

impact

international fortnightly

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From Suez to Singapore: WHOSE LAKE WILL IT BE?

If any one party is to emerge as 'victorious' from the smouldering shambles to which East Pakistan has been reduced during the last few weeks, it is Soviet Russia. One of the greatest diplomatic and strategic defeat has perhaps been inflicted on the West, China and the Third World. The political map of South Asia is being changed to fulfil the territorial ambitions of two imperialist powers, Russia and India. What is, however, crucially important is the manner in which the fate of the Third World and the smaller nations is being played with in the interest of power politics.

The right of the people to freedom and liberty has been challenged by the self-arrogated 'right' of the Powers to impose their will on sovereign nations.

As a result of the savaging of Pakistan, the entire balance of power in Asia and the Middle East is being upset. This political upheaval is the epitome of collusion between Indian expansionism and Russian strategic ambitions as well as an index of the failure of Western, Chinese and Pakistani diplomacy.

India's foreign policy has, from its very inception been geared to build India as the leader of Asia. Even before Independence, Tilak and Nehru had made this clear. As far back as 1919 Tilak told Clemenceau, that India "may well aspire to be a leading power in Asia" although it may not be so welcome to others". Nehru wrote that India "cannot play a secondary part in the world. She will either count for a great deal or not count at all (*Discovery of India*). K. M. Pannikar, one of the theorists of India's foreign policy was more explicit when he said in the *Future of India and South-East Asia* that unless distant bases like Singapore, Mauritius, Aden and Socotra are firmly held and the naval air arm is developed in order to afford sufficient protection to these posts, there will be no security or safety of India". As recently as 1960, S. R. Patel (*Foreign Policy of India: Inquiry and Criticism*) argued that as India has a special interest in areas close to her ... Nepal, Palestine, Afghanistan, China, Burma, Malaya, Indonesia, Ceylon are, therefore, very important to India ... India must control Singapore and Suez, the gateways to India ... India must have the Indian ocean from Singapore to Suez as her lake".

To achieve this, the Indian strategists have been planning to arrange some kind of a "reunion" between Ceylon, Burma, Pakistan and India. This vision of a "reconstituted Indian empire" is the basis of the Indian "forward policy" and *The Observer* was quite apt when it commented that although the Indian people are "indignantly anti-imperialist abroad" they are "quite ready to apply a little imperialism within their own historic frontiers". (4 November, 1962).

Russia's interest in South Asia is also a historical fact. Her emergence as a super power, after the Second World War has

provided her with the means to translate that historical dream into political reality. Her experiment in Eastern Europe, of creating a series of client states or ideological colonies of "limited sovereignty" has proved more profitable than direct conquest.

The subcontinent has never been away from Russian thoughts. When Nehru convened an Asian Congress at Delhi in March 1947 the Soviet Union was represented by her Central Asian republics. Despite Stalin's introvert diplomacy, Russia developed close relations with India, but the real breakthrough came in 1956 when Bulganin and Khrushchev visited India and openly supported the Indian occupation of Kashmir. It is since that visit that the Kashmir issue has remained vetoed out of the Security Council. That also marked the start of the flow of Soviet economic and military aid into India.

In 1959 the first minor Sino-Indian border skirmishes took place. Although Sino-Soviet relations were apparently close and warm in those days, Russia chose to side with India.

There was an increase in Russia's military and economic assistance to India but it really rocketed after the Sino-Indian clash in 1962-63. All available evidence shows (Nevile Maxwell, *India's China War*, 1970) that it was actually India which provoked Chinese action. Presumably Russia encouraged her. America had already been giving profuse economic aid to India and the 'yellow peril' now started bringing in massive military aid from the US as well.

India was also able to convince both Russia and America of her strategic "weakness" because of East Pakistan being outside the pale of direct Indian influence. The northern hump of East Pakistan protrudes into India and nearly separates Assam from West Bengal. This could be an obvious threat to Indian logistics against China. Both the powers readily bought the idea that China cannot be contained unless East Pakistan is "integrated".

A regional security plan was accordingly formulated. The trouble was that Soekarno's Indonesia was not prepared to be involved in any anti-China security arrangement or to abandon non-alignment; Pakistan wanted Kashmir to be settled before entering any dialogue of that nature. This annoyed all the three—India, Russia and America and each set out in its own way to teach the recalcitrant a lesson.

Russian collusion, American gullibility

The Bengali nationalists had already achieved a great deal in systematically fanning feelings of linguistic and regional separation. In this they received support not only from India and Russia but no less from China and America.

All this was compounded by the fact of a growing economic disparity in respect of East Pakistan. The strategy of economic development adopted by Pakistan under the guidance of the economic experts sent from USA, was a strategy of "planned imbalances" which aimed at achieving a fastest possible rate of growth through the flow of resources from the large agricultural sector to the smaller industrial sector. As East Pakistan was overwhelmingly agricultural, much more than West Pakistan, a natural result of this strategy of planned sectorial disparity was the accentuation of the existing regional disparity. This strategy was not substantially different from that adopted by Soviet Russia where the agricultural sector (i.e. Ukraine and the Central Asian regions) paid for the rapid development of the industrial sector in European Russia. But as a result of a total neglect of the distributional aspects, the fast rate of growth of the GNP which indeed was achieved went only to make the rich richer and consequently promote social discontent.

This factor of social discontent produced a sort of mutuality in progressive alienation between East and West Pakistan and India had only to keep on buttressing an emergent East Bengali nationalism.

Russia's strength lay in the fact that the Socialist movement in both the wings of Pakistan, more so in the East had a group of trusted workers and a wide spectrum of fellow-travellers in the services, educational institutions, communication media and workers' organisations. The fact of capitalistic and political exploitation was already there, and one only needed to keep on focussing this until a revolutionary situation was created. This in fact was the classical approach, common to both Russia and China and where they differed was in working through two opposite agencies i.e. India and Pakistan.

The American line differed only in the objective: whatever its label of socialism, the new state should be pro-American. America having far more cultural and political say in Pakistan than either Russia or India, the task of fathering and fostering regionalism as an ideology fell to the American dons. East Pakistani intellectuals were siphoned off to Harvard, Yale, M.I.T. and Stamford and it is from these institutions that almost all tracts and treatises on regionalism have come. American involvement in the whole episode is exceptional in that American planning experts from Harvard were responsible for laying down a calculated strategy of

imbalanced growth and at the same time tutoring regionalism.

Russia wished ultimately to have a Marxist state in the two Bengals, but in the first instance has no option but to go through the Indian plan of creating a client state. America was unsure of the comparative merits and feasibility of a sovereign pro-American East Bengal and a pro-American but loosely confederated East-Pakistan.

Pakistan had already reached an advanced stage in national alienation when came the first ever general elections in December 1970 and perhaps not unnaturally one finds Russia, India, and America, all three working openly to influence its outcome. The common measure of success achieved by these powers lay in the virtual elimination of all those parties which in any way believed in the ideological oneness of Pakistan and throwing up of two militantly regional parties, one in either wing. There was a deadlock on the question of transfer of power to the elected "representatives" and it was innate in the very complex: regionalism of the parties, foreign intrigues and the ineptness of the military leadership. And there it came, the 25th of March.

After the elections, collusion between India and Russia on the question of 'Bangla Desh' became closer and manifest. In spite of the unwillingness of the Awami League leaders who had gone over to India, Russia insisted and was able to establish a broadened 'Bangla Desh Co-ordinating Committee' which included pro-Moscow socialists as well. For India it simply meant killing two birds with one stone: to dismember Pakistan and to transfer the locale of revolutionary politics from West to East Bengal.

With the opening of dialogue with China, American interests (not objectives) appear to have undergone a shade of change and the American diplomacy in the post-election period looks vacillating and confused. They did want a pro-American Bangla Desh and at the same time retain influence and leverage in West Pakistan. Having become more conscious of the Russian involvement they could not also support an Indo-Soviet Bangla Desh.

Going back: Indo-Russian hot crusade against Pakistan started from the last week of March 1971. A concerted effort was made to isolate Pakistan diplomatically and impoverish her economically. It was during this phase of diplomatic and economic offensive that plans for military intervention were finalised. Rakshat Puri, an Indian analyst, wrote in October 1971 that "the logical follow-up of the treaty would seem to be some kind of open action by India in Bangla Desh even if that meant coming into armed conflict with the regime of President Yahya

Khan . . . If such action was not contemplated, there was no need for the treaty". ("Second Thoughts on the Indo-Soviet Treaty", *South Asian Review*, London, Oct. 1971, p3). This treaty was entered in such haste and secrecy that the Indian Cabinet came to know of it only when it was announced to the public (*ibid*). It was after the conclusion of this treaty that the Indian Defence Minister declared there could not be any political settlement short of independence for Bangla Desh.

The military action was planned to meticulous details jointly by India and Russian military strategists. There was a flurry of activity between 7 August and 4 November. Several delegations were exchanged and notes compared. Russia had already established military industries in India including those for MiG jet-fighters and tanks and the flow of military supplies increased manifold during August-November.

On 26 October, consultations under Article 9 of the Treaty began between India and Russia. On 5 November, *The Times* reported fleets of Soviet AN-12 transport aircraft arriving at Bombay and Delhi loaded with military equipment, including an advanced version of SAM-Surface to Air Missiles, along with which arrived a large number of Russian military instructors. On the conclusion of the 6-day Indian tour by Air Marshal Kouthakov, David Loshak reported that "Indias, defence Chiefs are putting the final touches to the state of all-out preparedness in the armed forces . . . supplies are being stepped up. Indian Air force is being keyed up and jet fighters pilots are practising low level night flying" . . . (and) . . . "Soviet instructors are being seconded to Indian units". (*The Sunday Telegraph*, 7 November).

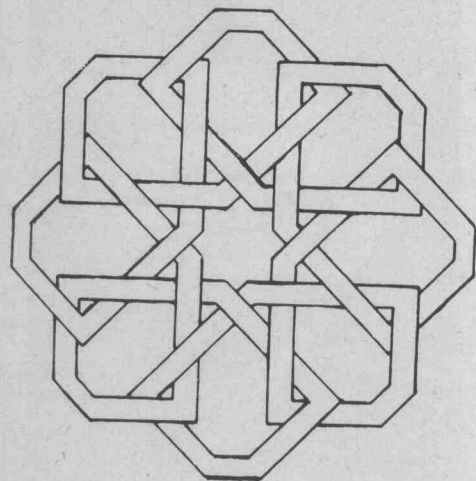
It was after the finalization of the Indo-Soviet Plan that Mrs. Gandhi left on her "peace" tour of the West. American intelligence, and West European leadership were dodged into believing that the object of this exercise was political pressure and not military action. The pro-Indian lobby in the West said the Treaty in fact was meant to act as a restraint against action in Pakistan. A call to President Nixon brought Mrs. Gandhi in knowledge of the Nixon-Yahya plan to establish a quasi-independent Bangla Desh. She knew the time-table as well.

With all the cards before them the Russian and the Indians decided that India must take immediate military action to frustrate Yahya's constitutional plans and the American diplomatic initiative which was expected to materialise by February 1972. Thus according to a plan master-minded by Russia, Indian forces invaded East Pakistan on 22 November and West Pakistan on 3 December. The Indians and their internationalist lobby thus succeeded in out-witting America, China; independent public opinion and even Pakistan.

THE WORLD OF ISLAM FESTIVAL

Creating bridges of a contemporary nature

The month of November saw the opening of one of the most unique and historic festivals ever to be held in London—The Festival of Islam. A concentrated month-long programme of lectures by both Muslims and non-Muslims, an exhibition of Muslim art and architecture and artistic performances gave many Londoners and even people from outside their first serious view of Islam and the richness and variety of Muslim culture. The Festival was organised by The Oriental Centre which is a new body under the direction of Mr. Paul Keeler and one affiliated to the Institute of Contemporary Arts. Describing the Festival and weighing up its impact certainly cannot be done in a short space. Even the story behind the Festival is a fascinating one as an *Impact* reporter discovered during the following interview with Mr. Keeler.



Well, Mr Keeler, first of all I want to ask you how did the idea of organising this festival first occur to you and your committee?

The idea has grown up over the last three years. The beginning of it was when I was in America three years ago. I was organising a series of concerts by the Indian sitarist Mahmud Mirza. It began as a very personal affair. I became very aware of the fact that I knew nothing of the background of Mahmud Mirza as a person and that all those cultural influences that had gone into him as an artist such as the great poets that he loved and would often quote, the great historic figures which he would associate with, his world picture which were quite different with the historic figures which I would associate with my world picture, the relationship which he had with his family and his neighbourhood, and his whole cultural and social picture of the world was something which was quite different from the one which I had been brought up with. And this fascinated me enormously and I realised that if I was truly to understand this art form then it was very necessary for me to know something of the culture out of which it had grown and out of which he as an artist had grown.

So, being in a particular position between the artist and the public, I began to realise very quickly that if I knew very little about his culture the public to whom he was playing knew absolutely nothing at all. And in fact the ignorance on behalf of the public is almost complete. Their knowledge of Muslim culture and their knowledge of the Muslim world are limited to the few prejudices that have been handed down to them out of history—associated with all the oil and the harems and all the things that one sees in those Hollywood pictures of about thirty years ago and it began to rather horrify me that we were living in the West and in such a total ignorance of a great culture... I suddenly realised the possibilities of actually opening up and giving people some idea of this culture and so I organised at a university in America a three day festival which was entitled "The Arts of Moghul India". It gave people the opportunity of seeing the kind of life at the court of Moghul India, the poetry which was present there, the whole cultural ethos in that period of history (in which the music had bloomed enormously and then finally they came to a live concert—the concert of living music.) The response was very exciting because people were amazed. (They hadn't any idea of the richness of the society, the cultural wealth out of which this musician developed.) And of course for myself it became a personal interest, a personal fashion much more because I began to get more involved. If you enter one step into another culture you soon find yourself immersed and you have to continue because it's like entering a new world and only the timid

visitor would return after seeing such wonders and such magnificent things which exist there.

Did it take you much effort to cross as you said from this one world into the other?

It took me a great deal of effort in that; first of all I as a human being living in the West, brought up in this particularly troubled period of western history... Even though we have in a sense in the West given up a great deal of our own traditions one of the last things we have given up is the prejudices which we have of other traditions. These prejudices we somehow cling on to and this is very much part of our approach to other cultures. I must say that the last three years have been for me a period of tremendous awakening because many prejudices which I held traditionally about the Muslim world have been totally destroyed and this has not only given me a tremendous feeling of excitement in knowing something of this great culture, but it also allowed me to look at my own culture with a less prejudiced view because the prejudices that are held against another culture are subtle and obstruct one from responding, from having an open view of one's own.

Can you give us an example of this sort of prejudice?

