

impact

international fortnightly

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**IN EGYPT
experiencing
democracy
experiencing
problems**

The brinkmanship game in Egypt is coming to an end. President Sadat's visit to Moscow in the midst of an unsettled situation at home has emphasised in whose hands the strings of power and decision really are. Sadat is helpless in a crisis largely of his own making and is now in a sort of cul-de-sac. Both at home and abroad he has lost credibility on many counts and is preoccupying the Egyptian people with a set of promises or scares of the "inevitable battle" and the "comprehensive confrontation".

True, Sadat is in a difficult position. He is the inheritor of a situation and policy riddled with inconsistencies and contradictions. He has been unable to mix the calls for war and the persistent efforts for peace with the same consummate skill of his predecessor. He has attempted or been forced to pursue the same aims of his mentor but has tried to vary the methods. Since last May he has been striving to build up a new system of government. He has purged the former regime of its chief lieutenants and attempted to institutionalise everything in

contrast to Nasser's more personal style of government. He has reorganised the Arab Socialist Union—though its new First Secretary is a major butt for criticism—and created a system of presidential advisers. And of the utmost importance, he has attempted to liberalise the police state. As in all such circumstances the attempts have threatened to open the floodgates of criticism.

Although the process has not gone very far, open indeed were the floodgates as students came out for the first time under Sadat in open defiance and criticism of his rule. They were heartily fed up with the excuses and the prevarications. They were strongly critical of Egypt's dependence on the Soviet Union—Sadat's "only friend". They demanded a rejection of all submissive solutions, the Security Council resolution of November 1967 and bargaining over partial withdrawal. They wanted a full mobilisation against Israel, a free press, the removal of Mr. Haykal as editor of Al-Ahram, who has been cashing in on his close association with Nasser and pulling the wool over the people's eyes.

It is indeed perplexing to understand why it is that Sadat who has made many useful and sound policy decisions on the home front like the reduction in prices of important consumer needs should now be bartering away all the advantage he might have gained by hollow battle talk. He knows that the Soviet Union would never back Egypt to the hilt in any confrontation with Israel, that its help in terms of arms has been paltry compared with what the USA has given to Israel. The choice with Sadat, if he has any, is not with Moscow. Perhaps he needs to realise that in order to liberate the occupied lands, it is necessary for him to liberate the people first. As the 'father' of the Egyptian people—all 34 million of them—he has been less than kind to his children. For him to claim that the disturbances last month was the work of a small clique or the result of a generation gap or that it was the work of some outside force is hardly facing up to the fuller realities of the situation. And to brand those responsible as belonging to the "committee of national treason" is a crude way of shifting the blame from his own self. In the short run of course he has taken the steam out of the protest by

sending a few hundred of the students to the front.

It is significant that the students received great support from teachers and lecturers: one calling for clemency on behalf of the imprisoned students did so on the grounds that "they went astray because they are experiencing democracy after a long period of oppression". This period has not yet ended. The student unions as other bodies are riddled with government spies. Censorship still exists and there are journalists who have now been spurred on to call for the lifting of censorship which the Information Minister had said no longer existed. Is it expediency to make pronouncements like this or can it also be called dishonesty?

If the Egyptian leadership were honest with themselves and with the people, perhaps the situation might not be in such a mess. Egypt has problems. The home front is far from stable. It is a country crippled by a wartime economy; much of the nation's manpower is taken up by the Army (since 1967 conscripts have had no prospect of leaving the forces until the 'problem' is settled); it has lost the Suez Canal and some of its industrial towns; its birth rate grows at almost a million more people a year.

In the face of its weaknesses it is sheer tragedy to continue to shout for war and to make public plans for putting the country on a war footing as the newly formed cabinet under Dr Aziz Sidqi is supposed to do. The students who have risen up are as patriotic as the leadership but they too appear to be short-sighted in calling for all-out, immediate war. They can perhaps take saner advice from the pro-Egyptian paper in Lebanon which wrote: "it is not important when the Arabs went to war with Israel, but that they should win the war when they did go. They should make all the necessary preparation never mind how long they required." One may wonder whether President Sadat himself recognised the full import of a question he asked in a meeting with the students at the Abidin Palace on 25 January in trying to appreciate why the upheavals did take place. He asked: "How is it that the domestic front was not ready and yet we still decided to fight?"

Survey

SOUTHERN SUDAN • LIBYA • BANGLADESH GENOCIDE

Southern Sudan, from Autonomy to Separatism

Why Ethiopia should be chosen for the first meeting of the U.N. Security Council outside its H.Q. is a matter over which an eyebrow or two may be raised. Why Emperor Haile Selassie should be awarded the U.N. prize for peace is another very ironic matter—just like the granting of the honorary doctorate of law to Lee Kuan Yew the Singapore P.M. who flouts the conventions of law in his own country.

The ways of diplomats and statesmen are strange. If peace and security, not pacification and posturing, were the objectives, the gathering in Addis Ababa might have drawn attention to a problem at its doorsteps—the problems of the Eritreans who have been brought forcibly into Ethiopia and denied the basic elements of security and freedom. Instead, one of the problems which has been highlighted is that of the Southern Sudan.

With the arrangement of the World Council of Churches, the first direct talks between the Sudanese government and the Southern Sudan rebel movement—the Anyanya—were held in Addis Ababa last week. The pressures for this meeting have been going on for some time and it is noticeable incidentally that President Numeiry in spite of much internal criticisms has not been coming up for scrutiny recently in the media of the West.

The demand for autonomy on behalf of the Southern Sudanese is not however an unusual or unreasonable one. For a country guided by Muslim principles—and this is not to say that Sudan is so guided—the right of a separate *millat* to run its internal affairs is an automatic one, and in this light the southern problem should not really be a problem. But difficulties arise with the concept of the modern nation-state and its dealings with minorities. The situation becomes further complicated when outside interests—like the World Council of Churches under a benign banner—are intent on creating separatism.

The problem has been created and put on the boil ever since the time of the British control of the Sudan when the South was administered separately. "All methods were used to 'protect' the South from the influence of the Muslim Arabs in the North. The people from the North were prevented from going and contacting their fellow countrymen in the South. The movement of the population for work, tourism, education and trade was restricted. Special permission was needed to move from one part to another. The use of Arabic script was banned in the South. Tribal language was encouraged and English was imposed as the language of the intelligentsia. Education was im-

parted by the missionaries. Southerners who were Muslims or belonged to any faith other than Christianity were faced with two alternatives: either to educate their children and face the prospect of their being Christianised or not to let them go the missionary schools and therefore make them lose the chance of any education, better economic and social prospects in the future. A lot of distorted history dictated from the European and missionary point of view was fed to the children of the southerners. This was a time bomb; it produced two cultures and peoples with completely opposite and opposing views of the same society and country". (*Impact* No. 8, 'From Crucible to Centrifuge'.)

This time bomb exploded in the rebellion which has been active for the past 17 years. It is now hoped to take the steam out of it by granting autonomy to the region, by freeing southern detainees and generally bringing peace to the region.

There is now even talk of a federated Sudan made up of four areas—the East, the West, the North and the South. The centrifuge will then be fully in operation. Autonomy is one thing. Dismemberment and disintegration are another. Where the World Council of Churches did not succeed in Biafra, they might well succeed in the Sudan.

Libya - the problem of *hurriya*

The question as to which came first, the degeneration of the media or the society is no different than the old biological puzzle about eggs and chicken, but it did serve to highlight the closeness and inseparability of the two. And from this flows the really stubborn problem of dealing with press freedom in a situation where the press may wholly or partly be regarded as having become both part and instrument of social deformation. The two choices so far available were between communistic control or capitalistic permissiveness, and neither helped to solve the real problem.

In Libya, it seems, President Qadhafi is facing difficulties with the imperialistic carry-overs in the country's press and he has ordered a wholesale trial of all the editors on charges of corrupting public opinion. Even if one accepted the prosecution case in toto, the whole exercise would seem to be self-defeating. While there is full sympathy with the supreme need of preserving the country's cultural and political boundaries, the object cannot be achieved through coercion. Apart from the fact that no individual or institution was infallible and admitting that there was

always a certain liability of misuse, the inculcation and promotion of the spirit of *hurriya*—true freedom—amongst the people was the greatest safeguard for the integrity of a nation. A society which has been and continues to be subject to fissiparous colonial and post-colonial pressures needed to undergo a long and patient process of educational and moral reconstruction. And this really is the challenge for the Libyan leadership. In fact Islamic revolution is far quicker to achieve and more lasting than all the spurious namesakes because it came through the hearts rather than over the heads of the people.

Bangladesh genocide?

It seems that what Sheikh Mujib had told a private meeting of the Bangladesh officials in London's Claridges Hotel on the midnight of 8/9 January, he now really intended to carry that out to its literal abominability. Hardly more than 24 hours out of Pakistani prison and with exaggerated and inflammatory briefings by his supporters about the atrocities perpetrated on his people by the Biharis and the East Pakistani "collaborators", he had allowed himself to be worked up enough to say that he was going to show no mercy and would mash them up. Ironically it was for the Indian High Commissioner, who was also present then, to advise against the use of such indiscreet language. He could do as he wished but there was no need to be so undiplomatic.

After having achieved his life's ambition, it would have been both graceful and expedient for Sheikh Mujib to liberate himself from the unhappy nostalgias and proceed to face the real challenges which confronted his new and nascent nation, but as recent events tend to show, such humanity and common sense was too tall an order on his statesmanship. Only last month, Sheikh Mujib had warned his 'non-Bengali' citizens that "if they continue to wish to live, they must accept the Bangali language and culture (but) if they wanted to leave, there is no difficulty." It would have been more helpful in this case to lay down a pro-forma definition of Bengali culture so as to include not only Mujib and Moni Singh but also those people of Assam who had voted in a referendum in 1947 to join Pakistan. Anyway, though utterly repugnant to the very concept of Fundamental Human Rights, the demand was far more sensible than what Sheikh Mujib told a British TV correspondent only last week that he regarded all the Biharis as culprits whose crime in fact was that they had been loyal to one Pakistan. This was a crime of which

Survey

PAKISTAN NON-POLICY • TEACHING IGNORANCE • RHODESIA FOR SMITH

even Sheikh Mujib had been a culprit until his formal renunciation of Pakistan on 10 January. One does not know what plea he had taken at his trial but he certainly did not plead guilty to the charge of treason and waging war against Pakistan.

Since the newsmen and even the International Red Cross have been unable or unwilling to observe and report on the situation, it is difficult to say with certainty as to the extent of the killings which might already have taken place. Private and independent reports suggest that most of the isolated and small pockets of the non-Bengali population had been eliminated during the first 2-3 weeks of Indian occupation. The present troubles concern the larger concentrations who have since been living a life of siege and fear. The object of the Bangladesh authorities is ostensibly to disarm these people and one should say that except for the indecent rush there was nothing as such wrong with this. After the surrender of the 80,000 trained soldiers, it would be childish to feel fearful and regard them as a danger to the security of Bangladesh. The sensible course was to create conditions of peace and confidence before rushing to take this kind of army action. Even the Indians were considerate enough not to disarm the Pakistani soldiers before having completed arrangements for their security.

From whatever news that has appeared in the international press, it seems that the Bangladesh forces are engaged in clearing the Mirpur enclaves and Mohamadpur sector by sector and removing the whole lot of population to a sort of concentration camp. In this process, houses have been blown up and if the official figures of more than 100 Bangladesh troops killed provided any index, one could only guess the true extent of the Bihari civilian casualties. Flood supplies and even medicines and children's food have been barred from going in to these areas.

While this goes on, the whole international community including the Muslim World is sitting mute and unconcerned. The statement of Mr. Roy Jenkin's Deputy Leader of the British Labour Party, that the only solution to the problem was the repatriation of the non-Bengali Muslims to West Pakistan provided a clue to thinking in Dacca. All this killing was perhaps designed to make it inevitable. No doubt those who so wished, should have the freedom to go but it would be an exceptionally sad and shameful chapter in Muslim history when some Muslims were either reduced to a minority status in a predominantly Muslim state or made to flee from it. Apart from the long term effects it must produce, even in the immediate context it may delay the withdrawal of the Indian Army and

thereby the emergence of a *Swadhin* Bangladesh—Independent Bangladesh.

