced soon after the proclamation of the TANU Guidelines (Mwongozo). Yet these guidelines speak, among other things, of changing the type of "colonial working habits and leadership methods" which result in one-man control and thus "making the rest have a mercenary attitude".

"There must be a deliberate effort to build equality between the leaders and those they lead. For a Tanzanian leader it must be forbidden to be arrogant, extravagant, contemptuous and oppressive. The Tanzanian leader has to be a person who respects people, scorns ostentation and who is not a tyrant. He should epitomise heroism, bravery, and be a champion of justice and equality".

This is what the students were fighting for. They thought this had to be implemented at the University also - if it really is a Tanzanian University, and TANU's own creation at that.

The students have been overly reproached and punished. But of most significance is the suggestion that the whole crisis was engineered by "foreigners". This is very insulting to the students and all Africans generally. But, of course, it reflects clearly the mind of the petty-bourgeoisie, a mind which Frantz Fanon says is that of a huckster. Incapable of independent thinking and acting, it has to look for "foreign elements" in every incident. It projects its own weaknesses upon all objects it looks at.

But apart from being an insult to Africans, to accuse foreigners for whatever happened here also assumes that all Tanzanians are "good". Yet we know of Tanzanians at this campus who under an out-and-out socialist regime would never dare to remain in Tanzania. Look for example at the activities of some Tanzanians during the crisis! We are now going to expose the machinations of one particular Tanzanian so as to provide at least one concrete example.

Of all the people who played a completely negative and destructive role during the University crisis, this particular Tanzanian is undoubtedly the most heinous. Never before had he been so active; his ambition was to divide the forces that were supporting the students' course. He never spoke in public, not even in the staff meetings. Instead he tried to spread slanderous rumours about the various groups that were involved in the crisis: students, staff members, workers, etc. He manufactured the rumour that the crisis was inspired and master-minded by "foreigners" and that most of the Tanzanian staff members (of which he is one) did not support the stand taken by the staff meetings which showed complete solidarity with the students. He even circulated a timid unsigned counter-motion supposedly issued by the majority of the staff members.

What is the use of such a Tanzanian, then, who cannot speak his mind but goes around whispering rumours about people and their motives? Is there any use for a person who - been educated (or miseducated) to become a lecturer at the national University? Let us state some facts about this person who, incidentally, is well known at the campus - so much so that we do not feel the need to mention his name,

He studied first in Eastern Europe and got married to a British woman who was subsequently involved in an espionage network. She is believed to be a member of M.I.5, and in this particular incident she was involved together with many foreign students who were then ordered out of the country. Her Tanzanian husband was one of these!

This is the type of Tanzanian which is in the forefront of a kind of pseudo-nationalism that brands "foreign" every constructive act. But it is the same people who are prepared to bandy bourgeois ideology in the lecture room in the name of academic work, drive "foreign" cars, live a typically bourgeois and European life, and of course have a "foreign" wife without seeing any inconsistency!

We are not saying that all expatriates are good per se. In fact if there is anybody who has been vocal and consistent in exposing foreign imperialist agents it is us. All we are saying is that the roots of the problem at the University should be found and uprooted, it does not pay to find scape-goats.

To end this commentary, we wish to salute members of HALL THREE at the University. While we commend all students for the staunch stand, we feel we have to note the special role played by the female students. During the boycott of lectures, they were the first to come out with the brilliant idea that students take on the workers' duties and hold political discussions with the workers in their hall. This is a very good example of revolutionary political agitation, and the fact that it was set by the female students who have in the past been notorious for their apathy makes it doubly important.

WE CALL UPON ALL STUDENTS TO TIGHTEN THEIR RELATIONSHIP WITH THE WORKERS AND WAGE AN UNFLINCHING STRUGGLE TOGETHER AGAINST BUREAUCRACY! EVER ONWARD TO VICTORY!

(1)

THE UPHEAVAL AGAINST BUREAUCRATIC
ARROGANCE

An Account by

MUNENE D. NJAGI.

Hardly one week was over since the opening of this academic year when the University experienced an upheaval whose magnitude and resonance were unparalleled to any other crisis in the history of the University. Students, a large number of the academic staff, and the workers at the University stood together to express their absolute dissatisfaction with the University administration. All had tolerated maladministration and arrogance for long enough. In a matter of days the otherwise tolerantly quiet academic community had at once precipitated a crisis of national significance.

It all started with the Graduation Day ceremony held on SABASABA day. At the ceremony the Vice-Chancellor gave a speech outlining the successes and failures of the one-year-old national University. He talked about misunderstandings between the various groups at the University: students, staff, administrators, and so forth. Since he did not go on to tell the causes of such misunderstandings, the DUSO (Dar es Salaam University Students Organization) felt it would be proper to inform both the Vice-Chancellor and the public as a whole the causes of such friction at the University. This was done in an open letter to the Vice, dated 8th July. On that same day, the administration, having been exposed, acted in desperation. The signatory of the letter, DUSO President Symonds Akivaga, was summoned to appear before the "disciplinary authority" charged with three counts: publishing material libellous to the Vice, attempting to cause disharmony between the students and the staff, and inciting the students into disobedience.

9th July: Akivaga went to appear before the "disciplinary authority" together with his cabinet which had directed the writing of the letter and which had approved it before it went out to the public. This was at 8 a.m. and the DUSO president was told to go away and report back at 10.30 a.m. He reported back at this later hour, not to be given that simple requirement of natural justice of being offered a hearing, but to be handed a letter signed by the Chief Administrative Officer, stating that Akivaga was found guilty of all counts and was going to be rusticated. By this time students had gathered near the Administration offices after sending an air of crisis. Student leaders including Akivaga addressed the now gathered student body and some staff members who were anxious to know what "rustication" implied. From then on, academic activities were suspended as every body walked over to the congregation which remained orderly and peaceful all the time. The gathering was later constituted into a Baraza (DUSO's highest organ composed of all students) by the speaker. Suddenly a contingent of the police Field Force Unit arrived and the superintendent claimed that he had orders from the President of the United Republic to take Akivaga away. This the F.F.U. did amongst great student protest and by molesting a few.

The students continued with their Baraza and made some four resolutions at the end: to boycott lectures and seminars until Akiyaga is brought back; not to cooperate with the Administration until Akiyaga is brought back; to call on the resignation of the Vice Chancellor; and to remain loyal to the Chancellor (the country's President).

A staff meeting for the academic staff was held that same afternoon where it was resolved to support the students' course and decided to meet for further discussions on the following day. That evening another student Baraza was held to discuss ways of implementing their resolutions. There the names of the staff members who had chosen to support the students' cause were read. It was resolved that the next day students should meet in hall Barazas to discuss the TANU Guidelines besides discussing other ways of implementing the resolutions of the Baraza.

10th July: Hall Barazas were held in which various resolutions were made, among them the decision to help in kitchen work and work outside the halls during the times that they would not be attending lectures, and to demonstrate in a protest march against the University Administration. In the afternoon of that same day a meeting was called by the TANU Youth League University District in which the Chairman condemned the Administration's acts. The leader of Uganda students and the President of Kenya Students Union in Dar es Salaam spoke on the same lines and on the same platform.

11th July: This was a Sunday and no meetings were held. A number of students continued to do various menial jobs in the kitchen together with the kitchen staff. Members of Hall Three (female students) were particularly active. It was learned from the press on that day that the University Council (the highest body of the University) would be meeting on the following day to discuss the crisis. This gave much hope to the students who considered that the Council would pay particular attention to the major questions - the causes of student dissatisfaction with the Administration.

12th July: This was the day the Council was to meet. Students gathered at the Revolutionary Square in the morning and a letter addressed to the Chancellor was read and ratified. Then the students held a mammoth demonstration up to the place where the Council would be meeting. Chanting students marched to the Administration offices, carrying very sober yet apt placards. The council met for the whole day (up to 10 p.m. while anxiety among the students grew minute by minute. The students gathered in the evening to wait for the verdict; at last at about 10.30 p.m. we learned that the Council had completed its deliberations and that its Chairman would be addressing the entire University community the following morning and not that night - instead the Baraza was addressed by the students who had attended the Council meeting. It became clear that the language of these speakers started to change and naturally dissent among the student body began to crop up. But no resolutions were called and the students were asked to await the official report from the Council Chairman the following morning.

13th July: At 10 a.m. the students were again meeting in a Baraza. The Chairman came to announce the Council's resolutions to the University community as a whole. And he

announced that the Council had found that the disciplinary action taken against Akivaga by the Administration was justified, that the rusticated leader had the right of appeal to the "appeals committee", that the Executive Committee had been empowered by the Council to appoint a committee to look into the roots of the crisis, and that the University had to resume academic work immediately.

Thus the student dilemma appeared, do they want to come into direct confrontation with the full power of the state or are they to back down and resume lectures? What would they have achieved in the crisis if they did go back to the lectures? Was an appeal to the Chancellor likely to yield any results or is he likely to stand by the decision of the University Council?

