

impact

international fortnightly

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DO HELP MRS. GANDHI

she does deserve the help of her friends and patrons to get her
out of the imbroglio

After having signed a treaty of peace and friendship and a secret arms agreement with the Soviet Union, and massing her army on the borders of Pakistan, Mrs. Gandhi has been out visiting the Western capitals. The object of the visit was to tell the Western Powers to give "more explicit" support to her case for the secession of East Pakistan or else she will have to let her generals invade and fix up Pakistan.

The key word here is "more explicit" because the Western nations have otherwise been giving moral, material and even political support to India and her crusade, the Bangla Desh. Britain is from the very beginning committed to a "political solution" of the problem and it has been using all economic and political leverage to pressurize Pakistan into releasing Sheikh Mujib and virtually conceding Bangla Desh. It was at her initiative and instigation that the Consortium of Western nations stopped aid to Pakistan. During her visit to Britain, Mr. Heath is reported to have "got over the habit of equating India with Pakistan", agreed that the UN observers on the Indian side of the border will not be helpful and that India was not a party to the "Bangla Desh" dispute which must be settled politically by the "West Pakistan" and "Bangla Desh" leaders. So far as the US is concerned, she has not provided any grant aid or any military equipment to Pakistan since 1965. The only military aid she has given is allowing the shipment of a limited quantity of spares for equipment supplied previously and contracted before 25 March and that too has been stopped. No new licences of any military item have been issued since that date. Politically too, US involvement with Sheikh Mujib and his cause is old and intimate. Before it all boiled over Mr. Farland, the US ambassador in Pakistan, impressed upon Sheikh Mujib the need to go slow but at the same time assured him that if things came to head they would see no harm was done to him. And the report is that President Nixon has in fact already extracted such an assurance from Pakistan. That the US administration has avoided giving much public indication of siding India and Bangla Desh indicated no more than that she had her own plans and discussions about the political restructuring of the region.

With Mrs. Gandhi enjoying such an undisguised and overt patronage of the Western powers, the question is what is that which she really has been commuting to achieve?

It is very much obvious that this is all a public relations exercise and a prologue to her forthcoming adventure of invading Pakistan in case she refuses to submit to international blackmail. Her defence theoreticians and strategists have opined that since "the breakup of Pakistan is in our interest" we must not lose "an opportunity, the like of which will never come again."

The Indian leadership never really accepted the Muslim demand for the independence of Pakistan and Mrs. Gandhi made no secret of this while being interviewed on BBC TV. It is this romantic desire to somehow undo Pakistan and reunite the Mother India which is the crux of the problem. It is not the 'Bangla Desh' and not even the poor and unfortunate refugees upon whom so much tears and sympathies are lavished.

That this is not a rational situation and can thus admit of no rational solution is borne out by India's whole stand on the issue. What is the nature of India's involvement? Is it political or humanitarian or all together?

India accepts that politically it is an internal matter of Pakistan but the admission is made only to stall the bringing in of the UN and the posting of observers on her side of the border. The internality of the issue begins and ends at this point.

The open secret otherwise is that India has all through been actively involved in subverting and disrupting Pakistan. It was injustice to history not to have allowed the Agartala conspiracy case to run its course but that was not the only

case in point. The story begins as early as August 1947 when India refused to hand over Pakistan's share of funds and supplies in the hope that the nascent State will not be able to withstand this small non-violence. Then Kashmir was annexed and later Pakistan itself invaded in September 1965. On 30 January early this year two members of the Indian Security Force posing as Kashmiri freedom fighters 'hijacked' an Indian Airline plane from Kashmir, brought it to Lahore and blew it up. That was justification enough to ban overflights of Pakistani aircraft over the Indian territory and snap direct air communications between East and West Pakistan. India's open battle for Bangla Desh starts soon after.

No sooner did the Pakistan Army go into action to nip the rebellion on 25 March, a clandestine radio station (*Bangla Betar Kendra*) started functioning from India and broadcasting speeches of Sheikh Mujib (who it was claimed had escaped and was leading the rebellion), order of the day and victory bulletins. With the local police having defected and the army engaged in establishing law and order in important centres and with none to man the borders, East Pakistan witnessed an unprecedented invasion of Indians in mufti. Banks and food grain stores were looted and even Railways rolling stock were transferred to the Indian side. A sovereign Democratic Socialist Republic of Bangla Desh was proclaimed on Indian soil with even chairs and guards provided by India. All this is just to say that India regards the matter as an internal problem of Pakistan, yet she would like Pakistan to tailor her policies and politics according to her dictates: release Sheikh Mujib and allow East Pakistan to secede and become an Indian satellite or else. . . .

Is it a moral and humanitarian problem?

The rebellion did not succeed because the vast majority of the people of East Pakistan never wanted secession but the Indian propaganda machinery went on creating a false euphoria so that when the reality ultimately dawned, a number of people found themselves on the wrong side of an unsuccessful rebellion. Some were there because they were paid for it, some joined because they believed that way, some were caught in the cross fire but the vast majority were simply victims of the Indian make-believe. This is how one of the cruelist of refugee problem was created. About 80 per cent of the refugees are Hindus and this exploitation of a national minority for the sake of base political ends is exceptional in its unashamed callousness. This is the moral and humanitarian side of the problem. Pakistan has always been willing to take back all the genuine refugees, excluding of course Calcutta's slum population. Now, whether the refugees are willing to return or not, and whether it is they or the Government of India who really insist on the installation of Shaikh Mujib as a precondition to their return, all these need to be established. This involves a third party verification of claims and credentials but then the issue reverts to be an internal matter of Pakistan with India only involved in providing shelter and sanctuary to the "oppressed" people of East Pakistan.

Are refugees the central problem?

Mrs. Gandhi told a meeting organised by the India League in London that "if giving help meant that the people were only thinking of refugees and not the main problem of the violation of human rights it would not help the refugees in India". Mrs. Gandhi said, "we do not want our freedom or interests to be threatened". The Indian "interests" are understandable but it is hard to see India's freedom being threatened if she allows the refugees to return to their homes in Pakistan.

No wonder Mrs. Gandhi is unable to find any rational solution to an imbroglio created by her own chauvinism. Now she says: "It is the duty of the international community to find a solution". She does deserve help, more so by her friends and patrons who have done so much to pamper and spoil her.

Survey

● CHINA IN UN ● WITHDRAWAL OF U.S. AID

So China is in

The universal jubilation on the part of the Establishment all over the world that greeted China's entry into the United Nations is a telling indication of the desire of the international ruling elite to seek a negotiated settlement on the major political and economic problems within the existing multinational institutional framework. The UN system is the vehicle which has been devised to institutionalize a continuous process of bargaining between the different sections of the international oligarchy. The threat to the system was a direct threat to the stability of the settlements that were reached within it. There existed a temptation for individual groups within the UN system to bargain with those who were outside it and thus the settlements reached in the lobbies of the UN suffered from the uncertainty that was born of the incomprehensiveness of the bargaining process.

The willingness—nay the eagerness—of the Chinese to play ball is very re-assuring to those who devised the *modus operandi* of the international bargaining process. Their elation is understandable. It is befitting that a tribute be paid to the ingenuity of the architects of the UN system. They have demonstrated that the institutional framework they designed is flexible enough to accommodate changes that occur in the relative power balance within the international ruling class. Now—to resurrect an Orwellian image—that the pigs have dressed themselves up and consented to meet the farmers the wining and dining can begin.

The China-US detente was perhaps inevitable given the internationalization of Capital and the nationalization of Socialism. As Capitalist business interests expand beyond national frontiers and as Socialist states develop a consciousness of their national identity, it becomes increasingly necessary for both parties to recognize the need for reapproachment and reconciliation. "Peaceful co-existence" is a manifestation of the problem of convergence in the domain of Foreign Policy. China seeks accommodation with the West because the structure of the Chinese economy demands China's involvement in the process of international price-setting and production. Like any other modern State, the Chinese State is an oligarchy which protects the interests of its ruling clique. It is precisely because the long-run interests of the ruling cliques of all nationalist States—whether Capitalist or Socialist—are similar that a mechanism is necessary which allows the international elite room for negotiations, manoeuvring

and bargaining. The UN system is the via media through which the benefits of international exploitation are shared between the exploiters at both the national and the international level. Now that China is in, the wheeling and dealing will be smooth and more comprehensive. China has in fact followed the policy which Russia has adopted since its decision to join the League of Nations. Those—like Mrs. Joan Robinson—who saw Chinese socialism as a breakaway from the Russian pattern, will find it difficult to explain away the similarity in the eagerness of the Russian and the Chinese to do a deal with the West.

What will be the effect on the Third World? There is little doubt that as far as the rulers of most Asian, African and Latin American countries are concerned China's entry into the UN is beneficial. There is greater scope for practising the art of the political prostitute and the craft of the beggar. A few more crumbs will fall their way. However China has entered the UN in its own interest. It will be concerned with the Third World only to the extent that is coincidental with its National interests. As things go it is extremely unlikely that the geo-political balance will shift—except marginally perhaps in South Asia—in favour of the poor countries.

As far as the people of the poor countries are concerned it is important to realize that their interests are diametrically opposed to the interest of those who rule them. That is why more than three-quarters of the Third World is under some form of dictatorial rule. A consolidation of the World system as we know it, a rationalization of the relations between the rulers of the different countries makes it more and more difficult for the people to organize themselves and collectively oppose the dictatorships. To the extent that China's entry into the UN consolidates the rule of the establishment politicians and the establishment "revolutionaries" indigenous popular movements in the Third World are bound to suffer.

The retreat of the Aid Brigade ?

The decision of the Senate to discontinue the US aid programme to the poor world has caused wide-spread concern among the Third World nations as well as

in the aid lobby in Washington. Ever since the Marshall Plan, the US has been ladelling out a substantial amount earmarked as "Development Assistance". It was hoped that the recipients would be duly grateful and become admiringly affectionate nephews of good old Uncle Sam. Things have not quite gone that way. So Uncle has decided to call it a day, pack his traps, tell his nephews to stew in their own juice and to build Fortress America.

The nephews are, however, mortified at the consequences. They had never dreamt that their insolence would have cost them such a lot. The truth is that without US assistance very few puppet regimes that have so far been bolstered up in Asia and Latin America can survive. This is true not merely of Taiwan and South Korea but also of Mrs. Indira Gandhi's "Revolutionary" Congress regime in India.

Now the Third World is trying to convince America that isolation is not the way to deal with the economic problems that the US faces. The anti-aid lobby in the US in its reappraisal of its own position in the World feels much more confident of the nation's ability to influence World events by negotiating with its rivals. It feels that a greater weight can be placed on the multinational institutional framework and that its own direct involvement can be substantially reduced. Senator Fullbright has suggested that a fundamental re-orientation of the aid administration system is required in which aid is channelled through the multinational institutions. If the Multinationals become the main aid vehicle the USA will expect the Europeans, the Russians—and even the Chinese—to share the burden of aid. This will reduce the volume of the aid flow at least in the near future. However, this reduction, the US hopes, will not lead to a loosening of the ties that bind the economies of the World to the international trade and finance system. This will follow from the greater integration that is likely to be achieved in the economic systems of the leading World powers.

However much the rulers of the poor countries dread the short-run consequences of aid restriction they will have to reconcile themselves to it. This will inevitably take the form of a change in the form of aid administration. But whether the Americans are correct in prophesizing that despite the reduction in the aid flow, the overall dependence of the poor countries on the rich will remain, is anybody's guess.

Survey

● DILEMMA OVER MUJIB ● IMMIGRATION IN BRITAIN

Pressures and dilemma over Sheikh Mujib

The gravity and the weight of international pressure that is being put on Pakistan to release Sheikh Mujibur Rahman and negotiate with him, and then virtually allow Pakistan to be split into two is very well evident from President Yahya's recent interview with Arnaud de Borchgrave of the *Newsweek* (8 November). On the question of Sheikh Mujib's release, the President said that Mujib was the man who "organised and lead an armed rebellion". "How can I", said the President, Yahya "now call the man back and negotiate with him". So far so good and then the hint is slipped: "What we do after sentence has been passed is the prerogative of the head of state. I cannot release him on a whim. . . But if the nation demands his release, I will do it."

