

# impact

INTERNATIONAL FORTNIGHTLY

No more a Muslim University  
Good news from Washington  
Arson in Bradford  
Egypt: a question of identity  
East Pakistan—an interview  
Unease and uncertainty in Ethiopia  
The Kashmir-Issue  
Books World Opinion News Brief

## Mindanao—a case of continuing Colonialism

Despite a great deal of unexplained censorship imposed by the world information media, whatever news about the state of the Muslims in the Philippines has come out is very serious and alarming. According to a statement made by ex-Senator Ahmed Alonto earlier this month in Cairo some 3,000 Muslims have been killed, 10,000 wounded and 50,000 turned out of their homes as a result of the colonization drive on the part of the settlers from the Northern provinces. This situation, grave, brutal and inhuman as it is, however, is indicative only of the symptoms and not the malady itself. The malady is the continuing fact of indigenous colonialism which dates back to the year 1521, when "the Spanish came with cross and sword" and forced a large part of the archipelago to accept Catholicism.

This chapter of historical colonialism has, however, not since closed and like other areas in Asia, Africa and Latin America, it continues as a fact of life. When the Spaniards came, the Muslims enjoyed a far superior cultural and social life and they could not and did not accept the usurpation of their cultural and political sovereignty. In 1898, the Americans too, who tried to step in the shoes of the Spaniards faced much strong resistance from the Muslims and they were finally won over through diplomacy and signing of a treaty according recognition of their autonomy.

Colonialism has its own brutal logic: in the process of extending and expanding, it also creates artificial political units without any regard to considerations of national affinity, ethnic compatibility and political viability. To them this is a matter of pride and achievement. This they tried until their last in the Pak-Indian sub-continent and they have pretty well succeeded into giving a great part of Africa a ridiculously heterogenous political shape. Whether this was due to some altruistic but misconceived zeal or a deliberate design, the fact remained that the resulting instability only served to perpetuate their colonial hold, but of course in a different form.

Generality apart, this was the very non-biological process through which was born the artificial political entity of the Philippines—first the Commonwealth and later the Republic. This was done despite the Muslim demand to exclude the four Southern provinces of Mindanao, Sulu, Palawan and Basilan from this illogical and colonialistic framing.

Even after independence no effort was made to give the Muslims their rightful place in the new framework. And even to this day the Muslims are enjoying no better position than hewers of wood and drawers of water. "In literature, history books and even the mass media, the Muslim Filipino's are pictured as unlovely, violent people who need constant watching". Only 2 per cent of the Filipino Muslims get a high school diploma, three out of four Muslim provinces were among those that had the smallest number of children in the state primary schools. Their representation in the services, police, army, business and political institutions is dismally insignificant. There is no Muslim officer of the rank of a general in the army, no Muslim judge in the Supreme Court, and no representation in the police service. On the contrary, the policy has been to force them to assimilate into Filipino Catholicism and at the same time change the Muslim character of the Southern provinces where they now happen to concentrate. To quote Macapanton Abbas Jr. "Whereas before, the South was predominantly a Muslim land now less than 23 years after the Republic they have only 4 Muslim Filipino Congressmen, 3 Muslim Filipino Governors, one Muslim Filipino City Mayor and one cabinet member. Zamboanga, Davao, Barilan, Ilijan were lost sometime ago and now Cotabato has likewise fallen out of their sphere" (*Journal on National Integration*, Manila Bureau of Printing, 1968, pp. 11-12).

By all accounts and by the one most recent and better documented so far, provided by the Filipino Foundation (*An Anatomy of Philippine Muslim Affairs*, February 1971), the Muslims in the Philippine do not enjoy even second class citizenship, they are clearly consigned either to be assimilated or eliminated.

A new constitution for the Republic is to be framed and it seems that in



order to contain the growing alienation and disaffection of the Muslims some political concessions may be made, for instance a change from unitary to federal structure and a kind of local autonomy may be conceded. This can only be viewed as a short-term palliative and it is very much doubtful if this would be able to remedy the basic fault and bring peace to the unhappy archipelago. Mooted voices have already been raised about the independence of Mindanao. The Muslims or the Moros of Mindanao are by any definition a distinct and separate nation and are more numerous than the populations of the Republic of Costa Rica or the Libyan Arab Republic. For how long can they stay colonised and subjugated?

## Survey

### ● ALIGARH MUSLIM UNIVERSITY ● U.S. AID TO PAKISTAN

#### No more a Muslim University

On 17 October, Muslim intellectuals and academics throughout India observed what they called Aligarh Muslim University day, a day given to urge the Union and State governments to restore the minority character of the University. The University occupies a very significant place in the history of the Muslims in the Sub-continent.

The Muslim failure to dislodge the British colonial rule in what is sardonically called the "Mutiny of 1957" brought forth a reaction which wanted to seek reconciliation and understanding with the new masters and at the same time preserving the religion and culture of the Muslims. One such attempt in this direction was the foundation of Anglo-Mohammedan Oriental School in 1875 in Aligarh. This institution later became a college and then University under the Muslim University Act of 1920.

True to Muslim traditions of tolerance and amity, the University admitted Hindu students who were allowed option and exception in regard to subjects of purely Muslim interest but as the name implied, the University was created as a Muslim institution through funds raised by the Muslims. Accordingly, since its very inception, the University has sought to cater for the cultural and educational needs of the Muslims. It was very much in the logic of things, therefore, that when the call for the independence of Pakistan (as a homeland for 100 million Muslims in the sub-continent) was made, the students of the University found themselves in the forefront of the battle. Pakistan was achieved in 1947. Many of those who had been agitating for its independence went over to play their role in the shaping of the Muslim State they had so passionately struggled to achieve. Those who stayed behind and those who came later had the determination to retain their cultural and religious autonomy which the Indian Constitution at least promises to uphold. But this also made the University a target of Indian albeit Hindu nationalism. Since independence, the University has been forced into accepting persons like Dr. Zakir Husain, Col. B. H. Zaidi, Justice Badruddin Tayyabji and Nawab Ali Yawar Jung etc., as Vice-Chancellors of the University. There were talks of dropping the word Muslim from its name but as the Hindu University in Benaras would not agree, the idea itself had to be abandoned. Through an amendment in the Aligarh Muslim University Act, in 1951, theology i.e. Islamic studies was removed as a subject compulsory for Muslims, co-education was introduced, ancient Hindu

history given greater importance and above all the Indian President arrogated to himself the right to appoint the Vice-Chancellor from among a list of three submitted by the University Court. The Court itself was opened to the Hindus. One does not find any comparable reform in either the structure or complexion of the Hindu University in Benaras.

By imposing statutory 'reforms' and by appointing reliable and trust-worthy persons as Vice-Chancellors, it was hoped that the University would slowly but certainly wither away as a Muslim institution. As a result of these measures, the University did undergo a great deal of significant and far-reaching changes but that too was too little for the impatient Indian 'nationalists'. In May 1965, was promulgated the Aligarh Muslim University Ordinance through which the control of the University was taken away from the hands of the elected members of the University Court. All power was concentrated in the Vice-Chancellor and a nine-member Executive Committee of which seven were nominated by the President of the Indian Republic. And thus by one stroke of pen was abolished that small remnant of Muslim cultural autonomy—something which even the oppressive colonial rulers had been careful not to impinge upon.

The promulgation of the Ordinance brought forth vehement protests from almost all shades of opinion among the Muslims, and since then there has been continual agitation about restoring both the autonomy and the Muslim character of the University. A setback to the Muslim case was caused by a judgement of the Indian Supreme Court which ruled that in law and by virtue of deriving its constitution under a State Charter the University cannot be considered as a 'Muslim' University; it was like any other institution established under State Charter. The position, now is that while on technical grounds the University can no more claim to be a 'Muslim' University, on political grounds the Indian Government's publicity agencies describe it as "perhaps the biggest modern Muslim University of this type in the World."

To Muslim demands for removal of this anomaly and restoration of cultural and academic freedom, the ruling Congress Party of Mrs. Gandhi used to take the plea that it was unable to pass any special enactment because of the marginal support it enjoyed in the Parliament. This was before the elections in 1970; in its manifesto the ruling Congress Party explicitly promised that minority institutions shall be safeguarded. Mrs. Gandhi's party accordingly returned to power on solid Muslim support and they hoped that she

would after all redeem her pledge now.

The fact that the Muslims in India have yet to continue to agitate, shows that there was not much of an intention to honour a pledge made simply with a view to winning the election.

#### Good news from Washington

The proposed cut in America's foreign aid bill and the Senate Foreign Relation Committee's vote on ending aid to Pakistan are good news indeed. The real risk to Pakistan's integrity would seem to lie not in this withdrawal of a Shyloekian patronage but in the possibility that the Nixon Administration would be able either to get this decision reversed or find an alternate device of continuing its so-called aid.

The leverage that the United States so enjoys and the strings it can pull through a continuance of aid are too valuable to be sacrificed. This is besides the possibility that the superficial may not be the real and the Senate too means no more than adding to pressure and strengthening the Administration's hands.

American policy with regard both to the East Pakistan crisis as well as towards Pakistan itself has been astonishingly frank. It has always told its unrealistic critics that to be able to use the stick, one should have the carrot as well. And that they have used it so far, masterfully and successfully is indeed compliment of a sort to the executioners of such a policy. Only the other day Secretary of State, Rogers told the UN General Assembly that although the problem of East Pakistan was an internal affair of Pakistan, yet they were deeply concerned about the refugees, the famine and danger to peace in South Asia, and the matter did need a political solution.

There has been good news from Pakistan too. The Deputy Chairman of the Planning Commission, Mr. M. Raschid indicated a realisation of the eventuality that Pakistan may have to readjust its targets for the Fourth Five Year Plan (1970-74) because of non-availability of foreign exchange. However, one cannot under-rate the strength of a deeply entrenched and eminently powerful aid lobby in Pakistan both within the official technocracy and the industrial oligarchy. During the course of the last twenty years or so, 'aided living' has, to them become a way and a philosophy of life. It may, therefore, perhaps be unrealistic to be over-optimistic about the whole thing. In the final analysis it is all a matter of conviction, courage and determination that a country can really command. The question whether Pakistan can afford to live without foreign aid is irrelevant.



# Survey

## ● ARSON IN BRADFORD ● LOGIC OF MATERIALISM

### Bradford arson: the wider issues

The news that there were no racial or political implications in recent series of fires in Bradford immigrant homes is welcome and reassuring. More so because the town has so far enjoyed very harmonious community relations and any injection of racist tensions would have not only spoiled a great deal of good and sincere work but vitiated the atmosphere elsewhere as well.

The cases of arson in Bradford started in June last and the latest one on 14 October, thirteenth in the series resulted in the tragic death of three Kenyan Asian children and their mother. While, one hopes that the line followed by the police would be fruitful and there would be no recurrence of such or similar incidents, it is not easy to gloss over the blatant fact that it took four full months and the loss of four innocent lives for the police to act and apprehend the alleged pyromaniac.

In a situation where social discipline is fast becoming a relic of the past and there is more pride in violation than observation, the task that the police are required to perform is also becoming more and more difficult. The police are there to catch individual criminals but what can be done when the border-line between the criminal and the social becomes thin and merely formal. This is to say that in commenting on police inadequacies, one is not oblivious of a certain degree of handicap and haplessness in the situation.