After the Council's decisions had been made public, the staff members and pressmen who had been covering the meeting were asked to leave the Hall so that the students could reconstitute themselves into a Baraza. It must be pointed out that even up to this point the majority of the students still felt that they should continue with the boycott until the grievances had been solved. The main theme of the deliberations that ensued was this: The Council had let us down and the only thing which remained for us was to choose whether to clash with the highest authority, the Chancellor and therefore the President of the country, or to appeal to him to intervene on our behalf. To choose the latter we would have to show a gesture of goodwill because we did not intend to give the Chancellor an ultimatum but an appeal. The best gesture would be to go back to classes. The other side of the argument went as follows: If we gave up en to the Chancellor we would be likely to lose all we were fighting for and that would mean that our whole battle had achieved nothing. Supposing again that the delegation we were to send to the Chancellor was told that we had to go back to classes without being given any guarantees as to our requests, should we then still go on to obey?

It appeared as if there was a balance in the opinions. Some other bit of the argument turned a majority of the students towards weighing the consequences of coming into direct confrontation with the state power. If we refused to go back to lectures the Chancellor would probably order that the University be closed down, and perhaps a few students would be victimised more, and those students who would ever come back would be completely cowed down into yes-men of the Administration. Moreover, scattered as we all would be, we would never be able to do anything as a student body and even the struggle of getting Akivaga back would die in the wilderness. On the other hand, if we went back to class, the Administration would have no pretext for trying to stop student leaders from carrying on the struggle now and in future. The student leaders could therefore rally all other sympathies, could lobby all those in power and build up enough pressure that could perhaps help in remedying the situation at the Hill. This is what was aptly described as a "tactical retreat".

At the same Baraza a letter written by the Workers Committee at the campus was read. This pledged solidarity with the students and also contained workers' grievances against the Administration.

The Baraza then resolved, with a notable proportion of dissenters, that the students resume lectures immediately as a gesture of goodwill to the Chancellor. And, that afternoon the student delegation leave for the ujamaa village where the Chancellor was then working. Thus immediately quite a few students went to check their forgotten timetables though a number preferred to resume their lectures the following day.

It is opportune to mention here that the students' hopes on the Council having been shattered (it was learnt later that the Council had spent most of the time discussing the language of the open letter and not much of its substance) now laid a new hope on the Chancellor. It was all the same expected that he would not agree to all grievances of the students, but there was quite some expectations that he would probably allow the rusticated student to come back and wait for his appeal while he was within the University. This expectation came especially because of the way the press had come up in support of the student course. Both the Nationalist and the Standard had strongly emphasised that there was definitely something wrong at the University which needed investigation, as everyone knew anyway. The Standard had gone further to question the legality of the deportation of Akivaga, and the calling in of the Field Force Unit to disrupt an otherwise orderly and constructive student Baraza. It was therefore within reasonable expectations that, since all those who supported the student course were reasonably responsible people and they could not be doing it for purely disruptive intentions, the Council and the Chancellor would lay enough emphasis on the point of view of the students.

14th July: The two-men delegation to the Chancellor returned quietly, almost unnoticed. There was much anxiety, a Baraza was hurriedly summoned that evening. Either because of lack of publicity of the Baraza or because of dying interest the Baraza was not attended as well as the former ones had been. I suppose it was because of lack of publicity since students waited to know what the Chancellor had decided. It was disclosed that he was of the opinion that the decision taken against the use of bad language was proper. But it was reported that the students' responsible action of choosing to go back to lectures had pleased the Chancellor, and that he had further expressed dissatisfaction with the existing University Act and proposed that it be looked into anew.

At any rate that was the end of the critical phase of the conflict. Whether the one step we moved backward will mean two more steps forward later still remains to be seen. The crisis however had its own lessons to teach, and had characteristics peculiar to it when considered in the light of the other forms of struggle that had been resorted to until then. It would be appropriate to survey these fields briefly.

Some Reflections

In many parts of the world the youths have revolted against the "establishments" for different reasons. The common characteristic however is that the youths are more on the progressive side than those "establishments". In Japan for example, the youths have fought against the establishment of American military bases in their country; in France the youths sparked off the mass demonstrations and strikes that resulted in an almost complete paralysis of France; in Australia they have fought against colour discrimination;

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in the United States they have fought against the Vietnam War, and nearer home in Zambia they are fighting for a more serious and consistent policy on the problem of the suppressive and aggressive regimes in Southern Africa. There are many more examples which one could add ad infinitum. But there were only a few cases where the youths have been more reactionary than the established orders. Where on this line then can we place this recent crisis at the University of Dar es Salaam? What were the students fighting for?

Dar es Salaam University Students Organization (DUSO) was established by the University of Dar es Salaam Act 1970. The Act established a new administration headed by a Vice Chancellor who is assisted by a Chief Administrative Officer, a Chief Academic Officer, a Dean of Students and Deans of the various Faculties. Not that there was much difference from what existed prior to the "nationalization" of the University, but there certainly were a number of factors which could bring about revolutionary measures if implemented meaningfully. The Act established that students should be included in the policy making circles, the University Council, the Senate, and so forth. In establishing this, the intention was shown that students were to be allowed to take part in making decisions, it was a recognition that students are mature and responsible. This was a measure towards the direction of bringing about socialist democracy. It was a measure that recognised that a bureaucrat or a group of them are as fallible as any other person and so there is no reason why they should be given the monopoly of power.

It however does not take mere legislation to educate bureaucrats that they are not to hide inside their offices in order to make policy decisions which they hand over to all those concerned through messengers. The new measures of democratising the University were therefore neither appreciated by the Administration nor did it appear that they intended to implement them.

The Administration at the University thus retained its stand-offish, faceless and impersonal attitude - so characteristic of a bureaucracy without inventiveness or creativity. A typical bureaucracy is marked by a rigid hierarchy, and a hierarchical system of decision making. This means that the more important a decision is the fewer the people who will take part in its taking. Once a decision is made it then is communicated downwards in series following the various bureaucratic levels until it reaches the people to be affected or to implement it. If the persons at the bottom have anything to question about the decision they have again to ascend all those stairs up to the man at the top. And after patiently suffering the cumbersomeness of climbing all those "stairs" the typical answers one gets are "come next week, make an appointment over the telephone, go and see so-and-so (who had initially referred one to the top)" and such like answers. Sometimes the person at the bottom will just give up out of sheer dislike of being so bothered without his questions ever being answered.

This bureaucratic pathology is worsened by the jealous guard with which power and information are kept. The bureaucrats will therefore want to be the sole decision makers, the never-erring commanders. And in case a bureaucrat is moody one morning and makes a rash decision he is protected by "anonymity" - that mythical quality of bureaucrats which assumes that a decision was not made by a person but by an "office". He is therefore a decision maker who is accountable to nobody. A substantial number of the senior bureaucrats we have today in the country are those same people who faithfully served the colonial government without asking any questions. They are simply career men,

all vying to reach the top-most positions without really knowing whose interests they are supposed to serve. But in Tanzania of course since there has been an attempt to liberate them by not making them remain mere cogs in the wheel; thus they now echo the political slogan of the day. They echo socialism not because they believe in it but because that is the day's method of climbing up the ladder. The more he climbs the more social prestige and the more the emoluments, all individualistic considerations. It is only a few who would not fall in this category.

No wonder then, when the real test for their commitment to socialism comes the majority will fail. This is particularly so when some principles of socialism come into conflict with the interests of bureaucracy - personal grandeur, power, lack of accountability, protection by invisibility and anonymity, and of course all other fringe benefits of the office. If a measure is introduced to democratise an institution or an establishment there certainly are bound to be those who will like it. But this will be a small part, the many will either oppose it openly or sabotage its implementation.

Yet this is essential for socialism. It is only when people participate in decision making that they can realise that they are the sole determiners of their own destiny. When they make mistakes they will have nobody to blame but themselves and they will learn the correct ways. There is no democracy more real than this - that the people participate in decision making at the various levels. It is in furtherance of this democracy I suppose that TANU was careful to include in the GUIDELINES clauses stipulating that managers and senior officers are not to issue commands from the top (refer clauses 13 - 15). This is what brings conflicts with some vested interests of the bureaucratic machinery at the University.

Following the old-style bureaucratic behaviour, decisions were made without the consultation of the student leaders, without the consultation of the lecturers, and so forth. The co-operative shop, the new by-laws (absurd, they were taken to TAPA and it was not until students protested that they were brought out for discussion) and many other measures taken by the Administration. As a result all this made the relations between the staff-students and the administration continue to worsen. No one was listened to. It is understood that even the workers at the University are represented by a man from NUTA in town during discussions with the Administration!

It was therefore particularly provoking to hear on the Graduation Day a speech of the Vice Chancellor which simply talked of misunderstandings without suggesting their reasons. And it was for this reason that the DUSO leadership rightly decided that the matter be put to the public. And it is reacting to our demands that one student, Symonds Akivaga, the person we chose to speak on our behalf and who led the battle against bureaucratic arrogance, was rusticated.