Pakistan - Hallestine Doctrine in reverse

The Pakistani variant of Hallstine Doctrine is one development in international relations which even most sympathetic observers find it hard to understand and explain.

On 28 December, President Bhutto had contradicted reports in a section of the world press that Pakistan intended applying Hallestine Doctrine i.e. breaking relations with those countries which recognised Bangladesh. This, he said, was too presumptuous for an under-developed country to talk about, but "we shall take counter-measures if any precipitate and unwanted step is taken in this direction" i.e. the recognition of Bangladesh.

Since then, with the notable exception of China, USA and the Muslim countries (Indonesia excepted) more than 50 countries including Soviet Russia have recognised Bangladesh. The rest are expected to follow suit in due course. In reaction, Pakistan has broken relations with some small countries and left the Commonwealth, while diplomatic relations with Britain, USSR and a large number of other countries continue to be maintained in the same old spirit of *entente*. This diplomatic debacle is no less unfortunate than that in the military field. May be it is in Pakistan's diplomatic ineptness that one can find the major cause for her recent discomfiture.

It is important for Pakistan's foreign policy planners to come out with a clearly defined and logical foreign policy. What exactly are their aims towards 'Bangladesh'? Do they see it as another Israel or want to follow the erstwhile US policy of not seeing China or regard it as an estranged but still to be loved brother? Instead of persisting with the old habit of looking towards outside powers for "understanding, patience and support", Pakistan should be able to formulate its own policy. The present non-policy is likely to lead nowhere.

"Teachers World" of ignorance and prejudice

An article on Islam giving background material and source readings for teachers in junior and middle schools in Britain appeared in the 14 January of the *Teachers World*. The article is written with the clear awareness that there are a great number of Muslim pupils in British schools.

Although it ends with a call for discussion between "Moslem and Christian pupils" which would "give them insight not only into their differences but into their common religious heritage", the article can hardly be said to encourage an understanding of Islam and the Muslim peoples. If anything the effect of it would be to destroy the progress which has been and is being made to secure an understanding in the field of inter-religious cooperation. There have been many advances in the field and many attempts made to destroy the centuries old prejudices held in the West against Islam. The article has gone against the very grain of this trend and instead of bringing about enlightenment would perpetuate ignorance. One serious result would be the undermining of whatever faith and attachment the Muslim child would have for Islam and create in him a feeling of shame for his religion and traditions. In this sense the article is a very base form of cultural suppression.

From the beginning almost every line of the article is filled with inaccuracies, innuendos and unfavourable comparisons. Two examples would suffice: "Muhammad became very powerful in Medina, and enforced his beliefs by outlawing those who disagreed with him. He roused his followers to a Holy War against the Jews of the town murdering over six hundred of them and selling their wives and children into slavery." "The story of Muhammad may puzzle those of your pupils who have been taught the life of Jesus. Where Jesus preached love and forgiveness, Muhammad persecuted unbelievers and waged war; where Jesus was unpolitical, Muhammad founded a state; where Jesus ended his days as the victim of persecution, Muhammad died at the peak of his temporal power. Perhaps they find a paradox in the man of God succeeding in worldly matters. Those of your pupils who are Moslems may find the teachings of Jesus equally strange." One illustration to the article is captioned "The Moslems were encouraged to fight with promises of heaven after death. The other, depicting Muhammad and the Angel Gabriel would certainly be most offending to the Muslims.

Here a detailed discussion of the article cannot be entered into. The writer was obviously familiar with the subject but in the attempt to make it attractive has sacrificed truth and fairness. Educationists may have certain specific aims to pursue. For example, the recent conference in Cambridge on the Preservation of Academic Standards listed as one of the aims of British primary education the passing on of Greek-Jewish-Christian concepts and traditions. Does the passing on of these traditions imply a derogation from truth and fairness so far as other traditions are concerned?

Primary Education in Britain . . . strides, changes and pressures

A. W. HAMID

One cannot but be impressed (in the most neutral sense of the word) by the great strides and changes which have taken place in British primary education. It has certainly come a long way from the straight-laced methods and content of the last century, from the bursary pupil teacher system, the learning by rote and the concentration on the three R's. Now we have the 'Look and See' and the phonetic method of reading, mathematics in games and such liberating enlargements of the syllabus by the inclusion of subjects like French and sex education. There is a great spirit of experimentation aimed at taking the drudgery out of learning. The emphasis now is on the pleasure of learning and the developing of each individual's special needs, interests and capabilities.

But some of the changes which have taken place are more and more being put under scrutiny and it looks like the present state of primary education is in the throes of a great crisis. Echoes of this crisis are sometimes heard when many parents and educationists note with alarm the great percentage of children who finish primary school without knowing how to read, when the number of schools for the educationally sub-normal (ESN) increase and when the general complaint is made that the child leaving primary school for secondary school enters a completely new and strange world for which it is little prepared. This was well brought out by the recent conference which was held at Cambridge on the Preservation of Academic Standards, though the criticism was more of the "middle class" values which permeated secondary school education.

It seems more and more that there has been an excessive amount of experimentation without a proper appreciation of possible effects and consequences. In the liberal atmosphere which generally prevails any idea which is put forward is accepted as being worthy of trying out, sometimes for its own sake. It is often very late before a fallacy is recognised as such and then when it is realised the damage can already be quite great. There cannot be a simple going back to the original state of things and there is a great amount of uncertainty as to how to proceed. The 11-plus examinations came and went and no clear-cut alternative has emerged. Corporal punishment is being slowly abolished, there are calls for other sanctions to replace it and in the meantime while nothing is being done discipline in schools deteriorate to the point where it is difficult to impart any knowledge and teachers in turn suffer physically. School

buildings are being redesigned often to provide essential services and a proper atmosphere but also in line with some new concepts which have not been properly tried out—like the Open Plan school. And so on. Many of the changes made have been necessary ones. Some limits had to be placed on the arbitrary and automatic use of the cane. More emphasis needed to be given to individual development. Syllabuses ought to reflect some of the advances which are being constantly made in man's knowledge and on the whole the pioneering and forward looking spirit ought to be there.

One may, however, be right in concluding that sometimes the call for change resembles an anarchy and even a blind nihilism which is non-productive and even counter-productive of some of the aims of education. In deed the crisis really lies in the lack of clarity and definition with regard to the aims themselves of education. The result is that teachers and educationists become bogged down with issues in their separateness and not in relation to the overall demands of education. Sex education perhaps is a case in point. From the clamour which has enveloped this issue right from the beginning, one got the impression that there wasn't anything else to be taught in schools. The clamour represented a swing from a rigid puritanism to an attitude of "no holds barred". Both positions are extremes and perhaps untenable. In the present stage there is on the one hand the call for natural development of the child and on the other there is the unnatural forcing down of the process of procreation even onto six year olds with a haste and fury which are born of adult obsessions with the subject or possibly with the unnatural pressures of urban mechanised society.

A look at the proposed resolutions for the teachers conference to be held in Easter at Blackpool shows up some of the dilemmas which are being faced. In the important field of religious education, for example, change is certainly needed but some of the proposals being made would merely lead to a great confusion and uncertainty. Since the bias in most schools is towards the Christian faith one would agree that the present compulsory element should be removed from the daily act of worship. But the prominent solutions being put forward—i.e. of no religious instructions at all or of eclectic moral and philosophical teachings—are far from satisfactory. In the solutions put forward consideration needs to be given to the

pluralistic nature of British society and the best solution would be the one giving autonomy to people of different religious persuasions.

Autonomy and separation are being enforced in areas where there seems to be no need for it. Such perhaps is the case with the creation of ESN schools which are more and more becoming synonymous with schools for immigrant children. Terrible injustices are created in the name of special development and from this problem alone we see in what great a crisis the primary education system in this country is. Changes are pushed forward on ill-founded and half-baked theories and often the price paid by the children themselves is incalculable.

The situation is certainly in a state of flux as can be seen too by the arguments for and against the Open Plan system of education. The system places an inordinately high amount of responsibility and initiative on the young children themselves who are expected to behave as adults. Also a terrible burden is placed on many teachers to the extent that there is grave worry about the health, both mental and physical, of the teacher. The Open Plan system is closely allied to the abandoning of the formal syllabus in schools with the result that a teacher however imaginative is often hard pressed to find suitable subjects and material to keep the child occupied. Often a child is left for months on end with hardly much to do except a project of its own choice. This lack of a syllabus is compensated for to some extent by the use of excellent television and radio programmes and other audio-visual aids. But on the whole it may be true to say that there is far too much looseness parading in the guise of freedom, independence and natural development.

The implications are serious for the other strata of the education system. What is disturbing too is that many of the changes and experimentation which are taking place are almost instantly reflected in changes in other countries, particularly commonwealth ones. When the system here says 11-plus, it is 11-plus; when it is Open Plan schools here, it is Open Plan schools everywhere. And it is the same with such things as corporal punishment, sex education, the abolishing of tests and such seemingly trivial matters as school uniforms. The automatic adoption elsewhere of the changes and the *volte faces* which are taking place here shows up how great still is the imitative genius of the former colonized peoples.

PRIMARY EDUCATION IN BRITAIN . . .

Motion to be discussed at the Annual Conference of the National Union of Teachers to be held at Blackpool during Easter

Corporal punishment

23. Conference affirms its desire to secure the abolition of corporal punishment in all schools at the earliest possible opportunity. To this end it urges that negotiations be initiated immediately at both national and county level with other professional organisations and with education authorities to secure abolition within the next twelve months.—*W. London*

Discipline in schools and truancy

25. Conference draws the attention of HM Government to the increasing threat to the education of many children caused by truancy.

It calls upon the Secretary of State for Education and Science, LEAs and magistrates to investigate this serious problem and to devise more effective methods to combat it.—*Sheffield*

26. Conference, believing that conventional discipline in schools is threatened by the different and unexplored pressures on children of modern society, demands as a matter of utmost urgency that the Executive implements the following recommendations:-

- (a) to adopt a policy of opposition to any further increase in the size of schools above a roll number of 2,000;
- (b) to increase efforts for the provision of adequate teacher staffing in all schools to reduce class size, and to press for extra provision in EPAs and schools of special difficulty;
- (c) to make it a matter of urgency to supply full supportive educational welfare, psychiatric and counselling services, including greater facilities for centres of special and remedial care;
- (d) to press LEAs for an increase in the provision of ancillary staff to liberate teachers for more educational and welfare work in the schools;
- (e) to conduct a survey into the causes and statistics of truancy and into possible recommendations for suitable curative treatment in cases of consistent truancy.

Finally, since the negative effects of physical violence are commonly disparaged, Conference urges the immediate abolition of corporal punishment in all schools and the provision of facilities to make alternative educational sanctions possible.—*Lewisham*

Immigrant children in E.S.N. Schools

42. Conference is concerned at the fact that disproportionately large numbers of immigrant pupils have been

transferred to schools for ESN children and believes:-

- (a) that the educational and social problems of most immigrant children should be dealt with in the conditions prevailing in normal primary and secondary Schools, and not in special schools,
- (b) that the use of "verbal reasoning" and similar testing methods are inappropriate and ineffective in the selection of pupils for transfer.

Conference urges therefore that local authorities take speedy steps to increase the provision, in all schools, of smaller classes, more classrooms, more teachers, better all-round school conditions to meet the present situation and stresses particularly the need to expand the provision of special facilities for the youngest children, including those below school entrance age.

—*Lambeth.*

Mass media

53. Conference believes that the work of the schools in setting standards of good behaviour and expression is being largely neutralised by the vulgar, harmful, and amoral character of many television programmes, and calls on the Government to set up an enquiry into the control and production of such programmes.—*Flint and Holywell.*

Open plan schools

65. Conference instructs the Executive to set up a Working Party to investigate the educational advantages and disadvantages of Open Plan schools and prepare recommendations for future Union policy on this matter. The Working Party in its investigation should include:-

- (a) opinions based upon the experience of teachers in existing Open Plan schools. These should cover potentials, limitations and defects, and a comparison of educational advantages and disadvantages of Open Plan schools with modern schools built to a conventional design;
- (b) a report upon the training facilities offered by Colleges of Education, Universities and Polytechnics Departments of Education and Teachers' Centres for teaching in Open Plan schools;
- (c) the views of the Union's Advisory Committees, LEA's, architects and parents.—

Winsford, Cheshire County, Huntingdon and Peterborough County.