One gets increasingly aware of a new kind of discrimination the police, wittingly or unwittingly, seem to have got themselves involved into, and that is paying disproportionately more attention to bigger crimes or crimes involving more influential individuals or organisations than otherwise. Similarly, there is a bias and inclination to act only in respect of actual committal of a crime than its prevention. You are more likely to receive police attention when dead than when alive. Whether this is the law or the training or just the circumstances or all together, but this is a matter of common experience. Without in anyway belittling the seriousness of bank-roberies, or gang murders or other syndicate crimes, the simple fact needs to be pointed out that in 99 per cent of cases big and hardened criminals are not made in a day. Most of them start as petty and casual criminals and major up in due course. Besides this unrealistic and rather unscientific division between small and big crimes, there is yet another and far more significant dimension of the

problem. Once a person who loses his watch or transistor, or experiences menacing behaviour, comes to discover that the police would do nothing beyond making a note in their diary or advising private prosecution, he becomes in his insecurity a sullen and indifferent citizen. Next time, even if he happens to see some people planning murder or robbery, he is most unlikely to tell it to the police. How do they hope to prevent or contain crimes without the concern and cooperation of non-celebrity citizens?

Needless to say that all this applied more acutely and with far more painful implications in crimes involving the persons or the property of the immigrants. Whatever may be the stresses and limitations affecting the police, it is also true that the police do succeed in detecting and curbing the crimes whenever they try. Therefore, why wait to act only after things have reached the flash-point?

### Unemployment: the logic of materialist ethics

Unemployment figures in Britain have passed the 900,000 high water mark. The regional imbalance in the employment situation has been further accentuated. Scotland has an overall unemployment figure of 6.3 per cent, the Northern Counties have a figure of 6.3 per cent, the South East on the other hand has less than 2 per cent of its work-force unemployed.

Mr. Carr has voiced his surprise and disappointment at these figures. He has assured us that despite the longer gestation period the Government incentive system will no doubt bear fruit. He has pointed to a number of factors that have delayed the response of the industrial sector.

The Labour Party, at its annual conference in Brighton has roundly condemned the inability of the Government to deal with the situation. Ominous rumblings about what will happen once we go into Europe have also been heard. The inevitability of an incomes policy has been re-emphasised.

The Trade Union cavaliers—Mr. Jones and Mr. Scanlon—have no doubt consolidated their position. The Trade Union movement promises to move left. It may be expected that even higher demands for wages and salaries will be made by both white and blue collar workers in the coming months. Thus spiralling unemployment will lead to spiralling prices and vice versa.

The moral of the story, surely, is the necessity for direct demand and supply management in a modern economy like Britain. The growth of the public sector and the establishment of the Trade Union bureaucracy have rendered the market mechanism inoperational, at least, as far as labour market is concerned. The Trade Union bureaucracy—the managers in the labour market—is, through their demand for increased wages, asserting their claim for a share in the management of production and distribution on the national level. The rising unemployment level can be checked only on the basis of a negotiated settlement between labour, capital and industrial management. Such a rationalisation of the relations of production necessitates a greater degree of political and economic regimentation. The Labour Party will swing left and the Conservative Party will swing right to justify such regimentation. Liberty—economic, political and social—will have to be sacrificed at the altar of economic growth. Such is the logic of the materialist ethics.

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## THE EGYPTIAN REVIVAL

# A question of identity and personality

M. A. SAUD

Egypt, as almost all other Arab countries, was conquered by the Turks early in the sixteenth century and remained under the Ottoman rule till 1919. By the end of the nineteenth century, it had gained some internal autonomy, though the ruling dynasty was of Albanian origin and Turkish influence dominated all aspects of life. The political set-up was despotic and the people were deprived of their political rights.

In 1880, some intellectuals were able to articulate public opinion against the oppressive nature of the regime and forced the Khedive to accord the Egyptians the same rights as the Turks and Albanians. This intellectual movement led by Urabi Pasha was, however, crushed with the help of the British army who were called upon by the ruling Khedive Tawfik, to save his throne. The rise of Urabi and his associates was responsible for giving birth and shaping a kind of distinct national identity Egypt.

The Egyptians who had so far resignedly accepted suppression and oppression, started to clamour about political rights. They had endured the ordeal over the centuries because in their ignorance they believed that it was their duty as good Muslims to obey their Muslim rulers. But the arrival of the British and their occupation of the country transformed the erstwhile submission into a deep sense of revolt and resentment against both the occupying army and the "masters" in Constantinople.

This uprising in its earlier phases evoked a special type of nationalism which was a blend of nationalism and Islam. The Egyptian in that period regarded himself a part and parcel of the Muslim world, though at the same time he was becoming more and more aware of his national identity. Nationalism to him did not mean more than liberating the country from the British occupation and acquiring the right of choosing his own destiny and enjoying equality and liberty. People of all the neighbouring countries were considered as good as Egyptians, were treated on an equal basis and given the same rights as any Egyptian. Needless to say that the quantum of political rights at time was not the same as it would be in a democratic society today.

The first World War ended in burying the "Sick Man"—the Ottoman Caliphate. Egypt was put under the direct protection of the British. The Egyptians who had managed to free themselves from Turkish rule now found that they were under a more tight and rigid British rule. The whole of the Middle East was cleverly and methodically carved into artificial

political units, and given under the protection of one European Power or another. These units were strictly insulated from one another and so rigorously administered that one protectorate could hardly know anything about its nearest neighbour. The European powers were all the time conscious of the possible danger in the revival of a Turkish or Arab or Muslim entity and worked with vigour and design to implant divisive nationalism among these people so that there was no chance of such a unity or revival. There is no doubt that to a very great degree they succeeded in achieving these objectives.

This new nationalism was introduced mainly through those who had been educated and orientated in Europe. They had hardly had any opportunity of knowing about Islam, its polity and its values and were thus won over completely to the West European ideological thoughts, concepts and values. This may help to explain the conceptual moorings of the 1919 Egyptian Revolution. The layman was a fanatic "nationalist", but he was led to believe that nationalism is prescribed by Islam. A very popular and common slogan coined by the champions of nationalism was: "The love of the Motherland is a part of the Faith." The Islamic faith exhorts Muslims to repulse foreign occupation and transgression, and so did the new doctrine. The Muslim Egyptian found no anomaly between his religion and his political ideology.

As the British grip over the country became more oppressive and more denying of the people's rights, the nationalistic emotions went on rising to a higher and higher pitch. The nineteen-twenties wit-

nessed the greatest upsurge of nationalism and the new generation of that period reacted to the political situation with a fanatic patriotism. The nationalistic frenzy was kept high by injecting every now and then Islamic motivations and exhorting the Muslims to defend their lands.

In 1927, the British started to change their tactics and decided to enter into negotiations with the Egyptians. This diverted the public from an open fight against the British to a new arena where the Egyptian political parties confronted each other and played their own and not always noble power-game. The Egyptian intellectual began to realise the emptiness of nationalism which had become a mere "catch word", and a device to lure the electorate. At the level of the common man too, both in urban and rural areas, the exhilaration of the past started withering away. At the same time the despotism of the Royal family, the exploitation of the capitalists and the ruling classes and above all the oppressive overlordship of the British who controlled the army and police forces continued as before.

The early thirties witnessed the worldwide economic crisis which left its scars on Egypt in both the economic and the political fields. Poverty carried the people to the end of their tethers and they could hardly stand the corruption and manoeuvrings of their politicians. They rose in a violent revolt. Bent on achieving independence, they so hoped to enjoy a happy and free life.

In 1936, Egypt signed a Treaty of Independence with the British whereby the latter were allowed to keep the troops in Cairo and the Canal Zone. Although the Treaty fell far short of the Egyptian aspirations for a real and meaningful independence, it did lead to a temporary lessening of anti-British feelings. But as to institutional corruption and social decadence there was yet no end.

The situation provided adequate justification for a reformist movement and in the early thirties was born the Muslim Brotherhood. It began as one of those recurring movements for the purification of the society. The war began and the Egyptians found themselves involved in a European war without any interest of their own. The Wafd, because of its involvement in government, lost support. The Brotherhood grew in great strength and its call for the removal of all foreign influences and the establishment of a free and egalitarian society became the most potent voice in the whole region. By the end of the War, it seemed as if the whole of the Middle East was going to be enveloped



URABI PASHA



## Egypt Travel Magazine



AN ARTIST'S VIEW OF THE  
EGYPTIAN PERSONALITY

by the revivalist zeal of the Muslim brethren. So much so that the Free Officers, many of whom, as later events showed, had no particular enthusiasm for the ideals of the Brotherhood found themselves proudly associating with them.

The ignominious defeat inflicted by the non-state of Israel in 1948 made the removal of King Farouk inevitable and so it happened in July 1952.

On the very first day of the revolution, belief was affirmed in the Islamic ideology but through a curious interaction of inability and unwillingness, it was not even possible to maintain the previous nationalistic-cum-Islamic stance. Ideologically, the country moved on to experimenting first with Arab nationalism and then with Arab socialism. Paradoxically enough, alongside this talk of Arab nationalism and Arab Socialism, attempt has continually been made to discover and highlight the Pharaohic origins of the Egyptian personality.

The departure of President Nasser from the scene and the over-burdening legacy of the 1967 defeat seem now to have brought Egypt, its thinkers and its leaders to a point where the ever-eminent question of the nation's personality needs to be faced and faced squarely. Whatever may be the true significance of the recent changes in Egypt, they would only be short-term. The crucial and vital question is that of the Egyptian personality. If necessary, it needs to be rediscovered.

## Nota Bene

'SCRIBE'

While she is accused of betrayal and revisionism by China, the Soviet Union herself is faced with an endemic problem of non-conformism particularly in her Central Asian 'Islamic' republics.

A recent report in *Turkemenskaya Iskra* (15 September 1971) expressed alarm over the fact that "ideological work has been allowed to weaken" and in places "where mass political work among the population is not systematic, favourable conditions arise for the reappearance of relics of the past". The article blamed the Party committees and primary Party organisations for undertaking atheistic education in an unsatisfactory manner and not preventing the performance of religious rites which continue to take place.

"Hence", it said, "the task is to make atheistic propaganda militant and attacking. . . It is a struggle for the spiritual purity of the Soviet person."

This indeed is a real spiritual dilemma. Although the republic had now more than half a century of Communism enveloping all walks of life, the tenacity of the Faith seems still to persist.

In the vigours of progressive totalitarianism, there may not be much place for a man's wishes and beliefs while he is alive, but it must be said to the credit or the Russian rulers that they have so far allowed the continuance of a rule, framed in the early days of the revolution, which gave an individual the freedom of death-wish. Under the rules, a person is allowed to say that on his death he would like to be buried as a Muslim etc., and it so happens that no matter their militant atheism and services in the cause of Scientific Socialism, a vast majority of the 'Muslim Communist' leaders express their wish to be buried as Muslims.

And in so doing, in addition to creating worries and headaches to the crusading knights of atheism, they are perhaps creating a problem for the Almighty as well. God is so Kind and Merciful and it is said that the doors of repentance remain always open for the prodigal to return, be excused and start afresh, but only until he has not sensed death; then the doors are shut. But the difficulty with these potential or crypto-prodigals is that they cannot repent a moment sooner than when they are absolutely sure of being close to dying.

The joint communique issued at the termination of President Sadat's recent visit to Moscow contained at least one paragraph which serves to underline the exceptional nature of the newly formed Federation of Arab Republics.

While Col. Qadhafi is so fanatically opposed to Communism that he would hardly miss an opportunity of having a go

at what he calls "a blasphemy against Arab nationalism, Islam and Socialism", President Sadat in the words of the joint communique condemned and denounced "attempts to spread anti-Communism and anti-Sovietism" which was seen "by both sides as serving the international imperialist forces and hampering the development of the national liberation movement."

The interests of the "national liberation movement" and anti-imperialist forces could, however, be served better if along with anti-communism and anti-Sovietism, the communique also denounced anti-Islamism.

Early this month, the President House in Karachi had a peculiar visitation to report, that of snakes—four Cobras.

Expert snake-charmers were accordingly called. For full twenty-four hours, they went on calling the best tunes but could catch only three. The fourth, said to be a King-Cobra, has so far not been reported caught.

