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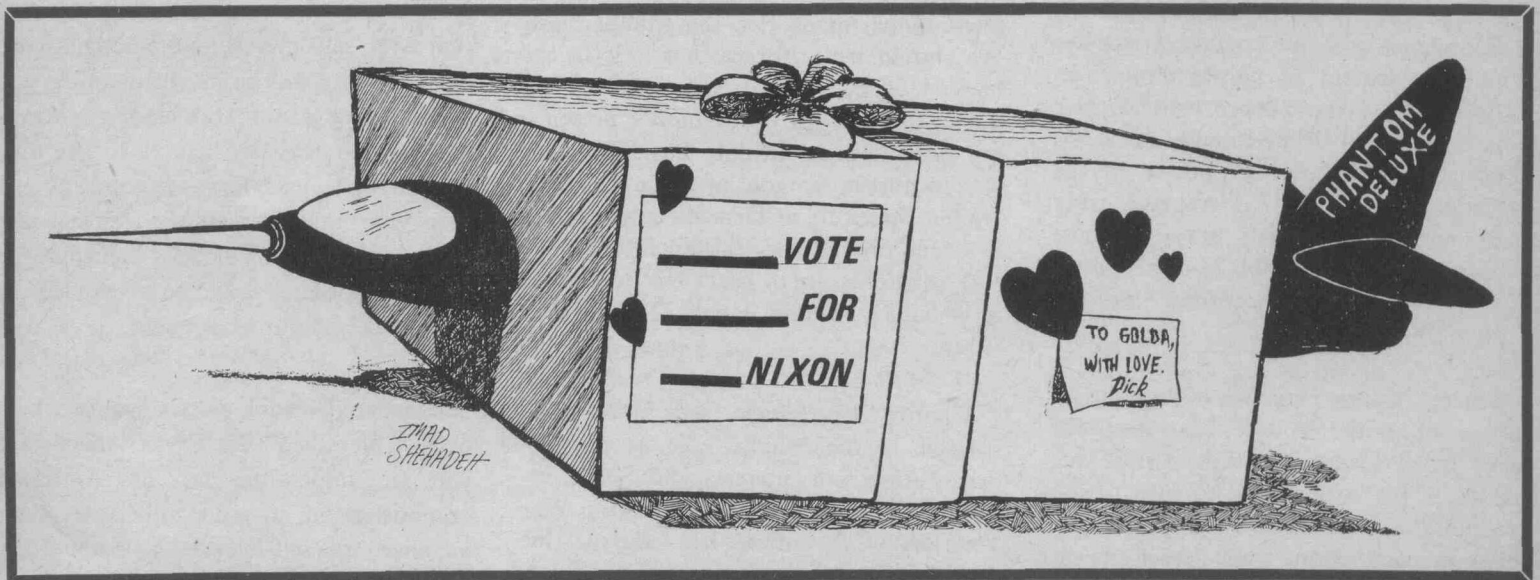
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American Elections and the Arab Rights Which party, and does it really matter?

(S. S. Mufassir from Washington)



Courtesy Daily Star, Beirut

This coming November, millions of Americans will go to the polls to elect a new government or affirm their support for the policies of the Nixon administration. America's pivotal position in world affairs has been somewhat tarnished by her recent inability to provide effective help to a fellow SEATO-CENTO member, Pakistan in the wake of Russian-Indian aggression, but American elections are always viewed with interest in major world capitals. In the Arab world, where relations with the American government have become strained over the years, there is justifiable concern over which political party will dominate foreign policy for the next four years.

But does it really matter which party is in power? Are Republicans likely to be less pro-Israel than the Democrats? Would a Democratic president be more inclined to seek a just settlement of the conflict, one that would repatriate the Palestinian refugees and pressure Israel to give up occupied Arab lands? It is clear that both parties are directed by national self-interest and neither has, heretofore, given much credence to the national rights of the Arabs. Religion and oil, capitalism and "democracy" have clouded the issue. Nevertheless, the

Nixon administration has adopted a "low profile" of American support to Israel, and has exercised a measure of restraint in answering Israel's feverish cries for more financial and military aid, and peace-promoting Phantom bombers.

Mr. Nixon's Republican party is less dependent on American Jewish support than the Democrats are. This renders it a little less susceptible to the inexorable pressures of the Zionist lobby. While no political party can be anti-Zionist outright in America, it is an open secret that substantial Republican support comes from right-wing sources that are alleged to be anti-Zionist.

By contrast, the Democratic leading contenders for the presidential nomination are all enthusiastic supporters of Israel's expansionist policies. At the present time, the front-runners are Senators Edmond Muskie, and Hubert Humphrey (former vice-president of Lyndon B. Johnson). An examination of some of their responses to the Arab-Israeli issue are quite revealing. Nor can their words be dismissed as mere electioneering, since they present policies the Democratic candidates have pursued over the years.

American elections and the Arab rights

Senator Edmond Muskie

The man most likely to receive the Democratic nomination for president feels that the security of Israel is closely related to the security of the U.S. In an address before the Weizmann Institute last year, the senator declared:

"We must back Israel's demand for defensible borders . . . for months, Israel has been requesting more Phantom Jets. The Administration has heard the request again and again—and what the Israelis have heard in return is silence. But silence will not counter a massive Soviet shipment of fighter aircraft to Egypt and Syria. Silence will not give Israel arms for defense and a chance to protect the balance of power in the Middle East . . . An America truly committed to Israel's survival must provide Israel with tools to do the work of survival". (*Congressional Record*, Nov. 2, 1971. Senate).

Senator Muskie perceives of "a political settlement in the Middle East that will leave Israel secure and will permit our friends in the Arab world to turn to the great task of national development." How this may come about while Israel sits on captured Arab lands and exploits stolen Arab oil, the Senator does not say. But he sees U.S. support for Israel as consisting of limited categories: "There is little likelihood of the Middle East situation escalating into another Vietnam," he has told this correspondent. "Israel has received American support only in the form of credit loans for equipment. Israel is quite capable of defending herself with adequate aid of this kind—we need not contemplate direct intervention as in Vietnam". (Letter dated 13 December 1971).

Senator Hubert Humphrey

Following the general Democratic mould, Senator Humphrey was one of the

signatories of the "original request of 78 Senators that the United States resume deliveries of Phantom jets to Israel". (*Congressional Record*, December 10, 1971. Senate.) He has told this correspondent frankly: "We have a definite commitment to the state of Israel. This commitment was formulated not just to bolster the existence of Israel in the Middle East, but also to pursue our own national interest. I am concerned over the recent build-up of Soviet weaponry in Egypt. In view of the latest shipments of sophisticated Soviet armaments, I have cautioned our government to be mindful in the Middle East. We should never forget that it is in the interest of the United States and of the peace that the Soviet Union's presence not dominate the Middle East. The best way to pursue the goal of peace is for the United States to reaffirm its commitment to Israel, provide the assistance she needs, and bring pressure to bear for a negotiated settlement". (Letter dated 22 December 1971).

Senator Humphrey sees the basic struggle in the Middle East as one between American interests and Soviet interests. In a speech to the Jewish War Veterans' Convention last August, he declared:

"Our new (Middle East policy must be based on the fact that (1) Egypt is today dependent upon the Soviet Union, and will in all likelihood continue in that position for some time to come. (2) It must be based on the fact that without Israel the United States could not hold the sources of oil and secure the delivery of that oil for very long. (3) It must be based on the fact that without Israel, both Libya and Jordan would fall and Saudi Arabia could be paralyzed by Egyptian threats and subversion . . . (4) It must be based on the fact that Iran, Turkey and NATO would be outflanked without Israel and that the Russian sweep throughout Algeria and the Persian Gulf would be absolute. (5) Our

new Middle Eastern policy in summary must be based on the fact that today Israel and not Egypt is the major power in the Middle East . . . and, once the Arab world realizes the U.S. will never permit the destruction of Israel, they also will realize they do not need the Soviets telling them how to run their countries—how to fight their wars—how to identify their national goals and plan for their achievement."

Those who view the problem purely in American-Soviet terms overlook the fact that Arab self-interest and nationalism are deeply involved. The incontrovertible fact is that Israel sits on Arab land! The Arabs hardly need Russian help to realize this, nor do they need Russian urging to tell them that unless Israeli aggression is met with telling force, Israel's demand for "secure borders" will be expanded to include the whole Arab world.

However, so long as the Arab world is overtly identified with Soviet influence, it will be impossible for an American administration to do otherwise than advance its self-interest by supporting Israel as the saviour of the Middle East. Thus, the Arabs are impaled on the horns of a classic dilemma. It would be well to have friendly relations with the U.S., but such amicable relations depend on a lessening of Soviet influence in the area. But Soviet influence cannot be lessened so long as Israel insists on unjust terms for a peace settlement. Nor is it farfetched to suppose that Israel holds out her unrealistic terms for just this purpose. *If there were peace, the Arab Middle East would stand to gain more politically, socially and economically than would Israel.* Thus, it is to Israel's distinct advantage to maintain its privileged status and its belligerency, and to continually subvert any real chance for peace.

Survey

CONTINUING PATRICIDE IN EAST BENGAL ● PAKISTAN ● ECOLOGY SANS OIKOS

The Great Bengal massacres

As facts from independent sources come to light, it becomes more and more clear that the manner in which a significant section of the Pakistan Army undertook its counter-insurgency operations in East Pakistan had been, to put it mildly, brutal and disgraceful.

Coming as a part of an international campaign to undo Pakistan, it was most difficult to give full credence to the coloured and often contradictory stories originating from the Indian and Western sources. The patriotic East Pakistanis who happened to know the bitter truth faced the dilemma of weighing between their personal agonies and the over-riding cause of national integrity. They did not shirk or abet, they even warned the Pakistan junta against the consequences of what they regarded as a self-defeating policy but they did not know their real handicaps: someone somewhere was bent upon pushing out East Pakistan. The counter-insurgency operations, it would seem, were so designed as to make the break-up inevitable and irreversible. While facing the secessionists they lost to the pushers.

It is now these East Pakistanis—both Bengalis and Biharis—who are at the receiving end. Apart from a chance recording made by some TV teams or stray press reports, a complete blanket of silence envelops the news of a systematic and large-scale killing of the pro-Pakistani elements—Leaders and workers belonging to the Council Muslim League, Pakistan Muslim League, Pakistan Democratic Party, Jamaat-e-Islami and Nizam-e-Islam continue to be liquidated in thousands with no mercy shown even to their families.

This is no less human a problem than was created by the Pakistani forces but there is no ventilation or concern in any circle about their fate. On the contrary, recent reports about the killings of 150-200 intellectuals and other such brutalities during the previous regime are being played up to mask and provide an explanation for what is actually going on at the present. Talking about intellectuals, no one reported that in the "mass grave" (the agency photographs show no more than six) was also found the body of Maulvi Farid Ahmad, former Vice-President of the Pakistan Democratic Party or that Dr. Hasan Zaman, Director of Pakistan Academy, or Khan Abdus Saboor Khan, Minister and Leader of the House under Ayub Khan, or Mr. Abdus Salaam, editor of *Pakistan Observer*, or Syed Zahoor Husain Sangbad or Mr. Salahuddin of *Dainik Pakistan*, were killed in cold blood and their bodies thrown on

the street. No one is sure of the fate of Dr. Sajjad Hussain, Vice-Chancellor of Dacca University and several of his university colleagues or of Khwaja Khairuddin and Mr. Akhtaruddin, Muslim League leaders; or Mr. Fazlul Qader Chaudhry, former National Assembly speaker and scores of other prominent leaders.

The preceding Martial Law was said to have sought to eliminate Awami League leadership and the Bengali intellectuals but many of those who were named killed emerged alive and happily the whole intellectual and political cadre of Bengal is intact. However, in the present case, there seems to be a definite policy of liquidating all traces of opposition to Bangladesh opposition. From the divisional to the *thana*, level lists of 10,000 politically active individuals have been prepared and they are to be dealt with accordingly. This includes hundreds of Imams, Maulvis, and the Ulama who have already been summarily disposed off.

As things are, there are no truly independent international agencies who would take up the cause on truly humanitarian grounds. The Muslims are far too disorganised, entangled in a web of their own local problems and above all inflicted with such a malignant inferiority complex that it is unrealistic to see any initiative coming from the so-called world Muslim community. Anyway the problem is not of those who have been killed either by the Awami leaguers or Pakistani forces or now the Bahinis or of those who are in the murder queue. All those who meet an unjust death earn a life of glory.

It concerns those who are still alive and whose humanity is not yet dead. The March/April massacre of the Bihari Muslims brought the Pakistani retribution and the Pakistani brutalities have produced the bitter harvest of the present. The future? One shudders to think of it. Perhaps it is still time to save that part of the Muslim world from going the Vietnam way.

Pakistan sans democracy

The fact most crucial to the existence of a nation is its sovereignty: freedom to think, to decide and to act.

Unless a country is ruled by a king or a dictator, the responsibility of maintaining and defending that sovereignty falls on its own people. Whatever way one may term it, the people have an inalienable right to participate in the running of their affairs. Any other path may be gradual but a certain loss of a nation's sovereign existence.

Pakistan's brief and cataclysmic history is an outstanding example of what happens

when the affairs of a nation are taken over by over-solicitous and over-possessive and over-right guardians. The independence of the country was made possible because all its constituent provinces had voted freely to form a single sovereign Muslim nation but its dismemberment came about because soon after independence it fell prey to the machinations of the anti-democratic vested interests in the country. Some in their short-sightedness thought that the only sure and speedy way of achieving development and economic progress is the centralisation, even brutalisation of power. Mr. Ayub Khan said that democracy was not suitable for countries with a hot climate.