66. Conference notes the growth of open plan primary schools and open

plan departments in secondary schools and asks that the Secretary of State for Education and Science should instigate a full inquiry into these on two accounts:-

- (a) the effect that this type of building has upon the educational attainments of the child and
- (b) the effect that teaching in this type of school building has upon the health of the teacher.

Such an investigation should be carried out before even larger numbers of these schools are erected.—*Chesterfield.*

Raising of school leaving age

84. Conference instructs the Executive to withdraw support for the raising of the school leaving age in view of the changed and continually changing circumstances, which include the fact that any child can stay at school voluntarily, that unwilling pupils will hinder the progress of others, that there is a shortage of accommodation and that resources could be better used for other educational needs.—*Tiverton.*

85. Conference condemns the lack of action on the part of the Executive in allowing proposals for raising the compulsory school leaving age to go forward without raising objections on the grounds that:-

- (a) insufficient finance has been made available;
- (b) insufficient teachers are available;
- (c) no proper provision has yet been made in curriculum development;
- (d) problems of truancy and delinquency will increase beyond reasonable bounds in many schools.

It calls upon the Executive to work with other teachers' organisations in an attempt to secure a more reasonable settlement.—*Barking.*

86. Conference welcomes the raising of the school leaving age and instructs the Executive to be unremitting in its campaign to secure from the Government greater financial resources in the form of books, material, and equipment for the raising of the school leaving age in order to make the reform a success.—*Reading, Swadlincote.*

Religious education

87. Conference supports the replacement of compulsory religious education in schools by lessons in which pupils would become acquainted with a wide spectrum of moral and philosophical thought, religious and non-religious.

Conference also affirms that the compulsory element be removed from the daily act of worship.—*Bristol.*

Pakistan — reflections on the betrayal of an ideal

M. A. HUSSEIN MULLICK

The news of the unconditional surrender in Dacca on December 16, 1971 struck the Pakistani nation like a great tornado of humiliation and tragedy. Pakistan, for which Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah, the founder, and other Muslim leaders had worked for decades and that had cost the young nation more than a million dead during the Partition-massacres, now lay divided. The Country's Eastern region, comprising 15 and 55 per cent of its total area and population respectively had fallen to the invading Indian army. The worst had befallen the world's largest Islamic republic. The prophetic warning given by the Quaid in his farewell message to East Pakistan on March 28, 1948, had come true, word by word. He had then forewarned:

"If we begin to think of ourselves as Bengalis, Punjabis, Sindhis, etc. first and Muslims and Pakistanis only incidentally, then Pakistan is bound to disintegrate. Do not think that this is some abstruse proposition: our enemies are fully alive to its possibilities which I must warn you they are already busy exploiting."

Though it seems tenable that "Bangalism" plus India's intrigues triggered the whole tragedy, one cannot ignore that there were other factors too.

The seeds of the present tragedy were in fact long sown during the early years of Pakistan. The passing away of the two great leaders, the Quaid-i-Azam in 1948 and Liaquat Ali Khan, the first Prime Minister, in 1951, left the country with a leadership vacuum. Instead of building up the country along lines of social, intellectual and economic emancipation of the common folk, the new leadership, barring few exceptions, turned opportunist. The élan for progress, for economic independence from India, for a respectable place in the comity of nations, was used, not so much to serve the poor and the most faithful, but to enrich the already rich, to strengthen the already strong and to suppress the already down-trodden.

The rising national wealth meant creating more and more millions for more and more millionaires: The new order became the anti-thesis of the very ideals and goals from which Pakistan had drawn its very *raison d'être*. Democracy was eulogized (not that the rulers were keen to practise it) simply because it was good manners on the part of politicians. The country remained deprived of an elected government for full twenty-four years (1947-71). On the social and economic fronts, the situation was no better either. The guarantee of providing a socially equitable order did not go beyond a paragraph in the 1956 constitution of the country. It read:

"The State shall endeavour to secure the well-being of the people, . . . by preventing the concentration of wealth and means of production and distribution in the hands of a few to the detriment of the interest of the common man, and by ensuring equitable adjustment of rights between employers and employees, and landlords and tenants . . ."

President Ayub Khan (Oct. 1958-March 1969) who sought to justify the imposition of Martial law in the interest of the social and economic uplift of the masses, did not go beyond accomplishing some marginalities here and there. Moderate land reforms were introduced, and, along with them, some educational facilities were extended to poor boys and girls on merit basis. President Ayub, like his predecessors, promised social justice, but offered rising inequalities and big promises: "To the patriots and the law abiding, I promise you will be happier and freer." (Presidential Order, October 7, 1958). "I undertake to adopt all practical means to raise the income of the common man so as to reduce the disparity between the rich and the poor." (President's Manifesto, March 23, 1965).

To those who are aware of the achievements of the Ayub regime will have to admit that higher GNP growth rates followed rising gaps between the haves and the have-nots; stringent control of the state affairs provided short-term stability, but it deprived the masses of their association with the government. In course of time an iron curtain was hung between the rulers and the ruled. The Pakistan that was carved out in the sub-continent to serve as a model state for the Muslims of the world, apart from serving the Mussalmans of Hindustan, was gradually turned into a handmaiden of a small coterie of men, including among them feudal lords, civil servants, military generals and last, but not the least, the new and flourishing industrialists in Karachi, in Lyallpur, in Dacca and in Narayanganj. Military, civil and even police officers were given top posts in economic corporations and scientific institutions for which they had neither the experience nor the specialised skills. It was this group which *de facto* ruled Pakistan, created huge gulfs between the few rich and the many poor, and neglected a balanced and accelerated economic development in East Pakistan. The common man in both East and West Pakistan suffered exploitation at their hands. The business community did not share regional loyalties. They made profits wherever they could find them. The much publicised "22 families" among them, Adamjees, Dawoods, Valikas, Saigols accumulated over the years—since

independence—enormous wealth. It is reported, "these families owned or controlled 66 per cent of Pakistan's industry, some 80 per cent of its banking and insurance, and vast tracts of the country's best farmland". The story does not end here: these families were able to build up huge funds in foreign countries through under-invoicing of exports and through other means. Rough estimates place the amount of their capital held abroad at between 300 to 500 million dollars—an amount sufficient to finance the installation of a large steel plant or—pay for six months of imports for a united Pakistan. This is how the daily *Dawn*, Karachi, wrote in its editorial of December 21 1971, the day after Mr. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto took over as President:

"This long period of military rule for over 13 years has been characterised by the virtual suspension of the political process, the usurpation of the policy-making functions by bureaucrats, the absence of accountability at almost all levels of government, and the loss of impairment of civil liberties and the freedom of expression."

Protected by this order of things, the rulers misused their privileges and "it became a seditious act for anybody to seek to interpret the wishes of the people in a different manner or voice a discordant note."

The name of Islam was used not to accomplish something qualitative for the poor but to strengthen the power of the exploiters, in a society already run by the laws of disequalizing forces. In this pursuit of robbery by the ruling groups, the noble spirit and the great goals that once led to the creation of a homeland for the Indian Mussalmans were buried.

Because of non-democratic governments, the people of Pakistan could neither see the nation's strength nor could they know its weaker spots. The real picture emerged only when Pakistani forces laid down their arms in East Pakistan. This unfortunate tragedy took place despite the military government's continued posture over all these years that they would not fail to defend the integrity of Pakistan. Fail they did and much to the disgrace of and tragic cost to the once proud young nation. How awful it is that "they surrendered to the enemy but did not yield to 'their own' people. To them (the military autocrats) personal pride 'meant more' than the honour of the country."

Apart from the now obvious political mistake of stalling the transfer of power to the National Assembly, the military government(s) do not seem to have been

any wiser even in the matter of the country's defense. Heavy industry, the *sine qua non* of national defense, was sacrificed to fatten the profits of few importers of heavy industrial equipment and steel ingots. The installation of steel mills in West Pakistan, despite the availability of adequate domestic iron ore in Kalabagh and Chitral, continued to be postponed. It is true that the Pakistani soldier is perhaps second to none in the world; but he cannot be left to fight with muscles alone. The neglect of defense-orientated industries in East Pakistan served another blow to the fighting capability of our forces. India's aggressive postures even after the publication of the findings of her Institute of Defence Studies were taken too lightly. This hyper-confidence on the part of the military rulers, and the singularly poor quality of its diplomacy are both inexplicable and indefensible. Had Pakistan's leaders been alive to the grossness of the threat and the need to contain it at national and international level, she could have faced India's aggression with grace and valour. Now that Pakistan has suffered the humiliation, the responsibility is to be borne not by the masses who had no say in the affairs of their country but by those few who had arrogated to themselves the right to decide without the will and authority of the electorate. It is the ruling classes, the military and civil bureaucracy along with the feudal and industrial oligarchy who must be held directly and mainly responsible for the ignominious debacle. That is one part of the tragedy.

The euphoria and enthusiasm which is being presently over-played by the Bengali nationalists—much in the same manner as displayed by the erstwhile rulers of Pakistan—is no solution to the real problems of East Pakistan. In fact the time is not far off when the empty slogans and the parochial rhetoric of today shall be rejected by Muslim Bengal. Nationalism alone cannot provide justice or fulfilment to the people of East Pakistan. It can only sow seeds of hatred, ever-continuing division and anarchy. Muslims Bengal played a dominant role in the emergence of Pakistan because it wanted to eliminate the ruthless exploitation carried on for more than two hundred years by the metropolitan caste Hindus residing in Calcutta and establish the largest Muslim state in the world. Muslims in "Bangla Desh" need, therefore remember that the Pakistan Resolution was moved by Mr. Fazlul Huq, Sher-e-Bangla, on 23rd March 1940 at Lahore. While moving the resolution, the Sher-e-Bangla said: "Though I am leading a coalition government in Bengal, I am Muslim first and Bengali afterwards. It was in Bengal in the year 1906 that the flag of Muslim League was unfurled and now it is my privilege as the leader of Bengal to move the resolution for the homeland of the

(continued on p12, column 3)

"And now Sind Desh"

AHMAD LASI

While President Bhutto seems still to be seized with the problem of finalising political arrangements with the pro-Moscow National Awami Party and its ally Jamiat-e-Ulama who command majority support in the Baluchistan and Sarhad Provincial Assemblies, yet another challenge to his authority (and ideology) has started emerging. And this is from his own province, Sind.

Mr. G. M. Seyyid, Chief of the Sind United Front, has threatened to follow the example of Sheikh Mujib and his Awami League to "liberate" the province of Sind, from the "Government of West Pakistan". In as much as there already is movement for the establishment of Sind Desh with Indian sponsoring and some local rootings, this is not a situation to be taken lightly. At the centre of this movement is the unassuming and frail personality of Mr. G. M. Seyyid. He is secular Sindhi nationalist and a very active politician at the age of 80. Mr. Seyyid has a quite sizable following among young Sindhi students and intellectuals. Being a Seyyid—a descendant of the blessed Prophet—also commends him to the illiterate but religiously superstitious peasantry. During the early forties, Mr. Seyyid was a close associate of Qaid-e-Azam Jinnah a member of the Working Committee and the Council of Action of the All India Muslim League and President of the Sind Provincial Muslim League. He fell out because of differences over the provincial Ministry then headed by Sir Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah and expelled from the Muslim League because of indiscipline and organisational misconduct. Dubbed then a renegade, his discontent has since undergone a nationalistic sublimation.

On 11 January, a meeting of the Sind United Front held at San, native place of Mr. Seyyid resolved that it would "follow the example of 'Bangla Desh' to liberate Sind". A spokesman of the Front later told newsmen that if anybody tried to break the movement then the river of Sind "would go red with blood and the roads and streets of Sind will be littered with the dead bodies of the people".

