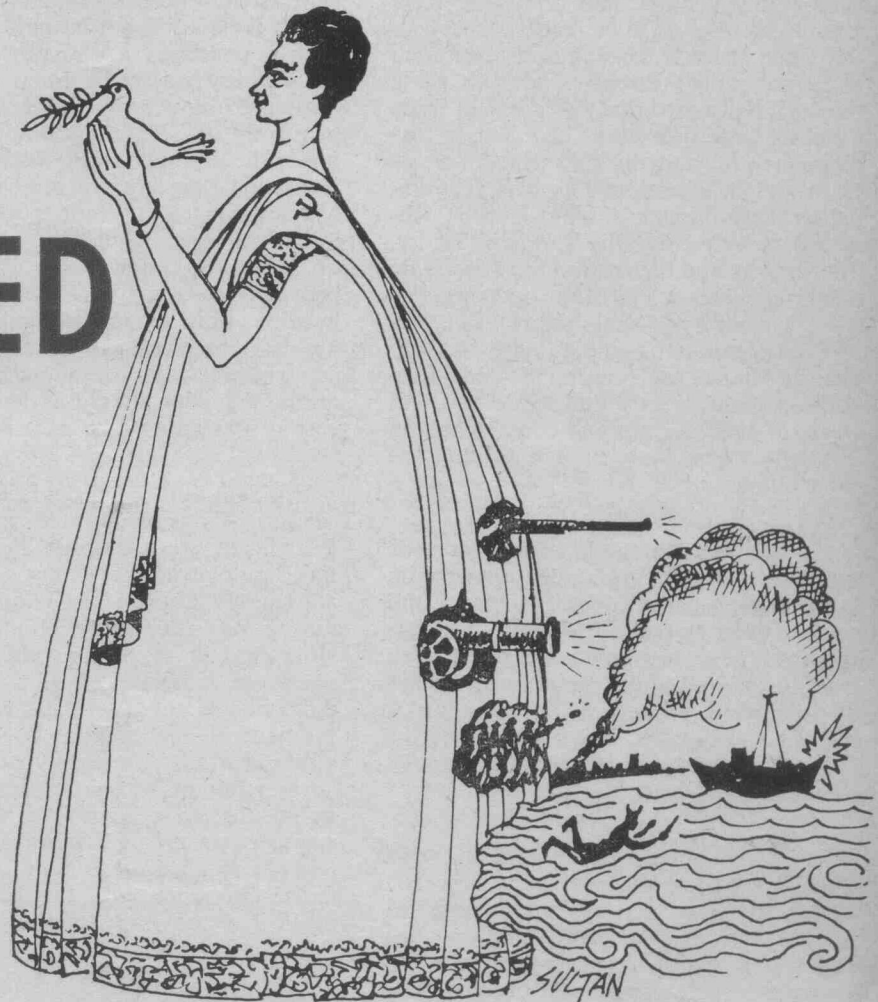


impact

international fortnightly

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INDIA'S UNDECLARED WAR AGAINST PAKISTAN



The situation is reminiscent of what Europe witnessed at the hands of Hitler in 1938-39. It is similar enough to tell the same sordid tale of belligerency, bellicosity, blackmail and moral insensibility.

War has come to the Pak-Indian sub-continent. No matter the tactical form and engagement

level, it is aggression, it is war. Pakistan is now being asked at gun-point

India's undeclared war against Pakistan

that she must surrender her sovereignty and act as India wishes. The Western powers who used to pretend even-handedness between India and Pakistan have allowed themselves to be made a 'party' to this game of brinkmanship and blackmail. If Pakistan does not surrender to these threats it is declared that India would force a military decision upon her. This is the diplomacy of bullying and blackmail, as plain and as unashamed as it is. The situation is reminiscent of what Europe witnessed in 1938-39 at the hands of Hitler. The strategy and tactics that are now being employed against Pakistan annexing territories, using a national minority as a pretext for aggression, and signing treaties to change balance of power (Molotov-Ribbentrop treaty of 1939 and Moscow-Dehli treaty of 1971 are not just coincidences of history)—are similar enough to tell the same Hitlerian tale.

No less notable in this tragic episode is the role of the communications media in the West. It has refused to face facts and present them to the world. Instead it has (with very few exceptions) overtaken upon itself to act as India's mouthpiece. It has allowed itself to become a tool of her policies and designs. But whatever be the attitude of the world powers and agencies the truth must be told.

Pakistan is an independent and sovereign state. Its people believe in democratic values, but no nation can choose to preside over its own disintegration. Rebellion or secession has never been accepted as a part of the democratic process. The central governments of Switzerland and of the United States of America went to war when some of their states tried to secede. The history of the relations between Ireland, Scotland and England has its own relevance to the issue. The ongoing military action in Ulster, though not an exact parallel, is no less significant in its own essence. Nigeria fought against Biafran secession and Britain and Soviet Russia went in to actively help the Federal Government. Canada is firm and uncompromising on Quebec liberation and both the U.K. and U.S.A. support her in full measure. Russia's own attitude towards the Central Asian Republics (which in fact are occupied and colonised territories) and the present tension in

Outer and Inner Mongolia are vindications of their own sort. Reference here to Hungary and Czechoslovakia is *not* relevant as they were independent states, but Soviet Russia did not hesitate to intervene in these countries in the name of 'integrity' of Socialist states. In India itself, Sikhs wanted to have not an independent state, but only a semi-autonomous province under the umbrella of the Federal Government, but they are not allowed to do so. Maharashtra and Madras were not permitted to consolidate their regional status on linguistic foundations. Even a small province in Kerala is refused demarcation because that would become a Muslim majority province. If no sovereign state can permit secession or even deleterious autonomy why should it be different in case of Pakistan?

It is said that the elected representatives of East Pakistan wanted independence. But this is gross untruth. People of East Pakistan never gave any mandate to anyone to secede. What happened before, during and after the elections is a sordid story and is yet to be told in full. But whatever it is, the election of a certain party or a group of people at any particular moment of history does not entitle them either morally or legally to barter the sovereignty of the nation. Sovereignty is indivisible and inalienable. *No Federal country has ever given this right to any 'elected representatives' of any of its federating units, not the least in India itself.* The provision for the imposition of President's rule and suppression of its elected representatives are clearly enshrined in the Indian Constitution and have been invoked dozens of times during the last 24 years.

The question of regional disparity and other grievances of the people of East Pakistan are also dragged into discussion. Now whatever be the merits and arguments, it is essentially an internal problem which the people of Pakistan alone can and should solve amicably and equitably. But since when has disparity become a ground for rebellion and secession? In which country there are no regional disparities? Isn't the South backward and underdeveloped in relation to the North of America? Do not the people of Scotland, Ulster and Wales complain of similar

discrimination and denial of equal development? Are there no extreme disparities between the different regions of Italy, France and Spain?

Is India free from problems and tensions of acute regional disparities. Isn't it a fact that West Bengal is clamouring for her rightful share and place within the Indian economy? Although West Bengal is highly advanced industrially and its contribution to GNP is relatively high, in matters of literacy and education, level of electrification and per capita consumption, it stands on a much lower rung of ladder. Similar is her position in respect of poverty and unemployment.

It is claimed that the 'security and integrity' of India are threatened. But is there also anything such as the 'security and integrity' of Pakistan? The movement of refugees started only *after* the integrity and security of Pakistan were threatened.

It is an indisputable fact of history that India has refused to accept the partition of India and has been engaged in the struggle to undo Pakistan ever since it came to be achieved. The Indian National Congress accepted the British Partition Plan of June 3, 1947 with open reservations. The Indian National Congress while accepting the Partition Plan placed on record that it "has consistently upheld that unity of India must be maintained . . . Economic circumstances and insistent demands of international affairs make the unity of India all the more necessary. The picture of India we have learned to cherish will remain in our hearts and minds . . . The Committee earnestly trusts that when passions have subsided, India's problems will be reviewed in their proper perspective and the false doctrine of two nation theory in India will be discredited and discarded by all" (*The Times*, 16 June 1947). The Congress President Acharya Kripalani said on India's Independence Day on 15 August, 1947 that "Let us henceforth bend all our energies to the unification of this land of ours" (*Statesman*, Delhi, 18 August, 1947). Sardar Patel, India's Deputy Prime Minister was philosophical and wishful: "Today the partition of India is a settled fact and yet it is an unnatural fact; the partition will remove the poison from the body politic of India. This would result in the

INDIA	BASIC DATA	PAKISTAN
55.7 m	Population	12.6 m
\$16 billion	Estimated GNP	\$49 billion
\$1,656 m	Defence budget 1971-72	\$714 m
980,000	Total armed forces	392,000
1000	Tanks	900
3000	Guns (25 Pounders)	1000
825	Combat Aircrafts	285
35	Air Squadrons	19
58	Naval crafts	28

seceding areas desiring to reunite with the rest of India. India is one and indivisible." (*ibid*). And Gandhiji himself was unequivocal in saying that the two parts of India would ultimately reunite again: "The Muslim League will ask to come back to Hindustan. They will ask Jawaharlal Nehru to come back and he will take them back". (*New York Herald Tribune*, 5 June, 1947). This has been the India's attitude from the morn of independence and since then it has not changed the least. The correspondent of *The Times* (5 June 1971) tried to convey the mood of the Congress Committee meeting convened to approve the Partition Plan in these words: "Congress will work the present plan in the hope that it will ultimately lead to a restored Union of India" and the paper commented editorially that "the Congress party still pins its faith to the conception of an undivided India for which it will continue to work". Even the broad outline of future strategy were openly stated. According to *The Economist* (17 May, 1947) the Congress circles said that the North West Frontier Province and *East Bengal*, in particular, would be compelled by economic pressure to re-unite with the rest of India.

True to this statement, India has continued to work persistantly and systematically towards the disintegration and assimilation of Pakistan. On the academic plane her economists sold the theory of two economies for Pakistan and the economic interdependence of East and West Bengal (K. L. Seth: *The Pattern of Economic Development in Pakistan*, Sterling, Delhi, 1967. In the Indian politics, anti-Pakistan phobia has always been kept up at a high level. Economic and political pressures have never known remitting. Junagadh and Manavadar, which acceded to Pakistan, were invaded and run over militarily. Kashmir was annexed by brute force and in utter violation of India's own international commitments and U.N. resolutions. Hyderabad, which wanted to maintain its independent status, was conquered by military action. Goa too was integrated through military operation. And now attempts are being made to impose a similar 'military solution' over East Pakistan. In fact this objective was clearly stated in an important study on India's foreign policy (S.R. Patel: *Foreign Policy Of India: Enquiry and Criticism*, Trepathi,

Bombay, 1960). According to this work, a doctoral dissertation, the very establishment of Pakistan was a threat to the existence of India. This 'artificial division' has weakened India and threatens its independence. As such it is a demand of "constructive diplomacy" to undo partition. It claims that India must try to "Liberate" Pakistan in the same way as it liberated Goa (page 19).

It is said that Pakistan wants to "crush India". But this is nothing more than a pretext to invade Pakistan. In 1948, Hyderabad was also painted as a threat to India and its unarmed Razakars were alleged to be planning to 'crush India'. The aggressors in history have never been short of justification whenever they wanted to invade and acquire territory; and so is India.

India's population is five times larger than Pakistan's and its land area is approximately six times more than that of Pakistan. Industrially, India is much more advanced with its own heavy-goods, armaments, shipping and aircraft industries. India's gross national product is five times higher (Rs. 300 billion as against Rs. 67 billion) than Pakistan. Similar disparity is reflected in their military strength. India's air and naval power is five times, and land forces four times larger than Pakistan. India has its own military industries (jet aircraft, naval ship-building and heavy artillery) while Pakistan has no heavy industry and is dependent on others even for the supply of small ammunitions. India has its own atomic industry and she has refused to sign the atomic non-proliferation treaty. Her military budget has been rising exponentially during the 1960's. Thus the disparity between the economic and military powers of India and Pakistan is so gross and manifest that the bogey of 'Crush India' can be invoked only as a pretext and as an excuse.