Pakistan is presently run under martial law and Sheikh Mujib is now being tried by a military tribunal on charges of waging war against the state. Legally the matter is sub judice and under the mischief of martial law but curiously enough since after Mr. Bhutto's recent visit to Teheran there has started a campaign to show leniency towards Sheikh Mujib by a group of West Pakistani politicians. Whether this lobbying was inspired at any official level and intended to test popular reaction or it was the result of personal altruism/opportunism of some politicians, the question would now seem to have lost its relevance. Argument has also been advanced that if that was the price of saving Pakistan, there was no harm in releasing Sheikh Mujib. The pragmatism of the approach is understandable indeed but the question is whether the release of Sheikh Mujib made under duress and international pressure can really save Pakistan?

Approaches have probably been made through his former West Pakistani employers to obtain from Sheikh Mujib some token statement or assurance which can be made the basis of pardoning, releasing and perhaps also crowning him, but the Sheikh has so far not obliged. Naturally, therefore, whatever would be done or given either by Sheikh Mujib or the Pakistani regime under duress would have only as much political utility as any other insincere and hypocritical act. Whether in law Sheikh Mujib was really guilty of "waging war against Pakistan" or he was merely an unwilling stooge of extremists and rebels, the question is for the court to decide but politically he cannot escape a major share of responsibility for the tragedy and the holocaust. It is also important to realise that whether guilty or not, Sheikh Mujib is no more in a position to deliver

the goods and save the country. In the suicidal extremism that has been unleashed because of his own incapability if not culpability, Sheikh Mujib has become irrelevant and any deal with him now may only hasten the end of Pakistan instead of saving it.

Immigration in Britain: need to face facts

Mr. Enoch Powell, able and ambitious a politician as he is, and with eyes set on Westminster has spoken again on his favourite theme: Immigration in Britain.

Last week he told the Southall Chamber of Commerce that contrary to their election promise, the government have allowed an undiminished and increased flow of Asian immigrants into Britain. The new Act also prevented them from controlling the entry of dependents and already "between a quarter and a third of the new generation up to the age of 25 in cities like Birmingham and Wolverhampton" are coloured. The towns and cities, he said, are being taken over and transformed not by the Caribbean but by Asia. "And it is in the eyes of Asia that when an Englishman looks into, "he comes face to face with those who will dispute with him the possession of his native island".

Many politicians thrive on and promote themselves by raising bogies and creating alarms. It is only thus that they are able to play the saviour and Mr. Powell is not an exception. For them, the ends justify the means and in doing so, if tragedies and problems have to be caused, it is none of their concern. Only two years back, Mr. Powell came up with the South Irish bogey and proposed keeping them out of Britain. Again it matters little from the politician's viewpoint that only about a decade ago, Mr. Powell used to feel that it was impossible to police the Ulster-Eire border. In 1962, a number of Labour as well as Tory MPs wanted the inclusion of the Irish within the purview of the Commonwealth Immigration Act but at that time Mr. Powell was inside the government and not outside. Similarly in raising the latest bogey about the Asians, Mr. Powell would prefer not to see the contradiction this involved with his own desire at one stage to be the Viceroy of India; or was it actually some sort of deprivation complex?

Public opinion in Britain tends usually to dismiss these seasonal outbreaks as purely a PR exercise on the part of an ambitious and not very important politician and that he represented but an insignificant minority among the British people. He has also been described as a paranoid and so on. All this may or may not be true. What is, however, most

crucial in the whole issue is the frightfully hypocritical and dismally poor level of debate on the subject. The whole debate revolves around statistics and numbers or about the charitability of having taken in some immigrants from the ex-colonies and then putting up willy nilly with the evil. This is hardly an honest approach and it is, therefore, little wonder if the public opinion, ill-informed as it is, is gradually showing more and more response to racialism. In 1964, Lord George-Brown (then Mr. Brown) spoke once on the subject with his usual unsophisticated candour but the hostile welcome it received was such a lesson to everybody else that none dares speak honestly now. Exceptions there must be but it is difficult to see their significance.

Immigrants from Asia, Africa and even Europe and Australia happen to be here because the country needs them, and rather badly too. They were admitted here not out of any charity but because of that mutuality which is an integral component of human social organisation. They came here not as Vikings or colonialists but as contributors to, and partners in this island's progress and development. They fill the critical man-power gap in the nation's economy and as long as we do not regress into a state which admits of no fundamental human rights, they are all entitled to be accorded full and equal citizenship. Immigrants are not robots, who will do all the dirty jobs but neither marry nor procreate, they are also not any special class of humans who would go on paying taxes but would not need to draw upon education, health, housing or other state services. Black or brown, white or yellow, they are part of one human fraternity and unless these simple facts are understood and accepted, the prospects for Britain may really be far more unhappy than Mr. Powell now wants us to imagine.

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ISLAMIC UNITY

That problem of ego & indifference

Tunku Abdur Rahman Putra, Secretary-General, Islamic Secretariat speaking to *IMPACT*

Shall we start with quoting from your own speech, the speech you made on the occasion of Islamic Centres' Conference in Rabat earlier in June this year? At that meeting you had very frankly pointed out some of the things which had been impeding the setting up and the functioning of the Islamic Secretariat. There was an evident lack of interest and support on the part of the member States. How does the situation stand now? Has it been possible to make a go of what they together undertook in the name of Islam?

We have not made much progress because we have not been able to hold our Foreign Ministers' conference in Kabul. The Conference was originally fixed to meet in Kabul, but because of the famine which Kabul faced and other troubles, they asked if we could find another place. I persuaded the Saudi Arabian Government to hold the conference in Jeddah and they accepted. But now when the Prime Minister of Malaysia went to the United Nations, it appeared the Afghan Foreign Minister approached him and asked to hold the conference in Kabul in April. I immediately wired back the Kabul Government, asking them to write officially to me if they really are serious about holding the conference. But to date I have not received any letter or request. This is the position.

Until and unless they agree to write to me officially the conference is to be held in Jeddah. It goes on like that. We shuttle from one place to another. So you can see that they are not all that serious and with every delay in holding this conference we slip back instead of going forward. This is where I say we have not made much progress. The mentality of the Islamic States is like that. They do not take this business of Muslim Unity seriously. When we have conference, they talk, they show enthusiasm but immediately after the conference they forget all about it. Another thing which is worrying me a lot is that they never reply to my letters. You write, you send telegram, you enclose an acknowledgement slip saying "we have received your letter", they never even sign it. There are, however, few countries which have shown keen enthusiasm like Iran and Malaysia, and Saudi Arabia. They show a great enthusiasm for the establishment of Islamic Unity, in Muslim brotherhood. Pakistan has had a lot of trouble of her own and I do not blame them if they do not respond quite so well. They did hold the conference in Karachi. That shows they are also very interested. They have had a lot of trouble and they can be forgiven, but other countries are not taking the least interest. They just join because they happen to be Muslim.

It is very frustrating because I am not a young man, and every year that passes I get older. I have taken up the responsibility for a period of two years hoping to be able to organise things. Having organised it I would like somebody else to come and run it, I have to have a little rest after many many years of work. This is my ambition, but until they can show responsiveness, more interest and appreciate the reason for the unity of Islam, I think the progress would be inevitably slow.

Finance is another problem. We have agreed on a budget, but until the Foreign Ministers meet, we cannot get the money. All the money we have so far received is only advances. Some countries have made very very generous advances. My own country has made an advance of 200,000 Malaysian Dollars i.e. about 70,000 US Dollars, Iran has paid 45,000 and Saudi Arabia has paid \$35,000. A few other countries like Pakistan advanced \$10,000 and provided money for the conference in Karachi. This has enabled us to carry on, but only just. One is not able to do very much, not even employ a number of people we want to employ. Thus the Secretariat is understaffed and not well established. This cannot be improved until a constitution has been adopted. The constitution has not been adopted because of a delay in the meeting of Foreign Ministers which should have been held in September.

Progress on the projects decided in Karachi?

The Islamic Bank too has made no progress. It is a very important project. Many Islamic countries have got funds and they could do a lot to help others who are less fortunate through the Bank and they can't lose. They get back their money and more. Egypt agreed to hold the Banking Conference in Cairo and then they failed to hold it so far. When we came near holding the conference in Kabul last September, they said, now it was too late. After the Kabul Conference was postponed I told them: "You have time now, please hold the conference, but there was no reply." I wrote again: "Allright, since you do not reply to my letters I will have to hold the conference elsewhere. Do you have any objection." There is no reply. That is the position.

However, we have been able to start work on the Islamic News Agency. It is headquartered in Beirut. The Malaysian Government have been kind enough to advance money for the purpose. Tun Mustapha, a Malaysian philanthropist has also paid 50,000 Malaysian Dollars to make alterations and furnish the headquarters building. We are faced with a Press War. They intend to kill us by the "black-out" of all of our activities. So we have got to fight this.



Looking back and facing the realities which you have just mentioned, can one say that the idea of Islamic Unity in the sense of "an Islamic block within the Community of nations (which) can by getting together, thinking together and working together contribute to the fullest advantage to the development of more stable and peaceful world order" . . . now how-so-much romantic and desirable this may sound, given the present state of the Muslim World, the whole idea looks rather impracticable? Would you agree to that?

I won't go so far as to say that the idea of Islamic Unity is impracticable. Something has started. The problem of Muslim disunity has its own historical roots. This has been an endemic problem. I may be wrong, but I have never heard some of the Arab States saying "we are Muslims". I have heard it in Pakistan, I have heard it in Malaysia, I have heard it in other countries, but never in these countries. All this is taken for granted. And now after all these years we are starting something new, so you must expect troubles, difficulties, obstructions and many other things. Each one wants to be on the top, each one wants to be the leader. They are very individualistic and they are all very sensitive about their own positions, their own-selves. That is what is holding back the progress. Their self-importance is very important, that is the truth. If they put religion over and above all these little things they can make Islam and Islamic Unity a reality, and it will be an important force in World Affairs.

How do you proceed towards being an important block when you have not succeeded in establishing even a Secretariat?

Yes, but as I say, we have only just started. I am giving all my time for this very purpose. I am not paid, I am not receiving any

salary because if I take salary I would not be able to pay anybody else. I am doing it out of love for my religion. I have done my service for myself, I have done my service for my people and my country, and I want to do it for my God before I die. That is why I have taken on the job as Secretary-General. I have given my time for the work, though I have got my home, my family, my friends and my comfort in Malaysia. I am a man who needs to rest after my retirement but I have given up all that to come to Jeddah and serve my religion. If others can appreciate that and give only half per cent of what I have given, my efforts will be successful. Whether I succeed or not I do not know. I can only pray that we succeed. Whether it is going to be a success during my lifetime or not I do not know. I can give only so much to it, and I cannot do much more because I am not well too, and I am not young. But if we get the money, we can pay somebody else to do it. I say this truthfully and God is my witness.