Another spokesman, Mr. Ghulam Mohammed Leghari, who is also the Chief of the pro-Moscow Sind National Awami Party, said that with the establishment of 'Bangla Desh' the "ideology of Pakistan was now dead". We will now have to liberate Sind at all cost, he added. Mr. G. M. Seyyid said that it were only the "vested interested of the Punjab" who were advocating two nation theory and religion. He said that his revolutionary organization will be composed of two wings. One wing will mobilise public opinion for the freedom struggle and the other will consist of armed volunteers.

Obviously, Mr. Seyyid did not mention at least for the time being, the third wing

It is rather revealing, in this context, that the Indian propaganda machine, through its agency, the Ministry of Information, has just published an article entitled "And now Sind Desh"—an independent Sind. West Pakistan's second province after the Punjab. "Now that Bangladesh has become a reality, the demand for Sind Desh is gathering strength and will soon become a big thorn in Islamabad's side," the article says hopefully, and goes on to give details of the autonomous movement in Sind and the ways in which the Central Government has sought to repress it.

(David Loshak: "Mother India's new offspring", *Daily Telegraph*, London, 16 December, 1971).

of his organization being activated by the All India Radio and the Indian authorities along the Sind-Rajasthan border. One of its more vocal protagonists, Mr. Jam Saqi, a former student leader with considerable experience in anomic and agitative politics who had fled to India to escape arrest six months ago, is now back in Pakistan. He is reported to have entered Pakistan with the advancing Indian troops in the Sind-Rajasthan sector during the War. In his first public appearance, Mr. Jam Saqi declared that even West Pakistan is not one nation. There are four different nationalities (Sindhi, Baluchi, Punjabi and Pathan) and that the future constitutional set up must take this "fact" into account or face the fate of 'Bangladesh'. The provincial government later ordered his arrest in connection with the old case registered against him six months ago.

Mr. G. M. Seyyid may also be sent to prison if his activities assume more serious proportions. Mr. Seyyid has been in prison earlier and there is no question of his being deterred or detracted from pursuing what has clearly become an article of faith for him. Indian sponsorship notwithstanding, the Sindhi movement [has definitely thrown local roots and any crude repression would go only to add glory and prestige to the cause. Mr. Seyyid lacked both the demagogy and charisma of Sheikh Mujib and his United Front did not show a respectable electoral support by losing all the seats it contested in the December 1970 general election, but that was only a short-term criterion. The articulate secular and leftist vote in the last elections went to Mr. Bhutto's People's Party and now that the Islamic Parties have been cut down to size in the first round, options and issues may not be the same as in December 1970. In the dynamic irony of Pakistan's politics, People's Party has already started shedding its veneer of radicalism and is being identified more and more with the old *status quo*. So what may come next, there is not much to be guessed about?

COMMUNISM IN THE MIDDLE EAST

Vanguard of a New Colonialism

By our Middle East Correspondent

In the early decades of this century not much faith was put in the possible spread of communism in the predominantly Muslim Middle East despite the fact that very early on, a place like Baku could boast of a very strong communist party. It was argued that communism, being a militant, anti-God, materialistic faith would come up against the effective bulwark of Islam.

This argument began to grow weaker and weaker after the Second World War as 'leftist' groups came more to the fore, as governments began to pursue 'socialist' policies (which often, though not always, implied anti-Islam policies) and as communist countries began to have a stronger presence and involvement in the economy and military of several countries.

After the defeat of the Arabs in 1967 communist infiltration received a new impetus. Egypt became increasingly mortgaged to the Soviet Union and Syria and Iraq became involved in an advanced state of tutelage. Communist China sought to increase its political and strategic gains in the area by a strong naval presence in the Yemen, by support to the Palestinian guerillas, and by its trading activities in Kuwait and elsewhere. Sino-Soviet competition continued but the Soviet Union seemed to have the upper hand being longer established in the field. It gave backing for example to the Sudanese Communist Party which was, before Numeiry's crack down on it, reputedly the largest and the most effective communist party in the Arab world and indeed in Africa.

Numeiry's violent break with the Communists of the Sudan may have been due merely to the exigencies of power politics but it can be taken as a decisive event in modern Arab history in as much as it represented a grave set back to communism and drove the party underground and outside the country. Strangely enough, the communist parties of Syria and Iraq also operate from outside their respective countries. So do those of Jordan and Algeria.

It then seemed on the whole that hard line Middle Eastern communists were on the defensive apart from their activities in the Yemen and the mounting war effort in Dhofar. At the moment in the open they can lay claim to two Ministers in Syria and a deputy Minister in Egypt and in a vague sort of way they can claim affinities with the 'nationalist, progressive, socialist' elements in the various Arab countries. They can lay claim too to a sizeable following among the dispossessed and angry Palestinians. In the situation, the communists seemed to need a boost to lift up their sagging morale.

The boost came in the form of the biggest communist gathering ever to be held in the Arab world. This began on the 7 January and was attended by representatives from the Communist parties of Iraq, Syria, Jordan, Sudan and Algeria. The Ba'ath parties of Syria and Iraq, the Arab Socialist Union of Egypt and the National Liberation Fronts of Algeria and the Yemen. Delegations from East European countries and the Soviet Union were also present at the conference held in the sumptuousness of one of Beirut's more eligible hotels which any capitalist would have taken pride in.

The three-day congress was organised by the Lebanese Communist Party which is the sole legal communist party in the Arab world. It has been legalised only in 1970 after 45 years of clandestine operation. These facts show up the strange position of communism in the Arab world within which Lebanon in many respects looks out of place. The Prime minister of Lebanon appealed to the western concept of freedom to justify the holding of the conference. "We stand for freedom of action, speech and conduct," he said, "Freedom is enhanced by its genuine exercise." The fact that there were demonstrations to protest against the holding of the conference and that it attracted so much attention shows that communism is still very much anathema in the Middle East or at least that it is regarded with some dubiousness. The leader of the National Liberal Party in Lebanon spoke of those attending the congress as "alien conferees" and observed that the organisers only represented one per cent or five per thousand of the Lebanese people. "The great majority of the Lebanese", he said, "believe in freedom, in God and in a sovereign, free and independent Lebanon."

The conference began with a strong condemnation of China, Israel and the United States. China was blamed for its "disruptive activities" which were playing into the hands of the imperialists. The United States was attacked for being the bastion of capitalism and imperialism and Israel was castigated for "brazenly ignoring the United Nations Security Council resolutions on the Middle East". There was the expected condemnation of Arab capitalism and reaction (Libya was singled out) and the call for the cohesion of all Arab national progressive forces.

Of all the parties attending the conference, the Soviet Union was the one which could take the greatest pleasure at the outcome since the participants observed that "friendship and cooperation between the Arab people and the Soviet Union have struck deep roots in Arab lands" and everything was done to follow

the lead of Moscow. The majority of the conferees also approved Moscow's policy of a peaceful settlement of the Middle East question based on the U.N. Security resolution of November 1967. The Syrian and Iraqi Ba'athists opposed support for the resolution strongly. But the Soviet Union appeared to have things firmly under control at least for the time being.

It is this continuing tutelage which raises the justifiable question of the contribution that communist parties are making or can make to the benefit of themselves and the Middle East. By their imitation, by their automatic absorption into the conflicts of world communism they must of necessity sacrifice their independence. They have not been able to apply any original thinking to communist ideology and indeed many of them have not even read the important works of communist ideologues. For them it is enough to use radical and progressive slogans and they often derive their importance from what they are not rather than from what they are. It is true to say that there has not been any deep and serious communist thought in the Middle East which is authentically Arab. Perhaps there can never be.

For the moment at any rate the professed communists in the Arab world need to do a lot of hard work and positioning and agitating in order to achieve any of their goals, or simply in order to achieve power. But it may not be that difficult when it is remembered that other groups are largely quiescent and very often lose by default. That the professed communists are forging ahead can be seen by the fact that in Iraq the Communist party will be one of the three constituents in a national pact. Also, and this may be one of the most important single decisions to come out of the Lebanese congress, 24 Arab communist and progressive parties agreed to meet again in Beirut to form an all-embracing popular front that would coordinate communist work throughout the Arab world.

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Being black is not a problem, the problem is being ourselves

ILYAS MAHMOUD

“The advantages enjoyed by the Negro in the Western World, now that he is free are hardly greater for the attainment of true manhood than when he was in bondage. And a far more difficulty lies in the way of his genuine progress than the mere physical inconveniences which his colour entails, and that is, the impossibility, in the country of his exile, of securing a proper individual or race development”¹

The term ‘negro’ is here conveniently used to represent black people of the Western World. Although at this moment there doesn’t seem likely to be an alternative, the nickname having become long established, it is rather painful to realize nevertheless, that for example, a Chinaman remains a Chinaman whichever part of the world he may be transplanted, a Jew remains a Jew, a European a European, an Indian an Indian, but an African with non-white skin becomes a ‘Negro’.

The European dictionaries are not prepared to render justice to the man whose skin is black especially if he is of African descent. As far as they are concerned, he is a ‘Negro’. Negroes, are necessarily the descendants of European slaves, and even though the plantations seem to have disappeared, they are still enslaved though not physically but mentally, economically and otherwise. One is, thus inclined to argue that not only the label ‘Negro’ but the whole basic personality that goes under it, is a European creation. Therefore, though some of the more enlightened minds from among them may sincerely claim themselves to be Africans, they continue to remain enslaved and cannot possibly assert their African personality until they have been fired and remodelled, re-cultured and re-educated.

Everybody knows how it happened that Africans were carried in such large numbers from Africa to America and the West Indies where they were used to replace the indigenous people. It was out of a strange sense of pity for the delicate Indians—whom they, the Spaniards, saw groaning under gruelling and arduous conditions, that Bartholomê de Las Casas strove to replace with robust and indefatigable Africans, an achievement, it is reported, the saviour lived to regret. But alas, from the very day onward, innumerable woes have descended upon the African people. In the early years of enslavement, these people were seen plainly as African blacks or just blacks, and doomed to serve and live in perpetual servitude. Later came the term ‘Negro’ which too meant black but in Latin.

Whether it were the Portuguese or the

Spaniards who invented and accredited the derogatory label ‘Negro’ to the people they had kidnapped, uprooted and enslaved, the fact remains that those people in the Western world called ‘Negroes’—even though many of them are strongly resentful of this indignity and misnomer—are for the most part, a people living a life of the most heavy and painful legacy of Slavery.

It is an undeniable fact that westernisation has totally failed to solve any of the problems of the ‘Negroes’ whether spiritual or even material. The redemption of a people such as they are, a basically religious people, depends upon a radical reform of their notion as to what religion is. Slavery has ruined their true religiousness and distorted the whole moral and ethical fibre of their life. This is a disaster and a tyranny, the grievous implication of which are hardly ever realised. As it is, a ‘Negro’ has no ‘soul’ of his own and he has but to follow or retrace the steps of his master. It may, therefore, be a long time before a knowledgeable ‘Negro’ will be able to forgive and forget the gross damage done to his real self. Anyway, efforts aimed at regrouping and regenerating the Africans in diaspora are bound not to make any tangible progress without resolving the basic issue of their qualitative personality.

What then is the true and original African personality? Majority of the West Indians and Afro-Americans were captured from West Africa which was and is to this day a predominantly Muslim country and here is what Abu Bakr al Siddiq (Edward Doulan), a ‘Negro’ and a ‘slave’ who came from the region had to say:

“I was educated in the town of Jenne, and fully instructed in reading and construing the Qur’an . . . On the day they made me a captive. They tore off my clothes, bound me with ropes, and gave me a heavy load to carry . . . I was carried on board of the ship . . . for three months, and then came on shore in the land of Jamaica. This was the beginning of my slavery until this day. I tasted the bitterness of slavery from them and its oppressiveness. But Praise be to God, under whose power are all things . . . The faith of our families is the faith of Islam . . . they say the five prayers; fast every year in the month of Ramadan; give alms as ordained in the law; . . . fight for the faith of God; perform the pilgrimage to Mecca, i.e. such as are able to do so; they eat the flesh of no beast but what they have slain for themselves; drink no wine, . . . or do any other thing which is forbidden; they teach their

children to read, and instruct them in the different parts of knowledge; their minds are perfect and blameless according to the measure of their faith”.²

Such was the condition and spirit of the African when he was enslaved and it was this fine and human personality which was demagnetised and transformed into a ‘Negro’. In their decadence and corruption, some Arabs and the Turks too indulged in enslaving but despicable as it was, it was not exclusively African-orientated and above all the egalitarian nature of the Islamic society (even in its worst days) precluded the dehumanisation the African invariably underwent in the Western hemisphere. As a result one finds that today the only society not exclusively associated with the colour of one’s skin is the Muslim society.