Yes. I think a major prejudice, which is really a very profound one is the belief in the superiority of our culture, the belief that somehow the Muslim world has been superceded by us and surpassed and therefore you have to catch us up. This is a western view which I held as a westerner, as an unthinking westerner. This is the traditional view that we are given as members of our society that we did supercede the Muslim world which was after all the ruling power throughout the world during the time of the rise of Europe. At this time it was the Arab seamen whom we met in the Indian Ocean; it was the Arabs whom we had to fight in the Mediterranean; it was the Moghul emperors of India whom we traded with and from India right through it was the Muslim cultures; it was the Ottoman Turks whom we had to fight right up to the doors of Vienna; it was the Moors whom we had to fight in Spain. So it was the Muslim world with which we had contact, intimate contact, during those days of the rise of Europe and when one looks back into the story that was made out of it, it was that somehow we superceded the Muslim world intellectually, in trade and all these different ways. We somehow made the Muslim world redundant and we became the great powers of the world; everything that we need for the future of mankind lies in the hands of the

western people; it lies in the scientists' hands, in the hands of those people who are discovering more about human nature—the psychologists, the psychiatrists—these are the people who preach that religions are dead. This is a western viewpoint—that the religions are dead and the future lies in this dry western approach to problems. And this was the major prejudice because I had to actually go through a very painful process of attempting to see Muslim culture as something which was total, valid, real and living. Fortunately, it was through my contact with Muslims that this has been possible, otherwise it would not have been possible. It was through this living contact, through talking, through discovering their picture of life and you get a picture of life that you never even dreamt of, through realising that this was such a great world picture, one which made my own particular picture of the world seem so small that I hardly dared talk about it.

So this dialogue has been established over the last three years. It has enabled me to overcome the prejudice and now as I stand, I hope, as a modern man who sees the future as a period in which the great cultures of the world and very specially the Muslim world would contribute towards whatever happens in the future, that the West would have to adopt the finest ideas which Islam has to offer, those that can survive into this new cultural meeting that is existing.

From these meetings with Muslims and the first festival in America where did you go?

I organised one or two more festivals in America which dealt with cultural ideas and which tried to present the Islamic culture... Then I came back to London.

Were these festivals only concerned with culture in a limited sense or did they include aspects like the religion and philosophy of Islam?

Yes, they were only concerned with things like poetry and the arts. It did not deal so much with religion. In a way religion is most difficult to put across. But actually in a certain sense for me as a westerner, obviously the religious ideas of Islam and the philosophy of Islam, the approach of Islam have somehow penetrated all its arts forms. After all, what are art forms? Art forms are the most highly evolved ways in which one can communicate certain very abstract ideas which are certainly at the very centre, at the very heart of a culture—the essence, you could almost say, of a culture is

Paul Keeler...

expressed through its art. In many respects art is the major moulding factor in a culture and it is my belief that arts mould a society.

Anyway when I got back to London this whole idea began to take on a larger proportion in my mind. The problem in the West is that we have tendency to view cultures outside ourselves, if we view them at all, as being dead. This presents a very difficult psychological problem in the West which can very easily be traced to our adoption during the Renaissance of the Greco-Roman tradition which was dead, and for a thousand years we were talking to a corpse. We took from that corpse everything that we wanted to take and what we didn't want to see which was the living mass of the society which existed at the time. We made 5th century Athens into something that was perfect. We created buildings with the idea of perfection. We created the utopian ideas and the main fact was that we were having a cultural relationship, a very profound cultural relationship, which lasted well into the 19th century until the emergence of modern science, with a corpse. And in the nineteenth century our interest in other cultures began—Egypt, Mesopotamia, Sumeria, the Indus civilization, the living cultures which we have no way of approaching. We have absolutely no way of opening up a dialogue because we somehow didn't like it when people talk back to us. We hated this and we took from the Romans and the Greeks what we wanted but when we met the Muslim world we somehow made up these excuses that it was a dead world, part of the past. They only had to learn from us. And very few people attempted to understand. So the reason I chose the Institute of Contemporary Arts—and it is a very good reason—is that my whole philosophy and belief and involvement in Muslim culture is to say that it is a contemporary culture. It is contemporary. We have to start a dialogue, we have to create bridges of a contemporary nature. We have to accept that the Muslim world has as much right to call itself contemporary, part of the modern world which we claim. And so I chose the Institute of Contemporary Arts.

The Western world and the Muslim world cannot in fact have a meaningful dialogue until the Western world has a healthy respect for Muslim traditions. Because otherwise there is bound to be in the voice of the Englishman or the European or the westerner that slightly cynical tone which makes you think that they are looking down upon you, that we are somehow humouring you. And you can't have a dialogue in this way. It is not possible. So, for us, it is essential to have a great understanding of Muslim culture for many reasons, and I can list at least ten reasons why I think there should be a meaningful dialogue with Islam.

Can you then give us some of these reasons?

Yes, certainly, I will immediately. First of all because in Islam is contained many world art forms; by world art forms I mean great art forms which have matured, developed within Islamic society or Muslim culture which can be understood by all men, universal art forms which can be understood by all men in your traditions of poetry, of painting, of abstract art. And within these art forms there are many others I am sure. If you have a world art form, if you have something which is capable of being communicated throughout the world—these are the most valuable assets that we have, because this is where the bridges are created between cultures. That is the first and I consider the most important reason because after all I am involved in arts, this is my work.

Secondly, because without an understanding of the Muslim world with which we have been involved, from which we have taken in order to create our own civilisation so much, with which we have side by side existed for so many centuries, with which we now share a complete world, without an understanding of Muslim civilization it is impossible for the westerner to have a real picture of human history. Therefore unless a man in the twentieth century has a picture of human history, then he is bound to remain very narrow, having a very lop-sided view of the world, because he would look upon himself only as an Englishman. In the twentieth century we somehow have to think of ourselves as citizens of the world. We are Englishmen of course, we have our traditions, but we also belong to a greater part in which the world and the Muslim world plays possibly the most important role because it is our contact with the great civilisations of the past. The Muslims assimilated Egypt, Mesopotamia, the old Sassanid Empires, Byzantium, the ideas of the Greco-Roman world and many of the ideas from Hindu India. Everything was assimilated and it was this tremendous bridge culture which assimilated so much and which held the centre of the world's stage for over a thousand years. We do not have any direct contacts with India, you know. But we do via the Muslim world. And China?—the Muslim world had a direct contact with China and it is this central rôle which the Muslims have played in history and unless one understands that rôle then quite frankly, history is a patchwork, it becomes meaningless, when everything jumps because there is no sense. This is my second reason which I think is an essential one.

My third reason is a simple one and it is that in this country we now have a very large Muslim population and for that population to be in this country without us having an understanding of them, without our people respecting them, respecting their tradition, you see danger signals because the era of violence is created out of ignorance and hate. The average Englishman who has to have contact with the Muslim population in this country knows nothing of their traditions and it is very important that he should be taught to respect because out of respect again comes the possibility of dialogue and of a healthy communal relationship between the two communities.

My fourth reason—my goodness there must be many others!—is that, the western world is a dominant power in the world today. This we know. It's dominant in that it controls the mass of the world's wealth; its media of propaganda, or whatever you would like to call it, is vast and it is having an extraordinary effect upon the rest of the world. It is producing, as you have said, a kind of aping of the West and I think that the importance of this dialogue that we are trying to establish is that there are certain great thinkers in the Muslim world who are capable of assessing the situation in the West far more lucidly than anybody in our own culture simply because they have the advantage of being outside of this situation and are able to view it from a different angle, form a different point of view. For this reason it is very essential and in this festival we have the wonderful example of Dr. Seyyed Hossein Nasr who gave us a fantastic insight into our own situation which it would have been very difficult for us to have for ourselves.

The fifth reason is that if you study another culture you do in fact gather insight into your own situation. There is a possibility of comparison. We see how another culture deals with a particular situation, how they solved a particular problem. By looking at a culture in a good manner, by



Paul Keeler — Director, Oriental Centre

saying we want to learn from you, you may be altering some of the basic problems existing in our own culture. The general trend has been if you look at another culture, it is in order to see what not to do. We have looked at another culture and say, "Now we have learned its mistakes". We have never looked at another culture which is living and say, "We wish to learn from what you have achieved".

And for us to be able to come to the Muslim world and say, "We want to learn, we want to be inspired by your achievement"—this will change our attitude towards the Muslim world in a way in which nothing else possible could.

What sort of difficulties did you encounter in the initial stages of planning for the Festival?

Oh, so many difficulties, each one was so stimulating. The first difficulty was that one was dealing with a living world and not a dead culture. When I began this I was obviously overwhelmed by the task. I am used as an impresario to say to my audience, "Ladies and Gentlemen, I have great pleasure in introducing so and so"—as a great poet or musician or whatever he may be. But imagine the situation of finding oneself in the position of saying, "Ladies and Gentlemen I have a great and very deep feeling of honour to introduce to you the Muslim world." I felt that the task was much too big. I felt that the task was absurd. Why does one need to do it? Surely, it must have been done but then I looked at it and saw that it hadn't been done. I talked to people in the street. I talked to my civilized friends in the ICA who would know Shakespeare and Homer and they would know nothing even of the peaks, the great giants of Muslim civilisation. They would know nothing about them. At this situation no one can really begin to believe the kind of ignorance about the Muslim world which was very, very great, very complete. Therefore there was a need, a definite need to try to create a new approach, a new vision, a new attitude towards this great culture.

So I undertook the challenge and you have seen the beginning of the first results. But I would like to make one thing very clear and that is the battle to enlighten people in the West about Muslim culture and civilization is a very very large one and in the Festival one has in fact been able to locate and discover and understand those difficulties which exist and possible ways ahead. I have some ideas for the future which I think are very exciting and I hope very much that this work would continue with everyone's collaboration.

..Creating bridges of a contemporary nature

We would come back to these plans later. But so far as the Festival itself is concerned what sort of response did you get from the public?

The response of the public has been two-fold. There are many people who've come to the Festival with little knowledge but with great interest—those people who have followed the festival closely, and there are many people who have followed it closely, who have visited the Exhibition, attended the lectures, been to the performances of the Mevlevi and attended Mahmud Mirza's concerts, who have bought books at the Library and who have generally participated very fully in the festival. And for these people I think, it has had a really very profound effect. There is something about this month which will be very important for them, and they form the core of the people whom one could say the Festival was almost created for. Secondly, there are those people who have only casually come into contact with the Festival by attending one or two things, but generally the response has been encouraging. But even in these I think, it has generated a certain interest in terms of discussing the culture.

On a very large cultural plane, I think the Festival has had a liberating effect in London amongst many people involved in culture because for the first time over a continuous period of a month they have been brought into contact with Islam, in many different ways. There has either been something on television or a newspaper article; they have read or they have met a friend who has been to something and they have generally been caught up in the general discussion or concentration on Islamic civilisation... I think the encouraging thing about this festival is that we have made a little progress. It is a very small step but we have made progress. There has been some fantastic responses. I have met people here at the Exhibition who have seen the designs, they have seen the abstract language, the abstract artists and they have been utterly astonished. They didn't believe that anything like it existed. Because you can see books and they can mean nothing to you but if you focus your attention on something and you say to people, "In Islam one of the most highly evolved of all art forms was abstract design, which was one of the unifying characteristics of the whole culture—a vast language in which every possible emotion and idea was capable of being transmitted and expressed, where every colour was used, where every possible design was incorporated, this language of abstraction is so much vaster than anything that we have in our own culture, stop and look at it and see what you find in it," what could you expect the response to be? Amongst those who have an open mind and there are many of those, it is one of excitement of discovering.

You do have some definite views about the sensationalisation of culture and what the negative effect it has on people and on the culture itself...

I think that the dangers of any new ideas being introduced into another culture are obviously immense. Because if they are introduced in a superficial way or if a certain aspect of them is over-emphasised then the idea will obviously suffer. Take for example if you present a highly complex idea that takes a great deal of time to be understood even by those who come from that culture, the period of initiation into that idea can be a very long one. But if it is presented in the West as an instant remedy for certain people's ills and people

believe that by attaching themselves to this idea they are instantly going to see God or instantly going to have a complete revelation or something, and they don't, for a short time they would believe in it but then what will happen is that rather than looking into themselves to see where they went wrong they would discard the idea as being worthless. And there is nothing more humiliating and more angering to someone who values something to see somebody else take it up, use it wrongly and then discard it. So that can only lead to cultural anger and cultural misunderstanding. The way in which certain ideologies from the East within the last few years have been introduced into this country and into the West, I think, has been rather disastrous. Because of this attitude of wishing to find an immediate solution to our present problems and adopting a doctrine which is basically an esoteric idea which is not easily attainable but just taking from it those attractive elements which are immediately recognisable and then not having the cultural environment or the cultural understanding to be able to penetrate any further—all this has created a certain real havoc and chaos. I think that it has not affected Islam in this way because anyway I think that the Muslim culture has protected its gifts, has protected its fine learning, its fine understandings within its culture in a very brilliant manner. I don't understand quite how but I do know that it's not easy to do this with Muslim culture because it is not sensational in that the ideas revealed through Islam are very pure—the ideas of one God, the very abstract vision of the universe, the very practical manner of how you should live, of how you should treat people, the way that the law is related to religion and all these matters are not immediately attractive. But even so, obviously when presenting it to the West, the culture-starved West which will devour anything that is thrown into its path, one has to be very careful and I have attempted with this Festival to make sure that the interest that we have tried to inspire over the month have penetrated below the surface so that anybody who came into contact with the culture had many different points of contact with this culture and therefore couldn't make up their minds about what it was. They couldn't say, "It is such and such. It is this; it is that." All they could say was, "It's vast, it's immense, it's a world." And once one can introduce people to it and say, "Look, it's a world and therefore like any world which you enter it will be a life time before you can understand it and maybe many generations." Then one somehow sets into action a proper time approach because there is a tendency in the West to want to do everything all at once. Either that one understands things immediately or one doesn't understand it at all.

My feeling is to say to people, "If over the next twenty five years we can have grown into an appreciation of Muslim civilization, if we can have grown to understand Islamic civilization, then this is the right time span." It would take twenty five years just as it has taken the East many years to adopt certain ideas from the West because not everything the West has given to the East is bad.

Concerning the Festival itself both the exhibition and the programmes, there seem to be quite a few areas which were neglected. Do you think that the overall picture could have been broadened?

I am sure it could. If one is to do it again there are many aspects which one could have presented.

But over this month we have really given people an extraordinary programme and many people who have attended it have spent practically every evening here. But I agree with you that there has been certain omissions but as I said this is only the beginning...

This leads us on to the question of future plans and ideas. Can you give us some details?

Yes, certainly. The monthly series of lectures would go throughout the year on different aspects of Islamic civilisation and then in a year and a half's time we hope to have another festival which will have another theme. We have set into motion a number of research programmes such as the Exhibition. This is by a group of designers and they are doing research into Islamic patterns and this will continue into the next year. A new Exhibition is being prepared for Europe through the major museums in Europe for 1972 and 73. We have also got a research music programme in preparation which Mahmud Mirza is doing a great deal of research on into Turkish and also Middle Eastern music. We are also beginning to do some research in the whole place of Islam in western education to determine what is the view that is given to our school children on Islamic civilisation. There is so much research that needs to be done in this particular aspect before one knows what one can do. Before you can change things, you've got to know what already exists. Very little work has been done in these fields. Another very important programme which I hope to get underway here would be a monthly forum which will be a meeting of people of many cultures to come together and discuss their own cultures: How do cultures meet? How to create bridges between us? How do we in fact build bridges and have a dialogue which really does contribute to each other's growth rather than impoverishing each other as we tend to do at the present moment.