The results are there to be seen by anybody. So while the appointment of Mr. Bhutto as the Chief Martial Law Administrator came as an intriguing surprise, it was expected that the ridiculous anomaly of an elected politician acting through a forum other than the National Assembly would be removed within a week or so. But instead of the National Assembly being convened facile arguments have been put forward that Martial Law powers were necessary for instituting certain reforms, that now it was a "people's" Martial Law and above all convening of the National Assembly without East Pakistan representatives could amount to a *de jure* recognition of Bangladesh. The last argument would mean either that Bangladesh was proposed to be brought back to the fold of Pakistan by not convening the Assembly and continuing the Martial Law or that if the Pakistanis wanted democracy they should not demur if tomorrow the regime announced a *de jure* acceptance of Bangladesh.

The announcement on 22 January of the intention to convene the provincial assemblies and hold elections to the local municipal councils in March might have been designed as an answer to mounting public agitation in Pakistan but clearly, it dodges the central issue of the mandate behind the regime: Martial law or the National Assembly.

The concern here is not so much about the trivialities of power, politics or personalities, because how so much cushioned by outside powers, such an incongruous structure is bound to go down much sooner than expected and with it might also collapse whatever is left of that unlucky State.

Ecology - Hamlet without the Prince

Two separate publications have brought the problem of ENVIRONMENT dramatically to the fore. One is an elabor-

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IRAQ: NO ROOM FOR PERSIANS ● GHANA: NEW REDEEMERS

ate study on *The Limits to Growth* published in America. The other is entitled *Blueprint for Survival* published in the Ecologist and coincided with the launching in Britain of the "Movement of Survival."

That serious thought has to be given to the mess in which modern technology and such ideas as the concept of inevitable progress have landed the world is becoming more and more evident. But the problem is not as simple as it sounds and is not susceptible to any facile solutions. *The Limits to Growth* shows how many factors are interlocked: "Human population cannot grow without food for sustenance. Since just about all the globe's best land is already under cultivation, farm production can rise only through use of tractors, fertilizers, pesticides—all products of industry. But more industrial output not only demands a heavier drain on natural resources that are scarce even now; it also creates more pollution. And pollution ultimately interferes with the growth of both population and food". The *Blueprint for Survival* is argued from a basic ecological concept—that man is above everything else a biological animal though the growth of technology over the past 150 years may have given him the 'delusion' of independence from the natural world. No good can come from man's technological disruption, by pesticides, pollution etc., of a natural system which has conferred a subtle and complicated balance of organic power.

Both publications propose cures for these perplexing problems. They both emphasise the current homo-phobia about population. The first talks of the need to stabilise population 'by equalising the birth and death rates, while the British one speaks of the need to reduce population by such extensive use of contraceptives and giving abortions on demand so that the population in Britain could be reduced to 30 million which is the maximum that they think Britain's agricultural capacity could support. Both reports attack the yearning for material goods, one asserting that people must be made to shift their behavioural patterns in such a way as to prefer services like education or recreation; the other maintains that the concept of 'economic growth' as the cure for all social problems is a shibboleth and so GNP's should be reduced. This is why attempts to "civilise" the most remote corners of the world like New Guinea and the Amazon should be stopped because they may be the only truly civilised communities in existence since they have got "a true relationship with the natural world".

The problems posed by the acquired animality of *Homo sapiens* do deserve all

concern and attention but it would seem that the ecologists are trying to proceed without recognising the fundamental fact of the *oikos*—that both man and his environment are but the creations of God Who created man not in ignorance and darkness but with a Guidance and a Message. No one seems to realise the ecological implications of this Guidance in treating environment as a sacred trust and not a grazing ground.

Iraq - in the service of Nationalism

About 60,000 people of Persian descent have been expelled from Iraq by the Ba'ath regime since the third week of December. On 23 December the order came that all Persians in Iraq were to leave within six days and anyone harbouring Persians were threatened with six months imprisonment or a fine of 500 dinars. There was a virtual reign of terror as Persians were rounded up mainly from Baghdad, Basra, Khanaquin and Karbala. Many reported being tortured and removed by strong-arm methods. They were dispossessed of their property and transported to the border with Iran.

This sudden and massive expulsion came after Iran had occupied the small islands of Greater and Lesser Tunb and Abu Musa in the beginning of December. The occupation was taken by Iraq as a pretext for launching its punitive actions against 'Iranians' in Iraq. But ever since 1969 when relations between Iraq and Iran became strained over navigation rights in the Shatt al-Arab—the estuary of the Tigris and Euphrates rivers—Iraq has been deporting 'Iranians'. Its reason for doing so was given to the United Nations Committee on Refugees as being that the Iranians had entered the country illegally and had created social, economic, health and security problems. But many of the Persians in Iraq have been there for generations: a great influx of them had come during the early Pahlavi oppressions in Iran, at a time when Iraq was relatively quiet. It has been extremely difficult for these people to get the *Shahaada* of Iraqi citizenship because of the stringent police methods employed.

There appear to be many deep-seated reasons for the Ba'athist measures in expelling the Persians. It is a frenzied assertion of Arab nationalism which incidentally has done the cause of Arab-Kurdish cooperation, of which there were encouraging signs recently, no good. Of course the counterweight of nationalistic policies being pushed ahead by the Shah in Iran is equally responsible for the growing inhumanity and polarisation.

Another reason is the attempt to undermine the cohesiveness and power of the

Shi'as in the country. The Iranians share with many Iraqis an allegiance to Shi's principles and in any matter they look to the centre of Najaf for guidance and not to the central government. Also there has been a growing cooperation between Sunni religious leaders in the North and the Shi'a mujtahids in Najaf especially on their stand with regard to atheism. In 1961 for example the Shi'a leader, Ayatullah Hakim declared in a *fatwa* that Communism is *kufur*. The Ba'ath government may also be seeking to destroy this cooperation since it represents a major obstacle to its rule and policies.

Ghana - the military option

When Nkrumah was ousted in February 1966, Ghana's economy had largely gone out of control. The foreign debts he left were estimated at £300 million. His pseudo-revolutionaryism had become annoying and at times unmanageable. Besides, he had also outlived his utility . . . The country needed a new redeemer and a new redeemer was brought in.

In the post-colonial "democracies", the mercenary army left behind by the outgoing rulers is always there as the next option for change and reform. While Nkrumah went to Peking, the army took over and obviously to their credit restored constitutionality in 1969. Dr. Busia, an Oxford-educated intellectual, became the elected Prime Minister. The new government failed at both the economic and the democratic front. The Ghanaian Cedi (1 Cedi=£4.73) was devalued by 44%, the price of cocoa fell down from £330 a ton to £230 and middle-class unemployment increased. Increased living costs, static wages and Trade Union unrest made the regime more repressive and more arbitrary. All this was bad but would have been tolerated if Busia too had not started showing some independence and behaving as if he was the Prime Minister of a really sovereign state. He wanted to get closer to Ivory Coast, a former French colony which is still under the French umbrella. There were talks of an economic union with other neighbouring countries in the region. It was also proposed to introduce French as a second language. So here was a case for the coming and/or induction of another redeemer.

Col. I. K. Akyeampong is such a redeemer now. He told a correspondent that "he had been considering a military take-over since the middle of 1970" and he accomplished this after his recent return from a visit to Trinidad. Although Col. Ike has promised tackling the economy on a 'war-footing', the coup does not seem evidently related to the mismanagements of the previous regime.

British attitudes towards the Muslims of the Pak-Indian sub-continent, 1757-1857

MATIUR RAHMAN

Students of British-Muslim relations have often—more often than not—found themselves bewildered at the tenacious persistence of antipathy among British politicians and men connected with public opinion towards problems connected with or related to the Muslim World. It has been suggested that a section of the British public never forgave the Muslims for their victories in the 'Crusades' and that this 'medieval' nostalgia of having been humiliated at the hands of the Moors, the Berbers and the Saracens was an important factor in conditioning the European and British attitudes.

Recent developments in Jewish-Muslim relations because of the usurpation of Palestine and the continuing occupation and Judaisation of Jerusalem coupled with a simultaneous rise in pro-Israeli influence in British politics and communication media have been mentioned as a probable contributory factor in perpetuating such an attitude.

A proper understanding of this situation would not be possible without a detailed study of successive British policies towards the Muslims particularly those in the Middle East and Pak-Indian subcontinent. The present article attempts to outline very briefly some aspects of this policy in the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent during the first century of British rule.

It was after the battle of Plassey in 1757 that the British East India Company became the *de facto* ruler of the eastern part of the Moghul dominion comprising Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, but one hardly finds any improvement in the mutual understanding of the two parties. The British view remained conditioned within what their first emissary Sir Thomas Roe had reported while on a mission to India in 1617-1619. He had found the Moghul Court "impressive but vulgar"¹ while his chaplain, Edward Terry discovered that 'Muhammad was the ringleader of the Muslim religion'.² Clearly the attitude reflected both imperial jealousy and an inbuilt contempt for the religion of the 'Moors'.

In 1765 the East India Company formally acquired the right to collect revenue (*diwani*) on behalf of the Moghul Emperor Shah Alam; this meant greater contact with the people but the relationship between the Moghuls and the East India Company continued to proceed along the same old and pre-determined course. In fact, it worsened. While the helpless Emperor and his nobles in Delhi and Murshidabad despised the British for the treachery of their conduct both before and after Plassey, the bosses of the East India Company having become the virtual rulers of East India felt free to embark on a deliberate policy of denigrating and suppressing the Muslim traditions and culture.

Many of the foremost British administrators considered the Muslims dangerous to the stability of their empire. Some of them made no apology for their open abhorrence of the Muslims. The founder of the British rule in India and the real 'hero' of Plassey, Clive himself held that the Muslims were "base men, of very narrow conceptions, and that they had adopted a system of politics more peculiar to this country than any other."³ Unjustified as these observations are, but none-the-less they throw ample light on Lord Clive's mind and thinking.

It was simply an extension of a continuing self-righteousness and definite attitude of looking down upon the Muslims and it can be said that this view of Clive and his associates went a great way

to provide the frame for the British policy towards the Muslims for the next hundred years. From Clive to Amherst one does not come across a single British administrator or statesman who professes any sympathy towards the Muslims. Even Heber, who is lavish in his admiration for the character and culture of the Muslims⁴ regarded it wise to stay cautious about the Muslims because "if a fair opportunity was offered, the Musalmans more particularly would greatly avail themselves to rise against us".⁵ Heber blamed Hastings for ill-treating the Emperor of Delhi and the King of Oudh and thus alienating Muslims.⁶ But how-so-much cruel Hastings might have been in his dealings with the Muslim aristocracy he was not exceptional, his behaviour was no worse than that of his predecessors and some successors. Amherst who succeeded Hastings followed a deliberate policy of trying to wipe out all Muslim influence from the subcontinent. Some British administrators became hateful of even the word 'Muslim'. Henry Martin wrote that "human nature in its worst appearance is Muhammadan."⁷

This Muslim-hating reached its peak during the Governor-Generalship of Ellenborough. Ellenborough publicly expressed his contempt for the Muslims and love for the Hindus. While restoring the gates of the Hindu temple of Somnath, Ellenborough declared that "the insult of eight hundred years [i.e. the destruction of Somnath by Sultan Mahmud of Ghazna] is at last avenged".⁸ Ellenborough further sought to bring "the Muhammadans to their senses" by embarking on a policy of "equilibrium between the two religions".⁹ His feelings about the Muslims were so strong that he would not even tolerate the Moghul Emperor and his family to stay in their palace. It was still symbolic of some glory and majesty and he wanted them to vacate the palace and resign all titles and privileges so as to enable the Queen to assume the title of 'Padshah Ghazi'.¹⁰

Ellenborough's successors were more discreet and one does not come across any significant public expression of anti-Muslim feelings. Private feelings about the Muslim political aspirations, however, remained as hostile as ever. Dalhousie for instance, writes privately as follows: "The King of Oudh seems disposed to be bumptious... To swallow him, before I go, would give me satisfaction. The old King of Delhi is dying. If it had not been for the effete folly of the Court [of directors] I would have ended with him, the dynasty of Timour."¹¹

The anti-Muslim feelings in the top bosses seeped also in the high-ranking civil and military officials of the British India administration. The inner thoughts of this section are perhaps best summed up by Russel in the following words: "Our antagonism to the followers of Muhammad is far stronger than that between us and the worshippers of Shiva and Bishnu. They are unquestionably more dangerous to our rule... If we could eradicate the traditions and destroy the temples of Muhammad by one vigorous effort it would indeed be well for the Christian faith and for the British rule."¹²

Apart from the administrators and officials even ordinary Englishmen in India seemed not to be free from the prejudices of their Colonial bosses. Some of them never disguised their loathing and hatred for the Muslims. "The Musalman power", observed the editor of the "Friend of India", "was effete long before the battle of Plassey, and such as Clive found the Muhammadans in the days of Siraj-ud-Daula we

encounter them in the time of the deposed King of Oudh. Cruel, sensual and intolerant, they are unfit to rule and unwilling to serve... they will never tolerate our gifts or forgive our supremacy, we may load them with blessings but the rewards will be curses".¹³

It is, therefore, not strange that within less than a century of the establishment of British rule in India, the Muslims of the subcontinent found themselves generally reduced to state of unexceptional political servitude and economic serfdom. As Hunter has rightly pointed out, in provinces like Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, the British policy had condemned the Muslims to the status of "hewers of wood and drawers of water".¹⁴ The withdrawal from the Muslim *jagirdars* (land-holders) of the power to collect the revenue, the replacement of Muslim fiscal officers by the English collectors and the virtual banning of the Muslims from the military and the high civil offices, all these went to push the Muslims in the subcontinent to a state of singular misfortune and backwardness. Deprived thus of all political influence and economic capability, the Muslims, however, failed to qualify for even a subsequent sympathy or understanding from their British masters. Pressure was maintained even in cultural and religious spheres of life. Persian was abolished as the state language, the prevailing system of education was replaced by one suited to the needs of the colonial administrators and even areas of personal and family laws were cleverly encroached under the "Anglo-Muhammadan laws". All this aimed at neutralising and eliminating the remaining vestiges of the Muslim culture in the subcontinent.

