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Further lessons from the catastrophe*

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I must make it clear that I stand here in my private capacity, and that I have no connection with any Arab government or any political or other party inside or outside the Arab world. As a rule I do not indulge in criticising individual Arab governments, heads of states or even politicians. When I do so I direct the criticism to them collectively, with no motive other than what I personally conceive to be the general Arab interest.

I know of no exact parallel in history to the misfortune of the Palestine Arabs. I know of no cause more worthy of fighting and dying for. For half a century now the Palestine Arab has been the object of coercion and oppression by brute force, first by Britain in support of her Zionist policy and then by Israel who is bent on completely depriving the Palestinian Arabs of national and even personal rights.

Speaking as an historian who is not ignorant of the history of the Jews, I often marvel at the Zionist callous indifference to the human suffering they inflicted and continue to inflict on the Arabs. These are the same Zionists who roused and continue to rouse the conscience of post-war Germany (and the West in general) for the Nazi treatment of the Jews.

The civilised world must respond to the Arab call which is not one for pity, but justice. The Zionists always insist on having full measure of justice according to their own understanding of the term, but they deny to their Arab victims the most elementary justice. There is amazingly little or no evidence of a feeling of guilt in Israel.

From the beginning, the Zionists wanted all of Palestine, less its Arab inhabitants. These were destined to go "to the great desert from whence they originally came".

This was Weizmann's answer to a question put to him in 1920 by a British member of the Executive Council sitting in Jerusalem under the chairmanship of that so-called mild Zionist, Sir Herbert Samuel, as the British High Commissioner. Weizmann was explaining to members the ultimate meaning of the Balfour declaration.

The seeds of injustice sown by Britain in 1917 bore in the next thirty years bitter fruit in the shadow of British bayonets which protected the growth of the Jewish national home and at the same time denied the Arab majority self-determination and national independence.

From the beginning, the Palestine Arab resistance to Zionism, and the British rule that sponsored its designs in Palestine, was a popular one sustained by the people in rural as well as in urban areas. It is true that religion played an important part in inspiring the initial struggle, but this is because Islam is one important facet of Arab nationalism, not simply as a religion but as a civilisation and culture. It is also true that from the beginning the Christian Arabs joined forces with the Muslim Arabs in the national struggle, in defence of a common homeland. But it is important to reserve a glorious chapter in the history of the struggle to the Palestine Arab peasantry who bore the brunt and supplied the manpower for the fight and suffered the greatest loss in lives and property.

I do not propose to recount the stages of the struggle down to the national revolt of 1936-39. Nor do I propose to go over the tragic events of the struggle with the Zionists in 1948-49. Suffice it to say that with poor weapons and untrained men the Palestine Arabs alone proved more than a match to the well trained and well armed men and women of the Zionist underground army. In the Jerusalem district

they even gained the upper hand for some time. They did so long before the intervention of the Arab states.

In 1948 the Palestine Arab fight was lost not to Zionist valour but terror. From April a strategy of frightening away the Arab civilian population was ruthlessly applied through wholesale massacre of women and children and demolishing dwelling houses by dynamite. When the armies of the Arab states intervened it was too late. The Zionists had already occupied several towns and villages whose inhabitants were driven out by terrorist methods. Far from being the aggressors the Arab states came to rescue what could be rescued of the territory of Palestine assigned to the Arabs by the U.N. partition resolution. They failed to do that, let alone prevent the proclamation of the state of Israel.

It is a great misfortune that the Palestine Arabs did not there and then resume the struggle themselves both inside and outside the area controlled by Israel. The enemy was not yet too strong for them; the world community not too indifferent. However, better late than never, even after twenty years of misery and disappointment. The consolidation of the Palestine Resis-

* The article entitled "Towards Understanding and overcoming the Catastrophe" and its supplement published in the Middle East Forum, Vol. XLV Nos. 3 and 4 (pp. 35-43 and 73-76) brought me a number of letters including a few from outside the Arab camp. It also occasioned an invitation to be the guest speaker at the 18th Annual Convention of the Organization of Arab Students in the United States and Canada which was held at the Ohio State University in Columbus and was devoted entirely to the question of Palestine. The above are the broad outlines of my address given in English because of the large numbers of non-Arab guests and auditors. Nothing was omitted except the preliminary compliments and a few extemporaneous remarks and asides.

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Further lessons . . .

tance Movement is therefore the most significant development since the catastrophe of June 1967.

Another significant development is the formulation of a positive policy of co-existence. The re-creation of Palestine as a bi-national secular state in which Muslims, Christians and Jews are equal citizens, irrespective of their racial or religious backgrounds, is a plausible and humane objective. It is important that the armed resistance should have a policy that sounds reasonable to the outside world.

Let me quote a recent Fatah pronouncement published in the press: "We have always believed that armed struggle is not an end in itself, but a means to a humanitarian end. We took up arms to arrive at a genuinely peaceful solution, not a spurious peace. This solution cannot be arrived at except within the framework of a democratic state in the whole of Palestine in which Jews, Christians and Muslims will be equal."

Had the Arab leaders submitted a plan on these lines to the Royal Commission in 1937 they might have killed the idea of partition which the commission said was inevitable in view of two irreconcilable national claims to the same country. Had the Arab leaders made a similar proposal in 1947 they might have averted the United Nations' resolution to partition Palestine.

But the Arab leaders represented in 1937 and 1947 the majority of the population of Palestine. If democratic processes were allowed to operate an Arab government would have been elected with guarantees for the Jewish minority. The Arab leaders knew, moreover, that the Zionists were demanding a Jewish state, not a bi-national one. The idea of a bi-national state was favoured only by a few Jewish intellectuals, led by Judas Magnes, Rector of the Hebrew University. But his group carried no weight with the Zionists. It is different now with the Palestine Resistance Movement. They represent the aspirations of the majority of the Palestine Arabs. Once more better late than never. The proposal is on record. Will the other side respond to it?

I personally do not believe that Israel really wants peace, *except of course on its own terms*. It is a well-known device built in the Zionist strategy from the beginning to make vague offers of peace to the Arabs, but to proceed to "create facts" which make peace impossible. Even one year after the Balfour declaration in 1918, when the Zionists were an insignificant minority among the Jews then living in Palestine and indeed in the whole world, Arab offers of equality by Amir Faisal, later king of Iraq, and Kamil al-Hussaini, Mufti of Jerusalem, were rejected by Weizmann, because they were made, especially that by Faisal, in the context of an Arab state embracing geographical Syria in which the Jews would be welcomed not only as cousins but as "our brothers".

The peace which Israel now professes to seek must be related to this deep-rooted Zionist aim: the creation of Palestine (not in it) of a Jewish national home, a phrase which was a camouflage for a Jewish state. In 1948, as in 1967 the pursuit of this aim was the same: shout you are in danger of annihilation—seize more territory in and around Palestine in "self-defence" and for "security purposes"—drive the indigenous population out—"create facts" and scoff at the UN resolutions!

Yet there is a widespread impression in the West created by Zionist propaganda, that peace is attainable once agreement is reached, directly or indirectly, with the Arab states concerned. But surely even if this was possible, it will be an illusory peace, simply because it does not take the Palestine Arabs, the main injured party, into account. No peace can be real unless it does justice to the Palestine Arabs.

Israel also insists on recognition by the Arab states, but she refuses to recognise even the existence of two and a half million Palestine Arabs. Recognition must be mutual if it is meant to lead to peace. As things are now, and failing a major defeat in war, Israel will not recognise the rights of the Palestine Arabs. She will do so only if compelled by another power or powers. Since compulsion seems at present un-

realistic there seems to be no alternative to the Palestine Resistance Movement. Revolutionaries seeking to redress an injustice have never been deterred by the arithmetic of power. I dare say the leaders of the Palestine Resistance are realists enough, but like others in history they know that sweat, tears and blood have often been the price of obtaining justice.

Here I wish to record a personal opinion. The Palestine Revolution is legitimate and imperative, but I feel that it must work in alliance with regular Arab armies. It cannot by itself capture and hold territory; it can harass but cannot conquer the enemy, at least in the foreseeable future.

It is now necessary to voice one or two critical opinions not covered by the article which found favour with you.

In my view the Arab failure in 1948 and in 1967 was not simply military, it was one of failure of character. Even now and after the disaster many Arabs still "speak to the gallery" with insufficient honesty. Many others exhibit astonishing lack of capacity and discipline for *sustained effort* whether behind a desk or on the battlefield. There is still little evidence of collective thought that must necessarily precede collective action.

Just before coming here to address you I read in a respectable Arabic monthly, a passage which is remarkable for its evasion of the truth. It is the sort of opium so harmful to the bewildered Arab mind. I quote this passage without comment:

"In 1948 the Arab armies hastened to rescue Palestine. But for the first time in history we hear of an Arab army marched to war with defective weapons. But God decreed that despite this the Arabs were victorious, not because of their strength but of the weakness of the other side. And the Arabs were tricked with the armistice during which the Zionists obtained arms from a state now among our friends, and thus they were victorious."

This leads me to the subject of education. I am well aware of the giant strides Arab education made since the end of foreign

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rule. But I am also distressed at the glaring inadequacies considering the key role of education in the confrontation with Israel. I need not stress the fact that the rate of illiteracy is still too high, and the rapid growth of the population makes it impossible to reduce this rate below 60% for the Arab countries combined. But the worst inadequacy is in technical education which reaches no more than 15% of the total school population. Its quality also leaves much to be desired. Why, for example, are the Arab states still short of pilots for fighters and bombers?

The fourteen educational systems in as many independent Arab states have much in common, but there is little active co-ordination, in say, the selection and sending of students for training abroad. In this connection please allow me to say something that may shock you. Most of you came here or were sent to face an alien environment and culture with insufficient knowledge of your own. The consequences are very serious. I need not elaborate. I only wish to say, for comparison, that when in the nineteenth century the first students were sent to Europe they knew their language, religion and civilisation much better than can be claimed for you.

Talking to a number of you these last few days revealed a disunited group, as disunited in fact if not more than your elders back home. You are an epitome of the League of Arab States. I do not mean that there are among you traditionalist Muslims, revolutionaries, Marxists and romantics. That is to be expected among the youth whose privilege is to be radical. But allow me to say that you lack a common purpose, a united front, just as the leaders in your home countries.

I will not say more on education except this. I know it is fashionable to blame the imperialists. There is no doubt that as regards Palestine, Britain is much to blame because it left a great disparity between the degree of Arab and Zionist development, so that the Arabs of Palestine entered the contest in 1948 at great disadvantages: political, economic and educational. But Arab independence from Britain and France in Iraq, Egypt, Jordan, Syria and Lebanon is now a generation old. Yet all

entered the contest with Israel in 1967 with the same disadvantages of the Palestine Arabs in 1948.

It is of course useless to apportion blame. What is now important is the future. The students of today are the leaders of tomorrow. You must prepare yourselves to be the leaders or to give the lead to the leaders and present a united front among yourselves before you ask it from your elders. But meanwhile—

Teach them, if you can, to stop boasting;
Teach them to plan in secret;
Teach them to inform their people truthfully of the strength and weakness;
Teach them to be "plausible" and "reasonable" in their propaganda to the West.

You can give a lead now. It is no good saying you cannot beat the Zionists at propaganda in the U.S.A. A missionary never despairs. Try, and try again. At least try to work through or with the Arab diplomatic missions whose inactivity is a great shame. For they must know, if they read the press attentively, that their nation and their own countries are defamed almost daily. Why is little or no protest heard from them? I should like to cite an example that is of interest not only to the Arabs but also to the Muslims in general. The Zionists have been since 1967 publishing a false claim of the ownership of the Wailing Wall in Jerusalem. This is in fact the Western Wall of al-Haram ash-Sharif area on which stand the Dome of the Rock and al-Aqsa Mosque, the third holy place in Islam. It was by Muslim tolerance that pious Jews were permitted to pray outside this wall which they believe to be a remnant of their old Temple. The very pavement on which the Jews stood for prayer is part of a Muslim religious foundation, an inalienable *waqf*, according to Islamic law since the days of Saladin. This is precisely the property expropriated by Israel in 1967 in defiance of Islamic law and two resolutions by the Security Coun-

cil. No Arab or Muslim ambassador in London took the trouble to write a letter to say, *The Times*, in order to correct the gross misrepresentation of the facts.