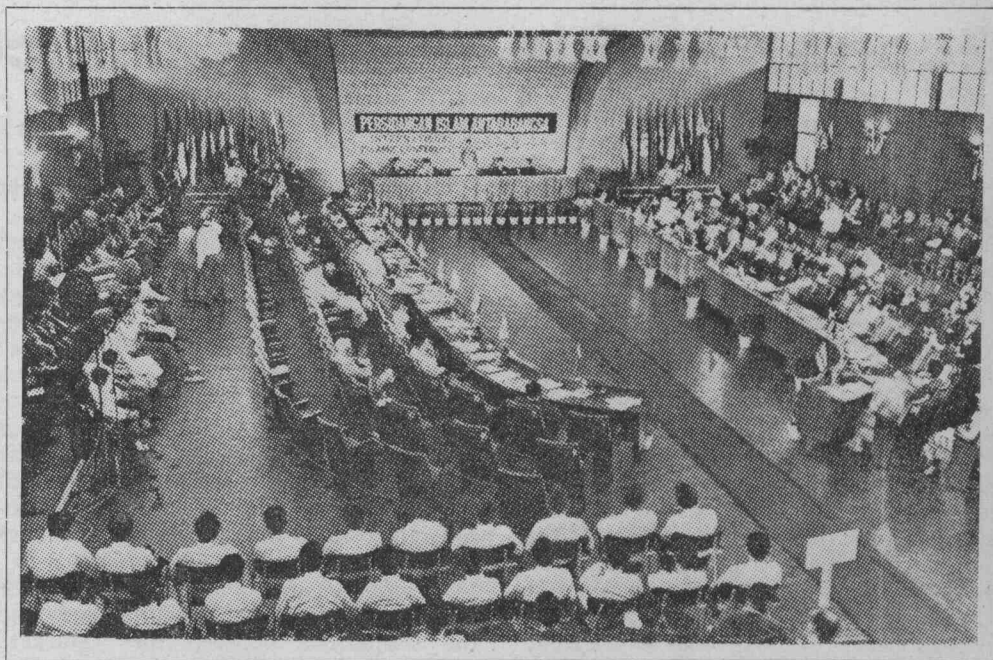
Don't you need to do more groundwork before thinking of achieving any purposeful unity—unity which is more real than merely demonstrative?

There is plenty of groundwork that has been done. One of the things that I have in mind, which has been approved by the conference in Karachi, is that we should have three deputy secretary-generals. These three deputies are not supposed to warm the seats there. They will go and visit the countries. Each will have his own departmental portfolio and projects to execute. They will visit the countries, hold seminars, hold conferences, hold discussions, work on the ground and get everything going. But we cannot employ these men now because we haven't got the money.

If they all pay money no doubt we will succeed, but we cannot proceed without money. I hope that they will give some thought to the need for the Muslim countries to unify in the form of a commonwealth. Once we got our formula all worked out, if only we got the money we could do it . . . I am not that much discouraged. Sometimes frustrated, yes but I am not disappointed. I have gone so far and I am prepared to see it through.

When you accepted this commission to be the Secretary-General what specific ideas and plans you had in your mind?

When I came to attend the meeting of the Commonwealth Prime Ministers in 1959, about the Eid period, I went to pray at the Woking Mosque. When they saw me there, they asked me to address the congregation. I was not prepared to address the congregation, but the idea came to me all of a sudden. I said: "How nice it would be if we were to have a commonwealth of Islamic nations, to do good for one another, to help one another and to co-operate with one another for the good of all". Then having said that I allowed it up by sending delegation to all



INTERNATIONAL ISLAMIC CONFERENCE IN KUALA LUMPUR

the countries under the leadership of one civil servant called Rajah Omar. He came back. There was no response. Then few years afterwards I decided to hold in my own country a conference of Muslim nations. So I held one in Kuala Lumpur. That was in 1968. They all came. They were so impressed with the way we held the conference and took the decisions. They were all inspired by what went on. After the Aqsa arson a meeting was held in Rabat in September 1969. When the head of the Islamic States met there, they decided to set up an Islamic Secretariat in Jeddah or in Jerusalem. But before we proceed to Jerusalem we must make a success of it in Jeddah. Sometimes they are very apprehensive that their position might be compromised. They are so over-obsessed of their dignity and self-importance that it will be difficult to bring them together and work together to achieve a common goal.

At the moment it would appear that they have not got the Islamic spirit so well expressed in the past. They have not got the enthusiasm of our great great forefathers who almost took the world. We have lost that spirit. That is why we suffer indignities and humiliation. We only talk, we pay lip-service, but do nothing really of worth in the name of our religion. I hope that sometime they will come to realise this.

The other countries of the world when they face problems they get together, work together. Even Britain is trying to enter the Common Market, but the Muslim countries do not regard themselves as Muslim countries. They consider themselves just like any other country. We in Malaysia, for instance, after independence realised that we have got to work with

other nations for self-preservation, for self-interest. We formed ASEAN, we helped to form ASPAC.

There has to be an urge and awakening in the hearts of the Islamic countries that we should get together because only by coming together we can do a lot that we can not do alone. Take for instance, the project for the development bank. There is plenty of money in the Islamic countries but they do not know what to do with it. This money can be used to develop the poorer Muslim countries and help them. On the political plane we have got to work as a block. It would be a very very strong block. In the defence and other spheres too we have to come together. The 3 million Jews, for instance, are able to keep out 100 million Arabs because of their unity. It is not the 3 million in Israel who are fighting, it is all the Jews of the world. We stand a chance only if we can get the whole Muslim world to come together. But the Arabs are divided amongst themselves; how can they hope to get support from other Muslim nations. This is very important. If we have any regard and love for the Holy Prophet, our God, our religion, then I think we must get together. If we do not think that way, then we just have to suffer more humiliations.

Still, we have got to work under these circumstances. I have done my duty and shall continue to do whatever I can.

So you are still optimistic?

I cannot say if I am optimistic but I am hopeful. I am a Muslim and I am grateful for the mercies I receive from God, but I cannot go on like this. If I do not receive support from the Muslim nations, what good can I do?

Economic Planning — the central task

JAVED ANSARI

Development, it is said, means growth plus change. A stagnant, subsistence economy is metamorphosed into an expanding one through a process which alters the structural relationships between the factors of production in the country concerned. The new pattern of economic inter-dependence and inter-relations provides an impetus for rapid economic advance. The countries of the so-called "Third World" are involved nowadays in a perpetual search for the set of policy combination which will allow an institutionalization of growth plus change. Yet the search is never fruitful. We hear of countries—such as Rumania, Iran and not so long ago Pakistan—which have annual average growth rates of 7 to 8 per cent. We hear of countries, like Cuba, Chile, the UAR, which have "swept away the old feudal classes that hinder progress." But both these groups remain underdeveloped; some more underdeveloped than others no doubt but since the Second World War there has not been a single success story or a single example of a poor country breaking through the vicious circle that deters growth and change.

The reasons for this—why growth and change have not occurred in a self-perpetuating form in the Asian, African and Latin American countries—have been identified by a number of economic schools. Initially the Marxists were in general listened to most sympathetically. The economic policy makers of the poor countries—whether Liberal Democrats, Democratic Socialists or Nationalist "Revolutionaries"—usually felt that rigorous control of the market for goods and factors is essential for economic development. Despite the vociferous protestations of the Neo-Classical economists, the market mechanism was increasingly discarded in favour of centralized planning as an instrument of policy implementation. Since the late 1960s, however, there has been a growing disillusionment, as nationalization and control of the "commanding heights of the economy" have failed to lead the people to the Promised Utopia. This disillusionment is most evident in the trade and tariff policies of the poor countries; the strategy of import-substitution is gradually being abandoned and export markets are being tapped. The OECD and the IBRD have provided a great deal of theoretical and empirical material in support of the thesis that "market-led" development is possible. We have now, indeed, come full circle. In the 1950s Myrdal and Prebisch had argued that trade was a major inhibiting factor that had held down the growth of the colonial countries. Today we are arguing once again

for Free Trade and extolling its virtues as an agent of growth.

The developing world thus continues to be-fuddle itself with the problem of the relative merits of the "Market" strategy and the "Planning" strategy for development. Are these in fact policy alternatives? Does a choice of one or the other enable a poor country to tackle the problem of under-development at its root? Or is it necessary to work out a pragmatic programme which combines elements of both strategies in an ever changing proportion so as to meet the requirements of Development.

In order to answer these questions it is important to identify the differences and the similarities between the "Market" strategy and the "Planning" strategy. The former implies that the initiative lies with the entrepreneurs and the capitalists who should be allowed to work out the most profitable growth path. Does this mean that there is no central co-ordination, no "plan"? It is doubtful whether we can find today even the most naive and complacent economist who is prepared to answer this question affirmatively. The fact that the vast majority of the commodity and factor markets are closely controlled by oligopolistic groups on the international level, make it virtually impossible for the business community of any country to produce without detailed inter-national negotiations and settlements which extend over the whole range of production, pricing and distribution policies. The "Market" strategy in no way implies that the element of arbitrariness is eliminated from the process of economic decision making. Resource allocation based on market prices merely reflects the oligopolistic and monopolistic power of the different economic interest groups. It would take a very bold man to hypothesize that there is necessarily a positive correlation between a maximization of the profits of the international oligopolists (for it is this factor which determines resource allocation under the Market strategy) and maximization of the rate of economic development.

The Planning strategy makes the State the primary agent of development. The planners thrash out a set of allocation criteria which is necessary if resources are to be employed for the achievement of the specified objectives. Once again this does not mean that the bargaining power of the owners of the factors of production both domestic and foreign is non-existent, as far as the "planned" economy is concerned. Indeed the various economic interest groups are usually well represented in the planning bodies which determine the domestic allo-

cation criteria. This is true above all, for the international finance and business community which has now succeeded in creating a net work of international organizations under the aegis of the UN System. These organizations play Big Brother to the planning agencies of the poor countries. Where is the Planner who will not listen most attentively to the advice from the "Consultative Mission" of the IBRD/AID/UNCTAD etc?

The difference between "Market" strategy and the "Planning" strategy is more imaginary than real. Every market produces and prices according to an articulated scheme of business strategy. Every plan accommodates oligopolistic interests and is hence subject to market pressure. Choosing between these strategies may be an important *minor detail* of the overall development strategy. Such a choice can never hope on its own to deal with the basic cause of the development of under-development in the poor countries.

The poor countries are underdeveloped because they depend critically on the richer countries for the supply of the most important factors that are necessary for development. The dependence of the former on the latter tends to be perpetuated because, above all, the poor countries are net importers of the technology that is produced in the "developed" world. The fundamental characteristic of this technology is that it perpetuates economic concentration. Little wonder that its use in the poorer countries merely promotes the development of a pattern of center-periphery relationship between the rich and poor countries. Resources are pulled away from the poorer, less developed parts and towards the Metropolis.

The central task of the economic policy makers in the poorer countries is to use a strategy which allows their country to break away from the Metropolis which impedes its development. Both "Market" and "Planning" strategies have been used in order to consolidate the centre-periphery relationship. Technological dependence is not automatically reduced when one strategy is substituted for another; the technological dependence of East Europe is no less glaring than that of Latin America.

The poorer countries must move towards a situation where economic dependence on the Multinational Corporation and the International Financial Network is eliminated. Political and economic integration among the poorer countries is inevitable if this is to be achieved and a technology is to be evolved which is based on the social philosophy and the resource potential of the poor countries.

UNDER-DEVELOPMENT OF EAST PAKISTAN

Getting out of an unfortunate legacy

HUSSEIN MULLICK

When Pakistan became independent in August 1947, East Bengal had virtually no industry except a tea factory in Sylhet. The region was primarily made to serve as a kind of sub-economy for West Bengal, providing it with industrial raw materials like jute for the industries in Calcutta and food articles for the urban population in West Bengal. Most of the landlords were Hindus; they owned land in East Bengal (now East Pakistan) but lived in Calcutta. The region was not any better off in her share of government services or defence. At the time of independence there was only one East Bengali Muslim in the Indian Civil Service. The number of engineers or other professionals was also too small to indicate any significant co-relation with the number of people living in the region.