It was a natural result of this suppression that the famous mutiny of 1857 took place; in fact this was an insurrection and not a mutiny. Having failed, the revolt instead of achieving any mitigation went to intensify and compound British hatred for the Muslims.

Even Bentinck, generally regarded as an 'enlightened' Governor-General, became so furious as to propose that the government "should pull down the Taj at Agra and sell the blocks of marble".¹⁵ Fortunately for every one, Bentinck's proposal was not carried out. But there was no dearth of senior British administrators in India who were determined to "work with their life's best blood... and show these rascally Musalmans that with God's help Englishmen will still be the masters of India".¹⁶

1. Gascoigne, B & C, "The Great Moghuls", *Cape*, 1971 p.158.
2. *Ibid*, p. 143.
3. Forest, "Life of Clive", Vol. II, p. 180.
4. Heber, "Narrative of A Journal", Vol. I, p. 177.
5. *Ibid*, Vol. II, p. 177.
6. *Ibid*, Vol. II, p. 298.
7. Henry Martin, "Journal", Vol. II, p. 82.
8. Thomson and Garratt, "Rise and Fulfilment of British Rule in India", p. 363.
9. Law, Sir Alganon (edited), "India under Lord Ellenborough", p. 65.
10. Durand, "Life of Sir H. Durand", Vol. I, p. 84.
11. "Private Letters of the Marquess of Dalhousie", p. 262
12. Russel, "My Diary in India", Vol. II, p. 74.
13. "The Friend of India", 25 June, 1857.
14. Hunter, "The Indian Musalmans", p. 46.
15. Russel, "My Diary in India", Vol. II, p. 73.
16. Roberts, "Letters written During the Indian Mutiny", p. 119.

THIRD WORLD

The problem of development and unemployment

M. A. HUSSEIN MULLICK

The employment problem has suffered serious neglect in the past, mainly because "economists and government and policy-makers have viewed the creation of jobs as a derivative of the rate of economic growth, and likely to be taken care of naturally as this growth progressed".¹ The importance of capital was overestimated while that of skill and the existence of social stimuli neglected.² As a consequence, the majority of the developing countries are now in the grip of a 'job famine'. Both domestic capital formation and foreign capital inflow are proving inadequate to feed the employment wheel and experts are predicting 'social earth-quakes' in the poor world.

There seem to be four causes for the present malaise on the employment front. They are:

1. Incorrect emphasis on the 'omnipotence' of capital in solving all economic problems,
2. Inadequacy of physical and human capital,
3. Absence of powerful social stimuli, and
4. Inadequate self-reliance, and other factors.

So far as the role of capital is concerned, it has been given too much importance. It is true, that the factor capital plays one of the key roles in the process of employment growth, but that does not mean that it alone can trigger the whole process. Recent experience has shown that capital-output ratios could be very misleading. "Raising the capital-output ratio is thought of as the best way to obtain growth. But this need not follow. What is needed is more efficiency. A new idea, a new method, can sometimes raise efficiency and actually reduce the amount of capital required. On the other hand, if the increased capital is of an inefficient or uneconomic type—a steelmill on a remote banana island, for example—it may raise the capital-output ratio—but it won't raise efficiency and net production".³ Other concepts; such as the marginal rate of savings can also be very fallacious. The planners may perhaps be tempted to choose those projects which ensure the highest marginal rate of savings and the economy may generate maximum savings from the amounts invested, but, in the process, it may also bypass important social goals and fail to mobilise the various factors of production. Countries where capital is scarce and where factor endowment such as labour, raw materials and rudimentary skills are found in plenty do not in the long run turn out to be gainers but net losers. This has unfortunately been happening in the majority of the developing countries, if not perhaps in the whole Third World (excluding the socialist centrally planned economies).

Larger imports of capital goods, too, do not automatically prove a development-oriented policy package. If these goods are used to produce luxury goods for the richer sections of the populations, they aren't obviously a contribution to the development efforts of an economy. Likewise modern industrialisation is not always a blessing. Industries, such as cotton textiles, soap manufacturing have not always created new jobs. They have in fact led to a substantial reduction in the number of persons previously engaged on a industry basis.⁴

The theoretical underpinnings of the above concepts stem from a Harrod-Domar-Lewis-Rostow view of development in which driving force is capital accumulation, and the main problem is raising the proportion of savings in national income.⁵ Harrod-Domar's model assumes

to have achieved a 'cumulative self-sustaining growth' if an economy can show a rate of investment of 10 to 12 per cent, with a capital/output ratio of 3:1 and the rate of population growth of 2 per cent per annum. In order to set an economy along the path of a self sustaining development, Rostow's take-off concept requires the fulfilment of three of the following related conditions:

1. a rise on the rate of productive investment, from, say, 5 per cent or less to over 10 per cent of national income (or net national product NNP);
2. the development of one or more substantial manufacturing sectors, with a high rate of growth;
3. the existence or quick emergence of a political, social and institutional framework which exploits the impulses to expansion in the modern sector and the potential external economy effects of the take-off and gives to growth an on-going character.⁶

These and other theories have led planners to believe that it is the factor of capital which holds key to the development process.

This is what Dr. Mahbul-Haq, a prominent member of Pakistan's Planning Commission wrote in 1964: "...the planners must perforce choose sectoral allocations which encourage saving sectors in the economy."⁷ The practical consequence of the above thinking was that small 'islands' of development were created while the larger agricultural sector, export or small scale industrial sub-sectors were neglected. It is obvious that such a policy generates tremendously high productivity per worker, but it obliges the other mobilizable factors of production to remain out of the production cycle.

An emphasis on productivity alone unrelated to employment income levels can be fraught with serious social dangers. Kindleberger supports the realization of social goals—in this case maximum employment rather than highest possible output—when unemployment begins to destroy moral and undermines the society.⁸ Josef Pajestka recently wrote: "It is indeed of fundamental significance to developing countries that the pauperization and degradation of important social groups become a factor which hampers development, for they are tantamount to the non-utilization and to the waste of creative energies and talents on a large scale."⁹ The results would be quite different if instead the capital is "spread over a large number of people who previously made zero or only a marginal contribution to output, labour productivity for the economy as a whole, or per capita income."¹⁰ This is a much more relevant criterion than labour productivity for only few lucky can aspire to be employed in the privileged development sector. Very often, under the above policy "growth occurs at the expense of other enterprises which are deprived of productive factors which they could put to more productive use, and of customers who have to pay high prices or purchase products of inferior quality".¹¹ Prof. Myint, once explained this phenomenon of doling out capital to selected groups and at the same time offering them all kinds of protection against

imports, a vivid reflection of the sharp inequalities obtaining in social structures rather than the dictates of any economic rationale.¹² The higher rates of investment or marginal rates of savings earned in the "enclaves" have not been achieved on criteria of efficiency, but very much on the societal linkage that the entrepreneurial class enjoys with the existing government, the institutional network (banking etc.) and even with foreign interests.

On the other hand "Private individuals find saving difficult because they are poor; and because there is no saving to finance investment, poverty is reinforced".¹³ Another consequence of inequality—led development is the production of those goods and services which fulfil the criterion of effective demand but which substantially underaccommodate the developmental requirement of a poor country. Expenditure on luxury goods, on the construction of bungalows and similar items are obviously not more than marginally beneficial for a development process. Dudley Seers who led the Inter-Agency Team organised by the International Labour Organisation on Columbia's employment problems came to a similar conclusion. In his view, the availability (both domestic production and imports) of non-essential and luxury goods is directly related to the sharp inequalities prevailing in income in Columbia. In his own words: "...it is hardly conceivable that a high level of employment will be achieved in Columbia so long as the distribution of income by size... is such as to generate a heavy demand for goods and services with big import requirements... and heavy skill needs, but little demand for goods and services incorporating a high content of unskilled labour".¹⁴ As against this, a broad-based policy would serve the cause of development much better, particularly by virtue of the progressive absorption of the redundant labour force in the development process. Though it is possible that during the early phase, such a policy switch would have some negative effects (as was the case of land reforms in Japan during the Postwar-II period which in the beginning reduced per acre production, but given political stability it is sure to have a positive multiplier effect on the economy in the long run. In course of time the size of domestic demand will be enlarged and along with it the overall development in industry and agriculture would get an added impetus.¹⁵ Inequality also kills self-help initiative—one of the basic fundamentals of sustained development. It is true that the rate of propensity to save will be higher under enclave—affluence but the propensity to save under broad-spread developmental activity will not be small either. The recent quick spread of high yielding seeds of Mexican wheat and IRR1—rice proves this thesis. An individual farmer, no matter how poor he may be, would be quite willing to exert himself to save for a new high-pay-off venture. There is no doubt that the same will be the case with other smaller and middle entrepreneurs if they only knew that they too would be able to count upon the assistance of the government and other agencies in their fresh undertakings. At present, the majority in the poor countries are simply barred from capital and other kinds of facilities necessary to launch a new enterprise. Experience of many developing countries indicates that the hitherto 'enclave' biased and non-local-resource-endowment-

6 Rostow, W. W., *The Stages of Economic Growth, A non-communist Manifesto*, Cambridge University Press, 1963, (Tenth Printing), p. 39.

7 Problems of Formulating a Development Strategy in Pakistan, "Development Plans and Programmes", Studies in Development, Development Centre of the OECD, Paris, 1964, p. 117.

8 Economic Development, Second Edition, (International Student Edition), Kogakusha Company Ltd., Tokyo, 1965, p. 260.

9 The Social Dimensions of Development, Executive Briefing Paper No. 3, United Nations Centre for Economic and Social Information, New York, 1970, p. 25.

10 Ranis, Gustav, Output and Employment in the 70's—Conflict or Complement, "Employment and Unemployment Problems of the Near East and South Asia, Edited by Ronald G. Ridker and Harald Lubell, Vikas Publications, Delhi, 1971, Vol. I, p. 63.

11 Wellisz, Stanislaw, Lessons of Twenty Years of Planning in Developing Countries, *Economica Quarterly*, Vol. 38, No. 150, May 1971, London, p. 128.

12 C. F. Singer, H. W. Dualism Revisited: A New Approach to the Problems of the Dual Society in Developing Countries, *The Journal of Development Studies*, London, Vol. 7, Oct. 1970, No. 1, p. 68.

13 Lipton, Michael, *Financing Economic Development, in "Development in a Divided World"*, a Pelican Original, Penguin Books, Harmondsworth, Middlesex, England 1971, p. 238.

14 New Approaches Suggested by the Colombia Employment Programme, *International Labour Review*, Vol. 102 No. 4, Oct. 1970, pp. 368-387.

15 Prebisch, Raul, *Change in Development, Latin America's Great Task*, Inter-American Development Banks Washington D.C. July 1970, p. 222.

1 Shaw, Robert d' A., "Jobs and Agriculture Development", Overseas Development Council, Washington, D.C. 1970, (monograph Series), p. 2.

2 Kamarck, Andrew M., "Capital" and "Investment" in developing countries, "Finance and Development" Washington, D.C., No. 2, 1971, p. 2.

3 Wright, David McCord, An Answer to the Rostow-theory—Freedom Alone Brings Growth, "Life", p. 85.

4 Lindqvist, Sven, *Lateinamerika—Der gefunderte Kontinent*, Marion von Schroeder Verlag, Dusseldorf, 1971, p. 72.

5 Jolly Richard, *The Aid Relationship, Reflections on the Pearson Report*, "The Widening Gap, Development in the 1970's", edited by Barbara Ward, et al., Columbia University Press New York, 1971, p. 288.

..... need to change the prescription

adapted policy has failed to solve the problem of unemployment and underemployment. The situation has meanwhile become so bad that, in some countries, even relatively higher growth rates have failed to absorb the increment in labour not to speak of reducing the backlog. Just three examples should suffice: in Nigeria, ... about 600,000 persons leave school each year, while the number of new-wage-earning jobs created has averaged between 10,000 and 20,000 (ignoring the Civil War). In Tanzania, 1.25 million school leavers were expected over the period of the five-year plan while wage earning employment was expected to rise by 55,000.¹⁶ The position in Latin America is no better. Out of the 23 million new workers having been added to the urban labour force during 1925-1960, only 5 million were actually absorbed. The employment absorption ratio during the 70's is expected to get worse still.¹⁷

Under present economic policies, there does not seem to be much hope for a quick solution to the employment problem. Because of the capital bias of developmental activities, there are continuously fewer and fewer jobs for every dollar of investment over time. This is confirmed by the evidence in many countries. "Even where countries have been growing at 5 or 6 per cent in real terms and the industrial sector at 8 or 10 per cent annually the annual rate of labour absorption in the non-agricultural sector has been at levels of 2 or 3 per cent. Moreover, the elasticity of employment relative to output increases in the industrial sector has not only proven to be low, but has been falling, i.e. from 5 to 3 and below in some instances."¹⁸

The Third World, besides following misdirected policies under which a great deal of capital is wasted and misused, also suffers from a serious shortage of capital. This seems to emerge clearly from the level of gross domestic capital formation. Though the gross investment of 17.8 per cent of GDP is not much lower than the rate of capital formation in the developed countries, there is, however, one major discrepancy in their relationship with the rates of population growth. While the poor countries are faced with the problem of sustaining the economy at more than double the labour force growth rate (absorbing of the increment in labour force: excluding the backlog) the richer countries save more to sustain development and to absorb less than half the growth in population.

THE AID RELATIONSHIP

Table I—Growth, Savings and Investment Rates, 1960-1967

	Developed Countries	Less Developed Countries	Africa
GDP	4.8%	5.0%	4.0%
Population	1.2	2.5	(2.4)
Per capita GDP	3.6	2.5	(1.5)
Agricultural production	1.8	2.1	1.4
Industrial production	5.6	7.3	6.0
Export earnings	8.8	6.1	5.4
Domestic savings (% of GDP)	21.7	15.0	13.1
Gross investment (% of GDP)	21.2	17.8	16.7

Source: Based on Pearson Report, pp. 23-53; quoted, Samir Amin, *Development and Structural Changes: African Experience, "The Winding Gap ..."* a.a.O. p. 314.