Keeping in view the recent history of the country, there is nothing strange about the news. Even otherwise, the sub-continent is so famous about its jugglers, snakes and snake-charmers, and this has no doubt cast its influence not only on diction and literature but in politics and behaviour as well.

To great many politicians, politics itself is an art of jugglery, rope-walking and snake charming. They charm and captivate the masses just as a snake-charmer would captivate his subject and then slip it quietly into his basket—to become an exhibit of his hold and power. No doubt it is a dangerous game and not unoften they get bitten as well. The former President Field-Marshal Ayub Khan asked by a friend to comment on his over-throw in March 1969, said that he had actually been bitten by the CIA-Cobra. Who that Cobra is, he wouldn't say. So one is left to guess.

While it is some consolation that at least three of the snakes have been captured (and presumably amnestied), some people have expressed alarm over the fact that the King-Cobra is still at large and that if such high places as the President House can come to be infested, what security is there for the millions who still live in huts and mud-houses?

The counter-explanation runs like this: Firstly it is not certain that the fourth Cobra is the King-Cobra, secondly even if it is so this only goes to justify the existence of the snake-charming profession. The worry about infestation in high places is also not justified. Mr. Bhutto, the Peoples' Party leader said the other day that he knows whatever transpires in the President House—So the place was already bugged.

## POST SCRIPT TO A CRISIS

**Many lessons to be learnt, yet****\*A. S. M. Sulaiman speaking to IMPACT**

The situation in East Pakistan?—It is a very broad question; but well there has been a tremendous improvement in the situation. The province has picked up its normal economic life, most of the factories have gone into operation, educational institutions have opened and administration has also become quite effective. Things would have been completely normalised if there had not been interference from outside the country. The vast majority of the people are eager to get back to their normal life. But our neighbour does not behave like a good neighbour. . .

No, we don't feel helpless, we are doing our best, but this keeps us pre-occupied. This is the nuisance, any neighbour in any part of the world can choose to become a nuisance. Even an individual person can find life uneasy, having to put up with a neighbour who lacks civic sense. You do not feel weak but you feel disgusted. Unfortunately they are using and exploiting the East Pakistani Hindus, particularly those who had migrated to West Bengal in the earlier years. It is mostly they who are trained and employed to undertake sabotage operations inside the province. Then there are the regular members of the Indian army. This is the sort of interference we are faced with—India is also our competitor in the international jute market and this explains her interest in sabotaging our industry, economy and the lines of communications.

As to not being able to bring these facts to the notice of the world outside, it is true we have not done much. The crisis was so sudden. While we were engaged in containing subversion and restoring normalcy, India took initiative and went ahead in its propaganda offensive. A great part of our efforts is now spent in countering Indian propaganda, which means not only telling the truth but also counteracting the untruth. Besides, India has certain advantages over us: it is a big country with its own sphere of influence. Anyway, the

world is coming to know more and more about the real facts—but of course, it would take time to undo the damage.

Coming to the political side of the situation, personally, I take it like this: even before the army action, the ingredients of democracy were virtually destroyed. Curiously enough, this happened after the elections. Political parties were not allowed to function, their offices were destroyed, political leaders could not move and contact their supporters and so on. No doubt the Awami League had won the majority. They had a right to government but only after the framing of the constitution. Similarly the opposition too had a right to go to the people but the party which had such a majority wanted to destroy any possibility of opposition even outside the Assembly. No chance was left for the functioning of a democratic opposition in the province.

The pre-requisite to democracy naturally, is to establish the authority of the State. Now whatever be the type of government, for the time being, the citizen must have the security of his life and property restored. He should be free. Then comes the authority of the civil government. The authority of the State is always restored as a last resort by its army. But this cannot be a permanent affair, the civil administration must therefore be reestablished. Without the machinery of civil administration, no democratic system or parliament can function. We are now passing through this second stage. We have succeeded substantially in establishing the authority of the civilian government. There may be some problem in remote rural areas because of monsoons. You cannot imagine how it is like there. From May to October the whole province is under 6-10 feet water. You can only move from one house to another by boat. It is not easy to fully mobilise the police force.

However, so far as the lowest tier of the administration—we call it *Thana*, is concerned, it is very well established. There are civil officers working in their respective jurisdictions. We have the *Razakars*

(volunteers) to help the administration. They are recruited locally to protect the local population from the miscreants. The miscreants have killed quite a substantial number of people—patriotic citizens, ulemas, political opponents of the Awami League . . . The miscreants rarely appear in the city, they go to the villages. As soon as a person returned after receiving arms and training from India his first duty was to kill his own personal opponents and the opponents of his family . . . That situation was there, but now it is more or less under control. After the floods have subsided we will establish full and total control. The miscreants are provided cover by Indian shelling on Agartala border, on Assam border and on West Bengal border. That is how they manage to sneak in.

The army is now looking after the border situation and the civil administration is totally in the hands of Dr. A. M. Malik and his cabinet. We are optimistic and we look forward not only to normalisation, but we also want to make good the losses suffered during these past months.

The induction of the civilian cabinet has been welcomed by the Press as well as by all the patriotic sections in the country. No, people do not look at us as collaborators, which anyway we are not. Only such persons are unhappy within and outside the country who find a threat to their interests in normalcy. We can understand their position but as far as we are concerned we find it part of our patriotic duty to help pave the way for the return of democratic order in Pakistan.

The ministers are easily accessible to the common man and one could think of no better person than Dr. Malik as the Governor. There is none to compare as far as his administrative and political experience is concerned. For eight years he was a member of the Central Government. He was in Liaquat Ali Khan's cabinet and he stayed in the central cabinet until 1955. In July this year, before he took up the assignment of Special Assistant to the President, he went all around North Bengal on his own with no official escort or support. He is a man who knows

\* Mr. A. S. M. Sulaiman is the leader of the Krishik Sramik Party of Pakistan, a former member of the National Assembly and presently Minister of Law Labour and Social Welfare in the Government of East Pakistan.



**... as far as Pakistan is concerned, there is no problem about the refugees . . . They are welcome and whatever is necessary by way of their rehabilitation, we are prepared to do . . . But as regards this international crusade . . . we cannot tailor our policies according to the demands of interested pressure groups.**

people, who is with the people. He is one of the senior-most statesmen in the sub-continent, not only in Pakistan.

The ministers? We are all determined and dedicated because who will come forward to shoulder responsibility under such situation? Otherwise one could have become a minister in much comfortable times. We are there only to discharge certain responsibilities. It is not the time to look for the pomp of being a minister. We are all involved in the cause—the cause of Pakistan. It is not an office, it is a sacred duty. And then there is that risk of coming to harm by the miscreants. But God is there. Maulana Ishaq who holds the portfolio of local self Government went to the Nizam-e-Islam office for saying his prayers. His driver also went inside and someone planted a time bomb in his car. As they came in front of the Medical College Hospital the bomb went off, but it had been kept facing downwards. The explosion made a two feet deep hole in the road, but the occupants of the car were saved from direct blast. They received minor injuries and were given immediate first aid in the hospital. You cannot explain why the bomb was kept that way, but the hand of God is there.

Now the problem of the refugees? One simply does not understand what is all this fuss about. As far as Pakistan is concerned, there is no problem about the refugees. If they came back, they would find their homes and properties safe and intact and like other Pakistanis they can resume normal and peaceful life. They are welcome, and whatever is necessary by way of their rehabilitation we are prepared to do. But as regards this international crusade, let me say that the refugees are not any chosen class of people who need special privileges. If 70m people of East Pakistan can lead a normal and peaceful life, the same opportunity is available to these people as well. We cannot tailor our policies according to the demands of these interested pressure groups. I think the refugees, if they are not prevented, the vast majority of them would like to return to their homes. They are not being allowed to come and that is why we have

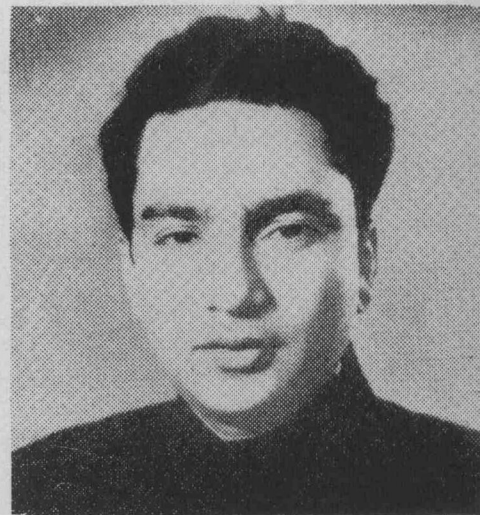
suggested the bringing in of the UN observers. Whether they want or not to return can only be found out through the expression of unhindered free will under neutral auspices. We feel that it is the Indian authorities who are not allowing them to come back. This is so because India is not feeding them. They are being fed by the international charities. If they want to keep the refugees and use them against Pakistan then it is not our responsibility . . .

We are not Israel. We want them sincerely to come back, But we know that India is not allowing them to return. When people started returning through unauthorized routes the Indians mined those areas. In Dinajpur and Thakurgaon, the buses of the returning East Pakistanis were blasted. Those refugees who are genuinely concerned about the political structure of Pakistan, their place is in their own country and not India or anywhere else.

Yes, there is and there has been a great deal of outside pressure, also through the World Bank, but we are determined to maintain our independence. Aid is not charity and one has to pay it all back with interest. So we do not want to accept any 'aid' which has strings attached to it. There are many countries who are doing without aid.

Well, I wouldn't say that it was entirely a regression of our foreign policy. We do have a definite foreign policy. We want to build up friendship and understanding with all the countries. At the same time, we do not like outside interference. Our role in bringing China and USA from the point of confrontation to consultation, is to my mind a positive contribution towards world peace. This policy has not changed.

You can say that our publicity has been weak. This is true, but being faced with an internal crisis we felt that if Pakistan was able to survive, we will have friends. Unless we are strong internally, no matter what we do outside it is not going to help us in the resolution of our problems. But we do need to activate our missions outside the country so that we are understood and not misunderstood.



The policy we are following now aims at restoring the National Assembly. By-elections for the vacant seats are to be held in December. After the elections the Assembly will start functioning and can resume the road to democracy. What they do and how they behave would depend entirely on them. We are simply helping in the process. Unless they work hard, selflessly and in a spirit of dedication we are not going to come out of the crisis.

There are many lessons to be learnt. I feel it is high time for us to realise that we are Pakistanis and make our sons and daughters aware of what Pakistan really means and why and what for it had to be achieved. This cannot be done by merely paying lip service to the ideology of Pakistan, and then we have also to root out all the injustices of the past.

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# Unease and uncertainty in Ethiopia

MUHAMMAD ILYAS

Emperor Haile Selassie of Ethiopia, who is now 79, has perhaps held his position longer than any other statesman in the contemporary world. Understandably, the opposition to his regime is smaller and anonymous, diffuse and dispersed, and very much underground. The King has been adept at preventing the development of any potentially dangerous *esprit de corps* among the civil and military hierarchy. He retains a great stronghold among the members of the Amharic tribe who form the ruling classes in Ethiopia. More than 75 per cent of the officer-cadres in the army and 60 per cent ministerial offices go to the members of the Amharic tribe. Nevertheless, the King spends a great deal of his time in shifting and shuffling, and creating newer balances and combinations in the civil and the military coterie.

On the political plane too, the same meticulousness is exercised. All the candidates are thoroughly screened before being allowed to take part in the elections to the legislature; thus the Parliament is 'saved' from becoming possible nucleus of undesirable political activities. This is besides the fact that the King has the imperial prerogative of legislating without the Parliament.