LONG LIVE REVOLUTIONARY DEMOCRACY!

LONG LIVE THE MWONGOZO!

CRISIS ON THE CAMPUS:
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Diagnosis and Implications

by

Karim Hirji

It is indisputable that the present would be absent but for the past. Yet many a keen observer has been surprised at the turn taken by historical events. Only when the climax is reached does one feel the intensity of the impact. The imperceptible quantitative changes cumulate into a qualitative transformation and people who uptill then were more or less objects of history come to the front as makers of history.

In my opinion these words aptly depict the recent crisis on the campus of the University of Dar es Salaam. That something was gravely amiss was realized by many only after facing open bayonets. Most were momentarily dumbfounded by the revelations as to the extent to which matters had reached. But then all were swept on by the logical tide of events. Each and every individual henceforth was involved, whether one liked it or not. What happened subsequently was neither surprising nor unpredictable.

It is my intention to focus on these events and attempt to gauge the implications of their novel and outstanding features.

First a few words on the probable causes. Here one must disentangle the immediate and obvious causes from the fundamental ones. The former are outlined in the open letter from DUSO to the Vice-Chancellor which sparked off the crisis and in other manifestoes issued during the period. These include matters such as the proposed by-laws, considered unpalatable by the students, the speech of the Vice-Chancellor on the Graduation Day, and so forth. When complaints were raised by the students' government - albeit in a down-to-earth language - the administration's reply was a rustication order for their leader and the calling in of riot police to forcefully evict him from the University premises. This aggravated the issues, adding salt to the wound.

Illustratingly camouflaged by the intransigence of the bureaucracy and students' efforts to assert themselves, lay the fundamental causes. These are structurally rooted. Not only do they arise from the set-up of the University and its relation to the nation as a whole but also because of the national socio-economic set-up. Some would like to portray it as purely a problem of break-down in communications between various social groups. Thus its solution only requires adjustments here and there to increase contact so as to promote understanding between the involved parties.

I submit, however, that the crisis is a manifestation of the inability of the so-called socialist regime in Tanzania to assign a meaningful role to the youth, and to the educated ones in particular. The maintenance of a neo-colonial reality is chocking off the energies and creativity of the youths in both directions. For the aspirants of privileges and prestige, the chances of climbing the social ladder are becoming slimmer and slimmer. Those who are on top obviously want to stay there.

If it was a question of implementing a sort of egalitarianism, that would be a different matter. For instance, the young undergraduates viewed the decision to stop Karadha loans of luxurious items not as a socialist measure but, as someone put it, "... because they have cars and now they do not want us to acquire them". The result is frustration.

Amongst the youths there are progressive elements as well. Many are inspired by the militant political documents issued by the party. The youths are a dynamic stratum in society. Being least constrained, they want to see change. They are not satisfied with mere words. But when the "credibility gap" between pronouncements and practice widens, when lofty hopes and expectations turn out to be mere illusions, what else but an explosion can one expect! The youths are told that they live in a revolutionary era. But when they point out any errors or obvious facades being peddled in the guise of "socialism", they encounter a swift reaction. "You must behave in a polite and respectable manner", so they are told. The substance of their arguments is overlooked. The bureaucrats only get worked up over "improper usage of language". They even take pains to remind the "young upstarts" of the mannerism of the traditional African society. Obviously, the "revolution" has to be carried out with the etiquettes, formalities and hypocrisy that puts to shame even the most sophisticated aristocrat!

One of the things emphasised in the recent TANU GUIDELINES (Mwongozo) is participation of the people in decision making. The leaders and the led must work out policies in a democratic manner. Of course, this was mainly directed to the working masses and those bureaucrats who are supposed to lead them. But the students being the most politically conscious stratum seized upon this clause to raise their voice. Some did it for their own ends, others out of anarchist tendencies and traditional dislike for authority. Only a few genuinely viewed it as a national problem. But the fact remains that they all shouted in the name of the "Mwongozo". The bureaucracy's reply was guns and more directives. Suppose the downtrodden and exploited workers and peasants stand up tomorrow and demand the promises continuously being metted out by the politicians be implemented? Suppose they point out the expanding tummies of the bosses and their own continuing wretchedness and poverty and say "we have had enough!" Only God knows what the bureaucrats will then resort to.

I will leave this matter here and go on to discuss the implications of the recent University crisis.

To say the least, the upheaval of 9th July 1971 and its aftermath constitute a profound landmark in the development of revolutionary consciousness amongst the University community. Guided mostly by spontaneity but at times punctuated by coolly reasoned acts, these events have opened up totally new dimension in student politics for the future. New vistas, hitherto either ignored or unexplored, have been opened up under the pressure of the occasion. A historical precedent has been set, and the future is bound to be heavily coloured by it.

The outstanding characteristics of the period were:

(a) the movement was a genuine mass movement. The degree of involvement had never reached this level before. To mention only one aspect of this, student Barazas have never been held so frequently - almost once every day for five days; and the

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discussions have never before been so vigorous and the attendance so consistently large. (b) The tripartite solidarity that sprang up between the students, workers and staff members. This is a completely new phenomenon in the history of this institution.

We shall take these one by one. But at this stage we must caution against being carried away by undue optimism. Revolutionaries must always be optimistic, but the optimism must be based on a realistic appraisal of the situation. First, the most promising of the novel features which is the solidarity that sprouted up between the workers and the students. This is something unheard of previously in this elitist institution. The only occasion during my three years as a student that I can remember which evoked some sympathy for radical student activity was the overthrow of the rag-day poppycock by the now defunct USARF in November 1968. Other than that the workers only appreciated the adult education classes that were organized by the T.Y.L. for a few months; but generally the relationship between the students and the workers has been, at best, cold. The two groups tended to be aloof from each other. At times the contemptuous attitude of some students and the suspicion of some of the workers has led to undesirable incidents.

The recent crisis broke this barrier. It is easy to exaggerate the extent to which this was the case. One can even point out the transient aspects of the phenomenon. Nevertheless undeniable is the fact that in the midst of the struggle a mutual realization dawned upon both the students and the workers of the necessity to confront the common bureaucratic opponent. The initiative came from the students, and they went around soliciting support from the workers. Faced with the heavy hand of the bureaucratic machine some of them discerned that there were others whose plight was even worse. In fact the workers suffer continuously from the harsh realities of the dictatorial system. Is it then surprising that their common plight welded together a bond of brotherhood?

The workers, especially after being acquainted with the Kiswahili versions of the DUSO and TYL statements were completely sympathetic to the students' course. It was a heart-rending sight to see some workers discussing issues with the students. They poured out their own grievances as well. The most edifying, and from a revolutionary perspective highly important act was the spontaneous willingness of some students to engage in manual labour with the workers. Almost unbelievably, the female students joined the kitchen staff during the boycott of classes to lend a hand in the work. Later they were joined by male students as well. The workers' committee later issued resolutions supporting the student course. But bureaucratic machinations were able to prevent a general gathering of the workers from being held.

There were obvious limitations countering further development. The workers are disorganized, do not have a high political consciousness, and most important, lack a solid tradition of political activity. The students, on the other hand, are very much petty bourgeois in outlook and behaviour. Their leadership was basically reformist in outlook. They did not raise any fundamental questions, and considered the solidarity with workers more as a temporary expediency than anything else. Thus they were not so keen to bring to the fore workers' grievances as well. This move could have led to a bigger conflict. Both these groups were influenced by the pseudo-revolutionary environment prevalent in the nation but this could not take them further than the

first step. In fact it impeded them taking the second one.

So when the students were intimidated into returning to classes by the authorities, the workers naturally regarded it as a betrayal. For they had not supported the students just for the materialization of participatory democracy. They had a lot of other complaints as well, regarding conditions of work, transport allowances, loans to buy bicycles, etc.

Now the days of solidarity only evoke nostalgic memories. As it is said, things are back to normal. But then such memories do fade easily. In fact they provide a stepping stone for future activity.

Another impressive feature of the recent crisis was the staff-student cooperation. After the Field Force Unit had whisked away the student president the faculty members met to discuss what was obviously a grave situation. At the least, they would not have any students to lecture to the next day due to resolutions of boycotting lectures passed earlier on by the students. The emergency session was held in an informal atmosphere after finding out that there was no provision in the University Act by which a meeting of all the academic staff could be convened; this fact in itself reflecting the authoritarian and undemocratic nature of the administrative structure. In this, a decision to hold a larger and more representative meeting next day was taken. And in this second meeting there was an almost total support for students.

The staff members called for re-examination of the decision making machinery at the University. Even some of the most conservative staff members became vocal spokesmen for the students' course. Some were motivated by liberal ideals of "academic freedom"; others were plainly frightened by the prospects of being manhandled by the police in the future. There were some who were just moved by the crowd, not plainly knowing why they did what they did. No doubt a group of respectable academicians, mostly from the Law Faculty, pursued a vigorous anti-student line. Their bitter memories of the Law crisis in 1969 made them somewhat sensitive to "abusive language" and "improper behaviour" resorted to by the students. But many were genuinely sympathetic. After all they too now and then felt the weight of the same bureaucratic yoke. And a small minority of them was deeply aware of the political implications of the crisis and thus played an exemplary and leading role.