There is not much difference between the growth

16 Jolly, Richard, *Manpower and Education, "Development in a Divided World"*, edited by Dudley Seers and Leonard Joy, Penguin Books, 1971, p. 219.
 17 Lindqvist, Sven, a.a.O. p. 72.
 18 Ranis, Gustav, a.a.O.; p. 59. For this and other reasons, the percentage share of labour force engaged in industries instead of showing an increase has in fact gone down in recent years. (Lindqvist, a.a.O., p. 72; see also Prebisch Raul, a.a.O. pp. 3 and 280 (Percentage of labour force engaged in industry in Latin America declined from 35.0 in 1950 to 31.8 in 1965).

rate in population and that of labour force. (See Table II).

Table II—Estimate of Growth of the Labour Force in Less Developed Countries: 1950-1980 (Percentages)

	1950-1965		1965-1980	
	Total Growth	Annual Average Growth Rate	Total Growth	Annual Average Growth Rate
Developed Countries	17.6	1.1	15.8	1.0
Less Developed Countries	28.1	1.7	39.0	2.2

Source: 1970 Review, Development Assistance, OECD, Paris, Dec. 1970, p. 120.

Though there are many methods to increase domestic capital formation—through voluntary and involuntary means—there does not seem to be much hope to increase it so much that it could suffice to absorb the increment in labour force. It may also be noted here that capital is not required simply to absorb the fresh entrants in the labour force, but also to sustain a relatively high rate of GNP-growth. An Indian economist recently estimated that in order to provide employment to the new annual increment in agricultural labour, an Asian country having a per capita income of \$100 and a population rate of growth of 2.5 per cent would require to invest about 10.2 per cent of her gross domestic product.¹⁹ (GDP)

The important weakness in the present set of development policies in the majority of the Third World is the lack of adequate and powerful social stimuli. The majority of the Third World countries are now passing through a semi-feudal and early capitalistic phase. As power in these countries is held by small groups, benefits of economic development too are very largely monopolized by them and only a marginal residual filters down to the masses. Ralph Miliband was very pertinent when he wrote: "... even if they (Latin American countries) were to receive wholly disinterested aid, ... that aid would be stultified by the economic, social, political and administrative structures which dominate their existence, and which those who give the aid are indeed concerned to preserve. ..."²⁰ No less dissimilar is the position in Asian and African developing countries. Though both Indian and Pakistani Plan documents set high goals of social equalities but in practice they did very little. This has been confirmed by the recent Report "Poverty in India"²¹ and the brief evaluation attempted in the Fourth Plan of Pakistan.²² Barbara Skriver wrote: "India is quietly running her economy on purely capitalistic economic models."²³ Shouting loud socialist slogans at the same time. "About Pakistan the *Neue Zürcher Zeitung* wrote in 1968": There is no doubt that Pakistan's economy can easily show several positive results. ... particularly true for a small section of the population ... however, the welfare level of the majority ... despite rise in national average per capita income, has hardly improved."²⁴

The root cause of the tragedy on the social front can be attributed to the "early" capitalistic situation. Two factors are responsible for this. First the inability of the leadership to devise a socially acceptable development system, and second the

19 Singh, S. K., *Aggregate Employment Function: Evaluation of Employment Prospects in CDCs* Mimeo for Basic Research Center World Bank, Dec. 1969, (quoted by Robert A. Shaw, a.a.O. p. 3.
 20 The State of Capitalist Society, An Analysis of the Western System of Power, Weidenfeld & Nicolson, London, 1969, pp.270, a.a.O.
 21 a.a.O.
 22 a.a.O.
 23 Beispiel Indien: Die Schwierigkeit, eine gleichmähige Einkommensverteilung zu erreichen, "Entwicklung und Zusammenarbeit", Bonn 9/71, p. 10.
 24 "Andauernde Schwierigkeiten der pakistanischen Wirtschaft", März 1, 1968.

use of "leverage" by the capitalist countries in promoting the emergence of powerful capitalists interests. While addressing the Twelfth Meeting of the Board of Governors of the International American Development Bank held at Lima Brigadier General Morales Bemudez explained the negative role of applying "leverage" by the richer nations. "International cooperation" has been to date no more than collection of palliatives designed to alleviate some of the worst consequences of dependency without any intention of breaking the status quo of domination and, on the contrary, seeking to perpetuate it by using the need for financial aid as an instrument for applying pressure on the government of the recipient country." These groups are now well established and enjoy sufficient strength to run their countries' economies on their terms.

It is indeed highly regrettable to find so many economists still advocating aggregative higher GNP-growth rates, knowing too well that these rates mean little for the mass of the population in the developing countries. Mere achievement of a high growth rate cannot be taken to mean that it has played a positive role in the economy. The mere production of more steel does not necessarily mean a real development of the economy, if it is largely used in the construction of luxury buildings or military weapons. The tragedy is that merely to fulfil production or growth targets many countries have wasted huge funds in spurious economic activities, while projects capable of providing a real development base to the economy, have been neglected.

The over-aggregative growth theories have done the greatest damage to the younger nations, promising development plus freedom, but giving development sans social justice. Contrary to Rostow's expectations that a good leadership devoted to achieving maximum rate of investment would trigger a take-off or a self-sustaining growth, the Third World countries have fallen victim to the sweet pill of naked capitalism. The forces of struggle, and social formations are creating so many difficulties for the younger nations.²⁵ Prof. David McCord Wright, while commenting on Rostow's stages of Growth theory²⁶ stated: "The truth of the matter is that Rostow's main emphasis on the technical rather than the social aspects of growth has led him all unconsciously into a position of what, from the standpoint of history, can only be described as extreme shortsightedness and reaction ... The 'preconditions' developed over many centuries, were mainly cultural not technical. What became 'built-in' was not 'compound interest' but the value of freedom."²⁶ Another criticism levelled against capital output theory is made by Stanislaw Wellisz: "Technological progress, not capital accumulation, is the main contributing factor to economic growth; the higher the educational level, the easier and faster is the adaptation of new technology. Moreover, since general education facilitates the acquisition of specific skills, an educated labour force acts as a magnet to modern, skill-intensive industries."²⁷

25 In an article contributed to "Life", Rostow wrote: "I would not wish to enter into the discussion of whether there is one or there are many roads to socialism. But there are many roads to economic growth. Co-existence demands that we leave the outcome of the ideological debate to the processes of history within each of these societies and permit them to solve their problems in a setting where capital and technical assistance are made available to them, without strings concerning their political and military orientation." p. 82.
 26 An Answer to Rostow's theory: Freedom alone brings Growth, *Life*, a.a.O., p. 87-88.
 27 Lessons of Twenty Years of Plans in Developing Countries *Economica* Vol. XXX III, No. 150, London, May 1971, p. 131. His basic argument to support education is very much of a social nature when he says: "Education plays a key role in a programme of mass betterment and of increasing access to economic opportunities. The democratization of access to higher educational opportunities contributes to the social transformation of society from one governed by a traditional elite to one on which position is more nearly related to individual effort and merit ...", p. 131.

... The problem of development and unemployment

One cause of the present dual character of societies in the developing countries is the influence of polarizing forces which make the rich richer while making the poor poorer. This is not on the basis of any inherent inability of the poor to participate in the developmental activities, but due to their continuously being the target of the disequalizing economic forces. Not only that, polarization forces have very often forced underdeveloped regions of individuals to succumb to the chronic phenomenon of underdevelopment.²⁸ In order to promote development along social lines, planners will have to change a great deal of their thinking. One important way will be to accept social justice as one of the most significant goals of development. Prof. Josef Pajestka suggests the introduction of a new matrix in the methodology of planning. "It would be interesting", he says, "to develop (an input/output) matrix of development interrelationship, the 'input' side of which would cover different economic factors, while the 'output' side would deal with the social effects of their various applications. These social effects would include the impact on employment, on income, on the qualification of individuals, on health, on cultural development, etc. If we could measure all these effects and dynamically maximise them, taking into account the feed-back between them and the economic factors, we would then possess an analytic instrument suitable for a strategy of socio-economic development".²⁹

The above model seems far more useful than the traditional Western economic criteria, such as rates of GNP or capital/output ratios. The Third World finds itself today at the cross-roads: if it wants to make fuller utilization of both her human and physical resources, it will have to change its present weaponry of development. Without putting the social criterion before development—the first and the foremost—existing economic policies, based as they are on the law of "disequalizing" and discriminatory forces, will have to be replaced by those inspired by the dictates of better economic performance and social justice. Without a qualitative blend or equilibrium between economic growth on the one hand and social justice on the other, the Third World will neither have one nor the other.³⁰

The Third World countries do not seem to be poor in capital only or, for that matter, in development-conducive social structures, but they equally suffer from several other institutional constraints. First of all, it seems, they suffer from the will to help themselves. This is apparent if one looks at the lofty goals they set in development plans, and how little they realize them in actual practice. There have been instances, in which developing countries have had excess capacities available in industry or agriculture, while leaders were running after foreign aid to establish new enterprises. This is not the way to lead such countries towards a self-sustained growth path. The rationale followed in aid—business is not always motivated as how best to help a poor country, but more as how best to profit from it.

Other weakness generally observed in the developing countries is the development of industries or services having negligible impact on employment within the economy. Likewise, development has taken place, such as the oil industry in many of the Middle East countries, where it does not form an integral and organic part of the indigenous economy. The benefits that thus reach the industries in the host country are relatively small. The inadequacy of an institutional network for research, training and education of the labour force is invariably also one of the serious missing factors in these countries. Education is indeed spreading, but this again is not dovetailed to the developmental needs. "Instead of providing the skills and determination needed to grasp any opportunities that exist of revolutionizing agriculture, schools become little more than

agencies to provide passports to escape to the towns. And even then, instead of providing practical skill for urban jobs, schools encourage a distaste for manual work. As a group, the low income countries are spending roughly the same proportion of their national resources on education as the richer countries but getting much less for it".³¹ It is indeed astonishing to see many countries lacking technical personnel on the one hand, and, facing surplus supply of educated people in humanities, on the other. The problem of brain-drain is also linked with this phenomenon. The basic cause of this waste-policy are: (a) Poor planning, and (b) the promotion of "enclave" type of development which besides being too small in size, is also oriented to producing goods and services mostly for the richer sections of the population.

A country like China with its broad-based development and a development-conformed educational policy does not, however, face either extreme excesses or shortages in the number of the personnel required.

Similar seems to be the case of the provision of fuller and proper employment. As against the take-off economist's belief in the algebraic equations of GNP-growth rates and investment, the problem of employment or for that matter unemployment is the creation of the whole variety of social, political and historical forces. As shown in this analysis, the root causes of present employment problems cannot be attributed solely to the shortage of capital, but to a variety of other social constraints as well. The chief among these constraints are the social discrimination of the non-capitalistic sectors and the lack of a variety of facilities package, covering research training and all kinds of education. The present economic policies tend to encourage only selected regions or individuals and that also very often at the cost of the masses. There is not much hope to expect any large scale improvement on the employment front unless of course present economic policies are reformed drastically.

While critically examining the various development theories as developed in the Western world, one finds that these theories and concepts do not fit into the conditions obtaining today in the majority of the developing countries. A clear proof of the ineffectiveness of these theories lies in the failure of many of these countries to develop a pattern of development which could provide: (1) fuller utilization of available physical and human factor endowments, and (2) a socially-acceptable distribution of the gains of development.

The Western economic theories fail to recognise the fact that the economies of the poor countries differ a great deal in their fundamentals. While the industrial countries' economies are run under conditions of democracy, they possess a well developed market mechanism and have socio-political and economic built-ins. On the other hand, the developing countries are mostly under some form of dictatorial or pseudo-democratic orders, have imperfect market mechanism and suffer outside interferences. As a consequence of these differences, which are both quantitative and qualitative, a fuller application of the Western economic theories cannot but be ineffective. The difference in living and working conditions and opportunities clearly show greater extremes in developing countries than in the highly developed capitalist countries. These sharp differences in income and opportunities have direct and much more unfavourable consequences in production and employment in underdeveloped countries than in developed economies, where sharp differences in income or opportunities have only a minimal negative effect on production or employment. Under the latter case, the lower income groups, though deprived of holding their legitimate share of the national wealth, are not so directly affected on production or employment fronts, since in these societies inequitable possession of wealth

(productive assets) finds its outlet into productive channels in very much the same way as if it were held by the higher income groups. In the affluent societies, individuals, whether enjoying higher or a lower income almost always devote a certain percentage of their income to investment. This way a kind of floating investment fund in the economy is created and it perhaps does not matter who actually exercises ownership over it. What, however, matters is the investment of these funds into pursuits with maximum return. In such a system, there are of course, many dangers too. Capital is a powerful instrument in social, economic and political life. The groups enjoying access to capital automatically exercise more power and influence. The other costs to the economy under a capitalistic system are, of course, the wastes caused by outlays on luxuries and the hinderances that they cause to groups at the lower income levels.

The mere fact that the present constellation of socio-economic and political forces are both the product and at the same time the defenders of an inequitable order, the new resources injected into the economics of these countries, planned or unplanned, automatically begin to work in the light of the prevailing constellations. Press-freedom and other institutions which could play an important role in minimizing inequalities or in suppressing the emergence of imperfect competition in the industrial countries are not available to the developing countries. The unfortunate result of this is that inequalities in income coupled with inequalities in opportunities, have become the order of the day in most of the developing countries. The economic thinking, based as it is very much on the foundations of "disequalizing" forces, does not promote an efficient and nationally fairly well-spread development; on the contrary, it maximizes the wealth of the richer groups and this way strengthens their hold over the poor masses. In a nut shell "underdevelopment is not merely the backwardness of some in relation to the growth of others, but also the negative side of conditions under which the development of some receives support and which others must bear. In this sense, underdevelopment amounts essentially to social and economic imbalance at the national, regional and international levels".³²

The experience of the past two decades of continuous development in the Third World shows clearly that the present prescription of development is faulty. As development means "... the movement of the whole system upwards",³³ and not simply a few elite groups, there is the urgent need to reform it accordingly. The new system, unlike the earlier one, should aim at orienting the process of development in such a way that it ensures both efficient, and, at the same time, equitable development. It is only in this way that the Third World can hope to eliminate sharp inequalities and enable the broad masses to play an increasingly active role in transforming their economies from their present dualistic into broad-based structures. People are unemployed in the developing countries not because they are not willing to work or that there is no work, but simply due to the fact that they are kept out of the developmental wheel held in subjugation by the existing pressure groups. The general belief that social equality interferes with the achievement of high rates of economic development does not stand the test of reality. Nobody will deny that improved health care, better education for the people, increased production and a wider spread of skills, knowledge and culture—all essential ingredients of a healthy socio-economic polity—speed up rather than hinder development.