These are the facts of the situation. Pakistan has its own internal problems and weaknesses. The leadership has committed mistakes, even blunders, but can this be an excuse to deprive the nation of its right to solving her problems according to its genius and in its own lights. But as far as India is concerned she has no sympathy with the people of East Pakistan as such, she is interested only in their

political and economic exploitation. After all, during the last 24 years, around seven million Muslims were forced to migrate from West Bengal and Assam alone to East Pakistan and over 2,000 anti-Muslim riots have taken place in India during the last two decades. These include large scale massacres of Muslims in West Bengal and Assam in 1950 and 1964. About the riots in 1964 Mr. Frank Anthony, an Anglo-Indian member told the Indian *Lok Sabha* on 14 April 1964 that "when the Great Calcutta Killings were on (i.e. in 1964), the police were afraid to intervene to stop the *goonda* elements because it was said that most of the MLAs (Members of Legislative Assembly) had their respective retinues of *goondas* to whom they gave political protection. This is the truth."

The problem of the Hindu refugees from East Pakistan is not an isolated phenomenon, it is part of the whole complex of unsolved problems between India and Pakistan. Assam and Bengal have always, but more so since the early sixties, pursued an undeclared policy of driving away their Muslim population into East Pakistan in periodical waves. In 1963 "in camps and compounds in the Commilla district", the correspondent of *The Times* (6 December, 1963) found "thousands of Muslims who (had) been forcibly evicted from their homes in India and driven to East Pakistan". "It is undeniable" he reported that "a great wrong is being done to the Indian Muslims in Tripura". Later, on 20 March 1964 the *New York Times* wrote: "The critics of Indian policy have charged that India is abandoning the principles of secularism written into her constitution by expelling Muslims from Assam on the ground that they are illegal immigrants from Pakistan, while welcoming Hindu refugees who have the same national legal status as the persons being evicted".

The problem of Hindu refugees is also a cumulative backlash of the Indian policy of active subversion in East Pakistan for which she has stooped to the point of using these "more sinned and much sinned against" people. Now that the whole callous and cruel enterprise has misfired, India refuses to reap the whirlwind; she wants to impose her might for the dissolution of Pakistan.

PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST

The Solution is clear

PROF. MOHAMMED FADHEL JAMALI*

The month of November brings some very sad memories to all conscientious Arabs and to faithful Muslims all over the world. On the 2nd of November, 1917, Lord Balfour, on behalf of the British Government, addressed a letter to Lord Rothschild which contained the following undertaking:

"His Majesty's Government view with favour the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people, and will use their best endeavours to facilitate the achievement of this object, it being clearly understood that *nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of the existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine*, or the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in any other country."

This declaration was later on incorporated in the British mandate over Palestine sanctioned by the League of Nations.

On the 29th of November, 1947, the United Nations passed the Resolution partitioning Palestine into three parts: a Jewish state, an Arab state, and a *corpus separatum*, i.e., Jerusalem. Both documents, which were brought about by the influence and pressure of international Zionism in Britain, United States and U.S.S.R. violated the fundamental rights to self-determination of the legitimate inhabitants of Palestine. Ever since, the Arab world has known trouble, bloodshed and war, and peace in the Middle East has been endangered.

After exploiting the terms of the Balfour declaration, the Zionists soon began to clamour that 'a national home in Palestine' meant a Jewish state. Thus the Balfour declaration was used as a stepping stone for Zionist aggression, while the 'rights of the non-Jewish communities in Palestine' were completely disregarded. Hundreds of thousands of Palestinian Arabs, terrorized by massacres like that at Deir Yassin where old men, women and children were slain and mutilated by the IRGUN, were driven out of their country to lead a wretched life in refugee camps. Israel does not let them return to their own homeland, thus denying them a fundamental human right.

A U.N. Resolution in 1948 stated that Arab refugees who had left their homes during the period of struggle are entitled to return to their own homes in Palestine if they choose to do so, since it is their natural human right. But Israel has obstructed their return while permitting any

Jew from any nation to come and live in Palestine and automatically become a citizen of Israel according to the so-called 'law of return'.

Zionism systematically uprooted Jews from countries where they belonged and brought them to Palestine in increasing numbers to strengthen the Jewish state. Those who did not come to Palestine were urged to contribute to the support of Israel and to defend her expansionist policies. Hundreds of thousands of Jews who had lived in the Arab world for centuries, and, in the case of Iraq, for thousands of years, were uprooted by Zionism and taken to Palestine. Zionism today is working hard to undermine the loyalty of the Jews in many countries of the world, and Jews are expected to put loyalty to Israel first and to exert their efforts to direct the policy of other countries in the interests of Israel. We daily hear of Zionist cries asking, in the name of human rights, that the Jews from the Soviet Union be allowed to emigrate to Israel. Press and radio in the West echo these cries. But we rarely hear from the same sources any insistence that the Arabs of Palestine are also entitled to enjoy human rights. They have the right to return to their own homes before citizens of other countries are admitted to Palestine.

After the Second World War the Zionists capitalized on world sympathy for the Jews cruelly treated by Hitler. This helped them to make a leap from the Balfour declaration to the United Nations Resolution of Partition of November 29, 1947. The UN Resolution gave the Jews a state in Palestine. It also gave a state to the Arabs of Palestine and decided on an internationalized Jerusalem. Israel took what was given to her according to the partition plan and snatched some of the best parts of what was supposed to belong to the Arab state, namely, Jaffa, Lydda, Ramleh, Western Galilee and Birsheba. Defying United Nations Resolutions, Israel moved its capital from Tel-Aviv to Jerusalem. Thus we find that Israel, using the United Nations Resolution of November 1947 as a stepping-stone, made another great leap in territorial expansion.

Recurring Israeli attacks on neighbouring Arab states between 1948 and 1967 were excessive, cruel and sanguine. The tragedies of Quibia and Nahaleen are only samples. A major Israeli aggression was the invasion of Sinai in 1956 after which she seems to have secured from Egypt the concession of free passage through the Gulf of Aqaba.

A third great territorial leap was made on June 5, 1967, when Israel attacked Egypt and occupied the Gaza strip and Sinai. She also occupied the West Bank of the Jordan River including Jerusalem, which are parts of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan, and Syrian territory including the Golan Heights.

Israel today defies UN Resolution 242 of November, 1967 envisaging a peaceful settlement in the Middle East by the return of occupied Arab territory and the recognition of the rights of Palestine Arabs in exchange for free navigation and secure boundaries for Israel. But Israel insists on acquisition of Arab territory. She insists on occupying Arab Jerusalem, turning that Holy City into a Jewish city and squeezing out its Arab inhabitants, Muslims and Christians alike. Jerusalem, besides having Christian sanctuaries, is the first Qiblah of Islam and the third holiest city of the Muslim world.

A fourth leap of expansion is perhaps still in store. Some Israeli political parties already speak of Greater Israel which would include parts of Egypt, all of Jordan and Syria, parts of Iraq and parts of Arabia. Mr. Ben Gurion of Israel keeps speaking of the need for bringing in at least another six million Jews from outside. He does not speak of territorial expansion, but that is implied, for, once Israel has ten million inhabitants she will need more living space with 'secure borders'. She will wage new wars of expansion on her neighbours.

With this Israeli expansionist policy, the prospects for peace in the Middle East are becoming dimmer. The situation has become very grim, but the Arabs will not abandon their right to their homeland in Palestine. Nor will Muslims and Christians abandon their rights to Jerusalem.

The solution is clear. The whole world should reject and condemn the Israeli policy of expansionism and colonialism. All peace-loving nations should support justice for the Arabs of Palestine. Their rights should be recognized and restored. Palestine Arabs and Jews should be treated according to the same moral and legal standards. Let us hope that the day will soon arrive when the Arabs of the Holy Land are back home again and the Holy Land is divested of all lethal armaments. Then the inhabitants of Palestine, Muslims, Christians and Jews alike, will live together as brothers united by their faith in the One Great God. It is then and only then that peace in the Middle East will be achieved.

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Explaining the Pakistan Crisis

Mr. A. Q. M. Shafiqul Islam, Vice-President Pakistan Muslim League (Council) and a member-elect of National Assembly from East Pakistan has been visiting U.S.A. and Canada and explaining the nature and background of Pakistan's present crisis. Here he discusses his view of the development of the troubles.

We have been visiting important cities in the USA and Canada, meeting the press, radio, T.V., students, academicians, bankers, industrialists and other leaders of public opinion. All were interested in one question. They wanted to know what was the real background of the crisis, and the way we propose to solve it. I gave my resume, which I feel, they appreciated very much factually and morally.

President Yahya Khan, when he took power in March 1969, possibly honestly felt that the solution to the country's problems lay in a constitution framed by a freely elected National Assembly. He had great expectations and he allowed the general election to be held in Pakistan in December last year. At that stage, all the patriotic political parties in the country, the three Muslim Leagues, Pakistan Democratic Party, Jamaat-e-Islami and Nizam-e-Islam were of the view that after the overthrow of Ayub Khan's unconstitutional rule, it was important to revert to constitutional legality through the restoration of the 1956 constitution. This constitution was framed by an elected and legal assembly and it adequately guaranteed the integrity and ideological basis of the country. One cannot ignore the ideological basis of Pakistan because otherwise the country simply cannot exist. However, the President promulgated a Legal Framework Order making the integrity and ideology of the country non-negotiable and ordered fresh elections to be held for a National Assembly which was also charged with the task of framing a constitution within a period of 120 days.

When the election campaign started, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman and the Awami League maintained their adherence to their now well-known Six Points. All the other parties felt that the degree of autonomy Sheikh Mujib wanted was against the integrity of the country. However, Sheikh Mujib and other Awami League leaders went on record to say that the Six Points were neither Bible nor Qur'an, implying thereby that after having used the Points as a weapon to win the elections they would be willing to negotiate and compromise. Assurances were also given that the Awami League did not want the disintegration of Pakistan and it

would do nothing against the injunctions of the Qur'an and Sunnah. It was, therefore, understood that the Awami League was taking part in the elections within the Legal Framework Order given by President Yahya Khan.

The elections were held and the Awami League won an overwhelming majority in East Pakistan. Although this was achieved largely through threat, coercion, violence and intimidation but the fact remains that they had 'won'. Now though the party had achieved an overall majority in the National Assembly, but since it had neither contested nor obtained any seats in any other provinces of Pakistan, it remained a regional party.

While things were so, in West Pakistan too Mr. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, who had majority in only two provinces, was leading a regional party. He perhaps felt very much frustrated and started on a political game of his own. He said that since the Awami League have won the elections on the basis of Six Points and having an absolute majority in the Assembly if they simply wanted to foist a Six-Point Constitution there was no point for his party to go into the Assembly. Therefore, they would like to have a prior assurance that Six Points were negotiable and subject to amendment.

Strictly speaking, it is not correct to say that the elections were held on the basis of Six Points because everything was subject to Legal Framework Order. Secondly it was preposterous to demand amendment or assurance before the Assembly had actually met; it is never practicable.

Mr. Bhutto had, therefore, no right to raise the controversy at this stage, it was not wise either. But perhaps he wanted to put Sheikh Mujibur Rahman into a trap or may be even push him towards secession. It must be appreciated that how-so-much willing and ready to negotiate or compromise one may be, it is difficult for most politicians to say that their manifesto is amendable. That is absolutely childish. The election's results were not the outcome of the deliberations of the National Assembly. The election is there, and in

between the election and the National Assembly meeting, there is no room or horizon where the parties can talk. The Assembly is the supreme body and it is verily the forum for such debates and talks. The party manifesto is not by itself the constitution. But Mr. Bhutto in his desire to create difficulties for Sheikh Mujib, only helped to strengthen the hands of the secessionists. This makes me think Mr. Bhutto is perhaps not serious about the integrity of Pakistan. If the present crisis leads to separation, possibly Mr. Bhutto will also be happy. He is intelligent enough not to take the responsibility upon himself. One feels the Government should have been able to foresee all this and curb such ambitious and adventurous politicking with the integrity of the country.