Needless to say, the students were exhilarated by the staff response. The boycott of classes was reinforced. They had more allies, so they could act with more confidence.

As was to be expected, the reactionaries revived their time-honoured bogey of "foreign instigation". It is a fact that the majority of the academic staff in the University is non-Tanzanian. And it would be naive to expect these people to stand aloof in such a hot situation. But it is a fact that all members of staff, whether progressive or reactionary, whether Tanzanian or non-Tanzanian, all were taken by total surprise when the crisis erupted. To say that everything was engineered by "foreigners" or "communists" is just to evade the issues. In effect it is to deny thinking capacities to the students. Anyone on the scene knows it is a blatant lie.

But that is the nature of decadent authorities everywhere. They do not want to solve the problems, or even admit that any problems exist. So an excuse for the events must be found.

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The scape-goat is then victimised and things go back to normal.

This brings me to the last major point; that the student movement was genuinely a mass movement. The overwhelming majority of them threw themselves right into the centre of the events. Even female students generally regarded as politically apathetic and who only engage themselves in projecting fashionable attires, issued a militant manifesto and volunteered to do kitchen duties. Discussion assemblies were held in all halls of residence. Boycott of lectures was total. A few voices grumbled here and there; but these were drowned in a chorus of near unanimity. For the new students the crisis in fact constituted a reorientation week. After having passed through the rigmarole of introductory lectures and witnessed the ostentations of a graduation ceremony - portraying an aura of academic respectability over the Hill - their calm was shattered. The explosion engulfed them into the realities of student politics. Some were flabbergasted, too shocked to utter a word. But most did not retreat. They plunged themselves headlong into the student movement.

The T.Y.L. and DUSO leaderships for the first time acted with total solidarity. Each appreciated the other's contribution. There were some opportunists though who tried to prevent this. But being in a minority, they could not be effective. In brief it was people in all sectors of the political spectrum sailing in the same boat - a united front par excellence.

On the whole, the effect of the crisis has been educative. It is interesting to note what sometimes mob-logic mingled with bureaucratic bungling can accomplish, even a systematic political education campaign cannot do! The limitations of petty bourgeois politics prevented the neo-colonial set-up itself from being questioned. But it is the first time in the history of this University that the students' body as a whole on its own accord has taken a progressive stand.

Even if "normality" has been restored the foundation has been laid. It is now up to those who have learned from and were inspired by the crisis to, in Cabral's words, commit suicide as a petty bourgeois class and struggle with the workers and peasants for materialization of socialism.

QUOTABLE QUOTES FROM KAUNDA & FANON

"The spread of communism by China can only be stopped by the true interpretation of Christian principles where man is regarded as man.... The black masses have looked to the West because essentially they have been, and are still, Christian in outlook..."

- Speech at reception of R.C. bishops from East and Central Africa.

"I speak of the Christian religion, and no one need be astonished. The Church in the colonies is the White people's Church, the foreigner's Church. She does not call the native to God's ways but to the ways of the White man, of the master, of the oppressor. And as we know, in this matter many are called but few chosen".

- From the Wretched of the Earth.

FOR THEY ARE THE ELECT

by

Mauri Yambo

For They are the Elect
They are driven at noon
(How often!)
Through thick traffic
Along the flag-draped highway.

Undisturbed,
Their women beside them,
They go to the banquet
At the guarded hall, where, at night,
Psychedelic lights marry
Native drums,
To the waltz beat.

Their women, beside them, fumble
With handbag mirrors, reflecting
On eyeshades
Add sunshades
And lipstick and cutex;
Adjusting wigs or crowns of headcloth;
Worrying about creases and armpits,
And a quadruplet
Of deodorants.

For They are the Elect
They are driven in ceremonious grace,
On the heels of the Master,
Cackling "actually, actually..."
Cackling
In parrot-fashion.

They shake hands
With gloved ambassadors,
Pointing thumbs over shoulders,
At spectating subjects.

They walk up the red-carpeted marble
Steps, laughing Oxbridge
African culture
Into a Hall of British China,
French Cutlery, German Wood.
They swagger in refinement
They swagger into the clapping hall
In proud tailcoats.

Peacocks of a lost generation!

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WHAT THE EXPLOITERS SAY!

by

A.M. Hassanali

"Move, move, make place for us!"

"There's no place. I cannot squeeze more
With all my investments and property!"

"Move, move, make place for all people.
This is a free country of the people!"

"But where should I move to?
My property needs place.
I help people by giving them jobs
And bring in foreign exchange
For this poor country.
What will you do without us?"

"Move, move, make place for the poor too.
You exploit the people for your profits.
We know you send money out
So that you have something
When you finally have to go out!"

"That's not true, you fools!
Your leaders are the new beparis.
They live luxuriously in large bungalows.
They keep five servants a household
And move about in benz's and cadilacs."

"But the means of production
Are in the hands of the people now".

"That's what you think.
Now you have black beparies.
You say you are better off!
What profits did cooperatives bring?
A loss of fourteen million last year!
What of your S.T.C. and T.T.C.?
Losses on losses, and you think
You are happier! Fools, fools."

"You say this because you loose
By our nationalizations!
You spread false propaganda
And make good look evil."

"Fools, fools, fools, fools!"

"All economic development brings chaos first.
Then it brings stagnation.
And if the socialist is implemented,
Finally prosperity and happiness,
Happiness for the poor masses,
For the teeming millions,
The oppressed, the down-trodden.
When they rule, and only then
They bring happiness for all!
But only after economic,
Cultural and other imperialisms
Are eliminated from our country.

"HAPPINESS FOR ALL
IS OUR GOAL".

REPRESSION IN ETHIOPIA

prepared

by

The Ethiopian Students Union in N. America

Ethiopia is often portrayed as a country with a glorious tradition of a rich and enduring civilization. Except for the brief Italian occupation, it is known as a nation which has maintained its independence for over three thousand years. There is much we are proud of in this heritage. But this image leaves out too much. Beneath the picturesque medievalism of kings and queens lies the overwhelming reality of the misery of our people who have borne the burden of this pageantry. The Ethiopian masses who made heroic sacrifices to safeguard the nation's independence have become subject to the most oppressive internal domination. It is this dismal story of the hardships suffered by the vast majority of Ethiopians that needs to be told.

Politically, Ethiopia remains a despotism. Power is exclusively held by the feudal nobility, presently headed by Haile Selassie. No political parties are allowed. The only similarity the parliament bears to a democratic institution is its name. Members of the Upper House are personally appointed by the Emperor who is free to overrule any decisions of the Lower House. The emperor's decisions and legislation on all matters are binding and are not subject to review by the Parliament.

The parliamentary bodies, also called 'deliberative chambers' in the constitution, cannot legislate without the Emperor's consent. Even their powers to initiate legislation are limited. (U.S. Army Handbook for Ethiopia, 1964)

The Prime Minister and Cabinet Members are imperial appointees. Discussing the uncontested power of the Emperor, the government's official Guide to Ethiopia proclaims:

... in practice, despite the structure of democratic government, most policy questions of any importance are referred to the Emperor.

But the constitution which provided for the establishment of parliament is not without a point. The purpose of the constitution is to consolidate the Emperor's power over all other feudal institutions, such as the nobility and the Ethiopian Orthodox Church. The U.S. Army Handbook states:

Both as Regent and as Emperor, Haile Selassie has tried to increase the power of the throne by designing a broader, more constitutional framework within which traditional concepts of government might be adapted and the nobility and the Church brought more closely under the throne's leadership.

In light of this objective, it is not surprising that more than a quarter of the articles of the 1955 Revised Constitution concern the Emperor.

The autocratic regime bears full responsibility for the devastated economic and social life of the nation. Ethiopia is an underdeveloped country standing lowest among the poorest countries. The per capita income is estimated to be between \$35 and \$50, a rate unparalleled by most African states. When allowances have been made in this figure for the incomes of the feudal nobility, the peasant's income is barely at the subsistence level. Periodic famines are rampant throughout the countryside; annually at least one major province suffers severe starvation. The primitive state of the economy can be seen in the fact that 90% of Ethiopia's population is engaged in agriculture which contributes about 70% of the gross domestic product. Modern industry, including electricity and construction, constitutes only 5% of the total output. Modern manufacturing industries make up only 2% of the total economy. The contribution of mining is so small as to be negligible. Ethiopia is a perfect example of a one-commodity export economy. Coffee accounts for between $\frac{1}{2}$ and $\frac{2}{3}$ of the nation's total value of exports. The country has been suffering from a rapidly growing trade deficit which has reached such proportions in 1969-1970 that it threatens the collapse of the national economy.