Nor did the Jordan ambassador in particular make any protest against this or another misrepresentation when the Israeli embassy in London claimed that since 1948 the Jews were denied by Jordan access to the wall for prayer. The Jordan ambassador had only to say that in 1949 his government offered this access through the Palestine Conciliation Commission set up by the U.N., but that Israel rejected it because it formed part of an arrangement which included the return of the Palestine refugees to their homes and property.

I mentioned a moment ago the need for "sustained effort". I should add that the effort must be sustained and united. The disaster in 1948 was to a great extent due to lack of coordination and unity among Arab army commands, as well as to lack of sustained effort with the maximum of strength. Now that the Palestine Liberation Movement has resumed the struggle it must be accepted by regular army commands, and indeed by the politicians, as an ally. All Arab states round Israel, including Lebanon—I repeat, including Lebanon—must afford the Palestine fighters facilities to perform their mission. (This was spoken before events rendered this imperative by an agreement between the government of Lebanon and the Palestinians).

Forecasts of the future are liable to error. But I personally see a very long and bitter struggle between the Arabs and Zionism. The other day an Israeli official spokesman reminded an English journalist of the Hundred Years' War between Britain and France and said that Israel was ready for a war that long with the Arabs. That is not the language of peace. The only reply to this mentality, which is characteristic of the Israeli militarists, is total and permanent Arab mobilisation of all the resources, silently but relentlessly. This must embrace

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not only the Arab states directly involved, but all the others. The strength of world Zionism which sustains Israel requires not less than such a mobilisation. The Crusades lasted some two hundred years and ended in the recovery of Palestine by the forces of Islam. The struggle for Palestine against Zionism may last that long or longer—until the injustice to the Palestine Arab is eradicated.

Note

Since the publication of the article in the MEF and the delivery of the above speech, events have demonstrated more disunity and inefficiency in the Arab camp:

- (1) The summit conference at Rabat served to explode the myth of the hundred million Arabs ranged against two and a half million Israelis. In the article I pointed out that such calculation was not realistic. Even the front-line states failed to agree on joint military or political action.
- (2) Apart from the exploits of the Palestine commandos and except for a few Egyptian commando operations, the Arab states continue to leave the initiative with Israel who continue to mount numerous air and land raids with impunity. It is true that several Israeli planes were shot down not only by Arab ground fire but also in air combat. But one wonders why Israeli land forces that raid Arab territory manage to return with Arab prisoners leaving none of themselves behind.
- (3) Why is there still such a dearth of Arab pilots, three years after the war? In the article I deplored the poor standards, in quantity and quality, of Arab technical education. I have since seen no evidence of an improvement, except constant verbal insistence that technological advance is essential to Arab success. How is this going to happen without a radical change in the schools and universities?
- (4) The American plan for peace negotiations created further disunity in the Arab camp. In my opinion its chief defect is that it does not apparently provide for negotiations with the Palestine Liberation Movement. How can a court hearing be valid without the presence of the main plaintiff?
- (5) Contrary to expectations Jordan treated the Palestine Arab commandos as if they were enemies and pained the Arab world, as it incidentally gratified Israel, by bloody clashes with the commandos.

Survey

The Civilian unfitness in Turkey

The killing of the Israeli consul in Istanbul and the continuing ferment in the country seem to have brought Turkey firmly in line with some of the turbulent underdeveloped countries of Latin America. Remarkably similar are the conditions in both types of situations where the Army is the centre of political power: where a great number of political forces and Intelligence Agents from outside wield considerable influence; where there is an ever yawning gap between people and elite and where the opponents of this elite often resort to non-peaceful methods to make their claims known and heard.

The official account of recent developments in Turkey stress the growing amount of lawlessness and violence which was becoming characteristic of Turkish trade unions and students in universities. Responsibility for this and the failure to carry out social and electoral reforms was laid by commanders of the Army at the door of Prime Minister Suleyman Demirel who was accused of letting democracy go at too fast a pace. Then came the 'coup by memorandum' when the Army stepped in and gave an ultimatum to Demirel which threatened that if a strong and respected government were not promptly formed "the Turkish armed forces will seize power directly to accomplish their duty of protecting and supervising the Turkish Republic." Demirel resigned within four hours of receiving the ultimatum. Subsequently a coalition government was formed headed by Professor Nihat Erim formerly of the Opposition Democratic People's Party. Professor Erim had once warned against the danger of implementing full democracy in Turkey too quickly. At the end of April and the beginning of May martial law was imposed on Turkey by the new government because of continuing lawlessness.

There is a pattern to this 'lawlessness' and 'anarchy'—a pattern which seems to reflect deep and strongly-held political views on the part of various groups in Turkey. Much of the ire of these groups have been directed against the great amount of outside influence in Turkey particularly that of the Americans. The Americans do have a great number of troops and personnel in Turkey, radar installations and military bases. In fact the Demirel government had just before its

ousting refused to give approval to some real estate and financial aspects of a U.S. proposal to set up more installations in a suburban base-complex near Ankara. Turkey of course holds a key strategic position in the NATO defence network. And it is perhaps significant that the 18th meeting of the American sponsored Central Treaty Organisation was being held in Ankara just when martial law was proclaimed. This dissatisfaction with Turkish-American links has resulted in the kidnapping of American servicemen. Also under attack are those controlling or having a substantial say in the economy of Turkey evidenced again by the kidnapping of a business magnate and his family. The Israeli relationship with Turkey has also attracted considerable attention.

The groups named as being involved in this anarchy are usually described as left-wing revolutionaries or right-wing reactionaries. The left wing groups are difficult to identify. Some of them are doctrinaire Marxists, Maoist extremists or Che Guevaran idealists. The best known group is the Dev' Genc which is a far leftist revolutionary youth movement.

There is a considerable amount of scepticism concerning the authenticity of many of the intellectuals in this group and their real motives. It has often been hinted that they act as *agents provocateurs* to ferret out those who belong to right-wing groups whose increasing activity is under the close surveillanace of those who hold themselves responsible for preserving the secularist legacy of Kemalist Turkey.

This leads to the question of the extent of the violence in Turkey, how genuine it is and how much it is played up. It is being suggested that the dimension of the trouble has been blown up out of reality. Only 200 out of 100,000 university students in Turkey have been arrested. This shows that the problem of student lawlessness is within manageable proportions. On the other hand, as soon as martial law was introduced, those who were arrested were not the Leftists who were considered such a threat but 83 officers and men of the Istanbul garrison.

This shows that the key to the whole situation in Turkey is the army. Also, that the gap between what actually is, and what is made out to be, the real situation is very great indeed. This had led many people to adopt the "conspiratorial theory"

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when considering Turkish affairs: that is, to believe that things and people are not what they seem to be or make out to be.

The Army have always been the arbiters of political change in Turkey. It may not be necessary to go as far back to the time of the Janissaries who in the later stages made and unmade rulers at will and caused disorder and chaos. The army lay at the heart of the dramatic changes which were brought about by what is known as the Young Turk Revolution of 1908 and which produced Kemal Ataturk. The army brought about the downfall of the Menderes regime and hanged Menderes himself and two ministers in 1961.

Now the army has again come to the fore. It is being suggested that it moved in to prevent a split and insurrection within its own ranks. Officers in the army, it is alleged, were preparing to take over full control of the country because of the 'unfitness' of civilians to govern. The Army Command averted this eventuality by themselves moving first in giving the ultimatum to Demirel and making way for a civilian coalition government, over which the Army would nonetheless retain control.

A deeper reason given, however, is that the Army has come as protectors of Ataturk's principles. Suleyman Demirel, even though he had instituted measures to deal with lawlessness, by excessive democratisation had allowed the emergence of several parties and splinter parties some of which were working against the principle of secularism which is a cardinal article in the Ataturk *mystique*. The plethora of new parties and the staying power of Demirel's Justice Party were factors which might have been destined to keep the Republican People's Party of Inonu, successor of Kemal Ataturk, forever in the shade. Why should Inonu, for example, condemn "this gross interference with democracy" one day and support it fully the next?

All change in Cairo

When Sadat took over after Nasser last October, there was scepticism in some Cairo circles that the 'arrangement' of the three "Esses"—Shafei, Sabry and Sadat—would not last very long. There were some basic flaws in the 'arrangement', flaws which are always inherent in a system of succession in any non-democratic set-up.

The *troika* did not really make a team. The Army too, had to recover its role in the national polity, a role it lost after carrying Nasser to power on its shoulders and going through discomfitures first in Yemen and later in June 1967. The team looked colourless and non-operational. This was all the more reason why it was acceptable to Moscow and other interested powers. And now Sadat who earlier

played a big role in planning moves to overthrow King Farouk has outmanoeuvred the old establishment and dismantled the centres of power. He now emerges in his own image.

The crisis, apparently, was precipitated because Sabry, Sharawi, Muhsin Abd an-Nur, Diya ad-din Dawud and Labib Shuqayr refused to approve the charter on the establishment of the tripartite federation. They constituted five out of eight in the ASU Supreme Executive Committee. The basic problem, however, was that of inherent contradictions in the system.

In his broadcast on 14 May, President Sadat said that he spoke not from a prepared speech, he spoke with 'an open heart'. He said "I consider myself responsible first and foremost to God and the people, to nobody else—to God first and later to the people". Brave words indeed, but it all really depends on the fulfilment of the promises he made: to hold '100% free elections' from the base to the top; ensure human right and justice to all citizens; establish supremacy of law; and making the 'good and noble people' of Egypt the real and sole centre of power.

President Sadat has been said to be a man of chequered ideology: from liberal to pro-Nazi to near-Communist to Muslim nationalist to Nasserist. Only the future will tell whether or not Sadat is capable of rehabilitating the domestic front. It is easier to dish out promises and create a temporary euphoria but the task he faces is by no means an easy one. One could discern a kind of irony in Sadat's speech; whenever he referred to the late President Gamal, he said, "May God have mercy on his soul". Because what he has set out to do is virtually demolishing the whole apparatus and philosophy of the late Gamal, like Khrushchev after Stalin. Will he be able to do it?

There are hundreds of political prisoners to be released (nobody knows exactly how many), civil liberties to be restored and an appropriate structure of political democracy to be evolved. And above all the tricky question of relationship with the two super powers? Whether there is going to be a shift from the existing imbalance which favours Russia to a new imbalance favouring America?

India: reaping the whirlwind

India's attitude to Pakistan seems to find its origination more in her emotional make-up than her national interests.

Had the Indian leadership accepted the establishment of Pakistan with grace and equanimity, it would have been to its own advantage. Instead of showing realism and sagacity, it chose to live for the day when Pakistani prodigal would come back to her, involuntarily if not otherwise. She sent her army to take over the princely states of Hyderabad, Junagadh and Manavador; the majority of their population being Hindu it was 'logical and democratic' that these states were annexed to India. In Kashmir, where Muslims constituted over 75% of the population, India had to fly in her army because the



(After Nawa-i-Waqt, Lahore)

Raja—a Hindu—decided to join the Indian Union and seek her support in crushing popular uprising. Kashmir has not succeeded in achieving self-determination but India too, has not been able to free herself of the tensions of occupation and strain on her economy. One way of solving the Kashmir problem was to help loosen the bonds which joined the two wings of Pakistan and then, may be, one day erase that bit of incongruity from Mother India's face.