The men who hold the top offices in the government today have usually risen on the basis of their proven loyalty. There is a well organised system of intelligence amongst the civil servants and the army cadres, and any symptom of disaffection or disloyalty is promptly reported and immediately eradicated. Censorship is extremely efficient and thorough.

Eighty-five per cent of the population is still engaged in subsistence agriculture. Land and budgetary reforms have been long overdue. The major source of the Emperor's political strength lies with the deeply conservative Ethiopian Orthodox



POLICE TAKING POSITION AGAINST STUDENTS

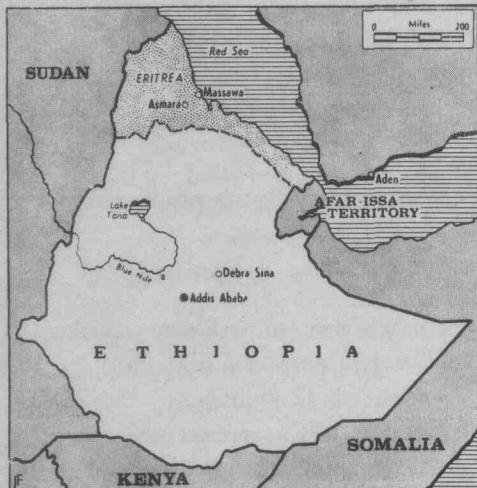
Church, to which nearly 30 per cent of his subjects belong. The Church is second only to the Emperor as a landowner, yet it has never been taxed. A further obstacle to economic advance is the heavy concentration in the budget on military expenditure. The Emperor has kept the pockets of his 40,000 strong army well-lined, with salary raises of almost 500 per cent during the 1960's. (The U.S. has a defence pact with Ethiopia—America's only defence pact in Africa).

The most vocal opposition to the government in the past few years has come from the students. At Addis Ababa's ten-year-old Haile Selassie I University, there have been sporadic agitations on issues ranging from land reform to civil liberties. Student unrest came to a head again late in December 1969, after campus publications denounced the government as a "corrupt, senile, and a festering dictatorship." On 28 December 1969, Tillahun Gizaw, President of the Student Union, was found shot dead near the University Campus. Speculation centred on whether Gizaw had been murdered by student opponents or more probably by the agents of the government.

With the existing or potential territorial conflicts involving Eritrea and Western Somalia, and with a growing challenge in the Universities, and among military and governmental personnel, a popular pastime in the country is speculating about the post-Selassie Ethiopia. Heir-designate to the throne is Asfa Wossen, 54, the first-born and sole surviving son of the Emperor. The crown prince is a somewhat shadowy figure, whose opinions are little known by many Ethiopians. What is known is that the relations between the Emperor and his son have never always been cordial.

Muslims in Ethiopia, who account for 67 per cent of her population have been the worst sufferers under the Emperor's oppressive and despotic rule. They have been the subject of a well-laid policy of

economic deprivation and cultural genocide. Therefore, whatever the outcome of a possible succession struggle, they do not seem to have much to look forward to. How can they hope to be liberated when the vast majority in the Muslim World is today busy buying its own chains?



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## THE KASHMIR ISSUE

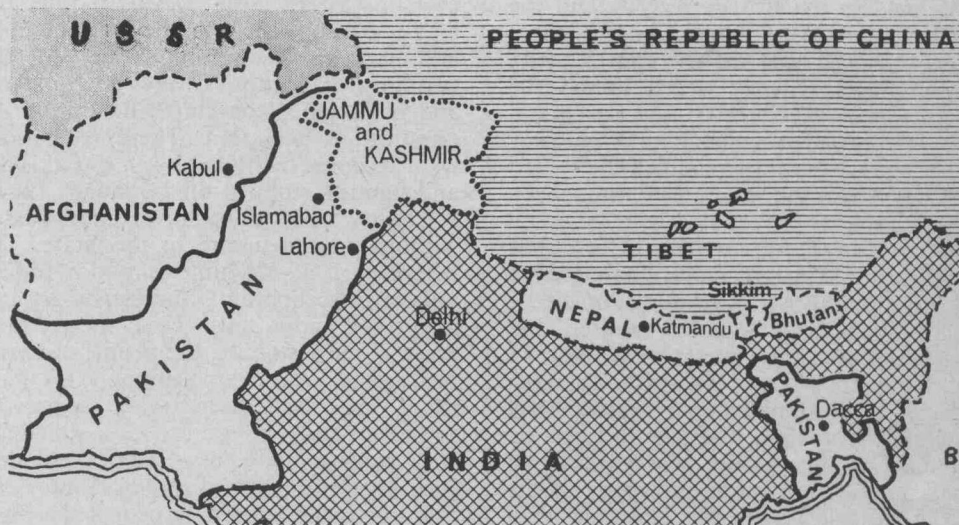
# When shall the pledges be fulfilled?

## IMPACT BRIEFING

On 24 October 1947, the people of the State of Jammu and Kashmir rose to rebellion against the century-old tyranny and despotism of the Maharaja, and after bitter fighting were able to liberate the areas now known as Azad (free) Kashmir and set up an Azad Government of Jammu and Kashmir. The rest of Kashmir—a land renowned for its scenic beauty—stays in the hands of India, with its people embittered and in a state of political limbo. For twenty four years now, India has managed to maintain its hold on Kashmir and whilst 'creating facts' has refused to give the people their right to self determination.

Apart from the territories that were directly under British administration, and known collectively as 'British India', the old India included a large number of native states like Junagadh, Hyderabad, Manawadar, Jammu and Kashmir and hundreds more. When the partition of the sub-continent was agreed to among the principal parties concerned, the native States too had to decide between casting in their lot with either of the two sovereign entities that were to emerge from India on the withdrawal of the British, or staying independent<sup>1</sup>. The two sovereign entities would be made up respectively of the Hindu-majority areas of the sub-continent and the Muslim-majority areas. This was based on the two-nation theory—according to which India was inhabited not by one but by two nations, the Hindus and the Muslims, who were two distinct peoples in respect of religious beliefs and doctrines, culture, history and civilization, customs and traditions, ideals of life and economic interests and national and political aspirations. This was the basis for the partition of India and the principle that governed the division was that the contiguous Muslim majority areas should together constitute a separate Muslim state, namely, Pakistan.

India insisted on this principle in the case of certain States. When, shortly after independence, the principality of Junagadh acceded to Pakistan, India protested: "This is a complete negation of the principles on the basis of which the partition



was decided and executed." It therefore annexed Junagadh by force of arms. Later in the much more important and serious case of Hyderabad, India reaffirmed that stand. From this it is clear that according to the principle of partition as accepted and interpreted by India itself, Kashmir should have acceded to Pakistan straightaway. Kashmir was and is a predominantly Muslim State having its longest border with Pakistan—over 700 miles. According to the census of 1941, its population was 4,021,000 the proportion of Muslims being as high as 80 per cent. According to the census of 1951, the population was 4.37 millions. The population of Gilgit being 100 per cent Muslim; in the Valley of Kashmir, Muslims form 90 per cent of the population and even in Jammu province they are in an absolute majority.

Besides having a majority Muslim population and having the longest contiguous border with Pakistan, the people of the State wanted to be part of Pakistan. On 9 July, 1947, for example, the Jammu and Kashmir Muslim Conference adopted a resolution demanding the State's accession to Pakistan and asked the Maharaja to accept the demand without delay:

"This convention of the Muslim Conference has arrived at the conclusion that, keeping in view the geographical conditions, the eighty per cent Muslim majority of the population, the passage of the important rivers of the Punjab through the State, the language and the cultural, racial and economic connections of the people, and the proximity of the borders of the State with Pakistan, it is necessary that the Jammu and Kashmir State should accede to Pakistan."

In fact the people of Kashmir had for long shown their willingness and their

determination to join Pakistan even from the year 1940 when the Pakistan Resolution was adopted by the Muslims of British India. That the Muslims of Kashmir were frustrated in their desires was due presumably to one man—the Maharaja, to whose forbears the State of Jammu and Kashmir was sold by the British for a sum equivalent to one million dollars. This tragedy to Kashmiris took place on 16 March 1846 and is known as the Treaty of Amritsar.

At the end of the Second World War the Maharaja knew well which way the wind was blowing, but he was determined to forestall the accession of state to Pakistan. Having failed to achieve this through repression and terror, the Maharaja embarked upon a more subtle policy. Instead of deciding on accession to Pakistan, he signed with it a Standstill Agreement (15 August 1947) under which the control of those affairs of the State which were the concern of the British before independence passed, provisionally, to Pakistan, and there was no fundamental change in the character of the relationship between the two. Pakistan was led to believe that this was the first step towards accession, but the Maharaja had other plans.

He had already started to disarm the Muslim population, including the Muslims in the State army and police. At the same time, he established contacts with the militant Hindu organisations in India which established bases in Jammu and launched a campaign against the lives and property of the Muslims. In September 1947, this campaign reached a pitch with the Muslims of Poonch, Mirpur and the various districts of Jammu suffering frightful losses in lives and honour.

1. "The States are theoretically free to link their future with whichever dominion they may care. But when I say that they are at liberty to link up with either of the dominions, may I point out that there are certain geographical compulsions which cannot be evaded. You cannot run away from the Dominion Government which is your neighbour any more than you can run away from the subjects for whose welfare you are responsible." (Lord Mountbatten, Viceroy and Governor-General of India: address to the Indian Chamber of Princes, 25 July, 1947).

# The Kashmir issue

Meanwhile the British Viceroy and the Hindu leaders of the Indian Congress conspired to hand over the Muslim majority district of Gurdaspur which linked the Jammu and Kashmir State to India. India was thus provided with a gateway to Kashmir, which later enabled the Indian rulers to rescue the Hindu Maharaja when he was about to be toppled by a powerful popular insurrection. In giving Gurdaspur to India, the British thus played an ignoble role in creating the Kashmir problem.

The Muslims of Kashmir realised that their political destiny was at stake and that the Standstill Agreement with Pakistan was only a smokescreen. Faced with mounting repression, the first to raise the standard of revolt were the Muslims of Poonch. They were soon joined by others in the struggle to liberate Kashmir from the Dogra forces of the Maharaja. These latter suffered many reverses until the Maharaja, unnerved, fled from Srinagar to Jammu while the freedom-fighters set up the government of Azad Jammu and Kashmir. The Maharaja "appealed" to India for aid and the National Defence Council of India promptly despatched arms and ammunition to the State. On 26 October, the fleeing Maharaja signed the Instrument of Accession which was provisionally accepted by India<sup>2</sup> whose forces had already been rushed into the State. Pakistan refused to recognise this Accession and declared that the entry of Indian troops into Kashmir was manifest aggression. She wanted to refer the matter to the Security Council immediately after the entry of Indian troops into Kashmir; but India prevented her by various political stratagems from doing so. It made a move for a settlement of the dispute through direct negotiations—a move which later turned out to be a smokescreen for stepping up the Indian military offensive in Kashmir. Later, when the Indian leaders found that the stratagem could not carry them very far, they took the initiative in moving the Security Council and, on 1 January 1948, referred the dispute to it in a highly distorted form. On the 15th of January, Pakistan filed a counter-complaint. How-

ever, it was not until 13 August 1948 and 5 January 1949 that the Security Council adopted two resolutions, calling for the cessation of hostilities followed by a free and impartial plebiscite to determine the question of accession. These resolutions were accepted by India as well as Pakistan, and fighting stopped on 1 January 1949.

Twenty two years have since passed without any plebiscite in the State. The better part of Kashmir is under India's unlawful occupation. Successive governments of India have been aware that, given a free plebiscite, the people of Kashmir would vote overwhelmingly for Pakistan. They have been trying to prevent this eventuality in various ways which are very much reminiscent of tactics in Palestine. Large numbers of Indian Hindus and Sikhs have since been settled in the State in order to turn the Muslim majority into a minority. Mass evictions, terror and other measures to induce emigration have also been used to achieve this end.

