

impact

international fortnightly

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Sudan's Southern Problem

Behind The Addis Ababa Agreement

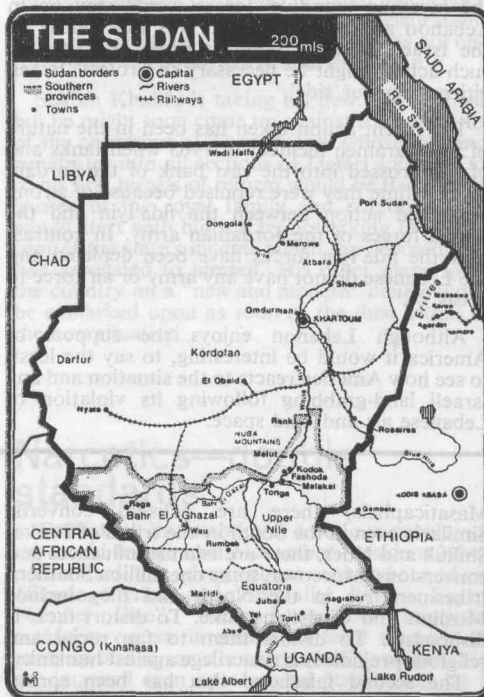
The trouble with unnatural and artificially created problems is that they too call for real and genuine solutions. Ever since the British Condominium in Sudan the problem of the South has been created in and cultivated by the twin forces of Western imperialism and European Christian missions which invaded the region in the late nineteenth century. Ever since Sudan's independence in 1956 international, political and proselytizing brokers have fanned the feud and tried to turn it into an "international calibre". Serious and sustained efforts at amicable solution at home have been frustrated by diplomatic blackmail, international pressure, and political propagandist and military support to the secessionists from outside.

The genuine and natural problem of regional re-adjustment and development was fan-fired into secessionist conflagration and fed on religious, racial and political prejudices. Such is the predicament of modern Sudan. She has to face this problem and seek its solution. The agreement reached at Addis Ababa between the representatives of the Sudanese government and the Southern rebels is to be appraised in this context.

Since 1963 there has been a state of civil war in Sudan with varying degrees of intensity and spread. The government has for sometime been trying to quell the rebellion and bring about the political rehabilitation of the South. It is admitted on all counts that the government had succeeded in normalising large areas of the Upper Nile and Bahr al-Ghazal provinces. Only the province of Equatoria with strong supply lines with Uganda remained rebel stronghold. The "Anyanya" writes Norman Daniel, "have always been intransigent and seem not to want to negotiate; they have not been successful enough for long enough over a large enough area to be able to negotiate from strength". (*The Middle East—A Handbook*, London 1971, p.290)

This position they failed to attain despite the fact that Israel, Ethiopia and

Uganda were helping them in full measure and South Sudan was referred to as "Israel's second front". The recent shift in Ugandan policy was making it difficult for this second front to maintain its momentum. The psycho-political impact of the failure of secessionist moves in Nigeria and Zaire (shown in the map under its former name Congo Kinshasa) was also telling upon the situation. The



execution of Joseph Garong and the new move to have commissioners in southern provinces with direct contract with the President had weakened the political appeal of the rebels in the south, particularly in the provinces of Upper Nile and Bahr al-Ghazal. In such a situation the appropriate strategy for them was to try to achieve diplomatically what they could not achieve otherwise. Hence the international move to solve the problem.

If the international agencies had undergone any change of heart and become eager to solve a problem which they

created it would have been a great day. But there is little evidence to support such a change. What is evident, however, in this active involvement of the whole affair, that agreement has been reached in Addis Ababa, the capital of Ethiopia which has been the champion of Southern secession (also of Biafra, to refresh the memory) and which provided arms and military training to the rebels. The role of the midwife was played by Canon Burgess Carr, the Secretary-General of the All-Africa Conference of Churches, which is linked to the World Council of Churches—a champion of southern secession as it was of Biafra and Bangla Desh. Others on record as being active in Addis Ababa and Khartoum during this time were the Catholic Caritas, Danish Church Aid, West German Protestant Aid organisation (all three formerly active in supporting Southern rebels and well known for playing "a controversial role in the Biafra War"), the British Council of Churches, United Kingdom Christian Aid, Oxfam and the International Red Cross. "At least three of these groups," writes Colin Legum (*Observer*, 27 February, 1972) "had figured largely in the recent trial in Khartoum of German mercenary Col. Rolf Steiner, who was convicted of assisting the Southern rebels in their struggle." The official delegation of the South included Mr. Mading de Garing editor of the Grass Curtain, which is financed in part by a London stockbroker. The back-room legal adviser of the Southern delegation was none other than Sir Dingle Foot, former Solicitor General of the United Kingdom.

The details of the agreement have not been released. The picture that emerges by collecting the bits and pieces that have trickled out of Khartoum and Addis Ababa is as follows:

●The southern provinces will become an autonomous region with their own president, cabinet and parliament at Juba, the capital of Equatoria. The new federal constitution would give this autonomy.

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Sudan's Southern Problem

● The centre will look after defence, currency and foreign policy (except trade) only.

● Security in the South would be in the hands of the Southern government. The Anya-Nya rebel forces will be integrated in the army—the southern army which will have a certain proportion (most probably 50-50) of southern and other officers. All officers of the secessionist army will be taken into this force.

● The South would be free to develop its own international trade relations and economic policy with the rest of the world.

These provisions would make the future pattern of Sudan more of a *confederal* character, instead of the federal set-up which is being claimed. Independence in trade policy is a very important aspect of the deal, as this would enable the South to integrate itself with the western capitalist system and become the cockpit of international capital and aid.

Some secret provisions of the agreement have also been hinted at. A few of them deserve to be noted:

*“The Khartoum Government has agreed that the Sudan shall not be an Islamic republic”. (Colin Legum, *The Observer*, 27 Feb. 1972, reporting from Addis Ababa). *The Times* suggests editorially that “certainly the policy of forced Islamization . . . has been abandoned”. (29 Feb. 1972).

*In Khartoum an agreement was reached that Ethiopian approval of the Sudanese rebels would be withdrawn in exchange for the cessation of Sudanese support for Eritrean Liberation Front”. (Brig. W. F. K. Thompson, *The Daily Telegraph*, 29 Feb. 1972).

*“... The Sudan will need massive aid, only thus can the ravaged South be rehabilitated and the refugees lured back. Some British agencies have already made emergency donations. It should be an opportunity for the British Government not to miss.” (*The Guardian Weekly*, 4 March 1972).

All the three threats are very real. To them must be added the interest of the Christian missions and the Israeli lobby in the south. It is genuinely feared that international missionary pressure will try once again to make the South a chessboard for its proselytizing game.

And then there is the question of the spokespersonship of the South. The leadership of the south is divided into factions and groups and agreement with one does not necessarily mean agreement with all.

Among the more fundamental dimensions of the problem, two points deserve to be clarified, if for no other purpose at least to set the record straight.

The entire western press and media have alleged that the problem of the South vs. the North is one of Negroid Sudan vs. Arab Sudan. This is a travesty of facts and history and represents yet another example of tailoring facts to suit political fancies. It is incorrect to claim any such clear distinction between any of the regions, tribes or peoples of Sudan. The Christian missionary author J. Spencer Trimmingham writes in *Islam in the Sudan*, (Frank Cass, London 1965 pp. 4-5) that “It is rare to find anything approaching a pure racial type among any of the peoples of the Sudan, for, this land has suffered from many vents of racial dispersion. All its people are variations between the pure Caucasians and the pure Negro type”.

Then there is a large number of Muslim Negroes, both in the North and the South. There is unimpeachable historical evidence to show that in almost all important Negroid tribes (Fallata, Funj, Gule, Moya, Tibbu, Zaghawa, Dazagada, Bedayat, Fur, Dajo, the Nuba—to mention only the more important ones) Muslims constitute a significant number. Even amongst the more exclusively southern tribes (the Nilots, the Nilo-Haamites, the Funj-Nuba and the south-western

Survey

● ISRAELI OFFENSIVE ●

● RUMANIA

Not simply border raids

The recent thrusts of the Israeli army and air force into Lebanon have ostensibly been mounted against Palestinian guerillas operating from 'Fatahland' in Lebanese territory.

These thrusts came at a time when the Israelis have accepted the peace feelers of the Jarring mission relating to the partial withdrawal from the Suez Canal area and at a time when Jarring himself was in Israel. Of course they came at a time also when Israel has strengthened her military position and have pocketed the Phantoms from the U.S.A. A slight move on the peace table seems to mean that counterbalancing action must be taken on the ground level.

The ferreting out of guerillas and the levelling out of homes as a result may not be the only reason and effect of the Israeli action. It would deal the Palestinian resistance a further crippling blow and help the completion of the work which the Jordanian government started. Israel could be saving Lebanon the embarrassment which Jordan suffered.

But more than this Israel has been having its eyes on the Lebanon for some time now and there is every danger that the area might be taken over any time now. In fact there was speculation that the invading 'punitive' forces would stay on in Lebanon and not withdraw. This was hinted by the Israeli Defence Minister when he said that such action might be necessary to protect 'Israeli citizens on our side'.

The recent action taken has been in the nature of the Karameh incident of 1968 when tanks and planes crossed into the east bank of the Jordan. At that time they were repulsed because of strong combined action between the fida'iyyin and the armed forces of the Jordanian army. In contrast now the fida'iyyin forces have been depleted and the Lebanese do not have any army or air force to speak of.

Although Lebanon enjoys the support of America it would be interesting, to say the least, to see how America reacts to the situation and any Israeli land-grabbing following its violation of Lebanese air and land space.

Masaticaphals) there are Muslim converts. Similarly even in the South in the tribes of Dinka, Shilluk and Nuer, there are Islamic influences and conversions. Moreover, some one million Southern tribesmen live in the North and they include Muslims and Christians alike. To distort facts is dishonesty. To distort them to fan racial and religious prejudices is a sacrilege against humanity.

The second falsehood that has been spread without the least qualms of conscience is that it is a dispute between Christianity and Islam. It is correct that the western missionaries tried to turn the South into a Christian reserve. The Christian churches penetrated Sudan with the conquerors of Kereri. The missionary lobby had hoped for complete freedom to proselytize the whole of the Sudan failing which they concentrated largely on three pagan Southern provinces which were cut off from the rest and treated as special area. Separate political, educational and religious policies were pursued and every effort was made to make the cleavage permanent.

The doors of the south were closed to the North and to Islam even for educational or religious purposes. The idea was to build the South into 'self contained racial and tribal units' upholding Christianity. The wedge of separatism was struck and its legacy still haunts, but people of the area could not be converted to Christianity. The

The situation is indeed a very serious one. It is significant that the Arab League, the Federation of Arab States and even for that matter the so-called front line states have taken no measures to strengthen the border. There has been some talk of this, however, at the recently concluded Islamic Foreign Ministers' Conference in Jeddah. But it is symptomatic of the lack of concern that the funeral of those killed in the Israeli raids was attended by students only whereas in the past such an event would have evoked a mass reaction.

Whatever the faults and contradictions among the guerillas, it is necessary that some concerted action be taken, for these Israeli incursions are not simply 'border raids'.

Rumania and the Common Market— one step forward one step back

Rumania symbolizes the tensions that permeate Russia's Eastern European hinterland. Yugoslavia is the only red rebel that succeeded in building a bridge to the West. But this occurred at a time when Russia's grip on East Europe was rather loose and unfirm and her own power status still in the making. Hungary tried to wriggle out of the complex in the mid fifties and miserably failed. Czechoslovakia chased the same objective in a different way but after a few initial successes had to submit to the Russian tanks. The era of Dubcek with its so-called humane face collapsed into one of Husak-Brezhnev solidarity.

Rumania is conscious of this background and seems to have adopted the strategy of one step forward, one step back. She strongly feels the need for loosening some of the strings that constrain her without in any way impairing her socialist character or Soviet friendship.