The poverty and under-development of the region on the economic and the services fronts was neither a natural phenomenon nor in any way reflective of the population's apathy or inherent inability to prove their worth or talent. They were in fact hindered in playing their proper role by two factors. On the economic front, the Hindus, mostly well-off landlords and business magnates were mainly responsible for continuing to pursue a policy of neglect. They did this by concentrating their financial interests in Calcutta. Not only did they confine investment in large industrial enterprises in West Bengal¹, they also saw to it that in other ways too East Bengal remained dependent on West Bengal. This was particularly true in respect of educational, scientific and technical infra-structure which was never allowed to be developed in the province. So far as industrial development was concerned, the fact was that despite being the world's largest producer of raw jute, East Bengal was not given a single jute manufacturing plant, not even one modern jute pressing and baling factory. Banking institutions, another important agent of change, were not more than marginally developed.

In regard to representation in the services, the British colonial policy is to be blamed in the first instance. "The Muslims were barred from recruitment in the army and were refused any but the 'lowest' position in civil employment... Independent professions such as that of the law were closed to them²". This colonial policy was based on the assumption that any emancipation of the Muslims of Bengal would endanger the British rule in India. The exploitation of the Muslim population by the Hindu-landlords and merchants, therefore, was not without the understanding of the British rulers.

As compared with East Pakistan, the provinces constituting West Pakistan were relatively far more developed. The region had inherited a small

network of industries: a few sugar mills, a fruit-canning and squash factory, a few rice and flour mills, a couple of biscuit factories, a brewery, a distillery, a hydrogenated oil mill, salt mines at Khewra, a small oil field and refinery at Attock, five small cement works, a few steel re-rolling mills, a match factory, a large textile mill etc. In government services and defence, it was well represented. As to infrastructure such as roads and railway networks, as well as educational and technical institutes, it too was better provided than East Pakistan. In global terms, it is estimated that West Pakistan's per capita income was a quarter more than that of East Pakistan at the time of partition. A rough index of the sharp differences in economic development can be seen from the following table:

Table I
Infrastructure 1947

	East Pakistan	West Pakistan
All weather roads	240 miles	5,050 miles
Railway line	1,618 route miles	4,999 route miles
Canal irrigation	—	10 million hectares
Power: installed capacity (Public Undertakings)	10,700 Kw	68,800 Kw

Source: Twenty Years of Pakistan 1947-1967, Pakistan Publications, Rawalpindi, August 1967.

Despite the rather poor state of affairs prevailing in the economic life of the province, East Pakistan was better placed than West Pakistan at least in one important respect. This was her ability to earn the largest share of foreign exchange from the export of raw jute—her golden fibre. Jute's share in Pakistan's export trade averaged between 40 to 45 per cent during the early fifties. Added to this, the province also exported tea, raw hides and skins, and fish. In 1949-50 as much as 56.3 per cent of Pakistan's total export receipts were earned by East Pakistan. This predominating position has in the meantime changed and West Pakistan now earns about 52 to 55 per cent of the country's total export receipts.

Among the factors responsible for a quicker development in West than in East Pakistan, as already mentioned, were the former's better infrastructure and availability of capital and the emergence of a new industrial entrepreneurial class from among the Muslim refugees expelled from Bombay, Calcutta, Delhi and other Indian cities. These people brought with them not only capital but also the necessary know-how and entrepreneurial experience. Karachi, being the metropole of the young country, contributed its

own share to this one-sided development. As industry started developing at a rapid pace, particularly during the fifties and early sixties, West Pakistan used more foreign exchange than it earned. Imports, on the average, were twice the value of her exports. Independent observers well versed in Pakistan affairs say that the relatively more advanced state of development of West Pakistan at the time of Independence (1947) had had a cumulative effect on investment and production. In their view external economies obtainable in West Pakistan not only attracted local capital but even international private investment. The position of East Pakistan was, however, different. She on the contrary, made far lesser use of her exchange receipts. Her imports ranged only between half and two-third of her export earnings. The position however, changed significantly in 1963-64 when East Pakistan began to import a value of goods and services greater than her export receipts. As far as aid inflow was concerned, it too went substantially more into West Pakistan than into East Pakistan. This held particularly true of the early sixties. Since mid-sixties, the difference, however, has begun to shrink in favour of the eastern wing.

Table II
Net Resource Inflow of Foreign Aid

	East Pakistan Rs. m.	West Pakistan Rs. m.	Total Rs. m.
Second Plan (4 years) 1961-1965	2,582	7,673	10,255
Third Plan 1965-1970	4,481	6,904+	11,385

+ This amount excludes Rs. 1,900 million of foreign assistance received by Pakistan for the Indus Basin Replacement Works in West Pakistan.

Source: Reports of the Advisory Panels for the Fourth Plan, Planning Commission, Islamabad, Vol. I, July 1970, p. 110.

The explanation generally given for the inadequate flow of aid into East Pakistan is as follows: East Pakistani entrepreneurs were free to import more or to accelerate the process of industrialization, but they just did not have the means to do this. They also did not possess adequate market as did West Pakistan. Further there was the serious lack of necessary infrastructure, besides a shortage of entrepreneurial experience and know-how.

The difference in the concentration of industries between East and West Pakistan can be judged from the 1957 census of Manufacturing Industries. According to this, as much as 70 per cent of Pakistan's large scale industries were located in West Pakistan. Meanwhile the position has perhaps slightly changed in favour of East Pakistan. Table III shows some of the important industries found in East Pakistan. There is reason to believe that in the near future the sharp gap now existing between East and West Pakistan's industrial strength will narrow down.

1 Akhlaqar Rahman, Exploitation of Bengali Muslims by the Hindus, *Perspective*, a.a.O., p. 48.
2 K. Sarwar Hasan, a.a.O., p. 4.

Under-development of East Pakistan . . .

Table III
Manufacturing Sector in East and West Pakistan
A Comparative Position

Selected Main Items	Unit	East Pakistan			West Pakistan		
		1969-70 (Estimate)	1974-75 (Target)	Percentage Increase	1969-70 (Estimate)	1974-75 (Target)	Percentage Increase
A. Food Manufacturing							
1. White Sugar	000 tons	130	250	92	600	750	25
2. Hydrogenated oil	000 tons	9	25	177	151	275	82
3. Cigarettes	Billion	18	40	122	22	40	82
4. Tea	Mill. lbs.	68	90	32
B. Manufacturing of Textiles							
1. Cotton Yarn	Mill. lbs.	130	400	208	570	700	23
2. Jute goods hessian Sacking	000 tons	530	990	87	15	40	167
3. Broad Loom Jute Products	000 tons	55	210	282
C. Paper and Board							
1. Writing and Printing Paper	000 tons	50	100	100	11	100	810
2. Board all kinds	000 tons	20	50	150	44	100	127
3. Newsprint and Mechanical Papers	000 tons	50	65	30	—	10	—
4. Pulp	000 tons	—	30	—	—	—	—
D. Chemical Industries							
1. Fertilizer (in terms of nutrients)	000 tons	55	625	1,036	140	800	471
2. Soda Ash	000 tons	—	40	—	70	160	129
3. Caustic Soda	000 tons	7*	69*	757	28*	120*	330
4. Sulphuric Acid	000 tons	40	370*	825	60*	630*	320
5. Petrochemicals	000 tons	—	110	—	10	60	500
E. Non-Metallic Minerals							
1. Cement	000 tons	86	1,000	1,063	3,200	6,300	97
F. Basic Metals							
1. Steel	000 tons	90	250	179	60	500	733

* also includes captive capacity.
... not applicable or insignificant
— insignificant or Nil.

Source: The Fourth Five Year Plan 1970-1975, Planning Commission, Government of Pakistan, Islamabad, July 1970, pp. 399-400.

In the area of infrastructure, East Pakistan is expected to make rapid progress during 1970-75. Mileage of good road is planned to be increased from 2,450 in 1969-70 to 3,200 by 1974-75. To increase agricultural production steps are being taken to instal low lift water pumps and tube wells in suitable areas. In the Central Government's recent budget for the fiscal 1971-72 there is a programme for sinking 20,000 new tubewells in East Pakistan to provide water for winter irrigation³.

Another important factor adversely affecting development in the eastern wing was the flight of capital from East Pakistan to India. Unlike West Pakistan, where the non-Muslim population had migrated to India, the majority of the Hindu population in East Pakistan continued to remain in the province. There were, of course, also large scale migrations from East Pakistan to India

but this migration was of a different character. The Hindu population leaving East Pakistan unlike the Hindus leaving West Pakistan could continue to hold property and assets in East Pakistan. This position enabled many Hindu families who though, had migrated to India but were still legally authorised to dispose of their property left behind in East Pakistan through the help of relatives/friends or agents and get the proceeds sent to India. It is only since September 1965 that property owned by Hindus having left Pakistan was taken over by the Government of Pakistan. Similar action was taken by the Indian Government in regard to Muslims who left for Pakistan. Preliminary investigations into the unofficial transfer of funds from East Pakistan to West Bengal during the period 1947 to 1965 indicate that as much as 150 to 200 million dollars were annually transferred from Pakistan to India through illegal means.⁴ Most of this was done by

³ Interim Report Series (Pakistan's Fourth Five Year Plan 1970-1975).

⁴ S. Mustafa Ismail, Who Exploited East Pakistan? *The Pakistan Times*, Lahore, April 2, 1971; see also Abdul Majid, *Perspective*, Karachi, May-June 1971, p. 40.

under-invoicing and through organised smuggling.

Present income disparity is officially estimated at 38 per cent. Independent sources in East Pakistan, however, place it even higher. The disparity argument loses its weight slightly if one considers the still sharper disparities existing among the four provinces of West Pakistan.

Economists from both East and West Pakistan have been in the forefront in pointing out the growing disparity between the two wings. The Government had allocated more funds for the East than for the West in the Third Plan (1965-1970). These higher allocations for East Pakistan (Rs. 27,000 million as against Rs. 25,000 million for West Pakistan) were not, however, utilized in full. Some of the reasons for this were:

1. A comparatively weaker private sector
2. Lack of efficient management
3. Shortage of skilled labour.

Unstable political conditions too played their part in the non-utilization of allocations. Under the Fourth Plan (1970-1975), East Pakistan is again to receive more funds than West Pakistan. This is being done to step up the tempo of economic development in the region. As is clear from the table below the Fourth Plan allocations for East Pakistan come to 52.5 per cent as against 36.0 per cent actually utilized during the Third Plan (1965-1970).

The present allocations look even more impressive in view of West Pakistan's contribution to the Plan's domestic resources. It comes to Rs. 31,500 million as against Rs. 24,800 million raised from East Pakistan. From a total projected inflow of Rs. 18,000 million as foreign aid during 1970-1975 as much as Rs. 11,550 million is planned to be put at the disposal of East Pakistan. The Plan, if implemented in full, expects by 1974-75 to reduce present disparity between the two wings by 17.7 per cent.

Over the past 24 years, the economies of eastern and western Pakistan have largely grown complementary to each other. The tariff-free movement of goods between the two wings and a common currency have led to a rapid rise in trade. There are a number of items traded between the two wings. East Pakistan sells jute goods, paper, matches, leather, wood and timber, spices, betelnuts and tea. West Pakistan's shipments to East Pakistan include among other items, cotton fabrics, machinery, cotton yarn, drugs, tobacco manufactures, raw cotton, raw tobacco and oil seeds. Tea accounts for about one-fourth of East Pakistan's shipments to West Pakistan.

The East's new cotton textile factories get their raw cotton from the western wing. Last year's total trade movement from West to East stood at \$323.0 million as against East's shipments to West valued at \$192.0 million.

... Getting out of an unfortunate legacy

Table IV
Per Capita Income in All Provinces (in Rupees)

	1969/70	Population in Millions (1968-69)	In Percentage
East Pakistan	454	69.0*	54.2
West Pakistan	(667)	(58.3)	(45.8)
1. Sind	910†	11.5	9.0
2. Punjab	654	34.8	27.4
3. Baluchistan	485	1.7	1.3
4. Frontier Province	383	10.3	8.1

* Estimate
† Including Karachi

Source: Reports of the Advisory Panels for the Fourth Five Year Plan 1970-1975, Vol. 1, a.a.O., pp. 11 and 120.