From the beginning, however, India herself had unequivocally conceded the Provisional character of the State's so-called accession to the Indian Union. On 31 October 1947, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru "promised" the Government of Pakistan, the people of Kashmir and the world, that the decision regarding the future of Kashmir would be left to the people of the State. And the Indian representative on the Security Council affirmed that all questions relating to the status of Kashmir was "a matter for unfettered decision by the people of Kashmir! The call for a free and impartial plebiscite in Kashmir has been reaffirmed by the U.N. again and again, in 1948, 1949, 1952 and 1957. But all efforts to achieve this met with rejections and prevarications from India. Such phrases as *India rejects the proposal; she therefore requested for an adjournment; she turned down all the various proposals put forth to ensure prompt and faithful implementation of the second and third parts of the United Nations plan; India refused to pull out her troops; Pakistan accepted all the proposals put forth but India rejected all of them*—characterise the reports of U.N. observers on Kashmir. Sir Owen Dixon, for example, reporting to the Security Council on the failure of his mission in 1950 wrote:

"In the end I became convinced that India's agreement would never be obtained to demilitarisation in any such form, or to provisions governing the period of plebiscite of any such character as would in my opinion permit of the plebiscite being conducted in conditions sufficiently guarding against intimidation and other forms, influence and abuse by which the freedom

and fairness of the plebiscite might be imperilled."

The United Nations in the end practically surrendered to India's intransigence and the Security Council itself did not bother to take any further action; when the matter came up again before it in 1964, it adjourned *sine die* without even passing any resolution. The Veto Powers too countenanced India's defiance of the U.N. The Soviet Union used its power of veto in India's favour and Khrushchev recognised Kashmir as an "integral part" of the Indian Union during his visit to India in 1956. The United States too, continued to support India.

All this emboldened India to repudiate all her commitments on the Kashmir issue, to block all avenues of a peaceful settlement and pursue a policy of eliminating the Kashmir issue by force and repression. Now, the entire political and economic system of Occupied Kashmir is being integrated with India. India set up an unrepresentative State Constituent Assembly in Kashmir which was made to 'ratify' and 'finalise' the State's Accession to the Indian Union. But the Security Council categorically declared that no decision of the 'Constituent Assembly' of Kashmir would have any effect on the question of the State's accession.

A leader in the New York Times (13 April 1964) reasoned out the position thus: "India maintains that Kashmir (or the part held by Indian troops—much the larger) has been thoroughly absorbed by law and in fact. It might be pointed out, however, that Alsace-Lorraine, after its seizure by the Germans under Bismarck, was also absorbed. It sent representatives to the Reichstag. It was absorbed again by Hitler. But no one disputes that Alsace-Lorraine is rightly and happily French today. Constitutional processes or force are not substitutes for popular will—the will that India refuses to test in Kashmir."

For the past few years occupied Kashmir has been practically a police state where intense repression and terror have been visited on the people. The year 1965 was a very bad year indeed with many thousands killed and arrested, with atrocities committed and villages set on fire and all, according to the correspondent of the *Toronto Globe and Mail* (31 October 1965), "in the name of Indian secular democracy." The terrible events of that year prompted a correspondent of the London weekly, *Time and Tide*, to observe:

"When order has been restored in Kashmir the politicians say a plebiscite will be held, but what is a plebiscite when those who would have voted are dead or driven out of their homes, or silenced by fear."

<sup>2</sup> "We have declared that the fate of Kashmir is ultimately to be decided by the people. That pledge we have given (and the Maharajah has supported it) not only to the people of Kashmir but to the world. We will not and cannot back out of it. We are prepared when peace and law and order have been established to have a referendum held under international auspices like the U.N. We want it to be a fair and just reference to the people, and we shall accept their verdict. I can imagine no fairer and just offer.

(Pandit Nehru, the Indian Prime Minister: Broadcast to the Nation, All India Radio, 2 November 1947)



# THE U.N. AND KASHMIR

Having received from the Governments of India and Pakistan, in communications dated December 23 and December 25 1948, respectively, their acceptance of the following principles which are supplementary to the Commission's resolution of August 13, 1948.

1. The question of the accession of the State of Jammu and Kashmir to India or Pakistan will be decided through the democratic method of a free and impartial plebiscite.

2. A plebiscite will be held when it shall be found by the Commission that the cease-fire and truce arrangements set forth in parts I and II of the Commission's resolution of August 13, 1948 have been carried out and arrangements for the plebiscite have been completed.

3. (a) The Secretary-General of the United Nations will, in agreement with the Commission, nominate a Plebiscite Administrator who shall be a personality of high international standing and commanding general confidence. He will be formally appointed to office by the Government of Jammu and Kashmir.

(b) The Plebiscite Administrator shall derive from the State of Jammu and Kashmir the powers he considers necessary for organising and conducting the plebiscite and for ensuring the freedom and impartiality of the plebiscite.

(c) The Plebiscite Administrator shall have authority to appoint such staff of assistance to observers as he may require.

4. (a) After implementation of parts I and II of the Commission's resolution of August 13, 1948, and when the Commission is satisfied that peaceful conditions have been restored in the State, the Commission and Plebiscite Administrator will determine, in consultation with the Government of India, the final disposal of Indian and State armed forces, such disposal to be with due regard to the security of the State and the freedom of the Plebiscite.

(b) As regards the territory referred to in A2 of Part II of the resolution of August 13, final disposal of the armed forces in that territory will be determined by the Commission and the Plebiscite Administrator in consultation with the local authorities.

5. All civil and military authorities within the State and the principal political elements of the State will be required to co-operate with the Plebiscite Administrator in the preparation for and the holding of the plebiscite;

6. (a) All citizens of the State who have left it on account of the disturbance will be invited and be free to return and to exercise all their rights as such citizens. For the purpose of facilitating repatriation there shall be appointed two Commissions one composed of nominees of India and the other of nominees of Pakistan. The Commission shall operate under the direction of the

Plebiscite Administrator. The Governments of India and Pakistan and all authorities within the State of Jammu and Kashmir will collaborate with the Plebiscite Administrator in putting provision into effect;

(b) All persons (other than citizens of the State) who on or since August 15, 1947 have entered it for other than lawful purposes, shall be required to leave the State;

7. All authorities within the State of Jammu and Kashmir will undertake to ensure, in collaboration with the Plebiscite Administrator, that;

(a) There is no threat, coercion or intimidation, bribery or other undue influence on the voters in the plebiscite;

(b) No restrictions are placed on legitimate political activity throughout the State. All subjects of the State, regardless of creed, caste or party, shall be safe in expressing their views and in voting on the question of the accession of the State to India or Pakistan. There shall be freedom of the Press, speech and assembly and freedom of travel in the State, including freedom of lawful entry and exit;

(c) All political prisoners are released;

(d) Minorities in all parts of the State are accorded adequate protection; and

(e) There is no victimization.

8. The Plebiscite Administrator may refer into the United Nations Commission for India and Pakistan problems on which he may require assistance, and the Commission may in its discretion call upon the Plebiscite Administrator to carry out on its behalf any of the responsibilities with which it has been entrusted;

9. At the conclusion of the plebiscite, the Plebiscite Administrator shall report the result thereof to the Commission and to the Government of Jammu and Kashmir. The Commission shall then certify to the Security Council whether the plebiscite has or has not been free and impartial.

10. Upon the signature of the truce agreement, the details of the foregoing proposals will be elaborated in the consultations envisaged in part III of the Commission's resolution of August 13, 1948. The Plebiscite Administrator will be fully associated in these consultations;

Commends the Governments of India and Pakistan for their prompt action in ordering a cease-fire to take effect from one minute before mid-night of January 1, 1949, pursuant to the agreement arrived at as provided for by the Commission's resolution of August 13, 1948; and

Resolves to return in the immediate future to the sub-continent to discharge the responsibilities imposed upon it by the resolution of August 13, 1948, and by the foregoing principles."

(Resolution adopted by the Security Council on January 5, 1949).

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## A LETTER FROM WASHINGTON

**What is true revolution ?**

S. S. MUFASSIR

On 1 October, the Director-General of Higher Education in Algeria, Professor Malek Ben-Nabi, former President of the University of Algiers, visited the American capital to speak at Masjid ul-Ummah (The Community Mosque), which is located in the heart of the inner city and just blocks away from the prestigious seat of Federal Government. Professor Ben-Nabi was one of the leaders of the celebrated Algerian Revolution which has been long viewed as an instructive example to Third World peoples the learned Professor's remarks to the overflow crowd assembled at the mosque centred on the subject "What is true revolution?"

Nearly 200 people from the area and nearby Maryland came to hear the exposition of a Revolution that has produced concomitant social, political and economic change on the African continent. The visit was arranged by the International Islamic Federation of Student Organisations (IIFSO). Dr. Totonji, Secretary General of the IIFSO translated Professor Malek's talk, which was delivered in Arabic.

Professor Ben-Nabi spoke generally about the Algerian revolution, pinpointing some basic differences between Islamic Revolution and the popular revolutions of today.

He said revolution implied fast change, but it should lead us from injustice to Justice. The true revolution started from and with the individual and then went on to establish a society which 'forbade evil and enjoined the good'. It was a mistake to think that a revolution could be independent of belief in God, in fact true revolution started from such a belief. The blessed Prophet Muhammad outlined the nature of Islamic Revolution, when he asked his followers to change a wrong with their own hands, if they could not do so then they must denounce it openly and if that too was not possible then they must denounce it privately—but that was the weakest level of Faith.

After the talk a question was raised about Frantz Fanon's remarks in *Les damnés de la terre* (The wretched of the Earth) that "no reference to Islam or Paradise" explained the unusual Algerian dedication of the self. Prof. Malik debunked the notion and said that Fanon was never sympathetic to the Algerian revolution. In 1957, he said: "I cannot help the Algerian revolution because I am not an Algerian nor a Muslim" but in 1958 he 'joined' the revolution with the object of changing its orientation from Islam to Marxism.

Another questioner wanted to know how relevant the Algerian revolution was to the situation of the oppressed and "colonized" people in America. The Professor explained Islam's firm stand against injustice wherever it is found and said that to the extent the Algerian revolution represented a form of true Islamic Revolution, it had a universal applicability.

The host, Imam Y. Muzaffaruddin Hamid, closed the discussion by stating that The Community Mosque officially holds that Islam is a revolutionary way of life of supreme relevance to oppressed people in America and to all Americans seeking a better way of living. Islam, he said, is a practical, proven system for change, and that the facts cited by Prof. Ben-Nabi were able confirmation of that belief.

**Letters****"Whirlwind and the wind"**

I think Mr. Abdullah (*Impact* No. 10) is very much influenced by the anti-Pakistan propaganda of the international media to which we have been continuously subjected during the past one year or so. Being an East Pakistani Bengali myself, I must say that the facts are to the contrary. There are innumerable East Pakistani families like mine who were victimised and displaced by trained thugs of the now defunct Awami League and its *Sangram Parishad*. The PEOPLE of East Pakistan were forced to buy photographs of Sheikh Mujibbur Rahman (at Rs. 50.00 each), hoise "Bangla Desh" flags on their houses, and those who refused were dragged out and beaten; their shops and houses burnt down etc. I can submit ample evidence on this. After the army moved in to restore order, the so-called "Mukti Bahini" fled to the rural areas and took to terror and gangsterism, and a significant number of East Pakistanis who fled to India did so because of this terror and blackmail.

In fact 'mutilating, raping, plundering etc.' was started by the members and volunteers of the defunct Awami League and if the Army clamped down on lawlessness, it was their duty to do so. The Army is raised to protect the country from subversion as well as aggression.