Socialist nationalism in Rumania is as yet no more than a fledgeling. The young bird, however,

evidence is indisputable that “the vast majority of southerners are pagans; most of their leaders are Christians”. (Norman Daniel, “*Islam in Africa*” ed. by Kritzeck and Lewis, Van Nostrand-Reinholder, New York, 1968, p.208). There are Muslims in these southern tribes but they are also, in a minority as are the Christians. To present the pagan majority of the South as Christian is incorrect and dishonest. Even the Christian leadership has been brought to the fore through artificial means and by exploiting education and medical services for religio-political ends. But even if it is accepted that Christians do constitute a minority, even an important minority, how 'unchristian' it is to exploit this for presenting the South as Christian arrayed against a Muslim Arab North. And when this traffic in falsehood is done by people representing morality, love and charity, it is religion and goodness as such which become its victims and lose respect and credibility in the eyes of the mass of humanity which are drifting away into the spell of Godless ideologies of our times.

Sudan can solve the Southern problem only if the artificial and politicking aspects are separated from the real regional problem. The real problem can and must be solved, but it must never be allowed to be used as a pretext by those working for ulterior ends.

Survey

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is eager to grow its plumage and attain some degree of independence and confidence on the wings. Her nerves are cautious but calculated. Through gradual evolution she wants to achieve what her neighbours could not through vocal radicalism.

In spite of being a Warsaw pact signatory she did not participate in the 'friendly military action' in Czechoslovakia. She remains sensitive about Russia or any other country's troops on her soil and has, as such, resisted all efforts even at friendly armies' exercises in Rumania. She has tried to maintain a posture of neutrality between the Sino-Soviet war of words and tries to be friendly with them both. Her relationships with Yugoslavia are close and warm and have become stronger after 1968. She has been the first country of the Soviet orbit to invite the US President and give him a hero's welcome. Now another very important development has taken place. Rumania has asked the Common Market for preferential treatment for her exports. This is the first formal official application to the Market from any Communist Government. This is in line with the Rumanian policy of maintaining a degree of independence in economic, military and foreign policy matters despite close alliance with Russia and the Warsaw pact countries. It would be incorrect to read too much into this move as Russia's opposition to the Common Market is now cooling off and only the other day a Soviet spokesman described the market as a 'paper monster'. There is every reason to believe that the Market will accept this request as 'home work' has already been done. This will enable Rumania to develop closer economic and trade links with the West, something which can act as a more stable bridge than mere political hubbub.

True to the policy of 'one step forward, one step back' Rumania has simultaneously put her weight behind the Rumanian proposal for European Security Conference and has shown slight uneasiness over the nationalistic revival in Yugoslavia. This balancing act apart, the approach to the Common Market could lead to the opening of some window to the West and might help towards the process of convergence between the world systems that is on the way.

Family squabbles

The assassination of Sheikh Khalid bin Rashid in Sharjah's Eid Al Adha coup attempt also has the overtones of a family squabble. His cousin, whom Sheikh Khalid himself overthrew in a bloodless coup, has no doubt long harboured hopes of regaining his position and perhaps revenge was also a motive.

However it seems likely that the impetus for the attempt came from external as well as internal events. Sheikh Khalid was not unpopular and his attempts at modernisation without the advantages of an oil economy were creditable. Internal opposition probably was confined to the faction opposed to traditional systems which had nothing to gain by replacing him with another Sheikh.

Sheikh Khalid's realistic if slightly mercenary attitude to the Iranian claims on the now famous islands earned him a 50 per cent share in any oil found there. The offer is better than an oil company would make even if he had been able to retain control of the islands in face of Iranian military power. As usual in Arab politics, indignation increased by the square of distance and the backlash was no doubt felt in Sharjah. Time was running out for ex-ruler Saqie bin Sultan whose attempt would have to come before the Union of Arab emirates Defence and Internal Security forces became too efficient. Misjudging the internal dissatisfaction, he made the attempt

which ended in failure with the blood of a fellow Muslim and relative on his hands. So ended a tragically traditional Arab power struggle reminiscent of the pre-Islamic age.

More family squabbles

Sheikh Khalifa Ben Hamad al Thani seized power in Qatar from his cousin Sheikh Ahmad Ben Ali Al Thani in a bloodless coup on 22 February. The takeover was executed with such complete calm that it was difficult to describe it as a 'coup'. In fact it has been seen simply as an 'adjustment' within the ruling Al Thani family.

The family, and the armed forces, supported the takeover. In essentials it was merely the legitimizing of a fact. For ten years or so Shaikh Khalifa has been the strongman of the oil-rich peninsula, having served as crown prince, deputy ruler, prime minister, foreign, finance, oil and information ministers. In the meantime Shaikh Ahmad, the ruler, had shown little inclination for the art and practise of governing. He was usually out of the country for half of the year. He was in Switzerland when Qatar was declared independent and did not bother to return for the celebrations. And when the take-over took place he was out on a three-week falconing trip in southern Iran.

Shaikh Khalifa is taking his new role seriously but he might soon come up against the opposition of the enormous al Thani family whose influence penetrates into all sections of Qatari society. One of his first targets of reform would be the extravagances of the royal family and corruption. He would start with himself by not taking the 20 per cent of the state's income which the deposed ruler had arrogated to himself. His other plans to set the country on a "new and modern" course would be embarked upon as soon as the dust settles on the new situation.

Narcotics—double standards

Trafficking in narcotics is a serious problem in the world today. Last November President Nixon proclaimed the drug abuse epidemic and its offsprings, crime and criminality, "Public Enemy Number One". There have been increasing measures on an international level to curb the problem and in some countries really stiff penalties are imposed even upto capital punishment, as in Afghanistan and Iran. These strong measures have been instituted on the goadings of countries which feel that drug peddlars and consumers are really undermining the fabric of their society.

Now that certain laws have been introduced to deal with the problem, one should hope that nothing would be done that might be construed as encouraging the trafficking or as interfering with the law. There should be no two ways about it whether one's nationals are involved or not. There should be no double standards.

In the now famous case of Timothy Davey, the Briton who was charged in Turkey for possessing and trafficking in narcotics, the British public and even the government have been behaving with a curious, if characteristic, double standard. The British are noted for their respect of the law and their detestation when the processes of that law

are interfered with whether by government or by international pressure. When however their own nationals are involved in other countries, it seems that they can do no wrong. One recalls the furore that surrounded the kidnapping of the British diplomat, Mr. Lee and the strong reaction in Britain that the Ugandan government was in the wrong. Later the diplomat admitted that he had lied and that he had concocted the kidnapping story.

In this drug case things are clearer and it is not fitting that responsible persons like Mr. Wilson and others should make public utterances and call on Mr. Heath to put pressure on the Turkish government. A special fund has been instituted too in order to pay off the fine and money is to be sent to the House of Commons.

The young man has admitted his offence and one M.P. has conceded that the Turkish court had the right to act the way it had and that under Turkish law Timothy had been dealt with quite properly. The attempt to buy off the crime by the British people and government must be seen as undue interference with the process of law and may well harden the attitude of the Turkish authorities. Drug trafficking is an offence and should remain so, whether it is done by Turks or Britons.

IMPACT revision of Airmail Tariff

Impact started publishing on 16 May, 1971, and the following July, GPO raised its overseas postage rates. This along with the subsequent devaluation of the American dollar has made it imperative to revise the existing overseas airmail tariff. Out of the present airmail subscription of \$9.00 (student) and \$12.00 (regular), the net postage paid is \$7.50 for the Middle East, \$10.00 for USA, Canada, South and SE Asia, and \$12.50 for the Far East. This excludes cost of the magazine and all other overheads. In order not to make the increases too heavy and economise on postage as from this issue, Impact is being printed on a lighter paper and a marginal reduction made in its size. This however does not affect the printing area and there is no reduction in the reading material either.

All remittances are also requested in Pound Sterling because about 75 cents are lost in clearance and conversion. Students concessions would apply only to local subscriptions and those by ordinary post. **THERE IS, HOWEVER, NO CHANGE IN LOCAL AND SURFACE MAIL RATES.**

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Language and Civilisation

On the necessity of cultivating English

SEYYED ISHAQ SHERIF

Thomas Hobbes, who was, perhaps, one of the most outspoken philosophers of all time, said somewhere in his book *New Leviathan* "There may be a great deal of speech without reason, but there can be no reason without speech". With this healthy aphorism in mind, I pray that I may be defended against the humiliation of speaking nonsense.

I have said somewhere in one or two of my published essays that in order to gauge the distance separating the quagmire of problems facing the under-developed world from the rapidly advancing denizens of the already developed and developing part of humanity, one should reverse positions in old Zeno's Puzzle. That should in effect mean that the tortoise of torpor and backwardness sleeps while the hare of wakefulness and of even hectic advance shoots forth and gallops away into the future. This was, of course, a case of following the technique of 'epater le bourgeois' to shake the complacency out of those of us who tend to underestimate the immensity of the difficulties that under-developed humanity must surmount before it is ready to be within ear-shot of less unfortunate brethren in the developed and developing world.

To correct the perspective of what I propose to lay before your field of vision, I reiterate the now commonly held linguistic dictum that there are no primitive languages. Every language that is spoken by man, however primitive and backward in the arts of living the society he lives in might be, is a fully human language. In other words all human languages are capable of expressing the intellectual and affective subtleties that have been considered by prejudiced opinion to be the exclusive property of the more highly evolved cultures and which have been identified with the phenomenon of covetable civilisation. The most advanced pattern of thought in the contemporary world of man is that which is labelled scientific.

The Spirit of Science

It is not only in the realm of intricate mathematics and the accompanying instruments for probing the depths and realities of the Universe beyond the ken of victims of that half education known as liberal education which non-scientists like the present writer

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have had to suffer, that scientific method is commended and indeed commanded. But it is a necessity unto all who propose to make profitable inquiry into any field whatsoever. Now, because of the obviously uneven development of Human societies which is the inevitable consequence of the co-existence of societies whose evolution is centuries apart within the same contemporary world, some languages, with no real claim of intrinsic superiority beyond the racist prejudices of fatuous folk, have become more impregnated than all the others with the spirit of Science. It is the existence of this spirit of Science or lack of it in a society or an individual which is the real test of whether the society or individual in question are to be called developed or not.

Four human languages are now fully activated with the present-day expansion of Science, into the foreseeable future. These languages are: English, French, German and Russian. If an individual's linguistic skill be confined to Arabic or even Spanish, he or she must be prepared to be some three or more decades behind the times. Moreover the frequency of these languages that I have aforementioned in world-wide use and more or less in the order of their being mentioned, gives them great and even preponderant importance over all other languages, irrespective of aesthetic, nationalistic or any other values that matter on the human scale.

English is by far the most widely spread of all four. It happens to be the mother tongue of the largest national aggregates in the contemporary world. A vast number of these are ethnically quite far from being English—such as most of the inhabitants of the West Indies and a growing number of people in the sub-continent of India itself.

But this is the least important aspect of English. It is indeed a sort of irony of fate that the British, who of all Imperial peoples ancient or modern, have been and still are the least anxious to spread the use of their language among other peoples, have to suffer the fate of speaking the language that is least likely to shake them out of their proverbial indolence towards learning other languages!

Japan and even China are using English as the language of scientific instruction, investigation and international communication. No man alive could be further removed from any feeling of inferiority concerning their own language and culture than these very justly

proud men and women of the Orient who are the Chinese and the Japanese. They are heirs to, perhaps, the most consummate of human refinements and especially the Chinese, to the most long-lived civilisation known to Man on Earth. Yet these people have had to consider the remoteness of their respective languages from the rest of the world: most of all that world which owes its origin to Europe. Furthermore, it is this European World that spreads from its mother continent to the Americas, Australia and a number of other regions, which is more animated than most with the spirit of Science and its vast emanations of industry and commerce.

Sweden, India and Pakistan among other countries use English, not only as an auxiliary language for sundry purposes, but more significantly as the language of publications especially of contributions to Science proper and to the allied humanistic disciplines, which are naturally addressed to an international audience.

What should seem rational to me, is that English, of which we have acquired many habits good and bad alike, should be raised to a higher degree of proficiency among those who leave high school for the university or for employment. The fact that English was once the language of colonisers, imperialists or what have you, in terms of history, is a meaningless thing to say, unless that should mean a renewal of a state of bondage or servitude!

English should be considered in terms of the present and the future not of the dead past.