These programmes which you have no more than listed obviously must entail an enormous amount of resources both in terms of manpower and money. How do you go about these more mundane aspects of the Festival?

Well, in fact the administration of the Oriental Centre is very small. We have in fact only three persons working full time on the administrative side. But obviously we are working in close cooperation with a great number of other people in different fields who are preparing or doing things with us. As far as finance is concerned we raise money for the Festival from a number of different sources and a number of commercial concerns who have interests and are interested in having good relations in the Middle East like the British Bank of the Middle East and Careras both generously supported the Festival and also some governments like the Government of Kuwait in particular. Quite clearly for our new programme we are going to be approaching a great number of sources for financial support because as you quite rightly say, with a programme like this one does need immense resources if we are going to carry through any effective programme. But we hope, *insha Allah*, that those who believe in what we are doing would be generous and support it.

PAK-INDIAN WAR

Tracing the history of an aggression *

AGHA SHAHI

This meeting of the Security Council is being held in one of the most extraordinary situations in the history of the United Nations. India, has not only launched aggression on the territory of another Member State, Pakistan, but has openly demanded that Pakistan dismember itself and give up that part of its territory which contains the majority of its population.

This is not just an allegation. The world knows about the statement of the Prime Minister of India, made on 1 December, that Pakistan should withdraw its troops from its eastern part. The world also knows that Indian troops entered the territory of Pakistan and have been there since at least 21 November. Nothing like this has happened before in the contemporary age.

There is no other example of a State Member of the United Nations which has recognized and had normal diplomatic relations with another Member State demanding that the latter withdraw its troops from its own territory and thus yield possession and control over it.

The situation that has been brought before the Security Council involves every State that believes in the principle of territorial integrity of States, which is fundamental to the Charter of the United Nations. It concerns all who are in danger of being overrun by larger, more powerful and predatory neighbours.

As far as Pakistan is concerned, I can pledge that we will not surrender. Our freedom is too precious for us to bargain it away. However, should the Security Council temporize with the situation, should it equivocate, should it become paralysed, should it fail to suppress the aggression, one thing will certainly happen. The Charter of the United Nations will have been shattered.

Since it is India which, after having resorted to large-scale use of force against the territorial integrity and political independence of Pakistan in total violation of the United Nations Charter, is now talking of defending itself against Pakistan's full-scale attack, the sequence of events of the past two weeks, since 21 November, needs to be kept clearly in mind.

Pakistan's eastern province has been under a massive attack, since 21 November, by India's regular troops, tanks and aircraft. The attack was launched simultaneously at half a dozen points along three sides of India's land frontier around East Pakistan.

The Indian attack was unprovoked, it was on a large scale; it was co-ordinated; it was preceded by heavy artillery fire; and it was made under air cover. It was definitely not, as the Indians initially tried to maintain, only stepping up of activity by the secessionist guerrillas. In the engagements that have taken place several of the Indian army units have been identified through Indian soldiers killed or captured.

On 21 November the Indian armed forces launched the following attacks. On the south-eastern sector of East Pakistan, an Indian army brigade group, supported by armed helicopters, entered the Chittagong Hill Tracts district of East Pakistan, overran our border outposts and penetrated approximately 10 miles into our territory. To the north of this sector, another brigade group of the 23rd Indian Division, supported by the rest of the Division, launched an attack in the Belonia salient of the Noakhali district of East Pakistan, pushing eight miles deep into Pakistan territory. In the Brahmanbaria sub-division, to the north-west of Belonia, attacks were launched by a battalion each from the 57th Indian Division

against two of our border posts at Mukandpur and Saldanadi which were overrun. Further north, on the eastern front of East Pakistan, the Indians made repeated attacks against our border outposts at Karitola, in Mymensingh. These attacks were repulsed. In the north-east corner of East Pakistan, two Indian battalion groups attacked and overran our border outposts at Dhalai, Atgram and Zakiganj in the Maulvi Bazar subdivision of the Sylhet district. These Indian forces included two companies of Gurkhas. In the north-western area the Indians launched another attack in the Rangpur district. This was in the Burangmari salient, where an Indian brigade group penetrated 15 miles into Pakistan territory up to Nageshwari. In the south-east sector—completing the three-sided front—in the Jessore district, a major offensive was launched by a brigade group of the 9th Indian Division, supported by armour and air cover, opposite Chaugacha. Indian tanks penetrated about eight miles into Pakistan territory. An Indian air attack was challenged by the Pakistan Air Force. One Indian aircraft was destroyed, and we lost two over Pakistan territory. Six Indian tanks were destroyed in the engagement, and eight of ours were disabled. The Jessore air field was shelled by Indian artillery. All these attacks were synchronized and launched at widely separated parts of the frontier on 21 November last.

As many as 12 Indian divisions were reported on 21 November to have been deployed around East Pakistan. In addition, there were 38 battalions of the Indian Border Security Force. The 2nd and 5th Indian Mountain Divisions, which were previously stationed in India's North-East Frontier Agency, were also moved towards East Pakistan. The 8th Mountain Division, consisting of six brigades, was brought to the East Pakistan border towards Sylhet from Nagaland, where only one brigade was left. Twelve squadrons of the Indian Air Force were placed around East Pakistan. A sizeable Indian naval force comprising an aircraft carrier, frigates, landing ships and two submarines was standing by, near Vizagapatnam, in the Bay of Bengal, posing an amphibious threat to Chittagong and Chalna ports. The approaches to Chalna port were mined by the Indian forces. As a result, two merchant ships, chartered for carrying food grains and other essential supplies, were damaged, seriously disrupting food supplies to East Pakistan.

That was the position on 21 November. Since then the Indian armed forces have continued their aggressive actions against Pakistan, including the crossing of our international borders and hostile action on our soil.

To understand the nature of the present hostilities, it is necessary to bear in mind the details of the fighting that preceded and culminated in the full-scale war on 3 December.

I shall refer first to the Jessore sector. On this front since 21 November the Indians have used tanks and heavy artillery fire. Some of the attacks were in brigade strength. The Indians had some successes, against thinly-held Pakistani positions, and captured Chaugacha, six miles inside our territory, and also Jibannagar. Their attacks were blunted in the Buinda, Simulia, Krishanpur, and Nabgram areas. Indian casualties in the Jessore sector were estimated at about 150 killed and over 500 wounded. Several Indian tanks were destroyed. Units of the Indian armed forces, identified in the Jessore sector, included those belonging to the 14th Punjab Regiment and the 1st Jammu and Kashmir Battalion of the 350th Brigade of the 9th Indian Infantry Division.

In the Dinajpur-Rangpur sector, Indian pressure was concentrated for several days in the Hilli area. Other areas in which fighting took place were Pachhagarh, Nageshwari, Aurpara, Bantara and Mirzapur.

Indian tanks and aircraft were used in these attacks. Units of the Indian armed forces identified in the Dinajpur-Rangpur sector included the 165th Mountain Brigade of the 10th Indian Mountain Division, 4th Rajput Regiment, the 7th Marhatta Light Infantry and the 9th Indian Mountain Division.

The Sylhet sector, which is in the North-East, was subjected to heavy Indian pressure from the very first day of the attack against East Pakistan. Heavy fighting continued near Atgram, two miles inside Pakistan, and at Zakiganj, Radhanagar, Kanaighat, Gauripur, Chanderpur, Lakshampur, Latamura and Shamsheernagar. Indian units were identified in the Sylhet sector, including the 4th Kumaon of the 81st Mountain Brigade and the 85th Indian Border Security Force.

In the Comilla sector, the Indians exerted pressure on Kasba, Akhaura, Angadar Bazar, Phatabanagar, Gazipur, Chuddagram and Morachale. Other Indian army units identified in the Comilla sector included a Dogra battalion, raised in Jammu. Elements of a new Indian division have been moving into this sector in the last few days.

In the Mymensingh district, on the eastern front of East Pakistan, Indian forces, including a battalion of the 13th Guards, fought in the Kamalpur area. Fresh Indian troops arrived in this sector on 2 December.

In the Chittagong Hill Tracts the 9th Gurkha Battalion was identified as being in action in this area.

That is a brief record of direct Indian aggression, in the last two weeks, against the Eastern part of Pakistan, and of the continued presence of Indian armed forces inside our borders on that front. Thus the fact is established beyond denial or dispute that the Indian Army, backed by its air force, has been committing aggression against Pakistan from at least 21 November.

On the afternoon of 3 December, India opened new fronts, this time against the western part of Pakistan. This action was launched by India's ground forces operating under air cover, and followed four days of aggressive aerial reconnaissance by the Indian Air Force over West Pakistan. Early in the afternoon, the Indian army moved towards border posts manned by the Pakistan Rangers. On being challenged, the Indians opened fire with small arms, wounding our men. The Rangers fired back on the Indians in self-defence. Incidents took place simultaneously in the Shakargarh salient, Kasur, Hussainiwala, and Rahimyar Khan, opposite the Rajasthan province of India.

Indians also mounted a military action in the Poonch area in the disputed state of Jammu and Kashmir. Two hours later the Indians began major attacks with massive artillery support. Those major attacks were directed towards Chamb in the disputed state of Jammu and Kashmir, and across the international frontier in the Sialkot area, also in an area between Jassar Bridge and Lahore, and on the Rajasthan front opposite Rahimyar Khan. The Indian army attack was supported by the Indian Air Force.

In the face of this obviously pre-planned and large-scale offensive along a 500 mile front, the armed forces of Pakistan could not but fight back. The air force, therefore, struck the forward airfields, close to the Pakistan border, at Srinagar and Awantipura in Indian-occupied Kashmir and at Pathankot and Amritsar.

The perfidious nature of the Indian aggression is clear from the outright and irresponsible falsehood which was perpetrated by India. The falsehood lay in India's denial that its forces were involved in the serious fighting which began in the territory of Pakistan on 21 November. On 22 November, a spokesman for the Defence Ministry

* Mr. Agha Shahi, Pakistan's Permanent Representative at the UN made this speech before the Security Council on 4 December 1971 which has been slightly abridged.

"The non-interference by one country in the internal affairs of another constitutes the very basis of peaceful co-existence. We have always believed that internal relations should be governed by respect for the sovereignty and independence of nations, big and small. . . India has always raised her voice when these principles have been violated." (Prime Minister of India, 21 August 1968)

of the Government of India stated: "Our troops are under strict instructions not to cross the border"

That statement was made when those troops had already crossed the border and when fighting was taking place inside the territory of Pakistan. On 24 November, however, a Reuters dispatch reported as follows:

"An Indian Government spokesman admitted today that Indian tanks had crossed the border into East Pakistan last Sunday, (that is, 21 November) when they destroyed 13 Pakistani tanks. The spokesman said that the Indian forces had acted under modified instructions which allowed them to cross the frontiers in self-defence. He confirmed that 'our (that is, Indian) tanks have been in action in self-defence on Sunday'. Asked whether they had gone into East Pakistan, he replied, 'Naturally; they had to cross the border'."

When it had to admit that it was directly participating in the fighting in Pakistan territory, India cited the right of self-defence. But since when is it permissible under the Charter of the United Nations for a Member State which is not attacked to enter the territory of another Member State in the name of self-defence?

It would be fantastic to allege that Pakistan, which is one-fourth India's size, whose armed forces are vastly outnumbered by India's in both manpower and equipment, and which at present is grappling with a severe internal crisis, launched—or even contemplated—an armed attack on India in November. The territory of Pakistan in the East is surrounded on three sides by India and separated by the whole width of northern India from our territory in the West. The direct air link between the two parts of Pakistan was severed in February this year by the Indian Government through an illegal act banning the overflights of Pakistan's aircraft. Moreover, only a small part of our army is stationed in the East. What could be more mythical than a plan of armed attack on India by Pakistan in November? Indeed, hardly any situation is conceivable where the plea of self-defence would be more grotesque.

It was, of course, to be expected that India should have contrived an excuse for launching an armed attack on Pakistan by alleging that Pakistan forces intruded into Indian territory at a certain time and place. The security Council has to bear in mind the principle that a State which is the victim in its own territory of subversive and/or terrorist acts by irregular, volunteer or armed bands organized by another State, is entitled to take all reasonable and adequate steps to safeguard its existence and its institutions. This principle, recognized in international law, has been well stated by Member States of different continents and political alignments in their proposed definitions of aggression.

The facts of the situation prior to 3 December which are beyond controversy are:

First, Pakistan has been the victim of acts of sabotage, subversion and terrorism committed by armed bands organized by India.

Second, these acts have involved incursions into Pakistan by those bands operating from Indian territory and having their bases in India.

Third, even the most elementary considerations of internal security for Pakistan demanded the capture or expulsion of those bands from Pakistan.

I can state with a full sense of responsibility that at no time and place did the armed forces of Pakistan stationed in the East take any steps beyond those which were adequate to safeguard the borders of the State and to maintain internal security in Pakistan.

No less frivolous was the Indian claim that Indian attacks on Pakistan were justified because they were in support of insurgent forces in Pakis-

tan. Even if these insurgent forces were not stationed in Indian territory and were not operating from it, the acknowledgement by India that it was giving them arms and other support would amount to an admission not only of interference in the affairs of Pakistan but also of indirect aggression. Since the incontrovertible fact is that these forces are trained, organized, financed, given arms and equipment and furnished bases by India, and that their operations are directed by India, they are nothing but irregular Indian forces. Their continuing sabotage and incursions, accompanied and supported by the military activity of the regular Indian armed forces, constitute aggression by India as much as does an assault by an unmixed regular Indian force.

I need hardly cite any evidence. The fact is self-admitted. On 20 July the Foreign Minister of India stated in the Indian Parliament that

"India is doing everything possible"—I repeat "everything possible"—"to support the liberation army."

The situation which has been brought before the Security Council is, one of a breach of the peace. The nature of Pakistan's internal crisis is outside the Security Council's concern. The Security Council is concerned with international peace, not with the internal peace and political life of a Member State. Whatever be the private evaluations of the happenings inside Pakistan, whatever judgement may be made by individuals and groups of the rights and wrongs of the situation in Pakistan, there can be no valid ground for India's interference in it.

We all know the many Declarations of the General Assembly which have affirmed this principle. I shall not refer to all of them here because recognition of this principle and its incorporation into the law of the United Nations is not dependent on these declarations. It is enough to refer to the Declaration on the Inadmissibility of Intervention in the Domestic Affairs of States and the Protection of Their Independence and Sovereignty adopted by the General Assembly in 1965. (*General Assembly resolution 2131 (XX)*)

Operative paragraph 1 of that Declaration states:

"No State has the right to intervene, directly or indirectly, for any reason whatever, in the internal or external affairs of any other State. Consequently, armed intervention and all other forms of interference or attempted threats against the personality of the State or against its political, economic and cultural elements, are condemned."

Operative paragraph 2 states:

"...no State shall organize, assist, foment, finance, incite or tolerate subversive, terrorist or armed activities directed towards the violent overthrow of the regime of another State, or interfere in civil strife in another State."

Operative paragraph 4 states:

"...the practice of any form of intervention not only violates the spirit and letter of the Charter of the United Nations but also leads to the creation of situations which threaten international peace and security."