The situation in health is alarming. The infant mortality rate is among the highest in the world.

Between 50% and 60% of the newborn children die in the first two and a half years after birth. (U.S. Army Handbook)

Approximately half of the nation's adult population suffers from syphilis. In some urban centers, syphilis has reached epidemic proportions. Leprosy is endemic throughout Ethiopia. In the province of Gojjam alone there are an estimated 110,000 to 125,000 lepers (Army Handbook). Of the 25,000,000 Ethiopians, approximately 10 million live in malaria areas. Death from malaria alone is estimated at 20,000 persons yearly. "In 1958, for example 400,000 persons are believed to have died in a malaria epidemic in Tigre" (Army Handbook). Typhus is rampant; amoebic and bacillary dysenteries are widespread. Smallpox has long been endemic and few steps have been taken toward its prevention. To meet the urgent needs of the rapidly dying population, there is but one hospital bed for every 3,500 people, and the majority of these are concentrated in Addis Ababa, catering to the ruling class. Less than 300 doctors provide services for the country's 25 million people. The first five-year-plan allocated 2.3% of the total budget to public health. The government's concern for the people's health can be seen in its military expenditure which, in contrast to health expenses, amounted to 30%-35% of the total under the same plan.

Three decades have passed since Haile Selassie announced that "a free public education is the right of every child." A UNESCO study shows that between 95% and 98% of the Ethiopian population is illiterate - a figure once again unequaled by any other country. Of the estimated 6,093,000 school-age children, only 186,200 or 3% are in school. Of potential students over 15 years of age, 0.3% attend school. The very few who manage to attend school in the cities occupy classes with an average of 58 students; in the countryside, the average class size is between 79 and 94.

Such misery abounds in a country whose economic potential is considered great. Of Ethiopia's 450,000 square miles, much is plateau land which possesses one of the most fertile agricultural soils. According to the Ethiopian Planning Board only 15% of potentially arable land (not including vast areas which could be

utilized through irrigation) is at present cultivated. Even under these conditions, Ethiopia is one of the major producers of millet in Africa. It is the second largest wheat producing area in Africa south of the Sahara, and the most important barley producing area in the continent. Its coffee production exceeds that of most coffee-growing nations. An American economist has estimated that, if properly cultivated, Ethiopia can produce enough food to feed Western Europe. According to a U.N. study, Ethiopia is second only to the Congo in Hydro-electric potential among African countries. Although minerals and oil resources have not yet been fully explored, it is known that Ethiopia has large potash and iron ore reserves.

Part of the reason for this disparity between the potential and actual is given in the official Guide to Ethiopia:

There have as yet been no basic changes in the structure of Ethiopian society. The emperor is the hereditary ruler. Then there are the great land-owning families whose heads bear titles of nobility and who serve as ministers, officers of state, governors of provinces, military leaders and Church officials. Below the Imperial family and the nobles are the Amhara and Galla landed gentry who have been the major beneficiaries of educational opportunities abroad and make up much of government personnel.

When the Emperor in a speech in November 1961 declared, "It is our aim that every Ethiopian own land," the imperial family and the feudal nobility owned 65% of all the land and the State Church held between 20%-30% of the most arable land. Article 2991 of the Civil Code provides that rent in kind levied on a tenant shall in no case exceed 75% of his crop yield. However, at the same time, the article provides that the landlord may evict any tenant who is unable to surrender 75% of his produce - in effect setting the rent at exactly 75%. In addition, this law allows that a new landlord may expel tenants of the former landlord when the land is transferred. On the other hand, the code holds that a peasant is allowed to terminate his services if he is too ill to work, providing that he gives four years notice, or if he dies. The latter condition needs no further comment. In connection with the first provision, however, it is significant to note that on the average it takes three years before land can be cleared for cultivation; thus the landlord is guaranteed productive land before the tenant is released from his obligations.

Aside from the payments in kind, the tenant is required to render various unspecified services to the landlord. It is estimated that the peasant's obligations in this regard amount to one out of three working days. Since the 1960 Civil Code, a Ministry of Land Reform and Administration has been established to further streamline the feudal property relations. In a 1966 study prepared by this Ministry, it was found that most peasants in the Province of Sidamo made cash payments although the law states that tenants are expected to pay their rents in kind. In addition, 60% of the province's tenants were required to provide cash for government taxes normally paid by the landlord. Under the new administrative provisions, the peasant is increasingly burdened with the demands of an unstable economy.

The feudal regime has increasingly made common cause with American imperialism. Part of the United States economic hold on Ethiopia can be seen in a New York Times, January 17, 1967, report:

Ralph Pearson Co-operates a \$45 million mining project in the Danakil Desert. Dozens of American businessmen have already discovered Ethiopia, from a bookstore to a \$100 million potash mining project, from a spice firm to two of the world's largest oil companies. More than 200 American companies also have agencies in Ethiopia. Among the reasons, one of Africa's most liberal investment policies, generous duty-free and tax exemption provisions, special laws protecting U.S. firms against expropriations and vast potential in agriculture, industry and mining.

The United States sent one of its largest Peace Corps missions to Ethiopia. Haile Sellasie has often claimed that he is a champion of Pan-Africanism. However, a report in Africa (1965, No. 18) states:

There is evidence that the present Ethiopian government is an imperialist agent... The OAU has asked all member states to remove all military bases... The fact that there is an American base in Ethiopia threatens the independence of Ethiopians. The American MAAG military advisors, the Mapping and Geographical Institute, and the Peace Corps' presence - all these strengthen the hold of imperialism in Ethiopia.

The importance of the American base is underlined by the New York Times (May 15, 1965):

The Kagnaw Station... is in a relatively interference-free area, and has many advantages as the African and Middle East link in the world-wide system of U.S. communications. It is one of the most important stations of its kind in the world.

The number of Americans active in the various agencies in Ethiopia is over 10,000. In addition, the number of their dependents is between 25,000 and 30,000. Apart from stations in the countryside, large residential urban areas are American colonies. The continental significance of U.S. imperialism in Ethiopia can be seen in a report in the Illinois State Register (January 12, 1964):

One of the most important showdowns between East and West is in the making in Ethiopia... Upon its outcome may depend whether the U.S. loses Africa. The U.S. must stand behind those who have supported it in the past - in this case, Emperor Haile Selassie.

The benefit for the feudal government under the agreement on maintaining the military base is the American promise to keep the decadent regime in power. United States assistance to the regime since 1953 comprises about half of the total United States military expenditure for the whole of Africa. United States military aid to Haile Selassie's government in 1970 represents two-thirds of the American arms aid to the entire African continent (Los Angeles Times, October 19, 1970). American support of the feudal regime is not, however, limited to these vast outlays, and to contributions in sophisticated arms such as supersonic F-5 jet fighters. The United States government also provides Special Forces units to train troops in counter-insurgency (New York Times, October 19, 1970). The military equipment and personnel furnished by United States imperialism are not awaiting use in some future eventuality. Thousands of Ethiopian peasants, workers and students have already been victims of the planes, bombs and counterinsurgency forces. And as the struggles against the regime intensify, there is hardly any doubt that United States troops would enter in an attempt to rescue the feudal order. As Senator Fulbright pointed out

during a recent Senate hearing, the 1960 pact between the American and Ethiopian governments suggests "that the U.S. would come to the aid of the Ethiopian Emperor in the event he was faced with an internal insurrection" (New York Times, October 19, 1970). Given the nature and depth of United States commitment to the archaic regime, it can be said that Haile Selassie, "the patron of African Unity", has not only leased Ethiopia to America, but he has also turned the country into a base for the neo-colonization of the entire African continent.

However, this feudal oppression and imperialist exploitation have not gone unchallenged. Since the return of Haile Selassie from his sanctuary in Europe at the end of the Italian occupation there have been a host of rebellions against the regime. In fact, a number of the patriotic liberation forces mobilized to resist the return of the feudal tyrant. The most important of these attempts took place in the provinces of Gojjam and Tigre. The peasant nationalist revolt in Gojjam was suppressed by the British imperialist forces, who came in support of the man they had preserved during the occupation. Bellay Zelleke, a leader of the Resistance, and the organizer of the revolt against the feudal regime, was publicly hanged. The revolt in Tigre province was crushed by the feudal army. Immediately after the rebellion in Gojjam, the Weyanne revolt broke out and lasted for over a year. It was finally suppressed with aerial bombardments by British Royal Air Force planes stationed in Aden. Yet another rebellion in Ogaden was crushed by British forces in 1948. A peasant uprising in Wollo in 1958 was met with "the eradication of a whole chain of villages from the map of Ethiopia" (New Left Review, 1965). In April 1960 peasants in Southern Ethiopia protested the dispossession of their land by the emperor's daughter and some of her children (Africa Today, May, 1961). This protest led to the massacre of more than a thousand peasants. In December 1960, an attempted coup by the imperial Bodyguard was put down by the army with the aid of planes flown by American pilots. All the leaders were subsequently hanged, including the corpses of a few who were killed before capture.