The Awami League too on their part failed to act wisely and patriotically. The position was that the National Assembly being the overriding body, its decision alone as against the manifesto of any party represented the national will. Had it been otherwise, there was no need for the Assembly to function at all. But Mr. Tajuddin came out with a statement saying that we are in a majority and capable of framing a constitution which shall be based on Six Points. An atmosphere of tension was created. Mr. Bhutto went on asking for more and more clarifications. On the Awami League side, the separationist elements, mainly the Hindus, played their own part in widening the gulf. They went on pushing Sheikh Mujib to a more and more obdurate and extreme position. He said, that not even a comma or a semi-colon of his Six Points was subject to amendment. President Yahya felt that in this state of confrontation and extreme positions between the two major regional parties, it would be worthwhile to help in the thrashing out of the differences outside the Assembly. The Assembly had already been convened to meet on 3 March. Mr. Bhutto not only decided to boycott it but also threatened that any member from West Pakistan going to attend the Assembly in Dacca will not be allowed to return.

Perhaps because of this deadlock the President felt that it had become all the more necessary to help the parties arrive



A. Q. M. Shafiqul Islam . . the Pakistan crisis

at some settlement and save the Assembly. The Assembly was adjourned and reconvened to meet on 25 March. The Awami League again did not act wisely. It was in their interest not to impose pre-conditions and enter the house where they had an absolute majority; once inside, it would have been their day.

The separationist elements who had by now acquired an upperhand in the Awami League, however, felt that once the Assembly met and a logical debate on the constitution of Pakistan ensued consideration of the country's integrity and ideology would become paramount and be able to overshadow extremist emotions. They, therefore, imposed their own pre-conditions to the meeting of the Assembly i.e. lifting of the marital law and withdrawal of the army. They knew full well that unless a civilian structure was allowed to be framed, it was impossible to effect transfer of authority from martial law to any other legal entity. As far as they were concerned they were bent upon escalating the situation and driving the country towards chaos and separation. Still the President persued in his efforts and even brought about a meeting between the two leaders, but no tangible result came out.

The Awami League had earlier called for a total non-cooperation with the administration. During these three weeks or so of non-cooperation, the law and order situation had deteriorated to such an extent that the separationists now felt sure that a *de facto* Bangla Desh had already been achieved. On 23 March which was Pakistan's national day, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman and his associates hoisted the flag of the "Bangla Desh". It was thus on the midnight of 25 March that the Army had to go in for a pre-emptive action against the secessionists. It took about 35 days for the army to reach the outlying areas. During this period, the Indian intruders, the Hindus and the Communists started the killing of the East Pakistani patriots. The first target they chose was the Urdu speaking population and then other patriotic East Pakistanis. As the Army started moving in and establishing authority, the rebels and the infiltrators started fleeing towards India. Because of the vicious and false propaganda by the Indian and even the Western mass media first about the Bangla Desh victories and later about the 'atrocities' by the army, a number of innocent East Pakistanis found themselves involved in the tragedy. And so began the refugee problem.

The position of Pakistan on the issue is that they want all the refugees to return and are prepared even to rehabilitate them. India is presenting a grossly inflated figure of 10m refugees while we estimate that they may be plus or minus 2m. In order to establish the actual numbers as well as the identity of the refugees it is necessary that an impartial agency like the UN should be asked to help. But India has refused to accept U Thant's proposal in this regard. It clearly reflects on their *bona fides* as to the refugee problem. As things began to get back to normal, a number of refugees started returning, but very soon India blocked their exit. The Caste Hindus and the Communists, however, do want to return to Pakistan, not as its citizens but as conquerors. Should we allow them to do so?

There is a great deal of talk about a political solution, a compromise with Sheikh Mujib but I do not think the secessionists including Mr. Mujibur Rahman would ever talk of anything other than separation. Therefore, any attempt at negotiating with the secessionists would be counter-productive because by going in for negotiations one would embolden the extremists all the more. What is required is a popular and patriotic government which may lead the country to its ideological destiny because only such a government will be able to inspire, mobilise and integrate the people of Pakistan.

India now wants to dictate to Pakistan not with regard to the rehabilitation of the refugees but as to the type of constitution and polity, it should or should not have. The Indian Congress never sincerely accepted the independence of Pakistan and they now feel that there is a golden opportunity to cash on the present turmoil in Pakistan. They are actively working towards the disintegration of Pakistan and the Bangla Desh, they are so concerned about, represents nothing but a desire to create an Indian puppet state.

On our side the problem is that we so far had no abiding and permanent constitutional and political framework that should have set at rest all the controversies and acrimonies. However, the constitution which is being drawn up, in consultation with the political parties is now expected to be promulgated on 20 December and one hopes there would be an end to this long night of uncertainty. So, whatever the problem, war is no solution. Pakistan

is a peace-loving country and we want the free world to take note of India's aggression and aggressive intentions. In fact, India is actually waging an undeclared war against Pakistan in which she is merely avoiding the direct use of her Air Force. Every day Indian infiltrators under the guise of the guerillas are pushed into East Pakistan. The India artillery has been incessantly shelling the border towns and there have already been a number of crossings into Pakistan's territories. Therefore, so long as India does not stop interfering in our internal affairs and supporting the secessionists, there can be no normalisation of the situation.

I think we were able to convince all those whom we talked to or addressed including even some ardent supporters of the Bangla Desh that India had no right to meddle in Pakistan's affairs and that the people of Pakistan should be allowed to settle their problems in accordance with their own national genius and ideology. In the UN too most of the delegates we met, were of the same opinion.

Every body appreciated that Pakistan is an ideological state and whatever be their own philosophy of life they know that a state based on ideology has to stand accordingly. It cannot exist otherwise. The climate of public opinion in the USA, the attitude of the press and other media has appreciably changed and is now more understanding of Pakistan's position except of course the establishment press which is mostly controlled by the pro-Israeli lobby. The attitude of the provincial press is certainly much more different. Senator Church too told me that "I am going to Calcutta but I agree that Pakistan should have the freedom and the opportunity to settle its own affairs". I told them that the political solution they all talk about meant that it has to be arrived at by Pakistanis and Pakistanis alone. India or, for that matter, any other power should not seek to dictate or hold any brief for the secessionists. I think that while they are not able to dissuade India from actively and directly interfering in Pakistan's affairs and supporting the guerillas, they are perhaps not interested in the outbreak of war in the sub-continent.

However, the Big Power pressure is there, but knowing full well the gravity of the situation, I think there is no need to be cowed down or surrender. We do need to surrender but that is before God alone.

Survey

● FACING THE DEADLINE IN EGYPT ● ULSTER RECKONING

Egypt: nearing the time for battle?

"I have come to tell you that the time for battle has come. There is no longer any hope at all in peaceful solutions . . . Perhaps this is Allah's will that I should get this chance for meeting with you now to tell you that our decision is fighting . . ." This is how President Sadat is reported to have addressed front line troops along the Suez Canal on Saturday 20 November. The decision for battle comes at the end of an inexorable verbal build-up on the part of Sadat to make 1971 a decisive year in the settlement of the Middle East crisis. There has been a growing desperation in the Egyptian leadership—a desperation born of an urgently felt need to demonstrate positive government in the wake and in the image of the tumultuous Nasser years. The state of no peace, no war has given rise to a restlessness which has pushed Sadat to an ill-considered brink. History weighs heavily on the Egyptian leader. By any count, setting up deadlines must be one of the most unique ways in which a statesman could go about his business. (Harold Wilson did it with ignominious results in the case of Rhodesia).

When the 1971 deadline was proclaimed by Sadat some months ago, most observers dismissed it as a characteristic superlative statement of an Arab and not one to be taken too seriously. An Arab nowadays for example would say with the utmost vehemence, "Wallahil Azeem . . . By God the Almighty I will beat you or I will kill you" not intending, despite the solemn invocation of God's name, to do anything about his threat. It is becoming apparent that such cynical comment is getting off the mark and Sadat, incomprehensible as it would now seem, really intends to pit Egypt's fortune yet again against a more self-confident Israel.

That Sadat really meant what he said is obvious from his speech to the People's Assembly last Ramadan in which he went into considerable detail on the efforts he has been making to achieve something decisive. His objective, as he said, meant "two definite things: the first, withdrawal of the Israeli forces to the pre-5th June lines; and the second, preservation of the Palestinian people's legal right, considering that the issue of this people is primary and basic. To achieve this objective, we were ready to follow every course, either through diplomacy or armed force." Sadat went on to speak of the intensive diplomatic and political efforts that he made to secure a solution beginning with his offer to re-open the Suez canal in return for a partial Israeli withdrawal from Egyptian territory initially. It seemed

that Sadat had to and was prepared to undergo considerable indignities at the hands of the United States which had been acting as intermediary in the diplomatic process in order to get some settlement from Israel. But instead of the USA putting pressure on Israel, Israel's pressure on the USA was "enormous and unbelievable". Egypt's desire for peace and negotiation with Israel was there, but it is Israel which has been intransigent. So now Sadat is prepared to assume all the responsibilities and the consequences of all his attitudes regardless of difficulties and sacrifices." And so it is to be war.

Sadat must have been disappointed with the failure of his diplomatic initiatives but he still speaks confidently about the outcome in the case of war. He speaks too of the confidence of the people (perhaps this affirmation is more of an optative statement) who "depend primarily on their faith in Almighty God. They also depend on their self-confidence and on their confidence in the armed forces.

Despite the wordy confidence there must be some nagging doubts reminiscent of Nasser in 1967 when after the holocaust he said: We really didn't want war. The nagging doubts must be based on the knowledge of the well-equipped and plucky nature of Israel's fighting force and the inadequacies of that of Egypt. Sadat must surely know for example that the supposedly vast equipment which the Soviet Union has bestowed on Egypt is basically defence oriented and would be hard pushed to launch the quick and decisive attack which is imperative in the situation. The Soviet Union is not that anti-Israel as to permit Egypt the means for such an attack. Israel however is confident that in any outbreak of hostilities the United States now "simply cannot afford not to send us the Phantoms"—according to one Israeli official. By all accounts, the result of any armed conflict at this stage, cannot be in doubt.

It is a pity that President Sadat has had to push his back against the wall in this fashion, at this stage. Since he has come to power some useful and promising developments which are departures from the precedents set in the previous two decades in Egypt have been taking place. In an Egypt which has been cowed down by fear and repressive measures Sadat has now placed more faith in the rule of law and legality. There has been a liberalisation of such institutions as the press and an attempt to reorganise certain public departments and services in order, according to Sadat himself, "to give a strong impetus to invigorate all potentials, open new horizons and create equal opportunities for the legitimate ambitions of both individuals and establishments."

Ulster—British way of enforcing security

In the fast deteriorating situation in Northern Ireland fierce debate rages over the policy of internment and the treatment meted out to prisoners and detainees. Have detainees been ill-treated and to what extent? How far can security forces go in order to extract information from elements known or likely to be working for ends which are inimical to the interests of the government in power? And indeed, can the whole policy of internment be justified? One cannot but agree with Mr. Maudling that in such questions there are difficult issues for any democracy.

No responsible government would like to see the complete undermining of public security and would be entitled to take reasonable measures to preserve this security. Also, no responsible government would ignore abuses when they are committed whether it is by terrorists or by its own administrative or military personnel. But when the attempt is made to whitewash the issues and when there is an unwillingness and even refusal to acknowledge that abuses have been committed, then one must seriously begin to question the righteousness of intention of the governing power. It is at this point that one must fall out with the British Home Secretary, his conservative flag-waving colleagues and the members of the Compton Commission which he appointed to investigate allegations of physical brutality inflicted by security forces on detainees.

Notwithstanding the narrow terms of reference of the Commission the Government bases its statements on its findings and conclusions. The Commission was only prepared to concede that there has been 'physical ill-treatment' of detainees, but that there has been no torture, cruelty or brutality. A report published by Amnesty International however, conflicts sharply with the findings of the Commission. Amnesty states that "persons arrested in September and October continue to allege tortures similar to the bag technique and worse: electric shocks, injections of hallucinatory drugs, physical abuse of genital organs." In the face of this, the Prime Minister and Minister of Home Affairs of Northern Ireland (Brian Faulkner) has publicly denied all allegations of brutality and torture without exception.