The Indian claim on the number of refugees is also not true. The account provided by the returning East Pakistanis shows that the actual number is much less than even 2 million, and except those who were involved in crimes against the nation, the vast majority would like to return home provided the Indians would let them do so.

The vast majority of the PEOPLE of East Pakistan stand for one Pakistan without whose support and co-operation the Pakistan Army would not have been able to contain both internal subversion and Indian aggression.

ABUL HAYATH

President, Pakistan Solidarity Front  
Barking, Essex of Great Britain**"Love of the elected"**

I offer my compliments on your leader: "Of that love of the *elected*" in *Impact*, issue No. 9. The way you analysed the theory of election was quite convincing, though novel.

I also read the article "The Sonship of Jesus", but do not know for certain whether such articles really fit the very much social, economic and political coverage of *Impact*.

Dr. M. A. HUSSEIN MULLICK

Kiel, West Germany

**Iranian Celebrations**

I was very delighted to read about the Iranian celebrations in *Impact* (24 September), particularly at the time when tens of millions of pounds of Iranian money is being spent only on the press and other mass media to propagate the justification of the so-called 2500th anniversary celebrations of the Iranian monarchy. However, to present the view of the whole Iranian people about these celebrations as the "Viewpoint of the underground" is rather surprising. Imam Khomaini is leading the Iranians in their struggle against tyranny and thus speaks on behalf of the whole nation, but as far as I know, there is no underground organisation

which acts under his directions, though it may be that the "underground" organisations in Iran struggling against the regime derive inspiration from the Imam.

I happened to get the original text of the message—in fact a speech—in Persian. I find that while some points are misunderstood, some outstanding phrases have been omitted in your English condensation. May I quote some of these.

"It was the criminal Iranian kings who were killing people and raising minarets from their heads (refers to Agha Mohammad Khan, the first king of the Qadjar dynasty)"

"The blessed Prophet has said that in the sight of God the title Malik-Al-Amlak i.e. Shahinshah, is one of the most accursed titles . . . Indeed, Islam opposes imperialism and monarchy." From the very beginning of history, the Prophets and the ulemas had discharged their duty of standing up and fighting against the oppressive regimes."

"I, therefore, want to tell all the heads of state and other persons who are going to take part that these celebrations have nothing to do with the Iranian people and their participation would amount to taking part in the blood-bath of the oppressed Iranian nation . . . the heads of the Islamic countries should also note that these anti-Islamic celebrations are held under the supervision of Israeli experts and engineers."

"The Iranian Muslim nation has to boycott these celebrations and fight against it through peaceful means. They must stay within their homes and demonstrate their opposition and resentment. The celebrators must know about the resentment of the Islamic community and the whole free world. Islam and the Muslims are disgusted with such imperial monarchy."

May I also point out that the history of Islam in Iran is less than 1400 years and so "the crimes against Islam and the Muslims" could not "have extended over the whole span of 2,500 years". Indeed it should be corrected as "the crimes against the people, Islam and the Muslims . . ."

London, E.1.

HOSEIN Y.

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# Books

## Truly encyclopaedic

Bayard Dodge (Edited and translated), 1970

IBN AL-NADIM: THE FIHRIST  
Tenth-century survey of Muslim Culture,  
Two volumes,

pp 1150, *Columbia U.P.*, New York & London, £18.

This is the English translation of one of the most remarkable of Arabic books and the earliest extant bibliography of Arabic literature produced in what the West knows as the "medieval" period. We know very little about the author, whose full name was Abu al-Faraj Muhammad Ibn Ishaq. He is better known as Ibn al-Nadim. He was a book-seller in Baghdad which was the Abbasid capital and the greatest centre of learning and culture in the contemporary world. The name al-Nadim (lit. boon-companion) suggests that his father was probably attached to the Court of the Caliph.

*The Fihrist*, according to the short preface "is a catalogue of the books of all peoples, Arab and foreign, existing in the language of the Arabs, as well as their scripts, dealing with various sciences, with accounts of those who composed them and the categories of their authors, together with their relationships and records of their times of birth and length of life, and times of death, and also of the localities of their cities, their virtues and faults, from the beginning of the formation of each science to his own time, which is the year 377 after the Hijrah (A.D. 987/88)" (pp.1-2).

Professor Dodge has done a very painstaking job by consulting all available manuscripts of *Al-Fihrist*, collecting different recensions and editing them. *Al-Fihrist* is basically a reference book and the translation is very literal for the sake of accuracy.

Ibn-al-Nadim has divided his book in ten "discourses" (*Makalat*). The opening chapter of the book is on language and calligraphy and the author deals with the alphabets of 14 Arab and non-Arab peoples, and their manner of writing and also about the pen, paper and their kinds. Other sections are devoted to "Revealed" books i.e. the Torah, the Gospels and the *Qur'an* and Qura'nic sciences. Chapter 2 is about Arabic Grammar, chapter 3 deals with historians and genealogists, civil

servants and other court officials. Chapter 4 gives an account of poets of pre-Islamic, the Umayyad and the Abbasid periods. Chapter 5 discusses the dialectic theology (*Kalam*) and dialecticians (*al-Mutakallimun*). Chapter 6 is devoted to law (*fikh*) and traditions (*Hadith*). Chapter 7 deals with philosophy, mathematics, astronomy and medicine. Chapter 8 is concerned with legends, fables, magic, conjuring etc. In chapter 9 the author gives a comprehensive account of the non-monotheistic creeds (Sabians, Manicheans and other dualists, the Hindus, Buddhists and Chinese). The sections on the Sabians and Manicheans are the only authoritative account available to us of their doctrines. Chapter 10 deals with alchemy. This brief enumeration of chapter headings indicates the scope and comprehensive nature of *Al-Fihrist*. Thus it is not merely an index on bio-bibliography but a truly encyclopaedic work of a genius. In compilation of this work al-Nadim is very careful and he gives the titles of only those books which he had seen himself or the existence of which was vouchsafed by a trustworthy person. This authoritative nature of *Al-Fihrist* made it a useful work of reference and it was used by such scholars as Yaquf for his work, *Irshad al-Arib*, and *Al-Saghani for Khizanat al-adab*. And L. J. R. Ort in his recent book *Mani: a religio-historical description of his personality*, has extensively quoted *Al-Fihrist* and acknowledges it to be the best source on Mani's life and religion.

Ibn al-Nadim wrote also a *Kitab al-Awsaf wa'l-tashbihat* which has not survived. Wars, revolutions and insects, all have contributed to the destruction of a great number of valuable manuscripts of the period. Even *Kitab Al-Fihrist* is a re-construction from fragmented manuscripts because no complete manuscript is known to be in existence.

Apart from an illuminating introduction, Professor Dodge has provided a full length bibliography and given detailed descriptions of some important manuscripts he has examined. There is also a glossary which is useful for an understanding of the technical terms, historical events and significance of many titles of books. The provision of a biographical Index has made the book a very useful work of reference. It is in the form of Who's Who and contains names of men and women mentioned in *Al-Fihrist*. There is also a general index at the end of the book which includes numerous topics and technical terms as well as the names of tribes and geographical localities.

(A. R. SIDDIQUI)

## What's Left? What's next?

Harry Magdoff, 1969

THE AGE OF IMPERIALISM

pp 183, *Monthly Review Press*, New York  
\$1.75 (Paperback)

Harry Magdoff's polemic against U.S. diplomacy in the post-war period is by any criteria, an important book. It is important because it mirrors the nature of the thought and philosophy that can typically be associated with the American New Left. It is fascinating to look at this work within the context of the intellectual development of the doctrines of Marxism, down the ages. The debate among the leading exponents of Marxist Socialism has become sterile, stagnant and listless. Partly due to the developments within the Russian and Chinese Communist Parties, partly due to the disappearance of the Communist Internationale, the Movement has lost its sense of identity, its leadership and its vision. Marxism is in great need of a Revivalist Movement. The New Left is the Revivalism that failed.

*The Age of Imperialism*, shows what went wrong. A Revivalist Movement needs above all a consistent and simple explanation of the process whereby deviation from the old teachings were generally adopted. The New Left has never quite managed to come up with such an explanation. They have tried to substitute for it, doctrinal hair-splittings, statistical sophistication and political rhetoric. Yet they have failed to conceal the basically opportunist nature of the New Left Movement.

Harry Magdoff's study is an amusing attempt to dodge this central question of deviationism as applied to the problems of the colonial countries. He has argued—and argued forcefully—that America has, since the Second World War, created an international system which increases her control over the World economy. The USA has pursued its imperialistic objectives both through its bilateral dealings with the peripheral economies and through the net work of international trade and financial organizations such as the IBRD, GATT and IMF. The analysis of foreign capital movements and the International Money Market (Chapters 2 and 3) is incisive and thought provoking.

But the book does not develop a general theory of economic exploitation of the

## What's Left . . .

poor countries and hence, it is incapable of tackling the only vital question which has any operational significance whatsoever. This is the question of the method through which such exploitation can be put to an end. Surely, lacking such a perspective, neither the inhabitants of the poor countries nor their friends (the radicals and the progressives) in the Metropolitan countries, can systematically oppose the new Imperialism.

Magdoff's refusal to suggest a cure for the illness he has diagnosed is of course not without its advantages. It allows him to take a "Revolutionary" position without actually ever defining what he means by this term. Like Andre Gunder-Frank, Paul Barran and Sweezy, he has fallen into the habit of applauding all "Left" leaders, all heroic actions, all Nationalist hence "anti-imperialist" plans and policies. It is possible to label the Monthly Review approach as Stalinist and Trotskyist at the same time. Indeed comrades of the Militant tendency within the Labour Party and of the International Marxist Group etc. are for ever haggling on the "placing" of the MR school.

The book by failing to tackle the problem of international economic interdependence within the context of a consistent theoretical framework, has limited utility. One invariably passes on from the sensationalist and the cataloguers of misery to the theorists, the men with definite views and plans of action. That is why the Socialists passed on from Sismondi and Robert Owen to Marx and Engels. Likewise they will pass on—with a few admiring nostalgic glances—from Barran and Mandel and Magdoff. The tragedy is that after the entrenchment of revisionism in Russia, and more specially after the Chinese *volte face*, there is nothing left to pass on to.

(SIBTE MEHDI)

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**Judaism and Islam** by Abraham Geiger, *Ktav* New York, \$12.50.

A reprint of the author's work first published in 1898 in Germany. The new book has been added with a preface by Prof. Moshe Pearlman.

**The Discarded People** by Cosmos Desmond, *Penguin*, 40p.

Discusses South Africa's latest move to exterminate the Africans gradually but systematically through new policy of "separate development" which is just another name for grabbing their land, area by area, taking millions of Africans from their homes, their families, their ancestral villages and dumping them down in far away desert without houses, work, cattle or any other facility of life to die or survive because the white Africa considers them superfluous to its needs. The author, now under permanent house arrest for exposing South Africa's crimes, visited the new resettlement areas and saw the whole process of physical and spiritual genocide. The book describes what he saw and heard.

**Liberalism in South Africa, 1948-1963** by Janet Robertson, *Oxford*, £2.25.

Tells us about what white Liberals and South African leaders thought and did in the years following their war against racialism till they were crushed by the present national government.

**The Social Psychology of Race Relations** by Leonard Bloom, *Allen & Unwin*, pp 198, £2.75, £1.75 (paperbound).

A short book which studies psychological aspects of race-relations with particular reference to the black people in a white world. The author draws upon his academic experiences in South Africa, Zambia and Britain to elucidate his conclusions.