Since the 1960 insurrection, the struggle for liberation from the oppressive feudal regime has reached a new stage. Students, workers and peasants are carrying on nation-wide resistance and have begun to consolidate their forces. The last eight years have been a period of extensive armed peasant struggles, initiated in Eritrea and Balle. Workers have continually staged strikes in protest of exploitive labour conditions. During the last few years, this national progressive struggle has been intensified. The heightened fight follows upon important developments in the political and social conditions of the country. The economy is undergoing a serious crisis. The characteristic incompetence and obscurantism of the huge bureaucracy has made matters worse for the autocracy. To cite an example:

The 1958-59 budget was disclosed in the July 1959 issue of the Negaret Gazeta, published and circulated at the end of the summer a few weeks before the end of the fiscal year of September 9, 1959. In any event, budgets are in effect rendering of accounts rather than planning of state expenditure. (U.S. Army Handbook).

The present problems, however, cannot be masked by paper solutions. Since 1963, the price of food has gone up by 35.6% and the price of clothing has increased by 26.8%. In the

same period, wages have risen less than 5%, while in some areas they have decreased by 12%. In 1969, the government issued a directive prohibiting the employment of new personnel in government agencies for the next two years. Of those already in government service, employees in a number of provinces did not draw salaries for over three months. In a hopeless attempt at survival, a series of new taxes were imposed by the government. On imported food, for example customs duties have increased by 50%. Yet more taxes were demanded of the peasantry.

The regime's restrictions on education are indicative of its desperation. Of the 12,000 students who sat for college entrance examinations in 1969, the government decided that there were places available for less than 2,000. In 1970, the government announced that of the 19,000 who took the entrance examinations only about 1,000 had passed. A new annual school fee of Eth. \$10 per child has been made compulsory. In addition, a fee of U.S. \$10 is required for school entrance examinations. The effect of these fees on education in a country with a per capita income of \$35 to \$50 is self-evident.

This state of intensified oppression and exploitation has given rise to a national uprising of workers, peasants, students and other progressive elements. Workers have staged numerous attacks in various provinces demanding wage increments and the rights of labor organization. Among those engaged in the struggle are transportation workers, printing employees, and workers in the sugar factory. In some of these industries, leaders of the labor movement have been arbitrarily dismissed or physically eliminated. The workers have responded by going out on strike until the men are reinstated and reparations have been made.

In protest of the new taxes levied on land, peasant uprisings have spread to other regions in addition to those already underway in Balle, Borrena and Eritrea. The province of Gojjam has taken up arms against the regime. Similar uprisings are underway in Arussi and Harar. In retaliation, the government has mobilized its brutal military and counterinsurgency forces against the peasant population of Ethiopia. Eritrea, Gojjam and other areas of peasant struggle have been under constant attack by army divisions which have been moved there. Air bombardment of these regions has been constant and severe. In many areas, whole villages have been wiped out, and their inhabitants brutally murdered.

The Ethiopian Student Movement is in the forefront of these struggles. Students are waging the struggle under the banner of Land to the Tiller and Anti-imperialism. The goal has become the building of a new Ethiopia based on a complete social transformation of the society. For over six years now, the Student Movement has given voice to the national struggle against feudalism and imperialism through a series of important public actions. Thus in the early months of 1969, reaffirming its resolute opposition to feudalism and imperialism, the Student Movement at home drafted specific demands with respect to the arbitrary measures imposed by the regime. The demands included: the withdrawal of school and examination fees instituted by the regime; reforms of the corrupt educational system; expulsion of American Peace Corps teachers, whose function is to serve as agents of cultural imperialism in Ethiopia; immediate termination of vast expenditures on extravagant entertainment of foreign guests and visits abroad by Ethiopian officials; the removal from office of those officials directly responsible for the state of the education

system. The students also demanded that various officials responsible for the killing of students during peaceful demonstrations be brought for public trials.

University, secondary, and elementary school students throughout the nation staged peaceful demonstrations to voice these demands. They were joined by other youths, parents and teachers. The government retaliated by closing all schools and colleges for over a month. Later, when the institutions were ordered open, students refused to attend classes and continued to demonstrate until their demands were met. Since the autocracy made no gesture in this direction, almost all of the nation's schools and colleges remained closed for the rest of the school year. The Ethiopian Student Movement overseas joined in condemnation of the regime and in support of the demands of the compatriots at home. Demonstrations of solidarity were held at Ethiopian Embassies in various capitals including Belgrade, Moscow, Paris and Washington, D.C.

Through this struggle, the government employed the full force of its repressive machinery. Many students were killed and hundreds seriously injured during the peaceful demonstrations. Many others were held in various provincial and district prisons. Hundreds of students were expelled from schools and colleges. The first group, consisting of four students and a teacher, to appear before a court were sentenced to five years imprisonment and hard labor for alleged acts of defamation and endangering of national security. A second group of three received sentences of seven years of imprisonment for trumped-up charges including inciting insurrection and forming alliances with "foreign elements". The number of students and other progressive elements incarcerated for varied periods of up to one year were in the hundreds.

Students and other persons held in connection with the struggle of early 1969 were subjected to extremely brutal treatment in prison. Some were fatally beaten; others were tied to cars and dragged over pebble roads. Prisoners were kept in ice or stagnant water for days on end. The use of electric shock as torture was widespread. In March 1969, the regime decreed a Detention Act setting a three-month imprisonment for any subject with a provision that the period can be extended at the discretion of the security arm of the government. Armed with this fascist law, the reactionary regime proceeded to subject thousands to the brutal practices it has perfected in an effort to forestall its downfall.

In the face of this immense persecution, the struggle continued undaunted. Progressive forces throughout the country protested the inhuman treatment of students. The struggle against repression was not confined to Ethiopia alone. The Ethiopian Student Movement in Europe and the United States also registered its support for the cause of the student struggle at home. In June 1969 when Haile Selassie visited Washington, D.C. to request yet more military assistance to subdue the national insurrection, and economic aid to check the disintegration of the economy, the Ethiopian Students Union in North America staged a series of demonstrations in Washington. To highlight the demand for the freedom of political prisoners, to underscore the urgency of meeting the demands set by the compatriots at home, and to underline the opposition to imperialist support for the autocratic regime, the Ethiopian Students Union in North America liberated the Ethiopian Embassy in Washington, D.C.

and destroyed all propaganda materials of the decadent regime on the day of Haile Selassie's arrival. Other demonstrations exposing the true colors of the neo-colonial regime were held in front of the White House. Similar expressions of solidarity with the student struggle at home were made through the liberation of Ethiopian embassies in European capitals including Stockholm, Paris and Moscow.

The regime soon realized that its attempts to subdue the uprising had issued in new waves of insurrection. To avoid an even less manageable state of affairs, it made a show of reconciliation in the summer of 1969. Many of the students and others imprisoned earlier in the year were granted "amnesty". Provisions were made for the opening of the schools and colleges in the following fall.

However, as soon as the new school year began, it became clear that the feigned capitulation was designed to set the stage for a more thoroughgoing repression of the Student Movement. In the fall term of 1969, the government initiated an extensive anti-student propaganda campaign in its newspapers, radio and television media. Students were charged with fostering ethnic and religious conflicts. The government's media claimed that there was no question that students were working in concert with alien powers aiming at the overthrow of the government. If the country is to be saved from an imminent bloodbath, it was urged that the students had to be dealt with forthrightly. The students, on the other hand, fully recognizing that the regime was engaging in this provocative campaign to draw them into actions whereby they would once again fall prey to its vicious troops, refrained from responding. Instead, they held fast to a program of consolidation which was necessary so that they may recover from the repression that had followed the confrontations of the previous academic year.

The government, in turn, adopted more aggressive steps. Struggle, the only organ of the Student Movement at home was banned. Soon after, an official government newspaper declared in its editorial:

Last week's suspension of the student publication is a step in the right direction. This step must be followed to its logical conclusion". (Ethiopian Herald, December 19, 1969).

The government then abolished all student organizations. The students even resisted the obvious provocation of these measures which put an end to public student organizing.

Frustrated by the failure of its efforts to instigate a student uprising and hypnotized by its own prophecies concerning the impending doom that was to befall the students, the regime finally undertook a desperate and murderous act. On December 29, 1969, Tilahun Gizaw, a popular leader of the Student Movement and President of the University Students Union of Addis Ababa, was assassinated by a gunman while walking in the street. On the morning of the 29th, 25,000 Addis Ababa students and other city residents gathered on the University campus to pay final tribute to the fallen leader of the Student Movement. As the funeral procession was about to proceed, government troops allegedly present to see that the march was orderly opened an attack on the unarmed assembly. Students were mercilessly assaulted with bayonets and machine guns. The massacre took the lives of 25 students. 157, including teachers

were seriously injured. The student massacre was not restricted to Addis Ababa. In Harrar where a funeral service was held for Tilahun, students, teachers and parents were attacked by the police. Similar brutality was visited upon students in other towns including Makalle, Adowa, Axum (Christian Science Monitor, January 22, 1970).