However, many at the moment are conscious of this legacy, but not many are prepared to strive in honesty to remedy the situation. In seeking redress some of them turn to communism or to socialism, its westernised homologue. Quite many see their salvation in a Black Power revival, but the vast majority appear reconciled to remain in and for the *status quo*.

Whatever be the ideological variants of the above three types, in essence they all stand for purely materialistic and superficial goals. The ‘Negroes’ do want wealth and power but how can they gain even material well-being when they continue to function in the value framework of their masters? How can a people given to drinking, dancing, gambling, womanizing, and buffooning hope to achieve any emancipation at all? No wonder, there are not many who ever find time for things serious and more crucial to their existence as a community, such as the education of their children and culturing respect towards their wives, mothers and sisters.

The ‘Negro’ thus has no chance of becoming truly progressive and liberated until he re-orientates himself towards his Islamic legacy. All other options and prescriptions, do nothing to change his pre-assigned status of a slave or a protégé. These systems are a reaction-product of a purely European thesis and anti-thesis, but the Negro reformation is one case where putting new wine in old bottle serves no purpose. This is not to deny the great and precious advantages of European civilization but it is really a question of being ourselves; going back to the true roots and not seeking a sterile graft.

¹ Edward W. Blyden, *Christianity, Islam and the Negro Race*, Edingburgh U. P., 1967

² R. R. Madden, *Twelve Months Residence in the West Indies*, London, 1837

Malcolm X, do we really remember?

ASHUR SHAMIS

It is now seven years since that fateful Sunday morning when Malcolm X was assassinated at the Audubon Ballroom in New York city. When that happened, like everywhere else, the newspapers in the Muslim World saw it as the passing away of an extremist, of a black militant. They did not know then who really was the man and what changes Islam had brought about in the life and thinking of this illustrious American. This lack of possession of true facts was, perhaps, understandable at that stage, but as far as the Muslims are concerned not much has since changed.

Nothing of substance or value—except Malcolm's own autobiography and speeches—has been written or compiled to document his life and his thoughts or to extend and apply his experience in helping the liberation of the tormented and the enslaved Afro-Americans.

Malcolm X was saved and re-shaped by Islam. His journey towards Islam took a positive shape and direction soon after he came out of prison. Originally attracted by Elijah Muhammad's 'Nation of Islam', he practically lost no time in moving from the position of a 'Black Muslim' to being just a simple Muslim. As he told *The Guardian* (reported 27 February 1965) a week before his death it was only being a Muslim which kept him seeing people from the colour of their skin, otherwise in America where he lived, the society did not believe in brotherhood in any sense of the word. It was a racist society... Before he came to Islam, he was at the very bottom of the American society and then he found Allah and the religion of Islam and this completely transformed his life. Any wings he wore had been put on by Islam and that was a fact he never would forget, not even for one second. His association with Islam, as it went on developing and growing deeper and deeper, was categorical and unwavering. This is a quality which did not attach to his preceding involvement with black nationalism or such other issue or ideologies which he is now supposed to inspire.

In any case, it is both an ironical and a funny situation. As a Muslim he had but to condemn Capitalism and lend his sympathy to such forces in Asia and Africa and Latin America who were fighting against the gross injustices, Capitalism and Colonialism had perpetrated in those parts of the World. But that was far from being Marxist or Leninist or anything of the type. He had come to realise the falsity and fallaciousness of Marxist-Leninist premises and said it clearly that there was no such thing as a working class

solidarity and that it did not exist even in Russia.

As for Black Nationalism, his understanding of the nature of problem and its true solution had undergone a complete change during the last few months of his life. He had earlier looked at it from the angle of colour and then race, but very soon he came to point when he realised that neither could be an adequate basis for the resolution of the basic problem of discrimination and injustice in the human society. His interview reported by the *Young Socialist* on 18 January 1965 shows very well the process of rethinking he was engaged in

He said: "I had to do a lot of thinking and reappraising of my definition of black nationalism... And if you notice, I haven't been using the expression for several months. But I still would be hard pressed to give a specific definition of the overall philosophy which I think is necessary for the liberation of the black people in this country."

This was about the point where Malcolm X had started calling for "human rights" as against "civil rights", and striving "to live the life of a true Sunni Muslim."—However, the most absurd example of using his name towards advancing one's argument is provided by Bernard Lewis' discovery of racialism in Islam. In his autobiography, Malcolm X describes the Haj scene, the milling and mixing of people of every hue and colour, and this is evidence enough of "Colour Consciousness" in Islam, so the piece serves as a prologue to Bernard Lewis' erudite research.*

The phenomenon that practically anybody or everybody comes up with a quote or two, and puts a seal to his claim to "brother Malcolm" may look ridiculous to the extreme but there is no other way to explain it except the Muslim's own neglect and complacency about a man who was eliminated for the simple reason that his emergence in the New World as a dynamic Muslim leader could have brought a genuine and a more radical revolution than all that goes under that spurious label of revolution or liberation.

Muslims who lay claim to Islam as a conferment of birth and not something to be lived may lavish praise and adulation, but if they go any further, they have a problem too: their own hypocrisy. Malcolm was far too untraditional and much too advanced for the resignation and lethargy of the contemporary Muslim society.

* Bernard Lewis: "Race and Colour in Islam", *Encounter*, August 1970

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Tourism is more than travelling

A. H. MAJID

Gone is the age of the solitary traveller with a private income or an indomitable zeal to improvise, able to indulge in his wanderings whether it be for some high-minded search for truth or a taste for exotic and clandestine excitement. Now is the age of jumbo jets and package holidays, of hundred-room hotels and guided tours, of crowded beaches and hot-house entertainments. This is the age of the tourist industry—massive and booming and lucrative. Countries prosper or decline because of it. It is the largest currency earner for even the richest country in the world, the United States. In Israel, tourism has taken over from fruit and diamonds export as the biggest earner of foreign currency. Whether it be Tunisia in the tempting Mediterranean, or Turkey astride Europe and Asia, or Thailand set in the heart of the Orient, everyone is concerned about this important and growing industry. Even Algeria, a country which had become very introverted, is now discovering that she is "a land of encounters" and that "tourism is inherent in the dynamics of a free country."

Almost every government is becoming wide awake to the purses of tourists and their contributions to the balance of payments of the country. The tourist must be tempted, entertained, provided for and given every facility. The tourist industry calls for the provision of a variety of services. Hotels must be built, communications must be developed, guides and cooks and waiters must be trained and any natural or historic attraction of the country must be preserved and shown up. So demanding and complex has the industry become that a couple of British universities have recently announced opportunities for doctoral research in tourism.

In yester-years, a tourist or more properly a traveller would roam in a country to learn about the way of life of its people, study their civilisation and culture in the hope of enriching his life thereby. In many cases of course this is true today as well, and we often find that a 'foreign' traveller would know more about a place than the native of that place. It is from these travellers that western man has managed to amass such a wealth of information about other parts of the world, intricate details of their civilisations and their ruins, of their flora and fauna. But this is the world of the specialists and they too might well bemoan the rise of the tour operators and the age of jumbo jets.

For more and more, travel is becoming a means to get away from it all, to escape the boredom and the monotony of the cloistered or the mechanised society, to laze away or to have a fling. There is a sameness in the enticements of the tour operators offering as they often do the "heady combination of superb beaches, lots of sun and spectacularly unspoilt beaches." Where the beaches have been spoiled they offer shiny swimming pools, the dark and throbbing sensations of night life, exotic foods and friendly natives and the world becomes a playground.

The emphasis is often on exclusiveness. There is initially one set of standards for the tourists and another for the locals. In some countries, casinos, cabarets, alcohol are only for the visitors. The locals are there only to serve and thereby to earn a living but soon many of them begin to cast longing glances at the enclaves of entertainment and luxury. Some governments are becoming aware of the modifications of their country's

culture and the people's life style which modern tourism brings about. Tanzania, for example, which has aimed essentially at reducing the gap between the mass of poor citizens and the élite, now looks cautiously at the great islands of luxury and conspicuous wealth which the bright new hotels have become. It is also alarmed by the disproportionate alienation of land by foreigners and has banned casinos.

Indeed while many countries guilelessly look on tourism as one aspect of a dialogue with the outside world, there are others who are beginning to count the cost, and not purely in financial terms. While it can be said that tourism provides employment opportunities for a great mass of people, it can also be said to provide opportunities for creating a servile and sycophantic class of citizens—of waiters and barmen and porters and cleaners and beggars. And who would deny that this destroys the dynamic social fabric of a people?

Many countries are disturbed too by the harmful effects of tourism on the morals of the people. It is well known that countries like Morocco and Afghanistan are very sensitive about the ways and manners of the hippy cult. But the main concern is not the innocuous problem of long hair. It is the spread of sexual and other diseases. Dr. Robert Catterhall, director of the Middlesex Hospitals venereology department told a meeting of the British Medical Association last year that package tours and cheap air travel have helped spread venereal diseases to a record level in Britain and to epidemic proportions abroad. He observed that travellers tended to be more promiscuous because of increased opportunity and the unsettling effects of travel. The problem of sexual permissiveness would increase in the 70's when jumbo jets and supersonic air travel become fully established. The highly mobile, itinerant restless men and women of the wealthy countries are creating new patterns for the spread of sexually transmitted diseases across national and continental frontiers. It was "the price which society had to pay for sexual freedom". A United Nations Report way back in 1967 pointed out the world wide extent of the problem. It said: "The revival of venereal diseases has engendered world-wide concern. It is estimated that there are now in the world 30-50 million cases of venereal syphilis and more than 150 million cases of gonococcal infection."

This is an alarming situation but tourism provides opportunities and a cover for other things as well—for the spread of narcotics, smuggling and even espionage. Indonesia is the latest country to recognise this in unequivocal terms. At a tourism orientation course held in West Java two weeks ago, Col. R. E. Abdullah called for the imposing of stricter control on the current rush of foreign tourists into the country which threatened to disturb national security. He spoke of the possibility of infiltration by subversive elements or smugglers of narcotics which no doubt would do great harm to the nation's young generation. To minimize the risks the Colonel suggested tightening up of the conventional method of tourist control—tight security, strict customs procedures and constant observation of visitors' activities. This he said might inconvenience and even discourage them. He also proposed indirect methods such as conducted tours and organised trips which would limit tourists' time for possible adverse activities. The Colonel called on the population to exercise

vigilance in face of foreign tourists without abandoning the nation's typical hospitality.



Algeria — all set for the tourists

The demands of tourism can influence and alter more than the habits of a people. It can and has influenced not only the aspirations but also the mainsprings of a society. In the search for beauties and curiosities as attractions often a forgotten past is unearthed and a great pride is taken in ruins and antiquities. This in the early stages has helped to produce nationalisms. In lands traditionally Muslim, in place of the broad allegiance to the universal Islam, there has arisen an attachment to a localised and often pagan past. A good example of this was Egypt whose nationalism was built partly on the discovery and awareness of the pharaonic past.

Can it be said then that tourism in its present form is more unhealthy and destructive than it would seem on the surface? In any case, this major phenomenon of the twentieth century continues to grow and develop and there is obviously more to it than a factor of economic development and the simple enjoyment of sunshine and foreign pleasures.

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THE IRANIAN 'UNDERGROUND'

What it is like to be a political prisoner?

FROM A SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT

What it is like to be a political prisoner in Iran is most difficult to tell. Of those who are taken in, some die in the torture chambers, and those who happen to survive are either too broken mentally and physically to provide any intelligible account or too terrified to speak.

Reza Rizai who was arrested along with 36 others has been an exceptional and certainly lucky person to escape after spending three months as a guest of the *Savak*, the now well-identified Iranian Security Organisation. His account, has been published by *Irandefence*, an under-ground news bulletin issued by the Iranian National Front, and makes shocking reading.