This is what 'Bangla Dosh' has meant to India. Since the break-up of Pakistan was so imminent, India made no attempt even to hide or disguise her political, diplomatic and military involvement in the whole sordid episode.

But the East Pakistan crisis did not take a course, the Indian Government wanted it to take, and as a result she has now on her hands a refugee problem—immense and human—she does not know how to cope with.

The refugee problem has essentially been of India's own making and it is a sad thought that instead of moving towards the alleviation of the basic problem, she is still playing with the misery of the 'Bangla Dosh'. Mrs. Indira Gandhi said recently: "Recognition is of many kinds, and it (recognition of Bangla Dosh) is of course under consideration." The more crucial recognition, however, is recognition of the realities and one suspects Mrs. Gandhi is yet too far from that.

Instead, the Indian army has been moved to within 500 yards of E. Pakistan's borders with a view to possible military solution of the problem. It may ingratiate both the Indian hawks and the permanent 'Biafra Club' but who knows it may not unleash far greater miseries and sufferings in that region.

There are already 2-3 million refugees and India is said to need £100 million to feed and shelter them for six months. One may work to invite more refugees and there is, of course, the international charity, to manage refugees on a permanent basis but, the only sensible and practical solution to the problem would be to cease provocations and allow the situation in East Pakistan to return to normal as early as possible. The vast majority of the refugees should like to return to East Pakistan and not be pawns in any game of international chess.

Survey

The dole-queue in Britain

The unemployment figures released recently show that long-term unemployment in Britain is still on a rising trend, and today, there may be well around three-quarter of a million registered unemployed in the country.

The brutal logic of Social Democracy is no where more evident than in the dole-queue. This is an ugly reminder that "survival of the fittest" is the main rule of this game. Despite what the Fabians and the Liberals may say, Social Democracy permits the principal actors on the economic scene to organise and confront each other from a position of comparable strength. This is not allowed by the Capitalist or the Socialist state where it is the Management which quite clearly calls the tune. Yet Social Democracy too facilitates the convergence of a tiny elite. This is so because, compelled by the logic of the Social-Democrat economy, Labour behaves in a manner which is indistinguishable from that in the Capitalist economy. The Trade Unions are strictly closed-shop concerns, rivals of each other, determined to gain the maximum advantage for their members. They are not and cannot ever be instruments for 'Social Revolution'. Inherent in their nature is an exclusive concern for their members—for "those within". Strange though it may seem, they are concerned with raising wages and not with ensuring social justice.

The T.U.C. blames the Government and the Government blames the T.U.C. The fact is that this is as much a "profit inflation" as it is a "cost inflation". The unemployed are there not merely because wages are high, but also because a quest for profit in a recession necessitates redundancies. Neither wages reduction nor reflation—nor both together—can "solve" this problem. Indeed it is inevitable that the state will have to increase its control over the economy if the forces regulating supply of and demand for workers as well as commodities are to be brought together. This is the tragedy. Britain in the 1970s is a witness to the fact that when a society becomes exclusively oriented to production, political or economic freedom soon becomes a sham. If production is to be increased, the State must become an economic monolith, to be able to stifle and to suppress. The unemployed, in the meanwhile, will prepare the way for a dictatorship either of the proletariat or of a national demi-god. But whatever the facade the triumph will be for the Bureaucracy alone.

To remarry or not to remarry..

K. AHMAD

"Marriage is not a word, it is a life-sentence." This is how Bernard Shaw once summed up the concept as well as the predicament of marriage in contemporary Christianity. The idea that 'marriage is indissoluble', that 'the mystical bond of matrimony is impossible ever to break' and that 'what God had joined together man may not put asunder' was over the centuries diligently woven into the fabric of theology.

For the last hundred years, the Church's attitude towards marriage and divorce is, however, being re-examined. The mounting tide of marriage 'casualties' and increasing indifference to the Church's benediction in remarriage have struck chords of compassion and charity at least in some souls. That the debate is now becoming more realistic and down-to-earth, is borne out by report of the Commission on the Christian Doctrine of Marriage appointed by the Archbishop of Canterbury in 1968. The report, *Marriage and the Church*, was approved in the third week of April 1971 and makes a plea for extending the blessings of the Church to the re-marriage of the divorced.

The Christian doctrine on marriage has had a rather chequered history. The ideal, 'the holy state of matrimony' (*Genesis 2: 18 ff*)—was amplified to regard divorce as sinful in itself and inconsistent with the original divine institution of marriage. But later, St. Paul emphasised the spiritual and mystical aspects of marriage and compared the matrimonial bond to the union between Christ and the Church. This led to the prominence of the mystical over the real, to the consequent extolling of the virtues of celibacy, to the conflict between the spiritual and the carnal and the superiority of the one over the other.

There is little evidence to suggest that the Church developed a consistent law of marriage during its early phases of evolution. The benediction of the Church for marriage was institutionalised around the 5th century A.D. Despite this, civil marriages and marriages with benediction of the Church continued to flourish simultaneously. And although the ones without the blessings of the Church were disapproved morally, they were not regarded as objectionable in law or invalid in religion. The doctrine, however, became more rigid with the Council of Trent (A.D. 1563) which decreed that henceforth no marriage should be considered valid unless celebrated by a priest in the presence of at least two witnesses. The Church persists in this tradition, but not the civil law. As far as the State in the contemporary society is concerned, marriage registered in law is valid, whether the Church

blesses it or not. The Civil law has its own provisions in respect of marriage, divorce and remarriage. The Church is conscious of the fact that the Civil law and the position of the Church are in conflict with each other. Hence the effort to re-examine the situation with a view to resolve these conflicts.

The test of the doctrine lies in its attitude towards divorce. If marriage is 'a holy estate', if the vow is for life, come what may, and if the "twain become one flesh", then logically speaking divorce is simply out of question and so is remarriage. This has been the classic view regarding the absolute sinfulness of divorce. Mark (10: 2-12) and Luke (16: 18) prohibit divorce and remarriage in absolute and unqualified terms. Mathew (5: 31 ff), however, makes the qualification: 'saving for the cause of fornication'. This provides an opening for divorce and remarriage of the innocent partner according to some schools of thought.* According to them, divorce, or judicial separation could be had in case of adultery, which is regarded as sufficient cause to break the bond of marriage. But the innocent and the guilty partners should not be treated at par. The innocent partner could remarry but not the guilty one who continues to "live in sin" and can give no evidence of repentance except by abstaining altogether from marriage. Such guilty partners must necessarily be refused the Church's benediction in case of remarriage. A change in the Church of England's position on divorce and remarriage, however, now seems to be in the offing. The practice at certain liberal parishes is already affected and now the theoretical position is also under modification.

In an earlier report, *Putting Asunder* (1966), it was suggested that 'irretrievable breakdown of marriage' should be substituted for the 'matrimonial offence' as the ground for divorce. This was in a dialogue with the state in connection with the civil law on divorce. The influence of this thinking on religion and on the moral position of the Church itself is also discernible in the new report on *Marriage and the Church*. Through a long-winded argument, the report tries to suggest that the reality of irretrievable breakdown of marriage in certain cases should be acknowledged and consequent opportunities of remarriage in the church provided. This constitutes an important departure which may even have serious repercus-

* Those who treat the scriptures as one organic whole regard the prohibition as absolute. But those who treat each book independently derive a more lenient view from the exception stated in Mathew.

is that the question?

sions on the entire Christian concept of marriage and family law.

The Commission asks the Church to take a realistic look at the situation. They acknowledge the fact that petitions for divorces are steadily rising in British society. As against 28,542 petitions for divorce in 1960 the number for 1968 was 55,007. The rise according to the Commission, is absolute and does pose a real problem. Other evidence not only supports this view but reveals its more distressing dimensions. The following table from William J. Good's *World Revolution and Family Patterns* shows the high incidence of divorce in leading western countries and the dramatic increase that has taken place during the last seventy years.

DIVORCE RATE PER 1,000 MARRIAGES IN
SELECTED WESTERN COUNTRIES

Country	1900	1930	1960
England and Wales	—	11.1	69.5
France	26.1	68.6	82.4
Germany	17.6	71.4	88.7
Belgium	11.9	34.8	70.4
Norway	12.6	46.4	88.5
Sweden	12.9	50.6	174.6
United States	75.3	173.9	259.0

Such is the magnitude of the 'divorce explosion'. The more 'progressive' the society, the more explosive is the situation. The record of Sweden and the United States confirms the view. While the figure for the U.S.A. in 1960 shows that there was one divorce for every four marriages, the latest statistics for 1971 shows that it has risen to one divorce for every three marriages.

Remarriage after divorce has become a common practice. Men are remarrying within 2-5 years of divorce, and women within 4-6 years. "In regard to contemporary attitudes towards the remarriage of divorced people . . . it appears that the trend is towards greater receptivity, and the attitude at present seems to be more favourable than unfavourable" (*Marriage: An Examination of the Man-Woman Relationship* by G. Herman R.

Lantz & Eloise C. Snyder, *John Wiley*, New York, 1969, p. 418).

The Church is, therefore, trying to adapt itself to this social phenomenon and there is now an important shift in its position. From 'absolute sin' and 'wrong in itself', divorce has begun to be looked upon as socially or even morally acceptable in certain circumstances. It was absolutely forbidden in the first instance, then in case of fornication it became legally enforceable though morally the 'negative vow' still held valid. Another small but significant change is the view that divorce shall no longer hinge on 'matrimonial offence', it has a safer ground in 'irretrievable-breakdown'. If a couple think that their marriage has 'irretrievably broken' they can have divorce and even seek remarriage. This is the suggestion of the Commission and is backed by promptings from psychology and appeals to conscience and grace. In fact, psychology is having the upper hand over theology. The new thinking, it is claimed, is the result of an effort to capture "the moral consensus" that exists in the Church and the community. The Commission affirms that "an increasing number of responsible Church people, clerical and lay, find themselves in conscience unable to deny that remarriage can be the will of God".

The Commission, however, denies that the Church is being asked to bow to secular pressures, or to drag along willy nilly, at the heels of the State. If remarriage is allowed by the Church, it argues, "it would be an acknowledgement of human weakness and a declaration of faith in God's forgiveness and recreative powers". It would strengthen the institution of marriage in the society and integrate them with the Church. The report adds: "We believe that the grace which God may bestow in a first marriage, He may bestow in a second marriage. Certainly, such a second marriage could not be a witness to the permanent nature of marriage in the same way as an unbroken first marriage can be, but it could bear eloquent witness to the true nature of marriage in other ways."

The crux of the matter is that the Church finds it difficult to reconcile what is realistic and humane with its own classic doctrine. It wants to rip new openings but feels reluctant to face the breakthrough. Even the new proposals are clouded by shadows of the old doctrine. A plea for acceptable divorce and remarriage is coupled with the reaffirmation that the doctrine remains untouched and that marriage is a "life-long and exclusive commitment of two partners to one another." However, in the interest of logic and consistency, it

must be realised that the classical doctrine—itsself an innovation of the Church and not a declaration of Jesus (peace be upon him)—represented an abstraction from a much more balanced and realistic law given by God through his Messengers. It was a one-sided formation which refused to see the real human situation. A law that asks for the impossible, carries within it the seed of its own breakdown.

Although the Commission allows remarriage, it suggests 'institutionalised inquiry' for purposes of 'due safeguards'. First, it envisages a discreet and adequate inquiry by competent authorities to ensure that possible obligations left over from the previous marriage have been met. Secondly, it provides for an investigation into the circumstances of the divorce. And thirdly, the inquiry is to ascertain that the persons seeking to remarry are the kind of people who are capable of a stable and permanent relationship in marriage and are resolved to do so. According to this proposal, remarriage in a church would be conditional on the parties' appearance before the parish priest for private prayers of penitence. This institutionalised inquiry, even if it does not degenerate into matrimonial inquisition, smacks of being part of the legacy of doctrinal unrealism and the persistence of myths even when their mythical character has been laid bare.