The strong protests against the regime's inhuman acts were not limited to Ethiopian students, parents, teachers and workers. Many foreign residents who witnessed the tragic events spoke in full condemnation. The Director of the Peace Corps in Ethiopia, Joseph Murphy, resigned in protest against what he characterized as "the repressive dictatorship which cannot establish a social order with better answers to its problems than shooting and beating young people" (New York Post, February 17, 1970). L.X. Tarpey, Dean of the College of Business Administration, urged that silence before the nazi practices of the regime is indefensible. He was deported from the country on January 24, 1970. About a third of the Peace Corps teachers in Ethiopia resigned explaining that conditions in the country no longer made it possible for them to teach.

The prevailing conditions in the country following the December massacre can be gleaned from the terms set by the government for the re-opening of the University. According to the directives issued on February 26, 1970 all student publications are to remain banned. All student organizations are permanently dissolved. All students who were "pardoned" the previous summer, and who were present at the events surrounding the funeral ceremonies for Tilahun are to be expelled and returned to prison to serve their sentences (Ethiopian Herald, January 26, 1970). A military force shall be permanently stationed on the campuses of the University (Memorandum from the President of HSIU, January 26, 1970). In short, all forms of dissent are forbidden. Even nominal recognition of the rights of speech and assembly has been denied. Under these provisions, many have been expelled from the schools and colleges. Others remain in prison without trial. New arrests among students and other progressive elements are being made every day.

In spite of such unmitigated repression, the national uprising continues. With full support of their parents, many students have vowed never to return to the government schools. It has become clear to all that even limited education is impossible as long as the regime survives. The student papers have been replaced by underground publications. Despite the growing persecution, student organizing continues with renewed strength. The Ethiopian Student Movement is, therefore, resolved to struggle until victory.

The people and students of Ethiopia are too familiar with the oppression of the feudal and neo-colonial regime in Ethiopia. But the diabolic nature of the government and the true condition of the Ethiopian masses remains unknown to world public opinion. That such a regime should continue to hide its despicable practices through control of the press and censorship does not come as a surprise. It is all the more imperative, therefore, that all well-meaning and progressive peoples everywhere make their voices heard in condemnation of its inhuman acts. The present popular uprisings constitute but a stage in the protracted struggle of the people of Ethiopia; ultimately, the struggle will free Ethiopia from feudalism and imperialism, and allow the masses to build a nation whose history is their own.

FROM OUR READERS

Comrades,

Permit me to say a few words on comrade Hirji's article which appeared in MAJIMAJI No. 2 and which was entitled, "Militancy at the Hill".

First, as a participant in the struggles which comrade Hirji tried to describe, I must congratulate him for synthesizing and summarising all the skirmishes, hallucinations, frustrations and inspirations we went through in the 1970/71 academic year. To the person who takes part in a play, the various parts of the play seem a jig-saw puzzle leading nowhere. Once however the whole play is shown to him, say on a screen, or reviewed by a keen analyst, then he realizes his self and his creation.

For all the tumultuous ups and downs, the direct participants have undoubtedly gained a lot in terms of their own consciousness. This I think is a major point which comrade Hirji's conclusions and lessons do not bring out clearly. As he himself stated at the beginning of his article, failures are a tremendous source of learning. It is my belief that without these episodes, the level of maturity in political consciousness recently attained by some - albeit very few - of the direct participants would not have been possible.

I underline the word "maturity" to distinguish between student political understanding which is usually purely theoretical and often naive, and class consciousness that results from participation in production. I want to suggest that at least a minute number of our students have, as a result of these various episodes as well as earlier ones, started to outgrow their student limitations. And as I have already said, this development is important, the most important outcome of the whole play in fact.

Yet I think comrade Hirji failed to take note of this basically because of other serious errors he committed in the course of his analysis. It seems he grossly misled himself on his evaluation of both the TYL and USARF groups - "the radicals at the Hill" to use his own phraseology.

There are particularly two sentences which underpin his analytical defects. First, there is the sentence which reads: "In the first place, even in the TYL itself, the chasm between its Marxist leadership and amorphous membership was a big stumbling block". Let me say that as a person who has been one of Hirji's "radicals" since my entrance in the University, I had never heard before the flagrant claim that the TYL "leadership" was a "Marxist leadership"! If comrade Hirji seriously believes that the TYL at the University has or ever had a Marxist leadership, then perhaps we have to question his knowledge of the most basic fundamentals of Marxism.

One need not have considered this claim important if it had been made, say, by some Western journalist, but the

fact that it is made by one of the "radicals" makes it terribly important. It never occurred to me, and I never heard before anyone of the "radicals" make such a flamboyant claim. I can only hope that this was a slip of the pen - as the English are fond of saying - on the part of comrade Hirji; otherwise he could just as well be counted out as he lives in what must irretrievable phantasies.

The second sentence is related to the foregoing in content. "Among the distinctive advantages possessed by USARF was that it was a tightly knit group of committed activists drawn from different countries". To all those who knew USARF, and particularly to those like me who were its members, this must have been terribly appalling to say the least. Since when did USARF become a "tightly knit group" and "of committed activists" at that?

It seems that the pitfall that caused this second claim is again the lack of knowledge of what is Marxism and what are Marxist organisations and their leaderships. That is why the error is so serious! Since it is committed by a person who could just as well be called a veteran of the "radicals", people will undoubtedly want to reconsider their opinions about these "radicals" and their claims!

In fact a major point missed out by his account is the fact that it is the USARF members and the leaders particularly who are to bear part of the blame for USARF's defunction. The group's leadership got infiltrated by the most opportunistic elements at the campus - a fact which made the group no longer capable of either respect or commitment. Thus it became virtually impossible for it to arouse political consciousness, let alone commitment, among the students and thus became an easy victim of the bureaucracy's axe. This again is a factor his account ought to have dared to bring out in the open.

Those then are the two profound sentences which are really shocking to those who are versed in Marxism as well as to those who know the situation at the campus - particularly the "radicals" among them. The inadequacy of the analysis is summarised in a later sentence which really puts the cap on the confusion: "Revolutions are not the creations of revolutionaries, but they certainly require revolutionaries to carry them out". What mumble-jumble is this from an ex-USARF member?

There are of course other minor points concerning accuracy in reporting which a participant like me are flabbergasting. These however need not detain us.

Let me therefore end here by expressing my hope that MAJIMAJI will continue to grow so that these lively debates can go on. Those of us who had the privilege to start it will feel our efforts at various nocturnal duties were wasted if it suffers infanticide like CHECHE. And we of course trust that those who have taken over from us will never betray us - whatever the odds!

Henry Mapolu

University of
Dar es Salaam.

Comrades,

Rigorous criticism is essential for theoretical advancement as well as for practical effectiveness. In fact at times it is the only means through which errors arising out of subjective biases can be corrected.

Thus Mapolu's attempted critique is welcome. However a critic needs to be criticised too, lest he slips into inimical illusions of infallibility.

Reading through his comments I am surprised to note that he, for some obscure reasons, chooses to ignore totally the central thesis of my article. He does not examine whether what I at the start called "...the dialectic of cleavage and harmony..." did in fact describe and explain the situation at the campus as it existed during the period under consideration. Perhaps being so well versed in Marxism and with the situation on the campus as well he can afford to overlook the major theoretical issues! Not unlike an eminent scientist who, at the turn of the last century, thought that all the fundamental scientific problems had been solved. Further progress would be only in terms of increasing numerical accuracy of results. Yet only a few decades latter the whole edifice of Newtonian physics came down like a pack of cards.

Reviving this anachronistic tradition we find that Mapolu raises objections as regards some details only. In fact, he disagrees with three sentences in the text. To be more exact, the whole thing boils down to the question of appropriate terminology. Usage of certain descriptive words is disputed.

Before we examine the validity of these objections, a fundamental point must be born in mind. An argument or a sentence, however profound, if torn out of the context may be shown to be ridiculous and illogical. But that is an indication, par excellence, of dishonest criticism. If the devil can quote the bible to justify himself, shall we excuse Mapolu for doing the same? Now let us deal with his juicily selected sentences. First, he disagrees with the statement: "In the first place, even in the TYL itself, the chasm between its Marxist leadership and amorphous membership was a big stumbling block".

Note that he does not deny that a chasm did indeed exist and that it was a stumbling block for effective actions. Also that this chasm was mainly due to ideological reasons. Though as I clearly stated in my article some personal factors were involved too. Mapolu only pedantically observes that it is incorrect to call the leadership a Marxist one. Here I concur with him. In the scientific sense of the term it is true that we had no Marxist leadership in the TYL. Though I must add that nowhere is there a hard and fast agreement as to what a Marxist leadership constitutes. Perhaps Mapolu whose "knowledge of the most basic fundamentals of Marxism" cannot be questioned, should have educated us in this respect.