The relevance of the application of a broad-based development policy seems to be more valid in case of the developing countries, where such a policy enables the utilization of the hitherto unutilized resources, and through it, minimizing the unemployment ratio.

28 Cf. Josef Pajestka.

29 a.a.O., p. 26.

30 ECAFE, E/CN.11/L. 283/B, a.a.O., 11-34.

31 Jolly, Richard, a.a.O., p. 209.

32 Bermudez, a.a.O., p. 91.
33 Myrdal, G., Quoted by Tage Erlander in Foreword to Josef Pajestka's brochure "The Social of Dimensions Development", a.a.O., p. 4

Arafat — dedication, rejuvenation and a certain inner peace

A. W. HAMID

Barefooted on the sand, with arms outstretched and palms open in supplication, with emotions welling up within and making lumps in the throat and giving way to tears, the pilgrim stands on the plain of Arafat. He is one of a vast concourse of almost a million people, yet is very much alone—alone with his Creator, praising, thanking, repenting, reflecting, asking for guidance. For hours, from just after noon to sunset, with face turned towards the Qiblah, all the searchlights are turned within as fancies are laid bare and thoughts keep crowding in of one's frailty, inadequacy and utter dependence on the Creator. And as the sun sinks slowly beneath the horizon, lighting up the sky with a crimson glow, the emotions are too much to bear, the body trembles and a strange peace settles over the mind.

This is the day of Arafat, the fulfilment of a long yearning, the end of one road and hopefully the beginning of another—of rejuvenation, of dedication and a certain inner peace. And henceforth the words would ring out: *Labbayk Allahumma Labbayk, Labbayka laa sharika laka labbayk, innal hamda, wa'n ni'amata laka wa-l mulk, laa shareeka laka.* "Here I am, O Lord, Here I am. Here I am. There is no partner to You. Here I am. The praise and the bounty belong to You and the kingdom. There is no partner to You." This refrain has echoed down the centuries on the lips of pilgrims and fills the dusty air with its simplicity, power and beauty.

The day of Arafat well-spent, is a day which any Muslim who has experienced it would always cherish and long to recapture. In the plain of Arafat, tears are shed, errors erased, sins washed out and faults redressed for those who ask the Lord for forgiveness and offer sincere repentance. Happy is the person who receives the Mercy and Pleasure of God on this unique day, for the Muslim knows that this is a courtyard of clemency of the Great and Merciful Lord and Creator.

And what a unique day is Arafat! For the rest of the year the plain is barren and bare. Then suddenly on this one day the ninth of the month of Dhul Hijja, it springs to life with a sea of tents and a crowd of a million people all with one purpose in mind. The Mountain of Mercy which stands in the background is grey and rugged but on this one day it is dotted with samples of mankind from all over the globe following in the footsteps of their noble Prophet and bearing testimony to the momentous message which he transmitted to the world. It is on this mount that the Prophet stood facing the Qibla with his camel at his side and prayed from just after noon to sunset in this setting of simplicity and grandeur which has changed but little since then. Just before this he had delivered his memorable *khutbah* which came to be known as the Farewell Sermon. This sermon is still as fresh and as direct

as when he, peace be upon him, gave it. He said in part:

"All praise is for God. We praise Him and seek His help and ask him for forgiveness and repent before Him. We seek His protection against the mischiefs of our hearts and our evil actions. Whomsoever God guides on the right path no one can lead him astray and whomsoever God does not give guidance no one can guide him aright.

And I declare this truth that there is no god except Allah and I declare this truth that Muhammad is His servant and His Apostle. O servants of God, I advise you to worship Him and I admonish you to do so . . . After this, I tell you O people! Listen to me carefully as I speak clearly, for I do not think I will have the opportunity to meet you here after this year. . . .

Bear witness that I have conveyed the message to you. O God! Be our Witness. . . .

I am leaving with you two things which so long as you follow them, you will never go astray—one is the Book of Allah and the other is my Example. . . .

O people! Your God is One, and your ancestor is also one. You are all the progeny of Adam who was created from earth. The most respected before God amongst you is the one who is the most God-fearing. No Arab has preference over a non-Arab or a non-Arab over an Arab. Preference if any is on the basis of the fear of God. . . .

And you people will be asked about me. Now tell me what will you say. (And all cried out: We affirm that you have conveyed the message, carried out the responsibility of instructing the people, raised all curtains from the face of truth and faithfully conveyed the trust of God.)

O God! Be Thou the Witness! O God, Be Thou the Witness! O God, Be Thou the Witness! . . . God's protection and blessings descend on you".

The multitudes in Arafat year after year is a constant affirmation that Muhammad had delivered his message and conveyed the trust placed upon him by God. Someone has remarked that it is only the power of spiritual motivation which can move this vast multitude from one place to the next—from Mina to Arafat to Muzdalifah and back to Mina—in a very short space of twenty-four hours and that the task would be a nightmare for any commanding officer of an army.

Yet many of the rites of the Hajj date not from Muhammad but from the Prophet Ibrahim, peace be upon him, who on God's command bult the Sacred Ka'aba in Mecca for the worship of God. And God commanded him: "And to mankind proclaim the Hajj and they will come to

you in multitudes, and on every lean animal they would come from every deep ravine to witness the benefits which have been bestowed on them." The circumambulation of the Ka'aba, the drinking from the well of Zam Zam, the sacrificing of a sheep or cow or camel and other rites of the Hajj all go back to times before Prophet Muhammad. Performing them gives the pilgrim a strong sense of history, of belonging to a rich and valuable past stretching back to Adam, as the Prophet emphasised in his Farewell Sermon. This sense of oneness and of continuity pervades the entire pilgrimage. But then there is the perpetual paradox of feeling attached to a great cosmic world and at the same time having the certain knowledge that one is alone, is alone responsible for his actions and alone will be made to give account without any intercessor. This paradox never comes more sharply into focus than at the time of Hajj. A welter of emotions are produced when contemplating this paradox—some supremely comforting, some mystifying but all bearing testimony to the uniqueness and greatness of the occasion of Hajj. Indeed one would be at a loss if there was no way to follow and no precedent to adopt. But happily for the pilgrim, some of these mystifying thoughts are dispelled by prayer, prayers which were uttered by the prophets and others as well. Such a prayer was uttered by Ibn Abbas, a companion of the Prophet who prayed thus when making the last circumambulation of the Ka'aba:

"O my Lord! here I am before Thee, I am Thy servant, the son of Thy servant and maid servant. Thou made me bear what has been destined for me as a creature and made me travel in Thine territory until by Thy Grace and Favour I reached Thine House and helped me in performing my duty. My Lord! I have won Thine satisfaction, please make it greater and if not kindly be pleased with me now before my home gets much farther from Thy House as this is the time for my departure if Thou so permit; nor Have I any substitute for Thee or for Thine House. Thou art the Greatest and I have no better hope than Thee and Thine House.

O my Lord! give me a good health and a sound body and immunity in keeping up my religion; guard my soul against evil; bestow upon me discipline and obedience; and grant me good in this world and good in the Hereafter. Thou art Able to do all things."

It is through prayers like these that Hajj raises one to the level of a conscious being and the realisation dawns that man is a finite being needing guidance, forgiveness and succour.

A READING OF THE URDU PRESS IN BRITAIN

Awakening to realities of the past

G. U. S.

Readers of Urdu dailies and weeklies in Britain have had a very optimistic coverage of the Indo-Pakistan war. So when the news came of the unconditional surrender, it came as a great shock. Apart from giving up East Pakistan, Pakistan lost about 1800 square miles in the West as well. And all this has brought forth a spate of comments, analyses and exposes dealing with the causes of the debacle.

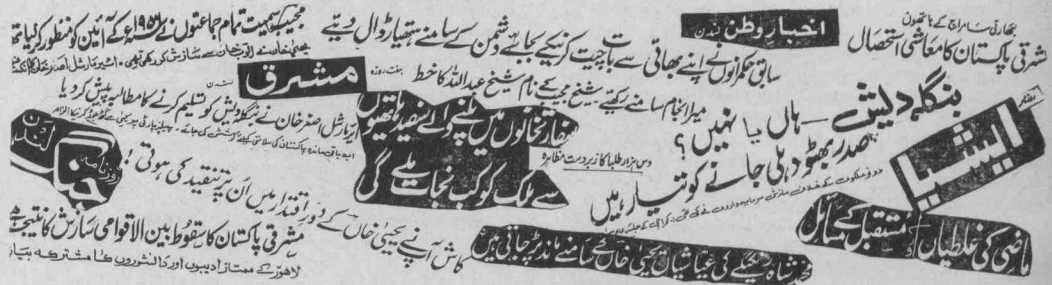
While the war was on, pressure had already started for boycotting Indian film records, movies and groceries. The size of the market is estimated to be well over £2m per annum and a great majority of consumers are Pakistanis. Daily *Asia* took the initiative in refusing to accept Indian film adverts. This was followed by daily *Jung International*, weekly *Akhbar-e-Watan* and weekly *Mashriq*. On 31 December 1971, *Jung* said, the boycott was complete and that Pakistanis were determined to make it permanent. However, many wrote to the editor that unless the standard of Pakistani films is improved they won't be able to compete. Even otherwise Pakistanis had a great weakness for the Indian films.

War also brought appeals for Pakistan Fund. The response was as enthusiastic as ever; individual donations of £2,000 were not uncommon and by 17 January, £308,467 were collected. This raised the question of their utilization and some correspondents felt unsure about where all this money would go. Others suggested self-reliance and building up of the industrial potential of the country. They said if there were specific projects perhaps the response will be still better.

The birthday of Qaid-e-Azam Jinnah, founder of Pakistan on 25 December provided an opportunity to the papers to do some inward-looking. *Jung* said the fact that now half of Pakistan was under Indian occupation showed that the whole nation had failed to discharge its obligations towards the unity and integrity of Pakistan. Qaid-e-Azam had made it clear that Pakistan was achieved to create an Islamic society, but we did not allow the promulgation of a single Islamic law. Qaid-e-Azam held that Islam would be the base of Pakistan, but we practised and promoted values other than Islam. He believed in democracy but we established autocracy and military rule. He wanted a Press which was free and honest, but we made laws to suppress them... could we deny these?

The sudden discovery that Yahya and his generals were mostly debauch and drunkard has produced a strong though momentary reaction in Pakistan against drinking as such. People have smashed bars and wine-shops and demanded enforcing a real ban on alcoholic drinks. Rais Amrohvi who writes on matters transcendental took up the question in the same issue of *Jung*. He wrote that once again the self-righteous have started saying the war was lost because of our misdeeds that we had become immoral. But that was only a part of the truth. Only a very small minority was involved in these indulgences. The masses did not have the means even to think of such enjoyments. The cause of the defeat lay in the suppression of the masses and 13 years of army rule. The main and natural cause was backwardness in the sciences and technology.

On 1 January, *Mashriq* writing under 'Friends of India' quoted a report from *Daily Mirror* where General Aurora was said to have told the *Mirror* correspondents how the British Press reports had made their task easier. Commenting on it *Mashriq* said it was not only the Russians who helped India in this war, the British Press too played a great role in India's psychological war. *Mashriq*, (1 January) also published an open letter from Mr. Qudratullah Shahab (who had been the Secretary to the various heads of state in Pakistan from Ghulam Mohammad to Ayub Khan)



addressed to the new President, Mr. Bhutto. He said that he had resigned his job under Gen. Yahya because he had realised that General Yahya and Lt. Gen. Peerzada were not sincere.* They were debauch, drunkard and selfish men. He asked President Bhutto not to repeat the mistakes of his predecessors such as doubting the sincerity of those who may be in opposition. It will be the greatest favour to the nation if the new President ensured political tolerance, economic equality, fair administration and freedom of speech. Elsewhere in the same issue, *Mashriq* commented that the day a nation started deciding things on mere whims and emotions it started going down. Looking back one finds emotionalism having become so deep entrenched that even those movements which claim that they were not going to repeat the mistakes of their predecessors took the same path, ultimately destroying themselves. Down to this day there has been no movement which tried to train the minds and thought of its followers and canalise the emotions into constructive channels. *Akhbar-e-Watan* (5 January) welcomed the steps taken by President Bhutto so far to reconstruct the country, but felt it would take time before the nation is re-vitalised. Economic disparities had given rise to the phenomenon of local nationalism. If the original motivations of Pakistan were achieved these differences could be removed. The masses want Islam not as a slogan, but for the social justice that it provides.

Akhbar-e-Watan also carried a front page write-up saying that the war was lost due to the treachery of those responsible for handling the purchase of arms and ammunitions. They bought dud shells. It said that the Pakistani army had become so much morally corrupted that it fell an easy prey to the Indian spying machine; the enemy knew in advance each and every move of ours. *Jung's* leading article of 5 January was a polite criticism of the ban on the publication of a statement made by Air Marshall Asghar Khan (Retd.) It reminded President Bhutto that the previous governments too had acted the same way and became victims of its own mis-deeds. The editorial (which originally appeared in the Karachi edition of *Jung*) received immediate notice of President Bhutto. He told the Press: "Pardon me mates, you are free to write whatever you like". After all, we are not going to be affected if the Press published the noises made by some retired military officers (*Jung* 6 January). In the same issue Mr. Bhopali, a member of the Sind Provincial Assembly, reported some details of his off-the-record meeting with Sheikh Mujib in Decca on 2 February last year. Sheikh Mujib had assured him that there was no need to be over-anxious about his 6-Points and that the interests of West Pakistan will be duly safe-guarded. Mr. Bhopali said that Sheikh Mujib, however doubted if Yahya would really hand over power to him. He

was not sure if the National Assembly would be convened.