It is well known that India has been prominent at the United Nations for its advocacy of the principle of non-interference. What has motivated this advocacy is ill concealed, and we in Pakistan know it very well. Oblivious of the fact that Jammu and Kashmir is not, and cannot be, recognized as part of India unless an impartial plebiscite in that state returns a verdict in favour of its accession to India, India has vainly sought to close all avenues for Pakistan giving moral and political support to the people of Jammu and Kashmir in their struggle for self-determination. But I shall leave that aside for the moment. What is interesting is that India's motivation has been

strong enough to prevail over its relations even with those Powers with whom it professes to be friendly. Speaking at the 1441st meeting of the Security Council on 21 August 1968, which had developments in Czechoslovakia on its agenda, the Indian representative read the statement made that day by the Prime Minister of India. Here is part of that statement:

"The non-interference by one country in the internal affairs of another constitutes the very basis of peaceful coexistence. We have always believed that international relations should be governed by respect for the sovereignty and independence of nations, big and small. We have always stood for the right of every country to develop its personality according to own traditions, aptitudes and genius. India has always raised her voice when these principles have been violated." (pp. 61 and 62)

In startling contrast to those pronouncements, India's interventionist role in Pakistan's affairs has been blatant from the beginning of this year. The object has been nothing else than to ensure that the outcome of political and constitutional developments in Pakistan should be the dismemberment of Pakistan.

To avoid undue length I shall only briefly list these major acts of interference in the internal Affairs of Pakistan by India:

First, even before elections were held in Pakistan in December 1970, a pipeline for the supply of arms and ammunition by India to certain elements which were plotting the disintegration of Pakistan had been set up.

Second, in February 1971, India engineered the hijacking to Pakistan of one of its aircraft flying from Jammu and Kashmir. The hijackers were Indian intelligence agents. From this India obtained a pretext to ban the overflights of Pakistani aircraft from Pakistan to East Pakistan over Indian territory. This ban was totally illegal, but it cut the direct air link between the two parts of Pakistan. Indian official sources even said that the restoration of the air link would be viewed with deep misgivings by the people of East Pakistan.

Third, immediately after the negotiations towards a political consensus in Pakistan with regard to the future constitution of the country broke down, the Indian Parliament adopted a resolution pledging support to one of the parties. Would any of your Governments ever think of such action in relation to an internal crisis in a neighbouring country?

Fourth, the upheaval in East Pakistan was accompanied by, and gained in malignancy from, the propaganda barrage unleashed by India. It was the vastly exaggerated and sensationalized reports published by the Indian press and picked up by foreign news media which produced the panic in East Pakistan that resulted in a large-scale exodus.

Fifth, India exploited the refugee problem for military, political and diplomatic purposes. Militarily, it created from among the displaced persons an irregular army. Politically, India cultivated the belief among the displaced persons that they would go back not to Pakistan as constituted, but to a new sovereignty in East Pakistan. There are on record numerous statements to this effect made by Ministers of the Indian Central Government. Diplomatically, India made use of the refugee situation for its campaign to secure the stoppage of all economic assistance to Pakistan.

Sixth, whatever the nature of the crisis in Pakistan, it posed no military threat to India. But India immediately massed a force of over five divisions on or near the borders of East Pakistan soon after the internal crisis broke out. What other motive than that of intimidating Pakistan and encouraging saboteurs and subversionists could have moved

... tracing the history of an aggression

India to make this demonstration of its military might at the time that the garrisons in East Pakistan were hard pressed in overcoming armed insurgency?

This is a mere summary of India's interference in Pakistan's internal affairs, which has now culminated in aggression on Pakistan's territory. The problem of a large number of people who left East Pakistan and are at present on Indian soil, while international in nature, is not political. It would have been a political problem if Pakistan were to deny the right of these uprooted people to return to their homes. Since, Pakistan is most anxious to receive them back, since Pakistan has welcomed the assistance of the United Nations in facilitating their voluntary repatriation, to arrange this rehabilitation as speedily as possible, the problem is purely a humanitarian one. It is a problem whose solution demands co-operation between India and Pakistan and of both countries with the United Nations. Of all problems, it is the one with which playing politics is totally indefensible.

But that is what India did. In fact, by blocking the return of the displaced persons to Pakistan as constituted, India tried to link the fate of this mass of human beings with the dismemberment of Pakistan.

It is being said that a climate of confidence is necessary for the return of the displaced persons. The statement is unexceptionable, if the phrase "a climate of confidence" is understood in its normal sense. The Government of Pakistan has done its utmost to restore such a climate. Would these efforts not have been much more effective if India also had co-operated? Would India's co-operation with the United Nations not have greatly strengthened the Organization and its presence in East Pakistan?

In short, the present situation, now gravely threatening international peace and security, is nothing but an outcome of India's sustained hostility to Pakistan. This hostility did not begin with Pakistan's internal crisis. It merely found in that crisis a potent means for the execution of its designs. The head of the India Institute for Defence Studies and Analyses stated:

"What India must realize is the fact that the break-up of Pakistan is in our own interests, an opportunity the like of which will never come."

An Indian political publicist, Mr. S. Swamy, wrote in *Motherland*, New Delhi, of 15 June:

"The break-up of Pakistan is not only in our external security interests but also in our internal security interests. India should emerge as a super-Power internationally and we have to nationally integrate our citizens for this role. For this the dismemberment of Pakistan is an essential pre-condition."

Yet another publicist, Mr. J. A. Naik, saw in Pakistan's disintegration the road to great Power status for India in the region. The consensus at a political symposium held in New Delhi, as reported in the *Hindustan Times* of 1 April—that is, immediately after the outbreak of the internal crisis in Pakistan—was that India must "make best of what was described as the opportunity of the century".

Lest it be thought that these are merely the pipedreams of political theoreticians, let me quote here some official pronouncements made from India. Addressing the Rotary Club in New Delhi on 11 August, as reported in *The Statesman* of New Delhi the next day, Mr. Jagjiwan Ram, the Defence Minister of India, said:

"Bangla Desh has got to become a reality and it will become so, otherwise there would be an imminent danger to India."

This clearly means that India considers the preservation of Pakistan's territorial integrity as an "imminent danger" to it. In fact, the Prime

Minister of India said on 1 December that the presence of Pakistan troops in East Pakistan—that is, in Pakistan territory—constituted a threat to India's security.

On 18 September, as reported in *The Statesman* of 19 September, the Defence Minister of India further said:

"It was inconceivable that Pakistan would grant independence to Bangla Desh, but we would have to work towards a situation in which Pakistan will be left with no alternative."

What that situation would be was spelled out by the Indian Institute for Defence Studies and Analysis. Its head, writing in the *Illustrated Weekly* of India of 15 August under the heading "Must we go to war?", stated, "A war with Pakistan would be a brief affair." In the event of such a brief war, the sequence was visualized as follows, and I am sure the quotation will be interesting to the members of the Security Council:

"There is no doubt that the Security Council would meet to call upon both nations to end the fight. Whether the fight should be ended immediately or continued for a period of time is a matter for India to consider. At this stage it should be India's endeavour to get Bangla Desh as one of the recognized parties to the dispute. In fact, that is the appropriate way to win international recognition for Bangla Desh. It should be made clear that the cease-fire cannot be signed in the Bengal sector unless the Bangla Desh commander is recognized as an independent sector commander for the purposes of cease-fire, and the Bangla Desh government is recognized as a party to the dispute as a whole."

In October Mr. Jagjiwan Ram, stated that any war with Pakistan would be fought on its soil and India would not vacate the territory occupied during the conflict. He added, "We shall go right up to Lahore and Sialkot and shall not come back whatever be the consequences."

It is thus clear that it was India's belligerence which gave a dimension to Pakistan's internal crisis that it would never have had otherwise. The crisis we have faced this year has been a supreme tragedy for our country. But have not other nations—nations which are models of cohesion now—gone through similar traumatic experiences in the past? One difference is that they escaped the distortions of international publicity to which Pakistan has been a victim. Another and much greater difference is that they did not have a hostile and bigger neighbour that had first fomented their civil strife and exacerbated it and then committed aggression, as India has done in our case.

The Secretary-General rightly pointed out in his memorandum of 20 July to the President of the Security Council that

"... the crisis is unfolding in the context of the long-standing and unresolved differences between India and Pakistan—differences which gave rise to open warfare only six years ago." (S/10410, p.3)

The India-Pakistan question has been on the agenda of the Security Council since 1948. The outstanding dispute between the two countries relating to the disposition of the state of Jammu and Kashmir is one which has been discussed at more than a hundred meetings of the Security Council and has been the subject of as many as 22 resolutions and two statements of consensus of the Security Council. Let me make it clear that there will never be real peace between India and Pakistan unless this dispute is resolved with the will of the people of Jammu and Kashmir. An international agreement exists—concluded under the auspices of the United Nations—that the disposition of the state should be determined by an impartial plebiscite under the auspices of the United Nations. India has persistently refused to

implement that agreement. The strain thus caused in relations between India and Pakistan has never been relaxed during the last 23 years for the simple reason that while the rest of the world may at times forget the Kashmir dispute neither the people of Kashmir themselves nor their brethren the people of Pakistan can ever be oblivious to it.

The root cause of the hostilities between India and Pakistan is therefore not the occurrences of this year but the policy so far pursued by Indian rulers—the policy of denying Pakistan's international rights and refusing to resolve outstanding issues between the two countries according to the recognized means of pacific settlement.

How anxious Pakistan has been to avert the eruption of hostilities is amply borne out by the fact that the Government of Pakistan responded affirmatively to every proposal that would bring about the peaceful resolution of the present India-Pakistan situation. The President of Pakistan some months ago declared his readiness to meet with the Prime Minister of India anywhere anytime. The response from India was totally negative. On 20 November the President of Pakistan extended his hand of friendship to India. India's answer was the major armed attack on Pakistan launched the next day.

Lastly, the Security Council is aware that on 20 October the Secretary-General addressed a letter to the President of Pakistan and the Prime Minister of India in which he said:

"In this potentially very dangerous situation, I feel that it is my duty as Secretary-General to do all that I can to assist the Governments immediately concerned in avoiding any development which might lead to disaster. I wish Your Excellency to know, therefore, that my good offices are entirely at your disposal if you believe that they could be helpful at any time." (*Ibid.*, p.6)

The President of Pakistan promptly welcomed the offer, but the Prime Minister of India answered 27 days later and made the allegation that Pakistan was "seriously preparing to launch a large-scale conflict with India".

Now, if that was correct it would have been all the more reason for India to invite the Secretary-General to visit the sub-continent and help to defuse the situation. But the Prime Minister of India demanded, politely but unmistakably, that the Secretary-General "view the problem in perspective" and that he interfered in Pakistan's affairs by making "efforts to bring about a political settlement in East Pakistan". Needless to say, the message was that the Secretary-General is welcome if he executes India's political designs; otherwise, not.

For some weeks the refrain in Indian pronouncements was that Pakistan was planning a large-scale conflict with India. In October the President of Pakistan suggested a mutual pull-back of the forces of both countries from their borders. But the Prime Minister of India summarily rejected it on the grounds that Pakistan's lines of communication to the border were shorter than those of India.

Wishing to avoid controversy, the President of Pakistan said that if withdrawal to peace-time stations was not possible then at least the troops, along with armour and artillery, could be pulled back to a mutually agreed safe distance on either side of the border to provide a sense of security to both sides.

Could anything be more fair? The present situation confronting the Security Council is one in which one Member State resorted to every means, including the classical form of aggression, namely, an armed attack, to break up another Member State. It is now for the Security Council to find the means to make India desist from its war of aggression.

The Pak-Indian War

summarising news and commentary

Impact report

5, DECEMBER

Pakistan denied the Indian claim that two Pakistani destroyers had been sunk by the Indian Navy. In East Pakistan, attacks on Akhaura, Darsana and Thakurgaon were repulsed. In the Western sector, Pakistan captured Mandiala and maintained pressure in other areas. ● India claimed capturing Akhaura and Laksham in East Pakistan and Gadra and Khokropar in Sind. Pakistan's thrust in Rajasthan has been repulsed. In the Eastern sector Pakistan air force has been "tactically knocked out".

It was revealed yesterday that article 9 of the Indian-Soviet Treaty of Friendship had been in force for several weeks. (Robert Graham, *Financial Times*).

It is extremely unlikely that China will come to Pakistan's aid militarily and risk the humiliation of intervention on the side whose cause already looks lost. China is too pre-occupied with its own domestic problems. (*Financial Times*).

Unlike previous war this war might be long and bitter and it is uncertain whether the big Powers will oppose it with the determination they did before. (*Politika*, Belgrade)

Press reports said the British strategy is to avoid taking sides. Britain is supplying neither side with arms, but is continuing development aid to India which is expected this year to exceed £42m. Aid to Pakistan was cut off at the beginning of crisis. ● Pope Paul warned that the war can spread to other countries. ● The Egyptian Foreign Minister said his country had no intention of taking Pakistan's side because of religious affinity. ● The US said India bore major responsibility for broader hostilities... in the subcontinent. ● The Afghan Premier told a joint session of the two Houses of Parliament about his government's belief in the people's right to self-determination.

● Russia said it could not remain indifferent to the developments which effect her own security. ● The U.N. General Assembly passed by 104 votes to 11 a resolution calling for a cease-fire and withdrawal of troops from the occupied territory. Afghanistan, Chile, Denmark, France, Malawi, Nepal, Oman, Senegal, Singapore and Britain abstained.

India recognised "The People's Republic of Bangla Desh". Pakistan broke diplomatic relations with India. An Indian Defence Ministry spokesman said that the Kashmir cease-fire line was no longer valid and Pakistani occupied Kashmir was now considered an integral part of India.

6, DECEMBER

Pakistan said it had made further tactical gains in Kashmir sector and was maintaining pressure in Punjab and Sind sector. In East Pakistan, Indian attacks on Akhaura, Darsana, Kushtia and Luksham were contained.

Indian tactics can be traced back to the early summer; Delhi has used refugees partly to erect a justification for the invasion into East Pakistan of the Indian army. (*Financial Times*) ● The cruel fact is that though UN can perform certain functions well it is quite hamstrung once the great powers have declared rival interests. (*Evening Standard*).

Backed by social Imperialism the Indian Government has expanded its armed aggression against Pakistan. It reminds of the Japanese Imperialism; in 1931 they created the Mukden incident, drove the Chinese troops south of the Great Wall and rigged up a Manchukuo in North East China. In 1935 while engineering autonomy in North China and rigging up puppet administration demanded that Chinese troops withdraw from their own territory. The Bangla Desh of today is a reproduction of Manchukuo of the past. (*People's Daily*)

● Pakistan's most serious internal crisis yet, is illustrated by an old Indian euphorism which says he "who rides a tiger cannot dismount." (*Rude Pravo*, Prague).

The Sudanese Foreign Minister appealed for a cease-fire and emphasized respect for Pakistan's unity and sovereignty. ● A statement issued by the Saudi Royal Court denounced India's treacherous aggression.