In the words of Rizai: the prisons are so dark and so wet, that even the guards refuse to work in such places. The cells are 4 feet by 6 feet and about 6 feet high with a small window 12 x 16 inches. There is no provision for light inside the cells, the only light which filters in through the window is from some lamps outside the cell. Sometimes they put off all the lights, and then one can't tell night from day. These cells, sometimes house up to three prisoners. It is so humid that the sugar melts and attracts ants.

'The guards are usually simple soldiers. They are told every day that we are traitors, assassins, thieves, adulterers, and that they should not get near us, for we would not hesitate to kill them. But in spite of this, they are impressed by our behaviour and try to help us in any way possible. For example, when it comes to distributing sugar, they try to be generous. They wonder why we are being tortured, since the prisoners generally are engineers, doctors, and *ulama*. When we pray and read the Koran, they watch us strangely. One day one of them asked: "Are you really Muslims?", and then remarked "If they even ask me to kill you, I will kill my commander and then myself". The guards are frequently changed. In the prison of EVINE, prisoners may not read, engage in physical activity, or even walk and breathe the air outside their cells. Here the prisoners may not be allowed visit from their families. Those who speak loud or murmur or even muse are beaten. There are bigger cells also for thirty or more prisoners but in fact these are nothing more than hospital wards for the tortured and broken ones.'

'A typical day may consist of being tortured, sleeping and eating. We are given a mattress, two blankets, a pillow, and a plastic cup. Once a week we are given fruit: two apples or a small piece of melon. But we never see the sun. If a prisoner gets sick, the doctor who is also a SAVAK agent is only interested in making him talk and, at most, wind up the case.'

Rizai, therefore, feels that it is preferable to be a prisoner of war because they may then be better treated under the international conventions. But then, he says, the Iranians who are outside these prisons are no better either: they are dying already of starvation and disease.

ایوم تہیہ جسم و طہارہ حقیقہ واجب است و بلوغ مایعہ - آریہ جنسی

The methods of torture according to Rizai have a two-fold aim: to make the prisoner give-up his ideals and talk about his associates, organisations and their method of work. In order to achieve these two aims, torture starts immediately after a person has been arrested.

'Torture first consists of whipping with an electrified whip, then man-handling by KARATE and JUDO trained warders. Frequently, political prisoners go unconscious... Their feet swell, preventing them from walking. Hands, feet, or even nose get commonly fractured. In subsequent torture sessions attempt is made to increase the extent of fracture. No one can endure this... Frequently a prisoner will go into coma. It is at this stage that SAVAK extracted confessions! The prisoner must also sign that he has not been tortured and is in good health. This goes immediately into the dossier of his trial. The SAVAK is free to do what it wishes, but in order to manipulate public opinion, it compiles a "legal" dossier.'

'One of the most widely used torture instruments is an automatic electric club. The shocks leave no marks on the body, but paralyze it completely. Injection of various chemical substances, pulling out of the finger nails, and the use of weighted handcuffs are other popular techniques. Prisoners are also exposed to very intense light, to ultrasonic waves and electric shock of the head, which produce blindness, deafness, and even insanity. A prisoner had a piece of weight suspended from his penis so that he could not urinate, others had their rectum plugged with Coca-cola or Pepsi-cola bottles.'

Rizai, then goes on to name and describe some specific cases of torture of which he was an eye-witness.

There was one engineer Asghar Badiizadegan who was left tied to an electrified frame until he went into a coma. Even the spinal marrow was affected by electrical burning. He was left without medication and that he has survived was a miracle with its own morals. But as far as he was concerned, he would never walk again. There were others too, Abbas Meftahi or Mehdi Savalani or... but the names do not matter. Some have gone blind or deaf or even insane.

It is impossible to either vouch for or challenge the account. There is a smoke if there is a fire but there are smokescreens too. It is, therefore, in as much as their interest as that of justice and human rights, if the Iranian Government made it possible for independent and neutral agencies to observe and report the true facts of the situation.

from p.7. column 1

Pakistan — a betrayal:

Muslims from the self-same platform of the Muslim League." Though Indian occupation of East Pakistan has for the time being, succeeded in suppressing and eliminating the Muslim politicians and intellectuals and the new "Bangla Desh" government has also been too quick to ban all parties which profess loyalty to Islam or Pakistan, the people of Muslim Bengal are not going to follow these dictates. They are sure to rise in revolt against the Indian occupation army, its administrators and, its worst of all, blood-suckers, the Marwari merchants. The last group is reported to have already begun pouring into "Bangla Desh" for their share of the bounty from India's newly acquired colony. *Time Magazine* (17 January) wrote: "... Bangla Desh may (soon) find it profitable and even necessary to re-establish some of the old trade ties with Pakistan". If this happens, President Bhutto's remarks that "The existing realities do not constitute the permanent realities" would be proved true. The nationalist leaders in "Bangla Desh" seem to have forgotten that it was nationalism—spread by the imperialistic powers in the past, which did so much to divide the Muslim Umma. "Bangla Desh" is a "Made in India" product. It is not the creation of Muslim Bengal. Dr. Muhammad Iqbal, the philosopher-founder of Pakistan commented on nationalism of early Thirties on some Muslim countries: "... the modern Muslim in Turkey, Egypt, and Persia is led to seek sources of energies in the creation of new loyalties, such as patriotism and nationalism which Nietzsche described as 'sickness and unreason' and 'the strongest force against culture'." Pakistan is today once more at the cross roads. It has either to assert its ideological *raison d'être* or to accept the fateful oblivion in world history. So far the Pakistani nation has behaved very timidly and complacently towards its undemocratic leaders; if they, however, want to justify their existence as a living nation, they will have to stand against all injustices and all inequities, whether it came from them or their leaders.

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AN INDEPENDENT JOURNAL OF
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Books

"The misconception that Islam is monolithic"?

Les *Musulmans* (in French) by Youakim Moubarac, *Beauchesne*, Paris, 140 pages.

The sub-title of the book reads: "Seven Muslims of the big countries (*sic*) of Islam: India, Iran, Egypt, Algeria and France..." and let us hope that both France and India do become big Muslim countries. The author selected certain persons at his discretion and asked them as to what they thought of some aspects of Christianity. The replies received are reproduced without comment and this along with a 40 page introduction goes to make the book. The introduction takes great pains to repeat several times (as on p. 7 etc.) that the book dispels the misconception that Islam is monolithic, and that this discovery is a great reward well-worth all the pains taken in this study.

It is, however, not possible to agree with this fallacious statement. Although among the correspondents there were not only Sunnis but also Shi'as, and—probably—Kharijites, in addition to those who according to their autobiographical note avow to be (free) thinkers, nevertheless the replies—be they frank or diplomatic—are so unanimous that the author himself (p.11) has to admit his failure in finding a Muslim who would say that Jesus died on the cross.

There is a question on the continuing importance of the Arabic language for Muslims to which a non-Arab replies as below:

"Arabic is the mother-tongue of all the Muslims, since the wives of the Prophet are, according to the Qur'an, Mothers of the Faithful; and they spoke nothing but Arabic. This applies as much to Muhammad (peace on him) as to Ishmael (peace on him) the father of the Arabs, one of the first Muslims, and the first to speak Arabic, living at Mecca some 2000 years before Jesus Christ. It would be very bad if pagan socialists among Arabs succeeded in killing the classical Arabic and substituting regional idioms and dialects which are incomprehensible outside their district" (p.85)

The way the author reacts to this shows that he has not read the replies carefully, for he says (p.13): "... the disarming naivité of one of my correspondents who says that Arabic is the mother-tongue of all the Muslims, since the wives of the Prophet are called mothers of the Faithful and they spoke only Arabic. Should I recall at this occasion that before becoming the mother-tongue of the Muslims, Arabic was and remains down to this day the mother-tongue of many Christians" Did Christ come earlier than Ishmael?

Several times the correspondents have written: "the question is not very clear to me..." Instead of clarifying and obtaining a precise reply to the question, the reader is left with an incomplete or an uncertain answer.

Regrettably, though fashionably, the bibliography of a book purported to deal with Islam (p.14), contains not a single work from any Muslim author. Perhaps Islam is not what the Muslims believe in, but what the non-Muslims describe it to be!

The book proceeds to ask what the Muslims thought of the writings of Timothy (that Muhammad was like the great men of Old Testament); or of Massignon (that he was a negative prophet); collaborating with Christians in the literary criticism of the Qur'an (to find out its supposed authors); God of Islam and God of Christianity: fatalism and laxity (*sic*) of Islam; why Muslims cite apocrypha and not the canonical books of the Christians; reinterpreting the Qur'an to admit that Christ died on the cross; will, according to Islam, the Christians receive salvation; status of Christians in the Muslim city; separation of religion and State; Shi'a-Sunni relations; mysticism; Christian missionary work among Muslims; colonialism; Orientalists; future of Arabic language; nationalism and socialism; Palestine; Judeo-Christian-Muslim unity; religious conscience and atheism.

Not all the questions are very intelligent, yet many replies will prove thought-provoking. As to Palestine, to Jerusalem in particular, it may be pointed out that the Jews venerate Moses and Solomon, but neither Jesus nor Muhammad; Christians recognize Moses, Solomon and Jesus, but not Muhammad; Muslims alone accept all these connected with Jerusalem as genuine Prophets of God. In a situation where all the three religions claim affiliation who could be a better guardian than the one who has religious veneration for all of them? It is to recall that it was a Christian international conference which had asked the Sultan of Turkey to appoint a guardian for the church of the "tomb" of Christ, for the simple reason of the Muslims's impartiality in the discord among the Christian sects. The practice continues down to this day. As against this soon after the recent Jewish occupation of Jerusalem, not only the Aqsa Mosque was put to fire and its author got off unpunished, but the profanation and sacrilege extended to the church of the "tomb" of Christ as well.

A. M. Nuruddin

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Briefing

Contemporary Britain
by Barbara Wootton
Allen and Unwin, £1-45

A collection of three lectures by a keen and well informed British lady, the book focuses on the socio-political contradictions of a modern permissive and capitalist society such as we find in Britain today. The lectures touch on problems which an affluent acquisitive and permissive England is faced with, and the paradox that despite all the apparent affluence, squalor and poverty still continue to haunt the British nation. The absurdity of the present capitalist economy is that it tells the individuals to work harder and produce more "but at the same time, another though regrettable ingredient in the cure is that the level of unemployment must rise. In other words, while most people must work harder and produce more, an increasing number of others must be denied the opportunity to work or to produce anything at all". Does permissiveness mean disappearance of the antiquated taboos of religion in the sexual behaviour of contemporary men and women? Barbara says it is not that simple. Permissiveness means total permission to seek material comfort and wealth regardless of the consequences. Therefore, unashamed acquisitiveness becomes yet another affliction of the society where the watchword is: "Every man for himself and let the devil take the rest". She says: "We are permitted to renounce every attempt to control the passion for personal enrichment in the interests of any wider vision of a more human and generous society. She is seriously alarmed at the thought that in this acquisitive social set-up all opportunities and security are there only for the fortunate few. So we end where we began, in the competitive, acquisitive society". The writer also laments about the decline of democratic control in politics and administration and suggests ways to secure greater popular involvement.

Power Research Guide
By Vic Schoenbach
Agitprop, 10p

This is an anthology of books and periodicals in power research. In passing, the booklet makes some useful suggestions for carrying out investigation as to who control various components of society and what's their *modus operandi*. Amongst the topics covered are people, companies, universities and research centres, non-profit organisations, media, church organisations, government, and housing agencies. Although the book tries also to stretch out to the so-called third world, it mainly covers the power structure and mechanism of control in Britain. A cheap but useful addition to any reference shelf.

The Unholy War: Israel and Palestine 1897-1971
David Waines

Chateau Books, Montreal, Price: \$3-50

A factual, well documented and easily readable study of the occupation of Palestine. The web of Zionist intrigues and atrocities has been traced with clarity and lucidity. Presents an objective appraisal of the double-faced British policy in enacting the whole horror and betrayal. Some of the information about the Palestinian organizations is, however, incorrect.