Now the question arises: why did I choose to call the past TYL leadership a Marxist one? Firstly the leadership consciously and openly considered itself to be propounding scientific socialism. It tended to dissociate itself with the idealist ujamaa brand of socialism. This much is clear from their statements and their theoretical journal. Secondly it was considered by other students and reactionaries to be composed of "communists". Not infrequently it was accused of peddling "foreign Marxist ideology". So mine was not a "flagrant claim"

which has been "never heard before". Though it is certain that none of the group of radicals had gobbled up DAS KAPITAL from cover to cover, much to the chagrin of our erudite critic, I offer my humble apologies for lumping him in the same bandwagon as other "ignoramuses". On my part I will reiterate that no doubt it was an error to substitute what were essentially subjective opinions for the objective reality.

Now we come to the second of his juicy extracts. He disputes the validity of the claim that, "Among the distinctive advantages possessed by USARF was that it was a tightly knit group of committed activists drawn from different countries". Further on he states that USARF's "leadership got infiltrated with the most opportunistic elements at the campus..." It will be recalled that the statement under scrutiny was made when I was appraising the role of USARF during its entire period of existence. And I would emphatically reassert that it remains true for most of the time of its existence. Mapolu however is only concerned with the period just before USARF was banned. He only reveals his myopic vision in thinking that USARF had always been as he found it. Being a late comer to the scene the least one would expect of him would be a careful enquiry into the past.

However, what is most unacceptable is his insipid claim that USARF's leadership included some of the most opportunistic elements on the Hill. I fully agree that the leadership in office just before its collapse was lacking in political acumen. Its fragmentation as a result of individualistic operational tendencies contributed to it being ineffective. This is mentioned in my article when I referred to USARF as "a sleeping beauty". But this is not synonymous with opportunism of the highest order.

Yet even if we grant that Mapolu's ludicrous claim is indeed true, it is difficult to see how he can conclude that this opportunism is to be blamed if only in part for USARF's demise. For opportunism invariably implies compromise. In USARF's case it could only mean ideological compromise with the reactionaries. If this was the case, then USARF's life should have been prolonged. The bureaucracy should have been less alarmed. That this was not true is common knowledge which somehow has been ignored by the esteemed critic.

This brings me to the final sentence dismissed by Mapolu as "mumble-jumble". Out of context it may appear so. Yet given the fact that USARF has churned out some of the most admirable (in terms of commitment and clarity) militants, like Museveni and many others, bound to contribute to the furtherance of the African revolution, then the sentence does make some sense.

Finally if Mapolu thinks that my article proves that I live in "irretrievable phantasies" and hence must be "counted out" then he should have refrained from according me the privilege of addressing me as a "comrade" all along. For comrades do not dwell in clouds. They live and die on this earth, engaged in the struggle for socialism.

Karim Hirji

University of
Dar es Salaam.

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Facts and Figures on
THE IRRATIONAL SOCIETY

1. Ten million people in the U.S.A. are literally starving.
2. More than three million people in the U.S.A. are illiterate.
3. Ten thousand scientists and engineers have lost their jobs since 1969 in the U.S.A.; some of them are cutting grass and others are washing cars. A nuclear physicist, Eugene Hubbard, who designed instruments and methods for Appolo spaceships is now mixing cocktails in a California restaurant.
4. In Los Angeles 700 people lined up to apply for four vacancies of meter readers. The applicants were out-of-work aerospace supervisors, machinists, housewives, draftsmen, secretaries, newspaper reporters, etc.
5. An American Indian family of ten lives in a tar paper shack twelve feet by eight feet without water or sanitation.
- 6. In the U.S.A., \$3,000,000,000 are spent annually on dress for dogs.
7. In 1966, 29% of all murders in the U.S.A. were within families.
8. In the U.S.A. more than one million people are divorced annually, for every home there is an average of one divorce, every year there are 100,000 cases of desertions, and every year more than 300,000 babies are born out of wedlock.
9. Suicide rate per 100,000 is 19 in Sweden, 11 in the U.K., and 10 in the U.S.A.
10. In the U.S.A. Christmas toys kill 15,000 and injure 700,000 annually.
11. On the average, one car per minute is stolen in the U.S.A.
12. According to the World Health Organisation, more murders have been committed in New York City alone in recent years than in Britain, Holland, Ireland, Switzerland, Spain, Sweden, Norway, Denmark and Luxemburg taken together.
13. Did you know that British Prime Minister Heath, who is a confirmed bachelor and a homosexual, has a West Indian boy-friend? It is said that he was terribly embarrassed when, on winning the last election, he was kissed by a blonde teenager girl! The photographers were there, and apparently his boy-friend was very worried when he saw the picture in the papers.

HERE AND ABOUT

Records:

There were 335 murders registered in New York in the first three months of this year, or 55 more than in the corresponding period in 1970. American statisticians predict that last year's record - 1,146 murders - will be broken by a considerable margin. Incidentally, the World Health Organization says more murders have been committed in New York in recent years than in Britain, Holland, Ireland, Switzerland, Spain, Sweden, Norway, Denmark and Luxemburg taken together.

T.V. Morals:

American sociologists have calculated that the number of TV programmes showing murder and other forms of violence has increased in the United States in the last seven years by 300 per cent. The country's stations show on the average 26 scenes of violence an hour. Between the ages of six and fifteen, American boys and girls see about 13,000 murders.

The price of Popularity:

The world now knows the price of the popularity of multi-millionaire Nelson Rockefeller who was elected Governor of New York state for the fourth term in November. The last election campaign cost him \$7 million, or \$2 per vote.

\$10,000 Salmon:

Lloyd's of London issues some curious insurance policies. It recently insured a salmon for \$10,000, charging \$500 premium for the policy. The client was Clair Grieve, organizer of the annual Kiwanis Salmon Derby. He marked the fish and released it in Georgia Strait, which lies between British Columbia and Vancouver Island in Canada. If the salmon is caught by a participant in the derby, Lloyd's will present him with a cheque for \$10,000.

Royal meteorites:

When the House of Lords was discussing a bill making all meteorites falling in Britain the property of Her Majesty the Queen, one peer queried: "What if a meteorite injures or kills someone? Will Her Majesty be responsible for it?" The Lords decided otherwise. The law they passed relieves the Queen of all such responsibility.

Student insurance:

Students of the University of New South Wales (Australia) need have no worries when they sit for exams now. The university has introduced a system of "accident" insurance. A student who has paid a premium of \$11 will be paid \$400 if he fails in his exams - a sum equal to his tuition fees for one year.

Family planning:

A maternity hospital in the Paris district of Chaillot has inserted the following ad in a newspaper: "Due to shortage of space expectant mothers are asked to place reservations ten months before confinement".

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Grateful husband:

A British pharmaceutical firm producing weight-reducing pills has received the following letter: "In the first two weeks my wife lost about one stone and a few days ago she vanished altogether. Gratefully yours, Michael Smith."

Rehabilitating Galileo?

Galileo Galilei may soon be rehabilitated by the Church. Cardinal Konig of Vienna said in an interview with the Italian "Paese Sera" that the earth's rotation around the sun is ... practically an indisputable fact. The Cardinal further revealed that "the Vatican has set up a committee to re-examine Galileo's case". He hastened to add, however, that he could not guarantee that Galileo would be "rehabilitated".

Overdid it:

Some time ago Italian customs officials detained Austrian priest Henrik Gradek. The padre had for some time been smuggling gold and knitted goods across the border. For a long while, everything went well. But on that unfortunate occasion Padre Gradek's greed gave him away. He had packed the boot of his car so full of contraband that the bulging cover caught the eye of customs officials.

Helping Kenya:

One day the Reverend Cyril Hooper appeared before his parishioners in Folkestone, England, in a rather unusual role. Before beginning his sermon, the clergyman, wearing only a loin cloth, did a Masai war dance. This was part of his campaign to recruit missionaries to preach the Gospel in Kenya.

The reason?

Female criminality in Los Angeles County, U.S.A., rose 23 per cent in 1970. Sociological studies, the London Daily Telegraph writes, predict that the female crime rate will soon catch up with the male. Los Angeles County Sheriff Peter J. Pitchess affirms gloomily that it will grow "as the women achieve greater freedom and equality with males."

"Damn shame"

In November 1968 President Lyndon B. Johnson awarded Sergeant Dwight Johnson the Medal of Honour, the United States' highest award for valour. The sergeant was given a hero's welcome in his home town, Detroit. And on April 30 of this year he was killed--- not in Vietnam, but in Detroit where he was serving as an army recruiting officer. He was shot as he was attempting to hold up a store. "This is just a damn shame," an army spokesman said.

Home-grown:

The demand for drugs in the West is breeding ingenuity among the purveyors of these forbidden goods. Kees Hoekert, a philology student in Amsterdam, sells seedlings containing narcotics at one gulden each. The buyers can plant them in their gardens or on their balconies and reap a harvest of marijuana within six or eight months. There is no law against cultivating and selling plants. The signboard on Hoekert's house offers a selection of 15000 seedlings.