It is when considering these statements and findings that one begins to suspect British affirmations of justice and fair play. If this is representative of the record of the British in Northern Ireland where they are dealing with an essentially internal situation, then one must wonder at the record of British operations in former colonies like Aden which was sunk deep into a bloody morass.

But on the question of means and ends and intentions, one can go along with the comment of *The Times* (17 November) that "When all has been said about the total lack of scruple of the terrorists themselves, the duty to protect lives from their assaults, the gravity of their menace to the social fabric, and about intelligence being of the essence of counter-terrorist operations; the fact still remains that systematic physical ill-treatment of suspected persons cannot be condoned by the society on whose behalf it is done." But one may still take exception to the implications of the word "terrorist" and to the euphemism of the expression "physical ill-treatment".

Survey

● SIGHTING THE MOON

Fishing up the moon

Islam, being a religion for man, for each and every one of the human kind, is simple in its approach and universal in application. A person is a Muslim in his own right and to live as one he does not depend on any class of clerics, clergies or cohens. A Muslim is asked to pray five times a day and the time for this is fixed in relation to such simple natural phenomena like dawn, sunrise, noon, sundown and night that it can be determined and followed by each and every person, whatever be his intellect or situation. Similar is the case with the lunar calendar. One sees the first day's crescent (as distinct from new moon) and he knows that the month has begun and he can start fasting or celebrate 'Id-ul-Fitr and so on. This again is something which is within the competence of the individual. The Muslim nation is spread all over the globe and with the rotation of the lunar calendar months, the observance of an occasion does not get tied to a particular season or part of the year; it precludes the possibility for example, of the people in Britain fasting always during winter and those in Saudi Arabia in summer or vice versa.

Due to a number of factors, the new crescent cannot be seen the same day in all the countries or even in all the towns in a big country such as Pakistan. Opinion has thus varied as to the desirability and possibility of acting upon the report of sighting from other areas and if so upto how far. There is a view also that once an authentic report is available for any 'Muslim' country, it is enough for others to follow. Therefore, since the very early years of their history Muslims have been celebrating Ramadan or 'Id on different dates according to when the new crescent was visible in their area. This was neither blasphemous nor a necessary sign of disunity, rather an expression of autonomy and convenience within the Islamic framework.

With the continual decay of the Islamic society and also under the overwhelming influence of modern gadgetory, there has, however, been a great deal of genuine but over-zealous concern about righting this situation of superficial disunity. There is nothing basically insoluble about the matter. Given the right framework, the Muslim scientists and scholars can be brought together and they can arrive at a correct and practical solution within the framework of the Qur'an and Sunnah. This is what *ijtihad* is for, but since the very framework is not there, there can be no *ijtihad* and no *ijma* (consensus) on the issue. Here in Britain, with the arrival of a sizeable community of Muslims, the problem has acquired another dimension. Because of the climatic conditions, it is

virtually impossible to sight the new crescent. To this can be added the fact that being new and in the process of settling down, the community is organisationally in a nascent state. In the proper sense of the word, national organisation is not only absent, it is going to take some years of togetherness, methodical building up of the channels of communications and consultation, and selfless hard work before the Muslims can think of having such a representative organisation. One has to accept that there is no short cut to a meaningful unity which is to be strived for but can neither be created nor imposed without going through the process. Keeping these realities in view, one notes with concern the attempt made to present a sort of the decision as to the dates for the beginning of Ramadan and the 'Id just celebrated, and more particularly the way the news was released to the British Press. Instead of achieving any measure of unity, it made the disunity more manifest. Since the 'Id prayer can be offered upto three days after the sighting of the crescent, the Islamic Cultural Centre, London made a very wise decision to hold the prayers on Saturday 20 November, when all schools of thought would have been able to join, but later this was brought back to Friday, 19 November, because on Wednesday, Saudi Arabia reported having seen the moon. It is again a matter of opinion as to how far this could be applicable to Britain particularly when the new moon here was not born until 1.46 a.m. on Thursday, 18 November and given normal visibility conditions, astronomically the new crescent could not be seen before Friday, but that is another matter.

Besides the inconvenience and unhappiness that this change must have caused to hundreds who had planned to celebrate 'Id on Saturday, besides also the fact that an opportunity to demonstrate a degree of unity was thrown away, the way the whole thing was publicised was severely damaging to the position of the Muslim workers in the British factories. Not all the employers in Britain are sympathetic to their Muslim workers taking a short-notice day-off during the week. Therefore, to say that "although the moon was sighted on Thursday night in Mecca Mukarrama, fixing Friday for the end of fasting and the Id-ul-Fitr prayer, in London the festival was put off to yesterday to avoid interrupting the working week" (*The Observer*, 21 November), was not only an incorrect statement but one which could cause serious misunderstandings.

It is laudable indeed to try to achieve unity but it is prudent also to avoid over-zealousness and not compound the existing dissaray and disunity.

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Reports

Prejudice against employing black people

"International Personnel" the employment agency of the high-powered Martin Luther King Foundation regards itself as a small, but integral part of the growing campaign to establish equal employment opportunities for black people. The Foundation itself includes among its patrons Coretta King, the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Chief Rabbi and the Earl of Longford. The Management Committee of International Personnel is headed by Rev. Wilfred Wood JP and its sympathisers include top television and motion picture personalities and businessmen.

The first annual report of I.P. describes how the agency was started from scratch. Besides the lack of money, the Agency had "no list of sympathetic employers, no advance publicity, no office system, no stationery and not even one applicant seeking employment. By the end of a year the agency had become so established and well enough known to have attracted nearly one thousand applicants. The report is concentrated on its projects and activities for finding jobs for applicants with non-discriminating employers. It concluded that the low rate of vacancy notification was due to the Agency's own lack of know-how and publicity, *but mainly it was a question of prejudice against the idea of employing black people especially in senior posts. Also, the chances of placing an applicant or even arranging an interview invariably proves difficult once an employer learns that an applicant is black.*

It is such observations which led the compilers to deal with racial discrimination in the last section of the report which notes that in their everyday contact with discriminatory situations "there is little chance for staff to forget that serious discrimination is widespread".

The Agency itself has a code of conduct for dealing with vacancies. It accepts no vacancy which has a national disqualification. Unless asked, the Agency never mentions an applicant's ethnic origin when making a submission for a vacancy only considering whether he or she fits the job description on their individual merit. When the Agency decides that discrimination is quite blatant in the case of employers who refuse to consider an applicant on the grounds of race or nationality, the Agency reports to the Race Relations Board for action. Four such cases were reported in 1970-71.

The Report notes that most black people, given the opportunity, avoid discriminatory situations and are usually reluctant to make official complaints even when they are faced with outright discrimination. "Perhaps they believe that the only person to gain anything from a complaint

is the race or community relations activist whose role is to uncover cases of discrimination." The Report speaks of the mounting frustration of the Agency's new staff in the face of the amount of prejudice.

The report describes the hackneyed ("I'm sorry but the job is filled) and the new language of discrimination and also the "Catch 22" type of discrimination: "Your qualifications are impressive, but you have no practical experience" an applicant is told. "But how do I obtain experience if no-one will give me a job because I have no experience" the applicant asks. Receiving no answer the applicant then assumes it is better to try for a less senior post in order to gain some experience. "You are too well qualified for a job like this" is the response.

Discrimination, the report shows, frequently takes the form of crude exploitation whereby an employee is underpaid for the responsibilities and duties attached to a particular job. Another form of exploitation is by commercial fee-charging private schools and colleges which charge huge sums for training in courses and qualifications which are not recognised by employers. An example of these is commercial and computer courses.

The report then focusses on the work of the Race Relations Board and asks the question: How effective is it? It points out that the Race Board can rarely, if ever, offer a satisfactory remedy to a black person who is refused a job. It points to the long delays in handling complaints, the fears of employees of being branded a "trouble maker" and the growing reluctance of black people to make use of the Board's services. Yet it advocates strongly that all complaints should still be dealt with by the Race Relations Board. The alternative is the industrial conciliation panels which give cause for serious dissatisfaction. In one case of blatant discrimination the conciliation panel investigator was clearly on the side of the employer and the report suggests that the incident described was "a typical case of a benevolent investigator whitewashing his own colleagues."

To get out of this sorry state of affairs "International Personnel" is proposing an Equal Opportunities Programme which would involve training not only of employees but of managers and supervisors as well in an attempt to cure the chronic bias against black people. It points out that equal opportunities will not be achieved until the community as a whole is prepared to give time, thought and money to institute employment practices which make equal opportunities for black Englishmen a reality. The report uses the term "black Englishmen" as if it were the most natural thing in the world.

Iran: Political Persecutions

Amnesty International on 10 November released a report on political imprisonment in Iran in which it noted the hardening of the Iranian government's attitude especially since the beginning of 1971, and the abhorrent manner in which mass arrests, military trials and death sentences are being carried out.

The report noted that in spite of many promises the Government refused to grant an amnesty to its political prisoners especially on the occasions of the October celebrations of the 2500th anniversary of the foundation of the Persian Empire and the Shah's birthday on 26 October, occasions "when pardons are usually given." In 1968, at Iran's invitation, the United Nations conference for Human Rights Year was held in Tehran. The October anniversary was a fitting time for the Iranian government to demonstrate in even more practical terms Iran's concern for human rights.

"On the contrary", the report observes, "the attitude of the Government to political imprisonment has hardened. Between 1,000 and 4,000 people were interned before the October celebrations. No official information on political trials has been given to Amnesty International. But from unofficial sources we have received information that a secret trial by military court was held immediately after the close of the October celebrations, in which the Prosecution asked for death sentences on all 37 defendants. Five death sentences were actually passed just before this, also by secret court martial.

"No death sentences were passed for political offences in Iran between 1966 and 1970; but on three occasions in 1971 alone prisoners have been sentenced to death by court martial sittings *in camera*. Such an extra-legal procedure can only raise doubts as to the validity of the case against those on trial."

The report then gives information it received recently on the secret military trial and a resulting sentence of eight years' hard labour on Hussein Rezai a former student at Mainz university. The government has refused to confirm or deny the information, this being "in line with its current practice of treating sentences in political trials as confidential apparently in the hope that such secrecy can prevent public protests."

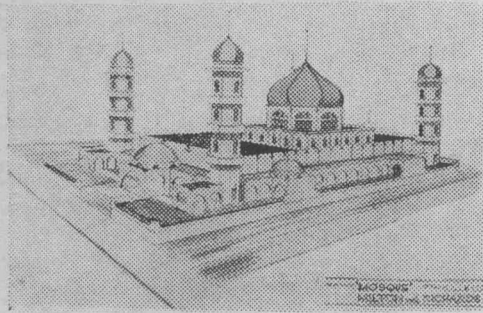
On the anniversary celebrations, the report concedes the right of any state to safeguard its visitors but observed that the acts of the Iranian government against its citizens are punitive and far in excess of all legitimate protection. They are made more abhorrent by being carried out in secrecy, despite the gravity of the sentences. The report concludes that the new events suggest that the Iranian government has now set aside its stated intention of treating political prisoners in accordance with the rule of law and the practice of responsible nations.

Letters

Central Mosque in Monrovia an appeal

Enclosed herewith is a copy of the architect's drawing of the Central Mosque, the Muslim Congress of Liberia is planning to put up in Monrovia. Land for the edifice has been purchased and the President of Liberia, Dr. William R. Tolbert, Jr., has kindly consented to break the grounds of the proposed Mosque on Friday, December 31, 1971.

The Mosque is estimated to cost \$250 million with fittings and amenities.



It may interest you to note that Liberia is a Christian dominated country and it is only recently that Islam has started to flourish here. We are, therefore, seeking the courtesy of your column to publicise the project both in *Impact* as well as in any other media that are within your reach with a view to help us to get material and moral support from our brothers and sisters as well as men and women of goodwill all over the Muslim world. We hope to read and publish names of donors on the day of the ground breaking.