The same issue of *Jung* also carried a long story about the private life of the former President. When these stories were first published in the American weekly *Newsweek*, the magazine was banned in Pakistan and Gen. Yahya personally admonished and warned its representative. *Newsweek* later named the twelve ladies who ruled Pakistan through Yahya Khan. The paper said that this was the main cause for the defeat of the nation. *Jung's* leading article on 8 January noted with gratification President Bhutto's promise that democracy would be restored soon. The people seemed to feel that though democracy had come the country was still being run under Martial Law and the pace of ushering-in democracy must be, therefore, expedited. *Jung* again carried a long article in its 10 January issue saying that "Military rule must end now".

Asia in its leading article on 13 January said had Sheikh Mujib stayed a couple of days in freedom in West Pakistan, he would have seen the love and affection they had for their East Pakistani brethren. He would also have seen that the tragic happenings of the last one year had brought hell not only in East Pakistan but in West Pakistan too.

Jung, during the period 15 to 19 January carried a number of articles advising at least de facto recognition of Bangladesh. Simultaneously all the papers maintained the tempo of reporting newer stories about the private and not-so-private life of Yahya and his entourage. *Akhbar-e-Watan* (19 January) reported how at the Staff meeting at Ayub Hall, many officers came out with an open expression of disgust about the wining and womanising activities of the senior staff officers which led to such an ignoble and disastrous debacle. *Akhbar-e-Watan* (26 January) reported an off-the record interview which Sheikh Mujib had with 'Meem Sheen', a leading Urdu columnist of West Pakistan. Sheikh Mujib had spoken about the extremist pressures within and outside his party. This had made it difficult for him to make adjustment on the 6-points. However, he said, he would not disappoint the people of West Pakistan. Sheikh Mujib felt that the way things had moved made people think that the Army would not transfer power, but once goodwill and faith was re-established there was no reason why re-adjustment could not be made. Another article showed how the Eastern Wing Commander, Gen. Niazi was let down by the former President.

The Urdu press has kept up the tempo of publishing stories revolving around Gen. Yahya, his colleagues and other top army generals. The readers' reaction to this wise-and-brave-after-the-event attitude was, however, uncomplimentary. One reader asked why these facts were not brought to light before. "When Yahya was in power you supported him and now that he has gone, you were asking for his head". This explained why the Urdu press has come out in support of press freedom in Pakistan

* Earlier reports in the Press had suggested that Mr. Shahab had resigned when asked to explain an unauthorised visit to Israel.

Books

Games of a Nation

Sun Behind the Clouds by Maulvi Farid Ahmad, *Zaman Kitab Mahal*, Dacca, 175 pages, Rs. 10.

Ten years of Ayub-regime make an important chapter in the history of Pakistan. During his rule, Ayub Khan paid considerable attention to stabilising himself in the presidential chair. All the information media and the state apparatus were given one major assignment: to build up the image of the "benevolent dictator". The assignment was carried out in letter and in spirit so that while Ayub grew up as the 'saviour' of the nation, the nation itself became a nation of imbeciles and non-adults. However, in the Autumn of 1968, the very non-adults rose up against Ayub Khan and in March 1969 the benevolent dictator had to make an inglorious exit leaving the nation under Yahya Khan and Martial Law.

Various students of Pakistan politics have since attempted to explore the causes of the decline of the apparently stable and well-entrenched Ayub regime and this is the subject-matter of the present volume also. It has been written by Maulvi Farid Ahmad,* who is a prominent politician of East Pakistan. A senior parliamentarian, he is also an eye-witness to many insides and goings in the top political circles of Pakistan. He also participated in the Round Table Conference called by Ayub Khan, before his abdication, to seek a compromise with the opposition parties.

The book is in the form of a diary which the author maintained during the period 3 May 1968 to 25 March 1969—the day General Yahya came to power. It seems the diary has been reproduced in original without editing or adequate annotation. Anyway, it seeks to reveal a great deal about many big names in Pakistan. The revelations, if true, make a shocking reading about some famous names and characters in the country. He names many including Altaf Gauhar, Malik Ghulam Gilani, Air Marshal Asghar Khan, Mujibur Rahman etc. as being involved either with the CIA or other foreign agencies.

* Maulvi Farid Ahmad, Vice-President of the Pakistan Democratic Party had recently retired from politics and launched a social reform movement for saving Pakistan. A great protagonist of the unity of Pakistan, after the fall of Dacca, his body was found among those 200 or so intellectuals who were alleged to have been killed by Pakistan authorities.

This is a sort of allegation that has become very common in Pakistan, but whatever be the real facts, it does reflect both on the underlying paranoia and manifest state of outside involvement in Pakistan's politics. The author observes that the CIA not only bribes the high-ups but also employs other means such as "young seductive girls". One girl, Shirin, is explicitly mentioned whose activities the author tries to follow.

The author has his own mysterious connections. From dawn to late at night he receives all sorts of people, visits other people, attends receptions, addresses gatherings, makes and attends numerous telephonic calls, participates in dinner and all sorts of discussions. During all this humdrum, many people of dubious credentials came in touch with him. He has also link with the high-ups in the top administration. He has his own agents in the army, civil and police services and they keep him abreast of many inside happenings which seldom come to light.

The object, he says, is to expose the hidden hands in Pakistan's politics. Of the foreign interests active in Pakistan, he gives a place of prominence to the CIA and the Zionists. Being an ideological state Pakistan has always been championing the cause of the Muslim World and this has brought her into clash with the Zionist aims. Pakistan could become instrumental in the revival of Islam as a political force and their aim, as he sees it, is either to liquidate the State or make it so weak and disunited as to become a non-entity in the comity of nations. To this end, the successive political changes in Pakistan have invariably led to the replacement of less "undesirables" with more undesirables or "desirables", depending upon the way it is looked at.

The Zionists, the author alleges, are working through certain influential individuals and pressure groups within the military and civil hierarchy.

Since Ayub had outlived his utility and started showing a degree of independence, America wanted him to be dislodged and replaced by a more desirable person or persons and it is the author's contention that in this operation of cutting Ayub down to size and bringing him into disrepute, a significant part was played by the same elements who were regarded as Ayub's proteges. They were able to sabotage the democratic agitation, create a state of lawlessness and anarchy and foil Ayub's plans to settle with the Opposition and restore democracy. Thus Ayub was 'gheraoed' by his own "faithfuls".

This clique of civil servants and others openly indulged in political manoeuvrings.

They held parleys with different political leaders, entered into deals with some and befooled others.

About the role and part of Sheikh Mujib and Mr. Bhutto in the crisis the author chooses to leave some loose skeins and let the reader or posterity do its own guess work. Such unsubstantiated or under-clarified remarks, effect the merit of the book. However, the main inference would seem to be that: First the Civil Service of Pakistan is really so powerful that it has literally become the "King maker" and secondly, all top ranking politicians (with very rare exceptions) have a deep vested interest in the status quo. They get together, not to settle national issues, but to distribute among themselves the spoils of exploitation.

Being a diary, a major part of the book deals with the personality of the author. One can read various traits of his personality. He is ambitious and seems to be seized with the burning desire to become the Governor of East Pakistan or the President of Pakistan. He will believe anybody on this point. After the release of Sheikh Mujib by Ayub Khan, he tries to win the Sheikh's favour. Disappointed, he leans back. So often he goes to the mystics and occultists and will like to know their predictions. He is also very much conscious about people's applause for his oratory and political acumen. He even records the glow of admiration which he could discern in the eyes of the people while he addressed them.

It is commendable indeed that the author has been so honest about himself and this may be taken to add to the value of his other observations.

The book contains an errata and some annotation about the personalities mentioned therein, but both are incomplete.

M. A. Khan

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Briefing

The Love-Girl and the Innocent

a play by Alexander Solzhenitsyn, translated by Nicholas Bethell and David Burg.
The Bodley Head, Price not mentioned.

It may be frozen in the vast deep-freeze of Siberia, but Russia does have a heart and this is the message of the play. It brings out the heart-rending realities of life in the Soviet labour camp and of fragile human beings caught in the machinery of totalitarianism. Perhaps nowhere else than in Russia the 'slaves' have been brought up under the doctrine of 'bread alone' but the beauty of Solzhenitsyn's play lies in proclaiming the indomitable nobility of the human spirit.

Donald Soper

by Douglas Thompson

Denholme House Press, £2.50

Donald Soper, a peer and a former president of the Methodist Church is perhaps the most colourful figure in modern church. He obtained his peerage from Mr. Harold Wilson for his meritorious services to Labour Party. Once when at a meeting in Sussex someone suggested the formation of a Christian political party, Rev. Soper told the audience that in the presence of Labour Party no such organisation was called for; the party was already discharging the Christian obligations. There are critics too: One angry father said that the President of the Methodist Church was a habitual swimmer on Sundays and had on some occasions been even seen wearing his bathing trunks under his canonicals.

German Resistance to Hitler: Count Von Moltke and the Kreisau Circle

by Ger Von Roon (translated by Peter Ludlow)

Van Nostrand, £6

Not many are aware that apart from some abortive military attempts against Hitler's Nazi regime, throughout the Nazi years there had been a silent civilian resistance as well. The book narrates how Counts Von Moltke and Von Yorck founded a study circle—the Kreisau Circle. Their chief hope lay in providing an intellectual ground-work which might in future serve as a basis for Germany's reconstruction as a progressive and Christian Socialist state. A deeply religious man, Count Moltke was not given to any ideas of armed revolt against Nazis; the circle, however, soon became the pivot and the centre of 'civilian resistance'. This was enough to attract the attention of Gestapo. Von Moltke was arrested in January 1944 and hanged for what he called 'thinking together'. But the Nazis said 'he did more than think'.

Officially Secret

by Jonathan Aitken,

Weidenfeld and Nicolson, £3

The author is a young tory politician with friends well placed in high circles. It was through them that he was able to lay his hands on the confidential report sent by Col. Scott, the then defence adviser to the British High Commission in Nigeria. The report dealt with military situation of Federal Nigeria *vis à vis* Biafra. It said the Federal

Army was corrupt, inefficient and incapable of co-ordination or planning. Mr. Aitken decided to use the report as a lever against the Labour Government whose official support for the Federal Government of Nigeria he deeply resented. He saw to it that the report was published in *The Sunday Telegraph* but as it turned out he was rather late: the news of Biafra's collapse began to arrive almost the same day. The Nigerian authorities were indignant and the British Government felt embarrassed. Colonel Scott was declared *persona non grata* in Lagos and at home a prosecution launched against Mr. Aitken and others by the Crown. The Government, however, lost the case under the Official Secrets Act of 1911 and 1920. This is the background in which Mr. Aitken reviews the gradual expansion in the area of "official secrets" by the successive Governments.

● *Zionism, Ideology and Policy* (in Russian) by E. Yevseyev (From a Reviewed broadcast by Radio Moscow) Claims to expose the myths of "a single Jewish nation" or an "eternal" anti-semitism. Such persons as Heinrich Heine, Stefan Zweig, Issac Levitan, and others were the pride of the Russian, German or other peoples not because of their Jewish origin but due to their contribution to the local national cultures. The author says "nobody in USSR will give to Zionists Ilya Ehrenburg, Lev Borin, Leonid Kogan, or Pliset-skaya, David Oistrakh and Lev Kassil" simply because they happened to be Jews or Jewish.

● *No Peace without a Palestine State* by Mohammed Abu-Shelbayeh who is the editor of Jerusalem's pro-Israeli Arabic daily *Al Quds*. Abu-Shelbayeh spent 5 years in the Jordanian prison for his 'Baathist' politics. The book seeks to make a case for an independent Palestine in the West Bank and Gaza strip a state which shall live peacefully in co-operation with the State of Israel. The demands of other groups such as Fatah to establish a democratic Palestine State for Arabs, Jews, and Christians are termed unrealistic and confused. Shelbayeh suggests a kind of "Palestine ingathering". All Palestinians will return to his Independent Palestine State instead of Israel; the problems between Israel and the Arab countries can be solved through neighbourliness and not confrontation.

● The Institute of Soviet Studies, Munich, has been closed as a result of a US economy drive. For the last two decades, the Institute had acted as an American centre for research on Soviet Russia and published an annual biographical register of men in the Soviet news, a quarterly research journal *Studies on the Soviet Union*, a monthly *Bulletin*, a weekly news analysis, and a number of books and tracts in English, Russian and other languages. Financed by funds voted by the US Congress, its closure has been described by *Izvestia* as a "defeat" of the West, but German and other international observers have taken it as a part of the "ideological disarmament".

● Tanzania's two English language dailies—*The Standard* and *The Nationalist*, organs of the ruling party TANU are to be merged.

● Kuwaiti parliament has been promised rationalisation of national laws dealing with press freedom.

Israel and the Prophecies of the Holy Qur'an

by Ali Akbar

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Nota Bene

by Scribe

There is one fine point about an army officer taking over the reins of a government: his apparent colourlessness. He is recruited as a professional soldier and people seldom bother about who goes in the uniform. They would not know about his politics or political inclinations except through indirect inferences: his tastes in wine or the pattern of par-marital behaviour. Therefore, when the take-over is accomplished, one is free to accept or adapt a colour suitable to the situation. He can be anything from General Kassem to General Gursel and whatever be the banner of the revolution whether rightist, or leftist, he is always progressive.