If the new proposals on divorce and remarriage are accepted by the Synod, they may inaugurate a new and noble process. The idea of irrevocability of the matrimonial bond and of marriage being exclusively and unequivocally related to the life-long union of a man and woman with all other options ruled out for ever and in all circumstances, will have to give way to a more firm but realistic concept of marriage and family in order that the social and moral realities may find a more harmonious expression.

In a world where religions and cultures are coming closer to each other and are more and more influencing, and being influenced by the practices of each other, it would be profitable to make a comparative study of the doctrines and practices of all religions and cultures and to look upon these as the common heritage of mankind. In a significant paragraph, the Commission observes that the immigrant families coming to Britain were bringing with them, "ideas, customs and styles of marriage based on alien cultures and non-Christian religions". It realises that there is a need for more knowledge about these and proposes an Institute for research and study of the family. The need and the suggestion deserve to be appreciated, but it may not serve the purpose if these 'ideas, customs and styles' are treated as 'alien'.

FIFTH OF JUNE

The dawn of disaster

T. Z. ABEDIN

Baruch Nadel is not the first Israeli agent to publish an account* of his activities in the Arab world; but certainly his is, in various respects, unique. The man is a dedicated Zionist, who would stop short of nothing to serve his cause. He was a member of the terrorist Zionist organization 'Stern', which was responsible, along with 'Irgun' group, for the Deir Yasin massacre in which more than 200 Arabs—half of them women and children—were killed in cold blood. Nadel was one of the three from 'Stern' who assassinated Count Folke Bernadotte, the United Nation's Mediator in Palestine in 1948.

Nadel's activities cover the longest period of operation among the 'known' Israeli espionage activities in Egypt, and perhaps the most important. Except for brief absences on business, Nadel stayed in Cairo from March 1955 right up to the morning of the 5th June, 1967. During this period he became the 'special friend' of the highest military hierarchy in Egypt, namely the Air Force. Acting as a Turkish arms-dealer (Anwar Bek), working from Paris, he sold arms to the Egyptian Air Force. Further, he cultivated the officers by arranging nights in Paris which they liked most.

To get for their agent an invitation from the Egyptian Army to stay in U.A.R., the Israeli Intelligence worked out an ingenious plan. They ordered Nadel to sell arms to the Algerian Liberation Movement. The deal would be disclosed by the Israeli Intelligence to their French counterpart, thus killing three birds with one stone. The Israeli Intelligence would have done a favour to the French; they might even get these arms as a present in lieu of their co-operation. The Algerian Liberation Movement would pay a lot of money for the arms which they would never get. More important, their agent, after being expelled from France for helping the 'rebels', would be welcomed by the Egyptians for serving the 'Arab Cause'.

The plan worked smoothly. Within the 24 hours given to Nadel to leave France, he received an invitation from Colonel Muhammed Madkur to be the 'special guest' of General Sidqi Mahmud, the Commander of the Egyptian Air Force. Anwar Bek, the Turkish millionaire arms-dealer settled, comfortably, in the aristocratic quarters of Algezeira in Cairo. He enjoyed to the full, along with his friends in the Air Force, all the pleasures which Cairo and its charming hostesses had to offer.

Zakeria Mohiudin, Egyptian Prime Minister at the time, and Head of the security forces, has the credit of suspecting Nadel's intentions for a while but he too was soon convinced that Nadel was a

'sincere' and 'reliable' friend of the Revolution. This sincerity and trust came to be established beyond any shadow of doubt when Nadel gave a 'valuable' advice to the Air Force leaders at a moment when they needed it desperately.

On the 2nd of November, 1956, the invading French and English planes were destroying mercilessly the Egyptian planes which were parked like sitting ducks in the 'secret' military bases. The military command was shattered and Anwar Bek was urgently called to the Operations Room.

"Sidqi Mahmud turned, immediately, towards me when I came in. He was trembling, his face showed complete collapse. He said: 'Anwar Bek, you are the only person here, whose judgement I trust. You see what they are doing to us. In a matter of two hours, all that we have built would be smashed.' I started to think quickly, in apparent coolness. There is only one way of saving the remaining planes. I started to speak. 'There is only one way . . . order them to leave, immediately, Cairo and the Canal zone bases to Luxor in the South. The French and English aircraft cannot make the distance from Cyprus to Luxor without being refuelled on the way.

Muhammed Madkur reached quickly to the telephone to execute the plan without further consultation. I was surprised . . . The Commander of the Air Force, after a while, advanced towards me, held my head between his hands, looked into my eyes and said in a strange voice: 'God has sent you, Anwar Effendi, for us . . . God has sent you.'

After one and a half hours I was back in my villa only three kilometres from the Air Force Command, and sat at my wireless machine to report this to Tel Aviv. I expected that in two hours' time the French planes would be flying over Luxor and finish off the rest of these ducks.

Thanks to lack of fuller co-ordination between the Israelis, English and the French, that did not happen, and Nadel gained greater confidence of the top military leadership. The French planes appeared, four days later, at Luxor to find Luxor empty. The Egyptian planes had left, deep into the south, to Saudi Arabia, and Sudan. Nadel's help in buying new arms replenishments consolidated his position in Cairo. He was able to mastermind an operation which contributed so significantly to an astonishing victory, unknown in recent history.

Ten years later, only 11 days before the 5th June, 1967, Anwar Bek was called by Zakeria Muhiuddin into his office.

Zakeria asked him: "What do you think of our Air Force?" I put on a serious face and answered 'Well, it changed a lot in the

last few years . . . even in quality'. He asked: 'Has it changed much? Could it give a destructive blow to the Israeli Air Force?' The question was put without the least anger. He was as cool as a knife thrust into an ice block. 'I do not know well the Israeli Air Force', I said, 'but it seems to me possible.' Zakeria said: 'But not when its leadership is as corrupt as the present one?'

That was a question and at the same time an answer. I did not want to argue. I did not want him to get an idea that I was a flatterer. I said: 'the leadership is not corrupt. Sidqi Mahmud has his own ideas about the Air Force, but they may not be the right ones.' Zakeria interrupted: 'Sidqi Mohmud will find himself, one day, in the military prison on a charge of high treason'.

(This prediction came true. Sidqi Mahmud and some of the top leaders in the Air Force are now serving their years of prison on charges of negligence in the discharge of their duties. And Muhiudin, himself, is under house arrest).

Having nothing to say I kept silent. He started speaking again: 'In the court at the back of this building you will find a small helicopter. The pilot and the guard in the plane are two of my reliable men. Carry this pass which will enable you to enter any base, any building in the Air Force. Take the plane now and report to me in 48 hours any negligence or shortcoming you are able to find out. If you hide anything from me, I will expel you from Egypt in two hours time.' He stood up, shook hands, and wished me good luck.

Israel got a full report on the precise disposition of the Egyptian aircraft; Zakeria too received a report, but of no consequence. The climax came when Nadel was able to persuade his friends in the Air Force to hold a big party for all the pilots and celebrate their impending victory over the Israelis. The party, as Tel Aviv wanted to, was held on the 4th of June, 1967, and continued in riotous pleasure until 5 o'clock on that fateful morning of the 5th June.

The rest of the story is known. The complete destruction of the Egyptian Air Force within three and a half hours of the outbreak of that farcical war, was due entirely to the precise knowledge, the Israelis had about the Egyptian Air Force. They not only knew where the planes were exactly, but they also knew the real ones from the dummies, where they were and how many.

* *Tahattamat al taa'iraat 'ind al fajr* by Baruch Nadel (translated into Arabic by Ahmad Farhat), *Dar al Tawfiyah al Sharqiyyah*, Beirut, 1970.

THE CONTINUING MONETARY CRISIS

What really is involved?

JAVED ANSARI

Once again we are on the verge of an "international monetary crisis". Once again we will be "saved". The almighty dollar, though almighty no more, will continue to be the international unit of value. Its sovereignty has been under attack since the late 1950s, yet it has withstood pressures and has remained the king currency since the Second World War.

What is the essence of these "international monetary crises"? The managers of the international money markets would have us believe that they are related to the "real purchasing power" of the hard currencies of the world. The exchange value of the dollar declines when the supply of dollars is greater than its demand. This is merely begging the question for it simply leads one to ask what determines the demand for and the supply of these so-called hard currencies? In fact it is not possible to understand the nature of the international monetary system as a whole, until these questions are answered.

Schumpeter once wrote "the money market is the headquarters of the capitalist system". A recognition of this fact will remove a great deal of confusion. The market for money provides the economic managers an opportunity for manipulation of the economic system as a whole. Money is the common numeraire in the modern world. It reflects the relative valuation of all goods and services produced by the economy. Those who determine the price of money correspondingly determine the price and value of all economic products. They are thus in a position to allocate economic resources within the society. In other words the economic managers will, by the manipulation of the money market, automatically determine the pattern of distribution of income and economic control between different social groups. In an economic system where the main task of the economy has been maximization of decision-making power within the hands of a select few, the importance of the money market can hardly be over-emphasised.

One of the most important achievements of the Managerial Revolution—in both its Capitalist and Socialist variants—has been its almost unqualified success in freeing the money market from gold. The Gold Standard operated imperfectly but it did define certain limits beyond which the power of the managers to alter money value could not extend. The Gold Standard as it operated in the Europe of the Middle Ages was of course itself an instrument of exploitation. The commercial and financial institutions that regulated the demand and supply of gold in the economy operated on a principle which allowed the perpetuation of distortions in the price of gold. By inducing the European governments of those days to accept the institution of interest as the main determinant of the price of "money tomorrow", the goldsmiths and the money lenders of Europe introduced an element of arbitrariness in the valuation process which paid them very rich dividends. The bankers and financiers of today have quite logically gone a

step further. Not only are they in a position to determine the price of deferred payments on the basis of "risk" and "expectations" emanating from situations which they create to suite themselves; they have now freed the money market of a neutral value standard for regulating its price.

As long as such a value standard existed it was difficult, though not impossible, to manage production and distribution by manipulations of the financial system especially in periods of depression. In the 1930s the financial network in the capitalist world broke down and a reappraisal of the method of capitalist management of the economy had to be undertaken. After the Second World War the capitalist economic doctrine gave up its vision of the automatic adjustment of economic processes and the triumph of Keynes was in effect the triumph of the view that the capitalist world has an important lesson to learn from the experiences of the Russian revolution.

According to the Keynesian view, once a capitalist economy has "matured" it can be successfully managed only if the State is itself actively used as an instrument for furthering the aims of the managerial group. The Keynesians, therefore, recommended the extensive use of fiscal policy on the domestic level. On the international level, however, such a policy could be of little operational use as long as the managerial group was not successful in setting up a world government which could be used to eliminate inconsistencies within the system. At Bretton Woods in 1945, therefore, Keynes came up with the next best alternative. He advocated the abandonment of the Gold Standard and gave the blueprints of a monetary system which would determine the price of the different currencies not by reference to a neutral standard but by the act of mutual bargaining between the main demanders and suppliers of these currencies. This plan was accepted with important modifications.

At the end of the Second World War, U.S.A. had quite clearly emerged as the top dog in the capitalist world. The Americans had no intention of letting anyone forget this fact. So they modified the Keynesian plan to turn the gold standard into a dollar standard. The essential feature of the new international currency system was that all currencies were now convertible into dollars alone, and the supply of dollars was controlled by the United States government. The price of dollars was fixed by the International Monetary Fund, so that a fall in the demand for dollar could not lead to a corresponding fall in its price.