Donations may be remitted through any recognised Bank to the Monrovia Branch of Chase Manhattan Bank for the credit of "MUSLIM CONGRESS MOSQUE BUILDING FUND ACCOUNT" or could be forwarded direct to the Muslim Congress of Liberia, care of Post Office Box 1148, Monrovia, Liberia.

Monrovia, Liberia A. B. LAWALLI,
General Secretary,
Mosque Committee, and
MOHAMMAD MURREY
A. WILLIAMS
Secretary General,
Muslim Congress of Liberia

Iranian Celebrations

With reference to the extract you published from Max Beloff's article (*Impact* 8-21 October), may I add my thoughts on the recent Pop festival of the World 'Royalty'.

One must thank Mr. Beloff for wittingly or unwittingly revealing the true nature of the alliance between the Iranian monarchy and Israeli socialism albeit Zionism but it is difficult to see the affair being 'un-Greek and yet impressive . . .' Both the Greek and the 'Cyrusian' cultures are dead wood now, but perhaps still useful for beating the poor masses.

In connection with his parenthetical remarks about women's lib and its absence from Iran, it is obviously stupid to ask for two if you cannot find one. The fact is, there is no liberty of *any* kind in Iran. The best evidence is the fact that I will have to withhold my name because of inevitable SAVAK terrorism. But, regarding women not going to movies, I must put it out that at no time in their history, the people of Iran had gone so low socially and morally as now and, therefore, what Mr. Beloff tries to say is just insinuation. Anyway, it was a horrible party. In order to make it successful, hundreds of the Iranian intellectuals and young men were murdered and thousands imprisoned or deported. What a way of spending the wealth of a poor nation.

Wisconsin, U.S.A.

'MAHKUM FARSI'

Nota Bene

'SCRIBE'

Geoffrey Gorer, a leading British social scientist has conducted a survey of the sex life of English men and women in 1971. According to his national survey, whose results are to be published in full next month, 75 per cent of English men and 33 per cent of English women lose virginity before marriage. The new thinking is that "holding yourself back until marriage would be abnormal . . . it would be a strain on a growing body" and that "the sensible thing is to go ahead if you feel the desire. Girls too. She can't appreciate love with sex unless she experienced sex without love". According to the survey 73 men out of every 100 and 51 women out of every 100 are *in favour of pre-marital sex* for youngmen and 57 men and 32 women out of every 100 in favour of pre-marital sex for girls. And the learned social scientist laments that the British Society is not fully permissive. "The fact is," he says, "that England still appears to be a very chaste society". And he is not kidding!

The National Council for the unmarried Mother and Her Child also released its report the other day. According to this report the total number of unmarried teenage mothers (many under 16 years) in 1959 was, 7,977. By 1969 it had risen to 21,626. This is a rise of 300 per cent in 10 years.

The report demands that society must obliterate all differences between 'legitimate' and 'illegitimate'. Social security benefits should be increased for unmarried mothers. Discrimination must end. The demand is legitimate, but why stop half way. The root of all trouble is discrimination between right and wrong, between good and evil. Real permissiveness would mean doing away completely with all rules of discrimination. Then all would be bliss.

OZ has finally been vindicated, even though on technical grounds. Obscenity is just undefinable. What could really be obscure in a permissive society? Judge Argyle still happens to live in a pre-permissive age. His judgement was an index of the 'generation gap'. It had nothing to do with the 'degeneration gap' that has sprawled under the umbrella of permissiveness. *OZ* is back on the market. The only contribution of the trial is that it has been promoted from the underground to the foreground and as a bonus its sales have gone up. Prosecution under the obscenity law is the royal road to commercial success.

Success has now been transformed into sex-ess. And part of the credit goes to the

American musical with full frontal nudity 'Hair'. It is reported that on completing three years at the stage in London its cast is celebrating its 'sex-ess' by praying at a specially arranged service at St. Paul's Cathedral. The church has at last agreed to play host to the cast responsible for a breakthrough in the art of sex-display on the stage. But this is as much a breakthrough in the church as it was on the stage.

As a footnote to the achievements of the permissive society one might note the evidence of a school-boy, aged 12, accused of the murder of a crippled man aged 82 (another manifestation of the 'generation gap'). He is reported to have said at the Old Bailey that "he did not believe in God, could not read, and *did not know what it was to tell the truth*". But perhaps he did tell the truth about the brave new world which has now been built for us.

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No Marx for Islam

E. A. Belayaev, translated from Russian (Second Edition 1966) by Adolph Gourevitch & published under the Israeli Programme for Scientific Translations, 1969

ARABS, ISLAM AND THE ARAB CALIPHATE IN THE EARLY MIDDLE AGES

pp 264 with 3 maps, *Pall Mall*, London, £3.75

Israel has honoured this Marxist interpretation of the Muslim history till the end of the 9th century C.E. under the Abbasids, probably because of ethnic and not ideological affinity with the author.

The method of approach and style of the late author may be judged from the ceaseless repetition of expressions like Muslim government was "a slave-holding regime", the Muslim historians were "feudalistic" the Orientalists of the modern West represent "bourgeois mentality", the Black-Stone in the Ka'ba is "a fetish", and so on. This list he leaves incomplete, and does not describe his own category which seems to be of a subjective writer and a historian on command. Muslim classical historians were at least independent, and did not change official documents of their published works at the change of a ruler.

The references are few, and mostly of second-hand Russian works of the last century, taking no account of the recent editions of Arabic classics. This seems to be due to the fact that the author did not command a knowledge of the Arabic language. How to explain otherwise *Musqât* (p.42) instead of *Masqat*, *Milâl wa-n-nihâl* (p. 23) for *Milal wan-Nihal*; *s'alûk* (p. 91) with even an undotted s, instead of *su'lûk* with dotted s; *sûrât* (p. 94, 95) for *sûrat*; *Saqîf banu Sâ'id* (p. 121) with dotted s, for *Saqifa banu Sâ'ida* (with undotted s); *Huza* (p. 122) instead of *Khuzâ'a*, and many more such mistakes. More amusing is "Dhu-l-himâr (The veiled one)" (p. 124): this surname means donkey-holder (which is the correct name, according to *Mas'ûdi*), whereas he translates the bad reading "Dhu-l-Khimâr". According to the Qur'an, "Mecca is in a valley lacking grass" (p. 87), *agriculture* is the word actually used.

The knowledge of Islamic history appears also to be very poor. He confounds the "Hanîfs" of pre-Islamic Mecca (a sort of free-thinking monotheistic philosophers) with the Banu Hanifa of Yamâma, who produced the apostate *Musailima* (p. 93ff). Again, the confederated clans of the Kinâna tribe, called "ahâbish" (meaning the confederates) with the Habasha (Abyssinians) (for which topic cf *Melange Levi della Vida*). Pilgrimage of Ka'ba attracted only Hijazis (p. 87), at best also those of Western Najd (p. 88), whereas sources concur that they came from all parts of

Arabia, Yemen, Umân, the extreme North and other places. Before Hijra, Meccan Muslims had to pay zakât (p. 97), but zakât is a late Madinan legislation. The Hijra of the Prophet occurred in autumn 622 (p. 98), but he actually arrived in Madina on Monday, 31 May (cf. *Journal Pakistan Hist. Soc.* 1968). The imposter *Musailima* aided Muslims by intercepting victual caravans going to Mecca (p. 123); this is obviously impossible, and it was a Muslim chief of Yamâma, *Thumâma ibn Uthâl* who had done that. *Sajâh* (p. 123), this name is to be pronounced *Sajâhi*, and is invariable in all cases. Raiding parties of Arabs inflicted a defeat on Persians at *Dhuqâr* (p. 126); but these tribes were on the defensive, a "punitive" expedition of Persians had invaded their territory. Composition of the Qur'an dates from mid-seventh century (p. 129), but it was done by the Prophet, and the fair copy was made by *Abu Bakr* a few weeks after the death of the Prophet in 632. Hostages were enslaved (p. 130 etc.), a baseless assertion. Muslims increased taxes in Syria (p. 134); actually they reduced it considerably after the conquest, as the papyrus finds have proved (cf. *Dennet, Conversion and Poll Tax*). The pensions of the widows of the Prophet amounted to "several tens of thousand dirhams" (p. 137), which is a willful falsification. That there were astrologers in the armies of the Râshidîn caliphs (*ibid.*), is baseless. Non-Arab Muslims were not recruited in Muslim armies (p. 199), but how could the handful of Arab Muslims control, in the time of caliph 'Uthmân, 35 million square miles of territory from Andalusia to the frontiers of China? Histories belie him. *Abu Dharr* was a communistic agitator against rich persons (p. 143). The venerable *Abu Dharr* had understood the Qur'anic verse 9/34 "those who hoard gold and silver and do not spend them in God's path, announce them a painful doom", in the sense not to keep them in the house even for a single day, and whenever he received his pension, he at once changed the dirhams and dinars into copper coins. He was against gold and silver, and never against wealth on which was paid the purifying zakât. Baghdad was a town in the time of *Ali* (p. 146), whereas it was founded by *al-Mansur* the Abbasid. The *Khawârij* sect believed in the "sovereignty of the community of the Faithful" (p. 147). How can one attribute sovereignty of man (democracy) to the *Khârijites* who believed that even nominating a man as arbitrator was apostasy? In Islam sovereignty belongs only to God, man is only a vicegerent, and man cannot abrogate Qur'an or Sunna.

Belayaev has no fear of even self-contradiction at a distance of a single page; Islam failed in pre-Hijra Mecca because it did not ameliorate the sort of slaves (p. 97), the few who then embraced Islam were mostly slaves (p. 98). The author (rightly) condemns *Lammens* as an unreliable writer (p. 24), yet everywhere he assimilates theories of the same writer without the least verification or scrutiny (pp. 89, 92-93, etc.).

There are many interpolations, and the reader is

led to believe that the classical source talks of them: *Nadirites* were to quit Madina leaving behind even their movable property (p. 110), but as a matter of fact they were allowed to take away not only the movables—including the doors of their houses, as it actually happened—but even to recover their debts from Muslim debtors. In Mecca many foreigners, Jews, Christians and Zoroastrians were traders, craftsmen and innkeepers (p. 92). There were neither Jews nor Zoroastrians in Mecca; the Coptic carpenter *Bâqûm* is not even an exception, since he was rescued from a shipwreck. 'Aisha took part in slave trade (p. 89). The fact is that she had made a vow to liberate an Arab slave; so the Prophet once gave her a slave to accomplish her vow, and she liberated him at once. Meccan pagans had armed guards who protected their houses and escorted their trade caravans (p. 89). Mere piece of imagination. Every Arab had his sword on his side, and Meccans also, be it at home or on travel. The escort system was that one hired the services of an *individual* of the tribe whose territory one wanted to cross, and this hired person served both as guide and a safe-conduct. There was no question of armed troops to accompany caravans.

As to misunderstandings: The *Khandaq* was a "trench in which they positioned the archers" (p. 107), whereas it was a mere ditch, wide enough to prevent Meccan cavalry to penetrate in the camp of the Prophet. After negotiation, the *Ghatafân* tribe withdrew from the siege of *Khandaq* (p. 107) but no pact was concluded and they did not withdraw. Cultivated fields of the *Qainuqâ'* were confiscated (p. 109), but historians say precisely that the *Qainuqâ'* were goldsmiths and had no cultivated lands.

It is funny to read that the truce of *Hudaibiya* meant the recognition of the Muslim state by the pagan Meccans (p. 108). The Prophet then controlled a territory ten times more extensive than the city-state of Mecca, and the recognition of states is anachronistic to that period when nobody lived at the sufferance of others but on his own; the Meccans had failed to eradicate Islam in spite of their efforts in *Badr*, *Uhud* and *Khandaq*; and at the time of *Hudaibiya* the initiative had passed into the hands of Muslims, and the Meccan economy was already paralysed by the Muslim blockade of trade routes.

The author rightly complains (p. 95) that "usury plagued Meccan economic life" before Islam. One may recall that Islam forbade interest and succeeded, but the Soviets began by abolishing it yet retored it in no time.