But this does not mean that we are to forget that no people could really be said to benefit from education unless that education is animated in those people's native idiom. No foreign language, however well learnt and however well endowed with graces, can replace native speech. The impossibility is all the more when the native speech concerned is the key to the treasure of a whole civilisation upon whose genuine re-discovery the renaissance or simple revitalisation of a whole people is dependant.

When we have devised a clear and well thought out educational policy, which profits from both the positive and negative lessons of our experience, my plea for the re-consideration of the position of English in the Sudan of the future should be seen for what it is. It is that of *intensive bilingual development with the*

"The fact that English was once the language of colonisers, imperialists or what have you in terms of history, is a meaningless thing to say, unless that should mean a renewal of a state of bondage or servitude"

proviso that, Arabic is the first language, and that bilingual skill and not the belittling of Arabic should be the aim!

I am not the one to ask that the foundations of grandeur be laid upon the quick sand of tutelage. What I advocate is that freedom means fearlessness; and no one is fearless whose mind is haunted by all sorts of ghostly terrors. This should mean that the discussion of issues, however controversial, should be perfectly candid and that only facts and logically valid reasoning are to be respected.

A most recent language

But English has become the most widely used of European languages today. This is so, not merely because of the historical accidents of empire and discovery. Of course the accidental or rather imperfectly probed event, has its place in as complex a situation as the one before us, which is that enveloping the necessity of the efficient use of English in a non-English speaking country like ours. English is one of the most recent languages to appear on the stage of history!

If we are to board the time machine and go back six hundred years, we shall find the people of John Bull's two islands speaking a language or rather languages which have very little obvious relation to modern English as we know it.

If we follow the development of English from that remote past of six hundred years ago and earlier to our own day, we shall certainly discover a great number of most interesting facts.

Briefly, the original Britons, the Scots and the Piets, etc., who had been the ancient natives of Britain, when hordes of Germanic tribes invaded the islands spoke in Celtic tongues.

The Engels, the Jutes, the Saxons, the Frisians and the later waves of Norse Men and Danes have between them contributed the preponderant Germanic element in the language with such words as: sea, land, man, woman, house, child, window, etc.—and the essentials of grammatical structure.

The more obvious latinisms came directly from classical Latin, which followed close on the heels of the Roman legions who had conquered Britain during the first century after the birth of Jesus Christ. Such words as: idea, case, form fortune, front, aquarium, modicum, minimum, maximum, etc.—are almost unmodified Latin words.

Dieu et Mon Droit

The less obvious Latin words usually came into English from Norman French. This

latter had entered the British Isles in the wake of the Norman conquest of the Islands under the leadership of William the Conqueror. Norman French had become the language of the British or rather English court, of learning and of officialdom, for a good length of time before it gradually ceded its place to English. A vestige of this court career of Norman French is the royal emblem of today *Dieu et Mon Droit*. The words derived from Norman French have sometimes rather arresting associations. One of those associations is the fact that nearly every animal, the flesh of which Britons and their overseas spawn eat, has an Anglo-Saxon name for itself and a Norman French one for its meat. 'Sheep' which is very near the German 'Schaf' becomes mutton (French mouton) when it is slaughtered and thought of as food. The same case applies in veal, beef, pork, etc.

The gentleman, who taught me English language and literature some twenty years or more ago, offered to explain this fact of language by suggesting that native Britons in Norman times had not seen the wretched animals except when they were alive!

Latin played a fresh role in the formation of English words when the Latin source was tapped once again through the revival of classical learning. Greek also played a very important part in forming English words, especially when the required words were to serve an exact purpose: grammar, topography, photosynthesis, graphics, geography, hippodrome, philosophy, and many others in almost every field from medicine to manners.

English can be taken as the example of an archetypal case of development from classical European sources to modern times.

English is almost precisely half German and half Latin with a generous amount of Greek words sprinkled into it.

In fact the journey from English to either German or French is not a particularly hazardous one. With German English has a very close blood relationship especially where structure is concerned. With French it has a closer spiritual kinship which is manifested in diverse ways.

A British philosopher once wrote in a light vein that during one of his vacations in France he had come across a French medical doctor who had made the strange remark after his perusal of a carefully written manuscript of the philosopher—"That English is only French with strange spellings and stranger grammar!"

A rich treasure house

It is immediately apparent that to study the history of English and its development is in

some way to study a great deal of the linguistic history of Europe: especially of these two most important groups—the Latin and Germanic groups of languages.

I, in fact, read somewhere the remark that to be a real scholar of English one has to be a Latin, French, German and even Greek scholar as well—a rather stiff formation for one who has stamina and a prohibitive one for one who has not.

Given this there is the rich treasure house of Literature which is the property of modern English from Chaucer to Shakespeare, to Milton to the 18th Century, with its incomparable Johnson, and the great number of poets, novelists, essayists and even writers of History, Philosophy and Sermons, not to mention the King James or authorised translation of the Bible and the fund of excellent Literature of the nineteenth and twentieth Centuries to our present day.

This is just to say very little of the many excellencies of English in itself and for its own sake and as a gateway to many other languages, literatures and libraries of learning.

A sort of snob value?

To arrive at some sort of conclusion of this unfortunately rambling discourse, I am going to begin with the kind of things that some people might have fancied as the function of English in Sudanese education and hence in the cultural life of the Sudan. English could not and cannot be considered as a sort of linguistic crutch for Arabic (this seems indicated by the rampant conversational habit of inserting English words or phrases—generally neither apt nor to the point—into the stream of often rather colloquial Arabic). Or is it a sort of snob value that such speakers seek?!

The Sudan is perhaps the only African country, with boundaries south of the Sahara, which has Arabic as a sufficiently diffused language within it to become the National language without undue difficulty.

Numerically speaking, Arabic is only one of a multitude of vernacular languages, many of which are still inadequately studied. But Arabic has characteristics which make it much more than just another Sudanese vernacular.

1. It is the repository of a great deal of learning in Medicine, Mathematics, History, in Philosophy and a number of disciplines arising out of the function of Arabic as the liturgical language of Islam (the Holy Book is really available in Arabic alone). It is also the bearer of a vast literature arising from its being the language of the Qur'an. For around the Qur'an grew a number of disciplines—linguistic, philological, grammatical, legalistic and even logical and philosophical in order

On the necessity of cultivating English...

hat the global purpose of the Qur'an be better understood and served. Around this learning, with no obvious religious bias, grew a literary tradition with quite a touch of the profane!

2. It is the actual lingua franca of all the Arabs from the Persian Gulf to the Eastern coast of the Atlantic.

3. It is the potential lingua franca of the whole Muslim world, if a thorough going revival of learning were to take place in that world, as might well be envisaged. For Arabic has been the language of Islamic civilisation at its zenith.

4. It is actually the lingua franca or rather intertribal language for nearly every square mile in the Sudan. It is spoken with a wide spectrum of variants from the sophisticated parlance of educated public utterances to the pidgin sort of Arabic speech found in the Nuba hills and the Southern provinces.

5. Last but not least, Arabic has proven itself as a National language and the future lies before it with all its problems and promise with perhaps more problems than promise. A great deal of effort seems to be required before Arabic can really play the role with which Destiny seems to challenge it.

Piece of good fortune

The gap or rather gulf between the colloquial and the literary languages must be narrowed down to the greatest degree imaginable, before intelligent discussion of the important topics of contemporary life could become familiar between the broad mass of the people and the Intelligentsia—as is the case—with more wide awake national communities elsewhere.

To my way of thinking, it is a piece of good fortune that both our national language and the foreign language, that has played and can still play a very important educational role in our country, are in their different ways international languages. French, German and Russian, which complete the international tetrad of the most effective scientific languages in use, are also being progressively better known.

Yet our desire for such covetable linguistic accomplishment should not run away with us. We should stick to the notion that the most sensible art for life is the art of the possible.

Arabic famed for clarity and terseness

Arabic is a language which is famed, despite the notoriously inept quality of most contemporary writing in it, for clarity and terseness of expression and for the richness and evocative aptitude of its imagery. It is in fact difficult not to fall upon real poetry when writing in Arabic with sound command, however, modest, the gift of the writer con-

cerned might be. It does not need the help of any language young or old to help it out of difficulties which are no more than the penalty of the writer's or speaker's knowledge of its vast and precise vocabulary. What Arabic really needs is a thorough-going modernisation. Out of the sixteen thousand roots more than half need not be included at all in an ordinary dictionary for the average consulter of the dictionary. In other words a movement towards a well defined, so-called basic vocabulary might save Arabic from its apparent unwieldiness to the eager learner. The inept writers whose paucity of vocabulary, relative to the plentitude and fecundity of the language, would no longer have that useful subterfuge behind the well known unwieldiness. But whatever the difficulties and the obstacles before the learner, Arabic has to be learnt well and must be helped out of its present low standard of proficiency in the schools, where it almost competes with its supposed rival English, for being ill-used and ill-served.

The development of the teaching of Arabic, English, French or indeed any other language, vernacular or foreign, will depend on how thorough and how efficient the introduction of scientific linguistic methods operates.

In reality the question of maintaining a reasonable level of scholastic proficiency in English or any other chosen foreign language must be thought of as fitting or unfitting to a proper development of Arabic as a national language which should be more and more adequate to the linguistic needs of our rapidly changing world.

English the inevitable second

It is this changing world and the perpetual creation of new needs by it that make it imperative for us despite our being endowed with a really incomparable language, to use one of the more current languages which are far more committed than our own to the frantic rhythm of modern change.

That this other language should be English seems to be inevitable. The most important reason for this is that English has a far greater currency than any of the more scientifically activated languages of the day. The second reason is, that we have had such a long experience of English that seems almost as dangerous and as spurious as contempt breeding familiarity.

It would cause untold damage to neglect an old and useful friend just because he is a little too familiar. The trouble is that this friend which is English is getting less and less familiar, despite the long time of his being around, and of our fancy that he is familiar.

Despite my confessed soft spot for the language of Shakespeare, of which I still hope to be a worthwhile manipulator, I think my

main points can be summed up by three questions:

1. Why do we learn or continue to cultivate English?
2. How far is it a genuine necessity to continue to cultivate English? I insist on the word cultivate, for it is for me, meaningless to have a sort of dragoman fluency in obviously incorrect or even unorthodox English, which is, to say the least, difficult to understand for those we mean to address.
3. What are the real uses of English to people like us in the Sudan and what are the genuine necessities for learning it?

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Britain—towards a new fuel policy

G. U. SIDDIQUI

A review of future British fuel policy was already due before the Miners' strike. In fact Lord Rothschild's 'think tank' has been working on it for nearly a year. The strike has only stressed the need for an earlier decision on a realistic national fuel policy.

Throughout the Industrial Revolution (roughly 1750—1850) and for about a century afterwards, coal has dominated as a source of energy in Britain. It is only within the last twenty years or so that alternate primary fuel made substantial progress as against coal.

As Table A shows, in 1950 for example the total inland fuel consumption was equivalent to 225.7 million tons of coal, of which coal itself provided 202.6 million tons. This means coal provided nearly 90% of the country's total fuel needs. The electricity and gas industries was at that time based almost entirely on coal.

these estimates turned out to be very conservative mainly because of the unexpected high capital cost. Compared with stations using conventional fuels, nuclear stations have a low cost of running but a high capital cost. The capital cost per kW of electricity for a nuclear station is almost three times that for a power station using coal or oil. Apart from capital cost the programme also suffered from some technical problems. At the moment 11 stations are operating. They are built at a cost of £750 million compared to £300 million estimated in 1955 and account for 6-7% of electricity at peak load, supplying about 4,000 megawatts (about 12m tons of coal).

In 1965, Britain embarked on another nuclear programme based on the advanced gas-cooled reactor (AGR). Up to last year the reactor had cost £114 million to develop and the electricity generating

power will account for nearly 13% of peak load electricity. Heavy investments today are essential for better returns tomorrow, the systems on which the world is counting to bring cheaper power.

The discovery of natural gas in 1965 in the southern North Sea added a new dimension to the fuel pattern. Since then enormous quantities of natural gas and huge oil strikes have been made in the northern North Sea. Natural gas is replacing oil and coal in the gas industry. Soon it will start making inroads in the electricity industry.