The power that it gave to U.S.A. in the world economy was tremendous. It will be clear on a moment's reflection that the dollar is useful for purchasing (ultimately) the goods and services produced in the United States alone. Now if all world currencies are linked to the dollar (or linked to gold which is convertible into dollars at a fixed rate) an increase in the production capacity of any individual country will be useful from the point of view of its balance of payments position but to



Count Specula

(Courtesy: Gibbard, The Guardian London)

the extent that there is an increase in the production of goods and services by the U.S.A., which the producing country can, or may wish to, purchase from the U.S.A. Assuming that the volume of goods and services produced by the U.S. economy is fixed, the price of the dollar will determine the rate at which the commodities and services produced in other countries will exchange for American produce. If the dollar is overvalued (as it currently is) the Americans would be able to obtain more foreign goods and services per dollar than is "justified" by the existing pattern of demand and supply in the international currency market. There will thus be a strong tendency on the part of international investors to favour the American market. They will continue to do so as long as the productivity differential between American and the country that is challenging it, is not greater than the effect on the international investors' return of the protection that the (over-valued) dollar affords.

All prices in capitalist markets are negotiated prices determined on the basis of a process of bargaining between the demanders and the suppliers of the commodity or factor concerned. Typically we have a situation where a handful of important oligopolists have to strike a deal first amongst themselves and then with the small group of oligopolists who represent the major buyers in the markets.

The money market corresponds to this picture substantially. The price of all currencies is determined among the group of people who have made large scale investments, or have committed large sums of finance to specific projects in specific countries. These capitalists are truly international,

minus of course the idealism; they owe allegiance to no one country, regime, ideology or political system.

It is thus childish and absurd to discern a struggle between the "American" capitalists and the "European" capitalists in the international monetary tangle. Socialist theorists specially of the 'Monthly Review' school have often given such a naive interpretation. It is positively misleading to say that the fight to establish floating exchange rates is "Europe's revolt against America". This is no more than wishful thinking on the part of the Trotskyist fraternity which forever is expecting the promised crises. The truth is that the capitalists have long since realized that the idealised form of the "free enterprise" system cannot work; they have quietly incorporated within their system the essential elements of the Socialist methods of adjusting demand to supply. Like the Socialist countries they have therefore insured themselves against major cyclical upheavals. The crises as prophesied by Marx and Trotsky will never come.

The process of adjusting supply to demand is however a slower process in the Capitalist world than in the Socialist countries. In the international money markets the big financiers have been moving slowly but surely towards a solution. A few years ago, the United States grudgingly took the first steps towards devaluing the dollar by agreeing to a two-tier price system for gold. Currently the International Monetary Fund is putting final touches to its scheme of introducing major reforms to the monetary system. There is little doubt that despite the infightings, the frictions and the wordy duels between the different financiers and their captive governments, we will soon see the emergence of a monetary order in which the importance of European currencies is more adequately recognized.

International economic developments since the Second World War necessitate such a change. The rapid growth of the European Community coupled with the economic problems that the U.S.A. has had to face have made it more lucrative to invest in the European countries. But the political requirements for a shift of the international financial centre from America to Europe do not exist at present. The international financiers invariably put their trust in the country which has been the dominant world power. There is also a marked reluctance to transfer until it was demonstrably replaced by another centre of international political system. Despite the economic supremacy of the United States in the inter-war years, prior to the Second World War, London and not New York was the international financial centre. It was only when America turned interventionist and became the leading world power that the financial community was prepared to move its headquarters to Wall Street. Europe's position today is like that of America in the period 1919-1939, and it seems not likely, therefore, that the dollar will be dethroned early.

Nota Bene

'SCRIBE'

Men have always talked about women. Whether bonded, emancipated or pre-liberated, she has been a subject of the male interest. So it is in keeping with that traditional vested interest that *The Times* (10 May) has started talking about men who talk about women and first to talk was Prof. John Kenneth Galbraith, an economist who never economises in words or fanciful ideas.

Galbraith's entry into the Women's Lib arena should cause no surprise. If sexes are to be really equal, there is bound to be some trade-off between them. Women's Lib cannot be confined to women. It can't float in exclusiveness. That would be sheer discrimination. It might defeat the whole idea, particularly when the very purpose is to liberate women from womanhood—that mythical sex-barrier evolved merely to discriminate between Adam and Eve. This discrimination must go.

Galbraith's gate-crash into the Lib is yet another expression of the male concern and sympathy towards such a liberation, and no less the 'liberalation' of the Women's Lib itself.

The affluent professor's reputation rests, among others, on his masterpiece *The Affluent Society*. Earlier he also discovered the mechanism of *countervailing power* within the framework of monopoly capitalism, where organised financial and entrepreneurial power is met by organised labour and consumers. Now we are to witness the emergence of "countervailing powers" in the world of sexes. Galbraith is for the Lib—Women's, Gay's or gnomes'.

Galbraith regards "sexual discrimination as bad as social discrimination". He is disturbed that women "are trapped by the necessity to look after husbands and children." He disapproves of "any intelligent woman getting married at all". As for himself he has "been married, what people call happily, for 33 years". He admits: "My wife has had far more responsibility for the children than I have . . . But that is as it should be. I am a better writer than she is". Moreover she is helped in her chores by other women whom the professor pays. But it is irrelevant again, that "all of them (are) women of course".

Galbraith is worried as to "why should it always be the wife who has to move to wherever her husband has a job". When he was appointed the U.S. Ambassador to India, his wife left her job at Harvard and followed him to Delhi. As Trustee of the Women's College of Harvard he tried his best to dissuade "bright girls" from marriage. "Rather than lose her brains she should live in sin" was the valued advice of one happily married professor whose brain-children were ascending in prominence and increasing in number. Yet worst opposition to him came from women: "If you have never been attacked by a pack of

angry Boston matrons you don't know what trouble really is".

Galbraith surmises that "the happiest time of one's life is just after the first divorce" but he denies to himself the pleasure to which he invites the world.

He had been very eager to have some women in the faculty of economics at Harvard. He selected one but she could not stand the trial. She broke into tears and retired. "The next one I picked was not only tougher but better-looking. She stayed." Was it due to her toughness or her 'better looks' is anybody's guess. But if it were better looks, then sex came in again by the back door. But that is logic; so why not a logic Lib?

□□□

While the elders are debating the question of relieving some burden of sin from divorce and remarriage and introducing flexibility into the indissolubility of marriage, the minds of the younger generation are moving in a different direction. The report of a recent research survey shows that sixth formers (students in the final stage of secondary education) are becoming more and more inclined to believe that there is nothing wrong or immoral about pre-marital sex-relationship, gambling, lying, stealing and drunkenness.

The survey was conducted by Derek Wright of Leicester University and Edwin Cox of the London Institute of Education. It covered over 1,500 sixth formers in 66 grammar schools in 1970. The same researchers had conducted in 1963 a similar survey asking the same questions to a similar sample. This has enabled them to compare the direction and volume of change in younger attitude during the last seven years.

In 1963, 28.6 per cent of the boys and 55.8 per cent of the girls thought pre-marital sex was always wrong; in 1970, only 10.3 per cent of boys and 14.6 per cent of girls regard it as always wrong. The change in the attitude of the girls is most significant, a sign of accelerated liberation. The proportion of those who thought pre-marital sex was "never wrong" has sharply increased from 10.2 per cent to 33.7 per cent for boys and from 2.4 to 17.7 per cent for girls.

Attitudes towards drunkenness show a similar radical shift. Those who regarded it as always wrong have almost halved.

Boys have tended to shift from a belief in God to disbelief, while girls have shifted more into an area of uncertainty.

The proportion of those who thought that a colour bar was "always wrong" dropped from 74 to 65.6 per cent among boys and from 85.3 to 76.4 per cent among girls. Here at least the shift in both male and female attitudes has shown an equal degree of slide. Equality at last!

Books

Journalism, not History

Jon Kimche, 1970

THE SECOND ARAB AWAKENING

288 pp. *Thames & Hudson*, London, £2.10

"Historical writing about the Middle East has been distorted in various ways." This sentence early in the introduction is one of the most profound and true statements made in this book. To begin with there is not much that is profound in the entire book. And it is difficult to determine that which is true because, strangely enough, the book is devoted almost exclusively to the inroads and byroads of diplomacy as it affected developments in the Middle East during and after the First World War until present times. Since diplomacy is a field in which so much remains indeterminate because of the requirements of secrecy and tactics much of what may seem valid in this book would of necessity be revised or amplified in later years when documents and various memoirs see the light.

Much of the book is written in a narrative, not in any analytical, fashion. Day to day and week by week changes of moods and attitudes are written about in a compulsive journalistic fashion. This sort of treatment obviously masks underlying trends, basic attitudes and long term objectives. Certain events and episodes are isolated and given the full blow by blow treatment like the unity talks in Cairo held in the spring of 1963 between Egypt, Syria and Iraq, the Suez episode or the Lavon affair which shows up the Zionist in Kimche at his journalistic and propagandist best.

This is why one fails to understand what this second Arab awakening is supposed to be. And though we are told that it involves the decline of British influence in the Middle East and the rise of Egypt at the centre of Arab affairs as a result of Soviet-Nasser cooperation, we are left with no certain answers or even just answers as to what the Arabs were or are awakening to. But this may be an unfair observation since Kimche in his introduction did not propose to "find a set of answers."

We get the feeling that what Kimche is concerned with in this book is not so much the Arabs as with Israel. This is why almost the longest chapter in this book is devoted to "Israel: State or Nation" and the shortest chapter is entitled "Palestine: Nation or Dispersion". (This latter is the last chapter in the book and seems to have been added as an afterthought.) This is why there is an emphasis on settlement in the Middle East, practically moaning every opportunity for 'peace' that went abegging and in fact ending with the visionary words of Christopher Fry's Moses:

"The wilderness has wisdom.

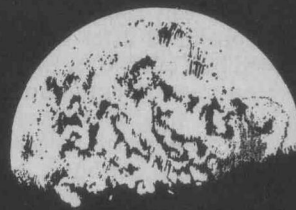
And what does eternity bear witness to

If not at last to hope."

There are of course some rather interesting theories—for example: "the Kaiser's revolutionary propaganda in the Middle East and India laid the foundations for the revolutionary Arab awakening after the Great War" but that this propaganda failed because "German policy always lacked that element of honest hypocrisy which is an essential ingredient of all imaginative statesmanship—and which gave Britain her unique standing in the world..." Or, for another but more provocative example which is perhaps characteristic of the historical distortions which are mentioned at the beginning: in dealing with the changes that were taking place and the contest to win key political and strategic positions in the

Middle East, Kimche hints at the possibility that "the region would evolve a genuine independence based on a kind of Middle Eastern identity such as was emerging in Israel, Turkey and Iran as well as in some Arab countries..." What is common to these places is not any Middle Eastern identity but the degree of westernisation that has taken place. Another interesting comment is the comparison of Nasser with other leaders of yesteryear: he was a Trotsky and a Stalin combined but a Bismarck that failed.

On the whole, this book is a rather unworthy successor to George Antonius' classic, "The Arab Awakening" which it hopefully and without apology aims at being associated with. (A.W.H.)



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Living in two Cultures

Dr. Asif A Wasfi, 1971
 AN ISLAMIC-LEBANESE
 COMMUNITY IN THE USA—
 A study in Cultural Anthropology
 pp. 126 *Beirut Arab University*

Gone are the blessed days of isolation. The entire flow of history seems to be in the direction of increasing contact and interdependence among the peoples of the world. This is as true of nations and cultures as of smaller groups and individuals. The technological revolution of our times has tremendously accelerated this process. The entire planet is shrinking into a single unit, while every city, even locality, is becoming a world-in-miniature. This development poses a great challenge to the autonomy of cultures. Social contact and confrontation, cross-fertilisation of ideas and modes of behaviour, and adoption and modification of cultural traits from outside sources are on the increase. Geography is merging into sociology.