**Bury my Heart at Wounded Knee** by Dee Brown, *Barrie and Jenkins*, £3.50.

Tragic story of America's Red-Indians who possessed neither power nor means to resist their vengeful white oppressors. The name of the book invokes the sad memory of the Wounded Knee Creek (South Dakota) tragedy when at Christmas 1890, three hundred unarmed Red Indians were mercilessly butchered by a U.S. cavalry detachment. Eighteen of these American soldiers received the Congressional Medal of Honour! Col. Chivington, the man responsible for 1864 Sand Creek massacre said: "Damn any man who sympathises with Indians. I have come to kill Indians and believe it is right and honourable to use any means under God's heaven to kill Indians." Governor Ramsey of Minnesota declared: "The sioux Indian must be exterminated or driven for ever beyond the borders of the state". The whole attitude of the white America towards the Red Indians was summed up by the sioux leader Red Cloud when he said, "They made us many promises, more than I can remember, but they never kept but one; they promised to take our land and they took it."

**The Concept of Nature in Marx** by Alfred Schmidt, *New Left Books*, £3.25.

It is a study in Marxist materialism first published in 1962, in German language. A discussion of Marx's theory of knowledge and his dialectics is also included. The writer has tried to show that, as against the commonly held view, Marx and Engels did not think alike on this fundamental question. The views of the two men are widely apart.

**Without Marx or Jesus: The New American Revolution has begun** by Jean-Francois with an afterword by Mary McCarthy, *Doubleday*, 269 pp, \$6.95.

The author a french columnist, editor, philosopher and a former professor contends that "the U.S. is the only potential source of the humanitarian, anti-imperialistic revolution" which he says is "essential for humanity".

**Money, Trade and International Relations** by Lionel Robbins, *Macmillan*, pp 294, £4.50.

Discusses the British economic problems and

trade in the context of international market and advocates a balance between the short-term and the long-term British policies.

**Capitalism** by John Vaizey, *Weidenfeld and Nicolson*, £2.50.

Traces the evolution of capitalism, its "achievements" and failures.

**The Life of G. D. H. Cole** by Dame Margaret Cole, *Macmillan*, £4.95.

Biography of one of the most eminent Guild Socialists of England who has exercised great intellectual influence on non-Russian leftist thought.

**The Last Days of Leo Tolstoy** by Valentin Bulgakov, trans. Ann Dunningan, with an introduction by George Steiner, *Hamish Hamilton*, £2.25.

A day by day account of the great Russian writer's final months by his last private secretary and one of his few but devoted disciples. It describes how a conflict ensued when true to his lofty ideals Tolstoy decided to relinquish all his property and authorship rights. His wife Sofya Andreevna opposed this tooth and nail but she failed and Tolstoyans V. G. Chertkov, Valentin Bulgakov (the present author) and others, including Tolstoy's favourite daughter, won when on the night of 27 October, 1910, Tolstoy left his home to make a secret will handing over all his property and authorship rights to the people.

**The White Generals** by Richard Lucket, *Longman*, pp 431, £3.75.

Describes the violent struggle between the Bolsheviks and the former white generals of Czarist Russia until its end in November 1920 when Wrangle, the principal white general, fled from the country.

**The Balance of Power** by Helmut Schmidt, *William Kimber*, (English Translation), £2.50.

Discusses the political unification of Western Europe which in the words of the author, a former defence minister in Brandt administration, "still remains a fundamental goal of our policy". This does not however in any way weaken the German desire to reunite their divided nation. Their allies in NATO and EEC do not and perhaps cannot share this desire. A new balance of power will therefore somehow have to be devised and contrived within which Germany may peacefully attain its national goal—reunification.

**Woman's Mysteries Ancient and Modern** Both of these are by Mr. M. Esther Harding M.D., M.R.C.P., a disciple of the famous Psychologist Prof. C. G. Jung, who tries in them to unravel the mystery that is woman. *Rider* London; Price: £1.50 each.

**The Permissive Society: Facts or Fantasy** by John Selwyn Gummer, *Cassell*, £2.25.

The author, a tory MP examines the modern permissive society, its problems, maladies and "solutions".

**Rumour in Orleans** by Edgar Morin, *Anthony Blond*, £2.50.

A detailed report on how in May 1969, a rumour spread in Orleans (60 miles from Paris) that some 26 white women have been abducted from about half a dozen jewish-owned dress boutiques and they are to be sold in the Middle Eastern countries. The Jewish business suffered and the Jewish Social Foundation instituted an enquiry into the whole affair, resulting in the book titled above.

**Minty Alley** by C. L. R. James, *New Beacon Books*, 80p.

A reprint of a novel published in 1936 by one of the pioneers of the West Indian literary world. This is a novel of the 'yard' which contains all the banality, the squalor and the festering immorality that is the 'meat' of many West Indian novels. One of the main concerns of *Minty Alley* is supposed to be "the mutually impoverishing alienation of the educated West Indian from the people".



# World Opinion

## The Times not *The Times*

In its obituary of Nikita Khrushchev the *Times* remarked that the late Soviet leader possessed neither "the intellectual capacity of Lenin nor the sly brutality of Stalin." I was struck by the pointed contradiction made between Khrushchev's two predecessors. It becomes stranger still when compared with the *Times's* original post-mortems on Lenin and Stalin. Lenin, wrote the *Times* on January 23, 1924, was "not an original thinker"; he preached "a wild gospel of universal hate," while as for his intellectual capacity—"that incoherent jumble of theories in his mind was simply the material for his own personal ambition." When Generalissimo Stalin died on March 5, 1953, he got a page-long obituary in the *Times*—about five times as much as Lenin. Though this was the height of the Cold War the *Times* soberly pointed out that he had been "successful in piloting the country through" the crisis left by Lenin; that Stalin had created Russian industry and collectivized agriculture, equipped the USSR for war and led it to victory. In the view of the allied statesmen who knew him best, he was "approachable, sympathetic and readily disposed to moderate the intransigence of his subordinates."

I am not reproaching the *Times* with inconsistency—its present assessment is fairly typical of a general shift in public opinion. The fact is that we have all been inconsistent. . .

Writers love success stories, and Stalin's was the supreme success-story of the age. So why bother about Lenin's stuffed corpse when the only use for his mausoleum was to serve as Stalin's reviewing stand at parades? H. G. Wells met Lenin in 1920 and found him no more than an ineffectual dreamer, but Stalin he saw, fourteen years later, as a man who was changing the world and who "owes his position to the fact that no one is afraid of him and everyone trusts him."

When suddenly, as if by magic, everything changed: Stalin died, was 'exposed', and had his remains thrown out of the mausoleum. His portraits disappeared, the bronze busts were melted down, . . .

Soviet Russia is Lenin's Russia, and Communism, Lenin's creed. Stalin is just a megalomaniac gangster . . . His only use is as a scapegoat for What Went Wrong. When we want to express disapproval of a Communist but don't wish to be accused of McCarthyism we call him a Stalinist.

(Tibor Szamuely in *The Spectator*, London, 2 October 1971).

## Vachaspati Malraux— not a strange question

Honoured with the title of Vachaspati (D.Litt.) by the Benaras Sanskrit University . . . the world renowned

French intellectual, Andre Malraux, sprang a pleasant surprise by offering to fight for the independence of (Bangla Desh).

Malraux is one of our best friends in Europe and has profound faith in India's destiny. He has visited our country three times. During his first visit he met Mahatma Gandhi. About India's role in the United Nations, he once said, "The UN is what it is, because India is a part of it". He asked, "What would happen, if India were to disappear from the face of the earth? People would say, once there was a country which dared to say what it believed."

At their first meeting in Paris about four decades ago, Malraux did not ask Pandit Nehru anything about the struggle India was at that time waging against foreign domination or about her other ills, but tried to probe her inner vitality. Nehru describes this meeting in *The Discovery of India* thus:

"Eight or nine years ago when I was in Paris, Andre Malraux put me a strange question at the very beginning of our conversation. What was it, he asked me, that enabled Hinduism to push away organised Buddhism from India without any major conflict over a thousand years ago? . . . What inner vitality or strength did Hinduism possess then which enabled it to perform this remarkable feat?"

At their second meeting at New Delhi in 1958, Malraux was in the midst of political talks seeking an answer to his old question: "Does India possess that inner vitality and strength today?" (Men and Matters,

*Organiser* weekly, Delhi, 2 October 1971).

## On muezzins again

The muezzins of Turkey who alliteratively call Moslems to prayer from the minarets of mosques have been ordered to stop using tape-recorders and loudspeakers for this devout purpose. Even though such modern aids both to repetition and amplification must save the holy men much laryngeal strain and a whole lot of running up and down spiral stairs, the Turkish Minister of Religious Affairs has issued the ban because the distorted summons to praise Allah "added to the cacophony of environmental pollution". Although the translator may perhaps have put this peace-loving point somewhat ponderously, the edict does serve to emphasise the universal predilection of the reverent to make free with the decibels.

Those whose mis-spent lives already disqualify them from an after-life anywhere above purgatory, might join in wonderment about why the pious generally have to worship so noisily. Visiting saucer-men from Mars might well report back to base that all our Gods must be hard of hearing. The imam bellows from his

onion-tower in such Tannoy-magnified tones that the very cabinet ministers are roused to protection of the public ear. The Salvation Army, Anglicans and Buddhists, believers of all religions lift up their voices in choral unison to the full stretch of their supplicating lungs: . . . contemplating all the vocal thunder which arises from regular sanctity, it is difficult to refrain from feeling that noisiness, rather than cleanliness, is indeed next to godliness.

On which criterion may not be the poor in spirit or the pure in heart that shall inherit the kingdom of heaven. And certainly not the silent.

(Patrick Ryan in *New Scientist and Science Journal*, weekly, London, 30 September, 1971)

## Matica Muslimanska

Excerpts from a speech by Hamdija Pozderac, President of the Assembly of Bosnia-Herzegovina, at a rally in Kljuc to mark the anniversary of the Revolution.

" . . . It is regrettable that individual communists, Moslems, and even individual fighters from the ranks of the Moslem people, today attack the League of Communists of Bosnia-Herzegovina for having allegedly stopped half-way in the struggle for the affirmation of the Moslem nation. What does it mean, 'stopped half-way'? According to such reasoning, we have stopped half-way because we have opposed national institutionalising in Bosnia-Herzegovina, because we are fighting energetically against those forces which would like to achieve their dark aims through such institutions, because we are against Matica Muslimanska, Matica Srpska and Matica Hrvatska (Moslem, Serbian and Croatian Societies) in this Bosnia-Herzegovina of ours, which is united in brotherhood . . ."

"Serbian and Moslem nationalists in some of our towns are . . . fanning passions and trying to prove that Croatian nationalism alone was aggressive, and that Serbian and Moslem nationalism was an expression of resistance to that kind of nationalist activity. Serbian and Moslem nationalists and chauvinists are secretly conferring in groups, weighing up the situation, acting somewhat more secretly and convincing themselves that time is on their side. They are mistaken, because we know their dodges. We also know about the individuals who were tried after the war and who today plot inside the Islamic religious community, try to infiltrate its organs; we know also about those enemies who want to form, under the aegis of the Orthodox Church, some kind of assembly and rallying points like those enemies who, in collusion with some reactionary Franciscan friars, act in this manner. They sometimes make very clever use of the religious press to push through their reactionary theses and theories. We have opposed and will oppose energetically all such onslaughts".

(*Tanyug* broadcast in Serbo-Croat, 11 September, 1971)

## Jerusalem's main dig

Jerusalem's main dig is at the Western (Wailing) Wall beneath Haram al-Sharif. Another 80 yards of the Wall has been uncovered, bringing the total excavated to 280 yards out of an estimated total length of 485.

Halfway along the newly-exposed section, a small synagogue has been erected at a spot thought to be directly opposite the "Holy of Holies", where the Ark of the Covenant was kept.

Dr. Biran says that this year's work is revealing the Haram al-Sharif area as containing perhaps the most important Roman remains since Rome itself was excavated. The former temple area is being shown to be four times as big as the Acropolis in Athens.