Table V
Regional Allocations in the Fourth Plan

	East Pakistan	West Pakistan	All Pakistan
Public sector	Rs. 29,400 m.	Rs. 19,600 m.	Rs. 49,000 m.
Private sector	Rs. 10,000 m.	Rs. 16,000 m.	Rs. 26,000 m.
	Rs. 39,400 m.	Rs. 35,600 m.	Rs. 75,000 m.

Source: The Fourth Five Year Plan 1970-1975, Planning Commission, Government of Pakistan, Islamabad, July 1970, p. 25.

In recent years, East Pakistan has started importing large quantities of foodgrains from the West. West-to-East rice shipments, for instance, jumped to a record 403,000 tons in 1969-70, as compared with 178,000 the year before and 103,000 in 1960-61. Sale of wheat from the West has increased; it stood at 84,000 tons in 1969-70.

Though the geographical location would appear to encourage East Pakistan to trade more with India than with West Pakistan, this has not, however, proved useful in practice. The pattern developed during the pre-Partition India did not prove advantageous to East Pakistan. It, in fact, robbed her of domestic capital and other resources. If Pakistanis now view with distrust any moves on the part of India to reopen economic ties with East Pakistan, they are not without justification. A Pakistani journalist recently wrote: "Bengal's interest in an independent East Pakistan is economic and political in motivation—which is to reimpose her dominance over the traditional agrarian hinterland of East Pakistan providing

raw materials for the industry in Calcutta and for other industrial establishments in the State".⁵

East Pakistan's economy has, however, moved from a purely raw material producing stage to a semi-industrial one. The province's new industries are now processing a great deal of the locally available agricultural and industrial raw materials (jute, hides and skins, sugar cane, bamboos, natural gas). The complementarity in trade between East and West Pakistan too has grown quite significantly. If trade is now resumed between East Pakistan, or for that matter between West Pakistan and India, it will have to be on an entirely new footing.

For India to continue to expect to be able to treat East Pakistan as a raw material warehouse or a sub-economy is now unrealistic.

⁵ Abdul Majid, *Perspective*, a.a.O., p. 41.

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The Saudi Arabian perspectives

BY OUR MIDDLE EAST CORRESPONDENT

“O God! I have settled a part of my off-spring in a barren valley close to your Sacred House so that they may establish regular prayer; so turn the hearts of a group of mankind towards them and bestow upon them bounties so that they may be grateful” (The prayer of Abraham in *al-Qur'an, Surah Ibrahim 37*)

Saudi Arabia occupies a special place in the comity of Muslim nations. Though its own population is only about seven million, more than 600 million Muslims throughout the world are emotionally attached to it. Every year it attracts around half a million Muslims from different parts of the world, who, in spite of the physical barrenness of the country, return with experiences so rich spiritually that every Muslim would like to share them. All the expenses they incur and all the hardships they undergo are to them more than compensated for by only a few days they spend in *Makkah*, *Mina*, *Arafat*, and *Muzdalifah*. Throughout their lifetime the scene they saw in *Arafat* from the ‘Mount of Mercy’ and the resounding sounds of *Labbayka Allahumma Labbayk* (I sincerely respond to Thy call, O God) would give them the spiritual ecstasy that no other experience could equal in this world. All these Muslims probably wish to return to *Hijaz* to go once again through this richest experience of their life. Then there is the visit to the Prophet’s Mosque in *Medina* which bestows on them the peace of mind and satisfaction the like of which they can never experience elsewhere.

For a long time after the advent of Islam this country made rich contributions to the spiritual, cultural and scientific growth of mankind. The debt that the world owes to his country, and especially to the province of *Hijaz*, can never be repaid. Unfortunately, its contributions and influence gradually declined, first with the shifting of the capital from *Medina* to other places, and then, in general, with the decline of the Muslim civilization. It became strife-torn and divided, and slipped into the abyss of poverty and under-development. It remained important mainly for pilgrimage which was also its main source of foreign exchange earnings.

However, the picture has now changed totally. In the 1930s, there took place two events which have set the stage for a revival of the country’s old glory. One of these was the reunification of the country in 1932 under the leadership of the late *Malik Abd al-Aziz*. This has provided the country with political stability, one of the primary ingredients for economic development. The second event was the discovery of oil in 1938. Its commercial

exploitation, however, commenced only after the conclusion of the Second World War. From then on oil revenues have been rapidly rising, except for brief intervening periods, from £4 million in 1946 to £960 million in 1970 and are expected to be £720 million in 1971. These revenues have provided this desert economy with ample resources to pursue its development programmes.

Saudi Arabia is a vast country with an area equal to approximately three-and-a-half times the area of Pakistan, the largest Muslim country in terms of population. It is, however, sparsely populated, and has only about 6 per cent of Pakistan’s population. The density of population is, therefore, only about seven to eight persons per square mile. About 40 per cent of the country’s area is desert and less than one per cent is cultivated. The average rainfall is less than four inches and about 80 per cent of the cultivated land is irrigated. A substantial part (about 48 per cent) of the food consumed is imported though an increasing quantity is now being produced locally.

The Government is directing increasingly large amounts of its annual budgets to the building up of social and physical overhead capital necessary for the development of the country and for bringing about the desired diversification of the economy, thus reducing its heavy dependence on oil. The Government budget has grown about four times from Rls 1,638 million (£152m.) in 1379-80 (1959-60) to Rls 6,380 million (£591m.) in 1390-91 (1970-71), but over this same period allocations to the projects budget and the principal development departments have grown more than eleven times from Rls 324 million (£30m) or 20 per cent of total outlays to Rls 3,756 million (£348m) or 59 per cent of total outlays. These are directed towards financing nation-building projects like the construction of roads, ports, telephone and telecommunications network, the provision of education and health facilities, and for the discovery of underground resources of oil, water and minerals.

The Government is also investing large sums of money indirectly through *Petromin*, a Government-sponsored investment organisation, for establishing a network of petro-chemical industries in collaboration with private enterprise. These investments are being made in large-scale industries which do not presently appeal to private enterprise because of the vast sums of capital required, the greater initial risk involved, and the longer waiting period before profits can be reaped. Industries already established by *Petromin* are a

BASIC STATISTICS

Land area (approx.):	2,150,000 sq. km
Population (1968 est.):	7.1m
Gold reserves (June 1970):	£49.6m
Foreign exchange reserves (June 1970):	£240.0m
Exchange rate:	£1=110.78 rials
G.n.p. (1967 at current factor cost):	£918.8m
G.n.p. a head (1967 at current factor cost):	£131.2
Total exports (1968):	£814.0m
Total imports (1968, reported by partners):	£303.3m

steel-rolling mill and a refinery in *Jeddah*, and a fertilizer plant in *Dammam*. A lubricating oil plant and a sulphuric acid plant is in the process of being set up and a number of petro-chemical and basic metal industries are planned for the future. For the private sector the Industrial Development Centre and the Planning Organization have proposed the establishment of thirty-one new consumers’ goods industries and the expansion of certain existing ones involving a total investment of about Rls 236 million (£22m).

Efforts are also being made to step up agricultural production in the country. The main drawback to the growth of agriculture has so far been the scarcity of water. Hence the discovery and utilization of underground water resources is of crucial importance for Saudi Arabia. The Ministry of Agriculture has, through the help of some consulting firms, carried out extensive surveys to evaluate and tap the underground water resources. The survey reports have indicated significant reserves of good quality water and sufficiently large areas of fertile soils in different parts of the country. There is thus a significant potential for increase in agricultural output.

The long-run increase in industrial and agricultural output, as an outcome of these efforts, should help bring about the necessary diversification of the economy and reduce its present dependence on oil.

Due stress is being placed upon the development of the country’s human resources by steadily improving educational and health facilities which are available free of charge to all sections of the population. Total expenditures of the Government on education and health sectors amounted to over 6 per cent of the gross national product in 1389-90 (1969-70) and compared favourably with those in other developing countries. Although the population is largely illiterate and a considerable proportion of school-age children does not yet attend schools, the efforts of the Government in this direction deserve appreciation.

... the fact of being the birth place of Islam and the trustee of its holiest places gives Saudi Arabia a uniqueness of its own kind. But to be able to stay unique and distinctive, it also has to stay Islamic . . .



SHARI'A CLASSES IN RYADH

An outstanding landmark in the future growth of the country is the coming into force of the Kingdom's five-year development plan from the beginning of the fiscal year 1389-90 (1969-70). The Plan aims at raising the rate of growth of the gross national product, diversification of the economy to reduce its dependence on oil, development of human resources, and, in general, laying the foundation for sustained economic growth. It is expected that an outlay exceeding Rls 41 billion (£3.8b) will be made during the five years of the Plan and that the gross national product would register an overall growth of about 60 per cent over this period. Primary stress has been given in the Plan to education, health, and social welfare with an allocation of Rls 9.3 billion (£860m) or 22.5 per cent of total allocations, followed by transport and communications with Rls 7.5 billion (£690m) or 18.1 per cent and, public utilities and urban development with Rls 4.6 billion (£420m) or 11.1 per cent.

These developments, if viewed against the background of Saudi Arabia's subsistence economy less than three decades ago and the fact that economic development really started from a scratch in 1946 when oil income started to flow in, are of great significance. The gross

national product, which has been growing at an average rate of more than 10 per cent per annum, now stands at Rls 16 billion (£1.5b), about four times the level of Rls 4.3 billion (£390m) eleven years ago. Per/capita income is currently about Rls 2,600 (£241) and is among the highest in the Middle East. Saudi Arabia has sufficient foreign exchange reserves and enjoys freedom from import and exchange restrictions. It possesses the largest proved oil reserves and is one of the major oil producers in the world. Government expenditures to provide the necessary social and physical overhead capital have been rapidly growing, and because of the confidence in the future prospects of the economy, the private sector is also gradually becoming more active. Saudi Arabia's prospects for accelerated growth in the future are, therefore, reassuring.

The fact of being the birth place of Islam and the trustee of its holiest places, gives Saudi Arabia a uniqueness of its own kind. But to be able to stay unique and distinctive, it also has to stay Islamic. And this needs a sincere and penetrating assessment of the spiritual destiny of the country and a conscious effort to safeguard it against the creeping onslaught of affluence, corruption and secularisation.



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Letters

Muslim Minority in India

Congratulations on your excellent note on Aligarh Muslim University (*Impact* 22 October-11 November). But as you may well know this is not the only sphere where the Indian government is trying to de-Muslimise or Hinduise (whichever way one may put it) the Muslim institutions and society in India. Another serious matter is the on-going attempt to Indianise the Muslim Personal law. It is tragic that owing to lack of any representation of Muslims in the Mass Media this subtle process of Hinduisation of the Muslim minority in India has escaped the notice of the world community. I wish *Impact* could also highlight this aspect of the plight of the Indian Muslims.

Glasgow, Scotland

M. A. KHAN

Malcolm-X

I must say, how much moved I was by your article 'The Malcolm X I knew' (*Impact*, 24 Sept.-7 Oct.). This was in fact the first time that I came across such an honest and personal assessment of Malcolm's personality.

I think it would be a service to history if articles of this nature could be made a regular feature or at least published much more frequently.

Washington, USA

KAMAL ADHAM

Something lighter as well

May I say that *Impact* would do better if it enlarges its area of coverage; and not limit itself only to politics and economics. Sometimes, the articles on political and economic aspects are too serious. It will be a good idea to include some lighter feature articles as well.