General Jacob said that the capture of Jessore was possible because they were able to discover the weakest point in the Pakistani defence north-west of Jessore. ● The French Communist Party denounced the Government of Pakistan. ● Fears that China would intervene militarily in the war recede further today despite the escalation in fighting. (Stewart Dalby from Hong Kong, *Financial Times*).

Sir Alec told Parliament that there is nothing to be gained by prematurely attempting to introduce an abortive resolution. Mr. Wilson agreed, and said that as to the arms supplies, for Britain alone to take action without international agreements will be meaningless.

A just war needed a just cause—this India may have. If India knows what she is doing, she deserves understanding and goodwill. If she has miscalculated she may bring yet greater misery to all concerned. (*Daily Telegraph*) ● The first casualty of the India-Pakistan war is the UN Security Council. (*Evening News*). ● India is not really intent on driving off Pakistan into extinction. Surely there will come a moment for a pact, and the pact will need a midwife. Britain played such a role in the Rann of Kutch. (*Guardian*). ● Mrs. Gandhi should be made to realise that the Nehru family has run out of goodwill—and credit. (*Daily Express*). ● This charming and ruthless lady... is unlikely to be deterred by the belated diplomatic fever at the United Nations (*Daily Mail*).

7 DECEMBER

Pakistan captured Chamb in Kashmir, and blunted attacks in Sialkot area. In East Pakistan, Benapole position was evacuated; fighting continued in other areas.

Indian Naval supremacy has probably been confirmed by the engagement off Karachi. It is possible that the India have benefited from an intelligence coup such as breaking of the Pakistani naval cypher. (*Financial Times*)

President Suharto said that they were friendly to both India and Pakistan and he will offer his good offices in seeking a peaceful settlement. ● Kuwait and Malaysia appealed for an end to fighting as it can threaten world peace. ● President Asad of Syria regretted that the blood of two friendly peoples so dear to him was being shed. ● Egyptian Embassy in New Delhi denied that Egypt had made any offer to mediate in the present crisis. ● The Communist Party of India said the nation owed a deep debt of gratitude to the Soviet Union and Poland for their firm support. ● Bhutan recognises Bangla Desh.

Acting in concert with the forces of Imperialism, the Maoist leadership is trying to distort Soviet Union's clear position in connection with the events in the "Hindustan Peninsula". (*Tass*) ● Like other reporters here who have worked along side Bengalis, I do not conceal my support for Bangla Desh which I believe embodies a most moral, national movement since the cause of those who fought the Spanish Civil war and lost. (John Pilger, *Daily Mirror*).

The US Government suspended £35m of economic development aid to India. ● India claimed capturing Jessore, Sylhet, and other important towns in East Pakistan and called upon Pakistan to surrender. ● Senator Kennedy denounced Nixon administration for favouring Pakistan. ● The International Committee of the British Labour Party blamed Pakistan for its refusal to negotiate with the leaders of "East Bengal". ● Diplomatic circles in Delhi believed that certain East European countries have given pledges to recognise the new State, in particular Czechoslovakia, and East Germany. (Robert Graham, *Financial Times*). Sources in Rawalpindi said Soviet airmen were flying Indian aircrafts inside Indian territory and manned Indian missile and patrol boats. ● Tun Abdul Razzak expressed hope that the two countries would resolve their differences by peaceful means. ● The UN General Assembly took up consideration of a draft resolution—virtually the same as one vetoed by Russia.

Exiles, Bengali politicians rejoice their polemical dreams fulfilled... All those who blithely hymn a free Bengal forget the political barriers to success... How will those Ben-

galis who survive view independence at the end of India's bayonet as starvation and economic ruin. Bengali autonomy is a just and worthy cause, but it cannot be conferred from outside by an arch enemy of Pakistan. (*Guardian*). ● Allah, says the fatalistic Muslims of Bangla Desh, controls the birth of everything. Unfortunately the birth of their nation is not in the hands of Allah, but President Yahya Khan. By what he decides to do with Sheikh Mujib depends their future. (Brian Freemantle, *Daily Mirror*). ● The stern wiggling administered yesterday (in Delhi) to the American Ambassador is understandable. Wisely, Sir Alec yesterday refrained from such polemics, studiously declining to go into what he called the politics of the situation. (*Daily Telegraph*). ● UN is indeed paralysed. But a Commonwealth peace appeal... This initiative should be taken without delay (*Daily Express*). ● Algiers Radio blamed the Security Council for not preventing military intervention in the internal affairs of Pakistan. ● Col. Qaddafi said he spoke to President Boumedienne and there was need for the Third World to adopt international position over the conflict. ● The Albanian radio broadcast comments by newspapers criticizing Soviet support of Indian aggression. ● An East German Government spokesman said the main cause of the conflict is the policy of the Pakistani regime.

8 DECEMBER

Pakistan claimed maintaining advance in Kashmir and holding positions in Laksham, Sylhet, Comilla and other areas. India said it was advancing towards Dacca. Air strikes continued from both sides.

President Yahya asked Mr. Nurul Amin and Mr. Z. A. Bhutto to form a coalition government at the centre with Mr. Bhutto as Vice-Prime Minister. Mr. Nurul Amin expressed his confidence that with patience and determination Pakistan would give crushing defeat to India. Mr. Bhutto said that if necessary, we will fight for a thousand of years till the Indian aggression is vacated.

Pakistan nationals in the U.K. had to-date contributed a total of £33,803 to the Pakistan National Welfare Fund.

The 'Pioneer' of Ghana called upon Mr. Heath to play the "honest peace-broker" and said India's recognition of Bangla Desh as a most despicable interference in the internal affairs of sovereign State.

Both the houses of the Jordanian Parliament condemned Indian aggression and appealed to Arab and Islamic States to support Pakistan.

At a banquet given for President Iryani of Yemen, President Podgorny condemned Pakistan for the aggravation of tension and called for an immediate political settlement in the "Hindustan Peninsula". Presi-

dent Iryani expressed his alarm and hoped that the sides concerned will solve this problem.

It was farcical for Mrs. Gandhi to describe her patronage of Bangla Desh as an example of good neighbourliness. Does this mean that India's neighbours may send troops into West Bengal, Punjab etc. and create a West Bengal or Sikhistan. (*People's Daily, Peking*)

Her patronage of Bangla Desh is but an element—in the Prime Minister's strategy for West Bengal. The day after the P.M. appears beside Sheikh Mujib on the Calcutta Maidan, a general election promises to wash the CP (M) down the Ganges, and install another Congress State Government in India's most impenetrable centre of radicalism, West Bengal. This would reverse the Left in India for years... (7 Days) ● It now appears that in his talks with Mrs. Gandhi on Monday, Sir Terence was not told that Britain was being "un-helpful but was specifically thanked for British efforts".

Bangla Desh is not for the moment an economic issue, but a political one. ● Bangla Desh has proclaimed a policy of neutrality and non-alignment, but clearly it is in India's interest to have a sympathetic state there. Virtually surrounded by Indian territory Dacca would owe its existence principally to the Indian army and only marginally to the efforts of the Mukti Bahini. From Delhi's standpoint it would give India an important buffer state in a sensitive area close to its powerful neighbour, China. (Robert Graham, *Financial Times*) ● Each day's fighting means more villages flattened, more crops destroyed and more refugees, millions more. Where we can all help is in getting ready to look after the refugees. (*Daily Mirror*). ● Russian relations with India are now accepted as so normal and natural that it is hard to remember that until 1953 Moscow regarded the neutral independent leaders as Imperialists stooges. Mahatma Gandhi was derided as a traitor to the hopes of man-kind because he did not lead a wholly: working class peasant revolution. Pandit Nehru was at first deemed very little better. After Mr. Khrushchev and Mr. Bulganin had taken off the blinkers Russia's Asian diplomacy began to unfold: A diplomacy based largely on the hard facts of power... Where were the men and the resources? In the Middle East they lay in the Arab lands. In South Asia they lay primarily in India. Nor has the strategy been hampered by appeals to any special religion. In the Middle East it supports the Muslims; and in South Asia it opposes the staunch Muslims of West Pakistan. (*Times*).

9 DECEMBER

Pakistan alleged Indian air-attacks in Karachi and the use of Napalm on the civil airport of Dacca. In Karachi 201 civilians were killed.

Pakistan claimed repulsing Indian attacks in Kushtia and Brahmanbaria, Comilla and Laksham areas. One Indian company dropped by helicopter in Sylhet was annihilated. In West Pakistan Indian attacks were contained in Sulemanki, Chor sectors, Shakargarh, Putlian salient.

Some dents were made in Atari and Chamb sectors. Two Indian gunboats were sunk in Khulna. One submarine damaged in Arabian Sea. ● Pakistan welcomed the UN resolution as a big moral and political victory. ● India said it had captured Ashuganj, Chandpur, and Daudkandi. Troops were advancing towards Dacca. Earlier statement about capture of Narayanganj was withdrawn. ● In an air raid on Dacca, at least 300 children died when bombs fell on an orphanage. ● Sikkim offered full support to India. The West German government denied reports that it had decided to stop aid to India.

Pakistani circles expressed resentment that Britain was still sending considerable supplies of arms to India, some of them from London airport. These included spare parts for Canberra and Hunter aircrafts, Centurion and Chieftain tanks and radar equipments. Missiles were also reported being air-lifted from their London. Sir Alec said he was looking into the question. He told the NATO Foreign Ministers meeting that the war would have to take its course until the time was right for diplomatic intervention.

A Reuter report said that Soviet personnel were operating Indian missile-boats and were also flying planes in Indian territory.

Mrs. Banderanaikie urged U Thant to bring about a cease-fire. ● The acting Chinese Foreign Minister sternly condemned the Indian Government for its criminal act of expansionism and armed aggression. He warned if India does not desist then it will in the end eat the bitter fruit. ● Kuwaiti and Algerian press said India was repeating Zionist atrocities. ● Japanese Committee for Afro-Asian people's solidarity denounced the invasion of Pakistan. ● Col. Qadhafi sent cables to several heads of states stressing the importance of maintaining the integrity of Pakistan.

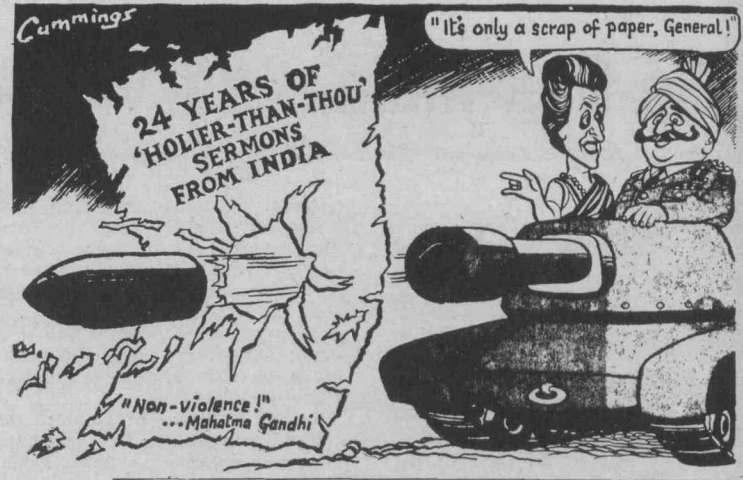
Soviet policy appears to be to give Indian army time to defeat the Pakistani forces in the East. The gains to Russia from the Indian victories would be: (i) diplomatic defeat for the Chinese (ii) a bridgehead and a naval base in the Gulf of Bengal with the possibility of threatening China and (iii) establishing presence in South East Asia. (David Floyd, *Daily Telegraph*).

A White House official disclosed that they had made contacts with Bangla Desh leaders in August, September and October who, at first seemed to agree to negotiate but India advised them to negotiate through Sheikh Mujib.

The UN has failed to intervene effectively in the Indo-Pakistan war. Once again the permanent members of the Security Council have been unable to look beyond their own interest and those of their clients. (*Guardian*) ● India warned that it will bomb Karachi civil airport because it had received reports from a 'western government' that non-Pakistani aircrafts loaded with supplies had been seen there. (Harold Jackson, *Guardian*) ● Later reports mentioned Britain as the probable Western power.

10 DECEMBER

Pakistan said that all major towns



Courtesy: Cummings, *Daily Express*

in East Wing were still under their control. India claimed crossing Meghna river and said Dacca is expected to fall early next week. It admitted that fighting is still going on in Kushtia, Jamalpur, Laksham and Comilla.

Daily Telegraph reported that the United Nations have received an appeal from Gen. Farman Ali for help in ending war and setting up a new government in East Pakistan.

Pakistan accepted the UN General Assembly Resolution. Mrs. Gandhi said India neither rejected nor accepted... "victory will be complete" only when the Bangla Desh government establishes itself in Dacca, stabilises itself and 10m refugees return to their hearth and home.

The Jewish Chronicle, London, claimed that Maj. Gen. Jacob who is second in command of the Indian forces in East Pakistan is a Jew. He is related to the family of the late Dr. I. S. Fox who was chairman of the British Zionist Federation. It said there were a number of Jewish officers in India's armed forces, among the better known are Rear Admiral Benjamin Abraham Samson and the Naval Judge-Advocate, Ellis Jhirad.

India and 'Bangla Desh' signed an agreement enabling Indian troops to remain in 'Bangla Desh' until conditions of absolute normalcy are established. A large number of Indian civil servants, police officers and other technical personnel are being seconded. ●

The World Muslim League, Mecca appealed to Islamic States and Muslims to rise for Jihad in support of Pakistan.

Brezhnev, the Chief Soviet Revisionist advocates creating conditions for a fair peace in the sub-continent, but the Soviet representative to the UN repeatedly opposed the resolution and insisted on interference in Pakistan's internal affairs. (*People's Daily*).

Whitehall sources said they did not deny that supplies have been going from manufacturers in Britain, but emphasised that the government is not giving arms aid and it was reconsidering present policy of supplying arms to India.

Mr. Bhutto shot off to the UN as Deputy Prime Minister and Foreign

Minister Designate to try to bring about the international intervention that has been Pakistan's aim. Mr. Bhutto in his skilled way has built up through the summer months the image of a man who wanted civilian rule and "civilian settlement" in East Pakistan, largely by clever use of the controlled press. He is now in a position to represent himself as being brought in to try to get the military government's chestnuts out of the fire... if he manages miraculously to bring about international intervention his position in West Pakistan will be extremely strong... even before the war, rumours of an Anti-Yahya coup were frequently heard and the name of Gen. Gul Hassan... was mentioned as a possible successor... A situation may develop in which Bhutto and the representative of army power will contend for the job of running the country. (Martin Woollacott, *Guardian*).

An official Russian spokesman denied the Pakistani allegation that Indian war planes and missile-boats were manned by Soviet Personnel. ● Mr. Heikel in his weekly "Al-ahram" article said that the present happening in the Indian sub-continent were governed by some complex rules operating in the Middle East. ● That the Pakistani air force left it so long to attempt to disrupt the Northern roads and rail link with the Kashmir valley remains a puzzle. By this time India has been able to mass a sizeable, logistic stockpile in the Northern region. (Ian Ward, *Daily Telegraph*).