There was a time when the local politics of oil-producing countries used to be controlled by oil companies. It was the time when the industrialised countries had plentiful fuel supplies unhindered and at a very cheap price. But over the period of time, the balance of power between oil companies and the oil producing countries has taken a decisive shift. Another such turning point came last year at Tehran when oil producing countries came to talk to oil companies as a united front. The time had come for the consumer nations to adjust to the new thinking. This in practical terms meant not that oil would cost more but that if oil producing countries were not listened to, the supply could be interrupted. Each party having no alternative, avoids any precipitate action. While the oil companies and the producer countries depend heavily on OPEC (Organisation of Petroleum Exporting Countries) countries for their supplies, most of the producing governments depend on oil revenues for over 75% of their total incomes. Saudi Arabia, for instance, depends on oil for around 85% of its revenues; Kuwait's dependence is nearer 95%, and Iraq gets almost 50% of its income through taxation and royalties on oil.

After the Tehran meeting, there was a growing feeling in Britain to reduce the

Table A
Inland Fuel Consumption in the U.K.

	Million tons coal equivalent					
	1950	1956	1959	1963	1965	1971
Coal	202.6	217.5	189.4	194.0	184.6	140
Oil (including petroleum gases)	22.2	37.5	56.1	85.3	102.8	154
Nuclear/Hydro electricity	0.9	1.3	2.0	4.3	8.3	12
Natural gas	—	—	0.1	0.2	1.2	24
Total Inland Fuel Consumption	225.7	256.3	247.6	283.8	296.9	330

After reaching a peak in 1956, coal consumption began to fall and its place was steadily taken up by oil. This was partly because the coal industry was unable to meet the growing demands of energy and partly because in the competitive market oil provided a cheaper source of energy. Oil, besides being used in road and air transport and as a refinery fuel and for other purposes, also started replacing coal in the electricity and gas industries. By 1971, the contribution of coal in the total energy consumption was down to 42% while oil became the major source of energy, reaching 47% of the total energy consumption.

In 1955, Government took the decision to develop a new type of fuel—nuclear power. In its first programme it was decided to build about a dozen small nuclear stations of the Magnox type. The economists estimated that the electricity from these stations would be competitive with that raised from coal. But

boards had earmarked some £750 million for five stations totalling 6,200 MW, expected to come on loan during the next couple of years. When completed nuclear

Table B

	Million tons coal equivalent			
	1971		1980	
	Actual	%	Estimated	%
Total Energy	330		430	
Nuclear/Hydro	12	4	40	9
North Sea Gas	24	7	70	16
North Sea Oil	140	42	80	19
Coal	140	42	140	33
Balance				
Imported Oil	154		100	
Import Dependence		47%		23%

It is only by learning to build today's comparative simple systems on time and to a price that one can ever develop the skill to construct more highly-rated reactors such as fast breeders. And those are

dependence on imported oil. At the moment Britain buys the bulk of its oil from Middle East.

continued on page 10

“The times are advancing and the world changing. We are deeply convinced that the strength of the people is powerful, and that whatever zigzags and reverses there will be in the development of history, the general trend of the world is definitely towards light and not darkness.

The social systems of China and the United States are fundamentally different and there exists great differences between the Chinese Government and the United States Government. However, these differences should not hinder China and the United States from establishing normal State relations on the basis of the five principles of mutual respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, mutual non-aggression, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit, and peaceful co-existence; still less should they lead to war.” *Prime Minister Chou-en-Lai*

CHINESE SIDE STATED

1. The Chinese side stated: Wherever there is oppression, there is resistance. Countries want independence, nations want liberation and the people want revolution—this has become the irresistible trend of history. All nations, big or small, should be equal; big nations should not bully the small and strong nations should not bully the weak. China will never be a superpower and it opposes hegemony and power politics of any kind.

2. The Chinese side stated that it firmly supports the struggle of all the oppressed people and nations for freedom and liberation and that the people of all countries have for safeguards the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of their own countries and oppose foreign aggression, interference, control and subversion. All foreign troops should be withdrawn to their own countries.

3. The Chinese side expresses its firm support to the peoples of Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia in their efforts for the attainment of their goal and its firm support to the seven-point proposal of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam.

4. It re-affirms that Taiwan is a province of China and all US forces and military installations must be withdrawn from Taiwan.

5. It firmly supports the eight-point programme for the peaceful unification of Korea put forward by the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea on 12 April 1971, and the stand for the abolition of the “UN Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea”.

6. It firmly opposes the revival and outward expansion of Japanese militarism and firmly supports the Japanese people's desire to build an independent, democratic, peaceful and neutral Japan.

7. It firmly maintains that India and Pakistan should, in accordance with the United National resolutions on the India-Pakistan question, immediately withdraw all their forces to their respective territories and to their own sides of the cease-fire line in Jammu and Kashmir and firmly supports the Pakistan Government and people in their struggle to preserve their independence and sovereignty and the people of Jammu and Kashmir in their struggle for the right of self-determination.

US SIDE STATED

1. The US side stated: Peace in Asia and peace in the world requires efforts both to reduce immediate tensions and to eliminate the basic causes of conflict. The United States will work for a just and secure peace: just because it fulfils the aspirations of peoples and nations for freedom and progress; secure, because it removes the danger of foreign aggression. The United States supports individual freedom and social progress for all the peoples of the world, free of outside pressure or intervention.

2. The United States believes that the effort to reduce tension is served by improving communication between countries that have different ideologies so as to lessen the risks of confrontation through accident, miscalculation or misunderstanding. Countries should treat each other with mutual respect and be willing to complete peacefully, letting performance be the ultimate judge. No country should claim infallibility and each country should be prepared to re-examine its own attitudes for the common good.

3. The United States acknowledges all that Chinese maintain that there is but one China and that Taiwan is part of China. It will progressively reduce its forces and military installations on Taiwan.

4. The United States stressed that the peoples of Indo-China should be allowed to determine their destiny without outside intervention; its constant primary objective has been a negotiated solution; the eight-point proposal put forward by the Republic of Vietnam and the United States on 27 January 1972 represents a basis for the attainment of that objective; in the absence of a negotiated settlement the United States envisages the ultimate withdrawal of all US forces from the region consistent with the aim of self-determination for each country of Indo-China.

5. The United States will maintain its close ties with and support for the Republic of Korea; the United States will support efforts of the Republic of Korea to seek a relaxation of tension and increased communication in the Korean peninsula.

6. The United States places the highest value on its friendly relations with Japan; it



will continue to develop the existing bonds.

7. Consistent with the United Nations Security Council resolution of 21 December 1971, the United States favours the continuation of the cease-fire between India, Pakistan and the withdrawal of all military

THE TWO

1. The two sides agreed that it is desirable to broaden the understanding between the peoples. To this end, they discussed special areas in such fields as science, technology, culture, sports and journalism, in which people-to-people contacts and exchanges would be mutually beneficial. Each side undertakes to facilitate the further development of such contracts and exchanges.

2. Both sides view bilateral trade in another area from which mutual benefit can be derived, and agreed that economic relations based on equality and mutual benefit are in the interest of the peoples of the countries. They agree to facilitate the progressive development of trade between

“ You believe deeply in your system and we believe just as deeply in our system. It is not our common beliefs that have brought us together here, but our common interest and our common hopes, the interest that each of us has to maintain our independence and the security of our peoples and the hope that each of us has to build a new world order in which nations and peoples with different systems and different values can live together in peace, respecting one another while disagreeing with one another, letting history rather than the battlefield be the judge of their different ideas.

There is no reason for us to be enemies. Neither of us seeks the territory of the other; neither of us seeks domination over the other, neither of us seeks to stretch out our hands and rule the world.” *President Nixon*

PARTICIPANTS AND SPECTATORS

The importance of political events is often measured by the results, actual or potential, they produce. But some events are significant *per se*. They remain dramatic for the simple fact that they took place.

Nixon's visit to China is such an event. The fact that contact and communication have been built between the United States and China, despite the ideological gulf that separates them and despite the political hostility that embittered their relations over the last two decades, constitute an achievement that holds promise.

The Russian Revolution of 1917 was succinctly described as “ten days that shook the world”. President Nixon chose to chronicle the US—Chinese thaw epitomised by his visit as “the week that changed the world”. That the new developments have the potential to change the world need not be disputed, but as things stand it might be more appropriate to describe this visit as an effort to capitalise on changes that have been taking place in the international situation: China's new stature, sino-Soviet rupture, Indo-Soviet collusion are developments which have caused upsets in the recent past. And world politics cannot be realistically understood in terms of static poles. The success of a foreign policy depends on its creative responsiveness to changing situations. And herein lies the importance of Washington's bridge to Peking.

Nixon is engaged in an exercise of building and burning bridges. In the interest of a more realistic appraisal of the situation the splendour of the emerging bridges should be seen in the context of the smoke of the burning ones. Ideological or pseudo-ideological overtones of foreign policy relationships are running down. Boundaries and barriers between power camps are being blurred. Efforts are made to strike new balances. These developments have important implications for the countries of the Third World in general and for the Muslim world in particular. The Middle East and South and South East Asia are the most vulnerable arenas of international tension today. In the fluidity of

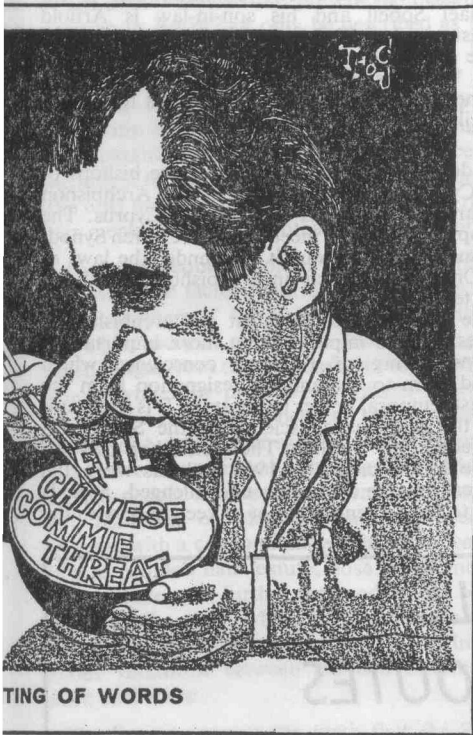
the situation now lies the opportunity.

The most latent contemporary threat to China seems to come from Russia and she is careful to build fences that can ward off the threat. India's alliance with Russia and the success of her recent aggression against Pakistan have changed the balance of power in Asia. China, Japan and India are the emerging forces to be reckoned with in the Asian context. The interest of the smaller countries of the area demands rethinking on many primary questions of international policy.

The joint communique affirms the principles of peaceful co-existence. The threats that beset the Asia Pacific region can be read between the lines. It is important that both parties have, in their own way, referred to the South Asian situation, particularly the explosive legacy of the Indo-Pakistan war and the Kashmir problem.

The communique lays the foundations for future contact between the US and China in political, cultural, technological and economic realms. Trade is now being looked upon as the area “from which mutual benefits can be derived”. This is a careful shift from the thesis of “American economic imperialism” to trade co-operation between capitalism and socialism. America can translate this proviso into reality only by readjusting its trade policy and removing many restrictions that characterise American protectionism. While tailoring the economic policy to the demands of this thaw, would it be too much to expect that America should also re-examine the restrictions she has imposed on the manufactured imports from the less developed countries and the embargo on another Third World country nearer home—Cuba?

The new US China line poses a host of problems for a number of Asian countries particularly Japan, Taiwan, Thailand, Vietnam, Pakistan and Indonesia. There are sufficient indicators as to how things are going to change. The response should now come from these countries in a way that makes them participants in the drama, and not merely passive spectators.



Courtesy Observer

ces to within their own territories and to their own sides of the cease-fire line in Jammu and Kashmir; the United States supports the right of the peoples of South Asia to shape their own future in peace, free of military threat, and without having the area become the subject of Great Power rivalry.

AGREED

- to countries.
3. The two sides agreed that they will stay in contact through various channels, including the sending of a senior US representative to Beijing from time to time for concrete negotiations to further the normalisation of relations between the two countries and continue to exchange views on issues of common interest.
4. The two sides expressed the hope that the gains achieved during this visit would open up new prospects for the relations between the two countries. They believe that the normalisation of relations between the two countries is not only in relaxation of tension in Asia and the world.