The maps are also undependable: *Hudaibiya* is shown at a distance of about 200 kilometres north east of Mecca, but it is about 16 kilometres to the west of Mecca on the road to Jidda. *Hawâzin* tribe is shown to the East of Madina, but they lived around *Tâ'if*, far in the south.

A. M. NURUDDIN

Zionism—apology or indictment

Amos Elon, 1971

THE ISRAELIS
Founders and Sons

pp. 359, Holt, Rinehart & Winston
New York \$10 (US)

This is a powerful, disturbing, painstaking book that manages to be at the same time strangely subjective and apologetic. It stands as an indictment of the Zionist Establishment in Israel, both old and new. The author, an Israeli, "one of the sons," is unusually accurate in cataloging a host of acts that have demonstrated Israeli intransigence, chauvinism and oppression. The book is simultaneously full of generous rationalizations and specious reasoning which attempt to excuse and justify Zionist misdeeds; nevertheless, it appears to be an attempt (at least) at conscientious recognition of the Zionist mistake which has wrought havoc in the Middle East. The author even concludes that if the Zionist mentality does not change and correct the situations it has created, the doom of the State is certain. In his own words, "The future of Israel depends upon the future of the Arab-Israeli conflict." (p. 325).

Elon's occasional brutal frankness as to Zionist failures may have clouded the financial future of his book. Zionists and their sympathizers are not yet ready for even this much truth! For many years books by and about Jews and Israel have quickly ascended to the best-seller lists in America. *The Israelis* has registered no impact on the lists thus far. That Elon is often ludicrously apologetic about Israel's racist European guiding philosophy and its atrocities against the Palestinians reflects the sorry reality that he himself, for all his compassion and insight, remains very much part of the *problem* in Middle East tensions, not part of the solution. He admits that Israel has done wrong, while continuing himself to live on land that belonged to the Palestinians. The "new generations" of Israelis may be more "existential" and cognizant of Zionist aberrations than were their forefathers, but they are unwilling to make the ultimate restitution.

The Israelis contains many factual errors from the first page on ("Britain had recognized Palestine rather vaguely in the Balfour Declaration as a "national home" for the Jews," when in fact the Balfour Declaration merely called for a national

home for the Jews in Palestine, not for converting the whole of Palestine into a Jewish State). But it is generally accurate in documenting, among other things:

(1) The forcible establishment of Israel was tantamount to "the punishment of the Arabs for the sins of Europe."

(2) "The tragedy of the Arab refugees" is the direct responsibility of Zionism,

(3) The Zionist colonizers of Palestine were overwhelmingly of European origin (Russian, Polish, Rumanian, German) and performed their work under the influence of nationalistic, socialistic, racist European ideology,

(4) Without the collusion and support of the wealthy Jews of America and Europe, the fledgling Zionist State would have easily collapsed,

(5) The founders of Israel had utter contempt for the indigenous Arabs of Palestine and used duplicity and deception to buy Arab land from absentee landlords,

(6) The early Zionists, like Golda Meir of today, "continued to dismiss the Palestinian Arabs as politically non-existent" and "arrogantly dismissed the Arabs as a 'negligible quantity'."

Elon's representation of the modern-day Israeli thinker is essentially that of a myopic schizophrenic. His socialistic ideas of humanism and justice do not account for the social and philosophical failure of Israel's Zionist existence. Faced with the clear evidence of Zionist wrongdoing, he can only exclaim defensively, "*Ein brera*," "There is no choice". Arab resistance, which early Zionists dismissed as impossible, puts the whole nation under the constant threat and strain of imminent destruction, either from within or without.

This book (unwittingly, of course) substantiates some points I made in an article published in *Black World* magazine of January, 1971, that anti-Arab "racism was shared by many Ashkenazim (European Jews) who came into the Oriental world of Palestine not as touted *chalutzim* (pioneers), but as out-and-out colonialists . . . Israel came to life in Palestine as a colonialist state." He also gives affirmation to my conclusion in that article that "the problem, in simple form, is that an essentially European people have dispossessed an Oriental people from their ancestral home."

For most thinking Jews and Israelis this must be a profoundly disquieting book, but it is doubtful that even one of their own, whom they cannot conveniently accuse of "anti-Semitism" can succeed in breaking through the intricate justifications Israel erects to defend its illegal, immoral occupation of Arab territory and its oppression, past and present, of the Palestinian people.

S. S. MUFASSIR

A much needed guide

Ziauddin Sardar and Dawood Owen (Editors), 1971

MUSLIM STUDENTS GUIDE TO
BRITAIN

pp 74, *The Federation of the Students Islamic Societies in the U.K. and Eire*, London, 25p.

As the editors of the guide have rightly said in the introduction, there has been need for a booklet which would contain necessary information for Muslim students coming to Britain from abroad and for those living locally, to help them adjust to a new environment and yet be practising Muslims. The publication of such a guide, therefore, needs appreciation and warm welcome. The guide contains information about food, accomodation, money and health. It discusses educational pattern in Britain and the facilities provided by libraries. It gives a list of Muslim organizations, newspapers, Pakistani Welfare Associations and prayer places in Britain. Information on birth, circumcision, marriages and death and other legal and social aspects is available and also suggestions on how to spend vacations. Much of this information concerns parents and employees and not exclusively students.

The guide as a whole contains much useful information. However, after going through the guide the feeling was that its compilation should have been given more time and planning. At places the information is either incomplete or is not up-to-date. For example, chapter one mentions Pakistan Student's Hostel while no mention is made of many other national hostels like Malaysian, Nigerian, Sudanese, Indo-oesian and Brunei students hostels. Similarly YMCA and YWCA hostels are mentioned (though addresses are not given), many other important student hostels like the International Students House or Alliance Club etc. are not included. At places there are comments of a purely subjective nature which were not necessary: like the comment on the listed Pakistani Welfare Associations 'that . . . the above ones have been carefully checked and are known to be Islamically oriented' (p.36) or that '*Mashriq* is socialist-oriented . . . *Akhbar-e-Watan* . . . many of its analyses go hand in hand with Islamic point of view', (p.43). This is stretching the job too far.

The guide is still quite useful to newcomers and local students alike but we hope that a future edition would aim at achieving greater thoroughness. G.U.S.

Briefing

The Intellectual Origins of the Prague Spring by Vladimir Kusin, *Cambridge*, £2.60. A historian, Mr. Vladimir Kusin is a non-communist Czech, who left his country in 1968. His book is a critical study of "the sources of reform which originated and for a long time remained outside the (Political) structure". His personal knowledge of important men of the short-lived Dubcek regime, their thoughts and feelings is skilfully employed by him to explain and bring out the complexity and in some cases the naivety of their views. He holds that the roots of the Prague Spring lay in what he calls the 'Europeanism' of the Czechoslovak people. The excesses of the communist governments produced a strong reaction and a desire to revert to a 'democratic-socialistic' pattern. About the socialist-democrat reformers he writes: "They were not professing a return to conditions typical of other non-socialist industrial countries, although in many aspects they reverted to ideas which had been 'normal' in pre-communist Czechoslovakia and were still normal in the current non-communist world". Trying to show that the Prague Spring was a logical and inevitable outcome of the long democratic tradition of the country (Europeanism) he says: "In Czechoslovakia tradition confronted revolution with elements which were patently and demonstrably more democratic than those offered by the revolution. . . . whereas in Russia, Communism imbued with the nationalist past, gave birth to Stalinism, in Czechoslovakia a similar combination could produce nothing but democratic socialism." But the democratisation of socialism failed because the 'framework was inadequate'. The local communists also failed to think out to the end the "expected dispersal of the monopoly of power." And the 'theorem about the (party's) leading role was not resolved consistently." They also failed to remember that ultimately "success would depend on the quality of the people who would find themselves at the head of the new regime."

Why Dubcek Fell by Pavel Tigrid, *Macdonald*, £2.75. An old social-democrat Czech and now an exile in Paris since the communist revolution in 1948, Mr. Pavel Tigrid is the editor of the quarterly *Svedectvi* (witness) which has been regularly publishing internal Czech Communist Party documents obtained through disillusioned members of the Czech communist party. It is this material on which the present work is based. On the Dubcek regime's leadership he has this to say: "They were a leadership reared in Stalinist schools and accustomed to social structures which were rigid. . . . They had little training in independent thinking, still less in independent action. They found themselves in a new situation overnight, unwilling to master it by repression, and at the same time, unable to rule it democratically. They appeared rather bewildered in this situation which came close to a free play of political forces". Mr. Tigrid is of the opinion that the Czechs should have fought their invaders and the Czech communist party should have gone underground for this purpose. His book reveals that there were sharp divisions inside the communist party over the question of invasion. Thus for instance Czech ambassador in Moscow reported that strong protests were made by Soviet nuclear scientists; Moscow TV's Party cell had to convene thrice before it voted in favour of the military action. Similarly we are told that, of the overall 60,000 primary party cells, 800 opposed the invasion. One finds difficult to disagree with Mr. Tigrid when he observes that the Czech experiment which sought to marry democracy and socialism was doomed to failure.

The Long March 1935: The Epic of Chinese Communism's Survival by Dick Wilson, *Hamish Hamilton*, £3.00. A detailed description of the famous march of the main army of the Chinese

communists in 1934-35 from their base in South China to the North West whence they later spread out and conquered the entire country in 1949. But in the words of the author "it is curious that an event so stirring in its heroism and so crucial for world history has been relatively neglected for writers and scholars". Paucity of major historical works on the long march is one of the reasons. The Chinese communists in the course of their long and difficult march threw away or lost many important documents and materials. It was only after the march that an effort was made to edit the record with a view to justify the actions and policies of Mao Tse-Tung whose supporters had during the march gained the control of the party after bitter dissensions over policy and strategy within the party. Chang Kuot'ao was Mao's principal opponent during those crucial days.

The long march started from a point in the central Soviet Area in the South of Kiangsi province after the communist forces suffered heavy defeats during Chiang Kai-Shek's fifth encirclement campaign (1934). At every stage of the march differences arose as to the next objective till the marchers reached Tsunyi where an enlarged meeting of the Politburo was held. Only 80 members attended, the rest of the participants being the military commanders who in that desperate situation all of a sudden found themselves important and powerful. Lin Piao, was one of these army commanders, blindly devoted to Mao. No wonder therefore when we see that in this meeting Mao emerged as the supreme leader of the party. Mao was appointed chairman of the Politburo. Mao is accused of a collusion with army commanders against the party leadership of Po Ku. In fact it existed long before the Tsunyi meeting as Hsiang Ying, some months before, in a private talk with him said he feared Mao wanted "to seize for himself with the help of the army the leadership of the party". The army commanders who were already seething with anger and were highly critical of the party's Moscow backed leadership holding it responsible for all their military defeats were on the look out for a man to redeem their sense of honour. In Mao they found the man and Po Ku had to go. It is at this point that we hear about the young Chou-en-Lai raising his voice in support of Mao; before this he never failed to register his opposition to the new Chinese leader.

Christian Re-union: Historical Divisions Re-considered by J. S. Whale, *Lutterworth*, £2.50. Examines the internal conflict between different divisions of the Christian Church which resulted in irreparable loss to the unity of the Church. The wounds of reformation are still unhealed and no scheme of reunion is to be hoped for in the near future. The author does not subscribe to the view that the present Church order is final and wonders if 18 centuries of life failed to open the eyes of the Churchmen to read the writing on the wall in an age when "acids of modernity" are working against religion and what it stands for. In his view it is useless to fight yesterday's battles; the Christian Church must learn to fight today's battles.

The East India Company by Brian Gardner, *Hart Davis*, £2.95. Describes how a handful of the British merchants went to one of the richest and largest regions, the Pak-India subcontinent, and slowly and gradually built up that "strangest of all governments, designed for the strangest of all empires". The book covers the British presence in the sub-continent from early seventeenth century to the first war of independence in 1856, when the people of India unsuccessfully revolted against the British.