Copenhagen, Denmark Dr. K. H. SYED

Litmus test on East Pakistan

Lalit Bhushan (*Impact* 8-21 Oct.) is quite correct in saying that although East Pakistan provided Prime Ministers, like Suharwardy, Mohamed Ali Bogra and Khwaja Nazimuddin there was a general shortage of East Pakistani Muslims to form the executive and the industrial infra-structure. But can anyone deny that since the army and civil servants came largely from West Pakistan, at least in the beginning, even these few were not allowed to play an effective part in the affairs of the country. The extremist reaction that Pakistan faces now is partly also the outcome of the way the Bureaucracy behaved with these moderate and patriotic leaders. The fact of injustice to East Pakistan after having been accepted by everyone, including President Yahya Khan, the Litmus test one waits to see is whether after the by-elections power is really transferred to the elected representatives from East Pakistan.

Camberley, Surrey

K. U. AHMAD

Nota Bene

'SCRIBE'

Professor Reidar Sogliaes of the University of California in Los Angeles is an authority on George Washington, the founder of American democracy. After years of painstaking research he has been able to prove that George Washington had false teeth and he was extremely shy about them. In a lecture to the Smithsonian Institute in Washington he presented evidence to show that in one of the first American Presidents' sets, the lower teeth were made from elephant tusks and the upper ones from hippopotamus teeth. Washington did not like the true geography of his teeth to be known to the outside world. He always tried to lie about them and is reported to have once disguised a dental bill as a hat bill. But the 'hat-trick' did not work and after all the false teeth now stand exposed.

□ □ □

George Washington is dead, but Washington seems to be living up the legacy of false teeth. Nowhere is this more blatantly evident than in the diplomacy of aid. AID is supposed to denote Aid for International Development and is said to be motivated by humanitarian and developmental considerations, but only as long as the recipient obediently toes the American political line. The moment, he begins to show any independence, the hippopotamus teeth come out.

Pakistan is not the only victim of dollar diplomacy. It is now the United Nations. The crime of the U.N. was that after 23 years she tried to end the absurdity of not seeing China, the country which consists of one fifth of the human race. First reaction to the China vote was the realisation that U.S.A. was paying more than her share to the U.N. Mr. Rogers has politely said that: "My own view is that it has spent too much money in the past and we have probably contributed more than our share". Senators and Congressmen have not been so discreet. They have expressed greater anger and irateness, and have moved the congress to make major reduction in the contributions to the U.N. Mr. Nixon is reported to have been "shocked" at the "hostile" and ungrateful behaviour of some Afro-Asian countries in the General Assembly. The world should, however, be pleased and not shocked, at the not-so-hostile reaction of the U.S. on the U.N. vote on China.

□ □ □

While U.S.A. is reducing its contribution to the U.N. from 34 per cent to 25 per cent, the prospective candidates for the U.S. presidency face similar prospects from their own patrons and aid-givers. Fifty multi-millionaires of the Club 21 of New York met recently to discuss the problem of their own leverage in the American affairs. Because it is they who are supposed to foot some 33 per cent of the total presidential election expenses. The results of their Hearings have not been declared and remain a secret. It may be a mere coincidence that the majority of these multi-millionaires also belong to the pro-Zionist lobby and Mr. Rogers should better think twice about hedging too much in releasing more Phantoms to Israel. Because leverage is leverage and false teeth are false teeth.

Senator Kennedy occupies a place of his own in this diplomacy of the false teeth. But it must be said to his credit that he has the knack of saying the wrong thing at the right moment. His latest on Ulster is one such instance. That he is "Catholic" and of "Irish origin" are of no consequence. It is only the prick of the conscience that compels him to condemn "British neglect

and misrule in Northern Ireland" and to say that "the only long-term solution consistent with the principles of self-determination and liberty is the unification of Ireland".

What Mr. Heath, Mr. Faulkner and the British Press feel about these Senatorial condescensions is a different matter because after all it is not the question of a small country like Pakistan or Nigeria; but one likes to say that the conscience-happy Senator also persuades America's guilty conscience to do something for the 'liberty' and 'self-determination' of the original Americans the so-called Red Indians, and of the African turned into 'Negroes' in America.

□ □ □

Credit has also to be given to the Senator for saying what he said at last at the right moment. His crusade against British action in Ulster coincides with another crusade from the other side of the world. Lady Indira Gandhi has begun her tour of the Western World, with a begging bowl and an "iron claw". She is out to convince the world of the impossible proposition that "the East Pakistani crisis is a problem between East and West Pakistan" and hence an internal matter of Pakistan and that India cannot allow Pakistan to solve the problem by herself. May be this was not quite that difficult to sell, but the British and even the official American reaction to the Senator's utterances seem to have complicated matters for the Indira-Lib lobby.

The following extracts from the editorial of *The Times* (25 October, 1971) with parallels added in brackets serve to high-light their predicament: "... He (she) should try to understand that what he (she) professes to see from the other side of the Atlantic (the Pacific) as a struggle for liberation from colonial oppression looks from the closer range of the United Kingdom (Pakistan), like an armed conspiracy against the State: an indiscriminately violent attempt to annex territory and transfer its sovereignty against the strong and stable wishes of two-thirds of the people living in that territory... When someone elects to describe the aggressors in that conflict as being engaged in the struggle of men everywhere for the basic rights of freedom and self-determination, he (she) must not expect to be heard in polite silence by those who, defending the integrity of the State at some cost of lives and resources, believe themselves to be defending the freedom and right of self-determination of the people of Northern Ireland (East Pakistan) ...

"Senator Kennedy is distressed by the shedding of blood in Ulster (East Pakistan) ... let neither Senator Kennedy nor anyone else, in proposing a military withdrawal, pretend that it would do other than bring more death and destruction to the province".

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Books

The 'popular' Moghuls

Bamber Gascoigne
with photographs by Mrs. C. Gascoigne,
1971

THE GREAT MOGHULS

pp 269, *Jonathan Cape*, £4.95

In the West the term 'Moghul' has generally been accepted as a synonym for wealth and splendour. Western travellers, missionaries and diplomats visiting the Moghul Court in its hey-day were fascinated by its magnificent buildings and cities, romantic gardens and lavish royal ceremonies. British interest in the affairs of the Moghuls was aroused in the days of Jahangir, the great-grandson of Babur, the founder of the dynasty in India. Since that time several British scholars and administrators have taken a keen interest in studying Moghul history.

The author of the present volume, however, does not appear to have attempted producing any elaborate or scholarly study of the Moghuls. This monograph is a brief pictorial account of the achievements of the first six Moghul emperors of the Pak-Indian sub-continent. It concentrates mainly on the magnificent architecture, exotic gardens and exquisite paintings. There are 97 full-page photographs and sketches in this book; of the remaining 167 pages about 36 contain photographs of varying sizes, thus leaving very limited space for any serious discussion of the achievements of Babur and his descendants.

Perhaps, because of the limited space at his disposal, the author has scarcely done any justice to the different and important aspects of Moghul history like the administrations of the Military, Revenue and the Judicial departments. Even the expansion and consolidation of the Moghul Empire demanded little more attention than Mr. Gascoigne has been able to devote.

The monograph lacks a preface that might have enlightened its readers about the author's intention behind the undertaking. The "Authors' Note" at the beginning of the book, instead of throwing any light on the justification for such a study is confined to thanking the staff of different museums and libraries and all others who helped in the preparation of the book. Mr. Gascoigne, is a journalist and chairman of the British Television series "University Challenge". His approach to the subject has been more that of a journalist than of a historian.

Like most writers of Moghul history Mr. Gascoigne has also compared and contrasted the religious policy of Akbar with that of Aurangzeb. Akbar's religious toleration, concessions to Hindu customs,

and even his wearing of the *tilak*, the Hindu distinguishing mark made on the forehead, have been regarded as politically sound (pp. 81-82). Aurangzeb's honest adherence to the *Sharia*, 'though a matter of genuine religious conviction' has been viewed short-sighted (p. 227). However, the long term effects of the religious policies of both Akbar and Aurangzeb have been considered equally ruinous for the Moghul empire. 'Akbar disrupted the Muslim community by recognising that India is not an Islamic country: Aurangzeb disrupted India by behaving as though it were', (p. 227). One, however, wonders as to whether or not the disruption of the Muslim community by the great-grand father (Akbar) had to a great extent forced the hands of the great-grandson Aurangzeb in taking some of the measures that are regarded as having been disastrous for the empire. Anyway, the collapse of the Moghul empire was more due to its vastness, the wars of succession after Aurangzeb, and the incompetence of the later Moghuls rather than to the religious policies of Aurangzeb.

Mr. Gascoigne has taken special note of some twentieth-century Hindu politicians and writers in idolising Shivaji as a hero who 'proved by his example that the Hindu race can build a nation, found a state and defeat enemies' (p. 230). 'When viewed with hindsight through twentieth-century glasses', observes the author, 'Aurangzeb on the one side and Shivaji on the other hand came to be seen as key-figures in the development of India. What Shivaji began Gandhiji could complete. . . and what Aurangzeb stood for would lead to the establishment of the separate state of Pakistan' (p. 230). Such over-simplification of events of Moghul India only confirms a lack of proper historical perspective. Indeed even B. G. Tilak, the creator of the Shivaji cult and himself a clansman of Shivaji could not have extolled Shivaji as the fore-runner of Gandhi. For, while Mr. Gandhi aimed at establishing Hindu raj all over India and was eventually satisfied with two-thirds of it, Shivaji was essentially a tribal guerilla whose political foresight did not go beyond establishment of his hegemony over the land of the Marathas or at most over a greater part of South-Western India. As for Aurangzeb's contribution towards the origin of separate Muslim nationhood in India, one must remember that the idea had already propounded by Mujaddid Alf-i-Sani during the reign of Jahangir, and that Aurangzeb with all his zeal for Islam had simply implemented some of the ideas of the *Mujaddid*.

Despite the above short-comings and naivety, 'The Great Moghuls' remains a work of merit. It has been written in a lucid and simple style. It summarises the main events under the

great Moghuls with remarkable clarity. It contains several excellent photographs exhibiting Moghul art and architecture. And for a 'popular' book of this nature the author has admirably drawn from a large number of secondary sources available in English, including some well-known translations of Turkish and Persian historiographical literature.

(MATIUR RAHMAN)

Atonement through revolution

John Gerassi (Editor), 1971

REVOLUTIONARY PRIEST

The Complete Writings and Messages of Camilo Torres

pp 460, *Jonathan Cape*, London, £4

"In Sao Paulo Dominican monks work with urban guerrillas. In Montevideo a priest heads an underground revolutionary network. In Bolivia fifty Catholic clergymen openly espouse armed rebellion. In Lima a priest co-directs the National Liberation Front. In Buenos Aires another identifies the love of Christ with the violent struggle of the poor. In the mountains of Colombia a priest fights, gun in hand, with the guerrilla Army of National Liberation. Seemingly everywhere in Latin America, Catholic churchmen are committed to violent social revolution."

So begins an excellent introduction to a fascinating book which is devoted to the complete writings and messages of Camilo Torres, priest, sociologist and armed revolutionary of Columbia. From this book we get an idea of the problems and stresses in the Catholic Church the dilemmas of its priests and the grinding poverty of its flock. We are made to grapple with the problems of power and violence, of exploitation and oppression, and of love and charity.

We are generally accustomed to a Church preaching a doctrine of love and non-violence, to a Church which theoretically spurns matters temporal, and which does not have the theology or the capacity to give a positive lead on the burning questions of the time. We are accustomed to think of the Church as being generally an ally of the temporal political power giving sanction to its policies and actions and even deriving its own status from it. But as John Gerassi, who is now noted for his compilations and editions of voluminous social writings, observes, the Church has always in practice occupied itself with temporal matters and generally supported and was supported by the established temporal political powers. These factors have led to severe stresses in the Catholic Church and often posed

Atonement . . .

great dilemmas to individual priests who are bound to obedience to authority but who in conscience cannot uphold certain dogma or overlook painful or terrible injustices. We see for example the priestly rebellion (especially in Holland) against the dogma of celibacy and the tendency to accommodate or compromise with certain social mores and trends. Also we see the growing split in the Church between the establishment hierarchy and clerics who are deeply concerned with what Camilo Torres called "the cauldron of urgent problems of every kind" facing society to solve which he "took off his cassock to be more truly a priest" and proclaimed "the duty of every Catholic is to be a revolutionary" and "the Catholic who is not a revolutionary is living in mortal sin."