'A Milestone towards Islamic Solidarity

In his opening speech at the Islamic Foreign Ministers' Conference which opened in Jeddah on February the Secretary General Tunku Abdul Rahman said that the conference as a milestone towards Islamic solidarity but emphasised that it did not offer a substitute for the existing form of international co-operation nor form any bloc but rather complemented them.

The Tunku pointed out some of the areas where Muslims were in urgent need of help—in the sub-continent where he results and the outbreak of violence have produced untold disaster. He said that a mission from Malaysia was sent on the invitation of the Prime Minister of Bangladesh to see how the country could be brought back to normalcy and that 'no undue persecution was being carried out against non-Bengali Muslims.' A similar mission conducted by Iran was sent to Pakistan to investigate allegation of ill-treatment against people of Bangla origin.

One of the most important matters needing attention was the setting up of a publicity machinery for the Secretariat because 'the biggest battle which we have to fight is to correct the misunderstandings created by the foreign press' and the impression that the 'get-together' would be a failure.

continued from page 7

The Miners' Strike brought another factor home—that the price and security of supply is important but equally important is the diversification of the country's use of fuel so that the country cannot be held to ransom by one industry providing fuel. The possible pattern of supplies to reduce dependence on imported oil, as seen before the Miners' strike is shown in Table B.

The experts expect to see the first major injection of North Sea oil into Britain's fuel policy in 1974-5. By then natural gas will be meeting at least 15% of the total fuel demands—and possibly substantially more. It is now likely that the demand for coal will drop to about 20% over the next few years and its place will probably be taken by oil and natural gas.

Oil is the most diverse fuel base. This is because no one company or organisation has a monopoly. Several big companies are in competition.

Another likely step will be the immediate conversion of coal fired power stations to dual firing—to gas/coal and oil/coal. But conversion takes about 18 months and any acceleration in the programme would not affect the situation next winter.

At present, coal accounts for 73% of the country's electrical output, oil about 17% and nuclear power about 6-7%. In future the number of oil fired power stations are likely to increase.

Nota Bene

'SCRIBE'

He who punches should remain prepared to get punched. Last week it was Mr. William Davis's turn. The editor of *Punch* stood on the receiving end.

Mr. Davis tried to court with the Women's Lib by announcing to produce a special issue of the *Punch* on the New Woman. But the new woman took issue with him in a different vein. He had invited 18 assorted women to lunch to discuss the forthcoming issue. The Women's Lib decided to picket the occasion and protest against "the only place in Fleet Street that practises apartheid". It is claimed that no woman has ever, in all of its 127 years, been invited to the *Punch* table for one of the ritual Wednesday working luncheons where wit flows and *Punch* jokes are polished.

Woman's Lib refused to be seduced by the promise of the special issue. It turned the occasion into protest and rendered the Lunch into a feast of publicity. The lunch, however, was held and the issue would be delivered by Mrs. Barbara Castle and her colleagues. Woman have won but not the Women's Lib.

The protesting beauties, on the other hand, got the better of the *Punch* editor. Addressing the furious mob he said: One characteristic feature of Women's Liberation is that you have no sense of humour; you all take yourselves so damned seriously".

A usually well-informed correspondent who has recently travelled widely in Pakistan informs that during the December debacle luck betrayed Pakistan's army in more than one way. One promising brigade which was charged to spear into India's Rajasthan sector lost direction and continued to conquer its own Sind desert. Several crucial days were lost in this self-conquest and when the mistake was realised it was too late to rectify.

Whatever be its credibility from the viewpoint of military logistics the story is suggestive in another way. Pakistan's whole problem has been that of loss of the sense of direction. It was loss of this very sense of direction which turned a potentially ideological state into a medley of warring regionalisms. Again it was this very loss of direction which turned the face of the Army from beyond the frontier to the presidential palace. Ayub Khan initiated the army into 'conquering' its own country and its own people. The Brigade in Sind did the same in a different albeit tragic way. Unless the nation rediscovers its sense of direction and the army its correct station in national life there is no end to the tragedy.

'Business is business' even if the domain of its operation is politics or philanthropy. America has a name for political donations that mean business, and are hardly treated as mean. Latest revelation has come from the Washington columnist Jack Anderson, who is now specialising in leaking official secrets. He has published a memorandum which is alleged to be the first documentary evidence of a link between \$400,000 contribution to Republicans this year by the International Telephones and Telegraph corporation and the Justice Departments' 'decision' to drop three anti-trust suits against the company.

The British counterpart of political philanthropy has something to do with 'honour'. An article by Mr. Hugh Macpherson has appeared in last week's *Spectator* under the title "Faith, Hope and Charity". The writer shows how some seekers after public honours achieve their coveted objective. Harold Wilson was approached in 1969 by a M.P. "with the offer of important information about the Conservative election plans in return for a peerage". Harold refused.

Donations for the Pro-Market campaign were raised from business. "For example £300,000 in April and another £300,000 when the Honours'

List was published both from the same individual source". "An M.P. told me early last November quotes the article, "that a prominent Jewish businessman with an even more prominent son-in-law who was a very large donor to charity, who was now retired from business and lived in the country and did not figure in 'Who's Who' was about to receive knighthood in the New Year's Honours". And he received the honour "for charitable services". The philanthropist is Sir Michael Sobell and his son-in-law is Arnold Weinstock. And Sir Michael is the second largest single donor to the European Movement.

So 'business is business', the calculus of investment and returns, whether it goes to politics or philanthropy.

A demand has been made by three bishops of the Cyprus Orthodox Church for Archbishop Makarios to resign as President of Cyprus. The bishop's request, at a meeting of the Church Synod, was made on the grounds that under the laws of the Orthodox Church an archbishop should not hold temporal power.

The bishops revolt against the archbishop is interesting and important but more important is the prompting of religious conscience which forced them to demand his resignation from the highest temporal power in the state. It is irrelevant that the religious conscience of the Synod has awakened only too late. The archbishop had put on the double crown in 1960 and has worn the political mantle ever since unchallenged. Synods seem to have a tendency not to keep pace with the times

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Leading up to branqueamento

The view of Brazil as the one country in the world where people of different races live together in harmony and where opportunities are open to all irrespective of racial background is definitely a misleading, if not a completely inaccurate description of the Brazilian racial situation. This is the conclusion of a report on "The Position of Blacks in Brazilian Society" published by the Minority Rights Group.

The author says that at present the blackman's position in Brazil can only be described as being virtually outside the mainstream of society. He is almost completely unrepresented in any area involving decision-making; with relatively few exceptions he is not to be seen in government, administration, business, or commerce, except at the lowest levels where manual labour is required. The only areas where he plays a significant, rather than menial, role are in football and entertainment.

The term 'people of colour' is itself probably the greatest single factor contributing to the myth of 'racial democracy' for it is used to describe all non-white people or 'mixed bloods'—a group which ranges from those completely black to those almost white. In practice, Brazilians make extremely fine distinctions between subtle variations in skin tone, and lighter-skinned Brazilians do not consider it a compliment to be classified with dark or black people. Because of this Brazilian obsession with blackness or whiteness and the shades in between, with a concomitant emphasis on features such as people's hair texture, nose shape and size of lips, there exist further race and colour breakdowns to the point where Brazilians have more than twenty different expressions to distinguish colour variations between the two extremes of black and white.

The Report exposes the myth that the Portuguese somehow managed to initiate good race relations in Brazil, in spite of their own history as slave traders and the inegalitarian nature of their own society. The report showed how slavery continued in Brazil until 1888, sixty-six years after Brazil had attained independence from Portugal. During the course of the transatlantic slave trade it estimated that about 3,647,000 men, women and children were imported into Brazil.

The Report tries to deal with the question of prejudice and discrimination and to decide whether this is due to colour or social and economic position pointing out that there are people of all colours in the *favelas* or shanty towns. But on the basis of the overall evidence he concludes that people suffer prejudice and are discriminated against because of their colour. The reality of their position is summarised by a well-known Brazilian saying: "In Brazil, there is no racism: the Negro knows his place".

The problem would continue to worsen with such Brazilian policies as *branqueamento* (whitening), by which it is hoped that continued miscegenation will eventually produce a new Brazilian all-white prototype; certainly the encouragement given to European immigration will contribute to this end.

"The Position of Blacks in Brazilian Society" p35 from the Minority Rights Group, 36 Craven Street, London WC2N 5NG.

Television When Britannia Ruled

What is it that enabled a small island, off the mainland of Europe, to dominate the world for the better part of two centuries? A weekly series is at present being shown on BBC I television called "The British Empire" which attempts to answer this question. It consists of thirteen sections, and about half have been screened so far.

The question is of course a loaded one. On the one hand almost all Muslim countries have been (and some still are) governed by European powers. The ripples which were set in motion when Europe splashed into Africa and Asia still periodically rock these lands. But though the experience was undoubtedly injurious, it should not prevent appraisal.

The camera is not ideal for this because it is limited to conveying those ideas which can be visually expressed. This detracts from the value of "The British Empire", and furthermore, the direction is inevitably influenced by the background of the producers. With these constraints, the personal impression which emerges so far is that of a delightfully educational and fascinating series. For example, there have been programmes on India, the sugar plantations in the West Indies, the Slave Trade, and the expansion in Africa, Australia and New Zealand. On the whole it treads a delicate middle path, trying to offend neither the Empire loyalists or those who were on the receiving end. Perhaps it is in this that the weakness or strength of the series lies. It contains some excellent early films, such as on Victoria's Golden Jubilee, Curzon's travels around India, and the famous Durbar of Delhi.

From the programme one gets the over-powering impression of an empire created by military might and which involved military occupation from New Zealand to Newfoundland. It was motivated while on its ascent by such arrogant and insufferable characters as Curzon and Rhodes, who felt destined to rule. One also feels that it was only some men and institutions in Britain who really benefitted. The depressing stills of late eighteenth century city slums suggest that the working class gained little. The programme follows the Nine o'clock News, and it is an ironic transition from contemporary preoccupation with Malta and inflation to Imperial times when Britannia ruled the seas.

The series has a tendency to skim over events, which is the price of trying to cover so much ground. As a result certain sections have been superficial, as was for example the description of the 'Indian Mutiny'—a term which should now be in disrepute. Nevertheless the series is providing a vivid and invaluable 'potted' history lesson. It is accompanied by a weekly magazine available at the bookstalls.

M. A. Sherif

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Letters

'And now Sind Desh' National or Parochial?

Mr. Lasi's article 'And now Sind Desh' (*Impact*, 11-24 February) is very interesting but does not go very deep into the problem. I think we have said enough on what ought to be the nature of Society in Pakistan. It is time now to make some objective study of the Society that we actually have. Unless this is done we might only be indulging in polemics.

In the sub-continent movements are formed around charismatic figures, creeds or interests and therefore tend to remain confined to certain castes, families, linguistic or cultural groups. Even the conversion to Islam, partly took place within caste boundaries and there is no wonder that one finds that a sort of Caste System has somehow crept into the Muslim Society of the sub-continent.

It was the fervour of Islamic or Muslim nationalism at the time of independence that cemented the fragmented nature of our Society which was enclosing people in compartments. Mr. Jinnah was able, to an extent, to persuade people to look beyond these barriers which have traditionally divided them. But since this was momentary and short-lived it could not create new traditions and national cohesion. The process could not take firm roots. Left to itself, the Society was back to the same fragmented position. Even many a well-intentioned people failed to come to grips with this problem on a national level.

No effort was made to understand and accept the fragmented nature of our Society. Since various groups, Islamic or otherwise largely reflected different cultural or linguistic divisions each effort only brought about the consolidation of the fragmented nature of the Society. A Punjabi, a Sindh and a Mohajir whether Islamically oriented or secular could not look to the problems from the point of view of those who were on the other side of the barriers.

It is this lack of realisation, communication and understanding gap that is the cause of many of the troubles.

London

M. A. ASLAM

Reminding Indra

Allow me to refresh your memory with the very words of your late father when India was facing a serious crisis which threatened its very independence, when, in 1962, the Chinese army marched into your country. Now you have resorted to armed attack against Pakistan. He said:

"The Chinese aggression on India is a turning point in the history of Asian relations. By choosing to make war, her ultimate solution to achieve Peace, China has failed to face up to her responsibilities."