The world-wide phenomenon of acculturation—a process of cultural change initiated by the conjunction of two or more autonomous cultural systems—provide one of the most perceptive albeit provocative areas of study and investigation. Every country is a witness to this process and invites investigation. But the call is, perhaps, most pressing in the case of socio-religious groups who have migrated to a diametrically different cultural landscape. If the immigrant community had a firmly established cultural type, it provides in the new culture-context, a classic example of a group living in two cultures—an experience which has the potential of creative blossoming or catastrophic doom. Dr. Wasfi has ventured to study such a community in the United States.

The United States can perhaps be described as a *cultural zoo*, having specimens of different genera and species from almost all corners of the world. But it is also a melting pot of cultural norms and traits, with many old identities dissolving and new formations emerging. If ever a nation was made of immigrants, it is the American nation. But three hundred years of political freedom and economic progress, and almost a century of affluence and ascending power, have given it a cultural prototype of its own. New immigrants have to face a powerful host culture, demanding and always exacting, yielding and compromising very sparingly. This is the predicament of all migrating groups but more so of those coming from the orient. Dr. Wasfi has tried to study one of the latest immigrant communities—the Lebanese Muslim community—at Dearborn, Michigan, and the way it is trying to live through the challenge of cultural duality with its consequent cultural and social stresses, strains and conflicts. The book is based on research undertaken by Dr. Wasfi in 1963 in connection with his

doctoral work at the Michigan State University. Its importance lies in the fact that it is one of those very few studies which bring into focus problems arising from the conjunction of American and Muslim cultures.

The Lebanese-Muslim immigrant community at Dearborn, in Detroit's metropolitan area, consists of about 4000 persons, whose pioneers came around 1900-1920. Dr. Wasfi employs a cross-section of techniques of sociological investigation popular with social science researchers today: participated observation, field interviews, sampling, unstructured interviews and the comparative method. About two thirds of the space goes to a description of the community, its ways, problems and prospects, while the rest is devoted to an analysis of the nature, extent and complexities of acculturation in this group.

The historical section lacks depth and perception and seems to give too much credence to heresy. Exaggerated importance is assigned to "push-factors", particularly to the effects of Turkish rule in Syria. Whatever the weaknesses of the system their role in generating emigration was never more than marginal. If this was a crucial factor why did it not provoke a mass exodus or at least one of a significant size? And why did the trend towards migration continued after the lapse of Turkish rule in fact even after independence? In studies on migrant communities from Europe this point figures prominently and rightly so, because of the political and religious strife and persecution in Europe in that age. It hardly serves the ends of scholarship to structure studies about other communities on a similar pattern!

The author observes that despite severe strains in the Arab-Islamic culture under study, Islam has all along been an effective force. In fact the response of the Christian Arabs and the Muslim-Arabs to a similar cultural situation had been very different. Muslims tried to resist what was in conflict with their cultural norms and if they had to give way they did so only grudgingly and initially under compulsion. The author refers to many forms of religious, social and economic discrimination against the Muslims, particularly in fields of employment and social relations. Among techniques of forced acculturation he refers to certain legal regulations about marriage and divorce including the fact that "members are prohibited by law from representing their daughters in marriage contracts". (pp. 103-104 & 110-111). It was due to religious discrimination and social pressure that a number of people changed their names and concealed their identity for decades (pp. 56-67).

But things are changing and the younger generation is drifting away from its moorings with less or few resisting, some even opting out voluntarily. This is due to a host of factors, more important among them being: (a) exposure to the American cul-

ture from infancy, (b) the example of the parents failed to attract them to their own cultural values, particularly due to their parents' ignorance about Islam and dual standards of behaviour, (c) lack of Islamic education and congenial institutional environment outside home, (d) their parents' marriage with Americans (quite a few of whom remained Christian and wedded to American culture), (e) absence of prolonged political and social contact with Arab society in the Middle East, and above all (f) the pull-factors of the dominant culture and all the material rewards assimilation brings.

Two factors have helped in the revival of Arab-Islamic identity in recent times: the emergence of revitalization movements within the Muslims in the U.S. and greater political identification with the current of Arab nationalism and with other political causes of the Middle East. Some families, the author reports, have adopted with success the policy of sending their children to the home country for a reasonable period of time to be brought up in Arab-Muslim culture. When they rejoin they are better carriers of Arab-Muslim culture.

Dr. Wasfi comes to the conclusion that the impact of technology has been most profound and its acceptance most unreserved. On the other hand resistance had been unyielding in respect of symbolic religious and social matters. Social life—structure, as well as norms—have been the area of give and take, with the result that the present pattern is very different from what is the norm in a Muslim society. Two crucial areas of tension and strain are man-woman relations, particularly when one of them is American, and the parent-children relationship. Food habits remain almost unchanged but, in most other matters the Muslim community had been on the receiving end. What, according to this study, it has been able to give to the host culture is nothing more or higher than some of Arab "music, dances and songs" (p. 109). Have Muslims really nothing more to offer to a society which, according to the same study, is materialistic, atomistic and "emphasizes the technical order over the moral one". (p101).

The most strategic factor in the psychological and cultural transformation of the new generation, according to this study, is school education. It acts as the most important vehicle of "enculturating American patterns of behaviour". The Muslim community has not responded to this challenge by establishing its own schools. Sunday schools for religious education have been established but they cannot serve the need of imparting fuller instructions.

Dr. Wasfi has done a good job by bringing to focus the predicament of the Muslim community in a non-Muslim culture-context. It is informative and instructive and tries to convey a great deal in breadth even if it lacks in depth.

(K. Ahmad)

Whose national interests?

Andrew Carvely, 1969

US-UAR DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS AND ZIONIST PRESSURES

46 pp. *Books International of D.H.-T.E.*, St. Louis, U.S.A., Price not mentioned.

It is a reasonable and bold tract: reasonable because it tries to analyse the Arab-Israeli-American problem in its total perspective, bold because it raises its voice against a powerful lobby which, according to the thesis of the booklet, is depriving the American public of the opportunity of knowing the whole truth. The essay is written from the American viewpoint whose own national interest it seeks to underline. The irony of the American scene according to Andrew Carvely is, that a small group of vested interests has so blurred the scene that even the national interests appear to have been relegated to inconsequence.

The author believes that "vital U.S. interest lies with the Arabs, not Israel" (p.1). That this is not being seen and acknowledged is due to the Zionist pressure exerted "indirectly upon American diplomats accredited to the area" and more importantly, "in Washington", with the result that (in the words of a former American Ambassador) "there is nothing we can do about that (the American public's) partiality (towards Israel). Light is thrown on the way these pressure groups work through the communication media and personal lobbying. The American public is never allowed to see the truth about Israel. In the popular image it remains "a plucky, democratic little nation, a model of economic development, adrift in a sea of threatening backward Arab states (despite the fact that it imposed two out of three wars to bolster its slackening economy), (p.3), and has made no secret of its territorial and expansionist ambitions and intransigence in the face of democratic world opinion" (pp. 32-33). And to cap it all, people "seldom discuss these matters for fear of being labelled 'anti-semitic'" (p.4). The appointment of Arthur Goldberg, "an avowed Zionist", to the post of American Ambassador to the U.N., led to the distortion of the U.S. policy and its misrepresentation during and after the June '67 crisis (pp. 6-17).

Carvely insists that withdrawal from all occupied territory is crucial to the Arab-Israeli dispute and constitutes a test for the Israeli claim that "the Six-day war was a war for peace". If this issue is shirked in any way and justice remains undone, the danger is that there would be a "return to brute force", which "can be disastrous not only for Israel and the Arabs but for the entire world."

The author lists the more strategic issue which the Nixon Administration must face and decide. These are: (i) "If any future

U.N. peace-keeping force is to be re-established it must be stationed on both sides of the frontiers." (ii) "Washington must not consider a Middle East settlement on the basis of the military outcome of the June 1967 war". "Withdrawal according to the U.N. Security Council Resolution should be from all territory seized in the June war." (iii) "The U.S. must exert pressure on Israel to change its arrogant, damn-the-world-attitude". (iv) "Washington must stress the importance of the ban on nuclear weapons in the Mid-east." (v) Sovereignty over waterways should be recognized according to uniform standards—the United States, after all, does not under all circumstances allow Soviet ships to pass through the Panama Canal and Washington should not expect different principles to apply to the Arab world", and (vi) Implementation of the U.N. resolution No. 194 (III) of 11 Dec., 1948, on "the repatriation of those refugees who wish to return to their homes and on the payment of compensation for the property of those choosing not to return" (pp. 23-26).

The author concludes: "It is too late for Washington to start with a clean slate in the Mid-east, but it is not too late for Washington—if catastrophe is to be avoided—to effect an Israeli withdrawal and thus prepare the ground for peace" (p.32). (K.B.N.)

Briefing

Western Window in the Arab World, by Leon Borden Blair, *University of Texas Press*, Austin/London, 328 pp. \$8.50, 1970 (Traces U.S.-Moroccan relations since the landing of the U.S. Navy on the shores of Morocco in 1942 and goes on to deal with subsequent ruptures and recriminations caused by the "sterile diplomacy" of the State Department and finally the Kennedy-Hassan

friendship in 1963. The attitude of the U.S. diplomats and the U.S. Press are contrasted with the silent diplomacy of the U.S. Navy, which it is claimed, finally prevailed. This is said to explain the evacuation of the U.S. air bases while the Navy carries on. The book carries a foreword by the Moroccan Minister of State for Cultural Affairs).

The Soviet Union in Europe and the Near East: Her capabilities and intentions, *Royal United Service Institution*, London, 108 pp, 87p, 1970. (Report of a seminar sponsored jointly by the Southampton University and the R.U.S.I. It discusses the role of the military in the Soviet politics, the extent to which military policy is directed by the aims of world revolution, the economic base of the Soviet military power, offensive intentions and defensive reaction-mechanism of the Soviet forces).

The Secretary General in World Politics 1920-1970 by Arthur W. Rovine, *Sijthoff*, Leyden, Netherlands, 498 pp, 1970. (An interesting and informative study of the politics of the six Secretary-Generals of the League of Nations and the U.N. during the last 50 years. Includes Sir Eric Drummond, Joseph Avenol, Sean Lester, Trygve Lie, Dag Hammarskjold and U Thant. A stylised model of the Secretary-General's office—its resources and functions-is also given).

Israel: A Society in Transition by V. D. Segre' *OUP*, £2.50. (A guide to Israel's internal debate on the problems and stresses of Zionist nationalism).

The Trucial States by Donald Hawley, *George Allen & Unwin*, £4.25. (A handbook on the history and geography of the Trucial States from the pen of a Political Agent).

Operation Overflight by Francis Gary Powers, *Hodder and Stoughton*, £2.50, 1971. (The 'story' of the 'legal' and illegal U-2 flights undertaken for the C.I.A.).

The Blacks in Canada by Robin W. Winks, *Yale*, £6.75.

Transfer of Power 1942-47, Vol. 1, ed. Nicholas Mansergh, *HMSO*, £7. (The British side of the post-Cripps Mission records relating to the transfer of power in the Indo-Pak subcontinent).

Government in Rural India by I. H. Khan, *Asia*, Rs24. (An assessment of the working and role of the Panchayat Raj-village councils).

The Adventuress by Santha Rama Rau, *Michael Joseph*, 504 pp, £2.25, 1971. (Story of Kay, the Filipino girl, attractive and abominable, married and divorced, loved and hated, and brave and immoral).

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THE COMMONS ON PAKISTAN

"Argument about the form of intervention"

STAFF REPORTER

"A Pakistani asked me the other day how we in this House would feel if one of the first debates in the newly-elected Pakistan legislature were aimed at using its best influences to end the trouble in Northern Ireland." (Sir Frederick Bennet M.P.)

On a move by Mr. Bruce Douglas-Mann, Labour M.P. for Kensington North, the House of Commons debated on 14 May the recent events in Pakistan.