This book comes in the very month when the consultative assembly of the Roman Church are occupying themselves with the questions of the work and meaning of the priesthood and justice in the world. According to Cardinal Heenan of Britain the "main problem in the Catholic church is the restlessness of the clergy." The problem involves a minority of clerics who have rejected the "old magical role of the altar in preference for politics and applied sociology." It is in this category that Camilo Torres belonged.

The writings in *Revolutionary Priest* cover a period of about ten years beginning with a piece on "Social Problems in the University" written in Europe and ending with a "Message to Columbians from the Mountains" written in January 1966 one month before Torres was killed while ambushing a government military patrol. The earlier pieces in the book are his sociological writings in which he tried to achieve a committed sociology. Torres obviously derived a great deal of inspiration from Marxist Communism since it offered "effective scientific solutions" to the problems of poverty, illiteracy, hunger, absence of public services etc. which dogged the majority of Columbians. Although he categorically maintained that he was not a communist, he was prepared to tolerate and work with communists in his *Frente Unido* (United Front) to gain political power which he saw as the only means of combating the tyranny of the established government. In working for this Front he admitted that he had considerable difficulties with hard-line communists (pp 338, 341) and this probably led to his becoming despondent and impatient and taking to the hills to join the Army of National Liberation. What is very interesting is the theological justifications for his revolutionary stance and his sanctioning of armed revolution and "the seizure of power by the people, cost what it may." These theological justifications come towards the middle of the book when we begin to see a change of emphasis from the scholarly style of the detailed

and concerned researcher to that of a theologian in dilemma. In the end this gives way to the fiery and vituperative style of the revolutionary in which there is less and less mention of God and the Church.

To decide whether Torres derived more from Christianity or Marxism is one of the most intriguing questions which these writings and messages raise. On the one hand we have Torres' emphasis on Christian love and charity for oppressed poor which has to be channelled into violence against the oppressive government and U.S. imperialism if it really is to be fruitful. On the other hand, there is the unmistakable imprint of Communist ideas as well as its rhetoric on much of his speeches and messages. Perhaps the best judgement on this question is that of another priest: "Camilo was committed not to an ideology but to the situation of his people." More and more priests throughout Latin America are taking up the mantle of Torres. This is very significant considering the up-to-now declining popularity of priests, noted by Torres himself. It is very significant for the Catholic Church as a whole since 93 per cent of the population of Latin America professes Catholicism and this represents one out of every three Catholics in the world.

The fascination of this book extends even to the appendices, one of which is the plea of the mother of Torres to Pope Paul VI in which she describes the mission of her son as "the restoration of the doctrine of Christ." Another appendix is a vigorously argued pastoral letter from the Third World signed by several bishops and archbishops on the "Gospel and Revolution" which in effect gives ample justification for the stand of Torres. In this, one is very surprised to see a quotation from the Qur'an used in a very favourable context which leads one incidentally to muse on whether the bishops and archbishops themselves no longer see the Holy Catholic Church as the only true Church.

(A.W.H.)

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Briefing

To Guard My People, by Sir Percival Griffiths, *Benn*, £2.50. History of the police department before and during the British rule in India. It describes how varying circumstances in different parts of India influenced the development of the police force till 1861 when finally a common pattern emerged. The reader is amused to discover that the intelligence departments of India and Pakistan respectively evolved from the old Thuggee and Dakoitee departments set up under the British General Sir William Sleeman.

Philip: An Informal Biography, by Basil Boothroyd, *Longman*, £2.00. Biography of the British Royal consort, Prince Philip, whom the author seeks to present in an informal and light-hearted manner.

Economic Problems of the Church, by Christopher Hill, *Panther*, 60p. Studies the bread and butter problems of the church in the post-reformation England. Going through it, the reader comes across some basic contradictions in the Church. Despite all claims to the contrary the 'flesh' dominates the scene and the greatest problem for the clergy as a class, seems to be their personal material well-being. We read about extremes of poverty and riches among the clergy and pluralism which meant that a churchman could at a time hold more than one benefice. Then there was the ticklish question of tithes which the clergy presumed its rightful due from society. But here, as elsewhere, 'might' carried away all; Mr. Hill tells us that in the 17th century tithes mainly paid by the peasantry were 'impropriated' by the nobility and the gentry. One can very well visualise the deep frustration and indignance of the Clerks, who believed tithes were for the support of the Church and not for the extravagant indulgence of the nobility or the gentry. That is why the issue to this day remains a subject that is still capable of engendering great heat and emotion. For all their pretensions the gentry and the nobility as a class always remained a rival to the rich and wealthy churchmen. The plunders of the Church during the 16th century are an eloquent reminder of this basic fact in the struggle between the temporal and the spiritual or christian within the church. We read about various attempts to restore the Church finances but the Church was never able to make up the irreparable loss in prestige and property and hence power. Even Archbishop Laud's attempts to restore the prestige and authority of the Church weakened and isolated it and in the civil world proved a liability rather than an asset to monarchy whose cause it championed.

Auto-Biography of an Economist, by Lord Robbins, *Macmillan*, £4.50. Lord Robbins gives a self-revelatory account of his career as an economist and as a man of considerable influence; his fights on different economic issues with men like Keynes and Dennis Robertson are all there in this book.

Hind Mahasagar—Hamara Samudri Simanta (The Indian Ocean—Our Sea Frontier) in Hindi by J. P. Chaturvedi, a Delhi journalist, with a foreword by Mr. Jagjivan Ram, Minister of Defence.

Discusses progress in strengthening the fleet of warships, aircraft carriers, frigates and submarines. These are being equipped with guided missiles and provided with nuclear power. Delineates change in India's policy in response to the situation obtaining in the Indian Ocean.

Iran: History and Literature, the Friendly Country, in Persian by the Soviet Iranologist, Agaev. Published by the *Nauka Publishing House*.

Soviet Union and Islam, the controversial Russian book whose publication was recently disclaimed by *Novosti* and *The Economist*, London, issue dated 16—24 September 1971 have been proscribed under an order issued by the Governor of Punjab in Pakistan.

World Opinion

Management is not a dirty word

Why an Anglican priest born and bred in Australia, should be going to India to give an industrial management course at a centre run by Jesuits, takes a little explaining. But then, the Rev. Bruce Reed is by no means a conventional priest. He started out to become an architect, but switched to theology in Sydney. Then he continued theology at Cambridge, was ordained, and became the college chaplain. Two years later he came to London where he met a group of businessmen who sponsored him on a personal counselling project. Out of this grew, eventually, a body called the Christian Teamwork Trust. This became more and more involved in industrial problems, and from it emerged the Grubb Institute of Behavioural Studies, under the patronage of Sir Kenneth Grubb . . .

At the moment, the full-time staff of 12 is . . . for instance, doing studies for Rubery Owen and . . . for Shell Chemicals. The institute's courses and conferences are attended by such diverse bodies as IBM, the Home Office Prison Department, the Church Missionary Society, and Tube Investment . . .

Reed goes to New Delhi next month to the Indian Social Institute which is financed and staffed by the Jesuits to help start training programmes and industrial management courses for small local businesses. Running the ISI is an Indian, Father Joe Britto, who has a MBA degree from Columbia . . . Reed says that the need . . . (is) to emphasise professionalism rather than Christianity . . . "missionary is a dirty word in India".

(Christianity in Management, *Financial Times*, London, 12 October 1971).

Textbooks and the truth

"Textbooks simply don't tell the truth . . . Nearly all school history and geography books have at least one fault in common: they take an Anglo-centred or, at best, a Euro-centred view of the world. Africa, the "dark continent", doesn't figure until it is penetrated by the intrepid white explorers and then the "scramble for Africa" gets underway. The history of India almost invariably begins with Clive, and then goes on to Warren Hastings and perhaps Gandhi, but inevitably ends with independence in 1947. The Black Hole of Calcutta and the Indian Mutiny are always mentioned although in fact the hole wasn't quite as black as it is made out to be . . . and the mutiny at Meerut very quickly became a massacre—of the Indians, of course. Many of the mutineers were blown from the mouth of cannons for their trouble, a punishment which D. Richards and A. Quick in *Britain 1851-1945*, published in 1967, describe as being "more humane than lengthy hang-

ing." The West Indies is scarcely covered in any textbooks, except as a source of sugar.

But this Anglo-centred outlook is not confined to history and geography books. Most religious instruction books only mention religions other than Christianity to show how their adherents were converted, and a large number of school hymns are about the work of the missionaries and how they pacified and civilised erstwhile savages. The abolition of slavery is shown to have been brought about by the enthusiasm of Wilberforce, but Nat Turner and his fellow rebels are ignored . . .

. . . Educational publishers tend to provide what teachers ask for, and there is still a tremendous demand for Anglo-centred history books."

Geoffrey Sheridan in *The Guardian*, London, 26 October 1971).

A War to end all wars

As we write these lines the two armies stand eye-ball to eye-ball. It could be touch and go any day—almost any hour . . . When the last encounter came in 1965 we had the upper hand throughout, but we never had it up enough . . . Since then Pakistan has prepared much. But, we suppose, we have prepared even more. What is more important, Pakistan is no longer united as it was in 1965. The Bangla Desh movement renders the loyalty of 25 to 30 per cent personnel of Pakistani Navy and Airforce a big question mark. It should, therefore, be not at all difficult for us to put Pakistan very much in its place in the coming conflagration.

. . . With four Pakistani divisions locked up in East Bengal we should be able to smash through the western front. We should at the same time not only be able to help Bangla Desh liberate itself, but hold some 50,000 Pakistani troops as prisoners of war. With that bargaining counter in our hands, we would be able to knock some sense in the Pakistani heads for a good long time to come.

For, the coming conflagration cannot and shall not end in yet another cease-fire . . . That must not happen again. Let the coming war be a war to end all wars with Pakistan.

. . . West Pakistan . . . East Bengal . . . both of them are parts of India. As the last Secretary of State for India, Sir Pethwick Lawrence, once put it, east and west Pakistan are only two ears of the elephant that is India . . . the elephant could do without the ears but the ears could not survive without the elephant. (*Organiser*, New Delhi, 23 October 1971).

Refugees—not an uneconomic burden

Neutral observers here believe that millions of the refugees, including

all the Moslems, could now return to their homes with relative safety. One source who has been in refugee camps in India believes that a man has far less chance of dying from a bullet here than of dying from malnutrition or disease in India . . .

Although the refugees are an enormous economic burden, India is apparently willing to bear it until it achieves its major political goal of helping weaken—or totally destroy—West Pakistan's control over East Pakistan. The refugees are tangible evidence of Bengali fear and hatred of the West Pakistani army, and thus justify India's support for the rebel movement. They also supply the manpower pool from which India is training guerrillas for the civil war in East Pakistan.

(Lee Lescaze, *Washington Post*, 29 October 1971).

The missing tinge of silver ?

Even if the East wing problem can somehow be resolved, there are mounting interprovincial strains between the Punjab and other provinces in the West wing which could prove just as ruinous.

To have written as a Cassandra at almost every stage of Pakistan's development in the past three years has been a sad task. For Pakistan has not lacked potential and both its common people, men of spirit, and its "top people" in Government and commerce, men of intelligence, have great qualities, scarce in South Asia, of energy and enterprise. It is not primarily their fault that they should be cursed. But every grim foreboding has been more than fully realised. One is sorry to have to say it, but it is hard now to see even a tinge of silver lining.

(David Loshak in *The Daily Telegraph*, London, 1 November 1971).

Censorship: Yes but No !