● *Oh, Jerusalem*, a book by Dominique Lapierre and Larry Collins has been banned by the Jordan government because "it sponsors and defends Zionist claims that Jerusalem is a Jewish city".

● *Islamic News Report*, a mimeograph published by the Research and Library Institution, Indonesian Council of Islamic Missions, Djl Menteng Raya 38, Jakarta, Indonesia. First issue came out on 1 December 1971, unpriced.

● *Our Home*, an English periodical devoted to Pakistan Affairs, published by Pakistan Council Overseas, 30 Daleview Road, London N15. Current issue: Vol. XXII No. 1, January 1972, Annual Subscription £3-00

● *Paris-Jour*, the Paris morning daily, (circulation 300,000) ceased publication as a result of strike by its staff.

WORLD OPINION WORLD OPINION WORLD OPINION WORLD OPINION

Chinese-American Futurology

A Nobel Prize, scores of books and 40 years in the United States later, Miss Buck, 79, . . . speculates on the future of China.

"There will be a dictator or possibly the start of a new empire, though not in one generation," she said. "But I look for a return of an empire, perhaps modified."

Meanwhile, she said, whatever is going on inside China came earlier than she anticipated. "I had expected an upset in China, but it's happening earlier than I thought," Miss Buck said. "It's with the military, what I call the young generals. I have long expected that when Mao begins to fall, and he is, the young generals will fight each other."

Miss Buck said she anticipates the emergence of a strong China, though one which may throw off any pretense of following Communist ideology once Mao is gone.

But whatever the shape of the new leadership structure in Peking, Miss Buck said, a Chinese-dominated Southeast Asia with no American presence is inevitable.

Viewing China and the United States, she said: "There's a generation gap between nations just as between persons. We're a young people, and we don't have the maturity to recognize the futility of war. China long ago ceased to believe in aggression: We are just beginning to understand this. It's a mature point of view."

(Mike Shanahan in *International Herald Tribune*, Paris, 19 January 1972).

Mr. Nixon's pride

The scene is invariably the same. President Nixon strides into the press room at the White House, makes a brief announcement on a major foreign policy initiative, and within minutes strides out surrounded by his retinue of assistants and Secret Service bodyguards.

The glare of television lights is extinguished, the microphones are switched off and a small, thickset Jewish professor, looking and sounding disconcertingly like Dr. Strangelove, steps forward to fend off a flood of questions in a marked German accent. . . .

Mr. Nixon prides himself above all on his knowledge and skill in foreign affairs and in Kissinger he has found an expert and sympathetic accomplice, some would say a Svengali. Both men share a Teutonic passion for order, secrecy, written memoranda, clear thinking, and a distaste for the State Department's inclination for a consensus solution to the world's crises. . . .

When he was still a humble professor at Harvard, Kissinger counselled: "The pre-eminent task of American foreign policy ought to be to get some reputation for steadiness. Whether we are dangerous to our enemies one can argue, but we are murder on our friends."

(Adam Raphael "Svengali of the White House," *The Guardian*, London, 28 January, 1972).

"High class uneconomic rubbish"

If the ecological Cassandras are right—and we did accidentally destroy the World in 1972-2012—it should still be with our bellies full and amid a surfeit of substitutes for today's basic materials.

The 3½ billion people of the world are now producing a gross world product of around \$1,000 a head. The American earn \$5,000 a head, and world population is doubling about once every 34 years. So to get the average world income per head up to the present American level before 2012 . . . we would need to increase annual world production rather more than ten times over . . . As we do this, we will run into shortages of some particular things. . .

It has never been likely that food will be on this difficult list, and ecological Cassandras have long done themselves discredit by pretending that it will be. The short-term elasticity of supply of food is very high, and for obvious reasons. More than 60 per cent of the world's population still works on farms; but, once they apply modern techniques, most countries ought to be self-sufficient in agriculture with around 5 per cent of their workers on the farms. . . .

The forecast therefore has to be for an embarrassing tendency toward food glut, even if the effete populations of the rich countries increasingly decide that a hardy farmer's life is not one they like. With the aid of only very small increases in agricultural technology in the next 40 years, it looks as if we could satiate everybody with basic foodstuffs in 2012 merely by spreading to about one-tenth of existing farmers the technological knowhow already possessed and practised by the top 1 per cent of them; and there is likely to be a far faster rate of spread of knowledge than that in the modern world. Moreover, the increases in other relevant technology are in fact likely to be large, if only because we will probably learn how partially to control the weather. So much for agriculture's very high short-term elasticity of supply.

. . . As applied to food supplies, the Malthusian argument—even in its latest or ecologist version—continues to look what it always was in the old Reverend's day; a trendy load of high class uneconomic rubbish.

Finite World? by Norman Macrae, (deputy-editor, *The Economist*, 22 January 1972).

"Bangladesh" and the "ignorant" Indian Muslims

The sooner our delirium over Bangladesh and Mujib comes to an end the better. We have done our duty and pledged our word. It is

high time we attended to other, and more important, problems that face our country.

What worries me most is complacency of the authorities in regard to the communal problem. . . . To most Muslim Indians, the defeat of Pakistan continues to be worse than a possible occupation of Mecca by Jews or heathens. Some were so brazen as to write to *The Statesman* a collective letter saying that "the activities of East Bengal Muslims contravened Islamic norms." I have shown in many an article that I have yet to come across Muslims as ignorant of their religion as those of India. This is mainly because they do not know their religion's language.

(Dr. S. Jeelany in *Organiser Weekly*, Delhi, 22 January 1972).

Rhodesia—a conqueror's dilemma

Conquered peoples cannot help but learn from their conquerors, especially if the latter bring with them capital, skills, a more advanced technology, and a challenging and comforting faith. That the victors of the Matabele War of 1893 and the Mashona and Matabele Rebellions of 1896-7 did much to bring the vanquished into a more modern world cannot be denied. For instance, they established a new pattern of law and order—if not always justice; they introduced western educational and medical services, as well as sophisticated commercial and mining methods; and they brought the Christian religion. . . .

The reaction of the conquered to their conquest was mixed (rebellions were put down with heavy bloodshed). . . . Occasionally they expressed gratitude and acceptance of the new ways. But always there was a measure of hesitancy. . . . Many Africans believe they were deceived, rather than conquered by Rhodes and his followers. But conquerors who do not totally eliminate the conquered sooner or later have to decide how they are going to treat them. They can, for instance, regard them as serfs—that is as permanently underprivileged, intellectually inferior, and culturally barbaric. They can, on the other hand, see them as potential equals who one day will be full fellow citizens in the land of their birth.

(G. C. Grant: *The Africans' predicament in Rhodesia*, Report No. 8, Minority Rights Group, 36 Craven St., London W.C., price 35p.).

Islamic Studies—flowering of the transplant

Islam, not only chronologically, is in its fourteenth, not its twentieth century; it has still to experience the processes of reform and secularisation which have transformed and divided the once-united Christian world. In modern times, Islamic identity has been reinforced by a new shared experience—the penetration, domination and (in most areas)

the departure of European colonialists.

It is obvious that there is much that the social scientist can contribute to the study of Islam, and that there are many things, in early as well as modern times, which he alone, with the special skills of his profession, is able to study and explain. Social scientists, or historians using social science concepts, have already made distinctive and important contributions to the study of Islam and it may well be that these transplants will in time produce a flowering comparable with those of European oriental scholarship following the Renaissance, the Reformation, and the philological golden age in the nineteenth century. . . .

Some branches of Islamic civilisation, such as art and architecture, can be studied without much reference to texts. But the greater part is beset with pitfalls for the unwary student who would venture into the field without adequate study of the language in which his sources are written and in which the people whose lives and endeavours he is examining think, write, and speak. Most modern techniques of field research in the social sciences relate to one of two situations: either the researcher is dealing with a sector of his own civilisation, whose historical and cultural pattern is known to him as part of his own education and upbringing, or else he is dealing with a primitive society, where historical and literary evidence can be disregarded because it does not exist. What has not yet been adequately faced is the problem of field research in a literate, historical society other than that of the field-researcher himself. This, it seems to me, is the basic problem which must be solved before western social science can make a really effective and autonomous contribution to the better understanding of Islam. (Bernard Lewis: "The Study of Islam", *Encounter*, January 1972).

Scholarly bargain!

While making *Exodus* in Israel in 1960, Movie Producer Otto Preminger found himself so in love with his costume coordinator, ex-Model Patricia Hope Bryce, that he wanted to marry her there and then. There was a problem, though: marriages between Jews and non-Jews are impossible in Israel, and Hope's Jewishness was not exactly easy to establish. Otto's solution, says Meyer Weisgal, then head of Israel's Weizmann Institute of Science, in his just published autobiography, was to promise the Weizmann Institute a \$1,000,000 share in royalties from *Exodus* in return for Weisgal's vouching for Hope's Jewishness. Not surprisingly, the Rabbinical Court found Weisgal's book fascinating. It has launched an investigation and subpoenaed Weisgal, who is taking legal evasive action and telling people that of course Hope is Jewish—the passage in his book was "only a few playful words." (Time, New York, 31 January 1972).

CAUSE FOR CONCERN

'Pakistan' — birth, death and rebirth!

IMPACT REPORT

With Pakistan dismembered, the obvious question is what's next, but before answering that, the more pertinent question is: "What is Pakistan?" And this was the topic of Mr. Neville Maxwell's talk at the Overseas House on 21 January organised by the Pakistan Society in London. The meeting was chaired by Sir Ambrose Dundas, a retired officer of the Imperial Civil Service in the former British India. Mr. Neville Maxwell who has been regular contributor to *The Times* and the *Financial Times* and published *India's China War* in 1970, is presently at the South Asian Studies Centre in Oxford.

Mr. Maxwell said, the concept of Pakistan was born 35 years ago and the idea became flesh on 14 August, 1947. The new nation survived 24 years, but in 1971 the concept met its death at the hands of the Bengali nationalism. He said, this was "inevitable" because West Pakistan with its wheat-eating, westward-looking, ethnically different population, was an extension of the Middle East; East Pakistan with its rice-eating, Bengali-speaking, culturally distinct, volatile population, was an ante-room of South-East Asia. These two parts of the country achieved independence from British colonial rule on the basis of a religious nationalism based on the common faith of Islam. But the spirit of religious nationalism soon died down. The controversy, whether Urdu or Bengali should be the State language of Pakistan, raised in the wake of independence, shattered the hope of national unity. Ali Jinnah's attempt to impose Urdu on East Pakistan sparked off a new wave of awareness of nationalism among Bengalis of East Pakistan. The domination of West Pakistani Civil and military bureaucracy prevented the East Bengalis from sharing power in national life. As a result East Pakistan very soon became taken over by a wave of resurgent nationalism, but the self-delusive West Pakistani bureaucracy and the army ignored this coming tide. Maxwell drew an analogy with the situation in 1870's when the province of Bihar similarly got caught up with the slogan "Bihar for the Biharis". This feeling was born as a protest against the domination of the people of Orissa and finally Bihar succeeded in separating itself from Orissa. Similarly the day Bengalis started resenting West Pakistani domination and began to think in terms of East Bengal for Bengalis it was the beginning of the end of Pakistan. The Bengalis revolt in 1971 has now brought to an end the concept of a United Pakistan. The Pakistan of Jinnah no longer exists. Bangladesh is now a reality which belies the concept of one Pakistan.

What of the future? This secession has set a dangerous precedent for India too. In South India, the Tamil-speaking areas are getting pregnant with the idea of nationalism and this may soon spread over the whole of the subcontinent. India may be torn apart by the new tide of regional nationalism. But, West Pakistan too faces a similar crisis. With Sindhis, Pathans, Baluchis, and Punjabis posing the same dilemma, the drama of East Pakistan can be repeated in West Pakistan. Resentment against Punjabi domination is growing very fast. If the army and the bureaucracy react in the same way as they did in the former Eastern province, it may lead to the total dismemberment of the country itself.

Mr. Maxwell, however, concluded with a note of optimism with regard to desperate efforts being made by President Bhutto, he observed, to keep the nation united. Had such efforts been made a decade ago, Pakistan might have been saved from the catastrophe.