Yahya (or his successor) needs a country humiliated, chastened, but not destroyed. Outward signs admittedly are not encouraging. Mr. Bhutto still yaps of eternal war. But Mr. Bhutto changes tune with ludicrous ease (Ayub Khan the "Asian De Gaulle" to Ayub "Cowardly CIA agent" for instance). Mr. Bhutto can be bargained with and Bhutto surely is Pakistan's most powerful political force. (*Guardian*) ● Radio Peking accused the Soviet Union of seeking to contain China and dominate the world through Moscow's support of Indian offensives against Pakistan.

Those who welcome the Indian Government's support for self-termination in Bangla Desh looks

forward to it adopting similar attitude towards the inhabitants of Kashmir and towards the Nagas and Mizos. (Ben Whitaker, letter to *Times*) ● If Indian forces continue to defeat the ill-prepared Pakistanis, it will wholly be in line with past Indian performance to attempt to solve her greatest, most persistent foreign policy problem by force. (Robert Elegant, *International Herald Tribune*) ● If foreign armies are to cross into national borders to correct the internal tragedies of other states what about the internal repression in the USSR or in South Africa... (James Reston, *International Herald Tribune*)

Fighting between Pakistan and India has brought a respite for the Middle East... The Russians will not favour the opening of a second front and were believed to be putting pressure on its Egyptian clients to sit tight for the time being. In view of the probability that cease-fire will not bring a quick end to the areas' problems, Moscow is likely to be more in favour of an early reopening of the Suez Canal. (*Jewish Chronicle*)

11 DECEMBER

In a bid to capture Dacca, India landed 5000 troops by Russian helicopters near the East Pakistan capital. General Niazi, military commander in East Pakistan told pressmen: "Gentlemen, you will see my body dead or alive, I will fight forward". Heavy fighting continued in Kashmir sector.

Mr. Tajuddin Ahmad, Prime Minister of "Bangla Desh" government said the Indian army would be withdrawn as soon as the Pakistani forces were routed and the Mukti Bahini would then fight with India on the West Pakistan front.

The essential irrationality of Mohammad Ali Jinnah vision of Pakistan is now writ large enough for all the world to see... But what is less evident though just as real is that the Gandhian concept of India was a fantasy which is now starting to burst under the inevitable strains of independence... Is the new republic to be a client of India?... Will it be left to go its own way... what effect will that have on West Bengal? (Harold Jackson, *Guardian*)

Mr. Bhutto arrived at the UN and was known to want to address the Security Council. Some delegates believed that another cease-fire resolution involving the withdrawal of troops will be introduced. One delegate explained: "although there may be still need for some Indian troops there, India could easily change the shoulder tags of her troops and who would know that they were not Bangla Desh? (Malcolm Dean, *Guardian*)

The Indians have not apparently succeeded in making any Pakistani air base in the west unusable, but they have damaged harbour installation. Pakistan civilian morale remains high, but the question is what are Pakistan's realistic objectives in this war. (Martin Woollacott, *Guardian*)

No-one better understands the situation in the Indian sub-continent than the Arabs. They can draw a parallel between the creation of Israel in the heart of Arab lands by imperialism and the current attempts

to slice a piece of Pakistan to establish a puppet state. (*Daily Star*, Beirut)

To leave the fight for influence in southern Asia as a straight two-way struggle between the communist superpowers would be to abandon the hope of keeping the liberal idea alive in the area. That is why the next round of the war for Asia will have to be a three-way contest over the political future of India. (*Economist*).

The logic of the situation is, thus, that the victory be hastened so that the suffering be not prolonged. To help to bring this about, Britain should prepare itself to recognise Bangla Desh as soon as the rudiments of a provisional government can be seen to exercise some control over East Pakistan. (*Spectator*).

12 DECEMBER

India said it was consolidating, and continuing paratroops assaults in the Dacca region. Radio Pakistan broadcast said that Pakistani forces were fighting with determination and against heavy odds. No significant action reported by either side on the Western front.

President Nixon criticized India in strong terms and said he was calling a Security Council meeting to make another attempt at ending the India-Pakistan war. ● The Kuwait National Assembly urged its government to sever relations with India, and support Pakistan. The Tunisian Cabinet decided to support Pakistan in the defence of its integrity and sovereignty.

Both *Sunday Telegraph* and *Observer* claimed that an attempt by the East Pakistan Governor to negotiate surrender terms through the UN was vetoed by President Yahya.

Mountbatten's quickest way out of India, rested solely on the assumption that Moslems, as a minority, cannot happily co-exist with Hindus... If Delhi shows magnanimity to the impoverished rump that West Pakistan will now become, it may not be long before the Moslems of the Punjab and Sind feel free to rejoin the great Indian family from which in 1947 Jinnah, that blinkered visionary, contrived, with Britain's help, to abduct them. (A new India, *Sunday Telegraph*) ●

India, like Israel, has shown that a determined and militarily efficient medium or small Power can apparently wage war successfully on its own provided it can count on the Great Powers deterring one another from intervention. (*Observer*) ● The Queen and Mrs. Indira Gandhi, Indian Prime Minister, are the two women most admired by the British public, according to a Gallup Poll carried out for *The Sunday Times*.

● There is clearly a great deal of sympathy in London for the predicament that the Indian Government have found themselves in over the Bangladesh crisis. There is also a desire to help to find some peace-keeping role. (*Sunday Telegraph*).

● India had discovered the one common diplomatic quality among the Great Powers: the selfish application of the principle of national self-interest (Stephen Fay, *Sunday Times*). ● Will Bangla Desh become an Indian puppet State? How long will the Indian Army have to stay there? What kind of political

life can be reconstructed? Until some kind of answers emerge, no question will arise of British recognition. (*Sunday Times*). ● China, the Indians suppose, will go on making the threatening noises which in the Indian view are a consolatory substitute for military assistance to Pakistan. And the United States will have to swallow its disapproval and learn to live with the kind of fiat accompli which Israel achieved. (Nicholas Carroll, *Sunday Times*).

● The Soviet view is that for a while after the war Sino-West Pakistani relations will move even closer. But gradually, Peking will normalise its relations with India. (Dev Murarka, *Observer*) ● But once the work of the Indian Army in East Bengal is concluded and the country is turned over to civilian administration, India may have to take sterner action against the extremist supporters of men like Bashani. Without it, a moderate Awami League regime would crumble. There are at least half a dozen separate guerrilla groups. Firmly on the Indian side of the fence is a body like the Mujib Bahini—young men from the student wing of the Awami League, to whom India has given arms, including artillery, and the training to use them effectively. (Peter Gill *Sunday Telegraph*). ● Yet there are grounds for supposing that the final destruction of Muslim Pakistan and the reunification of India had been at the back of Indian minds since January of this year. India's military success in East Pakistan, if it becomes total, will probably end Pakistan's progress towards democracy, which not long ago seemed so promising. Some foresee terrible dangers, even imminent massacres. The hope must be that those East Bengali Muslims who have cheered the advance of the Indian Army will also have reason to applaud their new status as India's protégé. (Cyril Dunn, *Observer*).

13 DECEMBER

India reported landing more troops around Dacca which were said to be about 15 miles from the city. India also claimed capturing Pakistani posts in Kargil (Kashmir) sector. Lt. Gen. Niazi said that they were determined to fight as long as they can. Gen. Farman Ali described the foreign press reports about his message of surrender to the United Nations as "a blatant lie". ● Russia vetoed a fresh Security Council Resolution calling for cease-fire. The US had earlier accepted an amendment whereby the resolution did not single out India in calling upon her to withdraw. ● Sir Alec told the Parliament that it was no use applying unilateral arms embargo on India. The government believe that it is necessary to seek a practical means of bringing the fighting to an end which take account of the realities of the situation and the attitude of the parties. ● Pentagon sources confirmed that the aircraft carrier *Enterprise* and several escorting vessels had moved from the Gulf of Tokin this week end. They said this might be as a preparation for the possible evacuation of American citizens from Decca. ● Indian intelligence sources said that they had received reports of certain Chinese movements which they

believed may be expression of political solidarity with Pakistan. ● David Loshak (*Telegraph*) quoted Indian intelligence sources in Delhi as saying that ships flying Chinese flags might be preparing for the evacuation of the trapped Pakistani troops. ● President Bokassa of the Central African Republic appealed to the "daughter of Pandit Nehru" and President Giri, to halt the war.

India complained of the burden of the refugees. There will be further burdens to come when the glory of the 1971 War is only a memory. (*Financial Times*).

Many people have been puzzled... When they see headlines about China's "warnings" to India about the consequences of their aggression they imagine Chinese divisions poised above the snowline waiting to march when Pakistan's cry for help is heard. But China can do nothing of the kind. (Richard Harris, *Times*).

If a Free Bangla Desh emerges from an Indian military victory it will reasonably be held to be a puppet. This is another irony, since a Free (and almost certainly Marxist) Bangla Desh will one day turn and bite its benefactors in the neck... There is the clearest case in the world for something like a temporary UN Mandate... (James Cameron, *Evening Standard*).

Behind the urgency of a cease-fire in the war is the scarcely less urgent task of bringing peacefully to birth a new East Bengal. Shaikh Mujib is the only man whose authority could ease that birth. (*Times*).

14 DECEMBER

Pakistan claims to hold an area of 36 square miles in "Chamb Sector"... yet the BBC has been putting forward Indian claims that fighting has been going on in Gujrat, 30 miles back into Punjab. (Kevin Refferty, *Financial Times*). ● Pakistani troops desperately eager to fight are having to hold themselves back on High Command orders in fixed positions along western fronts, east of Lahore... (Kenneth Clark, *Telegraph*). ● Observers here noted that in the question that he raised on Indian intention, Mr. Bush concentrated on West (Pakistan) and not on the East (Malcolm Dean, *Guardian*). ● The Indians, since July mounted series of pinprick attacks by the guerillas along the 13,000 miles frontier with Pakistan... then cleverly built-up the war... It was only after the major air raids on Dacca on 4 December, that Gen. Niazi ordered a staged withdrawal to pre-arranged defensive positions. (Clare Hollingworth, *Telegraph*). ● Using only a few notes... Mr. Bhutto shouted, banged the table and occasionally allowed his voice to rise to a high squeaky pitch. His theme: "we will fight for a thousand years..." He was anxious to emphasize his credentials as the authentic voice of all the people of West Pakistan... As midnight approached some of the delegates were showing visible signs of wear... the Nicaraguan failed to hide his yawns... (Michel Leapman, *Times*). ● In the newspapers slogans are appearing: "don't listen to rumours; listen to All India Radio" (Robert Graham in New Delhi, *Financial Times*).

14 DECEMBER

The Governor of East Pakistan resigned and alongwith a number of high Civil Servants took refuge in the Intercontinental hotel which has been declared a neutral zone. ● India continued bombing and shelling of Dacca and claimed destroying Chittagong harbour. ● Pakistan maintained pressure in the Western sector. ● Gen. Niazi said Pakistani soldiers stay determined for a last-ditch stand.

The heads of the seven political parties constituting the United Coalition Party of Pakistan made joint appeal to China and the USA for urgent practical help.

At the UN, Security Council members were still searching for a formula of cease-fire which may placate both Russia and India. ● The British and French have consistently maintained that there can be no real progress in the Security Council until the Indians are in affective control of most of East Pakistan and have taken Dacca.

State Department Officials denied reports that Pakistan will be able to oblige US to assist Pakistan under the terms of the 1959 bilateral defence agreement... The treaty preamble said that the USA "regards preservation of the independence and integrity of Pakistan as vital to world peace". In the case of aggression America "will take such appropriate action, including the use of its armed forces". (*Financial Times*).

15 DECEMBER

Talks for a ceasefire in East Pakistan began when General Niazi received a telegram from President Yahya "to take necessary measures to stop fighting". ● A message from Gen. Niazi requesting ceasefire with agreement to repatriate the Pakistani troops to West Pakistan was sent to the Indian Chief of Staff through the US Embassy. General Marekshaw asked General Niazi to direct his troops to cease fire immediately and surrender unconditionally before 3 a.m. (GMT), 16 December, 1971.

India announced that so far 8,907 Indian soldiers, have either been killed, wounded or reported missing. ● Indian planes bombed Karachi Lahore, Sialkot and several other towns in West Pakistan. ●

Pakistani pilots are fighting air war on wings and prayers. They have undoubtedly won mastery of the sky on the western front. (Harold Sieve, *Daily Telegraph*).

The battle in Khulna is still continuing... (the Pakistani) stand has been a disagreeable surprise to the Indians... (Tony Conyers, *Telegraph*).

If Mrs. Gandhi won't halt her conquering forces, Pakistan's President should face the reality of peace rather than *Jehad*... (*Guardian*).

A long-rang forecast is that Bangla Desh will get taken over by ultra left-wing Indian Bengali Communist with pro-Chinese leanings. (Stephen Barber, *Telegraph*).

15 DECEMBER

Eight ships of the American Seventh fleet arrived in the Bay of Bengal. An official in Washington expressed possibility that the fleet could help evacuate Pakistani forces. ● The Soviet Union which has 15 war ships in the Indian Ocean and one group in the Arabian Sea was also reported moving its fleet towards the Bay of Bengal. ● A White Hall spokesman expressed disappointment at the Soviet delivery of arms to India which amounted to over \$500m since 1965. He appealed to the Soviet Union to exercise restraint because if the fight is spread to West Pakistan this will affect world peace. ● The American official said an overtly aggressive India may bite off more than it can chew... (and) end-up more heavily under Russian influence. ● The US Ambassador to India said: "we are seeking to condemn neither Pakistan nor India as aggressors, but we are trying to bring this conflict to an end".

Mr. Kuzentsov informed the Indian Government of warning received from China and the USA that they might be forced to come to Pakistan's assistance if the integrity of its western

wing was threatened. (Peter Hazelhurst, *Times*).

India has never been reconciled to the creation of Pakistan. On the very day that war broke out December 3, Mrs Gandhi was telling a Calcutta audience that no country could be based solely on a particular religion, yet Pakistan was based on that "absurd" idea. India and her leaders do regard and have always regarded, Pakistan as a nation that did not deserve to exist and never ought to have existed.

It is rather revealing, in this context, that the Indian propaganda machine, through its agency, the Ministry of Information, has just published an article entitled "And now Sind Desh".

Many of the new young firebrands who have found fulfillment in the vanguard of the Mukti Foj guerrillas are not Awami League moderates like Sheikh Mujibur Rahman or Mr. Tajuddin Ahmed, the Bangladesh Prime Minister. They are, quite simply, impetuous, impatient Communist revolutionaries, of various moulds, who are intolerant of "bourgeois" methods and solutions, and certainly as distrustful of India in the role of Uncle Sam as India is of Uncle Sam himself. (David Loshak, *Telegraph*).

It is difficult to see how India can insist on the people of Bangladesh voting for their own destiny without allowing Kashmir, largely-Muslim, to do the same.

Both are danger spots. Now is the time to make peace between India and Pakistan possible and permanent. (*Evening Standard*).

16 DECEMBER

Instrument of unconditional surrender was signed in Dacca by Gen. Niazi. ● Lt. Gen. Aurora, the Indian GOC, assumed command of all Pakistani armed forces and para-military forces in East Pakistan. ● A Radio Pakistan broadcast said the local commander in East Pakistan has locally agreed to cease-fire.