The English and Immigration by John A. Garrad,

Oxford, £3.25. Gives a general account of Jewish immigration to England. Until 1890 the Anglo-Jewish community was negligibly small. When in eighties Jewish communities in Russia and Poland underwent a series of programs, its members scattered throughout Europe. In Britain alone about 100,000 of them arrived in the next thirty years. Here, as elsewhere, they were not a welcome guest. "They bring with them not only filth and poverty but crime", wrote *Country Life*. The *Nineteenth Century* declared: "Their standard of manners and living can only be compared to that of a pig". A correspondent of the *Pall Mall Gazette* called these aliens as "loathsome wretches who come itching and grunting to our shores". Besides the new settlers constituted a potential threat to the British working classes, businessmen, and traders as rivals in their respective spheres of life. But the new comers never lacked supporters in this country. Once, when some one suggested that the Jews be deported, John Burns, the Labour leader said that for his part he would rather admit the poor Russian Jews and deport the rich English ones. The inflow of the immigrants increased to such an extent that in 1905 the Tory government had to pass the Aliens Act. This was the end of the traditional English policy of open doors. When, however, the Liberals came to power in 1906 they interpreted the Act so liberally as to almost nullify it for all practical purposes. And so the Jewish inflow continued right up to the outbreak of the world war.

The Dictionary of Turkic Languages by Mahmud Kashgari, who lived in the 11th century has been translated into Russian by a Tashkent scholar Rustamov.

Resolutions and Decisions of Congresses, Conferences and Plenary Sessions of the Central Committee—Volume Six, Documents of the CPSU. Contains important party documents from June 1941 to 1964, some of which are published for the first time.

The publication of the Turkish magazine *Yangi* and newspaper *Akdeniz Gazetesi* has been suspended for one month and ten days respectively.

Nasheman, Urdu weekly from Bangalore, India has been banned from publication and its editor put under detention for failing to support the official line on the Bangla Desh issue.

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Television

Debunking Propaganda

● There has been a very varied and interesting diet of programmes on radio and television. Here I shall deal with only a few which seem to have a single thread running through them: they were all concerned in some way with culture and communication and specifically with the debunking of modern myths and propaganda.

Cinema (ITV Saturday 13 Nov), introduced as the place which always keeps you in the dark, departed from its own often trivial routine to concentrate on the black and serious topic: the place of the Negro in American film. It presented excerpts and comment on several films dating back to 1941, the year in which *The Great Lie* was produced. This film presented stock black figures who maintained a child-like loyalty to their white masters, who were freed slaves with the mentality of slaves. The film magicians—as the commentator called the Hollywood magnates—were concerned to produce stereotypes. The black was an entertainer and an oddity dancing along behind the Jewish piper singing Hallelujah! These were the eye-rolling blacks, blacks who showed their subservient white teeth, who were rhythmic creatures divorced from humanity as a whole. Beautiful but lamentable.

The stereotype as entertainer continued into the fifties (as indeed it still continues) and though we had Louis Armstrong making a bid for *High Society* (1956), the film magicians were only indulging in a self-congratulatory exercise. Quite nice but odd. Change seemed to come in the sixties in such a film as '100 Rifles' in which the beautiful white actress encourages, spurns, and finally gives in to Negro manhood and virility. Gratifying but suspicious.

Then comes the seventies when the black man comes into his own becoming his own magician. *Shaft* just released in London is by a black director and has an almost total black caste complete with hustlers and con-men and mafia type blacks. Interesting and encouraging, but perpetuating of the shiftless black prone to violence but another type of stereotype. Then with *Cotton Comes To Harlem*, just released, it's goodbye to kicks and the white man as master: "Brothers we are going home." Very enjoyable, very good. Quite a lot was debunked by the incisive comment of this *Cinema* programme but still much of the great lie about the black man persists and the black man himself is still tied to the terms of reference of white American society. He is still very much in the dark but a dawn of sorts is approaching.

● **On Tuesday in The Great British Lie** (ITV): We had a programme which turned its eyes searchingly and in almost brutal frankness and honesty on British propaganda instruments during the First World War. With a mass of archival material and authenticated reports, the program sought to answer why the British public was so apathetic in the face of a visible and mounting horror in Germany in the thirties. It came up with the answer that propaganda during the War awakened the tribal instincts of the public and became a democratic element transforming the enemy into the devil. Stories had been so exaggerated and so effectively put across that people

believed them only to learn later on that truth had been sacrificed. At the beginning of the war propaganda techniques had still to be devised and the press was the only mass information media. This was supplemented by posters assailing the emotions of the masses. The posters were reduced into postcards and brought into the very home. The general will was harnessed to look on the German as the Hun who was only capable of torture, murder and raping and whose atrocities gave rise to rivers of blood and mountains of dead bodies. A nephew of the famous newspaper baron Lord Northcliffe spoke of his uncle who believed that in war no holes are barred and who proceeded to concoct various stories to raise the emotions of the people. A spy peril or a plague of spies was created. Casualty figures were distorted and irrational fears played upon.

The First World War saw the emergence of a new medium of propaganda—the cinema. Initially it was considered as a low class toy for the masses but soon it was transformed to transmit a stream of propaganda. Because the War Film Committee could not get any pictures from the front they used animated cartoons to devastating effect. British bull-dog pluck was pitted against Hun treachery, and the full horror of mangled babies on bayonets' ends assailed the public in cartoon form till a crescendo of anger and hatred was reached. The falsifying and exaggerated propaganda had the full support and sponsorship of the British Ministry of Information. Because of this a decade later people grew to have less faith in the truthfulness of the media and this accounted for the apathy of the thirties.

The jingoistic and falsifying elements in the media have far from disappeared. The point which the program was making was proven very early on and much as I felt constrained to watch it to the end, I could not resist turning to the BBC 1 channel which ran a documentary on the real Che Guevara. The aim was to cut down this universal symbol of violent protest to size. The programme was concerned to explore one of the most potent of modern mythologies that of a figure who is transformed into a spiritual leader and achieves success only after his death. The programme presented Che as a quixotic dilettante who stumbled onto the path of revolution by chance, running away from the hurt inflicted by a lover's family. It portrayed him as a remarkably unsuccessful revolutionary and a highly unstable person. It pointed out among other things the failure of his experiments as a minister of industries in the new Cuba, his ineffectiveness as a diplomat to and his fruitless sally into the Congo. The main reason given for the popularity of Che in the eyes of revolutionaries was simply that he had spurned the satisfactions of high office and felt uncomfortable in ceremonial occasions and so betook himself once again to the grassroots to fight with gun in hand for and among the downtrodden people. In many parts, this programme might have given some satisfaction to the romanticists whose walls are cluttered with pin-ups of the handsome Che. On the whole, it might have left a sour taste in their mouths as they complain of the counter propaganda of the capitalists and imperialist media.

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World Opinion

The diplomacy of adverse partnership

The Sino-US *rapprochement* creates major problems for other powers interested in this region. Its implications for the Soviet Union are obvious enough. Faced with the possibility of parallel Chinese and US moves to curb Soviet influences in the world, Moscow could not but seek new friends and allies to protect its interests. The thought that there are many unresolved problems between China and the US could not have been any solace to the Soviet Union. No other power is more experienced in conducting the diplomacy of adverse partnership and Moscow cannot be unaware of the fact that the greater the difficulties in resolving mutual problems among two super-powers, the greater is their need to discover common adversaries. It is this role of a common adversary that the Soviet Union performs in the Sino-US *détente*.

From India's viewpoint, the situation is equally difficult. For, in trying to improve their relations, two limited adversaries like China and the US have not only to discover a common threat but also to devise areas of agreement to sustain a fairly high level of relationship. To the extent that US interest in South Asia has been waning, its capacity to treat it as the area where Chinese aspirations could be encouraged has increased. And Pakistan, in the hour of its crisis, has become the obvious area of agreement between these two super-powers. Thus, whatever might have been Soviet and Indian intentions when the idea of the treaty originated, the immediate context in which it has been signed is that of the convergence of Soviet and Indian interests in regard to a number of specific issues and problems facing them.

(Sisir Gupta: The Soviet-Indian Treaty, *Hindustan Times Sunday World*, Delhi 22 August 1971)

Communism and "Arab chauvinism"

There is a difference between support of "Arab Socialism" combined with a struggle, and a merger into an "Arab socialism" that is of Arab nationalist origin. Lenin warned expressly: Communism marches in a "temporary alliance" with the national revolutionary movements, but "must not merge with them". Its duty is "under all circumstances to uphold the independence of the proletarian movement even if in its most rudimentary form".

There is a difference between reserved support and a surrender of Communism into the hands of Arab chauvinism. The drama in Sudan is also a surrender of Communism . . .

For the loyal supporters of the ideal of socialist revolution, the lesson is self-evident. The cause of progress of the peoples in this vital region of the world cannot be served by taking advantage of the Jewish-Arab national conflict and its intensification. On the contrary, only a *détente* in this national conflict is apt to release and divert the forces of freedom inherent in the two nations towards the road of democracy and socialism.

(S. Tsurulnikov: The lessons of Sudan, *Kol Ha'am*, Tel Aviv, 12 August 1971)

And now that the situation has reversed

We expect that we will run a trade deficit with Japan this year of at least \$3,000 million. This will be the largest deficit that I believe the United States has ever run with any nation in its long history on its trade. During the same year that we are running this deficit, Japan has added to its foreign asset reserves by over \$9,000 million this year, to the point where they now have \$14,100 million in foreign asset reserves. This is more than the United States, and it is more than any country in the world except Germany. Now we are not here demanding anything of Japan. Friends don't demand of each other . . .

We simply come with a problem and ask for help, and in so doing we try to remind the Government leaders, and, through them, the people of Japan, that over the past quarter of a century the United States, when it had all of the reserves, when it had the economic vitality and when it had all the trade, that we shared our prosperity with other nations. We helped rebuild and rehabilitate them. We helped expand by gifts and grants to the tune of \$150,000m. to nations around the world, so that other nations and other people might have the opportunity of self-help to achieve some of the necessities and even the luxuries of life. And now that the situation has reversed we are going to some of our friends and saying, we need help. It is just that simple.

(U.S. Treasury Secretary Connally, *News Conference in Tokyo*, 11 November 1971).

Glorious autumn, Indian summer

Richard Nixon gave Mrs. Gandhi a gracious welcome on the South Lawn of the White House. It was a glorious autumn day in Washington, with the flags snapping in the wind and monuments gleaming in the sunshine. Thirteen silver trumpets sounded a fanfare from the White House portico. Then Mrs. Gandhi,

regal in a brown sari and cashmere cape, reviewed the troops with the President.

With a flourish, Nixon declared: "Today we stand in Washington on Nov. 5, a winter day. In our country, we call this kind of a day Indian summer." As it happened, it was Nov. 4—autumn, not winter—and Indian summer derives from American Indians, not Indira's countrymen.

(*Time* magazine, 15 November 1971)

Vive l'opera, Vive le progres

In 1868, the Khedive Ismail, the late King Farouk's grandfather, had a substantial temporary structure erected so that opera could be performed during the visit of the Prince and Princess of Wales prior to the Suez celebrations.

On April 2, 1869, a mechanic discovered that one of the wooden columns supporting the Khedive's box had been hollowed out and an infernal device inserted under his chair. Foreigners were suspected of complicity in such a sophisticated plot, so the consuls of England, France, Austria and Italy were invited to investigate.

Their findings were evasive. Privately they hinted that the plot had been arranged by the Khedive himself and circumstantial evidence certainly supported this view. Ismail Pasha believed that one way of bringing progress to his country was for himself, his family and his entourage to adopt the most refined of European customs. Clearly an opera house was essential. But attempted royal assassinations were equally *à la mode* and likely to have welcome secondary benefits if properly staged. When the Pasha visited the circus a few days later and displayed himself unscathed, the performance was thrice interrupted with cries of *Vive le vice-roi!*, *Vive Ismail Pasha!* *Vive le Khedive!*

(Sir Duncan Cumming: letter in *The Times*, London, 2 November 1971).