Heavy spice isn't good for the palate; and in the theatre and films, when there's too much license, what is merely raw tends to crowd out almost everything else, and our dramatic vocabulary is impoverished . . . Artists should not be censored, but I do think they should restrain themselves in order not to weaken the language of their art . . . It's the same with violence, or any theatrical extreme. If it's pushed too far, it tends to erode the middle register of human feeling. However, propaganda against any kind of loving human relationship is despicable and probably ought to be censored.

But how do you reconcile that with—

For 30 years people have been asking me how I reconcile X with Y! The truthful answer is that I don't. Everything about me is a contradiction, and so is everything about everybody I know. We are made out of oppositions ; we live between two poles. There's a Philistine and an aesthete in all of us, and a murderer and a saint. You don't reconcile the poles. You just recognize them. (Orson Welles speaking to Kenneth Tynan, *Playboy Magazine*).

Censorship: BBC style

F. R. McKenzie is the BBC Radio News chief sub-editor who was demoted for six months after publishing an attack on Zionism in *The Spectator*.

McKenzie was officially demoted not because he attacked Zionism . . . but because he did this without first seeking BBC permission, which is a breach of regulations. . .

McKenzie's punishment is unprecedented and a splendid example of the power of the Zionist press and broadcasting lobby.

The man who was responsible for punishing McKenzie was Desmond Taylor, the obtuse editor of News and Current Affairs. It is Taylor who refuses to discuss why the BBC employs a foreigner, Michael Elkins, (an American) as its correspondent in Jerusalem. Elkins is so biased a reporter that when he filed during the Six Day War his tapes had to be edited to disguise the jubilant tone of his voice which was not quite in line with normal standards of BBC objectivity.

(*Private Eye*, London, 8 October 1971).

Being absurd about the Old Testament

The sort of nationalism which is found in the Old Testament, much of which forecasts the victory of the Jews over their enemies, often in bloodthirsty and certainly unchristian terms, makes the use of the Old Testament very difficult for Arab Christians who live in the Middle East, especially since the use of the word Israel for the present Jewish State and the word used in the Old Testament is the same. It is not hard to see that for simple Christians such language is very confusing, and it is hardly to be wondered at that Arab Christians have trouble here. Indeed it is surprising that they have not been more violent in their reaction against the Old Testament than they have.

Christians must be aware of these difficulties and not make them worse by encouraging absurd and over simple ideas about the Old Testament.

(Canon Herbert Waddam, sermon in Canterbury Cathedral, *Middle East International*, London, October 1971)

Lady Jackson, the British economist, today upbraided Western countries, and their press in particular, with being obsessed with the idea that birth control was the only solution to the world's poverty.

People in under-developed countries believed that behind this attitude might well lie a will to genocide.

"If a man asks you for bread and you offer him a pill he will spit in your eye", she said.

"We in the West have got it absolutely out of balance", she said. "We are obsessed about it and we do not balance the rights of people to a better share of world resources—we merely tell them to have fewer children." (*The Times*, London, 27 October 1971).

NEWS BRIEF

Algeria. A long-term trade agreement for multiplication of trade exchanges in agricultural, industrial and mineral materials has been signed with China. ●The Bankers Trust Company of New York has given a loan of US \$30m to Sonatrach, the state oil and gas company.

Chad. The government have decided to open a diplomatic mission in Saudi Arabia.

China. Contrary to the normal practice of prefacing all, except internal current events programmes with quotations from Chairman Mao, there has recently been a significant reduction in the number of these quotations broadcast in the home service.

Egypt. President Sadat has rehabilitated 112 members of the Egyptian judiciary who were disgraced in 1969; the last remaining political prisoners mostly members of the banned Muslim Brotherhood have also been released.

India. Dr. Jagjit Chauhan has thanked Pakistan for the proper up-keep and maintenance of Sikh Gurdwaras. ●Mr. Nazrul Islam, head of the India based government of Bangla Desh has sent a message to Chairman Mao requesting support for the liberation of his people.

Indonesia. To date a total of US \$465m of foreign capital has been invested in agricultural projects in Indonesia. ●The Fifth Congress of the World Council of Churches is proposed to be held in Indonesia in 1975.

Iran. Iran's export to the Common Market countries during the past year totalled \$42m whereas the latter exported goods to Iran worth \$600m. Since the Common Market countries refuse to purchase Iran's industrial commodities, the trade deficit is estimated to grow up to \$1,000m annually by the end of the Fifth Plan. ●In an interview after the 2,500th anniversary of the Persian Empire, the Shah said that in 12 years time Iran will enter "the era of great civilization" which means the kind of welfare state where everybody born, until he is dead, will enjoy every kind of social insurances to permit him to go to industry, to other jobs, to work and to die in peace and tranquility. ●Five dissidents have been sentenced to death by a secret military court in Iran.

Iraq. GDR military delegation headed by Gen. Heinz Hofmann, visited naval units in Basrah and the military college for the Iraqi land forces in Baghdad. ●Iraq has opened her borders with Jordan which were closed earlier.

Israel. In preparation for the establishment of a number of Kibbutzim and other settlements in the south of the Gaza strip large areas of land are being fenced to keep away the local population. About 4,000 deenams between Gaza and Dayr al-Balah have already been fenced and most of the Arab families evacuated.

Libya. A bill establishing the

Workers' Institute of Culture for developing economic and social knowledge among the workers has been published by the Revolution Command Council. ●Committees have been set up to revise and amend legislation and laws so as to conform with the basic principles of the Islamic Shariah.

Pakistan. President Yahya Khan has said that Pakistan does not want to escalate the already tense situation, but if the Indians try to capture territory, it will be war. He said he will get all weapons and ammunitions from China who will help short of physical intervention.

●A Pakistani-Iranian school of Persian studies is to be set up in Pakistan.

Palestine. Yasir Arafat paid a ten-day visit to the Soviet Union. A joint Communique issued after the conclusion of the visit re-affirmed the Soviet Union's support for the Palestinian Resistance. ●A delegation led by Taysir Quba'ah representing the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine visited Moscow in order to seek more aid for the Resistance. The PFLP magazine *Al-Hadaf* earlier criticized the manner in which the delegation accompanying Yasir Arafat was formed. ●A delegation of the Palestine Liberation Organisation is to tour the USA to attend the meetings of the American Church representatives and explain the case of Palestine to the Christian public.

●Arab representatives met in Damascus to discuss radio programmes to be beamed to students in the occupied Arab territories.

Somalia. All Somalian ambassadors are to undergo two months military and revolutionary indoctrination at the Botigo Training Centre. The Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Challe Arteh said that it was shameful for Somali ambassadors not to know the names of important places in the country. He said the ambassadors will be given lectures on socialism and the principles of the October revolution.

Sudan. The Sudan News Agency reports that the so-called sugar shortage in Khartoum is now completely over. ●A draft law for special industries under consideration by the Council of Ministers guarantees foreign investment against confiscation and nationalisation. ●The World Council of Churches has agreed to aid projects for the organisation and rehabilitation of refugees. ●The Ownership of the press, publishing houses, magazines and newspapers etc. have been transferred to the Sudanese Socialist Union.

Tanzania. According to 1967 census figures published by the bureau of Statistics of the Ministry of Economic Affairs and Development Planning in Tanzania, more private households in urban area had Muslims as head of households than Christians.

United Kingdom. A report issued by the Martin Luther King Foundation says that active racial discrimination is being practised by the employers in Britain. They have developed such subtle ways that it is nearly impossible to satisfactorily prove discrimination.

U.S.A. A Senate report released

recently has thrown light on the alarming state of corruption, criminality and moral compromise prevailing among American servicemen in Europe and Asia. ●The President as well as the regional chapters of the Consultative Committee of the Indian Muslims in USA and Canada have sent a telegram to the Indian Prime Minister reminding her of the election promises she and her party made and requesting restoration of the minority character of the Muslim University at Aligarh.

USSR. The Deputy head of the Krasnodar Kray internal affairs board said that one-third of the road and industrial accidents and most acts of violence and family quarrels were caused by drunkenness. He called for more effective propaganda to make drunkards feel the force of public disapproval. ●Addressing a press conference in New York, Dr. S. I. Zivs, Deputy Director of the Institute of the State and Law, complained that the delegation of Soviet Public Leaders and Scientists had been met by demonstrators protesting against "oppression of Jews in the Soviet Union", although "almost 50 per cent" of the delegation were of Jewish blood. He pointed out that Jews held a worthy place in the close-knit family of Soviet peoples. The next speaker, Col-Gen. Dragunsky also spoke of the contribution by Jews to the Armed Forces of the Soviet Union.

Yugoslavia. The Belgrade district court has imposed a fine of 10,000 dinars on Jovine Acin, editor of the student magazine for publishing an article insulting the public security service. ●Merima chemical works in Knisevac are to produce 27 Max Factor products under licence from and with raw material provided by the principals in Hollywood.

PEOPLE

Dr. Idham Chalid (Nahdat ul Ulama) was elected chairman of the Indonesian parliament. ●**Maj-Gen. Hartono**, former deputy army chief of Indonesia has been sentenced to two years' imprisonment on charges of corruption and failing to report malpractices. ●**Melan Abdullah**, editor of *Utusan Melayu* was acquitted of sedition charge by the Malaysian High Court. ●**President Qadhafi** of Libya is to pay a private visit to Saudi Arabia in the last week of Ramadan. ●**Mrs. Sakina Muhammad as-Sadat**, younger sister of President Sadat and an editor in *Al-Misawwar* lead a delegation of

Egyptian journalists to North Korea.

●**Bishop Shenuda**, 48, has been chosen as the Coptic Pope in Egypt. ●**President Numayri** paid a five-day official visit to Ethiopia. ●**Abd ar-Razzaq Buhara** is the new Algerian Ambassador in Hanoi. ●**Murtada Sa'id Abdel Baqi** has been appointed Iraqi foreign Minister. ●**Lt-Gen. Saleh Mahdi Ammash**, earlier dismissed as Vice-President, has been appointed as the Iraqi ambassador to Kremlin. ●**President Leopold Senghor** of Senegal, **President Ahmadou Ahidjo** of Cameroon, **General Gowan**, Head of Nigerian government and **Gen. Mobutu** of Congo paid a visit to Israel and Egypt on an OAU mission to study the nature of the conflict between the two countries. ●**Nobel Prize: Pablo Neruda**, Communist poet of Chile for literature; **Prof. Denis Gebar** of Stamford, USA for Physics; and **Herr Willy Brandt**, the West German Chancellor for Peace. ●**Alexander Solzhenitsyn**, winner of last year's Nobel Prize has insisted that he should receive his diploma and gold medal at a public ceremony in Moscow. ●**Mrs. Indira Gandhi** was made Doctor of Civil Law by Oxford University. ●**Mr. Enoch Powell** was prevented from attending a seminar in Bermuda because the government feared violence and strikes. ●**Chiao Kuan-hua**, vice-minister of foreign affairs is to lead Chinese delegation to the U.N. General Assembly.

VISITORS

Mr. Mohammed Hasenain Heikal, editor of *Al-Ahram*, Cairo. ●**Tun Dr. Ismail**, Deputy Prime Minister of Malaysia. ●**Tun Mustafa**, Chief Minister of Sabah State. ●**Maulana Mohammad Jamal Mian**, member World Muslim League, Mecca. ●**Mr. Lee Kuan Yew**, Prime Minister of Singapore.

DIED

Mir Laik Ali, 68, Prime Minister (November 1947—September 1948) of the now-annexed State of Hyderabad in New York on 23 October. ●**Sir Hamilton Gibb**, the British orientalist. ●**Prof. G. S. F. Brandon**, Professor of Comparative Religion in the University of Manchester on 29 October. ●**Academician Mikhail Yangel** 60, the U.S.S.R. scientist and designer in the field of aerospace engineering on 25 October. ●**Mr. Ahmed Timol**, 30, an Indian School Master held incommunicado by the South African security police while in custody.



Sikhs in London demonstrating for the autonomy of Khalistan during Mrs. Gandhi's recent visit