From the reports appearing in the press and the way media-lobby had been mounting pressure, it was surprising to find the House virtually empty and in a rather 'Friday' mood. At no stage of the 292 minutes debate, the attendance exceeded 40. The visitors gallery was crowded no doubt, but by Indians and Sikhs. The Press gallery too was more than half-empty.

Rev. Ian Paisley said that this "lack of interest across the nation" demonstrated "the way in which the permissive society has caused a corroding of our moral fibre". Mr. Benyon felt that this apparent indifference was because of the difficulty in discussing a "matter thousands of miles away" with "a considerable news blackout" and the feeling of "complete divorce" ... that it was likely to produce.

The motion sought to express concern over killings and destructions, and the possible food shortage and called upon Her Majesty's Government to use their influences to secure (i) an end to strife (ii) admission of United Nations or other international relief agencies and finally (iii) a political settlement.

Mr. Douglas-Mann said: "the nature and extent of the tragedy are well known ... and the British Government can and should exert some influence ... Many estimates are that over a million have died already ... over two million—have left their homes ... the camps (are) likely to be flooded—if ... not flooded already ... this is a strain which the Indian government cannot possibly continue to bear for very long."

He went on: "It is quite impossible that Pakistan can ever be one country. In the words of the Prime Minister of independent Bangla Desh, ... Pakistan is dead and buried under the mountain of corpses ... the Prime Minister of Bangla Desh impressed on me that the Bengali people are deeply aggrieved at the fact that the rest of the world should be treating this situation as part of the internal affairs of Pakistan ... The Prime Minister was anxious to see that his government was recognised by other Governments and above all, by Britain. I explained to him—and I think that he accepted and appreciated this—the difficulty of granting that recognition particularly since, unless and until the Bangla Desh forces control a large part of East Bengal, it may be necessary, in order to provide aid to the people of East Pakistan, for foreign Governments to work with the military government of West Pakistan.

The conclusion: "... war will continue until West Pakistan is forced out ... we should be using whatever international pressure we can exert to compel West Pakistan to withdraw its troops from East Pakistan, to allow the Government of Bangla Desh, the Awami League, to take over the administration of East Pakistan. There is still a good chance of securing an independent East Pakistan under a moderate and responsible leadership. It will still be one of the poorest countries in the world but it will benefit enormously from freedom to trade with India. The goods and products for West Bengal are exactly those which East Bengal needs.

The Minister for Overseas Development (Mr. Richard Wood) who rose next, joined in expressing his concern at the sufferings which "literally

millions" have undergone. "The House", he said "is naturally, and rightly reluctant to debate the internal affairs of other countries, but in my opinion it is necessary to try to understand the background of the present situation to decide what our attitude should be." He went on "Anyone who travels from East to West Pakistan, or in the other direction, must be struck by the utter dissimilarity of the two parts of that country. On the other hand, if those two parts are visited, as I visited them during the Feast of Ramadan, I think it is equally evident how close the ties were between the two in the Muslim religion."

"We are ready," he concluded, "to resume aid for development, but we can clearly do so only if conditions are restored in which that aid could be effectively deployed. Therefore, it remains the view of Her Majesty's Government that a political solution in East Pakistan is necessary and that this must be a matter for the Pakistan Government and people to achieve."

Whether or not Pakistan could or should continue to exist as one state? How far was it tenable to interfere in the internal affairs of an aided sovereign state? The debate that followed makes interesting reading:

Mr. Hugh Fraser: I regard this as a matter of real concern, not just because of the feeling we have for these people who are suffering—but because of the real danger that this could create to the stability of Asia.

Mr. Peter Shore: It should not be beyond the possibilities of vigorous diplomacy, looking now not only to the Commonwealth forum, not only to the forum of CENTO, but thinking also of the known views of so many of the great Powers, including the United States, the Soviet Union and India as an important neighbouring country, to find ways and means of bringing international pressure to bear.

Sir Frederic Bennett: We cannot do anything other than harm by urging that any future rejoining of the two halves is out of question ... Incidentally, India would be one of the first losers from the standpoint of her own stability ...

I do not think that we do a service by twisting the history of Pakistan ... What is now East Pakistan, there was a great feeling that the people wanted to become part of an Islam Muslim community and escape the previous economic domination of the Hindus ...

The people of Pakistan are intensely proud ... We must be extremely careful not to make the situation worse by attempting to bring influence to bear, or even, however well meaningly, moralising in this House."

Mr. Denis Healey: My right hon. friend was not historically accurate when he said that it is impossible for a state whose components are separated by 1,000 miles to survive ... It is possible ... It happens in the case of Malaysia and the United States, where Hawaii and Alaska are States separated by large distances ...

We cannot dictate the nature of a settlement, but we can, and must, insist on visible progress towards a settlement as a condition of effective aid. I think the International Bank and the International Monetary Fund are both differently bound by the statutes which set them up to insist on certain conditions as justification for aid. This is not a question of political strings in the vulgar sense: it is a question of institutions which are spending the money ... to insist, that the situation in the recipient country exists which will allow aid to be used effectively, and there is no question but that we have the right and the duty, to insist at least on that.

Sir Richard Thompson: It is a thousand pities

that Sheikh Mujibur Rahman felt himself unable to accept the new constitutional arrangements which were the basis of the general election ... If only he had been content to go ahead with this, he could well have become the first Prime Minister of a democratically elected Pakistani Government ...

Mr. John Pardoe: There has been a feeling that there is nothing we should do, that we are no longer an imperial power, that *pax Britannica* is dead, if it ever existed—which is somewhat doubtful—and that therefore we should stay out of it, with due expressions of horror, alarm and agony. I do not believe that the fact that we are a post-imperial power means that we must spend our days continually passing by on the other side. If we can act, we have a moral duty to do so, and our desire and determination to do so is an honourable reaction and not just a post-imperial twitch.

Pakistan has inherent geographical contradictions ... it is impossible for the two parts to hang together simply through religion alone ... there has to be, first and foremost, an economic community of interest ...

The Government have to be very much tougher than they have been. Non-intervention in the affairs of another country is a splendidly convenient principle for any government. It was the principle that Gladstone had to fight in the Midlothian election campaign. It was a splendidly convenient principle when adopted by Pontius Pilate. But it is no basis for improving the state of the world. I urge the Government not to cling to that principle at the expense of our honour."

Mr. John Biggs-Davison: The task of giving aid will be made much more difficult if we appear to be laying down the law about what should now happen in Pakistan ... I am convinced that it will make it much more difficult to bring relief if we prejudge the political outcome in East Pakistan.

Mr. John Stonehouse: I agree ... that a united Pakistan cannot survive and that a Bangla Desh government will certainly emerge.

Mr. Bernard Braine: Pakistan is faced with problems that are too big for it to solve alone, ... we are willing to play our part in any international rescue operation that may be necessary.

Mr. Michael Barnes: Aid also inevitably involves the donor country in the affairs of the country to which that aid is given. That is not to say that aid should be given with political strings. Sophisticated politicians in Western countries must not shrink from using crude political pressure when justice and humanity demand it.

Mr. Frank Judd: ... it is not an argument about intervention or non-intervention. It is an argument about the form of intervention.

Mrs. Judith Hart: I do not go quite as far as *The Guardian*, which says that perhaps the greatest hope for the people of East Pakistan lies in the desperate economic plight of West Pakistan, clearly it is a highly relevant factor.

Mr. Wood: We have listened to a number of speeches, some of which have actually supported the possibility of secession by East Pakistan. Others, although they did not give any support to this possibility, doubted the ability of the two halves of Pakistan peacefully and constructively to reunite ... I remain at the conclusion ... that ... the re-creation of peace and stability through the whole of Pakistan, East and West, still seems so overwhelmingly desirable, if it can be attained, that I give the undertaking that we shall continue to use all our efforts and any influence which we can command in order to try to assist the Government of Pakistan to obtain this objective.

World Opinion

ALGERIA: ATTACKING TROUBLE AT THE ROOTS

●It is not impossible that these efforts or the action of the big powers will result in bringing about a prolonged truce in the Middle East. But I think that it would not be equivalent of a real peace which can only result from a solution of the Palestinian problem.

●We . . . believe that the countries of the 'Third World' can remain independent of the great powers and maintain fruitful trade relations with them.

●Heavy industry . . . will be the locomotive which will draw behind it agriculture, light industry, and the other carriages of our economic life . . . in the short term, the installation of light industry would have absorbed part of the underemployment . . . In the long term this solution would have been a halting one. To the very extent that our economy remained tributary to the foreigner, it would have been subject to fluctuations which, on the social and political level, would have had unprecedented repercussions.

The path that we have chosen will result in a slow but steady and irreversible rise in the Algerians' living standards rather than in rapid rises followed by sudden falls.

●The birth-control policy, as far as is known has not produced results in the "Third World". The apparatus and the means of distribution and information that a birth-control policy calls for, demands investments that we prefer to place in a more constructive sector.

In any case, results of birth control would not make themselves felt for 20 years. We think that by then the rise in the living standards, electrification, introduction of leisure and literacy will have a stronger effect on the birth rate than conception-control practices. We prefer to attack the trouble at the root rather than its effects.

. . . as far as the living standards of Algerians are concerned, there is . . . progression at the rate of 7 per cent a year—double the African average and double our birth rate. (Houari Boumediene speaking to Louis Wiznitzer, *Christian Science Monitor*, London, (8 and 11 May, 1971).

OF CONTINUING AUTHORITY

The BBC is using a strange kind of logic in attempting to rationalize Britain's continuous occupation of three Iranian islands in the Straits of Hormoz. It says that because in 1820

Britain "recognized" the islands as belonging to two Trucial Coast emirates—which at that time had no notion of sovereignty—the islands no longer belong to Iran.

What this means is that Britain has some form of undisputed international authority for distributing sovereign rights. (*Kahyan International Edition*, Tehran, 1 May, 1971).

STRAINS AND CONTRADICTIONS IN SAUDI ARABIA

Today women can and do walk around the main towns unveiled, yet they may not drive cars. They can hold jobs as teachers and social workers, and appear on television in plays, yet rarely do they accompany their husbands on formal social occasions.

This is just one example of the conflicts latent in a situation where progress is being fostered within the framework of a strictly interpreted Koranic law. The country's leaders are determined that traditional values shall not be sacrificed at the altar of progress, but the strains and contradictions which can arise in a State adhering to a moral and legalistic code over 1,000 years old are obvious. (Stewart Dalby in *Financial Times*, London, 13 May, 1971).

STRATEGY OVER PAKISTAN

●The World Bank is believed to have completed its report on the debt crisis . . . in Pakistan.

Member Governments of the consortium can act individually if they decide, and the United States has already told President Yahya that American military and economic aid has ceased and will not resume until certain conditions are accepted by his Government.

The report from the World Bank will serve as a guide to the Governments of the aid consortium in deciding on a joint strategy over Pakistan. (Patrick Keatley in *The Guardian*, London, 8 May, 1971).

●World pressure on the military leaders has so far been less than effective: . . . Pressure must be intensified. The most telling points are probably economic; and especially sensitive is the reminder that the Pakistan economy and war effort depends directly on aid from the United States, Britain and Germany and the other aid consortium states. (John Stonehouse M.P. in the *New Statesman*, London, 7 May, 1971).

Recognition of Bangla Desh by some friendly governments would, of course, not only boost its morale . . .

but would also open up channels for barter-trade and for the purchase of arms . . . Despite its sympathies, the Indian government is unlikely to be the first to recognise Bangla Desh. It might follow a lead by Russia or by some communist country like East Germany or Rumania.