Guests for the dirty work

Ask a stranger the way in any West German city and as often as not he will turn out to be a *Gastarbeiter*, one of the 2m. foreign workers who are essential to the country's economic strength.

The word *Gastarbeiter*, literally "guest-worker" is still commonly used in the newspapers. The euphemism was invented many years ago to hide a certain embarrassment that Germany was employing foreign workers again at all.

The Yugoslavs form the biggest group here (about 22 per cent.) followed by the Italians (19 per cent.), Turks (18 per cent.), Greeks (12 per cent.) and Spaniards (9 per cent.).

Almost one-third of the men and one-fifth of the women improve their abilities while here, but this mostly means that they rise from being unskilled to semi-skilled. The proportion of unskilled men and women who return home skilled is very small.

Most of social work among

foreign workers is done by the churches. This is only fair, since the churches benefit from the church tax paid by them. The Catholic Church has an income of DM65m. a year in taxes from this source.

('Guests' do the dirty work, *Financial Times*, London, 7 October 1971)

Liberty of atheism

Bourgeois-clerical falsifiers endeavour to present the atheistic propaganda being conducted in our country as an infringement of believers' rights. They would like to see the liberty of conscience applying only to religious liberty, but not to the liberty of atheism, that is, they would like the Church to have a privileged position in our country . . .

The authors of some Western publications assert that religion is being eliminated by force in the USSR . . . The bourgeois-clerical falsifiers shut their eyes to the fact that the well-being and cultural standard of the working people have immeasurably improved . . . The Soviet State has become a mighty industrial Power and, of course, the people's consciousness has changed. Our country has become the world's first country of mass atheism . . . The decline in the number of churches and place of worship bears witness to the persecution of religion, as bourgeois propagandists endeavour to make out, but to great transformations in the minds of the Soviet people . . .

(Radio Kaliningrad, talk by A. V. Belov, 11 November 1971)

Like Cromwell, like Balfour

If Balfour was at all topical this week it was for another reason. Like Cromwell, he is honoured by the Jews and hated by the Irish. The man who favoured Home Rule for the Jews, deeply opposed it for the Irish, when he was Secretary for Ireland in the last Conservative Government of the 19th century. The ruthless way in which he put down disorders earned him the nickname "Bloody Balfour". If he is being remembered anywhere this week, perhaps it is at Number Ten Downing Street?

(Balfour and Home Rule, *Jewish Observer*, London, 5 November, 1971)

"Why have we, the peoples of Western Europe, had such a great History?" asks *The Earth—Man's Heritage*, a secondary school textbook, still in common use. The answer seems to have been inspired by the well-known advertisement for Erasmic shaving soap: "It's not too hot, not too cold, not too wet, not too dry." It transpires that it is our climate that has given Western civilisation that edge over all others from Mexico and Peru to India and China.

(Christopher Price: Whiter than White Textbooks, *New Statesman* 29 October 1971)

NEWS BRIEF

France. USSR and France have jointly developed a very strong steel with high plasticity for cryogenic equipment. Both are at present co-operating on 21 scientific and industrial projects and 14 other joint projects with individual French firms and organisations.

East Germany. Dr. Peter Kirchner, Chairman of the Jewish Community of Greater Berlin has said that for the first time in the 300-year history of the Berlin Jewish Community, a state has come into being on German soil, the GDR, in which Jewish believers are independent and free.

India. The Atomic Energy Department has drawn up a plan to train 3,000 engineers and scientists in the next 10 years to meet the future needs for India's development of atomic energy. Under the plan, various institutes of technology in the country will offer courses of study in nuclear physics, engineering and reactor design. ●A major project to manufacture explosives has been completed, and another for the manufacture of propellants and ballistics is in progress in the ordnance factories in the country; one of the factories is producing a new variety of ammunition. The production of the ordnance factories last year totalled over Rs. 12,000m. Some optical instruments for missiles have been produced, while work on a field gun and carriage factory is nearing completion. ●Mrs. Gandhi said in Hamburg that factories with foreign investment would not be nationalised for the sake of nationalisation; the Government would nationalise factories only if forced to or, in some cases, if it was the wish of the people. ●In the financial year 1970-71, India exported goods to USSR worth more than Rs. 2,000m. Soviet goods account for 12 per cent of India's foreign trade turnover; between 30 and 50 per cent of India's steel and oil products and electricity come from enterprises set up with Soviet aid. The Soviet Union has helped to train more than 40,000 Indian workers and technicians.

Indonesia. Gen. Panggabean, Defence Minister, said there was no urgent need for Indonesia to have defence pact with other powers—reference being to the possibility of a pact with Australia. ●Sudjatmoko, adviser to the Indonesian UN delegation said "as a UN member, it is only appropriate for Indonesia to normalise relations with Peking, but the normalisation of Indonesian relations with PRC must be in conformity with our national interests".

●The Indonesian Republican Armed Forces (ABRI) Faction in Parliament has elected Police Inspector-General Domon Pranoto as Chairman and Police Commissioner Kusnan, Brig-Gen. Mansjur and Police Inspector-General Sunarto as Vice-Chairman. The Development Faction is headed by Hardjanto with Sjahana and Da Costa as Vice-Chairmen. The Functional Group Faction, pending election of its

Chairman, appointed Sumiskum as General Chairman and Sugiharto as his deputy.

Libya. Libya has changed the name of its currency from the pound to the dinar and put into circulation two new paper currency notes of half and quarter dinar denominations. These will replace the old currency notes.

●President Qaddafi of Libya in an interview with the Beirut paper 'An-Nahar' said that because of their own individual circumstances the Arab leaders could not now declare war against Israel. What was required was "the pan-Arabisation of Fida'i activities" whereby each Arab state should send "waves of Fida'in to fight Israel. Continuation of the present situation into 1972 was unacceptable and that "something would have to take place within the next two months—either peace or war".

Malaysia. According to Chief of Staff of the armed forces the Communist terrorists in Sarawak and West Malaysia were becoming more militant.

Nigeria. The Government is to re-absorb 65 ex-secessionist officers of the Armed Forces, discharge 62 and keep 30 in detention. The Federal Government's decision is claimed to be one of the fairest and most humane, contrasting sharply with the so-called Allied Powers' witch hunt at Nuremburg etc. ●Leaders of Commerce and Industry have agreed that the tier financial system which related Nigerian currency to both sterling and the dollar should be restored. ●The Soviet Embassy in Lagos has opened a cultural department consisting of a reading room and a library. Arrangements are also underway for teaching the Russian language in Nigeria.

Pakistan. The Pakistan Democratic Party leader Mr. Nurul Amin said the undeclared war against Pakistan by India in the Eastern Wing has made it all the more imperative for the nation to stand united. He said his party stands for provincial autonomy but within the framework of one Pakistan.

Palestine. Abba Eban, has stated that had it not been for the establishment of agricultural villages in the administered areas, 'Israel' would have been besieged in the pre-six-day war era, and its political and security conditions would have been in danger. He said the establishment of these villages had not been carried out at random; these are centred in areas where we believe we should remain even after the change of borders. ●'Israel' is to establish the 13th village in Golan Heights. This is one of the 35 villages to be established in the areas occupied in the six-day-war.

Turkey. The Ankara prosecutor's office has applied to the Justice Ministry that Mr. Suleyman Demirel be deprived of his parliamentary immunity. Earlier the National Assembly had voted a move supported by Mr. Demirel himself to conduct an investigation against the former Premier.

Uganda. President Amin called the envoys of India and Pakistan to express his concern about the development in the region. The President said that he knew that the Indian armed forces were bigger and more powerful than those of Pakis-

tan. India, therefore, should not for that reason violate Pakistani territorial integrity. India has no cause to fight Pakistan and should leave the Pakistanis to solve their problems, specially as regards East Pakistan, which constitutes an internal and domestic matter. Without doubt, India has an international obligation to receive refugees such as Uganda had done in respect of refugees from southern Sudan. But it should not use that pretext to bring pressure to bear on Pakistan in order to influence her to reorganise the country in the way favoured by India. The distribution of relief supplies for refugees should also find its way to destitute people inside Pakistan who may also be suffering from the result of the present uneasy situation.

United Kingdom. Figures released by the Registrar General's office show a slight fall in the number of birth to immigrant mothers in U.K. and Wales. Legal abortion during the June-quarter of 1971 totalled 31,202 and migration figures for the March-quarter showed that while 38,400 came to the U.K., 56,500 left Britain.

●Doctors of Birmingham Maternity Hospital are investigating a possible connection between the contraceptive pills and jaundice in breast-fed babies.

USSR. A court in Minsk has sentenced three persons to death by firing squad and three others to varying terms of imprisonment for atrocities alleged to have been committed about thirty years ago in 1942-3 in association with a German battalion. ●The Sever firm's experimental research laboratory has devised a probe, 20 microns in diameter and incorporating a tiny syringe for the removal of blood clots without complicated surgery. The first clinical tests of the instrument have been successful. ●Construction has begun on a 90 hectare site which is to contain multi-storey buildings for the Kazakh State University.

Yugoslavia. Boris Kidric Institute for Nuclear Sciences at Vinca has invented a technique for printing sound on paper i.e. "speaking" books. Alongside the words a black line is printed. By moving a fountain-pen size 'photo-reader' the recorded sound is heard.

Zambia. Dr. Kaunda has stopped the issuance of licences for bars, bottle stores and taverns till a committee has studied the situation. He was shocked to learn that in Solwezi township alone with a population of 5,000 there were 50 bars, each with a capacity for 120 persons.

PEOPLE

President Numayri paid a visit to Saudi Arabia and performed *Umrah*. King Faysal has accepted the invitation to visit the Sudan. ●Mr. Muhammad Idris al-Mahdi as-Sanussi, the deposed king of Libya sentenced to death in absentia by a Libyan tribunal. ●Mr. Muhammad Ahmad al-Hamid and Mr. Abdullah Ghanim have been appointed Minister of Justice and Electricity respectively in Kuwait. ●Mr. Osman Oclay, Turkish Foreign Minister is to visit Pakistan on 28 November. ●Mr. Ali Abd ar-Razzaq Badhib resumed as Ambassador of Yemen to Romania.



There's a long, long trail a-winding . . .

(Courtesy: Eccles, Morning Star)

●Mr. Abd al-Karim Karasinah resumed as Ambassador of Iraq in Bulgaria. ●Mr. Ahmad al-Bashir Shaddad is the new Ambassador of Sudan in Czechoslovakia. ●President Siyad Barreh of Somalia left on 15 November on a visit to Egypt, USSR, Syria and Iraq. ●King Mohammad Zahir Shah of Afghanistan paid a visit to Beirut. ●Mr. Ma'mun Awad Abu Zayd Secretary-General of Sudanese Socialist Union headed a seven-man delegation to Libya and Tunisia. ●Dr. Felipe Herrera, 49, former Finance Minister of Chile and president of the Inter-American Development Bank is a new aspirant for the post of UN Secretary-General. ●Mr. Vladimir Bukovsky, 26, is to be tried on charge of anti-trust propaganda and agitation in the USSR. ●Mr. N. S. Tikhonov has been awarded the title of "People's Poet of Tajikistan". ●Sir Harry Legge-Bourke elected chairman of Conservative MP's 1922 Committee. ●King Haile Selassie paid a private visit to Istanbul. ●Mr. Richard Wood, the British Minister for Overseas Development is on a two week visit to India.

VISITORS

Mr. Mahmud Ali, Leader of Pakistan's delegation to the UN General Assembly. ●Sh. Abul Ainain Shaisha, Qari from Egypt. ●Khan Abdul Qayyum Khan, President, Pakistan Muslim League. ●King Mohammad Zahir Shah of Afghanistan. ●Mr. Abba Eban

DIED

Dr. Syed Abdul Latif, Indian Muslim scholar and translator of the Quran in English, on 4 November in Hyderabad, India. ●Maulana Abdul Jabbar, 61, Islamic Scholar on 4 November in Karachi. ●Ghulam Rasool Mehr, 76, Pakistani journalist and historian on 15 November. ●Sir John Macpherson, 73, former Governor-General of Nigeria on 5 November.