For Israelis, the main event of the year has been the discovery of further evidence that Jerusalem already extended beyond the Tyropaeon (Cheesemakers) valley roughly between 900 and 700 B.C. In addition to the seven-yard thick wall dated to the eighth century B.C. found last year, of which 30 yards are now exposed, houses of the same period have been found built on bedrock. This appears to provide conclusive proof of the "maximalist" case, but how far the city extended westwards is still not known.

(From Eric Marsden in *The Times*, London, 8 October, 1971)

## Ulster prospects

Recent events can be pieced together to present quite a clear outline of the policy which the Conservative Government intends to pursue in Northern Ireland.

Firstly, no change in the Constitutional position; secondly, the retention of Mr. Faulkner and Stormont; thirdly, some rather minor structural reforms which it is believed Mr. Faulkner can carry through and which it is hoped will serve the dual purpose of enticing the Opposition back to Stormont and, at the same time, isolating the IRA from its areas of mass support; fourthly, a smashing of the IRA once it has been isolated.

Things will not get better. Sooner or later Messrs. Heath and Maudling will have to stop avoiding the basic issues. Meanwhile, the British taxpayer bears the financial burden and the Northern Ireland participants continue to bury their dead.

(*Irish Post*, weekly, 9 October 1971)

There are many developing countries that believe that our advice is more valuable than our money. Sometimes the Governments take our advice and sometimes they don't. When they don't take it, we continue to repeat it, but that doesn't mean that we pressure them into taking it.

(Robert McNamara speaking to Frances Cairncross, *The Observer*, London, 3 October 1971).



## NEWS BRIEF

**Al Fatah.** A "Voice of Fatah" broadcast expressed its dismay that "most Arab newspapers have maintained complete silence about our operations in the occupied homelands... Arab papers have not paid attention to our operations, but they have shown interest in the statement of the enemy Finance Minister, Pinhas Sapir" about the latest U.S.—Israeli armament deal.

**China.** Chou En-lai received Emperor Haile Selassie of Ethiopia in Canton and more than 70 American friends in Peking. Among them were Palelo Guzman, leader of the Young Lord Party, Black Panther Party, Revolutionary Union and other American young people. The other delegations visiting China were from Turkey, France, Luxembourg and Australia. □ The leader of the Opposition in the Australian Parliament, Mr. Whitlam, said the reason why China will buy steel from Australia but will not buy wheat is that wheat is sold by the Australian Wheat Board which is regarded as a Government instrumentality. He said the BHP Company was able to sell steel to China because it was wholly Australian, yet not part of an Australian Government which did not officially recognise China.

**Cyprus.** Maj-Gen. Prem Chand, the UN peace force commander said that according to his information, there will be no armed clash on the island and expressed his wish that a satisfactory settlement to the Cyprus question can be found.

**India.** Dr. Jagjit Chauhan, General Secretary of the World Supreme Council of Sikhs, has launched a campaign for an Independent Sikh State. □ India has successfully test-fired a short range rocket for the first time early this month. An Indian satellite is expected to be put into orbit in the next 3 or 4 years.

**Indonesia.** The Ministry of Information has taken measures to revoke the publication licences of a number of dailies and periodicals which had violated existing regulations. Pornographic publications would also have their licences revoked. Harsano, Director-General for the Promotion of the Press and Graphic Arts, said that publications that did not uphold the aspirations of the new order and those which were pornographic in nature, constituted a serious threat to the nation. □ President Suharto, reintroducing the term TNL (Indonesian National Army) as the official name of the armed forces said it reflected the struggle of a freedom fighter who was loyal to the principles and ultimate goal of independence, namely the Panjasila. It is being reintroduced "within the framework of our present efforts to meet any threats against our territorial integrity and any obstacles". □ A group of army officers now serving in Borneo has been arrested for Communist sympathies. □ The Home Minister has announced the appointment of 73 members of the armed forces as members of the new parliament. □

The Central Kalimantan security command has released 279 communist detainees.

**Iran.** Dr. Nahum Goldman has, on behalf of the World Jewish Congress and its member Committees and Organisations throughout the world, sent a cable to the Shah of Iran conveying their "joyous participation in the celebrations commemorating the founder of the Persian Empire Cyrus, the great". "The Jewish people", Dr. Goldman said "will always remember his historic act, sanctioning their first return from exile to their homelands". □ According to a Press release issued by "Citizens For Human Rights" in the USA, 32 Iranian scholars and scientists from the various Universities have been arrested and they face possible execution without trial. These detainees are said to be Iranian Liberation workers having connections with Al-Fatah. The Committee has appealed for an expression of solidarity and protest from all individuals and organisations interested in human rights.

**Israel.** In the resolutions passed at a meeting in the Balalah refugee camp on the outskirts of Nablus, the notables and mukhtars have asked the military government to provide drinking water facilities in the camps, extension of family reunion scheme and the possibility of making it easier for residents deported to Jordan to return home to Judaea and Samaria. They also decided to ask for employment for high school graduates and a rise in the living standards in the camps. □ The trade deficit in the last eight months of the Jewish year increased by 20 per cent compared with the same period last year despite the fact that exports rose by 24 per cent. □ The development projects in occupied areas include a winery to be established in Hebron with an investment of £1.5m by Jerusalem investors and a "wild-west-type" town to be built in the centre of the country for the film industry. □ Under the summer visits scheme, lasting three months some 106,000 people visited Israel from Arab countries including Pakistan: visitors brought in £15m in foreign currency. □ Premier Golda Meir has stated that Israel's successful work to unify, develop and build Jerusalem is the thing that has given rise to the opposition of the peoples of the world. She said: our struggle is continuing because most of the peoples of the world think we have done more than necessary and more than they thought we could accomplish... At all times when we had stood our ground in struggles with foreign quarters and when we had learnt that what we wanted and must fight for was logical and indispensable, we had struggled and accomplished it.

**Japan.** Kenji Miyamoto, Chairman of the Japanese Communist Party, has criticised the Japanese Dietmen's delegation on a recent visit to China of approving Peking's antagonistic attitude towards the USA and the USSR, and the Peking view that the two "ultra super-Powers" were ruling the world. He said that his party remained in "splendid isolation" from the other Japanese opposition parties which were racing to approach China.

**Malaysia.** Doctors (64) and dental

officers (11) from Egypt and Pakistan are going to work in Malaysia.

□ Formation of a new party, Kemas—Partai Keadilan Masyarakat (Social Justice Party) has been announced by the former Gerakan president, Prof. SyedHusein Alatas and Secretary-General Dr. Ian Chee Khoo. The Party aims at striving for "a true Malaysian nationalism on the basis of Malaysian Constitution and the Rukinegara".

**Pakistan.** The Central Ministry of Education has completed preliminary arrangements for the teaching of Bengali language in the colleges and universities in West Pakistan. □ President Yahya Khan has announced that a new constitution would be published on 20 December and that the National Assembly would meet on 27 December. A new central government may be formed soon after the inauguration of the Assembly. Ban on political activities imposed earlier in March has also been lifted.

**Sudan.** In compliance with President Numayri's announcement earlier this year about Sudan's desire for continued economic and cultural relations with Washington, the US Government has agreed to grant a three-year credit to Sudan to buy goods worth \$18m, and to sell Sudan \$250,000 worth of gold. The US is studying a request to send an expert to help setting up an institute of oceanography. The US State Department has also proposed a high-level cultural delegation visit to Khartoum in the next few months. □ President Numayri has received a cheque of £50,000 from King Faysal for the families of the victims of the abortive communist plot. □ The new civil law for the year 1971 has been published (in four chapters, comprising 917 articles) as part of the special supplement to the Sudan Gazette, and became effective from 21 October 1971. □ Members of the Eritrean Liberation front have been expelled from Khartoum.

**Turkey.** Eighteen members of an organisation said to be engaged in secret activity, have been arrested. The police have also seized the magazine *Safak* on the charge of publishing inflammatory material. □ Premier Nihat Erim in an interview on the Turkish Television said that now that peace and order have been restored, the government would channel its efforts into social and economic measures. Turkey, he continued, had become a member of NATO to secure its external security but it did not mean hostility or cold attitude towards other countries.

**Yugoslavia.** The Chase Manhattan Bank of New York has granted 10m dollar credit to Yugoslavia to facilitate the purchase of American machines and equipment by Energoprojekt of Belgrade for projects in Panama, Peru, Kenya and Zambia.

### PEOPLE

**Col. Numayri,** who received 98 per cent votes in a one-candidate election was installed as the President of Sudan on 12 October. ● Assassination attempt on **Yasir Arafat,** leader of the Palestine Command group, reported and denied. **Arafat** is to visit Moscow shortly. ● **Brig. Yahya,** C-in-C and **Col. Othman**

**Haddad,** Chief of Staff of the Palestine Liberation Army have been dismissed and **Brig. Midham Bedeiri** appointed as Chief of Staff and the acting C-in-C ● **Marshal Lin Piao,** designated to succeed Mao Tse-Tung and not seen since June last is rumoured to have died or is seriously ill. ● **Major-Gen. Gown,** the Nigerian Head of State has been promoted to the rank of General. ● Nobel Prize for Medicine to **Dr. Earl Sutherland** of Nashville, Tennessee for his contribution to the understanding of the functioning of the hormones. ● **The Begum Agha Khan** gave birth to a son in Geneva on 12 October. ● **Dr. Ralphe Bunche,** the UN Under Secretary-General, who has been seriously ill for many months has retired. ● **Mr. B. Osorio-Tafall,** the UN Secretary-General's Spanish representative in Cyprus is to quit after the expiry of his present term on 15 December. ● **President Tito** of Yugoslavia is expected to visit London by the second week of November. ● **President Nixon** proposes to visit Moscow next May. **Mr. A. R. Corneliuss,** retired Chief Justice of Pakistan and **President Yahya's** Constitutional adviser has offered to resign. **Mr. Bhutto,** the People's Party Leader had said recently that it was doubtful if a Christian could frame an Islamic Constitution for the country. ● **Mr. Abdul Rahman Jalal** is the new High Commissioner for Malaysia to India and Nepal. ● **Lt. Gen. Muhammad Yusuf Khan,** has arrived as Pakistan's new High Commissioner to the Court of St. James. ● **Mahdi Bin Bushtah** has been elected President of the Moroccan Chamber of Deputies. ● **Selahattin Baburoglu** and **Atilla Sav** have been appointed Minister of Communications and Minister of Power by **Premier Nihat Erim** of Turkey.

### VISITORS

**Prince Khalid bin Abdul Aziz,** the Crown Prince of Saudi Arabia and **Amir Fahd,** Saudi Deputy Premier and Minister of Interior. ● **Mr. Shafiqul Islam,** Vice-President of Pakistan Muslim League (Council). ● **Mr. A. S. M. Sulaiman,** Minister of Labour in East Pakistan Government. ● **Sardar Muhammad Ibrahim Khan,** former President of the Azad Government of Jammu and Kashmir. ● **Air Vice-Marshal Z. A. Chaudhry,** Managing Director P.I.A. ● **Mr. M. Soebhan,** leader of the Nahdatul Ulama and Vice-Chairman of the Indonesian Parliament.

### DIED

**AlHaj A. N. Mohammad Yusuf** (Baqui), 71, editor of *Noor-ul Islam,* in Madras, India. ● **Lord Sorensen,** 80, a life Peer, former labour M.P. for a time minister of the Free Christian Church and an active Indo-phile, in London on 10 October. ● **Mr. Abdul Monem Khan,** 69, politician and former Governor of East Pakistan (1962-1969) under **Ayub Khan** shot dead at his home in Dacca on 14 October. ● **Dean Acheson,** 78, former U.S. Secretary of State under President Truman in Maryland on 12 October.