□ □ □

With 'revolution' taking place every now and then, in the Third World, the whole question of government, democracy and freedom has become so trite and trivial, that even with serious efforts it is not always possible to formulate a truly objective opinion about the merits and antecedents of a revolution and its leadership. It is always the tricky problem of weighing between the real and unreal. Very often, there is no option but to wait for the change of the shop-front because one can expect to know the true facts about a Stalin or Yahya Khan only after they have gone. There again one cannot be fully sure about things dished out under any Khrushchevian auspices.—So God bless the bewildered!

□ □ □

How significant are the religious undertones which concern the recent governmental changes in Liberia and Ghana?

Is it an isolated revival phenomenon, a pilot project or does it denote any change of wind? Or is it the Media with a tormented conscience trying to seek salvation?

On 3rd January, Mr. William Tolbert was inaugurated as the President of Liberia. *The Times* (2 January) wrote that Mr. Tolbert who is "best known as President of the World Baptist Alliance ... is said always to carry a bible in a white leather case". So much for the religious personality of the new Liberian President.

In the beginning of this century, the American Colonisation Society established Liberia as a settlement for the African slaves who had been taken to America and it is these Americo-Liberians who now form the ruling-caste. The tribal Liberians are given controlled access to education and are excluded from high positions both in the government and private sector.

There is a definite under-current of tension between the Americo and the tribal Liberians. This challenge for integration has been accepted by Christianity and as *The Times* (4 January) wrote, "Christianity which is followed here with old-fashioned fervour, has also helped to unify the country's population". This also explained Rev. Billy Graham's presence at the inauguration as a member of the official American delegation.

Another case in which the religious aspect has been brought to focus is of Ghana. The leader of the Coup was presented as "intensely religious". *The Times* (18 January) reported: 'Colonel Akyeampong, a Roman Catholic, had on his desk during the interview a well worn Bible. "I

believe in God and nothing without Him", he said when I remarked on the bible. He also mentioned a number of religious organizations, including the Rosicrucians and the Astara Foundation, to which he told me he belonged. Several of the religious organizations, he said, were founded in the United States.'

Perhaps it was all casual news-filling and did not signify any new mode or trend in international politics, because of all things on this earth religion was hardly a likely trend. Has not its failure to bind East and West Pakistan into a common brotherhood and polity demonstrated so clearly and recently. One should also be able to imagine the type of media-focus it would receive if for instance a Gen. Khan or a President Ali was caught carrying a "well worn" Qu'ran and proclaiming a real "belief in God."

□ □ □

At the annual meeting of the American Association for the Advancement of Science held last December, Dr. Allyn C. Deets of the University of Pittsburg and Dr. Harry Harlow of Wisconsin presented the results of their research on monkeys.

They found that in monkeys raised in *solitaria* that is in isolation from others of their kind, there comes a critical phase in their life-cycle when they are unable to control tendencies of violent behaviour. Aggression, they claim, does not appear to be a behaviour which is acquired by learning; it is a regression of the environment. On the contrary it is the control of aggression that is acquired as a result of interaction with others.

The authors therefore, surmise: "... cultural evolution has clearly outstripped biological evolution in shaping the nature of human social organizations. But this does not mean that man had escaped his biological heritage as a primate. As part of this heritage, we believe that innate factors influence the nature of human aggression and that the same maturational sequencing of affection, fear and aggression occurs in human ontogeny (growth and development)".

The habit of seeking analogy between the behaviour of humans and brutes has become so established as to have lost all stigma, if ever there was any. In the past man called brutes with whatever names he liked, but the brutes had their revenge "when Darwin said men were their cousins".

The research may provide a new approach to the study of international affairs. Political aggression among nations may also have its roots in their growing up in isolation. Japan lived in complete isolation from seventeenth to mid-nineteenth century. It entered world politics in the second half of the nineteenth century and has since participated in four wars: twice against China, once with Russia and lastly the second World War. The politico-economic growth of the United States also took place in international isolation. Even when it began to look outwards, is sought containment under the Monroe doctrine. Soviet Russia too attained its political and economic stature during the Stalinist period of self-confinement. It may be that the contemporary aggression postures of the World powers are related to their earlier phases of isolation.

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Letters

The Festival of Isalm

It might be of interest, or even satisfaction, to Mr. Paul Keeler, the organizer of 'The World of Islam Festival', to know that his efforts, although primarily addressed to the people in the West, have not passed unappreciated by Muslims who attended the Festival. Mr. Keeler's keen desire "to see Muslim culture as something which was total, valid, real and living" and had something to offer to the future of mankind (*Impact*, 24 December 1971-13 January 1972) denoted a healthy departure from the prevailing attitudes and can be seen as a most important factor which was contributive to the success of the Festival.

Unfortunately one misses such sensibility and realism in the majority of the Western orientalist who claim to study Islam but continue to work within the old colonial or missionary frame-work. Thus while we have an ever-increasing mass of Islamic literature coming out from the academies of Europe and America but the understanding or even tolerance either of Islam or the Muslim viewpoint shows no improvement. It so happens that 'Orientalist Islam' has very little in common with real Islam and this has perpetuated the state of prejudice and mistrust and prevented any meaningful dialogue.

Viewed in this light, Mr. Keeler's experiment is courageous and definitely refreshing. I hope the talks given at the Festival would be published. My best wishes and let's hope it is a break from the past.

Cambridge, England

A. Z. AL-ABDIN

I was glad to read your issue No. 15 (24 December 1971-13 January 1972), particularly the detailed interview with Mr. Keeler on "The World of Islam Festival". It is indeed true and also unfortunate that even now many in the West suffer so much from the crusade-complex. Mr. Keeler's observations about a certain element of superiority complex in the Western attitudes are very much relevant to the present day situation of political relationship between the Muslims and the Western World. Personally, I do appreciate the element of present day technological superiority of the West but I do not know why it should mean arrogance and prejudice.

Kiel, W. Germany

DR. HUSSEIN MULLICK

Pakistan— once a country

Once a country, now a smouldering mass
A man lies behind a wall of mud,
A hole in his head.
His face and chest covered in blood, his hand
A few yards away.

Children run around crying loudly for their
father,
Hoping and praying he would return once more
to play with them.
Tears fall like water falls from the eyes of scared
Children as they see bodies lying on the road,
Wondering when it will all end.
The sun rises in the morning,
They can breathe, live again.
But a dark cloud hangs threateningly overhead.
People of this nation were only born to be
Kicked around by the super Powers.

Liverpool 17, England

SHAHEENA USMAN

Pakistan welfare fund

I understand that large sums of money have been collected by the Pakistani Community throughout Great Britain with regards to the recent tragic events in Pakistan. I wonder what use these funds will be put to.

As a non-Pakistani observer of the situations in Pakistan but as a Muslim believing in the Islamic Concept of Pakistan, I sincerely hope that these amounts would not be wasted by the Pakistani Government in fighting future ill-prepared wars.

I believe that the Pakistani Community in this country would be well advised if they themselves could put these vast sums of money to such use as starting social projects in their own villages back at home for example, building hospitals, schools and roads or in providing tractors for communal use by Pakistani farmers. In the long run such social projects will be more beneficial to the people of Pakistan than any project of re-arming the Pakistani army for another "final war" to use the words of the old and present regimes of Pakistan.

Manchester, England

H. RAJA

Indo-Pak subcontinent: What's next?

Having read your leader "Who's Lake would it be?" (*Impact* 24 December 1971-13 January 1972), while I agreed with most of what you say, I couldn't help wondering that some of the views lacked vision of the dynamism of the political process.

I agree that the Indian occupation of East Pakistan has shifted the balance of power in her favour, and that she already regards herself as among the Big Powers. But there is more to it than that. Indian challenge to China for the leadership of Asia and control of the commodity market from Indonesia to Africa would provide the heterogenous Indians a broader objective, enhance national unity and create a desire for further political and military adventures. That is to say it could be too soon to look forward to the break-up of the Indian neo-empire. Again in my view of the Indian diplomacy, I do not see the extreme Left (Maoists) succeeding in Bengal. Shifting of battle ground from West to East Bengal plus the new-found nationalistic pride would reduce the hardliners to an insignificant minority. If and as long as the danger from the extreme Left exists, the religious elements may be safe and be even courted by both the Bengali nationalists and the Indians. A more likely outcome is that of East Bengal becoming a satellite of India.

What of the big five? America, Britain and France more or less share the same interests. It has always been their desire to unify India and Pakistan in joint defence against China and/or Russia. For Pakistan to accept Indian overlordship being an impossibility, all these Powers, particularly Britain and America seeded and nursed the Bangladesh idea with the sole object of cutting Pakistan down to size. Now that they have succeeded they would do their best to pressurise President Bhutto to accept a joint arrangement so as to include at least India, Bangladesh and possibly others as well. This may appear less offensive to Pakistani opinion and at the same time create a counter-balance to both Russia and China.

The Russians can see that they could never hope to gain indirect trading with India, in

fact with the passage of time, trade balance is likely to be in India's favour. They have to be content at treating India as an equal at least as long as they cannot find another Asian power to do their dirty job of holding China down on the Asian soil.

The Chinese, it appears to me have everything to lose. The dream of a Maoist Bengal or liberation of Madras and Kerala does not seem coming true. China did make considerable concessions to win the friendship of the Western powers but she is now confronted by Russia and India. In the economic field she will have to face Japan and if India and China ever go to war, the Japanese would be the happiest people. I think China's deliberate inactivity during the course of Indian aggression was based on miscalculation and they would now pay for it, the harder way of course.

The future course of the events in the subcontinent would depend on three factors viz. (1) the attitude of Sheikh Mujib towards Pakistan (2) Indian Governments' attitude towards Sheikh Mujib and (3) the extent to which China is able to outmanoeuvre the West and Russia in manipulating Mr. Bhutto's future policies.

Liverpool 13

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WORLD OPINION WORLD OPINION WORLD OPINION WORLD OPINION

Ujama rather than African Socialism

... Marxism, as defined in the nineteenth century, starts with the assumption that you are dealing with a highly capitalised society. This is the basis of that socialism. It is conceptual of a fully developed capitalism and, if you like, a fully developed proletariat... Obviously, therefore, if you are going to build Socialism in a basically rural economy, you will find some aspects of Marxism do not fit. And in actual fact the Marxists, including Lenin, thought just this: that to start a Socialist revolution in a non-Capitalist Russia was almost the wrong thing, and you really expected this Socialism—real, ripe, mature Socialism—to take place in capitalist Europe.

The other aspect, perhaps a more important aspect where I feel there's a difference, is that the Marxist, the Communist, is an atheist... You can't be both a Communist, a Socialist in that sense, and a believer in God. You have to declare yourself on religion. We don't. In our party we have atheists, we have Moslems, we have Christians, we have, if you like, pagans. We regard religion as basically metaphysical, and we don't see why we should involve our members in the question: Is there God? Is there an after-life? We don't regard this question as a Socialist question. We keep it out.

Thirdly and finally, Marxism—Communism—has now developed into a kind of religion. It has a theology. It's debate now is a theological debate. You ask yourself, What did Marx say? And you discover the text of what Marx said. And then you interpret this text as you quote the Bible, or as you quote the Koran. You ask yourself, What did Mohammed say? And you find what Mohammed said? And What did he mean? And you get the good theologian to tell you what Mohammed actually meant. Once you get this the debate is finished.

Now we find it very difficult for us to accept this. Society develops, and really we've got to interpret Socialist thinking as society grows. We can't say, Marx said this and therefore we'll do that.

(Julius Nyerere speaking to *Africa*, No. 6, January 1972).

Communism in Middle East a problem of compatibility?

Communism's main problem is still to find a way of making its atheism acceptable to devout Muslims. This incompatibility lies mainly behind the opposition in such states as Libya, Sudan, Egypt, Jordan, Saudi Arabia, and along the Persian Gulf. Reaction against communism has given fuel to a fierce Islamic nationalism against which Soviet aid in all its forms often counts for nothing. The difficulty for the Soviet Union and other East European countries is to find a way

to support fellow Arab Communists, who are largely illegal, while strengthening their relations with the ruling Arab parties at the same time. President Numeiri's bloody revenge last summer showed how gravely this can go wrong. The Beirut congress was a landmark. It showed that Arab communism remains a force in spite of suppression, and with some role in local politics. But it solved none of the fundamental problems of communism in this area. ("Communism and Islam", *The Guardian*, 15 January 1972).

Mustering Arab efforts against America

"We must muster all our efforts... and mobilise all our potential for the war to liberate the Arab territories from Zionist occupation and to allow the Palestinian resistance to continue its victorious march" said President Houari Boumedienne, the Algerian President, on the final day of the oil year.

Very creditable sentiments indeed... But it is not a question of blood alone. The Arabs have tremendous material wealth at their disposal—not least Algeria—which could be used most effectively against Israel. Libya, Kuwait and Saudi Arabia have been using theirs to tremendous effect in backing the economies and the rearmament programmes of the countries directly facing Israel...

Algeria, for instance sells vast quantities of natural gas to the United States which is desperately short of it...

Obviously, one of the first things Algeria could do on behalf of Palestine and peace with justice in the Middle East, would be to stop exporting gas to the United States... All oil-exporting Arab states should, therefore, place an embargo on oil going to the US. All oil-exporting and non-oil-exporting states should ban all imports from and exports to, the US. In other words the boycott of Israel should be extended to apply to the US and its satellites. And what about those huge foreign currency reserves that some Arab states possess? Couldn't they be used to rock the American economy a little more?

("Not by blood alone", *The Egyptian Gazette*, Cairo, 3 January 1972).

'Developing' and the 'developed' — the implication

We have reached a stage in Nigeria when very few of our engineers do any engineering work at all. They are petty administrators. Major engineering projects, eg the fly-over bridge in Apapa, are given on contract to foreign engineering firms. In many cases it is such foreign companies that do the preliminary feasibility studies upon which the projects are founded. They cost them and they execute them. No wonder, therefore, estimates of some of these projects soar to 100 per cent of their original

values before the work is completed.