As General Niazi dithered he was being pressed by diplomats and United Nations officials to be more realistic... General Niazi is the one general who would really like to fight on but extremely reluctantly he has had to accept instruction from President Yahya Khan to negotiate. (Clare Hollingworth, *Telegraph*).

President Yahya in a broadcast said that war was not over and they shall fight on in the West He said a draft constitution providing maximum autonomy for East Pakistan will be announced on 20 December. ● Mrs. Gandhi told the Indian Parliament that the Indian troops will observe unilateral cease-fire on the Western front from 2.30 p.m. (G.M.T.), 17 December.

In the western sector, tank battle went on in Shakargarh area. The pragmatic Chinese might be more interested in keeping a truncated Pakistan in existence than any continuation of the conflict in which Russian and the Americans can become involved. (Harold Sieve, *Telegraph*).

China warned India against the crossing by Indian army forces in the Sino-Sikkim borders.

This surely, is the moment for America and China to bring to their ally to the brink of measured decision. Fleet games, veiled threats and more UN rhetoric will only extend the agony of Yahya and the agony of Bangladesh. (*Guardian*).

Pakistan's resentment is likely to lead to its withdrawal from CENTO and SEATO whose irrelevance to the political balance in the area has been demonstrated again. (Diplomatic Staff, *Telegraph*).

Shortly after the humiliation of the Indian army in 1962, I warned an audience of Pakistani army and air force officers not to under-estimate the Indian army. The short war of 1965 left matters between the two undecided. (Brig. W. F. Thompson, *Telegraph*).

Britain has maintained good relations with both India and Pakistan. Help from London over the birth of Bangladesh, if offered, *unobtrusively* might be welcomed. (*Telegraph*).

Mr. Tajuddin Ahmed, Prime Minister of Bengla Desh is more forthrightly secessionist in his outlook than was Sheikh Mujib... There was thus more reason to bring Sheikh Mujib back into play... (*Times*). ●

THIS ISSUE

This issue is confined mainly to documenting some aspects and implications of the Pak-Indian war and we apologise to our readers who may miss a number of regular features and its usual canvas.

The abstracted items from editorials or news-stories given in the war diary do not necessarily represent the central theme of the original but have been selected because of their possible relevance to the understanding of the total situation. But again, this is only as seen through the eyes of the British Press, mainly.

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Survey

● ARAB FEDERATION ● DRUNKENNESS IN KENYA ● UGANDA ASIANS

Libya — Being sensitive about hypocrisy

Serious rifts seem to be developing within the Federation of Arab States. There have been several indications of this lack of consensus and even tension existing between the member states, particularly between Syria and Libya. At the conclusion of the Arab Joint Defence Council meeting held in Cairo from 27-30 November the leader of the Libyan delegation criticised bitterly the "lack of confidence, hypocrisy and personal sensitivity" which existed at the meeting which was a "waste of time".

A major cause of the disagreement is the ideological basis of the Syrian government which is guided by communist Ba'athist feelings. From the very beginning of the Federation, there has been quite a number of people who expressed reservations about the inclusion in the Federation of Syria. The Sudan was not too keen on a link-up which included Syria and this was precisely the reason why Boumedienne did not go beyond verbal support when the Federation was formed.

While Egypt has been avoiding the issue and taking shelter beneath the utterances of others, Libya under Qaddafi is coming out openly in its stand and becoming more and more critical of the Ba'ath regime in Syria. Qaddafi himself made his feelings known to the Ba'ath party itself when he visited Syria recently.

This disenchantment with Syria is leading to a shift in emphasis in Libya's attitude. Libya is trying to establish greater rapport with Algeria and indeed with other countries in Africa. Major Jallud, the Libyan second in command, for example, spoke recently about this interest in Africa and said it depended on three factors: firstly, that Libya was geographically part of Africa; secondly that she was, like the others, a developing country, and thirdly, that she had Islamic ties with many of the people of Africa.

Many circles are becoming anxious and worried about this open identification of the Qaddafi government with Islam. One Lebanese newspaper even said that Qaddafi was a member of the Muslim Brotherhood to which Qaddafi replied to the effect that not all progressives were communists and not all Muslims were members of the Muslim Brotherhood. Qaddafi some months ago placed communists and the Muslim Brethren in the same category.

Whether the orientation of the Libyan government is met with condemnation or approbation, Libya has managed, despite its position and its small population, to hold the centre of the stage on one occasion after another with dramatic and decisive actions as for example its decision to nationalise the British Petroleum Exploration Company in protest against "British-Iranian collusion in the Arabian Gulf."

Kenya — all kinds of pombe

On 12 December Kenya celebrated its eighth anniversary of independence and as usual one of the main focus of attention was the Jamhuri Day Speech of President Kenyatta.

In his speech Kenyatta emphasised the need for not abandoning the traditions and the cultures of the land while creating the structures and opportunities for building a modern state. There

was the usual catalogue of 'achievements' and plans for economic development and social justice. But what was special about this speech was a strong condemnation of drunkenness. Kenyatta had this to say:

"Some of our citizens waste their time drinking all kinds of pombe (local beer). We have seen the lives of many citizens spoiled by excessive drinking. Remember what bites you is found in your own clothes. If you carry on like this, I must bring it home to you that excessive drinking destroys lives. If we are to make progress we must give up such things as idle talk, robbery and so on. Excessive drinking leads to theft and robbery. When a drunkard has no money left for drinking he is likely to steal".

The condemnation of these 'normal' social practices must be welcome. More and more governments are beginning to realise that drinking has many social ill-effects and costs a country a great deal. The relation between drink and crime is established and many countries are worried by the drink and violence syndrome and also the number of working hours lost through drink and its after effects.

The harmful effects of drink is not a Kenyan phenomenon but when the production of drink involves such vast economic gains, who would dare to upset the beer-cart? Not only that, countries like Nigeria are opening their gullets to more booze from abroad as British beer and stout factories are being installed.

Uganda Asians: on the wrong side?

Asians in Uganda came in for strong criticism from President Amin earlier this month. The complaints of the President centred around such things as the refusal of the Asians to integrate with the Africans, the numerous malpractices in which the Asian community was engaging and the question of Asian applications for citizenship.

What Amin meant by integration was clearly the marriage of Asian girls to Africans. Amin noted that there were only six Africans with Asian wives and that even these marriages were contracted outside of Uganda. Amin warned that if representatives of the Asian community did not take these facts seriously into consideration, there could easily be serious racial disharmony in Uganda. This attempt to force integration on a most sensitive issue may not itself be productive of good results and racial harmony and many are known to be skeptical about it, though many people allow that the Asians in East Africa as a whole could have done more and could do more by being less introvert and, some would say, less selfish too.

Such charges, and charges of malpractices in the habit of hoarding for example make some people compare the Asians of Africa with the Jews of Europe during the time of the Reformation and thereafter. And it is now a historical fact that the latter community was responsible for much of the agrarian unrest and other disorders in society during that time. The comparison may be anathema but the fact is that Amin has accused the Asian community of being the one "most notorious in the abuse of exchange control regulations", of indulging in smuggling and creating artificial shortages in commodities like sugar, maize and cloth. Amin concluded that the malpractices showed clearly that some members of the Asian community had no interest in the

country beyond the aim of making as much profit as possible at all cost. He warned of strict government measures to stamp out these malpractices.

On the crucial question of citizenship Amin said:

"My Government will respect all citizenship certificates which were properly issued before 26th January 1971. However, with respect to such certificates as were illegally obtained, these will not be respected, but will be cancelled in accordance with the provisions of the law. Concerning all the applications for citizenship which were outstanding as on 25th January 1971, my Government does not consider itself in any way bound to process such applications and regards them as having been automatically cancelled by lapse of time. Some of them have been outstanding for as many as seven to eight years. For the future, all those who are interested in obtaining Uganda citizenship will have to make fresh applications and these will be processed in accordance with the new qualifications which my Government is in the process of formulating and which will be announced in due course".

The position of the Asians in East Africa seem as complicated and as intractable as ever and it would take a lot of rethinking on the part of both Asians and Africans if anything constructive is to emerge. The mere and automatic division of the populace into Asian and Africa is itself a measure of the enormity of the problem.

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● "Essence of Islam is fundamentally anti-democratic"

Books

"Above all else, a Muslim State"

Pakistan Crisis by David Loshak, *Heinemann*, London, 134 pages & 3 maps, £1.75

Of the books published during the last 24 years on the Pak-Indian subcontinent, David Loshak's *Pakistan Crisis* is exceptional in many ways. It is very confused reading but besides every thing else it is equally illuminating as to the author's preconceived and deep-seated bias against Pakistan or anything connected therewith.

Mr. Loshak who represents *The Daily Telegraph* and *The Sunday Telegraph* in New Delhi boasts that he has written *Pakistan Crisis* "speedily in uncloistered conditions without the benefit of files in snatched moments between planes and meals" and with no background material on the subject near at hand. He also says that "readers in Pakistan will almost certainly not be annoyed" by his book, because such an "opportunity will be denied to them by censors". The author therefore, gives himself latitude to feel free with facts.

He admits that he has rejected even the "facts" which were made available to him in Pakistan... because, he says, official Pakistan figures on defence and development expenditure in East Pakistan "are unreliable or even 'cooked'." But he has rejected facts from the "neutral sources" too... such as World Bank and other international agencies, because, he says, they "often conflict".

Having got rid of the restraining influence of facts, Mr. Loshak gives full license to his fancies and bases his 134-page book on the "thesis that many basic flaws in Pakistan's make-up only precipitated but didn't create this crisis". He is equally convinced that "Pakistan has always been a fiction, a nonsense a non-nation which other nations have gone on pretending is a nation".

He is frank about his narrow mindedness and prejudice against Islam and all that Islam stands for. He refuses to accept Pakistan as a country because it is a Muslim country.

He firmly believes that the "essence of Islam is fundamentally anti-democratic" and pro-authoritarian.

To see the point that Mr. Loshak is anti-Pakistan because he is anti-Islam and anti-Muslim, one needs do no more than bear with the following passage from his book:

"For Allah, in the sense of the ethos which prevails in Muslim communities, is transparently no lover of democracy. At any rate, the art or knack of running a democratic system has consistently eluded every predominantly Muslim nation from Algeria in the West to Indonesia in the East. The leading Muslim nations of the Middle East countries, for example, like Egypt and Saudi Arabia, are bastions of dictatorship

and monarchy, and every other Muslim state is an oligarchy of one kind or another. Pakistan, whatever the superficial appearances might have been from time to time in its short and chequered history, was never an exception.

"Given that Pakistan is, above all else, a Muslim state, it is hard to see that it can ever escape from this straitjacket. For Muslims are conscious of, and indeed imbued with, a consciousness of their religion to a far deeper extent than the everyday Christian. Islam, like Hinduism, imposes a pattern on society, and life which cuts right through transient political moods, forms, phases or ideals. And the essence of Islam, its stress on an Allah who does not just exercise, like the Christians' God, omniscience and omnipotence mere abstract concepts but is also paternalistic in the much more concrete, unabstract matters of everyday life, helping the Believer even in his meanest Bazaar transaction, a belief far removed from the Christian idea of free will... this essence of Islam is fundamentally anti-democratic. For it demeans, in fact it denies, the rôle of the simple individual in shaping society, in however humble a way. It encourages and facilitates a political buck-passing from bottom to top. Almost inevitably, it throws up an Allah-substitute—a Hussein, Sukarno, Nasser or Ayub—as a surrogate father figure and leader on whom the masses feel they can depend. This is very much how it was with Pakistan, from Jinnah, to Ayub and Yahya, and it is no accident that in just the same way Sheikh Mujibur Rahman became the darling of the Bengalis..." (page 38-39)

The book also shows a deliberate suppression of facts... those facts which go against his favourite and pre-conceived thesis that the "two halves of Pakistan have never really been a unity". One does not find mentioned in the book such facts:

That it was Fazlul Huq, a Muslim Bengali, who moved the Pakistan Resolution in Lahore on March 23, 1940. This important event fails to find a place in the "Chronology" given in the book.

That before the partition of Bengal, the then Bengal Provincial Assembly was asked if it wanted to join Pakistan to which the Assembly returned an *overwhelmingly* affirmative vote.

That in the Sylhet district of Assam, a referendum was held (to success of which, Maulana Abdul Hamid Khan Bhashani among others contributed) whether it wanted to join Pakistan and it was an overwhelming vote of its people that Sylhet became a part of East Pakistan.

That Hussyn Shaheed Suhrawardy was the founding father of Awami League (who later groomed Sheikh Mujibur Rahman) and that he had agreed to parity between the two wings of Pakistan. No where does the book mention Suhrawardy.

To be fair to the author, one does come across some odd bits of objectivity. For instance, as against the whole trend of the Western Press reports he is kind enough to say that the "Government of Pakistan could not be held responsible" for the disastrous cyclones of 12-13 November 1971. These cyclones were used to whip up anger and dissatisfaction against West Pakistan.

Loshak says quite rightly that "seldom can a

natural event have had such far-reaching political consequences."

About Sheikh Mujib's refusal to attend the National Assembly session convened to meet on 25 March unless his four (later five) conditions were met. The Sheikh's demands were: withdrawal of the martial law; inquiry into killings by the army; immediate transfer of power and stoppage of troop reinforcements from the West Wing. Loshak comments: "there was no scope for negotiations, even if the negotiators had been up to it. Mujib's demands were either empty or unfulfillable" (Page 73).

On page 99 he notes: "It is, of course, true that the autonomist movement in East Pakistan growingly took on the character of a secessionist movement and it is also true that, at first, extremist elements sought to create their 'state within the state' and, then, that Sheikh Mujib himself, under a variety of mounting pressures, set up a form of parallel government..." The obvious conclusion should be that secession was never the considered wish of Sheikh Mujib or the Awami League, nor had it the voters' mandate. It was a small but strong and well-entrenched minority pressure-group which was manipulating things towards its own design of dividing Pakistan. Yet nothing would prevent the author from finding fault with the fundamental Pakistani stand that 'autonomy must be, and would have to be consistent with the integrity and solidarity of the Nation'.

Again while he chooses to pass judgement he betrays ignorance about the details of the talks which went on between Sheikh Mujib and General Yahya Khan in Dacca from March 1 till 25. Or is it that he doesn't want to take his readers into confidence about the background facts?

In his blind and unfortunately vicious hostility against Pakistan and against all that it stands for, Loshak even closes his eyes to such facts which even the Indians have now accepted. For example he says: "... President Yahya Khan *alleged* Indian bases for training Mukti Bahini guerrillas, *alleged* Indian supplies of arms and ammunition..." (Page 128). This made the book out of date before its publication!

He glosses over the killings of the pro-Pakistani Bengalis and non-Bengalis by the Awami Leaguers and calls this tragedy "much smaller beer" compared to what he says was done by the army to the Bengali population. (Source: Mr. Anthony Mascarenhas) Although he is sceptical because "many national movements in modern times have been successfully crushed" and that the case of Biafra though different in many ways from that of Bangla Desh "is not an encouraging augury", being an aligned writer he is also certain that in the end Bangla Desh would be victorious.