"War without Violence . . ." This is what Ghandi stands in the minds of nations. I honestly fear that the day will come when you will realise your big mistake and regret your present course.

London

HASHIM HILLI

The Expulsion of Irani Shias from Iraq

In the 'Survey' column of *Impact* (28 January 1972), I read with interest the plight of the Irani Shias being ousted out of Iraq recently.

It was a pity that such an inciting article was published either out of sheer ignorance of the facts or through a deliberate act to undermine the present Iraqi government.

Let us take the last part of the article first, that according to the Fatwa of the late Syed Mohsin Hakim, Communism is KUFUR and so is BA'TH-ISM. With due respect to the late Mujtahid I would like to know why he (now that he is not with us) was reluctant to make his Fatwa until so late as 1961 whereas the Communists have been active in their propaganda and plannings in Iran and Iraq since the early part of this century. We did not hear of any such Fatwa by the late Mujtahid during the Communist (TUDEH) uprising of Tabriz in 1945. Helped by their Communist Masters the Irani Tudeh Party established the short-lived Autonomous Republic of Azerbaijan and proclaimed Jaffer Peshevari (an Irani Shia) as its first Prime Minister.

Communists and Communism is not new for the Muslim World but what is new is the lethargic antipathy of these dumb Muslim 'saints'. It is an irony that while some of these saints are pronouncing these fatwas, some others of their clan are busy elsewhere in calling people to liberalism and freethinking. Syed Mohsin Haki's own son not excepted. We have yet to hear any Fatwa that there is no such thing as free thinking and liberalism because Islam whether Shia or Suni has its bounds and limits of Shariat for any human deeds. It makes one wonder as to what is the difference between the Godless Communists and the free thinking Liberals when we see that both of these philosophies are the creation of one organised and inspired group—the Jews. What then motivates the son to collaborate with one and the father to declare the other Kufur.

With sincere sentiments and humble devotion towards the Shia faith I personally doubt the sanctimony of the present day Mujtahids whether of Iran or Iraq.

Now as regards the Irani Shias being expelled from Iraq I would like the readers to know the fact that in Iran as in Morocco and Tunis there is a huge population of indigenous Jews who have not become really assimilated with the local Muslims but have gone to the extent of borrowing Muslim names to conceal their identity. An Irani Jew will have a thorough knowledge of the Persian language, both colloquial and literary. He will have a typical Irani name like Aqa Mehdi Irani or Aqa Mehdi Zada, etc.

Quite a few of the Iranis in Iraq particularly in Karbala, Najaf and Kaziman are Jews who are mixed so thoroughly with the Irani Muslims that the adulterated elements are impossible to be separated and in such circumstances any Nationalist Government would do what the present Iraqi Government is doing.

Whoever criticises the expulsion of Iranis from Iraq is either completely ignorant or an underdog of the World Jewish Hierarchy. I express my sorrow and sympathy with the real Irani Shias who are as usual victims of their own leadership. It is their leaders who for political power have sold Iran in the hands of a few Jewish conspirators.

London

MOHAMMED ALI

Nixon's China Visit

World Reactions

Communist North Vietnam's present war potential had been provided mainly by the USSR and not by Red China. However, because the struggle between the USSR and Red China for predominance in South-East Asia had become increasingly violent, the USSR could not overlook opportunities to undermine a possible rapprochement between the USA and Red China (**President Thieu**).

Any fundamental change in China's policy to please the United States is ruled out in the records of the visit (**Libyan Radio**).

President Nixon will also not hesitate from making concessions elsewhere, so that China feels it has vital interest. South Asia remains the most vulnerable part of the Asian power system. There should be some warning in New Delhi about the prospects of Chinese and Americans developing a common view to the detriment of India (**All India Radio**).

The identical opinion about the world policy of the two leaders may finally usher in a new era for peace (**Radio Pakistan**).

From the point of view of Malaysia and other South-East countries, this detente between the two great super powers holds out great promise. If this visit of President Nixon has the success that it deserves and acts as an opener to a great dialogue between the two countries and a state of peaceful co-existence, if not amicable relations. South-East Asia may well see the dawn of the era of political stability in this area which is so necessary for progress and development (**Radio Malaysia**).

President Nixon is in the Chinese capital city at present and he has been given a welcome with honours, in spite of the fact that bombs are raining down, on his orders, with unusual fierceness on Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia (**Radio Bulgaria**).

On the eve of the awaited event the two sides played a strange game. Shortly after the proclamation of the 'eight-point plan', Nixon ordered his bombers to launch a new offensive in Indo-China, and Chinese representatives, though they removed anti-imperialist slogans from Peking streets, could not but issue several criticisms in the press, condemning the US war (**Rude Pravo—Czechoslovakia**).

Nixon's readiness to talk to USSR and China must be seen as a bid to formen trouble in the Socialist camp and above all to take full advantage of the difference between the two main powers (**Hanoi Radio**).

Books

Against the current of the times

Without Fear or Favour by Cecil King, Sidgwick and Jackson, London, 1971, 246 pp, £2.75

This is a thoroughly enjoyable book written by a man of many parts. The variety of its subject matter, the frankness of its discourse and its easy flowing, limpid style all make this book sheer pleasure to read. When one gets fed up with the fogginess of political writings and the abstract barrenness of high sounding philosophical discourses, one can come to a book like this and really enthuse. Mr. King, although he would hate being associated with Mr. Crossman, has a lively mind and an attractive pen.

The book is a collection of journalistic writings, radio broadcasts, lectures to various schools and associations, sermons and speeches much of which however have not been published before. The subject matter ranges from political leaders like King Faisal, Kwame Nkruma and Harold Wilson to mass communication and religion. Mr. King dwells on modern society with essays on discipline, sex, the permissive society, status symbols and death. A whole section of the book is devoted to aspects of religion with thoughts on the splendour of God and on prayer. There is an account of places like Ireland where he was born, Nigeria which he knows intimately and Europe to which he is committed though not uncritically. And one can only echo the words of the blurb on the cover jacket that the mood of the book "is as varied as the subject matter" and that Mr. King "sometimes writes with a Brobdingnagian detachment about the posturings of the modern Lilipputans; sometimes with humility and self-revelation; usually with passionate conviction; and occasionally with a wry smile".

The self-revelatory aspects of the book are quite fascinating. Mr. King is a believer in authority and strong leadership and is therefore scathing on Mr. Wilson who lacks foresight and administrative ability, who has a cocky exterior underneath which there is no real self-confidence and whose reputation for veracity is not quite what it should be. He is a firm believer in order and religion holding that "if we abandon the belief in an orderly universe—in effect God—then there is no reason why every man should not seize for himself anything he fancies re-

gardless of the interests of his fellow men". He has set his sights on beauty and believes that art can only be Art when it is divinely motivated and this is why "when our ancestors built, as they did, for the greater glory of God, they produced architecture of great value". He feels painfully the sick nature of contemporary society and is critical of the tendency to call ugly things by pretty names as the licentious society by the permissive society. He is, for good reason, critical of mothers abandoning the family and going out to work and feels that what passes for education in schools these days makes a travesty of learning and high standards. I dare say that such views would shock and appal not a few of the liberals and libertarians of our age but they are expressed with such a gentle candour (if that is possible) as to sound quite unoffensive and even utterly convincing.

I rather like the way in which Mr. King lays bare certain fallacies and seeks to put the record straight where certain facts are concerned. The outstanding example of this in this book is the essay on Nigeria and on the Nigerian Civil War. One would even go as far as to say that it has great documentary value and must be considered in any assessment of the rights and wrongs of the various sides involved in the civil war. In contrast the chapter on the Arab world does not go so deep although the conclusion is reasonably sound and it has some amusing vignettes of life such as in Saudi Arabia. For example, he says, "Perhaps Saudi Arabia is unlikely to become a tourist resort for non-Moslems. It has a puritanical government and alcoholic drinks are not permitted. The only luxury we encountered in the whole of this country was pure camel-hair blankets on the beds. The effect of this was rather spoilt by our discovering that they were 'Eskimo' brand and made in Switzerland".

One can detect a method, a rhythm and an idealism running through the pieces strung together in this book. Possibly this comes from the deeply religious outlook of the author. And although Mr. King is a Christian Protestant he seems to have progressed far beyond a mere vicarious appreciation of some of the goodness of others' religious habits and traditions, their scriptures and even way of life. He appreciated the orthodox Jewish habit of wearing hats even outside the synagogue because "we live every day of our lives in

the presence of the Almighty as in a goldfish bowl, and this fact . . . makes all human vanity ridiculous".

This same appreciation can be seen in the opening paragraph of his essay on Prayer: "The Prophet Muhammed is quoted by Glubb Pasha as saying: 'I love most in the world women and perfume, but the apple of my eye is prayer'. This is to me a profoundly wise saying, though very remote from the Christian tradition with its great emphasis on the spiritual value of celibacy and its neglect of the spiritual possibilities that lie in sexual relations". (Elsewhere he extends his implied criticism of Christian tradition in the passage above to Christian theology which was not always 'logical').

Indeed the number of references to Islam in the book is, I must say, rather surprising. One piece ends with the beginning of the Qur'an "In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful" and another on discipline although it doesn't say so ends with a direct translation of a *hadith* of the Prophet that 'the fear of God is the beginning of wisdom'. Most of the references to Islam come though when writing on King Faisal of Saudi Arabia which contain more about Islam than about Faisal. And although there are some things which one can take exception to or which are not factually correct, the attempt at appreciating Islam has come so far from present attitudes as to represent a leap forward. For example the author noted that "In the heyday of the last century, when Arabia was poor and Christian missionary activity at its height it was customary to sneer at Mohammedanism. But now that the various Christian sects are in difficulties it is time we took a more understanding and therefore respectful attitude to Islam". And about the Qur'an he says that anyone who lives by its light is a good man.

These views, like many others in the book, may be potentially provocative to the British reading public and in the cynical world of Fleet Street where Mr. King not only belongs but is lord and magnate his words may fall as gently and without much effect as water on a duck's back. But that would be a pity.

A.W.H.

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Briefing

Arabic External Sources for the History of Africa
edited by T. Lewicki
Curzon, £1.75

Translations from Arabic into English, together with maps and a bibliography present an analysis of Arabic records during the period from the seventh to the nineteenth centuries. This new collection of source material contains much invaluable information concerning the geography, history and culture of the African peoples.

Al Farabi's Book of Letters
edited by Muhsin Mahdi
Curzon, £4.50

Al Farabi discusses the origins and development of language, religion and philosophy taking Aristotle's *Metaphysics* as a guide. Preface and list of contents are in English, the main text is in Arabic.

Muslim Self-statement in India and Pakistan 1857—1968

edited by Aziz Ahmad and G. E. von Grunebaum
Weisbaden, Otto Harrassowitz, 1970 £8.53

Mr. Aziz Ahmad is regarded as an important writer on the modern history of India and Pakistan and the co-editor G. E. von Grunebaum is an orientalist who devoted his life to the sociological study of Islam. These two authors have translated, edited and published an 'anthology' of religio-political literature and documents which hold a mirror to modern Islamic self-consciousness, self-statement and self-definition in the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent.

The period covered in this volume ranges from 1857—the year of the great military insurrection organised by Muslims against the British colonial rule in India—to the year 1968 which saw the military dictator of Pakistan Muhammad Ayub Khan presiding over a nation in crisis. The Indo-Pakistani approach to the interpretation of Islam and its history is varied and fascinating. The editors include the writings of scholars of various schools of thought such as Amir Ali, Syed Ahmed Khan, Mohammad Iqbal, Mirza Ghulam Ahmad Qadiani, Siddiq Hasan Khan, Abu'l Ala Maududi, Ghulam Ahmad Parvex, A. A. A. Fyzee and Muhammad Ali Jinnah. Extracts from statements and writings of 22 important personalities of the subcontinent have been published to demonstrate the trends of Islamic thought of Muslims in the Indo-Pakistani subcontinent to a non-specialist reader. This is one of the first anthologies of its kind to be published in the English language, providing glimpses on major current doctrinal and political problems of Muslim in the area.