At the end of the talk, Dr. Hamida Khuhro who is in Oxford observed that democracy was not given a chance to take root in Pakistan by the Punjabis and she felt that a timely introduction of Socialism in Pakistan would have kept the

nation united.

Dr. M. A. J. Begg from London corrected Mr. Maxwell's argument as well as that of the Bengali nationalists that Jinnah wanted to impose Urdu as the only national language of Pakistan. This, he said, is unfounded. The statements of Mr. Jinnah on the language issue are on record in the published statements of the first Governor-General of Pakistan. The Qaid-e-Azam had only argued the advantages that Urdu had over all other provincial languages of Pakistan. He had said that (a) Urdu is a language nurtured by 100 million Muslims of the subcontinent; (b) it is the *lingua franca* of Pakistan, and in a most advantageous position to be the language of inter-communication between all its provinces; (c) it has the richest Islamic literature in comparison with all other languages spoken by the Muslims of Pakistan; (d) it is a language which is nearest to the language spoken in other Muslim countries i.e. Persian, Arabic or Turkish.

In a later reference to the question of State language in 1948 in Dacca, Mr. Jinnah said, "whether Bengali should be the official language of East Pakistan is a matter to be decided by the elected representatives of the people at the appropriate time".

Therefore, Mr. Jinnah did neither want to impose Urdu forcibly on Bengalis as the State or official language of Pakistan nor did his statements precipitate a crisis which gave birth to Bengali nationalism. No doubt interested elements twisted the statements of Mr. Jinnah but what he said is very clear and unambiguous.



PAKISTAN SOLIDARITY CONVENTION

● The recent tragic events leading to the secession of East Pakistan and the question of Pakistan's existence as one unified nation was the subject of concern at an all British Convention organised by the Pakistan Solidarity Front in North London's Alexandra National Hotel on 23 January 1971. The 250 delegates participating in the Convention who came from various Pakistani organisations in UK and Eire represented a microcosm of the Pakistani teachers, lawyers, physicians, educationists, workers, professionals and businessmen. The Convention reflected the present mood of the Pakistani nation—frustration and alarm at the unexpected turn of events, plus a clear desire and determination to get out of the abyss and be up again on the road of pre-independence idealism. All were unanimous that it was the selfishness and lack of any moral scruples on the part of the leadership which was the paramount cause for the humiliation and defeat. The Convention eventually came to the conclusion that only a leadership truly dedicated to the ideological basis of the nation could answer to the challenges of the situation. There was a pre-eminent need to build up a self-reliant economy and a society based on the principles of Islamic social justice. Concern was also shown about the problems arising from a continued presence of Indian troops in East Pakistan as well as a certain degree of apathy about the problems of Muslim Bengal which were seen emerging in West Pakistan.

● The continued presence of Indian troops in East Pakistan, the growing penetration of India's trade and administrative interests, and the political and cultural future of the Muslim Bengal were the subject matter of a rally organised by Pakistan Council Overseas in London's Trafalgar Square, on 30 January. The rally was addressed by Mr. Ali Muhammad Abbas, the Council Chairman, Mr. Abul Hayat, President of the Pakistan Solidarity Front and a number of other speakers, mainly from East Pakistan.

● **Islam and the Predicament of Modern Man** was the subject of a talk given by Seyyed Ishaq Sherif, a graduate of Oxford and a former M.P. in the Sudan, at the London Islamic Circle on Saturday, 29 January. In the informal and reflective manner characteristic of many Sudanese, Seyyed Ishaq attempted to show how the predicament of modern man was brought about by his own amazing advance in technology and the lack of knowledge about himself and the consequences of his arrogant behaviour.

In dealing with political and economic practices and such problems as the environment, Seyyed Ishaq concluded that the current predicament was largely due to lack of belief in the oneness of God and the unity of His creation. This had given rise to such scourges as nationalism and produced terrible injustices. He maintained and showed that Islam had a lot to offer but unfortunately the adherents of Islam in the present age do not do Islam any justice.

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AUSTRALIA. Aborigine Australians staged a sit-down strike before the Parliament in Canberra and demanded large scale housing construction, granting of political rights and the right to return to their lands. Aborigines in Australia are estimated to number about 140,000.

'BANGLADESH.' Mr. Tajuddin Ahmad, Minister of Planning and Finance told a Yugoslav correspondent that the government is willing to change socio-economic relations in East Bengal and so it is natural that it maintains friendly relations with socialist states. ● Israeli Foreign Minister, Aba Eban told Knesset that unofficial contacts were in progress between 'Israel' and 'Bangladesh' and they were discussing mutual recognition. Israel, he said, is also seeking to improve ties with China.

● India and 'Bangladesh' will examine feasibility of inter-linking the power system of the two countries.

● Radio 'Bangladesh' commenting on Pakistan's decision to leave the Commonwealth said if Mr. Bhutto continued to break relations with those who recognise 'Bangladesh', the day was not far off when Pakistan would start begging for recognition herself.

BURMA. The anti-Government National United Liberation Front Radio urged the people of Burma to follow the example of East Bengal and overthrow Burma's social-imperialist dictators.

CEYLON. In order to control illegal immigration the government has decided to issue identity cards to all citizens who are 18 or over.

CZECHOSLAVAKIA. *Pravda*, Moscow, has alleged that the recent setting up of a Czech Emigre Centre in London, with the help of the British Intelligence service was closely linked with the visit of the Head of the CIA to Tel Aviv last summer. It pointed to the organic nature of the contacts between the US and Israeli intelligence service and said Zionist sentiments and moods were used as a catalyst to promote counter-revolutionary action in 1968-69.

ETHIOPIA. China has given a loan of \$230m to be used to finance equipment and technical assistance for the implementation of development projects.

GREECE. Teaching of Turkish language and religious instruction has been banned in Turkish elementary schools in Rhodes.

INDONESIA. Sigih Arto, the Attorney-General told the Conference of Judges in Djakarta that the total

number of political detainees throughout Indonesia was now 18,000. Of these some 10,000 Communist political prisoners were confined on Buru island. Their families were being allowed to join them, but due to security reasons it was not yet possible to release them.

'ISRAEL.' The Director General of the Defence Ministry claimed that Israel was now as advanced as the USSR in the field of military electronics and their military industry was approaching near self-sufficiency.

● Golan Heights in occupied Syria have been annexed to Israel without any formal announcement. For the first time Israeli law has been applied in occupied areas other than East Jerusalem which amounts to annexation and a breach of Geneva Convention. ● The Israeli Cabinet after obtaining clarification from the US government decided to inform the Americans of its willingness to take part in "proximity talks" with Egypt on the opening of the Suez Canal. "The proximity talks" meant that the two delegations would be physically near each other during the talks.

JORDAN. Radio Amman said Israel will continue to defy Arab pressure or threat so long as they chose to tackle the question on the pages of newspapers and over the radio, and so long as the Arabs prefer disagreement and fighting among themselves instead of unifying their efforts.

KENYA. A seminar organised by the University of Nairobi concluded that fast erosion of traditional authority posed a great problem for the future generations who would find themselves living in a cultural void. ● The Minister of Education told the World Hare Krishna Movement Festival that Kenya welcomed everybody who is willing to work in a spirit of tolerance and respect for each other's faith. ● The Kuwaiti Ambassador to Kenya presented a cheque for Sh.14,000 to the department of philosophy and religious Studies, University of Nairobi. The Ambassador said that *although* Kuwait is a Muslim state it enjoys complete freedom of worship.

MOROCCO. Trial has started of more than 1,000 people including 10 officers and 24 NCO's accused of involvement in the abortive coup of 10 July last year. ● Students of the School of Engineering in Muhammadiyah staged a strike in protest against the arrest of Ibrahim Sharafati, a Professor at the School.

● King Hasan started conferring

with religious and political leaders with a view to initiating political changes. The Opposition parties have demanded dissolution of Parliament and a new National Assembly elected by direct universal suffrage, with greater authority, and elections to be supervised by a coalition Government.

PAKISTAN. A joint communique issued at the end of President Bhutto's visit to China called on the International Community to take note of the consequences of India's armed aggression. Premier Chou-en-lai expressed his understanding and respect for the view that states should refrain from precipitate action and that there could be no peace unless India vacated the territory occupied by her in accordance with the Security Council Resolution of December 1971. ● China agreed to turn four loans made earlier to Pakistan into grants and deferred payment of the 1970 loan for 20 years. ● President Bhutto after his return from a tour of eight Middle East and North African countries announced his complete satisfaction with the results of his journey. The way he was welcomed would surely indicate that Pakistan is far from being isolated. ● Karachi shipyard is to build two tugs for Abu Dhabi, another two for Saudi Arabia are to be delivered by September next.

● Chou-en-lai told the visiting Pakistani delegation that "the fall of East Pakistan was not the beginning of Indian victory but the source of trouble for the subcontinent." He said he had been unable to visit Pakistan "because of preoccupation" but would do so in the near future.

SAUDI ARABIA. Over 1.18m people performed Hajj on 25 January. Of these 478,000 came from abroad. ● A SR 150m project has been sanctioned for the establishment of an abattoir in Mina. When functioning it will also can the meat slaughtered during the Hajj.

SUDAN. Possibilities of a rail link with Egypt are being explored by a British company. ● Major Maa-moun Awad, Secretary-General of the Socialist Union said they are prepared to improve relations with the Soviet Union if Moscow drops its support for the Sudanese Communists and denounced the abortive coup of July 1971. Of the more than 5,000 Communists arrested after the coup nearly 1,500 have since been released.

TURKEY. Plans have been outlined to establish a factory to produce foreign aircraft. ● Mr. Suleyman

Demirel said the most important issue in Turkey was the achievement of a steady democratic regime. The question as to which party is to come to power is of secondary importance.

UNITED KINGDOM. Mrs. Gill Knight, Conservative M.P. for Birmingham, Edgbaston, in a statement issued to *Impact* expressed grief that President Bhutto had to take Pakistan out of the family of the Commonwealth. Yet, she said, it was perfectly understandable as to why this protest against the events of the last few weeks was necessary. She assured those Pakistanis in Britain whose future status may be so affected that she would do her utmost to support the smoothing out of the problems. She said that to be forced to watch helplessly, while one's country was systematically torn into two was an agony too deep for words to convey.

She expressed her distress over the situation of all those in Pakistan who now suffer for having 'collaborated' in preserving the unity of their country. However, they were not without good friends who were ready to help build a good and peaceful future.

PEOPLE

UN Peace Medal to Emperor Haile Selassie
● Dr. Yasin Al-Usta appointed Governor of Damascus. ● Chi-Peng-Fei has taken over as China's new Foreign Minister. ● Major Abd al-Qasim Muhammed Ibrahim appointed Head of National Security in Sudan. ● Mr. C. M. N. Anwar appointed Community Relations Officer in Oxford. ● Sir Keith Holyoake, 67, retired after 11 years as Prime Minister of New Zealand. ● Jiri Lederer, an outspoken Czech journalist jailed for 2 years for "defaming a state of the world socialist system". ● Prince Birendra is now the new King of Nepal. ● Altaf Gauhar, Chief Editor *Dawn*, Karachi arrested for alleged irregularities committed while a civil servant under previous regimes.

VISITS

Sir Ramgoolam to Delhi. ● President Suharto to Australia, New Zealand and the Philippines. ● President Qaddafi to Khartoum. ● Sergei Nikitich, Head of the Soviet Foreign Tourist Administration to Lebanon. ● Bilal Abd As-Salam, the Algerian Minister of Industry and Power to Prague. ● Sir Alec Douglas Home to Israel in March after return from Asian tour. ● President Sadat to Belgrade, Damascus and Tripoli after return from Moscow. ● Abraham Sirlaty and Abdul Latif Laabi, pro-Peking editors of a Moroccan magazine detained by Moroccan authorities. ● Sheikh Mujibur Rakman to Calcutta.

DIED

Mr. E. W. R. Lumby, 62, assistant of the series of official publications on the *Transfer of Power* in India on 23 January. ● Hussein Lule, deputy leader of the Turkish Unity Party in Ankara on 30 January. ● King Mahendra of Nepal on 30 January. ● Lord Crowther, 64, economist, educator & former editor of *The Economist* on 5 February.