Finally he is unsure about the whole thing. If Bangla Desh becomes a reality, Loshak says, West Bengal will be drawn in. "Its problems and its needs are so similar that India would fight as ruthlessly as West Pakistan has done to prevent secession of its major industrial state".

In sum, the book gives the impression of an agitated, nervous and nihilistic mind, and of one who perhaps was not pretending modesty when he said in the preface that he "is very conscious of his book's deficiencies". Or was he?

Yehia M. Syed

World Opinion

Making allowance to Arab and Islamic nationalism?

Up to a point it may be necessary to make allowances for the conduct of a group of young and inexperienced officers motivated by an extreme and fundamentalist Arab and Islamic nationalism... Yet it would have been so much wiser—from their own point of view—to have acted differently, and the contrast between this new policy and their normally more skilful negotiation is puzzling as well as startling.

The decision to withdraw the Libyan deposits from Britain, for example, can surely never have been made at a moment when it will cause less concern in London, such is the present monetary situation. Other OPEC members are all too well aware that oil stocks are high, crude is in oversupply, production of short-haul crudes (in particular in Libya) has been dropping, and there are various matters at issue between companies and producer-states, such as compensation for the dollar devaluation as well as the participation issue, which make the timing of the move unfortunate from the producers' viewpoint.

It is precisely this sort of action which does most to persuade the Western consumer countries to press ahead with the development of "safer" sources of crude such as the North Sea.

(*Financial Times*, London, 9 December 1971)

All basically aliens

One could easily argue that the similarities that all these singers possess spring from the fact of their being Jewish, for they are all outcast figures, rebels against society, non-conformists. They are all basically aliens, who sing about their solitude, their isolation. And at first they all appealed to a very small section of society, to students, bohemians and hippies. But now their appeal has widened, perhaps as the values they stand for have come to apply to the youth culture as a whole.

(Anne Frankel: Jewish Pop Stars, *Jewish Chronicle Colour Magazine*, 26 November, 1971)

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"Our Foreign Ministers" need such education

So Mrs. Kay set out to find a book on comparative religions for children.

"I searched every bookshop in London and I found nothing at all suitable. One book that sounded possible was out of print and the one or two others were heavily slanted towards Christianity and used terms like 'idols' and 'pagans' to describe other faiths. There was nothing that told religious stories in simple language, without prejudice"... One of the most vital aspects to teaching comparative religions is in improving the quality of racial relations in schools and so, eventually, in society. An English child who learns something of his fellow pupils' religions, be it African, Jewish, Moslem, or Hindu, learns a great deal more than a set of extra facts. He becomes aware that these children are not oddities, alien individuals with eccentric habits, but belong to a much wider whole. Because religion is part of the framework of a culture, to understand other religions is to understand something of the behaviour of other nationalities. Goodness knows, our Foreign Ministers are in need of such education, never mind our children...

We live in a shrinking world, they say, and we have in religion one of the easiest and most fascinating aids to teaching our children (and ourselves) something of the ideals and the psychology of other nationalities. How long before we use them? (Jill Tweedie, Filling a vacuum,

The Guardian, London, 6 December 1971)

I say, bring back the British'!

Egyptian attitudes towards the Russians vary from an Alexandrian guide who told me, "those bloody Russians no good. No money. I say, bring it back the bloody British soldier," to the refined middle-class business woman's observation that "our previous occupiers — Turks, French, British—gave us a sense of complete inferiority. We felt we were the lowest people on earth but now the Russians are here, we've realised there's somebody more stupid: the Russians themselves. They have given us back pride in our civilisation. But," she continued, "at least they support us. At least they arm us when no one else will. Of course Russia and Communism are incompatible with Egypt and Islam, but you, the West, have sacrificed us to your own enemies. And for what?"

(Martin Short: Assassination in Cairo, *Spectator*, 4 December 1971)

Marriage—the good old days

A thing I dread at parties is seeing an old friend and saying "Oh hello, how's Penny?", only to discover to our mutual confusion, that he and wife Penny separated months ago...

People seem to imagine that marriage will be simple. You can see them latching on to the fashionable ideals of equality in marriage, equal partnership, wife working, doing things together, sharing the decisions. This sounds all very fine, but in actual practice equality in marriage is remarkably hard work. In fact it is so difficult, judging by the marriages faltering around one, to implement the system that one almost wishes we could go back to the days when the man was the provider, and the woman was the comforter, and that was that, and everybody knew their place...

You get the situation in so many modern marriages... the wife carries on working and still tries to do the job a homebound housewife used to manage, keeping the house immaculate, doing all the shopping, entertaining, twice a week, washing, sewing, cleaning silver. Combined with full-time working, this is clearly quite impossible; but it seems to be a rôle women themselves cling on to, and there are not many husbands who will try to talk them out of it.

(Fiona MacCarthy in *Evening Standard*, London, 8 December 1971)

Palestine Liberation: false convictions?

Sixty per cent of the predominantly Moslem student body at the Lebanese University in Beirut favour a peaceful solution to the "Palestine problem," according to a report published in Beirut on November 6 by the organ of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, "*Al-Hadaf*"...

The overall figures show that some 80 per cent of the students polled at each of the three schools "support" or "strongly support" the terrorist organizations. But over 70 per cent of the total number of students queried favoured a solution by either peaceful or "other" means but not armed conflict. The percentage of those preferring a "peaceful" solution was greatest at the Moslem school, and much smaller at the American University which caters largely to Christians.

The contradiction between support of the terrorist and advocacy of a non-violent solution is explained by Israeli analysis as due to the fact that the students were paying lip service to the terrorists, and fulfilling a "social obligation," while the daring advocacy of a peaceful solution reflects the true feelings of the interviewers.

This supposition is supported by "*Al-Hadaf*", which comments caustically:

"This poll reflects false convictions... it proves that those who do not support *fedayeen* activity have expressed a capitalist, conservative and religious ideology".

(*The Jerusalem Post Weekly*, Jerusalem, 7 December 1971)

Marxists and Christians: a political dialogue

The dialogue between Marxists and Christians, which is involving ever broader Christian groups, is one of the more portentous developments of recent times... for us the dialogue between Marxists and Christians is principally a political problem. Our express purpose is to achieve united action in fighting monopoly capitalism and its state, and imperialistic policy.

Undeniably, the scientific Marxist conception of the world is the complete opposite of the religious notions, which produce a distorted picture. Religion, being a false spiritual perception of reality, may distract millions of people from the struggle against oppressors and exploiters, for a genuinely humane order. What it propounds are intangible dreams and hopes of a "better" afterlife.

This does not mean that we have lost sight of the basic difference between Marxist and religious ideas. Our task is to unite the workers for the fight for their vital interests, not to set them up against each other. "Unity in this really revolutionary struggle of the oppressed class for the creation of a paradise on earth," Lenin wrote, "is more important to us than unity of proletarian opinion on paradise in heaven" (*Socialism and Religion*, *Coll. Works*, Vol. 10, p.87).

(Robert Steigerwald in *World Marxist Review*, Prague, October 1971)

In need of a real ideology

An ideology is needed that takes fully into consideration the oppressive conditions we find ourselves in; while showing us how to maintain consciousness of the gravity of the problem; removes effectively from our personal selves the mental confusion and the feelings of anxiety that jams our emotions and thinking capacities while in turn making us strong, determined, sober, soldiers for carrying out a proven plan of action. As far as black people are concerned many 'plans of action' have been presented and tried. From Gandhized 'Non-violence' all the way up to 'Revolutionary Suicide', we have seen with our own eyes the miserable failure of them all. Think! There is one thing that all these 'plans of action' had in common, they were man made plans. Think! Perhaps here lies the problem.

(*Al Islam*, Washington, First Issue, Winter One).

NEWS BRIEF • NEWS BRIEF • NEWS BRIEF • NEWS BRIEF

Afganistan. World Food Programme has given to Afghanistan a further quantity of 10,000 tons of wheat; this is in addition to the 25,000 tons allotted earlier for distribution to the victims of the drought.

Chad. The President of the Republic said the Government will continue to employ foreign teachers, but only those who are really out to teach and do not consider blacks to be inferior. He warned students against the danger inherent in disorderly demonstrations.

Cyprus. The Security Council has voted to continue its peace-keeping operations in Cyprus until 15 June, 1972. The resolution expressed hopes that by then sufficient progress towards a final solution would have been made.

Egypt. A protocol agreement on Radio and T.V. exchanges has been signed with Soviet Russia.

Eritrean Liberation. The first National Congress of the ELF affirmed that the main characteristic of the Eritrean Revolution is part of the Universal Liberation Movement.

The Gulf. Major General Haim Herzog welcomed Iran's occupation of the Gulf Islands both because of its analogy to the Sharm-ash-Shaikh and the Strait of Tiran and because it was desirable to have a relatively less hostile State in control at the mouth of the Gulf on a principal international oil-route.

India. Iraq has offered to supply India with 1m tons of crude oil from July next year.

Indonesia. President Suharto issued a decree establishing *Korpri*-Civil Service Corps of the Republic of Indonesia. The objective is to create a capable, honest and respected government apparatus. ● President Suharto said taking into consideration the aspirations of the political parties they can be classified into two groups, those who stand for both material and spiritual developments and those who put stress on spiritual development. The first consist of PNI, Christian Parties, the IPKI and Murba Parties, and the second is formed by the NU, Permusi, PSII and Perti. ● The composition of the Indonesian parliament has finally emerged as follows: Golkar 261, Armed Forces 75, Nahdatul/Ulama 58, Perti Muslimen 24, Nationalist 20, Serikat Islam 10, Parkindo 7, Roman Catholic 3 and Perti (Muslim) 2.

Iraq. An Iraqi oil delegation headed by Dr. Sami Sharif was on a visit to the Soviet Union for talks on purchase of oil equipment and machinery for exploitation of oil in Southern Iraq. ● A National Action Charter issued by the Iraqi Communist Party outlines its main national

task as a struggle against Imperialism Israeli aggression and reaction, and settling the Kurdish problem peacefully and democratically.

Kuwait. RAD of Belgrade is building 3 water towers in Kuwait. ● Weekly *Al-Mujtama*, organ of the Social Reform Society has been banned from publication for a period of three months.

Lebanon. The Lebanese Communist Party is preparing to hold its General Congress in Beirut. Delegations to be invited include the Communist Parties of the Socialist states as well as Western European states particularly Italy and France.

Libya. A march led by Major Abu Bakr Younis, member of the RCC and Army Chief of Staff denounced the Anglo Iranian-collusion in the Gulf as an act of aggression. The rally affirmed its determination to march along the path of the leader and the teacher, Jamal Abd-an-Nasir.

● In retaliation to British complicity in the Iranian occupation of the Gulf Islands, the Government has ordered the nationalisation of the British Petroleum Exploration Company. It shall be taken over by a new company known as the Arab Gulf Company for Exploration. All Libyan assets form British banks will be withdrawn, compensation is to be paid in normal course. ● Libya has been dropped from the list of scheduled territories and will no longer be considered as part of the sterling area.

Malaysia. A loan agreement has been signed in Kuala Lumpur between Malaysia and a consortium of commercial banks in the United Kingdom, headed by Rothchild International Bank. The consortium shall extend a loan of £10m to Malaysia.

Middle East. Mohammed Ali Jabari, Mayor of Al-Khalil (Hebron) said he wanted international supervision of "Judea and Samaria" for 15 years period, and that he preferred this to control by any Arab Government or Israel. ● "Voice of Fatah" broadcast denounced suspect activities carried out by intelligence organisation in the name of Al-Fatah which are in turn used by propaganda media hostile to the Palestinian Revolution. ● The authorities have occupied the western sector office of of the Fatah and have rounded up about 100 persons connected with the movement. The United Nations General Assembly adopted by 79 votes to 7 a resolution urging Israel to respond favourably to the peace initiative taken by Dr. Gunnar Jarring. The Resolution noted with appreciation the "positive reply given by Egypt" to Dr. Jarring's initiative to establish a "just and lasting peace in the Middle East."

Qatar. Two British made Hawker Hunter fighter aircrafts have been received; these form part of a larger consignment to come from Britain.

Saudi Arabia. Oil discovered about 80 miles South-East of Riyadh could rival the biggest oil-fields in the world.

Sudan. All restrictions on pilgrimage to Mecca have been lifted. ● The Ministry of Religious affairs and Waqf is to set up an advisory

council composed of all religious groups in Sudan.

Syria. Order has been issued to Arabicise the names of 86 villages in the North Eastern provinces. ● President Assad addressing an Arab Writers' Conference said that they had removed all those barriers of the past when the Syrian writers felt lost and some even became passive. They shall now create a free and suitable climate to write and there will be no control except their own conscience and adherence to the nations' principles. ● The Board of Arab Universities has decided to establish co-operation between Arabs and African Universities. ● A plenum of the Central Committee of the Syrian Communist Party held in Damascus recommended measures for strengthening party unity on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism; need was expressed for strengthening a progressive regime in the country and the interests of socialism and Arab unity.

Turkey. The Budget for 1972 envisages expenditure of 51,930m liras. ● Ankara Municipality has concluded an agreement with a French firm for the preparation of a plan for underground railway in the town. ● Figures released by the Minister of Labour show that there are at present about 2m unemployed in Turkey which is about 6 per cent of the total population and about 13 per cent of the working population. ● President Nihat Erim formed a new cabinet consisting of 25 ministers: 7 Justice Party, 4 RPP, 1 National Alliance, 2 Contingency members and 11 from outside Parliament. Dr. Erim said the Government attached utmost importance to

Ataturkist reforms stipulated in the constitution.

United Arab Emirate. The Emirate became the 132nd member of the UN when the General Assembly formally voted its admission.

USA. President Nixon has agreed to devalue the dollar as part of a settlement worked out to solve the world monetary and currency crisis.

PEOPLE

● **Malik ush-Shu'ara Bahar**, national poet of Iran celebrated 85th birthday ● **Dr. Fereydund Zand-Fard**, the new Iranian ambassador to Kuwait returned home when the Kuwaiti Foreign Ministry refused to give an appointment for presenting credentials ● **Dr. Kamil Kirikoglu**, 57, a retired army physician elected as the new Secretary General of the Turkish Republican People's Party ● **Prof. Mumtaz Soysal**, former dean of the Faculty of Political Science Ankara University, sentenced to 6 years and 8 months imprisonment on charge of waging propaganda to overthrow the regime. ● **Dr. Charles Malik**, veteran Lebanese statesman awarded gold medal of the National Institute of Social Sciences of America for "interest in the cultural and spiritual values of American life". ●

VISITS

Dr. Abd al-Latif fil-Ali, Foreign Minister of Morocco to Romania ● **King Zahir Shah** to Yugoslavia and USSR ● **Emperor Haile Sellassie** to Sudan ● **Marshal Grechko**, USSR Defence Minister to Iraq, Syria and Somalia

DIED
Mr. G. M. Sadiq, 59, Chief Minister of the Indian-occupied Kashmir in Chsandidgarh on 12 December; succeeded by **Sayed Mir Qasim**.



Courtesy Daily Star, Beirut

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14 JANUARY 1972

Tunku Abdur Rahman on
Christian - Muslim dialogue