Islam in India

by Ja'far Sherif, trans. by G. A. Kerklots, edited by William Crooks
Curzon, £4.00

This work originally published last century but now extensively revised and edited, gives an account of the manners, customs and social habits, the rites and ceremonies of the Muslim of India from the moment of birth to the hour of death. The translator added much other information so that he could claim that the present work embraces an account of all the peculiarities of the Muslims worthy of note in every part of India.

Baghdad during the Abbasid Caliphate

by Guy Le Strange
Curzon, £4.20

The history of Baghdad, as a metropolis, coincides with the history of the rise and fall of the Abbasid caliphs, for in the East it would appear to be almost a necessity of the case that every new dynasty should found a new capital. In this volume the history of Baghdad and of the Abbassid dynasty are closely interwoven so that, from a scholarly blending of contemporary records and

discursive narrative, a picture emerges of the state and society within the capital of the Muslim world during the period from the eighth to the thirteenth century, one of the most brilliant and eventful in the history of Islam.

The Closing Circle

by Dr. Barry Commoner,
Cape, £2.30

A documented survey of the dangers, causes and possible solutions of the environment crisis.

Also on the same subject of ecology is *The Environmental Revolution* by Maz Nicholson, Pelican, 60p.

The Coming British Revolution

by Tariq Ali
Cape, paperback, 95p

The ardent socialist and editor of the *Red Mole*, sets out to give a full account of the politics of that paper and its parent the Fourth International. The brief chapter on Marxism and the British intelligentsia is fruitful and suggestive, his treatment of the Moscow-line communists biting and vituperative. Internationalism and the hatred of exploitation underly every chapter.

But he has written a book which exemplifies the weaknesses, not the strengths of the movement he claims to represent. The 'Coming British Revolution' has neither the panache of a manifesto, nor the scholarship of a properly rounded analysis. The reader who wants a serious account of revolutionary or agitational politics in Britain must look elsewhere.

Economy and Society

A new quarterly journal published by Routledge and Kegan Paul purports to get away from blind dogmatism, confused eclecticism and mere polemic. It starts off by acknowledging that the social sciences are in a state of a great crisis, some manifestations of which are the intellectual sterility and practical futility of much policy-oriented research.

The quarterly, edited by academics from British universities and polytechnics, seeks to bridge the conventional boundaries between history and the social sciences, is committed to a 'wholistic' approach and would not take the 'common sense' definition of social groups and institutions as given. Worthy aims but, for example, the hackneyed generalisations on 'Asiatic Absolutism' with particular reference to the Ottoman caliphate in the article on 'Absolute Monarchy' show up the limitations and the challenges facing the editors.

Articles in this issue include: 'The contemporary bourgeois conception of absolute monarchy', 'Marx and Engels on Law, Crime, and Morality' and 'From Reproduction to Production'.

The February 1972 issue of *Ebony* and the March 1972 issue of *Sepia*, black oriented American magazines with combined circulation of over 3 million copies each issue, featured stories on Timbuktu. The articles were eyeopeners on the black American's rich Islamic past. It was noted that the once-famous University of Sankore, attached to the Sankore Mosque in Timbuktu, Mali, is in a state of serious disrepair. Sankore was once so famous that Islamic scholars came from all over the Muslim world to visit it; now it lies in dust.

The Muslim published by FOSIS 10p. One of the finest Muslim magazines published in the West, in its ninth year of publication. The latest issues feature some excellent articles. Contents include: 'Betrayal of a Nation' by Tariq Solajja—an impassioned analysis of the root cause of the Pakistan defeat by India; 'The Western World and its challenges to Islam' by Prof. Sayyed Hosein Nasr of Tehran University—a brilliant and

scholarly treatise; 'The Sword vs the Olive Leaf' by Shahid Mufassir—an inspiring piece. Also 'Educating the New Immigrants' by Mehboob-Kantharia—very informative; 'In search of an Ideal' by Khalid Abdullah relating his experiences in Muslim countries. This issue is one in a long line of goodies.

Religious Education in Secondary Schools

Evan/Methuen Educational, 59p

This Schools Council Working Paper (No. 36) recommends that religion should be seen as a part of life. It implies a criticism of present syllabuses some of which consist of 96% Biblical Studies with an emphasis on Greek and Hebrew.

Towards a New Man

by R. Pitcher and A. Harris
Longmans, 65p

The latest in the 'Developing World' series of eight volumes, two each in history, geography, science and religion. The other titles are: Man Makes his way, Man alone, A new man, The science of man, Science changes man, From fear to faith and Paths to faith.

Learning for Living, a journal of Christian Education devotes the entire January issue to Islam. Contributors include Mr. John Taylor and Prof. Parrinder. Some of the subjects dealt with are: Islam in Britain, Islam in the Primary and Secondary School. The journal which is published by the SCM Press Ltd., 56 Bloomsbury Street, London, WC1, 20p devoted another special issue to Primary School Religious Education and the basis of new thinking on the subject.

Al Balagh, a new Left Weekly published from Beirut by a group of Lebanese Palestinians among whom are Ghassan Jarrara, a former Ba'ath pan-Arab propagandist, Bilal al Hasan, ex-member of the executive committee of the P.L.O. and Muhammad Kijli, head of the Lebanese Socialist organisation.

Competition: Cape the publisher in conjunction with the *Times* newspaper has launched a detective story competition. Agatha Christie, Lord Butler and playwright Tom Stoppard will judge the competition. Two of today's top-selling storytellers (Muriel Spark and Alistair Maclean) were discovered through newspaper competitions.

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WORLD OPINION WORLD OPINION WORLD OPINION WORLD OPINION

Beyond the reach of law

Mr. Menachem Begin, the former Irgun terrorist commander, flew into London last month. He revealed . . . on his own admission, he was responsible for the dynamiting of the King David Hotel in July, 1946, with the loss of 91 lives; for the murder of two British sergeants in August 1947; and for the massacre of over 250 Arabs at Deir Yassin in April, 1948.

Begin . . . as is well known is a former member of the Israeli Cabinet and present leader of the Gahal, an Opposition alliance of the Herut Party and the Liberals . . .

Begin has an appetite for territorial expansion, and the implementation of his policies can have only one result—War. The fact that this advocate of naked aggression appears to have the support of something like forty per cent of the Israeli people amply confirms Arab suspicions that the Jerusalem Government would never secure a mandate for a peace settlement. And it justifies the view of those who see something rotten in the state of Israel which not merely harbours a man with Begin's record but elevates him to high office.

This warmonger . . . comes to Britain at the invitation of the Herut movement here to whip up support for his obnoxious policies.

. . . The question is how Begin was permitted into this country at all. If a foreigner responsible for the slaughter of over 250 Jews were invited here by some fascist-type group, the Home Secretary would scarcely have needed the storms of protest in Parliament and press, the demonstrations, the attacks on embassy, consulate, and other offices, to remind him where his duty lay. The fellow would, at the very least, have been turned back at the airport as an undesirable alien or a danger to public order. More likely, he would have been deported to stand trial for his crimes.

Is the case of Menachem Begin any different? Have the Geneva conventions, the Nuremberg and Tokyo codes, the Genocide Act of the United Nations no application to the man who glories in the slaughter at Deir Yassin? Is the man responsible for the deaths of British subjects, as well as others, in the King David Hotel, the man who ordered the killing of British soldiers in cold blood, is this man really beyond the reach of British law? Or is it simply that the pale cast of thought on the political repercussions sickles over the native hue of the Home Secretary's resolution? . . .

(The Unwelcome Guest, *Middle East International*, February 1972).

The Pigeons among the Cats

. . . From this year on, the large-scale international manoeuvres taking place under our very eyes, are going to produce a situation that will

prove very favourable to Africa and the Third World . . .

Promising in the sense that after dominating events for the last twenty five years, what has been termed American imperialism is beating a retreat in every part of the world . . . As a matter of fact, America has abandoned the idea of policing the world and dictating the policy of other countries. Everywhere, even in Latin America, she has been made to recognise that her imperialism is now only one of several . . .

Equally promising is the fact that the Russo-American duo has also broken up. America and the Soviet Union remain the two biggest world powers, rival protagonists in a dialogue—but no longer the two poles of the universe.

Taking up position beside them are China, a regrouping Europe and Japan—all renescent, independent powers which will develop their own spheres of interest and influence.

The consequences of this historic shift in power relations are incalculable.

Nevertheless, some that affect us are already evident: 1. With five exponents of imperialism (instead of two) in the running, the political game acquires wider scope. The era of the protectorate is consequently doomed . . .

In future, those who want to be independent can be, and the African leader who draws back will clearly be betraying the interests of his people. To get the maximum independence and profit from the new balance of power, it will be enough to establish equally important relations with each of the 'Big Five' and then exploit the rivalry that must follow among them. 2. The 'Yalta' division of the world into two spheres of influence at the end of World War II has been abolished. The two beneficiaries, the United States and the USSR, recognise this themselves. Their respective influences are destined to intersect and inter-penetrate throughout the world. This implies a progressive penetration of American influence, especially into Eastern Europe, hitherto closed to her; it also implies a reciprocal Soviet penetration into Latin America. It is these two regions, where the concepts of 'private estates' and of protectorates were most marked, that will make the greatest strides towards independence.

But, and it is this that concerns us closely, it also means that neither France nor Great Britain will any longer have private zones of influence. Africa, whether French or English speaking, will gain greater liberty of action and find herself among equals in the international arena.

. . . It is possible to envisage other smaller and less developed nations wanting to become 'Great Powers' in their turn.

. . . We shall have to take greater initiatives in this field. And, what is most essential, African countries and those of the Third World will have to establish closer relations and work together.

(Future Augurs Well, Bechir Ben Yahmed, *Africa* No. 7, 1972.

Human Scrap heap

The obvious question of a visitor to the rural township, barren reserve or resettlement village of South Africa—"where have all the young men gone?"—is simply answered. They've gone to the shipyards, the gold mine, the factories.

For many years the Zulu, Xhosa, Ovambo and many another African tribe has been represented by its young and old men working in the industrial centres of South Africa.

And it is there that they swallow their pride and give up their freedom in return for a mere pittance—a pittance necessary to keep body and soul together.

In the assembly lines or down the gold mine the Ndebele, Sotho, Pondo become part of the black mass, a small cog, unimportant in the vast machine. And when that cog is worn out, then it will be thrown back on to the scrap heap of humanity, in South Africa euphemistically called "homelands". For the black South African labourer is constantly reminded that he has no abiding city in the white man's town.

While white society and white-owned industry, like a hungry giant, is anxious to swallow up the young men of Africa, still these men are shown that they are only tolerated in white areas because of the work they do. Black labour is cheap. The gold mine pays an average of £8.00 and the manufacturing industry £25.00 a month of course (1969 figures). Defendants of the mine system will hurry to explain that the men are 'compensated' for lower wages by being housed and fed.

But the 'housing' is bad in the compound and there is no room for women and children. They are simply not allowed in with the men, and have been described by the Minister of African Affairs as 'superfluous appendages'. They are not needed, not wanted. Thus for eleven months the labourers have no home and the homes no labourers . . .

Their young men are drawn away by the false lure of city life, their husbands forced from home by the necessity of finding work. The homes are robbed of fathers and brothers; in the heart of society, the family, the effects of the migration are felt.

Take the case of Maria and her seven children. She was a virtual widow for twenty years, her husband being separated from her by sheer necessity, not choice.

The local district offered little work and poor wages, so he had to trek to Johannesburg . . . For one precarious month each year she was able to have her husband at home, but for the rest the only contact was the registered letter each month, her life line . . .

When her husband was killed in a car accident in Johannesburg, it was hardly surprising that Maria shed few tears. After 20 years of marriage, this man, the father of her children, was a stranger to her, hardly known by his own children, an outsider in his own home.

Maria's life was gilt edged compared with that of Gladys. She and her five children saw their father even

less frequently and received little financial help . . .

She battled on. Odd jobs and washing supplemented her meagre income but helped little. Defeat became more evident in the chapped lips, the ginger tinted hair and broken skin, all clear signs of malnutrition in her children. Death from tuberculosis, was a merciful release when it greeted her at the age of 38, and her husband didn't even know.

These names are fictitious, but the people are very real. They are not just the exception, the odd individual, they are typical of the majority of homes in reserves, resettlement areas and rural townships which form the huge reservoir of labour for South African industry.