What is even more disastrous is the role which international financiers play in our development schemes. We know from experience in other places that some of the major international financing bodies work in very close collaboration with the major engineering contractors of Europe and America. The implication is clear. The poor recipient nation is exploited both by the aid-giving institution and by the contractors.

If a developing country has a long term over-all development plan by which it seeks to transform the lives of its people so as to minimise the disparity between the rich and the poor, and to maximise the general standard of living, it must obviously eschew dependence upon international loan givers and the so-called aid from the capitalist nations. It must invest through assistance of the United Nations' Agencies and of friendly nations which share its ideological aspirations. But, above all, it must lay within its own frontiers the foundations of training for service by undertaking control measures in collaboration with the leading personnel in its institutions of technology, science and economics.

(Prof. Olumbe Bassir: Nigeria's development problem, *New Scientist*, London, 30 December 1971).

Voices on Democracy

From the Cape to Cairo there is now no true democracy left. In South Africa and Rhodesia the majority are disfranchised, in Zambia and Kenya Opposition parties are harried and persecuted, and everywhere else the people as such have scarcely any voice in the selection of their rulers...

Where we have General Elections, Africans have military coups. Perhaps the system is not so evil after all. Only the Army could have toppled the megalomaniac Nkrumah, and the Army would not have intervened now if Dr. Busia's stringent financial policies had not become unpopular...

If the rich nations really want to come to the aid of Africa, they should stop crying "One Man One Vote", and accept a financial sacrifice.

(David Brown in *The Sunday Telegraph*, London, 16 January 1972).

● Back home again Shaikh Mujib has hoisted his political colours. Bangla Desh will be a parliamentary democracy ruled by the majority party and with a titular President answerable to the advice of the Prime Minister...

A parliamentary as distinct from a presidential system on the American or the more recent French model is seen to have weaknesses in countries where political parties are a recent growth. Moreover Bangla Desh hardly inherits the precise political character of East Pakistan. Formed as part of a Muslim state it now emerges anew founded upon Bengali nationalism. While Shaikh

Mujib and his party disown ethnic or religious dominance, with their plea that the state is secular and must care for its minorities, the inescapable fact is that Bengali nationalism has created Bangla Desh and will continue to sustain it. This may increase rather than diminish the immediate political uncertainties, not to mention the economic deficiencies that have been piling up relentlessly ever since the natural disaster of the 1970 typhoon.

The case for a strong executive, with a president elected for a fixed term and not subject to parliamentary dismissal, should therefore be considered by the constituent assembly. If only for a limited number of years Bangla Desh will need the firm government that this system can provide...

It would be a pity if Bangla Desh added to its difficulties by adhering rigidly or dogmatically to a system that deprived its government of the firmness and continuity it most needs.

("Shaikh Mujib Takes office", *The Times*, 13 January, 1972).

On saying cheese

You recently stated that kosher cheese is made with rennet from a kosher animal. I understood that rennet was part of the animal's stomach and would therefore have been a meat product, whereas the remainder of the cheese constituents would be milk. Would you consider cheese made with a vegetable activator in place of rennet kosher?

There would certainly be less objection to cheese made with a vegetable activator than to cheese made with rennet from a trefa animal. (The reason why rennet from a kosher animal does not offend against the laws of meat and milk is extremely complicated and cannot be discussed in a short reply.) However, it is only right to point out that from the Talmudic sources it appears that the real objection to cheese made by non-Jews is in order to avoid a Jew having too close a relationship with Gentiles (who, in Talmudic times, were idolaters) and has nothing to do with kashrut. Very Orthodox Jews, therefore, who would argue that once a law has been promulgated it cannot be repealed, would not eat such cheese even if made with a vegetable activator. ("Aks the Rabbi", *Jewish Chronicle*, London, 7 January 1972).

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Corrigendum

We regret very much to have to say that in the first lead story yesterday (January 8, 1972) the sentence "But in Bangladesh the independence of which was achieved through the armed struggle and NOT through conspiracy", the word 'NOT' was omitted through an error in transcription. Action has been taken against the man responsible for it. (*Bangladesh Observer*, Dacca, 9 January 1972).

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'Bangladesh'. Sheikh Mujib said he had discussed with Mrs. Gandhi the possibility of joint consultation between India, Bangladesh and Pakistan on maintaining peace in the sub-continent, however, there was no question of any links with Pakistan. He indicated he might soon hold talks with President Bhutto and Mrs. Gandhi. He said, he was willing to accept international help in securing return of Bangalis living in Pakistan and cautioned "non-Bengali Muslims" that if they wish to continue to live in Bangladesh they must accept the Bengali language and culture. If they want to leave, there is no difficulty. ● Sheikh Mujib told an "All India Radio" correspondent that the time has come for the Asian countries to work unitedly for the economic prosperity of the region. ● Sheikh Mujib announced his decision to change the green and white Awami League flag which symbolised one Pakistan. He indicated that he will visit Calcutta early in February. ● The Constituent Assembly is likely to meet in Dacca by the middle of February. ● An order has been issued prohibiting serving of alcohol in official functions both at home and abroad. ● Rabin-dra Nath Tagore's "Amar Sonar Bangla" (My Golden Bengal) and Nazrul Islam's "Chal, Chal, Chal," (March on, March on, March on) have been adopted respectively as the national anthem and marching music.

Bulgaria. A study conducted by the Ministry of Justice in 1970 reports a divorce rate of 13.5% of the marriages solemnised in the country. The divorce coefficient for married people with degrees and higher education was higher as compared to those with only primary and secondary education. The relative percentages are as follows: medical and health service personnel 41.8%, trade workers etc. 28.9%, transport workers 21.1% and only 1.8% among peasants.

Egypt. Celebrations commemorating the millenary of the founding of Al-Azhar University are to begin early next year. ● A group of 2,500 workers will go to work in construction projects in Bulgaria. ● Egypt and Austria are to embark on a programme of cooperation between the Faculty of Catholic Theology at Innsbruck University and the Faculty of Islamic Theology and Law at Alazhar.

India. Foreign Secretary, Kaul, said developing good economic and political relations between India and Pakistan would be advantageous to both. ● Defence Minister, Jagjiwan Ram, declared that there was no question of withdrawal of Indian forces from the West Pakistan until a 'border' settlement had been reached. ● After a lapse of 12 years exports of raw jute to Britain has been resumed. India is also supplying jute to the Soviet Union and other East European countries.

Indonesia. Gen. Sumitro said the

danger of Communism does not come only from Moscow or Peking but can just as well come from Arab World, Western Europe or the USA. Since October 1965 the Indonesian intellectuals have turned towards the West but they forget that the West itself was going through a period of social frustrations. Indonesia, he said, must formulate and follow its own principles. ● The government has banned student organisations opposing Madame Suharto's £11m plans to build a Disneyland in Indonesia.

Iran. "Radio Iran Courier", said that after having followed "a comparatively neutral policy" during the recent events, the Iranian government, because of Imperialism, CENTO and the USA, refuses to recognise the government of 'Bangladesh'. Earlier during the crises Iranian officials did not openly express their inner feelings because of friendship with India, but a change was now called for.

Islamic Secretariat. The Second Conference of the Foreign Ministers of the Muslim States to be held in Jeddah from 29 February to 1 March is expected to adopt its charter, approve budget and project programmes. ● Tunku Abdul Rahman, while visiting Libya said that the defeats now being suffered by the Muslims at the hands of the Jews and Hindus and their maltreatment in the Philippines had arisen because they had abandoned the teachings of Islam.

'Israel'. Mrs. Golda Meir appealed to the Western Jews to join the emigration movement of the Soviet Jews because another million Jews in Israel might convince the Arabs of the futility of any future wars. ● Mrs. Meir declared that the Indo-Pakistan war had an exemplary lesson for Israel. We cannot anymore rely upon outside guarantees, because while the Security Council was talking, people were being killed day and night. ● Israel received a high-power delegation of Indian businessmen sponsored by Indian Agro-Industries Foundation. Agreement was reached on 3 joint projects. The delegation included the director of the Burma Shell and an American from the Ford Foundation. The Indian Foundation includes among its patrons India's Finance Minister and the visit was sanctioned by the Government of India.

Jerusalem. The City Council has decided to effect reduction in the Muslim population of the old city because 'they are living in insanitary and over-crowded conditions.' At the time of the Israeli occupation in 1967 about 44,000 Muslims lived in the old city and the decision involves the removal of 15,000 i.e. more than 33%.

Morocco. Trade exchange with the USSR has reached 60m Roubles—i.e. 4 times more since 1956.

Pakistan. The Soviet Union is resuming supply of machinery in-

terrupted during the war. ● The King of Iran paid a 6-hour visit to Rawalpindi on 8 January and held talks with President Bhutto. ● On 11 January President Bhutto paid an unscheduled visit to Kabul and held talks with King Zahir Shah. Later it was officially denied that Pakistan is willing to accept a 4-year old Soviet offer of a multinational pact. Such statement had earlier been attributed to a senior Pakistani Foreign Ministry Official in reports published in Tokyo and Washington. ● The pro-Moscow National Awami Party of Pakistan has called for the establishment of a confederation between India, Pakistan and Bangladesh. ● President Bhutto said Pakistan wants peace and is prepared to negotiate with India. He will also continue his approach to Sheikh Mujib, though it does not mean that Sheikh Mujib will readily agree to what he says. ● *The Times*, London, in an editorial on 19 Jan. commended President Bhutto's realism "behind intransigent words" and said there was a need also to realise the importance of India at the peak of the new triangle in the sub-continent. Even the battle over Kashmir could be less charged now if looked at through new eyes of realism. President Bhutto has helped to create and can mould the public opinion in Pakistan to accept and even welcome a settlement with India. ● President Bhutto welcomed Sheikh Mujib's statement that he would take over West Pakistan and said he was willing to step aside and hand over to Sheikh Mujib if that is required to preserve the oneness of Pakistan. Sheikh Mujib: "I do not want Pakistan". ● The Finance Minister, warned businessmen who had failed to respond to government's call to declare their foreign exchange assets held abroad. Only Rs. 120m have so far been declared; similar calls made by Ayub and Yahya Khan had brought in Rs. 170m and Rs. 290m respectively. ● The Law Minister has been asked to prepare the draft of a new constitution and suggest withdrawal of as many Martial Law regulations as necessary. ● Chief Justice, Hamoodur Rahman, Chairman of the Commission appointed to probe the surrender of Pakistani forces said they were still "bogged-down by red-tapism". While they have started functioning, financial orders are yet to be received. The Commission opened its inquiry on 17 January. ● Newspaper editors in Karachi have demanded immediate repeal of all the oppressive Press laws.

Philippines. An 'Ilaga' band murdered an Imam in Devao in South Philippines. ● The Philippines government have invited ambassadors from nine Muslim countries to visit Mindanao island and "see for themselves the real condition of Filipino Muslims there".

Saudi Arabia. Plans are afoot to construct additional pilgrimage roads at a cost of SR30m. ● United Nations is to provide a number of experts for town planning at a

counter-part cost of SR6m. ● First population census is to be conducted in the country within the next 4 years. ● To promote cultural ties with Arab and Muslim countries, the Ministry of Education is offering 700 scholarships to Arab and Muslim students. ● A sum of SR 1.13m for Pakistan relief was collected at meetings organised by the Muslim World League in Mecca and Jeddah. ● Aramco has donated \$50,000 to set up an English language laboratory in Mecca.

South Yemen. Work has started on building a cigarette factory

Sudan. President Numayri said his country is committed to joining the Arab Federation but it "may take years". ● Sudan is to barter £1.5m worth of goods with Ethiopia.

Tunisia. Mobil Oil had been licensed to explore for oil in the Shatt al Jarid and in central-southern region.

Turkey. The Labour Minister said that unemployment has reached a level of 6% of the population and that some of the problems of Turkish workers employed abroad concerned the integrity of the State. The Ministry lacked the means to provide services for the workers employed abroad, and it would be more suitable to discuss the situation in a secret session of the Parliament.

Uganda. The government proposes to invite religious scholars from Egypt and other countries for educating Ugandan Muslims.

Zambia. Dr. Kaunda denied having said that the failure of a few Zambian clergymen is the failure of the entire Church, he however, wanted the Church to change orientation in keeping with the sovereignty of the State.

PEOPLE

H. Johnson, American boxer who accompanied Mohammed Ali during his visit to Saudi Arabia has embraced Islam. ● Faruk Berkol, 54, Turkish diplomat Asst. U.N. Secretary General with responsibility for disaster relief. ● Dr. Aziz Sidky, 51 Egypt's Minister for Industry has succeeded Dr. Mahmoud Fawzy, 72, as Prime Minister. Dr. Fawzy became Vice-President. Mr. Murad Ghalib has replaced Mr. Mahmoud Riad as the Egyptian Foreign Minister. ● Mr. Joseph Green replaces Mr. Donald Burgess as the head of the American mission in Cairo. ● Mr. Robert McNamara, re-elected President of the World Bank for next 5 years. ● Mr. J. N. Dikshit appointed acting Head of the Indian Mission in Dacca.

VISITS

President Amin of Uganda to Mecca and Medina. ● Ziauddin Babakhanov, Mufti of Tashkent to Egypt. ● President Iryani of Yemen to Paris for medical treatment. ● King Haile Selassie to Cairo. ● President Siyad of Somalia to Libya. ● Mr. Inrullah Khan, Secretary General, Motamar Alam-e-Islami to London. ● Crown Prince Hasan of Jordan to Pakistan. ● Dr. Abdul Kader Hatim invited to attend opening of Tut Ankhamun exhibition in London in March. ● President Podgorny of Russia to Turkey in April.

DIED

Dr. Terfik Aras, 79, Turkish Foreign Minister from 1925-38 under Atatürk. ● M. B. K. Batangi, poet and editor of the London Urdu monthly, *Afaq*. ● Chen Yi, 71, China's Foreign Minister, 1958-69. ● Sheikh Muhammad Sourouf Al-Sabban, 75, Secretary General, Muslim World League, in Cairo on 18 January.