Both Russia and America are known to have urged President Yahya Khan privately and not so privately, to arrive at "a peaceful settlement". The time for a peaceful settlement seems to have gone. Anything less than independence would certainly be bitterly opposed by East Bengali communists of all hues—pro-Moscow, pro-Peking and neutral . . . Whatever the public statements of the Chinese government, members of Mohammed Toha's East Pakistan Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist) and Maulana Bhashani's National Awami League have been fighting the Pakistan army along with Mujibur Rahman's followers.

Newspapers in both Pakistan and India have interpreted the Chinese stand as clear cut—for the Pakistan army and against the East Bengali liberation movement . . . They are only accusing India of interference in the internal affairs of its neighbour. That is all. On the direct question of the East Bengali liberation movement, the Chinese seem neutral.

As against India, Russia and America, the Chinese do not want to see a quick end to the present conflict. Why? Because the longer the conflict drags on, the better the chances . . . of the nationalist struggle becoming a useful class struggle also . . . Moreover, the Chinese probably need time to work out a route for the supply of arms and ammunitions to the communists of their own brand. (Dilip Hiro in *New Society*, London, 6 May, 1971).

●The state of Pakistan is the creation of the reactionary forces that moulded the Indian sub-continent: British imperialism and Gandhian nationalism.

While the Pakistani revolution faces this specific problem of its internal articulation it is externally inserted within the Indian sub-continent and the Asian continent as a whole. The conflict over Kashmir and over religion has been used by the Pakistani rulers to mute class differences, as the Arab states use Palestine and the Dublin government uses Northern Ireland. The solution to the Kashmiri problem is clearly stated by Tariq Ali: self-determination. If these blocks are removed the way is open for a revolutionary solidarity between Indian and Pakistani forces, not only abstractly but in concrete geographic instances like Bengal. Tariq Ali's book points the way to a red Pakistan and a red Asia. (Fred Halliday: 'Towards a

Red Pakistan' in *New Left Review*, London, Jan.-Feb., 1971).

●There is certainly a feeling here . . . that Bhutto will be the man to save the country . . . Already there have been open talks between Mr. Bhutto and President Yahya Khan about when and how political power is to be transferred . . . The beginning of July . . . has been mentioned as a possible date . . .

What about his own flirtations with the Chinese in the past? I asked him. "Oh, come on, now" he said, "I know I was supposed to be 'the Chinaman', but we are out of the sixties. Even you fellows are playing ping-pong with them now." (Colin Smith reporting his interview with Mr. Z. A. Bhutto, *The Observer*, London, 16 May, 1971).

LA FOLIE ANGLAISE

In England, the idea that seriousness is itself funny has taken such a hold that nobody who has ever been touched by the English sense of humour can be sure when he is listening to a dull, serious man being serious or to one of his own people putting on a tremendous act. The basis of the "folie anglaise" lies in the assumption that nothing matters enough to be taken seriously; that the spectacle of other people taking things seriously is therefore absurd; that it is the function of the civilized to be carried, effortlessly, on the back of those who choose to take things seriously. (*Le Monde Weekly*, Paris, 6-12 May, 1971).

WISDOM UNVEILED

Why have Moslem women for generations veiled their faces? Because, I am told, once there was a young woman whose provocative personality and beauty were so great that she disrupted all life in her village.

The wise men of the village were at the wits' end how to deal with the problem, so one day, when the Prophet came by: they said: "Prophet, what should a woman do whose beauty is so great that it makes village life impossible?" "She should veil it", he replied.

Next day, and from that day on, every woman in Islam put on a veil. (John Gordon in *The Sunday Express*, 9 May, 1971).

Leg watchers will no doubt be distressed to hear that, despite recent reports to the contrary, hot pants and minis are not going to have it all their own way this summer. (Legs in Purdah, *Sunday Telegraph*, 9 May, 1971).

NEWS BRIEF

BULGARIA Elena Lagadinova, Chairman Womens' Union of Bulgaria called for public stigmatisation of women who only have one child though they have the necessary conditions to have more. She also made an appeal to all men and women to understand that household duties should be equally shared amongst all members of the family. Madame Elena was addressing the Congress of the Bulgarian Communist Party.

CYPRUS President Makarios of Cyprus will be going to Moscow at the beginning of June and is expected to ask for Soviet rockets and technicians to be stationed in Cyprus. Mr. Denktas, the Turkish-Cypriot leader has said that the visit was designed to put pressure on U.S.A.

ERITREAN LIBERATION The Eritrean Liberation Front in a communique issued in Baghdad has claimed killing 50 Ethiopian soldiers in an engagement on 9 May. The Liberation Army units also attacked troops in the coastal province, killed 13 soldiers and captured a large quantity of weapons and supplies.

EUROPEAN COMMON MARKET Mr. Enoch Powell addressing the Netherland Society for Foreign Affairs in Hague said that the grave threat from coloured immigration was the only reason he could find for Britain joining the Common Market.

IRAN According to a report circulated by the Iranian Students Confederation, more than 500 political prisoners have recently been detained in Iran bringing the total to about 20,000.

Iran is planning to send 10,000 workers to West Germany. They will be attached with shipyards for a two year period and on return to Iran will help start the national ship-building industry.

INDONESIA President Suharto has said that Indonesia needed 85 - 100 million dollars annually to repay her foreign debts.

ISRAEL Deputy Premier Allon has supported the establishment of an Arab University in occupied Palestine.

According to an Israeli broadcast about 300 persons accused of sabotage activities have been convicted by the Military Court in Gaza; 27 were sentenced to life imprisonment.

The W.H.O. Assembly in its meeting held in Geneva on 18 May accused Israel of violating basic human rights of Arab refugees. It warned Israel that if the situation did not improve, her voting rights in the assembly and W.H.O. services would be suspended.

Mr. Abba Eban the Israeli Foreign Minister is to pay official visits to Ghana, Ivory Coast, Liberia, Congo (Kinshasa) and Kenya in June.

There is reported to be an increasing indignation in the ranks of the National Liberation Movements in South Africa over the support

Israel is extending to the Portuguese colonialists in suppressing freedom struggle in Angola, Guinea-Bissau and Mozambique. The Portuguese are receiving a regular supply of arms and military equipment from Israel.

JORDAN Jordan has signed an agreement with the Soviet-Arab Friendship Society regarding scholarships for Jordanian students to study in U.S.S.R.

In a Television interview, shown in Washington, King Husain stated that Israeli insistence on retaining the whole of Jerusalem will seriously jeopardize the possibilities of peace in the Middle East.

KUWAIT Kuwait has established direct telephone communication with India.

PAKISTAN Lt. Gen. Tikka Khan, the East Pakistan Governor, has said that organised resistance has been liquidated all over the province. The Government has adequate stocks of food and no one will be allowed to die of hunger.

President Yahya Khan has welcomed U. Thant's offer to provide assistance to East Pakistan through the U. N. and its Agencies but has told Secretary-General that the international assistance, as and when required, will be administered by Pakistan's own relief agencies.

In order to help Pakistan tide over her present economic difficulties, China is reported to have offered an interest free loan of about £90 million. Similar assurances of support are reported to have been received from Saudi Arabia and Kuwait.

Four Pakistani dailies *Nawai Waqt*, *Kohistan*, *Javidan* and *Masawat* are being prosecuted for contravening Martial Law Regulation 77 dealing with criticism of political parties and their leaders. Three of the papers were reported critical of Mr. Bhutto.

PORTUGAL Concern has been expressed in Portugal over constant decline in population because of emigration and decrease in the birth rate.

SAUDI ARABIA Approval has been given for the establishment of an International Islamic Library in Medina.

SOMALIA Col. Ali Mattan, Member of the Supreme Revolutionary Council, has criticised the threat of prostitution to the existence of Somali nationhood. Our young men who go to Night Clubs, he said, destroy their self respect and basic human values.

A Somali educational delegation visited North Korea and China and a Chinese Highway Study Group arrived in Somalia.

SUDAN Umar Al-Hajj Musa, the Sudanese Minister of National Guidance has alleged that Israel is trying to open an active front in Southern Sudan to wear down Sudanese resources and prevent it from playing its role in the Arab struggle against Zionism. The Minister also revealed that his Government proposed to form a new political organization to be called the Popular Organization which will be the only political party allowed to function in the country.

Chairman Numayri has denounced



(Courtesy France-Soir, Paris)

the Federation of Sudanese Women for extremist leftist subversive activities.

A Chinese delegation recently visited Sudan for carrying out soil experiments in North of Hasa Hisa with a view to setting up a Textile Factory in that area.

Sudanese News Agency, Sudan's first national news agency was opened on 22nd May.

SYRIA The 5th Regional Congress of the Ba'th Party of Syria elected a new Regional Commission consisting of Hafiz Ali Asad, Mustafa Talas, Ahmed Al-Khateeb, George Saddiqni, Naji Jamil and several others.

TURKEY A 'clandestine' course of Quran... in Arabic script has been discovered at Saltierlip in Turkey. Three teachers and 16 students were apprehended during the police raid.

Radio Peking has increased its weekly broadcast in Turkish and Serbo-croat to 14 hours.

UNITED KINGDOM The Joint Services Staff College, Latimer, Bucks, will be converted to all British National Defence College from August, 1971; from then on it shall cease to take Commonwealth and American trainees.

Rev. Alan Booth, Director Christian Action, condemned those politicians who suggested that Britain's £250 million overseas aid programme was just a generous give away. Mr. Richard Wood, the Minister of Overseas Development, who was taking part in a lunchtime dialogue with Rev. Booth, pointed out, "A good deal of aid goes in investment loans carrying interest... and much of the money came back to British firms in the form of orders".

The Select Committee on Science and Technology has recommended setting up of a special Government office to cope with excessive rise in population in U.K.

The Institute of Contemporary Arts is organising a festival of Islamic art and culture to take place in November this year in London. The programme will include lectures, seminars and a month-long exhibition of works of Art.

The new edition of "Britain: official Handbook for 1971" reports that the number of Muslims in Britain is estimated at about half a

million, of whom some 90,000 are in London".

U.S.S.R. The Soviet Armenian Academy of Sciences is setting up a new Institute of Orientalology which shall be concerned with the economics and culture of the oriental countries having historical link with Armenia. From the Erivan University 20 students graduate annually in Iranian, Arab and Kurdish Studies.

The recently concluded Communist Party Congress in Moscow has submitted an appeal on behalf of 60,000 Tatars who, it is claimed, are being systematically eliminated by the Russian Government.

VATICAN The Pope in a apostolic letter has called upon the Christians to search for a new and more equitable social system. Although classical Marxism did not solve the problems of flagrant inequalities, Christians could embrace forms of socialism not in conflict with Christian ideology.

The Pope attacked the self-defeating and harmful nature of economic activities in the Western world and rejected Malthusian doctrine of population control.

ZANZIBAR The Second Vice-President Kawawa has depreciated the tendency amongst girls to leave school on marriage without assimilating everything. Being given a husband, he said, is not all.

PEOPLE

Mr. Kamal Rifat, designated to replace Mr. El-Feki, the outgoing Egyptian Ambassador may not take up his post in London. He was reported involved in recent changes in the Egyptian hierarchy. ● President Bourguiba of Tunisia has been undergoing treatment in a Geneva clinic ● Mr. A. K. Brohi, a former Pakistani Law Minister and Ambassador in Delhi paid a brief visit to London recently ● Emperor Hirohito of Japan has been elected Fellow of the Royal Society ● Sir John Shaw Rennie, a Briton, has taken over as Commissioner-General of the UNRWA—United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Arab Refugees ● Rene MacColl, 66, Chief Foreign Correspondent of the *Daily Express* (1959-69) died at his home in Sussex ● Mr. Seymour Maxwell Finger, the Number Two member of the U.S. delegation to the U.N. has retired. Mr. Finger was one of the highest ranking Jews in American Foreign Service ● Mr. Fathi Ghanem, Editor of the Egyptian daily *Al-Gomhoureya* has been dismissed.