(Home is where you slave . . . W. Jackson, *Guardian*, 22 February, 1972).

No more chips from the old blocks

Washington—The latest news from the Census Bureau is that younger women are refusing to have children and the United States is fast approaching a "zero population growth" rate. This means the death rate and birth rate figures in the country will soon be even.

Disturbed by this information, I sought out three young ladies in a coffee-house to find out what had gone wrong . . .

"Ladies", I said, . . . "How can you explain it?"

"Who wants kids?" Fern asked.

"But", I said, "that is the role of women—to reproduce their own kind".

"That's the point," Clara said. "Who wants to reproduce people like us?" . . .

"Why should we make babies who are as unhappy and miserable as we are?" Mary Jane asked.

"I don't want any kids like Harry", Fern said.

But Harry protested, "you're my girl friend."

"I don't mind you as my boy friend, but I couldn't stand you as my son."

Clara said: "It's true. I could never think of raising a Claude or a Fred. I wouldn't have the stomach for it."

"That isn't a nice thing to say", Fred said defensively.

"Well", Clara replied, "would you like to be the father of Fern or Mary Jane or Harry or Claude?"

"I wouldn't even want to be the father of me", Fred said.

"If I understand you", I said, "the reason why you don't want to have babies is that you're afraid they'll all turn out like you."

"You got it, pops", Fern said. "We know what we've done to our parents and we're not about to let our kids do that to us".

Clara said: "I couldn't hassle with my kids the way I hassle with my mother. I'd go up the wall." (Zero Population, Art Buchwald, *International Herald Tribune*, 24 February 1972).

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ALGERIA. A delegation of leading local government officers from Algeria arrived in GDR to study the role of parliamentary assemblies in implementing socialist democracy.

BANGLADESH. A round-the-clock direct telephone link between Dacca and Moscow has been established.

● Indonesia, Malaysia and Philippines recognised Bangladesh. ● A high-powered 11-member Soviet economic delegation is exploring the possibility of extending economic cooperation to Bangladesh. ● A four-member Soviet youth delegation headed by Gafuzhanov, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Uzbek Komosol arrived in Dacca.

● The Chittagong naval base has been formally handed over by the Indian Navy to Bangladesh. ● The Ivan Milutinovic firm of Belgrade has been invited to resume construction of nine piers in the port of Chalna and complete engineering services for the shipyard of Chittagong contracted earlier by the Government of Pakistan at a value of \$35m. ● Mr. Phani Bhushan Mazumder, the Minister for Food and Civil Supplies said that about 1m. tons of rice will be imported from Burma shortly. ● Bangladesh is to barter raw jute, jute goods, tea, goat-skins, towels, pillow covers and spices for Soviet machinery and equipment, pig iron, urea, kerosine oil, raw cotton and railway sleepers.

BRUNEI. It cost Brunei \$350,000 on preparation for Queen Elizabeth's 12-hour stop in the capital city.

BURMA. The Burmese News Agency and the Dong Hwa Press of the Republic of Korea signed a news exchange agreement in Rangoon. **CYPRUS.** 300 Austrian troops are to join the UN peace-keeping force in Cyprus.

ETHIOPIA. Emperor Haile Selassie was handed a copy of the agreement ending the South Sudan Rebellion by Canon Burgess Carr, Secretary General of the All-Africa Conference of Churches who acted as mediator in the negotiation. The Emperor praised the role played by the World Council of Churches. He said that the churchmen had carried out the will of the Almighty and His commandments to go and teach peace and justice to all men. ● Emperor Haile Selassie opened the 18th ordinary session of the OAU Council of Ministers at the Africa Hall.

INDIA. Defence analysts in Delhi estimate that Bangladesh war cost India between £70-80m. 4,000 Indian soldiers were killed and 8,000 seriously wounded. ● The second stage of dredging the Bombay naval yard has been contracted for \$9m. with Ivan Milutinovic of Belgrade which started the first stage on 1968 at a cost of \$19m. ● First stage of Bokaro steel works being built with Soviet assistance in Bihar is expected to be in operation in June. The steel works for Vijayanagar and Visakhapatnam are waiting for feasibility reports. More than 20m. tons of iron ore was exported in 70-71. ● The State-owned Hindustan Machine Tools to supply sophisticated machine tools costing \$1.5m. to a firm in USA. An arrangement has also been worked out with some

machine tool builders in the USA, Britain and Japan.

INDONESIA. Director of Salatun of Lapan (National Aviation and Aeronautics Institute) said Indonesian rockets stand second in Afro-Asia outside Japan. Indonesia was second only to India in monitoring the US satellite with home-made equipment. **IRAN.** Iran is not to allow journalists to the political trials taking place in Tehran.

IRAQ. Iraqi government has decided to restore trade and economic relations with Jordan. ● Aziz Sharif, the Iraqi Lenin Prize winner said that USSR was a loyal and disinterested friend and a guarantee of peace and security of peoples.

'ISRAEL'. The Foreign Minister said that hopes of peace would be fulfilled this year if three essential changes took place: a change from open arguments to detailed and purposeful negotiations, a change from activities by world powers and international institutions to the adoption of a responsible initiative by the Governments of Israel and Egypt, and a change from the pursuit of very difficult aims to a limited aim such as partial settlement. ● Radio Israel broadcast denials that in contacts between Israel and the US a plan had been worked out to reopen the Suez canal which President Nixon would submit to the Soviet Union. However, Arye Mekel, the correspondent, points out that observers in Jerusalem favour certain parts of the plan, which President Nixon will submit to the Soviet Union—withdrawal of forces from both sides of the Suez Canal to an agreed distance. ● Sole Boneh, an Israeli construction firm has signed contracts to construct a road in Ivory Coast, a university in Nigeria and to carry out sewage and drainage work in Fermagusta, Cyprus.

JAPAN. Sanyo Electric of Osaka has developed a system for direct long-distance facsimile transmission of microfilm. Transmission of 100 dotted lines to 1mm. could be effected in 20 seconds and time required for automatic developing, three minutes. Extreme clarity of the images was increased by using helium neon laser and crystals of tantalum acid lithium.

LIBYA. Libya went to the polls on 6 March to elect the Libyan representatives for the Arab National Assembly.

MALAYSIA. An International Conference on Malay culture organised jointly by the UNESCO and the Malaysian government held in Kuala Lumpur recommended: (1) a national project on the bibliography of Malay culture (2) Establishment of a national centre for the collection of oral traditions (3) Examining the role of the Malay language in the development of contemporary culture (4) Examining of influence of religions on Malay culture and (5) Establishment of a national centre for visual and performing arts. ● Malaysia has allocated 5% of its GNP for education; the minimum recommended by UNESCO is 4%.

MAURITANIA. The joint communique at the end of Col. Qadhafi's

talks with President Mokhtar Ould Daddah called for the removal of foreign fleets and bases in the Mediterranean so that it could become a sea of peace and co-operation among the countries surrounding it.

OMAN. Uranium has been discovered. ● A Greek-Cypriot contractor has been awarded a £5m. Defence contract. ● The Ex-Prime Minister is a major shareholder in Oman's government protected Greek run Hotel Al Falaj. On the menu Roast Pork and unlimited whisky. Omanis are not usually served. ● The Omani Government is considering issuing permits to Europeans who wish to travel to the interior. This follows reportedly scandalous scenes of near nudity by foreign engineers and their families.

PAKISTAN. Radio Pakistan is being made into a corporation "urgently", with a new channel for educational broadcasts. ● A comprehensive 5-year development plan for Baluchistan estimated to cost Rs. 1200m. ● A four-man mission left for Peking to negotiate a programme of commodity imports from China. The \$67m. earmarked for commodity assistance formed part of China's \$200m. credit to Pakistan.

PHILIPPINE. Presidents Suharto and Marcos expressed satisfaction at the growing friendly relations between Indonesia and Philippine, which were rooted in "the common historical past, geographical proximity and in identity of views on common interests and problems".

QATAR. Shaikh Khalifa bin Hamad al-Thani, the Prime Minister, deposed his cousin Shaikh Ahmed bin Ali al-Thani and proclaimed himself ruler on 22 February.

SAUDI ARABIA. A £17m contract had been awarded to a British firm to beautify the cities of Mecca and Medina. Mr. Brian Clouston, a landscape architect, being a non-Muslim will not be allowed to enter the cities and have to work from prints sent to him by aerial photographers.

SUDAN. Twenty British, American and Scandinavian agencies met in Khartoum to draw up reconstruction programme for the South of Sudan. ● Oxfam made an emergency grant of £4,000. Christian Aid and Cafod, the Catholic agency also made emergency grants.

SYRIA. One thousand Syrian students are studying in the USSR.

SWITZERLAND. The World Council of Churches has allocated £5.2m. for relief in Bangladesh over the next 16 months. ● The International Union for Children Welfare has launched a programme to save 10,000 destitute and orphan children in Bangladesh. ● A distant relative and confidant of the Shah, Prince Huchang Dawullou, charged formally with breaking Swiss narcotic laws, left Zurich with the Shah. The warrant could not be served because the Prince enjoyed full diplomatic privileges. Under Iranian laws anyone found guilty of drug trafficking faces execution. In fact several have been executed in recent years. Iran, as a signatory to international

narcotics-control agreement is obliged to punish narcotics offenders even if the crimes were committed abroad.

UGANDA. The joint communique at the end of Libyan delegation's visit supported the principles enshrined in the Charters of UN and OAU and the resolutions on the Middle East Crisis, in particular the UN resolutions of 1967 calling for the withdrawal of Israeli's from occupied territories.

UNITED STATES. President Nixon's arms aid to Israel in 1970 was \$800m, in 1971 \$600 m. and this year's projected sum is \$300m. President Johnson's administration's highest figure for a year was about \$100m. ● The President has chosen Major General, Vernon A. Walters, military Attache to the US Embassy in Paris to become Deputy Director of the Central Intelligence Agency to succeed Lt-Gen. Robert E. Cushman. Gen. Walters speaks eight languages and has served as translator under Presidents Truman, Eisenhower, Kennedy and Nixon.

USSR. During the past 2 years the USSR and its CMEA partners have granted the developing countries credits of \$2,000m. ● The 15th Congress of Soviet Trade Unions, with over 93m. members, will open on 20 March. ● Celebrating the 46th anniversary of the diplomatic relations with Saudi Arabia, the USSR recalled that it was one of the first countries to recognise Saudi Arabia as an independent State and by its "friendly" policy towards the Arab people had helped the new State to consolidate and withstand the political siege by the imperialist Powers. ● Richardson, US Secretary of Health and Welfare signed an agreement for developing collaboration in health services and medical science in Moscow.

VATICAN. Pope Paul VI was presented with the first copy of the New Jewish Encyclopedia.

PEOPLE

Lthar Wenzel GDR Ambassador to Bangladesh. ● Sir Conrad Seward, President of the Executive Committee of Anglo-Russian Chambers of Commerce received by Patolichev in Moscow. ● President Suharto visited Philippine officially and addressed the Philippine Congress. ● Mr. Subimal Dutt India's Ambassador to Bangladesh. ● Khwaja Sayed Hassan promoted as Director-General of Radio Pakistan. ● Maj.-Gen. David Ejoor new Chief of Staff of Nigerian Army succeeded Maj-Gen. Hassan Usman Katsina who was to under-take a "long course overseas". ● Heinrich Boell, President of the International PEN had talks with Heinz Kamnitzer, President of GDR PEN centre in Berlin. ● Stane Kovac an Under-Secretary in the Executive Council of Slovenia appointed as Yugoslav Ambassador to the Vatican. ● Prof. Joseph Glanz, Bar Ilan University has left for Iran at the request of World Zionist Organisation to reorganise Jewish education there. ● Maj. Abd as-Salam Jallud visited Romania on his way home from USSR. ● Gen. Yakubu Gowon, Head of State of Nigeria was on a five-day visit to Guinea.

DIED

Dr. Moshe Sneh, Commander-in-Chief of the underground Hagana at the age of 63. ● Dr. Gustave E. Von Grunbaum, 62, a native of Vienna, was professor of History and director of New Eastern Centre, University of California, Los Angeles. ● Marshal Nikolay Ivanovich Krylov, Commander-in-Chief of the strategic Rocket troops of USSR on 9 February at 68.